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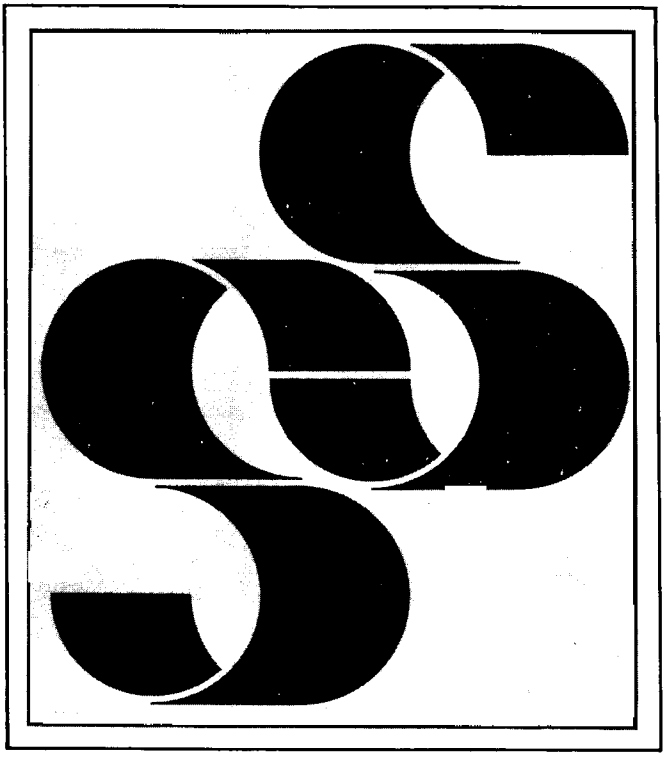

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# ROME AND CHRISTIANITY UNTIL A.D. 62*

SAMUELE BACCHIOCCHI
Andrews University

What was the attitude of the Roman State toward Christianity until A.D. 62, that is, up to approximately the first half of Nero's reign? It is generally assumed that the Roman emperors and administrators during this period largely ignored Christianity, treating it at best as one of the several Jewish sects. This essay challenges this prevailing view by reexamining significant biblical and secular data. The available sources suggest, in my view, an early Roman recognition of the basic difference between the politically oriented Jewish messianic movements and the non-political nature of Christianity. This early recognition contributed to a basic policy of Roman tolerance toward Christianity during the period under consideration, with intolerance springing up only thereafter.

## 1. *Tiberius and Christianity, A.D. 14-37*

### *The Trial of Jesus*

The trial of Jesus, which occurred during Tiberius' reign, offers a logical starting point for our inquiry, since it represents the first major confrontation between the Roman authorities and the Founder of Christianity (Mark 14:1; Luke 23:1-25; John 11:47-50; 18:38; 19:6; Acts 3:13-17).[1] The four Gospels are unanimous in attributing, not to the Roman, but to the Jewish authorities the initiative for the trial and condemnation of Jesus; and similarly, in

*Shortened and adapted from a paper presented at the Midwest Regional Meeting, Society of Biblical Literature, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Feb. 22, 1981.

[1]On the juridical and political aspects of the trial of Christ, see T. A. Burkill, "The Trial of Jesus," *VC* 12 (1958): 1-18; Oscar Cullmann, *Dieu et* César: Le procès de Jésus (Neuchâtel, 1958); A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 24-47. On the responsibility attributed to the Jews in the NT for the accusation and condemnation of Christ, see Samuel Sandmel, *Anti-Semitism in the New Testament* (Philadelphia, 1978); and Gerard Sloyan, *Jesus on Trial* (Philadelphia, 1973).

the book of Acts, Peter's speech delivered immediately after Pentecost at Solomon's portico places the responsibility for the condemnation of Jesus squarely upon the Jewish people and their "rulers" (3:13, 14, 17).

It is noteworthy that even John's Gospel, though presumably written at a time when some Christians had already experienced Roman persecution under Nero and possibly under Domitian, excludes any direct Roman interest in Jesus' condemnation, placing exclusively upon the Sanhedrin the decision for the arrest of Jesus (11:47, 57). Pilate's exoneration of Jesus ("I find no crime in him"—John 18:38; 19:6) from the grave charge of political insurrection against Rome (Luke 23:2-5; John 18:30, 33-37) deserves attention, especially in view of the Roman sensitivity to the messianic-political Zealot movement, whose epicenter was apparently in Galilee.[2] The fact that Pilate did intervene ruthlessly in cases (such as those reported by Luke and Josephus)[3] where he felt that the security of the state was at stake, while he pronounced a "not-guilty" verdict on Christ and acceded only reluctantly to the request of the Jewish authorities for permission to crucify him, suggests that he perceived in Jesus' messianic movement no anti-Roman political motivation.

*Pilate's Policy Toward the Christian Community*

This conclusion is indirectly supported by Luke's account of Pilate's policy of non-intervention against the first Christian community in Jerusalem. Acts reports that a conflict soon erupted between the Jewish Sanhedrin and the apostles on account of the thousands of Jews who accepted the messianic proclamation. The Roman governor could hardly have ignored this new popular messianic movement which the Jewish religious authorities endeavored to silence by jailing the apostles and by stoning Stephen

[2]The chief references to the Zealots in Josephus are *Ant.* 18.1.6; and *Wars* 4.3.9 and 4.7.

[3]Luke 13:1 mentions Pilate's bloody suppression of Galileans who were apparently engaged in a sacrificial gathering. Josephus reports Pilate's massacre of "a great number" of Jews who had organized a demonstration against the building of an aqueduct and his slaughtering of "a great multitude" of Samaritans who were on their way to Mount Gerizim (*Ant.* 18.3.2 and 18.4.1).

to death (see Acts 4:17-18, 3; 5:18; 7:57-60). Luke places the responsibility for this persecution upon the Sanhedrin (cf. Acts 4:5, 15; 5:17, 27, 40-41; 6:12; 7:57), but the Roman authorities could not have overlooked the violent reaction of the Jewish religious leaders, especially since they had acted against Roman law by carrying out at least one death sentence, that of Stephen, without due authorization of the Roman governor.[4]

A somewhat similar case occurred almost thirty years later, in A.D. 62, when, according to Josephus, the high priest Ananus, taking advantage of the absence of the Roman governor ("Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road"), "assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others . . . and, when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned."[5] Ananus apparently waited for the propitious occasion offered by the absence of the Roman governor to act against some Christian leaders, presumably because he knew that the Roman authorities would disapprove his action against Christians. At the time of Stephen's execution, however, Pilate seems to have been present in Palestine.[6] Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin presumably chose to confront the governor with a *fait accompli*, seemingly because they knew Pilate would not grant them such permission otherwise.

### *Pilate's Report to Tiberius*

Did Pilate ignore this incident and the concomitant developments in Palestine? He could hardly have done so without weakening the prestige of the Roman authority in Palestine. It was

[4]Some may wish to explain Stephen's death as a popular execution conducted without due process before the Sanhedrin. Such a view, however, is discredited by the references to the charges presented by witnesses before the council (Acts 6:12-13) and by Paul's mention of the "vote" he cast in favor of the death sentence (Acts 26:10).

[5]*Ant.* 20.9.1, as trans. by William Whiston (Philadelphia, 1916), p. 613.

[6]Pilate lived "ten years in Judea" from A.D. 26 to 36. After his massacre of Samaritans at Tirathaba, he was ordered by the Syrian governor Vitellius "to go to Rome, to answer before the emperor to the accusations of the Jews," but before he could get to Rome Tiberius had died. (See Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4.2, in Whiston, p. 537.)

customary, as Eusebius informs us, for "the rulers of the provinces, of reporting to the emperor the novel occurrences which took place in them [i.e., their provinces], in order that nothing might escape him."[7] According to Tertullian (about A.D. 200), this occurred as Emperor Tiberius "received intelligence from Palestine of events which had clearly shown the truth of Christ's divinity." On the basis of this report, Tertullian says that Tiberius "brought the matter before the senate, with his own decision in favour of Christ. The senate, because it had not given the approval itself, rejected his proposal. Caesar held to his opinion, threatening wrath against all accusers of the Christians."[8]

*Tiberius' Proposal to the Senate*

Tertullian's account suggests that Pilate reported to Tiberius not only the trial and condemnation of Jesus but also subsequent events indicating his divinity.[9] The existing forged letters of Pilate to Tiberius emphasize especially the darkening of the sun and the

[7]Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 2.2.1, in NPNF, 2d Series, 1:105. A good example of the ongoing extensive correspondence between governors and emperors is provided, of course, by the *Letters of Pliny*, governor of Bithynia, to Emperor Trajan.

[8]Tertullian, *Apology* 5, in ANF 3:22. Cf. *Apology* 21, in ANF 3:35, where Tertullian explicitly states that Pilate reported concerning Christ "to the reigning Caesar, who at the time was Tiberius." Justin Martyr in his *1 Apology*, addressed to Emperor Antoninus Pius and the Roman people, appeals twice to the "Acts of Pontius Pilate"—to substantiate his account of Christ's crucifixion (chap. 35) and of Christ's mighty works (chap. 48). "That these things did happen, you can ascertain from the Acts of Pontius Pilate," he states in chap. 35 (ANF 1:175). It is hard to believe that Justin would challenge Romans to verify his account by reading the "Acts of Pontius Pilate," if such a document did not exist or was not readily available. The *acta* mentioned by Justin presumably refer to Pilate's report to Tiberius.

The extant versions of the Acts of Pilate and of the Letters of Pilate are, of course, an obvious Christian forgery, but they were probably based upon a genuine historical tradition. Further discussion of this matter will be given below.

[9]This is indicated, e.g., by the account of the darkening of the sun at the time of Christ's crucifixion, an account which, Tertullian says, "you yourselves [i.e., Romans] have . . . still in your archives" (*Apology* 21, in ANF 3:35). Eusebius explicitly says that Pilate "gave an account also of other wonders which he had learned of him [i.e., Christ], and how, after his death, having risen from the dead, he was now believed by many to be a God" (*Eccl. Hist.* 2.2.2, in NPNF, 2d Series, 1: 105).

appearance of stars and of the moon-like-blood at the time of the crucifixion. On the basis of this report, according to Tertullian, Tiberius proposed to the senate the *consecration* of Christ, that is, Christ's acceptance among the deities of the Roman pantheon and his admission to the cult of the Empire. It is a well-known fact that during the Republican period, the senate had absolute authority on religious matters. Tiberius evidently thought it expedient, at a time when his power was slipping, to show respect for the constitutional jurisdiction of the senate by submitting to its consideration certain proposals[10]—presumably including that for the *consecration* of Christ. The senate, however, rejected Tiberius' proposal. The Emperor, recognizing the judicial consequences for the Christians of this negative decision of the senate, seemingly tried to neutralize its effects by "threatening wrath against all accusers of the Christians."[11]

*Excursus.* Some scholars have rejected the historicity of Tertullian's account, treating it as an apologetic fabrication.[12] A basic contention is that Christianity could hardly have attracted imperial attention at such an early date (about A.D. 35). Certain recent studies, however, have argued in favor of its historicity.[13] Among evidences noted are the facts that the existence of the "Acts of Pilate" is well known to Justin Martyr by the middle of the second century, and is also presupposed by Tacitus' accurate

[10]On the general setting, cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 3:60-63.

[11]Tertullian, *Apology* 5, in ANF 3:22.

[12]E.g., J. Beaujeu, "L'incendie de Rome en 64 et les chrétiens," *Latomus* 19 (1960): 33-40.

[13]An extensive and cogent discussion of Tertullian's account is provided by Marta Sordi in "I primi rapporti fra lo Stato romano e il cristianesimo," *Rendiconti Accademia Nazionale Lincei* 12 (1957): 58-93; in "Sui primi rapporti dèll'autorità romana con il cristianesimo," *Studi Romani* 8 (1960): 393-409; and in *Il Cristianesimo e Roma,* Istituto di Studi Romani 19 (Bologna, 1965), pp. 21-31. Sordi argues convincingly in favor of the historicity of Tertullian's account regarding Pilate's report and Tiberius' proposal to the senate. She views the negative decision of the senate as the juridical basis of the later persecution of Christians. Vincenzo Monachino defends basically Sordi's view in *Lé persecuzioni e la polemica pagano-cristiana* (Rome, 1974), pp. 21-24. See also G. Papini, *Il Cesare della crocifissione* (Rome, 1934), pp. 40-47; C. Cecchelli, *Studi in onore di Calderini a Paribeni* (Milan, 1956), pp. 351-354.

knowledge of Pilate's condemnation of Christ, as well as by the existence of the later apocryphal "Acts of Pilate."[14]

An analysis of the existing versions of the "Acts of Pilate" has led some scholars to conclude that "the work which lies behind them must have originated very early."[15] The oldest passage in the "Acts of Pilate," according to Johannes Quasten, is "The Report of Pilate to the Emperor Claudius," which is found in similar forms in a Greek version in the "Acts of Peter and Paul" and in a Latin version as an appendix to the Gospel of Nicodemus.[16] It is to this "Report of Pilate" that Tertullian and Eusebius presumably refer, especially since the latter comments at length on Pilate's report while making no mention of any Christian "Acts of Pilate."[17] This omission by Eusebius is striking, for it would have been natural for him to mention such Acts if they existed—especially so, inasmuch as he refers to the pagan, anti-Christian fabrication of the "Acts of Pilate" produced and propagated by edict under the persecutor Maximin.[18]

Considerations such as these have led some scholars to view Pilate's report to the Emperor as "the genesis of the Acts of Pilate."[19] Obviously, the existing versions of Pilate's letters are a Christian forgery, designed to make the Roman procurator a witness to Christ's divinity. Such a forgery, however, could well represent a Christian embellishment of an authentic historical dispatch sent by Pilate to Tiberius. This hypothesis finds support both in the existing practice of the governors to report any significant development in their provinces[20] and in Tertullian's account.

[14]See Tacitus, *Annals* 15.44. For an English translation of the various existing versions of the "Acts of Pilate" which are generally dated in the fourth century, see ANF 8:459-463; also M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1926; corrected ed., 1953), pp. 153-155.

[15]Felix Scheidweiler, "The Gospel of Nicodemus," in *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Edgar Hennecke, (Philadelphia, 1963), 1: 445; cf. p. 447. Scheidweiler notes that the letter from Pilate to Tiberius, the so-called Anaphora of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, is regarded "as the genesis of the Acts of Pilate" (p. 481).

[16]Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, 1950), 1: 116. James, p. 153, n. 1, states that "a letter of Tiberius to Abgar of Edessa, quoted by Moses of Choreme (*History of Armenia*, II, ch. 33) gives exactly the same account of the proceedings in the Senate, and mentions the report of Pilate."

[17]See Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 2.2.3-6.

[18]See ibid., 1.9.2-3; 9.5.1.

[19]Scheidweiler, p. 481; cf. Quasten, p. 116.

[20]See n. 7, above.

To appreciate the latter, one must not forget that Tertullian addressed his "Apology" to Roman magistrates (around A.D. 200) to protest against the moral and juridical injustice of existing anti-Christian laws. To challenge such legislation, Tertullian urges magistrates to "consult" their "histories" in order to trace its origin. It is in this context that Tertullian mentions Pilate's report, Tiberius' proposed *consecratio* of Christ, and the senate's negative decision. The latter he views as the origin of the anti-Christian legislation which was implemented later only by impious men, namely, Nero and Domitian.[21]

What reasons would Tertullian have to fabricate the story of Pilate's report, of Tiberius' proposed *consecratio* of Christ and of the senate's refusal, when he mentions these events incidentally, merely to explain the origin of anti-Christian laws? A Christian apologist would hardly have had any interest in inventing a story of a negative senate decision (*senatus consultus*) which offered a legal basis for future persecution of Christians. Moreover, could Tertullian have urged magistrates to "consult" their histories, if the facts to be verified did not exist in their records because they were solely a Christian fabrication? Considerations such as these lend support to the historicity of Pilate's report and of Tiberius' proposal, which are dated by Eusebius in his *Chronicon* to A.D. 35.[22] The violent anti-Christian persecution, which, according to the canonical book of Acts, was stirred up at that time in Palestine by the Sanhedrin, could explain why Pilate deemed it necessary to inform Tiberius about the events which led to the establishment of Christianity and to its conflict with Judaism.[23]

[21]Tertullian, *Apology* 5.

[22]Eusebius, *Hieronymi Chronicon*, in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, 7, ed. R. Helm (Leipzig, 1956), pp. 176-177. Eusebius' *Chronicon* is used by the seventh-century Byzantine author of the *Chronicon Paschale* to establish the date A.D. 35 for Pilate's report, on the basis that it was issued during the consulate of Gallus and Nonianus (*Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* [Bonn, 1832], p. 430).

[23]Presumably Pilate sent more than one report to Tiberius. This is suggested by the fact that Justin mentions the "Acts of Pilate" only to support the account of the crucifixion, while Tertullian refers to Pilate's report relating to "events" which transpired in Palestine since Christ's death (*Apology* 5). In view of what we know about the frequent epistolary exchanges between governors and emperors and about the existing conflict between the Jewish authorities and the Christian community, it seems reasonable to assume that Pilate more than once reported to, and consulted, Tiberius on the conflict.

Tiberius' proposal to the senate to accept Christ among the Roman deities could well have been motivated by both superstitious and political considerations. The account of the mysterious "wonders" surrounding Jesus' death and resurrection which the Emperor received from Pilate, and presumably also from his Samaritan chronographer Thallus, could well have favorably predisposed Tiberius toward Christ, especially in view of his superstitious faith in astrological signs[24] and of his skepticism toward the traditional religion.[25] Political interest could also have been an important factor. Tiberius was well informed about the Jewish nationalistic-messianic ferment existing in Palestine. A few years earlier he ordered Pilate to revoke certain measures which the governor had taken against Jewish privileges, in order not to heighten the existing anti-Roman tension. The report that Tiberius received from Pilate about the rapid growth of the Christian messianic movement, a movement which—contrary to that of the Zealot revolutionaries—had no nationalistic and anti-Roman aspirations, could well have suggested to the Emperor the possibility of utilizing Christianity to solve the thorny Palestine Jewish problem. By granting to Christianity the same legal recognition (*religio licita*) accorded to Judaism, Tiberius presumably intended to ensure its free expansion among Jewish people, thus exempting it from the jurisdiction conferred by Rome on the Sanhedrin over Jewish religious questions. A Christian penetration of the Jewish masses would be advantageous for Rome, since Christianity could offset anti-Roman sentiments through its teaching of "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's" (Matt 22:21).[26]

Tiberius' proposed *consecratio* of Christ was, however, rejected by the Roman senate, as we have seen, and Tertullian views this

[24]See Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 57.15.7-9; and Tacitus, *Annals* 6.20. On the influence of the astrologer Thrasyllus on Tiberius' policies, see Frederick H. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics* (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 92-108.

[25]E.g., Tiberius seems to have rejected the worship of the emperor as instituted by Augustus, declaring before the senate: "To be consecrated in the image of the deity through all the provinces would be vanity and arrogance, and the honor paid to Augustus will soon be mockery . . ." (Tacitus, *Annals* 4.37, trans. John Jackson [Cambridge, Mass., 1946], p. 67).

[26]Sordi, *Il Cristianesimo e Roma*, pp. 25-31, 57-60, offers an extensive and persuasive defense of this new view.

negative decision of the senate as the genesis of the anti-Christian legislation. The Emperor "held to his opinion" and, as we have also seen, apparently endeavored to neutralize the possible negative consequences of the senate's refusal by "threatening wrath against all accusers of the Christians."[27] The "accusers" Tiberius had in mind were presumably the Palestinian Jewish authorities who had launched a bitter attack against the followers of Christ (Acts, chaps. 8 and 9). Roman officials had not yet taken punitive actions against Christians.

How did Tiberius' action affect the Christians especially in Palestine, the epicenter of the conflict? Both Josephus and the Acts of the Apostles provide significant clues.

*From Persecution to Peace*

Josephus informs us that Vitellius, the Roman governor of Syria, "came into Judea, and went up to Jerusalem" (about A.D. 36), "deprived Joseph, who was also called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan the son of Ananus, the former high priest, to succeed him."[28] Josephus offers no explanation for Vitellius' removal of Caiaphas from office. A clue is suggested by the book of Acts when it speaks of a sudden change at that time from a situation of "great persecution" (Acts 8:1) to one of "peace": "So the church throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria had peace and was built up; and . . . it was multiplied" (Acts 9:31). The reason for this sudden peace could well have been the intervention of Tiberius' legate, Vitellius, who deposed Caiaphas, the promoter of the persecution of the Church. A similar situation occurred in A.D. 62, when the Roman legate Albinus deposed the high priest Ananus for his arbitrary execution of James and other Christian leaders.[29] Vitellius' action could, then, represent the implementation of Tiberius' policy of tolerance toward Christians.

This policy may also be reflected in the adoption of the term *Christianus* for the first time in Antioch (Acts 11:26), the capital city of the Syrian province, where the Roman legate resided. The

[27]Tertullian, *Apology* 5, in ANF 3:22.

[28]Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4.3, in Whiston, pp. 537-538.

[29]Ibid., 20.9.1.

Latin formation of the adjective *Christianus* (*-ianus* ending) suggests, as noted by several scholars, that the term was coined by Roman authorities as an official designation of the new movement.[30] Such a Roman recognition of Christianity as an independent entity from Judaism may have been favored by Tiberius' policy, which Vitellius implemented in Syria. Moreover, if the name *Christianus* arose in the government circles of the provincial governor, it would mean that the Roman authorities were not ignorant, but rather well-informed, about the Christian movement.

### 2. *Caligula and Christianity, A.D. 37-41*

During the reign of Tiberius' successor, Gaius Caligula (A.D. 37-41), the situation for the Christians remained practically unchanged. We have no indications that Caligula dealt with Christians. But the severe conflict which developed between the Jews and the Emperor on account of the latter's theocratic tendencies reflected in his senseless effort to install a statue of himself right in the Temple of Jerusalem, may have indirectly contributed to peace for the Christians.[31] The Jewish authorities, concerned at this critical time about their own survival, could hardly afford planned actions against Christians. It was presumably during the reign of Caligula that the Christian mission reached out beyond the Jews in Palestine and Antioch to convert Romans, like the centurion Cornelius (Acts 10:24, 34-35), and "Greeks also" (Acts 11:20).

### 3. *Claudius and Christianity, A.D. 41-54*

#### *Palestine: Situation of the Church*

The reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54) can be characterized as a restoration of Tiberius' policy of religious tolerance. To the Jews

[30]F. D. Gealy notes that "the word *Christianos* is a Latinism. The expected Greek ending would be ετος. Since there were only exceptional Greek formations in ιανος, a Syrian origin of the title, although possible, is brought into question" (*IDB*, 1962 ed., 1:572). See also E. Peterson, "Christianos," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* 1 (1946): 355-372; H. B. Mattingly, "The Origin of the Name Christiani," *JTS* 9 (1958): 26-37.

[31]On Caligula's order to the Syrian legate Petronius to install his statue in the Jerusalem Temple and on King Agrippa's intervention on behalf of the Jews before Caligula, see Josephus, *Ant.* 18.8.1-9.

Claudius restored by edict in A.D. 41 their religious privileges and placed Judea directly under a Jewish king, Agrippa I (A.D. 41-44).[32] These measures did not prevent, however, a Jewish uprising, which resulted in the expulsion of Jews from Rome (A.D. 49)[33] and in ruthless suppression of the Jewish revolts in Palestine.[34]

Claudius' policy toward Christians can be deduced primarily from Luke's account of the actions taken by his magistrates when dealing with Christians. For example, Luke suggests that the temporary cessation of direct Roman control over Judea during the reign of the Jewish King Agrippa I (A.D. 41-44) resulted in the immediate resumption of persecution against Christ's followers: "Herod the king laid violent hands upon some. . . . He killed James the brother of John with the sword; and when he saw that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded to arrest Peter also" (Acts 12:1-3). The situation changed at Agrippa's death (A.D. 44). Judea returned under direct Roman control and, according to Luke, the Palestinian Church experienced no significant persecution until Paul's arrest (about A.D. 58).

### *Cyprus: The Conversion of the Proconsul Sergius Paulus*

Luke makes it evident that in the diaspora the Roman administration at this time favored the expansion of Christianity even more than in Palestine, by restraining or hindering the Jewish persecution of the Church. In Cyprus, for example, where the first

[32]The text of Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians urging mutual tolerance and respect between Greeks and Jews, and confirming the latter's privileges, is analyzed by H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1924), pp. 1-37. Josephus reports the text of two different edicts issued by Claudius on behalf of the Jews, one sent to Alexandria and the other sent to other parts of the empire (*Ant.* 19.5.2-3).

[33]According to Roman historian Suetonius in his *Claudius* 25.4, the Emperor "banished from Rome all the Jews, who were continually making disturbances at the instigation of one Chrestus [Lat. *impulsore Chresto*]. The *impulsore Chresto* has generally been interpreted as referring not to an actual person but to the Christian proclamation of Christ, which supposedly caused the rioting and the expulsion from Rome of Jews and Christians. This interpretation, however, is hardly supported by Luke, who explicitly says that "Claudius had commanded *all the Jews* to leave Rome" (Acts 18:2), but makes no mention of Christians being affected by this imperial disposition.

[34]An account of the various Jewish revolts in Palestine is given by Josephus, *Ant.* 20.5-7.

Christian encounter with Roman authorities occurred outside Palestine (about A.D. 46-47), the proconsul Sergius Paulus, in spite of the dissuasion of a Jewish prophet named Bar-Jesus, "summoned Barnabas and Saul and sought to hear the word of God" (Acts 13:7). The curiosity of this Roman official for the Christian message, which he accepted, suggests not only a favorable disposition toward Christianity but also some prior knowledge of it, presumably through government channels.

