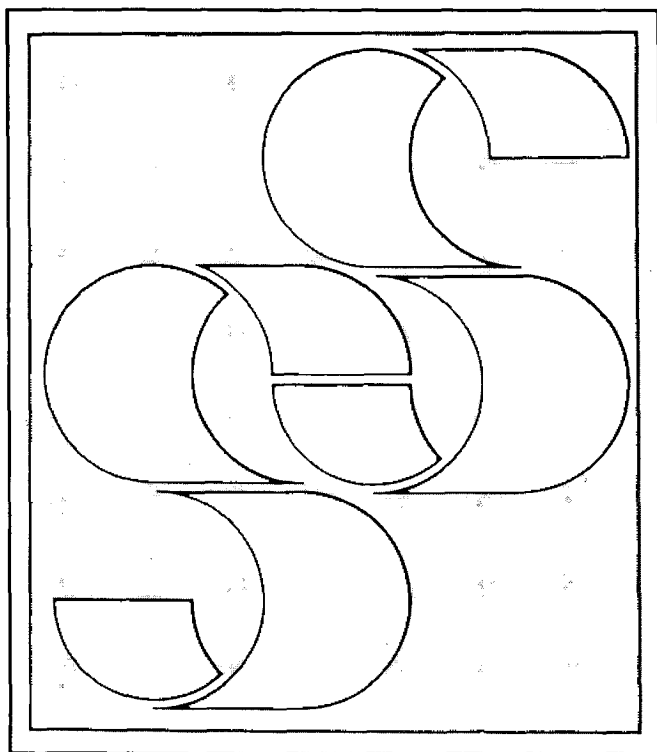


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JOHN 5:17: NEGATION OR CLARIFICATION OF THE SABBATH?*

SAMUELE BACCHIOCCHI
Andrews University

The saying of Christ reported in John 5:17, "My Father is working until now (ἕως ἄρτι) and I am working," is regarded by some exegetes as being "probably the key verse of the entire chapter and also one of the major emphases of the Fourth Gospel."¹ F. L. Godet likens it to "a flash of light breaking forth from the inmost depths of the consciousness of Jesus."² The pronouncement represents Christ's defense against the charge of Sabbath-breaking. That John recognized the significance of the utterance is implied by the fact that he introduces it, not with the usual verbal aorist form ἀπεκρίθη, "answered," which he uses over fifty times, but with the exceptional middle voice ἀπεκρίνατο, "answered," employed only here and in vs. 19, and which indicates a close relationship between the agent and the action.³

What did Christ actually mean when he formally defended himself against the accusation of Sabbath-breaking, saying, "My Father is working until now and I am working"? Did he appeal to the "working until now" of his Father to rescind the obligation of Sabbath-keeping both for himself and for his followers such as the healed man? Or, did Christ use the "working until now" of the Father as a model to clarify the nature of the Sabbath rest? To put

*Adapted from a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New Orleans, Louisiana, Nov. 21, 1978.

¹George A. Turner and Julius R. Mantey, *The Gospel According to John* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1964 [?]), p. 138. See also Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John. A Commentary*, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray (Oxford, 1971), p. 244.

²F. L. Godet, *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, 3d ed. (New York, 1886), 1: 461.

³See, e.g., James H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 3d ed. (Edinburgh, 1908), 1: 153; H. E. Dana and J. R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York, 1927), p. 157.

it bluntly: Does Christ's statement represent a negation or a clarification of the Sabbath law? The former is the traditional and still prevailing interpretation, while the latter is the view espoused in this article. The investigation into the meaning of Christ's saying will be conducted by utilizing insights provided by linguistic, contextual, theological, and historical data. First, however, it will be useful to summarize several traditional interpretations of the passage.

1. *Traditional Interpretations*

A brief survey of the various interpretive categories that have been utilized to explain this passage may serve to show a rather consistent tendency to interpret Christ's statement as the overthrow of the Sabbath.⁴

Cura Continua

The most ancient and yet-surviving interpretation may be designated as *cura continua*. According to this view, the "working until now" of God represents his constant care for the maintenance of the universe which admits no interruption on the Sabbath. Consequently, if God is not bound to rest on the Sabbath, the same liberty belongs to his Son and indirectly to the recipients of Christ's revelation. The notion of God's working even on the Sabbath, not as creator but as judge and sustainer, was present in rabbinic teachings. Apparently the distinction between the two was made by rabbis to avoid a crude anthropomorphic understanding of God's rest after the six days of labor of creation. R. Phinehas (ca. A.D. 360) quotes R. Oshaya (ca. A.D. 225) as saying: "Although you read: 'Because that in it He rested from all His work which God created to make,' He rested from the work of [creating] His world, but not from the work of the wicked and the work of the righteous, for He works with the former and with the latter."⁵

The early-church fathers utilized the notion of God's uninterrupted care for his creation and creatures, not for the purpose of

⁴As one example, see Edwyn Clement Hoskyns. *The Fourth Gospel*. 2d rev. ed. (London, 1947), p. 267.

⁵*Genesis Rabbah* 11.10.

qualifying the nature of God's Sabbath rest (as did the rabbis), but rather to invalidate its obligation. Christ's saying provided the basis for their apologetic-polemic arguments. Justin Martyr, for instance, justifies the Christian non-observance of the seventh-day Sabbath by the fact that "God directs the government of the universe on this day equally as on all others."⁶ Origen interprets John 5:17 similarly, saying: "He shows by this that during the present age God does not cease on the Sabbath to order the world or to supply human needs, . . . The true Sabbath in which God will rest from all His works will, therefore, be the world to come."⁷

A sharp polemical use of this interpretation is found in the Syriac *Didascalia*:

If God willed that we should be idle one day for six . . . God Himself also with all His creatures [would have remained idle]. But now all the governance of the world is carried on ever continually; . . . For if He would say: "Thou shalt be idle, and thy son and thy servant, and thy maidservant, and thine ass," how does He (continue to) work, causing to generate, and making the winds to blow, and fostering and nourishing us His creatures? . . . But this (the Sabbath) has been set as a type for the times. . . . But the Lord our Saviour, when He was come, fulfilled the types.⁸

John Calvin's is a later example of the *cura continua* interpretation. Commenting on John 5:17, he writes: "In six days,

⁶Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 29, ANF 1: 209; cf. *Dialogue* 23; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 6.16.

⁷Origen, *In Numeros Homiliae* 23.4, GCS 30; cf. *Gospel of Philip* 8.

⁸Syriac *Didascalia* 26, in R. Hugh Connolly, ed. and trans., *Didascalia Apostolorum* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 236, 238 (Latin text on pp. 237, 239). Eusebius explains John 5:17 thus: "We say that He works when He consecrates His attention to sensible realities and when He is engaged exercising His providence on the world. . . . But when He devotes Himself to incorporeal and supraerrestrial realities . . . we can say that He takes some rest and accomplishes His Sabbath" (*Commentaria in Psalmos 91*, PG 23: 1168). On the basis of this interpretation, Eusebius argues that believers are to celebrate the Sabbath rest not by interrupting their daily work, but by "consecrating themselves completely to God through the study and contemplation of divine and intelligible realities" (*ibid.*). The paradox of this view is obvious: How can one *freely* consecrate himself to the study and contemplation of God without being *free* from the commitments of the daily work?

therefore, the creation of the world was completed, but the administration of it is still continued and God incessantly *worketh* in maintaining and preserving the order of it."⁹ Therefore Christians, according to Calvin, are to follow "the example of God" not by resting "on the seventh day . . . but by abstaining from the troublesome actions of this world and aspiring to the heavenly rest."¹⁰

This interpretation still enjoys supporters today. Barnabas Lindars, for instance, refers to God's "activity in maintaining the universe (which) continues without intermission. . . . Jesus deduces from this fact, . . . that he has himself a right to override the Sabbath."¹¹ Rudolf Bultmann reaches basically the same conclusion by interpreting the "working until now" as "the constancy of the divine activity" upon which rests the freedom from "the law of the Sabbath," first for Christ and then "indirectly" for the followers. As he puts it: "Just as the revelation-event is not bound to any religious law, so too the reception of the revelation transcends all laws and rules. The healed man must also break the Sabbath."¹² The assessment of this interpretation will be made after other views have been presented.

Creatio Continua

An interpretation of John 5:17 that is closely related to, and somewhat overlaps, that of *cura continua*, may be labeled as *creatio continua*. According to this view, the "working until now" of the Father refers to his incessant *creative* activity which knows no Sabbath rest. Christ would have derived from the example of his Father the abrogation of the commandment to rest for both himself and his followers.

⁹John Calvin, *Commentary on the Gospel According to John*, trans. William Pringle (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1959), pp. 196-197.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 196.

¹¹Barnabas Lindars, *The Gospel of John* (London, 1972), p. 218; Cornelius à Lapide similarly interprets the "working" of the Father as his "governing and preserving the world, and all the things that are in it" (*The Great Commentary*, trans. Thomas W. Mossman, 3d ed. [Edinburgh, 1908], 1: 173 [Catholic Standard Library, vol. 5]).

¹²Bultmann, pp. 246-247.

That God is by his very nature continually active is a Greek philosophical concept already found in Aristotle and reflected in the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher Philo who wrote: "God never ceases to act; but as it is the property of fire to warm and of snow to chill, so it is the property of God to make. . . . He causes to rest that which . . . he is apparently making, but He Himself never ceases making."¹³

This notion of ceaseless divine creation is utilized by Clement of Alexandria, one of the most liberal and syncretistic minds of Christian antiquity. "God's resting," he explains, "is not, then, as some conceive, that God ceased from doing. For, being good, if He should ever cease from doing good, then would He cease from being God, which it is sacrilege even to say."¹⁴ Clement reasons that God's creation is not limited by time, "seeing time was born along with things which exist." Thus, he interprets the expression "when they were created" (Gen 2:4) as intimating "an indefinite and timeless production."¹⁵

Faustus the Manichaean, as reported by Augustine, employs the same concept to explain Christ's saying. Christ told the Jews, says Augustine, "that God always works, and that no day is appointed for the intermission of His pure and unwearied energy, and accordingly He [Christ] Himself had to work incessantly even on Sabbath."¹⁶ Augustine himself uses basically the same interpretive category to unravel the meaning of Christ's words. He challenges the Jewish understanding of God's Sabbath rest at the completion of creation, by appealing to the *effortless* nature of God's working. "He who made all things by the Word, could not

¹³Philo, *Legum Allegoriae* 1.5-6; In *De Cherubim* 87, Philo explains that God's "rest" does not mean that he ceases to do good "since that which is the cause of all things is by nature active and never has any respite from doing the best." In *Legum Allegoriae* 1.16, Philo apparently distinguishes between the creation of mortal things which was completed with the divine Sabbath rest, and the creation of divine things which still continues. Later (ca. A.D. 100-130) Rabbis Gamaliel II, Joshua ben Hananiah, Eleazar ben Azariah, and Aqiba declared that God continues on the Sabbath his creative activity (Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar* 2: 461-462; cf. Bertram, "ἔργον," *TDNT* 2: 639-640).

¹⁴Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 6.16, ANF 2: 513.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 513.

¹⁶Augustine, *Reply to Faustus the Manichaean* 16.6, NPNF, 1st Series, 4: 221.

be wearied.”¹⁷ Elsewhere Augustine indicates that “God worketh in quiet, and always worketh, and is always in quiet.”¹⁸ Since God’s *modus operandi* (*fiat* creation) presupposes no fatigue or consumption of energy, what is the significance of his Sabbath rest? Says Augustine: “In the Rest of God our rest is signified,” by which he means, not the rest experience of a present Sabbath-keeping, but rather the eschatological rest to be experienced in the seventh and last age.¹⁹ In another discussion, Augustine interprets Christ’s saying as an open declaration “that the sacrament of the Sabbath, even the sign of keeping one day, was given to the Jews for a time, but that the fulfillment of the sacrament had come in Himself.”²⁰ Thus, the fulfillment of the Sabbath rest is for Augustine both eschatological and Christological.²¹

The *creatio continua* interpretation of John 5:17 is defended by several contemporary commentators. J. H. Bernard, for instance, affirms that “the words express the idea (obvious when it is expressed) that God does not keep the Sabbath $\xi\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\iota$, that is, *hitherto*. God’s working has not been intermitted since the Creation. . . . The rest of God is for the future.”²² Willy Rordorf similarly argues that “John 5.17 intends to interpret Gen. 2.2f. in the sense that God has never rested from the beginning of creation, that he does not yet rest, but that he will rest at the end.”²³ Therefore, he concludes, “Jesus derives for *himself* the abrogation

¹⁷Augustine, *Sermons on New-Testament Lessons* 75.4, NPNF, 1st Series, 6: 477.

¹⁸Augustine, “Psalm 93,” *On the Psalms* 1, NPNF, 1st Series, 8: 456.

¹⁹Augustine, *Sermons on New-Testament Lessons* 75.4, NPNF, 1st Series, 6: 477.

²⁰Augustine, *On the Gospel According to St. John* 17.5.13, NPNF, 1st Series, 7: 115.

²¹This is clearly enunciated by Augustine in *The City of God* xxii.30, NPNF, 1st Series, 2: 511.

²²J. H. Bernard, *Gospel According to St. John*, ICC 1: 237; similarly J. N. Sanders affirms that “Jesus in effect repudiates any crudely anthropomorphic understanding of God’s rest after His six days labour of creation, the aetiological myth which explained the command to rest from labour on the seventh day” (*A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. John* [New York, 1968], p. 163).

²³Willy Rordorf, *Sunday. The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church* (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 98.

of the commandment to rest on the weekly sabbath from the eschatological interpretation of Gen. 2.2f."²⁴ Before testing the validity of this interpretation (as well as of the previous one), mention should be made of a third interpretation.

Acta Salutis

Some commentators, ancient as well as modern, have viewed the "working" of the Father and of the Son as *acta salutis*, that is, redemptive activity. Such a concept is not necessarily mutually exclusive with the foregoing ones, however.

One early source outside the pale of orthodox Christianity, the Gnostic tractate known as *The Gospel of Truth*, sets forth the idea as follows:

Even on the Sabbath, he [i.e., Christ] labored for the sheep which he found fallen into the pit. He gave life to the sheep, having brought it up from the pit in order that you might know interiorly—you, the sons of interior knowledge—what is the Sabbath, on which it is not fitting for salvation to be idle, in order that you may speak from the day from above, which has no night. . . .²⁵

The early patristic writer Clement of Alexandria, cited above as an exponent of the *creatio continua* interpretation, alludes also to the redemptive nature of Christ's "working" when he writes: "For still the Saviour saves, 'and always works, as He sees the Father.'"²⁶ John Chrysostom (d. A.D. 407) associates the incident of the healing of the blind man recorded in John 9:6, 14, with the divine "working" of John 5:17, regarding both as specific occasions when Christ repeals the Sabbath law "directly."²⁷

This *acta salutis* interpretation is defended by several modern scholars. H. A. W. Meyer, for instance, sees in Christ's saying an

²⁴Ibid., p. 100.

²⁵*The Gospel of Truth* 1.32, trans. George W. MacRae, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (New York, 1977), p. 44.

²⁶Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1.1, ANF 2: 302.

²⁷Chrysostom, *The Gospel of St. Matthew*, Homily 39, NPNF, 1st Series, 10: 255: "There are occasions on which He even repeals it [i.e., the Sabbath] directly . . . as when He anoints with the clay the eyes of the blind man; as when He saith, 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.'"

allusion “to the unresting activity of God for human salvation.” For him, Jesus says:

As the *Father* . . . has not ceased from the beginning to work for the world’s salvation, but ever works on even to the present moment, so of necessity and right, notwithstanding the law of the Sabbath, does *He* also, *the Son*, who as such . . . cannot in this His activity be subject to the sabbatical law, but is *Lord* of the Sabbath.²⁸

Edwyn Hoskyns similarly maintains that in John 5:17 “the emphasis lies, not on the continuous and unbroken invisible work of God, but on the visible work of the Son of God.”²⁹ He concludes that “this work involves, not the violation of the law of the Sabbath, but its complete overthrow and fulfillment.”³⁰ Oscar Cullmann discusses extensively and convincingly the Christological nature of the divine “working [ἐργάζεσθαι].” Basing his interpretation on the close nexus between John 5:17 and 9:4, he rightly points out:

. . . it would be contrary to the intention of the Old Testament to wish to interpret the continued work of God in the sense of a *creatio continua*. It is concerned rather with the work of salvation, by which God reveals himself and which continues also after the six days’ work and finds its culminating point in the life of Christ on earth.³¹

From this interpretation Cullmann comes to far-reaching (and, as I shall show, unwarranted) conclusions. “Jesus, by his work,” he contends, “brings to an end this feast day [i.e., the Sabbath] by

²⁸Heinrich A. W. Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Gospel of John* (New York, 1895), p. 178; Godet, p. 462, paraphrases the passage as follows: “Since up to this time the work of salvation has not been consummated, as it will be in the future Sabbath, and consequently my Father works still, I also work.”

²⁹Hoskyns, p. 267.

³⁰*Ibid.* The same view is advocated by Christoph Ernst Luthardt: “All the action of God since the creation, . . . is essentially related only to Christ and his work. Therefore it is of salvation-bringing, a redeeming kind” (*St. John’s Gospel* 2 [Edinburgh, 1877]: 101).

³¹Oscar Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship* (London, 1953), pp. 89-90.

fulfilling the ultimate purpose underlying God's institution of this day in the Old Testament."³²

2. *Analysis of Key Expressions in the Passage*

This brief survey of the leading interpretations of John 5:17 has shown the existence of a basic consensus of scholarly opinion on the implication of John 5:17. Though the "working until now" of the Father and Son has been interpreted differently as *cura continua*, *creatio continua*, or *acta salutis*, the exponents of these three views basically agree in regarding this passage as an implicit (if not explicit) annulment of the Sabbath commandment. Does this conclusion reflect the legitimate meaning of the passage or rather subjective assumptions possibly determined by confessional and/or traditional positions? I shall attempt to answer this question and hope to come closer to the significance of Christ's saying and of the implications of John's reporting, by first examining (1) the role of the adverb ἕως ἄρτι, "until now," and (2) the meaning of the verb ἐργάζεται, "is working." Then, in the next section I shall treat the theological implications of the passage.

"Until Now"

Traditionally, as we have seen, the adverb ἕως ἄρτι has been understood as "continually, always." The emphasis has been placed on the *continuous* working of God (whether it be in creation, preservation, or redemption) which allegedly overrides or rescinds the Sabbath law. But does the adverb emphasize the *constancy* or the *culmination* of God's working? In other words, does ἕως ἄρτι suggest that God is *constantly* working without respect to the Sabbath, or does it mean that he is working *until this very hour*—since the first Sabbath and until the conclusion of his work, the final Sabbath? Obviously, the implications of the two renderings are radically different. The former could imply a negation of the

³²Ibid., p. 90; cf. also by the same author "Sabbat und Sonntag nach dem Johannesevangelium. ἕως ἄρτι (Joh. 5, 17)," *In memoriam E. Lohmeyer* (Stuttgart, 1951), p. 131, where he argues that since, according to John 5:17, "the true 'rest' of God is first fulfilled in the resurrection of Christ," the celebration of Sunday in place of the Sabbath does not represent disobedience to the fourth commandment.

Sabbath, while the latter could provide a clarification of the nature of the divine Sabbath rest. It is therefore imperative to determine which is the more accurate meaning of the adverb.

“Ἐως ἄρτι means nothing more nor less than *usque adhuc*, “until now.”³³ This, in fact, is the rendering given by several translators.³⁴ Some rightly use the emphatic form “even until now,”³⁵ since according to the order of words the emphasis is on the adverb and not on the verb. The fact that the emphasis is on the adverb rather than on the verb³⁶ suggests that the *constancy* implied by the verb ἐργάζεται must be subordinated to the *culmination* implied by the adverb ἕως ἄρτι.

If Christ had intended to appeal to the *constancy* of God's working on the Sabbath to justify its violation, then, as aptly noted by Godet, “He would not have said: until this very hour (ἕως ἄρτι), but *always, continually* (ἀεί).”³⁷ Moreover, as Godet further points out, “In the second member of the sentence, Jesus could not have refrained from either repeating the adverb or substituting for it the word ὁμοίως, *in the same way*.”³⁸ Finally, if the adverb were intended to stress the constancy of God's working which overrides the Sabbath, this would create an unwarranted ethical dichotomy between the position of God and that of man, since God would disregard the very precept he enjoined upon his creatures.³⁹

³³Parallel usage of this adverbial phrase with the same meaning is found in John 2:10; 16:24; 1 John 2:9.

³⁴See, e.g., Godet, William Temple (*The Interpreter's Bible*), Calvin, Albert Barnes, Lagrange, W. Robertson Nicoll, Sanders, Luthardt, Barclay, and others *in loco*.

³⁵See, e.g., Turner and Mantey, Cullmann, and Hoskyns *in loco*.

³⁶Godet, p. 461, notes the emphatic position of the adverb, remarking that “according to the position of the words, this adverb of time, and not the verb, has the emphasis.”

³⁷Ibid. Meyer, p. 178, defends Godet on this point. See also Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, p. 89, who points out that “the reference to a time when the work ceases ought to be underlined.” Bultmann, though he stresses the *constancy* rather than the *culmination* of God's working, suggests in a footnote (p. 245, n. 5) that “ἕως ἄρτι . . . in the first place indicates the terminus ad quem.”

³⁸Godet, p. 461.

³⁹This point is well brought out by Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, pp. 89-90.

