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THE WORD OF GOD IN PURITAN NEW ENGLAND:
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PERSPECTIVES ON THE
NATURE AND AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE

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Those who would truly understand what American Puritanism was all about would do well to give heed to the sources from which the Puritans drew their ideas. It should come as no surprise that the principal source of Puritan ideology was the Bible itself. What is surprising is the way in which some historians, most notably the late Perry Miller, have ignored or minimized the Puritans' biblicism while attempting to unearth non-biblical roots for Puritan concepts. Instead of accepting the Puritans' own statements about their reliance on Scripture, Miller turned to more humanistic sources. In his massive work *The New England Mind: The 17th Century*, he makes passing comments about the Puritan acceptance of Scripture, but his emphasis is on "the four quarries from which the Puritan scholars carved out their principal ideas and doctrines"—European Protestantism, special interests and preoccupations of the seventeenth century, humanism, and medieval scholasticism.[1]

The Puritans obviously did not operate in a cultural vacuum; they could not help but be influenced by the intellectual and cultural climate of their day. Miller, however, apparently ignored their own appraisal of the role of Scripture in their lives and

[1]For the quotations in this and the following introductory paragraph, plus other related concepts, see Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The 17th Century*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 7, 92, 108, 190, 310, 341. A welcome exception to the tendency to minimize the role of Scripture and faith is a perceptive article by George M. Marsden, "Perry Miller's Rehabilitation of the Puritans: A Critique," *CH* 39 (1970): 91-105.

thought, concluding that "they said in one moment that everything was to be gained by going to the Bible for the articles of belief" while "in the next they went also to other books, to systematic treatises on divinity, to methodized tomes on doctrine and ethics, to classical antiquity, to medieval scholasticism or to monumental restatements of it." Miller felt that under the influence of the logician Petrus Ramus, the Puritans held that "the Bible should be approached exactly as should the natural world, as a welter of raw material out of which the propositions of art were to be refined by the process of invention and disposition." In fact, it was Miller's view that Puritan divines believed that "no man could understand Scripture who had not been schooled in rhetoric as well as in logic"—this despite the Puritan clergy's frequent assertions of the plainness of Scripture and the role of the Spirit of God in revealing biblical truths to the reader.

1. Puritan Declarations on Authority of Scripture

In spite of twentieth-century attempts to secularize and rationalize Puritan theology, the fact remains that the absolute authority ascribed to the Bible and its consequent central place in Puritan theology were clearly and consistently declared by the seventeenth-century clergy of New England. This authority of Scripture was such a certainty to Puritan minds that even in stating their doctrine of biblical authority, men whom Miller described as eminently rational and logical did not hesitate to use the Scriptures themselves as the weightiest evidence to determine and support their view of the nature of the Bible.[2] Indeed, to Puritan divines, the authority of the Bible was so important and so obvious that even to raise question on the matter was to succumb to "strange temptations, hellish blasphemies."[3]

The authority accorded to the Bible was a direct result of the Puritans' belief in its divine authorship. According to Increase

[2]See, e.g., Cotton Mather, *A Scriptural Catechism* (Boston, 1691), p. 1; Increase Mather, *Angelographia* (Boston, 1696), p. 44.

[3]Thomas Shepard, *The Sound Believer* (Boston, 1736), p. 64. This work was written in the seventeenth century but not published until many years after Shepard's death.

Mather, the Bible

> ought to be received on that sole account of the Authority of the Speaker. Hence often in the Scripture, it is said, Hear the Word of the LORD, and Thus saith the LORD: Intimating that because of the Authority of the Speaker, men have infinite Reason to Hear and Fear, and to Believe and Obey.[4]

Nathaniel Gookin of Cambridge, Massachusetts, urged his New England flock to believe firmly that biblical injunctions were "the commands of the great God and his authority is stamped upon them."[5] Boston's Samuel Willard, while quoting the words of David in the OT, was quick to point out that "they were not his own words, but such as the Spirit of God dictated to him, and spake by him, whereof he was only the Instrument of their being committed to record. They therefore came out of the Mouth of God. . . ."[6] Increase Mather on one occasion spoke of the Scriptures as "the word of Christ. . . because Hee is ye Author of it."[7]

The very nature of the biblical message made its divine origin evident to Puritan eyes. Said Thomas Shepard, minister at Cambridge, "There is such a majesty stirring, and such secrets revealed in the Word, that if men will not be willfully blind, they cannot but cry out, 'The voyce of God, and not the voyce of man.'"[8] Assurance that the Scriptures were the Word of God could further be seen "from the majesty, glory, holyness, truth of a God which shines forth in them."[9] According to Increase Mather, only God could have authored the Bible because "there is such a Divine majesty to be seen in it, as is not in any other Book. . . . The Scripture is His Word, for

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[4]Increase Mather, *The Latter Sign Discoursed of In A Sermon Preached at the Lecture of Boston in New England; August 31, 1682* (Boston, 1682), p. 19.

[5]Nathaniel Gookin, Sermon [May or June, 1690], *Sermon Notes, Apr. 24-Aug. 13, 1690*, recorded by John Hancock, Harvard University MS, pp. 85, 90-91.

[6]Samuel Willard, *The Character of a Good Ruler* (Boston, 1694), p. 5.

[7]Increase Mather, Sermon of March 21, 1686, *Substance of Sermons delivered by several Ministers in Boston*, recorded by Cotton Mather, Huntington Library MS, p. 76.

[8]Thomas Shepard, *The Sincere Convert: Discovering the small number of True Believers, and the Great Difficulty of Saving Conversion* (London, 1672), p. 3.

[9]Thomas Shepard, *A Short Catechism Familiarly Teaching The Knowledg of God, and of our Selves* (Cambridge, Mass., 1654), p. 15.

it reaches ye very thoughts of ye Heart."[10] John Eliot, minister and missionary to the Indians from the church at Roxbury, Massachusetts, taught his indigenous flocks that "the writings of the Bible are the very Words of God."[11]

The high opinion of the Bible held by the Puritan clergy is not only evident from their belief in divine authorship, but also from the very names and descriptions they used when referring to the Scriptures. In countless sermons the Bible was spoken of as the "Word of God." This appears to have been the clergy's favorite designation for the Bible, although numerous other titles and descriptive phrases were used which also demonstrate the highest regard for biblical authority. Emphasis on the truthfulness of the Word is found in epithets such as "word of truth," "great store-house of truth," and "Scriptures of truth."[12] In other sermon passages the Bible is called "ye eternal word," "the Holy Scriptures," "the Sacred Word," "the infallible Oracles," "his [God's] revealed will," "the Sword of the Spirit," "the RULE," "the purest spiritual milk in the world," "a treasure," and "infinite wisdom."[13]

Direct statements were frequently made in the clergy's sermons and writings which leave little doubt that biblical infallibility was accepted dogma. Not only was the Bible viewed as the Word of God, it was also seen as absolutely reliable, accurate, and complete. The

[10]Increase Mather, Sermon of 1686, *Substance of Sermons*, p. 277.

[11]John Eliot, *Tears of Repentance: Or, a further Narrative of the Progress of the gospel Amongst the Indians in New England* (London, 1653), p. 39.

[12]John Cotton, *The Way of Life* (London, 1641), p. 139; Increase Mather, Sermons of March 21 and March 28, 1686, *Substance of Sermons*, pp. 73, 96; Josiah Flynt, sermon [1670s], Harvard University MS, p. 166; Samuel Willard, *The Mourners Cordial Against Excessive Sorrow* (Boston, 1691), p. 65; Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation Explained and Applyed* (London, 1669), p. 18.

[13]Increase Mather, Sermon of 1686, *Substance of Sermons*, p. 277; *Brief Discourse Concerning the Unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship, and of Laying the Hand on, and Kissing the Booke in Swearing* (Cambridge, Mass., 1686), p. 6; Cotton Mather, *Optanda* (Boston, 1692), p. 31; Samuel Willard, *Impenitent Sinners Warned of their Misery and Summoned to Judgment* (Boston, 1698), p. 32; *The Barren Fig Trees Doom* (Boston, 1691), p. 76; Urian Oakes, *The Unconquerable, All-Conquering, & more-than-conquering Souldier* (Cambridge, Mass., 1674), p. 26; Cotton Mather, *Early Religion* (Boston, 1694), p. 14; John Eliot, *The Harmony of the Gospels* (Boston, 1678), p. 32; Josiah Flynt, sermon [1670s], p. 274; Thomas Shepard, sermon [1641], Harvard University MS, n.p.

Scriptures were "a perfect rule of Faith & Holyness, according to which all doctrines are to be tryed, and all controversies decided."[14] The Word was "a perfect directory, shewing us how we must Serve God, and how we must Serve the Generation wherein we live."[15] Because a holy God had authored the Word it followed logically to the Puritans that the Scriptures were "the infallible Oracles of that God who cannot ly."[16] Cotton Mather referred to "those unerring Oracles" and the "Holy and Just and Good Laws of the Lord." Thomas Shepard called "the voice of the Scriptures, the highest of all"; John Cotton asserted that "the perfection of the Word of God may well be concluded"; and Samuel Danforth preached about "the Holy Scriptures, which are the Authentick and unerring Canon of Truth." John Eliot declared that "the Law of God, written in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament" is "pure, holy, righteous, perfect, and good. . . the perfect Systeme or Frame of Laws, to guide all the Moral actions of man," and Richard Mather declared that "the Word is never contrary to it self." But perhaps John Davenport, minister at Boston, put it most emphatically as he declared with a biblical citation, "The whole Scripture is breathed of God, and therefore infallible, and stamped with God's own authority in every sentence of it, 2 Tim. 3.16."[17]

The Bible as the Word of God was viewed as a complete revelation, containing everything God would have mankind to know about things of the spirit, as well as much about the flesh. Any group which did not share this perspective was anathema to New England's Puritan divines. The Quakers were singled out for special

[14]Shepard, *Short Catechism, p. 14.*

[15]Increase Mather, *David Serving His Generation* (Boston, 1698), p. 11.

[16]Willard, *Impenitent Sinners*, p. 32.

[17]Cotton Mather, *Warnings from the Dead* (Boston, 1693), p. 4; *Humiliations follow'd with Deliverances* (Boston, 1697), pp. 4-5; Thomas Shepard, *Subjection to Christ in all His Ordinances and Appointments, the best means to preserve our Liberty* (London, 1652), p. 153; John Cotton, *Some Treasure Fetched out of Rubbish* (London, 1650), p. 11; Samuel Danforth, *An Astronomical Description of the Late Comet or Blazing Star, Together With a brief Theological Application thereof* (Cambridge, Mass., 1665), p. 16; John Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth* (London, 1659), pp. 4, 35; Richard Mather, *An Answer to Two Questions* (Boston, 1712), p. 21; John Davenport, *Gods Call to His People to Turn unto Him* (Cambridge, Mass., 1669), p. 7.

condemnation in regard to their view of the completeness of the
biblical revelation. In 1690 four prominent divines collaborated in a
written attack against Quakerism, centered on that sect's belief in an
"inner revelation" which implied that the Bible did not contain all
the Word of God.[18] To be a Quaker was, in Puritan eyes, to believe
"that God hath one Rule to direct his people Outwardly, and
another Inwardly, or as if God taught us one thing by His Word,
and another by His Spirit . . . how perniciously this undermines the
Christian faith."[19] In one of his anti-Quaker tirades, Cotton Mather
lashed out against the "Grievous Wolves" of Quakerism ready to
snap at New England's "Little Flocks." "What Religion shall we
have," he asked, "if the Scriptures once come to be vile in our opin-
ion of them? Now to withdraw men from the esteem and study of
the Scriptures, has hitherto been the main Design of Quakerism."[20]
Such a criticism was doubtless among the worst that could be leveled
at anyone in seventeenth-century New England.

Not only was the Bible viewed as God's inspired and complete
revelation, but this divine and hence ageless inspiration was seen as
present throughout the entire Old and New Testaments. When it
came to Holy Writ, there was "no part unprofitable."[21] The result
was the use of sermon texts from all parts of the Bible with little
preference being expressed by the clergy as a whole for one Testa-
ment over the other. The idea that the Puritans preached primarily
from the OT is without foundation.[22] The Bible in its entirety was
accepted as the Word of God, a book for all time, applicable as
much to the present as it was to the past, in principle if not in every
ritualistic detail. Cotton Mather proclaimed that "the blessed
suitableness of this miraculous Book unto the Affayrs and Concerns

[18]James Allen, Cotton Mather, Joshua Moodey, Samuel Willard, *The Principles of
the Protestant Religion Maintained* (Boston, 1690), pp. 7, 16, 20-21.

[19]Ibid., p. 7.

[20]Cotton Mather, *Little Flocks Guarded Against Grievous Wolves* (Boston, 1691), p.
4.

[21]John Danforth, *Kneeling to God, at Parting with Friends* (Boston, 1697), p. 5.

[22]My analysis of 466 extant sermons from five New England towns shows that 196
(42.1 percent) were based on OT texts whereas 270 (57.9 percent) were based on NT
texts.

of all men, is to be found . . . in every part thereof."[23] John Cotton
testified that "I never yet observed any part of a Scripture . . . but
without carnall affectation, or straining of wit, it might holily be
applyed both with power and profit, and delight to an honest
heart."[24] Samuel Willard, in referring to the relevance of Scripture
for the present, stated that "Scripture Counsels, when directed in-
definitely, are for the most part, intended universally; where the
Spirit of God doth not set any limitations, neither should we."[25] The
Word was binding on the current generation; it was "the Rule
according to which we must believe."[26] It was a Word from God
containing "particular Instructions to us" with a message valid "to
this day."[27] It was acknowledged that although the Bible did not
contain a precept for every detail of human experience, yet general
principles were always present and applicable, ready to guide the
faithful searcher of the pages of Scripture. When Puritans faced
situations not specifically covered in the Bible they maintained that
such matters could be clarified by deductions from the Bible.

2. *Scripture Documentation in Puritan Sermons*

The Puritan clergy's complete dependence on the Bible as their
authoritative source in matters of faith and practice can be seen by
the way they carefully documented their sermon statements with
biblical references. Every homily was based on a specific biblical
text and to preach a sermon in seventeenth-century New England
without such a base would have been unthinkable. The Bible was
the source from which flowed all important theological ideas and
the body of each sermon generally contained dozens of Scripture
citations. Sometimes verses were quoted, and other times merely
chapter and verse references were given. The important thing was to

[23]Cotton Mather, *Military Duties Recommended to an Artillary Company* (Boston,
1687), p. 2.

[24]John Cotton, *Of the Holiness of Church Members* (London, 1650), p. 69.

[25]Samuel Willard, *Heavenly Merchandize* (Boston, 1686), p. 4.

[26]Increase Mather, *David Serving*, p. 10.

[27]Nathaniel Gookin, Sermon of May or June, 1690, *Sermon Notes*, p. 87; John Cot-
ton, *A Brief Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles, or, Song of Solomon* (London,
1642), title page.

demonstrate that what was said had Scriptural grounds and was not of mere error-prone human origin.

Nearly every Puritan divine sprinkled his sermons and treatises liberally with biblical references, but few were more fastidious in this regard than Boston's famous pastor, John Cotton. In a catechism designed for children he prepared sixty-two questions and answers, buttressing the answers with sixty-six OT passages and 106 citations from the NT.[28] In a thirteen-page tract on the nature of the church, Cotton found it advantageous to employ 105 biblical references.[29] In another treatise on the doctrine of the church, Cotton in twelve pages stated and supported his views on ecclesiology with over 400 different Scripture references.[30]

The Puritan faithful were exhorted from the pulpits of New England that not only was the Bible an authoritative source in matters of faith and practice, but it was the only reliable source. As four ministers in their joint defense of the faith expressed it, "We have no other Rule to inform our selves by, but the Scriptures."[31] Those who succumbed to the ideas of men rather than the sure Word of God were violating a central Puritan tenet. "Such is the lamentable corruption of mens nature," bemoaned Increase Mather, "that they are more apt to be taken with fond, foolish, false prophecies that have nothing of a divine inspiration in them, than with the blessed and holy prophecies contained in the Scriptures of truth."[32] Mather further reminded the saints that "we are not to walk by the opinions of this or that good Man, but by the Scriptures."[33] His son Cotton was of like mind:

> The Rule according to which Conscience is to proceed . . . is, the word
> of God; or what God has revealed in the Sacred Scriptures. Not the opinions

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[28]John Cotton, *Milk for Babes Drawn Out of the Breasts of both Testaments* (London, 1646).

[29]John Cotton, *The True Constitution of a particular visible Church, proved by Scripture* (London, 1642).

[30]John Cotton, *The Doctrine of the Church, to which are committed the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, 2d ed. (London, 1643).

[31]Allen, et al., *Principles Maintained*, p. 16.

[32]Increase Mather, *Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, p. 74.

[33]Increase Mather, *An Arrow Against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing Drawn out of the Quiver of the Scriptures* (Boston, 1684), p. 26.

and practices of men; nor indeed any suggestions but what are Consonant unto the Faithful sayings of our Bible.[34]

John Wilson, troubled by the "dreamers of this generation," warned his flock in 1677, "O do not hearken to these Dreamers, but hearken to the holy Word of God. . . . One word from the Lord is to be preferred before all other matters."[35] Increase Mather boldly asserted "the perfection and fulness of the Scripture against all Traditions and Canons devised by men."[36] John Cotton was perturbed by men acting of their own accord "without some light from some Scripture," the erroneous result of which "is to make a mans selfe wise above that which is written."[37] Urian Oakes of the church at Cambridge admonished fellow clergy and laity alike that in matters of Christian service they had "great reason to examine our selves, and bring all our services to the test and touchstone of the Word of God."[38] Josiah Flynt of Dorchester, Massachusetts, put it bluntly in a sermon preached in the 1670s when he declared, "Without the word, there is nothing but ignorance, & therefore must needs be unbeleefe."[39]

3. Puritan Emphasis on Practical Uses of Scripture

Of what use, then, was this divinely inspired, complete, infallible Word of God to New England Puritans of the seventeenth century? As God's message to mankind, the Bible was believed to possess great power and utility, able to touch the daily lives of saints and sinners. Foremost among the uses attributed to the Word was its ability to point the way to salvation through Christ. It did this first by exposing men as God saw them: "The Word of God gives a full demonstration of the natural state of all mankind; it tells us both what we are, and how we came to be so; it declares the wrath of

[34]Cotton Mather, A Companion for Communicants (Boston, 1690), p. 86.

[35]John Wilson, A Seasonable Watch-Word Unto Christians Against the Dreams & Dreamers Of this Generation (Cambridge, Mass., 1677), p. 5.

[36]Increase Mather, David Serving, p. 21.

[37]John Cotton, The Bloudy Tenent Washed, And made white in the bloud of the Lambe (London, 1647), p. 43.

[38]Urian Oakes, A Seasonable Discourse Wherein Sinceritie & Delight in the Service of God is earnestly pressed upon Professors of Religion (Cambridge, Mass., 1682), p. 8.

[39]Josiah Flynt, sermon [1670s], p. 261.

God, and shews how man came to be subjected to it; it convinceth by clear and plain evidence."[40] The Word was "of singular benefit to discover to people what sinne is" and was likened by Josiah Flynt to a trumpet which was "to be sounded in the ears of sinners" in order to awaken the "secure sinner" to his plight.[41] James Allen spoke of sin being revealed "by seeing your selves in the glass of the Word."[42] Cotton Mather also spoke of the Word as "the GLASS, which gives Young People, to see the Uncleanness of their Wayes" and also "the SPUR, which moves Young People, to seek a Cure for the Uncleanness of their Wayes."[43] The Word contained the "great voice of God . . . to every sinner," and it was "the great design of the Scriptures" to declare "that the Sinner who shall turn from all his sins shall live, but the Sinner that will not turn from all his Sins shall dye forever."[44]

The Word was depicted in less severe terms by John Cotton as he spoke of the "attractive drawing power that is found in the word of truth, and goodnesse of the Gospell of Christ,"[45] and by Increase Mather as he referred to the Bible as "a gracious Letter which Christ has sent from heaven, inviting who will, to come to him and be saved by him."[46] William Adams, amazed at "what heart-breakings and soul-meltings there are under the word of God," believed that the purpose of the Word was to "move and work kindly & sweetly upon the heart to persuade, to draw, to instruct, to correct, to awe, to unite the heart to God."[47] Josiah Flynt proclaimed that the "summe and substance of the Gospell" was to declare the "reconciliation made by Christ for sinners."[48] To the Puritans, God in his

[40]Samuel Willard, *Mercy Magnified on a Penitent Prodigal* (Boston, 1684), p. 98.

[41]John Cotton, *Christ the Fountaine of Life* (London, 1651), p. 187; Josiah Flynt, sermon [1670s], p. 11.

[42]James Allen, *Mans Self-Reflection Is the Special Means to further his Recovery from his Apostacy from God* (Boston, 1699), p. 27.

[43]Cotton Mather, *Early Religion*, pp. 14-15.

[44]Increase Mather, *The Greatest Sinners Exhorted and Encouraged To Come to Christ, and that Now Without Delaying* (Boston, 1686), p. 45.

[45]Cotton, *Way of Life*, p. 139.

[46]Increase Mather, *Greatest Sinners*, p. 16.

[47]William Adams, "The Necessity of the Pouring out of the Spirit," in *Dedham Pulpit*, ed. E. Burgess (Boston, 1840), p. 61.

[48]Josiah Flynt, sermon [1670s], p. 152.

sovereignty had ordained that the Word be instrumental in transmitting the message of redemption, making it "the power of God to salvation" and using it for "the pricking of the heart."[49] According to Samuel Willard, "the Gospel is the great instrument of Gods Appointment for Conversion."[50]

The Puritan clergy not only extolled the virtues of the Bible as the way to salvation, but they also drew upon it for guidance in daily living. New England Puritanism was a blending of the theoretical and the practical, with attention given both to systematic doctrines and their application. The centrality of the Word in Puritan thought is further demonstrated by the way in which biblical examples and teachings were constantly held up as the standard for a Christian society.

Ministers frequently reminded their congregations of the Bible's usefulness as the rule and example which the people of God were required to follow. John Cotton let his hearers know that the Scriptures were given for instruction, teaching, and admonition and that the episodes recorded in Holy Writ "are of singular use of direction for the Church of God."[51] Samuel Willard exhorted his flock to value the Word, telling them it would direct them into the right path, be a friend and companion at all times, stay with them through all sorts of adversity, lift their spirits when in deepest dejection, enable them to commune with God himself, and support and carry them through the agonies of death.[52] The Scriptures were, according to Joshua Moodey, "the Christians' Apothecaries Shop where he may go and take freely what his occasions call for. If a man needs Reproof, Correction, Doctrine, Instruction, &c. all these are there to be had."[53]

It was the word of God that was the "ordinary and visible way of Gods teaching"[54] and informed the people of God about "sundry

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[49]Cotton, *Way of Life*, pp. 162, 171.

[50]Willard, *Fig Trees Doom*, p. 25.

[51]John Cotton, *Singing of Psalmes a Gospel Ordinance* (London, 1647), p. 36; *Way of Life*, p. 124.

[52]Willard, *Heavenly Merchandize*, pp. 76-80.

[53]Joshua Moodey, *The Believers happy Change by Dying* (Boston, 1697), pp. 3-4.

[54]James Allen, *Neglect of Supporting and Maintaining the Pure Worship of God, By the Professing People of God is a God-provoking and Land-Wasting Sin* (Boston, 1687), p. 7.

things which else they had not known." The Word not only in-
formed, but also served "to stir them up to do such things which they
wel knew should be done."[55] Samuel Willard reminded his con-
gregation that believers were to "walk in conformity to the Rules of
Gods Word, frame their lives in all things according to it."[56] John
Norton explained that special attention ought to be given to the ex-
amples of biblical characters since God had seen fit to make "a con-
siderable part of the Scripture . . . a divine testimony of what the
Faithful have done and suffered."[57] It was a rare election sermon in
seventeenth-century Massachusetts that did not urge the electorate
in one way or another to "let your choice be guided by the word of
God" when it came to selecting suitable leadership.[58]

It is clear that the Bible was regarded by the Puritan faithful as
the rule of faith and practice, the guide to salvation, and a volume
filled with examples and teachings to be heeded. The Scriptures had
value for them in other areas as well. The Bible pointed the way to
happiness, provided growth and depth in the Christian experience,
helped the saints to resist sin, warned the saints of the dangers of
disobedience, laid the foundations for a just government, and gave
the saints comfort. And in a world of wickedness, the Puritan saint
could say with Thomas Shepard, "When we are mocked and scorned
of men of the World, let us look into the Bible, and we shall find
bags of Promises, true treasure, and therein let us rejoyce."[59]

4. *Puritan Clergy's Emphasis on Response to the Word*

In light of claims made for the Bible by the Puritan clergy, it is
not surprising that considerable emphasis in their sermons was
placed on a proper response to the Word. The importance of a daily
reading of the Scriptures was stressed. Cotton Mather urged his
flock to "let not a Day ordinarily pass you, wherein you will not

[55]Cotton, *Christ the Fountaine*, p. 179.

[56]Willard, *Fig Trees Doom*, p. 41.

[57]John Norton, *Abel being Dead yet Speaketh* (London, 1658), p. 4.

[58]James Allen, *New Englands choicest Blessing And the Mercy most to be desired by
all that wish well to this People* (Boston, 1679), p. 7.

[59]Cotton Mather, *Early Religion*, p. 4; Increase Mather, *Practical Truths Tending
to Promote the Power of Godliness* (Boston, 1682), p. 142; sermon of March 14, 1686,
and undated sermons, *Substance of Sermons*, pp. 38, 50, 277, 278.

Read some portion of it, with a due Meditation and Supplication over it."[60] When he became concerned that Bible-reading was not being taken with the utmost seriousness, Mather became vehement. While reading the Word, he asserted, God may well meet the deepest longings and greatest needs of the soul. "Can you not read a Bible, as well as a Gazet, or a Romance?" he scathingly queried his congregation.[61] Another congregation was even encouraged that "when you cannot read, be sure you meditate upon some part of Gods Word, every day, and every night."[62]

Not only was the reading of Scripture urged, but so was its memorization. Having the Word hidden in the heart and bringing an appropriate passage to remembrance was "ye best way in ye world" to resist temptation.[63] Cotton Mather urged his hearers to take special care to bring their children to a knowledge of salvation and to teach them to memorize Scripture.[64] In one of his published catechisms, Mather began his questioning with "What should young-people count the most necessary or commendable thing that can be spoken of them?" He answered with a passage of Scripture: "2 Tim. 3.15. From a Child thou hast known the holy Scriptures which are able to make thee wise unto Salvation."[65] John Cotton urged his congregation to take the Word and "hide it in our hearts, so that we might not sinne against God, Psal. 119.11."[66] The ideal for young and old alike was "to be ready in the Scriptures, like a ready scribe, that can draw out of his Quiver a fitting arrow for every case."[67]

The saints were urged to give a full measure of concentration to the study of the Bible, both through the private reading of it and the hearing of Bible-based sermons. John Cotton's congregation was

[60]Cotton Mather, *Military Duties*, p. 68. See also *Small Offers Towards the Service of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness* (Boston, 1689), p. 26.

[61]Cotton Mather, *Unum Necessarium* (Boston, 1693), p. 46.

[62]Cotton, *Christ the Fountaine*, p. 207.

[63]Increase Mather, sermon [1686], *Substance of Sermons*, p. 278.

[64]Cotton Mather, *A Family Well-Ordered* (Boston, 1699), p. 19.

[65]Cotton Mather, *Scriptural Catechism*, p. 1.

[66]Cotton, *Christ the Fountaine*, p. 136.

[67]Eliot, *Harmony of the Gospels*, p. 63.

urged to "FEED upon the WORD,"[68] while Cotton Mather ad-
monished his flock to "Eat well, that we may Walk well. . . . Let us
by a Contemplative Eating chew upon the Word of God."[69] When it
came to the hearing of the Word at divine worship, Satan was
credited with realizing the importance of the Word being preached,
and thus "it comes to pass that men are most sleepy at Sermon time,"
said Increase Mather. "Before the Sermon began, they were not
drowsie, and after the Sermon is ended, they are not so; but just at
that season, when they are called to attend the word of God, they
are apt to drowse and sleep. This is as Satan would have it."[70]

Other congregations were urged to "digg and dive into the rich
Mines of Scripture"; to "be diligent in the search & study of the holy
Scriptures"; to "be found in, and cleave to the way of the Rule, the
way of Gods Word"; to "stick close to the guidance of the Scriptures,
and love them"; to "stand in aw of the Word and with Reverence to
receive and attend it"; to "let the word of God speake, & doe thou
heare what it saith"; and "to study the Lord's will, to be frequent in
the Scriptures, searching out the mind of God there, for your direc-
tion."[71]

To those who did not give the Word its proper place, the warn-
ings were dire enough. Increase Mather thundered that those who
repeatedly heard the Bible preached and yet did not heed God's
Word and became converted would find themselves "at ye Last Day
. . . in ye Lowest Hell."[72] A startling example of the heinousness of
neglecting the Word comes from the confession of James Morgan,
convicted of murder in 1686. In his public confession, recorded by

[68]Cotton, *Christ the Fountaine*, p. 134.

[69]Cotton Mather, *Early Piety* (London, 1689), p. 20.

[70]Increase Mather, *Practical Truths*, p. 199.

[71]Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Christ Opened and Applyed* (Boston, 1686), p.
43; Richard Mather, *A Farewell Exhortation to the Church and People of Dorchester
in New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1657), p. 6; Jonathan Mitchell, *Nehemiah on the
Wall in Troublesom Times* (Cambridge, Mass., 1667), p. 27; Thomas Shepard, *The
Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened & Applied* (London, 1660), p. 151; William
Adams, *God's Eye on the Contrite* (Boston, 1685), p. 4; Josiah Flynt, sermon [1670s],
p. 54; Samuel Willard, *The Duty of a People that have Renewed their Covenant with
God* (Boston, 1680), p. 8.

[72]Increase Mather, sermon of March 14, 1686, *Substance of Sermons*, p. 53.

Increase Mather, Morgan admitted to the murder, but that act was not his greatest regret. "The sin which lieth most heavey upon my Conscience, is," he maintained, "that I have despised the Word of God, and many a time refused to hear it preached."[73]

5. *Conclusion*

It can be clearly seen from the sermons and writings of the clergy in seventeenth-century New England that the importance and influence of the Bible to Puritan orthodoxy can scarcely be overstated. Without doubt, the Word was held in the highest possible regard by the clergy. The names the clergy used for Scripture; their absolute faith in its divine authorship, infallibility, and uniqueness; their desire to base their sermons on nothing but Scripture texts properly interpreted; and their exhortations for all to study and follow biblical precepts—these constitute strong evidence of their dependence on, and reverence for, the Bible.

Furthermore, no sign of disagreement was found among the clergy concerning the nature and authority of the Bible. Theological disagreements in Puritan New England may have arisen in other areas, but throughout the seventeenth century, the Bible was the unquestioned Word of God.

It should be emphasized that the Puritans' high view of the Bible did not preclude a role for reason in their theological thinking. Perry Miller was correct that reason and logic were important in Puritan preaching, but he failed to realize that for the clergy, nothing in the realm of human reason ever took precedence over the Word. E.g., miracles, contrary to normal human experience, yet recorded in the Word, were accepted at face value. Also, reason alone could never have led to many of the theological positions held in all sincerity by the faithful.

In short, throughout the seventeenth century the Scriptures alone continued to stand as the basis of legitimacy for every aspect of Puritan Christianity, although at times this biblical support was less than explicit, with some passages being interpreted parochially in

[73]Increase Mather, *Sermon Occasioned by the Execution of a Man found Guilty of Murder* (Boston, 1686), pp. 27-28.

light of current attitudes. Nonetheless, the clergy and the faithful of seventeenth-century New England were, perhaps to a degree never surpassed before or since, a people of the Word. Only with such an awareness of the foundational role of the Bible can New England Puritanism be properly understood.

