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ADAM AND ADAPA:
TWO ANTHROPOLOGICAL CHARACTERS

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Because of the enormous impact of the Bible upon both the Jewish and Christian communities, any ancient Near Eastern literary discovery that may offer a parallel to some segment of biblical literature is greeted with interest. One such literary discovery is the Adapa myth. Its early discoverers and investigators claimed it as a true Babylonian parallel to the biblical story of Adam.[1] However, after the initial flush of excitement, other voices arose to point out the differences between Adam and Adapa, claiming that no parallels exist between them.[2] This position is retained in some of the more recent examinations of the material, but with the provision that some of the issues raised in the Adapa myth also occur in the biblical material.[3] Finally, renewed attempts at showing an essential parallel between Adam and Adapa (with due allowances for functional shifts in the material) have been made.[4] Such a "seesaw effect" of ancient Near Eastern parallels to the Bible is quite typical and suggests that the word "parallel,"

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[1]See conveniently the discussion by A. T. Clay, *The Origin of Biblical Traditions*, Yale Oriental Series 12 (New Haven, Conn., 1923), pp. 108-116.

[2]This reaction is well illustrated by A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1951), p. 124: "The Adapa legend and the Biblical story (of Adam) are fundamentally as far apart as antipodes." This general conclusion had been anticipated by G. Furlani, "Il mito di Adapa," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze*, etc. 6/5 (1929): 113-171.

[3]See, e.g., B. R. Foster, "Wisdom and the Gods in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Or*, n. s., 43 (1974): 352-353; E. A. Speiser, "The Idea of History in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 310, n. 96; G. Buccellati, "Adapa, Genesis, and the Notion of Faith," *UF* 5 (1973): 61-66; P. Xella, "L''inganno' di Ea nel mito di Adapa," *Oriens Antiquus* 12 (1973): 265.

[4]Recently W. H. Shea, "Adam in Ancient Mesopotamian Traditions," *AUSS* 15 (1977): 27-41; reprinted in *Bible and Spade* 6 (1977): 65-76.

though difficult to replace, may be inappropriate and quite
inadequate to take account of the complex relationships that exist
between biblical and extrabiblical literary traditions.[5] It is the
purpose of this essay to address that problem with specific reference
to the Adapa myth.

1. *Adapa and the Suggested Parallels with Adam*

The Adapa myth tells a simple story about a wise man, Adapa,
in the city of Eridu in southern Mesopotamia.[6] He was created by
Ea (Sumerian Enki), the god of the great deep and of the world of
man, and served the city of Eridu and its temple with great
devotion by, among other things, providing fish. Once a sailing
mishap on a fishing expedition made him curse the south wind,
thereby breaking its wing, whereupon the land was deprived of its
cooling and moist breezes. For this offense he was summoned to
the high god Anu (Sumerian An) to give account of his deed. First,
however, he received this advice from his god Ea: (1) to appear in
mourning garb at the gate of Anu so as to receive sympathetic
assistance from the two heavenly gate keepers, Tammuz and
Gizzida (vegetation gods); (2) to refuse the bread and water of death
offered to him, but to accept oil for anointing himself and new
garments. With this advice, which he followed carefully, Adapa
succeeded admirably in his heavenly audience (to Anu's surprise),
whereupon he was returned to earth (for he was but a man) with
forgiveness for himself, release from feudal obligations for his city
(Eridu), and healing for the illness which his offense had brought
upon mankind.

Now we can turn to the so-called "parallels" between this
story and the biblical story of Adam, notably Adam's fall (Gen. 3).

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[5]S. Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962): 1-13, warned against it. See
now also W. W. Hallo, "New Moons and Sabbaths: A Case Study in the Contrastive
Approach," *HUCA* 48 (1977): 1-18.

[6]The best English translation is by E. A. Speiser in *ANET*, 101-103. Of the four
extant fragments, three (A, C, D) derive from the Ashurbanipal library (7th cent.
B.C.), and the fourth (B) comes from the Amarna archives (14th cent. B.C.).

(a) The name Adapa has a tantalizing similarity to that of Adam, a fact that has led to the suggestion that a simple phonetic development may explain their relationship, i.e., a labial shift from *m* to *p*, rather than vice versa.[7] Moreover, the final ending *a* in Adapa also appears in the Hebrew *ʾadama*, meaning "ground"/ "soil." Finally, *a-da-ap* is reported by E. Ebeling to occur in a syllabary text with the meaning "man."[8] Whatever the merit of these linguistic considerations, the etymology of Adam is itself uncertain. Is it "soil"/"ground," (*ʾadama*) or "red" (*ʾedom*), or "blood" (*dam*)?[9] As for the name Adapa, it appears frequently with the epithet "the learned, the wise,"[10] and is in fact now known to be the name of the first of the seven antediluvian sages (*apkallu*),[11] each of whom is associated with an antediluvian king.[12] Adapa is identified as the one who ascended to heaven, following the account of our myth in a text published by E. Reiner,[13] who on the basis of the epithets *apkallu* and especially *ummanu* has

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[7]See Shea, pp. 38-39.

[8]See *ANET*, p. 101, n.*, where reference is given to Ebeling's *Tod und Leben*, 27a.

[9]*TDOT*, 1: 75-79. The name *adamu* (syllabically spelled) is now reported to have been found on the Ebla tablets as the name of a governor of that city (see M. Dahood, "Ebla, Ugarit, and the Old Testament," *The Month*, 2d, n.s. 11 [1978]: 274). From the same city a calendar with the month name ^{d}*a-dam-ma-um* has appeared (see G. Pettinato, "Il Calendario di Ebla al Tempo del Re Ibbi-Sippiš sulla base di TM 75.G.427," *AfO* 25 [1976]: 1-36). W. H. Shea, who kindly drew my attention to this item, has presented a discussion of the calendar in question in *AUSS* 18 (1980): 127-137, and 19 (1981): 59-69, 115-126. Also the Sumerian *a-dam* (pasture) may offer an opportunity to speculate upon the etymology of *Adam* (see W. W. Hallo, "Antediluvian Cities," *JNES* 23 (1970): 58. Taken at face value, the Genesis account would appear to tie *Adam* to *ʾadama* (ground), from which the man was taken and to which he will return.

[10]See *ANET*, 313-314, 450; A. K. Grayson, "The Weidner Chronicle," *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5 (New York, 1975), 147: 33; Foster, pp. 344-349.

[11]*Apkallu*, "wise man, expert, sage," refers to the seven antediluvian sages and is an epithet of Adapa. *CAD*, A/11, 171-172.

[12]See T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Chicago, 1939): Hallo, p. 62.

[13]"The Etiological Myth of the 'Seven Sages,'" *OrNS* 30 (1961): 1-11.

concluded that Adapa is to be identified as a "master craftsman" with reference to the scribal arts, hence a vizier.[14] W. G. Lambert, however, has argued on the basis of another text that the epithet of Adapa should be read ^{m}*umanna*, and that its determinative produces a double name, Umanna-Adapa,[15] which was transferred into Greek as the Oannes of Berossos.[16] In fact, he suggests that *adapa* functioned as an epithet of Umanna (Oannes) with the meaning "wise."[17] Since, however, this likely represents a secondary development of the meaning of this word, it consequently does not answer our question about etymology. At any rate, some etymological relationship between Adam and Adapa now seems likely, although any original meaning behind them both is not thereby elucidated. The functional meaning of Adam, namely "man" (*homo sapiens*), may take us as closely as we can get to the names of our characters.

(b) Both Adam and Adapa were apparently tested with food (and drink, in the case of Adapa); and, according to some interpreters, both failed the test, hence the parallel between the two accounts. But whether Adapa in fact failed is a moot question. It would mean that he failed unwittingly by completely obeying his god Ea in refusing the bread and water of death, which actually turned out to be emblems of life. Ea, in turn, would have to be understood as deceiving Adapa by keeping divinity from him (making him refuse the heavenly food) for a selfish reason, namely that he wanted to retain the service of Adapa in Eridu.[18] However,

[14]Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[15]"A Catalogue of Texts and Authors," *JCS* 16 (1962): 64.I.6; and p. 74. See also W. W. Hallo, "On the Antiquity of Sumerian Literature," *JAOS* 83 (1963): 176.

[16]See the edition by F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 3/C (Leiden, 1958): 369-370.

[17]See W. G. Lambert, "Three Literary Prayers of the Babylonians," *AfO* 19 (1959-60): pp. 64, 72, n. 72; "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors," p. 74.

[18]Thus E. Burrows, "Note on Adapa," *Or*, no. 30 (March 1928), p. 24; T. Jacobsen, "The Investiture and Anointing of Adapa in Heaven," *AJSL* 46 (1930): 201-203 (reprinted in *Towards the Image of Tammuz* [Cambridge, Mass., 1970], pp. 48-51); *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven, Conn., 1976), pp. 115-116; J. Pedersen, "Wisdom and Immortality," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, ed. M. Noth and D. Winton Thomas (Leiden, 1955): 244; Foster, p. 351; Shea, p. 34.

this interpretation of the matter has met with some challenge from investigators who have warned against introducing into the myth the familiar concepts of temptation, deception, and fall.[19] Another suggestion has it that Ea gave Adapa the best advice he knew regarding the bread and water, and that Adapa followed it obediently. This would imply that Ea underestimated the willingness of Anu to receive and pardon Adapa and hence unfortunately, unnecessarily, and perhaps unwittingly warned his protégé about the presumed dangerous bread and water of heaven.[20] But this explanation, as W. H. Shea rightly points out,[21] is weakened by the fact that Ea everywhere appears as the god of wisdom, cleverness, and cunning, and that indeed at the very moment of giving his advice Ea is introduced as "he who knows what pertains to heaven."[22]

A possible solution to this problem (i.e., how can wise and cunning Ea fail so miserably with his advice or be so deceptive with his favorite son?) would be that once again Ea was indeed right with his advice,[23] that the bread and water of life would in fact become bread and water of death to a mere mortal,[24] and that the unpredictable element in the Adapa crisis was Anu, who turned

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[19]See, e.g., F. M. Th. Böhl, "Die Mythe vom weisen Adapa," *WO* 2 (1959): 418; B. Kienast, "Die Weisheit des Adapa von Eridu," *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae*, F. M. Th. Böhl Festschrift (Leiden, 1973), p. 234; G. Komoroczy, "Zur Deutung der altbabylonischen Epen Adapa und Etana," *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Alten Welt I*, ed. E. C. Welskopf (Berlin, 1969), p. 38.

[20]Thus Komoroczy, 39; S. N. Kramer, "Mythology of Sumer and Akkad," *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, ed. S. N. Kramer (Garden City, N.Y., 1961), p. 125.

[21]Shea, pp. 33-34.

[22]*ANET*, p. 101.

[23]Ea (Enki) traditionally helped gods and humans in crisis situations. He restored Inanna from the underworld, reviving her with the water and grass of life (see T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness*, p. 58). He successfully warned Ziusudra/Utnapishtim about the coming flood and assured the survival of mankind (ibid., p. 114; *ANET*, p. 93). He averted a rebellion among the lower gods by proposing and arranging the creation of man (W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-Hasis* [Oxford, 1969], p. 55). He solved the crisis caused by Apsu's rage by cleverly placing a spell over him and having him killed (*ANET*, p. 61).

[24]"Für den Sterblichen sind Nektar und Ambrosia Gift," Böhl, p. 426. Also cf. Kienast, pp. 237-238; Buccellati, p. 63.

the tables on Ea in the matter of the food and who, by laughing at Adapa (B, line 70; D, line 3), showed himself to be the real culprit.[25] In any case, the meal may not at all have been intended as a sacred investiture of Adapa into divinity,[26] but merely a meal provided in response to the requirements of hospitality.[27] But can a mortal accept such hospitality (including a robe and oil) to the extent of sharing the ambrosia and nectar with Anu? If this interpretation is at all correct, the heavenly food may at one and the same time be food of life and food of death, depending upon the one who eats it. A similar duality may be reflected in the biblical picture of the two trees: one of life, leading to eternal life (Gen 3:22); the other of knowledge, presumed to offer godlikeness, but actually leading to mortality (Gen. 3:3-5; 2:17).[28]

[25]Though Anu represents the highest authority in the world, he is not nearly so resourceful and calm as is Ea. A case in point is Anu's reaction to Adapa's offense: "'Mercy!' Rising from his throne: '(Let) them fetch him hither!'" (ANET, p. 101). Again, he was apparently unable to face the threat of Tiamat (ANET, p. 63). Also, the Atra-Hasis myth finds him unable to propose a solution to Enlil's problem, namely, a rebellion among the lower gods (Lambert and Millard, Atra-Hasis, pp. 49-55). In general, Anu appears less resourceful and predictable than Ea, like a weak and insecure chairman of the board!

[26]Thus Burrows, p. 24. The idea is that Anu, impressed with Adapa's power and skill, decided to include him among the gods—an old illustration of the maxim: If you can't beat them, join them (or make them join you).

[27]Jacobsen, "The Investiture and Anointing of Adapa in Heaven," pp. 48-51.

[28]According to Gen 2:9 the tree of life stood in the midst of the garden as did also the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Gen 3:3 locates the forbidden tree in the midst of the garden, but does not otherwise name it, whereas Gen 3:22 speaks of the tree of life from which man must now be kept. Concerning the two trees, located at the same place, man is forbidden to eat from one, never commanded to eat from the other, but subsequently hindered from reaching it. The tree of life (plant of life) occurs relatively frequently in ancient Near Eastern literature (B. S. Childs, "Tree of Knowledge, Tree of Life," IDB 4, 695-697), the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is practically unknown outside Genesis (see, however, M. Tserat, "The Two Trees in the Garden of Eden," Eretz-Israel 12 [1975]: 40-43). It is tempting to suppose that this "double tree" in the midst of the garden indicates two postures that man can take: (1) He can eat of one (presuming to be a god) and die, or (2) he can refuse to do so (remaining human), but staying alive with access to the other tree. He cannot eat from both.

From this it would follow that Ea's advice to Adapa, which proved valuable in every other respect, must also be taken in this sense with reference to the heavenly food. Ea does not deceive Adapa to keep him mortal and in his service in Eridu. He saves his life from what ordinarily would mean certain death through a presumption to be a god. If this is correct, the alleged parallel between Adapa and Adam over failing a test involving food falls away, but another emerges: Both were subject to a test involving food and both received two sets of advice; namely, "do not eat" (God and Ea) and "eat" (serpent and Anu). One, Adapa, obeyed and passed his test; the other, Adam, disobeyed and failed. But even this situation is complicated by a further consideration; namely, the relationship between obedience/disobedience and immortality.

(c) It is frequently suggested that Adapa, like Gilgamesh, sought immortality, that his visit before Anu was ill-fated by depriving him of his nearly realized quest (thanks to his blind obedience to Ea's deceptive advice), and that the Adapa myth is an etiology explaining human mortality.[29] However, Adapa did not possess immortality originally (A, line 4);[30] and no absolute proof exists that he sought it, but was hindered by Ea's schemes.[31] Not even Anu's laughter and Adapa's return to earth, which is recorded in the late fragment D,[32] necessarily implies forfeited immortality on the part of Adapa. Instead, it may indicate Anu's amused satisfaction over Adapa's wisdom and loyal obedience, which enables him to refuse that heavenly food, the acceptance of which would be an act of *hybris*. Hence he is rewarded with life on earth, rather than with punishment by death.[33] At he most, the myth

[29]Foster, pp. 352-353; Böhl, pp. 416-417.

[30]The fundamental distinction between gods and men in the ancient Near East is precisely the inability of the latter to achieve immortality (with the exception of Utnapishtim, the hero of the Flood). Yet even the gods are not unalterably immortal, for they too depend upon eating and upon care and are vulnerable before a variety of adverse circumstances. Cf. Böhl, p. 426.

[31]Recently Komoroczy, p. 38.

[32]It comes from the Ashurbanipal library and is attributed to an Assyrian scribe. For the relationship between this fragment and the main fragment B (from the Amarna archives) see Böhl, pp. 427-429.

[33]See Kienast, pp. 237-238; Komoroczy, pp. 38-39.

affirms that immortality is the privilege of the gods and cannot belong to man, even to the wisest of all.[34] Here is a direct contrast between Adam and Adapa: Adapa is restrained by Ea from seeking immortality (presumptuously or even accidentally) in the court of Anu; Adam is restrained (unsuccessfully) from losing it. However, once Adam has lost his immortality, he too must be kept from seeking it anew (Gen 3:22f).

(d) Adam and Adapa are both summoned before the divinity to give account of their actions. Adam's offense is clearly that he broke the prohibition regarding the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, with the implication that in grasping for this knowledge he aspired for divinity.[35] But what is Adapa's offense? On the basis of the presumed parallel with Gen 3, the answer has often been that like Adam so Adapa offended (unwittingly) in the matter of eating (and drinking), except that Adapa declined to eat where Adam declined to avoid eating.[36] However, Adapa's non-eating can hardly be considered an offense at all, except possibly an offense by Ea to which fate made Adapa a party.[37] If, on the other hand, the offense is defined as that which brought about the summons before the divinity, then Adapa's offense was clearly breaking the wing of the south wind. Three things may be observed concerning this act. First, Adapa broke the wind with a word. He clearly was in possession of magic power,[38] something which may explain the incantation in fragment D employed to dispel illness. Second,

[34]Foster, p. 353.

[35]The term "good and evil" is generally understood to mean "everything," and seeking such knowledge represents human *hybris.* See J. A. Bailey, "Initiation and the Primeval Woman in Gilgamesh and Genesis 2-3," *JBL* 89 (1970): 144-148. But see also B. Reicke, "The Knowledge Hidden in the Tree of Paradise," *JSS* 1 (1956): 193-201; R. Gordis, "The Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Old Testament and the Qumran Scrolls," *JBL* 76 (1957): 123-138.

[36]See Shea, p. 39.

[37]The role of fate appears to be prominent in some Mesopotamian traditions, perhaps because the gods were not always partial to virtue, but took advantage of it. Cf. Foster, p. 352.

[38]Thus Jacobsen, "The Investiture and Anointing of Adapa," pp. 50-51; Foster, p. 349.

Adapa issued the curse while fishing in the service of the temple of Eridu, that is, while performing his religious duties. His anger over capsizing is directed not against his god Ea, who sent him out to sea, but against the wind that blew over his boat. In other words, he broke the wind in his eager devotion to Ea, possibly not counting the consequences vis-à-vis the land.[39] Third, in breaking the wind, Adapa seriously disturbed the land (the world of southern Mesopotamia), and hence its high god Anu, who had authority over its maintenance. By maiming the south wind, Adapa halted the cooling life-giving breezes from the sea, leaving the land exposed to the scorching sun. G. Roux found in this condition an explanation of the presence of Tammuz and Gizzida (both fertility gods) at Anu's door.[40] They suffered the lack of the fertile, moist wind and had sought help from Anu, who in turn inquired about the situation and upon being told cried, "Mercy!" (B, line 13) and sent for Adapa. It would also explain Ea's advice to Adapa that he approach the gate where the fertility gods were waiting, in mourning (over their miserable condition) so as to express his contrition and gain their sympathy and help. In that, Ea and Adapa were eminently successful. This success is indicated by Adapa's recognition before Anu, his acceptance of the signs of hospitality,[41] which, very much to Anu's astonishment,[42] he knew how to receive while discreetly refusing that to which he was not entitled (the heavenly bread and water). At this point a clear contrast with the story of Adam emerges, for excuses and a self-defense, not contrition and obedience, characterize Adam's confrontation with God.

[39]See Kienast, p. 237.

[40]G. Roux, "Adapa, le vent et l'eau," *RA* 55 (1961): 13-33. That only seven days are involved does not speak against this conclusion (thus Foster, p. 352), for the story is a myth in which realities are stylized into symbols.

[41]Here I follow Jacobsen ("The Investiture and Anointing of Adapa," pp. 48-51; *The Treasures of Darkness*, p. 116) against Burrows ("Note on Adapa," p. 24). Adapa is not being invested as a heavenly being (only to lose it all by refusing his meal). Rather he is being accepted and forgiven of his offense, thanks to his contrition, caution, and the good offices of Tammuz and Gizzida.

[42]According to fragment B, Anu laughs and says, "Take him away and return him to his earth" (B, line 70). The later Assyrian scribe responsible for fragment D

(e) Although Adapa, unlike Adam, is not the first man on earth, he does represent mankind in a special sense. According to fragment A, line 6, he is a "model of men," a human archetype; and as B. R. Foster suggests, this particular aspect of Adapa's character identifies him as a wise man whose abilities extend in several directions.[43] First, he is a sage whose superior knowledge given him by Ea makes him general supervisor of human activities in the city of Eridu. He bakes, cooks, prepares the offering, steers the ship, and catches the fish for the city (A, lines 10-18). Second, he is a vizier to the first antediluvian king, Alulim.[44] Thus he is the first *apkallu* (antediluvian wise man) and as such is identified with the Oannes of Berossos,[45] about whom it is reported that he daily ascended from the sea in the form of a fish and taught mankind the arts of civilization.[46] Third, Adapa is wise in scholarship, having authored a literary work (unknown except in this fragmentary text).[47] In consequence of these characteristics, Adapa became the epitome of wisdom and a model of it to later generations.[48] When this fact is combined with his association with the first king, he is the typical man, even the primal man. Although unlike Adam, he is not the first man, still he is a sort of prototype, so that the matters pertaining to all mankind are explicable in reference to him (as, for instance, is apparently the case with regard to mortality, as portrayed in this myth). What Adapa does, or what he is, has consequences for subsequent generations of mankind, not because he passed on to them some form of original sin, but because through his wisdom

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offered this added explanation by attributing the following words to Anu: "Of the gods of heaven and earth, as many as there be, who (ever) gave such a command, so as to make his own command exceed the command of Anu?" (D, lines 5f.). Anu is surprised that his ruling in the matter had been anticipated and met with such a wise response—perhaps a little annoyed, as well, at being found out!

[43]Foster, pp. 345-349.

[44]Hallo, "Antediluvian Cities," p. 62; Lambert and Millard, *Atra-Hasis*, p. 27.

[45]See above, p. 182.

[46]Jacoby, pp. 369-370.

[47]Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors," p. 70.

[48]See n. 17, above; also Xella, "L'inganno' di Ea nel mito di Adapa," pp. 260-261.

he was chosen to establish the context within which subsequent generations of mankind must live. Here a parallel as well as a contrast between Adapa and Adam emerges. Both are primal men, but the heritage which each one passes on to subsequent generations varies considerably.

2. *Contrasts Between Adapa and Adam*

From considerations such as the foregoing, it can only be concluded, so it would seem, that although the stories of Adapa and Adam exhibit some parallels (notably in regard to the name and primal position of the two chief characters), they also reveal important contrasts. Therefore, those interpreters who insist upon reading the Adapa myth without assistance from the familiar categories of Gen 3 do make an important and necessary point. The story of Adapa is a myth (or legend) set in the earliest time (antediluvian) of southern Mesopotamia, and it intends (perhaps in a somewhat whimsical way) to give expression to certain distressing situations. The most immediate of these concerns is human mortality. The response of the myth is that man cannot gain immortality, for that is the exclusive prerogative of the gods. Even Adapa, the foremost among men, after whom all mankind is patterned—with all his wisdom, skill, and power— cannot achieve it. Immortality, therefore, cannot be had by humans; it belongs exclusively to the gods, who alone are the ultimate rulers of the universe.[49] Yet, the alternative to immortality is not death, but life on earth—temporal and subject to the fickles of fate, but not without satisfactions. To this life Adapa is returned, a wiser man who is aware of the distance between heaven and earth. "As Adapa from the horizon of heaven to the zenith of heaven cast a glance, he saw its awesomeness" (D, lines 7-8).

But more importantly, the myth concerns itself with human authority, even arrogance, before the gods. Here the myth is ambivalent. Obviously, Adapa's authority is being curtailed, for he

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[49]Foster, p. 353. This point is made most forcefully in the Gilgamesh epic, during the conversation between Utnapishtim and Gilgamesh (Tablet XI; *ANET*, 93-96).

is summoned to give account of his action; but his wisdom, obedience, and cunning is such that he gets away with more than we would expect. He obtains a reception, life, and some trophies. This is possible because the gods, though immortal, are themselves vulnerable. They depend upon Adapa's provisions for the temple and are subject to his rash breaking of the south wind, thereby throwing the whole land into disarray. The liberation given to Eridu (D, line 10) may be a recognition of the fact that there are limits to the gods' dependence and reliance upon mankind.[50] That the myth thereby becomes an exaltation of Eridu[51] does not seem entirely persuasive.[52]

However, just as the world of the gods is vulnerable, so is the world of humanity. The myth ends with a reference to illness which could permanently terminate even the limited and temporal existence of mankind. The healing promised through an appeal to the goddess Ninkarrak (D, lines 17-18) is appropriately attached to the myth of Adapa's successful confrontation with the gods. Just as the wing of the south wind, and hence life in land and city, can be healed, so also can human illness,[53] through a proper relationship with the gods, who are both the rulers of the world and its providers of life.

In short, the myth of Adapa is an attempt to come to terms with the vicissitudes of human life, as it exists, by insisting that so it is ordained. It suggests that by wisdom, cunning, humility, and

[50]This appears to be an issue in the Atra-Hasis flood story. The high gods set mankind to work in order to appease the low gods; subsequently mankind rebels and by its size frightens the high gods into sending a flood, whereupon they suffer from the lack of mankind's service. See Lambert and Millard, *Atra-Hasis*. The suggestion that the flood represents a disruption identifiable as an overpopulation problem only underscores the fact that the gods are vulnerable before their creatures and unable to control their own solution to their problem (see T. Freymer-Kensky, "The Atrahasis Epic and its Significance for our Understanding of Genesis 1-9," *BA* 40 [1977]: 147-155).

[51]Thus Komoroczy, pp. 39-40.