The adverbial phrase “until now” must then be taken as a reference to the *culmination* of God’s activity—the time when God will no longer work, at least not in the same way. This time is envisaged in another pronouncement uttered by Christ on a Sabbath and reported in John 9:4: “We must work the works of him who sent me, while it is day; night comes, when no one can work.” In this statement the *culmination* (*terminus ad quem*) of the divine and human “working” is explicitly designated as νύξ, the “night.” By virtue of the conceptual similarity between John 5:17 and 9:4 it seems legitimate to conclude that the “night” is the *terminus ad quem* also for the “until now” of John 5:17.

The conclusion of God’s working presupposed by “until now” is apparently viewed as the final and perfect Sabbath rest of which the initial creation Sabbath (*terminus a quo*) was the prototype. A study of the meaning of the divine working clarifies and supports this interpretation.

“Is Working”

We have seen that two historical interpretations of God’s working are the *cura continua* and the *creatio continua*. The former apparently reflects the rabbinic concept of God’s uninterrupted care for his creatures even on the Sabbath, while the latter is akin to the Philonic understanding of God’s continuous creation which knows no interruption on the Sabbath. But do these interpretive categories accurately reflect the Johannine concept of the divine working?

Is the notion of a *creatio continua* present in John’s Gospel? Hardly so. John explicitly affirms that God’s works of creation “were made” through the “Word” at a time designated as “the beginning” (1:1-3). Both the phrases ἐν ἀρχῇ, “in the beginning,” and the aorist form of the verb ἐγένετο, “made” or “came into being,” indicate with sufficient clarity that the works of creation are viewed as concluded at an indefinite distant past known as “the beginning.” Moreover, the fact that in John 5:17 (and throughout the Gospel) the works of the Father are identified with those performed by Christ on earth, suggests that these could not possibly be creative works, since Christ at that moment was not engaged in works of creation. To distinguish between the works of the Father and those of the Son would mean to destroy the absolute unity

between the two, a unity which is emphatically taught in John's Gospel.⁴⁰

What, then, is the "working until now" of the Father? Could it refer to God's *cura continua* for the maintenance of the universe which knows no interruption on the Sabbath? The orthodoxy of such a notion can hardly be disputed, but is this the Johannine understanding of the divine working? In the Gospel of John, the working and works of God are repeatedly and explicitly identified with the saving mission of Christ. John 4:34 says, e.g., that Christ's mission is "to do" and "to complete his [i.e., God's] work." In 6:29 the purpose of "the work of God" is spelled out as being "that you believe in him whom he has sent." Again, in 10:37-38 Christ not only claims to be "doing the works of [his] Father" but also urges his listeners to "believe the works" (cf. 14:11; 15:24).

The redemptive nature and purpose of the "working until now" of the Father and Son is possibly suggested also by the setting for the healing of the paralytic, namely the pool of Bethesda, which means "Place of Mercy."⁴¹ Any lingering doubt is removed by the strikingly similar episode of the healing of the blind man. Not only is the Father described here as the One "who sent" the Son to do his work, thus implying the missionary character of Christ's activity, but the very healing of the blind man is described as the manifestation of "the works of God" (John 9:3). These indications force the conclusion that the "working until now" of the Father in John 5:17 refers not to a *creatio* or *cura continua*, but rather to *acta salutis*—the works of salvation accomplished by the Father through the Son. "Speaking with qualification," as well expressed by Donatien Mollat, "there is but one 'work of God': that is, the mission of the Son in the world."⁴²

⁴⁰An informative analysis of the existing unity between the works of the Father and of the Son is provided by Mario Veloso, *El Compromiso Cristiano* (Buenos Aires, 1975), pp. 119-120.

⁴¹Joachim Jeremias presents significant archaeological evidence indicating that the reading Βηθεσδα is to be preferred to Βηθζαθα (*Die Wiederentdeckung von Bethesda* [Göttingen, 1949]).

⁴²Donatien Mollat, *Introduction à l'étude de la Christologie de Saint Jean*, mimeographed ed. (Rome, 1970), p. 116. Godet, p. 463, remarks that "the rest in Genesis refers to the work of God in the sphere of nature, while the question here is of the divine work for the salvation of the human race." Luthardt, p. 101, also

3. *Theological Implications of the Passage*

What are the theological implications of the redemptive nature of the Sabbath-working of the Father and of the Son? Does Christ's defense of his Sabbath healing, on the ground of God's works of salvation which continue after the creation Sabbath, imply that, as Paul Jewett suggests, "by his redemptive *work*, Jesus sets aside the Sabbath"?⁴³ Did Christ through his saving ministry, as argued by Cullmann, bring "to an end this feast day [i.e., the Sabbath] by fulfilling the ultimate purpose underlying God's institution of this day in the Old Testament"?⁴⁴ Does the saying "My Father is working until now" imply a movement in redemptive history "from promise to fulfillment," that is to say, from the promise of the OT Sabbath rest to the fulfillment found in the day of the resurrection?⁴⁵ In other words, did the fourth evangelist report Christ's saying, as claimed by Cullmann, to justify on the one hand "the superseding of the Jewish Sabbath by the new conception of the divine rest," and to defend on the other hand the observance of "the *Lord's Day* [i.e., Sunday] of the Christian community"?⁴⁶

To assume that through his Sabbath deed and pronouncement, Christ was announcing (though in a veiled fashion) the end of Sabbath observance which was soon to be replaced by Sunday observance, is to hold the same position as those Jews who accused Christ of Sabbath-breaking (John 5:16, 18; 9:16). But this is the very charge that Christ consistently refused to admit. It must be emphasized that Jesus, in this as well as in all his other Sabbath deeds, never conceded any transgression of the Sabbath, but rather defended the legality of his actions by a theological norm admitted by his opponents. A defense implies not an admission, but a refutation, of the accusation.

perceives the redemptive meaning of God's "working until now" which is to continue until the final Sabbath. "For this work," Luthardt says, "there is no Sabbath either for him or for the Son."

⁴³Paul K. Jewett, *The Lord's Day* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1972), p. 86.

⁴⁴Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, p. 90.

⁴⁵This concept of Cullmann is re-proposed and defended by Jewett, p. 86.

⁴⁶Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, p. 91.

To understand the force of Christ's defense in John, one needs to remember that the Sabbath is linked both to the cosmos through Creation (Gen 2:2-3; Exod 20:8-11) and to redemption through the Exodus (Deut 5:15). By interrupting all secular activities the Israelite was remembering the Creator-God, and by acting mercifully toward fellow-beings he was imitating the Redeemer-God. This was true not only in the lives of the people who on the Sabbath were to be compassionate toward the lower orders of the society, but particularly in the service of the temple. There on the Sabbath the priests performed many common works which were forbidden for the Israelites. For instance, while on the Sabbath no baking was to be done in the home (Exod 16:23), yet in the temple, bread was baked on that day for the cereal offering of the high priest and apparently also to replace the week-old bread of the presence (1 Sam 21:3-6; Lev 24:8; 1 Chr 9:32).⁴⁷ Moreover, on the Sabbath the sacrificial offerings were augmented by doubling them (Num 28:9,10). According to Matthew, Christ utilized the latter argument to defend the legality of his Sabbath acts as well as those of his disciples, when he said: "Have you not read in the law how on the Sabbath the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath, and are guiltless?" (Matt 12:5). Why were the priests "guiltless" though working more intensely on the Sabbath? The answer lies in the redemptive nature of their work which was not proscribed but contemplated by the Torah.⁴⁸ Christ claimed this same prerogative for himself since he is "greater than the temple" (Matt 12:6). As the *True High Priest* Jesus also has the right to intensify on the Sabbath his ministry of salvation on behalf of needy sinners; and what *he* does, his followers, the new priesthood, must do likewise (John 9:4).⁴⁹

⁴⁷For a concise treatment of the various types of work permitted in the temple, see Nathan A. Barack, *A History of the Sabbath* (New York, 1965), pp. 66-69. On the Sabbath baking of the cereal offering cakes of the high priest, see *Sifra, Tzau* (Lev 6:14), *Menaḥot* 96a, 49a; though 1 Sam 21:6 suggests that the bread of the presence was baked on the Sabbath (since the text says that it was "replaced by hot bread on that day"), the rabbis disagreed on whether such baking overrode the Sabbath (see *Menaḥot* 11, 9).

⁴⁸The passage is examined in Samuele Bacchiocchi, *From Sabbath to Sunday* (Rome, 1977), pp. 48-55.

⁴⁹Christ finds in the temple and its services a valid frame of reference to explain his Sabbath theology, apparently because their redemptive function best exemplified

On the basis of this theology of the Sabbath admitted by the Jews, Christ defended the legality of his Sabbath saving acts, saying, "My Father is working until now, and I am working" (John 5:17). That is to say, I am engaged on the Sabbath in the same saving activity of the Father, which is perfectly lawful to perform. To avoid misunderstanding, Christ explained the nature of the works of the Father which "the Son does likewise" (5:19). These consist in raising the dead, thus giving life (5:21), and in conducting a saving judgment (5:22-23). For the Jews who were unwilling to accept the Messianic claim of Christ, this justification of performing on the Sabbath the works of salvation of the Father made him guilty on two counts: "He not only broke the Sabbath but also . . . [made] himself equal with God" (5:18).

To silence the echo of the controversy and to further establish the legality of his actions, Christ wisely used the example of circumcision:

You circumcise a man upon the Sabbath. If on the Sabbath a man receives circumcision, so that the law of Moses may not be broken, are you angry with me because on the Sabbath I made a man's whole body well? Do not judge by appearances, but judge with right judgment (John 7:22-24).⁵⁰

Why was it legitimate to circumcise a child on the Sabbath when the eighth day after his birth (Lev 12:3) fell on that day? No explanation is given, since the practice was well understood. Circumcision was regarded as a redemptive act which mediated the salvation of the covenant.⁵¹ It was lawful, therefore, on the Sabbath to mutilate one of the 248 parts of the human body (that was the

both his Messianic mission and the divinely intended purpose for the Sabbath. On the redemptive meaning and function of the Sabbath, see my treatment in *ibid.*, pp. 17-73.

⁵⁰Most commentators recognize that this passage is related to chap. 5. See, e.g., William Barclay, *The Gospel of John* (Edinburgh, 1955), 1: 252: "Remember this passage is really part of chapter 5 and not chapter 7."

⁵¹On the redemptive meaning of circumcision, see Rudolf Meyer, "περιτέμνω," *TDNT* 6: 75-76.

Jewish reckoning⁵²), in order to save the whole person.⁵³ On the basis of this premise Christ argued that there was no reason to be “angry” with him for restoring on that day the “whole body” (John 7:23).

This argument suggests that for Christ the Sabbath was a day to work for the redemption of the *whole* person. This is borne out also by the fact that on the same day Christ looked for the healed men and having found them, he ministered to their spiritual needs (John 5:14; 9:35-38). His opponents could not perceive the redemptive nature of Christ’s Sabbath ministry because they judged “by appearances” (John 7:24). They regarded the pallet which the paralytic carried on the Sabbath as more important than the physical restoration and social reunification which the object symbolized (John 5:10). They viewed the mixing of clay on the Sabbath of greater import than the restoration of sight to the blind man (John 9:14, 15, 26).

Christ’s intentional infringement of rabbinical regulations was therefore designed not to invalidate the Sabbath precept, but, as stated by M.-J. Lagrange, “to distinguish between that which was contrary and that which was in harmony with the spirit of the Sabbath law.”⁵⁴ Healing a paralyzed man and returning him to his dwelling carrying his bed did not fall under the prohibition of the Mosaic law, rightly understood.⁵⁵ An important theme of the Sabbath is humanitarian consideration for the underprivileged as a response to God’s redemptive activity—his liberation of Israel from Egyptian bondage (Deut 5:15).⁵⁶ God ended on the Sabbath his *act*

⁵²*Yoma* 85b.

⁵³This view was defended by rabbis. Barack, p. 73, writes: “Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah reasoned that since it is permissible to desecrate the Sabbath to perform a circumcision, where only one organ is involved, it should surely be permitted to desecrate the Sabbath for the sake of the entire body (that is, to save a life).”

⁵⁴M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Jean*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1925), p. 141.

⁵⁵It is noteworthy that while the Pentateuch bans work on the Sabbath (Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14; Lev 23:3), only in a few instances does it define what constitutes work (Exod 16:29; 34:21; 35:3; Num 15:32-36).

⁵⁶Hans Walter Wolff, “The Day of Rest in the Old Testament,” *CTM* 43 (1972): 502, notes (as he comments on Exod 23:12): “It is indeed moving that the cattle too are cared for. But it is more touching that, of the dependent laborers, the son of the female slave and the alien are especially singled out. For when such persons are

of creation, but not his *action* in general. Because of sin, he "is working until now" to accomplish the salvation of the human race. Christ's act of healing represents a link in the great chain of God's saving acts accomplished here on earth, and consequently it does not contradict but fulfills the spirit of the Sabbath. By linking his healing act to the saving Sabbath activity of the Father, Christ was actually saying to his adversaries: In accusing me, you are really reproaching the Legislator himself, since I only act in harmony with his precepts and example.

Furthermore, if, as proposed by Cullmann, "John reveals a tendency in accounts of all the events of Christ's life to trace the line from the Jesus of history to the Christ of the community and . . . his chief interest is in the connexion with early Christian worship,"⁵⁷ then it appears legitimate to ask whether John does not report the sabbatical saying about God's working in 5:17 (as well as in 9:4) to justify the understanding and practice of the Sabbath-rest of the community as a day to experience God's redemptive working by ministering to the needs of others. Support for this understanding of Sabbath-keeping is provided by several similar sayings of Christ reported by the Synoptics, where the Sabbath is presented as a time "to do good" (Matt 12:12), "to save" (Mark 3:4), "to loose" human beings from physical and spiritual bonds (Luke 13:16-17), and to show "mercy" rather than religiosity (Matt 12:7).⁵⁸

ordered to work, they have no recourse or protection." Cf. Niels-Erik Andreasen, "Festival and Freedom," *Int* 28 (1974): 289.

⁵⁷Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, p. 91; cf. also p. 58.

⁵⁸It seems to me that possible further support would come from the prophet-like-Moses motif noted by a number of recent writers, such as Cullmann, Teeple, Glasson, Bowman, Scobie, Bernard, Brown, Sanders, Michaels, Meeks, and Borgen. A significant paper on this motif was presented by F. Lamar Cribbs, entitled "The 'Prophet-Like-Moses' Import of the Johannine 'Ego Eimi' Sayings" (presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, New Orleans, Louisiana, Nov. 21, 1978).

THE EXEGETICAL METHODS OF SOME
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PURITAN PREACHERS:
HOOPER, CARTWRIGHT, AND PERKINS

PART I

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This article and a subsequent one will deal with the exegetical methods of three sixteenth-century Puritan preachers: John Hooper (d. 1555), Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603), and William Perkins (1558-1602). Where did these three preachers fit into the Puritan milieu, and what relationship do their biblical exegetical methods have to the exegesis of the four prominent Anglican preachers discussed in my two previous articles?¹ What, indeed, was the characteristic approach to the Bible of leading sixteenth-century Puritans that distinguished them from their orthodox Anglican counterparts? Before we direct our attention to such questions, it is necessary to provide a brief discussion of the nature of sixteenth-century Puritanism and of the parts played by Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins in the movements of their times.

1. *The Nature of Sixteenth-Century Puritanism*

The term "Puritanism" as used in the latter half of the sixteenth century in England referred to the Protestant discontent with the official religion of the realm. It was an ultra-conservative attempt to render Protestantism more Protestant and less Roman Catholic. Many of the Puritans never left the official Church of England. The differences, whether theological or practical, between them and orthodox Anglicans were largely matters of emphasis. Both Anglicans and Puritans recognized the Bible as the sole ultimate authority in religious and theological matters, but the

¹My treatment of Hugh Latimer, John Jewel, Richard Hooker, and Lancelot Andrewes appeared in *AUSS* 17 (1979): 23-38, 169-188.

Puritans insisted on a closer conformity to the letter of the Scriptures in a manner which sometimes did an injustice to the actual literal meaning of the text. As we shall see, they were at times superficial interpreters because they were overly anxious to find their particularly inflexible mode of theological and religious practice supported by the text of the Bible. In this sense we can speak of them as ultra-literalists.

In classifying Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins within the rather broad spectrum of Puritanism, it is useful to consider Leonard Trinterud's division of sixteenth-century Puritans into three parties.² Hooper may be categorized as a member of the early antvestment party in the Anglican Church. It was organized in the 1560s against the wearing of clerical vestments and was instrumental in launching the opening phase of the Puritan movement. Perkins belonged to the passive-resistance party, which wanted to change the structure of the official church and to introduce further Reformed elements into its theology, but which refused to use the aggressive, activist tactics of the more extreme Presbyterians. Cartwright aligned himself with the Presbyterian party within Anglicanism. He sought drastic changes and was willing to resort to a more polemical campaign as a means of achieving them.

All three of these Anglican Puritans regarded matters of church polity and Christian practice discussed in the Bible as having timeless application. They were not satisfied to see certain issues as being relevant to the apostolic church but irrelevant to the Anglican Church. Whatever was done in the age of the Apostles must, as a matter of principle, also be done in their era. In general, they felt that the Church of England, or any other church, had no right to invent customs for which there was no scriptural authority. All of man's activities had to be based on a "Thus saith the Lord."

By contrast, the orthodox Anglicans were prepared to admit some latitude in the contemporary application of Bible polity and practice. They too held to *sola scriptura*, but their hermeneutic allowed for diverse methods of implementing the basic principles of the Bible. Herein lay a major difference between sixteenth-century Anglicans and Puritans. It was a hermeneutical difference,

²Leonard J. Trinterud, ed., *Elizabethan Puritanism* (New York, 1971), p. 10.

based not on different concepts of Bible inspiration, but on different understandings of the interpretation and application of specific scriptural passages. The results of the Puritan hermeneutic were theological as well as practical, and there was a dynamic interaction between their over-literal theological interpretations and their stringent practical demands. As a basis for their extreme biblicism, the Puritans stressed, more than did the orthodox Anglicans, the perfection of the Scriptures, and they derogated human literature by comparison.

2. *Overview of the Careers of the Three Preachers*

Before we turn our attention more specifically to the exegetical practices of Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins, it will be helpful to provide a brief overview of the careers of these three Puritan preachers.

*John Hooper*³

After graduating from Oxford University in 1519, John Hooper entered the Cistercian monastery at Gloucester, where he evidently received holy orders. After the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII he became much impressed with the writings of Zwingli and Bullinger. Returning to Oxford with the intention of disseminating his reformist doctrines, he was obliged to flee three times, twice to the Continent. In 1547 he went to Zurich where he remained for two years, becoming quite intimate with Bullinger and corresponding with Bucer and à Lasco. In May, 1549, Hooper returned to England and became chaplain to Protector Somerset. From this point on, he became the leader of the stricter group of English reformers. Appointed to preach the Lent lectures before Edward VI in 1550, he chose as his subject the book of Jonah and seized the opportunity to present his views on the "First Prayer Book" (1549), on the oath by the saints required of clergy at their

³For further detail regarding biographical information presented herein on Hooper, see especially *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereinafter cited as *DNB*), "Hooper, John"; Samuel Carr, ed., *Early Writings of John Hooper* (Cambridge, 1843); Cunningham Geikie, *The English Reformation* (New York, 1879); Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England*, 3 vols. (New York, 1950, 1963).

consecration, and on the vestments. Archbishop Cranmer had him brought before the council, but the king supported him, as did the Lord Protector Warwick, and Hooper was offered the see of Gloucester on July 3, 1550.

Hooper refused the bishopric on two grounds: the wording of the oath, and the requirement that the vestments must be worn at the consecration ceremony. After a royal dispensation, a bitter debate with Cranmer, a house arrest, and a period in Fleet prison (January, 1551), Hooper was released and consecrated Bishop of Gloucester on March 8, 1551, wearing the episcopal vestments.

Hooper preached frequently in his diocese and pastored his flock with great conscientiousness. He introduced a program of discipline and reform and saw to the instruction of the clergy. His organization of the Church followed the Zurich custom in that he appointed superintendents instead of rural deans and archdeacons. In 1552, he was also given the see of Worcester. Later Gloucester was reduced to an archdeaconry, and Hooper was titled Bishop of Worcester. Early in the reign of Mary, he was sent to the Fleet on the trumped-up charge that he owed a debt to the queen. On January 22, 1555, he was accused of heresy, largely on the basis of his eucharistic teachings. He was burned at the stake on February 9, 1555.

His sermons that I shall consider are "A Funeral Sermon," based on Rev 14:13, preached January 14, 1549; and "An Oversight and Deliberation upon the Holy Prophet Jonas," the sermons preached before Edward VI in Lent of 1550.⁴

*Thomas Cartwright*⁵

Thomas Cartwright spent his early career largely at Cambridge. During the reign of Mary he was obliged, along with others who were attached to Reformation theology, to leave the University for a time. He became a clerk to a counsellor-at-law. After the

⁴Carr, pp. 435-558, 561-572.

⁵For further detail regarding biographical information presented herein on Cartwright, see especially *DNB*, "Cartwright, Thomas"; Hywel R. Jones, *Thomas Cartwright 1535-1603* (London, 1970); Donald Joseph McGinn, *The Admonition Controversy* (New Brunswick, 1949); A. F. Scott Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism 1535-1603* (Cambridge, 1925).

accession of Elizabeth, he returned to Cambridge, and on January 16, 1562, he became junior dean of St. John's College. In April, 1562, he was appointed a major fellow of Trinity College, and he established an excellent reputation as a theologian, preacher, and disputant.