*Rome: Knowledge of Christianity in Government Circles*

Support for this view is indirectly offered by other sources. A fragment of the historian Thallus is significant in this regard. Thallus is mentioned by several Christian writers[35] and is generally identified with the Samaritan freedman of Tiberius referred to by Josephus.[36] According to the Christian writer Julius Africanus (about A.D. 160-240), Thallus in the third book of his *Histories* of the Greeks, argues that the three hours of darkness which accompanied Jesus' death were not a miraculous but a natural phenomenon, namely, a solar eclipse. The text reads: "Thallus, in his third book of his histories, attributes this darkness to a solar eclipse, but in my view this is without reason."[37] This fragmentary testimony of Thallus presupposes, as noted by Maurice Goguel, that "the tradition of the Gospels was known in Rome by the middle of the first century in a circle very close to the imperial family."[38] The importance of this information is noted also by R. Eisler, who writes: "It seems to me an important fact that already under Emperor Claudius, half a century before the well known testimony of Tacitus, a Samaritan hellenist closely attached to the imperial court mentioned Christ's crucifixion, attempting to eliminate

[35]Passages from Thallus are cited by Julius Africanus, Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Lactantius, Georgius Syncellus, and Ioannes Malalas. See Maurice Goguel, "Un nouveau témoignage non-chrétien . . ." *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 98 (1928): 5-6.

[36]See Josephus, *Ant.* 18.6.4.

[37]Julius Africanus' reference to Thallus has been preserved by the Byzantine historian George Syncellus (ca. A.D. 800) and has been published by D. Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1909), 3: 494.

[38]Goguel, p. 7.

through a rationalistic interpretation the prodigies which supposedly had been observed."[39]

An additional indication of the knowledge and presence of Christianity within imperial circles is provided possibly by a Roman inscription prior to A.D. 38, which mentions a certain *Iucundus Chrestianus*, a servant of Tiberius' sister-in-law, Antonia Drusi.[40] The name "*Chrestianus*," derived from "*Chrestus*," a frequent misspelling of "Christus," suggests a Christian affiliation.[41] More significant is the friendship of "Iulia Drusi," daughter of Antonia Drusi and Tiberius' niece, with "Pomponia Graecina," wife of Aulus Plautius, the conqueror of Britain, and most probably an early convert to Christianity. According to Tacitus, Pomponia Graecina was accused of "foreign superstition" (*superstitio externa*), a charge frequently leveled against Christians.[42] Her possible conversion to Christianity is suggested also by the burial of a Christian descendant, "*Pomponios Grekeinos*," in the catacomb of St. Callistus. Tacitus traces back Pomponia Graecina's adoption of a new and austere lifestyle to the death of Iulia Drusi (in A.D. 43).[43]

It is possible that this noble Roman matron justified her withdrawn lifestyle, adopted at the time of her conversion to Christianity, by claiming to be mourning for her friend Iulia Drusi. This cautious and circumspect style of Christian living was presumably characteristic among Roman believers, since Paul at his arrival in Rome comments that "most of the brethren have been made confident in the Lord because of my imprisonment and are

[39]Cited by Goguel, p. 8. F. F. Bruce similarly remarks: "It is worth noting that about the middle of the first century A.D. the traditional story of the death of Christ was known in non-Christian circles at Rome" (*The Spreading Flame* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1958], p. 137).

[40]CIL, vol. 6, n. 24944.

[41]Tacitus in his report of the Neronian persecution spells the name in such a manner (*Annals* 15.44). On the evolution of the name, see A. Ferrua, "Christianus sum," *Bulletin du Cange* 5 (1929/1930): 69-88; also cf. n. 30, above.

[42]Tacitus, *Annals* 13.32. On the charge of "superstition" used against Christians, see, e.g., ibid., 15.44; Pliny, *Letters to Trajan* 10.96.

[43]Tacitus, *Annals* 13.32.

much more bold to speak the word of God without fear" (Phil 1:14).[44] The probable nexus between the conversion in A.D. 43 of Pomponia Graecina, a noble lady of a senatorial family, and the death of Tiberius' niece, suggests a knowledge of, and interest in, Christianity among some persons of the imperial and senatorial circles.[45]

*Achaia: Proconsul Gallio and Paul*

This conclusion is indirectly supported also by the action of certain Roman officials such as the Proconsul of Achaia, Junius Lucius Gallio (brother of Seneca), before whom Paul was accused in Corinth by the Jews (about A.D. 51). The accusation leveled against Paul of "persuading men to worship God contrary to the law" (Acts 18:12) was presumably aimed at placing Paul in conflict with Claudius' edict which guaranteed the Jews, "who are in all the world under us," the right "to keep their ancient customs without being hindered so to do."[46] As a violator of the Jewish religious traditions which the Emperor wanted to be respected, Paul was made responsible for the kind of turmoil Claudius' edict aimed at preventing.

Such an accusation had juridical validity, and if true, it deserved careful examination by the Proconsul. But, according to Luke, Gallio ignored the charge, declaring the matter to be merely "questions about words and names and your own [Jewish] law" (Acts 18:15). The Proconsul's speed and certainty in handling the case reveals some understanding of Christianity, namely, that Christian teachers and teachings were not the cause of Jewish unrest and thus they did not violate the intent of Claudius' dispositions. This benevolent neutrality favored, rather than hindered, the initial expansion of Christianity in the Jewish diaspora.

[44]The reservation of the Roman believers is also implied by Luke's comment about the Jewish leaders in Rome who told Paul they had received no report about him (Acts 28:21) and who requested the Apostle to inform them about Christianity: "We desire to hear from you what your views are; for with regard to this sect we know that everywhere it is spoken against" (Acts 28:22).

[45]This conclusion is supported by Paul's reference to the members of "Caesar's household" who sent salutations to the Philippians (Phil 4:22).

[46]Josephus, *Ant.* 19.5.3, in Whiston, p. 578. Josephus reports the text of two edicts issued by Claudius to restore the rights of the Jews, one addressed to the Alexandrians and one to the other provinces of the Empire. The text cited is from the latter edict.

*Ephesus: Civil Authorities Protect Christian Preachers*

Luke's account of the tumult which broke out in Ephesus about A.D. 56-57 (Acts 19) provides an additional example of Roman tolerance toward Christianity. The tumult was caused by an interplay of factors: economic interest in view of business losses suffered by silversmiths and retailers of Artemis' shrines as a result of Paul's preaching; religious concerns over the threat posed by Christian preaching to the fame of the goddess Artemis (Acts 19:27); and Jewish instigation of the crowd (Acts 19:33). It is worth noting that in Ephesus the civil authorities were not influenced by these various concerns of the crowd. On the contrary, they took measures to protect the Christian preachers. While the town clerk exonerated Paul's associates, Gaius and Aristarchus, from the charge of sacrilegious acts against Artemis (Acts 19:37), the "Asiarchs who were friends of his [Paul], sent to him and begged him not to venture into the theater" (Acts 19:31).

The Asiarchs were the representatives of the provincial cities to the commune of Asia, and thus they represented the closest link between the provincial administration and the Roman government. The action of the Asiarchs and of the Ephesian magistrates in advising and protecting Paul and his associates from the fanaticism of the crowd reflects an understanding on their part of the harmless nature of Christianity and an implementation of the tolerant Roman policy toward it. This favorable situation, however, was short-lived. The wide spread of Christianity soon came to be regarded as a threat to economic interests and to the religious, social, and political order. Consequently, in the second and third centuries, some Roman officials such as the Proconsul of Asia, who ordered the arrest of Polycarp in A.D. 156, no longer rejected popular charges levelled against Christians, but on the contrary tried those who professed to be Christians as transgressors of Roman law.[47]

[47]The account of the martyrdom of Polycarp—the most ancient which has come down to us—provides a fitting example of the radical change in attitude from those Roman magistrates who tried Paul to those who condemned Polycarp. In the latter case, not only did the Proconsul fail to protect Polycarp, as Gallio had done for Paul, but even took the initiative to arrest, interrogate, and condemn him. For other examples and a cogent discussion of the juridical basis for the persecution of Christians, see V. Monachino, *Il fondamento giuridico delle persecuzioni nei primi due secoli* (Rome, 1955), pp. 1-39.

### 4. *Nero and Christianity until* A.D. *62*

*Palestine: Arrest and Trial of Paul*

Roman policy toward Christianity during the first half of Nero's reign (until A.D. 62) appears to have been basically a continuation of the Tiberian-Claudian tradition. This is suggested, for example, by the way Roman officials handled the trial of Paul as well as the execution of James, "the Lord's brother" in A.D. 62. The arrest of Paul in Jerusalem in the late spring of A.D. 57 or 58 was accomplished for security reasons by the Roman tribune Claudius Lysias (Acts 23:26), who rescued Paul from an infuriated crowd that was attempting to lynch him because they falsely believed that he had profaned the temple by bringing into its court some Greeks. According to Luke, interrogation of Paul before the Sanhedrin convinced the tribune that Paul "was accused about questions of their [Jewish] law, but charged with nothing deserving death or imprisonment" (Acts 23:29). When informed of a plot against Paul, the tribune decided as a precautionary measure to send Paul by night and well-escorted to the tribunal of the procurator Felix in Caesarea (Acts 23:23-33).

It is worth noting Luke's account of how Antonius Felix first, and his successor Porcius Festus later (Acts 24:27), handled the political and religious charges formalized by Tertullus, the official spokesman of the Sanhedrin. *Politically*, Paul was accused of being a "pestilent fellow, an agitator among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of Nazarenes" (Acts 24:5). The charge that Paul was an "agitator," instigating seditions, could hardly be ignored by Roman officials, who were watching closely the sectarian nationalistic ferment that troubled the Jewish world at that time. *Religiously*, Paul was charged with attempting "to profane the temple" (Acts 24:6) by introducing into it Gentiles, who were warned by an inscription to stay out or risk their lives. Any transgressor could be executed without permission by the Romans.[48] Both charges reported by Luke sound authentic, since they represent grievous transgression of Roman law.

Fully aware of the political nature of the accusation, Paul, according to Luke, took pains in his defense to refute the charges

[48]See Josephus, *Ant.* 15.11.5.

of sedition: "They did not find me disputing with anyone or stirring up a crowd, either in the temple or in the synagogues, or in the city" (Acts 24:12).[49] The line of defense adopted by Paul before both Jewish and Roman authorities was to reduce the charge for his arrest exclusively to religious reasons: "With respect to the resurrection of the dead I am on trial before you this day" (Acts 24:21; see also 23:6; 26:6-7). It can hardly be denied that in the Acts and the Pauline epistles, the resurrection of Christ constitutes the focus of Paul's teaching.

How did the Roman officials react to these charges and to Paul's defense? None of them, according to Luke, from the tribune Claudius Lysias to the procurators Felix and Festus, and to King Agrippa II, took seriously the political accusation of sedition. Why? Presumably because they knew sufficiently of the non-political, irenic nature of the Christian messianic movement. Felix, for example, according to Luke, had a "rather accurate knowledge of the Way" (Acts 24:22). On the basis of this knowledge, the procurator adopted a diplomatic course of action, putting off the trial indefinitely, while at the same time keeping Paul in prison with "some liberty" (Acts 24:23) in order "to do the Jews a favor" (Acts 24:27). The same desire motivated his successor, Festus, to advise Paul to be tried in his presence in Jerusalem before the Sanhedrin (Acts 25:9). These compromise measures reflect the concern of the imperial government to avoid actions which could antagonize Jewish religious sentiments, thus fueling unrest and revolts. Yet, it is noteworthy that even these political considerations did not induce Festus to hand Paul over to Jewish authorities for condemnation. His awareness that Paul "had done nothing deserving death" (Acts 25:25) apparently restrained him from granting to the Sanhedrin the right to try the apostle.

Agrippa II, who was appointed king over Philip's tetrarchy and neighboring territories, manifested the same attitude.[50] After examining Paul at Festus' request, Agrippa concurred that "this man is doing nothing to deserve death or imprisonment" (Acts 26:31). Such a verdict presupposes some knowledge of the pacifistic, non-political nature of the Christian movement. The latter is

[49]Paul gave the same defense before the next procurator, Festus (Acts 25:8).

[50]Josephus, *Ant.* 19.9.2; 20.5.2; *Wars* 2.12.1; 2.7.1.

suggested also by Paul's remark to Agrippa: "For the King knows about these things . . . for I am persuaded that none of these things have escaped his notice, for this was not done in a corner" (Acts 26:26). Though of Jewish lineage (great-grandson of Herod the Great), Agrippa grew up in Rome throughout the Great War (A.D. 66-70) and its aftermath.[51] It is possible, therefore, that Agrippa had learned about Christianity in the government circles of Rome.

It must not be overlooked, as Marta Sordi points out,[52] that Agrippa refers to Paul's faith, not with the Jewish designation "Nazarene" (Acts 24:5), but the new term "Christian" (Acts 26:28). This is a term used in Acts only once before—in conjunction with its origin in Antioch (Acts 11:26), most probably, as noted earlier, in government circles. The keen interest to learn about Christianity by men like King Agrippa, as well as the consistent rejection of the charge of sedition and temple profanation by all the above-mentioned Roman officials who had a part in Paul's trial in Palestine, suggests Roman familiarity with, and tolerance toward, Christianity. This picture, portrayed by Luke, agrees substantially with the scanty information provided by other sources.

*Palestine: Execution of Christian Leaders*

Mention must be made at this juncture of the execution of James and other leaders in A.D. 62. We noted earlier that, according to Josephus, the high priest Ananus was able to have these church leaders prosecuted and executed during the temporary absence of a Roman procurator, caused by the sudden death of Festus and the delay in the arrival of his successor, Albinus.[53] The fact that the high priest took advantage of the death of Festus to act immediately against church leaders suggests that the presence of the governor had prevented such actions against Christians. In fact, the new procurator Albinus, while yet in Alexandria, wrote to Ananus, strongly condemning him for his action; and Agrippa for the same

[51]See, e.g., Agrippa's famous speech to the Jews in which he attempted to dissuade them from making war on the Romans (*Wars* 2.16.4-5).

[52]Sordi, *Il Cristianesimo e Roma*, p. 41.

[53]See n. 5, above.

reason had Ananus deposed from the high priesthood.[54] By moderating and restraining Jewish actions against Christianity, Roman authorities favored the expansion of the latter.

*Rome: Imprisonment and Trial of Paul*

Paul's Roman imprisonment and trial offer further insight into the attitude of Roman authorities toward Christianity. Upon his arrival in Rome, Paul was delivered to the commander of the imperial guards (Acts 28:16).[55] This post was held from A.D. 51 to 62 by Sextus Afranius Burrus,[56] who together with Lucius Afranius Seneca, was Nero's most influential and trusted adviser in the earlier part of his reign.[57] In closing his account of Paul's life, Luke speaks of the freedom enjoyed by the apostle while a prisoner awaiting trial: "And he lived there two whole years in his own hired dwelling, and welcomed all who came to him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ *quite openly and unhindered*" (Acts 28:30-32, emphasis supplied).[58]

In his letter to the Philippians, Paul implicitly confirms Luke's account when he writes: "It has become known throughout the whole praetorian guard and to all the rest that my imprisonment is for Christ" (Phil 1:13). The freedom granted Paul freely to receive visitors at his guarded residence, openly to propagate his faith even among the praetorian guards and "Caesar's household" (Phil 4:21), and unimpededly to write pastoral letters to his

[54]Josephus, *Ant.* 20.9.1.

[55]The phrase "he was delivered to the prefect of the praetorians" (a variant reading of Acts 28:16) has been rejected by recent editors because it is not found in the most authoritative manuscripts. Nevertheless, as noted by J. B. Lightfoot, "the statement does not look like an arbitrary fiction, and probably contains a genuine tradition, even if it was no part of the original text" (*Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* [New York, 1913 reprint of the 4th ed.], p. 8 [cont. of n. 4 from p. 7]).

[56]See Tacitus, *Annals* 12.42; 14.51.

[57]Tacitus writes: "The death of Burrus shook the position of Seneca: for not only had the cause of decency lost in power by the removal of one of its *two champions*, but Nero was inclining to worse counsellors" (*Annals* 14.52, emphasis supplied).

[58]Henry J. Cadbury observes that "to understand the passage [Acts 28:30-31] in its proper proportions one must remember that Luke . . . wishes in the first place to show that the Roman authorities were not hostile to Christianity" (*The Beginnings of Christianity, The Acts of the Apostles* [London, 1933], p. 329).

churches, presupposes favorable dispositions on the part of the Roman authorities to which he had been entrusted—specifically, the praetorian guards and their prefect Sextus Afranius Burrus.

What role, if any, Burrus played in Paul's trial, we do not know. In some cases, the emperor delegated his authority to hear appeals.[59] Some modern authorities have proposed that possibly it was the prefect Burrus himself who acquitted Paul at his first trial (2 Tim 4:16-17), which presumably took place two years after his arrival in Rome (Acts 28:31-32).[60] Even if Nero himself heard the case, he would have been assisted by his close advisers, who formed his *consilium*. If Paul's first trial took place in A.D. 62, as is commonly maintained, it is conceivable that Burrus and Seneca were part of Nero's *consilium*, since until that year both were Nero's key advisers. In that case, both could have been influential in determining Paul's first acquittal.

Moreover, the opposition which Paul apparently faced in Rome from Jewish converts, as indicated by his complaint that Aristarchus, Mark, and Jesus Justus were "the only men of the circumcision" who supported him (Col 4:10-11) could have predisposed Seneca—well known for his anti-Semitic sentiments[61]—favorably toward Paul, who was regarded by the Jews as a renegade from their religion (Acts 21:21). The surge that took place in the 60s of a wave of literary attack against the Jewish race and Jewish customs could indirectly have favored a Roman attitude of tolerance toward Christians, especially since the latter endeavored to clarify to Roman authorities their severance from Judaism.[62]

The relative freedom enjoyed by Paul during his Roman imprisonment and the favorable response to his gospel proclamation among both the praetorian guards and the palace personnel

[59]Suetonius says that appeals from the provinces were delegated by Augustus to "consular men familiar with the administration of a particular province" (*Vita Augusti* 33).

[60]This possibility is suggested by Sordi, *Il Cristianesimo e Roma*, p. 72.

[61]Seneca railed against the Jews "as the most wicked race [*sceleratissime gentis*]," attacking especially their religious customs (*De superstitione*, cited by Augustine, *The City of God* 6.11).

[62]For a study of Roman literary anti-Semitism, see Samuele Bacchiocchi, *From Sabbath to Sunday* (Rome, 1977), pp. 173-177; J. N. Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World* (Leiden, 1975).

can hardly be treated as isolated cases determined by the favorable disposition of local or single magistrates during Nero's time. Our survey of the period from Tiberius to approximately the first half of Nero's reign suggests the existence of a rather consistent policy of Roman toleration toward Christianity. Indeed, we have found that this policy was initiated by Tiberius and that it was implemented during the reigns of Claudius and Nero by such Roman-government officials as the following: the proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus; the proconsul of Achaia, Junius Lucius Gallio; the magistrates and "Asiarchs" of Ephesus; the Roman tribune Claudius Lysias; the Palestinian procurators Felix, Festus, and Albinus; the praetorian prefect Sextus Afranius Burrus; and possibly Seneca himself.

### 5. *A.D. 62: A Turning Point in Nero's Policy*

The year A.D. 62 marks the *terminus post quem* of the period of Neronian tolerance toward Christians. Outside Rome, in that year the Jerusalem high priest Ananus was severely censured and deposed for his role in the execution of some Christian leaders during the absence of the Roman procurator. In Rome itself, Paul was probably acquitted at this time by the Neronian government. But the end of the year 62 marks a decisive change in Nero's political policy. This change in Nero's policy is indicated and/or was influenced by several concomitant events: the mysterious death of the prefect Burrus,[63] Seneca's withdrawal from political life, Nero's repudiation of his lawful wife Octavia in order to marry his Jewish mistress Poppaea, and the emperor's break with the senatorial class.

The removal of the restraining influence of Stoic advisers, such as Seneca, enabled Nero to implement his irresponsible absolutistic policy, which resulted in the condemnation not only of Christians but also of influential Stoics, such as Barea Soranus and Thrasea Paetus. In the case of the latter, it is noteworthy that he was charged with refusing to offer "a sacrifice for the welfare of the emperor," living an "austere" (*tristes*) life in order to condemn the

[63]Tacitus, *Annals* 14.51, reports the rumor that the death of Burrus was caused by a "poisonous drug" administered him at Nero's instruction.

Emperor's "wantonness" (*lasciviam*), "deserting the public service," and treating the "forum and theatre and temple as a desert."[64] Basically the same charges were frequently leveled against Christians and were often summarized under the popular rubric of "hatred of the human race" (*odium generis humani*).[65] A similar situation occurred about thirty years later when Domitian, to implement his theocratic absolutism, acted first against influential Stoics, such as Junius Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio,[66] and then against Christian nobles, such as Acilius Glabrio, Flavius Clement, and the latter's wife Domitilla.[67]

It would appear, as argued by Sordi, that "in the first century every time the imperial autocracy imposed the oriental forms of the deification of the living emperor . . . it collided almost contemporaneously both with the old senatorial aristocracy, to whose traditional ideals stoicism had given an ideological justification and with the new religion [Christianity] which . . . had found sympathizers even among the praetorian and palatin."[68] Though Christianity and Stoicism differed profoundly in their religious conceptions, they were strikingly similar in their view of moral values, of civil rights and duties, and of the non-deity of the emperor.[69]

The Stoic idealism that influenced Roman emperors and administrators may provide a clue to the reasons for the early Roman tolerance toward Christianity and also for the Christian respect for the Roman government. Both shared similar civil and moral ideals. These common ideals may have influenced Roman officials, as we have seen, to reject the popular charges of sedition and sacrilegious acts leveled against Christians, since they understood that the Christian movement posed no threat to the security of the state. On their part, Christians refrained from attacking Roman policies. The apostolic writings urge submission to, and respect for, "governing authorities" as being "instituted by God" (Rom 13:1).

[64]Ibid., 16.22, 28.

[65]Ibid., 15.44.

[66]See, e.g., Tacitus, *Agricola* 2.1.

[67]See Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 67.14.

[68]Sordi, *Il Cristianesimo e Roma*, p. 75.

[69]For a perceptive comparison of the similarities between Stoicism and Christianity, see Lightfoot, pp. 270-333.

The only anti-Roman Christian voice is to be found in the book of Revelation, which reflects the new political climate when the theocratic demands of the emperors (Nero, Domitian) collided frontally with the exclusive Christian acknowledgement of the Lordship of Christ.

In the second century, when Christians faced the contempt not only of the masses but also of intellectuals and magistrates, they remembered and appealed to the early Roman tolerance toward Christianity.[70] Melito of Sardis, for example, in his apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius about A.D. 175, reminds the Emperor that his "ancestors also honored [Christianity] along with the other religions." He then argues that "a most convincing proof that our doctrine flourished for the good of an empire happily begun, is this—that there has no evil happened since Augustus' reign, but that, on the contrary, all things have been splendid and glorious, in accordance with the prayers of all. Nero and Domitian, alone, persuaded by certain calumniators, have wished to slander our doctrine, and *from them* it has come to pass that the falsehood has been handed down."[71]

## 6. *Conclusion*

Melito's argument that Roman intolerance toward Christianity began with Nero—an argument repeated by other apologists[72]—can hardly be treated as a fabrication of second-century Christian apologetic. The sources investigated in this essay suggest that until the earlier part of Nero's reign (about A.D. 62), the Roman government facilitated the expansion of Christianity by restraining those anti-Christian hostile forces.[73]

[70]See, e.g., the apologies of Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Melito of Sardis, and Tertullian.

[71]Cited by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 4.26.7, trans. in NPNF, 2d Series, 1: 206.

[72]See, e.g., Tertullian, *Apology* 5; and *Ad nationes* 7; also Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica* 2.29.3.

[73]The early Christian writers generally identify the restraining power mentioned by Paul in 2 Thess 2:7 as being the Roman Empire. Tertullian, e.g., writes, "For we know that a mighty shock impending over the whole earth—in fact, the very end of all things threatening dreadful woes—is only retarded by the continued existence of the Roman empire" (*Apology* 32, in ANF 3:42-43). See also Augustine, *City of God* 20.19.

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# SUFFERING AND CESSATION FROM SIN ACCORDING TO 1 PETER 4:1

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**1 Peter 4:1**

**a. Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος σαρκὶ**
**Since therefore Christ suffered in the flesh**

**b. καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν ὁπλίσασθε,**
**arm yourselves with the same thought,**

**c. ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας.**
**for whoever has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin.**

1 Pet 4:1c declares that "whoever has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin." This statement, which is a significant element in Peter's argument, is found in a unit of material extending from 3:13-4:6. In this section Peter exhorts his readers to confidence in time of persecution. They are to know that even if they suffer for righteousness' sake, they will be blessed (vs. 14). The basis of this confidence is given in 3:18-4:6. In 3:18-22 Christ is pictured as having gained, through his death and resurrection, the victory over the sins of men and the powers of the cosmos. Baptism is the vehicle by which believers receive the salvation made possible through Christ. In 4:1-6 this baptismal connection with Christ's death/resurrection victory is amplified in terms of the believer's concrete turning from former passions of Gentile life to live henceforth for the will of God, in spite of the fact that this new situation will lead to abuse. The point plainly is that because Christ has deprived the hostile forces of their essential power, Christians can be what they now have become and can take what they now must endure. They are to perceive and to align themselves with a fundamental result of the Christ-event, viz., that "whoever has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin."

