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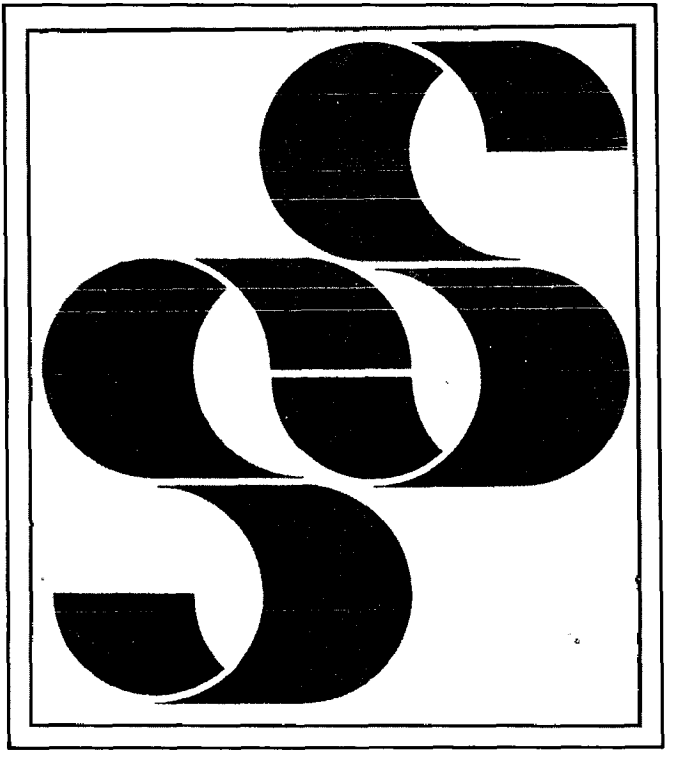

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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 20 Spring 1982 Number 1

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

BRUNT, JOHN, AND WINSLOW, GERALD. The Bible's Role in Christian Ethics 3

RICE, GEORGE E. Luke 4:31-44: Release for the Captives 23

SHEA, WILLIAM H. Daniel 3: Extra-Biblical Texts and the Convocation on the Plain of Dura 29

STRAND, KENNETH A. Two Aspects of Babylon's Judgment Portrayed in Revelation 18 53

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

DAVIDSON, RICHARD M. Typological Structures in the Old and New Testaments 61

EBLING, JOSÉ C. J. Students' Comprehension of the Almeida Version and a Modern Version of the Bible in Portuguese (A Biblia na Linguagem de Hoje) in Selected Public Schools of Brazil—A Comparative Study 63

HEINZ, JOHANN. Justification and Merit: The Interpretation and Evaluation of the Concept of Merit in Modern Catholic Theology in Relation to Luther's Doctrine of Justification 65

MITCHEL, LARRY A. The Hellenistic and Roman Periods at Tell Ḥesbân, Jordan 67

BOOK REVIEWS 69

Alsop, John R., ed. *An Index to the Revised Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich Greek Lexicon, Second Edition by F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker* ..... Sakae Kubo

Aune, David E. *Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels: A Bibliographic Study Guide*.....Warren C. Trenchard

Belo, Fernando. *A Materialistic Reading of the Gospel of Mark*.....George E. Rice

Berger, David. *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the Nizzahon Vetus*.....Richard Kenneth Emmerson

Childs, Brevard S. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*.....Jerry A. Gladson

Conybeare, F. C., and Stock, St. George. *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek*.....George E. Rice

The Expositor's Bible Commentary. Vol. 9: *John-Acts.* By Merrill C. Tenney and Richard N. Longenecker.....George E. Rice

Hals, Ronald M. *Grace and Faith in the Old Testament*.....Gerhard F. Hasel

Holmes, C. Raymond. *It's a Two-Way Street*.....Norval F. Pease

Hornus, Jean-Michel. *It Is Not Lawful for Me to Fight: Early Christian Attitudes toward War, Violence, and the State*.....Gerhard F. Hasel

Rice, Richard. *The Openness of God: The Relationship of Divine Foreknowledge and Human Free Will*.....Robert M. Johnston

BOOK NOTICES..... 87

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THE BIBLE'S ROLE IN CHRISTIAN ETHICS*

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Biblical scholars and Christian ethicists have in the past frequently had little contact with each other's work. The former have been content to limit their focus to historical questions; whereas the latter have usually spoken to contemporary moral issues either with minimal reference to Scripture or with little concern for the technical and historical questions of biblical scholarship. Meanwhile, people in the pew have generally assumed that the connections between Scripture and moral decision-making were obvious, even though Scripture has often played little or no role in their actual decisions. Today, however, there is a renewed interest in the place of Scripture in the Christian's moral life. Christian ethicists and biblical scholars are joining in a new and potentially fruitful dialogue.[1]

Such a dialogue is obviously not free of problems. How much moral guidance is likely to come from a book which addresses the morality of eating food offered to idols and which prohibits a freed slave from keeping his slave-girl wife? Is it reasonable to expect such an ancient collection of documents to speak to the moral issues of contemporary society? If so, what is the nature of Scripture's moral authority for the present-day Christian? Is the chief locus of its authority the process of character formation, of community building, or of decision-making? Does Scripture, with its vast variety of materials, even present a unified, coherent picture of moral virtue and obligation? And is it possible to focus on moral

*Adapted from a paper presented at the West Coast SDA Religion Teachers' Conference, Walla Walla College, College Place, Washington, May 1981.

[1]For a recent bibliographic review of this dialogue see Allen Verhey, "The Use of Scripture in Ethics," *Religious Studies Review* 4 (1978): 28-37.

obligations and the justification of moral actions without usurping God's position as the One who justifies by his grace? The foregoing provide a sampling of the kinds of questions being asked.

This article addresses only a few of the methodological questions that must be answered if Scripture is to be relevant for Christian ethics and sets forth some suggestions toward establishing a model for relating Scripture to ethics.

1. *Approaches for Relating Scripture to Ethics*

We begin with a brief survey of various approaches to establishing this relationship of Scripture to ethics. Our typology is by no means exhaustive either in giving the entire range of possible approaches or in representing all of the important advocates of a given model. It is rather intended to be suggestive of the range of approaches currently being advocated and to point out a few of the advantages and disadvantages of each.

Model 1: Biblical Ethics Equals Christian Ethics

It is commonly held by fundamentalists and evangelicals that biblical ethics equals Christian ethics, a view given scholarly expression by such writers as Carl F. H. Henry[2] and John Murray.[3] This approach emphasizes that Scripture represents a "revealed morality." Henry is specifically critical of the modern tendency to separate "biblical ethics" from "Christian ethics," feeling that that which the Bible teaches *is* Christian ethics.[4]

This model also emphasizes the unity of Scripture in addressing the Christian's moral life. Henry can speak of a "unitary biblical ethic, of one coherent and consistent moral requirement, that lays claim on all men at all times,"[5] while Murray finds in Scripture "objectively revealed precepts, institutions, commandments which are the norms and channels of human behavior."[6]

[2]Carl F. H. Henry, *Christian Personal Ethics* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1957).

[3]John Murray, *Principles of Conduct: Aspects of Biblical Ethics* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1957).

[4]Henry, p. 236.

[5]Ibid., p. 327.

[6]Murray, p. 24.

This revealed morality is understood to give quite specific information. While admitting that the moral information of Scripture is not always explicit, Henry contends that "there is actually no ethical decision in life which the biblical revelation leaves wholly untouched and for which, if carefully interpreted and applied, it cannot afford some concrete guidance."[7] The Bible does not merely provide principles but embraces the particularities of life, giving specific guidelines for ethical decisions.[8]

In light of this specific guidance there is never, according to Henry, a conflict of Christian duty: "In the ethical dilemmas of life there is never a real conflict of duty, even though the mind and heart may be torn between apparent conflicts that are as yet unresolved."[9]

Not only does Scripture reveal a clear, unambiguous Christian duty; there is also a distinctive Christian virtue that is attained only by Christians, as Henry makes clear in the following two passages:

> A Jonathan apple tree produces Jonathan apples because of the distinctive nature of the tree. . . . Even so the Christian life produces ethical virtues that are distinctive and characteristic of the Christian life alone. There may be imitations of Christian virtues, but they are no more the real thing than a crab apple is a Jonathan apple.[10]

> Christians alone are godlike, for God is making them like himself in virtue, holiness, and character.[11]

According to this model, then, Scripture provides a unique, revealed morality that addresses any situation a Christian might face so that there is no ambiguity of duty. By following this guide, the Christian is led to a life of virtue and moral obligation, unlike that of the non-Christian. Basically, Christian ethics consists of discovering what the Bible says and, as converted persons, acting on this.

[7]Henry, p. 339.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid., p. 340.

[10]Ibid., p. 472.

[11]Ibid., p. 508.

Such a model has several advantages. It is neat and not confounded by ambiguities. It also takes Scripture seriously, recognizing its importance for the moral life. Moreover, because of this strong focus on Scripture, it is not as likely as some other models to accept uncritically the norms and values of culture that might be out of harmony with Scripture.

But there are also potential disadvantages. This model may be too simplistic, overlooking the complexity of many contemporary situations and the genuine conflicts in values they produce. Can we, for instance, extract from Scripture an unambiguous picture of Christian duty with regard to some of the difficult dilemmas that are faced in contemporary bioethics, such as genetic engineering or the allocation of scarce life-saving resources? It is also questionable whether this model's optimistic conclusions about the distinctiveness of Christian virtues and obligations are warranted. History provides too many disconcerting examples of Christians lagging behind their non-Christian contemporaries in the pursuit of social justice. Finally, while this model takes seriously the importance of Scripture for ethics, it is questionable whether it actually takes the content of Scripture seriously. Does it recognize the diversity and breadth of material in Scripture, the distinction between apodictic principles and culturally related practices, and the fact that Scripture does not speak *specifically* to many contemporary dilemmas? Most of the focus in this model is on the rules and propositions of Scripture. But the Bible does not, of course, consist mostly of rules and propositions. The question, then, is: Does this model take seriously the *whole* Bible?

Model 2: Biblical Ethics Is Generally Irrelevant for Christian Ethics

A diametrically opposite view, that biblical ethics is generally irrelevant for Christian ethics, is seldom given serious expression, though Jack T. Sanders has argued for it in a recent monograph on the NT and ethics.[12] According to Sanders, there are two major factors that render the NT largely irrelevant for ethics: the diversity of Scripture, and the imminent eschatological expectation of the

[12]Jack T. Sanders, *Ethics in the New Testament: Change and Development* (Philadelphia, 1975).

NT writers. The latter consideration makes it impossible for these writers to be of help to us, for their expectation was not realized, and we must come to terms with the complexities of life in a continuing world. This is true even of Jesus, according to Sanders:

> Jesus does not provide a valid ethics for today. His ethical teaching is interwoven with his imminent eschatology to such a degree that every attempt to separate the two and to draw out only the ethical thread invariably and inevitably draws out also strands of the eschatology, so that both yarns only lie in a heap. Better to leave a tapestry intact, to let Jesus . . . return to his own time.[13]

Sanders sees the book of James as the one bright spot in the NT, as far as ethics is concerned. James reacts against Paul and argues that faith without works is dead. In this, says Sanders, James misunderstands Paul, but in turning against the Christian tradition for the sake of the fellow human by emphasizing the futility of faith that lacks concern for the neighbor's needs, James presents the best of NT ethics.[14] Furthermore, in light of this example, we are now free to derive our ethical criteria not from the Christian tradition (Jesus, Scripture, early church) but from the context. Ethical criteria are best derived from one's own active involvement in life and society and from one's realization, apart from the NT, that some things are not right.[15] Thus Sanders concludes:

> The ethical positions of the New Testament are the children of their own times and places, alien and foreign to this day and age. Amidst the ethical dilemmas which confront us, we are now at least relieved of the need or temptation to begin with Jesus, or the early church or the New Testament, if we wish to develop coherent ethical positions. We are freed from the bondage to that tradition, and are able to propose, with the author of the Epistle of James, that tradition and precedent must not be allowed to stand in the way of what is humane and right.[16]

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[13]Ibid., p. 29.

[14]Ibid., p. 127.

[15]Ibid., p. 90.

[16]Ibid., p. 130.

It cannot be denied that this model has the advantages of taking both the diversity of Scripture and the complexity of contemporary dilemmas seriously. But it also raises questions. Is there no unity, at least at the level of basic moral principles, which stands behind this diversity? And why does eschatological expectation necessarily negate ethical relevance?

A more serious problem for this model is its failure to recognize the diversity of contemporary norms and values. Is that which is "humane and right" self-evident? There are, no doubt, many—from the "moral majority" to the "life-boat-ethics"advocates—who have very different ideas about "the right" than does Sanders. What *are* the criteria for establishing what is right? Sanders suggests that these criteria come from involvement in life. But does involvement *per se* yield moral criteria? The generals in the Vietnam war were as involved as anyone in that conflict. Does that necessarily mean that valid moral criteria were more evident to them? Sanders leaves unanswered the whole question of how the "humane and right" are to be grounded.

The two models surveyed thus far represent the extremes of our typology. Most of the current discussion of Scripture and ethics falls somewhere between these two. In fact, Allen Verhey speaks of what he calls a "Chalcedonian consensus" that rules these two models out. In spite of great diversity and unsolved problems, the majority of scholars currently addressing the question are agreed that biblical ethics is not the same as Christian ethics and yet that the Bible is somehow normative for Christian ethics.[17] Typical of comments along this line is James M. Gustafson's statement:

> The principal problem is to determine how decisive the authority of Scripture is for one's moral judgment. Only the two extremes are absolutely precluded: It does not have the authority of verbal inspiration that the religiously conservative defenders of a "revealed morality" would give to it, nor is it totally without relevance to present moral judgments.[18]

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[17]Verhey, p. 30.

[18]James M. Gustafson, "The Place of Scripture in Christian Ethics: A Methodological Study," *Int* 24 (1970): 430-455.

The three remaining models that we will survey fall between the two ends of the spectrum represented by the foregoing models.

Model 3: God Is Free to Command

The concept that "God is free to command" is primarily the position of neo-orthodox theologians, especially those such as Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer who oppose natural theology. It places strong emphasis on the all-sufficiency of grace and the inadequacy of human effort. Because the sinner can only respond, and because God's act of justification rules out all self-justification, ethical reflection that seeks to justify certain acts is considered suspect. Christians are called to respond in obedience to God's grace, not to reflect on good and evil.

Thus, Bonhoeffer argues that Christian ethics is the critique of all ethics, for ethical reflection aims at the knowledge of good and evil. Christian ethics invalidates this knowledge.[19] Bonhoeffer says of the Christian, "Not fettered by principles, but bound by love for God," the individual "has been set free from the problems and conflicts of ethical decision."[20]

According to this model, the essence of ethics is obedience to the command of God. Again, Bonhoeffer says that "God's commandment is the speech of God to man. Both in its contents and in its form it is concrete speech to the concrete man. God's commandment leaves no room for application or interpretation. He leaves room only for obedience or disobedience."[21]

This does not mean that advocates of this position are not interested in ethics. Barth goes so far as to argue that dogmatics itself is ethics, for it deals with the Word of God, and the Word of God is concerned with the experience of actual life.[22] Both Barth and Bonhoeffer speak in detail to specific ethical issues. In doing so, they recognize that there is no direct line from the command of Scripture to contemporary decisions.

[19]Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, ed. Eberhard Bethge, trans. Neville Horton Smith (New York, 1955), p. 17.

[20]Ibid., p. 68.

[21]Ibid., p. 278.

[22]Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, trans. G. W. Bromiley, 13 vols. (Edinburgh, 1957-1969), vol. 1, part 2, pp. 782-796.

What role, then, does Scripture play in this model? According to Barth, Christian duty is response to the command of God. This command is not identical with the content of Scripture, but Scripture reveals the "prominent lines" along which this command will strike. We become the contemporaries of the Bible writers as we confront Scripture and as together with them we listen to the concrete command of God. But we do not simply do what they did or taught. In fact, we might do that, and still not be following God's command. We must follow God's concrete command to *us*.[23]

Bonhoeffer also emphasizes obedience to the concrete command. He stresses that it does not come by some direct inspiration to the individual,[24] but through the church family, labor, and government.[25]

This model warns against self-justification and legalism in a helpful way and avoids the over-simplicity of the first model by recognizing that there is no one-to-one correspondence between Scripture and ethics. But it has its own over-simplifications. It leaves us wondering how specifically to hear the command of God and to know that it is indeed God's command. This is especially true when we are confronted with difficult moral dilemmas. In fact, it would be easy for such a stance to degenerate into an authoritarianism that simply declares what is God's command without clearly defining how God's command is distinguished from other voices.

Model 4: The Bible Forms Traits of Character

Another model stresses the importance of the Bible's role for character building. This model recognizes the difficulty of moving directly from Scriptural injunctions to contemporary decisions, but it affirms the relevance of Scripture for ethics by shifting the focus of Scripture's relevance. The focus of this relevance is not the decision-making process, but the process of character formation. Scripture shapes the character of the moral actor. Both ethicists and biblical scholars have sounded this emphasis.

[23]Ibid., vol. 4, part 2, pp. 546-553.

[24]Bonhoeffer, p. 40.

[25]Ibid., pp. 278, 286-302.

J. L. Houlden is a representative of the latter group.[26] Throughout his work he stresses the diversity of the NT materials and rules out their direct application for contemporary ethics. He warns against harmonizing this diversity into a "New Testament view." What Scripture does do is to form the Christian mind.[27] He says:

> The New Testament, like great art, may act upon a man and lead him to goodness, not by direct command but by subtle and complex interaction which involves the New Testament writers' integrity, and behind them the impulse of Jesus, and the reader's readiness to create afresh out of the material of his own experience.[28]

The joint work of Bruce Birch and Larry Rasmussen, a biblical scholar and ethicist respectively, also draws heavily, though not exclusively, on this model. "Our contention," they say, "is that the most effective and crucial impact of the Bible on Christian ethics is that of shaping the moral identity of the Christian and the church."[29] This shaping includes the molding of perspectives, dispositions, and intentions.

For Birch and Rasmussen, a place for Scripture in the decision-making process is not ruled out, however: "While the place of the Bible in decision making and action on moral issues does not, in our judgment, match in significance its potential influence in character formation, there are nevertheless several important points of contact."[30] The Bible is a source of moral norms and assists in locating the burden of proof for ethical questions, but it is not the sole source of norms. Here Birch and Rasmussen show affinities with the next model to be presented below. Nevertheless, their chief emphasis is on character formation.

Among ethicists, Stanley Hauerwas[31] is one of the chief advocates of the position represented by the character-formation

[26]J. L. Houlden, *Ethics and the New Testament* (Baltimore, Md., 1973).

[27]Ibid., pp. 119-120.

[28]Ibid., p. 122.

[29]Bruce C. Birch and Larry L. Rasmussen, *Bible and Ethics in the Christian Life* (Minneapolis, 1976), p. 104.

[30]Ibid., p. 112.

[31]Stanley Hauerwas, "The Moral Authority of Scripture: The Politics and

model. Like Birch and Rasmussen, but in an even stronger way, he lays stress on the communal aspect of character formation. It is not only individual character, but the identity of the Christian community, that is shaped by Scripture. He argues that it is already a distortion to even ask how Scripture should be used ethically. The question wrongly assumes that we must first clarify the meaning of the text and then ask its moral significance. But Scripture's authority for the moral life "consists in its being used so that it helps to nurture and reform the community's self-identity and the personal character of its members."[32]

According to Hauerwas, Scripture is not a problem solver; rather the traditions in Scripture provide a means for the community to find new life.[33] The Bible's specific commands are reminders of the kind of people we must be.[34]

There are a number of things that commend this model. Its communal emphasis is a helpful corrective to the common model of the *individual* decision-maker. Certainly much of the NT ethical material is directed toward the building up of a community. This model's emphasis on character also corresponds to the NT emphasis that *being* precedes *doing*; the good tree bears good fruit, and the motive that stands behind the act is significant in God's sight. In addition, this model opens the way for the use of *all* Scripture—its stories and images, as well as its propositions and rules.