[52]"Nicht die Stadt, sondern der Mensch und sein Erleben stehen im Mittelpunkt," so Kienast, p. 235.

[53]That it refers only to the healing of broken shoulder blades or arms, viz. the broken wing of the south wind, is not likely. For this suggestion see Böhl, p. 428.

obedience human beings can receive (or extract, if needs be) from the gods, who too are vulnerable, whatever concessions, short of immortality, will make life meaningful and satisfactory.

Gen 2-3, on the other hand, seeks to explain why existing conditions are what they clearly ought not to be. Therefore, Adam, unlike Adapa, is not struggling with distressing human problems such as immortality, nor is he strapped down with duties of providing for city and temple, nor is he caught up in the tension between his obligations to his God and hindrances to such obligations arising from an evil world[54] or from inner wickedness.[55] He is a natural creature whose simple lack, loneliness, is met in a fully satisfactory and permanent way (Gen 2:20-24). The only other potential difficulty in this harmonious existence lies in his capacity to disobey his God.

Moreover, not only in his existence before God, but also in his confrontation with God does Adam differ from Adapa. That confrontation arises from an experience of weakness in yielding to temptation, not from blind devotion, as in the case of Adapa. Also, Adam fails to manifest contrition similar to that of Adapa. And finally, again unlike Adapa, Adam refuses to take responsibility for his deed; he hides from it and subsequently blames his wife. Adam's fall is therefore much more serious than Adapa's offense, perhaps because of the considerable height from which Adam tumbled.[56] Both the height of his former position and the depth of his present one are not parallel to those experienced by Adapa.

Even the nature of the relationship between man and God is different in Gen 2-3. God is not vulnerable before Adam, yet he

[54]For a discussion of these common human tensions, see W. Eichrodt, *Man in the Old Testament*, SBT 4 (London, 1951), pp. 51-66.

[55]Ibid., pp. 66-74.

[56]Contrary to J. Pedersen ("Wisdom and Immortality," p. 245), the fall of Adam thus does not parallel the experience of Adapa before Anu. To be sure, both Adam and Adapa made approaches towards divinity by means of wisdom, but Adapa did so from the position of human inadequacy. Adam, on the other hand, suffered no such lack. He enjoyed a relationship with his God through filial obedience and was in possession of all wisdom (cf. Gordis, "The Knowledge of Good and Evil," p. 125).

appears hurt by Adam's fall and takes action in Adam's behalf
(cf. Gen 3:21). Adam, on the other hand, is dependent upon God,
but appears to ignore that fact (cf. Gen 3:8).

In short, then, we conclude that parallels do indeed exist
between Adam and Adapa, but they are seriously blunted by the
entirely different contexts in which they occur.

3. Analysis of the "Seesaw" Parallelism

How, then, shall we explain this "seesaw" parallelism? Does
Adapa represent a parallel to the biblical Adam, or should Adam
and Adapa rather be contrasted? The suggestion of this essay is that
in Adam and Adapa we have the representation of two different
anthropological characters, perhaps capable of being illustrated by
an actor who plays two distinct roles, but who is clearly recogniz-
able in each.

The Adapa character assigned to this actor is suitable for its
cultural milieu. It is that of a wise man. The epithet *apkallu*
supports it, and his identification with Berossos' Oannes confirms
it. His wisdom is ordained by his god Ea, and it comes to
expression in the devotion and obedience with which he conducts
his affairs. Adapa is not a "sinner," but a "perfect man." He is
therefore a model man, arising from the sea, like Oannes, to
instruct mankind. He is a human archetype who compares best to
such biblical personalities as Noah, Joseph, Moses, Job, and
Daniel, who are also models of wisdom, devotion, and obedience,
and who represent ideals to be imitated.[57] Naturally, inasmuch as
Adapa lives in a polytheistic world, so he must contend with all its
conflicting interests. These are not unlike the conflicting interests
with which biblical man is confronted, except that the perpetrators
in the latter case are humans. For man to survive in such a world
takes wisdom, integrity, reliability, devotion, and humility before
the unalterable superiority of the divine powers. But the ideal
human character can succeed in this. He may not achieve all that

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[57]Cf. Foster, p. 353; Speiser, p. 310. According to Buccellati, p. 65, Adapa is
characterized as a man of faith, and hence he can be compared to such biblical
personages as Noah and Abraham. The notion of faith emerges in Adapa's total
commitment to his god's counsel. See also Xella, p. 260.

he desires; he remains mortal and shares in the suffering to which humanity is liable, but he does stand to gain real satisfactions from his life and can attain to a noble status and enjoy divine recognition. Here is a clear parallel between Adapa and certain OT ideals, particularly in the wisdom literature.

The Adam role, however, is that of the first man, who is sinless and destined to immortality—of one who, even though a created being, is in the image of God and who enjoys his presence continually. We very much suspect that the same actor is indeed playing, because of the similarity of the names of our characters, because of their primary position among the antediluvians, and because of certain distinct experiences they had in common (e.g., a summons before divinity, and a test involving food). But the precise role which Adam plays is foreign to the Mesopotamian literature. Unlike Adapa, Adam, though made of clay, originally has the potential for immortality and is totally free before God. Further, Adam serves the earth, rather than temple. Moreover, although he possesses enormous wisdom (so as to name the animals, Gen 2:20), he is not portrayed as a teacher of civilization to mankind. Rather, he exists above and before civilization, in a pristine state of purity, nobility, and complete harmony. Further-more, his confrontation with God is not in sorrow or mourning, comparable to the experience of Adapa; he is subsequently brought low while blaming his misadventures upon a woman. In this, Adam is clearly not an ideal to be followed, but a warning to all—a failing individual, rather than a noble, heroic one. Here a clear contrast emerges between our two characters.

According to an old proposal,[58] recently resurrected,[59] the actor who played these two characters—the noble Adapa and the ignoble Adam—was brought to the ancient Near East by west Semitic peoples. On the scene staged by the Mesopotamian artists he characterized man as the noble, wise, reliable, and devoted, but humble, hero who is resigned to live responsibly before his god. However, in the biblical tradition, the characterization came through in quite a different way, which has put its lasting mark

[58]By A. T. Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites*, Yale Oriental Series 6 (New Haven, Conn., 1919); also, *The Origin of Biblical Traditions*.

[59]See the recent suggestions by Shea, pp. 39-41; Dahood, pp. 271-276.

upon the concept of man in the Judeo-Christian tradition—namely, that before God, man is (or rather has become) basically sinful, failing, ignoble and untrustworthy, bent upon usurping the place of his God. This portrayal, to be sure, is not meant to reduce the spirit of man to pessimism and despair, but to remind him that despite all the wisdom, cunning, reliability, and devotion of which he is capable and is duty-bound to exercise, he is also always a sinner whose unpredictability, untrustworthiness, and irresponsibility can never be totally ignored nor denied.[60]

Does the Adapa myth then present us with a parallel or a contrast to the story of Adam? The best answer to this question may well be that Adam and Adapa represent two distinct characterizations of human nature. The parallels we have noted in the accounts may suggest that the two characterizations have a common origin, whereas the contrasts between them may indicate that two branches of Near Eastern civilization took clearly distinguishable sides in the dialogue over human nature. Yet these lines are not so different that the resulting two characterizations of man are unable to dialogue.

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[60]It would seem that W. Brueggemann, *In Man We Trust* (Atlanta, 1972), pp. 44-45, takes this aspect too lightly. He correctly observes that the purpose of the fall narrative is not "to dwell upon failure," but to affirm and reaffirm God's trust in man. But he further states, "The miracle grows larger, for Yahweh is willing to trust what is not trustworthy. The gospel out of the tenth century is not that David or Adam is trustworthy, but that he has been trusted" (ibid., p. 45). This is surely good theology, but it hardly succeeds in refurbishing man, as Brueggemann would have us do. The story of Adam's fall, it seems to me, insists that even at its best, mankind is not as good as it ought to be or as we might wish it to be.

SABBATŌN IN COL 2:16

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"Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross; . . . Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days; Which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ" (Col 2:14-17).[1] These words to the church at Colossae have been the center of considerable controversy, with much of the debate focusing on the last word in vs. 16, σαββάτων, which has been variously understood.

Some see in this passage a condemnation of any kind of sabbathkeeping, including first-day sabbatarianism.[2] Others say that there is no relationship between the word σαββάτων in this text and the seventh-day sabbath, the word actually referring to the ceremonial sabbaths.[3] Another group believes that the reference is

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[1]Col 2:14, 16-17, KJV. All quotations from the Bible and the Apocrypha are from the RSV unless otherwise specified.

[2]Among them Henry Alford, *The Greek Testament*, 4 vols. (Chicago: Moody Press, 1958), 3: 224-225; Dudley M. Canright, *Seventh-day Adventism Renounced*, reprint of 14th ed. (Nashville, Tenn., 1948), pp. 282-299; R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians, to the Thessalonians, to Timothy, to Titus and to Philemon* (Columbus, Ohio, 1946), pp. 124, 127-128; Walter Martin, *The Truth About Seventh-day Adventism* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1960), pp. 162-166; and Willy Rordorf, *Sunday: The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church* (Philadelphia, Penn., 1968), p. 138.

[3]Among first-day sabbatarians, examples are Albert Barnes, *Notes on the New Testament*, reprint ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1963), 7: 267 (the 1st ed. of the volume on Ephesians through Colossians was published in 1845); and Robert Jamieson, A. R. Fausset, and David Brown, *Commentary, Critical and Explanatory, on the Whole Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich., [1877]), p. 378. Among seventh-day sabbatarians, examples are John N. Andrews, *History of the Sabbath and First Day of*

to some Jewish aspect of the sabbath without the intent of abolishing the sabbath altogether.[4] Still others would propose that the reference is to the sabbath kept in honor of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, the "elemental spirits of the universe" of vss. 8 and 20.[5] The largest group of commentators recognize the seventh-day

the Week (Battle Creek, Mich., 1861), pp. 80-92; Donald F. Neufeld, "Sabbath Day or Sabbath Days," *Review and Herald* 148 (15 Apr 1971): 13; and Francis D. Nichol, ed., *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, 7 (Washington, D.C., 1957): 205-206 (hereafter referred to as SDABC). Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible* 6 (New York, 1834): 498, holds a related view. He points out that σάββατον can also mean "week" and postulates that it is a reference to the feast of weeks, or Pentecost. So far as I know, he is alone in this conjecture.

[4]Among first-day sabbatarians, examples are H. C. G. Moule, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, vol. 43 of *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* (Cambridge, Eng., 1894), pp. 109-110; and W. H. Griffith Thomas, *Christ Pre-eminent* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 82-84. Among seventh-day sabbatarians, examples are Richard W. Coffen, "Colossians 2:14-17" (Letter to the Editor), *The Ministry* 45 (Aug. 1972): 13, and William E. Richardson, "A Study of the Historical Background and Interpretation of Colossians 2:14-17" (M.A. Thesis, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich., 1960). W. E. Howell, "'Sabbath' in Colossians 2:16," *The Ministry* 7 (Sept. 1834): 21, came close to the position outlined in this article. He felt that the word σαββάτων in Col 2:16 included both the ceremonial sabbaths and the ceremonial aspects of the seventh-day sabbath: ". . . when Paul . . . uses the word (sabbath) . . . he has the ceremonial sabbaths and the ceremonies on the weekly sabbath in mind and not the seventh-day institution as a memorial of creation. . . . Let no man judge you wrong when you interpret the word (sabbath) in Colossians 2:26 as being used generically in the singular. . . ." Apparently Howell was judged wrong by his fellow Adventists, for two years later he wrote a correction to his article in which he said, "Be it far from me, Brother Editor, ever to weaken or question the true interpretation of 'sabbath days' in Colossians 2:16, namely, that it means ceremonial sabbaths, and could not possibly mean the seventh-day Sabbath . . ." (Howell, "Anent Colossians 2:16," *The Ministry* 9 [April 1936]: 19).

[5]Among them, Eduard Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 115-116, and *TDNT*, s.v. σάββατον; Ralph P. Martin, *Colossians: The Church's Lord and the Christian's Liberty* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1972), p. 90, and *Colossians and Philemon* (London, Eng., 1974), pp. 90-91; and Arthur J. Ferch, letter to the author, 25 May 1976, outlining a speech presented to a west coast U. S. Adventist religion teachers' conference at Walla Walla, Washington, on 3 May 1975. Samuele Bacchiocchi, *From Sabbath to Sunday* (Rome, 1977), pp. 339-369, is hard to classify, but perhaps best fits with this group.

sabbath in the text but do not specify whether all sabbatarianism is condemned or not.[6]

One possibility that seems to have been overlooked is that Paul[7] was using a phrase derived from the OT and used by his opponents in Colossae in a special way. This possibility will be investigated below.

1. *Catch Phrases Used in Colossians*

That certain words and phrases in the letter to the Colossians are catch words has long been recognized. The most prominent example is the regulation, "Do not handle, Do not taste, Do not touch" of Col 2:20. The "philosophy" of vs. 8 appears to be another example, and some further probable examples are the references to "the elemental spirits of the universe" (στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου; vss. 8, 20), ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐξουσία or ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι (1:16 and 2:10, 15; variously translated in the RSV), "knowledge" (γνῶσις or ἐπίγνωσις, 1:9,10; and 2:2,3), and "fulness" (πλήρωμα; 1:19 and 2:9). As Ralph Martin aptly puts it, Paul "seems to be actually quoting the slogans and watchwords of the cult."[8]

[6]Richardson, p. 22, summarizes the Patristic view thus: ". . . when the Fathers comment on the Sabbath of verse 16 (which is very rare) the predominant interpretation is that it is Jewish and thus abolished at the cross." Also see Bacchiocchi, pp. 339-342. This is as much comment as one gets from the ICC (30: 264); Charles W. Carter, gen. ed., *The Wesleyan Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967), 5: 500-501; *The Moffatt New Testament Commentary* (New York, 1930), 10: 52; and C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon*, Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary (Cambridge, Eng., 1968), p. 102. These commentators do not say enough to enable one to put them in any of the other groups, although occasionally, as in the Tyndale series (Herbert M. Carson, *The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians and Philemon*, The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1960], p. 72), one can gather that they lean toward one or another of the preceding opinions (in this case what might be called the libertarian position).

[7]Along with most scholars I opt for Pauline authorship, though I recognize that some scholars hold views to the contrary. Though I shall refer from time to time to Paul as the author, my line of argument regarding Col 2:16 is not related to the question of authorship.

[8]R. P. Martin, *Colossians and Philemon*, p. 8.

It would not seem unreasonable that the phrase "a festival or a
new moon or a sabbath" (ἑορτῆς ἢ νεομηνίας ἢ σαββάτων) in Col
2:16 was also a slogan of the cult against which Paul was writing.
This phrase had antecedent use in Jewish literature, mainly the OT,
and we must now inquire as to the backgrounds there and to its
meaning in this literature.

2. *OT and OT-Apocrypha Parallels to Col 2:16*

In the OT and OT Apocrypha there are seven passages where
the LXX has the sequence ἑορτή . . . νεομηνία . . . σάββατον (MT,
שבת . . . חדש . . . מועד or חג), or the reverse, and one passage where
μήν substitutes for νεομηνία (MT has חדש here also)—namely,
1 Chr 23:31; 2 Chr 2:4; 8:13; 31:3; Ezek 45:17; Neh 10:33; Hos 2:11;
1 Esdr 5:52. A similar grouping with a wider separation between the
terms is found in four other passages—Num 28-29; Isa 1:13-14; Ezek
46:4-11; Jdt 8:6. In addition, 1 Macc 10:34 has the three terms
juxtaposed but out of order.[9] The most important of these parallels,
and the one after which most of the others are modeled, is Num
28-29. As Walter Martin puts it, "Numbers 28 and 29 . . . list the
very 'ordinances' referred to in Colossians 2:16-17, . . ."[10]

Num 28:1,2 begins, "The Lord said to Moses, 'Command the
people of Israel, and say to them, "My offering, my food for my
offerings by fire, my pleasing odor, you shall take heed to offer to me
in its due season."'" Then vss. 3-8 describe the daily continual
offering, morning and evening; vss. 9-10 mention the offering "on
the sabbath day" (LXX, τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων); vss. 11-15 describe
the offering "at the beginnings of your months" (LXX, ἐν ταῖς
νεομηνίαις); and 28:16-29:38 depict the offerings for several annual
festivals—Passover (28:16-25), Pentecost (vss. 26-31), Day of Trum-
pets (29:1-6), Day of Atonement (vss. 7-11), and Feast of Tabernacles
(vss. 12-38). Then 29:39 closes with the statement that "these you
shall offer to the Lord at your appointed feasts [LXX, ἐν ταῖς

[9]Several texts (Num 10:10; 2 Kgs 4:23; Ps 81:3; Isa 66:23; Amos 8:5; Lam 2:6;
Ezra 3:5; Jdt 10:2; and 1 Macc 1:39, 45) have two of the three terms, but, with the
exception of Ezra 3:5 and possibly Lam 2:6, have no other obvious relationship to
the texts cited above. In addition, 2 Macc 6:5 has the verb σαββατίζω and the noun
ἑορτή, again without another obvious relationship to the texts cited above.

[10]W. Martin, p. 166.

ἑορταῖς ὑμῶν], in addition to your votive offerings and your freewill offerings, for your burnt offerings, and for your cereal offerings, and for your drink offerings, and for your peace offerings."

It is important to notice the sequence of offerings given in this passage: First there is the daily, then the weekly, then the monthly, then the seasonal or yearly. This passage appears to be the prototype for a number of other passages in the OT. In fact, with the possible exception of Hos 2:11, whenever σάββατον, νεομηνία, and ἑορτή, or the equivalent σάββατον, μήν, ἑορτή, are used together in the LXX, that which is treated is the *burnt offerings* on these days.

According to 1 Chr 23:30-31 the Levites were to stand thanking and praising the Lord morning and evening "and whenever burnt offerings are offered to the Lord on sabbaths, new moons, and feast days, . . ." (LXX, ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς νεομηνίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς). In 2 Chr 2:4 (2:3 in the LXX) Solomon's building of the temple was, among other things, "for burnt offerings morning and evening, on the sabbaths and the new moons and the appointed feasts of the Lord our God [LXX, ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς νουμηνίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τοῦ Κυρίου θεοῦ ἡμῶν], as ordained for ever for Israel." When the temple was finished, according to 2 Chr 8:12-13, "Solomon offered up burnt offerings to the Lord . . . according to the commandment of Moses for the sabbaths, the new moons, and the three annual feasts . . ." (LXX, ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς μησὶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τρεῖς καιροὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ). Hezekiah also contributed to "the burnt offerings of morning and evening, and the burnt offerings for the sabbaths, the new moons, and the appointed feasts [LXX, εἰς σάββατα καὶ εἰς τὰς νουμηνίας καὶ εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς], as it is written in the law of the Lord" (2 Chr 31:3).

Ezekiel, in his vision of the Temple, mentions, in 45:17, that it is "the prince's duty to furnish the burnt offerings, cereal offerings, and drink offerings, of the feasts, the new moons, and the sabbaths, all the appointed feasts of the house of Israel" (LXX, ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς νουμηνίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἑορταῖς οἴκου Ισραηλ). Also, the close parallel of Ezek 46:4-15 with Num 28-29 should be noted. The burnt offering "on the sabbath day" (vs. 4; LXX, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων), and "at the day of the new moon" (vs. 6; LXX, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς νουμηνίας), and "at

the feasts and the appointed seasons" (vs. 11; LXX, ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν) are described in the now-familiar sequence.

Neh 10:33 (2 Esdr 20:34 in the LXX) makes reference to "the continual burnt offerings, the sabbaths, the new moons, the appointed feasts . . ." (LXX, τῶν σαββάτων, τῶν νουμηνιῶν, εἰς τὰς ἑορτάς). And 1 Esdr 5:52 (1 Esdr 5:51 in the LXX) speaks of "the continual offerings and sacrifices on sabbaths and at new moons and at all the consecrated feasts" (LXX, σαββάτων καὶ νουμηνιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν πασῶν ἡγιασμένων).

Hosea may also be referring to the offerings on those days when he says, in 2:11, "I will put an end to all her mirth, her feasts, her new moons, her sabbaths, and all her appointed feasts" (LXX, ἑορτὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς νουμηνίας αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ σάββατα αὐτῆς καὶ πάσας τὰς πανηγύρεις αὐτῆς [vs. 13 in the LXX]). The context does speak of "the feast days of the Baals when she burned incense to them" (vs. 13), although I feel that it is more probable that either Hosea was speaking of both the days and their offerings or he did not have the offerings, as such, in mind. However, in what are by far the majority of the OT and OT-Apocrypha passages containing the sequence of festival, new moon, and sabbath, that which is dealt with is the burnt offerings on those occasions.

3. "Partial Parallels" in Three Further Passages

There remain three other passages from the OT and OT-Apocrypha where σάββατον, νεομηνία, and ἑορτή are used without their sequential juxtaposition—Isa 1:13-14; 1 Macc 10:34; and Jdt 8:6. In Isaiah, the main difference from the passages quoted in the last paragraph is that rather than a smooth sequence, there are two groups of two terms each. The passage reads, "Bring no more vain offerings; incense is an abomination to me. New moon and sabbath and the calling of assemblies—I cannot endure iniquity and solemn assembly. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hates" (LXX, τὰς νουμηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα καὶ ἡμέραν μεγάλην . . . καὶ τὰς νουμηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν . . .). Isaiah may be talking about offerings here, as the first part of the passage indicates (see also vs. 11). He certainly is contrasting what might be called ceremonial religion with basic morality (see vss. 17, 21-23). But the lack of a definite sequence of feast day, new moon, and sabbath makes it impossible to determine from this passage the meaning of that sequence.

Another passage wherein the sequence suffers somewhat is
1 Macc 10:34, where Demetrius says to the Jews, "And all the feasts
and sabbaths and new moons and appointed days [LXX, αἱ ἑορταὶ
καὶ τὰ σάββατα καὶ νουμηνίαι καὶ ἡμέραι ἀποδεδειγμέναι] and the
three days before a feast and the three days after a feast—let them
all be days of immunity and release for all the Jews who are in my
kingdom." Here the days are not primarily thought of in terms of
days of sacrifice, but as days when business pursuits should be laid
aside (see vs. 35). But again the lack of the proper sequence means
that the passage cannot be used to determine the meaning of the
sequence.

A passage where the sequence is kept but the reference is not
primarily to days of sacrifice is Jdt 8:6. Describing how devout
Judith was, the author writes, "She fasted all the days of her
widowhood, except the day before the sabbath and the sabbath
itself, the day before the new moon and the day of the new moon,
and the feasts and days of rejoicing of the house of Israel" (LXX,
προσαββάτων καὶ σαββάτων καὶ προνουμηνιῶν καὶ νουμηνιῶν καὶ
ἑορτῶν καὶ χαρμοσυνῶν οἴκου Ισραηλ). Here the reference is
primarily to days on which one is supposed to be joyful and on
which fasting is prohibited. This is probably the most outstanding
exception to the general observation that the sequence ἑορτή—
νεομηνία—σάββατον refers to days of sacrifice. However, there are
two factors that make this exception less impressive. One is the
inclusion of other days in the grouping—the "day before" or
"preparation day" for the sabbath and for the new moon (προσάβ-
βατον and προνουμηνία). There were, of course, no special
offerings on these days. The other factor is that the foregoing
sequence is abbreviated in a later passage in the same book, Jdt
10:2, and that there the abbreviation is *not* σάββατα, νουμηνίαι,
and ἑορταί, but it is shortened instead to only σάββατα and ἑορταί.
Therefore I do not believe that Jdt 8:6 belongs to the category we
have been discussing.

4. *Significance of the OT and OT-Apocrypha Evidence*

It seems evident that Num 28-29 is the source of the expression
σάββατον . . . νεομηνία . . . ἑορτή as used in later references we
have noted. It is to be observed that in the majority of cases we have
considered, the phrase is linked with the continual burnt offering.
Indeed, twice the offerings are described as being offered "according

to the commandment of Moses," or "as it is written in the law of the Lord" (2 Chr 8:13; 31:3).

The passage previously mentioned in Neh 10 deserves further elaboration. In vss. 29-30 the people "join with their brethren, their nobles, and enter into a curse and an oath to walk in God's law which was given by Moses the servant of God. . . ." They will not intermarry with "the peoples of the land" (vs. 30; cf. Deut 7:3; Exod 34:16), buy on the sabbath or a holy day, plant crops in the seventh year (cf. Exod 23:10-11; Lev 25:1-7), or exact debts (vs. 31; cf. Deut 15:1-2).

At this point the subject is changed to the temple service. The people lay upon themselves the obligation to pay one-third of a shekel yearly for the upkeep of the temple—for "the showbread, the continual cereal offering, the continual burnt offering, the sabbaths, the new moons, the appointed feasts, the holy things, and the sin offerings. . . ." There are other things that they promise to do, but the foregoing are the important ones to notice for our purposes. The *keeping* of the sabbath (vs. 31), significantly, is clearly differentiated from the *offerings* on the sabbaths, the new moons, and the feast days (vs. 33). The phrase "the sabbaths, the new moons, the appointed feasts" had reference to the sacrificial offerings on those days, not to the cessation of labor on those days, and particularly not to the matter of the keeping of the sabbath.

5. *Evidence from 1QM, Jubilees, and Enoch*

There are three further sources antedating Colossians that deserve attention here: the Dead Sea Scroll called "The War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness" (1QM), the Book of Jubilees, and 1 Enoch.[11] As the War Scroll contains the closest parallel, we will consider it first:

[11]Two noteworthy references that are both second century are Justin, *Dial.* 8.4, and the Mishna, Zebah. 10.1. The former has Trypho saying that if Justin will become circumcised and keep the precepts regarding the sabbath, feast days, and new moons (in other words fulfill the law), God will look with favor upon him (cf. 4 Ezra 1:31). The latter is a midrash stating that the daily whole burnt offerings should precede the additional whole offerings, and that the additional offerings for the sabbath should precede those of the new moon, which should precede those of the new year. *T. Ber.* 3.11, sometimes mentioned in connection with Col 2:16 (see, e.g., Lohse, *TDNT* 7:30, n. 234), bears no relation to it that I can see.