On August 7, 1564, he took part in a disputation before Queen Elizabeth, who was visiting the University. Even though this was only an academic discussion, the nature of the subject and the potency of Cartwright's arguments were not likely to endear him to the queen, for he attacked the thesis that God's sovereignty supported an earthly monarchy and opposed the idea that the monarchical principle was bolstered by natural phenomena. He cited Aristotle against the rule of an individual and advocated that a commonwealth was best governed when the monarch shared the government with others. The queen favored Cartwright's opponent, John Preston, singling him out for royal recognition. From this date on, Cartwright gradually built a reputation at the University for adherence to Puritan opinions regarding such issues as clerical dress and church organization.

When he returned to England in 1567 after a two-year absence in Ireland, he was appointed Lady Margaret professor at Cambridge. He now began lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, criticizing the constitution of the Church of England and comparing it unfavorably with the church of the first century. John Whitgift, who was later to become Archbishop of Canterbury, attempted to answer him but was no match for the scholarly and loquacious Cartwright. In June, 1570, conferral of the Doctor of Divinity degree upon Cartwright was vetoed, and in December he was deprived of his professorship by Whitgift, who at this time was master of Trinity College and Rhegius professor of divinity. Whitgift also withdrew Cartwright's fellowship in Trinity College in September of the following year. Leaving England, Cartwright went to Geneva, where he came under the direct influence of Theodore Beza, John Calvin's successor.

It was in response to the entreaties of scholarly friends that Cartwright returned to England in November, 1572. In that same year the "Admonition to the Parliament," written by John Field and Thomas Wilcox, was published. It argued strongly for a presbyterian polity for the Anglican Church. Cartwright was in sympathy

with the "Admonition" and also with its successor, "A Second Admonition to the Parliament," but there is no evidence that he had any part in the writing of either document. But when Whitgift published a response to those "Admonitions," Cartwright wrote "A Reply to an Answere made of M. Doctor Whitegifte, agaynst the Admonition to the Parliament." Whitgift defended his answer and Cartwright wrote a second reply, which was published in two parts, one in 1575 and the other in 1577.

The debate raged around six propositions which Cartwright set forth, dealing with orders of clergy and with their offices, duties, and calling. The real issue would seem to be, as H. R. Jones implies, the extent to which the church organization presented in the NT should be regarded as authoritative for the church in all ages.⁶

On June 11, 1573, a royal proclamation required the suppression of both of the "Admonitions," and on December 11 the Court of High Commission issued a warrant for Cartwright's arrest. Once again he left England, first going to Heidelberg, later to Antwerp, and finally to Middelburg. At this time he further dramatized his dissent from Anglicanism by writing the preface to Walter Travers's *Disciplina Ecclesiastica* (1574), which was destined to become the textbook of Puritanism. In 1574 he also translated Travers's book into English, publishing it under the title, *A full and plaine Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline owt of the Word off God, and off the declininge of the Churche off England from the same*. When he returned to England without royal assent in 1585, he was imprisoned but soon released.

The years 1595-1601 he spent on the island of Guernsey, but died in Warwick on December 27, 1603. Although he modified his method of working in the later years of life from that of "revolting

⁶Jones, p. 9. The six propositions may be summarized as follows: (1) The names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons should be abolished. (2) The ministry of the church should be brought in line with the apostolic church. There should be only two orders of clergy, bishops to preach and pray, and deacons to care for the poor. (3) Each church should be governed by its own minister and presbyters, not by bishops, chancellors, etc. (4) Ministers should be confined to the care of particular flocks. They should not be at large. (5) No man should be a candidate for the ministry, or solicit an appointment. The ministry is a divine calling. (6) Bishops should not be appointed by secular authority; they should be selected by the church.

critic to that of a loyal, constructive, and friendly reformer," Cartwright remained to the end thoroughly loyal to presbyterian ideals.

The Cartwright sermons that I shall consider are those which comprise his *Commentary upon the Epistle of Sainte Paule written to the Colossians*.⁷

*William Perkins*⁸

William Perkins entered Christ's College, Cambridge, as a student in 1577. There he studied under Laurence Chaderton, from whom he seems to have received his predilection for Puritanism. After a profligate early career, Perkins settled down to serious scholarly work, was elected a fellow of his college, and began to build a reputation as a preacher. He preached to the prisoners in the castle and, as lecturer at Great St. Andrews, attracted large congregations. His Puritan sympathies soon drew attention. In a sermon delivered in his college chapel on January 13, 1586 or 1587, he objected to kneeling when taking the sacrament and to the practice of turning to the east. Perkins was among the group or "synod" which met at St. John's College in 1589 to revise a treatise "Of Discipline," which afterwards became known as "The Directory." It contained a statement of Puritan doctrine which those present promised to uphold. The same year Perkins joined the petitioners on behalf of Francis Johnson, a fellow of Christ's College, who had been imprisoned for his support of efforts to achieve a presbyterian form of polity for the Anglican Church.

Perkins's works were enormously influential in his own era and in the seventeenth century. His preaching was as practical in emphasis as it was theological. T. F. Merrill says, "He firmly believed that the word of God should be communicated to men unadulterated by human learning, and in a plain manner which

⁷Thomas Cartwright, *A Commentary upon the Epistle of Saint Paule written to the Colossians* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, STC 4708, 1612).

⁸For further detail on biographical information presented herein on Perkins, see especially *DNB*, "Perkins, William"; Thomas F. Merrill, ed. *William Perkins 1558-1602: English Puritanist* (Nieuwkoop, 1966); H. C. Porter, *Puritanism in Tudor England* (Columbia, S. C., 1971).

they could understand.”⁹ He wrote *Art of Prophecyng*, which was the first manual of its kind for preachers in the Church of England. In this work Perkins states that it is a mistake to allow “humane wisdom” to conceal the message of the Bible, because preaching of the word is to give the testimony of God himself.¹⁰ Yet he saw the great importance of scholarly preparation for the preacher.

His work *Armilla Aurea*, or *Golden Chain*, published in 1590 and 1592, and thenceforth in numerous editions, defines theology as he understood it, providing an exposition of the Ten Commandments, the sacraments, predestination, calling, justification, sanctification, the Christian life, and the state of immortal souls in heaven and hell.

The publications of Perkins’s *Reformed Catholike* in 1597 clarified his position regarding the Scriptures as the sole religious authority. Perkins wrote two influential works on casuistry. *A Discourse of Conscience Wherein Is Set Downe The Nature, properties, and differences thereof: as also the way to get and keepe good Conscience*, and *The Whole treatise of the Cases of Conscience*. The first treatise was designed to answer questions regarding the assurance of election. Perkins sought to examine the nature of the conscience as a basis for a sound moral philosophy. The second work was concerned with guidelines for the resolution of moral problems faced by Christians in their practical day-to-day lives.

Though he sympathized with those who wished to change the polity of the Anglican Church in a Presbyterian direction, Perkins was very much opposed to those with separatist aspirations, and he personally avoided a divisive, polemical attack on the ecclesiastical status quo. His Puritanism seems, in the main, to have consisted of a strong doctrinal Calvinistic bias which placed him in intellectual conflict with certain major theological emphases of the established Church. His sermons reveal that his differences with the establishment were to a considerable degree matters of emphasis rather than marked divergence.

⁹Merrill, pp. ix, xvi.

¹⁰Cf. *ibid.*, pp. xvi-xvii.

The collection of sermons which I use for the present discussion is that which is contained in the 1631 3-volume edition of his collected works.¹¹

3. *Concept of the Bible*

The question concerning the use of the Bible by Anglicans and Puritans is not whether they gave credence to the early-church fathers or human reason as additional sources of truth. Rather, the two questions which were answered differently by Anglicans and Puritans are these: (1) To what extent are matters of church polity and Christian practice, which are discussed in the Bible, of universal and timeless application rather than local application to specific times and places? (2) To what extent does the church have the right to retain certain customs and invent others for which there is no scriptural injunction? (In other words, must all our religious practices have a "Thus saith the Lord," or does God allow man some latitude in such matters as vestments, kneeling, order, mode of worship, and organization of the church?)

In answer to the first question, the Anglicans held that the polity of the apostolic church was not necessarily intended to be applied in every detail in the sixteenth century. The Puritans, on the other hand, felt that only a very literal application of apostolic polity would do justice to the divine intention for the church as laid down in the Bible.

In answer to the second question, the Anglicans argued that when God's word says nothing regarding certain ceremonies, customs, and modes of church organization, a degree of latitude is, indeed, justifiable. The Puritans thought otherwise, wanting to retain only those ceremonies and organizational procedures which they detected in earliest Christianity as described in the NT. Both parties valued the NT supremely, and both accepted the principle of *sola scriptura*. But the Puritans were ultra-conservative and ultra-literalist. This is why they emphasized even more insistently than did the Anglicans the doctrine of *sola scriptura*. Hooper enunciated in the following manner the general principle to which he clung:

¹¹M. Willim Perkins, *The Works of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, M. William Perkins*, 3 vols. (London, 1631).

Who taught you to bring any religion into the church of God without God's commandment, and the decrees of the universal church, which is the church of the patriarchs, prophets, and the apostles, whose faith, life, death, and doctrine is and ought to be the ground and foundation of christian religion, as Saint Paul writeth, Ephes. ii?¹²

In the particular context, Hooper was opposing the doctrine of purgatory, which he found to be quite unscriptural. In practice, however, he applied the same principle to matters of difference between him and the Anglican Church. The vestments were an addition to Bible religion and therefore unacceptable. He was very much attached to the principle that "the scripture canonical, which is sufficient," under no circumstances ought to be added to, either in respect to doctrine or church ceremonies.¹³ The fourth of his "Sermons upon Jonas" forcefully expressed the same concept:

So judge thou of every religion that is not contained within the word of God, to be nothing else than vanity, from whencesoever it cometh; though the world would bear thee in hand, it were as true as the gospel. But ask that true judge, the word of God, and it will shew thee it is superstition, beggary, and treachery unto the soul; and those do lose the benevolence and mercy, that God hath promised in Christ to as many as seek him in truth and in verity. Out of this text ye see the doctrine of Christ true, that it is written Matthew vi., "No man can serve two masters," the true religion of God, and the superstition of man.¹⁴

The truth, Hooper argued, "appeareth out of the book of God, and out of none other man's writings."¹⁵ No council of the church, general or provincial, and no learning of man can provide a safer guide than the writings of prophets and apostles.¹⁶ The only doctrine which can be regarded as truly catholic and godly is that which agrees with prophets and apostles.¹⁷ Since the Bible teaches

¹²Carr, p. 567.

¹³Ibid., p. 568.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 500.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 445.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 566.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 442, 568.

that prayer is to be offered in a certain manner and always only to God, those who invent any other method, or supplicate saints in any sense, are rejected by God.¹⁸ The will of God is always to do what the Bible commands, not what man commands.¹⁹ In Moses' time God had a few who knew the true source of truth. So, Hooper asserted, he had in the sixteenth century a remnant who were able to direct their contemporaries to this source. Hooper quoted Scripture to substantiate his point:

Moses, instructing the people in the truth of the first question, whence the will of God should be known, commandeth them neither to look [for] it in Egypt nor elsewhere, but in the word of God, Deut xxx; and Saint Paul doth the same, Roms. x. and St. John i saith, "No man hath seen the Father, but the Son, and he unto whom the Son hath opened the Father" unto God, therefore, and his blessed will is known unto us, because he hath spoken unto us by his dear beloved Son, Heb i., as he spake beforetime unto the world by his prophets. From Christ, therefore, and his word cometh the knowledge of God's will; for the Father bid us hear him. Matt. iii. xvii. John x.²⁰

Just as no earthly king would allow his laws to be supplemented or modified by any subject, so God refuses to permit his statutes and laws to be tampered with.²¹ Reason establishes tradition and custom, but this is the basis of idolatry.²² In the secular realm, any vocation is unlawful which is opposed to the principles of the Bible, "as the vocation of bawds, idolaters, mass-mongers, common receivers, and maintainers of dicers and dice-houses, with such like."²³ A man's convictions as to his special calling must result from his existential relationship with God, but the basic principles governing the pursuit of his calling are to come from the Bible.²⁴

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 457, 592.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 444.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 444-445.

²¹Ibid., p. 436.

²²Ibid., p. 453.

²³Ibid., p. 456.

²⁴Ibid.

Hooper drew an analogy between Jonah as the troubler of the ship bound for Tarshish and those who were troubling the "ship and commonwealth of England."²⁵ England's Jonahs were those who opposed the kind of "free and indifferent speaking of God's word" as engaged in by Hooper.²⁶ And they included those who wished to suppress the circulation of the Bible in English.²⁷ The road to national prosperity and individual spiritual perfection is the avenue of strict conformity to Bible teaching. "For the word of God written is as perfect as God himself, and is indeed able to make a man perfect in all things, 2 Tim. iii."²⁸

Cartwright's concept of the authority of the Bible was substantially identical to that of Hooper. The Bible is the word of truth which, like purified metals, contains no dross (Ps 12).²⁹ It is the source of holiness (John 17), and the "touch-stone of all truth."³⁰ It is the standard on the basis of which "all is to bee tryed in the Church of God, and the Church itselfe to bee gouerned by it: which confutes the Papists, which makes the word of God to bee controuled by the word of the Church."³¹ The Bible is "the Epistle of God to his creature."³² It is the means of perfection for both minister and people, because it perfectly dispenses truth.³³ "And therefore howsoever the Papists will not deny that it is a perfect word, yet wil they haue the Canons of Counsels, & decrees of men. But the perfection of the word appeareth heere to haue no need of mans inventions."³⁴

The only source of truth for the "poore silly fishermen," who were Christ's disciples, was the Bible.³⁵ The means by which they and we must interpret it is to allow it to interpret itself:

²⁵Ibid., pp. 468-469.

²⁶Ibid., p. 469.

²⁷Ibid., p. 472.

²⁸Ibid., p. 509.

²⁹Cartwright, pp. 25-26.

³⁰Ibid., p. 26.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., p. 247.

³³Ibid., p. 113.

³⁴Ibid.; cf. pp. 24-25.

³⁵Ibid., p. 89.

The occasion is drawne from the text it selfe: for whosoever will know the drift of the Scripture, must take it from the place of Scripture it selfe, being sometimes set in the beginning, as in the books of the Proverbs: sometimes in the later end, as in the generall Epistle of Peter: Sometimes in the midst, as in 1. Tim. in one verse the drift is delivered. Sometimes of the whole body of the Scripture, that is handled, whether Psalme, Prophecy, Epistle, &c.³⁶

The hermeneutical implications of this statement are considerable: It implies the theological and doctrinal unity of the Bible, by which the teachings of one book are to be interpreted and supplemented by those of another, even though the books were written centuries apart and in cultural settings enormously diverse. It also implies equal authority for Old and New Testaments, with no dispensational denigration of the Hebrew Scriptures. Hence the entire Bible is an instrument of truth.³⁷

Cartwright denied that truth is to be detected in the canons and decrees of popes. It is to be found in the Gospels.³⁸ This truth is to be enjoyed by all people. "It belongeth to all men and all women even to all Gods children of what sort and condition soever they be."³⁹ Moreover, it is not merely doctrinal knowledge, but experiential relationship. Truth, Cartwright said in effect, must walk and talk.⁴⁰ Those who have it are to impart it. Irrespective of his calling, but without assuming any other calling than his own, each person who knows the truth of the Bible is to impart it to others. "Thus those that have knowledge, should teach & instruct them that are ignorant in that which they know not: & in this regard a woman may teach another, one brother another, those that have knowledge to teach the ignorant."⁴¹

In a similar vein, Perkins declared that no man has authority over any part of canonical Scripture.⁴² Monarchs and princes have

³⁶Ibid., pp. 1-2.

³⁷See *ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

³⁸Ibid., p. 110.

³⁹Ibid., p. 121.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 200-201.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 203.

⁴²Perkins, 3:209.

pre-eminence over all persons within their domains, "but in the Church, they with all others owe homage unto Christ," who requires all to be subject to his laws as contained in the Scriptures.⁴³ The dispensation of the word, and the administration of the sacraments are divine ordinances, "over which none may dare to claim rule or authority."⁴⁴ Hence the papal determination of who should have the Bible and who should not, Perkins said, is a usurpation of the prerogative and authority of Christ. The power of expounding the Scriptures belongs only to Christ. Man is given the power of interpreting one scriptural passage by another, but only as a gift from Christ; "men have no power of themselves, to determine of the proper sense of Scripture."⁴⁵

Indeed, the church is determined by Scripture, not vice-versa. However excellent man's writings may be, they are all inferior to the Bible, for it emanates from God and is his direct gift to the church.⁴⁶

One of the sins of his age, Perkins thought, was the exaltation of human thought above the Bible. Scholarly-type preaching tends to abase the Scriptures.⁴⁷ The writings of men are "full of darknesse, of error and deceit: but the word of God is most holy and pure, and every way perfect."⁴⁸

It is the Holy Spirit who is Christ's special instrument in interpreting the Bible to those human minds which are committed to him.⁴⁹ Reason cannot determine with certainty any point of truth. Arguments from natural phenomena may teach correctly that there is a God, "but by the Word of God only I doe beleieve it."⁵⁰ Spiritual knowledge, which is undiscerned by instinct or reason, is conveyed only by the Holy Spirit.⁵¹

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.; cf. p. 541.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 213, 6.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 323.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 209; cf. pp. 213, 220, 421.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 39, 210, 431.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 492.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 545.

Every part of the Bible is immutable. Hence the Christian is to retain confidence that what God promises will indeed be fulfilled.⁵² In fact, Bible study would result in greater effectiveness for the individual in the practice of his particular vocation.⁵³ The doctrine of the Bible is an infallible guide by which the true prophet can be distinguished from the false.⁵⁴ God predicted that false prophets would arise (Deut 13), but all are to be judged on the basis of the consistency or otherwise of their teachings with Scripture. Perkins rejected the papal view that miracle is the mark of the true prophet.⁵⁵

By "Scripture," Perkins, like his contemporaries who had repudiated Roman Catholicism, meant only the canonical Scriptures; the Apocrypha were not considered to be inspired.⁵⁶ He argued that Luther's Reformation was a rediscovery of the canonical Scriptures, but he would not have condoned the type of reasoning by which Luther concluded that some books of the Bible were less authoritative than others.⁵⁷ Nor did he condone the claim of various radical reformers to revelations quite independent of the canonical Scriptures. "If the Lord had thought it best, he would have taught these Churches by Revelation: but they must learne by the word written."⁵⁸

The belief of all three of these Puritan preachers in the primary authority of the Bible was not markedly different from the position taken by orthodox Anglicans such as Latimer, Jewel, Hooker, and Andrewes. The difference lay in the frequency with which the Puritans broached the subject and the additional emphasis they gave to their pronouncements. They tended to stress more than did the Anglicans the perfection of the Scriptures. Also, they denigrated mere human literature by comparison, doing so in a

⁵²Ibid., p. 36.

⁵³Ibid., p. 215.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 212.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 35.

⁵⁷See *ibid.*, p. 37.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 243.

manner which went beyond the statements of the four orthodox Anglicans mentioned above.⁵⁹

The presuppositions of Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins in regard to the inspiration of the Bible were bound to result in exegetical ultra-literalism. They neglected to take due cognizance of the variant historical settings of the Bible books and of the human element involved in their writing. In practice, as we shall see in our next article, these Puritans supported certain of their doctrinal and procedural commitments by interpretations which were substantially superficial. They tended to read their beliefs into the Bible text, and failed to discern profound and interconnected themes within any one book. Even though their method involved phrase-by-phrase exposition of particular Bible books, their most characteristic exegetical approach was the proof-text method. Particular phrases and texts became stepping-off places for discussion of favorite doctrines, which were then supported by isolated references from many parts of the Bible. The method was the offspring of their presuppositions in regard to Bible inspiration.

In the next article I shall continue the analysis of the exegetical methods of these three preachers under the categories of "Allegory," "Typology," "Literal Exposition of Scripture," "Other Features of Puritan Exegesis," and "Use of the Church Fathers."

(To be continued)

⁵⁹Cf. my treatment mentioned in n. 1, above.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL: EVIDENCES RELATING TO PERSONS AND CHRONOLOGY

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The book of Daniel contains many features of historical content that are absolutely unique. The book's interest in history is acknowledged by all, but evaluated differently. In some scholarly circles it has become common to speak of, and to point to, historical "errors" in this book.¹ However, a revolution has occurred on the basis of archaeological and linguistic studies, and it is therefore appropriate to review our present state of knowledge regarding (1) persons (Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede), (2) dates (Dan 1:1; 7:1; 8:1; 9:1), (3) foreign names and words (Babylon, Persian, and Greek), and (4) the usage of the type of Aramaic language present in the book of Daniel. The last two items will be treated in a sequel article in the next issue of this journal. In both articles, attention will be directed to major new discoveries, but for the sake of completeness some of the more pertinent older discoveries will also be mentioned.

1. *Historical Evidences Relating to Persons*

We will deal first with three important historical figures in the book of Daniel: namely, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius the Mede.

Nebuchadnezzar's Building Achievement

The city of Babylon has a history reaching far back into time. However, in the book of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar is quoted as claiming to be the one who built Babylon as a royal residence for himself: "Is not this the great Babylon I have built as the royal residence, by my mighty power and for the glory of my majesty?"

¹O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York, 1965), pp. 521-522, provides a convenient list of them.

(Dan 4:30). Nebuchadnezzar thus considers himself the proud builder of the new Babylon.