PROLEGOMENA TO A STUDY OF THE DOMINICAL
LOGOI AS CITED IN THE *DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM*
PART II: METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS (CONT.)*

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In the previous article[1] in this series, I tested those methodologies I had proposed earlier[2] as necessary for an adequate and responsible "determination" of the dominical *logoi,* as cited in the original text of the Greek *Didascalia Apostolorum,* on the canonical dominical *logos,* "For it is written in the Law, 'You shall not commit adultery.' But I say to you (that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you), Everyone who shall look at his neighbor's wife, to desire her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart," as it is cited in the *Didascalia* (*Didasc.* 1.1.4). I now test those methodologies, proposed on the same occasion, as necessary for an adequate and responsible "evaluation" of the dominical *logoi,* as cited in the original text of the Greek *Didascalia,* on the same *logos.*

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*Abbreviations employed in this article, which are not spelled out on the back cover of this journal, indicate the following series: *AAA = Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha; CAC = Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi; GCS = Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte; NTG = Novum Testamentum Graece; PTS = Patristische Texte und Studien; SC = Sources chrétiennes.*

(*Editor's Note:* The style used in this article, including that for citing biblical texts, differs somewhat from current *AUSS* style. This is in order to maintain consistency throughout the series, which was begun prior to adoption of the present *AUSS* Style Guidelines.)

[1] "Prolegomena to a Study of the Dominical *Logoi* as cited in the *Didascalia Apostolorum,* Part II: Methodological Questions (cont.)," *AUSS* 17 (1979): 137-167.

[2] "Prolegomena to a Study of the Dominical *Logoi* as cited in the *Didascalia Apostolorum,* Part II: Methodological Questions," *AUSS* 15 (1977): 1-15.

COMPARISON OF THE GREEK DIDASCALIST'S
CITATION WITH ITS COMPARABLE PARALLEL IN THE
GREEK GOSPEL TRADITIONS

1. *The Texts*

(a) *Didasc. Grk. 1.1.4* (Reconstruction)	(b) *Mt 5.27-28* (Legg, *NTG: Matthaeum*, ad loc.)
(i) ὅτι ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ γέγραπται·	ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη·
(ii) Οὐ μοιχεύσεις.	Οὐ μοιχεύσεις.
(iii) Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν,	Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι
(iv) τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ (τῷ) διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγω ἐλάλησα, νῦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν λέγω·	
(v) Πᾶς, ὅστις ἐμβλέψει εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν, ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.	Πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

2. *The Comparable Parallel in the Canonical Gospels*

I take up now an "evaluation" with respect both to the *form* (in the more technical sense of the term) and to the *function* of the parallel in the first gospel, namely, Mt 5.27-28.

The Form

The dominical *logos*, "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall not commit adultery.' But I say to you, Everyone who looks at a woman (wife), to desire her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart" (Mt 5.27-28), belongs in the "form-historical" category "legal *logoi*."[3]

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[3] R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 2d ed. (New York, 1968), pp. 134-35, 149.

One form of these "legal *logoi*" has *two basic elements:*

1. The *old point of view* (introduced with a formula such as ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη [τοῖς ἀρχαίοις] ["you have heard that it was said (to the ancients)"]).

2. The *new point of view* (introduced with a formula such as ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν [ὅτι] ["but I say to you (that)"]).

The "old point of view" (the "thesis") is set forth in the form of a *prohibition* (οὐ φονεύσεις ["you shall not kill"] [Mt 5.21]; οὐ μοιχεύσεις ["you shall not commit adultery"] [Mt 5.27]; οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις ["you shall not perjure (yourself)"] [Mt 5.33]); and the "new point of view" (the "antithesis") is propounded in the form of an *assertion* (πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει ["everyone who is angry with his brother shall be liable in the judgment"] [Mt 5.22a]; πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν ἤδη ἐμοί- χευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδία αὐτοῦ ["everyone who looks at a woman (wife), to desire her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart"] [Mt 5.28]) or as an *imperative* (μὴ ὁμόσαι ὅλως ["do not swear at all"] . . . ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ["but let your word be"] . . . [Mt 5.34, 37]) which has "the sense of a legal prescription."[4]

The *logos* we are discussing, in its Matthaean form, has pre- cisely these *two basic elements:*

1. The *old point of view* (ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη· Οὐ μοιχεύσεις ["you have heard that it was said, 'You shall not com- mit adultery'"]).

2. The *new point of view* ('Εγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι Πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδία αὐτοῦ ["but I say to you, Everyone who looks at a woman (wife), to desire her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart"]).

The Function

This "legal *logos*," as it occurs in the Matthaean *sermo in*

[4] Bultmann, *Synoptic Tradition*, p. 132.

monte, serves two functions, *polemical/apologetical* and *catecheti-cal.*

I agree with those who include this *logos* among those "debat-ing *logoi*" which serve "polemic and apologetic purposes—sub-stantially with Jewish opponents."[5] I am persuaded that it func-tions as part of the debate between the Matthaean church and the synagogue "across the street."[6] I also agree with those who include this *logos* among those "legal *logoi*" that have been "gathered together into a catechism"—a catechism in which *logoi* that were "originally much more polemic than legal in character were turned into rules . . . by which the 'better righteousness' of the church must judge itself."[7]

3. *The Didascalist's Citation*

Before comparing the Greek Didascalist's citation with its comparable parallel in the canonical gospels, namely, Mt 5.27-28, it will be necessary to "evaluate" his citation as to both its *form* (in the more technical sense of the term) and its *function.*

The Form

The dominical *logos,* "For it is written in the Law, 'You shall not commit adultery.' But I say to you (that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you), Everyone who shall look at his neighbor's wife, to desire her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart" (*Didasc.* 1.1.4), belongs, as does its canonical parallel, in the "form-historical" category "legal *logoi.*"

It has the same *basic elements:*

1. The *old point of view* ([with a comparable introductory

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[5] E.g., Bultmann, *Synoptic Tradition,* p. 146.

[6] K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testa-ment, with a New Introduction* (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. xi-xii.

[7] E.g., Bultmann, *Synoptic Tradition,* p. 149. With reference to the *logoi* in Mt 5.31-32, 38-39, 43-44, Bultmann remarks, "The motive for the formula-tion is clear: the antithetical form commends itself by its catechetical charac-ter" (*Synoptic Tradition,* pp. 135-36). Stendahl also sees this *logos* as fulfilling a catechetical function. See his *School of St. Matthew,* pp. 136-137.

formula] ὅτι ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ γέγραπται· Οὐ μοιχεύσεις ["for it is written in the Law, 'You shall not commit adultery'"]).

2. The *new point of view* ([with an identical introductory formula] Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν . . . Πᾶς, ὅστις ἐμβλέψει εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν, ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ["but I say to you . . . Everyone who shall look at his neighbor's wife, to desire her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart"]).

In addition it has a qualifying parenthetical statement which immediately follows and emphasizes the introductory formula ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ("but I say to you"), namely, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ (τῷ) διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα, νῦν δὲ ὁ αὐτός ὑμῖν λέγω("that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you").

The Function

The Didascalist's *logos* is employed *paraenetically*. It occurs in a context in which the "children of God" are exhorted to flee from "all avarice and evil dealing." They are not to "desire that which is any man's," for "he who desires his neighbor's wife or his servant, or his maidservant, is already an adulterer, and a thief." This *paraenesis* is supported by two citations, the one (cf. Ex 20.17), from the *Torah*, and the other (the citation under consideration), from the "Gospel."

4. *The Comparison*

The questions with which we must deal now have to do with the relationship between the Didascalist's *logos* and that in the Matthaean *sermo in monte*. Is the Didascalist's *logos* lineally related to Mt 5.27-28? Or is it rooted in the same source as that employed by Matthew? Is it more, or less, primitive than the Matthaean form?

The significant differences between the two *logoi* are:

1. While in the Matthaean *logos* the "old point of view" element is introduced with the formula ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη

("you have heard that it was said"), in the Didascalist's *logos* it is introduced with the formula ὅτι ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ γέγραπται ("for it is written in the Law").

2. While in the Matthaean *logos* the "new point of view" element is introduced with the formula ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ("but I say to you") alone, in the Didascalist's *logos* it is introduced with the same formula expanded by a qualifying parenthetical note, namely, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ (τῷ) διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐγὼ ἐλάλησα, νῦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν λέγω ("that is, I spoke, in the Law, through Moses, but now I myself speak to you").

3. While in the Matthaean *logos* the first clause of the "new point of view" element is formulated by the use of the adjective πᾶς ("everyone") + the articular participle ὁ βλέπων ("who looks") + the anarthrous noun γυναῖκα ("woman," "wife"), in the Didascalist's *logos* the same clause is formulated by the use of the adjective πᾶς ("everyone") + the indefinite relative pronoun ὅστις ("who") + the finite verb (in the future tense) ἐμβλέψει ("shall look") + the prepositional phrase (employing an articular noun) εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα ("at the wife") + the distinctive modifying factor τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's").

Item 1 is probably to be explained as a development—a development inspired by an attempt to add more specific authority ("it is written in the *Torah*") to the prohibition which immediately follows—a development the responsibility for which must be attributed to the author of the qualifying parenthetical note attached to the introductory formula in the "new point of view" clause.

Item 2 is probably to be explained as a development—a development also inspired by an attempt to add even more authority ("it was *I* who spoke, in the *Torah*, through Moses; it is *I* who speak again, this time in the *Gospel*, directly; and what I have to say now supersedes what I said before") to the assertion which immediately follows—a development the responsibility for which must be attributed to the author of the introductory formula in the "old point of view" clause.

Both of these items are to be attributed to the editorial work of the Greek Didascalist himself. In the first place, the expression "it is written" (*ktyb* = *scriptum est* = γέγραπται) is a distinctive feature of his writing. He employs it on 34 occasions[8] with reference to citations from all three divisions of the *Tanak*—from the *Torah* (on 13 occasions), from the *Nebi'im* (on 11 occasions), and from the *Kethubim* (on 10 occasions).[9] Furthermore on 12 of these occasions it is introduced with the conjunction "for" (*mṭl* = *quoniam* = ὅτι). In the second place, the phrase "in the Law" (*bnmws'* = *in lege* = ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ) is also a distinctive feature of his style. He employs it on 6 occasions, all with reference to citations from the *Torah*. And, in the third place, the pattern of authority—first a citation from the *Tanak* (especially from the *Torah*) and then a citation from the *"Gospel"* — occurs again and again in his document. Note, for example, the following illustrations: (a) The "children of God" are not to "desire that which is any man's" "for it is written in the *Law*, 'You shall not desire that which belongs to your neighbor . . . his wife . . .' (cf. Ex 20.17). . . . As also in the *Gospel* renewing and confirming and fulfilling the Ten Words of the Law, (he says) '. . . Everyone who looks at his neighbor's wife . . .' (= Mt 5.27-28);"[10] (b) "While we speak and repeat these things often, we are not blameworthy; for through much teaching and hearing it happens that a man is put to shame, and does good and avoids evil. For the Lord also said in the *Law*, 'Hear, O Israel' (cf. Deut 6.4a) . . . And in the *Gospel* likewise he often proclaims and says, 'Everyone who has ears to hear, let him hear' (cf. Mt 11.15, 13.9, etc.)."[11]

Item 3 is probably to be explained as a development—a development resulting from editorial modification.

a. The expression "he who/everyone who/whoever looks" is variously formulated in the Gospel traditions: (1) *article + par-*

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[8] See "Prolegomena," *AUSS* 15 (1977): 2-3, nn. 8-10.

[9] He also employs it on 12 occasions with reference to citations from the "Gospel." See "Prolegomena," *AUSS* 15 (1977): 3-4, n. 12.

[10] *Didasc.* 1.1.2ff.

[11] *Didasc.* 2.6.17.

ticiple: ὁ βλέπων ("who looks") (so some gospel mss,[12] Athena-goras [1/1],[13] and Irenaeus [1/2][14]); ὁ ἐμβλέψας ("who has looked") (so some gospel mss,[15] Clement of Alexandria [3/7],[16] Chrysostom [5/6],[17] Nemesius of Emesa [1/1],[18] and Theodoret of Cyrrhus [1/1][19]);[20] (2) *adjective + article + participle:* πᾶς ὁ βλέπων ("everyone who looks") (so the majority of gospel mss,[21] Irenaeus [1/2],[22] Clement of Alexandria [1/7],[23] Origen [1/5], Eusebius [1/1],[24] Macarius of Egypt [1/1],[25] and Cyril of Alexandria [1/1][26]);[27] and (3) *indefinite relative pronoun con-struction + a finite verb in the subjunctive mood:* ὅς (ἐ)ὰν ἐμβλέψῃ ("whoever should look") (so some gospel mss,[28] Justin

[12] See Legg, *NTG: Matthaeum,* ad loc.

[13] *Supplicatio pro Christianis,* 32.8 (Otto, *CAC* 7:166.7ff.).

[14] *Adversus haereses,* 4.16.5 (Rousseau, et al., *SC* 100:573.9ff.).

[15] See Legg, *NTG: Matthaeum,* ad loc.

[16] *Paedagogus,* 3.5,33.2 (Stählin, *GCS* 12:1.255.24); *Stromata,* 2.14,61.3; 4.18,114.2 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.146.9f.; 3.298.24f.).

[17] *In Matthaeum, Hom.,* 61.2 (Migne, *PG* 58:594.2ff.); *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios, Hom.,* 7.7; 42.3 (Migne, *PG* 61:64.64f.; 366.49f.); *Catechesis* 1.32 (Wenger, *SC* 50:124.30f.); 2.5 (Migne, *PG* 49:240.17f.).

[18] *De natura hominis,* 40.86f. (Migne, *PG* 40:769.24f.).

[19] *Graecorum affectionum curatio* 9.57 (Canivet, *SC* 57:354.10f.).

[20] Clement of Alexandria also has ὁ ἰδών ("who has looked") (*Stromata,* 2.50.2 [Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.139.18f.]) and ὁ ἐπιθυμήσας ("who has desired") (*Stromata,* 2.15,66.1 [Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³: 3.148.13]).

[21] See Legg, *NTG: Matthaeum,* ad loc.

[22] *Adversus haereses,* 4.13.1 (Rousseau, et al., *SC* 100:525.5ff.).

[23] *Stromata* 3.14,94.3 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.239.18f.).

[24] *Comm. on John,* 20.17 (Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.349.33f.).

[25] *Homiliai pneumatikai,* 26.13 (Dörries, et al., *PTS* 4:211.3f.).

[26] *In Zachariam,* 768c (Pusey, *In XII Prophetas,* 2:468.17ff.).

[27] Theophilus of Antioch (1/1) has πᾶς ὁ ἰδών ("everyone who has looked") (*Ad Autolycum* 3.13 [Bardy, *SC* 20:230.24ff.]); Clement of Alexandria (1/7) has πᾶς ὁ προσβλέπων ("everyone who looks") (*Stromata* 3.2,8.4 [Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.199.16]); Basil (1/1) has πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέπων ("everyone who looks") (*Letter* 46.1 [Deferrari, *LCL* 190:284.21ff.]); *Acta Philippi* (2), 142 has πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέψας ("everyone who has looked") (Lip-sius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.2,80.26ff.); and Chrysostom (1/1) has πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέψων ("everyone who looks") (*In Matthaeum, Hom.* 17 [Migne, *PG* 57:255.1ff.]).

[28] See Legg, *NTG: Matthaeum,* ad loc.

Martyr [1/1],[29] Origen [4/5],[30] and Cyril of Jerusalem [1/1][31]).[32] The Greek Didascalist has the formulation: *adjective + indefinite relative pronoun + finite verb (future tense, indicative mood):* πᾶς, ὅστις ἐμβλέψει ("everyone who shall look").

b. The object of the verb "to look" is variously construed in the gospel traditions: (1) as an *anarthrous noun in the accusative case:* βλέπειν γυναῖκα ("to look on/at a woman/wife") (so the gospel mss,[33] Athenagoras [1/1],[34] Irenaeus [2/2],[35] Clement of Alexandria [1/3],[36] Origen [1/5],[37] Eusebius [1/1],[38] Macarius of Egypt [1/1],[39] and Cyril of Alexandria [1/1][40]);[41] (2) as an *anarthrous noun in the dative case:* ἐμβλέπειν γυναικί ("to look on/at a woman/wife") (so Justin Martyr [1/1],[42] Clement of Alexandria [2/3],[43] Origen [1/5],[44] Basil [1/1],[45] Cyril of Jerusa-

[29] *Apologia*, 1.15.1 (Otto, *CAC* 1:46.6ff.).

[30] *Contra Celsum*, 3.44 (Koetschau, *GCS* 2:1.240.7ff.); *Comm. on John*, 20.23 (Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.350.14f.); *De principiis* 3.1.6 (Koetschau, *GCS* 22:5. 202.7f.); *Selecta in Ezechiel*, 6 (Lommatzsch, *Origenis, Opera*, 14.195).

[31] *Catecheses* 1.13.5 (Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum, Opera*, 2:56.6f.).

[32] *Acta Philippi* (1), 142 has πᾶς ὅς ἐὰν ἐμβλέψῃ ("everyone who shall look").

[33] See Legg, *NTG: Matthaeum*, ad loc.

[34] *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 32.8 (Otto, *CAC* 7:166.7ff.).

[35] *Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1; 4.16.5 (Rousseau, et al., *SC* 100:525.5ff.; 573.9ff.).

[36] *Stromata*, 3.14,94.3 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.239.18f.).

[37] *Comm. on John*, 20.17 (Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.349.33f.).

[38] *Demonstratio Evangelica*, 3.6.4 (Heikel, *GCS* 23:132.24f.).

[39] *Homiliai pneumatikai*, 26.13 (Dörries et al., *PTS* 4:211.3f.).

[40] *In Zachariam* 768c (Pusey, *In XII Prophetas*, 2:468.17ff.).

[41] Theophilus of Antioch (1/1) has ἰδεῖν γυναῖκα ("to look on/at a woman/wife") (*Ad Autolycum*, 3.13 [Bardy, *SC* 20:230.24f.]); Origen (3/5) has ἐμβλέπειν γυναῖκα ("to look on/at a woman/wife") (*Comm. on John*, 20.23 [Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.350.14f.]; *De principiis*, 3.1.6 [Koetschau, *GCS* 22:5.202.7f.]; *Selecta in Ezechiel*, 6 [Lommatzsch, *Origenis, Opera*, 14:195]); and *Acta Philippi* (2), 142 has ἐμβλέπειν εἰς γυναῖκα ("to look on/at a wife") (Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.2:80.26ff.).

[42] *Apologia*, 1.15.1 (Otto, *CAC* 1.46.6ff.).

[43] *Stromata*, 4.18,114.2; 7.13,82.3 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.298.24f.; *GCS* 17²:3.58.28).

[44] *Contra Celsum*, 3.44 (Koetschau, *GCS* 2:1.240.7ff.).

[45] *Letter* 46.1 (Deferrari, *LCL* 190:284.21ff.).

lem [1/1][46] *Acta Philippi* [1] [1/1],[47] Chrysostom [6/6],[48] Nemesius of Emesa [1/1],[49] and Theodoret of Cyrrhus [1/1][50]).[51] The Greek Didascalist construes it as a *prepositional phrase with an articular noun in the accusative case:* ἐμβλέπειν εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα ("to look at the wife"). [52, 53]

c. The few citations which modify the noun γυναῖκα/γυναικΐ ("woman," "wife") do so variously: (1) by means of the *adjective* ἀλλοτρΐαν/ἀλλοτρΐᾳ ("another's") (so Theophilus of Antioch [1/1][54] and Clement of Alexandria [1/3],[55] respectively); and (2) by means of the *phrase* τοῦ πλησΐον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's") (so *Acta Philippi* [2] [1/1][56]). The Greek Didascalist employs the phrase τοῦ πλησΐον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's").

One other feature should be noted here, namely, the use of the accusative αὐτήν ("her") (instead of the genitive αὐτῆς ["her"]) as the object of the verb ἐπιθυμεῖν ("to desire") in the prepositional clause πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν ("to desire her"). A good many of the manuscript copyists and editors, and of the fathers who cite this *logos*, have apparently felt the grammatical infelicity involved in the use of the accusative case (αὐτήν ["her"]) after the verb ἐπιθυμεῖν ("to desire") and have sought to correct the problem either (a) by omitting the

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[46] *Catecheses*, 1.13.5 (Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum, Opera*, 2:56.6f.).

[47] *Acta Philippi* (1), 142 (Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.2:80.12ff.).

[48] *In Matthaeum, Hom.*, 17; 61.2 (Migne, *PG* 57:255.1ff.; *PG* 58:594.2ff.); *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios, Hom.* 7.7; 42.3 (Migne, *PG* 61:64.64f.; 366.49f.); *Catechesis* 1.32 (Wenger, *SC* 50:124.30f.); 2.5 (Migne, *PG* 49:240.17f.).

[49] *De natura hominis*, 40.86f. (Migne, *PG* 40:769.24f.).

[50] *Graecorum affectionum curatio*, 9.57 (Canivet, *SC* 57:354.10f.).

[51] Clement of Alexandria (1/3) has ἐμβλέπειν τῇ γυναικΐ ("to look on/at the woman/wife") (*Stromata*, 4.18,114.2 [Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.298.24f.]).

[52] *Acta Philippi* (2), 142 has a comparable reading: εἰς γυναῖκα ("on/at a wife") (Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.2:80.26ff.).

[53] See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature: A Translation and Revision of the ninth-tenth German edition incorporating Supplementary Notes of A. Debrunner* by Robert Funk (Chicago, 1961), § 202.

[54] *Ad Autolycum*, 3.13 (Bardy, *SC* 20:230.24ff.).

[55] *Stromata*, 7.13,82.3 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 17²:3.58.28).

[56] *Acta Philippi* (2), 142 (Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.2:80.26ff.).

pronoun altogether (so p⁶⁷ ⁵⁷ ℵ* 236 440,⁵⁸ Clement of Alexandria [1/1],⁵⁹ Origen [3/5],⁶⁰ Cyril of Jerusalem [1/1],⁶¹ Macarius of Egypt [1/1],⁶² Chrysostom [4/6],⁶³ and Cyril of Alexandria [1/1]⁶⁴), or (b) by replacing the accusative αὐτήν ("her") with the grammatically preferable genitive αὐτῆς ("her") (so ℵᵇ M Σ 1 209 22 346 21 262 265 472 485 697 *al. plur.*,⁶⁵ Justin Martyr [1/1],⁶⁶ Athenagoras [1/1],⁶⁷ Irenaeus [2/2],⁶⁸ Origen [1/5],⁶⁹ Basil [1/1],⁷⁰ Chrysostom [1/6],⁷¹ and Theodoret of Cyrrhus [1/1]⁷²).⁷³ The Greek Didascalist retains the accusative αὐτήν ("her").

The manner in which these elements ([1] πᾶς, ὅστις ἐμβλέψει ["everyone who shall look"]; [2] εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα ["at the wife"]; and [3] τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ["his neighbor's"]) have been construed in the Greek Didascalist's citation, as compared with the manner in which they are construed in Matthew's parallel, certainly indicates that they have been worked over by an editor. The question with which we concern ourselves has to

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⁵⁷ K. Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum: Locis parallelis evangeliorum apocryphorum et patrum adhibitis* (Stuttgart, 1964), ad loc.

⁵⁸ See Legg, *NTG: Matthaeum*, ad loc.

⁵⁹ *Stromata*, 3.14,94.3 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.239.18f.).

⁶⁰ *Contra Celsum*, 3.44 (Koetschau, *GCS* 2:1.240.7ff.); *Comm. on John* 20.17 (Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.349.33f.); *De principiis*, 3.1.6 (Koetschau, *GCS* 22:5. 202.7f.).

⁶¹ *Catecheses*, 1.13.5 (Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum, Opera,* 2:56.6f.).

⁶² *Homiliai pneumatikai*, 26.13 (Dörries, et al., *PTS* 4:211.3f.).

⁶³ *In Matthaeum, Hom.*, 61.2 (Migne, *PG* 57:594.2ff.); *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios, Hom.* 7.7 (Migne, *PG* 61:64.64f.); *Catechesis* 1.32 (Wenger, *SC* 50:124.30f.); 2.5 (Migne, *PG* 49:240.17f.).

⁶⁴ *In S. Joannem*, 3.3.267a (Pusey, *In D. Joannis Evangelium*, 1:393.30ff.).

⁶⁵ See Legg, *NTG: Matthaeum*, ad loc.

⁶⁶ *Apologia*, 1.15.1 (Otto, *CAC* 1:46.6ff.).

⁶⁷ *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 32.8 (Otto, *CAC* 7:166.7ff.).

⁶⁸ *Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1; 4.16.5 (Rousseau, et al., *SC* 100:525.5ff.; 573.9ff.).

⁶⁹ *Selecta in Ezechiel*, 6 (Lommatzsch, *Origenis, Opera*, 14.195).

⁷⁰ *Letter* 46.1 (Deferrari, *LCL* 190:284.21ff.).

⁷¹ *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios, Hom.* 42.3 (Migne, *PG* 61:366.49f.).

⁷² *Graecorum affectionum curatio*, 9.57 (Canivet, *SC* 57:354.10f.).

⁷³ On the use of the genitive with the verb ἐπιθυμεῖν ("to desire") see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 171, and J. H. Moulton, W. F. Howard, and N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 3 (Edinburgh, 1963): 232.

do with whether or not that editor was the Greek Didascalist himself or a predecessor.

Here we must take cognizance of the remarkable similarity to the Didascalist's citation of the parallel in *Acta Philippi* (2):[74]

Didasc. I.1.4	*Acta Philippi (2), 142*
πᾶς, ὅστις ἐμβλέψει	πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέψας
εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα	εἰς γυναῖκα
τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ	τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ
πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν,	καὶ ἐπιθυμήσας αὐτήν,
ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν	ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ	ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ

Both citations agree with one another, and at the same time differ from their Matthaean parallel, in that (1) they both employ the compound verb ἐμβλέπειν ("to look") (the Matthaean parallel has the simple verb βλέπειν ["to look"]);[75] (2) they both employ the prepositional phrase εἰς (τὴν) γυναῖκα ("at the wife") (the Matthaean parallel has simply, as the direct object, the noun γυναῖκα ["woman," "wife"]);[76] and (3) they both

[74] Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA*, 2.2:80.26ff.

[75] The compound verb is extensively used in parallel citations in the Patristic literature. See, e.g., Justin Martyr (1/1) (*Apologia*, 1.15.1 [Otto, *CAC* 1:46.6ff.]); Clement of Alexandria (4/8) (*Paedagogus*, 3.5,33.2 [Stählin, *GCS* 12:1.255.24]; *Stromata*, 2.14,61.3; 4.18,114.2; 7.13,82.3 [Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.146.9f.; 3.298.24f.; *GCS* 17²:3.58.28]); Origen (4/5) (*Contra Celsum*, 3.44 [Koetschau, *GCS* 2:1.240.7ff.]; *Comm. on John*, 20.23 [Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.350.14f.]; *De principiis*, 3.1.6 [Koetschau, *GCS* 22:5.202.7f.]; *Selecta in Ezechiel*, 6 [Lommatzsch, *Origenis, Opera*, 14:195]); Basil (1/1) (*Letter* 46.1 [Deferrari, *LCL* 190:284.21ff.]); Cyril of Jerusalem (1/1) (*Catecheses*, 1.13.5 [Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum, Opera*, 2:56.6f.]); *Acta Philippi* (1), 142 (Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.2:80.12ff.); Chrysostom (6/6) (*In Matthaeum, Hom.*, 17; 61.2 (Migne, *PG* 57:255.1ff.; *PG* 58:594.2ff.]; *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios, Hom.* 7.7; 42.3 [Migne, *PG* 61:64.64f.; 366.49f.]; *Catechesis* 1.32 [Wenger, *SC* 50:124.30f.]; 2.5 [Migne, *PG* 49:240.17f.]); Nemesius of Emesa (1/1) (*De natura hominis*, 40.86f. [Migne, *PG* 40:769.24f.]); and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (1/1) (*Graecorum affectionum curatio*, 9.57 [Canivet, *SC* 57:354.10f.]).

[76] When they employ the compound verb ἐμβλέπειν ("to look"), the Patristic writers, with but one exception, namely, Origen, consistently employ its object in the dative case (γυναικί ["woman," "wife"]) (so Justin Martyr [1/1] [*Apologia*, 1.15.1 (Otto, *CAC* 1:46.6ff.)]; Clement of Alexandria [2/4] [*Stromata*, 4.18,114.2; 7.13,82.3 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.298.24f.; *GCS*

employ the modifying phrase τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's") (the Matthaean parallel has no equivalent).[77] Furthermore, they both employ the personal pronoun in the accusative case after the verb ἐπιθυμεῖν ("to desire") (the Matthaean parallel also has the personal pronoun in the accusative case).[78]

They differ in that (1) while the citation in the *Didascalia* employs the indefinite relative pronoun ὅστις ("who") with the

17²:3.58.28)]; Origen [1/4] [*Contra Celsum*, 3.44 (Koetschau, *GCS* 2:1.240.7ff.)]; Basil [1/1] [*Letter* 46.1 (Deferrari, *LCL* 190:284.21ff.)]; Cyril of Jerusalem [1/1] [*Catecheses*, 1.13.5 (Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum, Opera*, 2:56.6f.)]; *Acta Philippi* [1], 142 [Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.80.12ff.]); Chrysostom [6/6] [*In Matthaeum, Hom.* 17; 61.2 (Migne, *PG* 57:255.1ff.; *PG* 58:594. 2ff.); *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios, Hom.* 7.7; 42.3 (Migne, *PG* 61:64.64f.; 366.49f.); *Catechesis* 1.32 (Wenger, *SC* 50:124.30f.); 2.5 (Migne, *PG* 49:240. 17f.)]; Nemesius of Emesa [1/1] [*De natura hominis*, 40.86f. (Migne, *PG* 40:769.24f.)]; and Theodoret of Cyrrhus [1/1] [*Graecorum affectionum curatio*, 9.57 (Canivet, *SC* 57:354.10f.)]). Origen [3/4] (*Comm. on John*, 20.23 [Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.350.14f.]; *De principiis*, 3.1.6 [Koetschau, *GCS* 22:5.202.7f.]; *Selecta in Ezechiel*, 6 [Lommatzsch, 14:195]) has the accusative case. Clement of Alexandria (2/4) (*Paedagogus*, 3.5.33.2 [Stählin, *GCS* 12:1.255.24]; *Stromata*, 2.14,61.3 [Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.146.9f.]) omits the object altogether.

[77] This modifying phrase does not occur in any of the Gospel mss, nor in any other Patristic citations.

[78] The Patristic writers vary in their use and non-use of the personal pronoun after ἐπιθυμεῖν ("to desire"). Theophilus of Antioch (1/1) (*Ad Autolycum* 3.13 [Bardy, *SC* 20:230.24f.]); Origen (1/5) (*Comm. on John*, 20.23 [Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.350.14f.]); Eusebius (1/1) (*Demonstratio Evangelica*, 3.6.4 [Heikel, *GCS* 23:132.24f.]); *Acta Philippi* (1), 142 (Lipsius and Bonnet, *AAA* 2.2:80.12ff.); Chrysostom (1/6) (*In Matthaeum, Hom.* 17 [Migne, *PG* 57:255.1ff.]); and Nemesius of Emesa (1/1) (*De natura hominis*, 40.86f. [Migne, *PG* 40:769.24f.]) employ the personal pronoun in the accusative case, αὐτήν ("her"); Justin Martyr (1/1) (*Apologia*, 1.15.1 [Otto, *CAC* 1:46.6ff.]); Athenagoras (1/1) (*Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 32.8 [Otto, *CAC* 7:166.7ff.]); Irenaeus (2/2) (*Adversus haereses*, 4.13.1; (*Selecta in Ezechiel*, 6 [Lommatzsch, 14:195]); Basil (1/1) (*Letter* 46.1 [Deferrari, *LCL* 190:284.21ff.]); Chrysostom (1/6) (*In epistolam primam ad Corinthios, Hom.* 42.3 [Migne, *PG* 61:366.49f.]); and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (1/1) (*Graecorum affectionum curatio*, 9.57 [Canivet, *SC* 57:354.10f.]) employ the pronoun in the genitive case, αὐτῆς ("her"); and Clement of Alexandria (1/1) (*Stromata*, 3.14,94.3 [Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.239.18f.]); Origen (3/5) (*Contra Celsum*, 3.44 [Koetschau, *GCS* 2:1.240.7ff.]; *Comm. on John*, 20.17 [Preuschen, *GCS* 10:4.349.33f.]; *De principiis*, 3.1.6 [Koetschau, *GCS* 22:5.202.7f.]); Cyril of Jerusalem (1/1) (*Catecheses*, 1.13.5 [Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum, Opera*, 2:56.6f.]); Macarius of Egypt (1/1) (*Homiliai pneumatikai*, 26.13 [Dörries et al., *PTS* 4:211.3f.]); Chrysostom (4/6) (*In Matthaeum, Hom.* 61.2 [Migne, *PG* 57:594.2ff.]; *In epistolam primam ad Corinthios, Hom.* 7.7 [Migne, *PG* 61:64.64f.]; *Catechesis*

finite verb ἐμβλέψει ("shall look"),[79] the parallel in *Acta
Philippi* employs the article ὁ ("the" ["who"]) with the participle
ἐμβλέψας ("has looked");[80] (2) while the citation in the *Didas-
calia* employs the articular noun τὴν γυναῖκα ("the wife"),
the parallel in *Acta Philippi* employs the anarthrous form
γυναῖκα ("wife"); and (3) while the citation in the *Didascalia*
employs the prepositional clause πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν
("to desire her"), the parallel in *Acta Philippi* employs the coordi-
nating clause καὶ ἐπιθυμήσας αὐτήν ("and desired her"). All
three of these differences are to be explained as stylistic variations.