The major officials assigned to service shall take up their positions, in discharge of their duties, on the festivals, new moons, sabbaths or weekdays duly assigned to them. They shall be fifteen years of age and upwards. Their function shall be to attend to the burnt-offerings and the sacrifices, to set out the incense of "pleasant savor" for God's acceptance, to perform rites of atonement in behalf of all His congregation, and constantly to clear away the fat ashes which lie before Him on the "table of glory" (1QM 2.4-6).[12]

Here there is reference to their festivals (מועדיהם), their new moons (חדשיהם), and sabbaths (שבתות), in the context of the work of offering sacrifices. This passage also uses the sequence of feast day, new moon, and sabbath in association with the sacrificial system.

The Book of Jubilees contains eight series worth looking at, and there is one poor parallel in the Book of Enoch as well. The passage which provides the background for the others in Jubilees is found in *Jub.* 6. The writer was extremely interested in calendrical matters, the book professing to be a record of the first fifty jubilees in the history of the world. Events were dated as to day, month, year, week of years, and jubilee. As a part of this system, the writer has God give to Noah in *Jub.* 6 (to Enoch in *Jub.* 4 and *1 Enoch* 74:10-75:2) a calendar containing a 364-day year divided into four quarters of 13 weeks each. In this calendar, a given day of the year would fall on the same day of the week every year, and there was a quarter-by-quarter mathematical symmetry to the calendar.

The basic text of interest to us, as given in vss. 34-38, is a warning against tampering with the divinely revealed calendar:

[34]And all the children of Israel will forget, and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the *new moons*, and *seasons*, and *sabbaths*, and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. [35]For I know and from henceforth will I declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and on the heavenly tablets the division of days is

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[12]Theodor H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (Garden City, N.Y., 1956), p. 283. For a Hebrew transcription, see Yigael Yadin, *The War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (Jerusalem, 1962), p. 266.

ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant and walk
according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after
their ignorance. [36]For there will be those who will assuredly make
observations of the moon—how (it) disturbs the seasons and
comes in from year to year ten days too soon. [37]For this reason the
years will come upon them when they will disturb (the order) and
make an abominable (day) the day of testimony, and an unclean
day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with
the unclean, and the unclean day with the holy, for they will go
wrong as to the *months* and *sabbaths* and *feasts* and *jubilees*.
[38]For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayest
testify to them; for after thy death thy children will disturb
(them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and
sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to
the *new moons* and *seasons* and *sabbaths* and *festivals*, and they
will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh. [Italics mine.][13]

Three times in this passage—in vss. 34, 37, and 38—there is
reference to the series of "new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths,"
"months and sabbaths and feasts and jubilees," and "new moons
and seasons and sabbaths and festivals," associated with the
declaration that "the children of Israel will forget" or "they will
go wrong." In each series, the "new moon" is mentioned first in the
sequence, inasmuch as it was the major point of contention.

One other series in Jubilees has the same order as the second
series in *Jub.* 6, presumably for the same reason:

And they will forget all My law and all My commandments
and all My judgments, and will go astray as to new moons, and
sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances (*Jub.* 1:14).

In this passage, one notices a tendency to expand beyond what was
included in the OT passages we have discussed. This tendency will
become more evident as we proceed.

Jub. 23:19 has the feasts, months, and sabbaths in the regular
chronological order, but other elements in the series are not in that
kind of order:

[13]All material in Jubilees and 1 Enoch is quoted from *APOT*.

> And they shall strive one with another, . . . on account of the
> law and the covenant; for they have forgotten commandment, and
> covenant, and feasts, and months, and sabbaths, and jubilees, and
> all judgments.

Two other series, including the one in 1 Enoch, lack one of the
elements of the sabbath-and-new-moon-festival-sequence:

> And many will perish and they will be taken captive, and
> will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken
> My ordinances and My commandments, and the festivals of My
> covenant, and My sabbaths, and My holy place which I have
> hallowed for Myself in their midst, and My tabernacle, and My
> sanctuary . . . (*Jub.* 1:10).

> And the account thereof [the four intercalary days and the
> year of 364 days] is accurate and the recorded reckoning thereof
> exact; for the luminaries, and months and festivals, and years and
> days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, . . . (*1 Enoch* 82:7).

Jub. 1:10 is reminiscent of Lam 2:6 and may have been written
with that text in mind. *1 Enoch* 82:7 differs from the preceding
passages in not being overtly polemic. Two other passages which
are not overtly polemic complete our survey.

Jub. 4:18 has an apparent duplication in its list; for "weeks of
the jubilees" appears to be the same as "sabbaths of the years"
(though the latter expression may refer to the 52 weeks in the
calendar); and the list is also elaborated, instead of being merely
stated:

> And he [Enoch] was the first to write a testimony, and he
> testified to the sons of men among the generations of the earth,
> and recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known to them
> the days of the years, and set in order the months and recounted
> the Sabbaths of the years as we made (them), [*sic*] known to him.

One wonders if this passage refers to the Book of Enoch.

Finally, of the various passages in the Book of Jubilees,
Jub. 2:9-10 has the closest parallel to the OT series and to Col 2:16:

> And God appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for
> days and for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years

and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of
the years.

This series is remarkably well-ordered, perhaps due to the astronom-
ical reference and the lack of an overt polemic.[14] Only the phrase
"seasons of the years" is out of order.

Two generalizations concerning the above series from Jubilees
and 1 Enoch can be made. First, the order of members in the
different lists is highly variable. There is very little stereotyping of
lists, either in content or in order. They generally do not preserve
the order of "feast day, new moon, and sabbath," but tend to put
the new moons first. Second, there is considerable stereotyping of
the introductions to the various lists. All but three of the lists
contain an introduction such as, "And the children of Israel will
forget," or "They will go wrong." Then would follow the general
type of statement calling to mind the calendrical conflict of
Jubilees and involving a hodgepodge of calendrical occasions—
monthly, weekly, yearly, and other.[15]

6. *The Sacrificial-System Background*
to the Sequence of Col 2:16

We thus have two groups of parallels to Col 2:16. One is
centered around Num 28-29, and the other around *Jub.* 6. The
former, however, shows a much closer parallelism to Col 2:16 than
does the latter. Therefore, it would seem reasonable to interpret Col
2:16 in the light of the OT and 1QM parallels which show affinity
with Num 28-29. One of the things we have noticed about the OT
material is that the phrase "festival . . . new moon . . . sabbath" is
practically always associated with the offerings on those days, not
just as incidental, but *as a way of describing those offerings.* So
when the phrase was used in the epistle to the Colossians, the

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[14]Although the polemic is there under the surface, for why else would the sun
be a sign for sabbaths of years and jubilees—or for that matter, for sabbaths
and months?

[15]I would propose that this is exactly what we have in Gal 4:10. The "days and
months and seasons and years" are reminiscent of *1 Enoch* 82:7, and weeks are
skipped entirely, in contrast to Col 2:16.

reader or hearer acquainted with the OT parallels would immediately have thought of the weekly, monthly, and yearly sacrifices prescribed by Moses.

Is it too big a leap from Paul's phrase to the sacrificial system? I think not, for three reasons: First, the identification is very close to the surface in the OT, particularly when the latter parts of the OT were written (e.g., the use made of the phrase in Neh 10). Second, all through Colossians, as noted earlier, Paul "seems to be actually quoting the slogans and watchwords of the cult"[16] (e.g., his "Do not handle, Do not taste, Do not touch" of Col 2:21 is almost certainly quoted from the false teachers), and it seems quite likely to me that Paul is here quoting or parodying another slogan from the false teachers—only this time we know the antecedent, in contrast to some of the other slogans. Finally, I think this interpretation fits much better with vs. 17 than any other.[17] This last point is one which deserves a bit of elaboration here.

7. The Sacrificial System and the Context in Col 2:17

Col 2:17 begins with the wording, "which are a shadow of the coming things"[18] (ἅ[19] ἐστιν σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων). The ἅ probably refers to the phrase ἑορτῆς ἢ νεομηνίας ἢ σαββάτων, rather than just to σαββάτων, inasmuch as the phrase is a unit and the latter interpretation would break it up. In fact, some commentators see in ἅ a reference to ἐν βρώσει καὶ ἐν πόσει as well,[20] but the grammar

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[16]R. P. Martin, *Colossians and Philemon*, p. 8.

[17]If my interpretation is correct, the false teachers may have advocated something similar to the 1/3 shekel tax mentioned in Neh 10:32-34. The temple in Jerusalem was still standing when Paul wrote the verse (and there is evidence from Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 28, that the Asian Jews paid the temple tax during this period), and it would not be surprising if someone advocated participation in the temple sacrifices during this period. That even apparently staunch Christians in the period after A.D. 70 did not entirely downgrade sacrifices may be gathered from *1 Clem.* 50-51.

[18]Author's translation.

[19]There is a slight textual variant here. B, G, and Marcion read ὅ. Accepting the variant does not make much difference in the exegesis (of course, the ἐστιν is correct either way).

[20]E.g., see SDABC 7:206.

does not call for this, and considering that βρῶσις καὶ πόσις is probably a gnostic rather than an OT phrase,[21] it would seem unlikely that Paul would see in it a symbol of Christ.

It has recently been asserted that the word σκιά refers to the shadowy and unsubstantial nature of the ἑορτῆς ἢ νεομηνίας ἢ σαββάτων rather than to any foreshadowing function they may possess.[22] However, while σκιά doubtless has the connotation of nonsubstantiality and emptiness (especially when contrasted with σῶμα), σκιά is also connected with τῶν μελλόντων, "of the coming things." It would seem that something that was a shadow of coming things foreshadowed them by definition. In Heb 8:5 σκιᾷ is parallel with ὑποδείγματι, "pattern," and in Heb 10:1 the law is spoken of as having a "shadow" (σκιάν) of "the good things to come" (τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν).[23] These two texts have always, to my knowledge, been understood as using σκιά with a pointing or foreshadowing function,[24] and there is no real reason why σκιά in Col 2:17 should not be understood in the same way.

The word σκιά has been seen by other commentators to exclude the seventh-day sabbath, as the sabbath is said to have a commemorative function (Gen 2:2-3; Exod 20:8-11) rather than a foreshadowing function.[25] Those who see the sabbath as an institution in this text have answered this claim by pointing to Heb 4:1-11 as an evidence of its typical nature, and have mentioned that the Passover also had a dual function, pointing both backwards (Exod 12:11-17) and forwards (1 Cor 5:7), so why not the sabbath?[26] They have a point, and one cannot exclude the sabbath as an institution from the text by an appeal to σκιά alone. However, according to Gen 2:2-3 the sabbath was instituted before sin, and

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[21]Richardson, pp. 69-73; R. Martin, *Colossians and Philemon*, p. 90.

[22]Richardson, pp. 77-83.

[23]The verse goes on to say, "instead of the true form of these realities (οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων)," thus making the parallel even closer.

[24]See, e.g., William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (1960), s. v. σκιά.

[25]E.g., see Earle Hilgert, "'Sabbath Days' in Colossians 2:16," *The Ministry* 25 (Feb. 1952): 43.

[26]E.g., see Canright, p. 294.

while the only other institution originating before the fall
(marriage; Gen 2:23-24) was symbolic of Christ (Eph 5:31-32),
marriage was not done away when Christ came. The sabbath might
fit as "a shadow of things to come" (KJV), but it does not fit
comfortably; and in view of the fact that the preceding phrase is
probably a reference to the sacrificial system rather than to sabbath
observance, as we have noted in our earlier discussion, there is no
reason to try to force the sabbath to fit.

A related observation is pertinent here. The new moon did not
obviously point forward to Christ, who was crucified at the full
moon (Passover, the fourteenth day of the lunar month); in fact,
new moons were part of the original plan for a restored earth
(Isa 66:23). However, the *offerings* at the new moon festival are
much more easily understood as foreshadowing Christ.

If the phrase ἑορτῆς ἢ νεομηνίας ἢ σαββάτων refers to the
sacrificial system, the meaning of ἅ ἐστιν σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων is
obvious. The sacrificial system pointed forward to Christ;[27] and
when he came, that system had no more significance than a
shadow. It may still be worthwhile studying, but it is no longer
worth practicing.

The last part of vs. 17 reads, "But the substance belongs to
Christ" (τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ). "'Substance' is in fact one
rendering of the Greek term (sōma) for 'body.' This has suggested
to some interpreters . . . that Paul has the church as Christ's body
in view."[28] This interpretation accords well with Col 1:18 and 2:19,
but it seems to detract a little from the centrality of Christ to say
that the Jewish rituals only foreshadowed the church.

There is another very significant use of the word σῶμα,
occurring in 1 Pet 2:24, as well as in Col 1:22. As C. F. D. Moule
has said, the word σῶμα "probably suggested that famous verse
which, in the prevalent LXX version of Ps. xl. 7, read (as quoted in
Heb. x. 5) Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω
μοι: Christ's body, offered in sacrifice, was the reality to which the
mere 'shadow'—the sacrificial system—pointed. Thus 'substance,'
'Church,' and 'final, perfect sacrifice' may all be ideas which would

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[27]See John 1:29; 1 Cor 5:7; Heb 8:10 passim.

[28]R. Martin, *Colossians*, pp. 90-91.

have crowded into the listeners' minds when this phrase in our letter was read, or at any rate into the writer's mind when it was written."[29]

A parallel to Col 2:16-17 according to this interpretation, showing that the proposed sequence of meat, drink, and sacrifices was not unique in early Christianity, may be found in Heb 13. Vs. 9a warns about being led astray by "diverse and strange teachings" (cf. Col 2:8), vs. 9b urges the believer to have his heart strengthened by grace (cf. Col 2:10-15), and vs. 9c disparages food (cf. Col 2:16a). Then vs. 10a disparages the temple service (cf. Col 2:16b), and finally vss. 11-12 speak about the parallelism between the sacrificial system and Jesus (cf. Col 2:17).[30]

8. *Conclusion*

To summarize, the word σαββάτων in Col 2:16 has often been used to prove that the seventh-day sabbath has been done away; it has been interpreted as referring to ceremonial sabbaths and as having nothing to do with the seventh-day sabbath; it has been understood as referring to the seventh-day sabbath as a sign of Judaism and the Jewish regulations concerning the sabbath; and it has been read as decrying the observance of the sabbath in honor of the elemental spirits of the universe. But the weight of evidence indicates that what Paul actually had reference to was the sacrifices on the seventh-day sabbath prescribed in Num 28:9-10, which pointed forward to Christ and are no longer binding on the Christian since his death. The phrase "a festival or a new moon or a sabbath" appears to have been a catch-phrase tied to the sacrificial system, and referred to the offerings at the times designated. Whatever else Paul may have had in mind in making his statement in Col 2:16, his primary meaning in that text is that the sacrificial system pointed forward to Christ and therefore is no longer necessary now that Christ has come.

[29]Moule, p. 103.

[30]An interesting explanation of the parallels between Colossians and Hebrews is given in T. W. Manson, *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, ed. Matthew Black (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 242-258.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL AND MATTERS OF LANGUAGE: EVIDENCES RELATING TO NAMES, WORDS, AND THE ARAMAIC LANGUAGE

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An increasing number of recent studies, including a full-fledged commentary with an extensive introduction by a British scholar,[1] evaluate historical, chronological, and linguistic matters in view of new discoveries and advanced studies, concluding that an early date (pre-Maccabean) for the whole book is mandatory.[2] On the other hand, the critical consensus for a second-century (Maccabean) date for the final recension[3] is maintained by other scholars with more or less traditional arguments.[4] This situation

[1] Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel* (London, 1978).

[2] E.g., B. K. Waltke, "The Date of the Book of Daniel," *BSac* 134 (1976): 319-329; G. F. Wenham, "Daniel: The Basic Issues," *Themelois* 2/2 (1976): 49-52; R. I. Vasholz, "Qumran and the Dating of Daniel," *JETS* 21/4 (1978): 315-321; G. L. Archer, "Modern Rationalism and the Book of Daniel," *BSac* 136 (1979): 129-147. See also the OT introductions by R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969), pp. 1110-1133; H. D. Hummel, *The Word Becoming Flesh: An Introduction to the Origin, Purpose and Meaning of the Old Testament* (St. Louis, 1979), pp. 560-573; E. Yamauchi, "The Archaeological Background of Daniel," *BSac* 137 (1980): 3-16.

[3] A number of scholars argue for a pre-second-century origin of certain parts of the book of Daniel. E.g., P. R. Davies, "Daniel Chapter Two," *JTS* 27 (1976): 392-401, suggests a sixth-century origin for Dan 2 (p. 400); J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (Missoula, 1977), p. 19, suggests that Dan 1-6 are pre-Maccabean. A. R. Millard, "Daniel 1-6 and History," *EvQ* 49 (1977): 67-73, argues that Daniel retains a high proportion of correct detail and Dan 1-6 is of great value for its close correspondence to early records. More recently, P. R. Davies, "Eschatology in the Book of Daniel," *JSOT* 17 (1980): 33-53, argues for a Maccabean redaction of Dan 1-6 which was "earlier developed in the Diaspora" (p. 40). A. Lacocque, "The Liturgical Prayer in Daniel 9," *HUCA* 47 (1976): 119-142, makes a case for the prayer at the core of Dan 9 as being composed between 587 and 538 B.C. (p. 141).

[4] R. Hammer, *The Book of Daniel* (London/New York, 1976); L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB 23 (Garden City, N.Y., 1978); A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (Atlanta, 1979).

calls for a new look at the various major arguments brought about
by new discoveries and new investigations into old questions. In a
previous issue in this journal I treated major historical matters
concerning persons (Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede)
and chronology (Dan 1:1; 7:1; 8:1; 9:1).[5] The present article
concentrates on issues of a linguistic nature pertaining to (1) foreign
names and words (Babylonian, Persian, and Greek) and (2) the
type of the Aramaic in the book of Daniel. These matters serve as
indicators for a date of the book of Daniel.

1. *Evidences Relating to Names and Words*

A number of significant historical and linguistic aspects throw
new light on various disputed names and words in the book of
Daniel.

Babylonian Names

The term "Chaldean" (Dan 2:2; 4:7; 5:7-11) has in its context
been troublesome to various scholars. According to one theory, the
equation of "Chaldean" with magicians, enchanters, and sooth-
sayers (i.e., as a professional term, in addition to its ethnic meaning
in Dan 3:8; 9:1) is an "undoubted anachronism"[6] for the time of
Nebuchadnézzar, i.e., the sixth century B.C. It is argued in this case
that "Chaldean" as a professional term was used in the Persian[7]
and later periods, but not before.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the term "Chaldean"
was used in an ethnic sense in Assyrian records of the eighth and
seventh centuries B.C.,[8] but it is not found in either a professional
or ethnic sense in Babylonian records of the sixth century B.C. as
they are presently known or published. Although the Danielic
usage is presently still unsupported in Babylonian records, while
the ethnic sense is known from earlier Assyrian records and the

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[5]G. F. Hasel, "The Book of Daniel and History: Evidences Relating to Persons
and Chronology," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 37-49.

[6]N. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary* (London, 1965), pp. 25-26.

[7]Herodotus, *Histories* i. 181-183.

[8]Yamauchi, pp. 5-6; Millard, pp. 69-71; Baldwin, p. 29.

professional sense from later Persian times, "it is unwarranted to argue from silence that the word is anachronistic."[9]

Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego

The three friends of Daniel were renamed by the Babylonian superior upon arrival at Babylon. Philologists in the past have been unable to explain these names adequately. It has been assumed or suggested time and again that these names were garbled or poorly transmitted forms of original Babylonian names containing names of pagan gods. Recently a German Assyriologist has shown that these names can be explained satisfactorily from Babylonian onomastics without supposing a poor transmission or conscious alteration. P.-R. Berger shows that the name Shadrach (Dan 1:6, 7, 11, 19), Hebrew *šadrak*, corresponds to the Assyrian *šādurāku* and Babylonian *šūdurāku*, meaning "I am put into much fear."[10] This is a type of shortened name in which the name of deity is omitted, something which happens frequently in Akkadian names.

The name of his friend Meshach, Hebrew *mēšak*, corresponds to the Akkadian name *mēšāku*, meaning "I am of little account."[11] The name of the third companion is Abednego, Hebrew *ᶜabed nego*, and is of West Semitic origin. "Such West Semitic names were not unknown in Akkadian," writes Berger.[12] Its meaning is "Servant of the shining one"[13] and may possibly involve a word-play on an Akkadian name that includes the name of the Babylonian god Nābû.[14] In any case, the name itself does not contain the name of the deity Nābû or Nebo, as suggested by some.[15]

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[9]Baldwin, p. 29.

[10]P.-R. Berger, "Der Kyros-Zylinder mit dem Zusatzfragment BIN II Nr. 32 und die akkadischen Personennamen im Danielbuch," *ZA* 64 (1975): 224, who renders the name in German as "ich bin sehr in Furcht versetzt."

[11]Ibid., p. 225: "ich bin gering geachtet" of Berger's German translation.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid., p. 226.

[14]Millard, p. 72.

[15]See E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1949), p. 43.

These names as well as other Akkadian names in the book of Daniel correspond so closely to what is known from Babylonian onomastics that Berger suggests he would not be surprised if the names of Daniel and his companions would some day be discovered in Babylonian texts.[16] These Akkadian names fit perfectly into the time of the sixth century and pose no difficulty for a pre-Maccabean date of the the book of Daniel.

Persian Words

There are some nineteen Persian loan words in the Aramaic part of Daniel. On statistical grounds, H. H. Rowley argued that this is an indication that the Biblical Aramaic of Daniel is much closer to the Aramaic of the Targums of the second and first centuries B.C. than to the Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C.[17] A careful investigation of the Persian loan words in Daniel shows that a statistical argumentation is without support. Thanks to the work of K. A. Kitchen, it is now known that Persian loan words in Daniel are consistent with an earlier rather than a later date for the composition of the book. Scholars have now become aware that the term "satrap," which was once thought to have been Greek in origin, was actually derived from the Old Persian form *kshathrapān*, which also occurred in cuneiform inscriptions as *shatarpānu*, giving rise to the Greek term "satrap."[18] That Persian words should be used of Babylonian institutions prior to the conquests of Cyrus need not be as surprising as has been supposed, since the work was written in the Persian rather than the Neo-Babylonian period. In the interests of objectivity it should be noted in passing that the Persian terms found in Daniel are specifically Old Persian words, that is to say, occurring within the history of the language to about 300 B.C. but not later.[19] These facts rule out a date for the origin of the Persian words after 300 B.C. The Persian words point to an early date for the book of Daniel rather than a late one.

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[16]Berger, p. 234.

[17]H. H. Rowley, *The Aramaic of the Old Testament* (London, 1929), p. 139.

[18]K. A. Kitchen, "The Aramaic of Daniel," *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, ed. D. J. Wiseman, et al. (London, 1965), p. 36.

[19]Harrison, p. 1125.

Greek Words

At the turn of the century, S. R. Driver claimed that "the [three] Greek words *demand,* ... a date [for Daniel] after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great (B.C. 332)."[20] The Greek terms under discussion are those of musical instruments such as "harp," "psaltery," and "sack-but" (Dan 3:5; cf. vss. 7, 10, 15).

The weakness of Driver's argument was pointed out by J. A. Montgomery, who wrote: "The rebuttal of this evidence for a low date lies in stressing the potentialities of Greek influence in the Orient from the sixth century and onward."[21] The famous orientalist W. F. Albright pointed out several decades ago that Greek culture had penetrated the ancient Near East long before the Neo-Babylonian period.[22] More recently E. M. Yamauchi's detailed study has illustrated with overwhelming evidence that this kind of influence of Greece on Babylon did indeed exist.[23]

The evidence for the influence of Greek culture on Babylon has not altered greatly the weight of the linguistic arguments in the debate concerning the date of the Aramaic section of the book of Daniel (Dan 2:4b-7:28). The recent Anchor Bible commentary on Daniel reiterates the position of standard critical orthodoxy: "The Greek names for the musical instruments in 3:5 probably do not antedate the reign of Alexander the Great (336-323 B.C.)."[24] While P. W. Coxon notes that the Greek loan words "seem to provide the strongest evidence [for critical scholarship] in favor of the second century B.C.,"[25] he demonstrates that the spelling of *qayt⁽ʿ⁾rōs* ("lyre") was adopted into Aramaic in the pre-Hellenistic period.[26]

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[20]S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1897; reprint, New York, 1956), p. 508.

[21]J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel,* ICC [23], p. 22.

[22]W. F. Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity,* 2d ed. (New York, 1957), p. 337.

[23]E. Yamauchi, *Greece and Babylon* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967), p. 94.

[24]Hartman and Di Lella, p. 13.

[25]P. W. Coxon, "Greek Loan-Words and Alleged Greek Loan Translations in the Book of Daniel," *Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions* 25 (1976): 24.

[26]Ibid., p. 31.