Although frequent reference to Babylon is made in the writings of Herodotus, Ctesias, Strabo, and Pliny,² these writers are not known to refer to Nebuchadnezzar as the builder of the new Babylon. It has, therefore, been suggested that the book of Daniel presents an erroneous quotation. However, contemporary records discovered by archaeologists now provide information that confirms the reliability of the statement in the book of Daniel. For example, the Grotfend Cylinder states, "Then built I [Nebuchadnezzar] the palace the seat of my royalty, the bond of the race of men, the dwelling of joy and rejoicing."³ J. A. Montgomery concludes that "the very language of the story [of Daniel] is reminiscent of the Akkadian" in this striking instance.⁴ The depiction of the king's self-glorification is remarkably true to history.

Nebuchadnezzar's building activity is evident almost everywhere in Babylon. In the words of H. W. F. Saggs, this indicates "that he could with considerable justification have uttered the words attributed to him in Dan 4:27, RV 30."⁵ This historical accuracy is puzzling to those who suggest that Daniel was written in the second century B.C., as R. H. Pfeiffer of Harvard University had to admit: "We shall presumably never know how our author learned that the new Babylon was the creation of Nebuchadnezzar (4:30 [H. 4:27]), as the excavations have proved. . . ."⁶ Considering that later ancient historians had no knowledge of Nebuchadnezzar's building achievements, the contemporary cuneiform evidence is of first-rate importance.

Nebuchadnezzar's Madness

The narrative of Nebuchadnezzar's madness in Dan 4 has been a point of controversy for some time. Pfeiffer has called it an

²C. F. Pfeiffer, *The Biblical World* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966), p. 126.

³Written on the Grotfend Cylinder, *KB* iii, 2, p. 39, as cited in J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, ICC [23], p. 243.

⁴Montgomery, p. 244.

⁵H. W. F. Saggs, "Babylon," *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, ed. D. W. Thomas (Oxford, 1967), p. 42.

⁶R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1948), pp. 758-759.

“unhistorical tale” which is “a confused reminiscence of the years which Nabonidus spent at Teima [Tema] in Arabia.”⁷ This claim has received support from other scholars through a discovery in 1955 of four fragments of an unknown text from Cave 4 of Qumran (4QPrNab), published the following year under the title “The Prayer of Nabonidus.”⁸ The fragments purport to be the prayer of Nabonidus, “the *great king, when he was smitten* with malignant boils by the ordinance of *God Most High in the city of Teman.*”⁹ Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, is said to have been smitten “for seven years,”¹⁰ until “a diviner [or exorcist],¹¹ who was a Jewish *man,*”¹² came. The king gains forgiveness for his sins and is healed by the diviner/exorcist.

Several scholars have argued that the narrative of Nebuchadnezzar’s madness is dependent on the “Prayer of Nabonidus,”¹³ which was “written at the beginning of the Christian era, but the writing itself might be some centuries older.”¹⁴ The author of Dan 4 is said to have confused the names Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus and/or reworked earlier traditions of Nabonidus. This position is built on a tenuous hypothesis with the following assumptions: (1) The book of Daniel is written late; (2) the content of the “Prayer

⁷Ibid., p. 758. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Gütersloh, 1969), p. 240.

⁸J. T. Milik, “‘Prière de Nabonide’ et autres écrits d’un cycle de Daniel. Fragments araméens de Qumran 4,” *RB* 63 (1956): 407-415. Translations are provided, among others, in French by J. Carmignac in *Les textes de Qumrân traduits et annotés II* (Paris, 1963), pp. 289-294; in German by W. Dommershausen, *Nabonid im Buche Daniel* (Mainz, 1964), p. 70, and A. Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer* (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 34-42; in English by G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Baltimore, 1962), pp. 229-230, and B. Jongeling, C. J. Labuschagne, and A. S. van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran I* (Leiden, 1976; hereafter cited as *ATQ*), pp. 126-131. The restorations differ significantly and caution is due in reading the various translations.

⁹*ATQ*, p. 127. Italics indicate restored text.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹So translated by the majority of scholars.

¹²*ATQ*, p. 129.

¹³Milik, p. 411; W. H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Scrolls for the Bible* (London, 1964), p. 37; R. Meyer, *Das Gebet des Nabonid* (Berlin, 1962); F. Dexinger, *Das Buch Daniel und seine Probleme* (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 20; etc.

¹⁴*ATQ*, p. 123.

of Nabonidus" is essentially historical. It is also assumed that Nabonidus resided for seven years in the Arabian city of Tema, an assumption which is believed to be confirmed by the "seven years" of sickness in Tema mentioned in the Qumran fragments.

New discoveries have altered the picture in such a way that the hypothesis has to be abandoned. Contemporary cuneiform evidence from the Harran stelae, first published in 1958, informs us that Nabonidus stayed in Tema for "ten years," not for seven, and that he moved there for political reasons.¹⁵ These facts throw some doubt upon the historicity of the information in the "Prayer of Nabonidus." Thus, historical evidence from contemporary records goes counter to the information presented in the "Prayer of Nabonidus" and to the hypothesis built on that erroneous information.

Furthermore, there are significant differences between Dan 4 and the "Prayer of Nabonidus" that cannot be overlooked: (1) Nebuchadnezzar was inflicted with an illness in Babylon, but Nabonidus was in Tema. (2) The illness of Nabonidus is described as "malignant boils,"¹⁶ "severe rash,"¹⁷ or "severe inflammation,"¹⁸ whereas Nebuchadnezzar was befallen with a rare mental disorder, seemingly a variety of monomania.¹⁹ (3) The illness of Nebuchadnezzar was a punishment for *hybris*, whereas that of Nabonidus was apparently a punishment for idolatry. (4) "Nebuchadnezzar was cured by God Himself when he recognized His sovereignty, whereas a Jewish exorcist healed Nabonidus. . . ."²⁰

It is certainly correct that the "Prayer of Nabonidus" in its present form is later than Dan 4. On the basis of comparison it is also correct that "we cannot speak of direct literary dependence"²¹ between Dan 4 and the "Prayer of Nabonidus." The essential differences between the two militate against the assumption that in

¹⁵*ANET Supplement*, pp. 560-563.

¹⁶*ATQ*, p. 127.

¹⁷Dommershausen, p. 71.

¹⁸Brownlee, p. 37.

¹⁹See the helpful explanation in R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969), pp. 1115-1117.

²⁰Vermes, p. 229.

²¹D. N. Freedman, "The Prayer of Nabonidus," *BASOR* 145 (1957), p. 31.

Dan 4 an original Nabonidus tradition was transferred to king Nebuchadnezzar. The well-known British Assyriologist D. J. Wiseman notes, "Nothing so far known of the retreat of Nabonidus to Tema supports the view that this episode is a confused account of events in the latter's [Nebuchadnezzar's] reign."²² Likewise the story of Nabonidus' adventures in Tema is not dependent upon the narrative of Daniel.²³

The accuracy of the biblical record of Nebuchadnezzar's insanity has been questioned on the basis that extrabiblical data reveal that Nebuchadnezzar "did not give up his throne" and that the substitution of the name of Nebuchadnezzar for that of Nabonidus is most suggestive for Dan 4.²⁴ A recent discovery, however, now provides historical information which appears to have direct bearing on Nebuchadnezzar's mental derangement. In 1975 the Assyriologist A. K. Grayson published a fragmentary cuneiform text (BM 34113=sp 213) from the British Museum which mentions Nebuchadnezzar and Evil-Merodach, Nebuchadnezzar's son and successor on the throne of Babylon.²⁵

The Babylonian tablet is so fragmentary that only the contents of one side (obverse) are translatable, and even then many uncertainties are left. In lines 2-4 Nebuchadnezzar is mentioned, and it is stated that "his life appeared of no value to [him, . . .]" and that "[h]e stood and [took] the good road to [. . .]".²⁶ In lines 5-8 the following is reported: "And (the) Babylon(ian) speaks *bad counsel* to Evil-Merodach [. . .] Then he gives an entirely different order but [. . .] He does not heed the word from his lips, the cour[ti]er(s) . . .] He changed but did not block [. . .]".²⁷ Unfortunately, no indisputable identification of the subject in lines 5-8 can be made. It is possible that the subject refers to Nebuchadnezzar, who gives

²²D. J. Wiseman, "Nebuchadnezzar," *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, ed. M. C. Tenney (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977), 4: 398.

²³Harrison, pp. 1117-1120.

²⁴F. M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 2d ed. (New York, 1961), p. 167.

²⁵A. K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts* (Toronto/Buffalo, 1975), pp. 87-92.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 89.

²⁷*Ibid.*

to his son Evil-Merodach orders which the latter does not heed because of the former's erratic behavior. If Nebuchadnezzar is the main actor in this text, then the phrases in some later lines, such as "he does not show love to son or daughter [...] . . . family and clan does not exist [...] . . . his attention was not directed towards promoting the welfare of Esagil [and Babylon],"²⁸ can easily be seen to refer to the strange behavior of Nebuchadnezzar during his time of mental incapacity when he neglected his own family, clan, the worship associated with the temple complex Esagila, and the interest of Babylon in general. We may hypothesize that the crown prince Evil-Merodach was forced to take over the government from his father Nebuchadnezzar during the time of the latter's incapacity to reign. Dan 4 informs us that Nebuchadnezzar later was reinstated into full royal rulership (vs. 33). If our interpretation of this new cuneiform text is correct, we have for the first time extrabiblical contemporary historical evidence that corroborates and supports the account in Dan 4.²⁹

Belshazzar

The book of Daniel describes Belshazzar as the ruler of Babylon who was killed when the city fell in 539 B.C. (Dan 5). He was the son of king Nabonidus (556-539 B.C.) and Nabonidus' co-ruler at the time of the capture of Babylon. It has been asserted that there is no historical evidence supporting the view that Belshazzar was "king." Likewise, the book of Daniel (5:1; 8:1) has been said to contain here a "grave historical error."³⁰

The recovery of Babylonian texts demonstrates beyond the shadow of a doubt that Belshazzar existed and was the son of Nabonidus, Babylon's last king.³¹ It is quite correct that no text has yet been found which calls Belshazzar "king," but information has been discovered which explains explicitly that Nabonidus entrusted

²⁸Ibid., p. 89, lines 11-14.

²⁹Attention should be drawn to the story of Nebuchadnezzar's possession by Abydenus (2d cent. B.C.) as preserved in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ix.41.

³⁰H. H. Rowley, "The Historicity of the Fifth Chapter of Daniel," *JTS* 32 (1930): 12.

³¹The cuneiform evidence is conveniently collected by R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, Yale Oriental Series, 15 (New Haven, Conn., 1929).

Belshazzar with "kingship" (*šarrūtīm*). The "Verse Account of Nabonidus"³² states, "He [Nabonidus] entrusted the 'Camp' to his oldest (son), the firstborn, the troops everywhere in the country he ordered under his (command). He let (everything) go, entrusted kingship to him. . . . He turned towards Tema (deep) in the west."³³

Although Belshazzar is not called "king" as such—because Nabonidus still was king—, Nabonidus "entrusted kingship to him." This "kingship" included a taking over of the nation's military command and thus implies a "regal position."³⁴ The "kingship" function with its regal power included, according to other Babylonian texts, the upkeep of the Babylonian places of worship (which was the task of the king), the invoking of his and his father's name in the taking of oaths, and the receiving of tribute in the name of both.³⁵ E. J. Young has noted correctly that "Belshazzar's *regal* power is further shown by his granting of leases, his issuing of commands, his performance of an administrative act concerning the temple at Erech."³⁶ In short, on the basis of the various Babylonian texts, Belshazzar had in effect the prerogatives of a monarch and thus could be called "king," although his position was subordinate to that of his father Nabonidus. Belshazzar functioned as king, and the handing over of "kingship" to him caused Belshazzar to manage the affairs of state like a king.

Commentators in the past found it most difficult to date the first and third years of Belshazzar (Dan 7:1; 8:1) with any degree of accuracy. On the basis of the certainty that Nabonidus stayed in Tema for ten years, as the Harran stelae (published in 1958) indicate,³⁷ and that Belshazzar received "kingship" at the time when Nabonidus left for Tema, i.e., in the latter's sixth regnal year (550/549 B.C.), as other historical evidence from cuneiform records

³²For complete text, see A. L. Oppenheim in *ANET*², pp. 312-315.

³³*ANET*², p. 313b.

³⁴T. G. Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 38 (1916): 30.

³⁵A. R. Millard, "Daniel 1-6 and History," *EvQ* 49 (1977): 71-72.

³⁶E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1949), p. 117 (italics his).

³⁷C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," *Anatolian Studies* 8 (1958): 60-61; *ANET Supplement*, pp. 560-563.

indicates,³⁸ the dates for Belshazzar can for the first time be calculated accurately. The first year of Belshazzar as "King of Babylon" (Dan 7:1) was the year 550/549 B.C., and correspondingly the third year of Belshazzar (Dan 8:1) was 548/547 B.C. Thus, only a relatively short period elapsed between the dates provided for Dan 8 and Dan 9, namely nine years, if Dan 9 is dated in the year of the fall of Babylon (539 B.C.). On the other hand, the period between Dan 2 and Dan 7 is relatively long, if "the second year" of Nebuchadnezzar is his second regnal year of 603 B.C. The chronological data in Dan 7:1, 8:1, and 9:1 correspond with, and are in harmony with, the best historical information presently known from contemporary Babylonian sources.

Babylonian texts plainly name Nabonidus as the father of Belshazzar. However, Dan 5:11, 18 attribute that place to Nebuchadnezzar. The fact of the situation is, of course, that the word "father" in Semitic languages, including Hebrew, also can stand for grandfather, a more remote physical ancestor, or even for a predecessor in office. Wiseman points out that the naming of Nebuchadnezzar as "father" actually "does not contradict the Babylonian texts which refer to Belshazzar as the son of Nabonidus, since the latter was a descendant in the line of Nebuchadnezzar and may well have been related to him through his wife."³⁹ Nabonidus was a usurper taking the throne of Babylon in 556 B.C. from Labashi-Marduk, whose father, Neriglissar, himself had usurped the throne from Nebuchadnezzar's son Amel-Marduk in 560 B.C. Neriglissar, however, had married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar,⁴⁰ and it has been speculated that Nabonidus was also a son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar.⁴¹ In this case Nebuchadnezzar was Belshazzar's grandfather on his mother's side. Thus, in the usage of the words "father" and "son" in Semitic languages, Nebuchadnezzar was the father of Belshazzar, and Belshazzar was Nebuchadnezzar's son in

³⁸For a detailed study, see G. F. Hasel, "The First and Third Years of Belshazzar (Dan 7:1; 8:1)," *AUSS* 15 (1977): 153-168.

³⁹D. J. Wiseman, "Belshazzar," *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1975), 1: 515.

⁴⁰D. Weisberg in P. Garelli, ed., *Le palais et la royauté. Compte rendu de la XIX^e rencontre assyriologique internationale* (Paris, 1974), pp. 447-454.

⁴¹Millard, p. 72.

the grandfather-grandson relationship. Historical evidence from ancient records fits perfectly with the information provided in the book of Daniel.

Darius the Mede

Immediately following the death of "Belshazzar the Chaldean king" in October, 539 B.C., it is stated in Dan 5:31 that Darius the Mede "received the kingdom." This may mean that he was made "king over the realm of the Chaldeans" (Dan 9:1). This Darius the Mede must not be confused with the later Persian king, Darius I Hystaspes (522-486 B.C.), for Darius the Mede was "of the seed of the Medes" (Dan 9:1) and thus not of Persian extraction.

A major alleged error assumed by some scholars is that the book of Daniel was mistaken in depicting Darius the Mede's rulership to follow that of the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C., whereas actually Cyrus the Great of Persia was the ruler of Babylon following its fall. E.g., H. H. Rowley stated in 1935 that "the most serious historical problem in the book [of Daniel]" is that Darius the Mede "occupied the throne of Babylon between the death of Belshazzar and the reign of Cyrus. . . . For it is known with certainty that the overthrower of the Neo-Babylonian empire was Cyrus, . . ." ⁴² This opinion is still held by some, although the records from the ancient world now throw entirely new light on this matter.

W. H. Shea, in investigating the known cuneiform tablets relating to the time under discussion, has discovered that for a period of about nine months after the capture of Babylon in 539 by the combined forces of Medo-Persia, Cyrus the Great did not bear the title "King of Babylon." The title which Cyrus carried during those nine months is "King of Lands," and he carried that title only. ⁴³ "Toward the end of his 1st year, 'King of Babylon' was added to his former title in these [Babylonian cuneiform] texts, producing the titulary 'King of Babylon, King of Lands' that

⁴²H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel: A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories* (Cardiff, 1935; reprint, 1964), p. 9.

⁴³The evidence comes from the royal titles in economic texts that date to the first two years of Cyrus' rule over Babylonia.

became the standard title used for him throughout the rest of his reign."⁴⁴ Thus, for the first time we have confirmed contemporary evidence that Cyrus the Great, whose forces under the leadership of the governor of Gutium overthrew Babylon, did not at once take the title "King of Babylon." Whoever bore the title of "King of Babylon" was a vassal king under Cyrus, not Cyrus himself, for the better part of the first year after the fall of Babylon.

It should not be a surprise, either, that Darius the Mede is called "king" (Dan 6:6, 9, 25), for one of the Nabonidus tablets from Harran, written during the reign of Cyrus, refers to the "king of the Medes" in the tenth year of the reign of Nabonidus (546 B.C.). This indicates "that the title was in existence after Cyrus had conquered Media" about 550 B.C.⁴⁵

On the basis of current historical evidence, we know that Ugbaru, governor of Gutium and general under Cyrus, conquered Babylon.⁴⁶ Also, as noted above, it is now known that for most of the first year after the fall of Babylon Cyrus did not claim the title "King of Babylon," indicating that someone else was functioning as king under vassalage to Cyrus. This historical evidence corroborates the book of Daniel perfectly with regard to Darius the Mede.

While we still lack cuneiform evidence that clearly identifies Darius the Mede with an historical personage, subsequent cuneiform discoveries may well throw full light also on this detail. Until such information is forthcoming, we are still not entirely certain regarding the identity of Darius the Mede with a personage known from ancient records. In recent decades it has been thought that Darius the Mede is to be identified with Cyrus himself,⁴⁷ or with

⁴⁴W. H. Shea, "An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period IV," *AUSS* 10 (1972): 176.

⁴⁵R. K. Harrison, "Book of Daniel," *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977), 2: 17.

⁴⁶The famous "Nabonidus Chronicle" mentions this historical fact; see *ANET*², p. 306.

⁴⁷D. J. Wiseman, et al., *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel* (London, 1965), pp. 9-16; idem, "Darius," *New Bible Dictionary*, ed. J. D. Douglas (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967), p. 293; J. M. Bulman, "The Identification of Darius the Mede," *WTJ* 35 (1973): 247-267.

Gubaru, governor of Babylon,⁴⁸ or with Ugbaru, the governor of Gutium.⁴⁹ The most common identification is with Cyaxares II, an identification which fits admirably well with Darius' age (62 years in 539 B.C., Dan 5:31), parentage (Dan 9:1), and nationality (a Mede).⁵⁰

While it is true that the identification of Darius the Mede is not absolutely certain, there is too much evidence of him as a person in history to continue to suggest that he did not exist. He can no longer be dismissed as fiction. Also, it will no longer do to build upon this alleged fiction the theory that the author of Daniel believed in the existence of a separate Median empire.

2. *Historical Evidences Relating to Chronology*

In the preceding section, our discussion of certain personages has led to some treatment of chronology, and we have noted Dan 7:1, 8:1, and 9:1. It remains here to notice one further chronological item—the datum given in Dan 1:1. Many scholars long held the view (and some hold it still), that the dating of Nebuchadnezzar's coming to Jerusalem "in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah" (Dan 1:1) is in contradiction with the information provided in Jer 25:1, 9. The latter refers to the "fourth year of Jehoiakim," which is the "first year of Nebuchadnezzar." The "fourth year of Jehoiakim" is the year 605 B.C., and his "third year" is also 605 B.C. The discerning reader will ask, But how can the "fourth" and the "third" year of a king both be the same year? This is a valid and crucial question. The answer lies in the system of reckoning involved. A world-renowned authority on Hebrew

⁴⁸J. C. Whitcomb, *Darius the Mede: A Study in Historical Identification* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1959); Harrison, p. 17.

⁴⁹Shea, p. 177.

⁵⁰E. W. Hengstenberg, *Dissertations on the Genuineness of Daniel and the Integrity of Zechariah* (Edinburgh, 1847), pp. 40-43; T. Kliefoth, *Das Buch Daniels* (Schwerin, 1868), pp. 155-166; C. F. Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel* (New York, 1877), pp. 192-200; O. Zöckler, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel* (London, 1876), pp. 30, 35; W. S. Auchincloss, "Darius the Median," *BSac* 66 (1909): 536-538; "Daniel," *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* (Washington, D.C., 1955), 5: 814-817.

chronology, Edwin R. Thiele, informs us that “two systems of reckoning were employed for the Hebrew kings, accession-year reckoning (postdating), and nonaccession-year reckoning (antedating).”⁵¹ The accession-year reckoning, or postdating, is a method of counting the years of a king’s reign with the year that began *following* the new year’s day of his coming to the throne. The accession year in which he came to the throne was not counted. The nonaccession-year reckoning, or antedating, is a method of counting the years of a king’s reign with his accession year. The following diagram illustrates these methods of counting and shows how both the “third year” and the “fourth year” of Jehoiakim are the same:

Accession-year method:	Accession year	1st yr	2d yr	3d yr	Dan 1:1
Nonaccession-year method:	1st yr	2d yr	3d yr	4th yr	Jer 25:1, 9; 46:2

In 1956 Wiseman published the famous *Babylonian Chronicle of Chaldean Kings*, which indicates that in Babylon the accession-year method was employed,⁵² whereas Jeremiah appears to have followed the usual Palestinian-Jewish nonaccession-year method.⁵³ Thus, there is no historical or chronological error here. It is quite contrary to the facts now known to claim, as has quite recently been done, that the author of Daniel “was not concerned with such historical details that meant nothing for his spiritual message.”⁵⁴ As a matter of fact, Daniel, who resided in Babylon, employed here the Babylonian system of dating; and Jeremiah, residing in Palestine, used that of Palestine.⁵⁵ In addition, there is now indisputable

⁵¹E. R. Thiele, *A Chronology of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids, 1977), p. 79.