On the other hand, Christians do face dilemmas, and it is not clear in this model how one moves from scripturally formed character to a decision in a specific situation. It may be granted that Scripture is not simply a problem solver. Still, we must wonder if Scripture's authority is not diminished too severely when it does not have more application to the believer's specific questions than this model generally allows.

Ethics of Remembering," *Int* 34 (1980): 356-370. See also his book, *Character and the Christian Life: A Study in Theological Ethics* (San Antonio, Texas, 1975).

[32]Hauerwas, "Moral Authority," p. 358.

[33]Ibid., p. 362.

[34]Ibid., p. 369.

Model 5: The Bible Is a Resource of Normative Reflection

A fifth model, which places Scripture in the role of being a resource of normative reflection, covers a broad spectrum of somewhat diverse positions. However, its advocates hold at least two basic elements in common: First, while agreeing that there is no one-to-one correspondence between biblical material and many contemporary dilemmas, they also hold that a process of reflection on Scripture is essential to Christian ethics. Second, they hold that Scripture does provide norms, either as specific rules or as general principles or presumptions.

This approach is advocated by both biblical scholars and ethicists. Brevard Childs, a biblical scholar, advocates a process of reflection for the purpose of establishing normative ethics. He recognizes that no system leads infallibly from the biblical warrant to the appropriate decision. Even after reflection, Christians will disagree and must avoid identifying their particular positions with *the* Christian answer.[35] Still, the Bible confesses that God has made his will known and testifies also that Christians must seek to discern that will in the concrete situations of life.[36] He summarizes his approach as follows:

> What we are suggesting is a process of disciplined theological reflection that takes its starting point from the ethical issue at stake along with all its ambiguities and social complexities and seeks to reflect on the issue in conjunction with the Bible which is seen in its canonical context.[37]

James Childress, an ethicist, has also presented an argument for this model.[38] He points out that most of the recent interpreters underestimate the importance of Scripture by seeing it primarily in terms of influence (i.e., the character-formation model) rather than reflection.[39] Yet, there is a need for deliberation and the justification

[35]Brevard Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia, 1970), p. 136.

[36]Ibid., p. 130.

[37]Ibid., p. 133.

[38]James F. Childress, "Scripture and Christian Ethics: Some Reflections on the Role of Scripture in Moral Deliberation and Justification," *Int* 34 (1980): 371-380.

[39]Ibid., p. 371.

of actions. We can and do evaluate specific actions, and this process of justification in no way obviates the need for God's justification.[40]

In this view, Scripture aids in moral justification because its moral statements yield principles and rules which give structure to the moral life by establishing presumptions in favor of or against certain courses of action. Any exceptions to such presumptions are expected to bear the burden of proof. For example, Scripture establishes a presumption against killing. Although there may be situations in which this presumption is rebuttable, an exception must always bear a heavy burden of proof.[41] Childress suggests that some principles may even establish presumptions so strong that they will permit no exceptions.

Other ethicists have argued for positions similar to this model. John Bennett, for example, speaks of the heavy burden of proof that would be on those who wish to advocate exceptions to certain "strong moral pressures" that Scripture provides.[42] Paul Ramsey also argues that Scripture yields principles and rules of practice.[43]

Some who probably belong within the orbit of our fifth model would emphasize a "looser" kind of reflection on Scripture. H. E. Everding and D. M. Wilbanks stress the importance of reflection in their "response style" of relating the Bible and ethics. But they place more emphasis on reflection with regard to Scripture's images and symbols than on establishing rules or principles.[44] Gustafson also presents this type of freer approach. Scripture witnesses to a variety of moral values and norms. The Christian community evaluates actions on the basis of reflective discourse about present events in the light of this variety of biblical materials, though Scripture alone is not, according to Gustafson, the final court of appeal.[45]

[40]Ibid., pp. 373-374.

[41]Ibid., pp. 378-380.

[42]John C. Bennett, *The Radical Imperative: From Theology to Social Ethics* (Philadelphia, 1975), p. 48.

[43]Paul Ramsey, "The Biblical Norm of Righteousness," *Int* 24 (1970): 419-429, especially p. 424.

[44]H. Edward Everding and Dana M. Wilbanks, *Decision Making and the Bible* (Valley Forge, Pa., 1975).

[45]Gustafson, pp. 444, 454.

The fifth model has in its favor the fact that it takes seriously both the need for and the content of Scripture. It also recognizes Scripture's diversity and the complexity of contemporary moral dilemmas. Through serious, disciplined reflection and deliberation, this approach seeks to bridge the gap between Scripture and the moral life. By identifying principles and rules, it gives specific shape to the process of moral decision-making.

This model is, of course, not without its difficulties. The concept of "reflection" leaves questions about the specific methodology for moving from the text to decision and action. The time-worn question cannot be avoided: Is reason or revelation in the driver's seat? What certainty is there that reflection will lead to a justifiable decision and not simply to a rationalization? And on what grounds can an exception to an established rule or principle bear the burden of proof?

2. *Observations and Conclusions*

Our investigation of these five models has multiplied the questions. Such a result seems inevitable as soon as the security of the first model is abandoned. It would be futile to attempt answers to all these questions in the space of this article. We do, however, wish to offer a few methodological proposals drawn largely from the fourth and fifth models. In offering these proposals, we join the emerging consensus that the Bible is an essential authority for Christian ethics while the particulars of biblical morality are not always identical to present Christian responsibility.

In our view, a highly important task of those who wish to maintain the moral authority of Scripture is the enunciation of basic moral norms derived from Scripture. Specific biblical precepts must be scrutinized in an effort to ascertain, if possible, the underlying principles and the basic thrust of God's revealed guidance. The norms thus derived from Scripture need to be continually restated in language comprehensible to the present community of faith. The goal is a coherent set of norms which serve as the faith community's moral action guides. It is in the pursuit of this goal that we believe Christian ethicists and biblical scholars can most effectively make common cause.

This proposal in no way diminishes the importance of Scripture as a source for enlivening the moral imagination and under-

standing, and for fostering moral virtue. We believe that recent attempts to correct an overemphasis on the Bible as a problem-solving manual are salutary, for the Bible obviously contains far more than propositions about moral obligation. Through its stories and symbols, Scripture informs our moral life in ways far richer and more deeply influential than mere commands. Indeed, at the fundamental level of the meaning and grounding of principles, the biblical stories and symbols, especially the story of Christ, become decisive. Through its narratives and poetry and metaphors, Scripture can sustain the vision of the church by enabling it to remember vividly its divine calling. We would agree with Hauerwas that "the moral significance of Scripture . . . lies exactly in its power to help us remember the stories of God for the continual guidance of our community and individual lives."[46]

But, helpful as it is, this renewed emphasis on the Bible as a source of an ethics of virtue may lead to an imbalance. An ethics of virtue uncomplemented by carefully stated principles and rules of obligation tends to lack sufficient clarity about basic rights and duties. A memorable line from William Frankena makes the necessary point: "[P]rinciples without traits are impotent, and traits without principles are blind."[47]

The inclination to be loving and just, for example, should be complemented by well-considered principles of love and justice. Character traits, such as sensitivity to others' needs, awaken in us a sense of motivation; and principles of obligation give shape and coherence to our intentions.

Ethicists and biblical scholars may share in the life of the church in many ways, including the recounting of the sacred stories. But it is also a part of their social role and their special service to the community to assist in the ongoing development of normative ethics. By assisting in this normative task they contribute to the continuing story of a people with a unique calling.

The task of normative ethics can be conducted at various levels of generality from very broad principles through more specific rules to casuistry. At the level of casuistry we make decisions about

[46]Hauerwas, p. 365.

[47]William Frankena, *Ethics*, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1973), p. 65. This comment is a parody of Kant's well-known statement about concepts and precepts.

specific cases. For example, should Mary Smith, an impoverished fifteen-year-old freshman in high school, get an abortion? In our deliberations we may appeal to rules such as "Do not murder" or Joseph Fletcher's rule, "[N]o unwanted and unintended baby should ever be born."[48] We may also appeal to very general principles such as respect for personal autonomy or respect for life. The levels of generality from cases to broad principles obviously form a continuum rather than a series of discrete categories. A rule may be formulated so narrowly that it guides action in only a few conceivable cases, whereas, on the other hand, the word "rule" is sometimes used to refer to the most general normative statements, such as the Golden Rule. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to stake out precise conceptual boundaries for "rule" and "principle."[49] We simply follow common usage in which "rule" refers to those more specific action guides that determine the rightness or wrongness of particular actions. "Principles," on the other hand, are far more general. They provide justification for the more specific rules, and they provide guidance for the method of moral decision-making. With this understanding of the terms, the Golden Rule is obviously a principle.

It might seem desirable if the moral authority of Scripture could always enter in an unambiguous way at the level of casuistry. The advantages of casuistry are fairly obvious. Life arrives case by case. For some of the same reasons that many people would prefer watching soap operas to reading Aristotle's ethics, cases tend to capture our moral attention. The apparent concreteness of decisions at this level is appealing. And, if we can find what we take to be a normative decision in a case very much like our own, we may have a special sense of security; the guidance is reassuringly specific. Little distance may appear between the authoritative decision and the decision we must make.

But, as anyone who has studied the Bible knows, it is not a book full of casuistry. The biblical stories do not generally end

[48]Joseph Fletcher, *Situation Ethics: The New Morality* (Philadelphia, 1966), p. 39.

[49]For a helpful discussion of the conceptual difficulties with "rule" and "principle" see Dorothy Emmet, *Rules, Roles and Relations* (New York, 1967), pp. 48-49.

with carefully drawn "morals." And we may be just as happy that they do not. A casuistic approach to ethics, as the study of traditional moral theology, can become exceedingly cumbersome. Christian casuists have filled countless library shelves in an attempt to be precise and offer specific guidance. But every case is at least a little different. And all the libraries on earth could not hold the works necessary to address the details of every moral contingency. Almost inevitably, the human capacity to grasp reasonable generalizations based on a number of similar cases leads to the establishment of rules and principles. Indeed, there is considerable evidence that, within the ordinary course of human cognitive development, people come to prefer principled thought if and when they are capable of it.[50]

Although the numerous biblical stories do not typically moralize in the way of traditional casuistry, they do provide normative guidance by giving both negative and positive illustrations. Take, for example, Peter's vision of the unclean animals and his encounter with Cornelius, recorded in Acts 10. The story gives few, if any, explicit rules or principles. Nevertheless, the potential moral impact of the story is considerable. As we learn how God sought to overcome Peter's prejudice, our own prejudice is made more vulnerable to the conquest of God's grace. At this level (and in many ways it may be the most profound) the story may affect our character by altering our perceptions of the world.

Through reflection, the story may also give rise to principles. It would be disappointing if the largest normative insight derived from the story went something like this: If ever you thrice receive a vision of unclean animals, be sure to greet your Gentile guests cordially. Although no larger principle is made explicit, one can emerge upon reflection. When, for example, Peter confesses to his Gentile host, "Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality; . . ." (Acts 10:34, RSV), the basis for a principle is uncovered. All people are equally deserving of the Christian's fundamental respect and concern. This principle of impartiality, so crucial to a sense of justice, is given life through a new vision of an impartial God.

[50]Here, we are thinking of the work of Lawrence Kohlberg, James Rest, and other cognitive-developmental theorists who have studied moral judgment. See, e.g., Lawrence Kohlberg, "Education for Justice: A Modern Statement of the Platonic View," in *Moral Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

We are not suggesting that the principles which should emerge from reflection on the biblical stories and rules are always, or even generally, obvious to us. What principle was at stake, for example, when God's people were admonished to exchange the tithe for money and buy "whatever you desire, oxen, or sheep, or wine or strong drink, whatever your appetite craves; . . ." (Deut 14:26)? Sometimes, scholarship may be helpful in determining the principles involved, as in the case of another rule from the same chapter—the prohibition of boiling a goat in its mother's milk (vs. 21)—, discovered to have been a Canaanite religious rite. In other instances, however, it may be that no amount of modern scholarship will be able sufficiently to acquaint us with the intent of such rules so that inferences may be drawn at the level of principles. It is our contention, nevertheless, that if such biblical rules are ever to have normative value for us, it will be because we have unpacked their original purpose and found some principled meaning. At times, this may be more a process of ascertaining where God was *leading* a people than discovering where they had already *arrived.* The OT laws governing slavery and polygamy are examples (see, e.g., Exod 21:2, 10-11; Lev 25:44-45). They are probably better understood as attempts to move God's people in the direction of respect for all persons than as expressions of God's ideals for human beings.

Finally, Scripture speaks to us explicitly at the level of broad principles. Once heard and understood, such principles become the great summary statements of the Christian's sense of obligation. It has ever been a part of the prophetic role to shift the primary attention of God's people beyond the particularities of the religious and moral life to a vision of fundamental principles. We may consider, for example, Micah's memorable poetic question:

> He has showed you, O man, what is good;
> and what does the LORD require of you
> but to do justice, and to love kindness,
> and to walk humbly with your God?
> (Micah 6:8, RSV)

Here, Micah contrasts basic principles of human action with an earlier stated list of specific duties which people might have considered binding. In similar fashion, Jesus contrasts the Phari-

saical concern for detailed duties with what he calls the "weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy and faith" (Matt 23:23, RSV). The specific actions (e.g., tithing very small amounts) may be permissible or even praiseworthy. But without reference to the larger principles at stake, such actions become little more than disjointed, legalistic exercises. The "weightier matters," or basic principles, give coherence, shape, and meaning to the more specific aspects of Christian obligation.

Such principles provide base points in our moral deliberations. Like navigational aids used by ships or planes, principles act as beacons to guide the charting of specific courses of action. Put another way, principles derived from Scripture give us basic biases for or against particular courses of action.

The language of "moral presumption" and "burden of proof" is fitting in this regard.[51] Such language may sound overly juridical, but as an illustration of the function of principles it is helpful. Principles establish presumptions in favor of certain types of actions and against others. Exceptions are required to bear the burden of proof. An obvious illustration is the Anglo-American legal presumption of innocence. A person indicted for a crime is presumed to be innocent. The burden of proof is on those who would argue for guilt. Clearly, the presumption *could* have been established in the opposite way. And since people are generally guilty of some kind of wrongdoing, it might seem more reasonable to fix the presumption in favor of guilt. But the long-established presumption of innocence is likely to remain—and for good reasons. Reflection and experience have taught us that the presumption is in the service of justice. Exceptions to the presumption should not be accepted without clear and ample reasons. If, after careful consideration, doubt remains about the exception, the moral presumption stands.

Thorough reflection on the biblical material can yield a coherent set of principles as moral presumptions. The examples are numerous. There are strong biblical presumptions in favor of human equality, covenant loyalty, integrity, and peace. And there are many more. It is not our purpose here to present arguments for

[51]This usage has been adopted by many ethicists. A recent, notable example is J. Philip Wogaman, *A Christian Method of Moral Judgment* (Philadelphia, 1976).

these examples. Each deserves its own careful statement of derivation and elaboration. In the final analysis, every such principle reflects an attempt to formulate clearly our response to God's love.

For the Christian, the centerpiece of all such principles is the principle of *agapē* love. Much of moral philosophy and moral theology can be characterized as an attempt to condense all norms into a single, master principle. For biblical faith, the master norm is the principle of *agapē*. The summary statements of love for God and for human beings which Jesus quotes from the OT[52] are echoed in the writings of many subsequent authors. As Paul reminds us in Rom 13:9-10, "The commandments . . . are summed up in this sentence, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.' Love does no wrong to a neighbor; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law" (RSV).[53]

Love, especially as seen in the life and teachings of Jesus, is the final test by which the validity and coherence of all lesser principles, rules, and casuistry must be measured. Still, it is as true to say that the principle of *agapē* "needs" the other principles and rules as it is to say that they "need" *agapē*. Without the stories, rules, and other principles, love becomes an amorphous notion. Without love, the other levels of normative discourse lack focus and unity. It is the continual exploration of this dialectic which is the enduring task of Christian normative ethics. And it is an exploration which can be guided at every step by the light which shines from Scripture.

[52]Matt 22:23-40; cf. Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18.

[53]Compare the mirroring of the same central truth in recent times by Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan* (Mountain View, Calif., 1911), p. 487: "It is love alone which in the sight of Heaven makes any act of value."

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LUKE 4:31-44: RELEASE FOR THE CAPTIVES

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In an earlier study,[1] I presented the programmatic nature of the passage (Isa 61:1,2; 58:6) which Jesus read in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke 4:16-19). At that time I suggested that Luke uses the pericopes that immediately follow (4:31-6:11) thematically so as to interpret the passage from Isaiah. Luke understands the OT passage to be a proclamation of release that will be achieved through the ministry of Jesus. Thus we have release from (1) Satan's power (4: 31-44), (2) the power of sin (5:1-32), and (3) cultic traditions (5:33-6:11).

In the earlier study I dealt with the motif of release from sin, concentrating mainly on the chronological rearrangement and the differing account of the call of the first disciples. In the present study, I will deal with the first of the three blocks of interpretive material—release from Satan's power (4:31-44).

1. *The Isaiah Scroll and Luke 4:31-44*

Although the majority of commentators see Luke's use of the Isaiah scroll as being programmatic, few tie the healing miracles that immediately follow in 4:31-44 to the program of ministry outlined in the Isaiah passage.

Of these few, some imply the relationship only. John Drury, for instance, states that Luke's overall plan is to show "the manifesto" in the Isaianic passage as "working itself out in word and action."[2] E. J. Tinsley makes a similar comment, i.e., the sovereignty of God is active in his kingdom and disclosed in "the content and manner of the actions and words of Jesus."[3] G. B.

[1]George E. Rice, "Luke's Thematic Use of the Call to Discipleship," *AUSS*, 19 (1981): 51-58.

[2]John Drury, *Luke* (New York, 1973), pp. 58-59.

[3]E. J. Tinsley, *The Gospel According to Luke* (Cambridge, Eng., 1965), p. 57.

Caird points to the exorcisms of Jesus in 4:31-41 as the "preliminary skirmishes in the campaign to be waged by him on behalf of the kingdom of God against the kingdom of Satan,"[4] while Leon Morris holds that the exorcisms in this section of Luke are evidence of "God's rule in action," and that "God's kingdom had really come."[5]

Other writers are more specific about the exorcisms and healings that follow the programmatic statement of Isaiah. Frederick Danker observes several times in the course of his commentary on 4:31-44 that the exorcisms of Jesus were an act of freeing the captives of Satan and thus were in line with the program announced at Nazareth.[6] Helen Kenik remarks that Jesus' authority over demons and diseases (4:31-44) is intended by Luke to "be read in line with the vision of conditions in the Kingdom which Jesus identified with his mission when he read from the scroll."[7]

Recognizing Luke 4:31-44 as the first of three blocks of material used to interpret the prophecy of Isaiah, I wish to comment on four aspects of this passage: (1) Luke's use of the exorcism in the synagogue at Capernaum (4:31-44), (2) the manner in which Jesus healed Peter's mother-in-law (4:38,39), (3) the proclamation of the demons who were exorcised (4:40,41), and (4) the necessity for Jesus to preach "the good news concerning the kingdom of God" (4:42-44).