The precise meaning of this important declaration in 1 Pet 4:1c has been much debated. In attempting to come to an adequate

understanding of this problematic text, the exegetical particulars will be dealt with first, then various views of the statement will be set forth and evaluated and, finally, conclusions will be drawn. The present article is devoted to exegetical particulars, and the other matters will be treated in subsequent articles in this series.

## 1. *The Meaning of "Suffering" (4:1a)*

In respect to 4:1a it is clear from the οὖν ("therefore") that Peter is drawing a conclusion from what has preceded. The conclusion is based upon the whole of 3:18-22,[1] but finds its basic starting and focal point in the specific mention in vs. 18 of Christ's death in the flesh. The aoristic statement about Christ's suffering (παθόντος) in the flesh in 4:1a unquestionably is resumptive of the aoristic statements about Christ's suffering (ἔπαθεν)[2] or death (θανατωθείς) in the flesh in 3:18. The fact that *suffering* is mentioned in 4:1a and *death* in 3:18b is not indicative of any real difference in meaning. Both are said to occur in the flesh, and there is a basic equivalency between the terms "suffering" and "death" in 3:18.

Furthermore, over against the use of πάσχειν ("to suffer") in reference to Christians in 1 Peter (2:19-20; 3:14, 17; 4:1b, 15, 19; 5:10), in which case the term never means to die,[3] "suffering" as applied to Christ, while including the general sufferings of his Passion, has a primary reference to his suffering of death (2:21, 23; 4:1a).[4] This is in line with the exclusive use of πάσχειν in Hebrews

[1]On the question of whether 3:18-22 is a digression, see Excursus A at the close of the present article.

[2]On the reasons for reading ἔπαθεν ("suffered") instead of ἀπέθανεν ("died"), see Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London and New York, 1971), p. 629, and William J. Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study of 1 Peter 3:18-4:6* (Rome, 1965), pp. 119-120. On p. 121, par. 2, Dalton lists the commentators favoring ἔπαθεν.

[3]The view of some commentators that the mention of suffering in 4:1c, in a phrase which is parallel to that found in 4:1a, is an exception and refers to baptismal death will be discussed in a subsequent article in the context of my evaluation of various views on the meaning of 1 Pet 4:1c.

[4]In respect to 2:21 it is interesting to note that a number of witnesses have ἀπέθανεν for ἔπαθεν, though this may be due to the variant reading ἀπέθανεν in 3:18, as pointed out by Metzger, p. 690.

for the death of Christ (2:8; 5:8; 9:26; 13:12)[5] and with a class of usages in Luke-Acts, where πάσχειν is used in the sense of "die" (Luke 22:15; 24:46 [cf. vs. 26]; Acts 1:3; 3:18; 17:3).

The same significance of πάσχειν is attested in Ignatius and Barnabas. Examples very likely occur in *Smyrn.* 2 (in the second and third usages of the term; its first occurrence has the meaning "to experience" "go through," or "undergo") and 7:1; *Barn.* 5:5, 13; 6:7; 7:2, 5, 10; 12:2, 5. The noun πάθος ("suffering") bears the same sense in *Barn.* 6:7; *Smyrn.* 1:2; 7:2; 12:2; *Eph.* 20:1; *Phld.* intro.; 9:2; *Magn.* 11.[6] (The meaning of πάθος is very clear in these Ignatian texts, because the πάθος of Christ is coupled with his ἀνάστασις ["resurrection"]). Cf. *Trall.* 11:2 and *Rom.* 6:3.

However, not only was it possible for Peter to use πάσχειν ("to suffer") for death, it was also valuable that he should do so. It enabled him to speak on two important fronts and yet connect the two together. By the use of this one term he could speak about the death of Christ and also of the sufferings of Christians, which,

[5]While the verb ἀποθνήσκειν ("to die") occurs in Hebrews for death (7:8; 9:27; 10:28; 11:4, 13, 21, 37)—even violent death, as in 11:37—, it is never used for the death of Jesus (Wilhelm Michaelis, "πάσχω," *TDNT*, 5:917).

[6]On the use of πάσχειν and πάθος for death, cf. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, a translation and adaptation of the 4th rev. and augmented ed., 1952, of Walter Bauer's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Chicago, 1957), p. 639, col. 2, and p. 607, col. 2 (hereinafter referred to as Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich); Michaelis, "πάσχω" and "πάθος," *TDNT*, 5:912-930; Hans Windisch, *Die katholischen Briefe*, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, 15, 2d rev. ed. (Tübingen, 1930), p. 73; Richard Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen*, (1927; reprint, Stuttgart, 1956), p. 259, n. 3 (the use of suffer for death appears to be late Jewish); Edward Gordon Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 2d ed. (London and New York, 1947), p. 185; Eduard Lohse, "Paränese und Kerygma im 1. Petrusbrief," *ZNW* 45 (1954), p. 82, n. 82; idem, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht: Untersuchungen zur urchristlichen Verkündigung vom Sühntod Jesu Christi*, 2d rev. ed. (Göttingen, 1963), p. 185; Alan M. Stibbs, *The First Epistle General of Peter*, Tyndale NT Commentaries (Grand Rapids, 1959), pp. 140, 146, 147; Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, *Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche*, 2d rev. ed. (Göttingen, 1964), pp. 62-63; Bo Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism: A Study of 1 Peter III.19 and Its Context*, (Copenhagen, 1946), p. 214; M.-E. Boismard, *Quatre hymns baptismales dans la première épître de Pierre* (Paris, 1961), pp. 58-59; Eduard Schweizer, *Der erste Petrusbrief*, Zürcher Bibelkommentar, 3d ed. (Zürich, 1972), p. 83.

according to Peter, were a participation in the event of Christ's self-giving for righteousness' sake.[7] Thus, what Christ did and what Christians are called upon to be a part of and to do are brought into fundamental relationship through the one motif of πάσχειν.[8]

### 2. *"Arm Yourselves with the Same Thought" (4:1b)*

The participial clause referring to Christ's suffering of death in 1 Pet 4:1a is clearly causal and, as such, introduces the motivation and basis for the independent clause which follows. Inasmuch as Christ suffered in the flesh—an event which found (1) its necessary and victorious fulfillment in his resurrection to lordship over the cosmic forces which control this world, and (2) its anthropological realization in the salvific event of baptism, which was typified by the Flood (3:18-22)—Peter's readers are exhorted to arm themselves (ὁπλίσασθε) against their aggressors with the same ἔννοιαν.

#### *The Basic Meaning of ἔννοια*

The term ἔννοιαν has been variously translated or interpreted as "thought," "knowledge," or "insight";[9] "controlling idea";[10] "governing principle" or "principle of conduct";[11] "fundamental or guiding conviction";[12] "principle of thought and feeling,"

[7]Note 1 Pet 4:13-14, which exhorts believers to rejoice since they share Christ's sufferings.

[8]Cf. Dalton, p. 121.

[9]Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 266, col. 2; Ernst Kühl, *Die Briefe Petri und Judae*, Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, 6th ed. (Göttingen, 1897), p. 246; J. Behm, "ἔννοια," *TDNT*, 4:971. Behm also speaks of ἔννοια as having to do with an ethically binding recognition. Giving further precision to ἔννοια as insight, Windisch, p. 73, speaks of "the determinative insight" (*die bestimmende Einsicht*); and Dalton, p. 247, talks of a "practical insight."

[10]J. W. C. Wand, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, Westminster Commentaries (London, 1934), p. 103.

[11]Dalton, pp. 244, 247.

[12]Ceslas Spicq, *Les Épîtres de saint Pierre* (Paris, 1966), p. 143, and J. N. D. Kelley, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*, Harper's NT Commentaries (New York, 1969), p. 166.

"motive";[13] "idea," "design," "resolve";[14] "purpose," "decision," "intention."[15] In the LXX the word occurs almost exclusively in the Wisdom Literature (Sus 2:8 is the only exception), and most of its uses are to be found in Proverbs (twelve times in the singular; once in the plural in 23:19), where it is coupled with such terms as βουλή ("plan" or "decision"), σοφία, ("wisdom"), γνῶσις ("knowledge"), παιδεία ("instruction" or "training") and φρόνιμος ("sensible" or "prudent").[16] It is concerned with the intellectual side of man, but as enlisted in and directed to practical and moral ends.[17] Johannes Behm suggests that the word in Proverbs is always used in the sense of consideration, insight, perception, or cleverness.[18] In Wis 2:14 the plural occurs on the lips of those who find the righteous man a reproof of their thoughts (ἐννοιῶν).[19] This text offers some background to Heb 4:12, the only other text in the NT besides 1 Pet 4:1 where ἔννοια occurs. According to Hebrews, the word of God is able to discern "the thoughts (ἐνθυμήσεων) and intentions (ἐννοιῶν) of the heart."[20] Here ἔννοια denotes what a person with his reason and will intends to do in the moral sphere.[21]

[13]Selwyn, pp. 208, 98.

[14]Charles Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, ICC, 2d ed. (Edinburgh, 1902), p. 167.

[15]H. A. A. Kennedy, *The Theology of the Epistles* (London, 1919), p. 170, n. 2; Johann Martin Usteri, *Wissenschaftlicher und praktischer Commentar über den ersten Petrusbrief* (Zürich, 1887), p. 166; Reicke, p. 189 and n. 2.

[16]In *1 Clem.* 21:3 it is coupled with διαλογισμοί ("thoughts," "reasonings").

[17]Spicq, p. 143, well says that in Proverbs ἔννοια refers to a disposition of the spirit or a reflection which orients all moral conduct.

[18]"ἔννοια," *TDNT*, 4:969.

[19]Wis 2:12-20, in its emphasis on the attitude and intent of the ungodly toward the righteous man, reminds one of the thrust of 1 Pet 4:1-4.

[20]According to Herman Cremer, the two words employed here are synonymous in their verbal forms. Ἐνθυμεῖσθαι means "to weigh" and ἐννοιεῖν "to consider" (*Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek*, 4th ed. [Edinburgh, 1895], p. 439). It may be noted that *1 Clem.* 21:9 presents a good parallel to Heb 4:12: Whereas in Hebrews the word of God is κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας ("the discerner of the thoughts and intentions of the heart"), Clement says of God that ἐρευνήτης . . . ἐστιν ἐννοιῶν καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων ("he is the searcher of the intentions and thoughts").

[21]Perhaps "moral devisings" would be a good paraphrase of ἐννοιῶν in Heb 4:12. This would not of itself necessarily imply an evil devising but, given the

With the above background in mind, as well as Peter's view of Christ's sufferings (2:21, 23-24; 3:18), one can conclude that the word ἔννοια in 1 Pet 4:1 contains two basic ingredients: insight and intention. Reason and will are involved. Christians are to have the same thought about, or understanding of, suffering as Christ did, and they are to have the same purpose. In effect, Peter tells his readers what Paul told his in Phil 2:5: "Have this mind among yourselves, which you have in Christ Jesus." These words are a challenge to reflection and understanding, but also to determination and action, for the text goes on to speak of what Christ in fact did.

*ἔννοια in Relationship to 1 Pet 3:18-22*

To be more specific and taking into account the immediately preceding complex of thoughts in 1 Pet 3:18-22, from which Peter draws his conclusions in 4:1ff., the particular insight or knowledge which Christians are to use as armor is twofold: (1) the knowledge of the redemptive necessity of suffering, derived from the example of Christ,[22] and (2) the perception that such suffering is the prelude to victory over hostile forces. Thus, the statement "since therefore Christ suffered in the flesh" is resumptive not only of Christ's death mentioned in 3:18, but also of that which belonged in fundamental unity with that death and which is also mentioned in 3:18 and amplified in 3:19-22, viz., the resurrection and victorious lordship of Jesus Christ.[23] What Peter is saying is that Christians

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immediate context in vs. 11 (which exhorts against disobedience and to which vs. 12 is connected by an explanatory γάρ ["for"], as well as the emphasis in vs. 13 on God as the omniscient Judge), it is apparent that ἐννοιῶν has a negative meaning here. Behm is therefore justified when, with reference to the ἐννοιῶν of Heb 4:12, he speaks of "the morally questionable thoughts" ("ἔννοια," *TDNT*, 4:971). In Sus. 28, the only other occurrence of ἔννοια in the LXX apart from Proverbs and Wisdom, ἔννοια is qualified by ἀνόμου ("lawless") and refers to the "wicked plot" of those who would put Susanna to death. It might also be pointed out that ἐνθύμησις, which can function as a synonym of ἔννοια, carries this negative meaning in Matt 9:4 and 12:35. Cf. Friedrich Büchsel, "ἐνθύησις," *TDNT*, 3:172.

[22]Suffering for the good is divinely willed according to 1 Peter. See Floyd V. Filson, "Partakers with Christ: Suffering in First Peter," *Int* 9 (1955): 405, par. 1.

[23]Cf. Kelly, p. 165.

participate in the total fate of Jesus Christ. Their insight into this reality and their acceptance of it is to be their armor.

This participation is not merely by way of human imitation, however, but by way of Christ's causation.[24] As it is "*through* the resurrection of Jesus Christ" that baptism can be an efficacious vehicle of God's redemptive intention for human beings (3:21),[25] so the causative power of Jesus Christ is implied in the statement "*since therefore Jesus Christ* suffered in the flesh." When Christians are challenged to arm themselves with the same thought, this is not to be understood as meaning that Christians are to imitate Christ by the power of their own will, but rather that the indicative of God's saving grace has made it possible for them to be effectively challenged to place their will and existence on the side of God's intention and into the locus of God's action and to live in the strength of Christ's victory. It is another way of saying that the imperative is made possible by, and grounded in, the indicative.

[24]Cf. Dalton, p. 85, par. 1; Spicq, p. 143; Stibbs, p. 148; and E. A. Sieffert, "Die Heilsbedeutung des Leidens und Sterbens Christi nach dem ersten Brief des Petrus," *Jahrbuch für deutsche Theologie* 20 (1875): 424. According to Sieffert, the sufferings of Christ are not only an example "but, through their sanctifying effects (vss. 18ff.), also that which makes imitation possible, as evidenced by the causal significance of the genitive absolute" (translation mine). So, for Sieffert, Christ's sufferings in Peter are not only a "model" (*Vorbild*) but also a "salvific cause" (*Heilsgrund*) (p. 426). In this he is entirely correct. However, note the critique of this view by Kühl, p. 246, n. **. Kühl rejects the view that Christ's suffering supplies the salvific basis for imitation. He insists that Peter's admonition that Christians be like Christ in his willingness to suffer points to the bare fact of Christ's suffering. Contra this position, see my own remarks above.

[25]According to the correct connection of words in 3:21, baptism now saves through the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The words "not as a removal of dirt from the body but as an appeal to God for a clean conscience," which come between σώζει βάπτισμα ("baptism saves") and δι' ἀναστάσεως ("through the resurrection"), characterize the nature of this baptismal salvation. Cf. Kelly, p. 161; Windisch, p. 73; Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendrick Grobel, 2 vols. (New York, 1951-55), 1:181; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1973; originally published in 1962), p. 261; Gerhard Delling, "Der Bezug der christlichen Existenz auf das Heilshandeln Gottes nach dem ersten Petrusbrief," in *Neues Testament und christliche Existenz: Festschrift für Herbert Braun zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Hans Dieter Betz and Luise Schottroff (Tübingen, 1973), p. 109.

The call for Christians to arm themselves is really a call to faith in the Christ-event. It is like the λογίζεσθε ("reckon") of Rom 6:11, which calls on the Christians to take stock of and ground themselves in what Christ has done and to see themselves as sharing in it through baptism. When Peter challenges believers to arm themselves with "the same thought," this does not imply that they do not have the thought at all, but that they are to settle into it and conform themselves to it all the more.[26]

### 3. *"For Whoever Has Suffered in the Flesh Has Ceased from Sin" (4:1c)*

If the interpretation being offered here is sound, then the ὅτι ("that" or "for") clause of 1 Pet 4:1c *need* not be taken (though it *may* be taken) as explicative of "the same thought" of 4:1b, for what the thought is, is already contained in the cross/victory complex implied in 4:1a. Thus, W. J. Dalton's contention that it is somewhat harsh to refer back to 4:1a as "the same mind," inasmuch as Christ's suffering in the flesh is presented as an event rather than a direct representation of his mind or thought,[27] does not carry weight. This is especially so, since Dalton also sees the whole of 3:18-22 as the foundation for 4:1-6. If this is the proper understanding of the flow of Peter's thought (and I think it is), it is not difficult to see Christ's own determinative insight, governing conviction, and controlling idea and purpose in what Christ *did*. Surely, Christ's suffering in the flesh was not a bare event, but expressed the very mind and purpose of Christ.

What that mind was is stated in 3:18a, the very statement which all commentators agree is being resumed in 4:1a, despite whether they see 3:18b-22 or 19-21 as forming a unity with it or as a digression. According to 3:18, "Christ also [1] died for sins once for all, the righteous for the unrighteous, [2] that he might bring us to

[26]Along this line Spicq, p. 143, says that "the same thought" "signifies that the Christian life is a progressive assimilation to the crucified and risen savior, and that repeated suffering in the flesh, envisaged by faith as a blessed conformation to Jesus Christ, should be accepted and supported in the same spirit as His" (translation mine).

[27]Dalton, p. 240. For the same thought, cf. Hans Freiherr von Soden, "Der erste Brief des Petrus," *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*, 3d rev. ed. (Leipzig and Tübingen, 1899), 3:159.

God." The thought here is the same as in 2:24: "He himself [1] bore our sins in his body on the tree, [2] that he might die to sin and live to righteousness." The governing principle of Christ's action is here clearly revealed.[28]

The movement of thought in these texts could not be closer to that of 4:1-4, for here the meaning and purpose of Christ's death, in which believers have a share, is so that they might cease from sin in the sense and for the purpose that they might "live for the rest of the time in the flesh no longer by human passions [the licentiousness, drunkenness, revels, carousing, and lawless idolatry of their previous Gentile life mentioned in 4:3] but by the will of God" (4:2). When Christians arm themselves with the very thought which supplies the redemptive rationale and the victorious result of Christ's sufferings, then, in a way which corresponds to the twofold movement of the Christ-event as brought out in 3:18a (3:18b-22 as well) and in 2:24, it can be said to them (3:14-16):

> But even if you do suffer for righteousness' sake, you will be blessed. Have no fear of them, nor be troubled, but in your hearts reverence Christ as Lord [cf. 3:22] . . . and keep your conscience clear [cf. 3:21], so that when you are abused, those who revile your good behavior in Christ may be put to shame. For it is better to suffer for doing right . . . than for doing wrong.

### *Is the ὅτι Clause (4:1c) Epexegetic or Causal?*

If the ὅτι clause is not epexegetic of "the same thought," then it must be taken in a causal sense as supporting Peter's challenge to be armed with the thought of Christ's righteous suffering and, by way of implication from the preceding verses, his consequent victory. Why should Christians so arm themselves? Because (as vs. 1c teaches in its context) the one who suffers in the flesh as Christ did will find victory over sin as and because Christ did over the malevolent spiritual powers. Thus, in the maxim-like statement of

[28]I therefore disagree with Bo Reicke, *The Epistles of James, Peter and Jude, AB* 37 (Garden City, N.Y., 1964), p. 139, n. 43. Reicke, while more than likely correct in understanding the ὅτι of 1 Pet 4:1c as "for" instead of "that," says wrongly that "for" is the better translation "since it is hardly possible to attribute to Christ any special consideration as a reason for his suffering."

4:1c is found the same twofold movement as is seen in 2:24, 3:18, and 4:1-4 as a whole.

If, however, the ὅτι is causal, a slight problem arises as to its precise connection with the preceding part of the verse. Is it to be taken (1) directly or (2) loosely (somewhat parenthetically) with what has preceded?[29] If loosely (taking up option 2 first), is the idea of Christians arming themselves with "the same thought" most logically tied, in terms of syntax, with vs. 2—so that vs. 1c becomes an explanatory parenthesis and that, as the second person plural was used in 4:1b, it is also to be understood as the implied person in vs. 2? Or if the connection is direct (as in option 1), is 4:1c, with its use of the third person singular (implied in ὁ παθών, "he who has suffered"), the direct nonparenthetical follow-up of 4:1b—so that the third person singular must also be thought of as continuing in vs. 2?[30] If option 1 is correct, the ὅτι is best translated by "since" or "because"; but if option 2 is preferable, "for" recommends itself as the better translation.[31]

Indeed, option 2, according to which vs. 1c is supportive of vs. 1b, but parenthetical to the direct flow of thought, seems best. The presence of the second person plural ὑμῶν ("you") in vs. 4 strongly suggests that the second person plural of vs. 1c is meant to continue in vss. 2 and 3.[32] And it is entirely clear that vs. 4 flows on directly from vs. 3, for "the same wild profligacy" in which the ὑμῶν of vs. 4 no longer participates is a direct reference to the various forms of Gentile sin enumerated in vs. 3 and introductorily and summarily referred to in vs. 2 by ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυίαις ("human passions").

If the ὅτι clause of 4:1c be taken thus, as an explanatory parenthesis, and if the second person plural be understood in vs. 2, then 4:1-2 could be properly translated: "Since, therefore, Christ

[29]That the causal ὅτι can sit loosely with respect to the rest of the sentence is pointed out by Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, pp. 593-594.

[30]The NIV of the NT translates in this way. See n. 33, below.

[31]Cf. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, pp. 593-594, and Alfons Kirchgässner, *Erlösung und Sünde im Neuen Testament* (Freiburg i.B., 1950), p. 237.

[32]Cf. the observations of August Strobel, "Macht Leiden von Sünde frei? Zur Problematik von 1 Petr. 4,1f.," *ThZ* 19 (1963):415. Strobel correctly declares that the second person plural must be understood in vss. 2-4 but, apart from his brief mention of vs. 4, where the plural is clear, his argumentation is weak.

suffered in the flesh, arm yourselves with the same thought—for whoever has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin—so that you live the remaining time in the flesh no longer by human passions but by the will of God."[33]

*The ὅτι Clause as Explanatory Restatement.* As has been pointed out above, the ὅτι clause *need* not be taken explicatively, since the content of "the same thought" is most adequately revealed in all that is implied in 4:1a as resumptive of 3:18-22 (which describes [1] Christ's death and its purpose and [2] the subsequent fulfillment of that death in Christ's resurrection to his victorious and exalted position over all opposing cosmic powers). However, it is possible, syntactically, to see in the ὅτι clause a pithy delineation of the content of "the same thought."[34] In such a case, the ὅτι clause should not be understood as supplying information on "the same thought"—which was not at all contained in what preceded[35] —but rather as a restatement or application, on the anthropological level, of the meaning and consequence of the christological event. The same two elements are present: suffering and victory.

*Ceasing from Sin.* However, the problem with construing 4:1c as explicative is how it can be understood that Christians and Christ have the same thought if that thought is ceasing from sin. How can it be said that Christ ceased from sin, especially when it is said in 1 Pet 2:22: "He committed no sin"?[36] Two considerations

[33]Based on the points presented above, I find the following translation of 1 Pet 4:1-3a offered in the NIV of the NT wanting: "Therefore, since Christ suffered in his body, arm yourselves with the same attitude, because he who has suffered in his body is done with sin. As a result, *he* does not live the rest of his earthly life for evil human desires, but rather for the will of God. For *you* have spent enough time in the past doing what pagans choose to do . . ." (emphasis mine).

[34]Cf. Windisch, p. 73; J. H. A. Hart, "The First Epistle General of Peter," in vol. 5 of *Expositor's Greek Testament* (London, 1910), p. 70; Dalton, p. 240; Kelly, p. 166; D. G. Wohlenberg, *Der erste und zweite Petrusbrief und der Judasbrief*, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Leipzig, 1915), p. 121. (Strobel [p. 415, n. 81] wrongly seems to class Wohlenberg with those who argue against ὅτι as explicative.)

[35]Contra Kühl, p. 247. But see Usteri, p. 169. Usteri moves in the right direction when he suggests that the ὅτι clause adds a new moment which strengthens the admonition implicit in τὴν αὐτὴν ὁπλίσασθε ("arm yourselves with the same"): "Suffer for the good rather than for deviating from it."

[36]Cf. Schweizer, pp. 83-84.

immediately arise in this regard, viz., (1) the voice of πέπαυται ("has ceased"), and (2) the meaning of ἁμαρτία ("sin").

*The Voice of πέπαυται.* The answer to the problem might be simplified somewhat if one could regard πέπαυται as passive rather than middle. While the middle normally would mean to "cease" or "stop from," "have done with," "put an end to," the passive would mean to be "removed," "freed," "delivered," or "rested from" sin. The passive sense would make possible a thought similar to that contained in the δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας of Rom 6:7, understood as meaning "is freed from sin."

If the passive, in this sense, indeed be correct, then 1 Pet 4:1c, as applied to Christ, could mean that through his death, Christ not only was finished with sin (or sins) as something he had to bear for man,[37] but he was removed from sin as a force with which he had to reckon or a power which impinged upon him—a sphere in which, and yet over against which, he acted righteously, according to God's will. Such a construction of thought would immediately relate Peter to Paul. For Paul, Christ, while not knowing sin in the sense of concrete deed (2 Cor 5:21),[38] was born into and lived in the reality of a lost world (Gal 4:4-5).[39] Or, otherwise stated, Christ came in the likeness of sinful flesh (Rom 8:3)[40] and was subject to the working of evil powers (1 Cor 2:8). Consequently, when he died, it was not only *for* sin (Rom 8:3) in order to redeem us (Gal 4:5), but since sin is power as well as guilt, his death was also *to* sin. That is to say, by death Christ himself was removed from sin's

[37]Being finished with sin in this sense would be an implication one could draw from those texts such as 1:18-20, 2:24, and 3:18, where Christ is said to suffer for our sins. According to 3:18ff. and 1:11, these sufferings were followed by Christ's exaltation and glory.

