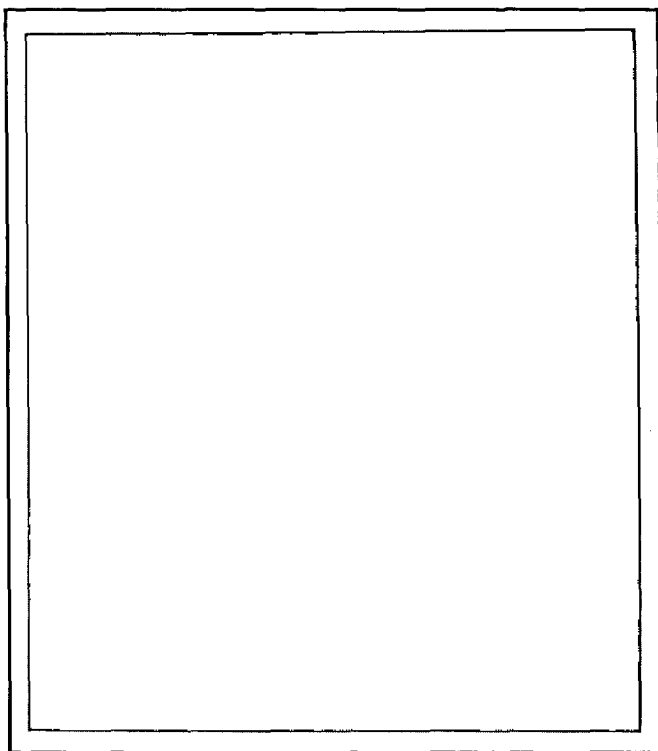


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# ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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

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Pacific Union College  
Angwin, California

In Part I of this series, I provided a brief overview of the preaching careers of the three Puritan preachers here under consideration—John Hooper, Thomas Cartwright, and William Perkins. I also analyzed their concept of the Bible, which concept is fundamental to their exegetical methods. Herein I will continue the analysis of these methods under the sub-headings of “Allegory,” “Typology,” “Literal Exposition of Scripture,” “Other Features of Puritan Exegesis,” and “Use of Church Fathers.”

1. *Allegory*

There is very little of medieval-type allegory in the sermons of Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins. It seems to me that J. W. Blench exaggerates when he says of Hooper's method of interpretation, “Even more like the old manner of allegory is Hooper's treatment of Jonah.”<sup>1</sup> There is an occasional allegorical interpretation in Hooper's *Oversight and Deliberation upon the Holy Prophet Jonas*, but more characteristic is the use of analogy. Hooper compares the spiritual problems of Jonah and his contemporaries with those of sixteenth-century Englishmen. In most

\*Part I was published in *AUSS* 19 (1981):21-36. The following abbreviated forms are used herein for works already cited in Part I:

Carr = Samuel Carr, ed., *Early Writings of John Hooper* (Cambridge, 1843).

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

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

<sup>1</sup>J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1964), p. 45.

instances it is obvious that Hooper is not intending to impose allegorical meanings upon the text in the manner of John Mirk and others of his kind.

Wishing to indicate the true cause of England's troubles, Hooper speaks of the Jonahs who are not following their vocations or obeying their orders.<sup>2</sup> The point is not that the true meaning of Jonah's defection is to be found in the recalcitrance of sixteenth-century Englishmen. Hooper obviously accepts the historical authenticity of the story of Jonah and deplores his personal rejection of the divine commission. But Jonah's problem is repeated many times in the lives of men. Every man who neglects his vocation is emulating Jonah. The analogy is pressed to the limit. The ship on which Jonah sailed to Tarshish represents the commonwealth of England; the master of the ship represents the king and council; the storm is an analogy of England's troubles; and Jonah is those who are the cause of the tempest. Certainly this is allegory, but it is quite different from claiming, as one medieval preacher did, that the three stones used by David to slay Goliath represent faith, hope, and charity.<sup>3</sup> And it is quite different from using such allegorical applications to substantiate doctrine, in the manner of the medieval preacher who bolstered the concept of Mary's perpetual virginity from the story of the burning bush which was not burnt up.<sup>4</sup>

Perkins resorts very occasionally to an allegorical interpretation which is not thoroughly substantiated in the literature. Explaining why the candlesticks in chap. 1 of the book of Revelation, used to represent the church, are golden, Perkins says that first, it is because gold is the most excellent of all metals, just as the church is the most excellent of all societies.<sup>5</sup> Salvation can be obtained in the church, but not in other societies. The purpose of other societies is to preserve and foster the interests of the church. The church defines and glorifies other societies, for "the principall dignitie of any townes, houshold, or kingdome is this, that they are either Churches of God, or true members thereof."<sup>6</sup> Second, the church is represented by golden candlesticks "because of all societies among men, it is most precious and deare unto

<sup>2</sup>Carr, pp. 459-460.

<sup>3</sup>Woodburn O. Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons: Edited from British Museum MS. Royal 18 B. xxiii*, Early English Text Society, Original Series, no. 209 (London, 1940), p. 135.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 221.

<sup>5</sup>Perkins, 3: 245-246.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 246.

God."<sup>7</sup> Admittedly, the book of Revelation comprises highly symbolic apocalyptic prophecy, but Perkins seems to have read somewhat more into the golden nature of the candlesticks than can be supported, even by the application of his method of interpreting one Bible passage from others which deal with the same theme.

Perkins allegorizes the reason for the choice of Ephesus as the first of the seven churches to which messages were sent by John the Revelator (Rev. 2:1-7).<sup>8</sup> It was not that the church of Ephesus was given authority over the others, but that Ephesus exceeded the others in riches and estimation. Therefore, Christ wants us to understand "that those people, townes, and cities which excell others in estimation and wealth, should also goe before them in knowledge, obedience, and other graces of God."<sup>9</sup> There is no indication in the text that Ephesus was chosen first in view of its wealth and importance, or that the spiritual message which Perkins deduces is in any way intended. But this kind of allegory is certainly not at all characteristic of Perkins's exegetical method.

## 2. *Typology*

On the other hand, typology, in which a scriptural passage is seen to point forward to later biblical applications, is relatively common to Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins. Hooper refers to the rites and ceremonies of the Jews as types of the work of Christ for man.<sup>10</sup> He uses the book of Hebrews in making his applications.<sup>11</sup> Jonah's confinement in the belly of the whale is a type of Christ's period in the grave (Matt 12:39, 40).<sup>12</sup>

Cartwright recognizes the dividing of the land of Canaan among the Israelite tribes as a type of the inheritance to be given to Christian believers.<sup>13</sup> He uses the rebellion of Israel in the wilderness as a type of the defection of Christians who, like their ancient counterparts, will be denied entry into the promised land.<sup>14</sup> Cartwright speaks of the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic law as the A-B-C which was designed to prepare mankind for the Gospel era. The ceremonies "were the

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 261.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Carr, p. 448.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 487.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 490.

<sup>13</sup>Cartwright, pp. 47-48.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

moral law.<sup>30</sup> The ceremonial ceased to have significance when type met antitype at the death of Christ. The judicial was designed only for the nation of Israel. But the moral law, the Ten Commandments, is perpetually binding upon Christians.

In answer to the question as to the perpetuity of the Ten Commandments in view of the change of the sabbath day from the seventh to the eighth day, Perkins stressed that the principle of the sabbath still applies: A seventh day was still being kept, he felt—albeit the day which the apostles instituted as the sabbath of the Christian church.<sup>31</sup> Despite what he felt was a justifiable change, “no creature may dispense with the law of God. Mens lawes may be abrogated and changed, but Gods law even in the least part thereof, must stand for ever, till it be accomplished to the full.”<sup>32</sup> Perkins’s typological exegesis, like that of Protestants in general at the time, allowed for no abrogation of the moral law as adhered to by the Jews.

### 3. *Literal Exposition of Scripture*

The most common mode of preaching practiced by Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins was expository. The preacher took a book or a chapter of the Bible and interpreted it phrase by phrase for his congregation. The concern was first to explicate the occasion and purpose for the writing of the book or chapter, and then to state clearly the meaning of each phrase in context. Characteristically, the biblical text was used as the doorway to discussion of those matters, doctrinal or practical, which the preacher deemed important for his contemporary Englishmen. Hence, even though the method of interpretation was literal, quite often motifs were introduced which had no real relationship to the particular phrase being considered at the time.

The method can be well illustrated from Hooper’s series, *An Oversight and Deliberation upon the Holy Prophet Jonas*. After quoting the first and second verses of the book of Jonah, Hooper proceeded to the discussion of the time, place, and particular setting in which Jonah’s ministry was carried on.<sup>33</sup> These matters, he told his congregation, could be discovered in the fourth book of Kings (2 Kings in the English

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Carr, p. 446.



Bible), chap. 14. Jonah was called of God to go to Nineveh. The point, Hooper said, was "that no man can or may teach truly the word of God, but he be called ordinarily, or extraordinarily."<sup>34</sup> A minister is called ordinarily by the church when there is no corruption in doctrine or in the administration of the sacraments. The call is extraordinary when the preacher or prophet is called by God quite independently of the action of an apostate church. E.g., Amos, Jonah, Jeremiah, Moses, and Paul were called by God, despite the incapacity of the contemporary ecclesiastical authorities to recognize and convey the call.<sup>35</sup>

A discussion of Jonah's call became the pathway to Hooper's statement concerning the significance of the divine call to the ministry. It was this Puritan doctrine of the call, in opposition to the Anglican practice by which men sought preferment, or were appointed by secular authorities, which was one factor drastically altering their overall concept of the church.

Jonah was instructed to present a warning of coming destruction to all the people of Nineveh, Hooper pointed out, and Isaiah and Jeremiah likewise conveyed unpopular messages. "This is the note and mark to know the bishops and ministers of God from the ministers of the devil, by the preaching tongue of the gospel, and not by shaving, clipping, vestments, and outward apparel."<sup>36</sup> The exposition of the first few verses of the book of Jonah required no such reference to clerical garb, but Hooper was not merely concerned to interpret a Bible book. He gave plausibility to his particular interests by introducing them in the midst of a scriptural exposition. The exegetical method is one of analogy. The text is interpreted literally first, and then a sixteenth-century situation is dwelt upon. Sometimes the modern application is more or less relevant to the text; at other times it is quite unrelated.

Cartwright's method is similar. He begins his homiletical *Commentary Vpon the Epistle of Saint Paule written to the Colossians* by drawing from the text the occasion of Paul's writing.<sup>37</sup> From the book of Colossians itself he concludes that the people of Colossae had responded to the preaching of the Gospel but had subsequently been deceived by philosophy and by anachronistic Jewish ceremonialism.<sup>38</sup> Cartwright divides the Epistle into two parts: "the first and second Chapters are of

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 447.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 448.

<sup>37</sup>Cartwright, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

doctrine, the other of manners."<sup>39</sup> This, he says, follows the usual Pauline procedure of presenting first the principal grounds of religion, followed by relevant exhortations for the people. In the actual verse-by-verse exposition of the book of Colossians, Cartwright spends considerable time paraphrasing each text.

Unless the thought content of the particular text warranted further comment, Cartwright confined himself to the paraphrase. But he often applied the biblical material to doctrinal and practical matters. His comments on Col 1:21, 22 are a case in point. He first read the passage in an English translation. This he followed with the usual paraphrase. The Colossians, he said, were reconciled to God through Christ.<sup>40</sup> They were now able to live blameless lives. In the two verses he spelled out two major points: (1) "A particular application of the common benefits of Christs redemption unto the Colossians." (2) "An exhortation to perseverance, that they may bee truely partakers of that redemption."<sup>41</sup> The relevant instruction for his auditors followed. The question was whether they too were assured of the reconciliation enjoyed by the Colossians.<sup>42</sup> Cartwright's point was doctrinal as well as experiential. His hearers were to know that Paul taught the certainty of redemption to the believer and to enjoy personally that inner sense of assurance. The obvious attempt was to counteract papal teaching on this subject: "This serueth to confute the Papists, which say that this is a presumptuous doctrine to bee assured of our salvation. But we see the Apostle dealeth otherwise to the Colossians, for he assureth the Colossians of their redemption."<sup>43</sup>

The literal interpretation of the text led to discussion of contemporary situations and problems which may or may not have been directly related to the Pauline material. In this particular instance, Cartwright proceeded to answer the obvious question which would be raised by his opponents. How could Paul know the certainty of salvation for the Colossians, "seeing there are so many deceits, and turnings of Hypocrisy in a mans heart, that a man can hardly know any thing of certaine in himselfe."<sup>44</sup> His answer involved an assertion of the doctrine

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., pp. 72-73.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

of election. Wherever the Gospel is preached, there are some who are "certainly called and elected."<sup>45</sup> Yet the concept of election is not discussed in the passage he was interpreting. Nevertheless, Cartwright's point that "wherever the Gospell is preached, there is a Church planted," is suggested in the passage (Col 1:18-22). The relevant implication which he drew was that corruption within the church does not disqualify it as a Christian church, for God has within it some who are experiencing the certainty of salvation.<sup>46</sup> For this reason, Cartwright rejected the separatism of the Brownists.

The expository preaching of Perkins followed closely the method of Hooper and Cartwright. The aim was to interpret a passage phrase by phrase on the basis of the immediate context, in a manner consistent with the overall teaching of Scripture and relevant to the problems of sixteenth-century Englishmen. Perkins's attempt to structure his sermons by strict conformity to the thought content of the biblical material rendered his sermon style and exegetical method somewhat similar to those of Andrewes.

Perkins's series of sermons in Cambridge, which were later collected into *A godly and learned Exposition or Commentary upon the three First Chapters of the Revelation*, gives us an interesting insight into his mode of prophetic interpretation. After summarizing the contents of Revelation, chaps. 1-3, he dwelt on one verse at a time, interpreting the symbolism and applying the material to the doctrinal, ecclesiastical, and ethical issues of his own day.<sup>47</sup> Since the book of Revelation is highly symbolic apocalyptic literature, Perkins was confronted with the need to find a plausible biblical interpretation of the symbols. He did this by looking for OT and NT antecedents of the symbolism, a method of interpretation which to a great extent prevails among twentieth-century expositors.<sup>48</sup> For instance, he used the white hair of Christ (Rev 1:14) as a symbol of his eternity of existence. As evidence, Perkins cited Dan 7:9, which speaks of the "Ancient of days" as having

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Perkins, 3: 208-222.

<sup>48</sup>Cf., e.g., Henry Barclay Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1906, 1968); R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1920); William Barclay, *The Revelation of John*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1959); George Eldon Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1972); Leon Morris, *The Revelation of St. John* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969); J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, AB 38 (Garden City, N.Y., 1975).

hair as white as wool.<sup>49</sup> He also cited John 1:1, which identifies Christ, the Word, as having been in the beginning with God.

When a satisfactory biblical antecedent was not readily forthcoming, Perkins used his imagination. He provided a very plausible interpretation of the stars in the right hand of Christ (Rev 1:16, 20). He argued that these "angels" or "messengers" are the ministers of the church who are protected and sustained by Christ.<sup>50</sup> His interpretation of the "Nicolaitanes" (Rev 2:6, 14, 15) took cognizance of the linguistic connection between vss. 14 and 15 in chap. 2 of Revelation, and of the consequent identification of the lifestyle of Balaam with that of the Nicolaitans. But Perkins chose to follow the early-church tradition that the Nicolaitans were Gnostic heretics who took their name from Nicholas, one of the seven deacons (Acts 6), and who practiced immorality and idolatry.<sup>51</sup>

Consistently Perkins looked for fulfillments of the prophecy of the seven churches (Rev 2, 3) in the apostolic or the immediate post-apostolic era, but he used the situations faced by the churches in the Roman province of Asia as analogous to the problems confronting the Anglican Church of the Elizabethan era. The prediction that the church of Smyrna would suffer affliction for ten days (Rev 2:10), Perkins treated as a bona fide prognostication of a short period of persecution for that Asian church. But he also saw it as a warning to the church of his own day that, before the eschatological climax, there would be suffering for the true people of God.<sup>52</sup>

This twofold application of the prophecy—literally for the apostolic or post-apostolic period, and analogically to other eras—enabled Perkins to condemn those contemporary doctrines and religious mores, whether papal or Anglican, which he thought to be unbiblical. He applied Rev 2:13 to Pergamos, "I know thy workes, and where thou dwellest, even where Satans throne is."<sup>53</sup> Satan's throne was the ancient city of Pergamos because it was a gentile center of superstition and idolatry. But Satan's throne is anywhere that anti-Christian principles have prevailed. More recently, "in the dayes of Popery, every Church and chappell were thrones of Satan wherein were erected

<sup>49</sup>Perkins, 3: 248.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., pp. 251, 260.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., pp. 278, 297, 299.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., pp. 289-290.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 292.

Images and holy roods for the worship of Saints, whither the people came to worship from countrey to countrey."<sup>54</sup> And in his own time, Perkins recognized Satan's throne in dicing houses, brothels, and those homes where people did not practice true religion.

The "woman Jezebel" (Rev 2:20) Perkins thought to be a literal woman in the church of Thyatira who taught false doctrine and committed herself to immorality and idolatry.<sup>55</sup> But he treated her as a symbol of those in the Anglican Church who were deceived by false teaching and who had capitulated to the sins of the flesh.<sup>56</sup> She also represented "Popish recusants" who dissociated themselves entirely from the Anglican Church.<sup>57</sup>

Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins were exponents of the literal interpretation of Scripture. Where the biblical material they were using involved allegory and symbolism, they looked for scriptural interpretations. Nevertheless, their applications to the problems of their own day tended to go beyond the demands of the phrase-by-phrase exposition which they favored. The result was the introduction into their sermons of motifs which were either indirectly related or not related at all to the particular segment of the biblical text which they happened to be expounding. In relation to the sixteenth-century orthodox Anglicans, these three Puritans were ultra-literalists, in the sense that they were not satisfied to give Bible passages their obvious meanings in context, but, to a greater degree than did the Anglicans, sought to see their own era, as well as their own biases, as the subjects of the scriptural messages.

#### 4. *Other Features of Puritan Exegesis*

There is little else to be said regarding the exegetical methods of the sixteenth-century Puritan preachers. It is clear that Cartwright and Perkins were familiar with the biblical languages, and they very occasionally alluded to them. For the most part, however, they used the English Bible in their sermons.<sup>58</sup> Even though they may have used Greek and Hebrew in their personal study, rarely were these languages resorted to as authority for interpretations which they presented publicly.

Occasionally there is in these sermons a glaring misapplication of a

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 313.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp. 313-314.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 314.