This striking agreement between the Didascalist's citation and
that in *Acta Philippi* (2) can hardly be accidental.

The distinctive features of the citation in *Acta Philippi* (2),
namely, (1) the formulation πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέψας ("everyone who
has looked"), (2) the prepositional phrase εἰς γυναῖκα ("at
[the] wife"), (3) the modifying phrase τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ
("his neighbor's"), and (4) the retention of the accusative case
after the verb ἐπιθυμεῖν ("to desire"), are probably not the
result of editorial work on the part of the author of that document.
There is nothing in the immediate literary context of the citation
that would call for any one, let alone all four, of these distinctive
features; nor are there comparable formulations (apart from item
[4]) in the contemporary Gospel traditions which may have given

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1.32 [Wenger, *SC* 50:124.30f.]; 2.5 [Migne, *PG* 49.240.17f.]); and Cyril of Alex-
andria (1/1) (*In S. Joannem*, 3.3.267a [Pusey, *In D. Joannis Evangelium*,
1.393.30ff.]) omit the pronoun altogether.

    [79] The formulation πᾶς ὅστις ἐμβλέψει ("everyone who shall look")
occurs nowhere else in the Greek Gospel traditions.

    [80] The formulation πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέψας ("everyone who has looked") oc-
curs nowhere else in the Greek Gospel traditions. However, the formulation
ὁ ἐμβλέψας ("who has looked") occurs in Clement of Alexandria (3/7)
(*Paedagogus*, 3.5.33.2 [Stählin, *GCS* 12:1.255.24]; *Stromata*, 2.14,613; 4.18,114.2
[Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52ª:3.146.9f.; 3.298.24f.]); Chrysostom (5/6) (*In
Matthaeum, Hom.* 61.2 [Migne, *PG* 58:594.2ff.]; *In epistolam primam ad
Corinthios, Hom.* 7.7; 42.3 [Migne, *PG* 61:64.64f.; 366.49f.]; *Catechesis* 1.32
[Wenger, *SC* 50:124.30f.]; 2.5 [Migne, *PG* 49:240.17f.]); Nemesius of Emesa
(1/1) (*De natura hominis*, 40.86f. [Migne, *PG* 40:769.24f.]); and Theodoret of
Cyrrhus (1/1) (*Graecorum affectionum curatio*, 9.57 [Canivet, *SC* 57:354.10f.]).

rise to these unique features.[81] While items (1), (2), and (4) may possibly have resulted from the stylistic preferences of the author of *Acta Philippi* (2), item (3), the modifying phrase τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's"), can hardly be explained in this way. There is no evidence, as far as I can see, of any attempt at accommodation, either to the immediate literary context or to the contemporary Gospel traditions. In fact, the retention of the accusative case after the verb ἐπιθυμεῖν ("to desire")[82] and the inclusion of the modifying phrase τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's") argue against interest in accommodation. I conclude, therefore, that the author of *Acta Philippi* (2) found the *logos* under discussion in his source essentially as he has cited it.

Furthermore, the comparable distinctive features of the citation in the *Didascalia*, namely, (1) the formulation πᾶς, ὅστις ἐμβλέψει ("everyone who shall look"), (2) the prepositional phrase εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα ("at the wife"), (3) the modifying phrase τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's"), and (4) the retention of the accusative case after the verb ἐπιθυμεῖν ("to desire"), are probably not, apart from minor details, the result of the editorial activity of the Didascalist. Items (1), (2), and (4) may possibly have resulted from the stylistic preferences of the Didascalist; and item (3), the modifying phrase τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's"), may possibly have resulted from an attempt at accommodation to another reference, drawn on the

[81] The formulation πᾶς ὁ ἐμβλέψας ("everyone who has looked") has no precise equivalent in the Greek Gospel traditions, nor does the prepositional phrase εἰς γυναῖκα ("on/at a wife"). There is no parallel to the modifying phrase τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's"), that is, outside of the parallel in the Greek *Didascalia*.

[82] There is a distinct tendency in the Greek Gospel traditions to rectify the grammatical infelicity of the personal pronoun in the accusative case after the verb ἐπιθυμεῖν ("to desire") either (1) by omitting the pronoun altogether (so p⁷⁷ ℵ* 236 440, Clement of Alexandria [1/1], Origen [3/5], Cyril of Jerusalem [1/1], Macarius of Egypt [1/1], Chrysostom [4/6], and Cyril of Alexandria [1/1], or (2) by replacing the accusative αὐτήν ("her") with the grammatically preferable genitive αὐτῆς ("her") (so ℵᵇ M Σ 1 209 22 346 21 262 265 472 485 697 *ad plur.*, Justin Martyr [1/1], Athenagoras [1/1], Irenaeus [2/2], Origen [1/5], Basil [1/1], Chrysostom [1/6], and Theodoret of Cyrrhus [1/1]). For the references see the discussion and footnotes above.

Torah, which is both cited and restated in the immediately preceding context, namely, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου ("you shall not desire your neighbor's wife") (cf. Ex 20.17 [LXX]) . . . ὁ γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσας τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ . . . ἤδη μοιχὸς καὶ κλέπτης ἐστίν ("For he who has desired his neighbor's wife . . . is already an adulterer and thief") (*Didasc.* 1.1.2f.). However, I am persuaded that these features are not to be explained in this way.

In view of the facts (1) that the Didascalist, although he does at times change or modify introductory formulae (as in the case of the citation under discussion), usually cites his source, especially when dominical *logoi* are involved, with remarkable fidelity,[83] and (2) that the strikingly similar citation in *Acta Philippi* (2) can be shown to antedate that document in essentially the form in which it is cited in that document, I am convinced that these distinctive features are to be explained otherwise.

I conjecture that the Didascalist drew on a source in which the dominical *logos* we are discussing occurred in a form essentially identical to that found in *Acta Philippi* (2). He has retained the basic elements of the distinctive features we have noted—(1) the adjective πᾶς ("everyone"), (2) the compound verb ἐμβλέπειν ("to look"), (3) the prepositional phrase εἰς γυναῖκα ("at [the] wife"), (4) the modifying phrase τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's"), and (5) the accusative case after the verb ἐπιθυμεῖν ("to desire"). He has only slightly edited two of these elements, no doubt, because of his own stylistic preferences: (1) He has reformulated the articular participle ὁ ἐμβλέψας ("who has looked") replacing the article ὁ ("the" ["who"]) with the indefinite relative pronoun ὅστις ("who"), and, consequently, the participle ἐμβλέψας ("has looked") with the finite verb ἐμβλέψει ("shall look"); and (2) he has added the article

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[83] For the evidence, see my *Studies in the Determination and Evaluation of the Dominical Logoi as cited in the Original Text of the Greek Didascalia Apostolorum* (unpublished dissertation, Harvard University, 1973), vols. 1-3.

τῆν ("the") before the noun γυναῖκα ("wife").

This explanation accounts better for the usual editorial practices of the Greek Didascalist and at the same time the remarkable identity between the Didascalist's citation and its counterpart in the *Acta Philippi* (2).

This brings us then to the question of sources.

THE SOURCES

It is necessary here to speak of both (a) *ultimate* and (b) *immediate* sources.

As far as the *ultimate* source is concerned, it seems to me that it is not possible to determine, with any degree of finality, whether the Didascalist's *logos* derives from its counterpart in the Matthaean *sermo in monte* or from the source on which the author of the first Gospel himself drew, or from a source parallel to it.

There is nothing particularly Matthaean, in style, in the form of the *logos* as it stands in the Matthaean *sermo in monte*. Neither of the introductory formulae (a) ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη ("you have heard that it was said"), and (b) ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ("but I say to you"), occurs again in the first gospel outside of its use in the six "antitheses"[84] all of which are pre-Matthaean in formulation.[85] Nor are there any distinctly Matthaean idioms in the formulation of either the "prohibition" or the "assertion" clauses. Taking into consideration the differing lengths of each of the Synoptic gospels, it is to be noted that (1) while Mark (once)[86] employs less frequently than does Matthew (9 times)[87] the formulation πᾶς ("everyone") + an articular participle, Luke (15 times)[88] employs it more frequently; (2) while both Mark

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[84] The formula οὐδὲ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ("nor do I tell you") in Mt 21.27 does not have the same significance. Furthermore, it is drawn on Mk 11.33. The same is true of the identical formula in Lk 20.8.

[85] Bultmann, *Synoptic Tradition*, pp. 146-147.

[86] Mk 7.18.

[87] Mt 5.22, 28, 32; 7.8, 21, 26; 11.28; 15.17; 26.52.

[88] Lk 1.66; 2.18, 47; 6.47; 11.10; 13.17; 14.11, 29; 16.18; 18.14, 31; 20.18; 21.15, 22; 24.44.

(once)[89] and Luke (once)[90] employ the formulation πρὸς τό + an infinitive less frequently than does Matthew (5 times),[91] the idiom is by no means a common one in Matthew; and (3) while Mark (3 times)[92] employs less frequently than does Matthew (7 times)[93] the formulation (ἐν) τῇ καρδίᾳ ("in [his] heart"), Luke (9 times)[94] employs it more frequently.

The form of the *logos* as it occurred in the Didascalist's source may have developed either from its counterpart in the Matthaean *sermo in monte*, or independently from the source on which the author of the first gospel drew, or independently from a source parallel to it.

One thing is clear—the source on which the Didascalist drew represents a development from a primary form comparable to that found in the Matthaean *sermo in monte*. I conjecture that the use of the compound verb ἐμβλέπειν ("to look") instead of the simple verb βλέπειν ("to look") represents a development born of an attempt at more precise expression of the idea involved, a development that has received widespread acceptance in the on-going gospel traditions.[95] I also conjecture that that development has occasioned another, namely, the use of the preposition εἰς ("at"). As has already been pointed out, three different ways of handling the grammatical infelicity resulting from the use of the compound verb ἐμβλέπειν ("to look") instead of the simple verb βλέπειν ("to look") have been adopted in the transmission of our *logos*: (1) the noun γυναῖκα ("woman," "wife") has been omitted altogether (so Clement of Alexandria [2/5][96]); (2) the

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[89] Mk 13.22.

[90] Lk 18.1.

[91] Mt 5.28; 6.1; 13.30; 23.5; 26.12.

[92] Mk 2.6, 8; 11.23.

[93] Mt 5.8, 28; 9.4; 11.29; 12.40; 13.19; 24.48.

[94] Lk 1.66; 2.19, 51; 3.15; 5.22; 12.45; 21.14; 24.25, 38.

[95] So Justin Martyr (1/1), Clement of Alexandria (4/8), Origen (4/5), Basil (1/1), Cyril of Jerusalem (1/1), *Acta Philippi* (1) (1/1), Chrysostom (6/6), Nemesius of Emesa (1/1), and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (1/1). For the references see the discussion and footnotes above.

[96] *Paedagogus,* 3.5,33.2 (Stählin, *GCS* 12:1.255.24); *Stromata,* 2.14.61.3 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³:3.146.9f.).

noun in the dative case γυναικ[("woman," "wife") has been substituted for the noun in the accusative (so Justin Martyr [1/1], Clement of Alexandria [2/3], Origen [1/5], Basil [1/1], Cyril of Jerusalem [1/1], *Acta Philippi* [1] [1/1], Chrysostom [6/6], Nemesius of Emesa [1/1], and Theodoret of Cyrrhus [1/1][97]); and (3) the preposition εἰς ("at") has been introduced to justify the continued use of the noun in the accusative case (so the source[s] of the *Didascalia* and the *Acta Philippi* [2]).

I furthermore conjecture that the inclusion of the modifying phrase τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's") represents a development inspired by a desire for more specificity and occasioned by the influence of Ex 20.17a. Within the *logos* itself Ex 20.13 (LXX): οὐ μοιχεύσεις ("you shall not commit adultery") is cited as the "prohibition" clause. It is not difficult to see how easily the closely related "prohibition" of Ex 20.17a (LXX): οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου ("you shall not desire your neighbor's wife") could have influenced the addition of the modifying phrase τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ("his neighbor's") in the "assertion" clause πᾶς ἐμβλέψας εἰς γυναῖκα ("everyone [who] has looked at a woman/wife")... ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν ("has already committed adultery with her")...

And, as far as the *immediate* source is concerned, it is highly probable, given the evidence set forth above and the evidences I have provided elsewhere[98] with respect to other dominical *logoi* cited in the *Didascalia*, that the Didascalist cited the *logos* under discussion, along with many other *logoi* which he quotes, from a collection of *logoi Jesu*[99] comparable to that collection of "sayings of Jesus" found at Nag Hammadi, namely, the *Gospel of Thomas*.[100]

(To be continued)

[97] For the references see the discussion and footnotes above.

[98] See my *Studies*, vols. 1-3.

[99] Cf. A. J. Bellinzoni's conclusions with respect to a parallel citation in Justin Martyr's *Apologia* 1.15.1 (Otto, *CAC* 1:46.6ff.). See Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, SNT 17 (Leiden, 1967): 57-60; 96-97.

[100] I will deal with this point in more detail in the next and concluding article in this series.

FROM BISHOP USSHER TO EDWIN R. THIELE

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Edwin R. Thiele's contribution to biblical scholarship is one of permanent significance. He succeeded in solving the problems of a segment of OT chronology that had baffled many generations of biblical scholars. In order to appreciate his life work in this respect it is useful to place it against the background of the historical discipline with which his accomplishments are concerned.

Chronology is an important historical discipline, and without it a correct reconstruction of history is impossible. For this reason some have called chronology the "soul of history."[1] I prefer to call it rather the "skeleton of history." Just as a human being cannot exist without a bone structure, even if it would have all other components such as muscles, organs, nerves, and sinews, so history needs a chronology. In fact, it cannot be understood correctly if it is based on a faulty chronology. This is true not only with regard to secular history, but also with regard to sacred history. For this reason Bible commentators have from the earliest periods of church history been engaged in reconstructions of the chronological framework of biblical history.

1. *The Nature of Thiele's Achievement*

Thiele's achievement is that of having solved, once and for all, the major chronological problems connected with the period of the

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*Adapted from an address presented during Founders' Week at Andrews University in honor of Edwin R. Thiele, March 8, 1979.

[1]F. D. Nichol, ed., *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1953-1957), 1: 16.

kingdoms of Judah and Israel, a period of about 350 years.[2] The
casual reader of the OT may gain the impression that a reconstruc-
tion of the chronology of this period should not be difficult, since in
the books of Kings and Chronicles he encounters scores of passages
that contain precise chronological data. These either state in terms
of years or months how long every king ruled, or tell us in which
regnal year of the neighboring kingdom a ruler came to the throne
or died, statements which we call synchronisms. For most kings both
types of data—the length of reign and synchronisms—are provided.
Yet, as soon as one studies these figures in depth, serious difficulties
appear (of which more will be said later), and it is an incontestable
fact that the solution of these problems defied the combined wisdom
of the ablest scholars for centuries. The result was that many gave
up all hope that satisfactory solutions could ever be found for the
seemingly insurmountable difficulties, and they expressed these feel-
ings in no uncertain terms.[3]

That these difficulties have been overcome we owe in great part
to Edwin R. Thiele. This accomplishment is the more remarkable in
view of the fact that Thiele worked out his scheme of chronology
single-handedly, by using only the biblical data and the available
fixed dates of Assyrian and Babylonian chronology, without leaning
on the work of scholars who had preceded him in the type of work in

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[2]Edwin R. Thiele's articles and books on the chronology of the Hebrew kings are the
following: "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel," *JNES* 3 (1944):
137-186; *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Chicago, 1951; rev. ed.,
Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965); "A Comparison of the Chronological Data of Israel and
Judah," *VT* 4 (1954): 185-195; "The Question of Coregencies Among the Hebrew
Kings," in *A Stubborn Faith*, ed. E. C. Hobbs (Dallas, 1956), pp. 39-52; "New
Evidence on the Chronology of the Last Kings of Judah," *BASOR* 143 (1956): 22-27;
"The Synchronisms of the Hebrew Kings—A Re-evaluation," *AUSS* 1 (1963): 121-138;
2 (1964): 120-136; "Pekah to Hezekiah," *VT* 16 (1966): 83-107; "Coregencies and
Overlapping Reigns Among the Hebrew Kings," *JBL* 93 (1974): 174-200; "An Addi-
tional Chronological Note on 'Yaw, Son of Omri,'" *BASOR* 222 (1976): 19-23; *A
Chronology of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977).

[3]Rudolf Kittel expressed this pessimistic view clearly by saying that there are two
reasons which deprive us of the possibilities of obtaining a correct chronology of the
Hebrew kings: first, errors in the transmitted data; and second, a failure to understand
the original system of computing regnal years and synchronistic data. See his
Geschichte des Volkes Israel, 7th ed. (Stuttgart, 1925), p . 211.

which he was engaged.. It was certainly an extraordinary achieve-
ment to have reached sound solutions for nearly every phase of the
chronology of the Hebrew kings without first studying the results of
the work of others whose results, in some aspects, were similar.[4]

Let me ask your indulgence by injecting here my own ex-
perience, because I believe it to be pertinent to a full evaluation of
the genius of Thiele's work. For a long time I also have been in-
terested in the work of reconstructing the chronology of this period;
in fact, I worked intermittently for about sixteen years on it before I
committed the results to writing. However, I began by first
thoroughly studying and digesting the works of many biblical
chronologers who had published their solutions during the last one
hundred years. And in spite of combining the discoveries and plausi-
ble solutions of all these scholars, I did not come to a chronological
scheme of the reigns of the Hebrew kings as satisfactory as Thiele's.
In fact, I was able to reach acceptable solutions to a number of
chronological problems only after I became acquainted with
Thiele's work.[5]

2. The Chronological Chaos Prior to Ussher

Now let me come to the man mentioned first in the title of my
paper: Why do I begin the period covered in this historical paper
with Archbishop Ussher? The reason is that Ussher's reconstruction
of OT chronology was the first one to find wide acceptance in the
Christian world.

Ussher was not, of course, the first scholar who worked out a
scheme of OT chronology. In fact, many students of the Bible had
developed such systems before Ussher; and one of them, Jerome, had
worked out a chronological scheme that found a place in the
margins of some Latin Bibles long before Ussher. But all these earlier

[4]This information was given to me personally by Thiele.

[5]Although I have accepted several discoveries made and solutions found by Thiele, I
do not agree with him in his interpretation of certain texts with regard to Hezekiah's
reign. For my chronological scheme of that period see "The Chronology of King
Hezekiah's Reign," *AUSS* 2 (1964): 40-52. One text for which I still had no satisfactory
explanation in the article just mentioned was subsequently interpreted in a plausible
way by E. A. Parker, "A Note on the Chronology of 2 Kings 17:1," *AUSS* 6 (1968):
129-133.

scholars had been hampered by two obstacles: first, the many dif-
ficulties inherent in all ancient chronological systems, which re-
mained unsolvable until modern times; and second, the absence of a
generally accepted era in which dates could be expressed in a way
that everyone understood.

It is at present a generally little-known fact that for many cen-
turies chaotic conditions existed with regard to chronology because
of the many systems used for expressing dates. Let me first mention
some of the dating systems of antiquity, of which some were used in
parts of Europe until the Middle Ages: There was, in the first place,
the "Era of the Foundation of Rome," according to which years
were counted from the supposed founding of Rome in 753 B.C.[6]
Then there were the "Roman Consular Lists," widely used for
dating purposes throughout the Roman empire;[7] the "Era of the
Olympiads," a cycle of four years beginning in 776 B.C.;[8] and the
"Seleucid Era," beginning in 312 B.C.[9] In addition, many other more
local dating systems existed in the ancient world.

This multiplicity of existing dating systems was, during the
late-Roman and medieval periods, greatly increased by a multitude
of new dating devices which were introduced by various authorities
in different countries. Such systems existed side by side throughout
the Middle Ages and in some countries almost to modern times. For
example, secular and biblical historians dated historical events in
many cases by the regnal years of Roman and Byzantine emperors,
or by the years of the popes of Rome.[10] Many events were dated ac-
cording to the "Era of Diocletian," usually called by Christians *Aera
martyrum*, which began in A.D. 284.[11] Others used the "Indiction
Era," a fifteen-year cycle which marked the interval between im-
perial tax assessments, and which originated three years before the

[6]Siegfried H. Horn and Lynn H. Wood, *The Chronology of Ezra 7*, 2nd ed.
(Washington, D.C., 1970), pp. 24-25.

[7]Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[8]Ibid., p. 23.

[9]Ibid., p. 25; E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (Ithaca, N.Y.,
1968), pp. 71-72.

[10]H. Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der
Neuzeit*, 10th ed. (Hannover, 1960), pp. 9-10.

[11]Ibid., p. 10; Bickerman, p. 72.

Christian era, although it was not introduced as a dating system until Constantine in A.D. 312 (this year being the beginning of the 22nd indiction).[12] Also the "Byzantine World Era" was widely used, according to which 5508 years had passed between the creation of the world and Christ's birth; this era was popular in eastern Europe until the eighteenth century.[13] Many editions of the Vulgate, the official Catholic Bible, contained dates according to the "Era of Jerome," mentioned earlier, which, based on the LXX, dates the beginning of the world to 5199 B.C.[14] But French scholars down to the eleventh century preferred instead the "Era of the Passion," which began thirty-three years after the incarnation, i.e., in A.D. 33.[15] In Spain, the "Spanish Era" was used until the fifteenth century; it began in 38 B.C., the year in which the Roman conquest of Spain was completed.[16] To mention one further example, the "Jewish World Era" was introduced in the ninth century by rabbinical sages according to whom the creation of the world had taken place in 3760 B.C. This era is still used today in Jewish religious literature.[17]

In order to bring order out of this chaos, another era was created by the Scythian monk Dionysius Exiguus, who lived in Italy. As a starting point for this new dating system, which has become known as the "Christian Era," he took the 247th year of the "Era of Diocletian" to be the 531st year after Christ's birth. This era (which, by the way, contains an error of four years) seemed for a long time to be just one more dating device among the many existing systems used throughout Europe, for its acceptance was a slow process. In A.D. 663, some 130 years after its invention, it was officially adopted in England, and it took another 400 years before most of Europe used this "Christian Era." In Spain it was not adopted until the fourteenth century and in Greece not until the fifteenth century.[18]

[12]Grotefend, pp. 8-9; Bickerman, pp. 78-79.
[13]Grotefend, p. 11.
[14]Ibid.
[15]J. A. Robson, "Christian Chronology," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1973 ed., 5: 728.
[16]Grotefend, p. 10.
[17]Ernest Wisenberg, "Jewish Chronology," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1973 ed., 5: 725-726; Edgar Frank, *Talmudic and Rabbinical Chronology* (New York, 1956).
[18]Horn and Wood, pp. 25-30.

Looking over these chaotic conditions, one can easily under-
stand that works on chronology in which dates were expressed in one
or another of the locally accepted eras, and existing usually only in
the handwritten manuscripts of the authors, found little interest
among Bible-studying Christians or were not even understood out-
side of the authors' immediate circle of acquaintances.[19] To fill this
void, a kind of stability was created by the biblical chronology
worked out by Ussher. His use of the best available source material,
biblical and non-biblical, and his reputation as an honored church
prince and scholar of no mean accomplishment were probably
responsible for the fact that his chronological scheme became so
widely accepted and popular and that in the course of time its dates
were inserted in the margins of most English Bibles and were con-
sidered by many Bible readers as an integral part of historical Bible
truth.

3. Archbishop Ussher's Work

James Ussher, born in Dublin in 1581, was ordained in 1601
and served as Professor of Theological Controversies at the Trinity
College in Dublin from 1607-1621. Then he became Bishop of
Meath and four years later Archbishop of Armagh. However, his
most famous accomplishment, by which his name became a
household word among Bible-reading Christians, was his *Annales
Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, which appeared from 1650-1654. An
English edition of 907 pages was published in London in 1658, two
years after his death, under the title *The Annales of the World . . .
Containing the Historie of the Old and New Testaments with that of
the Macchabees*.[20]

In this work Ussher, who utilized the "Christian Era," dated
the creation of the world in 4004 B.C., a date that became quite

[19]More than twenty years ago I talked about this matter with Alfred Pohl, who was
at that time the editor of *Orientalia*. He indicated that he was aware of several
medieval manuscripts in European monastic libraries that dealt with biblical
chronology. Someone interested in the history of biblical chronology and equipped
with the necessary linguistic and calendrical skills may find here a rich and still largely
untapped field for research.

[20]R. Buick Knox, *James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh* (Cardiff, 1967), pp.
105-107, 195; James A. Carr, *Life and Times of James Ussher* (London, 1895), passim.

famous. However, we are interested here only in his chronological scheme of the period of the Hebrew kings, which according to him began with Solomon's death in 975 B.C. and ended with the Babylonian exile in 589. For the last kings of this period he based his dates on the list of Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman rulers, known from Ptolemy's *Canon*. This king list of the second century A.D. was the only reliable ancient chronological source available in his time. It began with Nabonassar, king of Babylon in 747 B.C., and ended in the second century A.D. with the reign of the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161). Since this king list contains the names of seven rulers mentioned in the Bible—namely, Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, Cyrus, Darius I, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, and Darius II—, it provided pegs to which events of biblical history could be fastened, for the Bible contains synchronisms with some of these kings. For instance, 2 Kgs 25:8-9 states that the destruction of Jerusalem took place in the 19th regnal year of Nebuchadnezzar. It was also of great importance that Ptolemy's *Canon* carried the stamp of reliability, since it mentions nineteen lunar eclipses ranging over nine centuries. These eclipses are dated to the year, month, day, and hour, mostly in terms of regnal years of various kings, and can be checked by astronomers and proved to be correct.[21]

Ussher was therefore able to date the events of the later part of biblical history quite accurately; namely, the period which began

[21]Ptolemy lists the regnal years of the various kings in his *Canon* by using the Egyptian solar calendar as a basis and reckons the years of their reign for some periods according to the Egyptian (later also Macedonian) antedating system and for others according to the Babylonian-Persian postdating system. Not being aware of these factors, scholars using Ptolemy's *Canon* until comparatively recent times made errors of one or two years in their computations of ancient dates. See Alan E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (Munich, 1962), pp. 64-65, 88-89, 159-160.

The reliability and even the integrity of Ptolemy have recently been challenged by Robert R. Newton, *The Crime of Claudius Ptolemy* (Baltimore, Md., 1977). I am not qualified to decide whether Newton's criticism of Ptolemy's astronomical work is warranted, but I want to say emphatically that Newton's criticism of Ptolemy's *Canon* is without any basis. During the last hundred years ancient king lists have been discovered, as well as thousands of dated contemporary records, which fully prove the reliability of Ptolemy's list of rulers from the eighth century B.C. down to the second century A.D. See Julia Neuffer, "Ptolemy's Canon Debunked?" *AUSS* 17 (1979): 39-46.

with Nebuchadnezzar's reign, the earliest ruler of Ptolemy's king list who was also mentioned in the Bible. Hence his date for the beginning of the Babylonian exile—589 B.C.—is only three years off from the real date as we now know it, and his dates for the postexilic events of biblical history are either correct or nearly so.

However, Ussher had no help from outside the Bible in understanding the systems used to date the reigns of the Hebrew kings who lived prior to Nebuchadnezzar's accession to the throne. He did not know that various calendar systems with various year beginnings existed among the ancient nations, and that the regnal years of kings were counted according to different methods in various countries and at various times. Without having a knowledge of these different methods of reckoning, he failed to understand the systems employed by the ancient Hebrew annalists whose original works were later excerpted by the compilers of the biblical books of Kings and Chronicles.

Let me briefly mention some of the difficulties which Ussher, like every other chronologer, faced and how he solved them. He found, e.g., that the period from Solomon's death, when Rehoboam and Jeroboam I came to the throne concurrently, down to Joram of Judah and Ahaziah of Israel, who both died at the same time, was given as 95 years for Judah but as 98 years for Israel, a difference of three years. In order to explain this difference, Ussher guessed that there must have been either a gap of three years between two kings of Judah or several short gaps totaling three years between more than two kings. Furthermore, he found that the years given for the remainder of Israel's existence came to 143 years when the regnal years of the kings of Israel were added up, but to 166 years for the kings of Judah for the same period—a difference of 23 years—whereas the figures should have been the same.[22] Hence he postulated again that gaps in the reigns of Israel's kings must have been responsible for this discrepancy. These supposed gaps he called "interregna," periods with no effective rulership.

[22]Thiele, *Mysterious Numbers*, 1st ed., p. 6, where the different results of adding the regnal years of the Hebrew kings for the two periods mentioned here are conveniently tabulated.

But Ussher also recognized that he had to take account of the many existing synchronisms of the books of Kings and Chronicles and to find satisfactory solutions for them. Many of them he did not understand at all and simply ignored in his treatment of the chronology. Others, however, seemed to point again in the direction of interregna, for which reason several more interregna were invented by Ussher in order to fit the synchronisms into any acceptable chronological scheme. The result was that, to mention two examples, he put a gap of eleven years between Jeroboam II and his son Zachariah (a gap for which the Bible narrative gives no indication), and also created an interregnum of nine years between Pekah and Hoshea (although the biblical record states in 2 Kgs 15:30 that Hoshea slew Pekah and reigned in his stead, without giving any hint whatever that Hoshea might have come to the throne only after an anarchy of nine years following his murder of Pekah).

These are some of the reasons why Ussher dated the beginning of the divided kingdoms in 975 B.C., whereas we now know that this event took place 44 years later. Yet, at that time no one could propose better solutions for the biblical chronology than those offered by Ussher. The result was that his chronological scheme ruled the field of biblical history nearly unchallenged for two centuries.

4. Developments Subsequent to Ussher

In the latter part of the nineteenth century this situation changed. The decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts and of the cuneiform script used by the Mesopotamian nations opened the doors to a new world of scholarship. Original sources of antiquity revealed historical facts which had long been forgotten. Assyrian and Babylonian king lists came to light as well as Assyrian eponym lists which provided lists of the names of the officials after whom the years were named in Assyria. The accuracy of the eponym lists, which went back to the tenth century B.C., was authenticated by the mentioning of a solar eclipse observed in Assyria during the eponymy of Bur-Šagale, an eclipse which took place June 15, 763 B.C. Also, the accuracy of the king lists was corroborated through the discoveries of contemporary astronomical texts.

Furthermore, historians learned that there had been in existence different calendars in the various countries of the ancient Near East, and that the methods of reckoning a ruler's years of reign differed from one country to another. E.g., it was learned that the Egyptians antedated their kings' regnal years, which means that the last year of a king's reign was also counted as the first year of his successor, whereas the ancient Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians postdated such years, which means that the remainder of the last calendar year of a king was not counted among the regnal years of his successor, but was simply called "the year in which King X [the new king] came to the throne." This kind of knowledge opened entirely new vistas also for biblical historians with regard to the chronology of the Hebrew kings.

The first biblical scholar and noted orientalist who in modern times worked seriously on the chronological problems of the period of the Hebrew kings was Heinrich Ewald (1803-1875). In his *History of Israel* Ewald briefly treated the chronological problems of Judah's and Israel's history and came to the conclusion that only the years of reign deserve to be accepted as an historically reliable foundation for a reconstruction of the history of the divided kingdoms. The synchronisms, Ewald reasoned, were obtained by later compilers and editors of the original sources through computations, and are therefore worthless.[23]

This view was fully endorsed by Ewald's pupil, the famous OT scholar Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918), who in 1875 in an article of only thirty-four pages put forth his findings with such convincing arguments and so eloquently that they were almost universally accepted by biblical historians for nearly half a century.[24] In later

[23]Heinrich Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 3d ed. (Göttingen, 1864), 1: 242; 3: 464.

