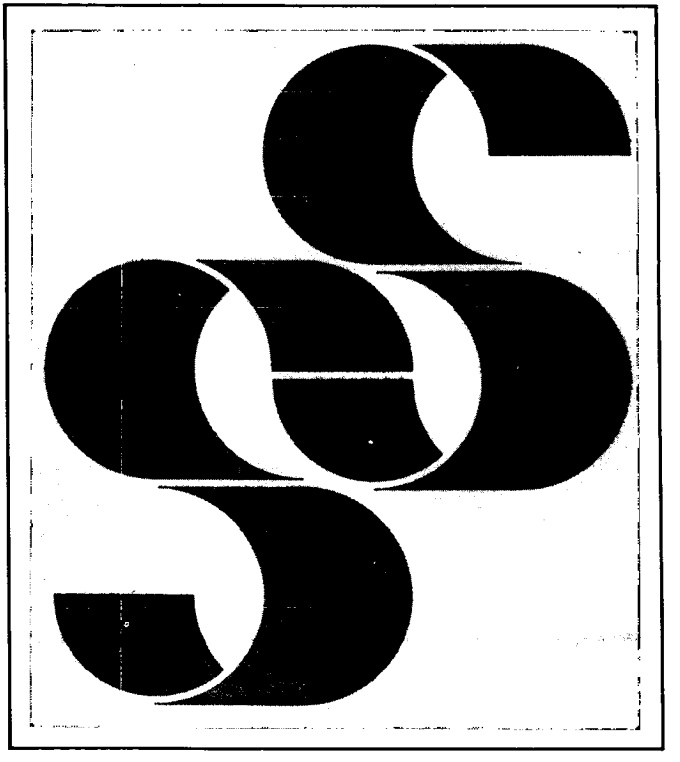
Andrews University

SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 21 Number 2 Summer 1983



Andrews University Press

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary
of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, U.S.A.

Editor: KENNETH A. STRAND

Associate Editors: JAMES J. C. COX, RAOUL DEDEREN, LAWRENCE T. GERATY, GERHARD F. HASEL, WILLIAM H. HESSEL, GEORGE E. RICE, LEONA G. RUNNING

Book Review Editor: WILLIAM H. SHEA

Editorial Assistant: ELLEN S. ERBES

Circulation Manager: ELLEN S. ERBES

Editorial and Circulation Offices: *AUSS*, Seminary Hall, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104, U.S.A.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES publishes papers and brief notes on the following subjects: Biblical linguistics and its cognates, Biblical theology, textual criticism, exegesis, Biblical archaeology and geography, ancient history, church history, systematic theology, philosophy of religion, ethics, history of religions, missiology, and special areas relating to practice of ministry and to religious education.

The opinions expressed in articles, brief notes, book reviews, etc., are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

Subscription Information: ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. The subscription rate for 1983 is as follows:

	U.S.A.	Foreign (in U.S.A. funds)
Regular Subscriber	$10.00*	$11.50*
Institutions (including Libraries)	12.50*	14.00*
Students	8.00*	9.50*
Retirees	8.00*	9.50*

(Price for Single Copy is $5.00)

*NOTE: These are net rates for *prepaid* orders. A handling and service fee of $1.50 will be added if orders are to be billed.

Subscribers should give full name and postal address when paying their subscriptions and should send notice of change of address at least five weeks before it is to take effect (old address as well as new address must be given). Send all communications to *AUSS*, Seminary Hall, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104, U.S.A.

Composition by Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, IN 46590
Printing by Thomson-Shore, Inc., Dexter, MI 48130

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 21 Summer 1983 Number 2

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

CARDEN, ALLEN. Biblical Texts and Themes in American Puritan Preaching, 1630-1700 113

FERCH, ARTHUR J. The Book of Daniel and the "Maccabean Thesis" 129

HOUSE, COLIN. Defilement by Association: Some Insights from the Usage of KOINÓΣ/KOINÓΩ in Acts 10 and 11 143

RICHARDS, W. LARRY. Gregory 1175: Alexandrian or Byzantine in the Catholic Epistles? 155

SHEA, WILLIAM H. A Further Note on Daniel 6: Daniel as "Governor" 169

BOOK REVIEWS 173

Aharoni, Yohanan. *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel* ..... William H. Shea

Binns, E. Randall. *The Archaeology of the Mind: Modern Man in Search of His Roots* ..... Leona Glidden Running

Carson, D. A. *From Sabbath to Lord's Day: A Biblical, Historical and Theological Investigation* ..... Kenneth A. Strand

Hodges, Zane C., and Farstad, L., eds. *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text* ..... Sakae Kubo

Strand, Kenneth A., ed. *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* ..... Niels-Erik Andreasen

BOOK NOTICES 189

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary
of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, U.S.A.

•

The articles in this journal are indexed, abstracted, or listed in: *Book Reviews of the Month; Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus; International Bibliography of the History of Religions; Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete; New Testament Abstracts; Old Testament Abstracts; Orientalistische Literaturzeitung; Orient-Press; Recently Published Articles* (publication of the American Historical Association); *Religion Index One: Periodicals* (formerly *Index to Religious Periodical Literature); Religious and Theological Abstracts; Seventh-day Adventist Periodical Index; Subject Index to Periodical Literature—Mosher Library; Theologische Zeitschrift; Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

Copyright © 1983 by Andrews University Press ISSN 0003-2980

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Summer 1983, Vol. 21, No. 2, 113-128.
Copyright © 1983 by Andrews University Press.

BIBLICAL TEXTS AND THEMES IN AMERICAN PURITAN PREACHING, 1630-1700

ALLEN CARDEN
Biola University
La Mirada, California 90639

While the American Puritans and their sermonic literature have been studied perhaps more thoroughly than most other topics in American church history, some basic questions still remain that have not been dealt with either accurately or sufficiently. Two such questions will be the focus of this article: (1) Did the Puritan clergy preach predominantly from the OT or from the NT? (2) Are there any thematic patterns discernible in their preaching, and if so, what are they?

Data for this study consist of 466 extant sermons and theological treatises in sermon form preached and written between 1630 and 1700 in the five Massachusetts towns of Boston, Cambridge, Dedham, Dorchester, and Roxbury. These five communities were selected because their early founding (prior to 1640) permits an analysis of the sermons of three generations of clergy prior to 1700. The year 1700 was selected as an appropriate ending date, since it was the seventeenth century that contained the era of Puritan religious dominance and exclusiveness in New England. While no claim is made that the sermon sample includes every extant sermon from these towns, I believe that a large majority of such sermons have been included.

1. *OT and NT Usage*

It has been assumed by at least one Puritan scholar, Emory Elliott, that the selection of sermon texts from the NT indicated sermons dealing with "mercy and grace" and a "gentle, loving, and protective Christ," while sermon texts from the OT dealt with "the image of the angry and wrathful God the Father."[1] Elliott arrives

[1]Emory Elliott, *Power and the Pulpit in Puritan New England* (Princeton, 1975), pp. 13-14 (including n. 10 on p. 14).

at a figure of 113 New-England sermons based on OT texts and 104 sermons based on NT texts published between 1650 and 1695. He mentions that prior to 1650, NT texts predominated, but gives no figure.