The second instrument *p^esantērîn* in Dan 3:5 was, according to A. Sendry, a term for musical instruments originally imported from the east into Greece, improved by the Greeks, and in turn re-exported to the east.[27]

The third term, *sumpōn^eyâ*, is used in the Greek language as *sumphōnia*. The Greek term has an early meaning of a "sounding together"[28] or a "unison of sound," "concord," "harmonious union of many voices or sounds," or the like. Later it may have come to mean also a musical instrument.[29] The careful analysis of historical, linguistic, and cultural evidences related to this term has led Coxon to conclude that the use of this term, as far as the classical evidence is concerned and as it affects Dan 3, "must be pronounced neutral."[30]

This means that "the Greek words for musical instruments in the Aramaic are therefore no obstacle for a pre-Hellenistic date of Daniel's composition"[31] and "that a sixth-century date for the orchestra cannot be categorically denied."[32]

2. *Evidences Relating to the Aramaic Language*

The book of Daniel shares with the book of Ezra the unique phenomenon of being written in two different Semitic languages. The OT is, of course, written as a whole in Hebrew, the language of the ancient Israelites, with the exception of the longer sections of Ezra 4:8-6:18 and 7:12-26 and Dan 2:4b-7:28, which are written in Aramaic.

Aramaic was the language of the ancient Aramaeans, first mentioned in cuneiform texts from the twelfth century B.C. In the

[27]A. Sendry, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York, 1969), p. 297; cf. Coxon, "Greek Loan-Words," pp. 31-32.

[28]Yamauchi, "Archaeological Background of Daniel," p. 12.

[29]Coxon, pp. 32-36.

[30]Ibid., p. 36.

[31]Yamauchi, "Archaeological Background of Daniel," p. 13.

[32]T. C. Mitchell and R. Joyce, "The Musical Instruments in Nebuchadnezzar's Orchestra," *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, ed. D. J. Wiseman, et al. (London, 1965), p. 27. These authors reached this conclusion independently from the work of other researchers.

course of time, Aramaic superseded the various languages of conquered lands. From the eighth century on, Aramaic became the international language, the *lingua franca*, of the Near East, and the Israelites appear to have learned the Aramaic language during the exile. Historically, Aramaic is divided into several major groups: (1) "Ancient Aramaic" *(Altaramäisch)*,[33] employed to 700 B.C.; (2) "Official Aramaic" *(Reichsaramäisch)*, used "from 700 to 300 B.C.E.";[34] (3) "Middle Aramaic," used from "300 B.C.E. to the early centuries C.E. [Common Era]";[35] and (4) "Late Aramaic," employed thereafter.

The Old Debate Regarding Language

The questions usually posed concerning the Aramaic in Daniel are these: How is the language of the book of Daniel to be classified? What does this classification indicate regarding the date of the book? Does the language represent "Official Aramaic," i.e., an early type of Aramaic (sixth/fifth century B.C.) or a later Aramaic (second century B.C.)?

S. R. Driver seems to have opened the debate in the year 1897 by concluding his discussion of the date and nature of the Aramaic of Daniel[36] by declaring that the Aramaic *"permits"* a date *"after the conquest of Palestine* by Alexander the Great (B.C. 332)."[37] He was followed by C. C. Torrey, who dated the Aramaic part of Daniel to the third/second century B.C.[38]

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[33]See R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Wiesbaden, 1969), p. 103. S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1957), pp. 36-39, prefers to designate "Ancient Aramaic" as "Früh019aramäisch" (Early Aramaic) and extends its time to the middle of the seventh century B.C.

[34]So E. Y Kutscher, "Aramaic," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971), 2: 260. A description of its nature is provided by S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, Assyriological Studies, 19 (Chicago, 1974), pp. 155-160.

[35]Kutscher, p. 260.

[36]Driver, pp. 502-504.

[37]Ibid., p. 508 (italics his).

[38]C. C. Torrey, "Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel," *Transactions of The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 15 (1909): 239-282; idem, "Stray Notes on the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra," *JAOS* 43 (1923): 229-238.

Counter arguments against a late date of the Aramaic of
Daniel came from conservative scholars of great repute such as
R. D. Wilson, W. St. Clair Tisdall, and Charles Boutflower.[39] The
result of these studies, defending the antiquity of the Aramaic of
Daniel, was a countercharge on the part of scholars who dated the
book of Daniel late.[40] Particularly important in this category is the
classical position stated by H. H. Rowley.[41] However, as a result of
the startling discovery of the Elephantine Papyri from Upper
Egypt, which were written in Aramaic and dated from as early as
the fifth century B.C., F. Rosenthal, following in the wake of the
synthesis of H. H. Schaeder[42] and an important essay by
J. Linder,[43] concluded in 1939 that the "old 'linguistic evidence'
[for a late date of Daniel] has to be laid aside"[44] after four
decades of research.

New Evidence and New Solutions

In 1965 Kitchen took up again the problem of the Aramaic
in Daniel, in response to the unanswered claims of Rowley,
who had written over three decades earlier. In the meantime,
new Aramaic texts had been discovered[45] and the older ones

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[39]R. D. Wilson, "The Aramaic of Daniel," *Biblical and Theological Studies*
(Princeton, N.J., 1912), pp. 261-306; W. St. Clair Tisdall, "The Book of Daniel,
Some Linguistic Evidence Regarding Its Date," *Journal of the Transactions of the
Victoria Institute . . . of Great Britain* 23 (1921): 206-245; Charles Boutflower, *In and
Around the Book of Daniel* (London, 1923), pp. 226, 267.

[40]G. R. Driver, "The Aramaic of the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 45 (1926): 110-119,
323-325; W. Baumgartner, "Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel," *ZAW* 45 (1927):
81-133; Montgomery, pp. 15-20; R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Com-
mentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford, 1929), pp. LXXVI-CVII.

[41]See Rowley's work cited in n. 17, above.

[42]H. H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge I* (Halle/Saale, 1930), pp. 199-296.

[43]J. Linder, "Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel," *ZKT* 59 (1935): 503-545, argues
on the basis of material provided by Schaeder. Linder concludes that the third-to-
second-century date of Daniel can no longer be held. Thus there are no linguistic
grounds against an early date of Daniel.

[44]F. Rosenthal, *Die aramäistische Forschung* (1939; reprint, Leiden, 1964),
pp. 60-71, especially p. 70.

[45]A convenient summary of the known (by 1970) Aramaic texts down to the
third century B.C. is provided by J. Naveh, *The Development of the Aramaic Script*,

had been studied more carefully. Kitchen examined the vocabulary, orthography, phonetics, and general morphology and syntax of the Aramaic of Daniel, and he reached the following conclusion: "The Aramaic of Daniel (and of Ezra) is simply a part of Imperial [Official] Aramaic—in itself, practically undatable with any conviction within c. 600 to 330 B.C."[46] This being so, there are no grounds on the basis of the Aramaic that force a date for the book of Daniel to the Maccabean period. As far as the Aramaic is concerned, a sixth/fifth-century date is entirely possible.[47]

H. H. Rowley contested the findings of Kitchen.[48] However, the criticisms of Rowley were scrutinized by E. Y. Kutscher in his authoritative survey of research of early Aramaic and were roundly refuted.[49] Kutscher had already shown that on the basis of word order the Aramaic of Daniel points to an Eastern origin, not a Western one that would be required if a Maccabean date in the second century B.C. were to be maintained.[50] Kitchen's conclusions are accepted, as well, by other leading scholars.[51]

The view that the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to "Official [Imperial] Aramaic" is held not only by Kitchen and Kutscher but also by a number of other scholars in the field of Aramaic studies, even though they may not hold to an early date for the book of Daniel.[52]

Proceedings of the Israeli Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 5 (Jerusalem, 1970).

[46]Kitchen, pp. 31-79, especially p. 75.

[47]Ibid., p. 79.

[48]H. H. Rowley, Review of D. J. Wiseman, et al., *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel, JSS* 11 (1966): 112-116.

[49]E. Y. Kutscher, "Aramaic," *Current Trends in Linguistics 6*, ed. T. A. Seboek (The Hague, 1970), pp. 400-403.

[50]E. Y. Kutscher, "HaAramait HaMigrait-Aramit Mizrahit hi o Maaravit?" *First World Congress of Jewish Studies* 1 (Jerusalem, 1952), pp. 123-127.

[51]M. Sokoloff, *The Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat Gan, 1974), p. 9, n. 1; Wenham, p. 50; Millard, pp. 67-68; Baldwin, p. 34.

[52]J. J. Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomatie I* (Leiden, 1962), p. 154; F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*, 2d ed. (Wiesbaden, 1963), p. 6, states: "The Aramaic of the Bible as written has preserved the Official Aramaic character." Cf. R. J. Williams, "Energic Verbal Forms in Hebrew," *Studies in the Ancient World*, eds. J. W. Wevers and D. B. Redford (Toronto, 1972), p. 78: "The Aramaic of the

The appearance of major documents in Aramaic from Qumran has also put new light on the language of Daniel as being of an early date. In the year 1956 the Aramaic *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen) was published.[53] On paleographical and linguistic grounds, it belongs to the first century B.C.[54] P. Winter has noted that the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra is Official [Imperial] Aramaic, but that that of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is later.[55] This conclusion is confirmed by Kutscher[56] and particularly by Gleason L. Archer.[57] The latter has concluded on the basis of a careful study of the Aramaic language in Daniel and in the *Genesis Apocryphon* "that the Aramaic of Daniel comes from a considerably earlier period than the second century B.C."[58] More recently, he has written that the cumulative result of the linguistic evidence is "that the Aramaic of the [Genesis] Apocryphon is centuries later than that of Daniel and Ezra. Otherwise there is no such thing as linguistic evidence."[59] This conclusion has significant implications regarding the alleged Maccabean date for the book of Daniel; and it is

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OT is in all essentials identical with Imperial Aramaic." See also J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon: A Commentary*, 2d ed. (Rome, 1971), p. 20, nn. 56, 60. Fitzmyer, however, suggests that Official Aramaic continued to the second century, B.C.

[53]N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, eds., *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem, 1956).

[54]Ibid., p. 21. Also E. Y. Kutscher, "Dating the Language of the Genesis Apocryphon," *JBL* 76 (1957): 288-292; B. Jongeling, et al., *Aramaic Texts from Qumran I*, pp. 5-6, 78-79; E. Y. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Scr. Hier. 4; 2d ed. (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 1-35.

[55]P. Winter, "Das aramäische Genesis-Apokryphon," *TLZ* 4 (1957): 258-262.

[56]Kutscher, "Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" pp. 1-35.

[57]G. L. Archer, Jr., "The Aramaic of the 'Genesis Apocryphon' Compared with the Aramaic of Daniel," *New Perspectives on the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Payne (Waco, Texas, 1970), pp. 160-169.

[58]Ibid., p. 169.

[59]G. L. Archer, "Aramaic Language," *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, ed. M. C. Tenney (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1975), 1: 255.

becoming increasingly difficult, in view of the Aramaic documents among the Dead Sea Scrolls, to support or adhere to a second-century-B.C. date for the book of Daniel.

The most recent assault against the Maccabean date of the book of Daniel has been produced by the recent publication of the Job Targum (11QtgJob) from Cave 11 of Qumran.[60] This Aramaic document fills the gap of several centuries between the Aramaic of the books of Daniel and Ezra and later Aramaic. Scholars of various schools of thought agree that the Aramaic language of the Job Targum is younger than that of the book of Daniel and older than that of the *Genesis Apocryphon*.[61] The editors date the Job Targum in the second half of the second century B.C.[62]

The dating of the Aramaic of the Job Targum as being later than the Aramaic of the book of Daniel is important. The impact is reflected in the attempt to redate the whole development of post-biblical Aramaic. Stephen A. Kaufman of Hebrew Union College has concluded that "the language of 11QtgJob [Job Targum] differs significantly from that of the Aramaic of Daniel. . . ."[63] This being so, there must be some time between the Aramaic of Daniel and that of the Job Targum. Since Kaufman asserts that the book of Daniel "cannot have reached its final form until the middle of that [second] century,"[64] he is led to redate the Job Targum to the first century B.C. and the *Genesis Apocryphon* to the first century A.D.[65] This redating is suggested on the basis of fixing the date of Daniel in the second century B.C. However, Kitchen has pointed out correctly that the treatment and dating of the Aramaic of Daniel is apt to be colored by certain presuppositions.[66] Thus, one

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[60]J. P. M. van der Ploeg and A. S. van der Woude, eds., *Le Targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumran* (Leiden, 1971).

[61]E.g., T. Muraoka, "The Aramaic of the Old Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI," *JJS* 25 (1974): 442; S. A. Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," *JAOS* 93 (1973): 327; Jongeling, p. 5; and Vasholz, pp. 318-320.

[62]Van der Ploeg and van der Woude, p. 4.

[63]Kaufman, p. 327.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ibid., p. 317.

[66]Kitchen, p. 32.

can hardly be convinced that the problematical second-century date
of Daniel is the kind of sure anchor needed for sequence dating in
the development of post-biblical Aramaic.

The dating of the Job Targum as suggested on comparative
evidence, and without the presupposition of a second-century date
for the book of Daniel, now needs attention. On the basis of careful
linguistic comparisons of the Aramaic of Daniel, the *Genesis
Apocryphon*, and the Targums, it has been suggested recently by
several experts in Aramaic studies that the Job Targum does indeed
date from the second half of the second century B.C.[67] Others even
argue that the Job Targum may go back to "the second half of the
third century B.C. or the first half of the second century B.C."[68] If
some significant amount of time is needed between the Job
Targum and the widely acknowledged earlier Aramaic of the book
of Daniel, then the Aramaic of the book of Daniel would point to
at least an earlier date for the book than a certain branch of
scholarship has been willing heretofore to admit. Thus the question
of the Aramaic of Daniel as regards the date of Daniel is no longer
in a stalemate situation. The Aramaic documents from Qumran[69]
push the date of the composition into a period earlier than the
Maccabean date allows.

The foregoing bird's-eye view of the debate about the Aramaic
of the book of Daniel indicates that the present availability of
Aramaic documents from various areas and differing periods of
time has made suspect the major contentions in Rowley's study,
The Aramaic of the Old Testament, published in 1929. His conclu-
sion that "Biblical Aramaic stands somewhere between the Aramaic
of the papyri and that of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscrip-
tions,"[70] i.e., in the second century B.C., is not only seriously

[67]Jongeling, et al., p. 6; Sokoloff, p. 25.

[68]Muraoka, p. 442; Vasholz, p. 319.

[69]It may be expected that the recent publications of Aramaic fragments of the
books of Enoch will throw further light upon the development of post-biblical
Aramaic, see J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave
4* (Oxford, 1976); J. A. Fitzmyer, "Implications of the New Enoch Literature from
Qumran," *TS* 83 (1977): 332-345.

[70]Rowley, p. 11.

challenged on the basis of the Aramaic texts and materials from Qumran, but can no longer be maintained in view of the new evidence. Moreover, R. I. Vasholz's doctoral dissertation specifically compares the linguistic phenomena of the Job Targum with the Aramaic language of Daniel,[71] and Vasholz unambiguously concludes "that the evidence now available from Qumran indicates a pre-second-century date for the Aramaic of Daniel."[72]

More recently, Rowley's claims on the syntax of the Aramaic of Daniel have come under scrutiny in view of his deficient methodology and the vastly increased corpus of Aramaic documents now available for comparative analysis. In 1965, T. Muraoka published an essay which investigates a number of syntactical aspects involving the usage óf periphrasis and the construct state in genitival expressions.[73] He concluded, among other things, that precedents for the periphrastic construction are inherent in the syntax of Official Aramaic and that its choice and application in the Aramaic of Daniel are fitting to the style of the writer and are not arbitrary.[74]

The matter of "the syntax of the Aramaic of Daniel" is also the subject of a recent investigation by Coxon.[75] He demonstrates that Rowley has gone wrong in seeing decisive differences between the syntax of the Aramaic of the book of Daniel and that of the earlier papyri of the fifth century B.C.

Coxon arrives at far-reaching conclusions: (1) The use of the imperfect of *hwh* with a participle shows that the Aramaic of Daniel is in agreement with the early Aramaic papyri.[76] (2) The genitive relationship in its various forms demonstrates that "we

[71]R. I. Vasholz, "A Philological Comparison of the Qumran Job Targum and Its Implications for the Dating of Daniel" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 1976).

[72]Vasholz, "Qumran and the Dating of Daniel," p. 320.

[73]T. Muraoka, "Notes on the Syntax of Biblical Aramaic," *JSS* 11 (1966): 151-167.

[74]Ibid., pp. 152-155.

[75]P. W. Coxon, "The Syntax of the Aramaic of *Daniel*: A Dialectical Study," *HUCA* 48 (1977): 107-122.

[76]Ibid., p. 109.

are confronted by the syntax of Official Aramaic"[77] and not with
that of later documents. (3) The usage of the preposition *l* cannot
be employed as evidence for a date of the Aramaic of Daniel,
because it is present in certain and absent in other early Aramaic
papyri and present in some and absent in other Qumran
materials.[78] (4) Various types of word orders—such as, the title
"king" following the proper name, and the demonstrative pronoun
following the substantive—are shown to be a part of the syntax of
Official Aramaic.[79] (5) In the Aramaic in Daniel, verbs which
express the idea of possibility, desire, command, purpose, etc., are
constructed with *l* and the infinitive; and this phenomenon is
found largely also in Official Aramaic.[80] (6) The "object-verb-
subject" word order of verbal sentences in the Aramaic of Daniel
and the sequence of "verb-object" in clauses without direct object
reveals the freedom of word order in Official Aramaic[81] (it suggests
also possible Akkadian influence[82]). (7) Study of consonantal
mutations indicates that "the factors involved in historical spelling,
in phonetic development and representation . . . opens up the
possibility that the orthography of Biblical Aramaic belongs to an
earlier period [than the second century B.C.] and stems from the
idiosyncracies of Jewish scribal tradition."[83]

The Current Reassessment

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that the classical
problems of the syntax and spelling of the Aramaic of Daniel used

[77]Ibid., p. 112.

[78]Ibid., pp. 112-114.

[79]Ibid., pp. 115-116.

[80]Ibid., pp. 116-118.

[81]Ibid., pp. 118-119.

[82]See n. 34, above, where Kaufman's study, apparently not known to Coxon, is
cited. E. Y. Kutscher, "Aramaic," *Current Trends in Linguistics 6* (1970): 400 (see
also the citation in n. 50, above), has suggested that the word-order of Biblical
Aramaic is of the Eastern type. This conclusion is supported by Coxon, who
concludes that such a fundamental change in sentence structure "would certainly
point to a date before the second century B.C." (see "Syntax," pp. 121-122; and "A
Philological Note on Dan 5:3f.," *ZAW* 89 [1977]: 275-276).

[83]Coxon, "The Problem of Consonantal Mutations in Biblical Aramaic,"
ZDMG 129 (1979): 22.

in the past by certain scholars as support for an alleged late date and a Western provenance appear now in an entirely new light. The new evidence and reassessment point to a pre-second-century-B.C. date and to an Eastern (Babylonian) origin. On the basis of presently available evidence, the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to Official Aramaic and can have been written as early as the latter part of the sixth century B.C.; linguistic evidence is clearly against a date in the second century B.C. Even if the exact date of Daniel cannot be decided on linguistic grounds alone, there is abundant and compelling linguistic evidence against a second-century Palestinian origin.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND THE
MARIAN REACTION 1553-1558*

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The reign of Queen Mary has always posed a dilemma for historians of Tudor England. The actions of Mary herself, the activities of her Privy Council, and the legislation of her parliaments appear as an aberration from the accepted course of English national development.[1] The widespread acceptance of her Roman Catholic restoration and the apparent ease with which she achieved this goal have masked both the nature and the extent of the opposition which she encountered.

Those historians who have discussed the opposition roused by Mary's policies have usually explained the difficulties which her religious program encountered in terms of a combination of property interest and nationalism. They have viewed the English ruling class as essentially disinterested in religion and concerned only with the maintenance of rights to property which had become secularized as a result of the dissolution of Catholic religious life in the preceding two decades. Alternatively, they have concentrated on Mary's Spanish heritage and Hapsburg connection and have ascribed the opposition to her as a consequence of the growing nationalism and the anti-Spanish phobia which developed during the second half of the sixteenth century. Thus the opposition to the

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[1]Perhaps for this reason Mary has received less attention than her father and her sister—or even her brother. She has been the subject of several biographies, the best of which is H. F. M. Prescott, *A Spanish Tudor: The Life of Bloody Mary* (New York, 1970). Much interesting information is contained in E. Harris Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (Princeton, 1940). The most recent and the best account of her reign is contained in David Michael Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England 1553-1558* (London, 1979). A sympathetic Catholic account is that of Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England*, 3 vols. (New York, 1963).

Marian religious restoration has traditionally been explained in terms of either materialism or nationalism.[2]

This explanation appeared credible to historians working in the secular milieu of the past two centuries. Indeed, for them, an understanding of the religious enthusiasm of the Reformation era proved elusive. They lacked both empathy for deep religious commitment and contemporary examples of religious fervor which could serve as models for a religious explanation of the puzzling pattern of events in the sixteenth century. However, present-day awareness of the ideological commitment displayed by communists and the religious fervor revealed in the Islamic resurgence compels a reexamination of the Catholic restoration occurring during the period 1553-1558 with a new sensitivity to the possible role of Protestant commitment during the reign of Queen Mary.[3]

This article will attempt a fresh analysis of the reactions within the House of Commons to the policies of Queen Mary. It will assess the extent to which the actions of the Commons reflected opposition to the Marian program, and will offer a tentative explanation for the apparent ambiguity of the Commons towards the Catholic restoration.

1. The Historical Setting and the Marian Parliaments

Although Henry VIII had broken with the papacy in 1534 and established a national Church of England, he had succeeded in maintaining the basic structure of Catholic doctrine intact. This doctrinal affinity with Catholicism was replaced, during the reign of Edward VI, by a decidedly Protestant theology and liturgy. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer masterminded this transformation with

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[2]See, e.g., A. F. Pollard, *The History of England: From the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth 1547-1603* (London, 1934), pp. 115, 132; A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York, 1964), pp. 260, 263; and Loades, p. 271. Jennifer Loach, the most recent historian of the Marian Parliaments, also favors this explanation. See "Conservatism and Consent in Parliaments, 1547-59," in Robert L. Tittler and Jennifer Loach, eds., *The Mid-Tudor Polity c. 1540-1560* (Totowa, N.J., 1980), pp. 9-28.

[3]Only J. E. Neale, among recent historians, has recognized the significance of religion during this period. "The Reformation," he points out, "forced people to think critically on issues of transcendent importance to their consciences" (*Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments 1559-1581* [New York, 1966], p. 21).

the support of the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland.[4]

Mary had refused to participate personally in the Protestant services during the reign of Edward. Once accepted as monarch, she determined to restore not only the doctrinal orthodoxy of her father but also the papal supremacy which had been abolished twenty years earlier. Unfortunately for Mary, the changes wrought during the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI had been accomplished through parliament. Much as she might wish otherwise, Mary knew that only parliament could restore what parliament had changed.

The elections for Mary's first House of Commons took place in late September and the parliament opened on October 5, 1553. The Privy Council, led by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and with the full approval of the Queen, planned to resolve the religious crisis by repealing "en bloc all laws made, since 1529, with reference to religion."[5] The Commons refused to accept this bill, and after a brief prorogation the Council adopted a different strategy, introducing "The Bill to repeal divers Acts, touching Divine Service, and the Marriage of Priests, etc., made in the time of King Edward the Sixth."[6] Heated debate must have resulted from the introduction of this measure, for on three occasions the *Commons Journal* records "Arguments upon The Bill of Repeal of the Nine Statutes."[7] The opponents managed to force a division—a most unusual occurrence in early Tudor Parliaments.[8] Although the bill finally passed by a wide margin (270 votes to 80),[9] the Queen herself reported that this had only been accomplished after "keen discussion and debate and

[4]The most recent treatment of the break with Rome and the establishment of Protestantism in England is in G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977). Standard accounts, from differing viewpoints, are in Dickens, in Hughes, and in T. M. Parker, *The English Reformation to 1558* (London, 1950).

[5]Hughes, 2: 200.

[6]*Journal of the House of Commons* (London, 1903), 1: 29.

[7]Ibid. The Act is in Alexander Luders, et al., eds., *The Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1819), 4: 202.

[8]Stanford E. Lehmberg, *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII 1536-1547* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 222, mentions a division in the last parliament of Henry VIII (1545), and describes it as "a procedure that was still quite unusual."

[9]James Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England* (London, 1913), 4: 123.

an immensity of hard work on the part of her Catholics."[10] Thus the major, indeed the only, religious legislation passed by Mary's first parliament was the repeal of the Edwardian religious innovation. The nation stood where it had when Henry VIII died.

In other respects, Mary and her more conservative councillors had been sorely disappointed by this parliament. Not only had the House of Commons refused to repeal her father's post-1529 religious legislation, but the members had grounded Mary's legitimacy upon parliamentary statute rather than upon papal prerogative. Also, they had refused to attach penalties to nonattendance at Mass, refused to restore the bishopric of Durham, clearly indicated their opposition to the restoration of abbey and chantry lands, and left the question of papal supremacy open for debate.[11] For Mary herself the Commons introduced a note of personal discord when a deputation waited upon her and urged her to marry an Englishman rather than a foreigner. This first parliament had proved, from the viewpoint of the government, a rather frustrating experience.

Mary's second parliament began on April 2, 1554. In his opening oration Gardiner, in his capacity as Lord Chancellor, outlined the government's program involving "Corroboration of true Religion, and touching the Queen's Highness most noble Marriage."[12] The failure of Wyatt's rebellion in the previous February ensured a minimum of opposition in parliament to the bill authorizing the royal marriage with Philip. Nevertheless, the Commons took care to circumscribe "Philip's powers with every possible safeguard," particularly by limiting his role in English affairs to the life of the Queen or during a regency, and by guarding against the employment of Spaniards in English affairs.[13]

Gardiner, however, failed to achieve his goals with regard to the religious settlement. Several bills were introduced into the Commons including "The Bill to revive certain Statutes repealed touching Heresies and Lollardies," "The Bill to revive the Statute of Six Articles," "The Bill for Avoiding of erroneous Opinions in Books

[10]The Queen to Pole, quoted in John Lingard, *A History of England from the First Invasion by the Romans to the Revolution of 1688* (London, 1823), 5: 406, n. 2.