[24]Julius Wellhausen, "Die Zeitrechnung des Buches der Könige seit der Theilung des Reiches," *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* 20 (1875): 607-640. The following list of works includes some of the most important treatments of the chronology of the Hebrew kings by scholars who more or less followed Wellhausen in their acceptance of the regnal data and rejection of the synchronisms: A. Kamphausen, *Die Chronologie der hebräischen Könige* (Bonn, 1883); F. Rühl, "Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 12 (1894-1895): 44-76, 171; and M. Thilo, *Die Chronologie des alten Testaments* (Barmen, 1917). For a

years, Wellhausen went even further and gave up the biblical data concerning the regnal years altogether. In his *Israelite-Jewish History* he fully ignored the biblical chronological data, basing his dates only on Assyrian and other non-biblical sources.

The first modern scholar who broke with Ewald's and Wellhausen's evaluation of the chronological data of the books of Kings and Chronicles was F. X. Kugler, who as a professional astronomer and Assyriologist was able to evaluate from first-hand knowledge the astronomical and chronological source material of ancient Assyria and Babylonia. In his important treatment of "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel," published in 1922, he convincingly defended the biblical synchronisms as valuable chronological data and seriously tried to find solutions for the biblical chronology by using the data presenting the lengths of reign of the Hebrew kings as well as the synchronisms. He also utilized all non-biblical sources as far as they were pertinent to his study.[25] Kugler was followed by the works of Assyriologist Julius Lewy in 1927,[26] and by those of biblical scholars Joachim Begrich in 1929[27] and Sigmund Mowinckel in 1931.[28]

These scholars came to various solutions, but all shared a willingness, first to accept the biblical data as reliable unless proved otherwise, and second, to resurrect the methods of calendation and computation used by the ancient annalists. Hence we find that these

description of their differences, see Thiele, *Mysterious Numbers*, 1st ed., pp. 240-241, and J. Begrich, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda* (Tübingen, 1929), pp. 1-38. The chronologies of E. Mahler (*Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie* [Frankfurt a. M., 1916], pp. 247-320) and M. Anstey (*Romance of Bible Chronology* [London, 1913]) must be mentioned, since some students of the Bible in the past have accepted their chronological schemes. However, their extreme views and their rejection of some of the well-established Assyrian dates or synchronisms make their attempts to solve the problem of the Hebrew chronology worthless.

[25]F. X. Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus* (Münster i. Westf., 1922), pp. 134-189.

[26]Julius Lewy, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda* (Giessen, 1927).

[27]See n. 24.

[28]Sigmund Mowinckel, "Die Chronologie der israelitischen und jüdischen Könige," *AcOr* 9 (1931): 161-277. It may be added here that another work in which solutions were presented for some parts of the chronology of the Hebrew kings, similar to those Thiele later independently discovered, was that of V. Coucke, "Chronologie des rois de Juda et d'Israël," *Revue Bénédictine* 37 (1925): 325-364; "Chronologie biblique," *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1928), cols. 1245-2379.

scholars reckoned with the possibility that the two ancient kingdoms had different calendars, counted their own or their neighboring kings' regnal years by different methods (such as postdating or antedating), and recognized that coregencies may have existed even where the narratives do not seem to give an indication of the existence of such coregencies.

5. *Thiele's Magisterial Contribution*

It was at this stage in the development of scholarly activities with regard to the chronology of the divided kingdoms that Thiele's magisterial work was published, first as an article in 1944 (which grew out of his doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago) and seven years later in book form.[29] Its premises can be summarized briefly under the following six points, which, as they were applied to the chronological data of Kings and Chronicles, led Thiele to a perfect harmony between most biblical chronological data and the fixed Assyrian and Babylonian dates with the exception of a short period during the end of the eighth century B.C.:

1. The compilers of the books of Kings and Chronicles used official sources containing chronological data. Except in a few cases for the period of Hezekiah, these data were taken over and incorporated into Kings and Chronicles without changes and without any attempts to harmonize them with each other. Since they reflect different calendars and systems of computations, they cannot be harmonized by applying a uniform calendrical or chronological system to both kingdoms and to all the 350 years of the history of Israel and Judah covered by the historical source material of the two books.

2. In the northern Kingdom of Israel the civil calendar began in the spring with the month that was later called Nisan, while in the southern Kingdom of Judah the civil calendar began in the autumn with the month that was later called Tishri.

3. Both kingdoms used at various times of their history the antedating and postdating systems, and made shifts in the application of these systems as indicated by the chronological data of Kings and Chronicles.

[29]See n. 2.

4. Several coregencies took place in the southern kingdom, but only one in the northern kingdom. There is no evidence for the existence of interregna.

5. Where coregencies can be pointed out to have existed, the figures given in the available sources for the total number of years which a king was on the throne included in some cases the years of that king's coregency with his father or with his son, and referred in other cases only to the years of a king's sole rule.

6. Each kingdom expressed the regnal years of its sister kingdom in terms of its own system, not that of the other kingdom. Hence, the records of the northern kingdom expressed regnal years of a southern king in terms of its own antedating system when that system was employed in the north, even if at that same time the scribes of the southern kingdom counted the regnal years of their own kings according to the postdating system.

Some thirty-six years have passed since Thiele's work was first published. At first there appeared to be a certain reluctance on the part of many scholars to accept a chronological scheme which seemed to demonstrate "conclusively the precise and dependable accuracy of Hebrew chronology of the times of the kingdoms," to use the words of the prominent OT scholar William A. Irwin.[30] Others, especially conservative students of the Bible, however, were delighted to see that some of the thorny problems of biblical studies had successfully been solved. Yet, Thiele's chronological scheme with its logic and historical integrity has gradually been accepted by an ever-widening circle of biblical scholars of all persuasions,[31] and I foresee the time when it may universally be adopted and used as an accurate chronological framework of the history of the monarchies of Israel and Judah, enjoying the position formerly held by the chronology of Ussher.

[30]William A. Irwin in his "Introduction" to Thiele, *Mysterious Numbers*, 1st ed., p. xiv.

[31]His scheme is, e.g., used in the following reference works: *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Dictionary* (Washington, D.C., 1960); *IDB*; *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1963); *The Zondervan Pictorial Bible Dictionary* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1963); *Wycliffe Bible Encyclopedia* (Chicago, 1975).

BRIEF NOTES

THE ANTI-JUDAIC BIAS OF THE
WESTERN TEXT IN THE GOSPEL OF LUKE

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In *AUSS* 17 (1979): 203-208, I presented a brief discussion on how the Western text in Luke uses variant readings to develop a theological bias. The variants noted in that study magnified the role of Jesus as the Messianic King by changing the words in the heavenly voice at Jesus' baptism and by borrowing the kingly line from Matthew's genealogy.

Further biases can be clearly seen in other variant readings throughout Luke. One that appears repeatedly is strongly anti-Judaic.

Eldon J. Epp comments as follows on the anti-Judaic bias in the Western text of Acts and in Codex Bezae (D) in particular. "These textual variants, like so many others in D, are small — there is, after all, a basic conservatism in all New Testament texts. These small variants, nevertheless, combine to reveal the calculated anti-Judaic sentiment from which they first sprang."[1] What is true in Acts is true in Luke.[2]

In the present brief note I shall call attention to instances of three ways in which this anti-Judaic bias is reflected by the Western text.

1. *The Use of* πονηρος

After examining D's addition of the word πονηρος ("evil") at Acts 3:17, Epp says that D's use of this word not only sharpens the

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[1]Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (Cambridge, Eng., 1966), p. 44.

[2]George Edward Rice, *The Alterations of Luke's Tradition by the Textual Variants in Codex Bezae* (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1974), pp. 174-222.

contrast between the Jews and Christians, but confirms the disparity
between what the Jews did in crucifying Jesus and what God did
through Jesus' suffering and exaltation.[3]

The verse reads as follows:

Acts 3:17

Codex B	Codex D
και νυν αδελφοι	και νυν ανδρες αδελφοι
οιδα	επισταμεθα
οτι	οτι υμεις μεν
κατα αγνοιαν	κατα αγνοιαν
επραξατε	επραξατε πονηρον
ωσπερ και οι αρχοντες υμων.	ωσπερ και οι αρχοντες υμων.
"And now brethren	"And now men brethren
I know	we know
that	that (on the one hand)
you acted	you did evil
out of ignorance	out of ignorance
even as your rulers also."	even as your rulers also."

$+$ ανδρες, D it^{hpw}

οιδα οτι] επισταμεθα οτι υμεις μεν, D. it^{hpw}

$+$ πονηραν, D it^{ehpw} syh^m

First, the addition of μεν in the D-text contrasts the action of
the Jews in v. 17 with the δε and God's action in v. 18. Second, the
addition of πονηρον leaves no doubt as to how this action of the Jews
is viewed. They are looked upon as being not without guilt because
of their ignorance.[4]

The Western text uses πονηρος in a similar way in Luke. At
Luke 23:41, the statement of the condemned criminal is altered.

Luke 23:41

Codex B	Codex D
και ημεις μεν δικαιως	και ημεις μεν δικαιως
αξια γαρ ων επραξαμεν	αξια γαρ ων επραξαμεν
απολαμβανομεν ουτος	απολαμβανομεν ουτος
δε ουδεν ατοπον επραξεν	δε ουδεν πονηρον επραξεν
"And we justly	"And we justly
for we did things	for we did things
worthy of what we	worthy of what we
are receiving but	are receiving but
this man did nothing	this man did nothing
amiss."	evil."

ατοπον] πονηρον, D lat.

[3]Epp, p. 43-44.

[4]Epp, p. 44.

In Acts, the Western text points out that what the Jews did to Jesus was evil. In Luke, on the other hand, Jesus is presented as having done nothing evil. As Epp observes, "The contrast is vivid and effective."[5]

A second use of πονηρος in Luke strengthens the anti-Judaic sentiment developed by the Western text.

Luke 5:21,22

Codex B	Codex D
21. και ηρξαντο διαλο- γιζεσθαι οι γραμματεις και οι φαρεισαιοι	21. και ηρξαντο διαλο- γιζεσθαι οι γραμματεις και οι φαρισαιοι εν ταις καρδιαις αυτων
λεγοντες τις εστιν ουτος ος λαλει βλασφημιας τις δυναται αμαρτιας αφειναι ει μη μονος ο θ̄ς	λεγοντες τι ουτος λαλει βλασφημιας τις δυναται αμαρτιας αφειναι ει μη εις θ̄ς
22. επιγνους δε ο ῑσ τους διαλογισμους αυτων αποκριθεις ειπεν προς αυτους τι διαλογιζεσθε εν ταις καρδιαις υμων	22. επιγνους δε ο ῑη̄σ̄ τους διαλογισμους αυτων λεγει αυτοις τι διαλογιζεσθαι εν ταις καρδιας υμων πονηρα
21. "And the Scribes and Pharisees began to reason saying who is this who speaks blasphemies? Who is able to forgive sin except God alone?	21. "And the Scribes and Pharisees began to reason in their hearts saying why does this man speak blasphemies? Who is able to forgive sin except one, God?
22. And Jesus knowing their reasoning answered and said to them why do you reason in your hearts?"	22. And Jesus knowing their reasoning said also to them why do you reason evil in your hearts?"

v. 21
+ εν ταις καρδιαις αυτων post φαρισαιοι, D it
τις εστιν ουτος ος] τι ουτος, D
μονος] εις, C D
v. 22.
αποκριθεις ειπεν προς αυτους] λεγει αυτοις, D
+ πονηρα post υμων, D

With the addition of πονηρα here, D harmonizes Luke's text with Matt 9:4. The harmonization again presents a striking contrast

5Ibid.

between Jesus, who did no evil, and the religious leaders, who thought evil and did evil.

The Western text again harmonizes Luke with Matthew by using a cognate of πονηρος at Luke 20:23 and intensifies the encounter between Jesus and the Jews while bringing into sharper focus the anti-Judaic bias.

<div align="center">Luke 20:23</div>

Codex B	Codex D
κατανοησας δε αυτων την πανουργιαν ειπεν προς αυτους	επιγνους δε αυτων την πονηριαν ειπεν προς αυτους τι με πειραζετε
"And when he perceived their craftiness he said to them."	"And when he knew thoroughly their malice he said to them why do you tempt me?"

κατανοησας] επιγνους, D e cop⁗ Tatian
πανουργιαν] πονηριαν, C* D it syᵉᶜ
+ τι με πειραζετε post αυτους, Byz D lat syᶜ

From the variants at Acts 3:17 and at Luke 23:41, 5:22, and 20:23, the Western text shows a strong anti-Judaic bias by its use of πονηρος and its cognate πονηρια.

2. *The Ministry of John the Baptist*

The ministry of John the Baptist provides another context for the anti-Judaic sentiment of the Western text. This sentiment surfaces in three identical variants in D. Before these variants can be appreciated, it is necessary to review briefly the attitude of the Jewish leaders toward John's ministry as it is presented by Luke.

In Luke's account, we are told that crowds of people came out to be baptized by him. As the crowds assembled John addressed them, "Generation of vipers, who warned you to flee from the coming wrath?" (Luke 3:7). The words of censure that John addressed to the crowds in Luke are addressed to the religious leaders in Matthew, "And when he beheld many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism he said to them, generation of vipers who warned you to flee from the coming wrath?" (3:7).

From Luke's account one is left to conclude that the religious leaders did not seek repentance and baptism at John's hand. This conclusion is verified at Luke 7:29, "And the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected the will of God for themselves, not having been baptized by him [John]."

Understanding that Luke presents the Jewish leaders as rejecting God's will for them by refusing John's ministry, the variants in D's text strengthens this rejection and thus emphasizes the anti-Judaic sentiment at Luke 3:10, 12, 14. In the normal tradition of Luke οι οχλοι ("multitude"), τελῶναι ("publicans"), and στρατευομενοι ("soldiers") are presented as coming to John, under the conviction of his preaching, and asking him, τι ποιησωμεν ("What shall we do?").

To each group John gives appropriate counsel. In D's text, the question asked by each of the three groups is expanded to read, τι ποιησωμεν ινα σωθωμεν ("What shall we do that we might be saved?"). The rejection of God's will for the religious leaders now becomes a matter not only of rejecting John's ministry but of rejecting God's offer of salvation. Thus the religious leaders stand in sharp contrast to the general populace, even to the despised publicans, who sought salvation through John's ministry, and thus were obedient to God's will.

3. *The Man With the Withered Hand*

There are several intriguing changes in the next series of variants. Space forbids looking at them all here, even though some show an anti-Judaic bias. We will have to be content with examining three variants and leaving the rest for a future study.

Luke 6:9-11

Codex B	Codex D
9. ειπεν δε ις προς αυτους	9. ειπεν δε ιης προς αυτους
επερωτω υμας ει εξεστι	επερωτησω υμας ει εξεστιν
τῳ σαββατῳ αγαθοποιησαι	τῳ σαββατῳ αγαθοποιησαι
η κακοποιησαι ψυχην	η κακοποιησαι ψυχην
σωσαι η απολεσαι	σωσαι η απολεσαι
	οι δε εσιωπων

10. *και περιβλεψαμενος*   10. *και περιβλεψαμενος*
    παντας αυτους   *αυτους παντας*
                                         εν οργη
    ειπεν αυτω εκτεινον   *λεγει τω ανθρωπω εκταινον*
    την χειρα σου   *την χειρα σου*
    ο δε εποιησεν και   *και εξετεινεν και*
    απεχατεσταθη η χειρ αυτου   *απεχατεσταθη η χειρ αυτου*
                                         ως και η αλλη

                                    [5] *και ελεγεν αυτοις*
                                        οτι x͞s εστιν ο υιος του
                                        ανθρωπου και του
                                        σαββατου

11. *αυτοι δε επλησθησαν*   11. *αυτοι δε επλησθησαν*
    ανοιας και διελαλουν   *ανοιας και διελογισοντο*
    προς αλληλους   *προς αλληλους*
    τι αν ποιησαιεν τω ι͞υ   *πως απολεσωσιν αυτον.*

 9. "And Jesus said to them   9. "And Jesus said to them
    I will ask you if it is   I will ask you if it is
    lawful to do good on the   lawful to do good on the
    Sabbath or to do evil, to   Sabbath or to do evil, to
    save life or destroy?   save life or destroy.
                                        And they were silent.

10. And when he had   10. And when he had
    looked around upon   looked around upon
    them all   them all in wrath
    he said to him   he said to the man
    Stretch out your hand   Stretch out your hand
    and he did so   and he stretched it out
    and his hand was   and his hand was
    restored.   restored as the other.

                                 [5] And he said to them
                                     the Son of man is Lord
                                     also of the Sabbath.

11. And they were filled   11. And they were filled
    with anger and   with anger and
    discussed with one   discussed with one
    another what they   another how they
    might do with Jesus."   might destroy him."

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v. 9
 + *οι δε εσιωπων* post *απολεσαι*, D al Tatian
v. 10
 + *εν οργη* post *αυτους παντας*, D Θ pm it Tatian
ειπεν αυτω] λεγει τω ανθρωπω, D
οδε εποιησεν] και εξετεινεν, 8 א . D pm
 + *ως και η αλλη* post *αυτου*, D al 1 131
v. 5
post v 10, D Marcion
v. 11
τι αν ποιησαιεν τω ι͞υ] πως απολεσωσιν αυτον, D

By adding οι δε εσιωπων ("and they were silent") to v. 9 and εν οργη ("in wrath") to v. 10, D harmonizes Luke with Mark and intensifies the confrontation between Jesus and the religious leaders. D climaxes this intensified confrontation by a third harmonization with both Mark and Matthew; i.e., the leaders took counsel as to how they might destroy Jesus. By the first two harmonizations considered here, D increases the tension between Jesus and the leaders where Luke had softened the confrontation when compared with Mark. By the final harmonization with Matthew and Mark, D advances in point of time the plottings of the religious leaders to kill Jesus from 19:47 to 6:11 in Luke's tradition.

1. *Conclusion*

Through carefully placed variant readings, the Western text shows a decided anti-Judaic bias in Luke. This bias is seen more clearly in D than in other Western manuscripts, because D has a number of singular readings that are anti-Judaic in nature. In this study, the anti-Judaic biases are seen in: (1) the use of πονηρος ("evil")' (2) adding ινα σωθωμεν ("that we might be saved") to the question τι ποιησωμεν ("what shall we do") asked of John by the crowds, the publicans, and the soldiers, but not by the leaders; and (3) three harmonizations that intensify a sabbath confrontation between Jesus and the leaders and in Luke's tradition throws forward by thirteen chapters the plottings of the leaders to kill Jesus.

POETIC RELATIONS OF THE TIME PERIODS IN DAN 9:25

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English translations differ in the subjects with which they con-
nect the time periods referred to in Dan 9:25. On the one hand, the
KJV, ASV, NASB, NIV, MLB, and JB renderings follow the ancient
versions (LXX, Theodotion, Vulgate, Syriac)[1] which indicate that
the Messiah was to come at the end of the sixty-two week period. On
the other hand, the RSV, NEB, AB, and others have translated this
verse following the punctuation of the MT, which suggests that the
Messiah was to come at the end of the seven-week period.

The more accurate of these two types of translations can be
determined, in my opinion, through the previously unexplored
avenue of poetic analysis.[2] Like other passages in the historical and
prophetic chapters of Daniel (e.g., 2:20-23, 6:26-27, and 7:9-10,
13-14, 23-27, respectively), and like so much of the writing of other
biblical prophets, Dan 9:24-27 is poetic in form. This is evident from
how readily its structure and meter can be analyzed according to the
canons of Hebrew poetry.

A transliteration of the consonantal Hebrew text of Dan
9:24-26a is given here as the basis for this type of analysis, followed
by a rather literal English translation of the passage:

Verse	Text	Stress accents[3]	Poetic units
24a	*šb'ym šb'ym nḥtk*	3 ⎫	Bicolon
	'l-'mk w'l-'yr qdšk	3 ⎭	

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[1]For a discussion of this point, see G. F. Hasel, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel
9:24-27," *Ministry Insert* (May, 1976), p. 15D.

[2]A stylistic analysis of Dan 9:24-27 has been published recently by J. Doukhan, "The
Seventy Weeks of Dan 9: An Exegetical Study," *AUSS* 17 (1979): 1-22. Unfortunately,
Doukhan eschewed analyzing this passage as poetry when that type of analysis would
have lent considerable support to his line of argument.

[3]For the accentual system of analyzing the meter of Hebrew poetry see J. Ley, *Leit-
faden der Metrik der hebräischen Poesie* (Bonn, 1887), E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien
I-III* (1901-1907), and the KTAV reprint edition of G. B. Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew
Poetry* (New York, 1972 [reprint of edition of 1915]), which includes a prolegomenon
by D. N. Freedman that presents the alternative system of analyzing meter by count-
ing syllables.

24b	*lkl' hpš'*	2	⎫	
	wlḥtm ḥṭ'wt	2	⎬ Tricolon	
	wlkpr 'wn	2	⎭	
24c	*wlhby' ṣdq 'lmym*	3	⎫	
	wlḥtm ḥzwn wnby'	3	⎬ Tricolon	
	wlmšḥ qdš qdšym	3	⎭	
25a	*wtd' wtškl*	(2)		Anacrusis: extrametrical
25b	*mn-mṣ' dbr*	2	⎫	
	lhšyb wlbnwt yrwšlm	3	⎬ Tricolon	
	'd-mšyḥ ngyd	2	⎭	
25c	*šb'ym šb'h*	2	⎫	
	wšb'ym ššym wšnym	3	⎬ Bicolon	
25d	*tšwb wnbnth*	2	⎫	
	rḥwb wḥrwṣ	2	⎬ Tricolon	
	wbṣwq h'tym	2	⎭	
26a	*w'ḥry hšb'ym ššym wšnym*	4	⎫	
	ykrt mšyḥ w'yn lw	4	⎬ Bicolon	

Translation

24a	Seventy weeks are cut off
	upon your people and upon your holy city,
24b	To finish the transgression,
	and to make an end of sins,
	and to atone for iniquity.
24c	and to bring in everlasting righteousness,
	and to seal up vision and prophet,
	and to anoint the Holy of Holies.
25a	Then know and understand:
25b	From the going forth of the word
	to restore and to build Jerusalem
	unto Messiah the Prince,
25c	(shall be) seven weeks
	and sixty-two weeks.
25d	It shall be restored and it shall be rebuilt,
	square and moat,
	but in hard-pressed times.
26a	Then after the sixty-two weeks
	The Messiah shall be cut off but no one shall be for him.

The stress accent pattern of the first two tricola provide us with an interesting instance in which form lays stress upon content. The

first tricolon, in which the emphasis is upon the negative aspect of putting away sin, is written in 2:2:2 meter. On the other hand, the second tricolon, in which more emphasis is placed upon the positive aspect of bringing in everlasting righteousness, is written in 3:3:3 meter. Thus the positive side of these two series of actions receives more stress accents and thus more stress. The two imperative verbs with which vs. 25 begins have been treated as an anacrusis here, and hence they have been considered extrametrical and do not enter into our poetic analysis of this passage.

The prophetic time period consisting of seven weeks and sixty-two weeks has been divided off here as a separate bicolon. At first glance, it may appear unusual to delimit as a separate bicolon one which consists solely of two phrases that contain time periods. It should be remembered, however, that this is an existential statement in which a form of the verb "to be" is understood as preceding those time periods; hence there is more to this bicolon than first meets the eye. It should also be noted that the word for "weeks" is repeated as the first word in both of the cola of this bicolon. That repetition would not have been necessary in narrative prose, but it provides an internal parallelism in this bicolon. When this bicolon is compared with the tricolon that precedes it, the relationship between them can be seen as that of synthetic external parallelism, in which the bicolon provides the times for the events referred to in the tricolon.

The really conclusive argument which the poetic analysis of this passage provides against separating the sixty-two weeks from the seven weeks is found in the form and content of the second tricolon of vs. 25. If the sixty-two weeks are separated from the seven weeks they must be connected with this poetic unit in some way or another. There are only two ways in which this can be done. The first is to take the sixty-two weeks as the first colon of a bicolon. In this case the two verbs that follow this chronological reference make up the second colon of that bicolon. The following pair of nouns—"square and moat"—and the subsequent prepositional phrase—"in hard-pressed times"—would then become parallel members of a succeeding bicolon. Thus:

And for sixty-two weeks
It shall be restored and it shall be rebuilt.

Square and moat,
but in hard-pressed times.

The second bicolon of this couplet is left dangling for want of a verb to go with it, and the prepositional phrase in it obviously refers to the building of the city mentioned in the preceding bicolon. Such an arrangement would disrupt the even 2:2:2 meter of the tricolon of vs. 25d. To disrupt this neatly arranged poetic unit and substitute for it a much more awkward construction just to connect the "sixty-two weeks" with what follows does not make good sense, and this proposal should be rejected.

The other alternative is to take the sixty-two weeks as the first colon of a tricolon. That arrangement would indicate that the prepositional phrase which refers to the troublous times should be connected with what follows it. Thus:

> And for sixty-two weeks
>   it shall be restored and it shall be rebuilt,
>   square and moat.
>
> But in hard-pressed times,
>   and after the sixty-two weeks,
>   the Messiah shall be cut off but no one shall be for him.

This arrangement fails to make good sense too, for the phrase about hard-pressed times does not relate well to what follows it. The chronological reference with which vs. 26 begins actually demarcates a new poetic and prophetic unit with which the preceding prepositional phrase cannot be connected either on the basis of poetic form or thematic links. Meter also argues against this arrangement, for the first tricolon would be 3:2:2 instead of the more precise 2:2:2, and the second tricolon of this arrangement would be 2:4:4, an even more unlikely metrical combination.

In the analyses of Hebrew poetry which have been developed since the classic study of Robert Lowth in the middle of the eighteenth century, no conceivable technique employed by the ancient Hebrew poets is known whereby the sixty-two weeks of Dan 9:25c can be connected with the tricolon of Dan 9:25d, which refers to the rebuilding of Jerusalem. It could only be joined here as a part of a bicolon or a part of a tricolon. Both of these arrangements are impossible according to the preceding evaluation. No such form as a quadracolon is available to accomplish such a collocation either, since such must be broken down into couplets of bicola, thus putting us right back at the point from which we started.

What we have here, according to this analysis, is another example of an external parallelism in which the initial bicolon gives the time periods for accomplishment of the two events referred to in the tricolon and in the bicolon which follow it. This parallel A:B::A:B arrangement may be outlined briefly as follows:

A. Seven weeks   ⎫
                        ⎬   in the bicolon of vs. 25c.
B. Sixty-two weeks   ⎭

A. (Seven weeks for the) Rebuilding of Jerusalem, in the tricolon of vs. 25d.
B. Sixty-two weeks to the Messiah,   in the bicolon of vs. 26a.

This A:B::A:B thematic arrangement appears elsewhere in Daniel's prophetic poetry, in statements about the Son of Man and the little horn in Dan 7. Of the Son of Man, Dan 7:14b states,

A. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, ⎫
                                            ⎬   3:2 Bicolon
B.   which shall not pass away;   ⎭

A. and his kingdom one,   ⎫
                                   ⎬   2:2 Bicolon
B.   which shall not be destroyed. ⎭

Regarding the work of the little horn, Dan 7:25 states,

A. He shall speak words against the Most High,   ⎫
                                                    ⎬   4:4 Bicolon
B.   and shall wear out the saints of the Most High; ⎭

A. and he shall think to change times and the law, ⎤
                                                    ⎥
B.   and they shall be given into his hand   ⎬   4:5 Bicolon
          for a time, two times, and half a time.   ⎦

In conclusion, we may state regarding Dan 9:24-26a that the poetic form of this passage strongly supports the rendering found in the KJV and kindred translations. Poetic analysis indicates that the translations of the RSV, NEB, AB, etc., are distinctly inferior to the KJV here.

THE EXCAVATION OF THE NORTH CHURCH
AT ḤESBÂN, JORDAN: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

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The existence of a Byzantine church north of Tell Ḥesbân was confirmed by a sounding done in 1976 as part of the Andrews University Expedition. As a follow-up to that, Baptist Bible College of Pennsylvania sponsored a four-week expedition[1] to the site for the purpose of expanding the excavation of the church. The probe of 1976 had established the existence of three strata at the site: an Ayyūbid/Mamlūk cemetery, an Umayyad complex, and the Byzantine church. While the church was the primary focus of attention, the extent of the Ayyūbid/Mamlūk cemetery and the nature of the Umayyad complex were secondary matters for investigation.

Ayyūbid/Mamlūk

The cemetery stratum proved to be more extensive than it was initially thought. Numerous cist burials were located in the region of the eastern half of the church, with a concentration of them in the extreme eastern sector which included the apse, chancel, north and south side chambers. With one or two exceptions, where the burials were situated immediately on top of the mosaic floor of the Byzantine church, the interments were .50-1.50 m. above the Byzantine stratum. The ceramic evidence found in the context of the burials suggested that they were to be dated to the Ayyūbid/Mamlūk Period (A.D. 1200-1450).

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[1]The dates of the excavation were June 17-July 14, 1978. A staff of seventeen professors and students were assisted by twenty workmen. The core staff consisted of John I. Lawlor, Director; Lawrence T. Geraty, Senior Advisor; Larry G. Herr, Stratigrapher; and Bert DeVries, Architect.

Umayyad

The Umayyad complex was comprised of a series of one and two-course walls set directly on top of the mosaic floor of the church (see Pl. I:A). The main wall, approximately 21 m. in length and oriented east-west, stretched from the west wall of the church to one meter inside (west) of the apse wall. A shorter, two-course, north-south wall in the chancel butted against the south face of the main axis wall. In the nave shorter wall stubs were found running between the north face of the east-west axis wall and the south face of column bases four and six.[2]

The purpose of this complex has not yet been conclusively ascertained. One possibility is a domestic arrangement. A major problem, however, with that suggestion is the absence of domestic occupational debris. No evidences of everyday living were found. A second possibility is that the walls represented a remodeling of the Byzantine church into an Umayyad mosque.

Square C, located in the southeast corner of the church yielded clear evidence of four Umayyad surfaces: the Umayyad reuse of the Byzantine mosaic floor and three plaster surfaces, Loci 29/31, 25/26 and 21 (bottom-to-top sequence). That the three most recent Umayyad phases were found only in the south-east corner of the church structure may suggest that the original Umayyad phase represented some sort of a public building, while the latter three represented domestic occupation. Perhaps the two were used simultaneously. Closer examination of the available ceramic evidence may provide some clues to a workable solution to this problem.

Byzantine

The 1976 sounding uncovered a well-defined east wall, apse and synthronon.[3] A small, badly damaged fragment of mosaic was found in the chord of the apse. However, the fact that the bedding for the mosaic sealed against the west face of the plastered

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[2]Eight column bases on the north stylobate wall were numbered consecutively from one to eight, moving east to west.

[3]John I. Lawlor, "Area G.14," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 196-197, Figs. 19, 20.

synthronon suggested the possibility of an earlier/lower mosaic in the apse.

The exposure of the Byzantine church during the 1978 season demonstrated that both the architectural elements and the mosaic floors of the church were, indeed, well-preserved. The plan of the church was that of a typical basilica: inscribed apse, north and south side chambers, north and south stylobate walls forming side aisles and central nave, and a narthex at the west end. Two levels of mosaic were exposed in the apse/chancel and a fairly complete mosaic was exposed in the nave. All three mosaics bore Greek inscriptions.

Apse/chancel. The inscribed apse which was preserved 3.12 m. above bedrock, contained fragments of three tiers of what probably was at one time a five-tiered synthronon. The five-tiered synthronon in the church at Siyagha provides a fine example of this particular architectural feature.[4] The apse was 3 m. deep (from the chord to the west face of the apse wall), and approximately 6 m. wide at the chord. The west face of the lowest course of the synthronon was plastered; three different layers of plaster were distinguishable.

The chancel which was elevated two steps (.52 m.) above the nave was nearly square; it extended westward from the chord of the apse 7.5 m., the equivalent of three bays, and was approximately 7.75 m. wide, the width of the nave.