Examination of my larger sermon sample gives a more detailed picture. An analysis of these 466 sermons shows that 196 (42.1%) were based on OT texts, whereas 270 (57.9%) were based on NT texts (see Table 1 on p. 115). Great caution should be exercised, however, in drawing conclusions as to the meaning of this data without verifying the relationship between OT or NT texts and the actual themes of the sermons based on them. Because NT texts in Elliott's sample outnumber OT ones after 1680, he concluded that there was an abandonment of the rhetoric of wrath in the last two decades of the seventeenth century, the focus on this theme being replaced with messages of assurance and hope.[2]

Is it, however, valid to assume that the Puritan ministry used one Testament or the other to emphasize a certain view of God or his dealings with men, or to assume that one Testament or the other was preferred by the clergy as a whole? A proper understanding of the Puritan view of the nature and authority of the Bible, as well as an understanding of Puritan biblical interpretation, will indicate that such assumptions are incorrect.

The Puritan clergy believed in the infallibility of the Scriptures, seeing the Bible composed of both OT and NT as the absolutely reliable, accurate, and complete Word of God.[3] The entire Bible

[2]Ibid.

[3]For a small sampling of such statements in seventeenth-century American Puritan sermons, see Thomas Shepard, *A Short Catechism Familiary Teaching The Knowledge of God, and of our Selves* (Cambridge, Mass., 1654), p. 14; *Subjection to Christ in all His Ordinances and Appointments, the best means to preserve our Liberty* (London, 1652), p. 153; Increase Mather, *David Serving His Generation* (Boston, 1698), p. 11; Samuel Willard, *Impenitent Sinners Warned of their Misery and Summoned to Judgment* (Boston, 1693), p. 4; *Humiliations follow'd with Deliverances* (Boston, 1697), pp. 4-5; John Cotton, *Some Treasure Fetched out of Rubbish* (London, 1650), p. 11; Samuel Danforth, *An Astronomical Description of the Late Comet or Blazing Star, Together With a brief Theological Application thereof* (Cambridge, Mass., 1650), p. 16; John Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth* (London, 1659), pp. 34-35; Richard Mather, *An Answer to Two Questions* (Boston, 1712; published posthumously), p. 21; John Davenport, *Gods Call to His People to Turn unto Him* (Cambridge, Mass., 1669), p. 7. See also Allen Carden, "The Word of God in Puritan New England: Seventeenth-Century Perspectives on the Nature and Authority of the Bible," *AUSS* 17 (1980): 1-16.

TABLE 1

Three Generations of Clergy and the Sermon Texts Selected (by Testament) in Sermons Preached Before 1700 in Boston, Cambridge, Dedham, Dorchester, and Roxbury, Massachusetts

First Generation (born before 1610)	*OT Texts*	*NT Texts*
John Cotton	5	24
John Wilson	2	-
Richard Mather	3	-
John Allin	1	4
John Davenport	2	-
John Eliot	-	3
Thomas Shepard	6	19
John Norton	2	27
John Oxenbridge	2	1
Total	**23**	**78**
Second Generation (born 1620-1639)		
Thomas Thacher	16	7
Jonathan Mitchel	9	24
Samuel Danforth	1	1
Urian Oakes	3	1
James Allen	6	1
Joshua Moodey	4	2
Increase Mather	39	28
Total	**78**	**64**
Third Generation (born 1640-1669)		
Samuel Willard	22	46
Josiah Flynt	7	19
William Adams	4	-
Nathaniel Gookin	19	24
John Danforth	1	1
William Brattle	1	11
Cotton Mather	41	26
Joseph Belcher	-	1
Total	**95**	**128**
Grand Total	**196**	**270**

was deemed worthy of acceptance. Consequently, sermon texts were drawn from all parts of the Bible, and virtually every word of every text was gleaned for every possible shade of meaning. When it came to the written Word of God, there was "no part unprofitable." John Cotton testified that "I never yet observed any part of a Scripture . . . but without carnall affection, or straining of wit, it might holily be applyed both with power and profit, and delight to an honest heart."[4]

The tremendous variety of biblical sermon texts used in the pulpits of the Massachusetts towns of Boston, Cambridge, Dedham, Dorchester, and Roxbury between 1630 and 1700 can be seen in the fact that of the sixty-six books accepted as canonical by most Protestants (including the Puritans), extant sermon texts were drawn from fifty-two of them. Books of the Bible not represented in my sample of extant sermon texts are Ruth, Lamentations, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and Zephaniah in the OT and 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, Philemon, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude in the NT. It is thus evident that Puritan preaching was not oriented more toward the OT than to the NT, but that a balance was maintained. This gives further credence to the idea that the Puritan clergy accepted the Bible in its totality as the Word of God.

A comparison of sermon texts with the actual doctrinal themes in the sermons indicates that clear-cut differences between OT and NT preaching are hard to find. Had Elliott delved more deeply into the Puritan clergy's view of the Bible, he would have discovered that both Testaments were perceived as a unity, with Christ as the focal point of each. Hence, some OT texts were used as the basis for sermons about Christ's love, just as some NT passages were used to denounce sin and to warn of judgment.

2. *Typology*

Utilization of typology as a method of biblical interpretation by the Puritan clergy helps in understanding their belief in the unity of both Testaments. The use of "types" was in itself a biblical concept whereby OT characters, rituals, places, etc., were viewed as symbols or foreshadowings of NT realities. Thus most OT passages were interpreted with a dual meaning—a past reality

[4]John Cotton, *Of the Holiness of Church Members* (London, 1650), p. 69.

or symbol which served as the type and pointed to the antitype, or a later or still future reality, which was always "something more glorious than the type." Samuel Willard explained that "as to the Histories of the Old Testament, besides that they are Exemplary and Written for our Admonition, there are many persons and things recorded in them, which are also Typical, referring to Christ and to spiritual things."[5]

Biblical typology was not a novel idea to the Puritan divines of New England. This system of interpreting the Scriptures was clearly based on a Reformation precedent and served as a basic system of linking the OT with the NT. In recent years, historians have finally come to realize that "an understanding of typology is central to reading Puritan texts and to identifying the references of Puritan imagery," and that "to be unaware of typological traditions is to distort basic Puritan beliefs."[6]

Some of the types expounded in the sermonic literature included God's ordering of the details of the Jewish Tabernacle as a type of the "Gospel Church," Noah's Ark also as a "Type of Gods Church" (with Christ as the door), the promised land of Canaan as a type of heaven, and the sun-darkened Shulammite woman of the Song of Solomon as a type of a sinful church.[7] Israel's deliverance from Egypt was interpreted as "a type of God's people coming out of sin, and passing through the red sea of Christ's blood, and going

[5]Samuel Willard, *The Child's Portion* (Boston, 1684), p. 7; *The Man of War* (Boston, 1699), p. 4.