⁵²D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London, 1956).

⁵³Wiseman, “Some Historical Problems in the Book of Daniel,” p. 17.

⁵⁴L. F. Hartman, “Daniel,” *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, eds. R. E. Brown, et al. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), 1: 449.

⁵⁵Thiele (p. 68, n. 3) suggests that Daniel employed Tishri (Fall-calendar) years, whereas Jeremiah used Nisan (Spring-calendar) years: “Thus, according to Daniel 1:1, Nebuchadnezzar’s attack on Jerusalem was made in the third year of Jehoiakim, but according to Jeremiah 25:1 and 46:2, this campaign took place in Jehoiakim’s

astronomical evidence from eclipses that the third-fourth year of Jehoiakim, which was also the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, was indeed the year 605 B.C., and not the year 606 B.C.⁵⁶ or 604 B.C.⁵⁷ The historicity of the date is now firmly established.⁵⁸

Editor's Note: The Autumn issue will carry a further study on Daniel by Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Book of Daniel and Matters of Language: Evidences Relating to Names, Words, and the Aramaic Language."

fourth year." However, Jer 46:2 does not speak of a campaign against Jerusalem, and it is possible that Daniel and Jeremiah both employed the same calendar reckoning (cf. S. H. Horn in *AUSS* 5 [1967]: 12-27).

⁵⁶Hartman, p. 449.

⁵⁷H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969), p. 50.

⁵⁸Against the earlier opinion voiced by Rawlinson, Meyer, Winckler, Rogers, Montgomery, and others.

LUKE'S THEMATIC USE OF THE CALL TO DISCIPLESHIP

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The call of the first disciples to full-time ministry as recorded in the Gospel of Luke (5:1-11) raises two problems that are familiar to all students of the Synoptic Gospels. First, this pericope in Luke is placed in a different chronological order from that of its parallels in Matthew and Mark; and second, Luke's account is much expanded over that given in the other two Synoptics.

In the following, I shall first outline briefly the specifics of these problems, then indicate various solutions which have been proposed by NT scholars, and finally set forth my own analysis and solution.

1. *The Problems Of Chronology and a Differing Account*

With regard to the chronological order of the pericope itself within the sequence of materials in the three Synoptics, the following should be noted: In Matthew, the call to discipleship is preceded by the wilderness temptations (4:1-11) and a summary statement concerning the beginning of the Galilean ministry (vss. 12-17), and it is followed by a second summary (vss. 23-25) and by the Sermon on the Mount (chaps. 5-7). Mark similarly begins the sequence with the wilderness temptations (1:12, 13) and a beginning summary statement (vss. 14, 15), only in a shorter form than in Matthew. Then comes the call to discipleship (vss. 16-20), followed by the healing of the demoniac in the synagogue in Capernaum (vss. 21-28).

In Luke, by way of contrast, the beginning of Jesus' ministry presents a different chronology from that of Matthew and Mark. The wilderness temptations (4:1-12) and the beginning summary statement (vss. 14, 15) follow the Matthean and Marcan order. Where we find the call to discipleship at this point in the other two Synoptics, Luke records first the rejection at Nazareth (vss. 16-30),

the healing of the demoniac in the synagogue at Capernaum (vss. 31-37), the healing of Peter's mother-in-law after the synagogue service and Jesus' healing ministry to the multitude after sunset (vss. 38-41), and the summary of a preaching tour (vss. 42-44)—all of these preceding the call of the first disciples as recorded in 5:1-11.

With regard to the second problem concerning the pericope, it should be noted that whereas in Matthew and Mark the disciples Peter, Andrew, James, and John are simply called from their occupation as fishermen to become fishers of men, in Luke we find an expanded account that includes Jesus' preaching from Simon's boat, a miraculous catch of fish that nearly sinks two boats, Simon's confession of his sinfulness, and then the call to become fishers of men.

2. *Solutions Which Have Been Suggested*

The differences in the chronology and the accounts have generated a great deal of discussion. The simplest solution which has been set forth is that of seeing two different calls being extended by Jesus to the fishermen.¹ Matthew and Mark record the first call which led to the four disciples' following Jesus on a part-time basis, and returning to their livelihood of fishing on several occasions. Luke records the second call, when the disciples forsook their employment in order to become full-time associates with Jesus.

However, F. Godet observes that one is hard pressed to envision two separate calls to the same men, in which Jesus said, "I will make you fishers of men," and they in turn respond twice by *leaving all* in order to follow him. Therefore, Godet concludes that what we have is two differing accounts of the same call.²

As far as the differing accounts are concerned, I. H. Marshall suggests that Luke is following an independent source which contains a miracle story. Luke places this miracle story into a

¹Norval Geldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1954), pp. 180-181; William F. Arndt, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (St. Louis, Mo., 1956), pp. 155-156.

²F. Godet, *A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke*, trans. E. W. Shalders, 5th ed. (Edinburgh, [1952]), 1: 255; cf. Herschel H. Hobbs, *An Exposition of the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966), p. 97.

framework based on Mark, but replaces the original ending of the story with the Marcan call to discipleship.³ However, Alfred Plummer suggests that an identity between this pericope in Luke and those in Matthew and Mark can neither be affirmed nor denied, therefore we must remain in doubt as to the relationship between the call accounts of the disciples in the three Synoptics.⁴

Some commentators see a similarity between Luke's call to discipleship and John's account of the post-resurrection appearance of Jesus to his disciples as they were once again fishing on the Sea of Galilee. J. M. Creed regards Luke's account as being borrowed from John 21, because several points in Luke's pericope fit John's setting better than John's account fits into Luke.⁵ C. G. Montefiore also considers this borrowing from John as a possibility.⁶ B. S. Easton notes that the similarities between Luke and John are sufficient enough to suggest a common origin, with the two differing accounts of Peter's experience originating in the oral sources, and John's account being the more original one.⁷

G. B. Caird believes that the differences between the Lucan and Johannine pericopes are more striking than the similarities. He suggests the possibility of two independent stories interacting upon one another during the course of oral tradition.⁸ Plummer takes the position that there is little probability of a uniting of two stories: "The context between all the main features of the two miracles is too great."⁹ Marshall says there is no evidence that Luke was dependent upon John. As far as the dialogue between Jesus

³I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1978), pp. 199-201; cf. I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1971), p. 65.

⁴Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke*, 4th ed., ICC [29], pp. 142, 147.

⁵John Martin Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (London, 1960), pp. 73-74; cf. J. Alexander Findlay, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (London, 1937), p. 69.

⁶C. G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, 2 (London, 1909): 879.

⁷Burton Scott Easton, *The Gospel According to St. Luke: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 62.

⁸G. B. Caird, *The Gospel of St. Luke* (Baltimore, 1963), p. 91.

⁹Plummer, p. 147.

and Peter in the two pericopes is concerned, the only common element is Jesus' command to let down the nets.¹⁰

The agreements and disagreements given above are only a sampling of the suggested solutions to the problem presented by Luke's account of the call of the first disciples. There is, however, one more proposed solution that should be noted before I put forward a suggestion of my own.

Frederick Danker detects a thematic parallelism in the structure of Luke. He points to chap. 5 as one example of this thesis, where Simon stands out as the recipient of mercy in a "thematically integrated series" of such recipients. He receives absolution following his self-proclaimed sinfulness by an invitation to share in the mission of Jesus. Simon's experience (5:1-11) is paralleled by the experience of the paralytic (vss. 17-26), both finding forgiveness of sin. The cleansing of the leper (vss. 12-16) is paralleled by the call of Levi (vss. 27-29), and both are typical examples "of religious and social outcasts." So Danker sees the pattern **a-b-a-b** (Simon, leper, paralytic, Levi). This series reaches its climax in the "thematically integrating logion of vs. 32 (I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance)."¹¹

Based on Danker's proposal, we would conclude that Luke located his version of the call to discipleship in its present position in order to achieve the literary structure **a-b-a-b**, thus developing the theme of divine mercy.

3. *The Motif of Release*

Danker is close to the solution I wish to propose. Both the chronological location and the differing account of the call of the disciples are indeed thematic, but this pericope is only one of a series (4:31-6:11) used thematically. The themes of the pericopes have their roots in Luke's account of Jesus' visit to his home town of Nazareth and his reading from the Isaiah scroll in the synagogue.

It has long been suggested that the home-town visit (4:16-30) should be seen as programmatic. Norval Geldenhuys remarks that

¹⁰Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, p. 200.

¹¹Frederick W. Danker, *Luke* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 91.

the sermon at Nazareth "announced the programme of the kingdom of God so clearly that Luke removed it from its Marcan sequence to place it in the forefront of his account of Christ's ministry."¹² W. J. Harrington comments that the text read from Isaiah effectively outlines the work of the Messiah and the age of salvation.¹³ Marshall notes that the "internal features" of this pericope suggest that it is not in its original position. However, the narrative is placed by Luke where it is because of its programmatic significance, and because "it contains many of the main themes of Luke-Acts *in nuce*."¹⁴ Montefiore says that in this pericope Jesus proclaims his mission: "He is not (according to Luke) the 'political' Messiah; he is no warrior king and deliverer. He is the servant of God whose mission it is to bring to the poor and the afflicted spiritual enlightenment and salvation."¹⁵

The programmatic passage read from Isa 61:1, 2 and 58:6 states, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor; he has sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and the recovery of sight to the blind; to bring release to those broken by calamity, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

I would like to suggest that Luke arranges the pericopes found in 4:31-6:11 thematically so that they become his interpretation of this passage from Isaiah. With the arrangement of these pericopes, Luke clarifies the significance of this prophetic statement as it relates to Jesus and his ministry. The emphasis, however, seems to be placed on the statement from Isa 61:2, "to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." This is taken by Luke as a proclamation of freedom. We do not have space here to examine each pericope in 4:31-6:11 to see how the motif of freedom is developed, but let me suggest for the present that three aspects of the motif of release are developed: release from (1) Satan's power (4:31-44), (2) the power of sin (5:1-32), and (3) cultic traditions (5:33-6:11).

¹²Geldenhuys, p. 170; cf. Easton, p. 50.

¹³Wilfrid J. Harrington, *A Commentary: The Gospel According to St. Luke* (New York, 1967), p. 88.

¹⁴Marshall, *Gospel of Luke*, pp. 177-178.

¹⁵Montefiore, p. 873.

4. *Call to Discipleship and the Release-from-Sin Motif*

It is generally recognized that the call of the first disciples marks the beginning of the Christian ministry. Where the accounts in Matthew and Mark simply proclaim its beginning, it is thought that the account in Luke portrays the degree of success that the disciples will have in proclaiming the gospel. Some commentators look to the miraculous catch of fish as the reason why Luke records this differing account of the call to discipleship. John Drury says that Jesus' command to Peter to launch out into the deep is Luke's portrayal of the church "launching out beyond the home waters of religion and Judaism." The theme is one of an expanding mission of the church.¹⁶

Although this motif may be perceived in Luke's pericope, one wonders if this is the main reason for his differing account. Can this motif explain Luke's relocation of this pericope? I would suggest that the miraculous catch of fish is an important element in this pericope, but only as it lays the foundation for the confession of Peter's sinfulness. William Manson is correct when he says, "The centre of interest in this section is the profound moral crisis effected in the soul of Peter who, overwhelmed by the supernatural prescience of this teacher of faith in the power of God, cries, 'Lord leave me; for I am a sinful man.'"¹⁷

By seeing Peter's confession of his sinfulness as the climax and central point in this pericope, we can now explain its relocation and its independence from Matthew and Mark. Marshall is no doubt correct when he says that Luke took this pericope from an independent source.¹⁸ However, there is no need to see this pericope as a miracle story that Luke altered by dropping the original ending and replacing it with Mark's call to discipleship. Godet is probably correct that what we have is two differing accounts of the same call.¹⁹

This pericope was juxtaposed to the pericopes of the leper and the paralytic for thematic purposes. The pericope of the leper

¹⁶John Drury, *Luke* (New York, 1973), p. 62; cf. Arndt, p. 155; Creed, p. 73.

¹⁷William Manson, *The Gospel of Luke* (New York, 1930), pp. 47-48.

¹⁸Marshall, *Luke: Historian*, p. 65.

¹⁹Godet, p. 255.

(5:12-16) deals with the theme of sin. Leprosy was seen as a symbol of sin, i.e., the result of the curse of God against sin. The pericope of the paralytic (5:17-26) shows that Jesus possesses the authority to deal with the sin problem.

5. Summary

The reading of the Isaiah scroll in Nazareth is programmatic. Luke sees its fulfillment in the ministry of Jesus, especially the final line read from the scroll, "to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." Luke sees this proclamation as an announcement of release from the captivity of Satan (4:31-44), release from the power of sin (5:1-32), and release from cultic traditions (5:33-6:11).

The differing account of the call of the first disciples and its relocation in Luke's chronology gives us a unit of four pericopes that deal with the issue of sin. Peter's admission of his sinfulness (5:1-11) raises the problem of sinners accepting the invitation of Jesus to enter his kingdom and to become co-workers with him. The pericope of the cleansed leper (vss. 12-16) shows how God solves the problem. As leprosy is a symbol of sin and Jesus touches the leper while healing him (vs. 13), so God personally will come into contact with sin in order to bring cleansing from its defilement. The pericope of the paralytic raises the question as to whether Jesus possesses authority to deal with the sin problem. Jesus puts this authority to the test when he asks his antagonists, "What is easier, to say, Your sins are forgiven, or to say, Rise up and walk?" (vs. 23). When the paralytic arose and walked, the issue of Jesus' authority was settled.

The series of pericopes that deal with the theme of sin now closes with the call of Levi to join the other disciples (5:27-32). Levi's response shows the extent to which the gospel call is to be extended. As Jesus freely associated with Levi and his publican friends at a great banquet prepared in his honor, the climax of Luke's interpretation of this segment of Isaiah's words is reached with Jesus saying, "I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance" (5:32).

Danker is quite right in pointing out that in the Gospel of Luke we must see the thematic significance of the call to discipleship. However, it is not necessarily a literary parallel, **a-b-a-b**.

Rather, it is an interpretive attempt on the part of Luke to show his understanding that the words of Isaiah read by Jesus were a proclamation of Jesus' ministry.

THE CALENDARS OF EBLA
 PART II. THE NEW CALENDAR

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My preceding treatment of the Old Calendar of Ebla includes a translation of the month names of Ebla's New Calendar, which was adopted during the reign of Ibbi-Sipiš.¹ In that study the months of the New Calendar were aligned with the months of both the Old Calendar and the Julian calendar. For convenience, the transliteration and translation for the months of the New Calendar are reiterated here:

TRANSLITERATION	TRANSLATION	JULIAN EQUIVALENT
I. ITU <i>be-li</i>	Month of the Lord (Dagan)	Sept./Oct.
II. ITU (NIDBA _x -) ^d AŠ-TÁ-BI ₅	Month of the Sacrifice to the god Ashtabi	Oct./Nov.
III. ITU Ì-TÚM	Month in which he/it has come	Nov./Dec.
IV. ITU (NIDBA _x -) ^d à-da	Month of the Sacrifice to the god Hadad	Dec./Jan.
V. ITU ì-la-mu/er-me	Month of Hidden (Šun)	Jan./Feb.
VI. ITU ħur-mu/ħu-lu-mu	Month of Lighting	Feb./March
VII. ITU È	Month of Coming Forth	March/April
VIII. ITU KUR ₆	Month of Provisioning	April/May
IX. ITU ^d a-dam-ma-um	Month of the god Adama	May/June
X. ITU ŠE-GUR ₁₀ -KU ₅	Month of Harvesting	June/July
Xb. ITU ŠE-GUR ₁₀ -KU ₅ -MÌN	Month of Harvesting, II	Intercalary
XI. ITU ^d AMA-ra	Month of the goddess Asherah (?)	July/Aug.
XII. ITU (NIDBA _x -) ^d kà-mi-iš	Month of the Sacrifice to the god Chemosh	Aug./Sept.

¹Part I appeared in *AUSS* 18 (1980): 127-137.

The main New Calendar text, the 7-year record from the reign of Ibbsipiš, begins with the month of *be-li*.² By correlating the month names of both calendars with the climatological seasons of Syro-Palestine, that month can be located in the fall, probably in the lunar month of September/October. The philological study below of the names of the months of the New Calendar begins with this month.

1. *The New Calendar: Translational and Historical Notes*

I. ITU *be-li*—Month of the Lord (Dagan). G. Pettinato has connected this month name with the common Semitic word for “lord,” *ba’al*. He suggests the lord in question was the god Dagan, head of the pantheon at Ebla. This identification is quite satisfactory from the linguistic point of view, since the letter *’ayin* used in the word *ba’al* in later West Semitic scripts was not represented in the Sumero-Eblaite sign system. This title appears elsewhere in Eblaite referring to Dagan as ^d*be-ka-na-na-um* (and ^d*be-ka-na-im*), the “Lord of Canaan.”³ In this case the title *bel* was abbreviated by writing it without its final *-l*, but it is preceded by the DINGIR sign (designated by a small ^d preceding the name), the determinative used for deities. Since the name of this month is written without the determinative, one might consider the possibility that it referred to a human lord, i.e., the king at the time he was established upon his throne at the beginning of each 7-year period of elective kingship. (This 7-year period of elective kingship will be treated further in Part III of this series.)

Given the thoroughgoing religious connections of various month names in the New Calendar, however, it seems preferable to connect even this month name with a god: Dagan, in this case, since he was head of the pantheon. Pettinato explains the final *-i* of *beli* to represent the first person pronominal suffix, identifying this month as that of “My Lord.” I would prefer to interpret it simply as a marker of the genitive case, making this month that “of the Lord.”

II. ITU (NIDBA_x-)^dAŠ-TÁ-BI₅—Month of the Sacrifice to the god Ashtabi. The month name of Ashtabi has shown up at Alalakh and Ugarit, and Ashtabi appears as the divine element in personal names at Alalakh

²G. Pettinato, “Il Calendario di Ebla al Tempo del Re Ibbsipiš sulla base di TM 75.G.427,” *Afo* 25 (1976): 34.

³M. Dahood, “Ebla, Ugarit and the Old Testament,” *VTSup* 29 (1978), Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977, p. 99.

and Hattušaš.⁴ Pettinato considers him to have been a Hurrian god, and that the Hurrians transmitted him to the Hittites.⁵ By the time Ashtabi showed up at Hattušaš, he was identified as a warrior god.⁶ That does not tell us much about Ashtabi's relations and functions at Ebla, a millennium earlier than his Hurrian-Hittite appearance. He could have been transmitted to the Hurrians from an earlier pantheon.

Following Pettinato's interpretation, M. Dahood takes Ashtabi to be a Hurrian deity, but relates his name to the Hebrew root *šdp*, which occurs in Gen 41:6, 23, 27 with the meaning of "scorch, burn."⁷ Working from this root, Dahood suggests that the name of this god and his month should be connected with the winds which scorched the land in October. If the name is derived from a Semitic root, however, then its origins probably should be attributed to the Semites and not the Hurrians. As the name appears at this juncture between fall and winter, the question about Ashtabi is whether he was more involved with the last portion of the dry season, or the beginning of the rainy season. The name of the next month of the New Calendar suggests that the latter interpretation is more likely.

The Semitic root which lends some support to this relationship is *stw*. The final *waw* of *stw* should be taken as consonantal. It is a labial which could have developed through a shift from the final labial *b* in Ashtabi. In a comparison of Eblaite with the other Semitic languages, the shift in sibilants from *š* to *s*, and vice versa, appears to be common. This provides us with the following potential relationship between *stw* and Ashtabi: *štb* > *stb* > *stw*. *Stw* is a *hapax legomenon* in the Bible, occurring only in Cant 2:11. There it is paralleled poetically by the word for rain, *gešem*, which has been proposed as the basis for the name of the succeeding month of *gašum* in the Old Calendar. M. Pope has noted that *stw* "occurs in Old Aramaic, Judeo-Aramaic, and Syriac. Its Arabic cognate *šitā'* in the dialect of Jerusalem is the common word for rain as well as winter, a matter easily understandable to those who have experienced Jerusalem winters."⁸ The connections of *štb* > *stw* with rain suggest that Ashtabi should be identified as the god who brought these rains.

⁴Pettinato, "Il Calendario di Ebla," p. 29.

⁵H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "The Hittites and Hurrians," in *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman (Oxford, 1973), p. 213.

⁶Ibid.

⁷M. Dahood, "Ebla, Ugarit and the Old Testament," *The Month* (August 1978), p. 276.

⁸M. Pope, *Song of Songs*, AB 7C (Garden City, N.Y., 1977), p. 394.

It may be objected that we should not attempt to determine an etymology for the name of this god as well as other gods at Ebla or elsewhere. However, the pantheon at Ebla was rather densely populated and Pettinato has already identified more than 500 individual gods there.⁹ As will become evident as soon as more Eblaite texts are published, many of the names of these gods are known as common nouns in the later West Semitic languages. In other words, the Eblaïtes or their predecessors deified many common objects. Therefore, attempting to determine an etymology for a god's name like that of Ashtabi appears to be a legitimate pursuit.