<sup>58</sup>Cartwright, pp. 70, 184-185, 204, 243; Perkins, 3: 218, 354, 411, 570.

Bible passage. Without explaining his millennial theory, Cartwright used the binding of Satan for a thousand years (Rev 20:1-3) as a reference to the devil's purposes being frustrated for ten centuries after the launching of the early Christian church.<sup>59</sup> How Cartwright could reconcile this interpretation with the context of the passage in the book of Revelation, and with his own concept of the medieval church, is difficult to imagine.<sup>60</sup> Speaking of the events on the mount of transfiguration (Matt 17:1-3), Perkins declared, "And Moses and Elias assumed their bodies in the Mount with Christ in his transfiguration: But yet they laid them downe againe to the former misery of corruption for a time."<sup>61</sup> There is no such suggestion in the Synoptic accounts (Matt 17:1-13; Mark 9:2-13; Luke 9:28-36). Perkins obviously read his view of immortal disembodied souls into the circumstances of Moses and Elijah before, during, and after the transfiguration.

#### *5. Use of the Church Fathers*

There are remarkably few appeals to the early-church fathers in these sermons. Hooper argued from Augustine and the Fathers of the first eight centuries against the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Mass.<sup>62</sup> But Perkins seemed to be speaking for his Puritan brethren when he asserted: "It cannot be denied, but many of the fathers were worthy members of Gods Church: but if the fountaine be left, the ministerie will soone be tainted with the filthy puddles of mens inventions."<sup>63</sup>

The Fathers erred in their traditions, Perkins claimed, and very rarely in the hundreds of pages of his sermons is there any reference to them.<sup>64</sup> Nor are their writings any more frequently cited in Cartwright's series on the Epistle to the Colossians. The history of classical antiquity is likewise largely left out of these sermons. Very occasionally there is a passing reference.<sup>65</sup>

The attitude of these preachers to ancient philosophy was not entirely negative. Cartwright rejected the opinion of the philosophers that knowledge of God is available apart from revelation, and that man has

<sup>59</sup>Cartwright, p. 64.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp. 29, 40.

<sup>61</sup>Perkins, 3: 222.

<sup>62</sup>Carr, pp. 515, 520-524.

<sup>63</sup>Perkins, 3: 239.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 493.

<sup>65</sup>Carr, p. 490; Cartwright, p. 178.

some virtue by nature.<sup>66</sup> But he admitted a subsidiary role for philosophy as the handmaid of theology:

He [Paul] biddeth them take heed of Phylosophy, which is a glorious name, signifying the loue of wisdom. But the Apostle doth not take away the use of Phylosophy. For if it be well used, it is a good handmaid for to help the Ministers, if so be it be not used to make a glose, and a shew to the world.<sup>67</sup>

Philosophy, declared Cartwright, is not to be used "hand in hand" with the Bible, nor are doctrines to be drawn from it. Only insofar as it assists ministers in the true understandings of the Bible is it to be used.<sup>68</sup>

Perkins's statements on the subject were more negative. The philosophers and wise men of this world were wrong to identify happiness with pleasure, or wealth, or civil virtue. Only the Bible has the secret of happiness; "and hereby we have just occasion to magnifie the bookes of Scripture, farre above all humane writings, because they doe fully set out unto us the nature and estate of true felicity, which no humane worke could ever doe."<sup>69</sup>

Never do Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins have recourse to philosophy as an aid in interpreting a Bible passage. Their exegetical method was the natural outgrowth of extreme biblicism, associated with the compulsion to provide authority for their religious world view.

### *6. Summary and Conclusions*

We are now in a position to summarize the findings of our analysis regarding the exegetical methods of Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins. The belief 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, and they denigrated mere human literature by comparison. Their presuppositions in regard to the inspiration of the Bible resulted in exegetical ultraliteralism.

<sup>66</sup>Cartwright, pp. 36-37.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., pp. 121-122.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>69</sup>Perkins, 3: 5-6.

There is very little medieval-type allegory in the sermons of Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins. Even so, just as the medieval preachers used allegory to bend the meaning of the Bible to their particular theological and religious biases, so the sixteenth-century Puritans employed their ultra-literal hermeneutic "to prove" their predilections. Their method of interpretation was vastly different from that of their Roman Catholic predecessors, but they also tended to warp the contextual meanings of passages. Typology was quite common in the sermons of Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins, even though their applications were at times too largely influenced by issues external to the Bible passages they used.

The most characteristic method of preaching adopted by these three preachers was expository. They publicly interpreted Bible books phrase by phrase. The particular phrase under discussion was often used as the catalyst for the introduction of contemporary issues which were either indirectly or not at all related to the particular Bible text. Using this method, the preachers were able to condemn those contemporary doctrines and religious mores, whether papal or Anglican, which they did not like, and at the same time make it appear that the Bible supported their aversion.

There is relatively little use of the early-church fathers in their sermons, because the preachers had less respect for extrabiblical commentary than did the orthodox Anglicans. Also, they felt that philosophy was to be used only if it assisted the student in the true understanding of the Bible, certainly not as an independent or supplementary source of truth. Never do these preachers use it as an aid in biblical exegesis. Any use or allusion to the biblical languages is very rare in these sermons.

Although it has not been my primary purpose to deal with the subject matter or content of the sermons (rather I have treated the exegetical methods of the preachers), it will be appropriate here, in closing, to make at least brief mention of this matter. For instance, Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins bitterly opposed the polity and worship of the papal Church and resented those aspects of Roman Catholicism that remained in the Church of England. These papal remnants within Anglicanism were not considered matters of indifference at all; because they were not mentioned in the Bible, they were positive evils which must be weeded out at all costs. The true church of Christ is not the visible organization but the invisible church of the elect. Since it



is possible that important bishops and clerics within the visible church may not belong to the elect, it follows logically that the elect must be given a greater voice in the decisions and appointments of the church. Thus, the theology of predestination pointed away from episcopalianism to some kind of presbyterian or congregationalist polity. And the implications of the Puritan teaching regarding the call to the ministry involved a modification of the episcopal system and the organizational procedures of the Anglican Church.

Further, Hooper and Perkins did not oppose the monarch's headship or governorship of the Anglican Church. But they clearly wanted it to be exercised within the framework of scriptural teaching as they perceived it. According to our three Puritan preachers, state authorities were to foster the life of the church by disciplining the clergy and providing secular punishment for those laymen who were judged in church courts to be recalcitrant. All monarchical and magisterial conduct was to be directed by Bible principle as outlined by the church.

The people, including the clergy, were to render strict obedience to secular law and never to rebel in word or deed. The ethical demands of the church enforced by the state were designed to mold individuals and society into that spiritually perfect form required by God. The aim was preparation of the elect for the hereafter. True doctrine was an important ingredient in the process. These preachers were orthodox Anglicans in their understanding of the natures of God and Christ, the sacrificial atonement, the existence of a personal devil who led man into the original sin, justification by faith alone, the validity of only two sacraments, the immortality of the soul, the second advent of Christ at the end of the world to usher the redeemed into heaven and to commit the damned to the sufferings of hell for eternity. They differed from orthodox Anglicans in their great stress on spiritual perfection as a definite goal to be sought, and on the doctrine of double predestination.

As in their explication of the nature of the church in relation to the state, so also on doctrinal issues it was not so much the specific differences between these Puritans and orthodox Anglicans which produced such strong reaction and even division. These resulted from the greater amount of emphasis the Puritans gave to motifs which they held in common with Anglicans and to doctrines which, though not accepted by the English Establishment, were by no means unrepresented in Reformation theology generally.

Sixteenth-century English Puritanism as represented by the sermons of Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins depended on an ultra-literalistic interpretation of the Bible, which was utilized to imply the need for changes in the theology and practice of the Anglican Church—changes which the Establishment was not prepared to make. Moreover, by largely ignoring the methods and mores of humanism, Puritanism, through certain of its emphases, tended to point sixteenth-century Englishmen back in the direction of medieval culture.

## THE CALENDARS OF EBLA PART III: CONCLUSION

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In my two preceding studies of the Old and New Calendars of Ebla (see *AUSS* 18 [1980]: 127-137, and 19 [1981]: 59-69), interpretations for the meanings of 22 out of 24 of their month names have been suggested. From these studies, it is evident that the month names of the two calendars can be analyzed quite readily from the standpoint of comparative Semitic linguistics. In other words, the calendars are truly Semitic, not Sumerian. Sumerian logograms were used for the names of two months of the Old Calendar and three months of the New Calendar, but it is most likely that the scribes at Ebla read these logograms with a Semitic equivalent. In the cases of the three logograms in the New Calendar these equivalents are reasonably clear, but the meanings of the names of the seventh and eighth months in the Old Calendar remain obscure.

Not only do these month names lend themselves to a ready analysis on the basis of comparative Semitic linguistics, but, as we have also seen, almost all of them can be analyzed satisfactorily just by comparing them with the vocabulary of biblical Hebrew. Given some simple and well-known phonetic shifts, Hebrew cognates can be suggested for some 20 out of 24 of the month names in these two calendars. Some of the etymologies I have suggested may, of course, be wrong; but even so, the rather full spectrum of Hebrew cognates available for comparison probably would not be diminished greatly. Considering the fact that these two vocabularies are separated by more than a millennium, this correspondence seems striking. While other Semitic languages will undoubtedly have their input into such studies, the future linguistic studies in this area probably will involve developing especially informative reciprocal relationships between Hebrew, Ugaritic, Eblaite, and Sumerian. As I understand it, there are, in the bilingual dictionaries, more Sumerian words than Eblaite that are poorly understood.

The foregoing summarizes the analyses provided in my earlier articles. In this concluding part of the series I will probe some further matters and raise some further intriguing questions regarding (1) the differences between the two Eblaite calendars, (2) possible reasons for the adoption of the New Calendar, (3) the translation and meaning of the summary for the New Calendar, (4) the significance of the extraordinary length of the New Calendar text, and (5) a fascinating parallel of its 7-year span (or cycle) with the Hebrew Sabbatical Year.

### *1. Differences Between the Old and New Calendars*

As far as the calendars themselves are concerned, the contrast between them is sharp. Half of the month names in the Old Calendar are taken from observations on the cycle of nature, especially those features that affect agriculture, and the other half are derived from man's participation in that cycle. Not one god name appears in this list, and none of these month names taken from nature are deified. By way of contrast, half of the months in the New Calendar are named directly after gods. Wherever their functions are recognizable, they operate in the realms of nature and agriculture.

The other half of the month names in the New Calendar may be connected with these gods indirectly. I have suggested that their meanings should predicate something about the activities of the gods who participated in this cycle. This point is somewhat speculative, but it seems to me that it fits the meanings of these names and their relations to the overarching scheme of the New Calendar better than leaving them as a patchwork of intermingled natural and religious observations concerning the world. Thus, in the New Calendar the aspects of the natural world referred to as such in the Old Calendar were connected with their appropriate gods or deified. This can be seen in the following comparison:

OLD CALENDAR	NEW CALENDAR
Month of:	Month of:
I. Whirling (Winds)	The Lord, the chief god Dagan
II. Plowing or Seeding	Sacrifice to the (rain-) god Ashtabi
III. Rain	The Coming of Ashtabi

IV. Clouds	Sacrifice to the (storm-) god Hadad
V. Shadows	Hiding of the sun-god Sipiš
VI. Drying	Lighting of the sun-god Sipiš
VII. Unidentified	Coming forth of the sun-god Sipiš
VIII. Unidentified	Provisioning by the storehouse-god (Kura?)
IX. Man (as harvester)	The harvest-god Adama
X. Cutting	Harvesting by Adama
XI. Sheep (?)	The goddess Asherah (?)
XII. Heat	Sacrifice to the god Chemosh

## 2. *Why Was the New Calendar Adopted?*

Since the contrast between these two calendars is so striking, the question arises: Why was the New Calendar adopted? Why this shift in interest from natural to religious connections for the calendar? Texts published in the future may answer this question more satisfactorily, but even then there is no guarantee that we will ever know for sure. At present we can only speculate.

The first possibility is that there was a true religious revolution or reformation at Ebla during the reign of Ibbi-Sipiš. G. Pettinato seems sympathetic to this view. What we need in order to confirm or deny this theory is the publication of some offering texts from the reigns of the preceding kings of Ebla. Then their sacrificial lists could be compared with the four now published,<sup>1</sup> to see if there was a shift in the spectrum of gods to whom sacrifices were offered.

Another possibility for the shift in calendars might be a more mechanistic causality, e.g., events in the natural world at the time. In this case, the time from which these texts come has to be established. This has been a matter of considerable debate, with Pettinato dating them around 2500 B.C. on the basis of their script, while P. Matthiae has dated them around 2300 B.C. on the basis of the Amuq I pottery found in the palace together with the tablets. At a symposium on third-millennium chronology, held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in early December

<sup>1</sup>G. Pettinato, *Culto ufficiale ad Ebla durante il regno di Ibbi-Sipiš*, *Orientalis Antiqui Collectio* 16 (Rome, 1979).

1979, the palaeographers seemed to be more willing to yield on this point than were the archaeologists.<sup>2</sup> Working with that lower date we may note that this dynasty probably lasted for a century at least. Ebrium alone ruled for 28 years.<sup>3</sup> With Ibbi-Sipiš as the last ruler of this dynasty, Ebrium could be dated as late as the 23rd century B.C. This dates him around the time when the Old Kingdom came to an end in Egypt and the Dynasty of Akkad came to an end in Mesopotamia. With these chronological parameters estimated, we can look at the course of events in the natural world at that time.

Egypt underwent a process of desiccation during the third millennium, as is revealed by the steady decline in the height of the annual rise of the Nile from Dynasty I through Dynasty V.<sup>4</sup> This decline apparently reached a crucial level around the 22nd century, for then famine texts began to appear in Egyptian records and they continued to appear sporadically for a couple of centuries thereafter.<sup>5</sup> Some of these famine conditions may well have been caused by the political instability of the First Intermediate Period, but the recurring references to low Nile levels and famine conditions connected with them indicate that not all such developments can be attributed solely to socio-political factors.

Similar conditions are thought to have developed at the same time in Western Asia. K. W. Butzer has noted that a large number of sites on the Mesopotamian steppe appear to have been abandoned after the middle of the third millennium.<sup>6</sup> The conclusions of Thorkild Jacobsen and R. M. Adams from their study of soil salinity and crop types should be mentioned in this connection:<sup>7</sup> (1) Around 2450 B.C. the temple surveyors of Lagash reported the development of patches of saline soil in the fields. A comparison with similar records from around 2100 B.C. indicates that this

<sup>2</sup>From Symposium papers as yet unpublished at the time of this writing.

<sup>3</sup>See n. 21, below.

<sup>4</sup>B. Bell, "The Oldest Records of Nile Floods," *Geographic Journal* 4 (1970): 569-573.

<sup>5</sup>Idem, "The Dark Ages in Ancient History: I. The First Dark Age in Egypt," *AJA* 75 (1971): 1-26.

<sup>6</sup>K. W. Butzer, *Quaternary Stratigraphy and Climate in the Near East* (Bonn, 1958), pp. 116-118.

<sup>7</sup>T. Jacobsen and R. M. Adams, "Salt and Silt in Ancient Mesopotamian Agriculture," *Science* 128 (1958): 1251-1258.

development was progressive. (2) A study of grain impressions in pottery, excavated at Girsu near Lagash from the period around 2500 B.C. indicates, when compared with earlier and later materials, a steady decline in the percentage of the wheat crop because it was not sufficiently resistant to the progressive salination of the soil. (3) The fertility of the soil declined markedly at Girsu, where the yield of the fields dropped in half from the middle to the end of the third millennium. Jacobsen and Adams did not connect this progressive salination with the development of warmer and drier climatological conditions that appear to have occurred through this period, but J. Neumann and R. Sigrist have now suggested a mechanism whereby the two may have been related.<sup>8</sup>

In their own study, Neumann and Sigrist have examined the dates of the grain harvest in Mesopotamia. In the late Old Babylonian period of the first half of the second millennium, when it is thought that conditions were warmer and drier, the grain crops were harvested about a month earlier than in Neo-Babylonian times more than a millennium later, when cooler and wetter conditions had returned.<sup>9</sup> C. E. P. Brooks has argued for an intense drought farther East, in Iran, around 2200 B.C. In his view this was the reason for the abandonment of such sites as Anau in northern Iran and Susa in Elam around this time.<sup>10</sup> An attempt has been made to identify the impact of these climatic factors upon Syria during this period, but it has not been as successful as studies of other regions, possibly because of the nature of the evidence involved.<sup>11</sup> For northern Palestine, A. Horowitz has now postulated a hot and dry climate between 2400 and 2100 B.C. on the basis of radiocarbon-calibrated pollen samples.<sup>12</sup>

These historico-climatological studies of conditions in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, and Palestine converge to suggest that the second half of the third millennium, the time from which the

<sup>8</sup>J. Neumann and R. M. Sigrist, "Harvest Dates in Ancient Mesopotamia as Possible Indicators of Climatic Variations," *Climatic Change* 1 (1978): 241-242.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 243-248.

<sup>10</sup>C. E. P. Brooks, *Climate Through the Ages* (New York, 1970), p. 319.

<sup>11</sup>A. Haldar, *Who Were the Amorites?* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 40-50.

<sup>12</sup>A. Horowitz, "Human Settlement Pattern in Israel," *Expedition* 20 (1978): 55-

Eblaite texts originate, was a time of progressive desiccation for the Near East generally. The area covered by these conditions suggests that conditions for raising crops in north-central Syria became progressively less favorable throughout this period. In view of this general course of events it would only have been natural for the residents there to become concerned about gaining more optimally favorable conditions for the pursuit of agriculture that was so vital to their survival. Whence came these conditions? From the gods! In such circumstances it would have been natural to become increasingly preoccupied with the gods whose functions directly had influenced such matters to develop. The appearance of their names in the New Calendar of Ebla could have been one symptom of such an increasing religious interest. The discovery of the royal archive from the Early Bronze Age at Ebla now opens up the possibility of searching contemporaneous written records for direct and indirect written evidence relating to the effect of climatic factors upon the inhabitants of this region in the second half of the third millennium.

### 3. *Translation and Meaning of the New-Calendar-Text Summary*

The main text, which provides the most extensive documentation for the New Calendar, may now be singled out for two concluding comments, since Pettinato appears to have misinterpreted its summary, and because—at least at the time of his initial publication—he seems to have missed the reason for its extraordinary length. The first matter, the point about interpreting the summary, will be treated here; and the significance of the extraordinary length will be dealt with in the next section.