[38]Compare Paul at this point with 1 Pet 2:22. On the thought that in 2 Cor 5:21 not knowing sin means a concrete knowing, see Bultmann, 1: 264, 277.

[39]Gal 4:5 makes clear, with its emphasis on redeeming those "under the law," that "under the law" in 4:4 means under a system and situation where the lot of mankind is hopeless. The expression "under the law" is a Pauline way of talking about the unredeemed state of human beings. The necessary implication of Rom 6:14 is that to be under the law is to be living in the domain and under the dominion of sin. The expression has a religio-sociological significance.

[40]Gal 4:4-5 and Rom 8:3 contain parallel ideas: "Born under the law" (Gal 4:4) = "in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom 8:3). "To redeem those under the law" (Gal 4:5) = "and for sin" (Rom 8:3).

realm of influence, and through the resurrection, from its reign in death (Rom 6:9-10).[41]

*The Significance of ἁμαρτία.* It is at this juncture that the second consideration, viz., the significance of ἁμαρτία in 1 Peter must be dealt with. If taking the voice of πέπαυται as passive makes it possible to relate 1 Pet 4:1c with Rom 6:7, does the meaning of ἁμαρτία in 1 Peter do so as well? In addition to 4:1, ἁμαρτία occurs five more times in four other texts of 1 Peter. In 2:22a it is singular, but its use with ποιεῖν ("to do") makes it certain that it is thought of in terms of a concrete deed of wrongdoing. This is confirmed by the verses which immediately follow and interpret "he did no sin" in 2:22a. According to 2:22b-23, he did not manifest guile, he did not revile, and he did not threaten. Instead of manifesting such traits and thus committing sin, 2:24 says that he rather "bore our sins [pl., ἁμαρτίας] . . . that we might die to sin [pl., ἁμαρτίαις]." Then, in parallel fashion to 2:24a, 3:18a says that "Christ also died for sins [pl., ἁμαρτιῶν]."

As has been pointed out earlier, it is this statement of 3:18 that is recapitulated in 4:1. Noting this, plus the fact that "sin" in the Petrine verses here presented, as well as in its final occurrence in the proverb quoted in 4:8 (ἁμαρτιῶν), is usually plural, and in any case concrete, one is pointed to the conclusion that the same significance should be attributed to the singular form in 4:1c. Whether the verb is middle or passive, 4:1c asserts that there takes place, or is brought about, a cessation from sin in the sense of sinning.[42] This sense also presents the most fitting contrast to what follows in 4:2-4, where we have the picture of concrete wrongdoing in the variety of its manifestations.[43]

[41]Cf. Dalton, p. 247. Dalton, in arguing for the connection of Peter with Paul, says that "Christ, though personally sinless, entered into solidarity with the human race and suffered from the effects of this solidarity. By his death he passed definitively from these conditions of existence, conditions of human weakness and misery due to sin, and entered into the new order of the Spirit . . . , the new sphere of his glory. In this sense only can He be said to 'finish with sin.'" With what Dalton says here, cf. Sieffert, p. 424.

[42]For further discussion, including rebuttal of Dalton's position, see Excursus B at the close of the present article.

[43]To point to the variant reading ἁμαρτίαις ("sins") instead of ἁμαρτίας ("sin") as lending further support, by virtue of the plural form, to the sense of concrete

It could, of course, make logical sense in and of itself to say that having been removed from sin as power, Christians need no longer keep on sinning. The real point which must be considered, however, is the meaning which Peter himself gives to the word ἁμαρτία ("sin"). Admittedly, Peter may be using a maxim in 4:1c, and this maxim may have a variant form in Rom 6:7, where contextual considerations make the conclusion inevitable that sin is being conceived of as a power. In such a case, however, the question still would have to be raised as to how Peter was using the maxim, just as the same must be asked of Paul.[44] In Peter's own context the sin of which 4:1c speaks, no matter what its significance was in Paul's use of the theologoumenon mirrored in Rom 6:7, signifies the practice of immoral acts. If this be the correct sense of ἁμαρτία ("sin"), it then appears that taking πέπαυται ("has ceased") as middle[45] supplies a better and more logical coherence of thought.[46] Thus, the sufferer of 4:1c is one who has desisted from his sinful ways.

A specific illustration of this, and one which uses the word παύω, is to be found in 1 Pet 3:10, which is a slightly modified quotation from the LXX of Ps 34:13. In this text, Peter says of one

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sinning in 1 Pet 4:1c would not be proper. More than likely, the plural form, though having some good manuscript support, is an assimilation to the plural ἐπιθυμίας of vs. 2 (Metzger, p. 694).

[44]W. C. van Unnik gives support to the general principle involved here when he says that "even where we see a writer using traditional schemes, he always gives them a special turn" ("The Teaching of Good Works in 1 Peter," *NTS* 1 [1954-1955]:93).

[45]Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 643, does not even list any passive meanings in the discussion of παύω. Only active and middle definitions are discussed, with the greater weight being placed on the middle. However, πέπαυται does occur a number of times in the LXX, and sometimes the passive meaning seems intended. In the following list of occurrences the texts italicized probably represent passives: Exod 9:34; Isa 16:10; 24:8, 11; *26:10*; 32:10; *33:8*. Possibly, we should think the passive in Isa 32:10, where πέπαυται stands in a phrase which is in synonymous parallelism with the preceding phrase which contains a passive (though it is followed by a phrase—not necessarily in synonymous parallelism—which contains an active), and perhaps also in Exod 9:34. Cf. Hart, p. 70.

[46]Bigg, p. 167, supports the middle sense, and this goes along with his general observation (agreed to by Selwyn, p. 209, and evidenced by our consideration above of the specific texts in which ἁμαρτία occurs) that ἁμαρτία in 1 Peter always means a sinful act.

who wishes to see life that he should παυσάτω τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ κακοῦ . . . ("cease" or "keep his tongue from evil . . ."). Then in vs. 11, in dependence on Ps 34:14, he continues: ἐκκλινάτω δὲ ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ ποιησάτω ἀγαθόν ("let him turn away from evil and do right"). While this is an OT quotation, and while the material in the Psalm quoted may have been part of an early Christian catechism dealing with catechumen virtues, of which Peter made use,[47] it is nevertheless true that the material quoted is utilized by Peter to summarize and express his very own simple and practical ethical teaching.[48] However, it is 4:2-4, with which 4:1 is fundamentally related, and 2:21-23 (cf. 2:1) which illustrate best what Peter means by ceasing from sin. At rock-bottom, ceasing from sin has to do with the putting away of the old vices of pagan society and the imitation of the humble virtues of Christ. In other words, Christians, who are modeled after Christ, are a totally new kind of people in comparison with what they were before in their pagan ways. This concept is similar to the idea found in the Pauline literature of putting off the old man and putting on the new (with which cf. 1 Pet 1:14; 2:11; 4:2). The new being and walk of the believer in 1 Peter is presented in the overarching framework of allegiance to God during times of suspicion and slander, threats and trials, pressures and persecutions.

This interpretation obviously has negative results for the question of whether the ὅτι clause is explicative. For Peter, Christ is the righteous one (3:18) who did no sin (2:22), the Lamb without spot (1:19). Consequently, "the same thought" which Christ and Christians share cannot include, on the part of Christ, desisting from personal misdeeds. E. A. Sieffert is right, in my judgment, when he points out that the major objection which can be raised against the interpretation of the ὅτι clause as explicative is "that the πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας ('has ceased from sin') cannot be applied to Christ, because this expression presupposes not merely an earlier connection with sin but an earlier sinning itself."[49] He himself sees the clause as explicative, and answers the objection by saying that πέπαυται can refer to a previous state as well as to a previous deed.

[47]Selwyn, pp. 408-410, 413, 414.

[48]Ibid., p. 190.

[49]Sieffert, p. 422.

He cites illustrations of this from Diodor, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and Aristotle. These writers use παύω ("to cease") for the cessation of aspects of suffering such as hunger, danger, and illness. In like manner, says Sieffert, πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας refers to the sins of mankind as that under which Christ had to suffer and as that from which he was freed since his παθεῖν σαρκί ("suffering in the flesh") was at an end. By his death Christ was freed from all *passive* connection with sin.[50]

Over against Sieffert it must be said that one cannot pass so easily and immediately from the various non-biblical sources he quotes to the meaning of 1 Pet 4:1c. This text has a context, and the word ἁμαρτία ("sin") is used in a certain way by Peter, as we have indicated. It was incumbent upon Sieffert to show how the interpretation he presents corresponds with Peter's usage, and this he does not do. That Sieffert comes to this improper conclusion is basically the result of the fact that he finds it necessary to make the ὅτι clause explicative.[51] He presents two arguments in favor of this.

[50]Ibid., pp. 423-424. In dependence upon Sieffert, Strobel, p. 424, says that πέπαυται stands in contrast not only to an earlier deed, but equally to an earlier, encompassing sphere of non-subjective reality. To those who, like Sieffert, hold that 4:1c gives the content of "the same thought," the question can be put: If the ὅτι clause is explicative, so that it be necessary to say that Christ himself ceased from sin, and if this means with respect to Christ that all passive, non-subjective connection with sin is ended (a thought which in the context of 1 Peter could only mean that for him who had done no sin [2:22] his *sufferings*, due to the world and its sins, were over), how then could it be said to Christians that they should arm themselves with "the *same* thought" when what ends for them, according to 4:1c-4, is *not a passive state of suffering*, but the activity of sinning? (After all, 1 Peter presupposes that Christians do continue to suffer.)

The explicative view cannot do justice to the identity between Christ and the believer called for by τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν ("the same thought") (cf. Usteri, p. 169, and Kühl, p. 247, n. *). A better equivalence is seen by finding the content of "the same thought" in 4:1a rather than in 4:1c. According to this construction, arming oneself with "the same thought" has no application at all to the end of suffering, but is a call precisely *to* suffering—a willing suffering for righteousness' sake. Such suffering is the vehicle by which the persecuting powers—behind which stand the cosmic forces of 3:22 (cf. Reicke, *Disobedient Spirits*, pp. 200-201)—are vanquished, in that the sinful way of life in contrariety to God which they represent is fully rejected. In such a victory built upon this kind of suffering there is a basic identity with Jesus Christ.

[51]The interpreter can move in one of two directions. He can start with the idea that the ὅτι clause cannot be explicative since this would entail too great a problem

First, Sieffert states that if one relates "the same thought" to 4:1a, where the event of Christ's suffering in the flesh is spoken of, this would result in seeing in ἔννοια ("thought") the idea contained in βουλή ("plan" or "decision"), so that ἔννοια would then mean "decision" (*Entschluss*) or "intention" (*Vorsatz*). However, maintains Sieffert, ἔννοια is usually "the consideration of a question or a fact, and this therefore requires that the ὅτι which follows must have the meaning "that."[52] This argument is not sound, for as we have seen, the word ἔννοια can carry the idea of intention, and one evidence of this is the fact that ἔννοια can be connected with βουλή, as in Prov 2:11, 3:21, and 8:12. Furthermore, if ἔννοια means the consideration of a question or fact, why cannot this fact be the suffering of Christ in the flesh (4:1a), with the implied consequence of this, viz., his victory?

Second, there is, according to Sieffert, an obvious connection between μηκέτι ("no longer") in vs. 2 and πέπαυται ("has ceased") in vs. 1c, a connection which disallows taking the ὅτι as parenthetical. Sieffert believes that the only way to maintain this connection and yet have vs. 2 be a reference to the readers (which it must be, since vs. 3, which confirms vs. 2, refers to the readers) is to take 4:1c as explicative of 4:1b and to consider the εἰς τό ("so as" or "so that") statement of vs. 2 as dependent on the total clause originating with ὁπλίσασθε ("arm yourselves") and ending with ἁμαρτίας in vs. 4:1b-c).

*The ὅτι Clause (4:1c) in Relationship to μηκέτι in 4:2*

To be sure, as our own argumentation has shown, vs. 2 must be thought of as containing a second person plural, but since we

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for applying 4:1c to Christ. Or, he can begin with the ὅτι clause as explicative and then attempt to find a way by which it could apply to Christ. In my view, the former method is best, since it takes account of Peter's actual usage of ἁμαρτία and is not out of harmony with a legitimate way by which the ὅτι clause can be understood. On the other hand, the latter method, in the interests of maintaining one possible way of construing the ὅτι clause, has to make alterations in Peter's usual mode of thought on sin and has to apply special effort to explain how Christ could be included in the thought. In other words, one has to strain somewhat hard with 4:1c when it is taken explicatively, whereas the causal explanation easily satisfies the requirements of the text in its context.

[52]Sieffert, p. 421.

have taken 4:1c as parenthetical, there is on this basis no problem for, nor discrepancy between, the second person plural of vs. 2 and the third person singular of 4:1c. This means that the only real point of discussion with Sieffert is over his contention that μηκέτι ("no longer") depends on πέπαυται ("has ceased")[53] and that this excludes the parenthesis. I disagree with Sieffert. While πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας ("has ceased from sin") and the μηκέτι clause are in conceptual agreement, the latter (together with vss. 3-4, supplying details germane to the significance of πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας[54]), the primary factor which calls for and makes possible the μηκέτι of vs. 2, is the believers' acceptance of the exhortation in 4:1b (which, in turn, is based upon the christological datum of 4:1a). When believers arm themselves with the *thought* of Christ's suffering for righteousness' sake and his consequent victorious lordship (3:18-4:1), they will *no longer* live by human passions (vss. 2-4).

When vss. 1-2 are understood according to the exegesis I am suggesting, then justice is done to (1) the μηκέτι, (2) the plural reference in vs. 2, and (3) the meaning of sin in 1 Peter and the implication which follows from this meaning and the middle voice which coheres with it, viz., that Christ could never have been said to have desisted from concrete sin(ning). Thus, "the same thought" can only be what we have suggested is contained in 4:1a when seen as resuming the previous context, viz., suffering for the cause of righteousness brings victory.

For Christ, the originator of the victory, that victory, following his expiatory suffering for sins, consists in his supremacy over the malevolent forces which threaten existence; and for suffering Christians, the receptors of the results of the Christ-event, victory expresses itself in terms of a clear conscience (3:21) and cessation

[53]Though disagreeing with the explicative understanding of 4:1c, represented by Sieffert and others, Kühl, p. 248, asserts that μηκέτι stands in the closest relation to πέπαυται. He does this in agreement with his interest in demolishing the idea that πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας also refers to Christ. It cannot do so, says Kühl, because the result of the πέπαυται is the μηκέτι clause, which refers to evil deeds done.

[54]Desisting from sinful actions (4:1c) and no longer living according to human lusts (4:2) do not really stand in the relation of cause and effect, but of synonymity. Both are the result of arming oneself with the thought of Christ's suffering, an idea which finds the practical equivalent in the "he who has suffered in the flesh" of 4:1c.

from the sinful way of life in paganism (4:1c, 2-4).[55] Therefore, while 4:1c contains the two basal elements of the Christ-event and hence of "the same mind," viz., suffering and victory, these elements are *applied* in such a way that, as a pair, they can refer here only to humans but not to Christ.

### 4. *Conclusion*

We conclude, then, that arming oneself with "the same thought" in 4:1c refers back to 4:1a "since therefore Christ suffered in the flesh"—, with all that this statement implies as resumptive of the preceding context. 1 Pet 4:1c adds support to this call for Christian armament by declaring that suffering for the right (implied: *as* Christ did and *because* Christ did) and victory over the wrong are indissolubly related realities.

A further word may be said about suffering for the right. That this idea is inherent in 4:1c is clear from the fact that ὁ παθών ("he who has suffered") in 4:1c stands parallel with Χριστοῦ παθόντος ("Christ having suffered") in 4:1a, and this latter phrase is derived from 3:18, where it is explicitly connected with the thought of suffering *for others*. Furthermore, the ὅτι ("for," "because") standing at the beginning of 3:18 indicates that vs. 18 gives support to, and is the supreme illustration of, the idea of suffering for the right in 3:17 (cf. vs. 14). Thus, the fundamental ingredient in Christ's suffering for the right was his suffering for others.

The thought then arises: Since there is a fundamental parallel and relationship between Christ's suffering and ours, could it be that 4:1c, by way of implication, carries the thought that as Christ suffered *for us* to bring us to God (3:18), we are armed with the same thought when we suffer *for him*, as those grasped by his

[55]Compare with our twofold structure for interpreting "arm yourselves with the same thought" the presentation of Leonhard Goppelt, *Der erste Petrusbrief*, Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, vol. 12:1, ed. by Ferdinand Hahn, 8th ed. (Göttingen, 1978), pp. 268-271. Goppelt's scheme moves as follows: The way of suffering and death leads to life in the Spirit, as seen in the case of Christ (3:18-22). When the believer arms himself with this insight of faith, he suffers in the flesh, with its inherent consequence that he ceases from sinning (4:1a). Henceforth, he lives in this world according to the will of God (4:2), which is the historical counterpart of the eschatological living in the Spirit (spoken of in 4:6).

salvific work?[56] If it is the Christian vocation to follow the example of the Christ who suffered for others (2:21), may it not be that this example encompasses not merely how Christians treat their persecutors, but how they do all that they do, *for Christ*? Is not this reciprocity the very point of 1 Pet 2:24? In this text it is stated that the purpose of Christ's dying was so that man might die to sin and live to righteousness. This is another way of talking about living for Christ or for God.

According to Peter, the aim of Christ's death was to bring us to God (3:18) whose servants we are to be (2:16) and whose will we are to follow (4:2). The basic idea involved here has a counterpart in 2 Cor 5:15: "And he died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised." Consequently, "the same thought" may contain, as a contextual implication, the idea of "*for the other.*" In terms of the relationship between Christ and Christians the idea is that of "One for all" and, therefore, "all for One." It is only in the context of this relationship that suffering and victory over sin can be brought together. Otherwise the thought would be unbiblical and unchristian. Suffering has no saving value in and of itself.[57]

Another exegetical question of significance for the interpretation of 1 Pet 4:1 is the nature of the aorist tense in ὁ παθών ("he who has suffered") and of the perfect in πέπαυται ("has ceased"). This will be considered in connection with the various views of the text which will be set forth in the continuation of this series in a future issue of *AUSS*.

[56]Cf. Reicke, *James, Peter, and Jude*, p. 116. Reicke says: "Thus the newly converted, vs. 1a, must be ready to suffer for Christ in the flesh as Christ suffered for them in the flesh."

[57]Bigg, p. 167, points in this direction when he says of 4:1c: "St. Peter does not say our guilt is taken away by our sufferings, or that Christ did not suffer for us all, or that our sufferings can do us any good except so far as they are bourne for the love of Christ."

## EXCURSUS A

## 1 PETER 3:18-22: DIGRESSION OR PROGRESSION?

The material immediately preceding 1 Pet 4:1—namely, 3:18-22—is not, in my view, a digression, even though it may be true, as various scholars point out, that this passage contains and combines originally disparate elements: (1) creedal or hymnic declarations about Christ, on the one hand, in 3:18, 22; and (2) statements about baptism and the Flood, on the other hand, in 3:19-21. See Edward Lohse, "Paränese und Kerygma im 1. Petrusbrief," *ZNW* 45 (1954): 70, n. 2; William J. Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study in 1 Peter 3:18-4:6* (Rome, 1965), pp. 87-102; and cf. C. E. B. Cranfield, "The Interpretation of 1 Peter iii.19 and iv.6," *Exp Tim* 69 (1958): 369, and G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament* (London, 1962), p. 258.

Examples of interpreters who hold that 3:18-22 is digressionary in character are: Edward G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 2d ed. (London and New York, 1947), p. 208; Francis W. Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 2d rev. ed. (Oxford, 1958), p. 144; Johannes Schneider, *Die Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus, Judas und Johannes, Das Neue Testament Deutsch*, vol. 10, 9th ed. (Göttingen, 1961), p. 86; Hermann Gunkel, "Der Erste Brief des Petrus," in vol. 3 of *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 3d ed. (Göttingen, 1917), p. 284; Rudolf Knopf, *Die Briefe Petri und Judä*, Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, 7th ed. (Göttingen, 1912), p. 160; Ernest Best, *1 Peter*, New Century Bible (London, 1971), p. 148 ("The letter has now [vs. 22] returned from theorising about the flood . . .") and pp. 149, 150; W. Bornemann, "Der erste Petrusbrief—eine Taufrede des Silvanus?" *ZNW* 19 (1919/1920): 154-155. Bornemann speaks of 3:19-21 as a superficial and clumsy digression which is made comprehensible, however, by understanding the author's desire to say a word about baptism and assuming that this passage contains a statement made immediately after a baptism (p. 155). Bornemann attempts to give no theological reason why Peter would include these verses, and here is where his explanation fails, as do those that speak simply of a digression in 3:18-22.

This passage, in whole or in part (i.e., 3:18b-22 or only 3:19-21), is not extraneous to Peter's argument. In 3:18-22, Peter is preparing the way for his practical admonitions in 4:1ff. on the new life which, amidst antagonism, believers must and can lead. The necessity and the ability to lead this life are grounded in the victory of Christ spoken of in 3:18-22. This victory includes his death, his resurrection and subsequent preaching to the evil spiritual powers who disobeyed at the time of the Flood (cf. 2 Pet 2:4-5 and Jude 6), and his exaltation to God's right hand and over all spiritual forces. This victorious power of Christ invests itself in baptism, and thus baptism saves.

Consequently, it can rightly be said that the discussion from 3:14 onward concerning the bearing of Christians during times of suffering for righteousness at the hands of earthly antagonists is being continued in 4:1ff. But this argument has now become all the stronger because of Peter's emphasis on Christ's victory over sin and all cosmic antagonists—a victory which makes itself known savingly through baptism.

In relation to 3:22 and 4:1, cf. Ceslas Spicq, *Les épîtres de Saint Pierre* (Paris, 1966), p. 143; also D. G. Wohlenberg, *Der erste und zweite Petrusbrief und der Judasbrief* (Leipzig, 1915), p. 120 (he suggests that the οὖν ["therefore"] in 4:1 indicates that the following admonition is to be understood in the light of the fact that Christ was exalted to God's right hand from the deepest suffering); see also Dalton, pp. 85, 100, 240. Bo Reicke thinks there is a further tie-in between 4:1 and the previous context by virtue of the relationship he sees between ἔννοια ("thought") and συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα ("appeal for" or "pledge of a good conscience") in 3:21 (see his *Disobedient Spirits*, pp. 202, 189-190, 193; also pp. 2, 127-130, and especially 135-136 on the non-digressionary character of 3:18-22).

## EXCURSUS B

## "SIN" ACCORDING TO 1 PETER: DEED OR STATE?

William J. Dalton, in the interest of his view that πέπαυται ("has ceased") is passive and that therefore "sin" must refer, as in Rom 6:7, to something more than sin committed, argues for a distinction in the use of "sin" in 1 Peter. He maintains that the term "sin" in 2:22 means sin committed, but that in 2:24, 3:18, and 4:8 it refers rather to the resultant "'state of sinfulness' due to past sin" because in these verses stress is placed in one way or another on remission of sin (*Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study in 1 Peter 3:18-4:6* [Rome, 1965], p. 242 and nn. 24 and 25). Three points may be made in rebuttal.

1. It is artificial to disconnect concrete sin and the resultant state of sinfulness. This latter concept, as framed by Dalton, can only be another way of speaking about the guilt of sin, for it is only the guilt of sin that can be *due to past* sinning; the propensity to sin or being under the power of sin is that which *precedes* concrete sinning. Now, there can be no fundamental separation between sin as guilt and sin as misdeed. (Note Rom 1:32: "Those who do such things deserve to die.") While one may reflect on guilt abstractly or as an abstract concept, in reality it always involves the concrete act itself. Sin by definition is a guilty act. When 1 Pet 2:22 says that Christ committed no sin, it is saying that Christ in no way was guilty of an evil deed. When, on the other hand, 3:18 says that Christ died for sins, it is saying that he took away our guilty misdeeds as something to be remembered and held up against us in the judgment. The ledger book is clean. What is forgiven is not sin as power or fate, but sin as concrete deed. Only sin as deed can be *forgiven*; sin as power has to be *broken*.

2. That which follows 1 Pet 4:1c (vss. 2-4) is a description of sinful deeds which are overcome in Christian life in contrast with the old pagan life. It is not an abstract state of sinfulness that is emphasized here (i.e., it is not the concept of sinfulness = guilt), but *deeds* contrary to the will of God. One no longer *does* what one used to do.

3. The idea of ceasing from the guilt of sin does not meet the terms of Dalton's own argumentation according to which 1 Pet

4:1c represents the same teaching as Rom 6:7, for Dalton maintains that Rom 6:7 is talking about being freed from the slavery of sin (p. 244). Now, if in respect to all this Dalton means something more than the guilt of sin by "'a state of sinfulness' due to past sin," he should have made this clear. If by his phrase "a state of sinfulness" he means the defective, sin-inclined nature of man, he should have said so. But how would this definition fit in with the idea of *remission of sins* in 2:24, 3:18, and 4:8, of which Dalton speaks on p. 242, n. 25?

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# "ADOLESCENT HERESY": THE REJECTION OF PARENTAL RELIGIOUS VALUES

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To those people who believe that the function of religion is to explain life in terms of ultimate meanings, the transmission of their religious values to their children becomes an essential task. Parents are desirous that their offspring shall come to embrace the attitudes and behaviors that they themselves prize so highly. And, of course, most younger children do adopt patterns of thinking and acting somewhat similar to those of their parents.