III. ITU Ì-TÚM—Month in which he/it has come. For this month name Pettinato's only suggestion, with a shift in dentals, is *i-du* or *yad*, the common Semitic word for "hand," which does not fit into this calendar context very well. At one time I considered relating this month name to Hebrew *'eth*, the word for plowshare that occurs five times in the Bible (1 Sam 13:20, 21; Isa 2:4; Mic 4:3; Joel 3:10). The logic behind this identification was that the preceding month of the Old Calendar had some connection with plowing, which would be appropriate in our case.

I now favor a verbal interpretation for *itum*, relating it to the root *'atâ*, "to come," which is common to the West Semitic languages. It could be either a perfect or an imperfect in the third person masculine singular with mimation. It may thus be translated as "he" or "it" "comes" or "has come." The question then is, what was it that came at this time? The name of *gašum* for the parallel month in the Old Calendar answers this question by indicating that the rains started at this time. Those rains, however, appear to have been under Ashtabi's control. It should ultimately be Ashtabi, therefore, who comes and brings his rains with him. The complete form of the preceding month name is "Month of *Sacrifice* to Ashtabi." If our calendrical correlations are correct, those sacrifices took place at the end of the dry season. Satisfied with those sacrifices, Ashtabi was to come, bringing his rains with him.

IV. ITU (NIDBA_x-)^dà-da—Month of the Sacrifice to the god Hadad. Pettinato takes the identification of this god with Adad/Hadad as probable and he has noted that his name appears in Amorite personal names as ^dHaddu.¹⁰ The appearance of the name of this storm god in connection with the month of December/January is most appropriate. In the Old

⁹G. Pettinato, "The Royal Archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla," *BA* 39 (1976): 48; Dahood, *VTSup*, pp. 99-104.

¹⁰Pettinato, "Il Calendario di Ebla," p. 29.

Calendar this was the Month of Clouds, and it was upon those clouds that Hadad rode. The appearance of both the rain-god Ashtabi and the storm-god Hadad in the New Calendar of Ebla is not redundant, considering the fact that, as mentioned earlier, at least 500 gods are now known in the texts from Ebla. This plethora naturally led to their specialization. The same phenomenon is noticeable in Mesopotamia, where Enlil, Ninurta, and Adad all had different important functions in the realm of weather.¹¹

V. ITU *i-la-mu/er-me*—Month of Hidden (Sun). When writing this month name, the Eblaite scribes did not differentiate sharply between the lateral phonemes *l* and *r*, and consequently both of these forms are attested. Pettinato translates this month name as the Month of the City, relating it to *ir*. The city does not appear to fit the context of the rest of the New Calendar very well. By a 14:4 majority the texts favor reading this month name as *i-la-mu*. Interpreting the initial *i-* of this month name as representing an *'ayin* suggests a relationship to the Hebrew verbal root of *'ālam*, “to hide, be hidden, cover up.” In the Old Calendar this month was named the Month of Shadows, and it was the hiding of the sun during the shortest days of the year that produced those shadows. It is possible, therefore, to see a relationship between the names for this month in both calendars. This relationship runs from the effect of the shadows in the Old Calendar to the cause of those shadows—the hiding of the sun—in the New Calendar. This was not just the hiding of the sun’s orb physically, but in essence it was the sun-god Sipiš who was hidden at this time, perhaps as he travelled through the winter underworld.

VI. ITU *hur-mu/ḥu-lu-mu*—Month of Lighting. The name of this month also differs, according to the laterals with which it was written, both *-l-* and *-r-* forms being attested. Pettinato favors the *-r-* form, which appears twice as often in the texts, and he relates it to Hebrew *ḥaram*, “to consecrate, ban, dedicate, devote to destruction.” The problem with this interpretation is that in other New Calendar texts from Ebla this month was named IZI.GAR in Sumerian,¹² and one would expect some correspondence between these two names. IZI.GAR refers to a “torch, lamp,” or “light” in Sumerian, and it was read as *nuru* in Akkadian.¹³ For a cognate one might look to Hebrew *ḥarà*, “to be hot,” and *ḥarōn* as the glowing

¹¹H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness That Was Babylon* (New York, 1962), p. 33.

¹²Pettinato, “Il Calendario di Ebla,” p. 30.

¹³R. Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1976), p. 111.

of God when he was angered. If this was the month of “glowing” or “light,” who or what was lighted? Since the sun-god Sipiš was hidden or darkened during the preceding month, he seems to be a likely candidate for this lighting up as winter waned and the days lengthened.

VII. ITU È—Month of Coming Forth. The Sumerian logogram È means “to go out/come forth,”¹⁴ and it stands for *asû* in Akkadian, which is cognate with *yš’* in all West Semitic languages. Pettinato interprets this “going out” in an administrative sense, since the same word was used at the end of each annual account in the main New Calendar text. But in these instances È was never connected with the month of È, which came five to seven months earlier. In harmony with the general context of both of these calendars, it is logical to interpret the month name in the climatological sense, and this climatological sense is extended into the religious realm of the New Calendar. While other possibilities might be considered, this month name can probably be related to the name of the preceding month by suggesting that it was Sipiš, the sun-god, who came forth with even greater power at this time of the beginning of Spring.

VIII. ITU KUR₆—Month of Provisioning. Pettinato has treated the KUR₆ sign as the logogram which stands for “provisions, rations.” The Sumerian KUR₆ represented *kurmatu* in Akkadian,¹⁵ but *kurmatu* does not have any close cognates in West Semitic. Thus the Eblaites probably read this sign in some other way. While they could have treated it as an ideogram which symbolized their word for rations or provisions, they may also have read it phonetically. Hebrew supplies the final weak verb *kārâ* III which refers to providing food, but it appears to have become specialized to refer to providing food at a feast or banquet (2 Kgs 6:23). Also the *kor* as a unit in which grain was measured could be involved (1 Kgs 4:22; 5:11). Even the Sumerians used it, writing it with the sign KÛR instead of KUR₆,¹⁶ and besides Hebrew it is also known in Akkadian and Phoenician. Regardless of the interpretation chosen here, the meaning for this month name is essentially the same.

However, this was not yet the month for provisioning, since the storage of the harvest took place first in the two succeeding months, according to both calendars. This month came at the end of the previous agricultural

¹⁴Ibid., p. 175².

¹⁵Ibid., p. 211.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 89.

cycle, when the provisions from the harvest of the preceding year were at their lowest ebb. Drawing upon those reserves was especially critical at this time, and it was important to have the storehouses well-stocked. From the religious context of the New Calendar one might expect that the Eblaites attributed this function to some god. In the recently published offering texts a god named Kura occurs, and he ranks 5th out of 57 gods, according to the number of sacrifices offered to him.¹⁷ Pettinato has noted that the nature and functions of this god are unknown. If the similarity between his name and the name of this month is significant—and it may not be—then the Eblaites may have thought of Kura as the god of the storehouse. If Kura served in that capacity, he would have been the one responsible for well supplied storehouses which could meet the need of the people during this critical period.

IX. ITU ^d*a-dam-ma-um*—Month of the god Adama. Without the mimation, the name of this deity is known from Hattušaš and Ugarit a millennium later. Pettinato assumes that it was transmitted there by the Hurrians, with whom it originated. Since a satisfactory Semitic etymology can be proposed for this god's name, it is not necessary to identify him as Hurrian. Neither is it necessary to hold that the *-m-* of this name was truly doubled, since the variant spelling of *a-da-ma-um* is attested,¹⁸ but the final *-a* vowel should be retained when the mimation is dropped. This yields the name of Adama which can be equated either with the Hebrew noun for "man," *'adam*, on the basis of a loss of the final *-â* in Hebrew, or the related Hebrew word for "ground," *'adâmah*, on the basis of retention of that final vowel. While the latter interpretation is more phonetically accurate, I prefer the former interpretation because it fits better the parallelism between the month names in both calendars.

New information from the texts which record the cultic sacrifices of the royal family at Ebla help to establish the gender of this god. The publication records the sacrifices offered during four months of the reign of Ibbi-Sipiš. Besides Adama, a deity named Adamtum appears in the list of 56 other gods that received sacrifices.¹⁹ Pettinato has analyzed the name

¹⁷G. Pettinato, *Culto ufficiale ad Ebla durante il regno di Ibbi-Sipiš*, *Oriens Antiqui Collectio* 16 (Rome, 1979), p. 22.

¹⁸Pettinato, "Il Calendario di Ebla," p. 28.

¹⁹Idem, *Culto ufficiale*, pp. 99, 109, 115.

as a feminine form of Adama,²⁰ hence Adama should be masculine. This lends some support for the relating of this god's name to 'adam rather than 'adāmah, since the latter word looks like a feminine noun in Hebrew.

The parallel month in the Old Calendar was the month of 'iš or Man. This month was not named for man in general, however, but because of his task as a harvester at that particular time of year, and the following month was named for the harvesting itself. The same arrangement seems to be applicable to the New Calendar, since the Month of the god Adama is followed by the Month of Harvesting. This suggests that Adama served in the same capacity as 'iš or man did in the Old Calendar, and both 'iš and 'adam are known from Hebrew as words with essentially the same meaning, referring to man.

Adam occurs elsewhere in Eblaite with this meaning. Not only has the name of Adamu been found as the personal name of a governor of Ebla,²¹ but the word *adam* has appeared as the noun for "man" in the personal name of Adam-Malik, "man of the god Malik."²² In the present case it is unlikely, however, that Adama represents deified man in general, but should rather represent man's harvesting function abstracted from him and picking up his name when that function itself was deified. Thus the capacity in which I would see Adama functioning at Ebla is as the god of the harvest. Since the harvest started at this time, this month bore his name.

X. ITU ŠE-GUR₁₀-KU₅—Month of Harvesting.

Xb. ITU ŠE-GUR₁₀-KU₅-MÌN—Month of Harvesting, II (intercalary). The Sumerian signs with which these month names were written—ŠE-GUR₁₀-KU₅—were read in Akkadian with the verb *ešēdu*. Since *ešēdu* means "to harvest," this month name may safely be identified as referring to harvesting the grain crop.²³ The determinative for "second" (following the second of these two months) identified it as the intercalated month when it was used.

XI. ITU^d AMA-ra—Month of ^dAsherah (?). Pettinato has read this month name as a logogram followed by a phonetic complement. Sumerian AMA means "mother,"²⁴ so Pettinato has identified this goddess as Ishtar, the

²⁰Ibid., p. 17.

²¹Dahood, *The Month*, p. 274.

²²Pettinato, "The Royal Archives," p. 50.

²³Labat, *Manuel*, p. 169².

²⁴Ibid., p. 129.

phonetic complement representing the last syllable of her name. This is questionable in view of his comment elsewhere that Ishtar appears to have been a masculine deity at Ebla.²⁵ If another mother goddess is sought, then Asherah, the mother goddess and wife of El attested in the later Canaanite pantheon at Ugarit, probably is the best candidate, in spite of the problem with the final *taw* with which her name was written in Ugaritic and Phoenician.²⁶ The same problem applies to Ishtar-Astarte.

If this identification is correct, then why was her name connected with this particular month? The other use for her name in the OT may suggest an answer. The biblical information on this point has been conveniently summarized as follows: "When the goddess or her cult image is not meant, the word Asherah refers to a wooden pole or tree trunk which stood in Canaanite sanctuaries (Ex 34:13), dedicated to the goddess as a symbol of vegetation. The cult object was made (I Ki 14:15), planted (Dt 16:21), or set up (II Ki 17:10), could be burned (Dt 12:3, II Ki 23:6, 15), cut down (Ex 34:13, Dt 7:5, etc.), plucked up (Mic 5:14), or broken into pieces (II Chr 34:4)."²⁷

Besides being a mother goddess, Asherah was a goddess of vegetation. The above references suggest an identification with a particular type of vegetation, namely a connection with trees. The heat of summer had left the fields browned and scorched, but the trees still thrived and even brought their crops of fruit to maturity then. There is some reason to suggest, therefore, that Asherah may have been a goddess of the trees, whose function came to the fore at this particular time.

XII. ITU (NIDBA_x-)^d*kà-mi-iš*—Month of the Sacrifice to the god Chemosh. The name of the god of this month clearly is that of Chemosh, the later god of Moab (this illustrates how far he migrated in the succeeding centuries). His appearance in this Eblaite agricultural calendar suggests that he originally functioned rather directly with respect to agriculture. Since the parallel month in the Old Calendar was known as the Month of Heat, Chemosh may have had some connection with the heat and the scorching winds of late summer and early fall. Another possibility is that he was the god of the vineyard, since this was the time of the vintage.

²⁵Pettinato, "The Royal Archives," p. 50.

²⁶C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, AnOr 38 (Rome, 1965), p. 370; Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, AOS 8 (New Haven, Conn., 1936), p. 83.

²⁷S. H. Horn, "Asherah," *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Dictionary* (Washington, D.C., 1960), p. 82.

2. The New Calendar: Summary

The etymologies of the month names of the New Calendar can now be summarized, as was done for the Old Calendar, by citing them in transliteration and translation along with their chief cognate evidence. Once again, cognates from biblical Hebrew have been emphasized in order to demonstrate the relationship between the Hebrew lexicon and that of Ebla.

Month Names Transliterated	Month Names Translated	Hebrew Cognates
I. <i>beli</i>	Lord (Dagan)	<i>bʿl</i>
II. (NIDBA _x -) ^d <i>aštabi</i>	Sacrifice to the god Ashtabi	<i>stw</i>
III. <i>itum</i>	He (Ashtabi) has come	<i>'atâ</i>
IV. (NIDBA _x -) ^d <i>ada</i>	Sacrifice to the god Hadad	Hadad
V. <i>ilamu</i>	Hidden (Sun)	<i>'lm</i>
VI. <i>hurmu</i>	Lighting	<i>harâ/ħarôn</i>
VII. <i>Ë</i> (logogram)	Coming Forth	<i>yš'?</i>
VIII. <i>kur</i> ₆	Provisioning	<i>kor/kâra</i>
IX. ^d <i>a-dam-ma-um</i> / ^d <i>Adama</i>	The god Adama	<i>'adam/'adâmâ</i>
X. <i>ŠE-GUR</i> ₁₀ - <i>KU</i> ₅	Harvesting	---
XI. ^d <i>AMA-ra</i> (logogram)	The goddess Asherah (?)	Asherah
XII. (NIDBA _x -) ^d <i>kamiš</i>	Sacrifice to the god Chemosh	Chemosh

Names of gods were specifically used for five of the twelve month names in the New Calendar and the title of Dagan as "Lord" was used to name another month. Of these gods Hadad and Chemosh are known by name in the Bible, as is Asherah if her logogram in this calendar is interpreted correctly. Adama is also known in the Bible as the Hebrew word for "man," his function as harvester having been deified in the name for this calendar month. Ashtabi is not named among the foreign gods in the Bible, but his name may be related to the Hebrew root *stw* which refers to rain.

The name of the seventh month was written with the logogram that means "to go out/come forth," thus it probably was read as a verb in Eblaite. The name of the eighth month may have been written as a logogram, or it can be read phonetically. In either case it can be related to a Hebrew cognate. Including this month, cognates in Hebrew can be suggested for five of the six month names that were not derived from god names. The verb with which the Eblaite read the logogram for harvesting in the name of the tenth month is not yet known.

Grammatically five of these month names resemble the proper names of gods (II, IV, IX, XI, and XII), one appears to be a title of a god (I), and six look like verbal forms which predicate something about the actions of gods (III, V, VI, VII, VIII, and X). The subject of two of these verbs (III and X) has been interpreted as the god named by the previous months (II and IX respectively). The subject of three of these verbal month names in succession is taken as the sun-god Sipiš (V, VI, and VII). The god of the storehouse, possibly Kura, has been suggested as the subject of the month name which refers to provisioning.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

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GALATIANS AS DIALOGICAL RESPONSE TO OPPONENTS

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This thesis seeks to discover the center of Galatians, its unique theological statement, by approaching the question from the perspective of the dialogical nature of the letter as a piece of literature, and the theology of the opponents with which it is dialogical.

The context of a piece of literature is essential to its being understood. When a letter is as obviously disputative as is Galatians, a vital part of that context must be the opponents who have called it forth.

The review of literature reveals that the identity of the opponents in Galatia remains "problematic." Two things in particular stand in the way of an assessment of their theology. Internally there is the question of the manner in which the parts of the letter relate to each other, the way the argument moves, and the portions of the letter from which the intruding theology can be assessed. Externally there is the debate concerning the source or sources of the "heresy," and of the Galatians' behavior. Suggestions range from "normative Pharisaic Judaism" to "enthusiastic Hellenistic Paganism."

This thesis seeks to approach first the internal question of the nature of Galatians as a piece of literature. This is a methodology which has not yet been fully explored. Because it will indicate something of the relation of the parts of the letter to each other, it will help prevent a subjective or predetermined dissection of the text and will have important conclusions for the opponents and their theology.

Genre analysis suggests that Galatians is best analyzed in terms of an "apologetic letter." In this case, other literary examples, and the rhetorical canons which lie behind them, do suggest that there is a particular dialogical structure to Galatians. The examination of the form and function of smaller

segments of the letter, itself a part of this genre-analysis, both confirms and fills out this suggested argument-structure. Throughout Galatians one particular *causa* is constantly reaffirmed—the Galatians' treacherous abandonment of Paul's gospel and the embracing of another gospel (a religious quest that could be summarized as a beginning in one way and an ending in another way). Galatians is a dialogical response to opponents. But because of their espousal of an offending theology, the Galatians themselves are in an important sense the offending party, and the whole letter is written to them. Further, throughout Galatians Paul's answer to this intruding theology rests on one particular base—the significance of baptism "into Christ," which transports the Christian into the freedom of the Spirit and of the new age.

This analysis of Galatians as a piece of literature therefore allows a tentative hypothesis concerning the theology of the opponents. Its conclusions for the structure of the argument also provide a frame for a "holistic" comparison of Galatians with external literature, both confirming and filling out this tentative hypothesis. It is essential, not only that history-of-religions parallels to the intruding theology be found, but that they be found in a holistic context that is congruous with the conflict as construed from Galatians. Five traditions are examined (traditions of apostle, traditions of Abraham, traditions of Moses and the law, sacramental traditions, and ethical traditions), first in terms of the overall argument in Galatians, and second, in terms of the "external" literature.

When Galatians is analyzed in these terms, it becomes apparent that the one intruding theology, and its acceptance by the Galatians, has called forth the entire letter.

This theology takes on its particular shape, first, because of its roots in certain circles of Judaism. But it takes its shape, secondly, from its understanding of Christianity and the place it assigns to Jesus. Paul's response, the total statement of Galatians, is also seen now to have a particular shape. It is a statement of the lordship of Christ and of the eschatological nature of the deliverance that he has effected in his death on the cross. Justification is to be understood in terms of a new *life*, and this new life is to conform to the eschatological finality of justification.

THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF THE GENESIS CREATION STORY

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Exegetical research on Gen 1 has been characterized since the eighteenth century essentially by a diachronic concern. Thus the Documentary hypothesis and the so-called *Tatbericht-Wortbericht* theory have been the two main starting points of any relevant scholarly study of this text. Recently, under the influence of contemporary literary studies, attention has been drawn to the validity of the synchronic approach, and more and more scholars have thus become aware of the importance of the literary structure of this text. The structure's dissociation from the thematic distribution of motifs has resulted in a tension which has been explained in terms of different sources, but this explanation has not permitted an adequate control. Thus, most scholars assume the existence of a literary structure, but all disagree about its contours.

The purpose of the present study is to discover the "literary structure of the Genesis creation story" as it was intended by the biblical author. The relevance of this inquiry is that it not only works with the literary data of the text as a whole and in its present form, but also aims to reach the intentional level of the text. The literary structure responds to both of the foregoing requirements and leads thereby to the hermeneutic employed. Although my approach is independent, it has been inspired by recent methodologies introduced especially in stylistics and in structuralism.

My first step has been concerned with providing a control: The literary structure of Gen 1:1-2:4a (C) must be in agreement with the thematic content and must also be attested in a text of the same nature which will thereby become the control-text (C'). Since Gen 2:4b-25 is also concerned with creation and has been "edited" in connection with C, it appeared that it could serve as the control-text. The analysis of the connection has revealed a striking parallelism between C and C' which manifested itself in the literary structure and in the agreement of the thematic content. Furthermore, this conclusion has been strengthened by the fact that the literary structure of C and its connection to C' have been perceived in various degrees in biblical as well as in extra-biblical texts referring to creation.

The second step has been concerned with drawing the implications of these conclusions on the level of the literary composition. The deep connection between C and C' has led me (1) to question the validity of the

Documentary hypothesis; (2) to observe a "lateral" process of writing instead of a "concentric" one as argued by the *Tatbericht-Wortbericht* and structural approaches, and to infer the unity of the text; and (3) to notice three literary genres into which the text has been voluntarily "dressed," namely, genealogy, prose, and recitation.

The third step has been concerned with reflecting theological perspectives in terms of three relevant questions in today's debate on creation, i.e., Revelation, Reality, Existence. Thus, in continual dialogue with the most representative theologies on creation, I have drawn theological implications in an attempt to frame an interpretation within three categories of thought: (1) The literary situation of C has shown us that its author thought of the material he recorded as a revelation from above, pointing to both its "necessity" and its "possibility" aspects. (2) The literary genres suggest that the author intended to tell about the event but not to provide its mechanism. (3) The author did not content himself "to inform," but he also was concerned to transmit his "message" on an existential level. The historical event of creation was required to become history in existence. The Sabbath is the expression of this faith and, carrying both categories of Revelation and Reality in connection with Existence, it invites thereby a particular dialectic regarding the two "events" of Creation and Redemption.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bahnsen, Greg L. *Theonomy in Christian Ethics*. Nutley, N.J.: The Craig Press, 1977. xvii + 619 pp. \$12.50.