2. *The Demoniac at Capernaum*

It is generally noted by commentators that at 4:31 Luke picks up "the Marcan material." This viewpoint assumes Marcan priority and takes Lucan indebtedness to Mark for granted. It is not my purpose to argue sources, but rather to look at the material in Luke and to see how it is treated.

[4]G. B. Caird, *The Gospel of St. Luke* (Baltimore, Md., 1963), pp. 88-89.

[5]Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (Westminster, Md., 1958), p. 111.

[6]Frederick W. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age According to St. Luke* (St. Louis, Mo., 1972), pp. 62-63.

[7]Helen Kenik, "Messianic Fulfillment in Luke," *The Bible Today*, 18 (1980): 236-241.

There is no question in my mind that the presence of the Isaiah scroll in Luke casts "the Marcan material," if you will, into a Lucan mold (here Luke 4:31-44). Subsequent changes made by Luke in this material strengthen its identity with him. The exorcism at Capernaum, although containing minor alterations, closely parallels the account in Mark (1:21-28). However, the reading of the Isaiah scroll immediately preceding this pericope demands that we understand this exorcism in a Lucan milieu.

In Mark, the exorcism in the synagogue at Capernaum follows closely his introductory statement concerning the Galilean ministry: "When John had been imprisoned, Jesus came into Galilee proclaiming the good news of God, saying, 'The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is here [ἤγγικεν]; repent and believe in this good news'" (Mark 1:14,15). The burden of the exorcism at Capernaum is to validate Jesus' proclamation about the presence of the kingdom.

In Luke, the comment of Jesus about the Isaiah prophecy, "Today this scripture is fulfilled in your hearing" (4:21), introduces the element of the present kingdom. However, although Luke is interested in this element, at this point in his narrative it is not his major concern. Rather, Luke desires to identify some of the characteristics of the kingdom for his readers so they can understand its nature, and the nature of the one who claims to be its king. At a later point Luke will deal with the kingdom's presence (e.g., 10:9,11; 11:20; 17:21).

Therefore, the exorcism at Capernaum in Luke must be understood in a different context than in Mark. In Luke the exorcism is a fulfillment of Isaiah's prediction that the Messiah would bring release to the captives of Satan. Rather than being a proclamation of the presence of the kingdom, as it is in Mark, it is a statement on what the kingdom and its king offer to those who are willing to become its citizens.

3. *The Healing of Peter's Mother-in-law*

Luke's account of the events that followed the exorcism in the synagogue is seen as adding to the motif of release from Satan's power. At 4:38,39, Jesus left the synagogue and entered Simon's house. Here he found Simon's mother-in-law stricken by a high

fever. A comparison with the parallels shows the emphasis of Luke's interest—release from the captivity of Satan.

Whereas at Matthew 8:15 Jesus healed the woman by simply touching her hand, and at Mark 1:31 he seized her hand and raised her up, in Luke Jesus stood over her and addressed the fever as though it possessed intelligence, or was caused by an intelligent being (vs. 39). But William Hendriksen and Alfred Plummer are not willing to admit that the fever is a personal agent.[8] William F. Arndt, I. Howard Marshall, and John M. Creed see the rebuke as an instance of personification.[9]

There are those who regard the verbal rebuke given by Jesus as indicating that the fever was "a demonic effect,"[10] "a demon to be brought under control,"[11] "a living creature, the fever demon,"[12] "a form of demon-possession,"[13] or a "healing . . . within the perspective of the exorcism recorded in vv. 31-37."[14]

If one does not wish to speak of this fever in terms of "a living creature, the fever demon," as Dillersberger does, it is permissible to speak of it as an instrument of Satan by which he torments human beings (cf. Luke speaking of the deformed woman at 13:10-17 as tormented by the binding of Satan). In freeing the sufferer, Jesus rebuked the source of the illness and wrenched the victim from his power. The intention of Luke seems to be clear: This miracle illustrates Jesus' power to free the captives from Satan's power.

[8]William Hendriksen, *Exposition of the Gospel According to Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1978), p. 268; Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary of the Gospel According to St. Luke* (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 137.

[9]William F. Arndt, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (St. Louis, Mo., 1956), p. 148; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary of the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1978), p. 195; John Martin Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (London, 1960), p. 71.

[10]Danker, p. 62.

[11]Drury, p. 59.

[12]Joseph Dillersberger, *The Gospel of St. Luke* (Westminster, Md., 1958), p. 190.

[13]Tinsley, p. 56.

[14]Frederick W. Danker, *Luke: Proclamation Commentaries* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 91.

4. *The Demons' Identification of the Messiah*

The pericope closes with the report of Jesus exorcising many demons and healing the sick. The exorcised demons identified Jesus, crying out, "You are the Son of God" (vs. 41). Some commentators see Jesus' rebuke which silenced the demons' announcement as a reflection of Mark's messianic secret.[15] Others simply interpret the rebuke as evidence that Jesus did not want demonic powers proclaiming his mission.[16]

However, the fact remains that Luke *does* mention that the demons speak and identify Jesus *before* they are silenced. If Luke would have been interested in maintaining the messianic secret, he could simply have written something similar to Mark, "and he did not permit the demons to speak because they knew him" (Mark 1:34), or he could have omitted completely any suggestion that the demons attempted to identify Jesus, as does Matthew (8:16), thus leaving the demons silent.

The fact that Luke includes the detail about the demons proclaiming Jesus' divine sonship would indicate that the author is interested in this testimony. The demonic announcement at 4:41, coupled with the statement of the demon in the synagogue at Capernaum ("I know who you are, the Holy one of God," 4:34), identifies as divine the person and the power that fulfill the stipulations of the Isaiah scroll, i.e., release for the captives.

5. *Proclamation of the Kingdom of God*

The first block of interpretive material (5:31-44) concludes with a summary statement (vss. 42-44). When the people of Capernaum attempted to restrain him from leaving them, Jesus answered, "It is necessary for me to proclaim the good news concerning the kingdom of God in other cities also" (vs. 43). The statement is unique to Luke and must be read in conjunction with the motif of

[15]Wilfrid J. Harrington, *A Commentary: The Gospel According to St. Luke* (New York, 1967), p. 90; J. Alexander Findlay, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (London, 1937), p. 65.

[16]Danker, *Jesus and the New Age*, p. 63; Arndt, pp. 148-149; Marshall, p. 197; Caird, p. 89; Norval Geldenhuys, *Commentary On the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1954), p. 177.

release. In the context of Luke's interpretation of the Isaiah scroll to this point, the "good news concerning the kingdom of God" is release from the captivity of Satan as demonstrated by healings, and especially by exorcisms.[17]

6. *Conclusion*

The programmatic nature of the Isaiah scroll for the ministry of Jesus was noted in an earlier study. There I noted that the relocation and differing account of the call of the first disciples introduces the second of three blocks of material in which Luke interprets the Isaiah scroll. That second block of material, which begins with the call of the first disciples and ends with the call of Levi (5:1-32), shows how Jesus brings release from the power of sin.

The present study deals with the first block of interpretive material (4:31-44) and shows how Jesus delivers from the captivity of Satan through healings, and especially exorcisms.

In the third block of interpretive material (5:33-6:11), Luke shows how Jesus liberates from cultic traditions. This topic will be presented in a future study.

[17]I. Howard Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1970), p. 137; Danker, p. 63; Kenik, p. 239.

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DANIEL 3: EXTRA-BIBLICAL TEXTS AND THE CONVOCATION ON THE PLAIN OF DURA

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Commentaries on Daniel have frequently separated the historical chapters (1, 3-6) from the prophetic chapters (2, 7-12) and attributed the former to an earlier origin as far as their historical context is concerned.[1] When one looks for a political context with which to connect one of the historical chapters, therefore, the Neo-Babylonian period presupposed in some of them deserves consideration along with the later periods. The purpose of this study is to suggest that when such consideration is given to chap. 3, two Neo-Babylonian texts provide a relatively reasonable context with which to connect this remarkable episode.

The third chapter of Daniel tells how Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego refused to bow down to the great image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up on the plain of Dura. Nebuchadnezzar placed the image there and then summoned all of Babylonian officialdom to its dedication. As a part of that dedication, the officials assembled were to bow down to the image and worship it. As officials in the Babylonian government, Shadrach, Meshaeh, and Abed-Nego were also summoned to this scene, but they refused to perform the obeisance required. Looking at this scene from the historian's point of view raises the question of what this scene was about in the first place. What was involved from the Babylonian point of view?

[1]J. G. Gammie, "The Classification, States of Growth, and Changing Intentions in the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 95 (1976): 191-204; H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (New York, 1948), pp. 27-40; J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, No. 16 (Missoula, Mo., 1977), p. 11.

1. *The Loyalty-Oath Nature of the Convocation on the Plain of Dura*

One piece of evidence pointing toward the nature of the meeting is to be found, in my opinion, in the list of persons in attendance. Seven different classes of Babylonian officials are listed in Dan 3:2-3, and everybody included was some sort of official in the Babylonian government. The list seems well-nigh all-inclusive. It appears, then, that this service was conducted specifically for all of Babylonian officialdom, and that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-Nego only incidentally happened to be present by virtue of belonging to that group.

Having identified the nature of the persons who were in attendance, we must next look at what they were required to do during this ceremony, since their actions may give indication of what was involved in this service. They were required to bow down to and worship the image that Nebuchadnezzar had set up. The image could have been one of Nebuchadnezzar himself, but it seems more likely that it would have been an image of Marduk, the god of Babylon. By bowing down to the image and worshiping it, a person would also pledge allegiance and loyalty to it and what it represented. In a certain sense, therefore, this scene could be viewed as a loyalty oath on the part of all of the civil servants of Babylon.

Why would such a loyalty oath have been administered to them? The most obvious and likely reason is that some of these officials either had been disloyal to Nebuchadnezzar, or were suspected of having been disloyal, at some time before they were summoned to this ceremony. On this basis, we might well look for evidence of a rebellion in Babylon during Nebuchadnezzar's reign as the background for the ceremony.

Prior to the publication of Nebuchadnezzar's chronicle, only a hint of such a rebellion was known from historical sources, and his reign appeared to have been one monolithic and undisputed rule in Babylon for all of the 43 years of his kingship. This picture has changed, however, with the publication of his chronicle, whose entry for the year 595/594 B.C. states,

> 21. In the tenth year the king of Akkad (was) in his own land; from the month of Kislev to the month of Tebet there was rebellion in Akkad ....

22. ..... with arms he slew many of his own army. His own hand captured his enemy.[2]

The hint that such a revolt had occurred was previously known from a contract tablet.

> What may be an indirect indication of the revolt is given by a contract tablet from Babylon dated in the eleventh year of Nebuchadrezzar. This tells of the confiscation and disposal of the property of Baba-aḫu-iddina, son of Nabū-aḫḫe-bulliṭ, who had been tried by court-martial and, on being found guilty of breaking the royal oath and of insurrection, had been condemned to death and executed. Since Nabū-aḫḫe-bulliṭ had received these lands as a special favour from Nabopolassar it may well be that his son was of sufficient status to be the leader of the revolt mentioned in the Chronicle for this year.[3]

Since the revolt recorded in the chronicle occurred late in Nebuchadnezzar's 10th year and this contract tablet was written in his 11th year, the events referred to in these two texts most likely were related. Exactly how long this revolt lasted is not stated specifically in the chronicle, but it covered parts of two months. The army appears to have been the source of this trouble rather than the officials in government. The chronicle states that "many" in the army were slain at this time, which seems to indicate that this revolt was more than just a small-scale affair. In fact, the problem was sufficiently serious for the king to be involved in hand-to-hand combat. The reference to the enemy whom Nebuchadnezzar captured with his own hand has been interpreted as referring to the unidentified rebel leader. Since the chronicle only states that Nebuchadnezzar captured him and not that he killed him, it is possible that this rebel leader was bound over to the trial referred to in the contract tablet from the next year.

If the record of this revolt in the chronicle were the sole piece of evidence available for proposing a relationship between that revolt and the events of Dan 3 as a consequence of it, the case for

[2]D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London, 1956), p. 73.

[3]Ibid., p. 37.

such a relationship would not be very strong. One could argue, in this case, that the occurrence of a revolt in Nebuchadnezzar's reign was only chance—and a rather good statistical chance at that, in view of how long he reigned. Other pieces of evidence that support such a relationship are available, however, from both biblical and Babylonian sources.

2. *Biblical Indication of the Revolt against Nebuchadnezzar*

The biblical source in this case is Jer 51:59-64. This refers to the prophetic scroll against Babylon that Jeremiah gave to Seraiah to take to Babylon when the latter accompanied king Zedekiah there. Upon his arrival in Babylon, according to Jeremiah's instructions, Seraiah was to read all the words of the scroll against Babylon and then cast it into the Euphrates bound with a stone as a symbol of the fact that Babylon was to sink and no more rise again. The prophecy itself is a side point here, since our particular interest is the fact that Zedekiah made a trip to Babylon in the 4th year of his reign.

Why did Zedekiah have to make this trip? The text does not answer this question, but the overarching reason undoubtedly was to insure that Zedekiah would continue to serve Nebuchadnezzar as a loyal vassal. This concern on Nebuchadnezzar's part may have arisen for any one of several reasons: (1) Zedekiah may have failed to pay his share of the tribute that Nebuchadnezzar collected in the west after the revolt had been put down, but if that were the case, Zedekiah might have been punished more severely; (2) Zedekiah might have been suspect for other reasons; (3) all of Nebuchadnezzar's vassals in the west might have been suspect, with Zedekiah simply included in those suspicions. On the other hand, Nebuchadnezzar may not have had any reason to suspect his western vassals, but simply wanted to make sure that they did not get any encouragement to revolt because of the revolt that had taken place against him on his home ground in Babylon. Whatever may have been the precise reason for Zedekiah's travel to Babylon, it is clear that he returned from Babylon to Jerusalem, for he ruled over Judah for another seven years before Nebuchadnezzar finally brought his kingdom and reign to an end.

Thus there is some supplementary evidence from Jer 51:59-64 that soon after the revolt referred to by the chronicle, Nebuchadnezzar attempted to insure the loyalty of the kings who were vassal to him. A comparison of the dates connected with these two events points up this fact. The chronicle dates the revolt in Babylon in the 9th and 10th months of Nebuchadnezzar's 10th year, or December of 595 and January of 594 B.C. Zedekiah's trip to Babylon occurred in his 4th year, according to Jer 51:59. Nebuchadnezzar installed Zedekiah on the throne of Judah in Adar, 597 B.C. Reckoning Zedekiah's regnal years from the fall dates, his first full official year of reign commenced in the fall of 597 B.C.[4] This means that the 4th year of his reign, when Zedekiah journeyed to Babylon, began in the fall of 594 B.C., or a little less than a year after the revolt against Nebuchadnezzar had taken place.

Given the close chronological collocation of these two events, it seems reasonable to connect them as cause and effect. Thus, Zedekiah's travel to Babylon would have occurred as a result of Nebuchadnezzar's attempt to insure Zedekiah's loyalty following the revolt in Babylon.

The passage in Jeremiah does not mention the month of the year in which Zedekiah left for Babylon, but a refinement in that date can be suggested on the basis of information available from the chronicle. At the end of Nebuchadnezzar's 10th year (595/594 B.C.), the year in which the revolt in Babylon occurred, he made a trip west to collect the tribute from his western vassals. The chronicle does not refer to the army as accompanying him at that time, and D. J. Wiseman interprets this to mean that he left most of his forces at home.[5] Is it possible that Nebuchadnezzar left his army in Babylon at that time to insure the stability of the situation there so soon after the revolt against him had been suppressed?

In any event, Nebuchadnezzar did take the army with him on his next campaign west in his 11th year (594/593 B.C.), and such a show of force could have provided an added inducement for the

[4]For the identification of the fall-to-fall calendar as the one in use during the last years of the kings of Judah see S. H. Horn, "The Babylonian Chronicle and the Ancient Calendar of the Kingdom of Judah," *AUSS* 5 (1967): 12-27.

[5]Wiseman, p. 36.

vassal kings in the west to accompany him back to Babylon to pledge their allegiance to him. Nebuchadnezzar left Babylon with the army on this campaign in Kislev or December of 594 B.C., less than two months after the fall New Year that began Zedekiah's 4th regnal year. From the convergence of these chronological factors, we can surmise that Zedekiah and other western vassals who may have accompanied him were escorted to Babylon by the army early in 593 B.C., which was also early in Zedekiah's 4th year of 594/593 B.C., fall-to-fall reckoning.

The movement in favor of revolt that arose in the west at this time can be seen, in part, as a response to the revolt against Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon. As far as Zedekiah's first four years of reign are concerned, there is little reason to suspect that Zedekiah was anything other than loyal to Nebuchadnezzar. The first information we have about him after his return from Babylon, however, is that he hosted a conference in Jerusalem for envoys from the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon, who came to plot rebellion against their Babylonian master (Jer 27). Jeremiah brought the message to these envoys and the kings who had sent them that they should submit to Nebuchadnezzar and not revolt against him. This political conference is dated "in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah," which should be narrowed down to his 4th year, according to the dateline on the succeeding chapter which connects it with chap. 27—"In that same year, at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the fifth month of the fourth year" (Jer 28:1). The formula dates both of these chapters in Zedekiah's 4th year, with the events described in chap. 27 probably occurring shortly before those in chap. 28 which were dated to the 5th month.[6] If this interpretation is correct, the conference probably was convened in the late spring or summer of 593 B.C., according to a fall-to-fall year, after Zedekiah's return from Babylon. Although that trip was intended to insure his loyalty, it appears to have had the opposite effect. With a revolt having occurred in the east and another one brewing in the west, it is no wonder that Hananiah prophesied a return of the exiles to Jerusalem within two years (Jer 28:3).

[6]J. Bright, *Jeremiah*, Anchor Bible, vol. 21 (Garden City, N.Y., 1965), p. 195.

The role that Egypt played in these affairs should be noted. Psammetichus II came to the throne in 595 B.C. and brought with him a new policy toward the rulers in Phoenicia and Palestine.[7] By the end of October of 593 B.C. we find Psammetichus waiting at Elephantine, where he received the first news of victory from his expedition to Nubia.[8] Aside from Egyptian regulars and Greek mercenaries, there were also "men of other tongues" with that expedition, as indicated in an inscription from Abu Simbel and confirmed by the presence of Semitic names written in Phoenician script among the graffiti there.[9] It has been forcefully argued that the Jews who "had been sent out to fight in the army of Psammetichus against the king of the Ethiopians," referred to in the Letter of Aristeas, were sent to fight under Psammetichus II instead of Psammetichus I.[10] It is possible, then, that Tyrians, Sidonians, and Judahites (and Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites?) were fighting with Psammetichus' army in Nubia by the end of 593 B.C. If so, the decision to send them must have been made earlier that year, perhaps at the meeting in Jerusalem or as a result of that conference.

In such case, it is not surprising that Psammetichus went on a tour of Phoenicia and Palestine in the next year, 592 B.C. The tour was peaceful; at least there is no indication that major numbers of military forces accompanied him, and it is not even certain that the army had returned from Nubia at the time of his departure. Obviously, then, Psammetichus expected a cordial reception, and apparently he received it. This could only have led to strengthening his ties with his Asiatic neighbors.[11] A treaty regarding reciprocal military action could well have played a part in strengthening those ties, especially since the Asiatics had already carried out their part of such an agreement. Thus, Zedekiah had an ally in whom he

[7]R. A. Parker, "The Length of the Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty," *Kush* 8 (1960): 208-212; M. Greenberg, "Ezekiel 17 and the Policy of Psammetichus II," *JBL* 76 (1957): 304-309.

[8]K. S. Freedy and D. B. Redford, "The Dates in Ezekiel in Relation to Biblical, Babylonian and Egyptian Sources," *JAOS* 90 (1970): 476.