[11]See Pollard, p. 103.

[12]*Commons Journal* 1: 33.

[13]Elton, p. 381.

containing Heresies," and "The Bill to avoid Pensions of Married Priests."[14] Only the first, after considerable debate, passed the House of Commons before being defeated in the Lords. The others were either withdrawn or failed to gain the assent of the Commons prior to the dissolution of this parliament.

The most intense tussle in the Commons during this parliament appears to have occurred over the bill to restore the bishopric of Durham. This proposal had been rejected by the Commons in the previous parliament and again caused considerable debate before being passed on a division with 201 votes in favor, and 120 against.[15] Again it had been a very frustrating parliament from Mary's viewpoint—though this time the critical vote had come in the Lords, who had rejected the attempt to revive the medieval heresy laws, rather than in the Commons. The Queen blamed William Paget, the chief opponent of Gardiner in her government, for this reversal, and she immediately dissolved the parliament.[16]

By the time Mary met her third parliament her marriage to Philip had been consummated, and she looked forward with anticipation to the reunion of her realm with Rome. This parliament, which sat from November 12, 1554, to January 16, 1555, proved to be amenable to her wishes. On November 19, a bill was introduced into the Commons to repeal the attainder of Cardinal Pole, the papal legate authorized to end the schism between England and the papacy.[17] The bill passed rapidly through all stages, thus clearing the way for Pole to return to his native England. Thereafter, the reconciliation with Rome proceeded smoothly and rapidly.

During three successive meetings of parliament—on November 28, 29, and 30—the two houses heard Pole present his plea for reconciliation, discussed an appropriate petition, presented it, and were absolved from the ecclesiastical censures incurred because of schism.[18] There had been almost no opposition to these procedures

[14]*Commons Journal* 1: 33, 34, 35.

[15]Ibid., 1: 34; cf. Loades, p. 169.

[16]Elton, p. 381. Elton suggests that Paget's motive was political caution rather than Protestant sympathy.

[17]*Commons Journal* 1: 37. Pole had been living in exile in Italy since the break between Henry VIII and Rome in 1534.

[18]Hughes, 2: 225.

in parliament. "Suddenly," in the words of one recent historian, "it
seemed that there were more, and more enthusiastic, Catholics in
England than had ever been suspected."[19] The Council introduced a
bill to embody this reunion on Wednesday, December 26, 1554. The
clerk of the Commons described it simply as "The Bill for Repeal of
Acts touching the Supremacy etc." But, after the second reading,
the House devoted a full day to discussing the implications of this
measure. When it came up for third reading the clerk described it as
"The great Bill touching the Repeal of Acts against the See of Rome
etc. Assurance of Abbey Lands, and Chauntry lands."[20] This Act of
Repeal reversed, as far as could be done, the religious legislation of
the reign of Henry VIII.

Perhaps the most important feature of the Act is the manner in
which, even while making submission to the papacy, parliament
avoided unconditional surrender. The Act requested Pole, in his
capacity as papal legate, to "confirm ecclesiastical foundations . . .
made since the schism, marriages contracted without papal dispen-
sations ordinarily required for validity, ecclesiastical preferments
granted, and judgments of ecclesiastical courts made during the
times of schism and, finally, to secure to the present possessors all
alienated church lands."[21] In addition, the Act made perfectly clear
that neither the papacy nor the bishops were to have any authority
not held prior to the schism.

One further momentous act also passed during this session. Both
Lords and Commons agreed, at last, to a revival of the medieval
heresy laws in a bill which rapidly passed the Commons after suc-
cessive readings on December 12, 13, and 14, 1554.[22] Whereas a
similar bill had aroused a storm of opposition in the Commons dur-
ing Mary's second parliament, on this occasion the bill encountered
almost no opposition at all.

Mary summoned her fourth parliament later that same year.
Before it met on October 21, 1555, Philip had returned to the Conti-
nent (in September, 1555) to assume the responsibilities abdicated

[19]Loades, p. 326.

[20]*Commons Journal* 1: 40. The following day the clerk recorded that "A Proviso
touching Parsonage Tythes being in Laymens Hands, annexed to Bill of Repeals." Ibid.

[21]Parker, pp. 163, 164. The Act is printed in *Statutes of the Realm*, 4: 246-254.

[22]*Commons Journal* 1: 39.

by his father, Charles V. The Protestant persecution, which had begun in the spring following the revival of the heresy laws, claimed the lives of Ridley and Latimer at 'Oxford just five days prior to the opening of parliament. The House of Commons elected on this occasion proved the most refractory and obstreperous of Mary's reign.

The greatest confrontation during this session of parliament occurred over issues which straddled both property and religion. Mary planned to relinquish her income from firstfruits and tenths in favor of the church.[23] Cardinal Pole felt precluded from using this income until the transfer had been specifically authorized by the Commons. The Queen, whose conscience was troubled by her failure to divest herself of clerical income, met with a deputation of fifty members of the Commons on November 20, 1555, in an attempt to gain support for this measure. Nevertheless, the clerk noted dryly, after the second reading of the bill to effect this transfer, "Long Arguments upon the Bill of First-fruits and tenths."[24]

As the bill had already passed the Lords, it was referred to a joint committee of both houses. The committee reported the bill back to the Commons on the morning of December 3, whereupon,

> after great dispute and contention in the Lower House, from daybreak, when they met, until 3 p.m., during which time the doors were closed, no one being allowed egress, either to eat or for any other purpose; at length, this evening, the bill was carried by 183 ayes against 120 noes.[25]

Although the Council gained the victory by this stratagem, the opposition members learned well. They later used a similar tactic to defeat a strongly backed government measure which would have expropriated the property of religious refugees during their exile.[26] Both of these bills had been passed unanimously in the Lords, and

[23]Firstfruits and tenths had formed part of the customary income of the church during the medieval period. The crown had become the beneficiary of the income following the establishment of the royal supremacy.

[24]*Commons Journal* 1: 45.

[25]Rawdon Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian* (London, 1877), 6/1: 270. *Commons Journal* 1: 46, gives the division figures as 193 in favor and 126 against. It also indicates that seven other bills had been read prior to the debate on this one.

[26]*Commons Journal* 1: 46.

the controversy in the Commons apparently reflected the growing concern in that House over government policy.

Mary's fifth parliament met on January 20, 1558. By this time England had joined Spain in its war against France, and financial and military items dominated the governmental legislation introduced into the Commons. Such religious legislation as was introduced concerned questions of ecclesiastical sanctuary, the forging of monastic seals, the confirmation of certain bishoprics to their present holders, and the withdrawal of benefit of clergy from those involved as accessories in homicide. Of these, only the last one passed because, in the words of a recent historian, "the council had difficulty in getting such bills through."[27] Nevertheless, the government apparently considered this parliament the most satisfactory of the reign; certainly it was the only one prorogued rather than dissolved at the end of its session. The second session assembled on November 5, 1558, but the death of the Queen on November 17 terminated its work.[28]

This brief survey of the relationship between Queen Mary's administration and her Houses of Commons indicates two things. First, Mary proved unable to get the Commons to agree to the entire legislative program which she and her Privy Council desired. Second, even in those matters where the Commons ultimately did legislate the Marian program, they did so only after procrastination and the alteration of many of the details of that program.[29] Before we discuss the reasons for this opposition, we should note three unusual incidents which occurred during Mary's parliaments.

2. Three Unusual Incidents During Mary's Parliaments

The first of these three incidents occurred during the third Marian parliament (November 12, 1554, to January 16, 1555),

[27]Loades, p. 450.

[28]*Commons Journal* 1: 51, 52.

[29]Neale, p. 27, perceptively comments, "The opposition in Mary's reign had been Protestant, or inclined, for political and other reasons, to sympathize with Protestants. A Protestant programme being out of the question, its role was that of mere opposition: to modify or defeat government measures."

which restored the papal jurisdiction in England. The bill embody-
ing this restoration was introduced in the House of Commons on
December 27, passed all stages by January 4, 1555, and was sent im-
mediately to the House of Lords. Apparently a number of members
were sufficiently disturbed by this legislation to depart to their
homes. When the House was called on Friday, January 11, so few
members were present that it was decided to call the House again on
the following Monday. Despite the advance notice, only 193
members were present on that date—i.e., over half were absent, 106
without license and hence in violation of the act of 1515 which
specifically forbade unlicensed departure prior to the end of a
parliamentary session.[30]

Sir Edward Coke, writing within three generations of the
event, records the names of thirty-three members who departed,
"contrary to the kings inhibition in the beginning of the
parliament."[31] Although a recent historian has concluded that "in-
dignation at being kept in London over Christmas and anxiety to
return home were probably the true causes of their behavior," this
cannot be proven.[32] While this may have been true of some, there
were undoubtedly others of whom it was not true—at least Sir Ed-
ward Coke's thirty-three who absented themselves for political
reasons.

The second incident occurred during Queen Mary's fourth
parliament (October 21 to December 9, 1555). In an attempt to
limit the growing number of gentry in the House of Commons, the
Council introduced a proposal to restore "the ancient method and
useage" whereby none should be elected save those actually resident
in the counties, cities and boroughs which returned them. This pro-
posal,

> seems to have been rejected, because to return to the ancient order of
> things, the opposition insisted on simultaneously prohibiting the elec-
> tion of any stipendiary, pensioner, or official or of any person deriving

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[30]*Commons Journal* 1: 41; Loades, p. 272. See 6 Henry VIII, cap. 16.

[31]*The Fourth Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England concerning the
Jurisdiction of the Courts* (London, 1797), p. 16.

[32]Jennifer Loach, "Opposition to the Crown in Parliament, 1553-1558" (Ph.D.
dissertation, Oxford University, 1974), p. 141. The quotation itself is from Loades, p.
272.

profit in any other way from the King and the Royal Council, and be-
ing dependent on them; so that all the members elected, being devoid
of any apprehension for their private interests may more freely ad-
vocate those of the community.[33]

The members of the Council and their supporters ensured the rejec-
tion of this amendment, whereupon the original proposal was
thrown out.

Giovanni Michiel, the Venetian ambassador to England, pro-
vides the only account of this incident. Some historians have dis-
counted his story because of that fact. However, there appear to be
two reasons for considering it seriously. First, where Michiel's infor-
mation can be checked against other sources, he maintains a high
level of accuracy and hence appears to have had reliable informants
and thus to be a credible witness. Second, if the story were not cor-
rect, where would it have come from? Such sophisticated opposition
tactics are unknown elsewhere in sixteenth-century parliamentary
history. The possibility of this story being pure fabrication therefore
appears to be remote.[34]

The third significant instance of opposition occurred later in
this same parliament. When the councillors realized that a govern-
ment bill involving the surrender, by the crown, of firstfruits and
tenths to the church was in trouble, they arranged, as noted earlier,
for the doors of the Commons to be locked and refused to allow
anyone to leave until the measure passed. Two days later, on
December 6, 1555, following the third reading of a bill authorizing
the confiscation of the property of the Marian exiles, those who op-
posed the measure used the same tactic. Sir Anthony Kingston, sup-
ported by a number of his colleagues, in order to prevent delay and
the opportunity for official pressure, locked the door and pro-
claimed that he wanted an immediate vote. This stratagem resulted
in the defeat of the bill, the dissolution of the parliament, and the
imprisonment of Kingston and his immediate supporters.[35]

[33]Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate;
in *Calendar of State Papers: Venetian*, 6/1: 252.

[34]Cf. Neale, p. 26.

[35]*Commons Journal* 1: 47; *Calendar of State Papers: Venetian*, 6/1: 275, 283;
Pollard, p. 147.

Some historians have linked the opposition to this bill with the whole question of property rights which assumed such importance during Mary's reign.[36] But this is only part of the problem. The majority of the Marian exiles were members of the gentry, who depended upon income from their lands to enable them to live abroad. The successful passage of this bill would have forced them either to return to England to face the hazard of the heresy laws or to live abroad in penury. Neither alternative proved acceptable to those who disliked the Marian program.[37]

3. Response to the Marian Religious Program—Religious or Secular?

The response to the Marian religious program evinced by the different Houses of Commons during the reign of Queen Mary indicates that although Mary and her Council did succeed in restoring Roman Catholicism, both the timing and the extent of that restoration were influenced by the House of Commons. Mary wanted immediate reconciliation with Rome, but her first Commons foiled this plan and forced her to adopt a two-step approach to the religious issue. Not until her third parliament did Mary achieve this supreme goal of her reign. In addition, those opposed to the policies of Queen Mary fought a delaying action in the House which frustrated or amended details of the Marian program. As a result, although Mary did succeed in having Roman Catholicism restored as the official

[36]Loades, p. 273. Loach, *The Mid-Tudor Polity 1540-1560*, p. 15, has claimed that "hostility to the exiles bill could be based on entirely secular considerations" and has drawn an analogy with the act of 1571, which permitted confiscation of the property of Catholic exiles; she points out that the bill "also ran into difficulties and was passed only after various amendments and with the addition of a number of clauses safeguarding the interests of the exiles' families and descendants." However, the Elizabethan bill passed; the Marian one did not. Furthermore, the forceful nature of the action taken to prevent passage indicates stronger resentment than is usual in protecting the property of third parties.

[37]Christian Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938), suggests that the Exiles formed part of an organized attempt to preserve English Protestantism masterminded by some of the leading Protestants, including William Cecil. If this thesis is accurate, then the opposition in the House of Commons certainly reflected more than concern over property rights. Even if the thesis is not correct, the publication nevertheless provides evidence indicative of concern by many in the ruling class for the Marian exiles. See especially, pp. 1-29.

church in England, the restoration proved neither as firmly grounded
nor as all-pervasive as Mary and her Catholic advisors had hoped.

Loades, after examining the evidence, has concluded that there
is, in fact, "no evidence to support the notion of a continuous and
organized opposition in the Marian parliaments, either of a political
or religious nature."[38]

This conclusion is correct as Loades has stated it. The idea of a
"continuous and organized" opposition in parliament to the royal
government would have been inconsistent with sixteenth-century
political thought. Nevertheless, the individual and collective in-
terests of those who opposed all or parts of the Marian religious pro-
gram led to the coalescing of opposition groups in every parliament.
The size and significance of these groups varied from one House of
Commons to another, and they lacked continuity, but each House
contained such a group. Opposition proved most vocal and signifi-
cant in the first and fourth parliaments of Mary's reign, least impor-
tant in the third and fifth. Taken as a whole, the Commons in
Mary's parliaments proved more troublesome and difficult to
manage than had previously been the case in the sixteenth century.[39]

Thus, an examination of the legislative actions of the Commons
during the period 1553-1558 reveals significant opposition in the
Commons to a considerable proportion of the Marian religious pro-
gram. It remains to consider whether this opposition arose from
religious or material interests. A recent historian of Mary's reign
claims, "Virtually every issue that came to a contest or a vote was a
matter of property rights or financial provision." This is true—but
only because the sentence is prefaced with "virtually".[40] Never-
theless, it is the kind of facile truism which can be misleading. For
instance, the bill for the release of firstfruits and tenths, which
caused such trouble in the fourth parliament, did have financial
overtones. But it would not have directly affected the financial
situation of the individual members of the Commons, for it concerned

[38]Loades, p. 271.

[39]The only possible exception is the parliament of 1523, which proved unusually
intractable over questions of taxation. See Elton, pp. 88-91.

[40]Loades, p. 271. There were, of course, exceptions to this generalization. Those
members of the House of Commons opposed to the repeal of the Edwardian religious
legislation forced a vote in the House on that issue during Mary's first parliament.

only rights held by the crown. Its main result, undoubtedly, would have been to strengthen the restored Catholic Church. Thus, it would appear reasonable to assume that opposition came as much from reluctance to strengthen the Catholic Church as from fear of increased taxes to compensate the royal exchequer for lost income.

Again, the opposition to the bill to confiscate, temporarily, the property of the religious exiles certainly violated traditional views of property rights. Yet the bill safeguarded the rights of heirs and, in fact, gave the refugees ample time to return to England and thus save their property interests. But the results of passage would have been disastrous from the Protestant viewpoint. The reaction to this measure can more correctly be seen as part of the struggle to maintain a viable Protestant alternative.

A brief consideration of the situation in England during this period will explain why so much of the opposition to the Marian reaction was indirect rather than direct. The concept of the royal supremacy had been part of the English milieu for a generation by the time of Mary's accession. If as learned and influential a person as Archbishop Thomas Cranmer could have doubts about the virtue of individual opposition to the royal will in matters of religion, surely many of his contemporaries must have mirrored this conflict of conscience. Many, undoubtedly, chose to follow the royal lead even if that meant Catholic restoration. Furthermore, many of those who retained their Protestant belief were reluctant to oppose the royal will in matters of religion because of their background in the concept of the royal supremacy.[41]

Therefore, they needed an issue through which they could indirectly oppose the Catholic restoration and through which they could gain as much support as possible. Property rights proved to be just such an issue. And it became even more important after the restoration of Catholicism and the passage of the medieval heresy laws—for thereafter opposition to religious issues could be considered heresy, whereas opposition to the violation of property rights could not, and yet it could be used to achieve the same ends. Hence

[41]Cf. D. M. Loades's assertion in *JEH* 16 (1965): 63 that "the leaders of orthodox Protestantism, such as Cranmer, had always preached submission to the secular power, and remained substantially consistent when that power was turned against them."

it appears consistent with normal political behavior patterns to assume that while some opponents of the Marian religious program were concerned only with property issues, others were sufficiently astute to use the property issue to attempt to block, delay, or minimize the Catholic restoration in England.

In addition, the alliance with Spain, symbolized by Mary's marriage with Philip, threatened England with the worst features— from the Protestant viewpoint—of the Continental Catholic reaction to the Reformation. Englishmen had only to look across the channel to the Netherlands to be made aware of the religious intolerance of the Hapsburgs and the thoroughness with which they crushed any suspicion of heresy.[42] This situation would be well known in England as a result of the numerous mercantile connections between the two countries and the large émigré church established in London during the reign of Edward VI. The Hapsburgs symbolized the Catholic opposition to Protestantism—and Philip was heir to the Hapsburg inheritance.

Consequently, opposition to the Spanish marriage and the Spanish intrusion into England can be seen to have resulted from the combination of Protestantism with nationalism. Again, opposition came both from those who feared that Spanish interests would predominate in the partnership and from those who saw Spain as the major threat to Protestantism. No Protestant person need fear a charge of heresy for opposition to the Marian government when cloaking that opposition in the guise and language of patriotism. Historians of Elizabethan England have long explained the virulent anti-Spanish attitude of that period in terms of English Protestantism. The anti-Spanish sentiment so obvious during Mary's reign would equally appear to be based upon the growing Protestant temper in England.

One of the least understood aspects of this period of English

[42]Cf. Pieter Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands* (London, 1958), pp. 55-60. After referring to the edicts issued by Charles V, Geyl comments, "From the very first these edicts pronounced draconic punishments on all who were even remotely connected with heresy; every new one was more severe than the last, until in 1550 the limit of frightfulness was reached with the 'edict of blood' in which all loopholes were stopped and death was enacted for all trespasses." Ibid., p. 55. This aspect of the opposition to the Spanish marriage is usually overlooked because of the insular perspective of many English historians.

history is the rapidity with which England was becoming a Protestant country. This change in religious climate had begun during the reign of Henry VIII and proceeded with increasing intensity until the death of Edward VI. During the hiatus caused by Mary's determination to restore Catholicism, the spread of Protestantism appeared to waiver and even recede. Yet, all the contemporary evidence available indicates that a large number—certainly a very strong and influential minority—continued to be sympathetic to Protestantism.

The strength of their opposition, in the House of Commons, to the Marian reaction has been minimized, because historians have concentrated upon measures which actually passed in Parliament and have ignored those which failed as well as the delay in, and alteration of, many which ultimately passed. Issues involving property rights and national interest were important factors in the development of opposition to the Marian regime, but these must not be allowed to obscure the significance of Protestantism in providing the matrix for this opposition. As William Cecil noted in his diary regarding Mary's fourth parliament:

> 21 October, 1555, Parliament assembled at Westminster. I participated at some risk. Notwithstanding my reluctance, I had been elected a member from Lincolnshire. Nevertheless, I spoke my mind freely and incurred some ill will. But it was better to obey God than man.[43]

Thus spoke the authentic voice of conforming Protestantism. For William Cecil represented all those who, while believing in the authority of the monarch, yet struggled to preserve as much of the ecclesiastical changes of the previous two decades as possible. Their successes, though limited, permitted the rapid reestablishment of Protestantism following the accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England in 1558.
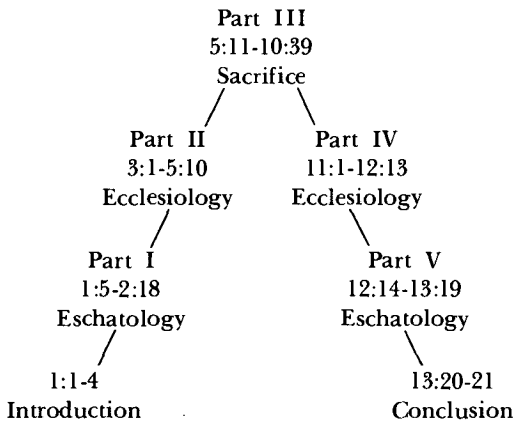
[43]Quoted in Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1955), p. 110.

BRIEF NOTE

THE CHIASTIC STRUCTURE OF THE CENTRAL
SECTION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

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In his literary analysis of the book of Hebrews, Albert Vanhoye[1] has divided the text into five parts, not including the introduction and conclusion, with Part III being of primary importance. The text and topical divisions of the book of Hebrews would appear as follows:

Part III
5:11-10:39
Sacrifice
/ \
Part II   Part IV
3:1-5:10   11:1-12:13
Ecclesiology   Ecclesiology
/   \
Part I   Part V
1:5-2:18   12:14-13:19
Eschatology   Eschatology
/   \
1:1-4   13:20-21
Introduction   Conclusion

[1] Albert Vanhoye, S.J., *La Structure littéraire de l'épitre aux Hébreux* (Paris, 1963).

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Part III, the central section of the epistle, begins with what Vanhoye calls a preamble (5:11-6:20). This preamble itself is divided into two paragraphs (5:11-6:12, the parénèse, and 6:13-20, the exposé) with the first paragraph divided into two subdivisions (5:11-6:3 and 6:4-12).[2]

Concerning the second paragraph (6:13-20), Vanhoye says that one can very plainly see a relationship with the following chapter, and in particular, the last verse (vs. 20) clearly announces the subject that the author is about to treat, i.e., Jesus having become a high priest forever after the order of Melchizedek.[3]

In his final chapter, Vanhoye gives the entire Greek text of Hebrews, dividing it into its various sections and subsections. The subsections in turn are presented according to the literary structures that Vanhoye sees as being present.

Upon writing a review of Vanhoye's book, John Bligh was not altogether satisfied with Vanhoye's analysis of Hebrews. He, therefore, undertook his own literary analysis, dividing the entire Greek text of Hebrews into a series of 33 chiastic structures.[4]

Vanhoye and Bligh have adequately shown that chiastic structures exist in Hebrews, though taking differing approaches to the text. Seemingly, however, a chiasm exists that neither author has identified. It includes the last two verses of Vanhoye's preamble (6:19-20) to his all-important Part III (5:11-10:39). Vanhoye has observed that vs. 20 announces the subject that is to be treated in the next chapter, i.e., Jesus being a high priest after the order of Melchizedek. But there appears to be more present in 6:19-20 than the announcement of Jesus' priesthood. The passage reads as follows: "We have this as a sure and steadfast anchor of the soul, a hope that enters into the inner shrine behind the curtain, where Jesus has gone as a forerunner on our behalf, having become a high priest forever after the order of Melchizedek."

It would appear that the statement about the hope that enters into the inner shrine and about Jesus our forerunner having

²Ibid., pp. 114-124.

³Ibid., p. 122.

⁴John Bligh, *Chiastic Analysis of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Oxon, 1966).

entered the inner shrine (vss. 19-20a) joins the statement about
Jesus' high priesthood (vs. 20b) as well as the subsequent chapters,
to form the following chiasm:

6:20b	7:1-17
Priest after the	Priest after the
order of Melchizedek	order of Melchizedek
6:20a	7:18-10:18
Jesus forerunner	Jesus priest on
on our behalf in	our behalf in
the inner shrine	the inner shrine
6:19	10:19-39
Hope that enters	Enter inner
the inner shrine	shrine with confidence
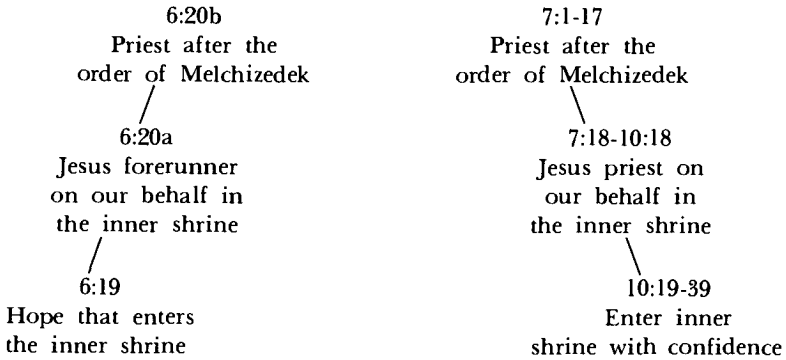
It becomes clear that each point in 6:19-20 is given a full
theological development in the four succeeding chapters, as follows:

The hope that enters into the inner shrine (6:19) is developed
in the parallel passage (10:19-39), where the Hebrew Christians are
admonished to enter the sanctuary with confidence by the blood of
Jesus. Having once entered into the new covenant relationship
with God, they are also exhorted not to break this relationship and
turn their backs upon God.