The question of interpreting the summary has to do with the way in which that summary should be translated and understood. In order to understand the summary, some mention must be made of the year dates that are found in the text.

Pettinato has noted that a date appears at the end of the last column of this tablet where the “Year of the Expedition to Ḫur-batum” is mentioned.<sup>13</sup> Another date of this type occurs in the fifth

<sup>13</sup>G. Pettinato, “Il Calendario di Ebla al Tempo del Re Ibbi-Sipiš sulla base di TM.75.G.427,” *Afo* 25 (1976): 2, 23.



column from the beginning where "Year 1, Expedition to Šidalu" is mentioned.<sup>14</sup> In the line following the date of Year 2 the place name of [D]uzalu appears,<sup>15</sup> which probably should be understood as the name of the year which was named for expedition. None of the other years in the text are named, but all of them are numbered. Thus, the Eblaites not only numbered their years, but on occasion they also named them after important events that occurred during those years, as was also the practice in Mesopotamia. The expeditions mentioned appear to have been peaceful, being political or commercial rather than military in nature. One to three such undertakings are mentioned in the entries for each year, and the last four expeditions went to the city of Mari on the Euphrates.

Contrary to the impression given by Pettinato,<sup>16</sup> the date at the end of the tablet does not name the year in which this record was written. The entry for Year 3 is where the expedition to Ḫurbatum is mentioned,<sup>17</sup> even though this year was not named for that expedition. That this was the year referred to at the end of the tablet is evident from the fact that the date formula summarizes the amount of rations given out over the last 5-year period. The summary at the end of the tablet is divided into two sections which cover the first 2 years and the last 5 years of this 7-year period, and they should be translated in a manner which indicates that point:

<i>Pettinato's transliteration</i> <sup>18</sup>	<i>My translation</i>
Column XV, lines:	
1. šu-ni <sup>g</sup> in 1 ri-ba <sub>x</sub> 9 li 7 mi 90 zi	Total: 19,790 (Gubar) of meal
2. mu-túm	distributed
3. é-en	to the palace of the king
4. DIŠ mu	from the Year of
5. ni-[k]as <sub>4</sub>	the expedition to
6. broken	[Šidalu] (= Year 1)
6'. [ li-]im šik <sub>x</sub> gu-bar	[ X ],000 Gubar of fine meal

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 6, 27.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 22-23.

7'. mu-túm	distributed
8'. é-en	to the palace of the king,
9'. še-ba	as provisions for
10'. 5 mu	5 years,
11'. DIŠ mu	from the Year of
12'. ñi-kas <sub>4</sub>	the expedition to
13'. <i>hur-ba-tum</i> <sup>ki</sup>	Ḫurbatum (= Year 3)
14'. šu-ba <sub>3</sub> -ti	were received by
15'. gurus	the (royal) dependents.

This text records entries kept for two different types of rations. During the years 1 and 2 those rations were distributed as *zi*, which Pettinato has translated as “meal, flour.” According to the entries for years 3 through 7, however, the provisions distributed were given out as *šik<sub>x</sub>*, which Pettinato translates as “fine meal” or “fine flour.” The figures given in the summary at the end of the tablet are totaled up according to the two different types of rations distributed. Consequently, the two totals given in the summary cover two successive periods of 2 and 5 years each. The first total—19,790 Gubar of (regular) meal—refers to the provisions distributed during the first two years recorded at the beginning of the text. The sign *zi* occurs 100 times in the entries for those first two years, but does not occur thereafter.

When adding the individual amounts of meal distributed during those two years, the total comes to just 2,000 Gubar short of the total of 19,790 given at the end of the tablet for the distribution for this kind of provisions. Allowing for breaks in earlier entries, these totals correspond reasonably well. Thus, this total must start with Year 1, which was the year of the expedition to Šidalu, according to the reference in its entry. Accordingly, the name of Šidalu should be restored in line 6 at the end of the first half of this final summary. Prepositions are used sparingly in this type of statistical outline writing. The context and comparison with the earlier columns of the text make it evident that the preposition “from” or “beginning with” should be understood, as at the beginning of line 4 and line 11, since the quantity of grain distributed in Year 2 is included with that of Year 1 in the total for the first half of the summary.

The provisions distributed from Year 3 to Year 7 were distributed as *šik<sub>x</sub>*, and this sign occurs about 150 times in the entries for

those 5 years. The number of Gubar distributed of this type of meal is missing due to damage of the text. The beginning of this period should be dated "(from) the Year of the Expedition to Ḫurbatum." The only reference to an expedition to Ḫurbatum in the text occurs in the entry for Year 3. Year 3 must, therefore, be the year referred to in lines 11'-13' in the second section of the summary. Thus the 5-year period mentioned in the second half of the final summary started with Year 3 and ran to Year 7. Why the Eblaites changed over to distributing this type of meal through this period is not clear, but the way they registered the totals in the summary to this text is clear.

#### 4. *The Extraordinary Length of the New-Calendar Text*

We now turn to the matter of the extraordinary length of this text which has provided the most extensive documentation for the New Calendar, covering a total of 7 years on a month-by-month basis for its disbursements of supplies. The importance of this length of time can be grasped by comparing it with the periods of time documented in the other administrative texts Pettinato has mentioned thus far.

The documentation for the Old Calendar is somewhat more detailed than the one available for the New Calendar, as far as secondary texts are concerned. The three texts published, which utilize the Old Calendar, cover periods of 7, 10, and 12 consecutive months respectively. For the purpose of establishing the order of the months in this calendar, Pettinato has listed the month names attested in 18 other texts.<sup>19</sup> The number of month names attested in these 18 texts runs from 3 to 9. Assuming that they are listed in the proper order, the time periods covered can be estimated by counting through the months of the calendar. From this it is evident that they cover periods from 3 to 35 months. Of the 21 Old Calendar texts mentioned thus far, therefore, the longest with consecutive month names covers 12 months (TM.75.G.1630), and the longest period of time covered by one of them is 35 months (TM.75.G.2235).

The way in which the data for the New Calendar have been published makes it possible to determine only the number of

<sup>19</sup>G. Pettinato, "Il calendario Semitico del 3. millennio ricostruito sulla base dei testi di Ebla," *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977): 276-277.

month names attested in the individual texts; the time periods they cover cannot be estimated. Of the 25 texts listed, the most abbreviated text lists two months, and the most inclusive one lists 29.<sup>20</sup> The text which includes 29 month names has been presented in transliteration (TM.75.G.522) and its 29 months are consecutive.<sup>21</sup> Putting together the 21 Old Calendar texts with the 25 New Calendar texts gives us a total of 46 texts with which to compare this text, covering 7 years. As for a chronological comparison, the longest of these covers just short of three years, and the most inclusive one contains 29 month names.

We may contrast these findings with the main exemplar of the New Calendar, TM.75.G.427. This text covers 7 calendar years, well over twice as long a period of time as that covered by any of the other 46 texts published or listed. Since those 7 years are covered by listing the months consecutively, 91 month names appear in this text. By way of contrast, its nearest rival can claim only 29 consecutive month names. Thus, this text stands alone in that it covers more than twice as much time as that covered by any of these 46 texts, and it includes more than three times as many month names as any of them.

The question then is, Why—in contrast to all the other texts listed in Pettinato's studies of the Eblaite calendars thus far—was such a lengthy text written in this particular case? The primary source materials with which to answer this question have not been published yet, but they appear to have been referred to in print. Howard LaFay, a writer for the *National Geographic* magazine, interviewed Pettinato in order to collect material for an article on Ebla. In this popular presentation LaFay refers to some remarks that Pettinato made on the subject of kingship at Ebla: "Pettinato has learned that the kings of Ebla—like their Old Testament counterparts—were anointed when they mounted the throne, and that the office was elective rather than hereditary. Ebrum won four seven-year terms and ruled for 28 years. Apparently defeat was gracefully accepted, for records show that ex-kings—still retaining

<sup>20</sup>Pettinato, "Il Calendario di Ebla," p. 31.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

their royal titles—continued to receive rations even after their reigns had ended.”<sup>22</sup>

Putting this comment together with the New Calendar text supplies us with a fairly obvious reason why TM.75.G.427 covers a 7-year period of time; it documents the provisions supplied to the palace and its personnel during the course of one 7-year period of kingship to which Ibbi-Sipiš was elected. Since Ibbi-Sipiš introduced the New Calendar, it is likely that he would have introduced it at the beginning of one of his 7-year periods of kingship. It is possible that the period of kingship recorded by this text could have been the one with which the New Calendar was introduced, but it is also possible that such a change could have come with any of his other terms of kingship, depending upon how long he reigned. (Elective kingship was rare in the ancient world. Jacobsen’s theory of primitive democracy in Mesopotamia might be one example,<sup>23</sup> but some difference of opinion has developed over this idea, and in any event in Ebla it would have functioned quite differently.)

#### *5. An Intriguing Parallel with the Hebrew Sabbatical and Jubilee Years*

The Sabbatical and Jubilee years of the later Israelites offer an interesting comparison, though the Israelite practice was not related to the rule of a monarch. Not only is the time period the same—7 years—, but a somewhat similar theology could have been involved, with the land and people returning to their respective gods at the ends of those time periods.

Furthermore, the Sabbatical Year and the Sabbatical Week bear a resemblance and probable relationship to each other in the Bible. Cuneiform parallels to the biblical Sabbath and the 7-day week have been proposed and discussed in the scholarly literature from time to time. These proposed parallels include the *šapattu* or

<sup>22</sup>H. LaFay, “Ebla: Splendor of an Unknown Empire,” *National Geographic* 154 (1978): 730-759.

<sup>23</sup>T. Jacobsen, “Early Political Development in Mesopotamia,” *ZA* 52 (1957): 91-140.

day of the full moon, the feasts celebrated for the quarters of the moon and their later identification as unlucky days, and the *hamuštum* or 5-day market cycle. A careful examination of these proposed parallels shows that the evidence for any relationship between them and the week and Sabbath of the Israelites appears to be scant indeed. Thus, the Sabbath and the 7-day week that goes with it still stand out as uniquely Israelite in the ancient world prior to the introduction of the planetary week in Hellenistic times.

The appearance now of evidence attesting the 7-year terms of elective kingship at Ebla which bear some resemblance to the Sabbatical Year of the Israelites raises the interesting question of whether the Eblaites could also have been acquainted with the 7-day week. Only after more of the Eblaite tablets have been published, however, can the answer to this tantalizing question be provided.

## THE TWO WITNESSES OF REV 11:3-12

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The two witnesses of Rev 11:3-12, also designated in vs. 4 as "the two olive trees" and "the two lampstands," have most frequently been interpreted as representing two personages—Moses and Elijah, James and John, Peter and Paul, or others.<sup>1</sup> The identification with Moses and Elijah (or with their eschatological counterparts) has been especially tempting because of the mention in vs. 6 of the witnesses' power to turn the waters to blood and to smite the earth with every plague (reminiscent of Moses) and to bring drought (reminiscent of Elijah), coupled with the Jewish belief in an eschatological return of those two prophets (see John 1:21; 6:14; 7:40; Matt 11:14; Mark 9:11; and also Deut 18:15-18 and Mal 4:5).<sup>2</sup>

Another fairly common approach among recent exegetes is to see the two witnesses as somehow representing the Christian church, or at least some segment or aspect of it and its mission. This might be the prophetic vocation of the church, the Jewish and Gentile segments of the early Christian community, the faithful Smyrna and Philadelphia churches, the martyrs within the whole Christian community, the preaching and teaching ministry of the universal church, etc.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For a partial listing of candidates, see J. M. Ford in *Revelation*, AB 38 (New York, 1975), pp. 177-178.

<sup>2</sup>Also we are reminded of the appearance of Elijah and Moses in the transfiguration experience (Mark 9:4), plus the fact that in our text in Rev 11:12 the ascension of the witnesses to heaven may be reminiscent not only of Christ's ascension but of Elijah's (2 Kgs 2:11) and also of the tradition regarding Moses as reflected in the *Assumption of Moses* (cf. Jude 9).

<sup>3</sup>The variety of interpretations along this line is great. Regarding the concept of "the witness of both the Jewish and the Gentile Christians," see Vernard Eller, *The Most Revealing Book of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1974), p. 116. For aspects of the prophetic vocation or preaching and teaching ministry, see Paul S. Minear, *I Saw a New Earth* (Washington, D.C., 1968), pp. 99-103; Thomas S. Kepler, *The Book of Revelation* (New York, 1957), p. 120; J. S. Considine, "The Two Witnesses: Apoc. 11:3-13," *CBQ* 8 (1946): 392. For other variations within this broad approach, see, e.g., G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation* (London, 1974), p. 184; G. B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (New York, 1966), pp. 134-135; Martin Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John* (London, 1940), p. 183; Leon Morris, *The Revelation of St. John: An Introduction and Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969), p. 148; and Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977), p. 223.

Generally overlooked by interpreters in both of the foregoing schools of interpretation is one or more of three essential considerations that will be treated briefly in the following discussion: (1) the broad contextual setting for the two-witnesses pericope, (2) the dynamics of the basic symbolism used in the pericope, and (3) the theological or thematic background that informs the concept of two witnesses in the book of Revelation.

### 1. *The Contextual Setting*

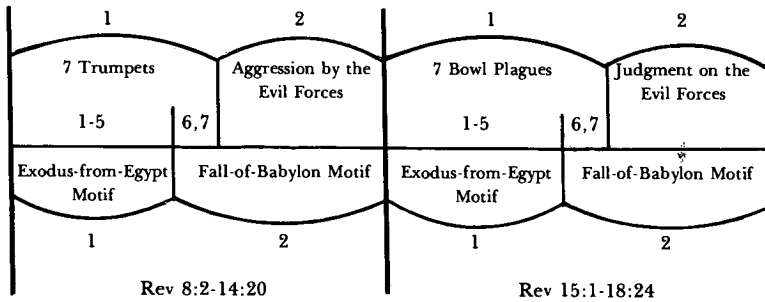
The two-witnesses pericope is a portion of an "interlude" that falls between the sixth and seventh trumpets within the seven-trumpets section of the book of Revelation. The seven trumpets themselves are, in turn, an integral part of a larger section that carries what might well be called the "Exodus-from-Egypt"/"Fall-of-Babylon" motif.<sup>4</sup> In fact, this "Exodus-from-Egypt"/"Fall-of-Babylon" motif underlies two parallel sections of the Revelation, sections that are chiastic counterparts to each other—Rev 8:2-14:20 and Rev 15:1-18:24.<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, both of these two broader sections are *doublets*. In the first section, a septet of seven trumpets is followed by a description of aggression by evil powers; and in the second section, a septet of seven bowls of wrath is followed by a description of judgment on evil powers. However, in both cases there is a "doublet" effect in another way as well: Each section begins with five elements that are patterned after the plagues on ancient *Egypt* at the time of the Israelite Exodus (the first five trumpets and the first five bowls), and then each septet shifts the scene to the *Babylon* motif by introducing "the great river Euphrates" in the sixth trumpet and in the sixth bowl plague (9:14 and 16:12). The *Babylon* motif is thereafter continued throughout the section and is highlighted in the proclamation of Babylon's fall (14:8 and 18:2). Diagrammatically, this twofold "doublet" structure may be set forth as follows:

<sup>4</sup>This motif has been briefly treated earlier in my "Chiastic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 403-404, and *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, Florida, 1979), p. 46.

<sup>5</sup>The overall chiastic structure of the book has been dealt with in the sources mentioned in n. 4, above. See especially *Interpreting*, chap. 5.





Falling within the trumpets portion of the first of these sections, the two-witnesses presentation in Rev 11 must have a direct relationship to the meaning of both of these broader contextual items—the trumpets themselves and the “Exodus-from-Egypt”/“Fall-of-Babylon” motif.

In a sense, these two aspects of the contextual setting merge, for the basic significance of the trumpet symbolism is *warning*, and indeed warning was present for both Egypt and Babylon in the historical experiences here utilized as symbolic backgrounds or prototypes. The plagues on Egypt spelled warning for Pharaoh and the Egyptians (and held forth hope for the Israelites), and the prophetic warnings to Babylon had similar significance prior to Israel's release from the Babylonian captivity.<sup>6</sup> Now, in the Christian context of Rev 11, the two witnesses are also a source of warning—to a “new Egypt”/“new Babylon” that is oppressing God's people.

## 2. Symbol Usage in Rev 11

As we analyze next the symbolism utilized in the two-witnesses pericope of Rev 11, it is important to notice only the dynamics involved, rather than to discuss in detail each individual symbol. As we look broadly at the symbolism in order to ascertain these dynamics, two basic

<sup>6</sup>Regarding Egypt, see Exodus chaps. 7ff.; and regarding Babylon, see especially Jeremiah chaps. 50 and 51. Of interest are the references to “we would have healed Babylon” (Jer 51:9) and “flee from the midst of Babylon” (Jer 50:8; 51:6). It should be noted that in Revelation the paralleling section with the “Exodus-from-Egypt”/“Fall-of-Babylon” motif (Rev 15:1-18:24) is a section where judgment is poured out on the aggressor forces. Thus, the symbolisms of Revelation utilize the prophetic messages regarding ancient Egypt and ancient Babylon in a twofold way: *First*, as *warnings* (in the earlier section, Rev 8:2-14:20), and then as pronouncements of *doom* (in this later section). Our interest herein is, of course, in the earlier section.

considerations come to attention immediately:

(1) As for the two witnesses themselves, they do not function as two individual entities, but only as *one entity*—always in unity and in absolute union. Paul Minear has aptly pointed out that “John makes no statement which applies solely to either of the two figures separately. Whatever is done, they do together; whatever is suffered, they suffer together,” etc.<sup>7</sup>

(2) The two witnesses constitute a symbolism drawn from *several prophetic backgrounds* beyond the obvious allusions to Moses and Elijah, just as in Rev 11:8 “the great city” also embraces a *blend* of symbolic references (“Sodom,” “Egypt,” “where their Lord was crucified”).<sup>8</sup> It will be well to review this second dynamic a bit further:

The reference in Rev 11:5 to fire proceeding from the witnesses’ mouths—which reference is frequently looked upon by commentators as related to, or derived from, Elijah’s experience in calling fire from heaven (2 Kgs 1:10, 12)—actually has a much closer parallel with Jeremiah. The latter was told by the Lord, “I make my words a fire in your mouth, and this people wood, and the fire shall devour them” (Jer 5:14).<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the reference to the two olive trees (Rev 11:4) is reminiscent of the prophetic message through Zechariah at the time of Zerubbabel (Zech 4). And still further, the reference earlier in the “interlude” to John’s eating the scroll (Rev 10:8-10) recalls a similar experience of the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek 3:1-3). Thus, several biblical personages beyond Moses and Elijah are reflected by the symbolisms used in the two-witnesses pericope and in the interlude in which that pericope occurs.