[9]M. Greenberg, p. 307.

[10]Ibid.; Freedy and Redford, p. 476.

[11]Freedy and Redford, p. 479.

trusted for support in case Nebuchadnezzar returned, and at that time Psammetichus may have looked like a formidable ally after his convincing victory over the Kushites. It was probably at this time that Zedekiah decided his course of action for the future.

These, then, are the events which occurred in Egypt and Syro-Palestine following the revolt in Babylon mentioned in the chronicle:

Dec. 595 - Jan. 594	—Revolt in Babylon suppressed
Early 594	—Nebuchadnezzar collects western tribute
Late 594	—Nebuchadnezzar and his army march west
Early 593	—Zedekiah travels to Babylon and back (Jer 51:59)
Spring 593	—Conference on revolt in Jerusalem (Jer 27) Troops sent to assist Psammetichus II?
Summer 593	—Hananiah prophesies return of exiles in two years (Jer 28)
Fall 593	—Psammetichus' army victorious in Nubia
592	—Psammetichus tours Phoenicia and Palestine

The revolt in Babylon need not be considered the direct cause of all of these events, but it seems likely that it did have its effect in the west. Most important for our consideration here is Zedekiah's trip to Babylon, which trip appears to have been part of a program to prevent the revolt of Nebuchadnezzar's western vassals in the wake of the revolt against him at home, as mentioned earlier. Not only did that program fail, but it appears to have aroused a reaction in the opposite direction, as evidenced by the subject of the conference in Jerusalem, which probably was held shortly after Zedekiah's return from the east.

These later moves toward revolt need not concern us further here, but Zedekiah's trip to Babylon can be seen as part of a loyalty program for foreign kings that we see promulgated for Babylonian

officials in the third chapter of Daniel. There is an interesting Babylonian inscription which brings these two aspects of Nebuchadnezzar's loyalty-oath program even closer together.

3. *Inscriptional Evidence of the Loyalty Oath*

This intriguing evidence comes to us in the form of an undated text from the time of Nebuchadnezzar, written in five columns on the five sides of a clay prism. The prism was found at Babylon and now resides in the Istanbul museum.[12] The first three columns of this text are devoted to Nebuchadnezzar's relations with the gods, and the last two columns contain a list of more than fifty officials of various ranks whom Nebuchadnezzar appointed. In the first column Nebuchadnezzar describes how much he had done for the gods by rebuilding their temples and supplying them with offerings. Many of the main figures in the Babylonian pantheon are mentioned in this column. In the second column he tells how Marduk gave the lands, both Babylonia and the lands beyond, into his hands and how the tribute from those lands had poured into his coffers. The third column contains Nebuchadnezzar's prayer to Marduk that he might continue and extend his rule over the lands. The list of officials begins at the bottom of the third column, and it has been adapted here from E. Unger's transliteration and German translation and A. L. Oppenheim's English translation:[13]

I ordered the (following) court officials in exercises of (their) duties to take up position in my (official) suite:

I. COURT OFFICIALS (*mašennim*)
1. Nabu-zêri-iddinam, chancellor of the kingdom
2. Nabu-zêri-ibni, general of the army
3. .....naḫ, in charge of the palace
4. Sin-šarri-...., in charge of the temple
5. Aṭkal-ana-Mâr-Esagila, ...
(break at the top of column four)
6. Ina-qibit-Bêl-akša, ...
7. Bêl-ereš, ...

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[12]E. Unger, *Babylon, die heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier* (Berlin, 1931), p. 282.

[13]Ibid., pp. 282-294; *ANET*, pp. 307-308.

8. Ardia, in charge of the palace harem
9. Bêl-uballiṭ, secretary of the palace harem
10. Zillâ, chief of palace protocol
11. Nabu-aḫi-uṣur, chief of a detachment of light troops
12. Mušallim-Marduk, Nabu-ušibiši, Eribšu and Nabu-bêl-uṣur, overseers of the slave girls
13. Nabu-zêri-ibni, the cupbearer
14. Nergal-rizua, chief of the musicians
15. Ardi-Nabu, secretary of the crown prince (i.e., Amêl-Marduk)
16. Ea-idanni and Rîmûtu, chiefs of provisioning
17. Nabu-mâr, šarri-uṣur, commander of ships
18. Ḫanunu, chief of the royal merchants

II. OFFICIALS (*rabûti*) OF THE LAND OF AKKAD

1. Ea-daian, governor (*šakin*) of the Sealands
2. Nergal-šarri-uṣur, the *Sîn-māgir* official
3. Emuq-aḫi, of the land of Tupliaš
4. Bêl-šumi-iškun, of the land of Puqudu
5. Bibiea, the Dakurean
6. Nadin-aḫi, official of Dêr
7. Marduk-šarri-uṣur, of the land of Gambulum
8. Marduk-šarrani, official (*bêl piḫati*) of Sumandar
9. Bêl-lidarum, the Amuqanean
10. Rîmûtu, the regular governor (*šaknu*) of the land of Zame
11. Nabu-êṭir-napšate, governor (*šaknu*) of the land of Iaptiri

(break at the bottom of column four and at the top of column five)

III. OFFICIALS (É.BAR) OF TOWNS

1. Ilabbitsu, "official" of ....
2. Mušezib-Bêl, "official" of ....
3. Šumkinum, "official" of the town Dûr-[Iakin]
4. Bania, "official" of the town Limetum
5. Marduk-zêri-ibni, "official" of the town Mat-akallu
6. Šulâ, "official" of the town Nimid-Laguda
7. Šumâ, "official" of the town Kullab
8. Nergal-zêri-ibin, "official" of the town Udannum
9. Marduk-ereš, "official" of the town Larsa
10. Nabu-kin-apli, "official" of the town Kissik
11. Bêl-upaḫḫir, "official" of the town Bakušu

IV. DISTRICT (*qipi-*) OFFICIALS

1. Ibâ, official (*bêl piḫati*) of the town Dûr-.....
2. Šalambili, official (*bêl piḫati*) of .....
3. Zîria, official (*bêl piḫati*) of .....
4. Zabina', district officer of .....
5. Šumâ, district officer of .....
6. Adad-aḫi-iddinam, district officer of the town .....
7. Nabu-zêri-ukin, of the land A[.....]
8. Anim-ipuš, district officer of .....
9. Bêl-šum-iškun, district officer of the town N[i.....]

(V. WESTERN VASSAL KINGS)

1. King of the land of Tyre
2. King of the land of Gaza
3. King of the land of Sidon
4. King of the land of Arvad
5. King of the land of Ashdod
6. King of the land of Mir [.....]
7. King of the land of .....

(break at the bottom of column five)

This list of officials is divided up into five sections, each of which is demarcated by a label, with the exception of the last group—the foreign kings. This exception may have occurred because the personal names of these kings were not given and the title of "king" or *šarru* listed for each of them contrasted directly with the titles of the officials in the preceding section. The groups listed successively in these sections can be seen, in general, as extending outwards from Babylon geographically and downwards through the ranks of the bureaucracy.

The first group includes those leading officials who served at the court in Babylon. This group is labeled as *mašennim*, which probably is cognate with Hebrew *mišneh*, "second," i.e., ranking next to the king or, perhaps, next to the king's prime minister. Each individual in this group had his own title, and *mašennim* is present in only one of those titles, that of Ardia who was in charge of the harem. Unger thinks that only two names have been lost from this section at the top of the fourth column, but his is a

conservative estimate, and more names could easily have been lost in that gap.[14]

The second group includes those officials who served in various localities throughout the land of Akkad, not at court in the capital. The designations for these individuals vary within a narrow range. "Governor," *šaknu*, is the term applied to three of them, another three of them were named only with the place where they served, two of them were referred to with gentilic titles, and one was identified as a *bêl piḫati*. Nergal-sharri-uṣur, the *Sîn-māgir* official, undoubtedly was the same person who later became king of Babylon (559-556 B.C.), the Neriglissar of the classical historians.

The officials in the third group were labeled collectively and individually with the same title, LÚ Ê.BAR or ^{amêlu}Ê-*maš*. Unfortunately, the precise meaning and translation of this term is not known.[15] It has been speculated that they were religious functionaries,[16] but this is far from certain. These individuals were listed with the names of their cities or towns.

The fourth group, the *qipi*-officials, were also listed with the cities or towns in which they served, and their title has been translated "district official." This title was used for all but three of the individuals listed in this section, and those three were referred to as *bêl piḫati*.

The bottom of the prism has been preserved on three sides, but unfortunately it is damaged at the bottom of the fourth column and missing at the bottom of the fifth.[17] It appears that only a couple of names of foreign kings could have been lost at the bottom of the fifth column, but a larger number of names of officials could have been lost from the top of that column.

All of the surviving names of the cities where the listed kings ruled were located on the coast, two in Philistia and three in Phoenicia. For that reason one might also look to the Mediterranean coast as the location for the damaged place-name beginning with *Mir-*.

[14]E. Unger, p. 290.

[15]*ANET*, p. 308.

[16]E. Unger, p. 292.

[17]Ibid., plates 55-56.

Nebuchadnezzar obviously ruled over more kings in Syro-Palestine than just those that are listed here as located on the coast. This raises the possibility that the rulers of these coastal cities were picked out to be included in this list for a special reason. The Mediterranean Sea formed the westernmost extent of Nebuchadnezzar's empire at this time, and a listing of the rulers of these coastal cities could express the fact that his political control extended all the way to, and along, that western boundary. This suggestion finds some support from the fact that the first official listed in the second section of the list was the governor of the Sealands, the one who ruled over that part of Nebuchadnezzar's territory which extended down to the Persian Gulf, known as the Lower Sea, whereas the Mediterranean was known as the Upper Sea. In the second column of this text Nebuchadnezzar had pointed out the fact that Marduk had given him all the lands from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, i.e., from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. Thus, the territory governed by the first official listed in the second section of this text and the kings on the Mediterranean coast listed at the end of this text delimited the farthest extent of Nebuchadnezzar's territory at that time.

4. *The Nature of the Prism Text's Listing of Officials*

From these general observations on this text we may turn to its more specific connections, potentially, with the third chapter of Daniel. In the first place, the extraordinary nature of this text does not appear to have been fully appreciated or to have received the attention it deserves. Lists of governmental officials are known from other times and places in Mesopotamian history, but they generally occur in ration lists, and none is so comprehensive as this one, nor do any occur in a context comparable to this one.

The comprehensive nature of this list can be seen from the fact that it appears to give at least a representative sampling of officials from the major echelons of civil servants and from many of the areas under the control of the government of Babylon. With good reason, then, Unger has referred to this text as "Der älteste Hof- und Staatskalender der Welt."[18]

[18]Ibid., p. 282.

As far as context is concerned, this list is prefaced, as we have noted earlier, by almost three full columns of text in which Nebuchadnezzar told how much he had done for the gods and how much the gods had done for him, plus a prayer by him to his god.

The importance of the list, as emphasized by its context and comprehensive nature, raises the question of what occasion gave rise to recording it. The passage in the text immediately preceding the list may be of some assistance in this regard: "I ordered the (following) court officials in exercises of (their) duties to take up position in my (official) suite."[19] Such a statement appears to imply that these appointments were all made at approximately the same time. In view of the large number of individuals listed, it may be that some of these appointments were reconfirmations of earlier appointments. However, regardless of whether these persons were all new appointees or whether some were old appointees now being reconfirmed, this listing certainly represents a comprehensive review and overhaul of the personnel of the Babylonian bureaucracy.

Why would such a review or overhaul have been carried out on such a scale? Three possible explanations come to mind: negligence, financial scandal, or the fomenting of disloyalty and rebellion. One may expect that a certain amount of incompetence and fraud was a continuing problem to the administration of government in ancient times, in Babylon as well as elsewhere. Sporadic occurrences of negligence or financial fraud, however, do not appear to provide an adequate explanation for the comprehensive scope of the activity involved here. That leaves us with the probability that these appointments were made in response to the threat, realized or potential, of disloyalty and rebellion among the ranks of the Babylonian civil servants. If that is the case, it seems reasonable to identify this list and the action it represents as a response to the revolt mentioned in the entry of the chronicle for Nebuchadnezzar's 10th year.

There is one particular piece of evidence from the list that especially lends support to such an interpretation, namely, the inclusion of the foreign kings at the end of the list. Again, the

[19] *ANET*, p. 307.

unusual nature of this part of the list should be stressed. Why would a list of foreign kings be attached to a list of Babylonian civil and military servants? What did they share in common that they should both be included in the same list? Both groups were servants of Nebuchadnezzar, but this fact alone hardly provides reason enough for listing them together.

Beyond this, however, both groups shared the potential of rebelling against Nebuchadnezzar. Vassal kings, as we know from various historical sources, were particularly prone to rebel, especially at times of weakness in the homeland of their suzerain.

Here we may mention again the evidence regarding Zedekiah's trip to Babylon referred to by Jeremiah (51:59). Zedekiah would fit in very well with the kings listed at the end of this text. His royal residence was not located on the coast, as were theirs, but the territory delimited in this way certainly included his kingdom. We can easily see Zedekiah as a member of this group, therefore, even though he was not specifically named as such in the surviving portions of the text.

If Zedekiah made a trip to Babylon to express his loyalty to Nebuchadnezzar, it seems reasonable to suggest that he did not travel there alone, but may have been accompanied by other kings from the west. The presence of the Babylonian army in the area by early in 593 B.C., Zedekiah's 4th regnal year, adds some emphasis to this suggestion, as I indicated earlier. In that case, the western kings listed at the end of the text appear to have been likely candidates for membership in such a group. It is interesting to note in this connection that two of the kings listed, from Tyre and Sidon, also sent envoys to the conference on revolt that was held in Jerusalem after Zedekiah returned from Babylon (Jer 27:3). Such a trip east may have had an effect upon them similar to that upon Zedekiah.

The suggestion here, then, is that the foreign kings listed at the end of this text were not just listed there because they were servants of Nebuchadnezzar, but because they had to give evidence that they were faithful to him at this time. This they did by traveling to Babylon to pledge their allegiance, as Zedekiah did, according to Jer 51:59-64. Thus the comprehensive overhaul of the personnel of the Babylonian bureaucracy as implied by this list and the extraction of a pledge of loyalty from the vassal kings at the

end of this list can both be seen as fitting responses to an immediately antecedent revolt in Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar does not state here that such a revolt occurred, but a statement of this kind is hardly to be expected, and his lavish praise of the gods at the beginning of this text could be seen as an expression of appreciation for the successful suppression of the revolt. I would further suggest that this revolt was the same as the one referred to in the entry in the chronicle for Nebuchadnezzar's 10th year, 595/594 B.C. The inclusion of Zedekiah among the western kings listed at the end of this text contributes, by implication, an added dimension to this matter by suggesting a date for this list, inasmuch as he made the trip east to Babylon in his 4th year, 594/593 B.C. This text would then be dated to 593 B.C. or shortly thereafter.

5. *Prism-Text Names and Biblical Parallels*

Having suggested such an origin for this text, we can now examine some of the information available about different individuals listed in it. There are five persons in this list to whom we should pay particularly close attention:

Nabu-zêri-iddinam (See List, I.1)

Nabu-zêri-iddinam is the person named at the head of the list. This means that he probably was the most important official listed at the time when this text was drawn up. In all likelihood, as Unger has pointed out,[20] Nabu-zêri-iddinam was the same person as the Nebuzaradan who burned Jerusalem after it was conquered (2 Kgs 25:8-10), who deported the Judahites captured at that time (v. 11), and who excluded Jeremiah from that deportation (Jer 39:13). In the Hebrew of these passages Nebuzaradan is called the *rab ṭabbaḥîm*, which literally means "chief of the butchers," but which had the wider connotation of "chief of the king's bodyguard" (the RSV has correctly translated it as "captain of the guard"). *Rab naḫtimmu* is the title given to Nabu-zêri-iddinam in the Babylonian list, which literally means "chief of the bakers," but which had the wider meaning of "imperial chancellor."[21] As Unger has noted, the

[20]E. Unger, p. 289.

[21]Ibid.

biblical and Babylonian titles given to Nebu-zaradan/Nabu-zêri-iddinam correspond, essentially, in meaning. Thus we have here the butcher and the baker, but not the candlestick maker, and it seems very likely that they were the same individual.

Assuming that such an identification is correct, and if Nabu-zêri-iddinam was first appointed to the office in question around the time this list was drawn up, then we can date this list prior to 586 B.C., because he would have to have been appointed to that office in the Babylonian list before he could have functioned in that capacity at the conquest of Jerusalem. This harmonizes well with the date of 593 B.C. suggested above for this list.

Nergal-šarri-uṣur (II.2)

Another person common to this list and to the biblical record of the conquest of Jerusalem is Nergal-šarri-uṣur, the later Babylonian king known by the name of Neriglissar. In this Babylonian text he is referred to as the man, or officer, of Sîn-māgir, the second person named in the second section of this list. Sîn-māgir was located in northern Babylonia, and the use of this place name in titles of officials goes back to the days of the kings of Isin early in the second millennium B.C.[22]

Nergal-šarri-uṣur appears as Nergal-šarezer in Jer 39:3 and 13, as a Babylonian official—the *rab māg*—who cooperated with Nebu-zaradan in settling affairs in Judah after the conquest of Jerusalem. His name appears twice in Jer 39:3, apparently due to a dittography. In the first instance he is referred to there as the *samgar* (Nebo attached to this word by the Massoretes belongs with the rest of the personal name that follows it), and in the second instance he is identified as the *rab māg*. Vocalization aside, *samgar* in this verse is a perfect equivalent of Sîn-māgir from the Babylonian list on the basis of an assimilation of the *nun* to the *mem*. The same assimilation is also attested in the Babylonian spelling of *si-im-ma-gir*.[23] *Māg*, found in both Jer 39:3 and 13 may be a short form, or it may be a corruption of this longer title. The conclusion noted above

[22]Ibid., p. 290.

[23]*ANET*, p. 308.

about the date of this Babylonian list can also be reached here on the basis of the presence of Nergal-šarri-uṣur/Nergal-šarezer in these two sources.

Ḫanunu (I.18)

From these Babylonian officials we may turn to the matter of the biblical personalities known from the incident recorded in the third chapter of Daniel. If the loyalty oath given during that episode was administered as an after-effect of the revolt in Babylon in 595-594 B.C., and if this list of Babylonian officials resulted from a shake-up in the personnel of the bureaucracy there for the same reason, then we might expect some correspondence between the persons mentioned in the third chapter of Daniel and those listed in this text. The first name that attracts attention in this connection is the last name in the first section of the Babylonian list, Ḫanunu. Oppenheim has noted that this is a western name, but he calls it Phoenician: "It is certainly no accident that the *rab tamkārī*, 'chief trader,' was a high official at the court of the Babylonian kings, an office which was held under Nebuchadnezzar II by a man called Hanūnu, i.e., Hanno, a typical Phoenician name."[24]

Perhaps Ḫanunu was not Phoenician; perhaps he was Judahite instead. Hananiah was one of the three Hebrews who went through the experience recorded in Dan 3, and as a result "the king promoted Shadrach [Hananiah], Meshach, and Abed-Nego in the province of Babylon" (Dan 3:30; cf. 1:7). As officials who served in "the province of Babylon," therefore, we might look for these individuls in the first section of this text, and that is where we find Ḫanunu. The principal philological objection to such an identification is that the name Ḫanunu in this Babylonian list does not contain the Yahwistic element in his name, as "Hananiah" does in Daniel.