However, as these young people enter the adolescent years, a change often takes place. They may exhibit an increasing sense of alienation from the value system of their parents and a hostility toward certain religious practices such as church attendance and codes of conduct. This is not to say that all adolescents manifest these symptoms. Some may be unaffected, some may exhibit mild non-conformity, and others may flame out in open rebellion. With some, the alienation may begin in the pre-teen years, while with others it may not occur until the late teens. In some cases, after a few years of dissaffection—quiet or stormy—the youth will appear to have passed the crisis and will settle back into a life-style resembling that of their parents. In other instances, they will sever all ties with the church of their childhood. Some of these will eventually rejoin the church. Some will not.

This phenomenon must command the interest of every student of applied religion as well as that of every sincere Christian believer. Psychologist David Ausubel calls it "adolescent heresy."[1] How can it be accounted for and how can it be prevented or remediated?

It would be overly simplistic to attempt to identify and describe *the* cause of religious alienation in adolescents. The roots of

[1]David P. Ausubel, *Theory and Problems of Adolescent Development* (New York, 1954), p. 271.

human behavior are varied and complex indeed. Yet, it is possible to weave together a number of strands from the adolescent experience and discern a pattern which reveals why such "heresy" is not at all abnormal or unreasonable—perhaps even likely. At the same time, this view will suggest ameliorative measures. But first it is necessary to examine the concept of "developmental tasks."

### 1. *Developmental Tasks*

Certain students of human behavior, such as Erik Erikson,[2] have divided the life span into a series of stages. Each stage has its own particular questions, challenges, and crises. Each has certain tasks to be accomplished. To at least some degree, the mastery of these developmental tasks is necessary to reach maturity for that stage and to prepare the individual to cope with the next step in his or her overall growth.

One developmental psychologist who has provided a helpful formulation is Robert Havighurst.[3] He has divided the life span into six stages: (1) infancy and early childhood, (2) middle childhood, (3) adolescence, (4) early adulthood, (5) middle age, and (6) later maturity. For each stage, Havighurst has described the tasks appropriate to it.

The term "development tasks" suggests that the behaviors are programmed into the maturing process of an individual so that they become appropriate only at a certain time. The person does not have either the motivation or the ability to master them at an earlier stage, but once the biological-psychological time-clock has tolled the destined hour, an individual is internally driven to attempt to accomplish them. For example, among the tasks of infancy and early childhood are learning to walk and learning to talk. These are natural to a certain period in the developmental process.

### 2. *Tasks of Adolescence*

Two of the tasks appropriate to the adolescent period are (a) gaining emotional independence from parents and other adults,

[2]Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, 2d ed. (New York, 1963), pp. 247-274.

[3]Robert J. Havighurst, *Development Tasks and Education*, 2d ed. (New York, 1952).

and (b) achieving assurance of economic independence.[4] Closely related is the search for a separate and personal identity. Perhaps the basic question of adolescence is, "Who am I?" The youth must search for meaningful self-consciousness. They have to learn to relate to others in a mature way, gain some semblance of what they will do with their lives, and develop some sort of philosophy of living. Teenagers are in imagination trying out the roles of marriage partner, parent, career pattern, citizen, and church supporter to determine what will fit. They are learning to build conscious value systems and to commit themselves to them. This is an experience in striking contrast to that of the small child, who has been largely dependent upon parents for constant advice, as well as for emotional and financial support.

In the stage of infancy and early childhood, it is difficult to prevent children from attempting to walk and talk when their "inner calendar" indicates that the time has arrived. To do so might result in severe emotional damage. So in adolescence, it is difficult to "fight nature" and quash the drives toward independence, self-identity, and personal-value choice. The internal pressure to leave off adolescence and become an adult is great, and is not to be easily denied. Just as some children do not learn to walk and talk, so also some adolescents never gain real independence or fail to develop a personal value system, but in both cases, this is abnormal development.

Achieving independence or emancipation is, however, a gradual process. It is as if the land of childhood and the land of adulthood were separated by a dark and murky swamp. The passageway through this swamp of adolescence is ill-defined and only negotiated by picking one's way with difficulty. Lawrence Schiamberg has suggested that one of the reasons for a conflict between generations is "the lack of clearly defined steps marking the recession of parental authority over children."[5]

Life in modern, western cultures has exacerbated the problem. During a large share of this world's history and in various cultures, young people could be socialized largely by their own parents in

[4]Ibid., pp. 42-47.

[5]Lawrence B. Schiamberg, *Adolescent Alienation* (Columbus, Ohio, 1973), pp. 29-30.

their own homes. Boys learned adult male roles (largely agricultural or pastoral) in working with their fathers. Girls acquired adult female roles (mostly homemaking skills) from their mothers. By the time of puberty, the young person was often ready to assume his or her place in adult society. The adolescent had a sense of responsibility and career certainty that resulted in feelings of independence and clearness of identity.

Today, particularly in the western world, becoming an adult is not so simple. While the home remains an important factor, it must share the task of child socialization with many other influences. Career options are varied and complicated, and years of formal schooling are necessary to pursue many of them. The explosion of information bombards the youth on every side. Society is in a state of rapid change. Learning becomes quickly obsolete, so the successful adult of today must acquire the skills to cope with a rapidly changing environment. Even the expectations of marriage and parenthood have been widely revised, calling for a maturity and command of interpersonal skills not needed in the traditional home of yesterday.[6] The long transition period between being grown-up in some ways and not-yet-grown-up in others causes strain and makes it increasingly difficult for the adolescent to find his or her separate identity.

Hilmar Wagner states that the lengthened educational period required in modern society has created many of the adolescent-parent conflict problems by delaying economic and emotional independence from parents at a time when youth are physcially and sexually mature and eager to achieve their own identity.[7] William Rogers suggests that the increased moratorium between childhood and adult responsibility, resulting in delayed independence, is one of the chief sources of youth-parent conflicts.[8]

### 3. *Rejection of Parental Values*

So here now is a physically and sexually mature adolescent driven by God-given forces to become a responsible, independent

[6]David and Vera Mace, *We Can Have Better Marriges If We Really Want Them* (Nashville, Tenn., 1974), pp. 61-65.

[7]Hilmar Wagner, "Adolescent Problems Resulting from the Lengthened Educational Period," *Adolescence* 5 (Fall 1970): 339-344.

[8]William R. Rogers, *The Alienated Student* (Nashville: Board of Education, The United Methodist Church, 1969), pp. 51-52.

adult. The proper time for this in the developmental scheme of human beings has arrived. But in most cases, this individual simply cannot yet assume the responsibilities of adulthood, for there is still lack of emotional maturity and there is still dependence on parents for financial support. Unable as yet to set up his or her own home or enter upon a career, this youth seeks subconsciously to make some other statement of independence—which may well involve a rejection of parental values. Such a rejection of parental values may simply be the adolescent's effective way of saying, "See, I am not the same as you. I am a different, separate person. I can choose my own way of life."

Gordon Allport has described in the following way the relationship between this adolescent rebelliousness and the search for identity:

> The well-known rebelliousness of the adolescent has an important relationship to his search for identity. It is his final bid for autonomy. Rejecting one's parents, in whole or in part, may be a necessary, if cruel stage in the process. It is the adolescent counterpart of the toddler's negativism.[9]

The same concept has been expressed well by Dorothy Rogers: "The adolescent's rebellion relates to his quest for identity. It is his declaration of independence and, on his level, corresponds to the two-year-old's negativism, in his more primitive stage."[10] And in the statement from which the title of the present article has been drawn, Ausubel explains, "We have noted that in certain instances of parent-youth conflict, displaced aggression toward the parent may be directed against the church, resulting in a characteristic type of adolescent heresy."[11]

### 4. *Change in Referent Group*

The adolescent's attempt to make a statement of independence is not only necessary in order to preserve the sense of self-identity, however, but it may also be very frightening. To step out into the

[9] Gordon W. Allport, *Pattern and Growth in Personality* (New York, 1961), p. 125.

[10] Dorothy Rogers, *The Psychology of Adolescence*, 2d ed. (New York, 1972), p. 277.

[11] Ausubel, p. 271.

complex world alone, without the familiar support of mother and father, can in fact be overwhelming; and in search of some reassurance for the new journey, the adolescent often turns to the approval of a peer group. As Charles Stewart points out, this may be a dependence and conformity equal to that from which emancipation is sought.[12] But perhaps the support of peers forms a useful "half-way station" on the journey from childhood to adulthood. Upon having made the passage successfully and settled the identity question, the young adult's need for peer approval diminishes.

Useful or not, however, the shift from parents to peers may increase the likelihood of the adolescent's rejecting parental values. This is particularly true when the peer climate forms a counter-culture opposed to the culture of the older generation. Ausubel explains the dynamics involved:

> It is hardly surprising that some of these unique structural characteristics of adolescent peer groups inevitably influence the value systems of adolescents. The need for conformity places a premium on loyalty and moral expediency, encourages snobbishness and intolerance, and de-emphasizes the importance of moral courage and consistency.[13]

The process of rejecting parental values is made more likely by the fact that adolescence is a time when the critical faculties are being developed, and the youth are beginning to notice flaws in the adult value system. The God-like image of parents held by younger children has been shattered, and the all-too-human weaknesses have been discovered. The young person may discern that the significant adults in his or her life are much more ready to proclaim certain values than they are to live by them. The young person may also find that highly-touted values, even when practiced in a legalistic manner, do not necessarily make the adult a happier, more effective, more winsome person. Luella Cole and Irma Hall point out that adolescents "want to find something in religion, but many of them fail to do so. Their reactions to failure often take the form of intolerance, cynicism, and withdrawal from

[12]Charles W. Stewart, *Adolescent Religion* (Nashville, Tenn., 1967), p. 268.
[13]Ausubel, p. 358.

contact with church activities."[14] Ellen White has brought the application even closer: "It is because so many parents and teachers profess to believe the Word of God while their lives deny its power, that the teaching of Scripture has no greater effect upon the youth."[15]

### 5. *Personal Value Choice*

The foregoing material has been presented to help the reader to a better understanding of the adolescent experience and to suggest why "adolescent heresy," with its rejection of parental values, is not to be unexpected under the circumstances. This does not mean, of course, that all young people must or will reject the religion of their parents or that young people are not interested in values. On the contrary, studies have found that religious values are of significance to a large majority of evangelical teenagers and that most of them believe the doctrines common to evangelical churches.[16] Parental influence has been found to be most important in the fostering of religious development,[17] and students tend to conform to a religious ideology held jointly by their parents.[18]

What the foregoing discussion has brought to view—and this is a point of utmost significance—is that the adolescent wants the values to be *his or her own* values. The principle must be internalized and thought through. If parental values are retained, as they may well be, it is because they have become the adolescent's *own*. But if he or she is forced to choose between independence and self-identity on the one hand and values on the other, values are usually jettisoned in the effort to maintain integrity. Carrol Tageson states:

> Adolescents are no longer satisfied with arbitrary appeals to authority on questions of moral or religious doctrine and practice.

[14]Luella Cole and Irma N. Hall, *Psychology of Adolescence*, 7th ed. (New York, 1970), p. 503.

[15]Ellen G. White, *Education* (Mountain View, Calif., 1903), p. 259.

[16]Roy B. Zuck and Gene A. Getz, *Christian Youth—An In-Depth Study* (Chicago, 1968).

[17]Merton P. Strommen, *Five Cries of Youth* (New York, 1974).

[18]Snell Putney and Russell Middleton, "Rebellion, Conformity, and Parental Religious Ideologies," *Sociometry* 24 (June 1961): 125-135.

> They are increasingly interested in the meaning of religion for their lives. . . .
>
> The moral and religious training previously acquired is generally retained, though the basis for doing so shifts from loyalty to parents and the prestige enjoyed by authority to peer group influence and more mature rational considerations.[19]

### 6. *Prevention and Healing*

What, then, can parents and religious leaders do to prevent the growing spirit of independence in the adolescent from becoming an occasion for the rejection of priceless values, and how can adults reach out to heal breaches that have already occurred between them and the young people in the sphere of religion? Although space limits prohibit a full discussion in this article, I would call attention briefly to several suggestions that emerge from, or are related to, the description that I have given above of the adolescent experience:

*1. Attempt to understand the situation.* When adolescents perceive that their parents are not fighting them or trying to thwart their independence, but are listening to them, struggling to see things through their eyes, and helping them to reach their goals, much of the pressure to reject parental values is removed.

*2. Facilitate gradual independence.* Parents can search for increasingly wider areas of decision-making to turn over to their children. The goal of parenting is to rear responsible, independent adults. Wise parents rejoice to see their sons and daughters learning how to get along without them.

*3. Give responsibility and hold responsible.* Modern urban life with few "chores" has made it difficult to find meaningful responsibilities for young people. But the adolescent who knows that he or she is handling a meaningful adult task and is really important to family, community, or church feels grown-up. The need for making a rebellious statement of independence is gone.

*4. Guide in value formation.* Adults have a tendency to try to transmit their own fully formed values to their children as a list of

[19]Carroll F. Tageson, "Spiritual Direction of the Adolescent," in *Psychological Counseling of Adolescents*, ed. by Raymond J. Steimel (Washington, D.C., 1962), p. 140.

"dos" and "don'ts," "rights" and "wrongs." To adults it makes sense to share the winnowed wisdom of their years of experience. But no one can use another's value system and still be an independent, principled human being. Adolescents need to be confronted with value issues and learn how to apply basic principles to their own particular problems.

*5. Teach how to make decisions from principles.* The ability to make decisions is a chief hallmark of the mature adult. Youth need to learn this skill by observing parents and other significant adults working through the process and by being confronted with situations that demand that they practice this skill under wise guidance.

*6. Allow some unwise decisions.* In the learning experience, people often learn to make good decisions by making some poor ones and reaping the consequences. Wise parents know that they can prepare their young people for independent adulthood only by giving them room to try out their judgments and allowing for occasional failure. To be overly protective is to deny growth toward independence and self-identity.

*7. Do not act like a defeated army.* Some parents fight their teenagers' independence every step of the way. They must eventually relinquish control, but in the process, so much damage is done to the relationship that the parents can have no positive influence on their children's development. The more parents oppose them, the more likely it is that adolescents will reject the parental values. It is well for parents and religious leaders to remember that religion can never be passed on by force.

*8. Model attractive and satisfying religion.* Young people will choose their own values—if not today, then tomorrow. They might very well choose to accept what their parents believe in, provided they find that that value system leads to the happiest, most effective, most fulfilling life possible. No one can force his or her value system on another, but can only provide a living demonstration that it is superior to all alternatives.

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# PAUL'S PROPHETIC OUTLINE IN 2 THESSALONIANS 2*

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The Apostle Paul's intriguing prophetic delineation in 2 Thess 2 forms an important link between the Synoptic Apocalypse and the large-scale Apocalypse of John. Paul responds to meet a practical need; namely, to correct a false teaching in the church of Thessalonica that the Day of the Lord had already begun or at least was so imminent that it could occur at any moment (2 Thess 2:2). It may have been based on a misunderstanding of Paul's first letters to the Thessalonians—on 1 Thess 4:17, in particular. But Christ had already warned against deceptions concerning his second advent (Matt 24:23-24).

The idea of imminency had led some Thessalonian church members to quit their daily work, become idle and disorderly and overly excited (2 Thess 3:6-15). Paul corrects this deception of an any-moment expectation of the Day of the Lord by reminding the church of his oral teaching that *first* (*prōtos*, omitted in the NIV translation) "the rebellion" (*hē apostasia*) or "the man of lawlessness (*anomos*) must be revealed in the temple of God, together with all his "counterfeit miracles, signs and wonders." Only thereafter will the Lord be revealed in his glorious appearing, destroying "the lawless one" "by the splendor of his *parousia*" (2:3-9).

This stress on the basic chronological order of the two major prophetic events teaches that ethical preparedness *and* knowledge of the prophetic sequence of basic events can be in harmony with, and complementary to, one another. In Paul's view, knowledge of the sequential order of events was essential to meet an erroneous view which had led to a misdirected hope and to ethical disorder.

*This article is adapted from a paper presented in 1982 to the Daniel and Revelation Committee of the Biblical Research Institute (General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, DC).

### 1. *Backgrounds to Paul's Discussion*

The connection between Christ's teaching about the future "desolating abomination" in the "holy place" in Mark 13:14 (masculine form: *hestēkota*; cf. Matt 24:15) and Paul's teaching about the coming "man of lawlessness, the son of perdition" who will set "himself up in God's temple proclaiming himself to be God," has been considered by many as pointing to the desecration of God's temple by *the same* apocalyptic opponent of Christ, called by John the antichrist (1 John 2:18). In order to receive insight concerning the historical rise of the antichrist and the nature of his religious apostasy, it is mandatory to view the forecasts of Christ and Paul against the background of Daniel's original prophecy of the Anti-Messiah in its total historical perspective. It is by thus placing the NT antichrist prophecies within the framework of Daniel's apocalyptic root context that new light can be shed on the historical order and differentiation between events which are merely blended into two foci in the prophetic eschatology. Both the essential christological unity of the OT prophetic and apocalyptic eschatology, on the one hand, and the fundamental distinction of the unconditionally determined historical outline of human history in Daniel's apocalyptic book, on the other hand, need to be integrated in the exegesis of the NT apocalyptic sections.

Two features require careful analysis in Paul's historical outline: *the chronological development* of the antichrist, and *the theological character* of his apostasy. Paul's treatment of the expected phenomenon of the "man of lawlessness" in 2 Thess 2 is evidently only a brief summary of his more elaborate oral expositions (he appeals to their memory, "Do you not remember that when I was with you I used to tell you these things?" [vs. 5; cf. vs. 15]). The identity of several linguistic key expressions used in 2 Thess 2 with expressions used in Dan 11:36, Ezek 28:2, and Isa 11:4 (see margin of Nestle's Greek NT), leads to the conclusion that Paul draws his antichrist description from a conflation of three OT revelations about anti-God powers: (1) the historical rise and desecrations of the Anti-Messiah in Dan 7:25; 8:10-13; 11:36-37; (2) the demonic nature of the self-exaltation and self-divinization of the kings of Tyre and Babylon in Ezek 28:2, 6, 9, and Isa 14:13-14; and (3) the final destruction of the wicked one by the glorious appearance of the royal Messiah, in Isa 11:4. Reproduced here for

the sake of convenience is the specific section on 2 Thess 2 in *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*, rev. ed., ed. R. G. Bratcher (London: United Bible Societies, 1967), p. 55 (text from English Revised Version of 1881):

| *2 THESSALONIANS* | *OT PASSAGES* |
|---|---|
| *2:4a (Allusion):*<br>. . . he that exalteth himself against all that is called God . . . | *Dan 11:36:*<br>. . . he shall exalt himself . . . above every god . . . |
| *2:4b (Allusion):*<br>. . . he sitteth in the temple of God, setting himself forth as God. | *Ezek 28:2:*<br>I sit in the seat of God . . . thou didst set thy heart as the heart of God. |
| *2:8 (Allusion):*<br>. . . the lawless one, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth . . . | *Isa 11:4:*<br>. . . and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. |

Charles H. Dodd's classical study, *According to the Scriptures: The Substructure of New Testament Theology* (London, 1952), has established the concept that the NT writers for their christological interpretation do not argue with detached proof-texts from the OT, but quote single phrases or sentences only as a pointer to a whole context in the OT.[1] That larger context unfolds the "plot" within Israel's history and provides the key for the unique significance of the mission and mandate of Jesus as the hidden Son of Man, to be fully revealed in his glory at his *parousia*. The same style of literary allusions to the OT applies for the NT description and characterization of the antichrist.

This hermeneutical principle of what might be called "concept allusions" opens up the context in organic units or patterns in Daniel (chaps. 7 and 8-12), in Ezekiel (chap. 28), and in Isaiah (chaps. 11 and 14) for the historical and theological identification of "the man of lawlessness" in 2 Thess 2.

[1]Also, C. H. Dodd, *The Old Testament in the New* (New York, 1971); H. M. Shires, *Finding the Old Testament in the New* (Philadelphia, 1974): F. F. Bruce, *New Testament Development of Old Testament Themes* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1968).

### 2. *Historical Sequence and Backgrounds from Daniel*

In Dan 7 the blasphemous "little horn" arises only *after* the Roman Empire will have been divided into ten simultaneously ruling kingdoms (7:7, 8, 24). This historical sequence—first the "beast" and then the rise of the antichristian "horn"—lies at the basis of Paul's historical outline in 2 Thess 2. Only when held against the background of this historical perspective of Dan 7 will the riddle of Paul's mysterious "restrainer," who hinders the development of the antichrist, be understood.

Paul must have referred to the presence of the lawful government of the Roman emperors, which as such prevented the rise to power of the intolerant antichrist. Paul had been protected more than once from the wrath of Jewish crowds by the civil rulers of Rome (Acts 18:12-16; 22:22-29; cf. Rom 13:4). The apostolic church had no question about the identity of the "restraining" power because Paul states, "And now *you know what is holding him back*, so that he may be revealed at the proper time" (2 Thess 2:6, emphasis supplied).

It is interesting that most of the early Fathers in the post-apostolic church taught that the civil order of the Roman Empire, with the emperor at its head, was the hindering power Paul referred to in 2 Thess 2:6-7.[2] In spite of various new theories, several leading scholars today maintain that "the classical interpretation . . . is quite satisfying."[3]

More important than the "restrainer" is what Paul writes about the coming "man of lawlessness" (*anthrōpos tēs anomias*) or, according to less authoritative manuscripts, "man of sin" (*hamartias*),[4] "the son of perdition" (vs. 3). Without providing a

[2]See J. T. Forestell in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, R. E. Brown, et al., eds. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), p. 234.

[3]G. E. Ladd, *The Last Things* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1978), p. 68. See discussion in G. E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1974), p. 560, concerning the interpretations of Dispensationalism (the restrainer is the Holy Spirit) and of Oscar Cullmann (it is Paul himself and his missionary mission). Cf. also R. H. Charles, *Eschatology* (New York, 1963), p. 440, and J. Barton Payne, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Prophecy* (New York, 1973), p. 565.

[4]See B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 3d ed. (New York, 1975), p. 635.

historical identification, the Apostle states that the public unveiling of "the lawless one" (*ho anomos*, vs. 8) will only be the result of a protracted historical process of the secret working of entities which were already active in Paul's own time: "The secret power of lawlessness is already at work" (vs. 7). Paul places the *actual unveiling* of the lawless one, however, not until the Roman Empire (the "restrainer") has been "taken out of the way" (2 Thess 2:7)—in other words, after the Roman Empire has expired. Nevertheless, he describes the essential characteristics of the apocalyptic "rebellion" (*apostasia*) in terms derived from a conflation of the descriptions of (1) the religious apostasy and downfall of the ancient king of Tyre in Ezek 28, and (2) the persecuting Anti-Messiah in Dan 8 and 11.

### 3. *Theological Backdrop from Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Daniel*

Ezekiel's remarkable judgment oracle against the king of Tyre concentrates on his blasphemous claim of *self-deification*—"I am god; I sit on the throne of a god" (see Ezek 28:2, 12, 14, 15)—against the backdrop of his original perfection and blamelessness in the position of an anointed guardian cherub of Yahweh. The same downfall into the apostasy of self-divinization is charged by Isaiah against the king of Babylon (Isa 14:12-14). This demonic characteristic of apostasy—from being an anointed guardian to seeking the throne of God in self-deification—Paul now applies to the predicted "lawless one" who will usurp God's place in the temple of God during the Christian dispensation (2 Thess 2:4).

Paul's future application of OT national-judgment oracles is justified because of the hermeneutical structure of typology which is inherent in the doom prophecies of Tyre and Babylon—apparent also in the unprecedented description of the nature of the apostasy which clearly transcends the mundane historical reality of the kings of Tyre and Babylon (see Ezek 28:13-14; Isa 14:12). Paul simply *unfolds* the religious and theological apostasy of Tyre and Babylon in a typological sense and applies it now to the eschatological archenemy of Christ and his church.

Paul does this, however, in an intriguing complexity. He blends his *typological* reference with his reference to the *historical continuity* of Daniel's apocalyptic, with its specifically appointed times (Dan 11:29, 35). Thus, he describes the religious apostasy of the apocalyptic enemy of Christ and his Church in terms of a

*confluence* of prophetic and apocalyptic eschatology: "He opposes and exalts himself over everything that is called God or is worshiped, and even sets himself up in God's temple, proclaiming himself to be God" (2 Thess 2:4; cf. Dan 11:36).

As in Dan 8 and 11, Paul localizes the blasphemous apostasy of the eschatological enemy of God and God's people "in the temple of God" (*naos*). Without a christological-ecclesiological hermeneutic, the pitfalls of literalism or allegorism with regard to "the temple of God" seem inescapable. Some interpreters see "God's temple" as a literal, rebuilt temple in Jerusalem in which the antichrist will personally set himself up to demand worship from the Jews, after the faithful church of Christ has been raptured away from earth to heaven.[5] Other exegetes prefer to interpret the "temple" in 2 Thess 2:4 as a symbol for God's throne in heaven, with an appeal to Isa 14:13-14 and 66:1. In other words, "temple of God" is understood as a metaphor to describe that the lawless one "tries to usurp the place of God and demand that men worship him instead of the Lord."[6] This is then applied historically to any totalitarian system of government—to the deification of the state—when law and order will break down and demonic lawlessness will burst forth in persecution of the church.

The foregoing interpretations of 2 Thess 2:4 may seem attractive and convincing to some. But a vital question is: Have they given due consideration to the OT root contexts?