The chancel contained evidence of an altar installation immediately west of the apse chord (see Pl. I:B). Six altar post sockets, three on each of the north and south sides of a well-preserved reliquarium, were identified. One of the marble altar posts was discovered in Square C, the area of the south side chamber. The altar post was .93 m. long and decorated at its top with the lotus plant motif. Similar altar posts have been found both at the newly excavated church at Ma'in,[5] as well as at Siyagha.[6]

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[4]S. J. Saller, *The Memorial of Moses on Mt. Nebo: Part I: The Text*; Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, No. 1 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1941), p. 48. Ibid., *Part II: The Plates*, Pl. 39:1.

[5]M. Piccirillo and M. Roussan, "A Byzantine Church at ed-Deir (Ma'in)," *ADAJ* 21 (1976): 176, Pl. XXII:1.

[6]These were shown to the author by Michèle Piccirillo while visiting the work at Siyagha in July, 1978.

The reliquarium contained a miniature marble sarcophagus (see Pl. II:A). The base of it was .246 x .173 m. and was divided into two compartments; one was .092 x .111 m., the other was .082 x .111 m. Each corner of the .079 m. high gabled lid featured a "horn," and both sloping sides of the lid were decorated with raised crosses. The smaller of the two compartments contained a silver reliquary, oval-shaped, .11 x .067 x .055 m. (see Pl. II:B). Its lid, decorated around its rim with a twisted rope pattern, also bore the image of a well-proportioned Byzantine cross. The contents of the reliquary were an ashy material, perhaps cremation remains, and a human knee-cap from a right leg. The practice of depositing relics of saints under the altar was common during the fifth and sixth centuries, although the discovery of them *in situ* is unusual.

Nave and side aisles. North and south stylobate walls, on an east-west orientation, supported a total of 16 column bases — eight on each wall. Further similarity between the Hesbân and Siyagha churches was found to exist on this point.[7] The entire length of the north stylobate wall was exposed; all eight column bases were *in situ* (see Pl. I:A), and the easternmost base had .75 m. of its column still standing. Only the three easternmost bases on the south stylobate wall were exposed, but all three still supported fragments of their columns. The average distance between each column base was 2 m. The width of the nave was 8 m.; its length was 15.25 m. The north side aisle was 5 m. wide, while the width of the south aisle was 5.5 m.; both aisles were 22 m. long. The width of the side aisles in relationship to the width of the nave was greater than in many fourth-to-sixth-century churches.[8]

The exposed portions of the west wall revealed two entrances: the main one at the west end of the nave, the other at the west end of the north side aisle. A third one was projected at the west end of the south side aisle, although that particular region was not excavated.

Side chambers. Two side chambers of approximately equal size were located on the north and south sides of the apse. Each opened

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[7]Saller, 1: 59-64.

[8]The ratio in the Siyagha church was that the combined width of the side aisles equalled the width of the nave.

upon its respective side aisle through what were probably arched entrances. Both side chambers gave evidence of having had mosaic floors at the time the church was in use. Byzantine soil layers in Square C, the square in which the south side chamber was located, yielded numerous ivory carvings, many of which gave evidence of having been inlaid-at one time. The corpus included five bishop heads with mitres averaging .06 m. high and .03-.04 m. wide; four carvings of what appeared to be miniature columns varying in length from .09-.13 m. and .015 m. wide; and one piece .17 x .035 m., showing a sea creature swallowing a fish. Its design was similar to that of the sea creatures leaping around Thalassa, the goddess of the sea, pictured in the center of the mosaic floor of the Apostle's Church in Madeba.

Narthex. A 4 m.-wide narthex was located outside the west end of the basilica. Three column bases, .8 m. square, were *in situ* in a north-south line 3.5 m. west of the west wall of the basilica. Two of the column bases were located south of the east-west axis line, and one north. A plaster-lined water chancel lay between the two southernmost column bases, and sloped in a northeasterly direction, running under the main western entrance to the church. This would seem to indicate that a cistern was situated under the west end of the nave; this, however, was not confirmed.

Mosaics. Two levels of mosaics were preserved in the apse/chancel. The upper mosaic was composed of two main panels about four meters long, divided by a single-line Greek inscription stretching north-south across the chancel directly west of the altar. The eastern panel had interlocking clover-leaf patterns at both ends, with a simple flower bud design characterizing the mosaic of the altar area. The western panel featured large trees[9] at both ends, with a large, well-executed urn in the center of the panel (see Pl. I: B). All this was bordered by a pattern of continuing and interlocking swastika-like designs. The lower mosaic was exposed in a 1.5 x 2.5 m. probe in the apse. It was located approximately .10 m. below the upper mosaic and featured a seven-line Greek inscription in a circle surrounded by a twisted rope-like pattern. Gazelle-like animals

[9]Saller, 1: 230-232, Fig. 28.

faced the inscription on the north and south, and gently bent trees
hovered over both (see Pl. III:A).

The nave mosaic featured a double border. The outer border
was a series of interlocking circles approximately .25 m. in diameter;
a similar pattern was discovered in the mosaic in Room B of the
church in Ma'in.[10] The inner border was composed of a series of
large (ca. .6 m. in diameter) medallions in which birds of various
kinds were featured. In all but two of those medallions which were
uncovered, the birds had been defaced with either a plaster or
mosaic patch replacing them. This was thought to be the result of
iconoclastic efforts. Another large urn was part of the nave mosaic,
along with various geometric patterns and designs. At the east end of
the nave, directly in front of the chancel steps, a four-line Greek in-
scription was uncovered.

Inscriptions. Three inscriptions were uncovered; two were
located in the apse/chancel, the other at the east end of the nave.
The first inscription is a seven-line Greek inscription located in the
apse on the lower mosaic (see Pl. III:A). It reads:

<div align="center">

ΥΠΕΡ
ΣΩΤΗΡΙ
ΑΣΦΙΛΑ
ΔΕΛΦΟΥ
ΚΑΙΗΛΙΟΥ
ΥΙΟΥΑ
ΜΗΝ

</div>

In translation, the inscription would read: "For the salvation of
Philadelphos and Elios his son, Amen."

The second inscription was located at the east end of the nave,
directly in front of (east of) the chancel steps. It is four lines in
length; the first line is complete, the last three lines are broken in
places. It reads:

<div align="center">

† ΥΠΕΡΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣΤΟΥΕΥΑΠΡΕΣ·
ΠΑΠΠΩ...ΠΡΟ...ΚΕΝΕΤΣΕΒΙΑ
† ΙΧΘΥΣ...Σ/Ω[?]...ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ
ΦΟΥΜΑΙ...Τ/Π[?]Α...ΟΥΟΙΚΟΥΑΥΤΟΥ

</div>

While parts of it are missing, the majority of those parts can be
reconstructed, based on comparative material from Mukhayyat,[11] as

[10]Piccirillo and Roussan, p. 181, Pl. XXVII:1.

[11]M. Piccirillo, "New Discoveries on Mount Nebo," *ADAJ* 21 (1976): 59, Pl. XV.

well as the context of the inscription. A probable translation of the four lines would be: "For the salvation of the blessed presbyter Papio . . . Eusebia. Christ (*Ichthus*) remember (?) Philadelphos and all his house."

Some observations are in order. First, the letter style of these first two mosaics is the same except for the "alphas." These two inscriptions were probably contemporary. Second, while the first inscription made no use of abbreviations, the second one did. The "slanted sigma" indicated that "ΕΤΛ" and "ΠΡΕΣ" were both abbreviated terms; the former an abbreviation for εὐλογητος ("blessed"), the latter an abbreviation for πρεσβυτερος ("elder/presbyter"). Third, the use of ΙΧΘΥΣ in the inscription raises some questions. In light of its customary use at an earlier period (first and second century), what was the significance of its use in a probable mid-sixth century context? Does its use have any bearing on the date of the church?

A third inscription was found on the upper apse/chancel mosaic. It is nearly 4 m. in length, stretching across the chancel in front of (west of) the altar (see Pl. I:B). A .95-m. portion of it was broken out in the northern half and a .2-.25-m. portion of it was broken out at the south end. As excavated, it reads:

ΕΠΙ...ΩΘΗΤΟΑΓ·ΘΤΣΙΑΣΤ·ΣΠΟΤΔΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΤΔΙΑΚΤΠΕΡΣΩΤΗ·ΤΩ...ΡΠΟΦΟΡ·

Once again, comparative materials,[12] as well as context, suggest a possible reconstruction of the major segment that was lost. A probable reconstruction/translation would be: "At the time the holy altar was renewed and finished by the zeal of John the deacon for the salvation . . . ." The existence of the upper mosaic approximately .10 m. above an earlier one clearly indicates that the apse/chancel sector of the church had gone through a remodeling phase.

One further observation regarding this third inscription was that the style of lettering is noticeably different from that of the first two mosaics. The letters of this single line inscription are all the

[12]S. J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo (Khirbet el-Mekhayyat)* (Jerusalem: The Franciscan Press, 1949), p. 173. Saller, *Memorial of Moses*, 1: 254; 2: Pls. 109, 116.

same height and were executed with much more style. This is particularly noticeable in the letters Ω, Θ, and Υ. The style of letters in this inscription was very similar to the two inscriptions in the Theotokos chapel at Siyagha.[13] No datelines appear in any of the inscriptions.

Conclusion

Since none of the inscriptions contains a dateline and the ceramic evidence has not been closely analyzed, a firm date has not been assigned to the church. However, architectural similarities to the church at Siyagha and the fact that the same names which appear in the Siyagha inscriptions were found at Ḥesbân may suggest that the Ḥesbân church was constructed about the same time as the church at Siyagha. A tentative date, therefore, for the church would be mid-sixth century, perhaps about A.D. 550. Further and closer investigation of the available evidence should shed more light on the matter.

Some discussion was held concerning the feasibility of preservation and reconstruction. Tentative plans were made to preserve and protect the mosaics as well as the architecture from vandalism and the weather. As usual, the problems involved were time, personnel, and finances. If the Department of Antiquities follows through with the preservation, another season of excavation and clearing might be warranted.

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[13]Saller, *Memorial of Moses*, 1: 254; 2: Pls. 109, nos. 1, 2; 110, no. 1; 116, nos. 1, 2, 3.
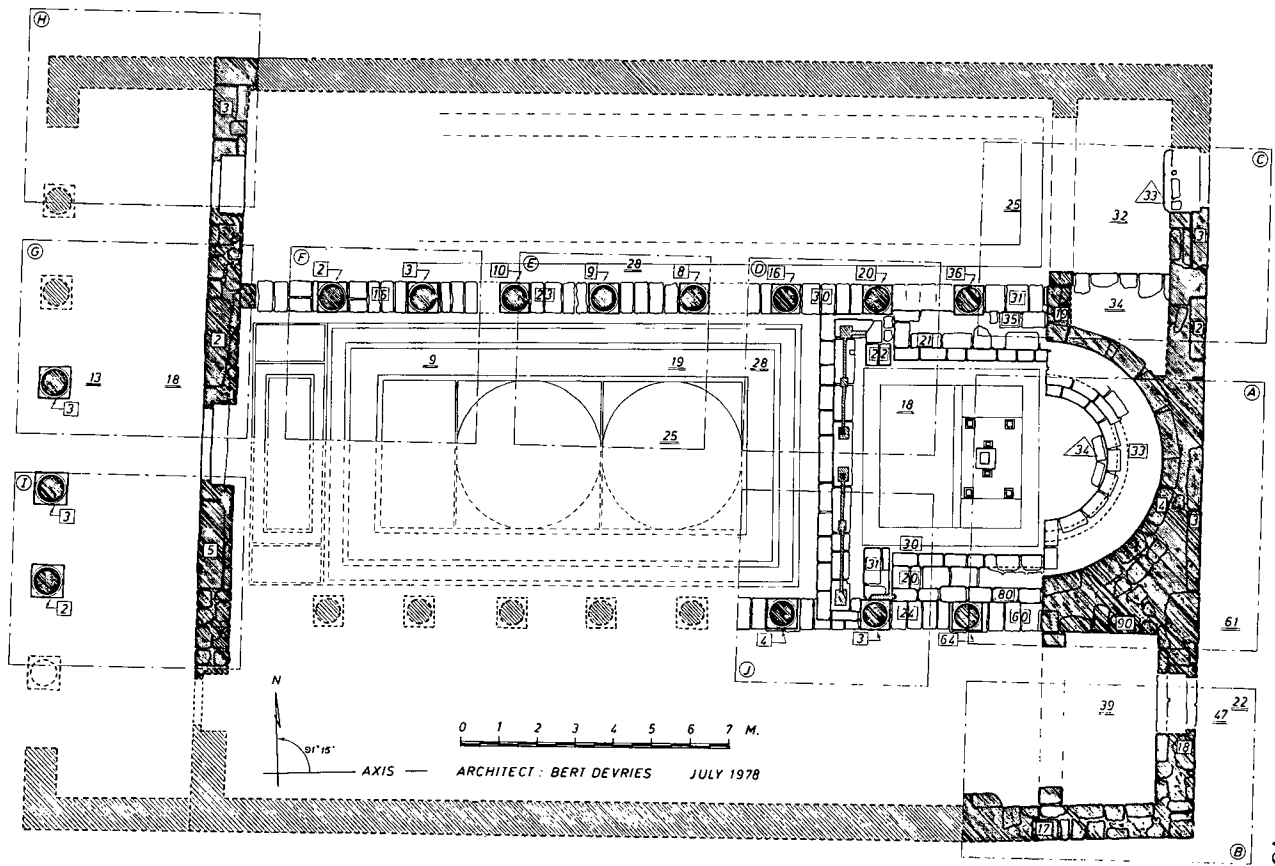
A PLAN OF THE ḤESBÂN NORTH CHURCH

A. Umayyad complex sitting directly on nave mosaic. Note column bases of Byzantine church *in situ* to the right.

B. The apse/chancel of the Byzantine church. Note two levels of mosaic flooring and fragment of column still standing.
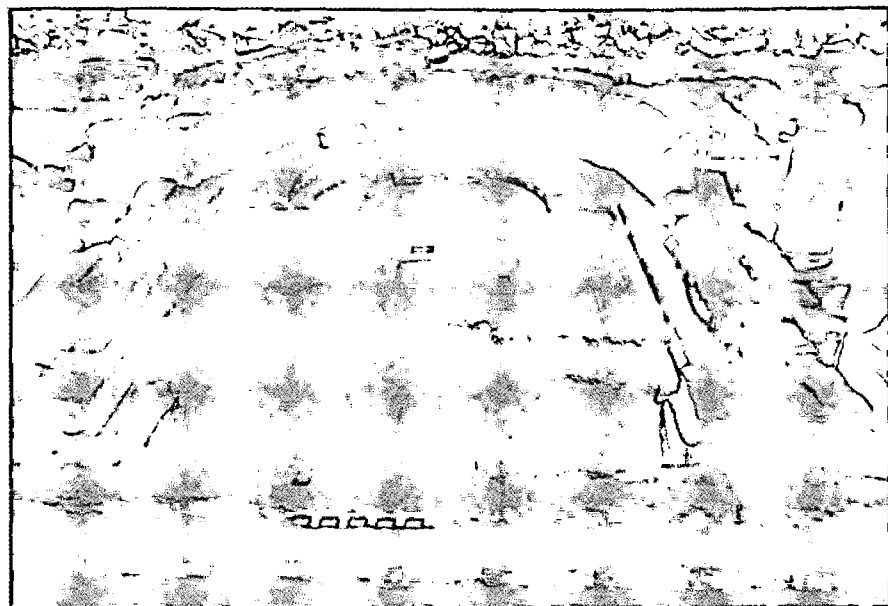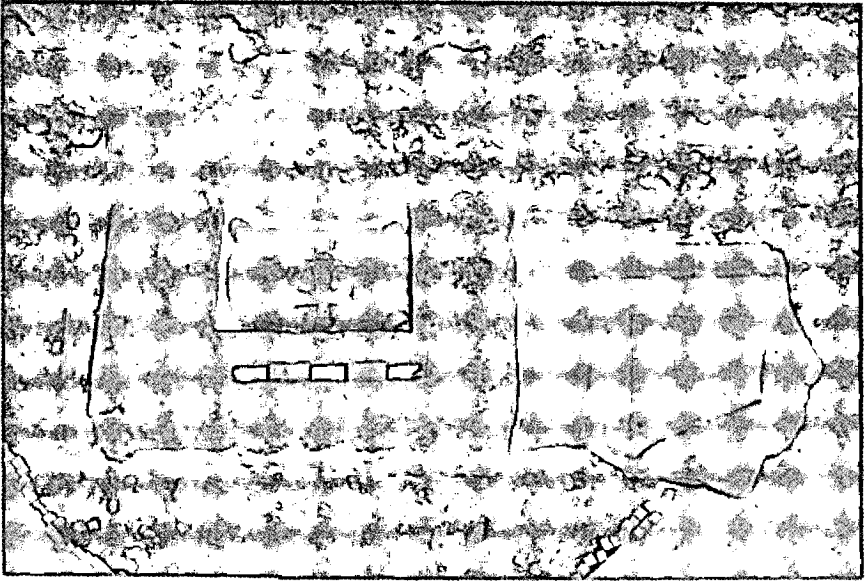
A. The marble ossuary *in situ* in the reliquarium.
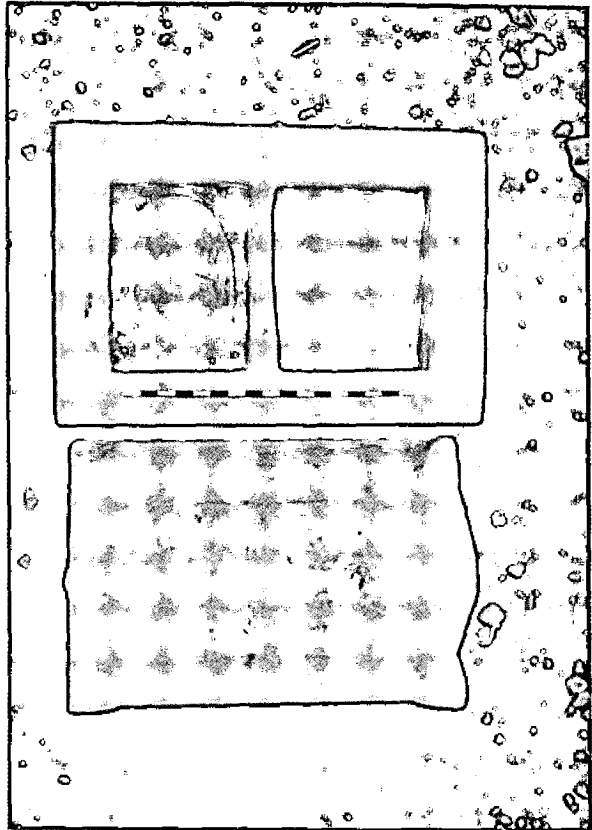
B. Marble ossuary showing silver reliquary in left compartment.
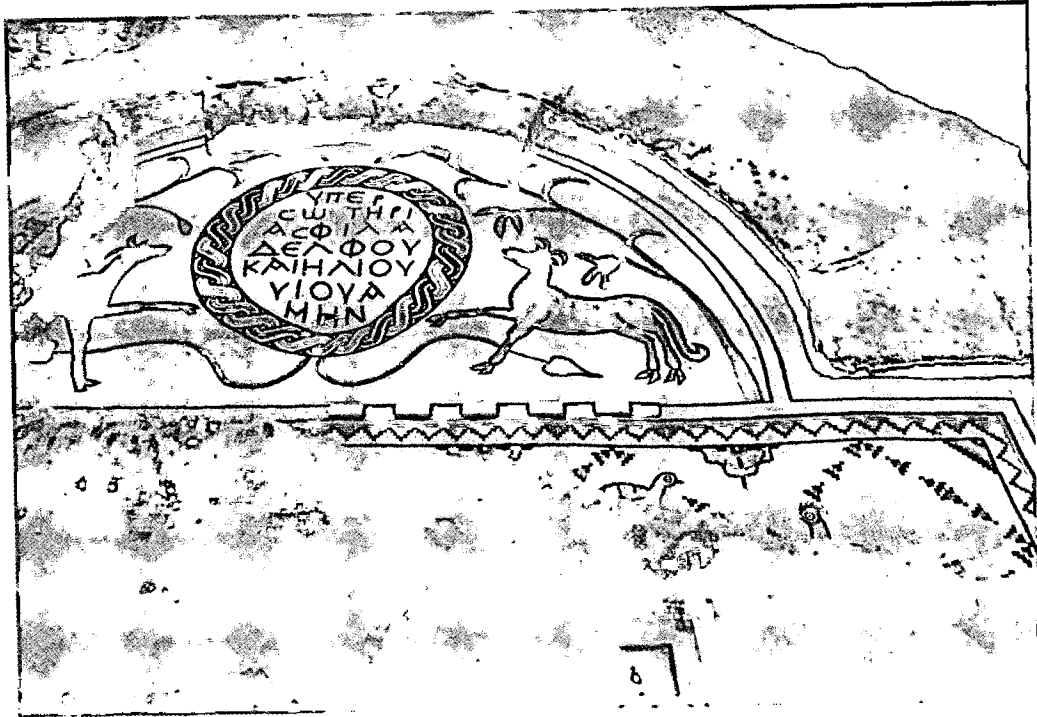
A. Lower apse mosaic showing gazelle-like animals and Greek inscription.

THE ROLLING-STONE TOMB F.1 AT TELL ḤESBÂN

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During the 1971 season of excavations at Tell Ḥesbân, a number of tombs in the ancient cemetery to the southwest of the tell, lining a portion of Wadi Tala', were either explored or cleared.[1] The western bank of the wadi, or eastern slope of Gourmeyet Ḥesbân, was designated Area E, and a portion of the southeastern bank of the wadi became Area F. It is in Area F that a tomb with a rolling or circular stone disk, used to close the entrance, was found.

Discovery and Excavation of the Tomb

The discovery was made by local villagers in the spring of 1970, according to the owner of the field where the tomb is located. It was these villagers who not only looted the tomb, leaving the interior totally disturbed, but also probably damaged its exterior architecture (Pl. I:1).

Preliminary work by the archaeologists included only the removal of a small amount of soil from the front of the tomb, in order to establish a "line" of tombs, that is, a possible row of tombs cut in the same stone outcrop. Tomb F.6 (an Early Roman type with loculi, or *kokhim*) is an example of those found by this method.

Actual clearance of this rolling-stone tomb, or Tomb F.1, began late in the season, August 5 through 20. Little information was thought to be gained from the interior because of the severe disturbance it had suffered. The excavator was merely to make preparations for architectural plans to be drawn and to salvage whatever possible.

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[1] See S. Douglas Waterhouse, "Areas E and F," *AUSS* 11 (1973): 113-125.

On August 5 a sampling of sherds from the interior was made, and the removal of soil filling the forecourt was begun (Pl. I:2). It was not until the following day that the circular stone disk could be raised and set within the track, or runway, immediately before the entrance. The recent robbers had broken away the lintel of the doorway and pulled the stone disk back to an almost flat position to give them access to the central chamber.

Exterior and interior clearance was carried on simultaneously. Excavation of the forecourt (loci were numbered from la to lh) was completed on August 13 with the removal of two partial human skeletons in the southern portion of the runway (locus lc, Pl. VI:1, right end).

On August 9, interior clearance was started by cutting two trenches which intersected in the middle of the central chamber. Some of the soil had undoubtedly silted in, but most seems to have been intentionally pushed in at some time, probably to discourage those who would seek to rob the dead.[2] The trenches not only allowed the architects to make their drawings, but also divided the central chamber into four quadrants, providing a control for the recording of any objects or bones not found in the loculi. No stratigraphy was visible in the walls of these trenches, except for a thin clay layer at the very bottom, coating only the floor of a large square pit in the center of the chamber (locus 15). The quadrants, to be readily distinguishable from other loci and the loculi, were assigned capital letters after the locus number 2 (e.g. 2A, 2B, 2C, 2D). The loculi (kokhim), or horizontal burial niches, were given loculus numbers from 1 to 12; thus the first loculus at the right of the entrance was designated 1, etc. (see Fig. 1).

While cutting the intersecting trenches, loculi 2 and 3 were cleared. The dirt within the quadrants was removed next, along with the fill of the central pit which lay underneath them. Loculi 1, 3 to 10, and 12 were excavated last.

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[2]"It was considered a religious duty to throw earth upon a dead body, which a person might happen to find unburied," according to William Smith, ed. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London, 1870), p. 554. Also see Abraham I. Shinedling, "Burial and Burial Customs," *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1940), p. 594.

The tomb's interior yielded more than expected in the way of material evidence, despite its condition. The looting by modern robbers was attested by a plastic bag found buried several centimeters deep in loculus 7. From all appearances — namely the greater amount of soil on the south side and the numerous skulls reconstructed from fragments that came from both north and south sides — the soil fill had been moved from the south side of the chamber to the north and back again by the robbers in their search for artifacts. Loculi 11 and 12 had been entered by sheep or goats, the split hoof prints being clearly visible. All human skeletal material was smashed, pottery was fragmented, and only a few small objects had been overlooked by the intruders.

Architecture

The tomb is cut in the hillside almost two meters below the surface,[3] and it appears never to have had any means of easy access, such as stairs. The most outstanding feature is, of course, its circular stone door, measuring 1.26m in diameter by .36m thick. This stone, after being raised to its original position, could be rolled with some difficulty by one person (see Pl. II:1).

The level runway extends the full length of the forecourt, north-south along the front (west) of the tomb (Pl. II:2). It consists of a wall parallel to the front of the tomb, set forward just enough to allow the stone to roll between. This wall is divided into two sections by a space corresponding with the entrance. The wall has been broken down. The north section still partially contains four courses of stone, probably the maximum height, but the south only three. There is paving in the runway, which reaches the full north-south length of the forecourt; but the paving extends less than half a meter west (in front) of the runway wall. (See Pl. II:2; Fig. 1.)

The front of the tomb itself has been lined by a stone veneer, and like the runway wall, it too has been partly destroyed. It could contain at least one more course of stones, where now there are only three. The lintel, as already mentioned, was broken away by

[3]Reuben G. Bullard, "Geological Study of the Heshbon Area," *AUSS* 10 (1972): 129-141.

robbers. The exterior, as well as the interior, is devoid of inscriptions or cut decorations of any kind. A large number one (1) was cut over the entrance by order of the director to distinguish it as Tomb 1 of that area.

Access to the interior is gained by a small entrance .90m high by .60m wide. From this three steps lead down into the central chamber (see Pl. III:1), which is 3.10m by 2.90m square and 1.48m in height. There is a pit in the floor of this chamber, measuring 1.84m by 1.90m square and .26m deep; this creates a ledge or bench which is level with the floor of each of the loculi. Twelve loculi radiate from the chamber, four each in the south (Pl. III:2), east (Pl. IV:1), and north walls (Pl. IV:2). The loculi are very regular in shape, averaging .50m wide, .90m high, 2m long. The entrances of these loculi were, it seems, originally meant to be rectangular; however, some of the soft limestone has caved in, giving several a gabled look. The front part of the partition between loculi 11 and 12 has also fallen in (Pl. IV:2).

Before excavation was completed, several stones in the lower portion of the north section of the runway wall were reset with cement. The circular stone door was cemented in place, slightly rolled back from the entrance, to prevent its being moved by villagers or tourists. It was feared that the movement of the stone would in time irreparably damage it, since chipping of the edges occurred with every movement between the runway walls (a complete architectural drawing is given in Fig. 1).

Skeletal Remains

Human skeletal remains were found outside as well as inside the tomb. All bone material was carefully sorted and labeled with locus or loculus numbers.[4] Because of the severely fragmented condition of long bones, only skulls, skull fragments, mandibles, and

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[4]Our thanks to Robert M. Little, who graciously gave his assistance in the analysis of the skeletal material.

teeth were saved for analysis. All remaining material was reburied in Tomb 6 of the same Area.

During clearance of the runway, human skeletal remains were found in the southern end (locus 1c, Pl. VI:1, right end). The remains proved to be those of a male adult approximately twenty-five and a male child about ten. Associated objects were a small bronze ring (H71 958), probably belonging to the child, a fragmented Early Roman lamp (H71 1239, Fig. 2:8), and a few scattered Early as well as Late Roman sherds.

Three possible solutions exist as to why the bones were deposited in the runway: a primary burial, the work of tomb robbers, or an act of desecration.

The first possibility, that of a primary burial, can be ruled out immediately. The skeletons were disarticulated, that is, mixed in such a way as not to allow for the existence of two bodies in such a small area. The skeletons were not complete as to the number or type of bones present. And finally, the Early Roman lamp was smashed as though broken after being thrown to the ground; it had not been carefully placed in the position in which it was found. It seems reasonable to conclude that the bones had originally been inside the tomb.

A second solution may lie in the workings of tomb robbers, ancient or modern. If it was a modern disturbance, such material would have been on or just under the surface; but these remains were nearly a meter and a half deep. Certainly the tomb had been looted in ancient times, hence the great amount of soil placed inside to reseal it — probably a pious act, by the ancients, of reburying the disturbed dead.[5] However, this too is not a satisfactory solution, because tomb robbers, whether ancient or modern, do not empty the contents of a tomb, leaving it outside. This would expose their clandestine activities to public view. Grave robbing has at times

[5]Along with F.1, other tombs which contained this same kind of Byzantine fill at Heshbon were F.5, F.6, F.8, F.14, G.10. See again Smith, p. 554.

carried stern punishment, even death.[6] Robbers always scatter and break material inside the tomb while sorting through to find valuables; such work must be done hurriedly, and time is wasted by throwing material outside.

Finally, but still unsatisfactorily, we may postulate that the tomb was desecrated. The Early Roman lamp sets the time in which the bodies were interred, and it could be assumed that the few Late Roman sherds, mixed up with the remains, give the period in which they were deposited within the runway. A portion of stone veneer was resting partly on the skeletons, which leads to the assumption that, while the tomb was being emptied, it was also being dismantled.[7] Perhaps in a frantic attempt to desecrate the tomb, the intruders tired after sufficiently wrecking the exterior and exposing several skeletons and then gave up, leaving the tomb open and vulnerable. If this happened in the Late Roman period, the bones in the runway could have been sufficiently covered by the Byzantine period to escape the notice of the pious ones and therefore would not have been re-interred.

Any stratigraphy which had been in the tomb was destroyed by robbers. Practically all bone material was smashed, and from the fresh appearance of the breaks this condition was brought about in modern times. The lack of stratigraphy is attested by the numerous skulls and mandibles reconstructed from pieces located at opposite

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[6]An inscription from Nazareth regarding the violation of tombs reads (given in S. A. Cook,"A Nazareth Inscription on the Violation of Tombs," *PEFQS*, January 1932, pp. 85-87): "Imperial decree: it is my decision that tombs and graves which have been made for the cult of ancestors or children or relatives, that these remain undisturbed for ever. If then anyone lays information that someone has destroyed them or in some way or other has exhumed the corpses, or has malevolently transferred the body to other places to the prejudice of the corpses or has displaced inscriptions or stones, I ordain that against such an one there should be a trial just as in respect of the cult of mortals as in respect of that of the gods. For much more should one honor the dead. Altogether then, let no one be permitted to change their place. Otherwise it is my will that the offender undergo capital punishment for the violation of graves."

[7]This part of the veneer was clearly not torn off at the same time as the lintel, because it was buried beneath the area disturbed by the modern robbers.

sides of the tomb. The most dramatic examples are skulls S20 (from 2B, 2, 3, and 4), S22 (from 6, 7, and 10), and S30 (from 1, 3, and 7).[8]

Because of the lack of articulated skeletons and the fact that most bone was irreparably splintered, determination of the number of individuals interred and of their sex and age could be made safely only from mandibles. Analysis revealed 77 individuals (including the two from the runway, locus 1c), 34 of whom were male, 33 female, and 10 children. The ages ranged from 1½ to 60 + years. It is important to make a comparative breakdown of ages and sex, of the 77:

    age 20 ± 15 under, 62 over,
    age 30 ± 37 under, 40 over,
    age 40 ± 43 under, 34 over,
    age 50 ± 7 over;

of those over the age of 40, 16 are men and 18 women, and of those over 50, 3 are men and 4 women. The number of women living longer than men is so minor as to show a rather even life span expectancy. If the ages are averaged, the expected life span is roughly 32 years, but such averaging unfairly represents all those who lived well beyond 40 (see skeletal table, p.90).