The foregoing observation brings up a discussion of biblical names that are built upon the root *ḥnn*, "to be gracious." This root is found in four forms in this cluster of names; "Hanan" for nine individuals, "Hanani" for five individuals, "Hananiah" for fourteen individuals, and "Hananel" for one individual. Names of this

[24]A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago, 1964), p. 94.

type were particularly common during the late Judahite monarchy, the exile, and after the exile. As such, they are found especially in the books of Jeremiah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. While some persons with names of this type are referred to as having lived in earlier times according to Chronicles, the only direct reference to an individual with a name of this type earlier is the mention of Hanani, who lived late in the tenth or early in the ninth century B.C., according to 1 Kgs 16:1 and 7.

Of special importance here is the evidence for the use of by-forms of names from this root as different names for the same individual. This is particularly evident in Neh 7:2, which has been translated (RSV), "I gave my brother Hanani and Hananiah the governor of the castle charge over Jerusalem, for he was a more faithful and God-fearing man than many." The grammatical problem here is that there are five singular elements in this sentence which would lead one to expect one personal name, but two personal names are actually present. The best solution to this problem is to take the *waw* or conjunction between these two names as an explicative *waw* that equates them.[25] Following that interpretation, the first part of this verse should be translated, "I gave my brother Hanani, *that is,* Hananiah the governor of the castle, charge over Jerusalem. . . ."[26] A parallel example of the use of the *waw* in this way has long been recognized in 1 Chr 5:26, "So the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, *even* the spirit of Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, . . ."

The same situation appears to be found in some of the fifth-century-B.C. papyri from Elephantine in Egypt. Five of those texts (Nos. 21, 30, 31, 33, and 38) refer to an individual by the name of Hanani—and also Hananiah—who played an important role in the affairs of the Jewish community there.[27] It seems more likely that we are dealing with by-forms of the name of one and the same individual in these letters than that those names represent two separate persons.[28]

[25]W. Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, trans. by A. E. Cowley (Oxford, 1909), p. 484.

[26]C. G. Tuland, "Hanani-Hananiah," *JBL* 77 (1958): 160.

[27]See the translation of these papyri according to their respective numbers in A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923).

[28]C. Tuland, p. 160.

If we find by-forms of this name in the OT books mentioned above and in the Aramaic papyri from Egypt, then there is good reason to suggest that we may be dealing with by-forms here, with Hananiah's name appearing with the Yahwistic element in the third chapter of Daniel, and without that element in this Babylonian list—perhaps because the Babylonian scribes preferred to dispose of that divine element in his case.

It may be asked here why the Babylonian scribes who compiled this list used a form of Hananiah's Hebrew name instead of his Babylonian name Shadrach. This is a question which cannot be answered directly, except to observe that this seems to have been the case.

Ardi-Nabu (I.15)

It has long been noted and well-nigh universally accepted in the commentaries that the name Abed-Nego in Dan 3 is transparently a corruption of Abed-Nebo/Abed-Nabu, "servant of Nabu." This conclusion seems sound and is accepted here, not on the basis of a phonetic shift, nor of an orthographic change, but as a deliberate distortion of the name of the Babylonian god. Apparently it was distasteful to the biblical writer to have a faithful and proper servant of Yahweh named after a Babylonian god, so the name of that god was intentionally altered. The change involved in this case was ever so slight. Instead of using the *beth* with which this name was ordinarily written, the letter next to it in the alphabet—*gimmel*—was substituted for it, thus yielding the intentional corruption of Nego for Nebo/Nabu.

The *ʿabed* in Abed-Nego's name means "servant" in Hebrew and Aramaic, but these are West Semitic languages, and it would have been more natural for the Babylonians to use the Akkadian or East Semitic equivalent for "servant" when giving him a name of this type. The older form of this word was *wardum*, and is found, for example, in the name of the eighteenth-century-B.C. king of Larsa, Warad-Sin, whose name meant "servant of (the moon god) Sin." By Neo-Babylonian times, however, the *w* had been dropped and mimation had been lost, so that this word became *ardu*.[29] The

[29]*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, ed. I. J. Gelb, vol. A, pt. II (Chicago, 1968), pp. 243-251.

Akkadian equivalent of West Semitic ʿAbed-Nabu in this period, therefore, was Ardi-Nabu, which also means "servant of Nabu." This is precisely the name of the person listed in the first section of the prism text as secretary to the crown prince Amêl-Marduk (I.15).

On this basis I would suggest that what we may have in Azariah's case in Dan 3 is not a direct transliteration of his Babylonian name, but an interpretation or translation of it. The identification of an exiled Hebrew as the official who may have served the crown prince is of some interest in view of the fact that 2 Kgs 25:27-28 indicates that when Amêl-Marduk (Evil-Merodach) came to the throne, he acted in a kindly way towards the exiled king of Judah: "In the thirty-seventh year of the exile of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, Evil-Merodach king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, graciously freed Jehoiachin king of Judah from prison; and he spoke kindly to him, and gave him a seat above the seats of the kings who were with him in Babylon." If Amêl-Marduk's secretary in his earlier years was an exile from Judah, as the equation of Abed-Nebo with Ardi-Nabu suggests, the influence which that secretary may have exercised upon the crown prince could explain his favorable attitude toward Jehoiachin when he became king.

Mušallim-Marduk (I.12)

It is more difficult to identify the name of an official in the prism-text list that might match with Mišael/Mešak in Daniel. The principle proposed above on the basis of Nego/Nebo—that the divine elements in these Babylonian names have been deliberately altered—may offer some assistance here. Utilizing that principle calls attention to Mušallim-Marduk, the person named in the first section of this list as the first overseer of the female slaves of the palace.

It should be noted from Daniel that this exile's two names appear to have been relatively similar. They differ mainly in regard to the final element where "El" for God has been replaced by a *k*. If that *k* comes from the name of a Babylonian god, then Marduk is certainly the best candidate for that god. This would suggest something like Miša-Marduk, but better sense can be made out of this name if the

whole Hebrew name Mišael is adapted into the participial form of *mušallim*. Thus there is a way, leaving vocalization aside, to get from Hebrew Mišael to Mušal[lim-Marduk] in this Babylonian list and to Meša[llim-Mardu]k in the possible adaptation of the latter in Dan 3.

6. *Summary*

The evidence discussed above from and relating to the third chapter of Daniel can now be summarized by way of the following chart:

1. **Dec. 595 - Jan. 594**—The Revolt: "In the tenth year the king of Akkad (was) in his own land; from the month of Kislev to the month of Tebet there was rebellion in Akkad. . . . With arms he slew many of his own army. His own hand captured his enemy."

2. **594/593**—The Loyalty Oath: "Then King Nebuchadnezzar sent to assemble the satraps, the prefects, and the governors, the counselors, the treasurers, the justices, the magistrates, and all the officials of the provinces to come to the dedication of the image . . ." (Dan 3:2).

2a. *The Prism-List Officials*		2b. *The Biblical Data*
Installation and Confimation		"Then the king promoted Šadrach, Mešach, and Abed-Nego in the province of Babylon" (Dan 3:30).
Officials at the Court:		
Mušallim-Marduk	=	Meša[llim-Mardu]k?
Ardi-Nabu	=	Abed-Nego/Nebo
Ḫanunu	=	Hanan[iah]
Officials of Akkad		
Officials of Towns		
Officials of Districts		
Western Vassal Kings:		
The King of Tyre		
The King of Sidon		
		"Zedekiah king of Judah (went) to Babylon, in the fourth year of his reign" (Jer 51:59;594/593 B.C., fall-to-fall year).

3. **Late Spring 593**—Jerusalem Conference on Revolt (Jer 27). This was after the vassal kings' return from Babylon.
4. **Summer 593**—Hananiah prophesies return of the exiles in two years (Jer 28).
5. **Fall 593**—Psammetichus' army with Semites victorious in Nubia.
6. **592**—Psammetichus makes grand tour of Phoenicia and Palestine.
7. **589**—Hophra succeeds to the throne of Egypt.
8. **Jan. 588**—Nebuchadnezzar lays siege to Jerusalem (2 Kgs 25:1).
9. **Summer 586**—Jerusalem falls to Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kgs 25:3-8).

According to this outline of events, the episode described in the third chapter of Daniel should be dated sometime during the interval between the spring of 594 and the summer of 593 B.C. After Nebuchadnezzar suppressed the revolt in Babylon early in 594, he made a brief visit to the west to receive the tribute which had been collected that year. He did not leave for the west with the army again until the ninth month of the next Babylonian calendar year, or December of 594 B.C. This period between the spring and the end of 594 would have been the first of two possible intervals during which this episode could have occurred. The unusually late date in 594 when Nebuchadnezzar and the army left Babylon for the west should be noted in this connection, as it would have allowed ample time for the episode in question.

Zedekiah—and the other vassal kings from the west who may have accompanied him—did not journey to Babylon until early in 593 B.C., when the Babylonian army was in the west to escort him there. This time would have provided the other occasion on which this episode may have occurred. The date suggested for the events of Dan 3 revolves, therefore, around the question of whether the vassal kings from the west attended this ceremony, or some similar event around the same time, or whether they attended another function there the next year. Since the list in Dan 3 contains only

officials of the Babylonian government and does not include any vassal kings, a date in 594 B.C. seems preferable for the episode described in Dan 3, with the journey of the vassal kings to Babylon occurring in the next year, 593 B.C.

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TWO ASPECTS OF BABYLON'S JUDGMENT PORTRAYED IN REVELATION 18

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Chaps. 17 and 18 in the book of Revelation portray graphically the judgment of Babylon, a topic already introduced in 16:19-21. The present short essay will deal only with chap. 18, which contains a sort of funeral litany. In this chapter, two aspects of Babylon's judgment are set forth, a matter clarified when the literary structure of the chapter is considered.

1. *Basic Literary Structure of Rev 18*

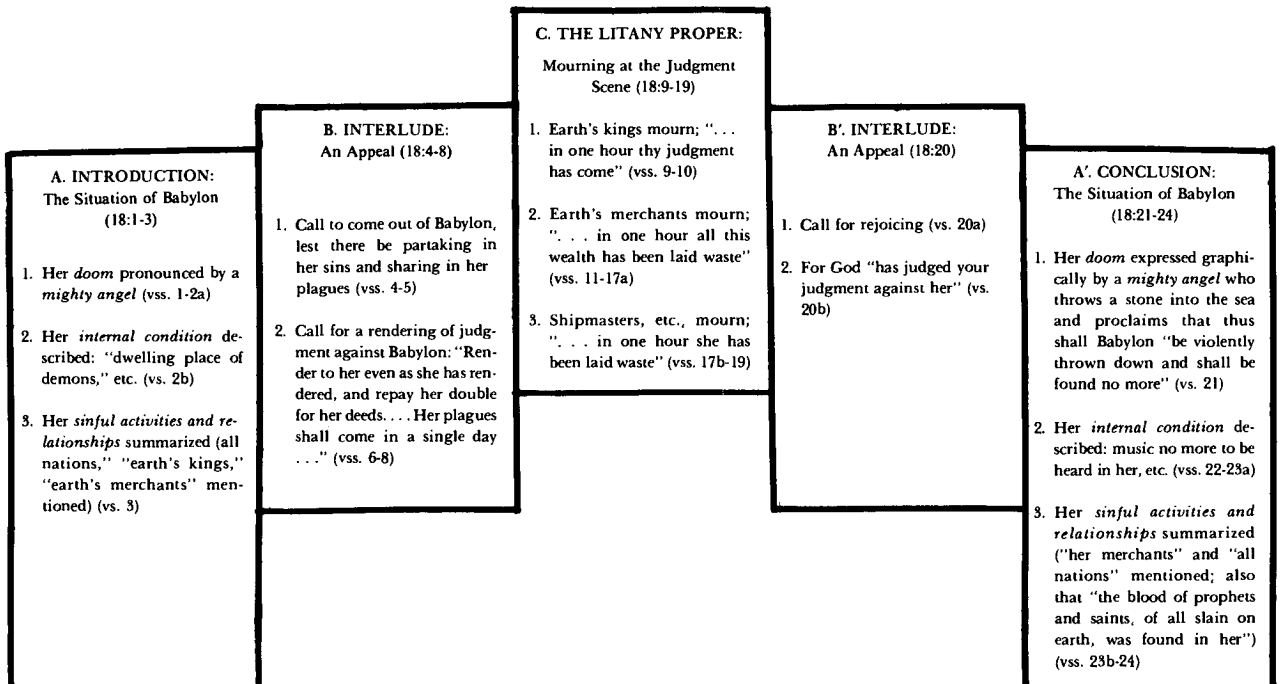
As I have noted elsewhere, the book of Revelation itself contains a basic chiastic structure.[1] It becomes a matter of interest, therefore, to notice that in chap. 18 there also is a sort of chiasm—one that actually takes the form a-b-c-b′-a′.[2]

The introductory and concluding sections (vss. 1-3 and 21-24, respectively) closely parallel each other, for both contain a mighty angel's announcement of the fall of Babylon (heightened in the last instance by the angel's symbolic throwing of a stone into the sea), both describe Babylon's internal condition (prior to her judgment in the first instance and subsequent to it in the last instance), and both summarize Babylon's sinful activities and relationships with "all nations" and with categories of people (such as, "the earth's kings" and "the earth's merchants").

The next parallel sections in chiastic order are interludes that have the nature of appeals—in vss. 4-8 and vs. 20, respectively. We will analyze these particular sections in somewhat more detail shortly.

[1]See especially my *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, Florida, 1979), pp. 43-52; and also the brief outline in "Chiastic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 401.

[2]This type of structure is sometimes referred to as simply ABA or as "concentric symmetry."



THE CHIASTIC LITERARY STRUCTURE OF REV 18

The central section of the chapter (vss. 9-19) may be looked upon as the litany proper. It takes the form of a lament over Babylon on the part of those who have had relationship with her—the earth's kings (vss. 9-10), the earth's merchants (vss. 11-17a), and the seafarers (vss. 17b-19). In each instance, the words of mourning conclude with an emphatic refrain to the effect that "in one hour" Babylon's judgment or desolation has come. The word "judgment" (κρίσις) used in vs. 10 is paralleled by the term "made desolate" or "laid waste" (ἠρημώθη) in vss. 17a and 19.

It is important to note that the depiction in this central section of chap. 18 is of actual *execution* of judgment, and that the Greek noun used here for "judgment" differs from that used elsewhere in the later chapters of the Apocalypse when *verdict* of judgment is in view. This is a point to which we will return later.

The accompanying outline (on the preceding page) illustrates the literary structure of chap. 18. We now turn our attention here more specifically to the two sections indicated in that outline as "interludes."

2. *The Interludes of Appeal*

Although chaps. 17 and 18 of the book of Revelation fall within the section of the Apocalypse that portrays the final judgment scenes, and therefore their visions have that consummatory judgment setting, there nevertheless are two types of material within this section that have their perspective from the pre-final-judgment era: (1) *explanatory matters* (obviously explanation would be intelligible only from the prophet's own standpoint in time), and (2) *appeals* (such would be meaningless if they pertained to a final-judgment time when they could no longer be heeded). The two interludes in chap. 18, vss. 4-8 and vs. 20, which stand in a sort of chiastic relationship to each other, as already indicated above, are therefore in an important sense *set apart from the vision proper* as set forth in the litany of the central section in vss. 9-19. These two interludes are *appeals* that relate to a time which precedes that consummatory executive judgment.[3]

[3]An example of the *explanatory* type of material occurs in chap. 17:9ff. (introduced by the phrase ὧδε ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν, "here is the mind that has wisdom"). The vision proper precedes, in the earlier part of the chapter.

The First Interlude

The first interlude is an appeal to come out of Babylon, with the added comment that "her sins have reached even to heaven, and God has remembered her iniquities" (vs. 5). Then comes a statement of the verdict against her—namely, "Render to her even as she has rendered, and repay her double for her deeds . . ." (vss. 6-7). Finally, the statement is made that "therefore her plagues shall come in a single day, death and mourning and famine, and she shall be burned up with fire; for mighty is the Lord God who judges her" (vs. 8).

The middle section of this interlude, which calls for rendering to Babylon "as she herself has rendered" and repaying her "double for her deeds," reflects a justice-court verdict reached on the basis of the law of malicious witness as given in Deut 19:16-19: In the case of the malicious false witness, "both parties to the dispute shall appear before the Lord, before the priests and judges who are in office in those days" and "the judges shall inquire diligently." If the witness was found to be a false witness, "then you shall do to him as he had meant to do to his brother." In our setting in Rev 18, Babylon has this verdict rendered against herself—in double measure.

The Second Interlude

The counterpart interlude in vs. 20 to this first interlude of vss. 4-8 also calls attention to judgment. However, whereas the first interlude is a call to come out of Babylon in view of her condition and the verdict against her, the second is a call for rejoicing in view of that same judgment verdict rendered for God's people against her.

The exact wording of this text deserves notice, for most English translations obscure somewhat the full or precise meaning (note, e.g., the RSV, "for God has given judgment for you against her"; or the KJV, "for God hath avenged you on her"; or the NIV, "God has judged her for the way she treated you.") Literally the text reads, "for God has judged your judgment on her" (ὅτι ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς).

What is meant by God's judging "your judgment" on her? The significance of this wording is clear, once the literary structure of the chapter is taken into account, so that it is seen that this

statement about "judgment" is a counterpart to the statement in vss. 6-7. The situation is that there has been *inquiry* or *investigation* (diligent inquiry, as expressed in Deut 19:18), and the *verdict* has been announced. The verdict is to render against Babylon the judgment that she, the malicious false witness, had rendered against God's people.

Thus, it may be said that whereas the central section of chap. 18 provides description of *execution* of judgment, the two interludes deal with *investigative* or court-inquiry judgment and its verdict. Both types of judgment are, of course, portrayed as being aspects of the fulfillment of divine justice in behalf of the Lord's true followers.

3. *Judgment Terminology*: Krisis *and* Krima

It is possible that an analysis of the Greek terminology translated by the English noun "judgment" in vss. 10 and 20 may further substantiate the foregoing conclusion, and to a brief analysis of the terminology we turn next.

In the later chapters of the book of Revelation, there are two Greek nouns used to describe facets of judgment—*krisis* and *krima*. These terms are also used elsewhere in the NT, of course. Whether or not, according to the lexicographers, the following analysis is applicable for the more general NT usage of the terminology,[4] the use of the terms in the Apocalypse from chap. 15 onward seems to pattern in a specific way. As the plagues are poured out (in *execution* of judgment) in chap. 16, for instance, the *krisis* type of judgment is mentioned in vs. 7 in the statement, "O Lord God, omnipotent, true and righteous are your judgments." In the *execution* of judgment as portrayed in the central litany of chap. 18

[4]I am not certain, however, but that general NT usage of the terms has frequently been misunderstood because of nuances we may fail to grasp. There may be some relevance or relatedness in the fact that the -σις ending denotes *action* and the -μα ending indicates the *result* of an action. See Bruce M. Metzger, *Lexical Aids for Students of New Testament Greek*, new ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1975), pp. 42, 43. Of course, as Metzger notes, "roots, stems, and suffixes never existed as independent words in Greek. . . . The analysis of words into their component morphological elements is merely a scientific device useful for purposes of arrangement and classification" (ibid., p. 42, n. 2).

that we have noted above, it is again the *krisis* type of judgment that is brought to view—in vs. 10, "in one hour thy [Babylon's] judgment has come." As indicated earlier, the word "judgment" in this verse is paralleled by the term "laid waste" (ἠρημώθη) in the two paralleling emphatic refrains in vss. 17a and 19.

The point of main interest here is that in the two interludes we have noted in chap. 18, where judgment is brought to view, the one occurrence that we have of the term "judgment" in the substantive (in vs. 20) is *krima*, not *krisis*. (In the earlier interlude, only a verbal form occurs, and this form is non-determinative for our purposes.)