[6]Thomas M. Davis, "The Traditions of Puritan Typology," in Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., *Typology and Early American Literature* (Amherst, Mass., 1972), p. 11. For a survey of the development of a typological view of the Bible, see Jean Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Typology of the Fathers*, trans. Wulstan Hibberd (London, 1960).

[7]Samuel Willard, *The Sinfulness of Worshipping God With Men's Institutions* (Boston, 1691), p. 15; Cotton Mather, *Work upon the Ark* (Boston, 1689), p. 4; Samuel Willard, sermon of March 10, 1686, *Substance of Sermons delivered by Several Ministers in Boston*, MS by Cotton Mather, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.; Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation, Explained and Applyed* (London, 1669), p. 54; Jonathan Mitchel, *A discourse of The Glory To which God hath called Believers by Jesus Christ* (Boston, 1721; published posthumously), p. 197; Thomas Shepard, *The Church Membership of Children, and Their Right to Baptisme* (Cambridge, Mass., 1663), p. 6; John Cotton, *A Brief Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles, or Song of Solomon* (London, 1642), pp. 23, 24, 31.

through the wilderness of temptations."[8] Baptism was interpreted as a type of affliction and cleansing in the blood of Christ, the Babylonian captivity of Israel was viewed as "a type of that great captivity, partly of sin, which God's people are subject to be drawn to," and Israel's wars to drive out the pagan Canaanites were paralleled with the believers' wars to drive sin out of their lives.[9] The destruction of Jerusalem and dissolution of the Jewish state was interpreted as "a type of the great day of Judgment." Most of ancient Israel's recorded experiences were seen to have meaning for the saints of New England; Urian Oakes even went so far as to refer to "New-England-Israel" in one of his sermons.[10]

The greatest and most frequent antitype in Puritan sermons was Christ, who was seen as the principal subject of the Bible in both Testaments. Some of the OT types seen as prefiguring Christ included Samson, the Mosaic Tabernacle and the later temple, and the "tree of life" in the Garden of Eden, as well as Moses, Joseph, Adam, and Solomon. King David was viewed as typifying Christ as the head of the Church, the OT high priest was seen as a type of Christ's making intercession to God for the saints, and the penitential sacrifices of the Mosaic Law were considered as prefiguring Christ's sacrifice.[11]

[8]John Cotton, *The Way of Life* (London, 1641), p. 157.

[9]John Cotton, *The Saints Support & Comfort, In the Time of Distress and Danger* (London, 1658), pp. 32, 34; Urian Oakes, *The Unconquerable, All Conquering, & more-then-conquering Soldier* (Cambridge, Mass., 1647), p. 12.

[10]Urian Oakes, *New England Pleaded with, And pressed to consider the things which concern her Peace at least in this her Day* (Cambridge, Mass., 1673), pp. 17, 23.

[11]Thomas Shepard, *The Saints Jewel* (Boston, 1708; published posthumously), p. 46; John Norton, *Three Choice and Profitable Sermons Opened and Applyed* (Boston, 1686), pp. 121, 136; John Cotton, *Christ the Fountaine of Life* (London, 1651), pp. 2, 78; Cotton Mather, *Batteries Upon the Kingdom of the Devil* (London, 1695), p. 48; Willard, *The Sinfulness*, p. 15; John Cotton, *The Bloudy Tenent, Washed, And made white in the bloud of the Lambe* (London, 1647), p. 72; Cotton, *Exposition of Canticles*, p. 21; Increase Mather, *Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, p. 125; Samuel Willard, *The Doctrine of the Covenant of Redemption* (Boston, 1693), pp. 9-10, 43; John Eliot, *The Harmony of the Gospels* (Boston, 1687), p. 53; Samuel Willard, *Covenant-Keeping The Way to Blessedness* (Boston, 1682), p. 78; idem, *The Character of a Good Ruler* (Boston, 1694), p. 6; Cotton Mather, *A Present from a Farr Countrey* (Boston, 1698), pp. 36, 40; Norton, *Three Sermons*, pp. 33-34.

In Puritan thinking, the primary subject of the Bible was Christ and the plan of salvation available through him. With this belief held in common, Puritan interpreters could find general agreement in the rendering of many scriptural passages. John Cotton asked, "What were the [OT] ceremonies but shadows of Christ . . . ? All the understanding Israelites did see that these things did point at Christ."[12] Cotton Mather displayed his enthusiasm for typological interpretations as he proclaimed,

> Among all the many Subjects which a Preacher of the Gospel has to insist upon, I know not whether any would carry a greater mixture of pleasure and profit, than that of the Types which exhibited Evangelical Mysteries unto Israel of old. . . . In every Chapter of the Bible, there is to be found something of our Blessed Jesus . . . every paragraph of the Bible is a spot of Ground where before we dig far, we shall find the Pearl of Great Price [Christ]. . . . And not only the Person of the Messiah, but His Conditions, and the Miseries, and the Enemies, from which we are by Him delivered: All of these were Preached in and by those Types of old.[13]

Increase Mather stated that when it came to the Mosaic Law, "All the Ceremonies did one way or another point at Christ."[14] John Norton concurred, preaching that "truths of Christ are laid up under the types of the Ceremonial Law, [so that] if you understood it, you would see Christ through it. . . ."[15] John Cotton, in referring to the Psalms, stated that they were "full of Christ, as [are] other Scriptures."[16] Cotton Mather summarized Puritan biblical interpretation in pithy fashion when he stated, "In short, Jesus Christ is the key that unlocks all the Scriptures. We have searched the Scriptures, and know them to good purpose, when we

[12]John Cotton, *A Sermon Preached by the Reverend, Mr. John Cotton, Teacher of the First Church in Boston in New-England* (Boston, 1713; published posthumously), p. 23.

[13]Cotton Mather, *Work upon the Ark*, pp. 1-2 of Introd., and p. 2.

[14]Increase Mather, *Practical Truths Tending to Promote the Power of Godliness* (Boston, 1682), p. 95.

[15]Norton, *Three Sermons*, p. 33.

[16]John Cotton, *Singing of Psalmes a Gospel Ordinance* (London, 1647), p. 4.

have dug so far into them, as to find them all testifying of the Lord Jesus Christ."[17]

3. *Sermon Themes: General Overview*

Having given evidence for the Puritan view of the unity of both OT and NT in the person of Christ, I will now examine the sermons of the three generations of Massachusetts clergy from the standpoint of determining what general themes are discernible. Along with this, an examination will be made of the biblical texts used as a basis for the sermons within each generation, and within each sermonic theme.

Table 1 (on p. 115, above) divides the ministers of the five communities into three generations based on the years of their births: (1) those born prior to 1610, all of whom were English-born and educated; (2) those born 1620-1639, most of them English-born and educated at Harvard College; and (3) those born 1640-1669 in New England and educated at Harvard. Also indicated in Table 1 is the number of pre-1700 extant sermons based on OT and NT texts for each minister.