In fact, we might well expand our list even further by a consideration of the whole contextual setting of the trumpets with their “Exodus-from-Egypt”/“Fall-of-Babylon” motif. These trumpet

<sup>7</sup>Minear, pp. 101-102.

<sup>8</sup>With regard to Rev 11:8, Minear, p. 102, observes that the “great city” had become “in prophetic terms all cities—Sodom, Tyre, Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, Rome. . . .” Although this listing goes beyond the text itself in its mention of specific places, Minear’s concept of the merging of symbolism is undoubtedly correct. In the symbolisms, there is a sort of transcendental model that focuses on the nature and activity of “the great city.” “The great city” is, of course, elsewhere in the Revelation identified as “Babylon” (see 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 16, 18, 19, 21).

<sup>9</sup>The fact that commentators tend to overlook or ignore this *very close* parallel to Rev 11:5 and call attention instead to the fire from heaven on King Ahaziah’s messengers is indeed puzzling. At least a somewhat closer parallel than this concerning Elijah (though not a parallel as close as the one pertaining to Jeremiah) appears in Sir 48:1: Elijah “rose up like fire, and his word burned like a lamp.”

messages would undoubtedly have brought to the minds of the ancient readers and hearers the prophetic role of Moses and Aaron in their appearances before Pharaoh, and also the prophetic roles of various of the prophets who proclaimed warnings relating to Babylon.

In short, the conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing discussion is that an interpretation of the two witnesses of Rev 11 must do justice to the facts (1) that these two witnesses are a unit, functioning and experiencing everything together (whether it is their testimony itself, their calling forth of plagues, their suffering of persecution, their temporary death, or their resurrection and ascension); and (2) that the symbolic backgrounds for these two witnesses are broader than simply the two prophets Moses and Elijah.

Moreover, it should not be overlooked that the unifying element which drew together the various prophetic personages used as a basis for the two-witnesses symbolism was their proclamation of *God's word of warning*. It would seem reasonable to expect, therefore, that God's word of warning would have a centrality also within a section of the book of Revelation devoted to trumpet warnings and setting forth this two-witnesses symbolism with the dynamics described above.

### 3. *The Thematic Background*

We next consider the theological or thematic background for the two-witnesses pericope of Rev 11:3-12. Is there any significant two-witnesses theology that manifests itself elsewhere in the book of Revelation and that embraces the type of prophetic warning theme which we have encountered? I would suggest that there is indeed such a theological concept—one which is a prominent emphasis of the entire book of Revelation and which is clearly evident elsewhere in the NT as well.

The introductory remarks to the Revelation make evident that in writing this book John bears witness "to the word of God and to the testimony of Jesus Christ" (1:2). In fact, his very exile on Patmos is also because of these two entities—"the word of God and the testimony of Jesus" (1:9). The Christian community faced martyrdom, too, because of the same "word of God" and "testimony of Jesus" (see Rev 20:4, and cf. 6:9). Although in certain other passages the language varies somewhat, a similar concept of faithfulness to two expressions of the divine message is set forth—keeping the "commandments of God and

the testimony of Jesus Christ" (12:17) and having "the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus" (14:12).

The foregoing makes clear that the "word of God" and "testimony of Jesus" provide a concept or theme that permeates, undergirds, and underlies the book of Revelation, the Revelation itself being said to proclaim this twofold divine message (1:2). And it is of more than passing interest that in the very interlude in which the two-witnesses passage occurs, the concept of "word of God" and "testimony of Jesus" is specifically brought to view: The proclamation of the "mighty angel" of Rev 10 includes the statement that "in the days of the trumpet call to be sounded by the seventh angel, the mystery of God should be fulfilled, as announced by his servants the prophets" (10:7). Attention is thus drawn to *prophetic pre-verification* of the *Christian announcement*.

This sort of OT prophetic confirmation or pre-verification of the NT message is, of course, a familiar theme elsewhere in the NT. It is enunciated, e.g., in 1 Pet 1:10-12: "The prophets . . . searched and inquired about this salvation"; they predicted "the sufferings of Christ and the glory to follow"; they ministered "not to themselves, but to you, in the things now proclaimed to you by those who preached the gospel to you through the Holy Spirit sent from heaven." Appeal to the prophetic pre-verification was a prominent element in the apostolic preaching (see, e.g., Acts 2:29-32, 3:18, etc.), and is brought to attention, too, in such Gospel references as Luke 24:27 ("he [Christ] interpreted to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself") and John 5:46 ("if you had believed Moses, you would believe me [Christ], for he wrote of me").<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps even more significant for the present discussion, however, is the fact that this "two-witness" theology is prominent and receives thorough-going emphasis in the Gospel of John, a work with which the Revelation shows other close thematic affinities (such as the themes of judgment, discipleship, the Holy Spirit, etc.). The Fourth Gospel

<sup>10</sup>Some exegetes (such as Caird, p. 129) would see the statement in Rev 10:7 as referring to Christian martyrs, to the Christian gospel, or to NT prophets, rather than to the OT prophets. The validity of this sort of interpretation may be questioned, however, in view of the general NT emphasis on OT prophetic "pre-verification" of the gospel mission and message, as well as on the basis of the tenor of the Apocalypse itself, which draws so heavily on OT source materials. It is of interest to note, too, that in a work written not much later than the Apocalypse and having the same provenience, a further specific reference is made to *OT prophets* looking forward to Christ (Ign. *Magn.* 9); and there is rather frequent use of the same concept by the early Christian apologists.

repeatedly emphasizes that Jesus' testimony and that of the Father were in harmony. Indeed, when challenged by his detractors to the effect that his testimony was invalid since he testified of himself, Jesus called attention to the law of witness in Deut 19:15, indicating that his witness was not alone. There were *two* witnesses—himself and the Father—and moreover, these two witnesses were *one* (see especially John 8: 13-18, 28, 38; 14:24).

Additional theological concepts that surround or are joined with this two-witness theology in the Gospel of John—such as the Holy Spirit's role in bringing Christ's words to the disciples (John 14:26; 15:26; 16:14),<sup>11</sup> the matter of the disciples' faithfulness to the word (John 17:8, 14), etc.—enhance the significance of the parallel with the book of Revelation. In fact, the "word-of-God"/"word-of-Christ" entity in relationship to the disciples is set forth in striking fashion in John 17:8: "I [Christ] have given them the words which thou [God the Father] gavest me." Furthermore, the experience of the disciples, as set forth in John 15:20, would be that "if they persecuted me [Christ], they will persecute you; if they kept my word, they will keep yours also." The entire book of Revelation would seem to be, in a certain sense, a commentary on such statements in the Fourth Gospel. In the book of Revelation, faithfulness to the "word of God" and to the "testimony of Jesus Christ" separates the faithful from the faithless, and it brings about persecution that includes John's own exile and the martyrdom of other believers (see again Rev 1:9; 6:9; 12:17; 20:4; etc.).<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, it should not be overlooked that this "word-of-God"/"testimony-of-Jesus" carries judgmental aspects in John 12:48, and that such judgmental aspects find a parallel in the judgment-rendering

<sup>11</sup>Almost as if it were a commentary on this concept, the book of Revelation refers repetitively to Jesus' testimony to the seven churches as being "what the Spirit says to the churches" (Rev 2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22). Also, in Rev 19:10 the "testimony of Jesus" is explicitly defined as "the Spirit of prophecy."

<sup>12</sup>That an atmosphere of faithful witness in the midst of suffering permeates the Apocalypse has been generally recognized. However, an intriguing new dimension regarding the suffering Johannine community has recently been brought to light in an instructive article by Herold Weiss, "Foot Washing in the Johannine Community," *NovT* 21 (1979): 298-325. Weiss's thesis is that "the Johannine community performed the act [of foot washing] as preparation for the martyrdom their members were willing to face" (p. 300). Of particular interest to the present study is the relationship which Weiss sees (pp. 319-320) in the Gospel of John among cleanliness accomplished by the word of God in 15:3, fruit-bearing in 15:7-8 (with a reference in vs. 8 to "my [Christ's] words" abiding "in you"), "the instrument used for cleansing" in 13:10, and the beatitude of 13:17. The key role of the "word" should not be overlooked, nor should the fact that these elements indicate a martyrological/eschatological rather than missionary or liturgical concern.

power of the two witnesses of Rev 11. Also, the olive-trees/lampstands imagery in Rev 11:4 brings to mind the Holy Spirit's activities and the concept of light that are connected with the word of God and testimony of Jesus as depicted in the Fourth Gospel and elsewhere in Scripture (see, e.g., John 8:12; 12:46; 14:16-16:15; Ps 119:105; Zech 4:6).<sup>13</sup>

In summary, the book of Revelation places a pervasive emphasis on "two witnesses" that constitute a unity in their divine activity—namely, "the word of God" and "the testimony of Jesus Christ." This two-witnesses concept is also expressed elsewhere in the NT, being especially prominent in the Gospel of John, a work that manifests a number of other close theological parallels with the book of Revelation. Moreover, in the very "interlude" in Revelation that contains the two-witnesses presentation, there is set forth (in Rev 10:7) the same concept of united witness by the OT prophets and the NT message.

#### 4. Conclusion

We have now surveyed the contextual setting for the two-witnesses pericope of Rev 11, finding it to be positioned within a trumpet-warnings section of the book which embraces the symbolism of an "Exodus-from-Egypt"/"Fall-of-Babylon" motif. We have also observed that the symbolism of two witnesses draws from the prophetic roles of several prophets (not just two prophets) who had set forth the word of God in prophetic warning; but it places these roles into the context of *one* unified testimony and experience, rather than in the context of two individual witnesses working separately. Finally, we have noted that in the very book of Revelation itself, there are brought prominently to view two such witnesses of united and unified prophetic warning, and that these same two witnesses are integral also to NT theology depicted elsewhere. These two witnesses are, namely, "the word of God" and "the testimony of Jesus Christ," or what we today would call the OT prophetic message and the NT apostolic witness.

In view of all of this, is it not logical to conclude that the *primary* point of reference or application of the two-witnesses symbolism in

<sup>13</sup>Regarding the Holy Spirit's role, cf. n. 11 above. It may be well to mention that in patristic usage, the term "Spirit of prophecy" or "prophetic Spirit" appears quite frequently as a synonym for "Holy Spirit"—especially in Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 6 (reference is made to Father, Son, and "the prophetic Spirit"), 31, 33, 39, 40, 41, 44 (reference is made to "the holy Spirit of prophecy" speaking through Moses), etc. Also cf. Athenagoras, *Plea* 10 and 18.

Rev 11:3-12 is indeed this twofold testimony called “the word of God” and “the testimony of Jesus”—even though *secondarily* there could be reference, as well, to the church in a derivative sense as the proclaimer of this divine message?<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Another line of evidence (beyond the scope of this article) which may lend further support to the conclusion reached herein has been probed extensively by a colleague, S. Douglas Waterhouse: namely, the significance of ancient Jewish synagogue and temple practice for the two-witnesses symbolism. Unfortunately, his results have not yet been published. In brief, Waterhouse sees a background to Rev 11:3-12 from the practice in Judaism of reading “law” and “prophets” lections from “the seat of Moses” and “the seat of Elijah” to either side of the apse in the synagogue, and he compares also the significance of the temple pillars Jachin and Boaz.

The question to be asked with regard to relevance for the symbolism in the book of Revelation is: How did Christians approach the public reading of Scripture at this time (toward the end of the first century)? It would indeed seem that the common practice in this regard must have been similar to the use which we have already noted in apostolic writing and preaching—namely, appeal to *both* the *apostolic testimony* (including the book of Revelation itself, which according to its introduction was to be read publicly) and the *OT pre-verification* of the Christian message.





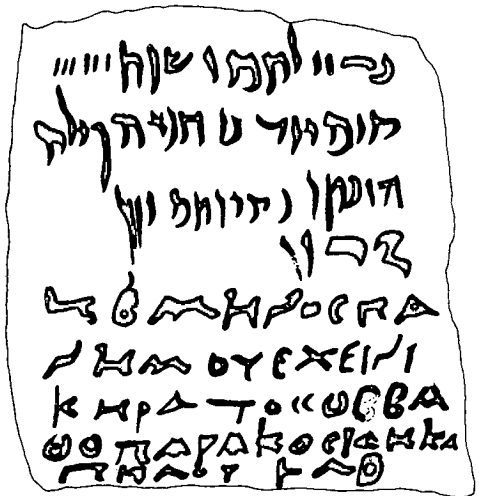
BRIEF NOTES

RECENT SUGGESTIONS ON THE BILINGUAL OSTRACON  
 FROM KHIRBET EL-KÔM

LAWRENCE T. GERATY  
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My publication of the third-century-B.C. bilingual ostracon in Aramaic and Greek scripts from Khirbet el-Kôm has recently called forth two helpful reviews that form the basis for my further brief discussion of this ostracon below. For the sake of convenience I present first the bilingual text, English translation, and my hand copy of the ostracon as these appeared in the original publication<sup>1</sup> (a slightly revised form of the text and translation appears at the end of the discussion):

- /// /// שנת בר // (1) On the 12th (day)  
 of (month) Tammuz,  
 year 6,  
 קוסידע בן חנא קפילם (2) Qôs-yada', son of  
 Hanna', the  
 moneylender,  
 הזפת לנקירתם זוזן (3) loaned to Niqeratos:  
 zuz,  
 // 32 (4) 32.
- Λς ΙΒ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΠΑ (5) Year 6, 12th (day),  
 month of Pa-  
 ΝΗΜΟΥ ΕΧΕΙ ΝΙ (6) nēmos, Ni-  
 ΚΗΡΑΤΟΣ ΣΟΒΒΑ (7) kēratos, (son) of  
 Sobbathos, received  
 ΘΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΚΟΣΙΔΗ (8) from Kos-idē, the  
 KA money-  
 ΠΗΑΟΥΤΑΒ (9) lender: drachma, 32.



<sup>1</sup>Lawrence T. Geraty, "The Khirbet el-Kôm Bilingual Ostracon," *BASOR* 220 (1975), pp. 55-61.

The first of the aforementioned reviews is that of Aaron Skaist which appeared in 1978,<sup>2</sup> and the second is an unpublished one by my colleague William H. Shea.<sup>3</sup> Though Skaist has offered no new suggestions that were not considered in my original publication, he did opt for two alternative readings to the ones I preferred. His argument for reading *br* in line 2 of the text instead of *bn*<sup>4</sup> may be correct, but it would hold true for certain only if the script observed strict differences in letter length between medial and final positions; since this is not the case, one may choose between *nun* and *resh* on other than palaeographical grounds, which I did.<sup>5</sup> His (and Shea's) choice of my fourth option for the reading in line 3, namely *hw ntn [l]*,<sup>6</sup> may be right after all; it is certainly the simplest reading and seems to me, too, after further reflection, to present the fewest problems. (I do not see the original suggestion as anomalous, however—the Greek text merely acknowledges the loan made in the Semitic text, just as it acknowledges the receipt of a payment if my fourth option is preferred.)

As for Joseph Naveh's interesting suggestion that the last word in line 2 is a verb like *hnsq*,<sup>7</sup> I am afraid that it is palaeographically difficult, not because the first letter could not be a *he* or the last one a *qof* (which I also considered), but because among the traces where he would read *samekh*, the upper tick is too high and the lower stroke too short. Given the clear Greek reading of the other half of the ostrakon and the parallel for transliteration of a Greek

<sup>2</sup>Aaron Skaist, "A Note on the Bilingual Ostrakon from Khirbet el-Kôm," *IEJ* 28 (1978): 106-108.

<sup>3</sup>The nine-page manuscript by William H. Shea, "The Receipts of the Bilingual Ostrakon from Khirbet el-Kôm," is available from the author for 75¢.

<sup>4</sup>Skaist, p. 106, n. 2; cf. Joseph Naveh, "The Aramaic Ostraca from Tel Beer-Sheba (Seasons 1971-1976)," *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 194, where *br* is also proposed.

<sup>5</sup>In *ibid.*; Skaist says that I gave no examples of the use of non-Aramaic grammatical forms, though in fact I did: *hzpt* rather than <sup>2</sup>*zpt*, or *kzpt* rather than *kzpt*<sup>2</sup>; but admittedly these forms are uncertain.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 107, and n. 7. (My original suggestion for the space between the *lamed* and the name was that Nikeratos may have signed the document. At least his name is lighter and in a different hand from the rest.) On the same page and in n. 6, Skaist correctly points out my mistake in translating a first-person form as a third-person; obviously from my transcription, I intended the former.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, n. 7.

technical term in an Edomite context,<sup>8</sup> *qpyls* seems to me to still be the preferred reading, probably to be translated in its most usual meaning of "shopkeeper."<sup>9</sup>

Shea's study offers a novel and appealing interpretation of the ostracon: that the actions described in the two halves of the text are reciprocal, the bottom of the ostracon describing the loan that Qôsyada<sup>c</sup> made to Nikeratos, and the top of the ostracon describing Nikeratos' repayment of the loan exactly one month later.<sup>10</sup> I might be persuaded if it were not for (1) the order of the transaction's record (it seems to me more logical for the top half to describe the loan and then the bottom half, the repayment) and for (2) the two different languages used (if two *different* phases of the transaction on two different dates is being recorded, what purpose does the difference in language on the same ostracon serve?). This still leaves the chronological problem mentioned by Shea.<sup>11</sup> Because of the above objections to his most recent suggestion, I suppose I would still prefer his original suggestion to me that the problem of the month could be resolved by considering the problem of intercalation.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the Greeks had intercalated already that year, thus pushing Panēmos one month later than it ordinarily would have been, whereas the Edomites had not yet intercalated. So far, very little is known about the relationship of the Macedonian calendar to others that are better known. As a last resort one might even consider the possibility of a scribal error.

Thus at the present time I prefer to see both halves of the el-Kôm bilingual ostracon as referring to the *same* transaction on the

<sup>8</sup>Geraty, p. 57.

<sup>9</sup>M. I. Finkelstein, "'Εμπορος, Ναυκλήσεος and Καπηλος: a Prolegomenon to the Study of Athenian Trade," *Classical Philology* 30 (1935): 320-326. Skaist also preferred this translation.