Is the choice of the word *krima* in vs. 20, in contrast to the word *krisis* in vs. 10, significant? I would suggest that it is indeed so, and especially in view of the fact that vs. 20 is a counterpart to the investigative type of judgment of vss. 6-7. Moreover, it becomes a matter of further interest to note that in chap. 19, where the literary structure of the book of Revelation has moved us onward to a further praise scene—one that embraces the totality of what has been described in chaps. 17 and 18, including the execution phase of judgment—*krisis* is again brought to view (19:2).

4. *Conclusion*

The literary structure of Rev 18 puts into dramatic relief two aspects of judgment: (1) the execution of judgment on Babylon, as portrayed in the central litany of vss. 9-19, and (2) an investigative-type judgment whose verdict, in harmony with the law of malicious witness, places on the false witness Babylon the judgment which Babylon has unjustly rendered against God's people. The reflection of the law of malicious witness is very clear in the first interlude where the statement is made, "Render to her even as she has rendered, and repay her double for her deeds" (vs. 6). It is also clear in the second interlude, in vs. 20, when the last statement in that verse is understood in its literal rendering ("for God has judged your judgment on her") and when recognition is given to the fact that vs. 20 forms a paralleling counterpart to vss. 6-7.

Further support for the foregoing conclusion regarding two aspects of judgment in Rev 18 is possibly forthcoming from a study of the Greek nouns translated "judgment" in the latter part of the book of Revelation: *krisis*, used in vs. 10 to describe the execution of

judgment taking place; and *krima*, used in vs. 20 as the literarily paralleling counterpart to the court-inquiry, verdict-rendering type of judgment dealt with in vss. 6-7.

EXCURSUS

Commentaries and other treatments of the book of Revelation generally fall far short in bringing to light the true theological dimensions of the judgment motif in chap. 18, being content rather to identify sources for the imagery and/or to make simple comments. Seldom noticed, for example, are such basic features or concerns as the literary structure of the passage and the significance of the law of malicious witness. It is the purpose here to call attention briefly to two works that in certain ways overcome this deficiency in their treatment of Rev 18—Paul S. Minear, *I Saw a New Earth* (Washington, D.C., 1968), and G. B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (New York, 1966).

Minear has given considerable attention to literary features of the various sections of the book of Revelation, providing the biblical text itself in a form that highlights his understanding of those features. (He gives the biblical text interspersed with commentary on pp. 3-197, and he gives it again later in a consecutive, uninterrupted order on pp. 300-365.) Although his presentation of the text of chap. 18 does not reveal a fivefold division of that chapter, a paragraph in his discussion on p. 145 seems to do so and comes fairly close to matching my own analysis. This paragraph is worth quoting in full:

> 18:1-24. The fall of Babylon, announced on earlier occasions, is celebrated with appropriate language and lament. Reading the chapter consecutively but omitting vss. 4-8 and vs. 20, we note that the funeral litany begins and ends with angels who exercise great power. In both cases the prophet utilizes a dirge-like rhythm, in vss. 2, 3 stressing by six lines of synonymous parallelism the accusations against the city, and in vss. 21-24 describing her desolation in terms of five parallel couplets followed by the repetition of the basic charges which justified her destruction. Between are the poignant laments and curses of those groups who have been polluted by the city's adulteries: the kings of the earth (the lament comes in vs. 10, but is based on vs. 3), the merchants of the earth (the laments are in vs. 14, 16, anticipated in vs. 3 and echoed in vs. 23), the sea-going traders (vs. 19). Set over against these laments, this funeral litany, are two messages addressed especially to God's people. The first calls for them to break loose from their attachment to the city and justifies the vengeance which is her lot (vs. 4-8); the second is a hymn of rejoicing which, coming

> after the last lament, stands in very sharp contrast to it. The form of both the dirges and the hymns of joy are shaped after Old Testament models and saturated with typical prophetic irony and savage humor. At important points the portrait of the city is painted in colors opposite to those of the new Jerusalem (Ch. 21, 22).

Minear has, however, evidently missed the real significance of the parallelism between vss. 4-8 and vs. 20 and has also apparently failed to recognize the background of the law of malicious witness, for he translates vs. 20b as "from her [Babylon] God had claimed justice for you" (pp. 141, 351).

Caird has seen less of the basic literary structure than Minear, subdividing the material as follows: 18:1-8, "The Lament of Heaven"; 18:9-19, "The Lament of the Earth"; and 18:20-19:4, "The Judgment of Babylon" (pp. 221, 224, 227). On the other hand, in connection with 18:20b, Caird has suggested as background both the law of malicious witness of Deut 19:16-19 and the "law of bloodshed" given in Gen 9:5-6 (pp. 229-230). Strangely, he has failed to notice the law of malicious witness in connection with vss. 6-7, making reference there only to the *lex talionis*—as "a consistent belief" running through John's theology (p. 224). Nevertheless, concerning vs. 20b, Caird's translation is noteworthy (in contrast to most translations that are given): "God has imposed on her [Babylon] the sentence she passed on you" (p. 230). So also are his immediately following comments: "Babylon has brought a malicious accusation against the martyrs, which has resulted in their death. But the case has been carried 'before the Lord,' to the court of final appeal, where judgments are true and just. There Babylon has been found guilty of perjury, and God has therefore required from her the life of her victims, exacting from her the penalty she exacted from them" (ibid.).

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

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TYPOLOGICAL STRUCTURES IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS*

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This dissertation seeks to ascertain the nature of biblical typology by allowing its conceptual structures to emerge from within Scripture through a semasiological analysis of the term τύπος and NT cognates and an exegetical investigation of NT hermeneutical τύπος passages.

In the first chapter the stage is set for the study with a survey of the twentieth-century discussion of biblical typology, placed against the backdrop of a concise overview of typological interpretation in preceding centuries. Several leading trends emerge from the survey—the traditional understanding of biblical typology (with three main strands), a post-critical neo-typology (with two major traditions), and an historical-critical repudiation of typological interpretation.

It is determined that previous studies have to a greater or lesser degree failed to allow the structures of biblical typology to emerge from within Scripture. The present study seeks to remedy this methodological deficiency by formulating a procedure which utilizes the Greek word τύπος and biblical cognates—where employed in Scripture as hermeneutical terms—as preliminary terminological indicators of the presence of typology.

The second chapter attempts a semasiological investigation of τύπος and NT cognates in order to (1) ascertain the overall semantic range of the terms up to and including NT times, (2) determine their breadth of signification in the twenty biblical occurrences, and (3) isolate the NT hermeneutical τύπος passages.

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*The dissertation has been published in 1981 in the Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, and is available from Andrews University Press, Bell Hall, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104 (xiv + 496 pp.; paperback, $8.95).

It is seen that τύπος has an astonishing wealth of significations and three basic meanings: (1) a *Vorbild;* (2) a *Nachbild;* and (3) a *Vorbild* which is simultaneously a *Nachbild.* The NT cognates of τύπος—ἀντίτυπος, τυπικῶς, and ὑποτύπωσις—are also found to be capable of the twofold *Nachbild-Vorbild* perspective. In the NT all of the basic meanings of τύπος are present, and in the majority of non-hermeneutical τύπος passages these terms denote a divinely derived *Nachbild* which serves as a stamping, determinative *Vorbild.*

The third chapter undertakes an exegetical analysis of the five NT hermeneutical τύπος passages with a view toward exposing the inherent τύπος structures. From the investigation of these passages, five τύπος structures consistently emerge. There is an historical structure (including the elements of historicality, correspondence, and progression) and four theological structures—the eschatological (involving inaugurated/appropriated/consummated fulfillment aspects), the Christological-soteriological (in which Christ and his salvific work are the ultimate orientation point of the τύπος/ἀντίτυπος), the ecclesiological (comprised of individual, corporate, and sacramental dimensions), and the prophetic (consisting of the aspects of prefiguration, divine design, and prospective/predictive *devoir-être*).

It is seen that the terms τύπος and cognates are amazingly well suited to encompass the linear *Nachbild-Vorbild* dynamics involved in the τύπος structures. Since these terms are found to function hermeneutically in the NT hermeneutical passages, it is concluded that they may be taken as terminological indicators of the presence of typology in these passages and the emergent τύπος structures may be identified as typological structures.

Following the analysis of NT hermeneutical τύπος passages a relationship between typology and salvation history is posited in which the latter appears to provide a supra-structure within which the former operates. Biblical typology as a hermeneutical endeavor is then tentatively defined as the study of certain OT salvation-historical realities (persons, events, institutions) which God specifically designed to correspond to, and be prospective/predictive prefigurations of, their ineluctable (*devoir-être*) and absolutely escalated eschatological fulfillment aspects (inaugurated/appropriated/consummated) within NT salvation history.

The conclusion summarizes the argument of the dissertation and the implications for the modern debate over the nature of biblical typology, indicates the limitations of the study, and suggests areas for further investigation.

STUDENTS' COMPREHENSION OF THE ALMEIDA VERSION AND A MODERN VERSION OF THE BIBLE IN PORTUGUESE (A BIBLIA NA LINGUAGEM DE HOJE) IN SELECTED PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF BRAZIL—A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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Problem. This study was concerned with students' comprehension of the Almeida Version of the Bible in Portuguese as compared with their comprehension of a modern version.

The purpose was to determine through testing whether there is a significant difference in students' comprehension of the Almeida Version of the Bible in Portuguese and a corresponding modern version, measured through the Cloze Procedure technique.

Method. Sixteen Bible texts of different literary styles were selected by a panel of biblical-literature experts of the Brazilian Bible Society. The texts were randomly assigned to one of the sixteen forms of the Cloze test.

The Cloze tests were randomly assigned to 1,504 eighth-grade students and 1,504 eleventh-grade students chosen at random from twenty-eight public schools randomly selected in the Greater São Paulo area. The tests were administered by the investigator during April, May, and June 1978.

The data were analyzed initially by means of a three-way analysis of variance. Each individual text was then further analyzed by means of a two-way analysis of variance.

Findings. To fulfill the purpose of the study, answers were sought to the following questions:

1. Is there any significant difference between mean scores obtained by the students on the Almeida Version and the modern version of the Bible texts? From data analysis of the sixteen individual texts it was shown that thirteen of them, corresponding to 81.3 percent of the Bible texts under study, yielded significantly higher scores on the modern version than on the Almeida Version.

2. Is there any significant difference between mean scores obtained by eighth-grade students and eleventh-grade students? The scores obtained by eleventh-grade students on the modern and the Almeida Version were significantly higher than the scores of eighth-grade students in thirteen of the sixteen texts, corresponding to 81.3 percent of the Bible texts under study.

3. Is there any significant difference between scores obtained by the students on the sixteen Bible texts? The analysis of the data indicated the existence of a significant difference between scores obtained by the students on the sixteen Bible texts.

The readability level of each text was determined through the criterion "nineteen out of fifty" set for this study. According to this criterion, 62.5 percent of the texts in the modern version were shown to be readable for eighth-grade students and 81.3 percent for eleventh-grade students. In the Almeida Version only 12.5 percent of the texts were readable for eighth-grade students and 31.3 percent for eleventh-grade students.

Conclusions. The conclusions may be stated as follows:

1. Students' comprehension of the modern version is significantly higher than their comprehension of the Almeida Version of the Bible in Portuguese.

2. Comprehension of eleventh-grade students of the modern version and the Almeida Version of the Bible in Portuguese is significantly higher than that of eighth-grade students.

3. Some passages of the Bible in both the modern version and the Almeida Version are more comprehensible than others in the same version.

4. The number of texts in the modern version of the Bible in Portuguese which are readable for public school students is much higher than the number of texts readable for the same students in the Almeida Version.

A series of recommendations on the use of Bible versions in Portuguese for religious educators, preachers, and evangelists, as well as to the Brazilian Bible Society, resulted from the findings of this study.

JUSTIFICATION AND MERIT: THE INTERPRETATION AND EVALUATION OF THE CONCEPT OF MERIT IN MODERN CATHOLIC THEOLOGY IN RELATION TO LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION

Author: **Johann Heinz.** Th.D., 1981.

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The teaching of justification of the sinner solely by faith is the "heart" of the Reformation. Martin Luther viewed it as the "main teaching" of Christianity and demonstrated this assertion by the concepts of the sole agency of God and of the consecutive character of good works. Since he could concede neither the cooperation of man nor the "final character of works" (meaning works achieved with an ultimate end in view), his struggle was mainly against the Church's traditional doctrine of merit.

Catholic theology, however, refused to follow the Reformer in this radical break with tradition. When about a decade after the outbreak of the Reformation it had become clear that the teaching of justification formed the main point of the dispute, Catholic theology set the doctrine of merit like a dam against Luther's *sola fide*. The Reformer's adversaries viewed the idea of merit as the best proof that justification cannot result from faith alone. Thus, the problem area of justification and merit has functioned since the days of the Reformation as an insurmountable hindrance in the conversations of polemical theology.

With modern Catholic research on Luther since about 1940 the entrenched fronts got into motion again. A more objective *historical* view of the life and work of the Reformer produced a deeper understanding of his theological concerns. The following ecumenical opening in *theological* studies (about the time of Vatican II) led to a distinct rapprochement between the Catholic interpretation of the doctrine of justification and that of Luther. Some scholars (J. Lortz, O. H. Pesch) have even claimed a consensus with the Reformer.

The purpose of the present dissertation is to investigate the justification for this claim. The doctrine of merit, which forms the polemical side issue and which in the current-day dialogue has been unjustly pushed to the margin, is used in this investigation as a kind of "scratch test" for the validity of this assertion (W. Dantine). Since modern Catholic theology is anxious to reconsider and to reformulate the meaning and statement of the doctrine of merit, the question arises whether these new interpretations and formulations are adequate to make the alleged consensus with Luther credible.

Chap. 1 deals with controversial aspects in Luther's teaching on justification, which developed out of his new understanding of Paul and which ultimately led to the battle with the ecclesiastical doctrine of merit.

In order to understand Luther's position in relation to the idea of merit, chap. 2 offers a historical survey of the development of the Christian doctrine of merit. Following this, Luther's teaching on justification is discussed in the light of those features that led to his rejection of the Catholic dogma of merit.

Chap. 3 focuses on the modern Catholic reaction to Luther's rejection of the doctrine of merit, on the new interpretations of his teaching on justification, and on the possibilities of relativizing, reinterpreting, and completing the dogmatic statements of the Council of Trent.

Chap. 4 investigates the question of how the doctrine of merit is interpreted in present Catholic exegesis and dogmatics, including the position of Vatican II.

The dissertation closes with the statement that a trend of rapprochement toward Luther is unmistakable in the Catholic understanding of justification. This, however, does not yet justify speaking of a successful consensus. The Catholic doctrine of merit, with its final concept of salvation (instead of Luther's consecutive one), its principle of cooperation, and its view of inherent grace, points—in contrast to the Reformer—to a different understanding of the gospel.

THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS AT TELL ḤESBÂN, JORDAN

Author: **Larry A. Mitchel.** Th.D., 1980.

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The site of Tell Ḥesbân, 9 km. north of Madaba, Jordan, was excavated by Andrews University, in cooperation with the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (five seasons, 1968 to 1976).

Evidence from the site suggests that it was first occupied in Iron Age I (ca. 1200 B.C.) and continuously thereafter, except for two gaps in occupation (6th century to ca. 198 B.C., and A.D. 969 to 1200). This present research has limited itself to Tell Ḥesbân Strata 15 through 11 (ca. 198 B.C. to A.D. 363). Research has been based primarily on the records and remains of the five seasons of excavation, but has included a search for cultural parallels from other Palestinian and Syrian sites, as well as an attempt to place Tell Ḥesbân (Roman Esbus) in its historical setting in the periods represented by each stratum. A more complete description of culture processes must await the completion of specialist reports now in progress.

Tell Ḥesbân Stratum 15 (ca. 198 - 63 B.C.) has yielded architecture interpreted to be primarily a military post or fort, around which a dependent community gathered. Building efforts on the summit of the mound resulted in the nearly complete filling of the Stratum 16 reservoir in Area B, suggesting that the latter was already out of use, or more likely that its large water capacity was not needed by the small number of inhabitants in the fort community. Evidence for the nature of the economy, while tenuous, suggests a mixed farming strategy, which comports well with the practice in this period of establishing military/farming outposts.

During the period represented by Stratum 14 (ca. 63 B.C. - A.D. 130), the overall size of the settlement seems to have grown somewhat. Apart from the continued use of the fort on the summit, no intact buildings have survived. A large number of underground (bedrock) installations were in use during Stratum 14, though later destruction or clearing and building work may have biased our sample. The small amount of relevant data suggests that mixed farming continued to be practiced by the community. The stratum was closed out by what has been interpreted as a disastrous earthquake, perhaps (maybe even likely) to be dated ca. A.D. 130.

Stratum 13 (ca. A.D. 130 - 193) began with a major building effort occasioned by extensive earthquake destruction, especially evident in Areas B and D (south of the summit). A series of three or four rooms built on a north-south line in Area D have been interpreted as an inn built around an enclosed courtyard, with its entrance through Square D.4. If indeed an inn, this structure suggests the rising importance of travel for Esbus, though the mixed farming economy appears to have continued through the period of Stratum 13.

Stratum 12 (ca. A.D. 193 - 284) represents a continuation of the culture of Stratum 13. The inn continued in use, in part rebuilt. But on the summit of the tell a large public structure was built, partly following the lines of earlier walls. This structure is interpreted to be the temple shown on the reverse of the so-called "Esbus Coin," minted at Aurelia Esbus under Roman Emperor Elagabalus (A.D. 218 - 222). It is during this period that evidence suggests a shift to a predominantly crop-production economy which persisted through the Byzantine period.

Stratum 11 (ca. A.D. 284 - 363) is characterized by another building program. The Stratum 13-12 inn was replaced by a stairway which in turn replaced the earthen ramp of Stratum 13-12 as the southern access route to the summit. On the temple grounds a new colonnade was built in front (east) of the temple, perhaps a result of Julian's efforts to revive the state cult.

BOOK REVIEWS

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.

This second edition of the Index was necessitated by the fact that a new edition of Bauer's Lexicon in English has been published since the appearance of the first Index. This Index is intended as a time-saver for the student who uses Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich by providing for each word the page, the place on the page, and the section where the specific meaning of the word (in that particular text) is treated. The editor suggests that more than half the time is saved for the ordinary Greek student and considerably more for the student who knows only a little Greek.

The Index was originally published to provide for the Wycliffe Bible Translators "quicker and easier access to the wealth of information" in Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich. Others can benefit from this tool as well, although one must assume some basic knowledge of Greek in recognizing the actual forms as they are found in the text. Nothing is indicated as to how much knowledge of Greek is required before this tool can be used with satisfaction. Obviously the Wycliffe Bible Translators assume a certain standard. In that case one wonders why every word is provided, including proper nouns and frequently occurring words.

An admirable aspect of the Index is that the student is led to Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich for the specific meaning of the word for each particular use. However, one should be aware of the fact that there are differences of opinion as to the precise meaning of many words.

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Aune, David E. *Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels: A Bibliographic Study Guide.* Madison, Wisc.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980. vi + 93 pp. Paperback, $2.50.

This volume is the first in a series of bibliographic study guides for the Bible, which is jointly sponsored by the Institute of Biblical Research and the Theological Students Fellowship. The series promises to treat the major sections of the Bible and periods of biblical history. Other volumes in preparation cover such areas as: "Pentateuchal Studies," "Intertestamental Studies," "Pauline Studies," and "Second-Century Christianity."

The principal purpose of this book is to provide a bibliography for the study of Jesus and the Synoptics, which is designed to serve the needs

of college and seminary students. For this reason, Aune has not included highly specialized items or foreign language material. Despite these limitations, the bibliography, which is often insightfully annotated, is quite extensive. Most readers, of course, will look in vain for some favorite piece among the nearly one thousand entries. The user may find access to specific items either by referring to the topical outline or by checking the author index.