Once again, caution must be exercised in interpreting the data. While it does appear that the first and third generations of clergy in Table 1 preached more often from the NT, and the second generation chose more sermon texts from the OT, this fact in itself is less meaningful than knowing the themes of the sermons.

Analysis of the sermon sample made it apparent that certain themes predominated. In fact, it was possible to categorize 375 of the 466 sermons into five general thematic areas: (1) the person and work of Christ, (2) the problem of sin, (3) the call to salvation, (4) the call to holy living, and (5) family relationships in the church and in the home. The remaining 91 sermons dealt with a wide range of topics, difficult to categorize thematically.

Although many, if not most, of the sermons dealt with secondary themes as well as with a primary theme, it is the primary themes that fall within the scope of the present study. This primary theme of a sermon is fairly easy to discern, both from the Bible text used and from the fact that the format of Puritan sermons included

[17]Cotton Mather, *Addresses to Old Men, and Young Men, and Little Children* (Boston, 1690), p. 10.

a doctrinal statement (that is, a formal statement of the principal teaching to be expounded in the sermon). The doctrinal statement was nearly always related very closely to the selected Bible text and often was merely a rephrasing of it. Stating a doctrine served to give focus to the entire sermon, and to let the congregation know clearly just what the main point of the homily was going to be. When a sermon was deemed worthy of publication, the doctrine was clearly marked with a large "D" or "DOCT:" or "DOCTRINE," so that the reader could not miss it (a boon for the modern researcher as well as the Puritan saint).

Table 2 (on p. 123) indicates the number and percentage of sermons preached on the five general themes by each generation of ministers, as well as the source (OT or NT) for those sermons.

4. *Sermon Themes: Analysis of the Five Main Categories*

Sin

In all three generations combined, the theme most frequently used in the sermons was that of sin. Such sermons could take several approaches. Some dealt with a condemnation of specific sins, some with the concept of sin in general and its impact on the community and the individual; many sermons on this topic dealt with the spiritual consequences of sin and the availability of forgiveness through true repentance.

Sin was frequently defined by the clergy, but its essence was seen as disobedience to God and "His Word" (a favorite Puritan designation for the Bible). Nathaniel Gookin described sin as "ye want of conformity unto, or ye transgression of gods law in Some act of man."[18] According to Cotton Mather, "Sin is in the very Nature of it, a Departure from God: and therefore it is a departure from that Felicity and Fruition which is most of all to be desired."[19] In the eyes of Samuel Willard, "every sin is an act of disobedience to that God, on whom we have our entire dependence, and to

[18]Nathaniel Gookin, sermon [1687], *Sermon Notes*, 1687, MS, Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass., p. 118.

[19]Cotton Mather, *Pillars of Salt* (Boston, 1699), p. 10.

whom we owe our selves and our whole lives."[20] Cotton Mather became vehement in his warning and denunciation of what sin did to mankind: "Let us Beware of every Sin: for Sin will Turn a Man into a Devil. Oh! Vile Sin, horrid SIN, cursed SIN; or to speak a more Pungent word, than all of that; Oh SINFUL Sin; how Pernicious art thou unto the Souls of Men!"[21]

Since the ministry viewed sin as the cause of spiritual death for the non-elect, and the cause of great misery even for those elected to salvation, they felt compelled to denounce sin repeatedly from the pulpit. For all three generations of preachers, sermons based on the theme of sin numbered 115, comprising 24.7% of the total sermons analyzed. The percentage of sermons dealing primarily with sin was lowest for the first generation of clergy and highest for the second generation, while the third generation preached on this theme nearly as frequently as the second generation. It is interesting to note that while the second generation preached against sin primarily from the OT, the third generation turned more often to the NT for its discussion of sin. This further demonstrates the "interchangeability" of both Testaments in Puritan preaching.

Holiness

The second most frequent theme in the sermons under study was that of holiness. The clergy recognized that the life of the saint was not an easy one; sin lurked in every shadow, and the old nature of the best of saints could easily be revived, causing their Christian experience to run amuck. Although most of the clergy denounced the merit of good works in obtaining salvation, it was agreed that the saints had definite responsibilities to God following conversion. Believers were, as the Bible put it, the "temple of God,"[22] and they should conduct themselves accordingly. The not-yet regenerate members of the congregation were also urged to live lives of holiness, not in order to earn their salvation, but rather for the good of the covenanted community. It was, of course, the Bible—or

[20]Samuel Willard, *Impenitent Sinners Warned of their Misery and Summoned to Judgment* (Boston, 1699), p. 4.

[21]Cotton Mather, *The Way to Excel* (Boston, 1697), p. 26.

[22]Cotton Mather, *Holiness of Church Members*, p. 48 (Bible quotation from 2 Cor 6:16).

TABLE 2

Biblical Themes and Texts (by Testament) in Sermons by Three Generations of Clergy

	Theme:	*Sin*		*Holiness*		*Salvation*		*Christ*		*Family of God*		*All Sermon Texts Regardless of Theme*	
	Text:	OT	NT	OT	NT	OT	NT	OT	NT	OT	NT	OT	NT
ALL GENERATIONS	No. of sermons per OT and NT	64	51	41	62	19	71	10	37	9	11	196	270
	Total sermons	115		103		90		47		20		(includes 91 uncategorized sermons or 19.5% of total)	
	% of sermons on each theme	24.7%		22.1%		19.3%		10.1%		4.3%			
FIRST GENERATION	No. of sermons per OT and NT	6	9	2	23	10	17	1	20	0	1	23	78
	Total sermons	15		25		27		21		1		(includes 12 uncategorized sermons or 11.9% of total)	
	% of sermons on each theme	14.8%		24.8%		26.7%		20.8%		1.0%			
SECOND GENERATION	No. of sermons per OT and NT	29	7	13	17	2	10	4	12	2	0	78	64
	Total sermons	36		30		12		16		2		(includes 46 uncategorized sermons or 32.4% of total)	
	% of sermons on each theme	25.3%		21.1%		8.5%		11.3%		1.4%			
THIRD GENERATION	No. of sermons per OT and NT	29	35	26	22	7	44	5	5	7	10	95	128
	Total sermons	64		48		51		10		17		(includes 33 uncategorized sermons or 14.8% of total)	
	% of sermons on each theme	28.7%		21.5%		22.9%		4.5%		7.6%			

more accurately, the Puritan interpretation of the Bible—that provided clergy and laity alike with guidelines for saintly behavior and attitudes.

The sermon sample contains 103 sermons dealing with the theme of holiness, or 22.1% of the total sermons for all three generations. The emphasis given to this theme is more constant for the three generations than is the case with the other sermon themes: 24.8% for the first generation, 21.1% for the second generation, and 21.5% for the third generation. The first-generation clergy preached on the theme of holiness primarily from the NT, the second generation showed a slight preference for the NT, and the third generation preached on this theme a little more often from the OT.