An unusual characteristic, which deserves special attention, is the presence of a metopic suture in six of the skulls (e.g., Pl. V:1).[9] An abnormally high occurrence of this kind strongly hints of an inherited trait, and hence probably a family use of the tomb. During the 1973 Heshbon season, two more skulls with metopic sutures were found in Tombs F.12 (Late Roman) and F.16 (Early Byzantine), as well as skulls 6 and 15 (both female) from Tomb F.38 (Early Roman

[8]All of the mandibles and skulls reconstructed from various locations within the tomb are as follows:

Mandibles: M4 (2A, 1, 3), M5 (2A, 2B), M6 (2A, 2D), M8 (2A, 1), M9 (2A, 2D), M13 (2B, 7), M14 (2B, 2D), M15 (2B, 2C), M62 (2A, 1).

Skulls: S18 (2A, 2B, 5), S19 (2A, 2D), S20 (2B, 2, 3, 4), S21 (2A, 3, 6), S22 6, 7, 10), S26 (2B, 2C, 6), S30 (1, 3, 7), S31 (2A, 2B, 2), S32 (3, 5), S33 (2, 11), S36 (2D, 10), S39 (2,3), S41 (2A, 2), S42 (2B, 5).

[9]Skulls: S24 male, age 40 +; S25 female, age 30 +; S26 female, age 60 +; S27 male, age 40 +; S28 female, age 40 +; and S29 child.

to Byzantine) found in 1976, showing a possible later extension of the F.1 family.[10]

Mandible M20 shows an unmistakable healed break at the chin (Pl. V:2). It was not merely a break, but one-fourth inch of bone and two teeth have been sliced out and ridges formed on each raw end, indicating prolonged rubbing before healing. No "normal" blow could account for such an injury. The mandible is that of a 40 year old male, and shows unusually strong muscular attachments. The teeth exhibit extreme wear from rough diet. A possible explanation for such a wound, muscular development, and diet could be that the man had been a soldier. It was found that a Roman short sword could remove such a chunk of bone.[11] Extreme muscular development and rough diet were common to the ancient professional soldier. This identification is further enhanced by the fact that Herod chose Heshbon as one of his settlements for veterans to protect his frontier.[12]

It has been the common opinion that the pit in the central chamber of a loculus (kokhim) type tomb is for the deposition of bones to accommodate new burials in the loculi.[13] A combination of evidence from the Heshbon cemetery and previously published tombs will help to establish the actual function of this pit. Its uses were: to allow one to stand upright in the chamber, to form a ledge or bench for the preparation of the dead, and to provide a sump for the drainage of water.

[10]Dewey M. Beegle, "Necropolis Area F," AUSS 13 (1975): 203-211. On pp. 204 and 209, Nitowski's identification and analysis is used. The skull from F.12 (a shaft tomb) is that of a child; from F.16 (also a shaft tomb) of a male 45-50 years old. That F.1 was a family tomb, there is no doubt; burial practices in Palestine from early periods dictated interment with the family, and burial apart from the family was a disgrace. See Gen. 25:7-10; 49:29-31; 50:13; II Sam. 2:32; I Kings 13:22; Shinedling, p. 594; Joseph A. Callaway, "Burials in Ancient Palestine: From the Stone Age to Abraham," BA 26 (1963): 74.

[11]Comparison of a Roman short sword (AUAM 64.087) in Andrews University's Horn Archaeological Museum with the mandible showed that such a sword could have inflicted the blow.

[12]Michael Avi-Yonah, The Holy Land (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966), pp. 99-101.

[13]Jack Finegan, The Archaeology of the New Testament (Princeton, 1972), p. 185; Eric M. Meyers, "Secondary Burials in Palestine," BA 33 (1970): 20.

The first of the uses proposed is the most practical, simply to allow one to stand upright in the tomb. In the Heshbon tombs there was enough clearance between the bench and ceiling so that one could stand without using the pit.[14] However, in other tombs of this type, one cannot stand except in the pit, as in Tombs 5 and 6 at Kurkush (both rolling-stone tombs).[15] Tomb 5 has a 38-inch clearance between the bench and ceiling, while Tomb 6 has only 24 inches.

The presence of the pit forms a bench on three sides, and often on four sides. In some cases, such as Tombs II and III at Givʿat ha-Mivtar, the stairs lead directly into the pit, and one is unable to step from the stairs over to the bench.[16] Under these circumstances, if the central pit was used for the reburial of bones, one would be forced to step down onto the bones, not only to get into the tomb, but especially to use the loculi along the wall opposite the door. There are three alternative means of bone reburial: (1) ossuaries, used predominantly around Jerusalem; (2) pushing bones back toward the closed end of the loculus (kokh); (3) the use of a covered side pit. Tomb III at Givʿat ha-Mivtar contains two such small pits, apart from the central pit.[17] These were in the northeastern corner (containing more than two skeletons), and in the southwestern corner (containing eight skeletons), with no bones in the central pit. Whenever bones are found in the central pit, it is also generally noted that the tomb at one time or another had been robbed and shows signs of that disturbance.[18]

The bench is level with the floor of the loculus, and it has been found to hold ossuaries, pottery, and other funerary objects.[19] It is also highly probable that the bench held the body for burial preparation. This seems to be indicated in the New Testament

[14]Heshbon tombs: F.1, F.6, F.14, F.18, F.28, F.31, G.10.

[15]C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, The Survey of Western Palestine, 2 (London, 1882): 339-340.

[16]V. Tzaferis, "Jewish Tombs at and near Givʿat ha-Mivtar, Jerusalem," IEJ 20 (1970): 18-32, Figs. 3, 4.

[17]Ibid., p. 19, Fig. 4.

[18]B. Ravani, "Rock-Cut Tombs at Ḥuqoq: The Excavations," ʿAtiqot, 3 (1961): 125.

[19]Ibid., p. 123; Robert H. Smith, "The Tomb of Jesus," BA 30 (1967): 87-88.

account concerning the placement of the body of Christ before its final interment.[20]

The third use of the central pit, that of a sump, is most clearly attested by Tombs F.1 and F.6 at Heshbon.[21] At the bottom of the pit, a washed-in clay layer several centimeters thick was found which contained sherds but no bone fragments of any kind. Since the floor of the loculus is level with the bench, the pit prevents water from running back on to the bodies.

Tomb Parallels

F.1 was the first rolling-stone tomb found east of the Jordan river. In 1974 a second, also at Heshbon (G.10), was excavated.[22] Our present research has documented 61 tombs (including the two at Heshbon) that used a rolling-stone for the entrance closure.[23] Of

[20]Mark 16:5 and John 20:12; E. L. Sukenik, "The Earliest Records of Christianity," *AJA* 51 (1947): 351.

[21]The discussion between D. Waterhouse and D. Beegle in their excavation reports in *AUSS* concerning the sump theory is probably best settled by J. Davis's statement: "The fact that silting occurred outside the sump area may be due to ground shifting as a result of earthquake activity or to the tomb masons' merely following an old but ill understood architectural tradition" ("Areas F and K," *AUSS* 16 [1978]: 132).

[22]James H. Stirling, "Areas E, F, and G.10," *AUSS* 14 (1976): 101-106.

[23]Other rolling stone tombs not used as parallels:

Abu Gosh (2 tombs), F.-M. Abel, "Deux tombeaux à meule à Abou Ghoch," *RB* 34 (1925): 275-279.

Kh. Malhah (8 tombs), Rushmia (1 tomb), Shefa 'Amr (1 tomb), Conder and Kitchener 1:315, 329, 339.

'Ayun Heiderah (1 tomb), Kh. Heiderah (1 tomb), Kh. Esh Shîh (3 tombs), Mâlûf (1 tomb), Sûrafend (3 tombs), Yâsûf (1 tomb), Conder and Kitchener, 2:6, 30, 33, 62, 123, 378.

Bethphage (2 tombs), Sylvester J. Saller and E. Testa, *The Archaeological Setting of the Shrine of Bethphage* (Jerusalem, 1961).

Deir Dibwan (2 tombs), mentioned in correspondence from Joseph Callaway.

Gezer (8 tombs), R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Excavations of Gezer*, 1 (London, 1912): 320, 332, 334, 365, 376, 377, 381, 387.

H. Midras (2 tombs, one of which is a parallel) Amos Kloner, "H. Midras (Kh. Durusiya)," *IEJ* 27 (1977): 251-253.

Jerusalem — Herodian Family tomb, Finegan, p. 198.

Jerusalem — École Biblique Française (1 tomb), Conrad Schick, "Discoveries North of Damascus Gate," *PEFQS*, 1890, pp. 9-11.

Jerusalem — Sanhedria Tomb 19, Julius Jotham-Rothschild, "The Tombs of Sanhedria," *PEQ*, January-April 1952, pp. 23-38.

the 61, only 17 are similarly constructed with interior loculi
(*kokhim*): two at Nazareth,[24] four at Kurkush,[25] one at Mughar Esh
Sherif,[26] one at Khirbet Ibreiktas,[27] one at Heshbon (G.10), three at
Silet edh-Dhahr,[28] one at el-Mejdel;[29] and those not of a purely
loculus architecture: one at Deir ed-Derb,[30] the tomb of Queen
Helena of Adiabene in Jerusalem,[31] and one at Wadi er-Rababi.[32]
The 17th, which bears the most striking resemblance with regard to
exterior construction, is one at H. Midras (Kh. Durusiya).[33] It is im-
portant to notice the similarities in detail, because this tomb and F.1
exhibit the most elaborate exterior architecture of all such tombs.
First is the presence of a paved forecourt. In F.1 the paving extends
less than half a meter beyond the runway wall, while at H. Midras
the court is completely set with stone. Perhaps this would indicate
that the jagged paving of F.1 was never finished. The retaining wall
of H. Midras, almost complete, illustrates how F.1 could be
restored. H. Midras also has the second wall, like the veneer of F.1,
against the stone outcrop in which the tomb was cut.

Tel 'Eton (1 tomb), David Ussishkin, "Tombs from the Israelite Period at Tel
'Eton," *Tel Aviv*, 1, (1974): 109-127.

Tell en-Naṣbeh (1 tomb), Chester C. McCown, *Tell En-Naṣbeh*, 1 (New Haven,
1947): 118.

Beit Jibrin (1 tomb), Warren J. Moulton, "A Painted Christian Tomb at Beit
Jibrin," *AASOR*, 2-3, for 1921-22 (New Haven, 1923), pp. 95-104.

Nablus (1 tomb), F.-M. Abel, "Notre exploration à Naplouse," *RB*, 31 (1922): 89-99,
129.

Tell Baruch (1 tomb), J. Kaplan, "The Archaeology and History of Tel Aviv-Jaffa,"
BA, 35 (1972): 66-95.

[24]Asad Mansur, "An Interesting Discovery in Nazareth," *PEFQS*, 1923, pp. 89-91;
P. B. Bagatti, *Excavations in Nazareth* (Jerusalem, 1969).

[25]Conder and Kitchener, 2: 339-340; M. Ralph Savignac, "Visite aux fouilles de
Samarie. A travers les nécropoles de la Montagne d' Éphraïm," *RB*, n.s., 7 (1910):
113-127.

[26]Conder and Kitchener, 2: 142.

[27]Ibid., p. 31.

[28]O. R. Sellers and D. C. Baramki, "A Roman-Byzantine Burial Cave in Northern
Palestine," *BASOR*, Supplementary Studies, nos. 15-16 (1953).

[29]Conder and Kitchener, 2: 202.

[30]Ibid., p. 314; Savignac, pp. 113-127.

[31]Finegan, pp. 199-202.

[32]R. A. Stewart Macalister, "The Rock Cut Tombs in Wady er-Rababi, Jerusalem,"
PEFQS, 1901, pp. 148-149.

[33]Kloner, pp. 251-253.

The track of F.1 is level, while that of H. Midras is slanted toward the entrance, making closure of the tomb automatic.[34] The rolling stones themselves differ only slightly in size; the one in F.1 is 1.26m in diameter and .36m thick, while that at H. Midras is 1.80m in diameter and .32m thick. The interior of the two tombs does not differ in architectural style but in type of construction. H. Midras, rather than having its *kokhim* carved out of the stone outcrop, has them built out of cut stones. By extending one of the *kokhim* of the back wall, a second chamber was added later which contained arcosolia. The pottery from both tombs attests the same period of use.

Pottery and Objects

Because of the severely disturbed nature of Tomb F.1's interior, very few loci had a clear, unmixed pottery reading. Loculi 3, 4, and 5 had pure Early Roman sherds, as well as the central pit, locus 15. All other loci (interior and exterior) are mixed, but contain Early Roman sherds (see pottery reading by locus p.91).

The predominance of reconstructed pottery is Early Roman, with four from the Late Roman period; only sherds were found from the Byzantine period (Fig. 2). One large jug was restored from pieces found in the central chamber and the exterior court (Fig. 2:6). As previously noted, an Early Roman lamp found with the skeletons in the southern end of the runway (locus 1c) provides a date for those remains (Fig. 2:8).

It is clear from the pottery and architectural style that the tomb was constructed in the Early Roman period.[35] It continued in use through the Late Roman period, but the few scattered Byzantine sherds should not be considered as constituting evidence for the use

[34]The rolling-stone tomb at the École Biblique Française in Jerusalem also has a slanted track.

[35]Rolling-stone tombs with loculus (*kokhim*) interior construction and which can be dated to the Early Roman period from ceramic evidence are: H. Midras, Nazareth, Silet edh-Dhahr, Heshbon (G.10). Non-rolling-stone *kokhim* tombs supporting the Early Roman date, to name a few: Heshbon F.6, F.8, F.14, F.18, F.28, F.31; Ravani, T.I, T.II, T.IV; L.Y. Rahmani, "Jewish Rock-Cut Tombs in Jerusalem," 'Atiqot, 3 (1961), Figs. 8, 9, 10; Tzaferis, T.I, T.II, T.III, T.IV; McCown, T.2, T.4, T.6, T.8, T.71.

of the tomb for burials in that period, but probably only the act of resealing against violation as mentioned above.

Aside from the reconstructable pottery, 36 small objects were found, although most of them fragmented. These objects were not expected in view of the recent vandalism suffered by the tomb. The kinds of objects represented, when compared to those of the other tombs of the same type at Heshbon (F.6, F.14, F.18, F.38, and G.10), exhibit a popular pattern for burial furnishings for this period. The objects found are as follows: nine beads, four black buttons, five ivory hairpins, one gold earring, one bronze bell, one glass bottle, one ceramic box fragment, one wood fragment with iron nails, five rings (one iron, one silver, three bronze), and eight bracelets (two iron, two glass [Pl. VI:2], four bronze).

SKELETAL TABLE

Age	Children*	Female	Male	Total
1½	M23			1
2	M30/31 M38, M39			3
2½	M24			1
4	M19			1
5	M48, M68			2
7	M61			1
8	M60			1
10			M2	1
13			M13	1
14		M63		1
17			M14	1
20			M5	1
25		M10, M62, M67	M1, M15, M58, M73	7
30		M18, M28, M46, M50, M52, M53, M76	M11, M25, M41, M57, M59, M65, M69, M74	15
35		M22, M37, M42, M71	M6, M43	6
40		M17, M27, M45, M70, M77	M7, M9, M20, M29, M40, M44, M49, M51, M72	14
40+		M33	M34	2
45		M8, M12, M75, M78	M4	5
45+		M3	M26, M64	3
50			M32	1
50+		M56	M16, M36	3
60		M55		1
60+		M21, M66		2
Adult		M35, M47, M54		3

77

*Child too young to determine sex

POTTERY READING BY LOCUS

EXTERIOR

Locus, Loculus

1   1 possible Arabic, Byzantine, Late Roman, Early Roman dominant, 7th-6th B.C.
1a   1 possible Arabic, Byzantine, 1 Late Roman, 2 Early Roman
1b   none
1c   few Late Roman, Early Roman
1d   few possible Byzantine, Late Roman, Early Roman, few 7th-6th B.C.
1e   Late Roman, Early Roman
1f   Late Roman, Early Roman, few 7th-6th B.C.
1g   Late Roman, Early Roman, few 7th-6th B.C.
1h   Early Roman, 7th-6th B.C.

INTERIOR

2   few Byzantine, Late Roman, Early Roman dominant, 7th-6th B.C.
1   1 possible Late Roman, Early Roman
2   Byzantine body sherds, Late Roman, Early Roman, 7th-6th B.C.
3   Early Roman
4   Early Roman
5   Early Roman
6   Late Roman, Early Roman, 7th-6th B.C.
7   Late Roman, Early Roman dominant
8   Early Roman, 7th-6th B.C.
9   none
10   Byzantine, Late Roman, Early Roman dominant
11   none
12   none
15   Early Roman

FIGURE 1

SECTION A-A
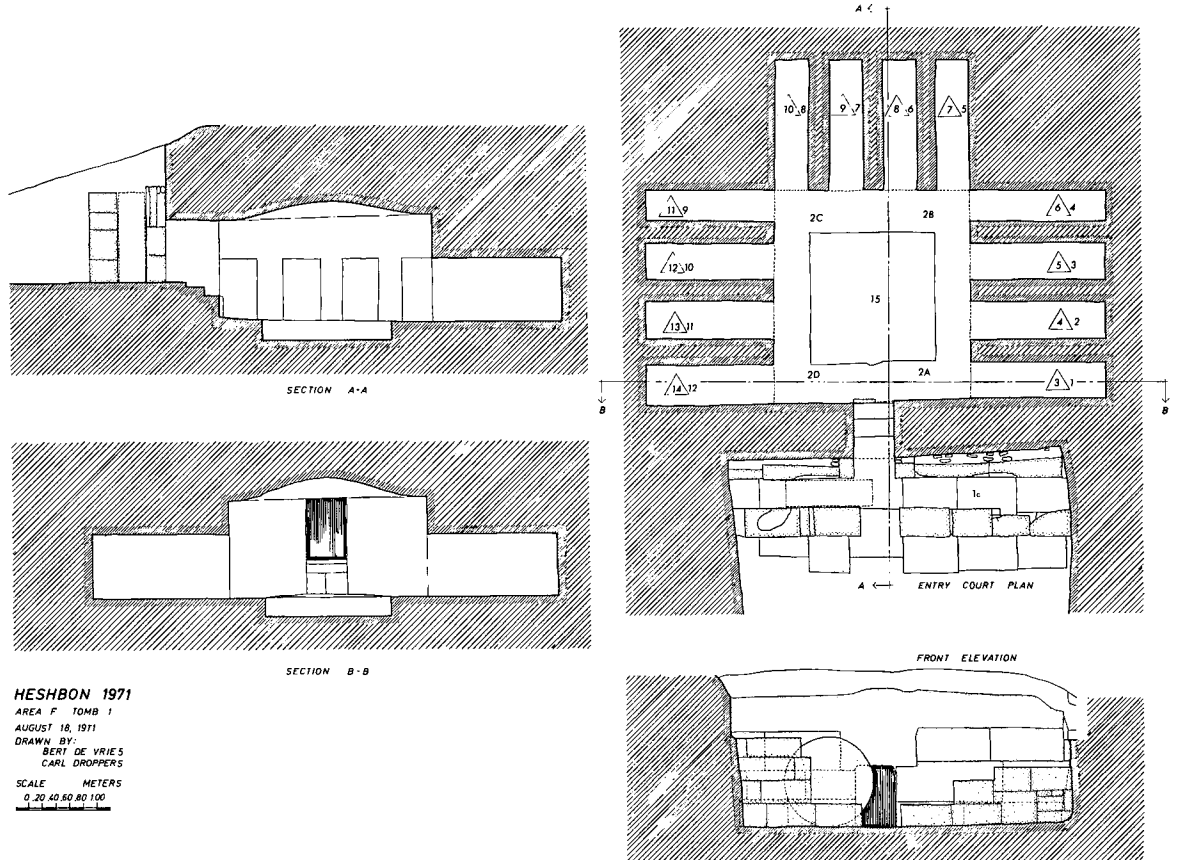
SECTION B-B

HESHBON 1971
AREA F TOMB 1
AUGUST 18, 1971
DRAWN BY:
    BERT DE VRIES
    CARL DROPPERS

SCALE   METERS
0 .20 .40 .60 .80 1.00

A ←   ENTRY COURT PLAN

FRONT ELEVATION

Fig. 1. Plan and sections of the Rolling-Stone Tomb

FIGURE 2 93

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

10 CM
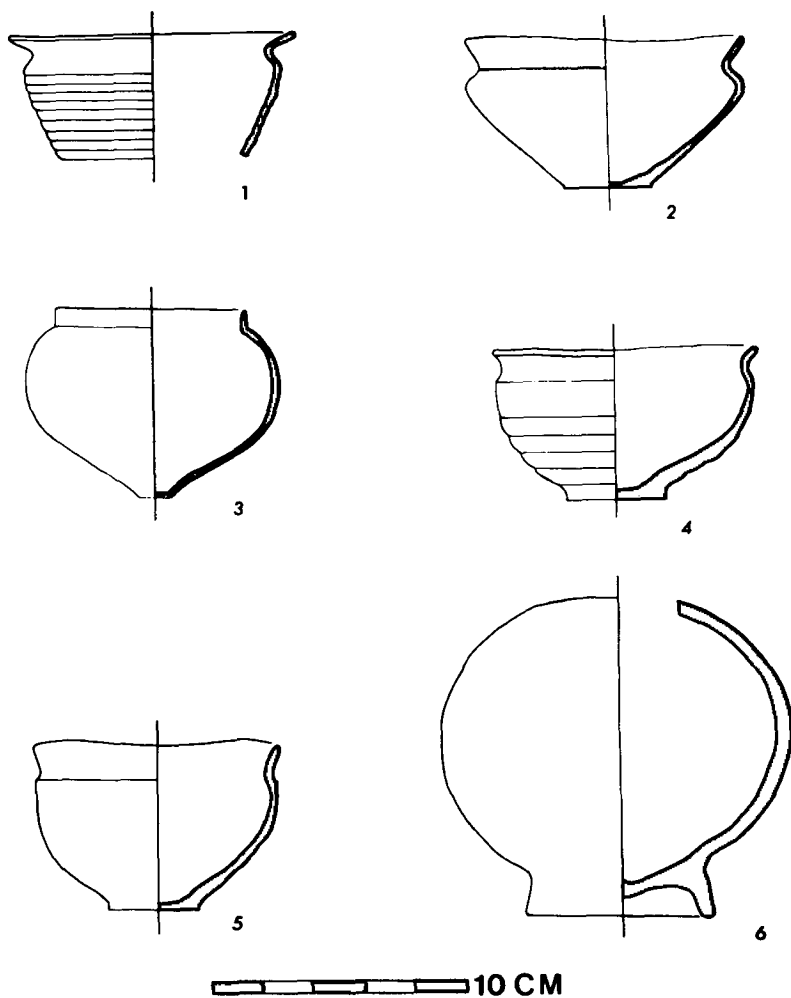
1. Bowl (1247/71.813) Early Roman — 2A — 7.5YR-7/4 pink over 10YR-6/1 light gray

2. Bowl (1244/71.810) Early Roman — 2B, 4 — 10YR-6/2 light brownish gray mixed with 5YR-6/3 light reddish brown

3. Bowl (1245/71.811) Late Roman — 2 — 5YR-7/4 pink and 5YR-7/6 reddish yellow

4. Bowl (1243/71.809) Early Roman — 2 — 5YR-7/6 reddish yellow

5. Bowl (1109/71.526) Early Roman — 2A — 5YR-7/6 reddish yellow

6. Jug (1242/71.808) Late Roman — 1g, 2 — 2.5YR-6/4 light reddish brown
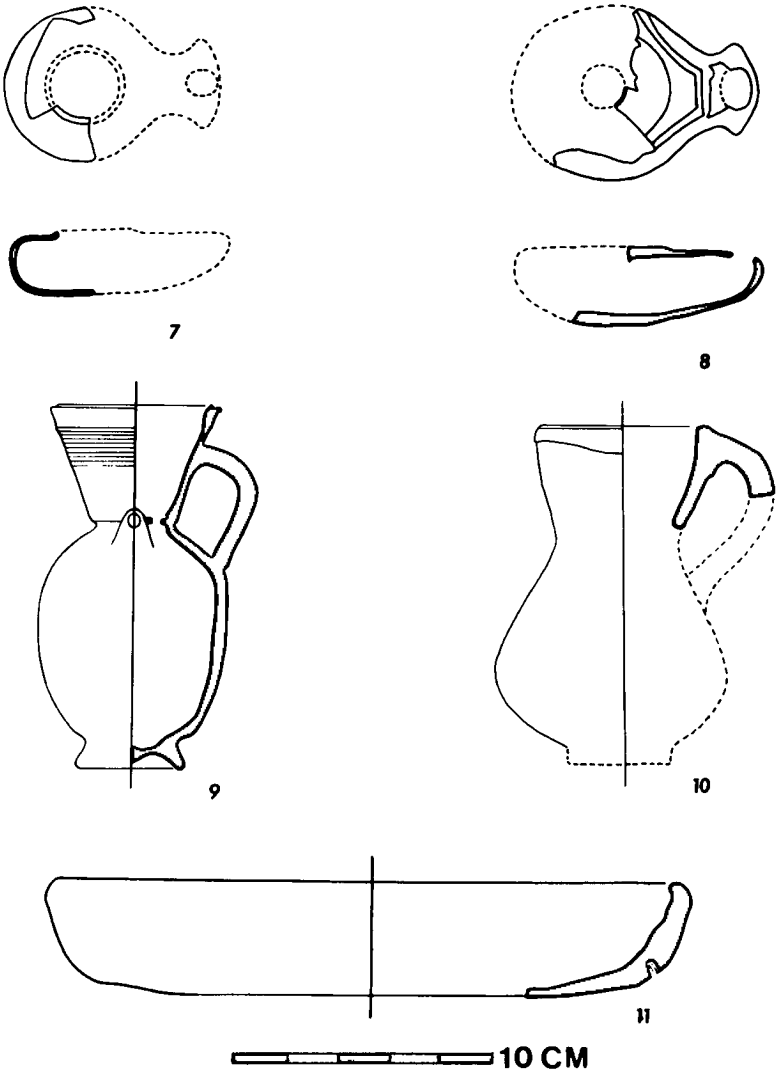
7. Lamp-Herodian (1240/71.806) Early Roman — 2B — 5YR-6/6 reddish yellow

8. Lamp (1239/71.805) Early Roman — 1c — 10YR-6/1 gray

9. Strainer jug (1040/71.643) Early Roman — 2B — 10YR-5/2 grayish brown and 5YR-6/6 reddish yellow

10. Jug (1241/71.807 Late Roman — 2, 6 — 5YR-7/6 reddish yellow and 7.5YR-8/4 pink wash

11. Bowl (1248/71.814) Late Roman — 2A — 7.5YR-7/6 reddish yellow with 10YR-5/1 gray and 2.5YR-5/6 red paint

1. Exterior before excavation, showing rolling-stone pulled back and lying almost flat.
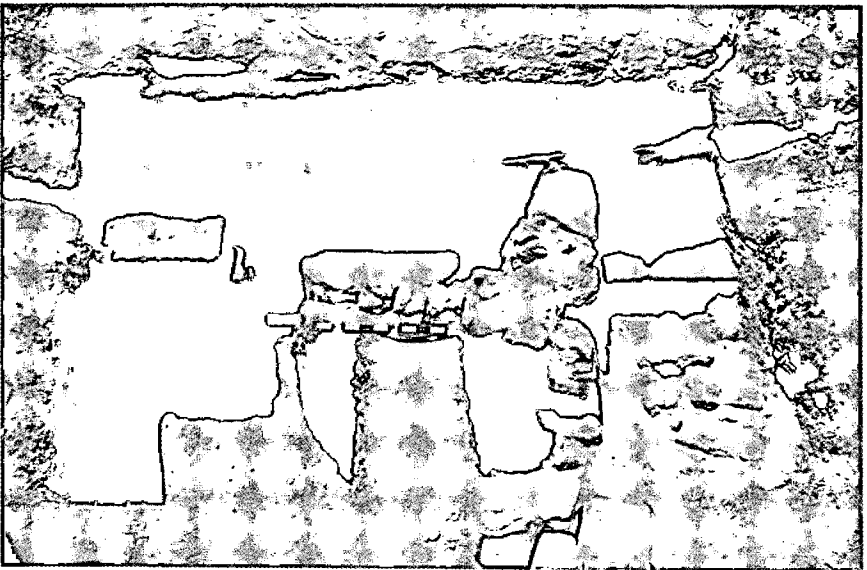
2. Exterior during excavation, before rolling-stone was raised and placed in its track.