As far as our hermeneutical method is concerned, Paul's undeniable allusion to Dan 11:36 should lead us first to analyze the religious pattern of behavior of the "king of the north" in Dan 11:31-45, as well as of the enemy of God in Dan 8:9-13. Protestant expositors since Luther and Calvin have traditionally interpreted the self-exalting king of Dan 11:36 and the lawless one of 2 Thess 2:4 as an excessively proud and self-deifying individual, who will exalt himself *above all gods* (Dan 11:37), not as an ideological atheist.[7] Our hermeneutical principle requires first a

[5]This is the view held by Dispensationalists.

[6]Ladd, *Last Things*, p. 67. The view is held by various Roman Catholics as well as evangelical Protestant interpreters.

[7]See tabulations in L. E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1946-1954).

careful structural and thematic analysis of Dan 11:36 within its own theocentric context (Dan 11 and 8), and then furthermore a careful analysis of the literary and conceptual application by Paul in his christocentric context for the NT dispensation.

We may well capture the theological essence of Daniel's desolating abomination in the observation that both Dan 8 and 11 portray a king(dom) who attacks the saints of God by invading the holy land, city, and temple, and who then abolishes the sacred temple cultus and tramples underfoot its holy worshipers. However, the worst is still to come: the desolator will then *set up in its place a counterfeit system of cultic worship as the blasphemous abomination*, with regard to the only way of salvation appointed for man in the holy covenant of God (cf. Dan 8:11-13; 11:31; 12:11). This is "the rebellion" (*pesha*$^{c}$, "deliberate sin") of Daniel's Anti-Messiah, who is in combat with the Prince of the host, the Prince of princes, and with *his* sanctuary and his atoning cultus (Dan 8:11, 13, 25).

In Christ's application of Daniel's "desolating abomination" to the Roman army which planted its idolatrous banners in the temple court (Matt 24:15; Mark 13:14), we may discern a partial historical fulfillment which as a *type* points beyond A.D. 70 to its universal, eschatological antitype of the greater blasphemous abomination in the temple of God. In 2 Thess 2:4, Paul explains therefore to an overly excited church (with imminency hope) that first the *full* revelation or unveiling of the desolating abomination in God's temple must take place before the coming of Christ in glory. This apostasy will become apparent when the lawless one will seat himself in the place of God's temple, thereby changing the divinely ordained cultic worship according to his own will.

This counterfeit cultus is the eschatological desolating abomination. This cultic perspective comes only from the more complete context of Dan 8 and 11 and the historical-typological application by the Synoptic Apocalypse. With regard to "the temple [*naos*] of God" in 2 Thess 2:4, the interpreter is not forced to choose between either an earthly *or* heavenly temple. There is no real separation between the two liturgies of worship in Scripture (cf. Isa 6:1-3; Ps 11:4). The crucial matter is *not to separate* the two temples, but to identify correctly the true temple *of God* on earth, where Christ and the Spirit of God dwell, that is among those who worship God in truth and in the Spirit (Matt 18:20; John 4:23-24).

Paul himself expresses in unambiguous terms his concept of the temple of God on earth as those among whom Christ dwells through the Spirit, as a study of *naos* in his other letters reveals (see especially 1 Cor 3:16-17; 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16 [applying Ezek 37:27]).[8] This leaves little doubt but that the Apostle teaches an emphatic *christological* and *ecclesiological* application and realization of Israel's Old-Covenant temple for the New Covenant, without thereby denying the reality of the heavenly mediation of Christ (Rom 8:33, 34; 1 Tim 2:5; cf. Heb 8:1, 2; 10:19). This can be seen confirmed in his farewell speech to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20:29-31.

Paul's picture of the *parousia* of the antichrist has been strikingly called "a parody of the parousia of Christ."[9] It seems to anticipate the characterization of the two satanic "beasts" in Rev 13, each of which bears some features which *imitate* those of the Lamb of God (e.g., horns like a lamb, resurrection after a mortal wound, miraculous signs). This tension of polarization seems to be present also in Paul's description of the eschatological deception. As expressed by R. H. Charles, "Thus as the revelation of God culminated in Christ, so the manifestation of evil will culminate in Antichrist, whose parousia (2 Thess ii.9) is the Satanic counterfeit of the true Messiah."[10]

One may wonder if the "counterfeit miracles" to which Paul refers as accompanying the full unveiling of the man of sin (2 Thess 2:9) might not include a satanic counterfeit of Christ's glorious *parousia.* Such an overmastering delusion could only be met by the immediate judgment of Christ from heaven by his own *parousia.* In any event, just as the Anti-Messiah in Dan 8 is suddenly destroyed "not by human power" (vs. 25), and as "the king of the north" is suddenly destroyed with no human helper (Dan 11:45), so will the antichrist be destroyed by the splendor of Christ's appearance, "by the breath of his mouth" (2 Thess 2:8; cf. Isa 11:4).

### 4. *Conclusion*

By correlating the theocentric themes of Ezekiel's and Isaiah's doom prophecies and of Daniel's apocalyptic portrayals with

[8]See W. von Meding, in *NIDNTT* 3:784.

[9]Forestell, p. 235.

[10]Charles, p. 439.

Christ's historical application in the Synoptic Apocalypse and with Paul's ecclesiological and apocalyptic applications, a basic pattern of apocalyptic interpretation is uncovered which can serve as a *norm* by which to assess the truthfulness of positions mentioned above. This norm is the NT gospel hermeneutic of the christological-ecclesiological interpretation of the OT prophetic *and* apocalyptic eschatology.

This gospel hermeneutic, which can be established further by a more comprehensive investigation of the NT use of the OT,[11] is intrinsic in the four Gospels and could be called "the apostolic principle." It binds the OT and NT eschatologies together in an organic theological unity and thematic continuity. By it, the hermeneutics of literalism and allegorism are unmasked as distortions or reductions of the whole truth because they isolate the sacred terms from their full theological contexts and structural center—Jesus Christ and his redeemed people.

[11]I have given this more complete discussion in my *The Israel of God in Prophecy: Principles of Prophetic Interpretation* (Berrien Springs, Mich., 1983).

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# THE COVENANTAL FORM OF THE LETTERS TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES

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George E. Mendenhall's landmark studies on law and covenant that were published in 1954 have virtually given birth to a sub-specialty area within the larger realm of biblical studies.[1] In this burgeoning literature on the covenant in biblical thought, its significance has been examined and evaluated in any number of areas of the biblical text.[2]

In the present brief study, I would like to suggest that this covenant theme and covenant form may be found in one further area where it has not previously been studied, as far as I am aware. As an echo of Mendenhall's work on the covenant in one of the first books of the OT, Exodus, I would like to examine the evidence for its presence in a specific section of the last book of the NT, Revelation. This present study of the covenant formulary deals in particular with the evidence for its presence in the letters to the Seven Churches that are found in chaps. 2 and 3; but in order to provide a general introduction to this more specific area of study, the indications for the presence of the covenant in the thought of Revelation outside of these two chapters will be noted first.

As a basic preliminary to this entire discussion, however, we must make mention of certain integral parts of the ancient Israelite covenant formulary—a formulary which parallels closely that of the Hittite suzerainty treaty.[3] These significant parts of the formu-

[1]G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1955), a reprint from two articles in *BA* 17 (1954):26-46, 49-76.

[2]As one example, Meredith G. Kline, *Treaty of the Great King; The Covenant Structure of Deuteronomy: Studies and Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1963).

[3]An excellent example of a suzerainty treaty is that between the Hittite suzerain Mursilis and his vassal Duppi-Tessub of Amurru, the text of which is given in *ANET*, pp. 203-205.

lary will here be reviewed through the well-known labels that Mendenhall has applied to them:[4]
(1) The *preamble* to the Hittite suzerainty treaty identified the king who was the author of the covenant by giving his name, titles, attributes, and genealogy; (2) the *historical prologue* described the past relations between the two contracting parties; (3) the *stipulations* detailed the obligations imposed upon the vassal; (4) the *witnesses* to the extra-biblical treaties were the gods of the participants, but monotheistic Yahwism found other elements to substitute for them; and (5) the treaties then concluded with their religious sanctions, the *blessings and curses* that would occur in the case of loyalty to, or breach of, the covenant.

### 1. *The Covenant Concept Throughout Revelation*

Inasmuch as the Apocalypse is a book rich in OT imagery and phraseology, the presence of the covenant concept is reasonably to be expected in it. The evidence for this presence may be categorized along the lines of the subsections of the covenant formulary noted above. It is also of interest to observe that the Greek word for covenant itself occurs only once in the book, but that this one occurrence is at the very center of the book (11:19) and is connected with the Ark of the Covenant, just as the ten stipulations of the Mosaic covenant were connected with the Ark at the center of the Israelite tabernacle.

#### *Preamble*

Numerous titles for Jesus occur both in the letters to the Seven Churches (see below) and elsewhere in Revelation, and these can be compared with the identification of the Suzerain in the preamble of the covenant formulary. Since the book begins with John's description of Jesus Christ (1:12-20), this description might be thought of as the personal identification of the Suzerain. Certainly, the later

[4]Mendenhall, pp. 32-34. Mendenhall has one additional label beyond the five we enumerate below; namely, "Provision for deposit in the temple and periodic public reading" (his no. 4, on p. 34). Although I do not include this with the five more basic and specific items, it bears notice that even this element finds somewhat of a parallel in Revelation—in the blessing indicated for public congregational reading and hearing of the book (1:3).

description of him as the "King of Kings and Lord of Lords" (19:16) qualifies him as equivalent to the Great King of the covenant.

*Historical Prologue*

In the covenant of Exod 20, the brief historical prologue highlights God's mighty act of redemption in delivering the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage (vs. 2). The prominence of the redemption motif in the book of Revelation, with its repeated emphasis on Christ's salvific work (cf. 1:17-18; 5:9-10; 7:14-17; 12:7-11; etc.), functions as a parallel (implicitly, if not explicitly) to the historical prologue of the covenant formulary.

*Stipulations*

For stipulations there are various instructions given to the church through the initial letters and elsewhere in the book of Revelation, and the commandments of God are specifically mentioned at least two and possibly three times in it (12:17 and 14:12; significant textual variants occur for the possible reference in 22:14, but textual evidence for the covenant elsewhere could be used to argue for the originality of "commandments" in this passage).

*Witnesses*

Revelation is particularly rich in the vocabulary of witnesses, and such were connected with ancient covenants in a special way. The noun for "testimony" or "witness" occurs more frequently in the book of Revelation—eight times—than in any other NT book (Rev 1:2, 9; 6:9; 11:7; 12:1, 17; 15:5; and 19:10). Occurrences of verbal forms from this root occur three times (22:16, 18, 20). Elsewhere in the NT, this verb is especially prominent in the Gospel of John.

From the old covenantal witness-pair of "heaven" and "earth," references to "heaven" occur more commonly in Revelation than in any other book of the NT except Matthew. It is linked with the other member of this witness-pair, "earth," in at least half a dozen of these passages. The vocative address to heaven and earth as witnesses to the fall of the devil in Rev 12:12 is especially noteworthy in this connection.

*Blessing and Curse*

The covenantal themes of blessing and curse are also present in Revelation. The sevenfold blessings of the book (1:3; 14:13; 16:15; 19:9; 20:6; 22:7; and 22:14) are exceeded in frequency of reference to blessing in the NT only by the Beatitudes in Matthew and Luke. These seven macarisms in Revelation are balanced by the sevenfold occurrences of "woe" and "alas" (8:13; 9:12; 11:14; 12:2; 18:10, 16, 18). The last reference to curse in Revelation refers to God's final abolition of man's maledictions (22:3). The blessings and curses at the end of the book (22:11-19) are especially significant in view of the use made of the texts of ancient covenants.

2. *Covenant Form in the Seven Letters: General Structure*

All in all, then, a number of aspects of covenant language appear to be featured prominently throughout the Apocalypse. We shall now notice more specifically how these features relate to the overall structure of the letters to the Seven Churchs in chaps. 2 and 3, after which we will turn our attention to the letters individually.

*Preamble*

Each of these seven letters begins with a different title for Jesus, "These are the words of X" (in which "X" in each case is filled by a new and different title for Jesus). The preamble to the covenant identified the suzerain in the same position in the text.

*Historical Prologue*

A refrain that occurs in each of these letters immediately following the title given to Jesus is, "I know your works. . . ." This sort of knowledge implies an association between two parties that have been working together closely enough for one to be able to evaluate the past works of the other. In other words, by virtue of its very nature, this expression refers to past relations between the suzerain Jesus, who has been identified by the preceding title, and the church, which is his vassal. The same point about past historical relations is made by the prologue of the ancient suzerainty covenant.

*Stipulations*

Following the evaluation of the nature of the past work of each of the churches, there follows a statement of counsel. Instructions are given for a course of action to rectify deficiencies described in the preceding sections of the letters (or in two cases, Smyrna and Philadelphia, an appeal to continued faithfulness). These come in the form of a series of imperatives. Four imperatives appear in the letters to two of the churches, Ephesus and Sardis. Three occur in the letters to Laodicea, two in the letter to Smyrna, and one each in the letters to the three other churches.

The most common of these imperatives is "repent," which occurs five times. Other imperatives present in these letters include "remember," "do not fear," "be faithful," "awaken," "hold fast," and "strengthen." Since these exhortations express the obligations of the churches to their Lord, they may be taken in a sense similar to those of the stipulations of the covenant.

*The Witness and Blessing-and-Curse Elements*

The final two elements in the covenant formulary, the witness and the blessing-and-curse statements, are also present in the letters to the Seven Churches, but they show an alternation of order. The obvious witness present at the end of these letters is the Spirit, mentioned in the constantly present formulaic statement, "He who has ears to hear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches" (2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22). This statement about the Spirit's witness appears as the next to the last element in the first three letters, following the more customary order of the suzerainty treaties; and in the last four letters, it appears as the final element. The reference to the Spirit as the witness alternates in these two concluding positions with the blessing pronounced upon the overcomer. Thus, the letters to the first three churches end with a blessing, while for the last four churches that final blessing appears before the mention of the witness of the Spirit.

The potential curse is also present, but only irregularly. When it is present, it is always mentioned before both the blessing and the witness of the Spirit. As it turns out, this element appears in the letters to the 1st, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 7th churches (Ephesus,

Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, and Laodicea), while it is absent from the letters to the 2d and 6th churches (Smyrna and Philadelphia).

3. *Covenant Form in the Seven Letters: Contents of the Letters*

With these five elements from the structure of the covenant identified in the letters to the Seven Churches, the contents of the individual letters may be examined more closely. Outlines and charts of these contents may be found in many commentaries. What is suggested here is not that new outlines for these elements are necessary, but that more meaningful labels may be proposed than those that have been previously employed. My suggestion is that these more meaningful labels can be drawn very appropriately from the designations given to the sections of the suzerainty covenant.

Indeed, the principal propositions present in the letters to the Seven Churches are essentially five in number—no more, no less—, and the principal sections present in the formulary of the suzerainty treaties are also five in number. The nature of the contents corresponds as well; and given this sort of correspondence both in the number of basic elements and the nature of the contents, it may be suggested that the pattern for the letters to the Seven Churches in Revelation is modeled after that of the older covenant formulary.

With this working hypothesis in mind, we proceed now to examine the text of each of the seven letters with respect to how its divisions correspond to the five basic elements in the covenant formulary (for the biblical text, the RSV is used). Some of the longer sections of the letters have been abridged, but in general their essential content has been retained.

*The Letter to the Church in Ephesus, 2:1-7*

*Preamble (vs. 1):*

**The words of him who holds the seven stars in his right hand, who walks among the seven golden lampstands.**

*Prologue (vss. 2-4):*

**I know your works, your toil and your patient endurance. . . . I know you are enduring patiently and bearing up for my name's sake, and you have**

not grown weary. But I have this against you, that you have abandoned your first love.

*Stipulation (vs. 5a):*

Remember then from what you have fallen, repent and do the works you did at first.

*Curse (vs. 5b):*

If not, I will come to you and remove your lampstand from its place, unless you repent.

*Prologue Continued (vs. 6):*

Yet this you have, you hate the works of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate.

*Witness (vs. 7a):*

He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.

*Blessing (vs. 7b):*

To him who conquers I will grant to eat of the tree of life, which is in the paradise of God.

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### *The Letter to the Church at Smyrna, 2:8-11*

*Preamble (vs. 8):*

The words of the first and the last, who died and came to life.

*Prologue (vs. 9):*

I know your tribulation and your poverty (but you are rich) and the slander of those who say that they are Jews and are not, but are a synagogue of Satan.

*Stipulations (vs. 10):*

Do not fear what you are about to suffer. Behold, the devil is about to throw some of you into prison, that you may be tested, and for ten days you will have tribulation. Be faithful unto death, and I will give you the crown of life.

*Witness (vs. 11a):*

He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.

*Blessing (vs. 11b):*

He who conquers shall not be hurt by the second death.

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### *The Letter to the Church at Pergamum, 2:12-17:*

*Preamble (vs. 12):*

The words of him who has the sharp two-edged sword.

*Prologue (vss. 13-15):*

I know where you dwell, where Satan's throne is; you hold fast my name and you did not deny my faith. . . . But I have a few things against you: you have some there who hold the teaching of Balaam, . . . So you also have some who hold the teaching of the Nicolaitans.

*Stipulations (vs. 16a):*

Repent then.

*Curse (vs. 16b):*

If not, I will come to you soon and war against them with the sword of my mouth.

*Witness (vs. 17a):*

He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.

*Blessing (vs. 17b):*

To him who conquers I will give some of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, with a new name written on the stone which no one knows except him who receives it.

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### *The Letter to the Church at Thyatira, 2:18-29*

*Preamble (vs. 18):*

The words of the Son of God, who has eyes like a flame of fire, and whose feet are like burnished bronze.

*Prologue (vss. 19-21):*

I know your works, your love and faith and service and patient endurance, and that your latter works exceed the first. But I have this against you, that you tolerate the woman Jezebel, who calls herself a prophetess. . . .

*Curse (vss. 22-23):*

I will throw her on a sickbed, and those who commit adultery with her I will throw into great tribulation, unless they repent of her doings. . . . I will give to each of you as your works deserve.

*Stipulations (vss. 24-25):*

To the rest of you in Thyatira . . . hold fast what you have, until I come.

*Blessing (vss. 26-28):*

He who conquers and who keeps my works until the end, I will give him power over the nations, and he shall rule them with a rod of iron . . . and I will give him the morning star.

*Witness (vs. 29):*

He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.

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## *The Letter to the Church at Sardis, 3:1-6*

*Preamble (vs. 1a):*

The words of him who has the seven spirits of God and the seven stars.

*Prologue (vs. 1b):*

I know your work; you have the name of being alive, and you are dead.

*Stipulations (vss. 2-3a):*

Awake, and strengthen what remains and is on the point of death, for I have not found your works perfect in the sight of my God. Remember then what you received and heard; keep that, and repent.

*Curse (vs. 3b):*

If you will not awake, I will come like a thief, and you will not know at what hour I will come upon you.

*Prologue Continued (vs. 4):*

Yet you have still a few names in Sardis, people who have not soiled their garments; . . .

*Blessing (vs. 5):*

He who conquers shall be clad thus in white garments, and I will not blot his name out of the book of life; I will confess his name before my Father and before his angels.

*Witness (vs. 6):*

He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.

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## *The Letter to the Church at Philadelphia, 3:7-13*

*Preamble (vs. 7):*

The words of the holy one, the true one, who has the key of David, who opens and no one shall shut, who shuts and no one opens.

*Prologue (vss. 8-10):*

I know your works. Behold, I have set before you an open door, which no one is able to shut; I know that you have but little power, and yet you have kept my word and have not denied my name. . . .

*Stipulations (vs. 11):*

I am coming soon; hold fast what you have, so that no one may seize your crown.

*Blessing (vs. 12):*

He who conquers, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God; never shall he go out of it, and I will write on him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the New Jerusalem which comes down from my God out of heaven, and my own new name.

*Witness (vs. 13):*

He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.

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## *The Letter to the Church in Laodicea, 3:14-22*

*Preamble (vs. 14):*

The words of the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of God's creation.

*Prologue (vs. 15):*

I know your works: you are neither cold nor hot. Would that you were cold or hot!

*Curse (vs. 16):*

So, because you are lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew you out of my mouth.

*Prologue Continued (vs. 17):*

**For you say, I am rich, I have prospered, and I need nothing; not knowing that you are wretched, pitiable, poor, blind, and naked.**

*Stipulations (vss. 18-20):*

**Therefore I counsel you to buy from me gold refined by fire, that you may be rich, and white garments to clothe you and to keep the shame of your nakedness from being seen, and salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see. Those whom I love, I reprove and chasten; so be zealous and repent. Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any one hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in to him and eat with him, and he with me.**

*Blessing (vs. 21):*

**He who conquers, I will grant him to sit with me on my throne, as I myself conquered and sat down with my Father on his throne.**

*Witness (vs. 22):*

**He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches.**

## 4. *Covenant Form in the Seven Letters: Some Concluding Observations*

The foregoing analysis of the contents of the seven letters leads to several further observations, relating to the formulaic introductions, to variations in the manner of statement, and to other considerations.

### *Formulaic Statements*

From the foregoing detailed examination of the contents of the seven letters, it can be seen that the five main sections of those letters that have been identified with covenant terminology are also introduced by formulaic statements. These statements, which recur as a sort of quasi-refrain through the letters, can be identified as follows:

*Preamble*: "The word of him who . . ." (titles follow).

*Prologue*: "I know your works . . ." (details follow).

*Stipulations*: "Repent, [etc.] . . ." (other imperatives follow).

*Witness*: "Hear what the Spirit says to the churches."

*Blessing*: "To him who overcomes I will grant . . ." (details follow).

The formulaic nature of these introductory statements at the beginning of each of the five sections of the letters emphasizes two things: (1) the distinctions between those sections, and (2) the intentional repetition of each of the sections through all of the letters. Inasmuch as the contents of the various sections that are distinguished by the formulaic introductions parallel exactly the contents identified above under the labels of the covenant formulary, we have here additional support for the hypothesis advanced, namely, that the letters to the Seven Churches have been modeled after the covenant formulary.

*Variations in Covenant-Form Statements*

As is the case with earlier examples of statements of the covenant, there are in the seven letters some variations from the more "standard" form of that covenant structure as outlined earlier in this article. As one example, the alternation in position between the witness and the blessing has been noted above. As already mentioned, the first three of the seven letters have the more standard order of witness followed by blessing. It is interesting to note that the reversal in order occurs in the central letter of the seven and that the subsequent letters maintain this new order. Thus, from the standpoint of literary structure, the variation looks intentional, rather than accidental.

The threatenings of the curse occur only irregularly in these letters, as also called to attention above. Their occurrence may be seen as historically conditioned; that is to say, they stem from the experience of the individual churches to which they were addressed. They occur, in fact, in the letters to the churches that appear to have been the weaker ones in the faith, and which hence warranted this severe form of chastisement. However, it should be noted that the presence of the curse even in these instances is more than compensated for by the general emphasis upon the blessings promised to the churches. The messages close with, and place stress upon this very positive note of blessing, revealing thereby the graciousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Suzerain of the covenant.

Another minor irregularity involved in these letters is that in three instances (Ephesus, Sardis, and Laodicea) a second statement on past historical relations has been added after the stipulations. This is in reality quite natural, for ancient covenant statements did

not slavishly follow exactly the same order in every instance. The surprising thing with regard to the seven letters is not that some variations can be seen, but rather that the order and main features of the well-known covenant structure generally appear to be so readily recognizable. The variations present have not obscured that structure to any great extent.

*Nature of the Seven Letters*

The fact that these letters appear to follow the form of more ancient statements of the covenant may say something about the nature of the letters themselves. Since they appear to provide restatements of the covenant to each of seven successive churches, in the order in which they were given, one way of looking at them from the standpoint of the covenant is to view them as providing for a renewal of the more original covenant of the suzerain in each of these seven instances.

When taken as covenant renewal messages, these letters can also say something about the interpretation of the seven churches. There are two main schools of thought on this point. The first interpretation of these seven letters is that their messages apply only to the seven literal and historical churches that were known in these particular cities of Asia Minor in the time of the writer. The other view of these letters is that while they should indeed be applied in this way, they can also be seen as standing symbolically for the experience of the church through succeeding eras of history. Viewing these letters as statements concerned with renewal of the covenant might lend some minor support to the latter point of view, since in OT times the covenant was renewed serially (Joshua, Hezekiah, Josiah), and not so much contemporaneously at different sites in Israel.

Finally, we may note that these letters give evidence of the persistence of the theme and the form of the covenant throughout the historical experiences of the people described in the OT and NT. Mendenhall elaborated its basic structure and function in the formative period of Israel's history described in the book of Exodus. When we come to the NT, we find that the "New Israel" has a New Covenant given by Jesus to his followers. In this study we have seen how a reflection of the continuing nature of the structure and function of the ancient suzerainty covenant has been carried out on

a rather sweeping scale in a major block of material from the last book of the NT—a section in which the Suzerain directly addresses his people, as the ancient suzerain did his vassals.

# ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
# DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

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## POOR AND RICH IN THE EPISTLE OF JAMES: A SOCIO-HISTORICAL AND EXEGETICAL STUDY

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This investigation attempts to break further from parochialism in dealing with the Epistle of James, moving away from the purely literary and theological orientation, and paying more attention to the social milieu out of which the document arose and how the ethos of the community impinged upon the thought of the writer.

Socially oriented studies in NT scholarship are not new. Since the 1930s, however, this emphasis has been largely neglected until its recent revival. Chap. 1 shows that the greatest problem with social orientation in NT studies is finding a satisfactory method. The majority of scholars who are presently following such an investigation utilize sociological theories, but there are pitfalls when a modern theory governs the study of the text and its socio-historical implications. This research, therefore, argues that a socio-historical description of a document and its community must be initially undertaken before any attempt is made to analyze it sociologically.