Salvation

Sermons preached on the theme of salvation numbered 90, accounting for 19.3% of the sermons for all three generations. The Puritans' acute awareness of sin undoubtedly served to make them very conscious of the necessity of personal spiritual salvation. Christ's work of reconciling man and God was desperately needed, since "all flesh is corrupt."[23] It was clear to the Puritan ministry that according to the Word, "all men by nature do need salvation Jn. 3.16."[24] "We are all by nature children of wrath and Enemies [of God]," according to William Adams, "but they who are gotten into Christ they are thereby reconciled, Co. 1:21, 22."[25]

The clergy, by preaching rather frequently on the theme of salvation, clearly recognized that by no means had their entire congregations undergone conversion experiences. This was true as much for the first generation of ministers—in fact, their sermons dealing with a call to salvation made up the largest single percentage among the five main sermon topics (26.7%). The second generation showed a greatly reduced emphasis on this theme (8.5%),

[23]Cotton, *Christ the Fountaine*, p. 168.

[24]William Brattle, sermon of July 30, 1699, Sermon Notes, Aug. 3, 1699-July, 1706, MS, Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.

[25]William Adams, *The Necessity of the Pouring out of the Spirit from on High upon a Sinning Apostatizing people, Set under Judgment in Order to their Merciful Deliverance and Salvation* (Boston, 1679), p. 38.

while a renewed surge of interest in the topic of salvation appeared in the sermons of the third generation (22.9%), who preached during a time of perceived declension and tapering off of conversion experiences. For this theme, a large percentage of sermon texts were drawn from the NT, although the OT was used frequently, as well.

Person and Work of Christ

The fourth sermon theme, in order of frequency, was that of the person and work of Christ. Sermons with this as the primary theme account for 10.1% of the sermons for all three generations.

It is of interest to note that of all the sermons on the theme of Christ, over one-fourth of them were based on OT texts. This should not be surprising, however, in light of Puritan typological interpretation of the OT and perception of Christ as the focal point of the whole Bible.

A thorough and accurate understanding of Christ was crucial to the Puritan cause, for without a knowledge and belief in "fundamental Truths, about ye Lord christ," the unregenerate sinner "cannot be saved." According to Increase Mather, these essential truths included: "That Jesus of Nazareth is ye true Messiah, John 8.24"; "That Jesus christ is ye Eternal son of God"; "That Jesus christ is Man as well as god"; "That Hee is ye only mediator [between man and God]"; and "That salvation is obtained only from him, and ye merit of his Righteousness."[26]

"Unless we preach who Christ is," stated William Brattle, "it is in vain to preach faith, for none can believe in him who they know nothing of."[27] This knowledge was extremely important in Puritan eyes, because "they that remain ignorant of Christ, must be in danger of death, yea of eternal Death."[28]

Sermons about Christ comprised 20.8% of the categorized sermons for the first generation of pastors, 11.3% for the second generation, and 4.5% for the third generation. It was perhaps a lack of preaching about Christ in the latter part of the seventeenth century that caused Increase Mather to lament, "It is marvellous to

[26]Increase Mather, Sermon of March 21, 1686, *Substance of Sermons*, MS, Harvard University Library, p. 77.

[27]Brattle, Sermon of Sept. 17, 1699, *Sermon Notes*, MS, n.p.

[28]Increase Mather, *Mystery of Christ*, p. 42.

consider what Ignorance is in many that call themselves Christians; . . . if they be examined about Christ, they are found exceeding ignorant."[29]

Family Relationships

A fifth thematic categorization is based on sermons dealing with the concept of the family of God in its various aspects. When it came to explaining God's relationship to man as well as man's relationship to his fellow man, the Bible authors frequently used the human family as an analogy. This biblical approach was deemed important by the Puritan clergy, who placed a strong emphasis on human relationships and who viewed church and community in familial terms. The saints were conceptualized as being members of the family of God, and a good deal of Puritan theology was pictured in domestic terms. For the Puritans, the family was the first institution created by God and served as the basic model which God had ordained for society.[30]

Several of the sermons on this theme call for strengthening of domestic life. Increase Mather, for example, stressed the importance of families and in 1679 bemoaned what he perceived as their decline: "Families are the Nurceryes for Church and Commonwealth, ruine Families, and ruine all. Order them well and the public State will fare the better; the great wound and misery of New England is that Families are out of order."[31]

Other sermons used the family theme to describe God's relationship to man. Cotton Mather devoted a lengthy sermon to an explanation of the ways in which God is our Father.[32] Joshua Moodey described divinely appointed adversity as "Fatherly chastisement."[33] Nathaniel Gookin urged his congregation to think of God "not so much as a Revenger but as a gracious father in Heaven." Gookin also comforted his hearers with the fact that

[29]Ibid., p. 38.

[30]See Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, new ed. (New York, 1966), p. 133.

[31]Increase Mather, *A Call from Heaven* (Boston, 1679).

[32]In Cotton Mather, *Addresses*, beginning on p. 96.

[33]Joshua Moodey, sermon of March 4, 1686, *Substance of Sermons*, MS, Huntington Library, p. 1.

believers "are ye children of god, they may call god their father"; as to "their new birth, they have god for their father . . . they are ye objects of the redeeming love of god."[34] Samuel Willard emphasized that at the time of their conversions, the saints "are taken into God's Family, and that not as Servants but as Children, there to abide forever, Joh. 8.35." In light of this, Willard went on to urge the saints to "love God with a filial affection."[35]

Although the number of sermons dealing primarily with the concept of the family of God in church, community, and domestic life numbered only twenty, references to this topic as a secondary theme can be found in numerous sermons. It is noteworthy that the third generation of ministers provided the vast majority of such sermons, and that they went to both Testaments for biblical texts. In the last two decades or so of the seventeenth century, many of the clergy perceived a growing apostasy on the part of New England's children. Increase Mather sadly observed in 1679 that "there is a doleful degeneracy appearing in the face of this generation [of youth], and no man can say, but that the body of the present generation will perish both temporally and eternally. . . ."[36]

5. *Conclusion*

Even though the extant sermons make up a small percentage of the total sermons preached in the seventeenth century in the five Massachusetts towns of Boston, Cambridge, Dedham, Dorchester, and Roxbury, several conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of them presented above. One is that the clergy had a very high regard for the Scriptures of both OT and NT. Not only was every sermon based on a biblical text, but the sermons also contain numerous—often scores—of supporting texts drawn widely from throughout the Bible, regardless of the location of the principal text.

To make generalizations about the nature of Puritan theology based solely on the clergy's choice of OT or NT texts, however, is

[34]Nathaniel Gookin, sermon of June 8, 1690, *Sermon Notes*, Apr. 24-Aug. 13, 1690, MS, Harvard University Library, p. 22; sermon [1687], *Sermon Notes*, 1687, MS, Harvard University Library, p. 13.

[35]Samuel Willard, *The Child's Portion* (Boston, 1684), pp. 15-19.