Jesus' entrance into the inner shrine behind the curtain (6:20a)
is expounded in 7:18-10:18. Here the details of Jesus' ministry as
high priest are developed and the reasons for the confidence spoken
of in 10:19-39 set forth. That which could not be accomplished
with the blood of goats and calves within the inner shrine of the
earthly sanctuary by an earthly high priest, Jesus has accomplished
in the inner shrine of the heavenly sanctuary by the application of
his own blood.

Becoming a high priest after the order of Melchizedek (6:20b)
is discussed in 7:1-17, and the superiority of the Melchizedek
priesthood over the Aaronic one is detailed.

It may be concluded, then, that each point in the chiasm contained in 6:19-20 cannot be properly understood unless it is viewed in the light of its theological development, found in its parallel passage in 7:1-10:39.

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SUBSTITUTION IN THE HEBREW CULTUS AND IN
CULTIC-RELATED TEXTS

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This dissertation attempts to investigate the presence, function, and meaning of the idea of sacrificial substitution in the Hebrew cultus. The interpretation of the OT sacrifices in terms of sacrificial substitution has been questioned and rejected by a great number of scholars. They have argued that such an understanding cannot be supported by the biblical text or by ancient Near Eastern religious practices.

In this study, the ancient Near Eastern texts are first investigated in order to highlight to what degree and where the essential elements of the idea of substitution are present in them. I discuss next the cultic legislation found mainly in the book of Leviticus. Since sacrificial substitution attempts to answer the question of the *how* of expiation, particular emphasis is put on the expiatory sacrifices. The occasions and procedures for these sacrifices are investigated in an effort to uncover their meaning. This is done through a study of the different ritual acts performed in connection with the offering of the expiatory sacrifices. Three cultic-related texts, which have been referred to quite often in the debate over sacrificial substitution, are also investigated (Gen 22:1-19; Exod 12:1-13:16; Isa 52:13-53:12).

A study of the ancient Near Eastern texts reveals that the practice of substitution was known in Sumerian, Assyro-Babylonian, Hittite, and Ugaritic literature. Substitution was connected mainly with rituals involving magic. Its purpose was to preserve the life of the offerer. The individual was identified with his substitute especially through the spoken word. In practically all cases, the substitute was given to the Underworld powers. Among the Hittites, however, a substitute was given to the heavenly gods.

A study of the occasion for the expiatory sacrifices reveals that the sin/impurity left the sinner in a state of guilt, liable to divine punishment. Sin/impurity separated the individual from Yahweh, the only Source of life. The ultimate result of that state would have been death. Expiatory sacrifices remove sin/impurity (guilt) from the offerer.

The procedure followed in offering the expiatory sacrifices makes clear how expiation was achieved. The blood manipulation is understood as a ritual act through which the sin of the offerer is transferred to the sanctuary. The blood, which is being returned to Yahweh, is accepted by him in place of the offerer. The ritual of the eating of flesh is practiced whenever there is no blood sprinkling inside the sanctuary. It is also a means of transferring sin to the presence of the Lord.

The ritual of the laying on of hands in the expiatory sacrifices indicates a transference of sin/impurity from the offerer to the sacrificial victim and the establishment of a relation of substitution between the subject and the object of the ritual. In such a process, the holiness of the victim is not affected. The same significance is also present in the laying on of hands on the peace and burnt offerings. Besides their main function they also serve expiatory purposes.

Concerning the cultic related texts, it is suggested that the idea of substitution is present in all of them. However, only in two of them is sacrificial substitution present (Gen 22:1-19; Isa 52:13-53:12). In the other passage (Exod 12:1-13:16) a substitute is given in order to redeem the individual.

It is concluded that sacrificial substitution is present in the OT cultus. This is interpreted as a divine act of love, and it does not seem to have the purpose of appeasing Yahweh. Sacrificial substitution does not so much presuppose wrath as it does love. It is God's love that moves him to accept in place of the sinner a substitute to which sin and its penalty have been transferred and which dies in the sinner's place. This Israelite concept is something unique in the ancient Near East.

HORN-MOTIFS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AND RELATED ANCIENT
NEAR EASTERN LITERATURE AND ICONOGRAPHY

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This investigation studies the presence of the horn-motifs on a
philological, literary, and iconographical basis in both the ancient Near
Eastern context and the Hebrew Bible.

The first chapter is devoted to a review of prior studies, particularly
those in the twentieth century. Throughout almost all of this century, the
"history-of-religion" school and the "form-critical" school have taken the
lead in archaeological and biblical interpretations. New trends of interpreta-
tion were developed in the late 1960s on some aspects, due to a scientifically
and systematically improved archaeological approach. Prior individual
studies focusing on fragmentary aspects did not sufficiently elucidate the
horn-motif. A comprehensive study of the horn-motifs in the ancient Near
Eastern and/or in biblical contexts has never been attempted, and a new
assessment is therefore necessary.

In the second chapter, I have followed a philological approach, with the
aim of discovering the meaning of the word "horn" in such ancient Near
Eastern languages as Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, Aramaic, South-
Arabic, and Hebrew. A complexity of meanings emerged as early as the an-
cient Sumerian compounds of signs. Many different meanings were reflected,
in the respective language investigated, though new shades of meanings
developed in the course of time, especially in Aramaic and South-Arabic.
The morphological structures of the Hebrew word קֶרֶן are especially
scrutinized. The results are summarized in charts.

In the third chapter, I have attempted a close investigation of related
ancient Near Eastern literature and iconographic materials relating to the
horn-motif. Horn-motifs are present in both literature and iconography from
earliest times, even prehistoric time in iconographic artifacts. Ancient Near
Eastern literature substantiates several iconographic presentations. Horned
headdresses on gods and goddesses appear in most of the ancient Near
Eastern cultures. The Babylonian moon-god (Sin) became the symbol of
power and fertility in astral worship. His two emblems were the "horns" of
the moon and the horns of the bull.

The fourth chapter examines the morphological structure of the
manifold occurrences of the word "horn" in its usages throughout the
Hebrew Bible. Each biblical text in which the term *qeren*, "horn," appears

was investigated in its immediate and larger contexts. My inquiry into the contextual settings made it apparent that the horn-motifs have frequently been interpreted on too narrow a scale. This one-sided approach has caused the horn-motif to appear in an *a priori* set pattern where the animal horns, in a literal or metaphorical sense, dominate the origin and meaning of "horn" in nearly all the passages. My study indicates that the term *qeren* can mean (depending on its contexts): rays (of brightness), power, refuge, vengeance (of Yahweh), weapon, horn-pair, totality, wing, messiah, king, kingdom, etc.

The horn-motifs in biblical context differ from the general ancient Near Eastern pattern in several respects. First, Yahweh is never described as wearing horns. Second, the "horns" of the moon and the horns of the bull are unknown emblems in Israel and have no connection with Yahweh worship. The masks of the oracle-priests are unknown cult items in Israel. The horns of the altar have no animate concept attached to them.

This study reaches the conclusion that two diametrically opposed traditions embracing the horn-motif move parallel in human history but are displayed on two different planes and point to two different levels: (1) the horn-motif(s) in the ancient Near Eastern cultures on a horizontal level; (2) the horn-motif(s) in the Hebrew Bible on a vertical level. The struggle for supremacy in human history on a horizontal level is disclosed in apocalyptic writings. The competitive powers are presented as "horns." The horn-motif on the vertical level breaks into the horizontal drama and focuses on a power of cosmic and transcendent character that alone will be supreme and exalted.

Achtemeier, Paul J. *The Inspiration of Scripture: Problems and Proposals.*
Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980. 182 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

In his "Introduction" the author states that this book is intended to
help those who are not persuaded by the "conservative" position of total
inerrancy to: (1) formulate a view of inspiration that will allow Scripture
"to continue to play a meaningful role in their lives"; (2) think through
the problems of inspiration, weighing the evidence on both sides of the
issue; and (3) help those who already acknowledge the authority of the
Bible, yet reject inerrancy, to find a "suitable intellectual explanation" for
the problems posed by inspiration and that will make sense of the
conviction of Scriptural authority (pp. 17-18). The author is aware that in
making a definitive statement on the inspiration of Scripture, he must be
prepared to face the heat of emotions that envelopes this subject.

Although the believer in the inerrancy of Scripture will no doubt feel
his passions stirred, the believer in the inspiration and authority of
Scripture who does not accept inerrancy will be led to admit that
Achtemeier has done a commendable job, although he does not lay all
problems to rest. While identifying the problems faced by liberals who
wish to deny inspiration, Achtemeier isolates the impossible position in
which the inerrantist finds himself. In presenting his own proposals to
solve the problems involved with inspiration, the author has clearly
produced a book that is a polemic against inerrancy.

Chap. 1 deals with the locus and mode of inspiration. "The prophetic
model" of inspiration is defined early, and it is rejected later as simply "no
longer capable of bearing the weight it once carried" (p. 99). By "prophetic
model" is meant that each book in the Bible has *an author* who was
inspired to record, or have recorded, what we now possess as Scripture.
The reasons for the rejection of "the prophetic model" are rooted in:
(1) the idea that the person who wrote the final product is only one of a
series of inspired people through whom the biblical material passed before
it reached its written form, and (2) the belief that many of the final
compilers can no longer be identified (pp. 131-134). This first chapter also
examines the Hebrew concept of inspiration, where the prophet is seen as
God's spokesman, but is not devoid of his own reason and emotion.
Achtemeier contrasts this concept with the Hellenistic one, where an
inspired person was thought to be controlled by the nine Muses, relieved of
his rational powers, and no longer in control of himself. The historic shift
from an inspired person to inspired words is also briefly traced.

Chap. 2 deals with the liberal and conservative views of inspiration.
The strengths and weaknesses of each position are identified. Chap. 3
investigates the process by which Scripture was formed. Chap. 4 addresses

problems, both old and new, that arise from the liberal and conservative viewpoints.

It is in chap. 5 that Achtemeier presents his proposed solution to the problems raised by the issue of inspiration. In chap. 6 he investigates some of the implications that arise out of his proposals.

At the heart of Achtemeier's proposal on inspiration stand three key components: (1) "the traditions" of the faithful community, (2) "the situation" facing the community, and (3) "the respondent" or author. Biblical "tradition" denotes a historical occurrence. However, a past event is not of conclusive importance. What is important is the significance of past events for the present and the promise they hold for the future. Therefore, traditions can err in factual matter without compromising their truth as tradition. Factual accuracy does not make traditions inspired, but rather inspiration rests in their witness to God's presence with a community. It is upon these traditions that the new generation builds.

By "situation" facing the community, Achtemeier means that each new generation takes the traditions and reinterprets them to fit the needs of a new age. So it is that we see OT material being reinterpreted by NT writers in such a way that new meaning is derived from the material. The NT writers did not see OT tradition as "archives of historical interest," but rather as living traditions "which could be shaped to speak God's new word to the new times."

The "respondent," or author, reformulates the tradition to new and specific situations. It is not necessary to know who the respondent is, so long as we have the result of his work. Biblical books may have several respondents behind them. To say that inspiration works only at the point when the final individual puts down the results of a long process of formulation and reformulation, as is the case with the "prophetic model," "is to make a mockery of the intimate relationship between Scripture and community and to deny to key individuals—Jesus, the prophets, apostles— their true role in the production of inspired Scripture" (p. 133).

Chap. 6 deals with some implications raised by Achtemeier's proposal. One is the activity of the Spirit through the whole process of inspiration. He is active in the tradition, in the situation, and in the respondent. He is also active to inspire the readers and the hearers of the message of Scripture. If the Scriptures are inerrant because of inspiration and the Spirit ceases its work there, the reading of Scripture will produce errant exposition. Because this is not so, the situation out of which Scripture grew is the situation confronted in interpretation. The interpreter becomes respondent. The interpretation of Scripture thus follows along the same line as its creation. "The fundamental concept of truth in the Bible is not conformity between statement and 'objective reality', but rather reliability, dependability" (p. 148).

Andrews University   GEORGE E. RICE

Brown, Raymond E. *The Community of the Beloved Disciple.* New York: Paulist Press, 1979. 204 pp. Paperback, $3.95.

Martyn, J. Louis. *The Gospel of John in Christian History: Essays for Interpreters.* New York: Paulist Press, 1978. viii + 147 pp. Paperback, $4.95.

The two little books being reviewed represent a compressed statement on the part of each author concerning the history of Johannine Christianity and some of the major theological contributions this Christianity has made to the church at large. Both Martyn and Brown have established credentials as Johannine scholars. Their opinions, therefore, are taken seriously by their NT colleagues. Both introduce their books with elaborate disclaimers as to the degree of certainty with which they hold the positions they are publishing. Martyn explains that he is using the indicative but means the subjunctive (p. 92). Brown announces that if his "detective work" proves to be 60% accurate he will be most happy (p. 7). Both books are also similar in that both offer a scenario of Johannine Christianity in the first century—with some forays into the second. But the books are different in that while Brown's is a unitary account of the history of a community, Martyn's is made up of three independently published essays which now are being reissued together. This means that even though both books were published almost simultaneously by the same publisher, Brown had access to Martyn's conclusions.

Martyn's book is an update and a refinement of his earlier work *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (1st ed., New York, 1968; rev. ed., Nashville, Tenn., 1979; see my review of the first ed. in *AUSS* 8 [1970]: 193-194). There Martyn had proposed that the redactio-critical reading of the Fourth Gospel demonstrates that it tells two stories at once. At the *einmalig*-level the story tells what happened at the time of Jesus, but at the contemporary level the story provides information about the history of the church within which the Gospel had been written. The basic historical experience of the Johannine church, Martyn suggested in 1968, was the trauma of having been expelled from the synagogue in which these Christians had been at home while believing in Jesus as Messiah. The expulsion had been occasioned by the desire of the synagogue to consolidate itself along new lines after A.D. 70. Thus the Council of Jamnia regularized the liturgy and instituted the Eighteen Benedictions as a regular feature. Included in these was the *Birkath ha-Minim*, the Twelfth Benediction, which, Martyn argued, was especially designed to weed out of the synagogue those who believed in Jesus as Messiah.

It would be fair to say that ten years after Martyn's original proposal a considerable number of Johannine specialists have taken up his suggestion that the Fourth Gospel may be read at two historical levels. Many have also come to recognize that this Gospel's church was involved in a dialogue with a Jewish synagogue—rather than with Gentiles who were

influenced by the religiosity of the mystery cults (as most radically proposed by E. Käsemann in *The Testament of Jesus*). But Martyn's identification of the *Birkath ha-Minim* as the synagogue's device to flush out Christians in its midst was thoroughly investigated and rejected by most after very strong arguments against his reconstruction had been presented.

Two of his three essays in this book are a defense and an expansion of his original proposal. To bolster his argument he now appeals to the *Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions* 1.33-71 (*The Ascents of James*) as evidence. There he finds a parallel account of Christians being brought before a Beth Din for trial as theological seducers who are propagating a form of ditheism. According to Martyn, the Johannine church is to be seen in the mainstream of Jewish Christianity, basically concerned with what Paul called "the gospel of the Circumcision." Even the "sheep not of this fold," which will eventually join the fold, are not Gentiles but Jews of the dispersion who have also been excommunicated from their synagogues by the use of the *Birkath ha-Minim* on account of their Christianity. The "one fold" which the Fourth Gospel envisions is not the Great Church which the Acts of the Apostles represents as fully committed to the Gentile mission, but the church in which all are Jewish Christians.

According to Martyn, a perceptive reading of the Fourth Gospel allows for the identification of three periods in Johannine Christianity. The first is the period before the writing of the Gospel. During this time a group of Christian Jews were having an overwhelming success in convincing fellow Jews of the Messiahship of Jesus by an appeal to his "signs." As an aid in carrying out their mission, one of these Christian Jews prepared a "rudimentary gospel" by bringing together several representative samples of their messianic preaching. This original *gospel* Martyn identifies with the source reconstructed by R. Fortna as "the Gospel of Signs" (the work was done as a dissertation at Union Theological Seminary in New York under Martyn's direction). In this early period these Christian Jews lived happily and unmolested within the synagogue.

In the middle period, the success of the messianic group within the synagogue aroused the suspicion of the synagogue authorities. As a result, midrashic debates about the significance of Jesus became commonplace. But rather than resulting in a consensus, these debates created a spectrum of opinions about Jesus. It was to stop these divisive developments that the Twelfth Benediction was introduced and the Christians were excommunicated. This step stopped the active proselytizing, but not the flow of converts. Members of the synagogue continued to be "seduced" by the Christians, which prompted the leaders to arrest some of the messianic evangelists and eventually to execute them. The trauma of excommunication had now been compounded by the trauma of martyrdom. This new experience brought about a social dislocation which the community

worked out theologically by understanding Jesus also as a stranger among his own people. The christology of signs now gives way to the christology of the Logos hymn. The promise/fulfillment pattern of the midrashic debates gives way to the above/below pattern of two opposing worlds. The messianic group of Jews has found a new identity as Jewish Christians.

In the late period, the Johannine community holds it impossible for anyone to believe in Jesus and to remain in the synagogue. Now the Christians who had been tested and confirmed by the traumas just described make clear to their fellow Jews who believe in Jesus, but who have managed to remain in the synagogue, that their faith in Jesus, based as it is on signs, is not good enough. Thus in the late period the Jewish Christians of the Johannine community find themselves in tension with both their parent synagogue and their fellow Jews who wish to stay as Christian believers *incognito* in the synagogue.

Martyn's proposal suffers from its dependency on highly problematical evidence. The use of the Twelfth Benediction as a test to weed out Christians from the synagogue is quite doubtful. The identification of the Gospel of Signs as a rudimentary gospel has not won much acceptance. And the lengthy discussion of parallels between the Gospel of John and the *Ascents of James* is not at all convincing. Even Martyn's placing of the pertinent passages from both documents in parallel columns leaves one wondering how he could have come to the conclusion that the evidence *"requires* an explanation of the text of the *Ascents* which somehow involves the Fourth Gospel" (p. 80, italics his). As a matter of fact, the evidence presented in the parallel columns is extremely weak. Besides, one has to weigh also the fact that the *Pseudo-Clementines* are fourth-century documents, and the judgment that the *Recognitions* 1.33-71 are a "discreet" second-century source left pretty much unmolested by the fourth-century redactor is subject to evaluation on its own merits.

I would certainly agree with Martyn that the Fourth Gospel reflects the trauma of excommunication and persecution (see my "Footwashing in the Johannine Community," *NovT* 21 [1979]: 298-325). But this close proximity to the synagogue does not necessitate the creation of a scenario for the Johannine Community in which its whole history is bound to Jewish Christianity. Martyn's lasting contribution to Johannine scholarship is his insight that the Fourth Gospel may be profitably read on two levels, and that what gave this Gospel its unique tone and vocabulary was a confrontation with the Jewish synagogue. The further details in the reconstruction of history that he now supplies are not quite convincing. Still, by comparison with Brown, Martyn is to be commended for making a modest proposal.

Brown uses Martyn's two basic contributions as his own starting points. From there he moves on to give a rather ambitiously detailed

reconstruction of the community's history. He also criticizes Martyn for being unable to give sufficient explanation.

Like Martyn, Brown finds the origins of the community in a group of messianic Jews who lived and worshiped in a basically Jewish setting. But Brown adds details. The group had a leader and founder: the Beloved Disciple. He had been an eyewitness of the ministry of Jesus, who in turn had previously been a disciple of John the Baptist, but the Beloved Disciple is not one of the Twelve (in his AB commentary, Brown had identified the Beloved Disciple with John the son of Zebedee). The community of the Beloved Disciple is, as much as any group of Jews could be in the 40s and 50s, within the mainstream of Judaism. Thus, like Martyn, Brown rejects the view that the group arose in the heat of a polemical confrontation, or out of heterodox, gnostic, or Gentile backgrounds. By means of the Beloved Disciple, Brown has explained the "John the Baptist connection." (He has taken seriously Culpepper's tentative suggestion that the Beloved Disciple may have been the founder of the Johannine School.)

Brown also provides the details to explain the "Samaritan connection." During this first phase, a second group united itself to the community. These were "Jews of peculiar anti-Temple views who converted Samaritans and picked up some elements of Samaritan thought, including a christology that was not centered on a Davidic Messiah" (p. 38). Thus the heterodox Samaritans together with what Oscar Cullmann (in *The Johannine Circle*) identified as Hellenist (= anti-Temple?) are not at the core of the community, but constitute its first addition.

Brown not only reads the Fourth Gospel "autobiographically" (p. 26); he also thinks that the sequence of materials in the extant Gospel represents the chronological sequence of events at the "contemporary level." Thus while the christology of the call of the disciples in chap. 1 speaks for the original group of Jews attached to John the Baptist, the christology of chap. 4 represents the entrance of the anti-Temple/Samaritan contingent. And the final title "Saviour of the World" testifies to the admittance of Gentiles into the Johannine group. Even though the community in this first phase is living unmolested within Judaism, it has its distinguishing characteristics. It already sees itself not as the renewal but as the replacement of Judaism and has changed the traditional final eschatology for a realized one. Thus, unlike Martyn, Brown finds that at this early phase the community has a sense of itself as "us" versus "them."

The second phase represents the time when the Gospel was written. Characteristic of this phase is that the community encounters unbelief on the part of Gentiles. Thus while chaps. 5-12 represent the opposition of Jews during the last part of the first phase, chaps. 14-17 represent the opposition of the world during the second phase. But the world is made

up of a whole spectrum of distinguishable dialogue partners of the Johannine community. Beside others, the followers of the Beloved Disciple are in dialogue with (1) Christian Jews within the synagogue (what Martyn has called Christians *incognito*, Brown refers to as crypto-Christians); (2) Jewish Christians with a low christology and an inadequate view of the eucharist; (3) Christians in the tradition of the Twelve, who do not accept a pre-existence christology and the Paraclete as the replacement of the earthly Jesus. Even though in the past Brown has argued quite strongly for the identification of the Johannine church with the apostolic church, he now concedes that there were sectarian elements in Johannine Christianity. But in spite of the existing tensions and the clear differentiation between the two, according to Brown, the two groups kept cordial relations. The community of the Beloved Disciple was not alienated from the apostolic mainstream. The language of the Johannine group was not a "riddle" to apostolic Christianity (as suggested by Leroy, Meeks, and others). As already mentioned, it was during this second phase that the Gospel was written.

Brown traces his third phase of the fortunes of the community through an analysis of the Johannine Epistles, which were written by a member of the "Johannine school of writers" (pp. 96, 99-101). This phase was marked by the presence of an enemy within. A secessionist group, defending a different interpretation of the tradition handed down by the Beloved Disciple, was causing a great deal of internal commotion. To defend their understanding of what the Beloved Disciple had taught, the leaders of the community began to claim for themselves ecclesiastical prerogatives, thus diminishing the teaching function of the Paraclete. Characteristic of the argumentation of the Presbyter against the secessionists is that he does not outright reject their views; instead, he qualifies them.

In the fourth and final phase of the community's history, the secessionists, representing the majority, have become gnostics (at the outset they had been neither gnostics nor docetists). The community led by the Presbyter, who wrote the Epistles, has been absorbed by the Great Church. Thus the failure of a Paraclete ecclesiology to prevent the success of schismatics eventually has driven the leadership of the community into the arms of the waiting bishops!

Brown's reconstruction, even though impressive for its cohesion, suffers from the weakness found at its methodological foundation. Even though Brown makes passing references to the text of the Johannine Gospel and Epistles, it seems that his argument is less dependent on the internal evidence than on an eclectic handling of modern proposals on Johannine history. Thus, even though he has relinquished the identification of John the son of Zebedee as the guarantor of the Johannine

tradition, he continues to defend a high view of the church and the sacraments in the Gospel. But this effort has failed to convince this reviewer that the Johannine community spoke a language that was understood by the apostolic church and was never too distant from it at any point in its history. I fail to see the logic that wishes to claim chronological validity for the story when read autobiographically, if clearly the same cannot be claimed for the story when read for the life of Jesus. Neither am I convinced that the history of the community flows smoothly into a "Johannine school of writers" who produced both the Gospel and the Epistles. Brown's repeated pointing to the Presbyter's appeal to "what was from the beginning" does not solve the problematical relation of the Gospel to the Epistles, relative to both their content and their sequence, and his appeal to the Epistles in order to solve a problem that affects only the Gospel is a *tour de force* that fails. His problem is to explain how a Gospel that was all along so close to apostolic Christianity is practically ignored by Ignatius and becomes, according to his own reconstruction, the "catalyst" for second-century gnostic Christianity. He points to the secessionist opponents of the Presbyter as the culprits, but the Fourth Gospel's being at first more influential among the heterodox than the orthodox of the second century is a fact that seems to be better explained by recognizing that it saw the light of day among Christians who were in the first century alienated from the apostolic mainstream.

Brown's effort to provide in such few pages a comprehensive picture with a wealth of detailed twists and turns will be hard to equal. Even if one disagrees with some of the major positions taken by him, one cannot fail to admire his command of the material he is handling; and whether or not one is convinced by his arguments, one cannot fail to learn from him. Whether Brown will prove 60% correct, as he hoped, it is too soon to tell. In fact, I have no idea how this could ever be assessed.

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

To most people of the twentieth century, the interests, concerns, and way of thinking of those of the eighteenth century are difficult to comprehend. It is Davidson's purpose to discover for the reader the elements that made up the logic of that time—a logic that was based on concepts of the millennium of Rev 20 and especially on an understanding of the history of redemption leading up to the millennium.

Davidson has studied diaries, books, manuscripts, pamphlets, and especially printed sermons from the eighteenth century, particularly in relationship to some of the prominent events of that time—two earthquakes, the Great Awakening, the French and Indian War, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution. It has been his effort to discover what interpretation was given to these events and thus to deduce the underlying logic of the thought of the individuals involved.