1. Excavator, Eugenia Nitowski, emerging from tomb entrance, illustrating size of doorway and rolling-stone.
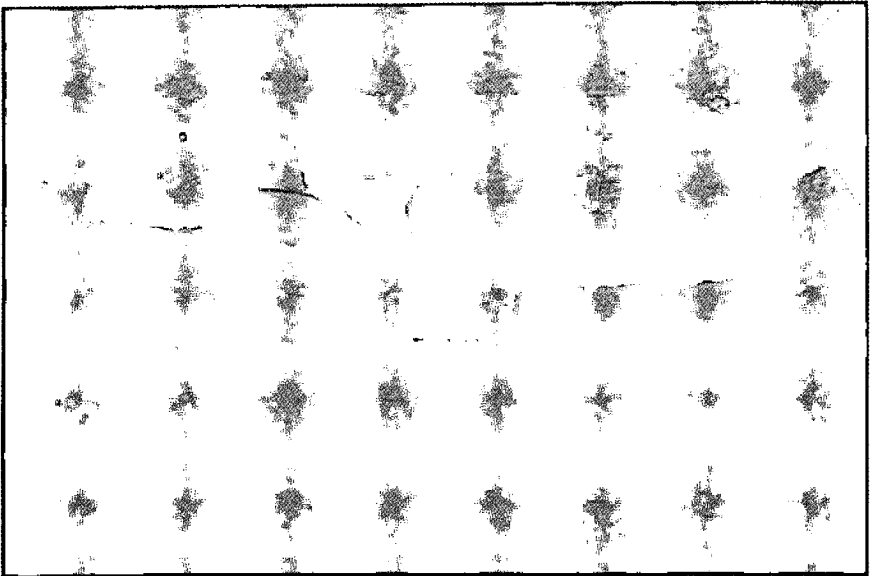
2. Excavation of tomb exterior completed.
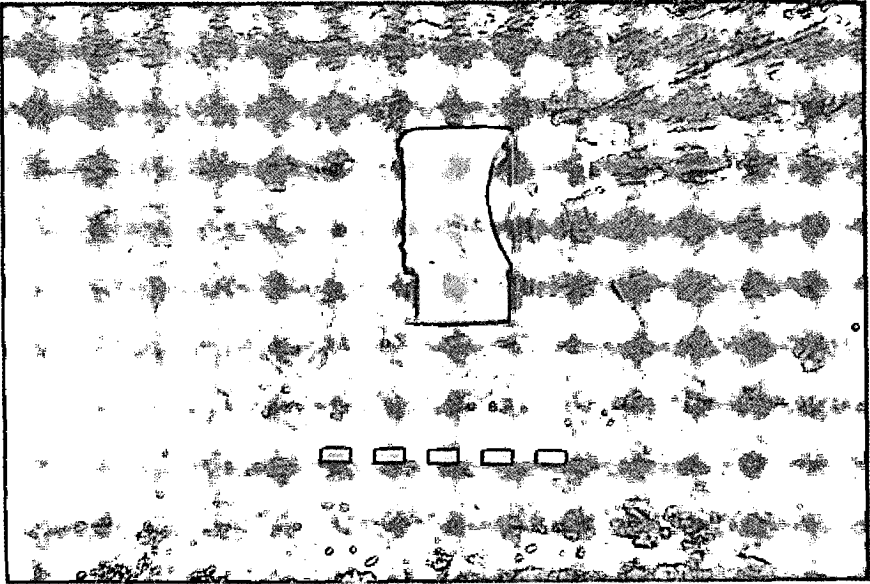
1. Interior view: west wall with doorway.
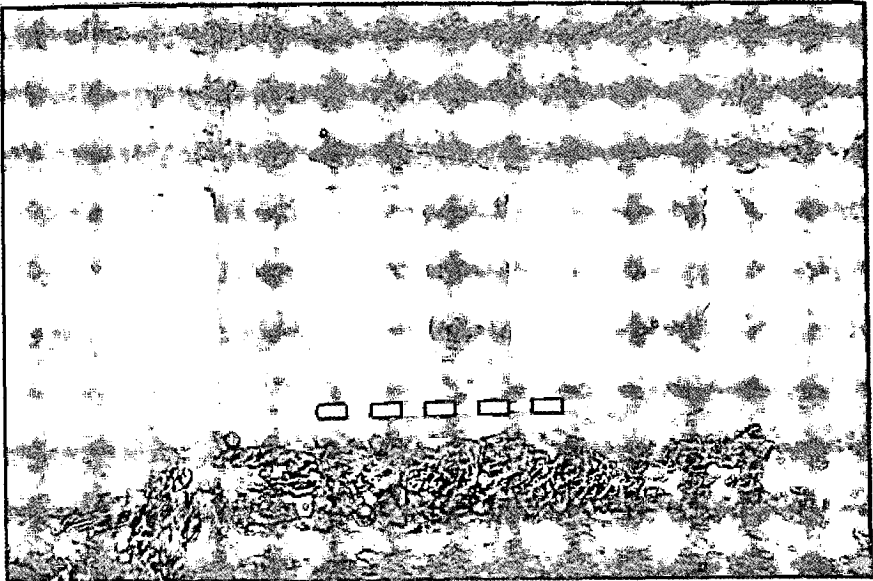
2. Interior view: south wall.
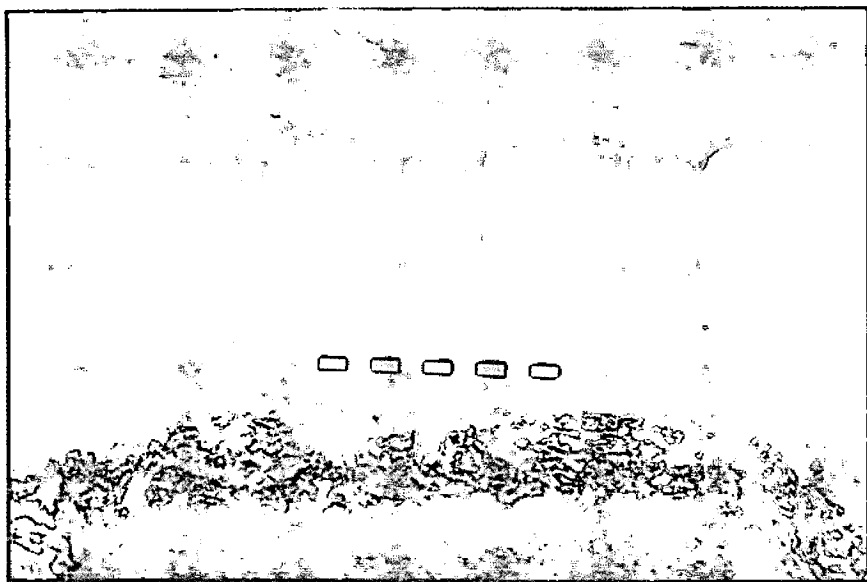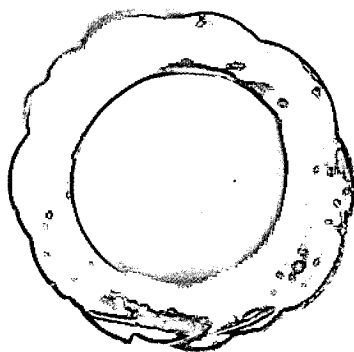
1. Interior view: east wall.
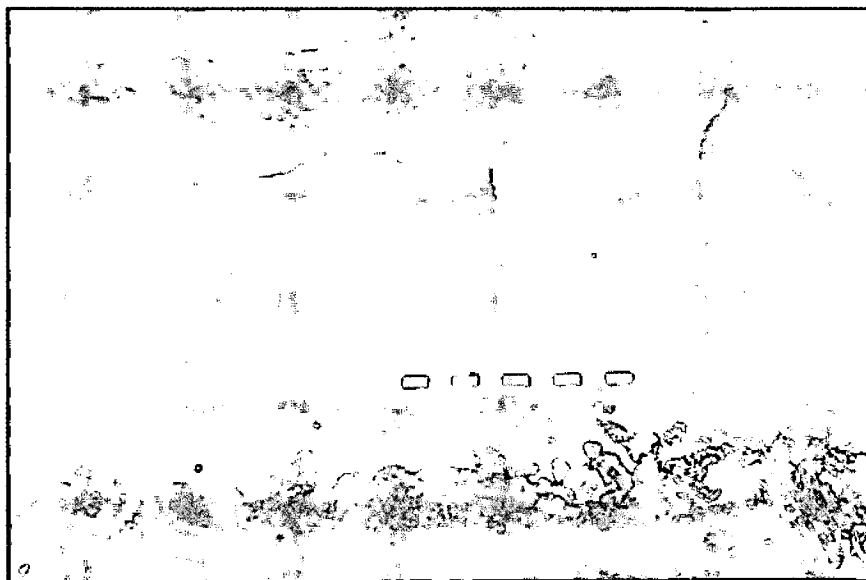
2. Interior view: north wall.
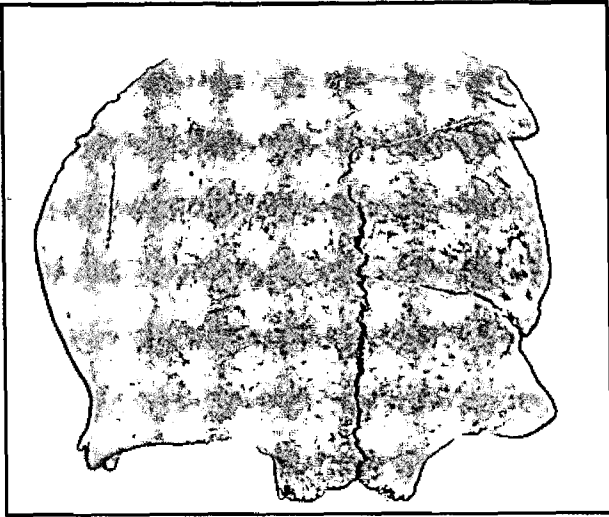
1. Skull fragment with metopic suture.
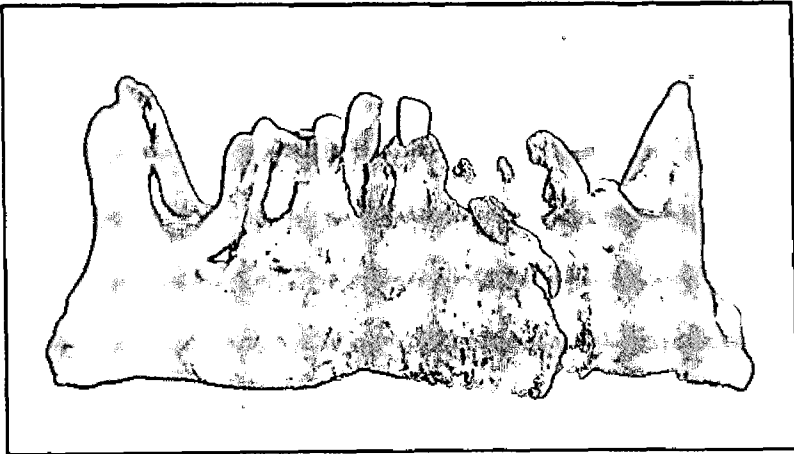
2. Mandible (M20) showing healed break.

1. Detail view of the track in front of the tomb, holding the rolling-stone.

5 CM

2. Black glass bracelet found inside the tomb.

BOOK REVIEWS

Aubert, Roger, et al., eds. *The Church in a Secularized Society*. New York: Paulist Press, 1978. xxxi + 719 pp. $19.95.

This is vol. 5 in the important series *The Christian Centuries*. It begins with the election of Pope Pius IX on the eve of the great European crisis of 1848, and ends reasonably enough shortly after the close of the Second Vatican Council in 1965. For the most part it has been written by the distinguished Belgian church historian Roger Aubert, but there are important contributions from other historians and in particular from the well-known American historian John Tracy Ellis.

The different authors of this series have attempted to break with two long established practices of Catholic historians. They have departed from the old habit of seeing the Catholic Church as a primarily European institution by devoting a large amount of space to the Eastern Churches, to the English-speaking world beyond Europe, and also to the Third World, i.e., the older Christian churches of Latin America as well as the "young churches" of Asia and Africa. Similarly, instead of focusing on the tumultuous relationships between Church and State or the theological controversies during these 120 years there is a greater concentration on the daily life of the People of God, on the faith and devotion of Catholics, on Social Catholicism and Catholic Action, on pastoral work and biblical renewal. The authors have consciously attempted to incorporate materials too often ignored by earlier Catholic historians.

This wider approach to the writing of ecclesiastical history suffers from inevitable limitations. In the first place, the amount of research and sheer information which is available in some areas of church history is not available in others. Similarly the different subject divisions do not always appear to coincide neatly with each other, and as a result the narrative at times seems disjointed or limited. On the other hand, the account of the Catholic Church in the United States (which goes a little farther than the closing of Vatican II) is a remarkable example of what can be achieved in a limited space.

The book is outstandingly illustrated and offers, at the beginning, a thirteen-page Chronological Table which draws an often stimulating parallel between successive political, social, and cultural events on the one hand, and the evolution of history of the Roman Catholic Church in its various aspects on the other. The volume also includes an extensive and invaluable bibliography which to some extent alleviates the shortcomings of the more incomplete and somewhat schematic sections of the survey. This bibliography is the most valuable in that for many of the subjects treated in these volumes no adequate general work of reference as yet exists. One can only hope that the wider approach of this writing of ecclesiastical history will

be welcomed and will be imitated by historians in the future. The volume, obviously, was not intended as a university textbook. Still, even specialists in these subjects will appreciate having an overall picture of the period.

Andrews University   RAOUL DEDEREN

Beegle, Dewey M. *Prophecy and Prediction.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: Pryor
    Pettengill, 1978. vi + 274 pp. Paperback, $5.95.

Dewey Beegle's interest in questions pertaining to biblical revelation and inspiration has surfaced in various earlier titles, and his stance on this subject has caused no inconsiderable stir in current Christian evangelical circles (to which he presumably may be said to belong or at least has had the closest affinities). Indeed, his particular "inductive" approach to the question of inspiration of the Bible has tended to categorize him as somewhat of a maverick among evangelicals.

The present title continues Beegle's work in this particular field, specifically in the area indicated in its title; but it appears to be more polemical in nature than some of his earlier publications. Indeed, his Introduction gives voice to this fact by describing the book as "an attempt to meet the need for a thorough discussion of the issues. The aim is to understand what the Bible teaches about prophecy, especially concerning the prediction of events which already have occurred and those which are to come at the end of the age" (p. 2). He continues: "On the one hand, the task is very difficult because traditional views about prophecy are often charged with emotion. Constructive criticism is taken as a threat instead of being accepted as an aid to a more accurate comprehension of what Scripture teaches and what to expect. . . . On the other hand, there are many Christians who are uneasy about the prophetic systems taught them and they are searching for better alternatives."

A thorough-going analysis of this book's contents is impossible in this brief review, but a listing of the chapter titles, together with a few comments on some of the matters covered, will be appropriate.

The first chapter, "Jesus is Coming Soon!" (pp. 3-6) serves hardly more than as a second introduction, and it is with chap. 2, "Early Prophets of Israel" (pp. 7-19), that the main text actually begins. The discussion of the prophets is continued under the titles "Later Prophets," "Short-range Predictions," "Were the Prophets Inerrant?," "Long-range Predictions," and "The Messiah and the Suffering Servant" (pp. 20-87). The treatment provided in these chapters seems rather elementary, and can hardly be considered to constitute "a thorough discussion of the issues" as promised on p. 2 of the Introduction (noted above). In fact, the material presented is hardly more than

a survey of the biblical literature, together with occasional comments as to prophetic significance plus critique of an overliteralistic interpretation of Scripture. The polemical aspect becomes especially clear, e.g., in the chapter on "Short-range Predictions" (pp. 33-46), where fully ten of the fourteen pages deal with the statement in Isaiah 7:14 (and Matthew's use of it) that an *'almāh* would give birth to a child whose name would be called Immanuel. The views of J. Gresham Machen and J. Barton Payne are set forth for critique in a negative vein. Payne, indeed, is singled out for negative review on various occasions throughout these chapters on OT prophecy.

Whenever Beegle is endeavoring to bring a "corrective" to extreme positions, his logic is usually quite solid. However, one wonders if he has not missed fulfilling that which, from his Introduction, appears to be a greater purpose — namely, providing an understanding "of what the Bible teaches about prophecy, especially concerning the prediction of events which already have occurred and those which are to come at the end of the age." This reviewer finds in chaps. 3-7 no clear guidelines to an understanding of what prophecy in the OT was really all about. Moreover, the fact that beyond his mere survey in a rather general and superficial way of the biblical text itself, Beegle apparently relies on — or in any event, cites — almost exclusively only one other source, J. Lindblom, raises serious question as to the thoroughness with which he has approached his subject. (The same sort of criticism can be laid to his charge in other instances, some of which I will note later.)

Two chapters, 8 and 9, "The Book of Daniel," and "The Visions of Daniel" (pp. 88-121) deal specifically with Daniel; and chap. 10, "Apocalyptic: Old and New" (pp. 122-136), deals with other OT apocalyptic material. Dan 9:24-27 receives a large amount of focus (pp. 111-121) by way of critique of various positions on the "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks," including the "Symbolic," and the "Historical-Messianic" (for the latter Gerhard F. Hasel serves as his example). It is unfortunate that at the time Beegle prepared his manuscript, Jacques Doukhan's work was not yet published (see "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9: An Exegetical Study," *AUSS* 17 [1979]: 1-22), and that he had not been apprised of the work in which William H. Shea has been engaged for some years as to literary structure (the publication of some of Shea's results which are particularly pertinent to Dan 9:24-27 may be found in the current issue of *AUSS*, pp. 59-63. Also, in Beegle's treatment of the 2300 days of Dan 8, he was evidently unaware — or at least did not reckon with — the kinds of evidence called to attention in studies by Siegfried J. Schwantes (for one portrayal of the evidence, see Schwantes' article "*'ereḇ bōqer* of Dan 8:14 Re-Examined," *AUSS* 16 [1978]: 375-385 [an article obviously printed too late for Beegle's use in the work here under review, though the basic primary materials utilized by Schwantes have long been available]).

Beegle's chap. 11, "The Revelation to John" (pp. 137-156) is hardly more than a survey of the literature itself, as viewed through the eyes of Vernard Eller's interpretation in *The Most Revealing Book in the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1974). Eller has a somewhat unique and rather intriguing approach, but it is far from being the "last word" on the Revelation (for some of the strengths and pitfalls of Eller's work, see my review in *AUSS* 14 [1976]: 251-253). With the vast and rich secondary literature available on the book of Revelation, for Beegle to rely so heavily on just Eller manifests, once again, his lack of the thoroughness that he claims for his discussion. The fact that Eller is obviously used quite uncritically further erodes Beegle's procedure.

In a later chapter (chap. 18, "The Blessed Hope," pp. 245-256), Beegle does indeed finally take obvious issue with Eller on at least one point: the latter's approach to the church's "eschatological expectancy," by finding fault with Eller's "attempt to retrieve New Testament expectancy" (p. 255). But is his own solution any better — namely, that "'whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's' (Rom 14:8). *This is the blessed hope*!"? The concept of Rom 14:8 is, of course *a* "blessed hope"; but how does Beegle's transposition of the biblical terminology of Titus 2:13 and his escape from relevance for today from the meaning and value of the original NT expectancy solve the dilemma he attempts to overcome? (Eller's position, which is worth reading, is quoted on p. 253 in Beegle's book.)

The further chapters in Beegle's *Prophecy and Prediction* deal basically with the views of two groups regarding prophetic interpretation. Chap. 17 is devoted to "Seventh-day Adventism" (pp. 224-244), which will be bypassed here inasmuch as Roy Graham is providing an analysis of this chapter in a separate review (planned for the next issue of *AUSS*). Chaps. 12-16, "The Story of Dispensationalism," "The Dispensational System," "The Promise and the Promised Land," "Modern Israel: Past and Future," and "Lindseyism" (pp. 157-223), all treat modern dispensationalism and/or its advocates. The rigid hermeneutic of dispensationalist interpretation of Scripture, as well as a brief introduction to the history of the rise of dispensationalism, is presented in a rather clearcut fashion, with generally valid argumentation and support. But once again, I must wonder at Beegle's lack of breadth in his reference to the source materials. It seems that only Daniel Fuller has been used for the major part of Beegle's review of dispensationalism, whereas addition of straight-forward reference to a number of primary sources (besides, e.g., John Walvoord, whom he does mention) would be useful. Also such basic works as those of Clarence Bass (*Backgrounds to Dispensationalism* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1950]) and George Eldon Ladd (e.g., *The Blessed Hope* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956] and *Crucial Questions About the Kingdom of God* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1952]) have been missed.

One major point in Beegle's concluding chapter, "The Blessed Hope," has already been reviewed above. It remains here only to observe that this chapter also takes note very briefly of a number of groups and individuals such as Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, modern clairvoyants, Herbert W. Armstrong's Worldwide Church of God, British Israelism, etc. (see pp. 245-248).

All in all, Beegle's book does give a valuable overview of certain facets of the topic he has chosen to treat — superficial and one-sided as the treatment too frequently is. Perhaps the volume will serve in certain circles as a basis for "individual and group study," as the author hopes (p. 2). But as to the major objectives outlined in his Introduction on pp. 1-2, it seems to this reviewer that the publication has fallen far short — except possibly in its polemical tone. Regarding this tone, Beegle has evidently made an attempt to be kind, though naturally forthright, in his critique of other views, and this is commendable. However, there are a number of times when an evident overcharge of emotion shows through, in a way hardly appropriate for a work of this sort (as just one instance, I may mention the use on p. 174 of the expression "another weasel explanation"). Also there appears occasionally to be an over-colloquialism (as e.g., the phrase on p. 36, "the preacher's kid").

The bibliography is limited (pp. 257-258), but the book is rather well indexed in both its general and scriptural indexes (pp. 259-274).

Andrews University   KENNETH A. STRAND

Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Prophecy and Canon*. Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977. xi + 206 pp. $12.95.

Blenkinsopp's study has grown out of his dissatisfaction with the failure of OT studies to take adequate account of the complexity of the OT, a situation resulting from an inadequate methodology which has left the OT largely unexplained. It is Blenkinsopp's purpose to suggest ways that a consideration of the processes and forces involved in the formation of the Hebrew Bible may bear upon the questions of biblical theology and the emergence of Judaism.

Blenkinsopp's major argument is that the tension between "normative order" and prophecy contributes substantially to the origins of Judaism, and that the present state of the Hebrew canon reflects the way this tension was dealt with. The canon came into existence because of conflicting claims to authority, especially in the later monarchical period, involving the right to mediate and interpret the tradition. The claims of "free prophecy" to interpret the tradition for present situations is met with "official versions" of the normative order which eventually developed into the Pentateuch. Prophecy, however, had already established itself as a force to be reckoned with, a

situation to which scribalism reacted by assimilating and redefining prophecy in an attempt to incorporate prophecy into its own institutional framework. Scribalism, convinced of the inability of prophecy to provide a stable base for the community, actually contributed to the eclipse of prophecy through its official, authoritative, and prescriptive versions of the archaic normative order.

Thus, according to Blenkinsopp, the first stage in the formation of the canon and the beginning of the process that led to Judaism was the Leviticalscribal production of Deuteronomy. The second stage was the Priestly work which imposed its own institutional structure and concerns on the J E epos. A final stage of redaction involving the incorporation of the Deuteronomic law book into the Priestly expansion represents the last stage in the formation of the Pentateuch.

While prophecy declined in prestige and eventually disappeared during the period of the Second Temple, written works of earlier prophecy were being collected. The initial collections were probably made by the Deuteronomists, with later expansion and redaction of the prophetic materials revealing a shift towards eschatology, a process which contributed to the development of apocalyptic. Eventually the prophetic canon was placed alongside the Pentateuch, evidencing an unresolved tension and providing a balance between "law and prophecy," "institution and charisma," and "the claims of the past and those of the future."

The Writings reflect the rise of the sages to prominence during the Second Temple period and their successful claim to mediate revelation in their own literary forms. Except for Daniel, the Writings are examples of theocratically acceptable prophecy (as opposed to eschatological and millenarian interpretations which were excluded, lost, or destroyed). Once again the question of authority—what group is in power, and which is not—affected this development.

While Blenkinsopp speculates brilliantly about the origin and development of early Judaism in this work, of chief interest to the biblical theologian is the discussion of the effect of canon criticism on the question of biblical authority. Granting the validity of canon criticism, the unity and authority of the Bible cannot simply be understood as given theological data; rather the problem of authority is inseparable from the problems prophecy underwent during the later monarchical period. Careful attention will have to be paid to the question of the unresolved tension between religious claims. Rather than appealing to a canon for authority, we should look to the way it mediates the tradition.

This work is a response to the call to canon criticism in which Blenkinsopp applies a methodology derived from the social sciences to the complex documentary nature of the OT with its internal problems. Along with James A. Sanders' *Torah and Canon*, and *Canon and Authority* (George W. Coats and Burke O. Long, eds.), it provides an excellent example of this emerging

emphasis in biblical studies. Many conservative theologians will react negatively to nearly all aspects of this work, because the possibility of establishing biblical authority on a unified and consistent testimony of scripture has been put a little further beyond reach by this new development in criticism. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that Blenkinsopp is not rejecting the place of the canon in the discussion of authority from within the canonical process itself. Another plus for this work is the identification of the many problems where additional work needs to be done. This is of special importance for those wishing to contribute to this new field of criticism.

The following printing errors were noted: p. 107, "timer" for "time"; p. 125, "eleswhere" for "elsewhere."

Andrews University   A. JOSEF GREIG

Brooks, James A., and Winbery, Carlton L. *Syntax of New Testament Greek.* Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, 1978. vi + 179 pp. Paperback, $8.50.

There has been for some time a need for a replacement of Dana and Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York, 1927). Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Chicago, 1961), and Turner's volume on Syntax in the Moulton series, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh, 1963), continue to maintain their place as the standard reference works for syntax, but a volume more usable for the second-year student to replace Dana and Mantey has been needed. For this, Brooks' and Winbery's publication furnishes a decided improvement.

The volume is divided into three parts. Part I deals with the Substantive, Part II with the Verb, and Part III with the Greek Sentence. A Subject and Scripture Index complete the book. The most fruitful section is Part I. Parts II and III are helpful, but have largely what one would have expected.

Written by Baptists, the case system is that of Robertson, as might be expected, but cross-reference is made to the five-case system. This may prove somewhat confusing to the student brought up on grammars that use the five-case system and who may later have occasion to refer to Blass-Debrunner-Funk and Turner.

One decided advantage over Dana and Mantey is the fact that more examples have been provided to illustrate the usage of the different case-functions. The explanations are generally clear, but while it is helpful to list all the different types of case usage, it may be a bit overwhelming for the beginning student to find that there are thirteen different types of accusatives, not to mention the sub-groups under some of these.

As the authors state in their Introduction, "Syntax . . . always involves interpretation, and interpretation usually involves a subjective element" (p. 1), implying that differences will arise in classifying into categories. A few places where the reviewer disagrees with the authors follow: It seems inappropriate to call the predicate nominative "the object of a copulative or linking verb" (p. 4). Under "nominative of appelation" on p. 5 (incidentally "appelation" should be "appellation") it is stated that John "could also be interpreted as a predicate nominative"; but the question is, how else could it be interpreted? If it is a predicate nominative, then it would not be a nominative of appellation. On p. 8 φωτός in 1 Thess 5:5 is called a genitive of description and that is correct, but perhaps some explanation of the Hebrew idiom which it translates ("sons of light") would be in order. In regard to the two examples given under genitive of possession on p. 8, it might be better to view these as role relationship rather than as genitives of possession. Beekman and Callow, *Translating the Word of God* (Grand Rapids, 1974), following linguistic principles, have an excellent chapter on genitives. Those who teach Greek would benefit much from the reading of that chapter. The last two examples under the same class, "the door of the sheep" (John 10:7) and "children of God" (John 1:12), are questionable. The latter seems to be a clear example of a genitive of relationship. The explanation given of a genitive of relationship on p. 9 that "the exact relationship (son, daughter, brother, sister, etc.) is not stated but must be determined on the basis of other knowledge" can hardly be true. What kind of genitive would it be if the exact relationship were stated? Would τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου be a different kind of genitive from τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου? The adverbial genitive of reference is illustrated under the genitives in the phrase on p. 13 πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας (John 1:14), but is seems preferable to consider genitives of this sort as genitives of content. On p. 19 some further explanation should be given as to what the root idea is with the specific verbs cited that would have them take the genitive as object, for the explanation is not clear enough. On p. 30 ἐν τοῖς τελείοις (1 Cor 2:6) is classified as a dative of indirect object, but probably it would be better to classify it as dative of sphere; thus, not "to" but "among the mature." Perhaps this is sufficient to indicate the areas of disagreement, which others too might find. I would just add that it would have been most helpful if parallel discussions from some leading grammars had been cited under each major heading.

Disagreements are inevitable regarding the material in a work of this kind, and these do not diminish the value of the volume for students studying the language. The publication will prove useful even for the more advanced students.

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Butterfield, Herbert. *Writings on Christianity and History*. Ed. C. T. McIntire. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979. viii + 273 pp. $12.95.

The publication of this collection of essays by Herbert Butterfield, a well respected British historian, underlines the growing interest in the relationship between Christianity and history. The early Christians developed a world view including a specifically Christian conception of history which dominated historiography for over a millennium. The intellectual ferment of the Enlightenment undermined this view and paved the way for its replacement by the secular philosophies which dominated historical thinking at the beginning of the twentieth century. The crisis complex engendered by two world wars, the holocaust, the depression, and the threat of nuclear confrontation has brought a resurgence of interest in the Christian view of history. Herbert Butterfield stood in the vanguard of this resurgence.

The seventeen essays in this collection are divided into three sections: the divine and human in history, Christians and the interpretation of history, and Christianity in the twentieth century. The topics discussed range all the way from "The Originality of the Old Testament" (chap. 5) to "The Prospect for Christianity" (chap. 16). As is to be expected in a collection of essays, there is a great deal of repetition and duplication throughout this volume. Furthermore, many of these essays were obviously prepared for oral presentation rather than scholarly publication and their style reflects this difference. Nevertheless these essays do present a coherent and meaningful analysis of the relationship between Christianity and history and well repay reflective reading.

The most significant essay in this volume is the first, "God in History," originally published over twenty years ago. This essay contains Butterfield's key ideas on the relationship between God and History—ideas which are elaborated and clarified in the remaining essays. Butterfield's thesis is that historical explanation must not only account for decisions based upon individual free will and the operation of the "deep forces and tendencies" within human society, but must set all historical development within a pattern reflecting the Providence of God. Although he expresses his strong conviction that Providence plays a significant role in the development of human societies across the centuries, he displays caution in attributing any specific decision or action to Providence. "One discovers such things by faith, not by historical study," he points out (p. xxxviii; see also pp. 173-174). The ultimate basis of his belief in Providence emerges in the comment that, "Either you trace everything back in the long run to sheer blind Chance, or you trace everything to God" (p. 8). For Butterfield that provides only one reasonable alternative.

Because of the impossibility of tracing the actions of Providence in human affairs Butterfield concentrates on those aspects of history where the influence of Christianity is evident. He believes that Christian historians will emphasize the role of individuals in history and particularly the opportunities each one has to add to, or detract from, the happiness of mankind. He displays an awareness of the complications introduced by human cupidity and of the tensions created by the conflict between right and wrong in which everyone is involved. It is in this area that Butterfield provides his greatest service for those interested in the relationship between Christianity and history. He not only affirms a definite vibrant link between the two but suggests the lines of inquiry which will be most fruitful for Christian historians.

Andrews University   CEDRIC WARD

Crenshaw, James L. *Samson: A Secret Betrayed, A Vow Ignored.* Atlanta:
    John Knox, 1978. 172 pp. $7.95.

The novelty of Crenshaw's approach to the story of Samson lies in what he calls aesthetic criticism, which is sensitivity to the beauty and art of a piece of literature. Instead of asking about the logicality or absurdity of events or statements, the aesthetic critic attempts to view the story from the perspective of the author, and believes the story as story. However, this does not imply accepting the material as fact. Crenshaw believes the Samson narrative to be largely nonfactual, and therefore almost entirely lacking in historical basis. Rejecting the idea that the story of Samson belongs to solar myth or nature legend, Crenshaw classifies it as saga.

Crenshaw's task as interpreter is to discern as nearly as possible the intention of the author, recapture the ancient mind by imaginative reconstruction, and identify the themes or motifs in the narrative by studying recurring themes and other literary pointers in ancient texts and the entire Hebrew corpus. A final step is to bridge the gap between the ancient and modern world by presupposing that between them is a continuity at a deeper level of existence. True to his task, Crenshaw discusses the literary and stylistic traditions in the first chapter. In the second chapter he develops the unifying themes of the Samson saga, believing that the primary purpose of the saga is to examine competing loyalties. Thus, the chapter heading "Passion or Charisma" which addresses the tension between filial devotion and erotic attachment is an appropriate title. Chap. 4 is dedicated to explaining the riddles in the narrative; first by discussing the nature and function of riddles and similar literary types, and then using this information to interpret the riddles in the story of Samson. Crenshaw's interest in riddles is evident in this chapter; in fact, Crenshaw's study of the story of Samson grew out of his

interest in riddles. The last chapter deals with the tragic dimension of the narrative, discussing it in conjunction with interpretations of venerable authors of the past. Milton's *Samson Agonistes* is given the most generous treatment.

Crenshaw, adopting the view that the book of Judges is part of the Deuteronomistic history, attributes the theological ideas found in the book to the creative work of that school: God punished Israel for her sins, which were mostly of a cultic nature, and he used foreign powers for punishment. Although God does not ignore evil, he is compassionate; and in the Samson narrative it is a compassionate God, not Samson, who emerges as the real hero of the story.

One of the major contributions of this book is the identification and classification of the literary themes in the story of Samson. Yet, exclusive concentration on expounding themes as literary creations carries with it the tendency to neglect the possibility that some or many of these concerns actually grew out of the historical life of a specific individual, and are not necessarily merely common characteristics of ancient literature. The book could perhaps have made even more of a contribution to our knowledge of the narrative if Crenshaw had discussed the possibilities of how Samson's life transported him out of history and into legend.

Andrews University   A. JOSEF GREIG

Dunn, James D. G. *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity.* Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977. xvii + 470 pp. $19.50.

Any student of the NT is aware of the diversity that exists, e.g., in the picture of Christ in the Synoptics compared to the Christ of the Gospel of John, the difference in eschatological expectation in 1 Thessalonians and 2 Peter, the difference in soteriology between Romans and Hebrews, and the difference in church order between 1 Corinthians and the Pastorals, to point out only the most prominent areas. Yet with all these differences, the feeling in the past was that the differences were not overly extensive and above all not contradictory; they could be fitted into a NT theology under major themes. In recent years, however, scholars have pointed out differences that appeared to be major — so serious, in fact, that the canonicity of some books was being questioned and serious doubts were raised concerning the possibility of writing a NT theology.

James Dunn has taken this theme, which had been treated in a limited fashion, and dealt with it in a comprehensive way. His thesis is that there is great diversity in the NT but there is an underlying unity. However, the basis of this unity is not a broad foundation of doctrines but has been reduced to

belief in Jesus Christ, that the historical Jesus and the exalted Christ were one and the same person. W. Bauer's thesis in *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* that there was no orthodoxy or pure form of Christianity, but only different forms of Christianity in the second century, is affirmed by Dunn for the first century. There was not only one orthodox form of Christianity but many divergent forms, all of which were orthodox.

In Part I, the author investigates the diverse elements in the preaching, teaching, organization, and worship of the earliest church to ascertain whether there are any unifying elements that bind them together. These include the kerygmas of Jesus, Acts, Paul, and John; the primitive confessional formulae; the role of tradition; the use of the OT; concepts of ministry; patterns of worship; sacraments; spirit and experience; and Christ and Christology.