[36]Increase Mather, *Call From Heaven*, p. 19.

relatively meaningless and can be very misleading. It is also clear that the clergy saw Christ as the focal point of both Testaments, and that through the interpretive system of typology they had a rationale for the unity of both Testaments. Perhaps the most obvious conclusion to be reached concerning the clergy's use of OT and NT for sermon texts is that they drew freely from both Testaments for these texts. No theme relied solely on one Testament for proof texts; the clergy saw the whole Bible as a unified, useful source of sermon material. The clergy's use of Scripture in this manner was consistent with their stated belief that the entire Bible was the inspired, authoritative, cohesive, and non-contradictory Word of God.

An examination of the doctrinal teachings of the sermons leads to the conclusion that certain broad themes recurred in Puritan preaching throughout the seventeenth century. These themes point out the major concerns of the ministry: that their congregations have a keen awareness of sin, that they be challenged and encouraged to holy living, that they experience God's salvation, that they know about Christ and his role in bringing salvation, and that they realize their position as members of the family of God.

Among the three generations of seventeenth-century Puritan clergy in the Massachusetts towns under study, a basic theological unity and continuity appears to have existed. The same general themes are evidenced in the great majority of the sermons of all three generations of ministers, although the emphasis given to the themes did vary considerably in some cases. It should be pointed out, however, that among the ministers within each generation, a variation of thematic emphasis can also be seen. Nevertheless, each generation as a whole did display certain characteristic emphases.

It can be concluded, furthermore, that among the ministerial fellowship of the seventeenth century, there was flexibility and freedom in the selection of sermon material, yet at the same time there existed a set of limits within which one could expect most sermons to fall. These limits were the themes (and topics within those themes) with which the Bible dealt extensively and to which the ministry were attracted because of events and trends which were perceived by each generation as having importance for New England's "errand into the wilderness."

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Summer 1983, Vol. 21, No. 2, 129-141.
Copyright © 1983 by Andrews University Press.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL AND THE "MACCABEAN THESIS"

ARTHUR J. FERCH
Avondale College
Cooranbong, N. S. W. 2265
Australia

Up until about a century ago, the claims laid out in the book of Daniel as to its authorship, origin, etc., during the sixth century B.C. were quite generally accepted. However, since 1890, according to Klaus Koch, this exilic theory has been seriously challenged—so much so, in fact, that today it represents only a minority view among Daniel scholars.[1] The majority hold a view akin to that of Porphyry, the third-century Neoplatonist enemy of Christianity, that the book of Daniel was composed (if not entirely, at least substantially) in the second century B.C. during the religious persecution of the Jews by the Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV Epiphanes.[2] The book is considered to have arisen in conjunction with, or in support of, the Jewish resistance to Antiochus led by Judas Maccabeus and his brothers.

Thus, according to this view, designated as the "Maccabean thesis,"[3] the book of Daniel was composed (at least in part) and/or edited in the second century by an unknown author or authors who posed as a sixth-century statesman-prophet named Daniel and who pretended to offer genuinely inspired predictions (*vaticinia ante eventu*) which in reality were no more than historical narratives

*This article is based on a section of a paper presented in 1982 to the Daniel and Revelation Committee of the Biblical Research Institute (General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C.).

[1]See Klaus Koch (in collaboration with T. Niewisch and J. Tubach), *Das Buch Daniel* (Darmstadt, 1980), pp. 8-9. A review of this book is found in *JSOT* 23 (1982): 119-123, and reprinted in slightly revised form as an excursus at the end of this article.

[2]Regarding Porphyry, cf. Koch, pp. 9,185; R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1941), p. 755; and the discussion in Arthur J. Ferch, "Porphyry: An Heir to Christian Exegesis?" in *ZNW* 73 (1982): 141-147.

[3]So Koch's appropriate designation (*Makkabäerthese*), pp. 8-12 and *passim*.

under the guise of prophetic predictions (*vaticinia ex eventu*). Obviously, this Maccabean thesis rejects the idea that a sixth-century Babylonian/Persian milieu is depicted in Daniel. Rather, it presupposes a reflection of second-century Judaism of the time of the Maccabean struggle against Antiochus.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that an increasing number of scholars have in recent years proposed a dual- or multiple-authorship theory allowing the material in the historical chapters to go back in origin beyond the Maccabean period, but not doing likewise for the substance of the prophetic portions of the book. Especially for chap. 11 has the Maccabean connection been considered to be particularly prominent.[4]

While earlier articles in *AUSS* by Gerhard F. Hasel and William H. Shea have examined matters relating to persons,

[4]There has recently been a tendency to consider chaps. 1-6 in Daniel as being pre-Maccabean (or "pre-Epiphanian"), while still maintaining a substantial Maccabean-period origin for chaps. 7-12. E.g., H. Louis Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (New York, 1948), p. 29, refers to Dan 2 (within his "Daniel A," chaps. 1-6) as dating to "between 292 and 261 B.C.E. for the body, and between 246 and 220 B.C.E. for some two and a half secondary verses." "Daniel B" (chaps. 7-12), he goes on to say, confronts us with a "totally different picture," each of its four apocalypses bearing "the imprint of the reign of Antiochus IV." John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (Missoula, Montana, 1977), pp. 45-46, also sees chaps. 1-6 as pre-Maccabean, but would place them later than does Ginsberg—namely, within a seventy-year period from 240-170 B.C. Cf., further, André Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, trans. David Pellauer (Atlanta, Georgia, 1979), pp. 8-10; and L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB 23 (Garden City, N.Y., 1978).

Although it is beyond the scope of this brief article to describe and discuss the debate that has arisen on the question of single authorship as versus dual or multiple authorship of Daniel, mention may just be made here that Ginsberg and H. H. Rowley were central to engendering the debate. See Rowley's responses to Ginsberg in *JBL* 68 (1949): 173-177, and the article entitled "The Unity of the Book of Daniel," HUCA 23 (1950-51): 233-273. A later exchange occurred: Ginsberg, "The Composition of the Book of Daniel," *VT* 4 (1954): 246-275; and Rowley, "The Composition of the Book of Daniel," *VT* 5 (1955): 272-276. Rowley, of course, endeavored to place total authorship in the Maccabean period. Cf. more recently, J. G. Gammie, "The Classification, Stages of Growth, and Changing Intentions in the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 95 (1976): 191-204; and Koch, pp. 55-76. Gammie contends that "the single, most outstanding weakness in the Maccabean theory of interpretation is that the king in chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 is uncommonly friendly and sympathetic with the young Jewish members of his court. This portrait hardly suits the latter days of the hated Hellenizer, Antiochus IV Epiphanes" (p. 191).

chronology, Aramaic language, and archaeology, I propose here to ask whether the book of Daniel—especially Dan 11—reflects the second-century situation envisaged by, and basic to, the Maccabean thesis.[5]