This lengthy effort to show the perpetual validity of the OT laws for contemporary secular society is of special interest in the setting of the present political objectives and activities of conservative evangelicals. Bahnsen is a graduate from Westminster Theological Seminary and has taught at Reformed Seminary in Jacksonville, Miss. His main thesis is clearly stated in the preface: "The Christian is obligated to keep the whole law of God as a pattern of sanctification, and in the realm of human society the civil magistrate is responsible to enforce God's law against public crime" (p. xii).

The first part of the book consists of a thorough discussion of the eternal value of the law, including a useful survey of different theological approaches to this problem and a very thorough exegesis of Matt 5:17, which is the key text upon which Bahnsen builds his thesis. (This material will, in my opinion, be of special interest to many readers of *AUSS*.) While the author vigorously asserts the eternal authority of the precepts taught by Moses, he carefully reminds the reader that the purpose of the law never was to provide justification or sanctification. Recognition of the law's proper limitations (as Bahnsen says, "its inabilities") in no way annuls the objects for which it was given, "its abilities." Since the ceremonial aspects of the OT laws have their permanent validity in Christ and his saving work, Bahnsen is especially concerned with the ethical and political principles of the OT, not only "a few general and vague moral principles," but "the specific and extensive commands since God cares for every specific of our lives" (p. xv).

In the second part of the book Bahnsen attempts to show how those biblical norms should be applied in present society. For Bahnsen, the present secular statesman lives in the same relation to God as does the OT ruler, and he is equally bound morally to rule according to the principles of God's law. Bahnsen does not advocate a return to a theocratic regime, but rather to a *theonomy*, a legal system based upon the divine command. Thus Bahnsen rejects with equal vehemence both the thought of a legislation derived from rational ideals and the idea of the church's entering the political arena or resorting to violence to achieve the goal he proposes. He is a staunch defender of the separation of church and state, for which he gives an elaborate theological justification.

While most of Bahnsen's ideas quite closely reflect the Calvinistic perspective, he separates himself from the Genevan stream by his insistence

on the separation of church and state and by his radical rejection of any cultural conditioning in OT patterns. This latter point gets a special and disquieting significance in the last part of the book, where he deals with the death penalty, which he, as could be expected, strongly endorses. He draws a list of all capital offenses found in OT legislation, such as idolatry, witchcraft, and sabbathbreaking; and he implies that the death penalty for all these should be reenacted today.

There are several highly questionable aspects to Bahnsen's thesis. For one thing, his eschatological perspective is not very clear. He has a two-kingdom approach of his own, in which he separates God's spiritual realm from the political realm, but nonetheless wants the secular realm to be ruled by divine ideals. However, both the OT and NT distinguish between the ruler whom God uses (whether, e.g., the king of Assyria, or Pilate, etc.) and the ruler who loves and serves the Lord (e.g., Josiah). The former carries out God's will against his own will, so to speak, while the latter's supreme goal is to find God's will and follow it. In the Gospels, by distinguishing between God's rule and Caesar's rule over God's people, Jesus recognizes the validity of a secular ruler's authority, although such a ruler may neither know nor wish to keep God's law. Thus Bahnsen's demand that the ruler be a God-fearing person does not have a solid NT basis.

In the second place, the NT does not place ideal value on all the precepts of Moses. Moses' legislation on divorce, e.g., is considered as coming far short of God's purposes, brought about only by the wickedness of the human heart. On several occasions the NT refers to the times of ignorance of the past, when God accepted moral behavior that was not fully pleasing to him. Jesus did not feel obligated to keep the Mosaic code legalistically. Instead of insisting upon surrendering the adulteress to the fate prescribed by Moses, he merely commanded her to go and stop sinning.

Finally, nowhere in the Bible do we find opposition to the laws of the Gentiles as such. The Christian is commanded to obedience without any other reservation than his duty to God. The Christian must be "light" and "salt," Jesus says; and the illustrations he uses show the duty of God's children to influence an environment that is totally alien to them.

Firth, Katharine R. *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645*. Oxford Historical Monographs. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979. vi + 281 pp. \$26.00.

Recent interest in English Reformation apocalypticism is evidenced by the large number of studies published during the past decade, many important works that have emphasized the significance of eschatological thinking on a wide variety of Reformation thought. Bryan W. Ball's *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1975) has clearly shown the great importance of Protestant belief in Christ's Second Coming, successfully challenging the earlier views, largely set forth by historians, that "associate eschatological expectation with the fanatical fringe" (p. 2). On the other hand, the radical, popular movements have continued to be extensively treated, as in B. S. Capp's *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1972). Literary historians similarly have identified a prophetic and apocalyptic tradition influencing Spenser and other English poets, especially Milton, a view most recently argued by Joseph Anthony Wittreich in *Visionary Poetics: Milton's Tradition and His Legacy* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1979). Firth's *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain* continues this trend, applying the studies specifically to the English Reformation concept of history. The work is basically a study of historiography. However, because much of it concerns interpretations of biblical sources, especially the book of Revelation, it is particularly valuable for our knowledge of Reformation theology, exegesis, and apocalyptic thought.

Very well organized, the book combines the best of several approaches. Each chapter manages to be both topical and to concentrate on one or two key figures; each considers continental influences and analogues; and each fits a rather straightforward chronological pattern. The first chapter introduces the apocalyptic view of history in the Reformation by surveying briefly some medieval backgrounds, by noting the influence of such figures as Luther and other early Reformers, and by concentrating on William Tyndale as typical of early English attitudes. Chaps. 2 and 3 deal with the Henrician and Edwardian Reformers and the Marian exiles (through the mid-sixteenth century) and especially concentrate on the work of John Bale and John Foxe. Chaps. 4 to 6 treat Scottish and Elizabethan developments, the influence of Jewish thought on Protestant Christians, and the historical notions of providence in English historiography. They concentrate on the work of John Knox, John Napier, Hugh Broughton, Thomas Brightman, Walter Raleigh, and George Hakewill. Finally, the concluding chapter traces the decline of the apocalyptic historical tradition and the

rise of a radical millenarianism in the seventeenth century. Its major figure is Joseph Mede, but John Milton's historical views are also considered.

Firth is particularly convincing in emphasizing the relatively conservative nature of apocalyptic historiography, especially when she argues against William Haller's view (set forth in *The Elect Nation: The Meaning and Relevance of Foxe's Book of Martyrs* [New York: Harper & Row, 1963]) that Foxe and the apocalyptic historians established England as God's "elect nation" set aside for the work of the last days. According to Firth, however, Foxe's conception of "the true church is international and mystical." Rather than limiting its membership to the English, Foxe sees the church as representing the whole "congregation of the elect" (p. 108). Firth's analysis of Protestant interpretations of the antichrist is also most helpful and, although covering slightly different periods and attitudes, much preferable to Christopher Hill's emphasis upon the political and sometimes radical uses of the antichrist tradition in his *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (Riddell Memorial Lectures, 41st series; London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

One of the book's most interesting recurring points is the great influence of three ancient "prophecies" on Reformation thought. These three contributed three basic ideas to English apocalyptic historiography, all of which, I might add, continue to be influential. Interpretations of Daniel were particularly important in establishing Reformation attitudes toward political history and led to the widespread acceptance of the theory of the "four monarchies"; the book of Revelation was interpreted specifically to determine the order of church history and especially to identify the antichrist with the Roman Catholic Church and the papacy; and a non-biblical work, the Prophecy of Elias, greatly influenced chronological interpretations and established the expectation that the world would last for about 6000 years. These three "prophecies" and their influential interpretations became, in Firth's view, the key characteristics of the apocalyptic tradition in the sixteenth century. When the tradition began to falter in the early seventeenth century, interestingly enough, these sources and attitudes came under attack. E.g., Christians began to question the authority of the Prophecy of Elias, and historians trained in a more humanistic tradition challenged the Danielic restriction of the number of empires to only four. Finally, the growing millenarianism of the seventeenth century specifically rejected the earlier Reformation understanding of many of the prophecies, which to a great extent had been applied to the past. The seventeenth-century millenarians applied the millennium to the near future, thus challenging much of the earlier periodization of history and interpretations of Revelation accepted in the sixteenth century. As Firth concisely states, the millenarians "unlike the apologists of the

sixteenth century, who looked to the past to justify the present . . . looked to the future to vindicate the promises the apologists had led them to expect" (p. 210).

Chaps. 5 and 6 are respectively the best and worst in the book. Chap. 5 is particularly revealing concerning the influence of Jewish thought on the apocalyptic tradition. Although certainly not universally accepted, talmudic thought greatly influenced Christian understanding of the time prophecies of Daniel, for instance. Firth notes that although many Christians often felt the Jewish learning to be of lesser authority, others tried to reconcile Jewish and Christian expectations. Hugh Broughton, who argued for the superiority of Jewish scholarship, believed that the book of Revelation was essentially a "Gentile version of Daniel" (p. 161). This chapter is especially interesting in outlining—as in the work of Thomas Brightman—interpretations of particular scenes, symbols, and passages from Revelation: the seven churches, the seven trumpets, the seven seals, the beast, etc.

In contrast, chap. 6 seems to me to be quite strained in its desire to discuss Raleigh's *History of the World* within the apocalyptic tradition. Here is one of the few occasions when Firth does not clearly keep to a sense of apocalyptic history, and she is forced to summarize Raleigh's views of Daniel and of prophecy in general, concluding that "Raleigh considered the biblical prophets the best historians" (p. 188), which may be true, but is not very relevant to the apocalyptic tradition as set forth in the book. It is not surprising to find such respect for the prophets, nor for the Christian view that God preordained history, but these concepts *alone* do not tie a historian to the apocalyptic tradition.

In some other details, Firth's study is also disappointing. She does not take advantage, e.g., of the literary sources for determining the apocalyptic views of John Bale or John Foxe, even though, as I have recently shown (in *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980]), Foxe's apocalyptic play, *Christus Triumphans*, is one of the best examples of the Protestant conception of history. Firth's treatment of the medieval background to Reformation historiography is also sometimes misleading, especially her repeated association of a moralistic interpretation of anti-christ with Wyclif—which oversimplifies Wyclifite views—and her rather loose use of the adjective "Joachimist." On occasion, the book is simply wrong, as in the footnote referring to Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) as "Joachimist-inspired" (p. 41, n. 31), and in the brief descriptions of the medieval/Augustinian periodization of history. It is true that Augustine and others divided history into seven ages, but the ages did not run "from Adam to Christ in six ages" (p. 38), but in five; and "the final age from Christ to

the end" was not the seventh, but the sixth, for the seventh was the "sabbath" beyond history, not within history. But these errors are minor and quite rare; generally, the book's only disappointments are that some particularly interesting subjects—such as the Protestant challenge to Jesuit apocalyptic interpretation or the influential theorizings of James Ussher—are not sufficiently developed.

For the most part, however, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain* is an excellent book, nicely illustrated, well-researched, and conveniently indexed. It is packed with information that is both fascinating in its own right and especially in revealing what concerns the origins of the Protestant interpretations of the apocalyptic works. In fact, although primarily concerned with Reformation historians, Firth's work sheds much light on the apocalyptic outlook in general, raising questions about historical and literal interpretations of Gog and Magog, antichrist, the millennium, the number of the beast, and the time prophecies. The book notes the continued reinterpretation of apocalyptic prophecy within the terms of historical events and thus provides a useful case study against which to study later apocalyptic movements that in a similar way have read prophecy as being most relevant for contemporary conditions.

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RICHARD KENNETH EMMERSON

Forell, George Wolfgang. *History of Christian Ethics*, Vol. 1. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1979. 247 pp. \$12.50.

This volume represents the firstfruit of Forell's projected three-part review of the past in Christian ethics. The author, currently Carver Distinguished Professor of Religion at the University of Iowa, is qualified in systematic theology and philosophy, but in recent years has given special attention to ethics.

Actually the *History of Christian Ethics* is not a systematic and comprehensive history. Instead the reader is treated to a skillfully-drawn sequence of passing vistas: Christian ethics as seen in several individual fathers of the early church, e.g., Clement of Alexandria, Basil, Augustine, et al. The effect is sometimes reminiscent of the early portion of Beach and Niebuhr's *Christian Ethics: Sources of the Living Tradition* (1955, 1973). Forell, however, provides deeper theological insight, a credit to his outstanding skill in dogmatics.

Beginning with the NT writings themselves, he clearly underlines the power of eschatology, both realized and future, as a mainspring for NT ethics. Forell's balance between the theology of salvation and the role of ethics in the early church is informative to those who tend to depreciate either. One might wish for greater recognition of the pervasive influence of the OT, particularly the prophets, in the NT church.

Forell sees second-century Christian ethics as polarized about creed, canon, and leadership. While recognizing flaws in the logic of their moral-allegorical approach, he continues to use the fathers uncritically, even Ignatius, who is widely considered to be much interpolated.

Chap. 3 sees Tertullian reinterpreted. Forell's approach, more friendly than either Troeltsch or Beach and Niebuhr, rejects Tertullian's centralization of ethics around the anti-idolatry issue, but sees the possibility that Tertullian foresaw a Christianized empire, thanks to the support Christians gave government.

Clement is accurately seen as the bridge for a Christian-Hellenistic dialogue. It would be helpful if Forell had cited specific ways in which Clement aped Stoic and Neo-Platonic ideas.

The treatment of Basil and Chrysostom is especially helpful, as these fathers are less well known in the western tradition. Although little is said of it directly, perceptive readers will easily detect in these fathers antecedents of the later Arminian branch of theology. Forell's volume ends with his treatment of Augustine, where he emphasizes the derivative nature of much of Augustine's thought.

Overall, the book is most helpful to readers already somewhat acquainted with both the fathers and historical theology. Indeed, at times theological ethics virtually excludes applied ethics. It is unfortunate that the publishers elected to follow the increasingly fashionable practice of using endnotes rather than footnotes, something which encumbers the use of an excellent system of references. In small consolation, the notes are gathered at the close of the volume rather than following each chapter. Numerous European secondary works cited in the bibliography will expand the horizon of American readers.

Judged by this first volume, the succeeding two should prove very useful to the reading public, provided the expectation is not for something other than what the author intends.

Holifield, E. Brooks. *The Gentlemen Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture, 1795-1860*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1978. x + 262 pp. \$14.75.

Southern religion appears in the popular stereotype as highly emotional, anti-intellectual, and rural. In this volume, E. Brooks Holifield of Candler School of Theology, Emory University, counteracts this image by presenting an aspect of Southern religious history that has been largely unrecognized.

Holifield argues that many clergymen in the cities and towns of the Old South viewed themselves as exponents and defenders of rational orthodoxy. To establish this thesis, he first examines the social setting within which these ministers worked. Virtually all of the one hundred elite clergymen he studied lived in urban areas and served congregations drawn from the mercantile and professional classes. Since many individuals in these congregations aspired to gentility, it is not surprising that the clergy developed similar goals and, one of the marks of gentility being rationality, set out to show that orthodox religion fitted within a rational world-view.

Through their sermons and books these clergymen—representing the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic communions—argued from the paradoxical premise that revelation undergirds reason, while reason verifies revelation. In making their case, the “Gentlemen Theologians” drew on several lines of argument: the consistency and power of Scripture, miracles and prophecy, Scottish Common-Sense Realism that stated that the finitude of reason made revelation necessary, the social utility of morality, the pedagogical usefulness of the sacraments, and the necessity of the atonement to preserve the “moral government” of the universe. Holifield concludes that this theology attracted and reassured people that “reasonable behavior,” an element in their self-identity that sometimes seemed at odds with Southern culture, “was congruent with the deepest nature of things” (p. 206). Furthermore, he states, this rational orthodoxy lies behind both religious liberalism and fundamentalism in the South.

The author’s argument is virtually impossible to fault. He has chosen his one hundred ministers on the basis of carefully considered characteristics that establish them as members of an elite. The analysis of this group as a class and their place in the urban social setting is based on a wide variety of sources: tax and census records, newspapers and magazines, unpublished correspondence, and published works. The theological analysis that comprises chaps. 3-8 draws largely on published sermons, articles, and books. In addition to thoroughly documenting his argument, Holifield takes pains to point out its limits: he is writing about an elite class, not

“typical” Southern preachers. He has helped us to see that Southern religion was (and is) complex, and one element in that complexity was an urban-oriented rational orthodoxy.

Beyond this general contribution, *The Gentlemen Theologians* is instructive for a number of other reasons as well. First, it shows that the sociological methodology so influential in contemporary historical studies can fruitfully complement, rather than oppose, the traditional dependence on literary sources. This observation leads to a second, that the history of theology is illuminated when examined within its larger social and intellectual setting. Holifield’s argument that these theologians formed their theology in response to the needs of their social class might seem a truism in one sense—all thinking takes place within a social setting—but much theological history has examined ideas in isolation from society. This study suggests that more theologically oriented historians can usefully combine social and theological history. Third, Holifield’s analysis of the role the Scottish Common-Sense Philosophy of Thomas Reid played in the thought of these Southerners reinforces our growing awareness of its importance in American intellectual life. Where previous studies, recently popularized by Garry Wills’s *Inventing America*, have shown the basic place of Common-Sense Realism in eighteenth-century thought, Holifield’s work indicates its continuing importance into the middle of the nineteenth century.

The Gentlemen Theologians is a thoroughly researched, carefully written work that will be of interest to American church, social, and intellectual historians. It should prompt further reexamination of Southern religion and comparative studies of the North and West.

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GARY LAND

Moore, R. Laurence. *In Search of White Crows: Spiritualism, Parapsychology, and American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977. xvii + 310 pp. \$14.95.

Despite spiritualism’s popularity in nineteenth-century America, there have been few histories of the movement that are useful to the scholar. In this work, R. Laurence Moore of Cornell University examines both spiritualism and parapsychology in order to understand their function or meaning in the American past. He does not, however, attempt to provide a complete history of these movements.

Moore argues that spiritualism, perhaps the most popular cultural phenomenon of the 1850s, was both a reaction against the materialistic

tendencies of science and—through its emphasis on observable phenomena—a product of positivism. It appealed to those who were disenchanted with Christian orthodoxy, and it declined partly because of the development of liberal Protestantism and its own inability to become scientifically respectable. Although in its early stages spiritualism seemed compatible with social reform, its belief in eternal evolutionary progress and its unwillingness to distinguish clearly between good and evil made the reform connection tenuous. More significantly, spiritualism was psychologically helpful to those who believed in it, and through the specific traits associated with mediumship it offered a route toward independence and professionalism for nineteenth-century women.

With motivation similar to those of the spiritualists, Moore points out, the parapsychologists sought to undermine scientific materialism. The founders of the Society for Psychical Research, James Hervey Hyslop, and J. B. Rhine attempted through scientific methodology to fill the spiritual vacuum left by the decline of religious belief. Recent parapsychologists, however, have recognized that the scientific method is inadequate for measuring paranormal dimensions of reality. Spiritualism and—for most of its history—parapsychology, Moore concludes, “have been equally guilty of placing a greater value on coherence than on recognizing the baffling complexities of human experience” (p. 242).

On subjects such as spiritualism and parapsychology it is almost a necessity that the writer spell out his assumptions, an obligation that Moore fulfills. He states that although he does not mean to suggest that spiritualist and psychical phenomena are demonstrably established or even likely, he does have “every intention of persuading the reader that a belief in the ‘supernormal’ is frequently compatible with sensible human behavior and that the opposite attitude does not guarantee wisdom” (p. xvi). He doubts whether these movements will ever gain scientific standing and expects that psychical research will disappear into the obscurity that now engulfs spiritualism.

Moore’s study is an intriguing one, showing, for instance, how modern culture is pervaded by the scientific method, and also pointing up the significance of Christianity’s decline for the emergence of these movements. The author has thoroughly grounded his conclusions on an analysis of unpublished manuscript collections and spiritualist and psychical periodical literature. Despite the extensive effort that has gone into this study, however, some questions remain, the answers to which may affect Moore’s interpretation. As is common with most historical research, Moore’s account of spiritualism depends largely on the writings of an elite population. One cannot help wondering whether or not that elite’s interest in scientific credibility was characteristic also of the movement’s popular

base. William B. Hill, a late nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventist evangelist in the Midwest, encountered a considerable number of spiritualists for whom spiritualism seems to have been more religious in nature than that of the Eastern elite. If there is any way of examining these popular attitudes, the validity of Moore's argument for the movement as a whole could be tested.

Second, the relationship between spiritualism and parapsychology needs further examination. Although it is clear that some of the early researchers of psychical phenomena were also spiritualists, Moore says nothing about the attitude of spiritualists generally toward parapsychology, nor does he note whether recent parapsychologists have been interested in spiritualism. Analysis of this relationship may clarify the differences between two movements that, as Moore indicates, had much in common.

Considerable work remains to be done in the effort to understand these movements, but Moore has provided a study that will shape future research. He has produced a book that is fascinating both in its detail and in its general interpretations. In reading this volume, historians of American culture will find that what seems a periphery phenomenon illuminates the whole.

Andrews University

GARY LAND

Sider, Ronald J. *Christ and Violence*. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1979. 108 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

In *Christ and Violence* Ronald Sider attempts to give a theological justification for the involvement of Christians in the use of political power to change unjust economic and social structures and to safeguard mankind from the pangs of hunger and the annihilation of a nuclear conflict. Sider's attempt is especially significant, since he is writing from within the Peace-Churches tradition, which has advocated radical non-resistance and separation from the political world. One must note that Sider's concern is the whole world rather than the United States of America.