<sup>10</sup>Shea, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 4. As Shea points out, in the Macedonian calendar used in the Near East from the third through the first centuries B.C., Panēmos was equated with Simanu in Babylonia and Sivan in Palestine. Apparently it was not until the first century A.D. that the names of the months of the Macedonian calendar were regularly shifted one month later so that Panēmos came to line up with Duzu in Babylonia and Tammuz in Palestine.

<sup>12</sup>Though this chronological difficulty was not discussed in my *BASOR* article (see n. 1, above), it was treated in my unpublished thesis which is now being prepared for publication.

same day—probably some kind of payment made by Qôš-yada<sup>c</sup> to Nikeratos. The ostracon served as Qôš-yada<sup>c</sup>'s receipt—perhaps one signed by Nikeratos. Thus the bilingual would read:

- |                       |                       |     |  |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----|--|
| /// ///               | ביר                   | (1) | On the 12th of Tammuz, year 6,   |
| שנת                   | קוסידע בן חנא קפילס   | (2) | Qôš-yada <sup>c</sup> , son of Ḥanna <sup>2</sup> ,<br>the shopkeeper, |
| הו נתן [ל]נקירתס זוזן | הו נתן [ל]נקירתס זוזן | (3) | gave [to] Niqueratos: zuz,   |
| ביר                   | ביר                   | (4) | 32.  |
| Λς IB ΜΗΝΟΣ ΠΑ        | Λς IB ΜΗΝΟΣ ΠΑ        | (5) | Year 6, 12th (day), month of Pa-                                       |
| ΝΗΜΟΥ ΕΧΕΙ ΝΙ         | ΝΗΜΟΥ ΕΧΕΙ ΝΙ         | (6) | nēmos, Ni-   |
| ΚΗΡΑΤΟΣ ΣΟΒΒΑ         | ΚΗΡΑΤΟΣ ΣΟΒΒΑ         | (7) | kēratos, (son) of Sobbathos,<br>received                               |
| ΘΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΚΟΣΙΔΗ ΚΑ     | ΘΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΚΟΣΙΔΗ ΚΑ     | (8) | from Kos-idē the shop-   |
| ΠΗΛΟΥ ΞΛΒ             | ΠΗΛΟΥ ΞΛΒ             | (9) | keeper: drachmas, 32.  |

## JAKOBUS 2, 14-26 IN DER SICHT MARTIN LUTHERS

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Karl Barth hat einmal das Wort geprägt, dass wohl kein Theologe in der Sache der Rechtfertigungslehre "mehr gearbeitet, gelitten und vor allem gebetet hat" als Martin Luther.<sup>1</sup> Dieses Zeugnis ergibt sich aus dem mannigfaltigen Bekenntnis des Reformators, der oft und oft selbst betont hat, dass der Artikel von der Rechtfertigung nicht so bald ausgelernt sei, dass er sich darin immer noch wie ein Anfänger vorkomme<sup>2</sup> und beständig daran lerne.<sup>3</sup> Nach Jahren des Studiums und des Kampfes kreisten seine Gedanken immer noch Tag und Nacht um das eine: die Rechtfertigung des Sünders vor dem Richterstuhl Gottes allein durch den Glauben an Christus ("Nam in corde meo iste unus regnat articulus, scilicet Fides Christi, ex quo, per quem et in quem omnes meae diu noctuque fluunt et refluunt theologicae cogitationes").<sup>4</sup>

Wie sich dazu die Werke des Christen verhalten, betrachtete er als die hohe Kunst der Theologie, an der ein Mensch, wenn er lebte, hunderttausend Jahre lernen könnte:

Sic primus lapis ponendus qui Christus est i.e. incipiendum a fide, quae non levis ars, sed ein hoch trefflich ding, daran homo zu lernen hundert tausent, si viveret. Deinde habes rechtschaffene opera quae sequuntur fidem.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>*KD* 4/1:579.

<sup>2</sup>*WA* 31 II, 347, 14.

<sup>3</sup>*WA* 32, 93, 14-15; 164, 3-4.

<sup>4</sup>*WA* 40 I, 33, 7-9.

<sup>5</sup>*WA* 29, 494, 13-16.

1. *Paulus und Jakobus im Widerspruch?*

Luther fand Trost darin, dass bedeutende Kirchenväter wie Ambrosius und Augustinus—wie er annahm—auch das *sola fide* gelehrt hätten, obwohl er erkannte, dass sie es doch nicht so richtig herausgestellt hatten und dass es eigentlich "sein Dogma" sei.<sup>6</sup> Er war der festen Überzeugung, dabei die wichtigsten Zeugen des NT, vor allem Paulus, Johannes und Petrus, hinter sich zu haben.<sup>7</sup> Um so enttäuschender musste es für ihn sein, dass sich einige Stellen des NT offensichtlich nicht so leicht auf das Verhältnis von Glaube und Werk im Sinne eines Folgeverhältnisses (*sequela*)<sup>8</sup> festlegen liessen. Zu diesen Texten gehört Jak. 2, 14-26. Hier wurzelt die Spannung zum Jakobusbrief, die das ganze Leben des Reformators durchzieht. Konnte er z.B. den Galaterbrief seine "Käthe von Bora" nennen,<sup>9</sup> so war ihm der Jakobusbrief "ein recht stroern Epistel gegen sie, denn sie doch keyn Euangelisch art an yhr hat."<sup>10</sup> Diese Feststellung aus der Vorrede zum NT von 1522 findet sich zwar in der Version von 1546 nicht mehr, aber es gibt genug andere Zeugnisse dafür, dass Luther zeit seines Wirkens als Reformator eine tiefe Abneigung gegen den Jakobusbrief besass, mit dem man am besten den Ofen heizen sollte<sup>11</sup> und mit dem es in Wittenberg noch so weit kommen soll, dass er aus der Bibel gestossen werden wird.<sup>12</sup>

Dabei muss freilich berücksichtigt werden, dass die gegnerische Polemik diese Aversion noch weidlich antrieb, denn mit dieser

<sup>6</sup>WA 11, 302, 22-23.

<sup>7</sup>DB 6, 10, 29-33.

<sup>8</sup>WA 18, 693, 38; 694, 5-6.

<sup>9</sup>TR 1, 69, 19.

<sup>10</sup>DB 6, 10, 33-34.

<sup>11</sup>TR 5, 382, 17-18.

<sup>12</sup>TR 5, 414, 1-2. Daneben konnte Luther aber auch viel weniger radikal urteilen: "Weil aber von Alters her auf diesen Sonntag ist gelesen worden die Epistel Jacobi cap. 1, welche auch eine gute Lehre und Vermahnung ist, wollen wir dieselbe für die, so sie noch halten wollen, auch lassen mitlaufen, und etwas davon sagen, damit nicht dafür gehalten werde, als wollten wir sie gar verwerfen." St.L. 12, 581, Hervorhebung von mir.

Stelle meinten katholische Polemiker wie Eck<sup>13</sup> und Cochläus,<sup>14</sup> Luthers Rechtfertigungslehre den Garaus machen zu können. So wurde der Jakobusbrief für ihn zur "papisten epistel."<sup>15</sup>

Der Hauptgrund für Luthers Abneigung ist aber wohl darin zu finden, dass er meinte, Jakobus widerspräche eindeutig der Rechtfertigungslehre Pauli. Diese Überzeugung äusserte er sowohl am Anfang (1522)<sup>16</sup> als auch am Ende (1539)<sup>17</sup> seiner Laufbahn. Jakobus sei zwar zu loben, dass er keine Menschenlehre bringe und das Gesetz Gottes stark betone,<sup>18</sup> aber da er die Rechtfertigung aus den Werken lehre, könne der Brief nicht von einem Apostel stammen, sondern müsse von einem Juden gewesen sein, der das *sola fide* korrigieren wollte.<sup>19</sup> Paulus und Jakobus könnten nicht harmonisiert werden, wenn es auch viele, darunter Melanchthon, mit "Schwitzen" versucht hätten ("Wer die zusamen reymen kan, dem wil ich mein pirreth aufsetzen und wil mich yhn einen narren lassen schelten").<sup>20</sup>

## 2. Luthers Lösungsversuche

In einer Art von *felix insequentia* hat er parallel zu diesen Äusserungen des Widerwillens und der Resignation aber immer wieder selbst versucht, das Problem von Jak. 2 im Hinblick auf das *sola fide*-Prinzip zu lösen. Dabei lassen sich interessante Unterschiede feststellen:

1. In *TR* 3, Nr. 2864b (1533)<sup>21</sup> spricht Luther von den Waldensern und lobt sie für ihren sittlichen Lebenswandel sowie

<sup>13</sup>Johann Eck, *Enchiridion*, ed. & trans. F. L. Battles, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1978), p. 57.

<sup>14</sup>Johann Cochläus, "Ein nötig und christlich bedencken," in *CCath* 18, 9, 30-10, 6.

<sup>15</sup>*TR* 5, 414, 7.

<sup>16</sup>*DB* 7, 384, 9-10. Ähnlich schon 1519: "... nec cum Paulino ullo modo comparandus, ..."

<sup>17</sup>*WA* 43, 231, 36-41.

<sup>18</sup>*DB* 7, 384, 1-4. Da, wo Jakobus vom Glauben spricht (z.B. Jak. 1,6), ist der "einzige und beste Ort in der ganzen Epistel." St.L. 9, 1888.

<sup>19</sup>*TR* 5, 414, 5-7.

<sup>20</sup>*TR* 3, 253, 25-29.

<sup>21</sup>*TR* 3, 37, 10-38, 18.

für ihre Erkenntnis über den unbiblischen Charakter der Messe, des Fegefeuers, der Heiligenverehrung und des Priesterstandes. Er muss aber an ihnen aussetzen, dass sie den Artikel von der Rechtfertigung "nicht rein" haben. Sie hielten, so meint er, noch an der scholastischen Gnadenlehre (*Qualitas-Prinzip*) fest und lehrten eine finale Rechtfertigung aus Glaube *und* Werk, wobei sie sich auf Jak. 2 beriefen. In diesem Zusammenhang legt nun Luther eine von seiner üblichen Meinung abweichende Lösung des Problems vor. Der Satz des Jakobus, dass der Glaube ohne Werke tot sei (Jak. 2, 17), ist seiner Meinung nach durchaus richtig, wenn man's vom "äusserlichen Wandel . . . nach den zehen Geboten" versteht. Falsch wäre der Satz nur, wenn er in die Lehre von der Rechtfertigung gemengt würde, denn dann widerspräche er "Gott und der hlg. Schrift." Luther meint also offenbar die *iustitia civilis*, denn er lobt ja die Waldenser für ihre "äusserliche Disziplin und Zucht." Kein echter Christ könne ein schlechter Bürger sein. Zu seinem Glauben *coram Deo* müsse ein guter Lebenswandel *coram mundo* kommen, der aber weder für Rechtfertigung noch für Heiligung zählt, weil es ja um einen rein äusserlichen Gehorsam geht.

Vielleicht hatte Luther diese Deutung auch im Fragment "De iustificatione" (1530) im Sinn, wenn er dort z.B. Jak. 2, 26 als "moralisch" und nicht "theologisch" einstufte: Dem Glauben müssen "äusserliche Werke" folgen!<sup>22</sup>

2. Von diesem äusserlichen Gehorsam, der ja auch dem Nichtchristen möglich ist, unterscheidet Luther aber die *fides incarnata*,<sup>23</sup> d.h. den gelebten Glauben, bei dem sich die Werke im konsekutiven Sinn als "preysung, bewerbung, zaychen, sigel, volgen, frucht und beweynung" zeigen.<sup>24</sup> Diese Werke geschehen *pro gloria Dei* und *pro commodo proximi*.<sup>25</sup> Mit diesen Werken erlangt der Christ nicht das Heil, sondern er bezeugt es. Er bezeugt den Menschen

<sup>22</sup>WA 30 II, 664, 24-28.

<sup>23</sup>WA 39 I, 65, 6-7. Die *fides incarnata* ist die *tota vita Christiana*, d.h., der rechtfertigende Glaube, der sich in Werken beweist: "Et fidem hanc veram esse, operibus ostende." Ibid., 9.

<sup>24</sup>WA 10 III, 225, 18-226, 8; 10 I 2, 318, 15-23.

<sup>25</sup>WA 30 II, 668, 4.



sein Christsein<sup>26</sup> und vergewissert sich selbst darüber.<sup>27</sup> In dieses Konsekutivverhältnis von Glaube und Werk hat Luther hie und da auch Jak. 2 eingereiht. In zwei Predigten aus dem Jahre 1522—interessanterweise dasselbe Jahr, in dem das Wort von der “Stroh-epistel” fällt—deutet Luther Jak. 2 ganz im Sinne der Sukzession von heilswirkendem Glauben und heilsbezeugendem Werk. Diese Heilsbezeugung kommt im *Zeichen-* und *Frucht-Prinzip* zum Ausdruck:

Das meynt S. Jacobus yn seyner Epistel, da er spricht: “Der glawb on werck ist todt.” *Das ist, weyll die werck nicht folgen, ist's eyn tzeychen, das keyn glawb da sey, szondern eyn todter gedanke und trawm, den sie falschlich glawben nennen.*<sup>28</sup>

Nun pfleget sant Lucas am meisten da von zu schreiben, und halt darumb, das zu derselbigen zeit (wie den yetzund auch geschicht, do man predigt das allein der glawb selig machte) sich die leut do hin brachen und wolten alein glawben *und die kreffte und fruchte des glawbens nachlassen*. Das thuet Johannes und Jacobus in seiner epistel auch, *damit sie anzeigen das der glawb an [ohne<sup>29</sup>] die werck nicht rechtgeschaffen ist.*<sup>30</sup>

Dass die Jakobusstelle den konsekutiven Heilszug transparent macht—nur *der* Glaube allein rechtfertigt, der tätig lebt—hat der Reformator auch später noch vertreten (Disputation De iustificatione, 1536.)<sup>31</sup>

In Luthers reichem, bewegtem, aber unsystematischem Denken, das P.Althaus bekanntlich mit einem Ozean verglichen hat,<sup>32</sup> war also durchaus auch Raum, neben der üblichen Deutung der Werke aus Jak. 2 *ad justificationem* (finaler Heilsweg), für eine Interpretation im Sinne der *iustitia civilis* oder der Werke *post justificationem* (konsekutiver Heilsweg). Denn bei allem Schwanken über der

<sup>26</sup>WA 39 I, 292, 10-12.

<sup>27</sup>WA 39 I, 293, 8-9; 39 II, 248, 11-15.

<sup>28</sup>WA 10 III, 288, 3-6, Hervorhebung von mir.

<sup>29</sup>St.L. 11, 1486.

<sup>30</sup>WA 10 III, 293, 6-11. Hervorhebung von mir.

<sup>31</sup>WA 39 I, 106, 23-25.

<sup>32</sup>Paul Althaus, *Die Theologie Martin Luthers*, 4. A. (Gütersloh, 1975), p. 8.

Deutung von Jak. 2 gab es für den Reformator eine durchgehende Konstante in seiner Rechtfertigungslehre: wer nicht gehorcht, der glaubt auch nicht.<sup>33</sup>

Man kann also sagen, dass neben den harten Urteilen Luthers über Jakobus auch Versuche stehen, wenigstens dem Abschnitt in Kap. 2, 14-16 einen positiven Sinn abzurufen. Diese Versuche dürfen nicht unberücksichtigt gelassen werden, wenn die Theologie des Jakobus in der Sicht Luthers zur Sprache kommt.

<sup>33</sup>“Vere autem non credit, si opera Charitatis fidem non sequuntur.” *WA* 40 II, 37, 16-17. “Denn wo die werck und liebe nicht er aus bricht, da ist der glaube nicht recht.” *DB* 6, 11, 3-4.

## THE ROLE OF THE POPULACE IN THE PASSION NARRATIVE OF LUKE IN CODEX BEZAE

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In three previous studies I have shown that the unique, variant readings in the Western text of Luke, and in particular in Codex Bezae (D), are theologically motivated.<sup>1</sup> In these studies it was shown how Jesus is exalted as a Davidic king by an alteration in the heavenly voice heard at his baptism (Luke 3:22) together with the substitution of Matthew's genealogy, containing the line of kings, for that of Luke (3:23-31). It has also been shown that the Western text of Luke contains an anti-Judaic bias.

In the present study, a series of variants dealing with the populace of Jerusalem, and found in the passion narrative of Luke in D, will be examined. These variants show the populace playing a more active role in the events of the passion than does the normal text of Luke.

### 1. *Arrest and Trial*

In the two previous studies that dealt with anti-Judaic biases, the variants appear in connection with various religious leaders, either increasing their hostility toward Jesus or generally casting them in an unfavorable light. The common people of Jerusalem are not portrayed as being particularly hostile toward Jesus. But when the variant readings that appear in the passion narrative are examined, the populace of Jerusalem takes on a belligerent role. Prior to this they are merely passively unresponsive to Jesus' ministry.

<sup>1</sup>"Luke 3:22-38 in Codex Bezae: The Messianic King," *AUSS* 17 (1979): 203-208; "The Anti-Judaic Bias of the Western Text in the Gospel of Luke," *AUSS* 18 (1980): 51-57; "Some Further Examples of Anti-Judaic Bias in the Western Text of the Gospel of Luke," *AUSS* 18 (1980): 149-156.

The first variant that we will consider suggests that the common people were involved in the arrest of Jesus.

## Luke 22:47

Codex B<sup>2</sup>

ετι αυτου λαλουντος ιδου  
οχλος και ο λεγομενος  
ιουδας εις των δωδεκα  
προηρχετο αυτους

“ While he was yet speak-  
ing behold a crowd and  
the one called Judas  
one of the twelve was going  
before them.”

## Codex D

ετι δε αυτου λαλουντος ιδου  
οχλος πολυς και ο καλουμενος  
ιουδας ισκαριωθ εις των ιβ  
προηγεν αυτους

“And while he was yet speak-  
ing behold a great crowd and  
the one called Judas Iscariot  
one of the twelve was leading  
the way before them.”

+ πολυς post οχλος, D 544 sy<sup>sc</sup> Tatian

+ ισκαριωθ post ιουδας, D 1

προηρχετο] προηγεν, D 1 22 69

In D the size of “the crowd” actively participating in the arrest is increased beyond the normal text by a harmonization with Matt 26:47. Because Luke identifies “the crowd” that makes up the arresting party as being composed of the chief priests, captains of the temple, and elders (Luke 22:52), it is not impossible to assume that the increase in number, expressed in the first variant as a “great crowd,” would be mainly composed of the people from Jerusalem, especially in view of the active role they play in the passion as reported by D.