In part II, the author treats the range and scope of the diversity as witnessed in the major groups or currents found in the NT: Jewish Christianity, Hellenistic Christianity, Apocalyptic Christianity, and Early Catholicism.

Throughout the book the author, because of his thesis, sometimes exaggerates the presence of diversity. Regarding the attitude of the Jerusalem Christians to Paul, he argues from silence when he accuses them of not coming to Paul's aid when he was taken prisoner in his last visit there. His comment is that "it looks very much as though they had washed their hands of Paul, left him to stew in his own juice" (p. 256). Again, he concludes that the Jerusalem church rejected the collection which Paul brought. Obviously there were differences between Paul and the Jerusalem Christians, but on the basis of the evidence can we conclude that there was such a radical rupture? The same thing can be said about the existence of "an intra-Hellenist conflict" and a "schism" between the Hellenists and Hebrew believers at the time of Stephen. The issue concerns not the presence of differences but the description of these differences with such strong terms as "schism."

The emphasis throughout the book is unity in diversity. Yet it is interesting in Dunn's discussion of Jewish Christianity that he identifies heretical Jewish Christianity of the second and third centuries very closely with the earliest Christian community in Jerusalem, the differences being only those of time and of tone (the faith and practice of the earlier community were not thought out but a first stage). Ebionism was heretical and "was rejected because in a developing situation where Christianity had to develop and change, it did not!" (p. 244). This is a very insightful observation; and yet, how does this relate to the limits of acceptable diversity which the author gives: "diversity which abandons the unity of the faith in Jesus the man now exalted is unacceptable; diversity which abandons the unity of love for fellow believers is unacceptable" (p. 378)? This earliest Christian community in Jerusalem either met and came under these criteria or it did not. If it did not,

it was heretical from the very beginning; and if it did, time should not alter its acceptability in the form of Ebionism. Could this same kind of observation be made with other groups such as enthusiastic Christianity or apocalyptic Christianity? Perhaps these types in our time must be classified as heretical.

In the concluding chapter entitled "The Authority of the New Testament" Dunn deals with the implications of the diversity uncovered. The center that integrates all the diversity is the unity between the historical Jesus and the exalted Christ. The presence of different forms of Christianity raises the question of the value of the canon. Dunn sees that all books in the NT "can claim to be justifiable interpretations of the Christ event" (p. 386). And the fact that the canon with all its diversity testifies to the unifying center confirms its continuing function. The canon recognizes this diversity, marks out the limits of acceptable diversity, and approves the development of Christian faith and practice.

However, this concluding chapter would have been more helpful if the author had been more specific in showing what Christian manifestations today, if any, would go beyond the limits of acceptable diversity or development. Even with the qualifications he sets forth, one gets the feeling that "anything goes."

The author has given us a good treatment of the subject with good bibliographies for each chapter. There is much with which one can agree and much with which to disagree. The book will provoke discussion in the wide range of areas it treats.

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Ellis, E. Earle. *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978. xvii + 289 pp. Paperback, $15.00.

Ellis's work is always characterized by painstaking observation and collection of data, and this collection of essays is no exception. The essays center around two main themes: The role of pneumatics in the missionary enterprise of the early church and the formation of a Christian theology of the OT.

In actuality, the essays on the first topic go far beyond the role of pneumatics and include a broad reconstruction of the early church and its leadership. According to Ellis, from an early time Paul (as well as the other apostles) was surrounded by a group of co-workers who were pneumatics *par excellence. Pneumatikos* was a technical term used for those with the gift of inspired utterance who were led by a plurality of good spirits associated with angels. The work of these pneumatics was a fusion of the work of the OT

prophet and wise man and is described in Col 1:25-28. Not only did this group prophesy; it also had the gift of interpretation of Scripture. Thus the Pauline co-workers as a group formed a school of exegesis whose members participated in the composition of Paul's letters and were also the recipients of certain letters such as 2 Thessalonians.

Closely connected with this reconstruction of the role of the pneumatics is Ellis's view that early Christianity was divided into two parties, the Hebrews and the Hellenists. These represented a strict and a more liberal attitude toward Jewish law and ritual. Jews and Jewish Christians of both types could be found in Palestine and in the Diaspora. The strict party was called the "Hebrews" (cf. Acts 6) or "those of the circumcision" (cf. Gal 2:12). While Paul and most of his co-workers were from the liberal party, Col 4:11 shows that some of the co-workers were from the strict party, thus giving Paul's ministry an ecumenical flavor. Paul's opponents, on the other hand, were members of an aberrant party of the Hebrews — conservative, ritualistic Jews with pneumatic evidences who came from an Essene-type background. They were sometimes morally liberalistic, and carried out a widespread counter-mission to Paul. The same opponents loom in the background of 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians (which addresses only one type of opponent), Colossians and even the Pastorals (which are considered Pauline) and a letter such as Jude.

While certain of Ellis's conclusions are suggestive, this reconstruction as a whole is far from convincing. While the use of *pneumatikos* in 1 Cor 14:37, where the term is juxtaposed with "prophet," might support Ellis's view of the pneumatics, in 1 Cor 2:15 and 3:1 and in Gal. 6:1 it is much more likely that *pneumatikoi* refers to all Christians who are led by the Spirit. Nor is Ellis's evidence that the pneumatic co-workers formed an exegetical school convincing. Even less convincing is his picture of Paul's opponents, for it ignores major differences in the characteristics of the groups which Paul combats. Where is the evidence for strict, Essene-type Jews who were also morally lax outside of Ellis's reconstruction of the Pauline letters? Nor is it likely that the "Hebrews" of Acts 6 can be lifted from that context and identified with "those of the circumcision" in Acts and Paul. In fact, even Ellis must admit that in Rom 4:12 "those of the circumcision" must refer simply to Jews rather than to a particular brand of Jews or Jewish Christians. Is it not most natural, then, to apply the term to Jews elsewhere unless the context demands otherwise? Of the six occurrences of the expression in the NT (Acts 10:45; 11:2; Rom 4:12; Gal 2:12; Col 4:11; and Titus 1:10), with the possible exception of Titus 1:10, the most natural conclusion is that it refers simply to Jews, and if this is true a major foundation stone in Ellis's reconstruction is removed.

The essays in the second part of the book, which Ellis says center around the formation of a Christian theology of the OT in the early church, actually

have a somewhat narrower focus. They attempt to show that the midrash scheme of interpretation of the OT is used in the NT. According to Ellis, much of the non-LXX language of OT citations reveals that implicit midrash is operative, and examples of explicit midrash can be seen in passages such as 1 Cor 1-4, Rom 1-4, 9-11; Jude, and the speeches of Acts 1-15. Ellis's main concern in pointing to the use of midrash in the NT is to show that the NT writers do not use the OT arbitrarily but use it according to a consistent method. He is especially concerned to affirm that this is true with regard to the *testimonia*.

There is much excellent material in these essays that will contribute to the continuing study of the NT use of the OT, but most of Ellis's examples of midrash in the NT have sufficient significant variations from the standard midrash form in Jewish literature to raise questions about his conclusions. Even Ellis's own equivocations point to such questions. At various places in the argument he must make statements such as "This hypothesis is not without problems" (p. 187), and "The results of the study are not as conclusive as one might wish" (p. 197).

The final essay focuses on "new directions" in form criticism. In it Ellis questions the two-document hypothesis and the existence of a long period of oral transmission of the Jesus traditions prior to Mark. He sympathizes with the views of Riesenfeld, Gerhardsson, and Schürmann, and goes even further to suggest that some of the gospel traditions were transmitted in written form in the time of Jesus and that some of the exegetical patterns in the Gospels, such as the midrash form exhibited in the parable of the wicked tenants, were among the earliest transmitted "forms" of Jesus' teaching.

That much more of the gospel material goes directly to Jesus than the so-called "radical" form critics admit is undoubtedly true, but Ellis offers little more than conjecture for his specific view. He does not provide an adequate methodology for distinguishing between the midrashic activity of Jesus and that of the early Christian prophets, whom he has already (in the first part of the book) said use the same method, nor does he adequately come to terms with differences between the gospel accounts and the development to which they point.

Thus while Ellis mounts an impressive collection of data from both primary and secondary sources which should not be ignored by any serious student of early Christianity, his interpretations are more stimulating than they are convincing.

The work includes indexes to names and to passages from Scripture and other ancient literature. The printing is excellent; only one error was noted. "2 Cor. 6,6-16" on p. 213, par. 2, line 2, should read "1 Cor. 6,6-16."

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Fuller, Reginald H., ed. *Essays on the Love Commandment.* Trans.
     Reginald H. and Ilse Fuller. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978. 107 pp.
     $7.95.

This book consists of four essays excerpted from a *Festschrift* for Hans
Conzelmann (Georg Strecker, ed., *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie*
[Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1975]). Each of the essays in some way treats the
theme of the love command or the Sermon on the Mount.

According to Fuller, the four essays were brought together in an attempt
to bridge the gulf which separates biblical studies on the one hand and ethics
on the other. In the preface he states: "Much contemporary ethical discus-
sion, while claiming to be Christian, has been conducted without reference
to the biblical norms. There are signs of awareness both on the side of biblical
scholarship and on the side of Christian ethics that this ought not to be, and
attempts are being made to redress the situation. Let us hope that these essays
may contribute something to those attempts" (p. 8).

The first essay is by Luise Schottroff, "Non-Violence and the Love of
One's Enemies." She begins by surveying R. Bultmann's and H. Braun's
understanding of the command to love one's enemy. Both Bultmann and
Braun are criticized for focusing primarily on the subjective experience of the
person who loves while ignoring the enemy and the concrete relation that ex-
ists between the Christian and the enemy. According to Schottroff, the con-
text of the command in both Matthew and Luke is not a general
humanitarian love, but love for the persecutor which always moves in a
direction from the weak to the strong.

Schottroff is much more sympathetic with Martin Luther King's
understanding of the command in terms of non-violent resistance. The com-
mand not to resist evil does not rule out all kinds of resistance, but only a cer-
tain kind of resistance, i.e., violent resistance. To simply surrender to the
enemy's unjust demands would not be love. True love for the enemy is seen in
non-violent resistance which has the salvation of the enemy in view. Thus
Schottroff concludes: "There can be no doubt that for disciples of Christ non-
resistance is an essential part of their life-style. But our assent to non-
resistance is only credible when pursued in combination with the practice of
resistance, and where it is a combative and evangelistic means for the salva-
tion of all" (p. 28).

In the second essay, "The Double Commandment of Love: A Test Case
for the Criteria of Authenticity," R. H. Fuller presents a detailed study of the
three synoptic versions of the love commandment in an attempt to separate
tradition and redaction. He concludes that Matthew and Luke use a non-
Markan source that gives the most original version and attempts to
reconstruct this source's version. By applying various criteria Fuller con-
cludes that the double commandment (love for God and neighbor) is authen-
tic.

Fuller then takes a leap which appears to go beyond the evidence. From the fact that the double commandment does not occur in Rabbinic Judaism or Qumran but does appear in *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in what appears to be a wisdom context, he concludes that the double commandment had its origins in a wisdom tradition of Hellenized Judaism. Jesus uses this tradition and in so doing claims implicitly to be the spokesman for the wisdom tradition.

In the third essay, "The Theme of the Sermon on the Mount," Christoph Burchard attempts to uncover the factors that determined the composition of Matt 5:3-7:27. He begins with the assumption that the theme is set forth in Matt 5:16 and that the entire sermon has to do not with the gospel of the kingdom or ethics in general but with the disciples' commission to the world. The instructions in the sermon are instructions for missionary endeavor given from a perspective which subordinates miraculous and prophetic activity to the living out of the divine will before others. Matt 5:3-16 is an introduction which gives a summary of the contents of the sermon and 7:13-27 is a conclusion which warns the disciples of the consequences of failing to fulfill their commission to the world. According to Burchard, the entire sermon fits this theme, and although this is undoubtedly a major theme, it is difficult to see how all the material, such as the discussion of the motives for worship in chap. 6, fits the theme as neatly as Burchard believes.

The final essay is by M. Jack Suggs and is titled "The Antitheses as Redactional Products." In a previous work (*Wisdom, Christology and Law in Matthew's Gospel* [Cambridge, 1970], pp. 109-113) Suggs rejected the common view represented by Bultmann that three of the antitheses are authentic sayings of Jesus while three are Matthean redaction and argued that all six are redactional products. Here Suggs maintains his previous view but reassesses the old evidence and presents some new arguments. He rejects Jeremias' claim that the criterion of dissimilarity proves authenticity, for while the dissimilarity is admitted, it could apply to Matthew as well as Jesus. Suggs believes that Matthew views Jesus as Wisdom, which is the embodiment of the law. Matthew creates the antitheses so that Jesus, as the embodiment of law, can authoritatively give the true meaning of law over against the Pharisaic misconstructions and misunderstandings of law. Matthew's purpose is to define and exhibit the True Law and call people to obedience to it as the first stage of discipleship. While Suggs does not present any convincing evidence that the antitheses could not go back to Jesus, his discussion does point up the problematic nature of the criteria for authenticity.

Although each of the four essays in this book is interesting and informative, the book as a whole does not live up to the purpose stated in Fuller's preface, for it is difficult to see what the last three essays contribute to a discussion between biblical scholars and ethicists. All three seem rather to perpetuate the status quo, i.e. technical NT scholarship with little attempt to delineate ethical significance. The one exception is Schottroff's essay, which

does discuss a contemporary ethical question from a biblical base, although even here one wonders if her conclusions, which have much to commend them from a theological and ethical standpoint, are actually drawn from the biblical text. Nevertheless, her essay is an important contribution to biblical ethics, whereas the other three essays contribute to NT scholarship but offer little in the way of dialogue between biblical studies and ethics.

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Furnish, Victor Paul. *The Moral Teaching of Paul.* Nashville: Abingdon, 1979. 143 pp. Paperback, $4.95.

This book differs considerably from Furnish's previous work on Paul's ethics, *Theology and Ethics in Paul* (Nashville, 1968), which was a major descriptive study of Paul's ethical thought in relationship to his theology as a whole and was addressed primarily to scholars. The present work is a much smaller, popularly written book for laymen which discusses the relevance of Paul's ethical advice for several contemporary moral dilemmas. As such it is a very welcome addition to the all-too-small list of works which attempt to address current ethical issues from a base of solid biblical scholarship.

According to Furnish, the book is written "for people who believe that Paul's moral teaching ought to be taken seriously but who are not sure what it means to do so" (p. 9). An introductory chapter discusses a basic approach to Paul's ethical advice by contrasting the "sacred cow" approach, which takes everything literally without regard to its original setting, and the "white elephant" approach, which sets Paul aside as outmoded and irrelevant for the modern world. Both are rejected in favor of an approach which takes Paul seriously but recognizes that he addressed specific people in a specific time and that his advice cannot be simply transplanted into our own time. Furnish then looks at Paul's advice in relationship to four contemporary issues: sex, marriage, divorce; homosexuality; women in the church; and governmental authority.

The first chapter of the issue focuses on 1 Cor 7 and concludes that while the basic topic under discussion is a mistaken view of sexuality at Corinth, Paul's discussion demonstrates an emphasis on the mutuality of the marriage relationship, a concern for the character of the relationship between husband and wife, and a recognition that individual cases differ and thus require different actions.

Regarding homosexuality, Furnish argues that it is not a major biblical concern, and since Paul offered no direct teaching to his own churches on the subject of homosexual conduct, his letters cannot yield any specific answers to the questions being faced by the modern church. Paul was opposed to homosexuality because he, in common with his age, associated it with lust

and perversion of the natural order, but, says Furnish, we can no longer take such an association for granted.

The discussion of women in the church differentiates between Pauline and deutero-Pauline material on the subject (Furnish accepts only seven letters of Paul and regards 1 Cor 14:33b-36 as a non-Pauline interpolation). The Pauline discussion centers on Gal 3:27-28 and 1 Cor 11, which are seen as speaking to the differentiation of the sexes, not subordination of one to the other. Furnish concludes that Paul was fundamentally committed to the principle of "neither male nor female" in Christ, that his teaching was compatible with this principle, and that his actions in relation to women co-workers were a demonstration of it.

Finally, the discussion on Christians and governing authorities centers on Rom 13. Furnish believes that the main point of the passage is the payment of taxes and that subjection is only secondary. Some Roman Christians, while they paid the direct taxes, were tempted to refuse to pay the indirect taxes which were collected by Roman knights infamous for their abuse and exploitation. Paul urges the Romans to pay both taxes and in the course of the discussion shows that the governing authorities are accountable to God, do not have intrinsic power, and are to serve the good of those governed. Subjection to the authorities is secondary to the will of God.

The strongest of these four discussions is the excellent treatment of sex — marriage — divorce, and the weakest is the one on homosexuality. Furnish fails to distinguish between homosexual orientation and homosexual conduct and is too quick to write off the continuing significance of Paul's references to homosexuality. The fact that homosexuality is not a major concern of Paul's is not grounds for failing to take seriously what he does say. In the discussion of women in the church Furnish presents an excellent treatment of the Pauline material but does not treat what he considers deutero-Pauline material with the same exegetical carefulness. He is too prone to consider it second class. The best he can say about it is that it can be gratefully received as an important part of our Christian heritage, but the clear implication is that it is definitely inferior to Paul. The possibility that the difference in teaching stems from a different situation needs further consideration. Although Furnish's conclusions concerning Christians and governing authorities are correct, he downplays the idea of submission to the authorities far too much (even if the main point of the passage is taxes). The entire discussion is too much a polemic against the frequent misuse of Rom 13 rather than a positive attempt to see the relevance of the passage. Another problem is Furnish's emphasis on what is "distinctively Christian" in Paul's thought (see, e.g., p. 127). Cannot beliefs which Paul shares with his environment be extremely important to his thought?

An important contribution of this book is Furnish's refutation of the contention by Jack Sanders (*Ethics in the New Testament* [Philadelphia,

1975]) that Paul's ethic is irrelevant because of its obsolete eschatological orientation. While Furnish cannot accept the notion of a literal and imminent *parousia*, he recognizes that Paul's belief in such a *parousia* does not render his ethic irrelevant for a world which continues beyond Paul's expectations. Also of benefit are Furnish's numerous citations of relevant Hellenistic and Jewish ethical thought which help to illumine Paul and his environment, and at the end of each chapter is a useful list of other current literature on the topic. A Scriptural Index is included as well.

It is hoped that this book will not only be used widely and with profit, but that it will stimulate others to help bridge the gulf between solid biblical scholarship and contemporary Christian decision-making.

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Rost, Leonhard. *Judaism Outside the Hebrew Canon: An Introduction to the Documents.* Translated by David E. Green. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976. 205 pp. Paperback, $5.95.

The German original of this little handbook was published in 1971 to serve as a supplement to the Sellin-Fohrer *Introduction to the Old Testament*, which had dropped the section of earlier editions (of Sellin-Rost) dealing with the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Its German title, *Einleitung in die alttestamentlichen Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen einschliesslich der grossen Qumran-Handschriften* is perfectly descriptive; the English title is thoroughly misleading, even when the subtitle is taken into account. There is here, e.g., no account of rabbinic literature; on the other hand, some of the documents described, by the book's own account, are in their surviving form early Christian. Charity forbids that we inquire who is ultimately responsible for this publishing transgression.

What the book does discuss, after the introductory matters, are fourteen apocryphal works (counting three additions to Daniel and including the Prayer of Manasseh), fifteen pseudepigraphical works (including here 4 Ezra), and under the same main rubric, seven Qumran manuscripts. A supplementary chapter deals with Ahikar and Pseudo-Philo *Bib. Ant.* To the vexed question of which should be included of the works generally regarded as in some sense OT pseudepigrapha, Rost gives us a fairly conservative response, corresponding rather closely to the collection edited by R. H. Charles (which for years has been the standard English "canon" of uncanonical works), with the happy omission of *Pirkē Aboth* and the addition

of Pseudo-Philo, as well as the Qumran materials. Otto Eissfeldt's OT introduction, to which Rost acknowledges indebtedness, had covered virtually the same list, except that a slightly broader range of Qumran material had there been described.

It is doubtful how much longer such an exclusive list of Pseudepigrapha can resist drastic enlargement. The Clarendon Press is in the process of producing an expanded version of R. H. Charles, edited by H. F. D. Sparks; while the American publisher Doubleday is about to publish a very full collection in English, edited by J. H. Charlesworth. The latter has given careful thought to his principles of selection and come up with a list of some fifty-two Pseudepigrapha (excluding Qumran material), including two works no longer extant and some surviving only in fragmentary form (see James H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies, No. 7 [Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976], pp. 21, 22). There is really no reason for scholars to try to maintain a sort of deuterocanon of these documents, and those who take upon themselves such a responsbility are destined to see their rosters become obsolete.

Let it be said that Rost's survey is neat and tidy, and handy to use. Under each entry the reader readily finds in order bibliographical information (being an expansion of that found in Eissfeldt), followed by a simple account of the text, title, contents, genre, author, date, provenance, significance, and other special matters as appropriate. The judgments are conventional, reflecting the best sober scholarship of the day. The book ends with a chronological table and supplementary bibliography.

Because of the conciseness of the book, we are not surprised to find omissions from the bibliographies (such as M. R. James's translation of Pseudo-Philo), but there are occasional errors of fact and judgment which pass beyond mere oversimplification, especially in the introductory section. Thus, on p. 22 we are told that the Mishnah received its final form in A.D. 100, which is at least a century too soon; and in the same paragraph too much is read into Mishnah *Yadaim* 4:6. On the next page too much is made of Josephus' statement that the canon held twenty-two books; he was probably making a psychological accommodation to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet.

But all said, Rost's work remains an eminently usable *vade mecum* for students of this corpus.

Andrews University   ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

Whitcomb, John C., and Donald B. DeYong. *The Moon: Its Creation, Form and Significance*. Winona Lake, Indiana: BMH Books, 1978. 180 pp. $7.95.

Both the publishers and the authors deserve commendation for producing an extraordinarily attractive, well laid out and well illustrated volume (there are 29 color and 24 black-and-white illustrations).

Readers who have been accustomed to thinking of the moon as an inactive "dead" object will be surprised at the extensive evidence for present geologic activity on the moon that is summarized in chap. 5. Two chapters (2 and 3) are given to a summary and discussion of various explanations for the origin of the moon. The chapter on distinctive features of the moon (5) provides impressive evidence for purposeful design of the Earth-Moon system. Moon worship is treated briefly in Appendix II.

Technical concepts and terminology are explained so as not to be a barrier to a reader who does not have a scientific background. Extensive references are provided for the convenience of readers who wish to investigate more deeply any of the topics that are presented.

While *The Moon* is an excellent source of scientific information, its major thrust is theological. Pages 56-68 contain an excellent set of references on creationism, catastrophism, and critique of evolutionary models. The first appearance of sun, moon, and stars for a Creation-Week observer on the surface of planet Earth is placed by conservative interpretation of Gen 1:14-19 within the fourth day of a literal week. There is division among conservative interpretors as to whether Moses additionally specified only that the extraterrestrial luminaries were also brought into existence by the God whose activities he is describing, or that furthermore these luminaries were created *ex nihilo* on Day Four. *The Moon* is dedicated to a defense and explication of the latter of these views. Individuals who favor the former and less restrictive of these views would appeal to the "language of appearance" principle of interpretation that is ably presented by Whitcomb and DeYoung on pp. 66-67.

In their efforts to provide evidence for a recent creation of the universe beyond that which is derived from the Hebrew-Christian Scriptures, the authors present highly questionable discussions of geomagnetism and radiometric dating. The discussion of geomagnetism (pp. 59-61) assumes that the sequences of reversed magnetization which characterize both igneous and sedimentary features throughout the world have been incorrectly interpreted to indicate a reversed geomagnetic field at the times when the reversely magnetized portions were formed. This discussion also ignores the extensive paleomagnetic intensity data which indicate that the geomagnetic field has exhibited both increase and subsequent decrease over the past 4000 years.

In the opinion of this reviewer, the best suggestion for harmonizing radioactive sequence data with the cosmological viewpoint of the authors is

that which is expressed on p. 102 — a "recent creation . . . with built-in internal complexity." Their discussion of radiometric dating does not give appropriate recognition of the integrity or the scientific carefulness that characterizes the great majority of the individuals who develop radiometric data. It gives a grossly inadequate and confusing presentation of the natural processes by which radiometric "clocks" may be "reset." Table IV-4 would require extensive and major revision to portray accurately the radiometric age data on the moon material. The suggestion that C-14 dating "will probably be credited with million — and billion — year ages" (p. 103) is implausible in view of the consideration that a mass of solid pure C-14 greater than the presently-known size of the entire universe would be required to extend the range of C-14 dating (of that mass) beyond two million years.

In preparing this review my intention is for it to serve as an aid to assist readers in obtaining the greatest benefit from *The Moon*, rather than as a faulting of the book.

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Zerwick, Max, and Grosvenor, Mary. *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament*. Vol. 2. *Epistles-Apocalypse*. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979. xxxvi, + pp. 457-778, + 15 pp. $15.00.

This is the second and final volume of this title, the first covering the Gospels and Acts (published in 1974). The pagination for the main part of the book continues that which was begun in the first volume. The preface is written by Mary Grosvenor since Father Zerwick had died in 1975. All the preliminary material included in the first volume is also included in this one. So also are the paradigms of verbs at the end. The main part follows the same format as the first volume, and the description and evaluation of this section is the same as for that volume. See *AUSS* 13 (1975): 296 for the review of the first volume.

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BOOKS RECEIVED: BRIEF NOTICES

David C. Jarnes

Andreasen, Niels-Erik. *Rest and Redemption*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1978. vii + 137 pp. Paperback, $6.95.

"An exercise in Biblical Theology" — a topical approach to the theological and social implications of the Sabbath institution. The first three chapters deal with the importance of the Sabbath, its origin, and its observance in biblical times; and the last seven chapters treat themes associated in the Bible with the Sabbath.

Battistone, Joseph. *The Great Controversy Theme in E. G. White Writings*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1978. xiii + 134 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

An introduction to the thought of E. G. White by means of focusing on what is seen as the central theme of her writings — the great controversy between Christ and Satan. Battistone surveys the Conflict of the Ages series to present White's use of the Bible in relation to this theme, to show how her understanding of history and her historiography are related to it, and to prove that her philosophy in general is a religious philosophy informed by her understanding of the great controversy. The book concludes that White wrote, not to inform the reader in the manner that a critical Bible commentary would, but to bring the reader to a decision.

Borland, James A. *Christ in the Old Testament*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1978. viii + 195 pp. Paperback, $4.95.

The subject of this book, written from an evangelical perspective, is OT occurrences of God's appearance in human form. It attempts to define Christophany, to identify who was involved, in what form he appeared and for what purpose. Appendix 1 contains a survey of the history of interpretation of Christophanies.

Brown, Raymond E., et al., eds. *Mary in the New Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press; and New York: Paulist Press, 1978. xii + 323 pp. Paperback, $3.95.

A collaborative study sponsored by the National Lutheran-Roman Catholic Dialogue (the study group included four Lutherans, four Roman Catholics, two Episcopalians, and two representatives from the Reformed tradition), it is an attempt to ascertain what modern scholars, using the

historical-critical method, could say about the portrayal of Mary in the NT. The study proceeds chronologically, beginning with the Pauline writings and extending through materials of the second century A.D. Its intent is to be helpful both in ecumenical discussions and in general to students of the NT and Christian origins.

Davidson, James West. *The Logic of Millennial Thought.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977. xii + 308 pp. $17.50.

Davidson's purpose is to reveal the way of thinking of eighteenth-century New Englanders. He deals extensively with eschatological views of the time, working from primary sources (the Bibliography may be of interest to some). He believes that eschatological views influenced events rather than *vice versa.*

Freiday, Dean. *The Bible: Its Criticism, Interpretation and Use in 16th and 17th Century England.* Catholic and Quaker Studies, No. 4. Pittsburgh: n.p., 1979. iii + 195 pp. Paperback, $8.50.

The author has a dual purpose: (1) to see Catholic and Quaker contributions of the 16th and 17th centuries to biblical study in perspective by looking at trends of thought provided by representative individuals, and (2) to identify some important common interpretative principles which may facilitate a broadly ecumenical hermeneutic for the interpretation of Scripture. Particular attention is paid to the matter of authority of Scripture and to the methods used and/or recommended for its interpretation.

Holifield, E. Brooks. *The Gentlemen Theologians.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1978. x + 262 pp. $14.75.

An examination of the relationship of theology to its concrete social setting. A study of American rational orthodoxy in the South, 1795-1860.

Kinghorn, Kenneth Cain. *Christ Can Make You Fully Human.* Nashville: Abingdon, 1979. 110 pp. Paperback, $3.95.

Seeks to understand our humanity and potential, finding a middle position between a humanism that makes man autonomous and a theology that seeks to exalt God by devaluating man. God's grace, in addition to forgiveness, means an ongoing restoration to His image which results in holiness, creativity, and responsibility for our world.

Kotre, John N. *The Best of Times, The Worst of Times.* Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1978. xvii + 274 pp. Cloth, $11.95; paperback, $6.95.

A biography of Andrew Greeley, a Catholic priest of the Archdiocese of Chicago, a sociologist, and author with sixty books to his credit, along with syndicated newspaper columns and hundreds of articles in magazines and professional journals. This volume is about his life, his ideas, and American Catholicism, 1950-1975.

Phillips, Harold R., and Firth, Robert E. *Cases in Denominational Administration.* Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1978. vi + 314 pp. Paperback, $9.95.

A management casebook intended especially for those in church-related institutions where the decision-making must be based on different premises than those of business organizations or governmental agencies. It includes material on decision-making and the use of the case-study method, with typical cases which range from those involving church-operated institutions and businesses through local church situations to personal decisions.

Sizer, Sandra S. *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978. xi + 222 pp. $15.00.

A sociological and linguistic approach to late-nineteenth century revivalism in America, with the lyrics of the hymns of the time used as the point of entry. Literary criticism and comparative theory derived from anthropology form the major part of the methodology employed.

Tolbert, Mary Ann. *Perspectives on the Parables.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979. 141 pp. $8.95.

This study seeks to answer the question as to why there are so many radically differing interpretations for the same parables, even among those who are following the same system of interpretation. It then offers suggestions as to how the polyvalent nature of the parables may be used, within limits, to speak to today's situations.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
ANDREWS UNIVERSITY PRESS

REST AND REDEMPTION by Niels-Erik Andreasen

A short study of the Biblical Sabbath with particular emphasis upon its religious meaning as that comes to expression within the Bible itself. Among the topics discussed are: "The Sabbath," "Work and Rest," "The Sabbath and Freedom," "The Creation Sabbath," "The Sabbath and the Gospel," "The Sabbath and Redemption." An extensive bibliography and an index of Scripture passages are included.

137 pages. Paper $5.95

THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST FAMILY: An Empirical Study by Charles C. Crider and Robert C. Kistler

This book is the first factual study to be made of the Seventh-day Adventist family, its makeup, living patterns, strengths, problems, religious activities, and spiritual needs. Marriage, divorce, occupations, mobility, and family conflicts are some of the subjects discussed. Two trained Adventist sociologists have gathered extensive data and analyzed it to produce this study. Church pastors and administrators will find this book invaluable in planning for the needs of the Seventh-day Adventist family in this time. The authors go on to make several recommendations of family related programs for the Church.

284 pages. Paper $8.95

THE GREAT CONTROVERSY THEME IN E. G. WHITE WRITINGS by Joseph Battistone

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א	= '	ד	= d	י	= y	ס	= s	ר	= r
ב	= b	ה	= h	כ	= k	ע	= $ʿ$	שׂ	= $ś$
ב	= $\underline{b}$	ו	= w	כ	= $\underline{k}$	פ	= p	שׁ	= $š$
ג	= g	ז	= z	ל	= l	פ	= $\underline{p}$	ת	= t
ג	= $\underline{g}$	ח	= $ḥ$	מ	= m	צ	= $ṣ$	ת	= $\underline{t}$
ד	= d	ט	= $ṭ$	נ	= n	ק	= q		

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

◌	= a	(vocal shewa)	= e	◌	= $ŏ$
◌	= $ā$		= $ê$	◌	= o
◌	= a		= i	◌	= $ô$
◌	= e		= $î$	◌	= u
◌	= $ē$		= o	◌	= $û$

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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