Chap. 2 briefly surveys the social stratification of the Graeco-Roman world of the first century, taking note of the earlier Hellenistic influence. Chap. 3 looks into the categories "poor and rich" in pertinent Jewish literature as well as in the NT. The material in these chapters provides the possible *Weltanschauung* of James.

Chap. 4 deals with literary and socio-historical contexts. As to the former, this study exegetes the four pericopae which treat the poor and wealthy (Jas 1:9-11; 2:1-9; 4:13-17; 5:1-6). As to the latter, it describes the social *realia* within the pericopae, and attempts a comprehensive reconstruction of the social history of the milieu out of which the document arose.

This investigation demonstrates that James was not working simply with the *anawim*-piety of Judaism, but was actually addressing the socio-economic reality of his time. Thus the categories "poor and rich" were for the author fundamentally economic realities, though set in a spiritual context.

The Epistle shows that in primitive Christianity there was a critical attitude of society, a concern with social justice, and a sensitivity to the needs of the oppressed. This research, therefore, presents the biblical scholar in general and the Third World theologian in particular with a model which demonstrates God's concern for oppression and poverty.

## USAGE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA IN NORTH AMERICAN SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST LITERATURE 1937-1980

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The purpose of this dissertation was to determine how archaeological data have been used in Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) literature of North America since the first SDA attained advanced qualifications in the discipline (1937). The early twentieth-century SDA literature showed a strong tendency to apply archaeological information apologetically, especially in defense of scriptural reliability and sometimes seeming to imply that Scripture is reliable because archaeology has declared it so. The thesis was that increased expertise as heralded by the formal training of such SDA scholars as L. H. Wood, E. R. Thiele, S. H. Horn, and their successors, would introduce a more balanced and diversified usage of archaeology in denominational literature.

In order to test this thesis, SDA books containing archaeological data and representative SDA periodicals from the same period (1937-1980) were examined for archaeological usage. This archaeological usage in each of these sources was then classified and analyzed within the framework of three main periods. These divisions coincide with the periods of maximum involvement by the most prolific writers.

To demonstrate the contemporary setting and to elucidate direct input, a limited study was also made of the leading developments in general North American biblical archaeology as focused in the publications of W. F. Albright and his school.

It was noted that in SDA publications, trained archaeologists and biblical scholars gradually took over the task of the archaeological writing which had formerly (even in the 1940s) been dominated by amateurs. Consequently, publications moved in the direction of more cautious and responsible usage of archaeology. The amount of apparent apologetic was considerably reduced, and that which did occur was usually much better informed and less dogmatic. Simultaneously, interests expanded to include a much wider concept of the biblical context, as demonstrated in the reports of the excavations at Heshbon (jointly sponsored by Andrews University and the American Schools of

Oriental Research). There was also a gradual but steady increase in exegetical application of archaeological data.

These trends indicate a growing maturity which will face, without loss of faith, interpretations of data which may at times be difficult.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Aling, Charles F. *Egypt and Bible History: From Earliest Times to 1000 B.C.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1981. iv + 145 pp. Paperback, $5.95.

This book is a very good addition to the series of "Baker Studies in Biblical Archaeology." Its goal is to communicate to the general reader a concise account of Egyptian history, with special emphasis upon those historical points for which an integration with biblical history may be suggested, and it achieves this goal well. The Egyptian period of time recovered is from the rise of the Old Kingdom to the 20th Dynasty. The biblical period covered is from Abraham to Solomon. The brief introduction treats Egyptian geography, the periodization of Egyptian history, and the chronology of ancient Egypt.

After discussing the pre-Abrahamic period of Egyptian history and the Old Kingdom, chap. 2 deals with the first direct contact of an individual with Egypt—Abraham's visit there, described in Gen 12. Aling follows a high chronology, which allows a full 430 years for the length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, in contrast to the shorter sojourn of 215 years advocated by some scholars. Working backwards from his 15th-century date for the Exodus through the Sojourn and the patriarchal period provides Aling with a date early in the 21st century B.C. for Abraham's entry into Egypt. This places that contact within the First Intermediate Period of Egyptian history, during which the 10th Dynasty controlled the northern portion of the country. This view seems essentially correct to me.

Following the same high chronology for the biblical patriarchs, Aling dates Joseph's arrival in Egypt during the rule of the 12th Dynasty or Middle-Kingdom period of Egyptian history (chap. 3). This reconstruction runs contrary to the more commonly held idea that the eisodus of Jacob and his family took place later, during the days of the Hyksos rulers of Dynasty 15 of the Second Intermediate Period. Aling discusses these different dates to some extent, concluding that the case for a later date for the entry into Egypt is not compelling, and that just as good a case can be made for an earlier entry. Again, I am in essential agreement with his point of view.

Having established a working date for Joseph, Aling devotes the rest of chap. 3 and the whole of chap. 4 to the Egyptian background for the Joseph narratives and the Israelite Sojourn. In his discussion of what we can learn about the conditions of the Sojourn, he gives most of his attention to the early 18th Dynasty, which introduced the New-Kingdom

period of Egyptian history towards the end of the Sojourn. For a lack of both biblical and extra-biblical evidence, the Hyksos get short shrift.

In this section, Aling also discusses the location of the cities of Pithom and Ramses (Exod 1:11), which are of considerable importance to any discussion of the Exodus. In harmony with the current state of the evidence, he correctly locates Ramses at Qantir, in contrast to the older view that it was located at Ṣan el-Hajar or Tanis. The location of Pithom is more difficult to determine, hence Aling is reasonably more tentative here. He offers the two possibilities of locating it either at Tell er-Retaba or at Heliopolis. The excavations of the University of Toronto in the Wadi-Tumilat project may provide some further illumination on this point in the future.

In the important chapter on the date of the Exodus, Aling has evaluated four main different theories that place the Exodus either in the early or middle 15th century B.C. (1470 or 1446) or in the early or late 13th century B.C. (1280 or 1220). Aling weighs the pros and cons of each theory and finally opts, again correctly in my opinion, for the mid-fifteenth-century-B.C. date. His work is quite up to date here, for it includes a discussion and evaluation of the new high date of 1470 B.C. recently proposed by J. J. Bimson.

It is inevitable that Palestinian archaeology has to be introduced into any discussion of the date of the Exodus, since the date of the Israelite Conquest is obviously linked to that of the Exodus. This subject is dealt with in the last half of chap. 5. In the next chapter, the Egyptian background for the Exodus is treated in more detail.

While I agree with Aling's mid-15th-century date for the Exodus, I disagree with his selection for the ruling pharaoh at that time. In this general period of history only Thutmose III or Amenhotep II can fit the identification. Aling has chosen Amenhotep II as his preferred selection, while I prefer to identify Thutmose III as the pharaoh of the Exodus. My own views on this subject are discussed in some detail in the article "Exodus, Date of," now published in the second volume of the revised edition of the *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982).

The next to the last chapter of Aling's volume takes up the subject of a brief review of the history of the 19th and 20th Dynasties and the contacts of the Egyptians at that time with the Philistines, with Palestine in a broader sense, and especially with Solomon. The final chapter discusses more general cultural contacts between Egypt and Israel.

From the number of points mentioned above where I have noted my general agreement with views expressed in this book, it is evident that I give the volume a strong recommendation. This book is also well-written and nicely illustrated. It can serve well as an introduction to the subject of

Egypt in relationship to early biblical history for pastors, seminary students, and interested lay readers.

Andrews University WILLIAM H. SHEA

Beker, J. Christiaan, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980. xi + 452 pp. $22.95.

With this volume Beker, who has enjoyed a well-deserved reputation as an excellent teacher of biblical theology at Princeton, establishes himself as a major contributor to the ongoing dialogue in NT theology. This contribution to Pauline studies is a major effort to argue for the fact that to understand Paul, his life and thought must be viewed in terms of the "apocalyptic connection" (p. 195)—meaning that at the center of Paul's thought is not Christ but God. Therefore righteousness by faith, Christ-mysticism, the unity of the Church, the mission to the Gentiles, etc., cannot be construed as the Pauline "core."

Beker finds that previous attempts to interpret Paul have failed because of their refusal to take apocalypticism seriously. Most interpreters simply ignore the apocalyptic element, but even those who take apocalypticism into account do not take it seriously. In terms of the basic alternatives for understanding Paul as an interpreter with theological roots, R. Bultmann set up Paul in total discontinuity with the OT, but understood salvation as a kerygmatic event anchored in the past. Oscar Cullmann saw continuity with the OT and pointed toward the final victory in the future, but his salvation-history schema that gives ontological priority to the midpoint in time robs eschatology of God's triumph at the end. E. P. Sanders sets Paul and rabbinic Judaism on parallel courses that never meet and understands Paul in purely christological terms. A. Schweitzer, who saw the importance of apocalyptic, transformed Paul's thought into a Christ-mysticism. J. Moltmann, who gives to apocalyptic an eschatologic-cosmic outlook, sees only in the Cross the divine self-disclosure. And E. Käsemann, who argues for apocalyptic as "the mother of theology," refuses to understand Jesus in that light. Beker insists on the necessity of the apocalyptic connection that links the Christ-event with the future triumph of God.

In his analysis of Paul, Beker is at his best in chap. 9, "The Scandal of the Cross." He argues there that in order for the Cross and the Resurrection to play the role they actually play in Paul's thought, they must be given "their ontological, 'cosmic'-apocalyptic significance." This is possible only when they are linked to the still-future triumph of God that embraces not only human history but the whole creation. Thus, salvation cannot be collapsed into a theology of glory or an individualized theology

of the Cross (pp. 194-195). Here Beker produces a major corrective, i.e., to G. Bornkamm's *Paul*, where in the chapter on "The Saving Event" there is no mention of the Cross. Beker's argument that Paul has interpreted the Cross as central in terms of an apocalyptic center is quite correct.

Besides setting up at the core of Paul's thought "the apocalyptic connection" between Christ and God, Beker also wishes to insist that to understand Paul is to understand his hermeneutic. Paul's particular contribution to theology was his hermeneutical breakthrough, his "contextual way of doing theology." Paul blended "authority and particularity, coherent core and contingent contextualism" (pp. 31-35). It is the interaction of these two elements that must be taken into account for any assessment of Paul's words. The genius of his letters is that they speak from a coherent center to the particularity of contingent situations in Christian congregations. Concretely this means, e.g., that Galatians cannot be used to define Paul's gospel because the Christocentric focus of Galatians is demanded by contingent considerations. Situational contingency is to be adjusted to "the material coherence of the Gospel" (p. 56). On these two basic points I find myself in agreement with Beker and therefore am thankful to him for his argumentation on these issues.

It must be said, however, that in certain respects Beker's book is somewhat of a disappointment. The book contains some contradictions and some examples of careless exegesis, although they do not affect the author's major argumentation. Beker explains that the Cross "abolishes the continuing validity of the law, although it affirms its verdict," and "means the termination of the law . . . because it initiates a new eschatological life" (p. 186). He also agrees with W. G. Kümmel that Rom 7 cannot be understood autobiographically (p. 216), and that all psychological interpretations of Paul should be ruled out. All this is quite fine and good. But then in his analysis of Rom 7 he sees an "apology for the law" (p. 239), and speaks of Paul addressing himself to "the depth of the individual human psyche" (p. 217). He also insists that "the autobiographical element in Rom 7 consists in a perceptual shift that brings to unprecedented clarity a hidden conflict . . . a deletion of all autobiographical inferences from Rom 7 makes the chapter theologically unintelligible" (p. 241).

According to Beker, Paul teaches that the Christian is free from sin. "Because sinful acts testify to the power of sin, both are eradicated in Christ" (p. 220). Beker, of course, cannot deny that Christians are still affected by the power of death. Therefore Beker breaks the Pauline connection between sin and death (p. 221). In other words, as far as the rule of death is concerned, the apocalyptic connection holds: Christians have to wait for the future triumph of God. But as far as the power of sin is concerned, Beker forgets the apocalyptic connection. This inconsistency on Beker's part is caused by his not having paid enough attention to the

Pauline concept of "the body" and the human involvement in a fallen creation, even if in the book's closing paragraph he makes eloquent use of it. In his incredible discussion of the subject, Beker even says that in Phil 1:10 "Paul appeals for the blameless *state of the body* at the Parousia" (p. 290, italics mine). Paul would never have said that unless it referred to the body of Christ (which Beker discusses in a different chapter).

Beker's failure to pay close attention to the concept of the body in Paul also causes him problems in his exegesis of 1 Cor 15. He charges Paul with circularity in his argument. On the basis of the premise that the resurrection of Christ implies a final resurrection, Paul moves about to argue for the resurrection of Christ and therefore a final resurrection. Thus "what needs to be argued is taken for granted" (p. 168). But what Beker has failed to see is that Paul is arguing for the resurrection "of the dead." He is arguing that it was the dead Jesus (whom the Corinthians cursed, 1 Cor 12:3) who was raised. The Corinthians believed in the resurrection of Christ, but not in the resurrection of the dead. They thought themselves to have experienced resurrection in life, as a docetic understanding of Jesus would allow. Paul insists on the resurrection of the dead and therefore he takes pains to differentiate the *psychikos* from the *pneumatikos* body, a distinction which Beker overlooks but which is essential to Paul's anthropology and soteriology.

Any potential reader of the book must, in fairness, be warned about the book's style. Beker writes in a rather convoluted way. Things that could be said in a direct way are forced into high-sounding phrases, and the basic thesis is argued so many times that one wonders how an editor allowed so much repetition. By the time one finishes reading, one is ready to scream the next time he sees the words "coherent" and "contingent" again.

Still, the book's argument stands as a basic statement that needs to be heard, and one which I had already defended in more modest circumstances.

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HEROLD WEISS

Edwards, Rex D. *A New Frontier—Every Believer a Minister*. Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979. 126 pp. Paperback, $5.95.

The author, a pastor from New Zealand with more than twenty years of ministerial service in Australia, England, and America, as well as experience as a college professor of pastoral ministry, stresses in this volume the importance of active lay involvement in the outreach of the Christian church.

The first chapter, "'I Have Sent Them Into the World'" (pp. 11-24), sets the stage for the rest of the book: lay persons in the church have to be more than spectators. "Not only do the demands of discipleship hit hard at our traditional thinking on this issue," says Edwards, "but the structure of the New Testament church was formed for the equipping of the saints (all of us) for the work of the ministry" (p. 14). Furthermore, "the layman is out on the front lines *away* from the church building, in his home, office, shop, and club. He is there being God's man in the middle of the everyday life. . . . The pastor is in the fighting too, but he concentrates on his function of training and equipping the troops for the battle they fight" (pp. 15-16).

After a reference to Elton Trueblood's preference for abandoning the term "laity" for "ministry of common life," Edwards goes on to point out that "I have not yet abandoned the use of the word layman, for it bespeaks a distinction that we have no other term to convey adequately. But I eagerly hope for a better one, a word that would restore the biblical meaning of the laity and describe the facts, yet rebuke the error. Every believer a 'lay-minister'—this at least stabs at it" (pp. 16-17).

The author moves next into the concept and practice in church history. Chap. 2, "They 'Went Everywhere Preaching,'" provides in its relatively few pages (25-52) a surprisingly comprehensive survey of the role and function of laity and of the laity's missionary outreach during the period following the death of the apostles until the time of Constantine in the early fourth century. The early-church period was one of persecution, and it is Edwards' feeling "that the witness in life and death of unnamed multitudes of lay members contributed as much to the spread of Christianity as the writing and preaching and the valiant martyrdom of their more articulate clerical leaders" (p. 30).

In this chapter the author refers to a number of early sources and it is to his credit that despite the brevity of his discussion, he has endeavored to set each source in its correct historical context. For instance, the reference to clerical leadership made by Ignatius of Antioch is correctly and appropriately related to that second-century Church Father's "concern that the church not be corrupted by heresy" (p. 36). It is amazing how many specialists have overlooked this *practical* setting and background to Ignatian statements, assuming instead (glibly and erroneously) that Ignatius was simply issuing a vigorous call to a high ecclesiology.

This chapter treats also the "laity's rights and duties—liturgical, constitutional, disciplinary, charitable, and evangelical" (p. 39). These were originally rather broad functions as far as lay participation was concerned, but eventually succumbed to a situation in which the clergy more and more controlled and performed the various aspects of ministry.

Chap. 3, "'We are Ambassadors for Christ'" (pp. 53-73), gets to the heart of what ministry is all about. In a word study of *diakonia* and consideration of various NT passages, Edwards points out that in contrast to the frequent assumption of a twofold "ministry of the Word" and "ministration of love," he would, "with some hesitation and with full awareness that the truth here cannot be confined to any set of propositions," offer the following "two counterassumptions or theses: (1) The essential ministry of the church is the ministry of reconciliation. (2) The ministry of reconciliation belongs to all the saints of God both as a privilege and as an obligation" (p. 62).

In the same chapter, the author reviews the "low Protestant view" and "high Catholic view" of ministry. He seeks a "synthesis in the understanding of the [clerical] office as a ministry to ministers" (p. 68).

Chap. 4, "'A Royal Priesthood'" (pp. 74-96) gives attention to the so-called "Reformation doctrine" of "priesthood of all believers." Logically, the views of Martin Luther are treated at some length, but various pre-Reformation examples are also afforded (including brotherhoods "such as the 'Friends of God' and 'Brethren of the Common Life,' consisting of both clergy and laity," advocating "a way of life relatively free from the many abuses of the Middle Ages" [p. 83]). As for Luther himself, Edwards rightly lays stress on the Reformer's statement that 'as priests we are *worthy to appear before God and to pray for others and to teach one another the things of God*" (p. 87).

In the fifth and final chapter, "'Ye Shall Be Witnesses Unto Me'" (pp. 97-117), Edwards highlights the importance of "conversion." He states that "Christian witnessing is not something we *do*; it is something we *are*" (p. 100). Furthermore, "In a life filled with God there is a calm, continuous outflow of witness," and a Christian witness "must be a Christian involved in other people's lives" (pp. 101-102). Indeed, the "primary ministry of the laity must be performed in the world. . . . The loss of this emphasis on the ministry of the laity is one major reason why the attack of the church has been blunted, for the laity is the spearhead of the church in the world" (pp. 104-105).

The overall conceptualization presented in this book is biblical, and the references to church history are used to illustrate the operation (and at times lack of operation) of the basic principles involved. The author's reminder of the church's need to get back to this "new frontier—every believer a minister" deserves to be given serious thought and action.

The book has no index, nor bibliography, but its section of endnotes (pp. 118-126) provides careful documentation and gives evidence of the author's familiarity with basic source materials on the subject. As becomes clear from some references in the Preface and chaps. 1 and 3, the book is

undoubtedly intended primarily as a useful tool for his own Seventh-day Adventist denomination, but I would suggest that it will be helpful as well to anyone, regardless of religious affiliation, who is seriously interested in seeing Christianity make an effective impact in today's world.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Finney, Charles G. *Love is Not a Special Way of Feeling*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Bethany House Publishers, 1963. 136 pp. Paperback, $2.50.

Finney, Charles G. *The Promise of the Spirit*. Comp. and ed. by Timothy L. Smith. Minneapolis, Minn.: Bethany House Publishers, 1980. 265 pp. Paperback, $5.95.

Finney, Charles G. *Principles of Victory*. Comp. and ed. by Louis Gilford Parkhurst, Jr. Minneapolis, Minn.: Bethany House Publishers, 1981. 201 pp. Paperback, $4.95.

Recently Bethany House has been reprinting selected writings of Charles G. Finney (1792-1875). This review covers three such publications.

Our differences with nineteenth-century vocabulary may be seen most clearly in *Love is Not a Special Way of Feeling*, which is for the most part a collection of very helpful word studies. The book is an unedited passage selected from Finney's *Lectures on Systematic Theology*, which studies various terms used to describe love and its attributes. That the title is a creation of the publishers becomes apparent as Finney preferred the term benevolence to love. Most of the terms are derived from the KJV. Even though the writing may seem insipid and require careful reading, it is quite rewarding. Finney's conclusion is consistent throughout: it is not enough to feel loving, but one must act in love or else it is not really love.

Before coming to Oberlin College, Finney was an evangelist, and one aspect of evangelism began to weigh heavily on his conscience. He felt that those converted were not being properly trained in the Christian life, but rather were left to fend for themselves. He feared that the long-range effect of such evangelism would cheapen conversion and weaken the effectiveness of revivals. He wanted to emphasize that conversion is not just emotional or intellectual, but must change lives and show the fruits of love. In 1839 Finney published in the *Oberlin Evangelist* a series of articles and letters to his converts stressing this conviction. These are collected and edited in the book *The Promise of the Spirit*, along with two letters from 1840. The introduction by Timothy Smith is very worthwhile, as he perceptively discusses the socio-religious background as well as Finney's personal life and ministry. In the articles we find an excellent cross-section of Finney's theology, including his interest in social issues. Here Finney speaks not

only in principles and generalities, but he speaks out on specific social ills and personal sins.

*Principles of Victory* is a collection of expositions on Romans drawn from several sources and edited and introduced by Louis Parkhurst. There is also an appendix that lists other expositions published in *The Oberlin Evangelist*. Due to the diversity of sources, the book is rather uneven, though basically well done. Once again, Finney's writing is involved and requires careful reading. This reviewer found more theological problems in this volume than the above two, especially in Finney's treatment of hell (chap. 6).

In conclusion, Finney's works are an excellent source of sermon ideas and illustrations. These may be gleaned from even a superficial reading. To fully appreciate Finney, however, one must be quite thoroughly familiar with the Bible, especially the KJV, as it seems that for the most part his quotations and allusions to biblical passages are without reference. Finney was refreshingly immersed in Scripture, and this reviewer considers that time invested on these volumes will be well spent.

Berrien Springs, Michigan 49103 JAMES E. MILLER

Greaves, Richard L. *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England*. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1981. ix + 925 pp. $39.50.

Richard Greaves has compiled an enormous compendium of information which will be of value to all scholars working in the Elizabethan period of English history. The nature of social history in pre-statistical centuries is such that it is easy to add more and more illustrative material. Greaves does this continually and hence has produced a reference work rather than a readable book.

Greaves' thesis is that both social thought and behavioral patterns reflected the division of society among the four main religious groups of the period: Catholic, Anglican, Puritan, and Separatist. Consequently, his main concern is the interaction between religious belief and secular society. He not only identifies the social beliefs and customs associated with each religious group but is aware of the various nuances within them. Thus, he has made significant contributions to social history as well as to the study of religion.

His research into social issues is wide-ranging and comprehensive. The table of contents provides an inadequate guide to the contents of the book. Sixteen chapter titles are listed but almost every one of them is subdivided into four or five sections dealing with specific topics. The

chapter on the household, e.g., has sections dealing with the function of the household as a religious unit and as a source of order, and the roles of women, masters, and servants. Likewise, the chapter on sexual mores has sections dealing with fornication, prostitution, illegitimacy, marital sex, extra-marital sex, birth control, and family size. Some of the sub-sections will be of real value to those interested in specific topics rather than the whole spectrum of societal behavior.

Religious attitudes changed and developed through Elizabeth's reign, and individuals changed their positions within this religious continuum. This has complicated Greaves' problem in analyzing society in terms of religious communities. For this reason he has tended to exaggerate the differences between Anglicans and Puritans. Similarly, he has exaggerated the importance of the Separatists for the period as a whole.

Nevertheless, he has completed a monumental task very credibly and enriched our understanding of both social behavior and the religious influence on society in the late sixteenth century.

New South Wales, Australia CEDRIC WARD

Gross, Leonard. *The Golden Years of the Hutterites: The Witness and Thought of the Communal Moravian Anabaptists During the Walpot Era, 1565-1578.* Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, No. 23. Scottdale, Pa./Kitchener, Ont.: Herald Press, 1980. 263 pp., plus fold-out map. $14.95.

The new light on Anabaptists and Mennonites that has been accumulating in recent years is one of the more welcome aspects of twentieth-century church historiography. *The Golden Years of the Hutterites* continues this welcome trend, broadening one step further the horizon—and our understanding—of early Anabaptism. Roland H. Bainton, in a brief Introduction, has highlighted the nature of this volume as presenting "a vast amount of new material on the Hutterites of the second generation" and indicating the "arrangement of this work" to be "not geographical but confessional, describing one by one the encounters with three unrelated groups: Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist, and two related: the Polish Brethren and the Swiss Brethren" (p. 16).

The author himself, in his Preface, makes clear that his book is not primarily a socioeconomic history, nor a general history of Hutterianism, nor primarily a theological work, just as it is not a monograph on Peter Walpot, an early leader of the Hutterians in Moravia. Other scholars have covered these aspects. Rather, the present work attempts "to interpret the nature of second-generation Hutterian Anabaptism from the group's own corpus of writings, set within the history of ideas of Hutterian Anabaptism.

Hutterian views of their antagonists are also included, an integral part of the Hutterian idea" (p. 18).

An overview of the chapter titles will give indication of the scope of the volume: Chap. 1, "The Historical Emerging of Anabaptism" (pp. 21-25); chap. 2, "The Golden Years of Hutterites," dealing especially with Walpot and the Walpot era, the school system, economic hardship, etc. (pp. 26-41); chap. 3, "Hutterian Mission: Encounter with the World," treating the nature, method, content, results, etc., of the mission (pp. 42-55); chap. 4, "Hutterian Encounter with Catholicism" (pp. 56-88); chap. 5, "Hutterian Encounter with Lutheranism" (pp. 89-122); chap. 6, "Hutterian Encounter with Calvinism" (pp. 123-149); chap. 7, "Hutterian Encounter with the Polish Brethren" (pp. 150-163); chap. 8, "Hutterian Encounter with the Swiss Brethren" (pp. 164-193); and chap. 9, "Sixteenth-Century Hutterian Anabaptism—The Historical Question," dealing with the legacy of Jacob Hutter, Peter Riedemann's Confession of Faith, the Brotherhood Charter, etc. (pp. 194-213).