After the arrest, Jesus was taken to the home of the high priest (vs. 54). Although people who were not members of the Sanhedrin served as a backdrop for Peter’s denial, the “great crowd” that participated in the arrest was not present, as D indicates in the next variant.

<sup>2</sup>Codex B is used for purposes of comparison because it is a real text that exists, rather than a critical edition which gives a text that never existed in manuscript form.

## Luke 23:1

## Codex B

και ανασταν απαν το πλη-  
θος αυτων ηγαγον αυτον επι τον  
πειλατον

"And when the whole multitude  
of them arose they led him  
to Pilate."

## Codex D

και ανασταντες  
ηγαγον αυτον αυτον  
επι πειλατον

"And when they  
had arisen they  
led him to Pilate."

ανασταν] ανασταντες, D Θ 131 239 299 sy<sup>scp</sup> cop<sup>sa</sup>  
om. απαν το πληθος αυτων D

The active support and interest of the populace of Jerusalem in the arrest and the trial of Jesus before Pilate is presented by D as greater than what we find in the normal text. Thus we have a "great crowd" (vs. 47) involved in the arrest, instead of a "crowd" in the normal text. Pilate calls together "all the people" for his verdict (23:13), instead of the "people" in the normal text (see below). Therefore, the omission of "the whole multitude of them" in the variant above now becomes significant, for it seems that D wished to indicate that only the religious leaders interrogated Jesus and arrived at the decision that he must die, but the populace are more directly involved in other aspects of the passion narrative.

Once Pilate had examined Jesus and had arrived at a tentative verdict, D then brings the populace back into the drama.

## Luke 23:13

## Codex B

πειλατος δε συνκαλεσαμενος  
τους αρχιερεις και τους αρχον-  
τας και τον λαον

"And when Pilate himself had  
called together the chief  
priests and the rulers and  
the people."

## Codex D

ο δε πειλατος συνκαλεσας  
τους αρχιερεις και τους αρ-  
χοντας και παντα τον λαον

"And when Pilate had  
called together the chief  
priests and the rulers and  
all the people."

συνκαλεσαμενος] συνκαλεσας D  
+ παντα ante τον λαον D c sy<sup>c</sup>

As D makes the inhabitants of Jerusalem active participants in the arrest of Jesus, so, being assembled by Pilate, they become active participants in the uncompromising demand for Jesus' crucifixion (22:18-25).

## 2. Crucifixion

D further incriminates the people of Jerusalem at the site of the crucifixion. In the account of Matthew and Mark, Jesus is ridiculed by both the people and the rulers. The people say in essence, "You who can destroy the temple and in three days raise it up again, save yourself and come down from the cross" (Matt 27:40; Mark 15:29, 30); and the priests say, "He saved others, he cannot save himself; if he is the king of Israel, let him come down from the cross and we will believe him" (Matt 27:42; Mark 15:31,32).

Luke, however, pictures the people as silently watching the one who was crucified while the rulers alone scoffed at him. D takes the words spoken by the rulers and puts them into the mouths of the crowd.

Luke 23:35

Codex B

και ειστηκει ο λαος θεωρων  
εξεμκτηριζον δε και οι αρχον-  
τες λεγοντες αλλους εσωσεν  
σωσατω εαυτον ει υιος εστιν ο  
χς του θυ ο εκλεκτος

"And the people stood by watch-  
ing but the rulers scoffed  
saying Others he saved let him  
save himself if he is the Christ  
the elect Son of God."

Codex D

και ειστηκει ο λαος ορων  
εμκτηριζον δε αυτον  
και ελεγαν αυτω αλλους εσω-  
σας σεαυτον σωσον ει υιος ει  
του θυ ει χρς ει ο εκλεκτος

"And the people stood by  
watching and they  
scoffed at him and said Others  
you saved save yourself if you  
are the Son of God if you are  
the Christ if you are the Elect  
one."

θεωρων] ορων, D

εξεμκτηριζον δε και οι αρχοντες λεγοντες] εμκτηριζον δε αυτον  
και ελεγαν αυτω, D

αλλους εσωσεν σωσατω εαυτον ει υιος εστιν ο χς του θυ] αλλους  
εσωσας σεαυτον σωσον ει υιος ει του θυ ει χρς ει, D

Although the scoffing of the priests in the normal text is directed at Jesus, it is not a bold challenge hurled into his face. Through D's alterations, the people continue their active role in Jesus' humiliation, and their scoffing becomes a challenge of bold defiance directed at Jesus personally, "Others you saved, save yourself if you are the Son of God."

D underscores this bold defiance of the people with further alterations: (1) by altering the remarks of the soldiers and the unrepentant thief, and (2) by altering the conversation between the repentant thief and Jesus (cf. the change in the repentant thief's appraisal of Jesus, from "he has done nothing amiss" to "he has done no evil," in *AUSS* 18 [1980]: 52).

## Luke 23:36,37,39

## Codex B

36. ενεπαιξαν δε αυτω και οι στρατιωται προσερχομενοι οξος προσφεροντες αυτω

37. και λεγοντες ει συ ει ο βασιλευς των ιουδαιων σωσον σεαυτον

39. εις δε των κρεμασθεντων κακουργων εβλασφημει αυτον ουχι συ ει ο χς σωσον σεαυτον και ημας

"36. And the soldiers also mocked him coming and offering vinegar to him

"37. And saying if you are the king of the Jews save yourself.

"39. And one of the criminals who was hanging blasphemed him: Are you not the Christ? Save yourself and us."

## Codex D

36. ενεπεζον δε αυτω και οι στρατιωται προσερχομενοι οξος τε προσεφερον

37. λεγοντες χαιρε ο βασιλευς των ιουδαιων περιτεθεντες αυτω και ακανθινον στεφανον

39. εις δε των κακουργων εβλασφημει αυτον

"36. And the soldiers also mocked him coming and offering vinegar

"37. Saying Hail king of the Jews placing on him a thorny crown.

"39. And one of those who was hanging blasphemed him."

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v. 36 om. αυτω, D

v. 37 om. και, D lat

The mockery of the people (vs. 35) stemmed from Jesus' claim to have the power to save and to be the "Son of God." Their challenge, "Save yourself if you are the Son of God," indicates their unbelief and their rejection of this claim. They shared in the responsibility of his crucifixion, and this crucifixion in turn testified to the accuracy of their appraisal of him. They challenged him to disprove their appraisal and their reasons for rejecting him.

The soldiers' mockery (vss. 36-37), on the other hand, stemmed from a different point of view. By changing their words, D indicates that the soldiers' treatment of Jesus has its roots in different motives than those of the people. The soldiers were not rejecting Jesus' claim to have the power to save, they only mocked his claim to be a ruler in Caesar's stead.

The apparent reason for D's omission of the blasphemy of the unrepentant thief is to make the rejection by the people complete by way of contrast. In the normal text, the blasphemy of the thief centers in Jesus' claim to be the Savior—"Are you the Christ? Save yourself and us" (vs. 39)—; therefore, the words of the blasphemy are omitted by D, and he simply states that the thief blasphemed. Of all those who blaspheme and mock Jesus in D's text, the people alone touch the very heart of Jesus' proclaimed mission as the divine Savior. They alone are pictured as rejecting this mission.

A suggestion made by G. D. Kilpatrick many years ago would fit very nicely here and lend further support to D's emphasis on the defiance of the people.<sup>3</sup> He takes the word *δικαιος*, spoken by the centurion regarding Jesus (23:47), to be "innocent" and not "righteous." Thus the centurion supports Herod, Pilate, the soldiers, and the repentant thief in declaring Jesus' innocence in opposition to the opinion of the people.

### 3. *Conclusion*

As a general rule, one would look to the attitudes of the rulers in order to appraise the attitudes of a city or nation. D, however, uses the populace of Jerusalem to portray the attitude of rejection

<sup>3</sup>G. D. Kilpatrick, "A Theme of the Lucan Passion Story and Luke xxiii.47," *JTS* 43 (1942): 34-36. Kilpatrick's suggestion of "innocent" as a translation for *δικαιος* was followed by the translators of the RSV.



in the passion story. Prior to the passion narrative, the people of Jerusalem are passively unresponsive to Jesus. By his alterations, they become actively hostile by: (1) participating in the arrest, (2) participating in the uncompromising demand for Jesus' crucifixion, and (3) mocking and defiantly challenging Jesus to save himself. This belligerent attitude is emphasized further by alterations in the words of the soldiers and by omitting the blasphemous words of the unrepentant thief. Thus, the populace of Jerusalem is portrayed by D as actively rejecting Jesus' proclaimed mission as the divine Savior.



## ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

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### THE DOCTRINE OF THE SANCTUARY IN THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH: THREE APPROACHES\*

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This investigation studies the Adventist theology of the sanctuary as it found expression in the writings of Uriah Smith (1832-1903), Albion Fox Ballenger (1861-1921), and Milian Lauritz Andreassen (1876-1962).

Not only does the selection of these three individuals make it possible to deal with the subject of the sanctuary, but it also provides a good opportunity to observe certain important developments in the understanding of the sanctuary doctrine within the Adventist church, because of the strategic place each figure occupied in Adventism, historically and theologically. The study attempts not only to describe the sanctuary theology of the three figures, but also to provide interpretation and evaluation, informed by the particular theological outlook of the respective figures.

Chap. 1 points out that Smith, though he appreciated the doctrine of the sanctuary for its own sake, nevertheless used it to support and defend what to him were even more fundamental theological concerns. Three such concerns are identified: (1) the salvation-historical significance of 1844, (2) the perpetuity of the decalogue and the Sabbath, and (3) the imminence of the *parousia*. The perception of such underlying concerns contributes to a better grasp of Smith's approach to the doctrine. It also aids in the identification of certain theological weaknesses.

Chap. 2 shows that what motivated Ballenger was a basic concern for righteousness by faith and Christian assurance, undergirded by a strong

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\*The dissertation has been published in 1981 in the Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, and is available from Andrews University Press, Bell Hall, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104 (vii + 327 pp.; paperback, \$8.95).

evangelistic orientation. It was this concern which led him to a radical revision of the historical Adventist understanding of the doctrine of the sanctuary. This reinterpretation provides positive insights into the doctrine, but also proves unsound in some of its basic assumptions and conclusions.

Chap. 3 makes clear that in those aspects of the doctrine which he emphasized, Andreasen, too, was motivated by an overriding theological concern—a concern for the sinless perfection of an eschatological Remnant. Emphasizing a three-phase process of atonement, he suggested that it was the third phase occurring in the most holy place of the heavenly sanctuary which effected the perfecting of the saints.

Andreasen's position, though basically traditional, shows several departures from Uriah Smith, mostly on non-major points. At the same time, Andreasen echoes Ballenger at many points. But while it would be possible to combine the views of Smith and Andreasen into a coherent Adventist theology of the sanctuary, the position of Ballenger represents too radical a departure to be included in such a merger.

#### THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE EPISTLE OF JAMES

Author: Joel D. Awoniyi. Th.D., 1979.

Advisor: James J. C. Cox.

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Although a significant number of the Greek manuscripts of the Epistles of 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2, and 3 John, and Jude have recently received long-overdue classification, only a very few Greek manuscripts of the Epistle of James have been given comparable treatment. In this dissertation, I have sought to rectify this situation by classifying 86 Greek manuscripts of the Epistle of James—primarily according to their phenetic relationships and only secondarily according to their text-types. In order to accomplish this task, use has been made of new computer methods.

In a recent dissertation on the classification of 81 Greek manuscripts of the Johannine epistles, W. L. Richards employed a computer to form "tentative groupings" by Quantitative Analysis. These tentative groupings served as the basis of his classification which was determined ultimately by applying (without the aid of a computer) the Claremont Profile Method.

I have taken both of these procedures and combined them into a single program. By means of a computer, I have applied this program to the raw data of my collations, and have thereby produced both the dendrographic

charts and the "merge" tables which serve as the basis of my classification.

An analysis of these dendrograms and merge tables indicates three major manuscript groupings: (A) *Group 2*, consisting of 10 manuscripts (01-2298). This group is probably Alexandrian in text-type. (B) *Group 7*, consisting of 67 manuscripts (049-876) which may be conveniently divided into 11 subgroups, namely, 7<sup>a-k</sup>. Subgroups 7<sup>a-h</sup> are probably Byzantine in text-type. While subgroups 7<sup>i-k</sup> have a distinct orientation towards the major representatives of the Byzantine text-type, they also show a certain independence in the direction of the Alexandrian text traditions. (C) *Group 37*, consisting of 9 manuscripts (522-1505). This group is patently independent of both the Byzantine and the Alexandrian text traditions.

#### THE APOCALYPTIC "SON OF MAN" IN DANIEL 7

Author: Arthur J. Ferch. Th.D., 1979.

Advisor: Gerhard F. Hasel.

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This investigation studies the identity and nature of the manlike figure in Dan 7:13-14 (hereafter referred to as SM). In the first chapter I have reviewed the interpretations of the SM in Jewish and Christian literature since the beginning of the second century of our era and note that with the exception of the seventeenth-century study by J. B. Carpzov, discussion of the Danielic figure has been limited to passing comments. Throughout this period the SM was interpreted mainly messianically or christologically. During the nineteenth century, more substantial inquiries attempted to find answers to the identity and nature of the manlike being, primarily through philological study.

Beginning with the twentieth century, *Religionsgeschichte* provided SM research with a new direction and the latter sought to elucidate the manlike being through its alleged roots or parallels. It was also within this stream that Nathaniel Schmidt first suggested the identification of the SM with an angel (Michael). Shortly after *Religionsgeschichte* made its impact upon the study of the Danielic being, literary-critical examinations suggested that Dan 7:9-10, 13 (14) was a fragment from another apocalyptic and had intruded into the vision of the four beasts. Thus it was proposed (later also by tradition-historical research) that the SM was originally an individual figure, which had experienced a more or less complex history of interpretation at the hands of redactors, until he was finally identified with the saints.

Currently an array of positions identifies the Danielic figure not only

with the saints (on the basis that the SM of the vision [vss. 2-14] is explained by the saints in the interpretation [vss. 15-27]) but also with an angel(s), an incarnation of divine glory, hypostatized wisdom, or some historical human individual.

In the second chapter I have probed the various alleged origins of, and parallels to, the manlike being within Babylonian, Egyptian, Iranian, Hellenistic, Gnostic, Ugaritic, and Hebrew literature. I employed the methodology which avoids "punctiliar" comparison by considering individual phenomena in their contextual totality before making comparison with a similar phenomenon. My methodology has demonstrated a basic discontinuity between the alleged roots and correspondences (whether more or less direct). Of the various biblical prototypes, Michael seemed to offer the closest longitudinal parallel to the SM, though Daniel nowhere identifies him as the manlike being.

In the third chapter I have examined the unity and structure of Dan 7, before passing to the specific passages dealing with the Danielic figure. My inquiry made it apparent that the criteria inherited from M. Noth and L. Ginsberg challenging the unity of Dan 7 are based on inadequate data and occidental syllogistic reasoning. This negative evaluation is corroborated positively by the structures and themes within the chapter. It also became evident that the customary chapter division into vision and interpretation needs revision, for Dan 7:15-16, 19-22 consists of prophetic reactions and supplements to the vision. Consequently the saints are envisaged in the vision before the judgment.

Within the setting of Dan 7:9-10, 13-14, the SM is an individual, eschatological, celestial being with messianic traits. Though he is characterized by divine attributes, Dan 7 does not teach a ditheism, for the Danielic being assumes a role subordinate to the Ancient of Days. Whereas the manlike figure is a celestial being, he is, nevertheless, set apart from the heavenly creatures referred to in Dan 7:10. While the SM *resembles* a human being, he is also distinct from the "saints of the Most High," who *are* human beings with whom he, nevertheless, enjoys a solidarity, for he shares with them throughout perpetuity the kingship given him by the Ancient of Days.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Coleman, Robert E. *Songs of Heaven*. Old Tappan, N.J.: F. H. Revell Co., 1980. 159 pp. \$6.95.

The author is professor of evangelism at Asbury Theological Seminary. With a strong emphasis on devotional study, Coleman plows fresh ground in an area of NT Scripture where most would not think treasures for devotional life and present-day applications can be discovered. This book explores the "songs heard around the throne" in the book of Revelation as expressing the depths of worship God desires for his people.

In this study of such hymns or parts thereof as Rev 4:8, 4:11, 5:9-10, 5:12, 5:13-14, 6:10, 7:10, 7:12, 11:15, 11:17-18, 12:10-12, 15:3-4, 19:1-4, and 19:6-7, the author provides an insightful and lucid supplement to average interpretations of the book of Revelation. Thus beginning in Rev 4 and continuing intermittently through chap. 19, these doxologies provide a celestial background to history that in the midst of the dissolution of human institutions speak about the unchanging and abiding reality of an eternal world in which God's unfailing purpose manifests itself. These hymns reveal the proper response of created beings to the manifestation of the glory of God. It is argued that these "songs of heaven" inform us of the essence of worship: God—his character, his attributes, his acts, his benefits, his pleasure. "It is in beholding His glory that the creature has its highest joy" (p. 17).

Coleman agrees that these hymns share characteristics of earliest liturgical hymns and does not preclude the possibility that John's visions may incorporate established patterns of worship in the early church, maintaining at the same time that John wrote what he saw. The hymns, in the author's view, are the primary unifying element in the narrative, "as the church militant on earth (1:1-3:22) moves through struggle and martyrdom (4:1-20:15) to become the church triumphant in heaven (21:1-22:17)" (p. 22). Whereas this division of the book of Revelation is open to question, the author emphasizes that his work is intended for meditative reading and reflection, not academic disputation. Yet, in view of the extensive research that is evident, one wonders why Coleman proposes that the threefold affirmation "holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God . . ." (Rev 4:8) "suggests the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, all of whom share equally in the divine attributes" (p. 33), when indeed the threefold repetition (cf. Isa 6:3) is a Semitic way of expressing the superlative.

All in all, this is a masterly exposition and application of hymns in the book of Revelation. The reader is drawn into praise and adoration, and

as the reader meditates upon these "songs of heaven" he joins the celebration in heaven.

Andrews University

GERHARD F. HASEL

Gundry, Stanley N. *Love Them In: The Proclamation Theology of D. L. Moody*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1976. 252 pp. \$6.95.

In the book *Love Them In*, Gundry not only achieves his objective of drawing a good sketch of D. L. Moody's beliefs, but also, because of his systematic effort to place the evangelist within the streams of religious thought of his times, he provides an excellent survey of the main theological currents of the latter half of the nineteenth century. The author introduces the reader to the whole spectrum of "moodyanas" and points out some of the limitations of the material available. The book is clear and thought-provoking, and will be of great value to all who are interested in piety and theology in nineteenth-century America or in the problems of evangelism.