However, this book is more than a bibliography. In fact, Aune lists two additional purposes: (1) He wishes to offer "a relatively complete outline of the modern critical study of Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels" (p. 1), and (2) he also defines, describes, and critiques "the various critical methods which have been applied to the study of Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels" (ibid.). The definitions of critical methods and research categories are brief but accurate. This feature of the book should be quite helpful to both beginners and more advanced users.

The publishers have attempted to hold down the cost of production of this volume by computer typesetting. However, this is accompanied by some annoying details. The numbering system associated with the rather intricate outline is not easy to follow. Some headings are missing, e.g., Redaction-critical Studies of Luke (p. 39). At times, headings are difficult to distinguish from the rest of the material. Also, one may quarrel with the categories into which some items have been placed. For instance, Aune has put material on the parables in two different places. The book contains numerous typographical errors, which hopefully the editors will eliminate in the planned updates and revisions.

All who study and teach the Synoptic Gospels and who do research on Jesus will welcome this bibliographic study guide. Specialists will find it incomplete, but it should prove useful to pastors and students at all levels.

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Belo, Fernando. *A Materialistic Reading of the Gospel of Mark*. Trans. by Matthew J. O'Connell. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1981. xiv + 363 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

Every "bourgeoise exegete" should read *A Materialist Reading of the Gospel of Mark*. This is not because Belo has anything substantially new to contribute to the study of Mark, but rather to see how bourgeois conclusions can be set into the framework of Marxist philosophy.

Viewing Mark through communist eyes is an interesting exercise, though Belo makes it more difficult than it needs to be. On the other hand, when he wrote his book he may not have anticipated the laborious task Marxist terms and philosophy present to a bourgeois capitalist. The book really needs to be read twice—once to become familiar with the terms used and the general direction in which Belo's ideas move, then a second time in order to allow a penetration into what Belo is saying.

Part I sets forth a series of 54 hypotheses that Belo uses to interpret Mark. These hypotheses, although claimed by Belo to be original with him, are rooted in Marxist philosophy. They define various modes of production and consumption. (Capitalists who think they alone have a passionate interest in "production" and "consumption" will discover that communists are aware that society cannot function without these capitalist ingredients.) Terms that are used in the hypotheses and throughout the work are defined here. Part I deserves to be read twice even if the rest of the book is not, for this section supplies the key for understanding what is said in the following sections.

Because Belo's primary aim is to present a political reading of Mark, he briefly reviews the socio-political structure of Israel, from its beginnings as a collection of tribes that lacked social classes through the monarchy to first-century-A.D. Palestine. Depending heavily upon Gerhard von Rad, Belo presents two theses: (1) Two distinct systems are found in the legislative texts of the OT, a system of pollution and a system of debt. The system of pollution belongs to P, and debt to E and D. (2) These two systems were synthesized during the subasiatic monarchy, resulting in a class struggle.

After "exegeting" Mark in Part III (which is nothing more than identifying the various "codes" that Belo sees as being present in the text), an explanation is given of his exegesis. The conclusion is that the text of Mark is rooted in the pollution/debt system of Israel.

Originally, the text of Mark was rooted in the debt system, Belo claims, and this identifies Jesus as a true revolutionary who wished to change the social formation of not only his people, but the world. However, Jesus' followers were disturbed by the abrupt termination of his work because of his murder. In the development of Christology and soteriology, this murder becomes a death, by a theological negation of the murder, which involves the development of Jesus' predictions of his coming demise. This negation enables the church to spiritualize the message of Jesus and the cross; and as a result, "the future salvation of the elect" in the kingdom no longer is a physical salvation from the socio-political elements of the Roman world. Jesus' murder, "instead of being a failure," now becomes a spiritualized "saving work" (p. 278).

However, all is not lost through the death: "The resurrection of Jesus is affirmed as following upon His murder" (p. 295). What is the point of a resurrection if Jesus simply grew old and happily died the "good death"? His resurrection becomes meaningful only in view of his murder, for it becomes a liberating act that breaks with society. "*The resurrection can only be the fruit of insurrection*" (p. 295). But to place this resurrection within the context of theological negation is to impose a reading of the pollution system upon Mark's text, and this negates the debt system upon which Mark was originally written.

In concluding his study, Belo makes an interesting observation. There is a new generation appearing who claims to be Marxist *and* Christian. "The claim to be both Marxist and Christian implies that the claimant has leaped over the wall that separated the two, just as in their day Paul and Mark leaped over the wall of hatred that separated Jews and Pagans" (p. 297).

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Berger, David. *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the Nizzaḥon Vetus.* Judaica, Texts and Translations, 4. Philadelphia, Pa.: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979. xviii + 422 pp. + 164 pp. of Hebrew text. $20.00.

The *Nizzaḥon Vetus* ("Old Book of Polemic") is a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century anthology of Jewish arguments directed against Christian doctrine, practice, and exegesis, probably written by a German Jew. In this impressive publication, David Berger not only provides a highly readable English translation of the Hebrew text (here edited with critical apparatus), but also a useful introduction surveying the nature of the Jewish-Christian debate in the Middle Ages, describing the social, political, and economic contexts of late medieval polemics, and briefly discussing the evidence for authorship, provenance, and dating of this important and highly aggressive example of Jewish disputation. Throughout the introduction and in his detailed commentary on the text—which reveals a commanding knowledge of both the Jewish polemical literature and standard medieval Christian exegesis—Berger never fails to inform and to discuss issues central to both Judaism and Christianity.

As Berger notes, medieval "Jews were convinced that some of the central articles of faith professed by Christians were not only devoid of scriptural foundation but were without logical justification as well . . ." (p. 13). Christian trinitarian arguments were especially attacked as being irrational. Other Christian beliefs and practices were scrutinized as based

on a misunderstanding of Scripture (e.g., the "christological" interpretation of key OT texts), or condemned as immoral (e.g., priestly celibacy). The arguments included in the *Nizzaḥon Vetus* range in approach and tone from the careful and well-reasoned to the sarcastic and abusive. Such arguments clearly had their effect. Berger suggests that the necessity of answering Jewish challenges to Christianity contributed to the development of Christian theology, especially in discussions of such basic issues as the Trinity and the Incarnation.

The divinity of Jesus of Nazareth was, as one would expect, particularly opposed by Jews. One way in which the *Nizzaḥon Vetus* seeks to undermine Christian positions is to deny the power and effect of Christ's miracles. For example, it argues that the miracles of Jesus were "done by magic," which he must have learned while in Egypt (p. 64). It also points out that the miracles of Jesus were minor in comparison with those of the OT prophets. Examining NT miracles, the *Nizzaḥon Vetus* points to OT marvels that preceded and even out-miracled those of Jesus, suggesting quite rightly that miracles alone do not prove divinity (pp. 199-200). But, as Berger suggests in his commentary, such arguments had two sides. Christian polemicists such as Peter the Venerable and others could distinguish between the miracles of the prophets, which were dependent upon the power of God, and those of Jesus, performed through his own power (p. 324). Such arguments reveal the complexity of the debate between Christian and Jew in the Middle Ages, a complexity that Berger carefully delineates in this study.

Of particular interest are the Jewish attacks against the medieval Christian rejection of the ritual law and against the "new" Christian rituals such as baptism and confession. Concerning the sabbath, for example, the Jewish polemicist accuses Christians of breaking the commandments of God by not resting on the seventh day. He sweeps aside the Christian argument that the day of rest was changed to Sunday: "You might then argue that the one who was hanged [i.e., Jesus] changed the Sabbath to Sunday, which you call *Dominica*; nevertheless, by the fact that you do work on the Sabbath, when God commanded you not to work, you violate and contradict the words of Moses. Furthermore, even according to your view that the Sabbath has been transferred to Sunday, why don't you stone those who violate it as the Israelites, commanded by God, did in the desert to the man found gathering sticks on the Sabbath?" (p. 45).

The polemic similarly attacks Christians for eating swine flesh (p. 211) and for the practice of baptism, especially infant baptism (p. 171). It also insists that the increasingly important Christian practice of confession is wrong. In arguments somewhat typical in their ranging from the absurd to the carefully reasoned, the *Nizzaḥon Vetus* on the one hand charges that

the practice of confession is merely a way for licentious priests, who "wallow in fornication," to learn "which women are having extra-marital affairs," whereas on the other hand it points out quite soberly that "only God himself can pardon and forgive" and that even "the greatest of the prophets [Moses] did not have the power to pardon and forgive . . ." (pp. 223-224).

One of the major difficulties existing in the Middle Ages that complicated the Jewish-Christian debate involved conflicting hermeneutics. Jews repeatedly cited Christian ignorance of textual context and attacked the typical allegorical reading of the OT whereby historical characters and events were interpreted as prefiguring or symbolizing Christ, the church, or Christian virtues. Thus one can understand the frustration of Jews faced with self-serving Christian interpretations based essentially on the principle that whenever "Israel" in Scripture is condemned it refers to the Jews, whereas whenever it is praised it refers to the Christian church. The Jewish exegetes asked for consistency in approach and some sense of textual evidence for interpretations. The *Niẓẓaḥon Vetus*, for example, refutes the Christian identification of the term "Zion" with "Ecclesia" (see Isa 51:3) by asking, "what does Zion have to do with Christendom?" (p. 113). Essentially, the polemic demands a literal reading of the OT texts.

Nevertheless, when it suits the argument, Jewish interpreters could also provide elaborate and far-fetched allegorical interpretations of their own. Commenting on Deut 12:31, which refers to those abhorrent to the Lord who burn their sons and daughters for their gods, the *Niẓẓaḥon Vetus* states: "Burning refers to the priests and nuns who burn up in their lustful desire but are unable to consummate it; this is the sort of burning which is an abhorrent act that the Lord detests." The argument is at least in part dependent upon popular rumors concerning the supposed immorality of the monastic orders—rumors continued later in Protestant anti-Catholic polemic. But particularly interesting here is that the argument continues by quoting the NT: "Moreover, it is written in their own book of errors that Paul said, 'It is better to marry than to burn' [1 Cor. 7:9], and so you can see that adultery is called burning" (p. 70). Here clearly it is the Jewish polemicist who lifts a text out of context, turning for ammunition even to the Christian Scripture. The passage indicates how inflamed the debate became in the high Middle Ages. As Berger notes, Christians searched the Talmud and Jews the NT for their own purposes, manipulating each other's sacred literature: "On the one hand, that literature was subjected to a vigorous critique; on the other, it was exploited to disprove the beliefs of its own adherents" (p. 30).

Useful explanations of these and many of the other arguments advanced in the *Niẓẓaḥon Vetus*, along with possible sources and analogues

and references to Christian arguments, are provided in Berger's highly helpful commentary on the text. The reader is also assisted by an analytical table of contents, an extensive bibliography, and indexes to biblical citations and to topics, sources and authors. Five appendixes provide further and more detailed examination of such issues as "The Use of the Plural in Reference to God," "The Law as Allegory," and "The Christian Exegesis of Genesis 18."

This fascinating book, by providing a modern edition and translation of a key text, focuses on a facet of church history relatively unknown to most Christians, yet of crucial importance to our understanding of medieval doctrine, exegesis, and culture. Theologians interested in some historical perspective on Jewish and Christian beliefs, historians concerned with the social and religious situations of medieval Jewry, and even literary historians interested in the backgrounds of medieval legends (e.g., the tale told by the Prioress in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* that Jews conducted ritual sacrifices of Christian children) will find *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages* challenging and thoughtful. As Berger notes, "The array of arguments in the *Nizzahon Vetus* is almost encyclopedic, and the book is therefore an excellent vehicle for an analysis of virtually all the central issues in the Jewish-Christian debate during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries" (p. 36). That it is, but because of Berger's impressive scholarship, the "Old Book of Polemic" becomes an excellent vehicle for a much broader understanding of the Middle Ages, both Jewish and Christian.

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RICHARD KENNETH EMMERSON

Childs, Brevard S. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture.* Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress Press, 1979. 688 pp. $28.50.

It seems that about every decade a monograph appears which threatens to alter the direction of a discipline. Childs's *Introduction* is such a work. The method it advocates may significantly influence exegetical work on the OT in the 1980s.

Calling his method the "canonical analysis/method," Childs takes as his starting point the final, or canonical form, of the received Hebrew text. This final form is given priority because it preserves the full witness of the encounter between God and Israel, and has been transmitted by and shaped religious consciousness of both synagogue and church for two millennia. The canon principle shifts the emphasis away from historical

reconstruction of the literature and its *Sitz im Leben* to the religiously normative value of the final canon.

Childs does not ignore historical-critical concerns. However, since these methods have concentrated on diachronic textual genesis, he feels they have failed to give proper weight to the religious witness of the canon. To show how critical methods have led to an impasse in addressing the crucial religio-theological value of the text as text, Childs employs critical *Forschungsberichte* as a prolegomenon to his discussions of each book. While the study of the prehistory of the text is essential in its own right, the final canon provides the criterion by which the shaping, expansion, or stability of earlier stages may be assessed. The manner in which these traditions are emphasized or subordinated in the total canonical witness permits a more precise religious interpretation of them.

Use of the canon principle with the Pentateuch and Genesis illustrates Childs's approach. In keeping with his treatment of each division of the MT, he surveys the history of critical research of the Pentateuch and concludes with the implications of the canon principle for solving the "present impasse" of pentateuchal studies. He then prefaces Genesis with a full bibliography of the important older and more recent treatments of relevant issues, follows with a concise review of the history of critical research on Genesis that singles out the inherent impotency of historical-critical approaches in getting at the theological dimensions of the text, and climaxes by applying the canon principle to each section of the book. This procedure reveals how both traditional and literary strata have been redacted in a way that each has assumed different but complementary roles in the final shape. The so-called two creation accounts provide an example: Here J has been subordinated, not merely juxtaposed, to P, and now unfolds the history of mankind as the "intended offspring of the creation" (p. 150).

The final result of such redaction, Childs states, is that Genesis now serves the "community of faith and practice as a truthful witness to God's activity on its behalf in creation and blessing, judgment and forgiveness, redemption and promise" (p. 158). He concludes his analysis with a discussion of the theological and hermeneutical implications of the canon principle for Genesis. Treatment of the other OT books follows this same general pattern.

Aside from the presentation of a special introduction for each book and division (pp. 107-655), Childs reviews the history of *Einleitungs*-research (pp. 25-45), and sets the issue of text and canon in a methodological context (pp. 46-106). The work concludes with a consideration of the relationship of the Hebrew canon to the Christian Bible (pp. 657-671).

In at least three regards, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* differs strikingly from the standard *Einleitung*. First, due to Childs's principle of canonical priority, the question of canon, usually considered a final stage in the growth of traditions and thus placed last in discussion (cf. Eissfeldt and Fohrer), is taken up near the beginning. This is not merely a structural difference in his presentation, but reflects the impact of canon analysis on introductory studies.

Second, whereas standard treatments devote by far the major portion of analysis of individual books to a reconstruction of the prehistory and offer relatively little consideration of the theology of the canonical form, Childs reverses this. The fact that the prehistory is for him only a prelude to the meaning of the final form is no mere coincidence, but represents a different method at work. Childs, in fact, presupposes the reader's acquaintance with the pertinent history of research before coming to his work. In this sense his is a supplement to, and not a replacement for, the standard introductions.

Third, because he focuses on the canonical whole, one finds little discussion of form-critical matters that occupy the extensive attention of both Eissfeldt and Fohrer. In effect, Childs—true to his method—"leapfrogs" fragmentary analysis to concentrate upon the whole.

In the judgment of this reviewer, Childs must be understood as a reaction from the side of critical scholarship to the myopic historical preoccupation of historical criticism. He iconoclastically seeks to break the "historical" spell of the more accepted method, but, like all pacesetters, risks overcorrection. Not only does there appear little place for an accidental or carelessly redacted canonical pericope, but the canon principle appears to become a panacea for all the ills of OT research.

Conservatives will tend to find here a confirmation of their claim that historical criticism fragmentizes and relativizes the text. But Childs has recently made explicit that his acceptance of *Traditionsgeschichte*, the role of the community as tradents, and the temporal conditionality of the text, move him in an entirely different direction from conservatism (*JSOT* 16 [1980]: 52-60). Childs's *Introduction* is certainly a protest; but it is also a program, not an abandonment of the critical method.

Certain questions, however, still remain. For instance, is the *Einleitung* the appropriate genre for carrying out canonical analysis? Although theological sensitivity to the final form of the text sets Childs apart from standard introductions, this frequently overshadows the accepted focus of *Einleitungs*-studies, viz., the growth of the canon, history of the text, and the provenance of individual books. His work thus moves exegetically and theologically beyond the ambit of introduction.

Second, what safeguards are there to keep the canon principle from becoming a subjective instrument by which the scholar superimposes his own interpretation upon the text? It seems to this reviewer that in a great many cases insufficient information is available to decide why a given pericope is found in its present position. Redactional judgments at best rely on inference; hence, in the final analysis, many of Childs's specific proposals appear dependent upon his own reading of the final form.

Also, we query still further: What authoritative role did the precanonical materials play before they reached final form? These earlier stages were "regarded as canonical," Childs admits, but only in the final form "in which the normative history has reached an end" can the "full effect of this revelatory history" be perceived (p. 76). The fixed canon hence exercises a "critical norm" (ibid.) over the way earlier stages are hermeneutically to be read. Assessment of earlier canonical stages is difficult no matter whatever the method, but does not Childs's canon principle further widen the chasm between us and the precanonical period? While the role of the final form of the text has been neglected in critical scholarship, Childs's emphasis may simply swing the pendulum in the opposite direction. Balance between both historical and religious dimensions seems desirable, but such balance is not achieved at the expense of one over the other.

Despite these misgivings, this reviewer finds Childs's work to be impressive and indispensable for further exegetical work. He has charted a new path and has challenged scholarship to follow. Undoubtedly he will be with us for some time to come.

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Conybeare, F. C., and Stock, St. George. *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1980. [73 pp.], $5.95.

In 1905, Ginn & Co. of Boston published the joint work of Conybeare and Stock, *Selections from the Septuagint.* This original work was comprised of three parts: (1) an introduction to the LXX, (2) a grammar of LXX Greek, and (3) selected readings from the text of the LXX. Of these three sections, the analysis of LXX grammar was the most important contribution.

Because this work has been out of print for some time, yet is frequently referred to in scholarly discussion, and inasmuch as no adequate replacement has as yet been forthcoming, Zondervan Publishing House has issued

a reprint of pp. 25-100 of Conybeare and Stock's original work, which contains their treatment of LXX grammar.

The book is divided into the two major divisions familiar to all Greek students—Accidence and Syntax. Under Accidence, changes in classical usage are noted that have been passed on and can be seen in the Greek NT. Also noted are changes in classical usage that appear in the LXX—but are not seen in the NT.

Under Syntax, besides examples of evolutionary changes in the Greek language that appear in the LXX—e.g., the decline of the participle as seen by its misuse—, scores of examples of the influence of the Hebrew language on LXX Greek are noted. As one would expect, many of these are seen in NT Greek.

The student of NT Greek will appreciate the work of Conybeare and Stock as to how and at what points the Greek of the LXX has influenced the NT, and will also value the contribution of this small grammar when moving from reading the NT to reading the OT in the Greek language. Without the insights contained in this work, many of the forms in the LXX would appear foreign and would prove difficult to understand.

Zondervan is to be congratulated for having the foresight to make this grammar available in its new form.