To understand some of the proposals that Sider summarizes in *Christ and Violence*, one should also read his former book, *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger*, a book that should be required reading for all those who profess to serve the Lord Jesus Christ. Sider appeals for a simpler life style on the part of individual Christians—one that will make more food available for the starving masses of the third world—and he even suggests the boldness for Christians to pool their possessions and share them more equitably. As for churches, he calls for less emphasis on the construction of "representative church buildings" that under the pretense of serving God

flatter the pride of men. His main thrust, however, is for a new international economic policy, a fairness in dealing with underdeveloped countries that recognizes the needs of their peoples as much as and even more than the never-satiated appetites of affluent Westerners. Sider is honest enough to tell his readers frankly that to be a Christian in an age of hunger calls for dispensing with many of the artificial wants fostered by Madison Avenue in the name of comfort first and necessity afterwards. Recognizing that the demands of Christian stewardship will cost plenty, he asks whether Christians are willing to tell their elected officials that they are ready to pay the cost of international justice.

Sider is not a Marxist. He does not attack private ownership, but he draws his inspiration from the OT principle of Jubilees that called for a periodic redistribution of wealth and thus guaranteed the perpetuation of a degree of equality in well-being for all Israelites. Sider does not advocate Christian support for violent qualitative changes, but he calls upon missionaries to let the poor of the world know that the God of Christianity is the God of the poor, and he wants them to talk unambiguously of the economic structures implied in the Christian Scriptures. In following that course, Sider recognizes the likelihood of persecutions and sufferings.

Sider's objective in *Christ and Violence* is to show that the use of political power is fully compatible with the way of suffering servanthood, so dear to the members of his religious tradition. He asserts that one may advocate non-violence without having to practice non-resistance, that non-coercive resistance is not synonymous with rebellion. He reminds non-violent Christians that when they participate in unjust economic structures they are guilty of violence toward the have-nots of the world, for covert economic injustice can be every bit as destructive of people as lethal, overt violence.

Thus the Peace Churches, he claims, need to develop a theology of power, which Sider grounds on the eschatological perspective of the Jubilee sermon of Jesus at Nazareth (Luke 4), the significance of the cross "at the very heart of our commitment to non-violence" (p. 33), the assurance of the empty tomb that the non-violent way "is not an impossible dream, but the way of the future" (p. 96), and the fact that the victory of Christ over the "principalities and powers" is not only an eventual triumph over supernatural spiritual beings but also over the socio-political structures twisted by sinful men.

The book is always thought-provoking and often moving, but one may nevertheless raise some important questions about it. In the first place, it is rather surprising to find in the first chapter, "The Cross and Violence," the traditional texts used to oppose the use of force and in the

second chapter, "Christ and Power," many of the texts given by those who support the recourse to violence. Even granting that Sider talks in one case of "violence" and in the other case of "power," one still finds some incongruity in that a man who so clearly discloses the brutality of the covert violence hidden beyond economic structures says nothing of the harshness that stands behind government regulations. One wonders how he can expect that if a majority of Christian lawmakers were to adopt his program, it could be realized without full execution of the very police power that he rejects.

One may also ask Sider why he advocates so enthusiastically the OT *economic* ideals, but repudiates unequivocally OT principles of justice that other Christians uphold as essential for the preservation of the moral fabric of society. Why does he look so negatively at the *lex talionis* when it clearly states the ideal of modern criminal justice? If he asserts that it is because Jesus rejected the *lex talionis*, while advocating the Jubilee principle, one may ask why we find no echo of that Jubilee ideal in the NT writings dealing with slavery, money, etc.

At times Sider sounds quite dogmatic. "Any rejection of the non-violent way in human relations involves a heretical doctrine of the atonement" (p. 34). His exegesis is not always beyond question. He tells us, e.g., that "'Forgive us our debts' in the Lord's Prayer signifies asking God to forgive His children's sin as they forgive everyone who has debts or loans owing them" (p. 31).

Christians will agree with Sider that the church should take much more seriously its claim of being one body of Christ and that it should transform its approach concerning the distribution of its economic resources. The hope of reshaping the economic structures of the world after a Christian ideal, however, appears terribly unrealistic. This, in fact, is where Sider's theological basis appears to be weakest, since he does not grapple seriously with the problem of human evil—that sinister force which so quickly reduces even the most promising human structures to the old patterns of the mighty exploiting the weak and the rich spoiling the poor. Human structures can never be better than their human agents and, therefore, human structures will be safe only when human hearts have been changed. For that reason, Sider's type of call for new secular economic structures derived from the Bible seems naïve and futile.

While all Christians may not feel that Sider's call for Christian political action should be heeded, they will nevertheless receive from this book a new awareness of God's demands upon them and upon the church.

Sizer, Sandra S. *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978. xi + 222 pp. \$15.00.

Although popular hymnody seems an obvious source for a better understanding of mass religion, scholars have given little attention to the nineteenth-century gospel hymns and the revivalism of which they were a part. Sandra Sizer has considerably corrected this deficiency in a work that is essential reading for anyone interested in either American religion or hymnology.

Arguing that the gospel hymns were vehicles for articulating a widespread community defined in terms of feeling, Sizer discusses the verbal structure of the hymns, their place in revival activities, their relationship to the ideology of the popular sentimental novels and revivalism, and finally their meaning within nineteenth-century American culture. She argues that the hymns expressed an ideology of "evangelical domesticity" that solved the problem of order and passion raised by the Second Great Awakening's emphasis upon religious emotion. With the forms of prayer, exhortation, and testimony dominating, the hymns reenacted the revival itself and helped organize the affections. In turn, the revivals, which paralleled periods of political crisis, regarded the nation as a community of feeling that could be purified through an inward religion of intimacy.

In establishing her thesis, Sizer draws principally upon Ira Sankey, James McGranahan, and George C. Stebbins's *Gospel Hymns* as well as memoirs and sermon collections. Concentrating on the text rather than the music of the hymns, she emphasizes the rhetoric, approaching it with the tools of literary criticism and anthropology, particularly in their structuralist perspective. Her argument that the hymns embody an ideology of "evangelical domesticity" depends heavily upon Ann Douglas's analysis of the popular literature of the period in *The Feminization of American Culture*. She recognizes, however, that the evangelical hymns differed from the sentimental novels of liberal Christianity that Douglas studied by projecting the domestic ideal into the social arena rather than keeping it in the private sphere. Nevertheless, the author enumerates a number of what she regards as questionable implications of this rhetoric, particularly its assumption that all people are, in their hearts, essentially the same—"and if they were not they were evil, insane, or otherwise perverted" (p. 137).

Sizer's analysis of gospel hymn rhetoric is soundly based and carefully argued, but important questions remain to be answered. Without an accompanying analysis of popular hymnody prior to 1820, the starting point for this study, we do not know how new was the rhetoric of evangelical domesticity. Although the author compares the gospel hymns

with those of four earlier hymnals, a more extensive examination is needed to clarify the elements of continuity and change.

Also, because the hymns were set to music, which, as Sizer notes, added a further dimension to the organization of emotion, an analysis of their musical settings is necessary for a fuller understanding of these songs. Although this music may have been related to the genteel tradition, as Sizer suggests, it seems more clearly akin to the waltzes, marches, and sentimental songs of the music hall, a connection that contributed to its popularity.

Finally, Sizer's suggestions of the ties between revivalism and the political situation and the contribution that this revivalism made to American civil religion, need further development and documentation. At this point they are provocative speculations that conclude an otherwise thoroughly researched and stimulating book.

Andrews University

GARY LAND

Stannard, David E. *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977. x + 236 pp. \$14.95. Paperback (1979), \$3.95.

During the past decade, death has received increasing attention from a number of disciplines, now including history. David E. Stannard of Yale University has chosen the Puritans as a means of beginning the task of examining American perceptions of the life cycle, because their culture "was sufficiently homogeneous for an extended period of time to permit perhaps more responsible generalization than would be possible in most other American cultural settings." The result is a most interesting book.

Stannard begins with a short sketch of Western attitudes toward death up to the Puritans. Although the concept of immortality assuaged the fear of death, the Christian belief in divine judgment encouraged that fear. The tradition of *contemptus mundi*, however, helped relieve inner tensions until it began encountering resistance during the Renaissance. Despite the modernizing trend, the Puritans were intellectually close to the Middle Ages and carried a deep sense of insecurity regarding their individual salvation. Puritan children repeatedly heard that their existence was precarious, their nature depraved, and their salvation uncertain. Puritan adults regarded death as both punishment and reward; their vision of death and attitude toward the process of dying coexisted in a terrible tension.

As the years passed, however, changes took place. The austere funerals that characterized the first generation became more ritualized for their

descendants, as pessimism about their mission produced tribalism. In the eighteenth century, optimistic sentimentalism began appearing and revivalism taught the possibility of certainty regarding one's salvation. At the same time, the sense of community declined. In the nineteenth century, as life became compartmentalized, self-indulgence, sentimentalization, and ostentation emerged as Americans began losing a sense of death's reality. By the twentieth century realism returned and secularism took over, but paradoxically, death was both avoided and denied. "Death," Stannard concludes, "cannot be abstracted from life and still retain its meaning" (p. 196).

It is obvious that Stannard has covered considerable ground in the space of but a few pages; five of his seven chapters address the Puritans, while the others examine attitudes both before and after that movement. The Puritans, in other words, are simply a focal point by which to discuss the American concept and practice of death. The book, as the author says, is "tentative," "frankly speculative," and "designed . . . to open a field of inquiry to questions rather than one claiming to dictate answers" (p. vii).

Stannard fulfills his purpose in a sophisticated fashion. While drawing on the expected literary sources and examining such artifacts as gravestones (of which the book contains pictures), the author has also illuminated his findings by applying the insights of scholars from a number of fields. Work by Phillippe Ariès, Mary Douglas, Clifford Geertz, and Anthony F. C. Wallace, among others, has enabled the author not only to interpret the Puritans but to relate them to general human experience. This interdisciplinary approach enables the historian to become more confident, for example, in saying that the Great Awakening and accompanying changes in the attitude toward death were in part a culture's internal response to its own decline.

The author presents his interpretation in broad strokes that readers need to regard as suggestive rather than definitive, and therefore questions abound. How did Puritan concepts compare with those of other New Englanders and those in other American colonies? What kinds of changes were taking place among these other peoples? What was happening among the Puritans and among other groups who remained in England and therefore did not partake of the American experience? Did a growing Arminianism always bring with it greater assurance, or did its emphasis on personal responsibility create additional sources of anxiety? How extensive was the sentimentalism of the nineteenth century, and what other sources did it have? Such are a few of the questions that this study suggests. Stannard himself is engaged in researching a larger work on American perceptions of the life-cycle that should provide some answers,

but other researchers with a narrower focus will need to refine and more fully document the author's assertions.

The Puritan Way of Death is necessary reading for anyone who has to deal professionally with death and dying. It reminds us that death, along with birth, perhaps the most individual of human experiences, has a history of which we are the inheritors.

Andrews University

GARY LAND

Strauss, Gerald. *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978. xii + 390 pp. \$20.00.

Gerald Strauss, one of the best known Americans working in the field of German Reformation studies, has written a precise and compelling study about the Lutheran attempt to transform individuals by providing them with "a Christian mind-set, motivational drive, and way of life" (p. 307). Hence his analysis approaches the question of the success of the Protestant Reformation from a different perspective than that usually adopted by historians. He defines success in terms of the total transformation of lifestyle advocated by the most enthusiastic of the Reformers.

Although Strauss is concerned with the role of both the home and the school in effecting this transformation, he concentrates his attention upon the educational system of Lutheran Germany, for the Reformers rapidly concluded that the indoctrination of the young provided the best method for transforming individuals into genuine Christians. The vernacular school system had largely been established by the Reformers who ensured the priority of religious goals. As a result, Strauss points out, the object of education became the forging of "a motivational link between inner purposes and outward actions" through internalizing "the rules of Christian life as a set of guiding precepts originating in the intellect and the will" (p. 237). Despite their most earnest efforts, Strauss concludes, the Reformers failed in their attempt to turn sinners into saints—a failure graphically recorded in the visitation records surviving in various German archives (see especially chap. 12). Therefore he feels justified in asserting that "a century of Protestantism had brought about little or no change in the common religious conscience and in the ways in which ordinary men and women conducted their lives" (p. 299).

Strauss's explanation for this failure is of interest to students of church history and religious education as well as to historians of the Reformation. First, he notes the paradox between the doctrine of total

depravity as a consequence of original sin and the rather naïve belief in the ability of education to transform human nature (p. 152). Then he points to the unresolved tension between faith and works and speaks of "the confusions and doubts left unresolved in people's minds by pulpit and catechism" (p. 235). Undoubtedly, he believes that this confusion and ambiguity increased the apathy and carelessness of the populace in regard to spiritual matters. Finally he points out that the Reformers were hindered by the growing bureaucratization of the church and by the increasing association of the church with the dominant social group throughout Germany (p. 305). These factors flawed the educational methodology, confused the young, and eroded the popular base which had originally provided support for the Lutheran Reformation.

Strauss devoted six years to the research and writing of this study. The research is thorough, based on archival materials in Germany, and the conclusions are well documented. Unfortunately, the style of writing is complex and heavy, a factor which will limit readership to those genuinely interested in the German Reformation and its consequences. Those who accept the challenge will be rewarded with a unique view of developments in Germany following the Reformation.

Andrews University

CEDRIC WARD

BOOK NOTICES

Inclusion in this section does not preclude subsequent review of a book. Where two prices are given, separated by a slash, the second is for the paperback edition.

- Belford, William J. *Special Ministers of the Eucharist*. New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1979. 64 pp. Paperback, \$1.95. Illustrated introduction and guide for the Catholic lay minister of the eucharist, one of the growing new ministries since the Second Vatican Council.
- Edwards, Rex. *A New Frontier—Every Believer a Minister*. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979. 126 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. Reviews the spiritual privileges and responsibilities of Christian laymen from the perspective of both biblical and historical insights.
- Fowler, James W., et al. *Trajectories in Faith. Five Life Stories*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1980. 206 pp. Paperback, \$6.50. Glimpses—from a psycho-historic/psychobiographical angle—into the lives and development of the faith of Malcolm X, Anne Hutchinson, Blaise Pascal, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer.
- Hals, Ronald M. *Grace and Faith in the Old Testament*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1980. 95 pp. Paperback, \$3.75. Shows that "the basic shape in which we encounter grace and faith in both Testaments is the same."
- Jabusch, Willard F. *The Person in the Pulpit. Preaching as Caring*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1980. 127 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. Critically analyzes the characteristics of a good preacher, stressing as the most important point the pastor's caring attitude for his congregation.
- Johnsson, William G. *Clean!: The Meaning of Christian Baptism*. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1980. 96 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. Discusses our persistent feelings of dirtiness, our search for cleansing, the origin of Christian baptism and its significance in the early church, as well as its importance in the church today.
- Knight, George R. *Philosophy and Education. An Introduction in Christian Perspective*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1980. xi + 244 pp. Paperback, \$8.95. Survey, from a Christian perspective, of philosophies and philosophic issues relevant to the educational profession.
- Kraus, C. Norman, ed. *Evangelicalism and Anabaptism*. Scottdale, Penn.: Herald Press, 1979. 187 pp. Paperback, \$5.95. Analyzes the popular religious phenomenon of evangelicalism from an Anabaptist-Mennonite perspective.
- LaRondelle, Hans K. *Christ Our Salvation. What God Does for Us and in Us*. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1980. 96 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. Reviews the essential truths of the Christian gospel. Takes up such subjects as predestination, atoning work of Christ, justification, baptism in relation to sanctification, perfection, etc.

- Müller, Richard. *Adventisten - Sabbat - Reformation. Geht das Ruhetagsverständnis der Adventisten bis zur Zeit der Reformation zurück? Eine theologisch-geschichtliche Untersuchung.* Lund: Gleerup, 1979. x + 251 pp. Paperback, Swedish Crowns 50.00. Does the Adventist concept of the day of rest go back to the time of the Reformation? This doctoral thesis undertakes a theological-historical investigation about how the Sabbath question was understood by Luther, Calvin, Karlstadt, the Anabaptists, the Puritans of seventeenth-century England, and the Seventh Day Baptists. The book deals also with the origin and motifs of Seventh-day Adventist Sabbath theology.
- Oglesby, William B., Jr. *Biblical Themes for Pastoral Care.* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1980. 240 pp. \$10.95. Affirms the importance of the use of Scripture for the modern pastoral counselor, illustrated with pastoral conversations and case studies.
- Ozment, Steven. *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550. An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980. 458 pp. \$25.00. Elucidates the complex philosophical and theological issues that inspired antagonistic schools, traditions, and movements from Aquinas to Calvin and shows why great numbers of people found religious reforms attractive.
- Raschke, Carl A. *The Interruption of Eternity. Modern Gnosticism and the Origins of the New Religious Consciousness.* Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1980. xi + 271 pp. \$18.95. Traces the patterns of modern religious consciousness to the old Gnostic traditions. The author examines the thought of influential twentieth-century writers such as C. G. Jung, Henri Bergson, Hermann Hesse, Alan Watts, and Theodore Roszak.
- Rutherford, Richard. *The Death of a Christian: The Rite of Funerals.* Studies in the Reformed Rites of the Catholic Church, Vol. 7. New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1980. x + 313 pp. Paperback, \$7.95. Deals with the evolution, reform and implementation of each specific part of the Catholic rite of funerals.
- Tisdale, John R., ed. *Growing Edges in the Psychology of Religion.* Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1980. x + 350 pp. \$21.95/\$10.95. Twenty-five essays and papers on such topics as religious belief and behavior; religious development from childhood to adolescence; mysticism; relationship between religion, deviant behavior, and therapy.
- Turner, R. Edward. *Proclaiming the Word. The Concept of Preaching in the Thought of Ellen G. White.* Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1980. x + 183 pp. Paperback, \$7.95. An analysis of the nature of E. G. White's concepts of preaching, including a contextual understanding of her as a woman on the American platform and the development of American homiletical theory.
- Walter, J. A. *Sacred Cows. Exploring Contemporary Idolatry.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1979. 217 pp. Paperback, \$5.95. Draws on both the Judeo-Christian and sociological traditions, and strikes many thought-provoking blows on timely issues such as work, family, man-created environment, suburbia, collectivism, racism,

mass media, and contemporary theology. Advocates the balanced blend of Christianity and sociology in order to understand and help today's perplexed society.

White, James F. *Introduction to Christian Worship*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1980. 288 pp. Paperback, \$7.95. Comprehensive survey of worship in the various Christian churches. Describes also the post-Vatican II liturgical revisions of the major American Catholic and Protestant churches.

Wilkinson, John. *Health and Healing. Studies in New Testament Principles and Practice*. Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1980. ix + 195 pp. \$15.00. Being both a physician and a theologian, the author

deals with the records, approaches, and methods of healing in the NT, singling out especially disputed cases. Concludes with the healing ministry of today's church.

Woodfin, Yandall. *With All Your Mind. A Christian Philosophy*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1980. 272 pp. Paperback, \$8.95. Presents a philosophy based in the traditional Christian faith. Relates Christianity to other world faiths.

Wright, John H., S.J. *A Theology of Christian Prayer*. New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1979. xvi + 174 pp. Paperback, \$7.95. Deals, from the Catholic viewpoint, with prayer in the Bible, different types of prayer, spiritual growth, liturgical celebration, etc.

FROM THE EDITOR

We are pleased that in this nineteenth year of publication *Andrews University Seminary Studies* is increasing its publication frequency and broadening its scope. It is also taking on a new and improved appearance, this "new look" being perhaps the most noticeable in the new cover design.

The current number of *AUSS* introduces **three issues per year** in contrast to the two issues per year published since 1965 and the one issue per year prior to that. At this time, too, we are introducing one of our **new categories of material**—"Andrews University Doctoral Dissertation Abstracts." Further abstracts will appear from time to time in future issues.

The scope of coverage is being broadened so that certain specialized areas of practice of ministry and of religious education may be included. Nevertheless, our earlier emphasis on biblical studies, archaeology, theology, ethics, church history, history of religions, etc., will also be retained. In this respect, there will be one important change, however: In reporting any future archaeological excavations sponsored by Andrews University, only articles, notices, and summarizations of general interest will be carried, instead of the detailed "area reports" which *AUSS* provided for each of the five campaigns at Tell Hesi. (It is envisaged that a separate publication will furnish the technical detail of any such future archaeological digs.)

It is our goal to devote some 220 to 240 pages annually to materials in our regular categories of general articles, brief notes, dissertation abstracts, book reviews, book notices, etc., including an index for each annual volume. However, we hope that, as in the past, the publication realities may exceed our projections, so that our readers may be furnished a larger number of pages.

The "financial crunch" which I mentioned in a note in the Spring issue of 1977 (*AUSS* 15: 95) is, unfortunately, still very much with the publishing field. We on the *AUSS* staff have been endeavoring in every way possible to effect economies that will enable us to give our readers the maximum amount of material possible with the funds available for each volume.

Right now, we are engaged in a **subscription campaign**, and would count it a real favor if you, as readers, would alert colleagues and friends who might be interested in subscribing to *AUSS*. You might also request that your institutional library subscribe.

The *AUSS* staff wishes herewith to express **sincere gratitude and thanks** to both readers and writers for your kind interest and support. Be assured that we are committed to do our utmost to be of service to you in any way we can.

Yours sincerely, in behalf of the *AUSS* staff,
Kenneth A. Strand, Editor

Abbreviations (cont.)

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