The keystone of Moody's theology focused around what he called "the three R's in the Bible: ruin by sin, redemption by Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Ghost" (p. 88), essentially the "practical" doctrines of Christianity that an evangelist is bound to emphasize. Besides those points, Gundry also considers Moody's ecclesiology, eschatology, and attitude toward modernism. Obviously, as Gundry recognizes, we are far from any systematic theology, and this is made so much the more evident that the evangelist seldom took time to spell out any point of theology beyond the sermonic level. That consideration should make us cautious about any dogmatic conclusion, since a theologian often sounds quite differently in the pulpit from the way he expresses himself in his study.

Gundry is eager to dispel certain misconceptions concerning Moody. For instance, he grapples with the evangelist's statement, "It makes no difference how you get a man to God, provided you get him there," and he defends his hero from having allowed the requirements of professional revivalism to determine his theology. This concern leads Gundry to dissociate Moody sharply from Charles G. Finney's "new measures," which systematically worked upon the listeners' wills. Gundry stresses Moody's rejection of emotionalism—"the anxious bench" (which he replaced by the inquiry room)—and of the appeal to the fear of hell fire. Rather, Moody relied upon the drawing power of the gripping account of God's love. Of special significance was Moody's premillennialism that put the emphasis on preaching the gospel rather than the postmillennialist determination to win souls in order to establish God's kingdom on earth.



It is regrettable that Gundry contrasts Moody with the Finney of legend, when he himself recognizes the need for correcting the legendary picture of Moody.

As can be expected, a study of an evangelist's belief has to devote special attention to the issue of human capacity for decision. Gundry discusses Moody's Arminianism. He questions the authenticity of a statement commonly attributed to Moody, "Arminian up to the cross, but Calvinist beyond" (p. 143), but he recognizes clear Calvinist tones in Moody's words on assurance. Moody insisted upon a sudden conversion (much to the displeasure of the liberals and the Campbellites) and upon the capacity of all to will to accept God's gift of salvation and the divine election, a doctrine that should be preached to believers only. Obviously, Moody never resolved the tension between the indispensability of God's intervention and the importance of human decision.

Gundry proves that, contrary to the conclusions of J. Alexander Findlay, perhaps the best of Moody's biographers, Moody taught substitutionary atonement, not the moral-influence atonement. Gundry also sets the record straight concerning Moody's relationship with the Holiness groups and Pentecostals. Although Moody insisted on the need of regeneration through the Holy Spirit, he never encouraged or allowed ecstatic manifestations in his meetings. The author likewise dismisses the claims of certain liberals that if Moody were still alive, he would have been on their side.

The discussion of Moody's attitude toward dispensationalism is extremely interesting. Gundry shows that the influence of the Plymouth Brethren on Moody is unquestionable, but that the latter chose to emphasize the importance of being ready for the Lord's coming rather than defining exactly the mode of the return.

To summarize, for Moody Christian life and Christian action were more important than theological speculation. In fact, Moody looked to the educational system he established to provide "gap men" between the theologians and the laity, because he felt that the professional theologian loses touch with the common people (p. 148). Moody had "beliefs," but one may question Gundry's thesis that he had a "theology." He was uncommittal or ambiguous on too many points. If he had a theology, it was a consensus theology with which he could reach the large numbers, and he saw little need to go far beyond that stage. As for the evidence concerning Moody's Calvinism, this reviewer has a feeling that it consisted of standard themes of Christian faith. Even the doctrine of assurance is stated in terms of Christ's heavenly intercession and care for his children, an idea that is not exclusively Calvinistic. The important thing, however, is that the book will cause the reader to do some deep thinking on the true

role of theology in the church, and this is another reason for reading the book.

Andrews University

DANIEL A. AUGSBURGER

Merkel, Helmut. *Die Pluralität der Evangelien als theologisches und exegetisches Problem in der Alten Kirche*. *Traditio Christiana*, Band III. Bern: Verlag Peter Lang, 1978. xxx + 172 pp. Swiss Francs 39.00.

This useful volume, like its predecessors in the *Traditio Christiana* series, presents an industriously assembled anthology of patristic texts—in this case from Papias to Augustine—dealing with the problems presented by the existence of four gospels and differences among them. The author, a young professor of NT and patristics at Erlangen, had written his doctoral dissertation on this subject (*Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien: Ihre polemische und apologetische Behandlung in der Alten Kirche bis zu Augustin*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 13 [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1971]), and this collection is doubtless a by-product of that work.

*Pluralität* begins with a twenty-page introduction which is sensitive, informative, and usually judicious. We may assume that it provides us with a careful resumé of Merkel's dissertation. Then follow forty-one texts from sixteen patristic sources (i.e., Papias, Irenaeus, Muratorian Fragment, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Julius Africanus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Eusebius, Ambrosiaster, Apollinaris of Laodicea, Epiphanius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine). The original language and German translations are on facing pages; and in the case of Origen, the Greek is given when extant, as well as Rufinus' Latin version. Two indices, scriptural and general, complete the volume.

Merkel's rich but compressed introduction well points out the main trends and types of approaches taken by the Fathers in seeking to explain away or harmonize the tensions and discrepancies between the gospel accounts. As one reads this and the texts themselves, he is again impressed how difficult it has been to advance beyond what was already proposed in the first five centuries of Christian thought. The Christian thinkers represented in this collection anticipated most, if not all, of the solutions available to conservative scholars working on Synoptic and Johannine problems even today. Merkel astonishes us, however, when at one point (p. xxiii) he seems to fault the Fathers for not using text-critical or redaction-critical explanations!

Several points in the trajectory of the problem are worth mentioning. An acute awareness of the problem, with a desire to resolve it, was possible only after the fourfold evangelic canon had become firmly established in the latter half of the second century, before which time a great deal of gross manipulation of the gospels was common practice. In other words, where there was only one gospel there was no problem, and there were at least two ways of achieving such a monolithic situation. One way was to produce a synthetic gospel which cannibalized and melded together earlier models. Thus Tatian's *Diatessaron* merely carried on the tradition begun by Matthew (which may have been intended to supersede Mark as well as other earlier sources) and Luke (whose prologue seems to advertise his gospel as a great improvement upon antecedent narratives). Another way was to deny the authenticity of all the gospels but one. This was an approach for which Irenaeus reproached the heretics, insisting that nature and revelation alike show that in the divine will there must needs be four gospels, no more and no less. But the heretics buttressed their position by pointing out all kinds of differences between the gospels. It is from this point on, at first as part of the anti-heretical polemic, that the church catholic began to apply itself seriously to the problems. The grosser freedom was gone; the fourfold gospel was the given.

Few wrestled so manfully with the problems or wrote so extensively about them as did Origen, who approached the matter on two levels, historical and theological. On the historical, or literal, level he sought out ingenious harmonizations. When this method failed or led to confusion, which he readily confessed, he found refuge in theological, or allegorical, explanations. These were not lacking in profundity, sometimes to the point of inscrutability.

A more uncompromisingly historical approach was characteristic of the Antiochian school, of which the most remarkable representative was Theodore of Mopsuestia. His concern for the problem—judged by the amount of writing which is here preserved about it—was rivaled only by Origen and by Eusebius, the latter of whom was apparently the originator of the so-called *Ergänzungs*-theory of the origin and nature of the fourth gospel. Theodore seems strikingly modern in his appeal to the human aspect of the gospel record. He even sees positive apologetic value in the minor discrepancies between the gospel accounts, for they prove that the writers were independent witnesses not in collusion with each other.

Augustine appears as the first to deal comprehensively with all the problems, using almost exclusively the method of *secundum historiam* harmonization, availing himself of all the suggested solutions of his less allegorically minded predecessors. He further concerned himself deeply with the interrelationship between the gospels as a whole and pronounced

them to be in a relationship of complementarity. Augustine is thus in this matter a culminator and a tradent to subsequent generations.

It is clear that Merkel's slender work should hold deep interest, not only for students of early Christian *Dogmengeschichte*, but also for NT scholars, especially those engaged in gospel research. As Merkel rightly says in his preface, such studies and anthologies as this one perform a great service in making us aware of how historically conditioned our own exegetical judgments are.

Andrews University

ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

Müller, Richard. *Adventisten—Sabbat—Reformation. Geht das Ruhetagsverständnis der Adventisten bis zur Zeit der Reformation zurück? Eine theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Studia Theologica Lundensia, No. 38. Lund: Gleerup, 1979. 251 pp. Paperback. Swedish Crowns 50.00.

The question of Adventism's relationship to the Reformation is undoubtedly of considerable interest. In the present study Richard Müller, a lecturer at Newbold College, England, explores this relationship in terms of the question of the Sabbath. "Can the Adventist understanding of the Sabbath question be traced back to the time of the Reformation?" Müller asks in the subtitle of the volume here under review.

It was the contention of English Seventh Day Baptists that their Sabbath beliefs derived from the continental Anabaptists, and since Seventh Day Baptists were in fact instrumental in bringing the belief in the seventh-day Sabbath to the attention of the early Adventists, it might be assumed that a direct line of influence extends from the Reformation, i.e., from some section of the reformed camp, to the Adventists of the nineteenth century. Müller is obviously convinced that such a line of influence does in principle exist, and he sets out to document it in this study (actually his doctoral dissertation for the University of Lund, Sweden, photomechanically reproduced from the typescript). It is a long line, and in a relatively short study such as the present one, selectivity of primary source material, as well as brevity of description, is the order.

The book is divided into three parts. The first—and most substantial one—deals with the question of the Sabbath at the time of the Reformation. An introductory chapter provides some perspective by outlining the medieval as well as the sixteenth-century Roman Catholic position on the question of the day of rest (Sunday).

Chaps. 2 and 3 deal first with Luther's and then with Calvin's understanding of the Sabbath question. Being the progenitors of two somewhat different schools of theology with a definite bearing on the Sabbath question and its subsequent history, the choice is obvious. The focus is on the idea and theology of the Sabbath; and in dealing with these reformers, Müller places the matter in the context of their theology and hermeneutical principles and consequently seeks to outline briefly their position on such issues as the authority of Scripture, the relation of the Testaments, the question of the Law at large, etc. Müller is intent on laying bare the bones of the question and does succeed in a measure.

Although Müller clearly documents a difference in Luther's and Calvin's position on the Law he arrives at the conclusion, somewhat surprisingly, that the two reformers are in essential agreement on the question of the day of rest (p. 90). Müller therefore sees no relationship between Calvin's theology on the Sabbath/Sunday question and that of later Puritanism (p. 91). Can this be so? Is Puritan sabbatarianism unrelated to Calvin's theology? In a very specific sense the answer may be "yes," since Calvin, like Luther, rejected the idea of a sacred Sunday, as much as he rejected the idea of a sacred seventh day. Indeed, in his *Institutes* Calvin went out of the way to call the Roman Catholic Sunday a "Jewish notion." Yet both reformers considered *a day*, any day, necessary for worship—Luther on the basis of natural law; Calvin, however (and this must be the crucial difference), on the basis of revelation as well. A day of rest in Calvin's thinking had a divine mandate, as testified by Scripture. Calvin's and Luther's positions on this issue are only superficially similar. The real basis is dissimilar, as is also quite clear from Müller's account. Calvin's understanding of the Law, and of the OT as a whole, was different from Luther's, and some of the distinctive characteristics of later Puritanism are related to exactly this difference, sabbatarianism included. But Calvin, it is true, was no sabbatarian. Nor did he have to be such in order to have provided the impetus for sabbatarianism.

Karlstadt is the subject of chap. 4, and it is again the issue of the Sabbath and its theology that is the focus. Müller briefly outlines Karlstadt's position as spelled out in his book *Von dem Sabbat und gebotten feyertagen*, a book which Müller considers a distinct product of Karlstadt's flirt with mysticism. The reviewer could not quite be convinced by the evidence presented in favor of this point of view, but this may be due to one's definition of mysticism. Is Karlstadt's position not rather close to Calvin's? Müller would not think so. He also takes issue with Gordon Rupp, who considered Karlstadt's sabbathbook "a premonition of Puritanism." Karlstadt certainly goes further than Calvin (or rather, Calvin does not go as far as Karlstadt) in accepting the idea of one day in seven on biblical

authority. A belief long kept alive in Seventh Day Baptist and Seventh-day Adventist circles—namely, that Karlstadt was a proponent of their particular point of view—is put to rest.

In the final chapter of the first part of his volume Müller deals with the Anabaptists, the discussion centering on two proponents of seventh-day Sabbath observance, Oswald Glait and Andreas Fischer. The two are apparently the only Anabaptists known to have advocated the sacredness of the seventh day and of whose beliefs on this point some details remain. Since, however, none of their own works on the Sabbath question have survived, Müller must reconstruct their Sabbath theology on the basis of polemical tracts directed against them, on the basis, basically, of tracts by Schwenckfeld and Crautwald. In summarizing his findings, Müller brings together the various lines advanced in favor of the seventh-day Sabbath under the heading of motifs and theological presuppositions. Six are listed, constituent parts of all subsequent discussions on the subject. One notices with interest a distinct eschatological orientation, a rather significant aspect of all subsequent discussions in favor of the seventh-day Sabbath.

Part 2 of the book concentrates on the seventeenth-century English sources. Müller puts the Sabbath theology of the Seventh Day Baptists in the context of Puritan sabbatarianism, which is contrasted with "antisabbatarian" theology, or basically the position of Luther as held by the Anglicans. A number of possible reasons for the development of Puritan sabbatarianism are given, among them the Marian exile and the subsequent strong reformed influence in England. Müller notes especially the influence of Calvin—a point somewhat at odds with his earlier statement that there was no relation between Calvin's "Sunday" and the Puritan Sabbath. Nevertheless, there was a further development in England, for, as Müller goes on to show, the Puritans accepted the decalogue (including the fourth commandment) as the eternal will of God. With regard to the "sabbath" they held not just the concept that time is required for worship (Calvin), nor just the idea that one day in seven (any day) ought to be observed (Karlstadt), but rather believed that one particular day ought to be observed: Sunday. Sunday was invested by the Puritans with all the authority of the original seventh-day Sabbath of the OT, and they assumed, unlike the continental reformers, that Sunday had apostolic sanction, even a divine mandate—the theoretical basis of Puritan sabbatarianism.

On the heels of the sabbatarian controversy between Puritans and Anglicans over the manner of observance and scriptural authority follows another over the particular day, one especially associated with Seventh Day Baptism. What is the relationship of Seventh Day Baptism to Puritanism and to Anglicanism? Müller suggests that Seventh Day Baptism is an

outgrowth of the conflict between Puritans and "antisabbarians," a movement that provided a third alternative (p. 169). But this kind of historical triangle is misleading. Has Müller perhaps confused movement with ideology? Müller's basic concern is not with the origin of Seventh Day Baptism, but with the cause of seventh-day Sabbath theology in England in the seventeenth century. Müller has looked for a link to the continent and admits he has not come across one. So he looks at the English scene and sees a possible explanation in the Puritan-Anglican controversy. There must be a connection, but it is not that of cause to effect. Moreover, the continental link is hardly necessary, though should one be found it would broaden our understanding of the historical development of the Sabbath doctrine. The Sabbath theology of the Seventh Day Baptists, however, can be quite well explained by hermeneutical factors operating within Puritanism itself; in fact, the Sabbath theology of the Seventh Day Baptists, one might almost say, was a necessary consequence of theological developments within Puritanism.

Part 3 of the volume is concerned with nineteenth-century developments in America, with the origin of the Adventist Sabbath theology. Müller points out that Seventh Day Baptists were active within the Millerite movement, where their views on the question of the Sabbath were not unknown. Their importance for the development of Adventist Sabbath theology is well known. Müller passes it over in relatively few words and then goes on to examine the early literature of the sabbatarian Adventists (later Seventh-day Adventists). In so doing he confines himself primarily to the literature of the first few years of the movement (to the tracts of T. M. Preble and Joseph Bates, and to articles in the early Adventist periodicals), but goes beyond this period in the case of J. N. Andrews's *History of the Sabbath*, as also in the case of the writings of E. G. White. The latter's views on the Sabbath are chosen for their representative nature of Adventist Sabbath theology, and they are summed up under the heading of different motifs (creation, covenant, law, restoration and salvation motifs). A final paragraph deals with White's views on the observance of the Sabbath.

The subject of this third part of the volume is undoubtedly the most familiar to readers and presents little that is new. However, on the basis of the research reported in Parts 1 and 2, Müller is able to state that there is little in the Sabbath theology of Seventh-day Adventists that is original in principle—not even that of relating the Sabbath question to that of the heavenly sanctuary (p. 5 and p. 200, n. 53).

Müller's work is a serious study and will be of interest to both theologians and historians. It may give rise to some debate, though more likely it will stimulate further research on this significant topic. That such

further research will be done must also be the author's own anticipation, for he concludes his study with a number of suggestions for further research, and the list is undoubtedly not meant to be exhaustive.

The particular merit of the study, in this writer's view, is the attempt to relate the Sabbath question to broader issues, to hermeneutical issues. The Sabbath question is very much a hermeneutical question and in a Christian context very closely related to the question of the OT and its place in the canon. It is to Müller's credit that he has attempted to look at the problem in this enlarged perspective.

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PALLE J. OLSEN

Thiele, Edwin R. *Knowing God*. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1979. 127 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

Edwin R. Thiele is internationally known to OT scholarship for his books and articles on the chronology of the kings of Judah and Israel during the Divided Monarchy, and his reconstruction of that chronology has justly been referred to by Siegfried H. Horn as a "breakthrough" (see *AUSS* 5 [1967]: 213). But Thiele's many years of pastoral, editorial, and teaching experience have given him, as well, the burden and insights to write materials of a more popular and devotional type, the book here under review being an outstanding example. A worthy addition to Southern Publishing Association's Horizon Series, it reveals the author's phenomenal mastery of biblical materials, while at the same time making its presentation in a popular and heart-warming style.

This book focuses on the center of all biblical theology: God. With a virtually compendious notice of both OT and NT materials, supplemented by comments based on the author's own perceptive analysis, the volume carries us through such topics as "The Eternal God," "The Supreme Ruler of the Universe," "The Triune God," "God Becomes Man," "God Is Love," "The Saviour God," "Our Father in Heaven," and a number of others (there are thirteen short chapters in all).