Some of the important questions he has raised are: What are the elements that made up the millennial logic? Was there more than one millennial logic; i.e., were the New Englanders united in a basically common logic, or were there distinctive elements which divided them into opposing camps? Was there a basic continuity in that era, or was there a discontinuity, a shifting from one millennial logic to another? And, did the New Englanders' millennial interpretations merely function as "Rorschach inkblots," reflecting their social concerns, or did their eschatology actually influence their perception of their social situation, disposing them to act in certain consistent ways? The study proceeds to find the answers to these questions, progressing thematically (and also more or less chronologically). The first half of the book seeks to discover the logic, and the second half examines some of the ramifications of the logic.

The first chapter, "Revelation," begins with a summary of the contents of the NT book of Revelation and then shows how pervasive the influence of this book was in the lives of eighteenth-century New Englanders. Davidson reviews the approaches that other historians have taken and closes the chapter by challenging the categories that have generally been proposed (of the social and personal characteristics of premillennialists and postmillennialists) as being a little too neat. These categories have appeal because they seem to make sense. But the more important questions are, Do they really fit the logic of *that* time, and do they coincide with what actually took place?

In chap. 2, Davidson examines New Englanders' understanding of the *chronology* given in prophecy. His purpose is to see whether this might provide the key elements basic to a common logic. However, he finds that despite some standardization of principles of interpretation, there was no standardized view on chronology in either Old or New England. And in fact, there were not two separate "logics" distinguishing premillennialists and postmillennialists; rather, there was a broad spectrum of opinions. But the lack of consensus on chronology, although the point of much discussion, was not considered by the New Englanders themselves to be of central importance.

Chap. 3 continues the search for the distinctive elements by investigating attitudes toward mechanisms of the church's salvation—i.e., ways and means God uses to act in history. Davidson compares the literal and

"spiritual" approaches to interpretations of prophecies of catastrophe, the understandings of ordinary and extraordinary providences, and the inclinations of some to look for unfulfilled prophecies to be fulfilled by natural catastrophes while others expected humanly instigated fulfillments. He does not find these differences to provide the structural elements of the New Englanders' millennial logic, but nevertheless does find here an understanding important to his ultimate goal. New Englanders believed God used calamity not only to punish but also, in his mercy, to arouse his people and call them to him. "So long as New Englanders regarded judgment as an inseparable part of salvation, they would continue to combine hopeful rhetoric with the gloom of both natural and moral calamities" (p. 121).

Davidson finds the key to understanding millennial logic in the pattern of conversion. Individual salvation came, not through gradual enlightenment, but through judgment which brought conviction and then the new birth. This pattern was generally accepted. And what applied on the small scale applied on the larger scale also. "The idea of salvation through trial and conviction . . . [was] the basic pattern God used to bring deliverance" (p. 136). But as in individual cases, it was not simply a matter of despair followed by hope. The two must be mingled in proper balance until deliverance came. "The salvation of the church would come as the tempo of both reward and affliction increased, until a dramatic resolution was achieved in the millennial state" (p. 138). Millennialists expressed this by saying that "evil, instead of diminishing as goodness spread, would become more persistent in its opposition" (p. 139). Here, and not in chronology, was the unity in New England's millennialism.

Davidson sees this millennial logic as producing the very results it expected. The Great Awakening, for instance, was hindered both by those on the outside who opposed it and by those within who went to extremes. It was easy to see these people (however sincere they might have been) as part of Satan's opposition, part of the affliction necessary and to be expected. The resulting polarization was a product of the underlying logic, and pushed "moderates toward antagonistic positions" (p. 171). "The millennial dream, then, both made and unmade the hopes of those who welcomed the Awakening" (p. 175). It "made them" because it explained (and even predicted) the turmoil and opposition. It "unmade them" in that it brought polarization, rather than the unity and peace for which these adherents looked.

The last three chapters of the book seek application of this logic in order to reveal its workings. The polarization described is revealed in the attitudes toward the matters of evil, the sovereignty of God, and man's free will. Davidson describes the agreements and differences of the Arminian Liberals and the Calvinistic "New Lights." They saw the same pattern in

all of history that they recognized in eschatology. God was able to bring good out of evil—to use evil for advantage (the disagreement was on how far to go with this reasoning). Davidson substantiates his position by pointing out the interpretation given by the New Englanders to the events of the French and Indian War of the 1750s—an interpretation clearly molded by the pattern he has presented. He closes chap. 5 by stating that the New Englanders "used the prophecies to defend an omnipotent and benevolent God in a world filled with the power and malevolence of the wicked. The millennium may have held out a future where it would be possible to attain the perfection of man; but more important, it did so in a way that provided a present where it would be possible to maintain the perfection of God" (p. 212).

And what of prophetic interpretation and the American Revolution? Davidson agrees with Bernard Bailyn that millennial thought was not an important factor in precipitating the Revolution. The millennium was pictured as the triumph of Christ's kingdom, not as a utopia of social perfection. Individual conversion was a return to the governing of natural facilities by a spiritual principle. So in society it would be the "inward, spiritual principle" which would be the "key force . . . [to] set aright the already existing structures" (p. 218). Millennial thought, then, was basically apolitical. And liberal thinking was similar to that of the New Lights in this. Davidson does include a comparison/contrast of millennial and Revolutionary perspectives on a number of key points here, and indicates that although differing, these perspectives were not necessarily contradictory and could even be complementary.

While the millennial viewpoint was not so influential on the Revolution, the Revolution did have its impact on millennial thought. Some shifting must be made in the cast of characters, some revision of the history of redemption. Antichrist could no longer simply be identified with nations with Catholic populations, for England was now the foe and France an ally. And America was shifted from a supportive role (with Britain as the "elect nation") to being the locus of the coming kingdom. The basic pattern—that of deliverance through affliction—remained.

The final chapter of the book examines the direction millennial logic took in the 1790s and beyond, both in its progressing thought (i.e., theology) and in its social impact. Elements of the postmillennialism of the nineteenth century had existed throughout the eighteenth century— and in as influential a figure as Jonathan Edwards. Postmillennialism came, not as some new system or because of a new discovery in the prophecies, but rather as "the synthesis of several long-familiar tenets into a coherent view of history" (p. 262).

Both premillennialists and postmillennialists were concerned about psychologies of motivation, each fearing that the other's theology would

be detrimental to proper action, the former seen as leading to fear and a desire to postpone the Second Coming of Christ because of the preceding "time of trouble," and the latter seen as leading to complacency. Davidson reiterates the point made earlier that often what one side "thinks its opponent ought logically to believe is not always what the opponent ends up believing. . . . Men who reject a particular doctrine are always willing to draw out of it consequences which its adherents never wished to embrace" (p. 94).

Also in his final chapter, Davidson examines the thinking of the 1790s on the three elements dealt with in the first half of the book. On *chronology*, the 1790s saw the conviction grow that the 1260 days were about to end, indeed were ending. "The *conversion*-oriented pattern of redemption tended to assume that history's climax would be attended not merely by resistance but concerted resistance" (p. 286, emphasis mine), which was viewed in terms of conspiracy (the Bavarian Illuminati) and consciously evil motives on the part of the "enemy." Catastrophes were seen to serve to chastise the wicked and/or sanctify the elect. *Judgment* was both present and future (final), with the difference between the two relative rather than absolute. With the sense of imminence which the chronology brought and the polarization resulting from the conversion model, there was a tendency to bring the end-time judgment into the present. In a sense, the millennial logic brought this about as it meant vindication and reward to the righteous and retribution to the wicked on this earth rather than in an other-worldly heaven and hell.

Overall, Davidson's book gives evidence of careful thought and scholarship, and the author appears to have gained a good grasp of the eschatological thought of eighteenth-century New Englanders. Moreover, his style of writing is such that the book makes interesting reading, as well.

Davidson's honest and open-minded approach is evidenced in the fact that the viewpoint he presents in this book (namely, that the millennial logic of the New Englanders had an actual influence on their thoughts and actions, rather than being a mere reflection of their social concerns) is a reversal in his position from one previously published (see p. 256, n. 1). This reviewer has appreciated his methodology in postulating hypotheses, testing them (by research in the materials), and postulating new ones until a satisfactory solution was found. The book is written in such a way as to reveal this process, thus not only giving the conclusion to which Davidson has come, but also presenting the false leads and showing their true role in that time.

There are two questions, however, which seem to me to have received inadequate attention. First, from where did the premillennialists come, and what role did they play? Davidson could probably have dealt a bit

more fully with this. Second, with respect to the polarization Davidson has noted, I wonder whether he has adequately demonstrated that that polarization was *caused* by the rhetoric and millennial logic of the Great Awakening? Did he perhaps, in reading that rhetoric, feel that it was strong enough to have caused a polarization, and then, also finding evidence of a polarization, could he simply have assumed a causative link between the two? Might it not be just as likely that this polarization had indeed *already* existed in the Arminian-Calvinistic "split," merely to be made more evident through the arguments precipitated in conjunction with the events of that latter time? In any case, some further direct evidence from the primary sources on this matter would have been helpful. Despite questions such as these, however, I would reiterate my overall evaluation of this book as both readable and informative.

Andrews University   DAVID JARNES

DeMolen, Richard L., ed., *Essays on the Works of Erasmus*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978. vii + 282 pp. $18.50.

Richard L. DeMolen of the Folger Shakespeare Library is to be congratulated on putting together another excellent volume on Erasmus, consisting of fourteen chapters by outstanding experts. His own compendious Introduction, *"Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi*: Rungs on the Ladder to the *Philosophia Christi"* (pp. 1-50), provides background and context for the studies that follow. Unfortunately, the very scope of this excellent production precludes the possibility of little more than a listing of the chapters, with their authors and titles: chap. 1, "Ways with Adages" by Margaret Mann Phillips (pp. 51-60); chap. 2, "The Principal Theological Thoughts in the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*," by Ernst-W. Kohls (pp. 61-82); chap. 3, "The Logic and Rhetoric of Proverbs in Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*," by Clarence H. Miller (pp. 83-98); chap. 4, "The *De Copia*: The Bounteous Horn," by Virginia W. Callahan (pp. 99-109); chap. 5, *"Apologiae*: Erasmus's Defenses of Folly," by Myron P. Gilmore (pp. 111-123); chap. 6, "Erasmus's Annotations and Colet's Commentaries on Paul: A Comparison of Some Theological Themes," by Catherine A. L. Jarrott (pp. 125-144); chap. 7, "Erasmus's *Paraphrases of the New Testament*," by Albert Rabil, Jr. (pp. 145-161); chap. 8, "As Bones to the Body: The Scope of *Inventio* in the *Colloquies* of Erasmus," by M. Geraldine Thompson, C.S.J. (pp. 163-178); chap. 9, "The *Ratio Verae Theologiae* (1518)," by Georges G. Chantraine, S.J. (pp. 179-185); chap. 10, *"De Libero Arbitrio* (1524): Erasmus on Piety, Theology, and the Lutheran Dogma," by B. A. Gerrish (pp. 187-209); chap. 11, "Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*: A Comical Col-

loquy," by Emile V. Telle (pp. 211-220); chap. 12, "The Method of 'Words and Things' in Erasmus's *De Pueris Instituendis* (1529) and Comenius's *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (1658)," by Jean-Claude Margolin (pp. 221-238); chap. 13, "Erasmus at School: The *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellus*," by Franz Bierlaire (pp. 239-251); and chap. 14, "*Ecclesiastes sive de Ratione Concionandi*," by Robert G. Kleinhans (pp. 253-266).

The volume is a *Festschrift* in honor of Craig R. Thompson (the title-page gives no indication of this, but the fact is given due attention in the Preface [p. vii]). Accordingly, a useful listing of "Publications of Craig R. Thompson on Sixteenth-Century Subjects" is provided (pp. 267-269). Brief sketches about the contributors (pp. 271-273) and an index (pp. 275-282) conclude the volume.

The studies in this volume are both scholarly and readable. There is abundant documentation, with "endnotes" appearing at the close of the chapters rather than at the end of the work.

A corrective regarding the date of Erasmus's birth should be mentioned in closing. In harmony with recent trends in Erasmus scholarship, DeMolen has opted for 1469 as the birth year (see p. 1), a view which had also been my own until two years ago. John B. Gleason, in a brilliant short article entitled "The Birth Dates of John Colet and Erasmus of Rotterdam: Fresh Documentary Evidence," *RQ* 32 (1979): 73-76, has provided data that, in my opinion, conclusively establishes the birth year of Erasmus as 1466, the alternative date frequently appearing in the literature. (Obviously, this article was not available to DeMolen at the time the volume here under review was in preparation.)

Andrews University   KENNETH A. STRAND

Dooyeweerd, Herman. *Roots of Western Culture: Pagan, Secular, and Christian Options.* Translated by John Kraay. Toronto: Wedge Publishing Foundation, 1979. xii + 228 pp. $12.95.

Immediately after the close of World War II the Dutch National Movement emerged, calling for the rejection of traditional ideological divisions in favor of national unity. Believing that such a position was incompatible with Christianity, the Calvinist philosopher Herman Dooyeweerd published weekly columns in *Nieuw Nederland*, of which he was editor, that called upon Christians to examine the roots of their culture and thereby determine the direction that postwar renewal should take. This volume collects these fifty-eight articles, which began appearing in 1945; Dooyeweerd's argument is incomplete, however, because in 1948 he unexpectedly left the editorship of the journal.

Dooyeweerd argued that Western culture has developed on the basis of four religious ground motives: the "form-matter" motive of ancient Greece, which was combined with the Roman concept of *imperium*; the biblical motive of "creation, fall, and redemption through Jesus Christ"; the Roman Catholic motive of "nature-grace," which seeks a synthesis of Greek and Christian motives; and the modern humanistic motive of "nature-freedom," which attempts to synthesize the previous three on the basis of the human personality. He believed that only the biblical ground motive provides the foundation for a society that is both stable and dynamic.

The key element of Christian social and political thought, according to Dooyeweerd, is the concept of "sphere sovereignty." Developed earlier by Friedrich Stahl, Groen van Prinstererk, and Abraham Kuyper, sphere sovereignty grounds all aspects of society on God's creatorship, which established the internal nature and law of life for each "sphere." Although God has created these elemental principles, each requires human activity to become realized historically. This means, then, that progressive development has its rightful place in human culture but that each sphere of life—such as the state, church, or family—has its own function and inherent limits and must not interfere with other spheres. Failure to recognize these limits results in social disharmony, a characteristic of modern culture that Dooyeweerd believed results from loss of the biblical ground-motive in its original purity.

Any adequate critique of Dooyeweerd's ideas would require a theological, philosophical, historical, and sociological perspective, for the essays touch on each of these disciplines. This extensive range contributes to the volume's richness and suggestiveness.

Dooyeweerd's recognition that culture is based ultimately on some form of religious faith and his identification of the ground motives of Western culture and their effects seem to have validity. Likewise, his argument that culture is a God-mandated activity offers a possible focus for a Christian philosophy of history that would be relevant to the working historian. Although the volume emphasizes the intellectual element to the exclusion of anything else in the making of Western culture, Dooyeweerd has offered an analysis from which we can learn much.

But as a guide to Christian political action, these essays are not so successful. In reading them, one is impressed with the seriousness with which Dooyeweerd took his task and the possibilities of Christian political and social thought. Although more Christian thinkers need to engage in such efforts, it is doubtful whether Dooyeweerd has revealed the direction in which we must go. The biblical basis for determining the social and

political content of sphere sovereignty—an attractive idea, it must be admitted—is unclear and leaves the practical consequences of the concept fatally vague. Furthermore, Dooyeweerd's emphasis upon the antithesis between Christianity and humanism, which for him meant that Christians could not legitimately combine with non-Christians for political purposes, appears to be rooted in the particular political traditions of the Netherlands. As a result, it holds little relevance for the American political scene with its basically two-party, limited ideology politics. The Christian social thinker will find these essays worthwhile reading as an example of Christian thought within a particular historical context, but will need to be selective in using Dooyeweerd's philosophy.

Roots of Western Culture is written in a ponderous style (perhaps the result of translation) that sometimes makes the ideas appear more difficult than they actually are. And, because it originally appeared as a series of articles, there is frequent repetition. Dooyeweerd, however, deserves more attention than he has received outside Calvinist circles. This volume is a good introduction to his thought.

Andrews University   GARY LAND

Karant-Nunn, Susan C. *Luther's Pastors: The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside.* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 69, part 8. Philadelphia, 1979. 80 pp. $8.00.

It has long been a desideratum in the study of the German Reformation to have information of more detailed nature as to how the Reformation actually progressed at the "grass-roots" level—i.e., in the parishes. The present volume takes a giant step toward filling the sort of vacuum which has existed on this topic, as it carefully analyzes the situations, attitudes, and developments affecting local clergy and laity in Ernestine Saxony from the 1520s through about 1555. Indeed, the broad outlines pertaining to the visitations, establishment of the consistory, and political involvement (especially on the part of elector John Frederick) have long been known, but the unique contributions of the book here under review is that it adds a wealth of useful and fascinating detail—sometimes with surprises that may necessitate revision of certainly widely held viewpoints.

Following a several-page introduction, the volume has nine chapters: "The Evangelical Pastors' Backgrounds" (pp. 8-13), "Preparation for

the Ministry" (pp. 13-21), "Some Remedies for Clerical Shortcomings" (pp. 21-31), "The Pastors' Daily Lives" (pp. 31-38), "The Economic Position of the Ministers" (pp. 38-52), "Shepherds and Sheep" (pp. 52-56), "The New Ordination" (pp. 56-60), "Pastors and Church Authority" (pp. 60-70), and "The Ernestine Reformation" (pp. 70-74). It should be mentioned that the volume is in two-column format (8 1/2" × 11" page size), and each chapter begins within a column immediately after the conclusion of the preceding chapter.

The work was originally undertaken as preparation of the author's doctoral dissertation under the supervision of Gerald Strauss at Indiana University, and the author points out (p. 3) that the present study is based on that dissertation. It is also pertinent to note that the basic material in chaps. 2 and 5 have been in print before: chap. 5 in a slightly different version in *ARG* 63 (1972): 94-125; and chap. 2 in a German summary in Max Steinmetz, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg und Thomas Müntzer* (Leipzig, 1976), pp. 150-156.

The first two chapters, in addition to their informative discussion of the pastors and their backgrounds, are enriched by tables of statistical information regarding the previous occupations of pastors ordained in Wittenberg between 1537 and 1550 and regarding the character and performance levels of pastors as determined by various visitations from 1526 through 1555. The tables illustrating the latter also categorize the pastors as to university or non-university education, with further classification for the former group as to which universities had been attended—Erfurt, Wittenberg, Leipzig, or more than one of these. The relatively low proportion of university-trained pastors for various locales—generally not exceeding 20-30 percent—is striking, especially when one realizes that the majority of these university-educated pastors did not go beyond the bachelor's level and that statistics regarding their "university education" may frequently mean little more than that they had matriculated at a university. Of ninety-six "university-educated" clergymen noted by the author, she found only one holding the doctorate, Johann Drach (or Draco), who soon took up scholarly activities at Eisenach and then university professorships at Marburg and Rostock.

The discussion of the visitations, in chap. 3, is enhanced by inclusion of Spalatin's list of problem areas, to be considered, the articles for interrogation by visitors provided by Elector John, and the series of thirty-four questions for pastors and deacons and the five questions for peasants prepared by Jonas. This chapter treats also the development of pastoral supervision and the literature made available to preachers (including the *Betbüchlein*, *Postille*, and Luther's "Large Catechism").

The pastors' daily lives, especially as related to their economic situation, left a great deal to be desired, as aptly portrayed in chaps. 4 and 5 (especially did rural pastors need to engage in farming in order to maintain livelihood for themselves and their families). And the chapter on "Shepherd and Sheep" (the pastors and the parishioners) furnishes striking evidence that Reformation theology did not permeate the parishes nearly so quickly nor so pervasively as has frequently been assumed to have been the case.

The final two chapters, in their detailing and analysis of the administrative developments pertaining to the emerging Lutheran church in Saxony, provide further correctives to certain widely held assumptions, as well as enlarging our understanding of those early decades of Lutheranism. As important as Luther was personally in giving advice and supervision to the emerging church until his death in 1546, Elector John (1525-1532) and especially his successor John Frederick took church affairs increasingly into their hands. This was so much the case, in fact, that "during the late 1530's Johann Friedrich became vehement in his insistence that all decisions in church affairs be his alone" (p. 67). Indeed, there is evidence that he "employed visitation for purposes of imposing his influence on areas not under his rule," such as the lands belonging "to the bishops of Naumburg-Zeitz and the earls of the Reuss family," and that he "regarded the Wittenberg consistory as an organ of his government, a judicial arm with which to grasp his territorial church more firmly than ever" (p. 73).

As our author further comments, "From Johann Friedrich's perspective, the Reformation was most nearly a success during that interval between 1541 and 1542 when he was his church's supreme earthly governor" (p. 74). But the events of the mid-1540s, when the elector had to turn his attention to external affairs and especially as he met humiliating defeat in battle in 1547, altered the situation. During the decades that followed, "the ability of the superintendents in Thuringia and of the consistory in Saxony to administer the church when princes were unable to do so," led to advance; and these were "years when Johann Friedrich's personal church reverted to the status of a territorial church" (ibid.).

All in all, *Luther's Pastors* is a very informative and readable book, providing a comprehensive review of the various factors involved in development of the early Lutheran church at the parish level in Ernestine Saxony. The volume includes a fairly comprehensive bibliography (pp. 74-79) and an index (pp. 79-80).

Andrews University   KENNETH A. STRAND

Käsemann, Ernst. *Commentary on Romans.* Trans. and ed. Geoffrey W.
   Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980. xxix + 428 pp. $22.50.

This commentary on Romans was first published in German, and the
present translation is based on the fourth edition published in 1980.
Käsemann writes in his Preface "that no literary document has been more
important to him than the book of Romans" (p. vii). What we have, then,
is a commentary by a leading NT scholar in the area of his particular
interest.

   In reading this commentary, one observes that the author has probed
deeply and profoundly into the thought of the apostle. Although he has
studied the vast literature on the subject, he writes not as one who leans on
the works of others, but as one who can blaze his own trails because of his
intimate knowledge of the subject. On the jacket, various NT scholars of
repute describe his work as "magisterial" (Ralph P. Martin), as "seminal"
(Karl P. Donfried), and as "the best commentary on Romans available
today" (James M. Robinson).

   The author's emphasis is on "what Paul meant theologically." He
dispenses entirely with introductory matters which even a small com-
mentary would include, and the commentary proper starts immediately
with the exegesis. The exegesis is not verse by verse but section by section.
After giving a translation of each section, Käsemann provides a bibliography
of literature on the particular subject and then proceeds with his exegesis.
There are no footnotes, and references are included in parentheses within
the text itself. He indicates in his Preface that he follows this style with
some misgivings. Surely, this format does not make it easy for the reader to
follow through a sentence, especially when the sentence is broken up too
often with such bibliographical items.

   In dealing with the exegesis of a passage, the author frequently will
list different views, followed by an indication of what he feels is the correct
interpretation. And throughout the commentary he presents new insights.
It should be added that the exegesis by sections rather than by verses
does not mean that the author slights any verses. E.g., for Romans 1:1,
although the discussion is on Romans 1:1-7, he treats such details as the
question of the prescript of a letter, the name "Paul," the meaning of the
words "servant of Christ Jesus," the textual problems (whether "Christ"
should be read before "Jesus"), and the meaning of the words "apostle,"
"call," and "gospel."

   It might be useful to examine how Käsemann treats certain particular
passages. In regard to the "righteousness of God" in Romans 1:17, he
opposes the dominant view which interprets this text as the eschatological
action of salvation. He objects to this explanation because he sees the

righteousness of God not only as power but also as a gift. Paul designates the gospel as a gift to Christians and simultaneously as the power of God. For Paul, Christ is God's eschatological gift to us and in this gift is revealed God's claim on us and also our salvation. In regard to the "wrath of God" in 1:18 he rejects the idea of holy indignation and also the view that this is an impersonal causal connection. He sees God himself at work in a hidden way in the causal connection. In 3:25-26, he sees Paul using fixed tradition and understands *paresis* simply as remission of penalty, not as overlooking or letting pass. Thus, the passage does not deal with retributive righteousness but with the patience of God, demonstrating God's covenant faithfulness and effecting forgiveness.

Respecting the Adam-Christ typology on 5:12, Käsemann finds no adequate explanation in the efforts put forth by the history-of-religion proponents. The Semitic idea of corporate personality he finds as an aid to the understanding of the passage, but he feels that the point of the text is missed when emphasis is placed upon the idea that the ancestor potentially decides the fate of his descendants. The issue, he feels, is the uniqueness of Adam and Christ in characterizing history at its beginning and its end—at primal time and end time, which are in antithesis. The words *eph' hō* he translates as "because," but sees here "an ambivalence between destiny and individual guilt" (p. 148). For him, the sinful act of the individual is his own and is a manifestation of the general fall into guilt, and thus leads to death. The emphasis of Paul throughout this section, however, is to show the superiority of Christ, who came to undo the work of Adam. Karl Barth's interpretation of this passage is considered by Käsemann as almost grotesque, since the point of this passage is not to show that Christ is original man and that fallen Adam is derived man.

In his discussion of 6:12-23, Käsemann modifies the neat distinction between justification and sanctification that is traditionally taught. He is concerned that this section be not reduced to mere ethics and a combination with mysticism. In his words, "the apostle's concern is not with sinlessness as freedom from guilt, but with freedom from the power of sin"; it is not with development to perfection, but with a constantly new grasping of the once-for-all "eschatological, saving act of justification" (p. 174).

On Rom 7, Käsemann follows the generally accepted view that Paul is describing a pre-Christian experience from a Christian point of view. Vss. 9-11 refer to Adam, but every person repeats Adam's experience in his own life. Vss. 14-25 portray the results of the previous verses "in their cosmic breadth" (p. 199). In 8:26, Käsemann sees the apostle dealing, not with the question of prayer, but with glossolalia. In 10:4 the idea of "goal" or "meaning and fulfillment" is rejected. For Käsemann, the law comes to an end with Christ.