Andrews University GEORGE E. RICE

The Expositor's Bible Commentary. Frank E. Gaebelein, gen. ed. 12 vols. Vol. 9: *John-Acts* (*John* by Merrill C. Tenney, *The Acts of the Apostles* by Richard N. Longenecker). Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. xvi + 573 pp. $19.95.

The preface in vol. 9 of *The Expositor's Bible Commentary* states the following aims and presuppositions of the editorial staff and the writers: (1) to present a "new and comprehensive commentary" of the Bible that is written "by expositors for expositors"; (2) to take advantage of the resources of contemporary evangelical scholarship in producing a new reference tool for understanding the Scriptures; (3) to establish the meaning of the text at the time and in the context of its writing; and (4) to present a work that is readable, yet scholarly. The presuppositions of those who produced this work are "the divine inspiration, complete trustworthiness, and full authority of the Bible." They are committed "to the supernatural Christianity set forth in the inspired Word" (p. vii).

The expositions of *The Gospel of John* and *The Acts of the Apostles* are preceded by (1) an "Introduction" that deals with the background of the book, authorship, date, literary form and structure, etc.; (2) a selected

bibliography; (3) an outline of the book; and (4) maps of geographical locations that play an important part in the book being exegeted.

The material in the introductions is quite helpful. Expositors of a more liberal stance should be pleased to see that most sides of a disputed issue are presented fairly, while expositors of the evangelical stance should be pleased that the writers adequately present the evangelical position and provide answers to the objections that come from the more liberal camp. Especially is this so in the "Introduction" to *The Acts of the Apostles*, since debate continues on the construction of the speeches in Acts (cf. the recent article by F. G. Downing, "Ethical Pagan Theism and the Speeches in Acts," *NTS* 27 [1981]: 544-563), the sources of Acts, the accuracy of Acts' presentation of the apostle Paul, the kerygma and history in Acts, etc.

The commentary portion is divided into three sections: (1) the scriptural passage to be exegeted (taken from the *NIV*), (2) the exposition, and (3) critical notes on the passage. In the exposition, all Greek words are transliterated. In the critical notes, the Greek characters are used along with transliterations and English meanings.

A student of the Gospel of John or of Acts who desires an insight into the text that is based on the belief that these books resulted from divine inspiration, will find *The Expositor's Bible Commentary* to be a useful tool.

Andrews University GEORGE E. RICE

Hals, Ronald M. *Grace and Faith in the Old Testament*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1980. 95 pp. $3.75.

Ronald M. Hals of Trinity Seminary in Columbus, Ohio, treats the subject of grace and faith in the OT by investigating these twin themes in four settings or contexts; namely, those of God's gracious acts (pp. 21-32), choices (pp. 33-56), law (pp. 57-69), and judgment and promises (pp. 71-83). His book also contains brief introductory and concluding chapters which frame this central section of the work.

The conclusion reached is "that the presentation of the grace of God in the Old Testament and the understanding of his people's response of faith are essentially similar to the way the same two realities are described in the New Testament" (p. 86). In addition, it is affirmed that "this much remains unalterably firm—the basic shape or pattern in which we encounter grace and faith in both Testaments is the same" (p. 19). These conclusions of necessity have major implications both for the interrelationship of the Old and New Testaments, which in much of Christian theology (particularly in Lutheran theology) has been seen as law (OT) on the one side and gospel (NT) on the other, and for the theology of the OT,

which has often been said to lack unity. Indeed, Hals claims not only an "astonishingly high degree of unity" in the OT, but states that grace and faith "are the most important aspects of that dynamic and continuing unity" of the OT (p. 86).

The author comes to the core of his study's argument in the chapter that deals with "God's gracious law." He asserts that "the central place in which God's grace is to be encountered is in his law" (p. 57). Hals, himself a Lutheran, argues forcefully against the Lutheran law/gospel dichotomy as a key for understanding the nature of law in connection with salvation. "The Ten Commandments," he states, "were never given as a way of salvation, as a way to become God's people"; indeed, "the law never was a way of salvation either in the Old Testament or in Judaism" (p. 63). Rather, the law is a loving revelation of God and his demonstration of grace: "It simply reveals to his people how they are to express their response to the great saving acts by which God has made them his own" (p. 64).

I would agree with Hals that the purpose of the law and the need of man's obedience to the law are not designed in such a way that the keeper gains life or salvation by keeping it, but that it is a demonstration that salvation has been gained, with law-keeping or obedience being thus a faith-response. However, I strongly disagree with the author's statement that in Judaism the keeping of the law was never considered a way of salvation. Not only in Judaism, but also in OT Israel, there is evidence of this attitude toward God's law. God's gracious law could be, and was, misapplied; and even in the OT there is evidence that some individuals put their trust for salvation in obedience to the law rather than in faith in the Giver of the law. Thus we have faith-righteousness distorted into the works-righteousness against which the prophets of the OT and the writers of the NT (particularly Paul) so insistently argued.

On the whole, this study provides stimulating and provocative reading.

Andrews University GERHARD F. HASEL

Holmes, C. Raymond. *It's a Two-Way Street.* Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1978. 128 pp. Paperback, $4.95.

Out of his rich background of study and preaching in both the Lutheran and Seventh-day Adventist traditions, Holmes has produced a very significant contribution to a theology of preaching. Authorities on preaching have often referred to preaching as "Event." The emphasis has been, not on content, but on what happens when the sermon is preached.

Holmes endeavors to establish a theological base that emphasizes *both* content and event. He says:

"It would seem, therefore, that the term *preaching process* is better suited to a Seventh-day Adventist theology of preaching. It is a more dynamic term than *event* and takes into account those elements that make preaching the word of God" (p. 60). Holmes sees preaching, "not as an event to which the living Christ, the living preacher, and the living listener come, but as a *process* in which all three are engaged" (p. 61).

The author's development of this point of view is, in the opinion of this reviewer, particularly intended for ministers, seminarians, and teachers of the Adventist Church, but it also should be of general interest to the clergy as a whole. It is submitted as a corrective to one-sided views, and it is reflective of Adventist theology which declares not only that something *has* happened, but that something *is* happening (see p. 61).

Holmes has produced a book that is significant not only to the minister but to the informed layman as well. His first four chapters are entitled, "You and Your Preacher," "The Need to Listen," "The Listening Task," and "The Listening Response." The author maintains that "there are as many, if not more, commands in the Bible to hear the word of God as there are to preach it" (p. 25).

The final chapters of the book are of interest to *both* preachers and listeners. Of special interest to this reviewer was chap. 10, "Attributes of Seventh-day Adventist Preaching." The fourteen points listed serve as an indictment to narrow, "one-idea" preaching. The closing statement of this chapter summarizes the message of the book:

"The age requires preachers who have a living experience with Jesus Christ, who believe the Bible to be the Word of God, who understand the age, who are full of the eternal gospel and committed to the preaching of it, come what may.

"The age also requires hearers who will respond fully to the call of this eternal gospel as servants and witnesses, who have heard Christ speak through the preaching of the word and have answered 'Here I am! Send me!' " (p. 115).

This work deserves wide reading. It is mature, stimulating, and reflective of the best preaching tradition of Seventh-day Adventism.

Grand Terrace, California 92324 NORVAL F. PEASE

Hornus, Jean-Michel. *It Is Not Lawful for Me to Fight: Early Christian Attitudes toward War, Violence, and the State.* Trans. by Alan Kreider and Oliver Coburn. Rev. ed. Scottdale, Pa./Kitchener, Ont.: Herald Press, 1980. 370 pp. $13.95.

This volume on early Christian attitudes to warfare was first published in French in 1960, translated into German in 1963, revised by its author for the English edition in 1970, and finally published in English a decade later. It is a carefully researched study, provided with over 75 pages of footnotes and constantly leading back to primary documents and to significant secondary discussions.

The first two chapters address the "political and social setting" (pp. 17-51) and the "theological and religious setting" (pp. 52-90). It is argued respectively that the eschatological certainty freed Christian thought from complete domination of political power and that in the light of the law of love, revealed most clearly in the gospel, the battles of the believer took place on a different plane and with weapons other than the battles of the world.

The third chapter, "The Christian Attitude" (pp. 91-117), turns to early Christian reflections concerning matters of war, military service, and service to the state; expressions about their earthly country; and Christian respect for life. It is within this context that the distinction between the *militia mundi* and the *militia Christi* arose. The Christian attitude was not a flight from the world but a vocation to live in the world according to the law of love which the world had rejected.

The chapter on "Christian Soldiers and Soldier Saints" (pp. 118-157) takes up the topic of Christian soldiers in the Roman army. The investigation of the primary documents and their main interpreters leads the author to conclude that the Christians who were then in the army had not enlisted voluntarily after becoming Christians, but had already been in the army at the time of their conversion. They suffered much persecution because of their refusal to participate in the emperor cult and because of their new Christian attitude of love toward the enemy.

Two chapters are devoted to the church's first official position and its withering away (pp. 158-212). Hornus makes a strong and convincing case on the basis of solid sources and sound discussions that the attitude of the early Christians and the church's original position was antimilitaristic. The author traces the progressive "slide" of Christianity's attitude of refusing to engage in military service. Successively the church forgave repentant soldiers, then tolerated the nonviolent soldier and pardoned the killing soldier, and finally urged the believer to hide his deepest feelings. During the fourth century A.D. the change in attitude was complete.

The concluding chapter (pp. 213-226) traces the themes of Christian patience and hope. It also traces the developing doctrine of positive nonviolence in Tertullian, Origen, and Lactantius.

Hornus is to be commended for his penetrating analysis of both the historical and theological issues involved. His study is of greatest importance in assessing correctly the attitudes toward war, violence, and the state during the first four centuries of the church.

Andrews University GERHARD F. HASEL

Rice, Richard. *The Openness of God: The Relationship of Divine Foreknowledge and Human Free Will.* Nashville, Tenn.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1980. 95 pp. Paperback, $4.95.

This vigorous and tightly written little book, the first by a young theologian whose Chicago dissertation was a study of process theologian Charles Hartshorne, attempts to distance itself in some respects from process theology but owes much to it. It is a brave attack upon what the author calls "the traditional understanding of God's relation to the world," according to which God is sovereign and omnipotent, in complete control of events, having perfect foreknowledge, sitting enthroned outside of time as Lord over time, with past, present, and future all as one to him.

Rice insists that to hold this traditional understanding is to make human free will an illusion or to be guilty of intellectual laziness, entangled in all sorts of contradictions. Against it, Rice brings what he calls "the open view of God," according to which God experiences time and events serially, in principle just as we do. He is not changeless, but rather he is ever learning, ever experiencing new things. He does not know the future decisions which men will freely make as individuals, nor does he know the consequences that will flow from those decisions, because those decisions have not yet been made and are therefore not there to know. But God is clever: he knows all the options and can anticipate any eventuality. Though God plays the game fairly and the "cards are not stacked," the final outcome is assured because he is so good at the game. No matter what may go wrong, he has a contingency plan.

By taking this position, Rice thinks to solve some age-old conundrums and resolve such ancient antinomies and dilemmas as that posed by David Hume: "Is He willing to prevent evil, but not able? then He is impotent. Is He both able and willing? whence then is evil?" Rice believes his view makes more rational the idea of free will, replacing the notion of predestination with the concept of perfect anticipation and skillful planning. God becomes more sympathetic and egalitarian, and creatures become

more important. Thus, God is not able to prevent evil, but he knows how to mitigate it. Perhaps Hume would have said that such a position attributes to God mitigated impotence.

This reviewer fails to see how Rice's "open view" really resolves any of the dilemmas it addresses, except by ignoring one of the horns. Furthermore, whether or not his God "stacks the cards," Rice does. He compares the foreseeing of future decisions to the making of a square circle, but that is a specious analogy; a better analogy is making a circle into a square, which God can do. Is it any more wonderful to assert that God has perfect diachronic knowledge than to say he has perfect synchronic knowledge?

Furthermore, Rice fails to acknowledge the elusiveness of the whole idea of freedom, inadequately defining it as involving "the absence of external compulsion." Since one of his major motives is to protect the idea of freedom, we must require him to develop this notion with the same degree of theological and philosophical rigor which he has attempted to apply to divine sovereignty. Nor has he fully solved the problem of evil, for even though his God does not have absolute foreknowledge, God is supposed to have the cleverness and resourcefulness not to let evil get out of hand! But a fireman who has the skill to put out a fire, but fails to do so, is not much less culpable than a fireman who fails to prevent a fire. Rice concedes that God can limit the options available. So freedom is not total, after all. To use an unseemly metaphor, God lets the devil win a few hands (why?) but holds the trump card all the time. To change the metaphor, the whole problem is turned into a "cat-and-mouse" game. On the other hand, Rice feels that God can only respond to human decisions and events, not control them, which makes him a slave, not the master, of all that happens. Rice has, in short, removed determinism far from man, only to threaten God with it instead.

Rice is concerned to deal with biblical objections to his view. For example, he has a sort of futurological model of prophecy. God can predict because of the inevitable consequences of present realities, because of his own intentions to act, and because of a combination of these two factors. But does not the mention of inevitability reintroduce the specter of determinism?

Rice claims that his view provides "support of creaturely significance," and we may agree that it makes the sizes of God and man a little more nearly equal. But not everyone will regard human responsibility and potency as a "basis for hope and optimism" (p. 80)! Rice's theology has the merit of giving integrity to prayer, but when it comes to intercessory prayer even he cannot avoid mystery and paradox, things which he usually finds quite distasteful. Perhaps when he meditates on matters longer he may find the mystery and paradox again extending over areas where he

had thought to expel them. Rice mistakes one side of the truth for the whole, but at least he lays out that one side with clarity.

The cover design by Dean Tucker is gorgeous.

Andrews University ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

BOOK NOTICES

ELLEN S. ERBES

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.

Aalders, G. Charles. *The Book of Genesis.* 2 vols. (Bible Student's Commentary.) Trans. by William Heynen. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. 609 pp. $24.95. This commentary series, for the first time available in English, represents conservative Dutch scholarship. Verse-by-verse explanation. The volumes on Genesis include an extensive introduction to the Pentateuch, but lack source documentation for extrabiblical information given.

Adam, Adolf. *The Liturgical Year: Its History and Its Meaning after the Reform of the Liturgy.* Trans. by Matthew J. O'Connell. New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1981. xv + 308 pp. Paperback, $12.95. Aims to explain the theological and spiritual substance of the liturgical year in the Catholic church against the background of its historical development. Concludes with a brief chapter on calendar reform.

Aling, Charles F. *Egypt and Bible History from Earliest Times to 1000 B.C.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1981. 145 pp. Paperback, $5.95. Nontechnical summary of ancient Egyptian history, focusing on the role of Egypt in biblical events. Argues for a 1446 B.C. exodus date.

Balke, Willem. *Calvin and the Anabaptist Radicals.* Trans. by William Heynen. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1981. xi + 338 pp. Paperback, $14.95. This Ph.D. thesis (1973) traces Calvin's attitude toward and actions against the "left wing of the Reformation" and gives a systematic survey of Calvin's teachings vis-à-vis the doctrines of the Anabaptists.

Glenn Gray, Janet. *The French Huguenots: Anatomy of Courage.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1981. 282 pp. Paperback, $8.95. Attempts "to supply a scholarly, readable, and sympathetic account of the French Huguenots while pursuing the question of how they became lost as a separate religious entity."

Grudem, Wayne A. *The Gift of Prophecy in 1 Corinthians.* Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982. xxiv + 333 pp. Paperback, $23.50/13.25. This 1978 Ph.D. dissertation "attempts to define in detail the nature of the New Testament gift of prophecy as it was practiced in the church at Corinth at the time of Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, and then to compare that type of prophecy with the prophecy in other New Testament churches, and with Old Testament prophecy."

Harris, C. Leon. *Evolution: Genesis and Revelations. With Readings from Empedocles to Wilson.* Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1981. 339 pp. $29.50/9.95. Deals with the history of evolutionism, describing the major contributors to the theory of evolutionism. Written from an evolutionist's viewpoint.

Hurley, James B. *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective.* Leicester, Eng.: Inter-

Varsity Press/Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. 288 pp. Paperback, $6.95. Surveys especially the role of women in the Bible and in surrounding cultures. Treats OT marriage laws, social life, women in the ministry of Jesus, their role in the apostolic church, etc.

The NIV [New International Version] Triglot Old Testament. With an introduction by John R. Kohlenberger III. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. 1,334 pp. $49.95. Presents the Hebrew Masoretic text and the Greek Septuagint text, paralleled by the OT of the NIV. The text appears in three parallel columns on a page. No apparatuses.

Raitt, Jill, ed. *Shapers of Religious Traditions in Germany, Switzerland, and Poland, 1560-1600.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981. xx + 224 pp. $22.50. Explores the careers, theology and ecclesiastical role of twelve religious leaders (Protestant, Catholic, and Radical) who played an influential role in the drafting or promulgating of the various confessions. The essays include Flacius, Chemnitz, Bullinger, Beza, Canisius, Socinus, etc.

Reynolds, David S. *Faith in Fiction: The Emergence of Religious Literature in America.* Cambridge, Mass./London, Eng.: Harvard University Press, 1981. 269 pp. $22.50. First full-length study of early religious fiction from the American Revolution to the Civil War, ranging over the fiction of some 250 American writers.

Sell, Charles M. *Family Ministry: The Enrichment of Family Life through the Church.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. 298 pp. $11.95. A call to the church to come to the aid of the family. Maintains that in order to carry out its mission of the Christian education of the home, the church must itself become like a family.

Seybold, Klaus, and Mueller, Ulrich B. *Sickness and Healing.* Trans. by Douglas W. Stott. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981. 205 pp. Paperback, $7.95. Investigates the problem and concept of sickness and healing in the OT and NT. Suggests that the Bible encounters sickness as a theological rather than a physical problem.

Steuer, Axel D., and McClendon, James W., Jr., eds. *Is God GOD?* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981. 288 pp. Paperback, $9.95. Ten leading U.S. and Canadian theologians and philosophers present distinct and alternative points of view in the current debate on God-concepts.

Wilson-Kastner, Patricia, et al. *A Lost Tradition: Women Writers of the Early Church.* Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981. xxx + 180 pp. $18.50/9.75. Written to fill a gap in the literature of the early Christian church, this volume contains the translations of women authors of the early church whose works are extant: Perpetua, Proba, Egeria, and Eudokia.

Young, Gordon Douglas, ed. *Ugarit in Retrospect. Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic. Proceedings of the Symposium at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1979.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1981. xv + 238 pp. $12.50. This collection of essays, growing out of the international symposium commemorating the 50th anniversary of the discovery of Ras Shamra—Ugarit, deals with the history, archaeology, language, and literature of this critically important archaeological site.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א	= ʾ	ד	= *d̲*	י	= *y*	ס	= *s*	ר	= *r*		
ב	= *b*	ה	= *h*	כ	= *k*	ע	= ʿ	ש	= *ś*		
ב	= *b̲*	ו	= *w*	כ	= *k̲*	פ	= *p*	ש	= *š*		
ג	= *g*	ז	= *z*	ל	= *l*	פ	= *p̲*	ת	= *t*		
ג	= *g̲*	ח	= *ḥ*	מ	= *m*	צ	= *ṣ*	ת	= *t̲*		
ד	= *d*	ט	= *ṭ*	נ	= *n*	ק	= *q*				

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ	= *a*	ְ, ׀	(vocal shewa)	= *e*		ֹ	= *ō*				
ָ	= *ā*	ֱ, ֵ	= *ê*			וֹ	= *o*				
ֲ	= *a*	ִ	= *i*			וֹ	= *ô*				
ֶ	= *e*	ִי	= *î*			וּ	= *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 Orientální*
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. Explor. 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*

Abbreviations (cont.)

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	*Thealogie 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*