In his Introduction, Thiele posits that "leaders in any field—in industry, finance, religion, or commerce—must know God if they would, with insight and foresight, guide others in accord with what is best for all concerned" and that "society acquires its shape by what men know, or do not know, about God and how they respond to His influence upon the human heart." He indicates that the book "will explore the question of how children of men can become transformed into children of God, and what steps they may take that will make them wiser and better, more like



God Himself. Only by such means will we be on the way to having a better world—more peaceful and stable, more prosperous and happy. Only thus will we find a solution to the problems that threaten to engulf us.

“And only by learning to know God will men discover the secret of life in its fullness, both here and with God in heaven tomorrow” (p. 8). Both the present and future aspects here mentioned are, indeed, kept in view in the volume; but it is clear, too, that the presentation is meant to emphasize experiential practicalities for everyday life in a troubled, distressed world.

The simplest way to give an impression of the nature and style of the book is to provide a few sample quotations (though any small selection cannot, of course, give an adequate impression of what the book is really like). In chap. 7, entitled “On Earth Peace, Good Will Toward Men,” Thiele relates the fact of “terrors prevailing on earth” (even though most people prefer peace to war) to the fact that “peace comes from God, while His enemy brings war.” Nevertheless, victory has been won by God at the Cross: “In spite of Satan’s seeming supremacy when he put to death the Son of God, God achieved the real victory. God was very much in control, and He still is today.” “The kingdom of God is a kingdom of peace. Heaven’s inhabitants are children of peace because they have God’s peace and love abiding within them. They walk in paths of peace because they follow His law. With such beings there can be no war, turmoil, unrest, or ill will.” “Peace comes from righteousness, and righteousness from God” (pp. 60-63).

In chap. 10, “Our Father in Heaven,” Thiele points out that “man’s most vital need is God. His greatest good and joy is God. Christ came here to give man a knowledge of God because He was God and He was the Son of God. He knew God as His Father and the children of earth as His brothers and sisters.” “The most effective thing that Jesus could do to bring home to men the lessons that He came to teach was to have them become acquainted with God as their own personal Father as well as His. Christ wanted men to learn to know God as the compassionate Father of love, closer and better than any human father could ever be.” Furthermore, “As God loved, so ought men also to love. The distinguishing characteristic of those chosen to have a place in His kingdom was to have a tender, loving interest in those about them” (pp. 97-98).

In chap. 12, “Fear Not; I Will Help Thee,” Thiele raises the question: “But how can I know my relationship to God? How can I know that my way is God’s, and that He is with me to always give me the help I need?” The author points out that “much depends on the way I make my decisions. Do I think first of myself or Him? Do I do what I would like to do, or what the Lord would have me do? Do I put aside my will for His?

Do I take others into consideration in what I plan and do? Do I welcome advice or resent and ignore it? Do I choose pleasure over duty?" (p. 119).

Proceeding next to a number of questions about the "course I follow" ("Am I rash, lazy, careless, negligent, or indifferent? When I start on a trip do I have sufficient gas in the tank and money in my pocket?" Etc.), Thiele observes that "often we make serious mistakes and then expect God to compensate for our negligence or indifference. Certainly God 'knoweth our frame' and 'remembereth that we are dust,' and He repeatedly comes to our aid in the difficulties that we bring upon ourselves. But we must take care not to try to involve God in endorsing carelessness or disobedience. Often the best thing God can do for us is to let us learn through suffering." And Thiele concludes, "The God we serve is able, kind, and good. He knows us and wants to do for us what is for our best good. His promise is, 'Fear not, I will help thee.' And help He will, whether we can understand or recognize it or not. When we cannot see, we still can trust. The God who has helped His children throughout the past is still our help today" (pp. 119-120).

Both the "down-to-earthness" and inspirational tone of the book are apparent in the foregoing quotations, even though these quotations are admittedly too few and random to provide adequate illustration of the volume's nature and flavor. Only a reading of the book itself can furnish a full appreciation along these lines. Indeed, *Knowing God* is a valuable addition to Christian literature on God, abounding in OT and NT allusions and references placed in meaningful context for the needs of today. It provides enjoyable, stimulating, inspirational—and above all, helpful—reading.

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Von Rad, Gerhard. *God at Work in Israel*. Trans. John H. Marks. Nashville: Abingdon, 1980. 223 pp. Paperback, \$6.95.

This book contains a translation of nineteen lectures of eminent OT scholar Gerhard von Rad (1901-1971). Most of the lectures were delivered in the 1950s and 1960s. Seven of them represent short radio addresses; ten were not published heretofore.

The lectures are organized into two groups. The first contains critical paraphrases of biblical passages: "The Story of Joseph" (pp. 19-35) is based on Gen 37-50; "The Story about Balaam" (pp. 36-39) relates Num 22-24; "Judges 12:5-7" (pp. 40-42) is concerned with Jephthah's wars; "The Story about Samson" (pp. 43-46) paraphrases Judg 13-16; "Naaman: A

Critical Retelling" (pp. 47-57) is built on 2 Kgs 5; "The Prophet Jonah" (pp. 58-70) attempts to interpret the book of Jonah; "The Story of Job's Suffering" (pp. 71-75) and "The Discussion about Job's Suffering" (pp. 76-80) highlight some passages in the book of Job.

The second group of lectures comprise biblical texts considered thematically. These themes contain "The Mystery of Old Testament Israel" (pp. 81-96), "The Biblical Story of Creation" (pp. 97-107), "The Reality of God" (pp. 108-127), "The Origin of Mosaic Monotheism" (pp. 128-138), "God's Word in History According to the Old Testament" (pp. 139-159), "The Witness of the Prophets to God's Ways in World History" (pp. 160-175), "Wisdom in Israel" (pp. 176-182), "Brother and Neighbor in the Old Testament" (pp. 183-193), "Statements of Faith in the Old Testament about Life and about Death" (pp. 194-209) and "Psalm 90" (pp. 210-223).

These two groups of lectures increase the corpus of publications by von Rad, who interprets OT texts and themes utilizing form-critical and tradition-critical approaches (indeed himself a pioneer in the development of these research tools). These lectures furnish a wealth of information about the yield of these modern approaches in historical-critical research.

Andrews University

GERHARD F. HASEL

Westermann, Claus. *Theologie des Alten Testaments in Grundzügen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978. iv + 222 pp. Paperback, DM 22.00.

The eminent University of Heidelberg professor *emeritus* presents his long-announced *Theology of the Old Testament in Outline*. Although it is not as extensive as the tomes of such other scholars as W. Eichrodt, Th. C. Vriezen, G. von Rad, S. Terrien, etc., it takes its place among the works of G. Fohrer, W. Zimmerli, J. L. McKenzie, and the like.

This book is divided into six parts. The first one, "What Does the OT Say about God?" (pp. 5-27), provides a succinct section on methodology and then treats the topic under the headings of history ("Geschichte"), word of God in the OT, the response of man, and God's unity as possibility of interrelationship.

Westermann sees the task of OT theology as that of summarizing and the bringing together of what the whole OT has to say about God. This means for him that it is illegitimate to elevate one part of the OT to a status of being most important or to interpret the whole on the basis of such concepts as covenant, election, or salvation. To raise the question of

the center of the OT also is to go astray, because the OT does not manifest such a centering structure. In this respect it is different from the NT which centers in the life, death, and resurrection of Christ.

It is argued that a presentation of what the OT has to say about God as a whole has to begin with the recognition that the OT narrates a history in the sense of happening ("Geschehen"). Westermann follows here explicitly G. von Rad and his traditio-historical approach (p. 5), but refuses to follow von Rad's principle of "re-telling" because the constant words of God that enter Israel's life bring about a human response or answer. Thus the OT functions in the dialectic of divine address manifested in manifold acts and words and man's response evidenced also in words and deeds. History ("Geschichte") thus involves both God and man.

Westermann informs his readers that OT wisdom literature has no place in this basic structure of OT theology, "because originally and essentially its object is not a happening between God and man" (p. 7). The theological place of OT wisdom is to be seen in connection with the creation of man and his ability to understand and find his way in the world. Whereas von Rad viewed wisdom as part of Israel's answer to God, Westermann follows W. Zimmerli in arguing that the theological place of wisdom is within the framework of man's creation (pp. 7, 85-86). Thus Westermann shares with his German predecessors the problem of how to incorporate "wisdom" properly into an OT theology. As it stands, Westermann has no real place for wisdom theology.

The second part of the volume (pp. 28-71) discusses history and the saving God, which is presented under the rubrics of the meaning, process, and elements of God's saving activity. The third part (pp. 72-101) deals with Creator and creation and also with blessing. This is followed by a fourth part (pp. 102-133), in which the correlation of divine judgment and divine mercy, particularly in both prophecy of woe and weal, is expounded.

A brief section on apocalyptic (pp. 130-133) deals with such texts as Isa 24-27, Zech 1-8, 12-14, Isa 66, Joel 2-4, and the book of Daniel. Westermann states categorically, "The origin of apocalyptic from wisdom is excluded" (p. 132). He thus outrightly opposes the unilinear development of apocalyptic from wisdom for which G. von Rad has argued so forcefully. Apocalyptic "receives its theological aspect in its determination in the plan of God in which the history of mankind is predetermined" (p. 133). In contrast to OT prophecy, apocalyptic contains a conception of world history of cosmic dimensions which corresponds to primeval history.

The fifth part of the volume (pp. 134-191) treats the human-response side of the dialectic of divine address and human response. The response manifests itself in prayer, praise, and lamentation. Spoken response is followed by acted response in obedience to commandment and law, in

worship and theological reflection, including the theological interpretation of history by the Yahwist, Deuteronomist, and the Priestly writing. Nothing is said about an Elohlist or his theology.

The final part (pp. 192-205) is entitled, "The Old Testament and Christ." This subject is divided into sections on historical books and Christ, prophetic proclamation and Christ, and Christ and the answer of God's people.

The concluding paragraphs raise the question of a biblical theology. In contrast to earlier times of historical-critical research, it is argued that "a biblical theology is a necessity for the beginning of the ecumenical age of Christian churches" (p. 205). Westermann envisions that such a biblical theology should be presented along the lines of a historical structure which correlates the relationship between God and man. This means that the historical structure consists of testimonies about God in both the OT and NT. It is suggested that on this foundation a biblical theology of both OT and NT can be produced.

It is evident that Westermann's approach is thoroughly form-critical and follows in one basic aspect the traditio-historical approach of G. von Rad. In the other basic aspect, Westermann departs from von Rad's approach by emphasizing also a systematic aspect which he recognizes in the OT's witness (speaking) about God. The latter is the constant element of the OT, while the historical aspect provides variableness. All students of OT theology and its intricate methodological issues will remain indebted to the author for many impulses and stimulations. It is hoped that an approach to OT theology may emerge that can be open to the richness of that part of Scripture, including wisdom theology.

Andrews University

GERHARD F. HASEL

## 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.

- Armstrong, Terry A., Busby, Douglas L., and Carr, Cyril F., eds. *A Reader's Hebrew-English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Vol. 1: *Genesis - Deuteronomy*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1980. 146 pp. \$9.95. With the student and pastor in view, this tool has been developed as a means to a more rapid reading of the Hebrew text, but does not replace a standard lexicon.
- Beker, J. Christiaan. *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought*. Philadelphia, Penn.: Fortress Press, 1980. 452 pp. \$22.95. The author's goal is to move toward an understanding of "the whole Paul" by focusing on the two fundamental questions of Paul's thought and his hermeneutics.
- Brown, Raymond E. *The Community of the Beloved Disciple. The Life, Loves, and Hates of an Individual Church in New Testament Times*. New York: Paulist Press, 1979. 204 pp. Paperback, \$3.95. Study in Johannine ecclesiology, reconstructing the history of one Christian community of the first century. The reader is warned by the author that this "reconstruction claims at most probability."
- Carmignac, Jean. *Le Mirage de l'Eschatologie. Royauté, Règne et Royaume de Dieu . . . sans Eschatologie*. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1979. 250 pp. Paperback, French Francs 100.00. Critical reaction to the eschatological interpretation of the concept of the kingdom of God as represented by J. Weiss, A. Schweitzer, R. Bultmann, and C. H. Dodd. The author pleads for a reinterpretation of the concept of eschatology in the traditional sense, i.e., being the doctrine of the final matters. He distinguishes between God's reign = justification, and God's kingdom = the church (in its ecclesiastical meaning).
- Childs, Brevard S. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*. Philadelphia, Penn.: Fortress Press, 1979. 688 pp. \$28.50. Attempt "to offer a different model for the discipline from that currently presented. It seeks to describe the form and function of the Hebrew Bible in its role as a sacred scripture for Israel."
- Conybeare, F. C. and Stock, St. George. *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1980. 76 pp. Paperback, \$5.95. Reprint of the 1905 edition of the grammatical section (pp. 25-100) of *Selections from the Septuagint*.
- Croatto, J. Severino. *Exodus. A Hermeneutics of Freedom*. Translated from the Spanish by Salvator Attanasio. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1981. vi + 89 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. Written from the standpoint of liberation theology, and frequently alluding to modern-day Latin American problems.
- Freedman, David N. *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy. Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns,

1980. x + 376 pp. \$15.00. A collection of essays, originally published in journals and *Festschriften* during the 1970s, having as their general theme the poetry of the Hebrew Bible.
- Girard, Robert C. *My Weakness: His Strength. The Personal Face of Renewal*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. 199 pp. Paperback, \$5.95. The author's very personal account of a most difficult time in his life. He considers that his own weaknesses, turned over to Christ, became Christ's strength.
- Hoehner, Harold W. *Herod Antipas*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1980. xvi + 437 pp. Paperback, \$8.95. Attempts to reconstruct the life and background of Herod Antipas, from his youth until the last years of his reign, dealing with the geography, inhabitants, and economics of his realm. Discusses his relationship with John the Baptist, Pilate, and Jesus. Well-footnoted, multiple indices, 45 pages of bibliography.
- Kohlenberger, John R., III, ed. *The NIV Interlinear Hebrew-English Old Testament*. Vol. 2: *Joshua - 2 Kings*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1980. xv + 512 pp. \$19.95. Continues the four-volume series (Vol. 1: Genesis - Deuteronomy, publ. in 1979). The English text is the New International Version, the Hebrew text being the *Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. The interlinear translation is grammatically literal.
- Kubo, Sakae. *Theology and Ethics of Sex*. Nashville, Tenn.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1980. 128 pp. Paperback, \$4.50. Examines both the Scriptural concept of human sexuality and the ethical issues involved in many burning questions facing our generation, such as abortion, premarital sex, homosexuality, artificial insemination, cloning, and genetic engineering.
- Martyn, J. Louis. *The Gospel of John in Christian History. Essays for Interpreters*. New York: Paulist Press, 1978. viii + 147 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. Part 1 of the book attempts to show "where and how John's christology fits into the history of christological patterns in early Christianity." Part 2 focuses on Johannine ecclesiology.
- Moore, Arthur Leroy. *Theology in Crisis. Or, Ellen G. White's Concept of Righteousness by Faith as it Relates to Contemporary SDA Issues*. Corpus Christi, Texas: Life Seminars, 1980. viii + 443 pp. Paperback, \$5.00. The purpose of this Ph.D. dissertation is "to derive from the writings of Ellen G. White, a co-founder of the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church, a unified doctrine of righteousness by faith which may help resolve the current conflict within the SDA church and provide the basis for a restudy of the Church's educational program."
- O'Connor, M. *Hebrew Verse Structure*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1980. xvi + 629 pp. \$15.00. New approach to the analysis and interpretation of early Hebrew poetry, engaging the tools of comparative poetic study, linguistics, and literary criticism. Focuses mainly on the poetry of the Pentateuch, the Former and Latter Prophets, and the Psalms.
- Paul, Cecil R. *Passages of a Pastor*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. 127 pp. \$6.95. Deals with the impact of stress on the ministry, pointing out as a major source of stress the minister's neglect of his own human limitations, needs, and life tasks.

- Peters, George W. *A Theology of Church Growth*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. 283 pp. Paperback, \$8.95. Presents a principally Scriptural approach. Aims to set forth a biblical framework for defining strategies and operating principles for church growth.
- Peters, Ted. *Fear, Faith and the Future. Affirming Christian Hope in the Face of Domsday Prophecies*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1980. 124 pp. Paperback, \$3.95. Pointing out the main problems of the current global crisis, the author encourages that earnest work be done to transform our world while we expect the future fulfillment of all things in the eschatological kingdom of God.
- Rice, Richard. *The Openness of God. The Relationship of Divine Foreknowledge and Human Free Will*. Nashville, Tenn.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1980. 95 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. Deals with the question of how God experiences the world, and tries to show that a concept of an eternally static divine foreknowledge is incompatible with genuine human freedom. Suggests as an alternative the "open view" of God.
- Richards, Lawrence O. and Hoeldtke, Clyde. *A Theology of Church Leadership*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1980. 425 pp. \$12.95. Emphasizes the thought that the church is not a task- or project-oriented institution, but a people-oriented organism with a living head—the Lord Jesus Christ. Growth is to be achieved by interaction, and servant-leadership should take the place of authoritarian and managerial attitudes.
- Santa Ana, Julio de., ed. *Towards a Church of the Poor. The Work of an Ecumenical Group on the Church and the Poor*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books. xxiv + 210 pp. Paperback, \$8.95. This volume is the third of a trilogy on "The Church and the Poor" prepared by a special commission of the World Council of Churches, the directions having been indicated by the Nairobi Assembly in 1975.
- Schein, Bruce E. *Following the Way. The Setting of John's Gospel*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1980. 223 pp. \$12.50. Having lived in Jerusalem for 15 years, the author shows that the Gospel of John not only overflows with spiritual nourishment, but that in addition it presents a graphic description of the setting of the ministry of Jesus, providing many down-to-earth facts. Geared to pastors and laypeople. Richly illustrated.
- Tenney, Merrill C., and Longenecker, Richard N. *The Expositor's Bible Commentary with the New International Version*. Vol. 9: *John - Acts*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. xvi + 573 pp. \$19.95. This volume is the fourth published so far in a projected series of twelve volumes. The work is international and transdenominational, its stance being that of a "scholarly evangelicalism committed to the divine inspiration."
- Wilson, Robert R. *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*. Philadelphia, Penn.: Fortress Press, 1980. xiii + 322 pp. \$15.95. Interprets the role, activity, and sociological interaction of the prophets in Israelite society in the light of anthropological evidence of modern prophetic phenomena as well as ancient Near Eastern evidence on prophecy. Stresses mainly the social aspects of Israelite prophecy.





Abbreviations (cont.)

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