The carefully documented study which this volume affords makes fascinating reading indeed. The life, doctrine, mission outreach, and struggles of one of the prominent non-violent branches of sixteenth-century Anabaptism are vividly set forth. The fact that the author has incorporated a profusion of direct quotations from original sources enhances the general value of the work, and helps the reader both better to understand and to "feel" the history.

In addition to the helpful insights on the life of the community which this book offers, I would call special attention to the fact that the Anabaptist doctrinal stance is in no way neglected, even though the volume is not intended to be a treatise on theology. We come across theological statements or confessions of faith at various points, and particularly noteworthy are those involved in encounters with Catholicism (cf. "Geyersbühler's Faith" noted on pp. 59-62), with Lutheranism (e.g., "The Faith of Paul Glock" noted on pp. 117-121), etc. Another useful—and delightful—aspect of this publication is a section of some forty illustrations on pp. 129-144.

The volume closes with a number of helpful sections, in addition to the "Abbreviations" on pp. 214-215 and "Notes" on pp. 216-228: namely, "Glossary of German Terms" (p. 229); "Index of German/Czech (Slovakian) Place Names" (p. 230); a fairly extensive Bibliography (pp. 231-243); an Appendix entitled "Description of the Brotherhood" (pp. 244-252); the "Index of Biblical References" (pp. 253-255), and the general "Index" (pp. 256-263). A brief notation about the author is given on p. 264, and a fold-out insert inside the back cover contains two maps: one showing the distribution of the Hutterites throughout Central Europe; and a larger, detailed map of Hutterite locations in Moravia and Slovakia.

*The Golden Years of the Hutterites* is a well-written and authoritative work that not only enriches our understanding of an important segment of Anabaptist history, but also touches our hearts. Perhaps it can even spur us into a renewed sense of what Christian mission is all about. In any event, it provides instructive and enjoyable reading, which should prove rewarding to any reader, regardless of specific religious persuasion. Not only is the author to be congratulated for providing this fine work, but the general editor of Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, Cornelius J. Dyck, and his editorial board deserve our heartfelt gratitude for including this volume in their prestigious series.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Jackson, Jeremy C. *No Other Foundation: The Church Through Twenty Centuries.* Westchester, Ill.: Cornerstone Books, 1980. 304 pp. $12.95.

This well-written, clear, and non-technical volume provides an unusual, but stimulating, presentation of church history. The title and subtitle highlight the concept that Jesus Christ is central to church history from the ancient church to the present day.

The twenty-two chapters of the publication, except for chap. 4, are "substantially the transcription of a series of lectures given at South Presbyterian Church, Syracuse, New York, on successive Sunday evenings from September 1974 to June 1975." The author "was mindful . . . that there is a difference between regular academic teaching" and this sort of address to the members of one's own church. It is not "that the standards of accuracy or scholarly integrity are different," but rather that "the purpose is different." Thus, Jackson was "not only conveying information but also, in faith, instructing God's people" (pp. 7-8).

The author is a social historian, rather than a church historian, his specific interest being the social history of Europe between 1400 and 1800. According to his own statement, he "had no particular expertise in church history," but has written "as a social historian with broad interests both in time and subject matter." He feels that inasmuch as the church "is always imbedded in society, it is not such a bad idea for a social historian to scrutinize the church in that society" (pp. 8-9).

Actually, the volume begins with a short chapter entitled "Old Testament Problems and Precedents" (pp. 11-19). Then the Christian era is covered in twenty-one further chapters with the following titles: "New Testament Structures"; "Expansion and Heresy: The Principles of Practice"; "Persecution and the Church's Life: The Practice of Principles"; "Canons, Councils, and a Catholic Church"; "Fathers, Monks, and Barbarians"; "The Church Renewed"; "The Church in Medieval Life"; "The

Church and the Intellect"; "The Church Betrayed"; "The Reformation: Revival and Reform"; "Catholics, Protestants, and Skeptics"; "Religion and Society: The Puritan Problem"; "Orthodoxy, Pietism, and Latitudinarianism"; "Wesley, Whitefield, and Samuel Johnson"; "The Revival Tradition in America: From Coast to Frontier"; "The Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and Non-Christian Society"; "The Church Under Attack: Apes and Theologians"; "A Mission Reaffirmed: Las Casas, Wilberforce, and Hudson Taylor"; "The Dynamics of Contemporary Theology"; "Orthodoxy in a Pagan Setting: Illusion and Reality"; "The Reversed Scenario: Anti-Christ and Anti-Church in Late-Twentieth Century Perspective."

The foregoing titles indicate the breadth of coverage; and at least until the recent period, most major movements, events, and persons in church history are mentioned, however briefly this may be. Of necessity, there is selection of material, and the author makes "no apology for omitting events, people and movements which find a place in the textbooks" (p. 8). This procedure is his prerogative, and under the circumstances understandable. It does mean, however, that this book should not be considered a textbook in general church history. For a systematized and comprehensive coverage of the Christian centuries from apostolic times to our day, a volume such as Williston Walker's *A History of the Christian Church* (or any of a number of other excellent titles) should be consulted. In fact, to appreciate properly the present publication, a prior knowledge of general church history is desirable—not because the present volume is difficult reading (it is not!), but because persons, events, and movements are treated in such a cursory fashion that their import may not be truly grasped without additional background material.

Any lack in the foregoing respect finds adequate compensation in Jackson's insightful analysis of church history as a social phenomenon, always related to the central concept of Christ as the church's Foundation. Obviously, the human beings and human institutions that have formed the church throughout the centuries have varied in their loyalty to that Foundation. Although the author's Protestant bias is obvious throughout the volume, he does not fail to point out *both* strengths and weaknesses of the church during its different periods of history and in its various and varying emphases. This balance in presentation is a virtue.

The book is filled with numerous helpful insights. As but one example, we may note that in dealing with the Protestant Reformation in chap. 11, the author keeps in mind both doctrine and life. He states that there "is no revival without painful reexamination of the Truth, without a preparedness to obey the Truth. And there is no true Reformation unless accompanied by the reviving work of the Spirit of Truth within us" (p. 129).

As a church historian I do have some difficulty, however, with many of Jackson's oversimplifications. For instance, in his discussion of early-church heresies, the key ones are noted—including gnosticism, Pelagianism, Donatism, docetism, Nestorianism, and Arianism (not necessarily in chronological order)—; but Jackson focuses on these from basically only one particular perspective: the denial of "either Christ's humanity or his divinity," "a refusal to accept the Incarnation" (pp. 36-37). This analysis leaves the reader with a very limited understanding of what these heresies were really all about (i.e., what were their historical backgrounds and roots, their development, their *various* features, their impact, etc.?).

At times, the author makes statements which, in their oversimplification, may even leave the reader with an erroneous idea. An example is his treatment of infant baptism. Is it reasonable to assume, as Jackson appears to do, that infant baptism created, originated, or spawned such a plethora of practical and theological problems as he has introduced as its results on pp. 94-95: the "credit" concept of "good works," the idea of purgatory, the veneration of saints, the development of a system of merits, the impetus toward having an elite clerical society, etc.?

My misgivings with such generalizations (and with quite a few other items) do not, however, preclude a strong recommendation that this book be read. This volume provides many refreshing insights, and at times sets forth certain especially pertinent lessons or questions for our own day. The reader will be rewarded with pleasurable reading, enlightening discussion (even though at times controversial), and a fresh, appealing perspective. The very fact that this book constantly calls us back to the centrality of Christ and the biblical revelation for a meaningful Christianity sets it apart as vital reading.

The book has a brief "Bibliographical Note" on p. 295. This pays tribute to Michael Green's *Evangelism and the Early Church* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1970); Jeffrey Burton Russell's *A History of Medieval Christianity* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: AHM, 1968); and Alec R. Vidler's *The Church in an Age of Revolution: 1789 to the Present Day* (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1972). There is an Index (pp. 297-304), the best use of which requires a reading of the introductory note on p. 297. Another helpful feature of the volume is the inclusion at the end of each chapter of several select bibliographical references that are succinctly annotated.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Punt, Neal. *Unconditional Good News: Toward an Understanding of Biblical Universalism.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1980. x + 169 pp. Paperback, $6.95.

In this volume, Neal Punt attempts to provide a solution to the questions raised by "universalist texts" such as Rom 5:18 and 1 Cor 15:22, and many others. While various Bible passages seem to indicate that all human beings are saved, numerous other texts declare that many persons will be lost.

Punt rejects the limited atonement of Calvin, which cannot be harmonized with the rest of Scripture, especially the many passages which express the divine amazement at the stubborn refusal of man to accept the salvation that God has offered (e.g., Matt 23:37). How could God have that attitude if some were excluded from heaven by his own divine decision?

Punt cannot accept, either, the potential salvation taught by Lutherans and Arminians, who assert that salvation is dependent upon human decisions. For Punt, the NT refers to a salvation that is accomplished and settled, not dependent upon human will. Thus, while he denies the limited atonement of the Calvinists, he supports their particularism.

Punt asserts that the cause for our difficulties with the universalist texts is our insistence on stating that "all are lost except. . . ." He suggests the formula, "All are elect in Christ except those whom the Bible declares will be lost"; and he adds that the Bible clearly teaches that those exceptions are the people who did not "see fit to acknowledge God" (Rom 1:28). No one, therefore, can attribute his or her damnation to God, to the union of all of us with Adam in original sin, to the insufficiency of Christ's atonement, or even to the fact that the gospel was never presented to him or her (p. 30).

Certainly the effort to state positively the plan of salvation is appealing. Placing responsibility for one's eternal destiny on the individual rather than God fits in perfectly with the Bible thrust. It seems quite logical to believe that both fall and recovery are done federally by way of representation. As we fell in Adam, so we rise again in the Second Adam.

It seems difficult, however, to have both the cake of universalism and the frosting of particularism. The language of John 3:16, for example, does not seem to include an "except." The only factor of difference between those who receive eternal life and those who do not is "whosoever believes," thus recognizing the necessity of a human decision for salvation. The point which Punt does not sufficiently underline is the fact that election is in Christ, as head of the human family by his incarnation, his death, and his resurrection. This dimension of salvation has all the assurance of the Calvinist particularism. Election in Christ is an established

and secure fact that benefits the whole human family, who in Christ have received, like the prodigal son of the parable, the ring, the robe, and the shoes of sonship. The words spoken by the voice from heaven at Jesus' baptism, "This is my Beloved Son in whom I am well pleased," were not only to Christ but to all mankind with whom Christ had just publicly identified himself. While the whole family has been restored to its original relation with God, each member, like Adam in the beginning, has to express his or her will to obey God and be a part of God's kingdom. This is a decision that has no meritorious value and must not be understood as "man's part" in his salvation. Thus we have both the breadth of universalism and the certainty of particularism in the Second Adam.

This book is stylistically well written and deals from a biblical standpoint with a most important and practical theme of theology. It will provide a rewarding experience for its readers.

Andrews University DANIEL A. AUGSBURGER

Richards, Lawrence O., and Martin, Gilbert R. *A Theology of Personal Ministry*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. 332 pp. $12.95.

The reader of this book must remember that he is studying a textbook. Like most textbooks, it requires more than just cursory reading. One of the most important hurdles in the understanding of this volume is mastering the vocabulary. The authors have used a minimum of terms from biblical and philosophical theology, but they have coined and borrowed terms that express their understanding of their theme, *a contemporary theology of the laity*. So the reader must come to sense the meaning (as understood by the authors) of such terms as "Believer-priests," "Body gifts," "Discipling," "Equipping," "Giftedness," "Identity," "Laos," "Personal Ministries," "Vision," "Modeling," "Gift of Prophecy," "Relationships," "Servanthood," etc.

A succinct summary of the structure of the book is found on p. 144: "The first part of the present text sought to define core theological truths that must be considered if we are to have God's perspective on personal ministries and giftedness. With a theology thus defined, we can now suggest some of the implications. *Then* we have a basis both to evaluate present practices and to develop ways of living together as Christ's church that better express God's plan for His body."

In harmony with this summary, the first part of the book is captioned, *Theological Core: The Identity of the Believer*. The chapter headings are "A People of God," "A New Covenant People," "A Kingdom People," "A Servant People," "An Empowered People," and "A Gifted People." The second part of the book is designated, *Practical Implications*. The chapter

headings are "Identity Implications," "Communicating Vision," "Building Relationships and Community," "Making Disciples," "Equipping," "Extending Freedom," and "Understanding Leadership."

In their emphasis on the importance of lay participation in the church, the authors contrast two types of church structures: (1) The coventional pyramid type with strata of people in leadership roles, where "goals are set at the top and directives pass downward through the structure" (p. 299). (2) What the authors call the "servant team structure," where "leaders are perceived as being in a lower, supportive position" and "decisions are made by the actual teams operating the ministry" (ibid.). The concept of the work of the *laos* emphasized throughout the book is based on the servant-team idea.

One important practical question is left unanswered: Is it possible to fully incorporate the "laos" in a church that is traditionally highly organized on more or less the pyramid pattern? Or is a congregational structure the only way to go if the laity are to fulfill their mission? The authors do not deal specifically with this question, but it must not be overlooked.

The following quotations and comments highlight topics that were of special interest to the present reviewer:

(1) "There is no essential difference in identity between a pastor and a new Christian. . . . There will be a difference of role, a difference in how each serves others. But each Christian is to find his identity in the fact that now, in Christ, he has become one of the people of God" (p. 14).

(2) "How essential that each Christian comes to understand himself and his potential as a ministering person by recognizing the meaning of the Spirit's presence and acknowledging the power that this makes available in and through him" (p. 102).

(3) God has a vision, the authors declare, clearly expressed in the NT, of a restored humanity, a holy people who live good lives and who are more concerned with others than themselves. These people are described as submitting to God's authority, as a worshiping, witnessing, and ministering church. The authors contrast this divine vision with the limitations of human tradition (see pp. 165-181).

(4) An excellent chapter on discipleship (pp. 219-237) stresses the importance of obedience to Jesus. "Making disciples, not simply making converts, is Jesus' Great Commission to the church" (p. 223).

(5) The authors maintain that churches must run the risk of giving "our brothers and sisters the freedom to live in obedience to the voice of God as they hear him speak" (p. 278). They insist, "We must become a risking community rather than a fearful one. No, not a foolishly risking people. But a people who risk wisely by opening themselves up with a childlike trust to obey God's Word and follow His ways, no matter how foolish they may seem to the reasoning of the natural mind" (p. 284).

At the close of each chapter is a section called "Probe." It is made up of case histories, discussion questions, thought provokers, and resources. Some of this material is drawn from Martin's experience as a pastor of the Trinity Church of Seattle, Washington. This material is illustrative, challenging, and extremely practical.

This book may be studied with profit by ministers and informed laymen. It will not be easy reading for either group, but if it is accepted as a textbook and read with diligence and discrimination, it can open new avenues for the church in the fulfillment of its mission.

Colton, California 92324 NORVAL F. PEASE

Sell, Charles M. *Family Ministry: The Enrichment of Family Life Through the Church.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981. 298 pp. $11.95.

Probably no Christian would deny the importance of the Christian home or its foundational place in the life of the congregation. But to what extent and by what means the church should involve itself in family ministry is another question. Charles Sell, director of the School of Christian Education at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, points out that evangelicals have largely ignored the family-life emphasis because of its liberal base, because of its rooting in the behavioral sciences, and because it did not fit into their nineteenth-century style of approach to Christian education. In short, it was not conducive to their aims of reaching the lost and teaching the Bible.

Sell's aim is to undergird family-life education with evangelical theology while retaining the best of its sociological understandings. He attempts to weld the work of modern behavioral science to biblical passages in such a way as to meet the needs of the most conservative church leaders and members.

The author begins by describing the plight of today's family and the consequent need for a special home ministry. While faithful to Scripture, he expands traditional viewpoints in statements such as "The Bible doesn't demand that marriage be continued as a marathon of misery. It stresses the fulfillment of marriage, not merely the duty of remaining married. Church leaders are not discharging the whole of their responsibility if they warn against divorce but do not teach about marriage. Marital fidelity includes more than avoiding an affair; it demands that there be a growing, satisfying relationship between marriage partners" (p. 22).

Professionals who have taught that higher expectations have the potential for greater disappointments will not be surprised that "it is to be expected that as friendship becomes more important in marriage, more

marriages will end in divorce" (pp. 43-44), but these words may seem strange to Bible-based conservatives.

In developing his theological foundations, Sell weaves together appropriate Scripture texts to support the divine intent, monogamous nature, intimate relationship, commitment, and permanence of marriage. Given some rather conspicuous examples to the contrary, he makes a quite convincing biblical case for monogamy. In terms of the larger family, he finds theological underpinnings for responsibilities and roles, unconditional love, and the relationship of the family to society.

Sell identifies three dominant directions for family-life ministry: 1) *family-life education*, in which the church attempts to educate husbands, wives, parents, and children for family living; (2) *family nurture*, in which Christian teaching is centered in the home rather than the church; and (3) *family-unit ministries*, which involve a restructuring of the way the church conducts worship, recreation, and learning (p. 93).

Under the first division above, Sell develops a number of family-life education themes that are vital to Christian ministry. These include sharing feelings, handling conflict, marital roles, sexuality, dating and engagement, Christian parenting, facing crises, and managing finances. It is not always apparent how to provide evangelical support for these themes, but Sell handles the problem quite well. Of special interest is his explanation of the egalitarian arguments for order in the home in the light of Scriptures that if viewed superficially, seem to be contrary (pp. 101-104).

The author then proceeds to give capsule descriptions of a number of family-life programs that incorporate these themes. Marriage enrichment, marriage encounter, parent-effectiveness training, systematic training for effective parenting, premarital counseling, and the family-life conference are among those noted. Sell's task continues to be to identify the Christian components in otherwise-secular programs.

In the area of family nurture, Sell makes a strong case for home-centered Christian education. He finds special value in informal teaching: "Educationally, going from life's events to biblical truths is more rewarding than going from those truths to life's events" (p. 214). Besides, he also makes room for more organized methods such as family nights and a study curriculum coordinated with the Sunday School. Finally, he describes some family-unit ministries such as intergenerational experiences, family clustering, and family camps.

Sell has organized a broad coverage—almost an encyclopedia—of family ministries. At the same time he has succeeded reasonably well in his aim of bringing family ministry into the evangelical camp.

There are some weaknesses. The author tends not to distinguish between the group dynamics of marriage enrichment and the one-on-one concept of marriage encounter. In discussing the leadership and methods

of marriage enrichment, he completely overlooks David and Vera Mace, although this couple are the pioneers and pre-eminent thinkers in this field. In some places he seems to rely too heavily on secondary descriptions rather than primary source material. Evangelicals may be surprised to find that he favors the arguments *against* regular family worship (pp. 218-220).

Yet Sell's most important contribution may be the development of the concept he calls "the family-church family." The whole church is to be a family to all in its midst: nuclear families, single parents, youth, widowed, divorced, and aged. This ideal is in the finest tradition of Christian ministry.

Andrews University ROGER L. DUDLEY

# BOOK NOTICES

ELLEN S. ERBES

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

Branson, Mark Lau. *The Reader's Guide to the Best Evangelical Books.* San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1982. 207 pp. Paperback, $5.95.

Presents evangelical literature in an annotated booklist, covering some fifty key categories of Christian life and thought. Also contains lists of favorite books, selected by church leaders.

Crotty, Robert, and Ryan, John Barry. *Commentaries on the Ritual Readings.* New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1982. 283 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

Introduces different scriptural readings for a number of sacramental Roman Catholic rites, where earlier the liturgy had been fixed or even had lacked biblical readings.

Foster, Charles R. *Teaching in the Community of Faith.* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1982. 160 pp. Paperback, $6.95.

Suggests that religious teachers are not as much "instructional technicians" as they are mediators between God and his people. The members of the community of faith should live childlike, i.e., "open-handed, claiming our dependence upon God."

Hartbauer, Roy E., ed. *Pastoral Care of the Handicapped.* Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1983. xiv + 183 pp. Paperback, $9.95.

Practical guide to the special ministry of the physically impaired. Discusses the pastor's role in single and group counseling, ministering to the family of the handicapped, etc. Includes special chapters on counseling amputees and paralytics, persons with hearing or visual impairment, communicative disorders, and on helping the family of the institutionalized, parents with an impaired child, etc.

Harvey, A. E. *Jesus and the Constraints of History.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982. 184 pp. $23.00.

Using comparative materials, the author discusses the trustworthiness of the gospel accounts, arguing in favor of their accuracy. Concludes that the unique authority and power of Jesus can be presented as forcefully today as ever in the past.

Hayes, John H., and Holladay, Carl R. *Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner's Handbook.* Atlanta, Georgia: John Knox Press, 1982. Paperback, $6.95.

Written especially for the beginning student working with exegesis of the OT and NT. Treats the methods of textual, historical, grammatical, literary, form, tradition, and redaction criticism.

Ishida, Tomoo, ed. *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon, and Other Essays. Papers Read at the International Symposium for Biblical Studies, Tokyo, 5–7 December, 1979.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1982. xvi + 409 pp. $35.00.

These papers from the first international meeting for OT studies held in Japan highlight topics on the literature, theology, foreign affairs, sociology, and

architecture during Israel's most prosperous time. Furthermore, two chapters are devoted to "Ebla and the Old Testament" and "Medicine in the Land and Times of the Old Testament." Contains several indexes on biblical and extra-biblical texts, words and terms, proper nouns, etc.

Keller, Rosemary Skinner; Queen, Louise L.; and Thomas, Hilah F. (eds.). *Women in New Worlds: Historical Perspectives on the Wesleyan Tradition. Selected Papers Presented at the Women in New Worlds Conference Held in Cincinnati, Ohio, Feb. 1–3, 1980.* Vol. 2. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1982. 445 pp. Paperback, $13.95.

Twenty papers explore the contributions of women to the Wesleyan tradition and to life in general. Some of the topics covered are: women's role in the church, clergy wives, social reform, foreign missions, etc.

MacIntyre, Alasdair. *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory.* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981. ix + 252 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

"Brings together themes from Aristotle, from Marx and from religious thought in an extraordinarily original and provocative way."

Ozment, Steven, ed. *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research.* St. Louis, Mo.: Center for Reformation Research, 1982. 390 pp. $18.50.

Sixteen essays ranging "from the eve of the Reformation to the confessional struggles of the late Reformation," each answering three main questions: (1) the present status of research in the respective field, (2) future research, and (3) places where the strategic research collections and/or research centers in the particular fields are to be found.

Pals, Daniel L. *The Victorian "Lives" of Jesus.* Trinity University Monograph Series in Religion. Vol. 7. San Antonio, Texas: Trinity University Press, 1982. viii + 223 pp. $20.00.

Research in the *Quest of the Historical Jesus* is usually thought of in connection with German scholarship, especially Albert Schweitzer. Yet during those years, Britain led its own, and in many ways different, quest. This work treats biblical studies and scholarship in Victorian Britain, and especially authors like Hanna, Farrar, Geikie, Edersheim, etc.

*Word Biblical Commentary.* Waco, Texas: Word Books Publisher. Vol. 44: Colossians, Philemon. By Peter T. O'Brien. 1982. 328 pp. $18.95. Vol. 45: 1 and 2 Thessalonians. By F. F. Bruce. 1982. 228 pp. $18.95.

"Distinctive with this series is that it is based on the biblical languages, yet it seeks to make the technical and scholarly approach to a theological understanding of scripture understandable" for students, ministers, professional scholars, and teachers. Each section consists of bibliography, translation, notes, form/structure/setting, comment, and explanation.

# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

## CONSONANTS

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| א | = ʾ | ד | = *ḏ* | 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* | ֶ, ֵ | = *ē* | וֹ | = *o* |
| ַ | = *a* | ִ | = *i* | וֹ | = *ô* |
| ֶ | = *e* | ִי | = *î* | וּ | = *u* |
| ֵ | = *ē* | ֹ | = *o* | וּ | = *û* |

(Dāgĕš 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* | *Theologie und Philosophie* |
| *TQ* | *Theologische Quartalschrift* |
| *Trad* | *Traditio* |
| *TRev* | *Theologische Revue* |
| *TRu* | *Theologische Rundschau* |
| *TS* | *Theological Studies* |
| *TT* | *Teologisk Tidsskrift* |
| *TToday* | *Theology Today* |
| TU | Texte und Untersuchungen |
| *TZ* | *Theologische Zeitschrift* |
| *UBSGNT* | United Bible Societies *Greek NT* |
| *UF* | *Ugarit-Forschungen* |
| *USQR* | *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* |
| *VC* | *Vigiliae Christianae* |
| *VT* | *Vetus Testamentum* |
| *VTSup* | *VT*, Supplements |
| WA | Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe |
| *WO* | *Die Welt des Orients* |
| *WTJ* | *Westminster Theol. Journal* |
| *WZKM* | *Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.* |
| *ZA* | *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* |
| *ZÄS* | *Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache* |
| *ZAW* | *Zeitsch. für die alttes. Wiss.* |
| *ZDMG* | *Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft* |
| *ZDPV* | *Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.* |
| *ZEE* | *Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik* |
| *ZHT* | *Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie* |
| *ZKG* | *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* |
| *ZKT* | *Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie* |
| *ZMR* | *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft* |
| *ZNW* | *Zeitsch. für die neutes. Wiss.* |
| *ZRGG* | *Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.* |
| *ZST* | *Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie* |
| *ZTK* | *Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche* |
| *ZWT* | *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* |