In chaps. 9-11, Käsemann sees Paul trying to fulfill the apocalyptic dream of bringing about the conversion of Israel through his mission to

the Gentiles. Paul sees himself as the precursor of the *parousia*, since the conversion of Israel is the last act of salvation history. Instead of the Gentiles coming in at the end, according to the hope of Judaism, Paul has the picture reversed.

In chap. 14, the weak brother is a Jewish Christian who has been exposed to heretical ideas, such as described in Galatians and Colossians. Käsemann sees chap. 16 as an independent letter which was later added to the epistle.

The above survey of the views on selected passages does not do justice to the thorough discussion that Käsemann actually gives to each of these passages. It becomes apparent, as well, that one cannot always agree with his conclusions. Nevertheless, from this rich and provocative commentary much can be learned. The prospective reader needs to be warned, however, that the book is not easy to read, for Käsemann does not write with the clarity of a William Barclay. In his Preface he indicates that he was challenged by Lietzmann's commentary to be brief, yet scholarly. The lack of clarity may be due to space limitations, but it may also derive from the fact that Käsemann assumes so much knowledge on the part of his reader, especially with regard to the vast amount of literature alluded to throughout his commentary. Many times one will wonder exactly what Käsemann means, especially when he rejects two different positions and then offers his own which seems to be similar to one of those which he has rejected.

A bibliography of commentaries on Romans, other works which are frequently cited, and further pertinent literature, is included. There is no index.

This commentary will undoubtedly not be popular reading, but it will be a basic work to which reference will frequently be made.

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Knowles, David. *The Religious Orders in England.* 3 vols. New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1979. Paperback, $42.95.

Cambridge University Press has performed a genuine service to the academic community by reprinting David Knowles's classic study of the religious orders in England. These volumes, originally published in 1948, 1955, and 1959 respectively, were immediately hailed as authoritative and that judgment has stood the test of time. Knowles's learning is immense, his scholarship meticulous, and his approach compassionate. His work will long remain the standard one, against which other studies will be judged.

These three volumes relate developments involving the religious orders from 1216 until the mid-sixteenth century. Knowles recognizes that even such isolated communities as monasteries were affected by the changing economic and social patterns of the wider world. Hence, he carefully relates the changes experienced by the religious orders to the developments occurring elsewhere in society. Even the dissolution of the monasteries is set firmly within the European—rather than merely the English—context.

Knowles, himself the member of a religious order, appears most at home in the environment described in vol. 1. During the thirteenth century the great Benedictine and Cistercian abbeys retained much of both their spiritual and their secular influence. That same century witnessed the arrival of the friars and the rapid growth of both the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Knowles writes with feeling of "the mysterious impulse which impelled multitudes to join the friars" (1:194) and then describes their impact upon England.

In vols. 2 and 3, Knowles narrates the manner in which the religious orders appeared to lose their fervor and become assimilated with the secularization occurring in western Christianity. He traces the deterioration in spiritual strength to the cumulative effect of a number of developments, as the religious orders adjusted to social change. These developments included the increasing emphasis placed upon estate management as feudalism declined, the freedom with which monks could leave the cloister to mingle with those outside its walls, the concern of both monks and friars to perform services for remuneration, and the lapses from strict observance of the rule so frequently reported as a result of visitations in the century before the dissolution. Despite his attempt to defend the religious orders, Knowles admits that during the early Tudor years "the Catholic religion was being reduced to its lowest terms" (3:460). This deterioration included all but a few of the religious orders (the Carthusians and Observant Franciscans).

At the same time, dissension in the church as a whole created an environment in which it proved difficult to maintain the ardor which had infused monasticism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and which had given rise to the mendicants in the thirteenth. Knowles describes the confusion caused by the fourteenth-century thinkers who "made use of ideas and methods for which a new vocabulary was necessary," as they "redefined old concepts in new ways" (2:75). Then, in England, the conflict between possessioners (monks) and mendicants (friars) climaxed in the scathing attacks of John Wyclif upon the church. At the same time, the Great Schism weakened the bonds of discipline which bound both individuals and groups within the different religious orders. Before the church could recover, it reeled under the attacks of Erasmus whose

influence "in creating a critical, untraditional climate of mind can scarcely be exaggerated" (3: 147). Whereas for Knowles, Wyclif is the villain in vol. 2, it is Erasmus rather than Cromwell or Henry VIII who holds the distinction in vol. 3.

Despite the title of the set, these volumes do not comprise a history of the internal development of the religious orders in England. Instead, Knowles paints with large strokes on a broad canvas and provides an overview of the religious orders. Many of the most significant chapters are topical, dealing with the exploitation of land, monastic boroughs, the role of the abbot, the spiritual life of the fourteenth century, vicarages, and monastic libraries. The approach does enable the author to provide a wealth of information about the religious orders in England which is available nowhere else.

Knowles's depiction of Wyclif and Erasmus, and of Henry VIII and Cromwell, can be questioned. But these were the men who criticized and destroyed the world to which he remains attached. Although his sympathies cannot be hidden, he writes with balance and candor and portrays the decline of the religious ideal with the compassion which only a Roman Catholic could bring to this subject. A reading of these volumes makes the Reformation much more comprehensible.

Andrews University CEDRIC WARD

Rhoads, David M. *Israel in Revolution: 6-74 C.E.: A Political History Based on the Writings of Josephus.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976. viii + 199 pp. Cloth, $9.95; paperback, $5.95.

This book appears to be an adaptation of the author's 1973 Duke University dissertation, "Some Jewish Revolutions in Palestine from A.D. 6 to 73 According to Josephus," done under W. D. Davies. Though simplified, the prose and structure of the book are still those of a dissertation, clear but not adding much excitement to the content. The author builds his case step by step and ends each important section with a summary.

After stating his purpose and defining his terms in a brief introduction, Rhoads supplies a concise account of his main source, Josephus. The second chapter describes the historical background of the events dealt with, beginning with Maccabean times. Chap. 3 gives an account of the revolts and resistance against Rome from 6 to 66 C.E. Chap. 4 tells about the parties and other *dramatis personae* of the Jewish War. Chap. 5 attempts to reconstruct the motives for the War. Following the brief concluding chapter there are useful appendices and quite full indices.

The book challenges a number of conventional views, as well as such recent authorities as Martin Hengel. In fact, the author is largely concerned to contradict the line of interpretation put forth by Josephus himself. It is Rhoads's method to take Josephus as his source of facts, but not of interpretations. E.g., on the basis of indications gleaned from his source, Rhoads denies that a revolutionary sect founded in 6 C.E. by Judas the Galilean was ultimately responsible for the revolt of 66-74. He argues that Josephus' use of the word *sicarii* in the prewar period is generic (= brigands), not referring to the wartime sect. Rhoads denies the conventional wisdom that Jewish resistance centered mainly in Galilee. Until the late 40s the Jews tended to accommodate to the Roman occupation, but from that time on increasing corruption and incompetence of the Roman procurators and Jewish aristocracy created intolerable social and economic conditions, which when combined with religious motives led to the war. In spite of cleavage between moderate and radical factions, dividing along class lines, support for the war was popular and widespread, especially after the early retreat of Cestius Gallus raised hopes everywhere in Palestine and Idumaea that victory over the Romans was possible. The war was by no means a cause limited only to an activist minority.

In much of this Rhoads is quite persuasive, but some doubts arise. His argument to show that there was no unbroken line to be drawn between Judas the Galilean and the wartime sect of the Sicarii or other Zealots is visibly strained (see pp. 55-59). He has to rely heavily on an acknowledged argument from silence, and he has to explain away too much adverse evidence, notably the prewar reference to *sicarii*, which he explains as noted above. He seems to dismiss out of hand the testimony of the synoptic gospels to the existence of Zealots in Christ's time (Luke 6:15 and parallels). Perhaps growing a bit unsure of himself on pp. 58-59, Rhoads seems willing to concede that Judas the Galilean may have founded a sect after all, but that it was not active until shortly before the war. One wonders here, Can there be root and flower with no stem in between? One also wonders why Rhoads must constantly grind this ax, relying all too often on unsupported conjectures.

There are other minor annoyances. He repeatedly uses the word "honorific" idiosyncratically for "honorable" (pp. 84, 104n., 161, 166, etc.). He sometimes cites only secondary sources when primary sources are readily available (e.g., p. 46, n. 60). Asher is misspelled "Ashur" on pp. 84-85, nn. 78, 79. In view of the author's consistent tendency toward minimalist conclusions, e.g., about the role of the Essenes/Qumran community, one is startled to read his conjecture that some Christians remained in Jerusalem fighting to the end against the Romans (p. 158). If that were so, why the *Birkath ha-Minim*? Further, the reader sometimes wishes for omitted references.

Rhoads does not limit himself strictly to Josephus as his source; he refers on occasion to the pertinent Roman historians, to Philo, to the NT, to apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, and Qumran scrolls, to archaeological data, and to the rabbinic literature. In the case of the rabbinic traditions, at least, Rhoads's use is disappointingly desultory. Since he has consulted Neusner on Johanan b. Zakkai, it is surprising that Rhoads says nothing about the four rabbinic accounts of the siege of Jerusalem and Johanan's escape (bGittin 55b-56b and parallels), which are sometimes tantalizingly reminiscent of Jospehus. Josephus, upon surrendering to Vespasian, prophesied that Vespasian would become emperor, and when the prophecy was fulfilled he was released. The rabbinic literature recounts that Johanan escaped from Jerusalem, in a way strangely parallel to Josephus' escape from death by forced suicide, and he too prophesied that Vespasian would become emperor, and when the prophecy was fulfilled he was released and allowed to found the academy at Jamnia. Surely there is more than coincidence here. Has rabbinic tradition conflated Johanan and Josephus? We would be grateful had Rhoads ventured a comment here. Aside from that, there is much else in the rabbinic accounts which could have been fruitfully compared with Josephus. It is a distressing omission.

While this book is obviously not the last word, it certainly moves the discussion forward. Besides that, Rhoads has provided us a very convenient collocation of the relevant passages in Josephus and a provocative history of the great Jewish War and the conditions which led up to it.

Andrews University   ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

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.

Alsop, John R., ed. *An Index to the Revised Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich Greek Lexicon, second edition, by F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. 525 pp. Paperback, $10.95. Substantial time-saver for all users of the second edition of the Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich Greek Lexicon (BAG). The entries are listed in the order in which they appear in the NT, beginning with Matthew, and proceeding verse by verse through Revelation. Each word is set in Greek type, accompanied by the English gloss and reference to the exact quadrant of the BAG page, where the word and reference are treated.

Aune, David E. *Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels: A Bibliographic Study Guide.* Madison, Wisc.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980. vi + 93 pp. Paperback, $2.50. First in a series of bibliographic study guides for the Bible, this volume presents a relatively complete outline of modern critical study of Jesus and the Synoptics. Provides introduction to the major literary, historical, and theological problems, describes and critiques various critical methods which have been used, and facilitates easy location of basic bibliographies and material on particular issues.

Castellio, Sebastian. *Advice to a Desolate France.* Shepherdstown, W.Va.: Patmos Press, 1975. xiii + 50 pp. $12.95. The subtitle of the book, *In the course of which the reason for the present war is outlined, as well as the possible remedy and, in the main, advice is given as to whether consciences should be forced.*

The year 1562, eloquently summarizes the contents. Of this pacifist and at the same time ecumenical manifesto only four original copies are known to have survived. Printed in limited edition of 500 copies.

Craddock, Fred B. *The Gospels.* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981. 159 pp. Paperback, $6.95. This first volume in the series *Interpreting Biblical Texts* briefly introduces the four Gospels and then presents specific texts in order to more closely examine parable, miracle story, and other types of gospel materials. Seeks to show how messages for today can be extracted that are both scripturally sound and contemporarily relevant.

Emmerson, Richard Kenneth. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature.* Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1981. x + 366 pp. $19.50. Provides a systematic account of the origins, history, nature, and biography of Antichrist and an outline of his appearance in the visual arts and literature of the Middle Ages. Studies the development of a theology of Antichrist, analyzing its biblical and apocryphal sources. Several indexes.

Farmer, William R. *The Synoptic Problem. A Critical Analysis.* Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1976. xi + 308 pp. $18.95. Argues that Mark cannot have been the *first* gospel, combining a study of the history of Marcan priority with critical analysis of the relevant gospel texts. Concludes that the most

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probable sequence is Matthew, Luke, and Mark.

Geisler, Norman L., ed. *Biblical Errancy. An Analysis of its Philosophical Roots.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. 270 pp. Paperback, $6.95. The contributors to this volume show how the basic presuppositions of many philosophers lead to a denial of a divine, inerrant revelation. Eight essays deal with: Inductivism, Materialism, and Rationalism (Bacon, Hobbes, Spinoza); Skepticism (Hume); Agnosticism (Kant); Transcendentalism (Hegel); Existentialism (Kierkegaard); Atheism (Nietzsche); Noncognitivism (Wittgenstein); and Mysticism (Heidegger).

Goodrick, Edward W., and Kohlenberger, John R., III. *The NIV Complete Concordance. The Complete English Concordance to the New International Version.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. vii + 1044 pp. $19.95. This first concordance produced for the New International Version of the Bible alphabetically lists 12,800 principal words in the order of absolutely every occurrence, with chapter, verse and contextual phrase references. 250,000 references are listed.

Greaves, Richard L. *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England.* Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1981. ix + 925 pp. $39.50. Analysis of the thought of Elizabethan clergy— Anglican, Puritan, Catholic, and Separatist — on nearly every topic of social significance. Chapters include: "Society and Religion," "Marriage and Sex," "The Family and Education," "The Christian in Society," "The Christian and Social Problems," "The Social Order and Death."

Halpern, Baruch, and Levenson, John D., eds. *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1981. xiv + 446 pp. $22.50. This *Festschrift* is a joint project on the part of Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant scholars, united by the desire of honoring their teacher, Frank Moore Cross, Hancock Professor of Hebrew and Other Oriental Languages at Harvard University, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. Contemporary biblical scholars survey different periods of biblical history.

Hauerwas, Stanley. *A Community of Character. Toward a Constructive Christian Social Ethic.* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981. x + 298 pp. $20.00/7.95. Argues for a social ethics that is distinctively Christian. Stresses that any consideration of the truth of Christian convictions cannot be divorced from the kind of *community* the church is and should be.

Monson, J., et al., eds. *Student Map Manual. Historical Geography of the Bible Lands.* Jerusalem: Pictorial Archive (Near Eastern History) Est./Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1979. 168 pp., folio. $34.95. Contains over one hundred topographically accurate maps of the Holy Land. Features regional maps in full color, archaeological maps from the main archaeological periods, historical maps from the Canaanite to the Byzantine periods, and maps representing the archaeology of Jerusalem. Three indexes.

Stoldt, Hans-Herbert. *History and Criticism of the Marcan Hypothesis.* Trans. and ed. by Donald L. Niewyk. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1980. ix + 302 pp. $18.95. Analysis of

the development of the Marcan hypothesis within the intellectual atmosphere of nineteenth-century Germany, and critique of the arguments for Marcan priority.

Vanden Burgt, Robert J. *The Religious Philosophy of William James*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1981. vii + 167 pp. $16.95/ 8.95. While mostly known for his work *The Principles of Psychology* (1890), and his contributions to the development of pragmatism, William James addressed himself also to religious issues. This book gives the reader a complete, detailed account of James's views on belief, the need for God, and the nature of God.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

SEMINARY STUDIES

ARTICLES

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

BOOK REVIEWS

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א	= ʾ		ד	= d		י	= y		ס	= s		ר	= r
ב	= b		ה	= h		כ	= k		ע	= ʿ		שׂ	= $ś$
ב	= $\underline{b}$		ו	= w		כ	= $\underline{k}$		פ	= p		שׁ	= $š$
ג	= g		ז	= z		ל	= l		פ	= $\underline{p}$		ת	= t
ג	= $\underline{g}$		ח	= $ḥ$		מ	= m		צ	= $ṣ$		ת	= $\underline{t}$
ף	= $\underline{d}$		ט	= $ṭ$		נ	= n		ק	= q			

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

◌ַ	= a	◌ְ , ◌	(vocal shewa)	= e	◌	= $ō$
◌ָ	= $ā$	◌ֵ , ◌ֶ	= $ê$	◌ֳ	= o
◌ָ	= a	◌ִ	= i	וֹ	= $ô$
◌ֶ	= e	◌ִי	= $î$	◌ֻ	= u
◌ֵ	= $ē$	◌	= o	וּ	= $û$

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

AASOR	Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.
AB	Anchor Bible
AcOr	Acta orientalia
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
ADAJ	Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan
AER	American Ecclesiastical Review
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AHR	American Historical Review
AHW	Von Soden, Akkad. Handwörterb.
AJA	Am. Journal of Archaeology
AJBA	Austr. Journ. of Bibl. Arch.
AJSL	Am. Jrl., Sem. Lang. and Lit.
AJT	American Journal of Theology
ANEP	Anc. Near East in Pictures, Pritchard, ed.
ANESTP	Anc. Near East: Suppl. Texts and Pictures, Pritchard, ed.
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts, Pritchard, ed.
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOS	American Oriental Series
APOT	Apocr. and Pseud. of OT, Charles, ed.
ARG	Archiv für Reformationsgesch.
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ArOr	Archiv Orientdlni
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
ASV	American Standard Version
ATR	Anglican Theological Review
AUM	Andrews Univ. Monographs
AusBR	Australian Biblical Review
AUSS	Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BAR	Biblical Archaeologist Reader
BARev	Biblical Archaeology Review
BASOR	Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.
BCSR	Bull. of Council on Study of Rel.
Bib	Biblica
BibB	Biblische Beiträge
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BIES	Bull. of Isr. Explo⸱. Society
BJRL	Bulletin, John Rylands Library
BK	Bibel und Kirche
BO	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BQR	Baptist Quarterly Review
BR	Biblical Research
BSac	Bibliotheca Sacra

BT	The Bible Translator
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZAW	Beihefte zur ZAW
BZNW	Beihefte zur ZNW
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CC	Christian Century
CH	Church History
CHR	Catholic Historical Review
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIJ	Corp. Inscript. Judaicarum
CIL	Corp. Inscript. Latinarum
CIS	Corp. Inscript. Semiticarum
CJT	Canadian Journal of Theology
CQ	Church Quarterly
CQR	Church Quarterly Review
CR	Corpus Reformatorum
CT	Christianity Today
CTM	Concordia Theological Monthly
CurTM	Currents in Theol. and Mission
DACL	Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de lit.
DOTT	Docs. from OT Times, Thomas, ed.
DTC	Dict. de théol. cath.
EKL	Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon
EncIsl	Encyclopedia of Islam
EncJud	Encyclopedia judaica (1971)
ER	Ecumenical Review
EvQ	Evangelical Quarterly
EvT	Evangelische Theologie
ExpTim	Expository Times
FC	Fathers of the Church
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies
HeyJ	Heythrop Journal
HibJ	Hibbert Journal
HR	History of Religions
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IB	Interpreter's Bible
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	Interpreter's Dict. of Bible
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
Int	Interpretation
ITQ	Irish Theological Quarterly

JAAR	Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.
JAC	Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum
JAOS	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JB	Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical Hist.
JEOL	Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux
JES	Journal of Ecumenical Studies
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JMeH	Journal of Medieval History
JMES	Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
JMH	Journal of Modern History
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	Journal of Religion
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
JRE	Journal of Religious Ethics
JRelS	Journal of Religious Studies
JRH	Journal of Religious History
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JRT	Journal of Religious Thought
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	Journal for the Study of OT
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JSSR	Journ., Scient. Study of Religion
JTC	Journal for Theol. and Church
JTS	Journal of Theol. Studies
KJV	King James Version
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LQ	Lutheran Quarterly
LTK	Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche
LW	Lutheran World
McCQ	McCormick Quarterly
MLB	Modern Language Bible
MQR	Mennonite Quarterly Review
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCB	New Century Bible
NEB	New English Bible
Neot	Neotestamentica
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary, NT
NICOT	New International Commentary, OT
NIV	New International Version
NKZ	Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NPNF	Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers
NRT	Nouvelle revue théologique
NTA	New Testament Abstracts
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTTS	NT Tools and Studies
ODCC	Oxford Dict. of Christian Church
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Or	Orientalia
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PEFQS	Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PG	Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed.
PJ	Palästina-Jahrbuch
PL	Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyl.
QDAP	Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.
RArch	Revue archéologique
RB	Revue biblique
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
RechSR	Recherches de science religieuse
REg	Revue d'égyptologie
RelS	Religious Studies
RelSoc	Religion and Society
RelSRev	Religious Studies Review

RenQ	Renaissance Quarterly
RevExp	Review and Expositor
RevQ	Revue de Qumrân
RevScRel	Revue des sciences religieuses
RevSém	Revue sémitique
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RHPR	Revue d'hist. et de philos. rel.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RL	Religion in Life
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
RPTK	Realencykl. für prot. Th. u. Kirche
RR	Review of Religion
RRR	Review of Religious Research
RS	Religious Studies
RSPT	Revue des sc. phil. et théol.
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RTP	Revue de théol. et de phil.
SB	Sources bibliques
SBLDS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.
SBLMS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.
SBLSBS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study
SBLTT	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ	Sixteenth Century Journal
SCR	Studies in Comparative Religion
Sem	Semitica
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SMRT	Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought
SOr	Studia Orientalia
SPB	Studia Postbiblica
SSS	Semitic Studies Series
ST	Studia Theologica
TAPS	Transactions of Am. Philos. Society
TD	Theology Digest
TDNT	Theol. Dict. of NT, Kittel and Friedrich, eds.
TDOT	Theol. Dict. of OT, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.
TEH	Theologische Existenz Heute
TGl	Theologie und Glaube
THAT	Theol. Handwört. z. AT, Jenni and Westermann, eds.
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TP	Theologie und Philosophie
TQ	Theologische Quartalschrift
Trad	Traditio
TRev	Theologische Revue
TRu	Theologische Rundschau
TS	Theological Studies
TT	Teologisk Tidsskrift
TToday	Theology Today
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
UBSGNT	United Bible Societies Greek NT
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTSup	VT, Supplements
WA	Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe
WO	Die Welt des Orients
WTJ	Westminster Theol. Journal
WZKM	Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZÄS	Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache
ZAW	Zeitsch. für die alttes. Wiss.
ZDMG	Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.
ZEE	Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik
ZHT	Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZKT	Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie
ZMR	Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft
ZNW	Zeitsch. für die neutes. Wiss.
ZRGG	Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.
ZST	Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie
ZTK	Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche
ZWT	Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie

THE REMNANT: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah by Gerhard F. Hasel

This book traces the Biblical remnant motif from the various passages in Genesis through the Elijah cycle and Amos to the prophet Isaiah, delineating the uniqueness and richness of the Old Testament remnant idea and its meaning, significance and development in Old Testament thought and theology.

The Remnant has received many glowing reviews in scholarly journals. This book is of particular interest to students and scholars in fields of Biblical studies and comparative religion, theologians, ministers, and to libraries.

460 pages. Cloth   **$7.95**

UNTO A PERFECT MAN by Carl Coffman

A penetrating study of God's plan for the physical, mental, and spiritual restoration of man to His image as a framework for the construction and presentation of Bible studies to the non-Adventist. Carefully documented. Thirty-three complete study outlines are included which illustrate the restoration, or "way of life" approach.

209 pages. 8½ x 11 paper cover, spiral binding   **$5.95**

PERFECTION AND PERFECTIONISM: A Dogmatic-Ethical Study of Biblical Perfection and Phenomenal Perfectionism by H. K. LaRondelle

This book investigates the use of the term "perfection" in philosophy and theology. It studies the concepts of divine and human perfection (or righteousness) in the Old Testament and of Christian perfection in the New Testament. The last chapter searches out the deviations of Biblical perfection in church history, starting with the Qumran sect.

364 pages. Paper   **$8.95**

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN 49104

November 20, 1981

Dear Friend:

The present issue completes volume 19, the first volume with our new format, with three issues per year instead of two, and with certain new categories of material. We are grateful for your support and are pleased that this volume could go considerably beyond the 220-240 pages that we had projected (see p. 96 in the Spring number). We trust that you have found the contents both interesting and useful.

It is our plan to widen the AUSS horizons even more for the three issues of 1982. For instance, beginning in 1982 we will publish from time to time certain Doctor of Ministry Project abstracts. These abstracts, dealing with research into selected concerns in the practice of ministry, will be of special interest to parish ministers as well as to seminarians and academicians interested in the training of clergy.

Among regular materials projected for 1982 you will find:

A series of articles on archaeological highlights that pertain to certain of the historical chapters in the book of Daniel *(William Shea)*

Two articles reevaluating some of Thomas Hobbes's theological positions *(Joyce Rochat)*

An essay on Suffering and Cessation from Sin: A Study in 1 Peter 4:1 *(Ivan Blazen)*

A study on Pierre Viret's commentary on the "fourth commandment" (Sabbath commandment in the Decalogue) *(Daniel Augsburger)*

An analysis by a biblical scholar and an ethicist of current views regarding the relationship between biblical studies and Christian ethics *(John Brunt and Gerald Winslow)*

Some essays on chapters 12, 13, and 18 of the book of Revelation *(Kenneth A. Strand)*

... and much more in other articles, brief scholarly notes, book reviews, etc.

We will do our utmost to make AUSS useful to our reading audience. We express again our appreciation to you, and would also reiterate our statement on p. 96 of the Spring issue that we would count it a real favor if you would alert colleagues and friends who might be interested in subscribing to AUSS.

Yours sincerely,

Editorial and Circulation Departments

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Books published by Andrews University Press (see back cover for other Press publications and ordering information):

BIOGRAPHIES

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