1. *Basic Assumptions of the Maccabean Thesis*

This Maccabean thesis proposes that the actual time of final composition of the book of Daniel may be ascertained by recognizing certain historical hints within the book and by discerning the precise point in time at which the author passed from genuine history writing to "imaginary expectation" and mistaken future predictions. Thus, André Lacocque suggests that in Dan 11 the author (1) gives evidence of knowing of the profanation of the Jerusalem temple by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (Dec. 7, 167 B.C.; cf. Dan 11:31), and (2) alludes to the revolt of the Maccabees and the first victories of Judah (166 B.C.), but (3) is unaware of both the purification of the temple by Judas (Dec. 14, 164 B.C.) and the death of Antiochus (Autumn, 164 B.C.). Nevertheless, the demise of Antiochus, he claims, is wrongly predicted and described in Dan 11:40-45. Lacocque concludes that "we can at least situate the second part of the Book of Daniel (chapters 7-12), therefore, with a very comfortable certainty, in 164 B.C.E."[6]

It may be of interest to note, in passing, that as long as the view prevailed that the book came from the hands of a sixth-century author, few if any problems arose concerning matters of authorship, composition, and structure. This situation has significantly changed with the introduction of the Maccabean thesis. In fact, in 1975 J. J. Collins declared that "the composition of the

[5]See especially the two articles by Gerhard F. Hasel devoted explicitly to this matter: "The Book of Daniel: Evidences Relating to Persons and Chronology" and "The Book of Daniel and Matters of Language: Evidences Relating to Names, Words, and the Aramaic Language," in *AUSS* 19 (1981): 37-49, 211-225. A series of three articles by William H. Shea in the Spring, Summer, and Autumn issues of *AUSS* in 1982 are directed more broadly to providing a correlation of biblical and archaeological data with respect to several of the historical chapters in Daniel (chaps 3, 5, and 6), but these articles nevertheless speak incisively to the issue at hand. Cf. also Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary* (Downers Grove, Ill., 1978), pp. 18-46.

[6]Lacocque, p. 8.

Book of Daniel has given rise to a bewildering range of scholarly opinions."[7] One may query as to whether this "bewildering range of scholarly opinions" in connection with the Maccabean thesis is not itself an argument against the thesis. At the very least, this confusion raises serious questions as to how, if at all, the book of Daniel gives any clear depiction or *bona fide* clues to the second-century situation it supposedly reflects.

In any event, basic to the Maccabean thesis is the presupposition that a rather reliable historical reconstruction of events between 168-164 B.C. is possible and that such a reconstruction coincides closely with the data provided by the latter half of Dan 11 (and to a lesser degree by the earlier portions of the book). Further, the suggestion that the author was either a Maccabean or had Maccabean leanings would lead one to expect that emphases and perspectives evident in Daniel would find parallels in the contemporary Maccabean literature.

2. *The Maccabean Thesis and the History of the Maccabean Revolt*

When one turns to an historical analysis, however, the argument that Dan 11 parallels events from the second century B.C. so closely that it actually provides us with the book's *Sitz im Leben* presents the researcher with significant problems.[8]

Sparse and Conflicting Primary Sources

A first consideration is that the most important primary or contemporary sources depicting the events between 168-164 B.C. with considerable detail are unfortunately few, being limited primarily to 1 and 2 Maccabees and Polybius.[9] Complicating the matter further is the fact that there are a number of weighty

[7]John J. Collins, "The Court-Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic," *JBL* 94 (1975): 218. Cf. also pp. 219-234.

[8]At this juncture it is interesting to note a pertinent observation by Baldwin: "No other part of the Old Testament, or even of the New Testament, has ever been dated so confidently" (*Daniel*, p. 183).

[9]Writers of lesser importance for this period include Josephus, Diodorus Siculus, Eupolemus, Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo of Amasea.

disagreements within these sources about the details and the order of events during this period. Given the divergences in the presently available primary and contemporary sources, it is difficult to draw up a consistent and accurate historical reconstruction for the events under consideration.[10] This fact, as well as the occurrence of what could at least be considered only as several vague allusions in the text of Dan 11, makes a satisfactory and sorely needed comparison between the book of Daniel and the mid-second century happenings somewhat problematical.

Indeed, events during this period which still remain a matter of controversy among historians include the cause of the religious persecution of the Jews, the precise time of Jason's rebellion, the date of Antiochus' death, and the matter of whether there was one campaign or whether there were two campaigns of Antiochus against Jerusalem. In view of these questions and the fact that the books of Maccabees do not speak of two campaigns by Antiochus against the Holy City, it is interesting to note that the well-known Jewish scholar V. Tcherikover reconstructs events of the period between 168-164 B.C. by resorting to the debatable procedure of treating Dan 11—which mentions a twofold contact between the king of the north and God's people—as an eye-witness account for two visits by Antiochus to Jerusalem.[11] Tcherikover simply assumes what scholars discussing a second-century *Sitz im Leben* of Daniel are trying to prove. The validity of this kind of circular argument is particularly open to question, since it is precisely these two visits of Antiochus to Jerusalem which are advanced as one of the major proofs that the book of Daniel arose in the second century B.C.

[10]Cf. P. Schäfer, "The Hellenistic and Maccabaean Periods," *Israelite and Judaean History*, ed. J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 560-568; J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1927), pp. 447-449. Baldwin, though herself recognizing the role of Antiochus in Dan 11, observes that "given a thorough knowledge of the ancient historians of the period . . . a commentary on the chapter can become a maze of information which bewilders the reader. . . . not all the events in Daniel 11 fit into the evidence culled from other sources. . . . we ought not to exaggerate the extent to which the Daniel narrative fits into known history of the period" (*Daniel*, p. 41).

[11]V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 186, and n. 20 on pp. 473-474.

Similarities and Dissimilarities Between Dan 11 and the Maccabean Situation

Moreover, while it is possible to propose several similarities between the book of Daniel and the Maccabean situation, there are a greater number of dissimilarities which have to be either ignored or passed over. The resemblances between Dan 11 and the accounts in the books of Maccabees and Polybius include (1) reference to the setting up of the "abomination of desolation" (Dan 11:31; cf. 1 Macc 1:54; Dan 9:27; 12:11; and Matt 24:15); and (2) the twofold conflict of the king of the north with the king of the south, as well as the northern tyrant's withdrawal after an encounter with the ships of Kittim (Dan 11:25-31). When these details are compared with the profanation of the temple by Antiochus and with his two campaigns against Egypt and expulsion by the Roman legate Popillius Laenas, parallels can suggest themselves; and one can appreciate therefore that someone reading Dan 11 in the time of Antiochus could apply these passages to the situation of that time.

However, given the premise that Dan 11 (and so much else in the book of Daniel) is a *vaticinium ex eventu* and was possibly written only a few months after the episodes took place, it becomes incredible that *so little* in the biblical account reflects the events recorded in 1 and 2 Maccabees. If, as has been suggested, the writer of the book of Daniel was a Maccabean author[12] or at least an individual or group sympathetic to the Maccabean cause, one should be able to detect quite a number of accurate details regarding recent happenings and should be able to discover evidences of a basic philosophy common to both the writers of the books of Maccabees and Daniel. Yet, the tenor of 1 and 2 Maccabees and that of Daniel appear to be at odds. The Maccabean literature is far more concerned with Jewish opposition to the Seleucid king, while Daniel is more interested in the activities of the king of the north. Dan 11 (esp. vss. 36-39 and also Dan 8:9-12) demonstrates a great deal of interest in the character of the blaspheming tyrant and describes him in terms which *far surpass* anything we presently know concerning the character, pretensions, and actions of Antiochus Epiphanes.

[12]Recently again in B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London, 1979), p. 616.

Antiochus left an indelible impression on the minds and lives of the Jews of his day. He interfered with their religious observances, their ideals, and their cultic system. He attracted traitors to the Jewish cause, and he persecuted mercilessly those who were unwilling to comply with his program. Antiochus and his henchmen marched through Jewish territory. He defiled the temple by erecting a pagan image on its altar. Yet, for all this, he never destroyed the temple (contrast Dan 8:11). Ever since his father's defeats, Antiochus had lived in the ever-lengthening shadow of Rome. As far as we can ascertain, his military exploits hardly match those attributed to the little horn in Dan 8:9 and the king of the north in Dan 11:22.

Even the Maccabean thesis concedes that Dan 11:40-45 does not conform to what is known about the end of Antiochus. These verses create a problem which the thesis seeks to solve by relegating these verses to the wishful but mistaken imaginative expression of hopes of the second-century author. Such an explanation is a *tour de force* and would hardly survive elsewhere in OT criticism. Here the majority view becomes incredible, particularly if one accepts the notion that the fulfillment of Dan 11:1-39 was designed to inspire hope and validation for the fulfillment of future prophecies.

It is equally strange that though the visions were allegedly written within living memory of the events, the various time periods listed in Daniel for the persecution of God's people and the restoration of the sanctuary services nowhere coincide with the three-year period mentioned in Maccabees for the desecration of the temple.[13]

Moreover, whereas in the Maccabean literature the Maccabees and their vicissitudes are of central importance, commentators generally see no more than a vague allusion to these freedom-fighters in Daniel (i.e., Dan 11:34).[14] If the writer of the book of Daniel were a Maccabean author, why is he so silent about the exploits of the Maccabees and their exciting defeats of Apollonius and Seron (1 Macc 3:10-26), and of Gorgias and Lysias (1 Macc 4:1-35)? Why is there no call to arms in Daniel, when the Maccabees

[13]Since proponents of the Maccabean thesis contend that the book of Daniel was penned before the temple cleansing and restoration in December, 164 B.C., these time periods are in a sense genuine prophecies.

[14]E.g., Montgomery, p. 446; and Norman W. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary*, 2d ed. revised (London, 1979), p. 168.

were even prepared to break the sabbath in their all-out insurrection to achieve survival and independence? Even if the author was a member of the *Hasidim* or was a pacifist, it is unlikely that he would not warm up more to the successes of his countrymen and that he would leave unnamed such heroes as Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus.

In the light of these problems, the contention that Dan 11 parallels events in Palestine between 168-164 B.C. so closely that it provides us with the book's *Sitz im Leben* needs to be called into question. While the Maccabean thesis demonstrates how someone who read Dan 11 in the time of Antiochus could apply sections of this chapter to his own situation, this theory does not prove that Dan 11 (or the rest of the book) originated at that time.

3. *Further Problems for the Maccabean Thesis*

Two further weak links in the chain of arguments proposed in defense of the Maccabean thesis may be noted very briefly here: (1) the claims made for pseudonymity, and (2) the supposed significance of Greek terms in the book of Daniel.

Pseudonymity

The basic problem in considering the book of Daniel as a pseudonymous composition lies in the fact that this book nonetheless qualified for inclusion in the canon of Scripture. Joyce Baldwin, after assessing the issue of pseudonymity in the world of the OT, concludes: "It is significant that within the period covered by the Old Testament no example has so far come to light of a pseudepigraphon which was approved or cherished as an authoritative book, and . . . there was opposition to the interpolation of new material into a text."[15]

In fact, the functions which scholars claim pseudepigrapha fulfill are mutually exclusive, for "on the one hand we are asked to believe that this [pseudonymous authorship] was an accepted literary convention which deceived no-one, and on the other that the adoption of the pseudonym, which presumably went undetected, increased the acceptability and authority of a work."[16]

[15]Joyce G. Baldwin, "Is There Pseudonymity in the Old Testament?" in *Themelios* 4 (1978): 8.

[16]Ibid., p. 11.

Another serious problem with the notion of pseudonymity in the book of Daniel is the fact that it robs this biblical book of its impact. G. Wenham appropriately remarks that "the idea that God declares his future purposes to his servants is at the heart of the book's theology. If, however, Daniel is a second-century work, one of its central themes is discredited, and it could be argued that Daniel ought to be relegated to the Apocrypha and not retain full canonical status as a part of OT Scripture."[17] In any event and in the final analysis, the task of demonstrating that the book is in any part pseudonymous still rests with those who make this claim.

Greek Loan Words

Scholarship has come to recognize that most of the words once considered as being Greek terms in Daniel are actually of *Persian origin,* so that today the list of Daniel's supposedly Greek terms has been reduced to *only three*—all being names of musical instruments.[18] In view of the fact, on the one hand, that certain Greek words are attested in the ancient Near East long before the conquests of Alexander the Great, and also the fact, on the other hand, that by the Maccabean period the Greek influence was pervasive in the Near East, scholars who support the Maccabean origin of the book of Daniel may actually be asking the wrong question. Given a rigid second-century-origin thesis, the question is not so much as to why there are three Greek words in the book, but rather the question is why there are *only* three Greek words at a time of such extensive Greek influence.

4. *Conclusion*

In conclusion, it appears to me that rigorous historical analysis does not support the positive and confident statements made by adherents of the Maccabean thesis. As an alternative, the exilic

[17]G. J. Wenham, "Daniel: The Basic Issues," *Themelios* 2 (1977): 51.

[18]Cf. Koch, p. 37. These musical instruments which are mentioned in Dan 3:5,7,10,15—"harp," "psaltery," and "sackbut"—appear in extrabiblical sources subsequent to the sixth century B.C. *Sûmpōnyâ,* in the sense used in Daniel, is thus far not documented prior to the second century, but Gammie p. 198, considers this a gloss. However, the term did have early usage in Greek (*sumphōnia*) as a "sounding together" (see E. Yamauchi, "The Archaeological Background of Daniel," *BSac* 137 [1980]: 12).

thesis, which, though not without problems, seeks to take the explicit claims of the book of Daniel seriously, should again receive careful consideration.

EXCURSUS

REVIEW OF KLAUS KOCH, *DAS BUCH DANIEL*

(*Editor's Note*: Although we normally do not publish book reviews which have appeared in other journals, the significance of Koch's publication and its relatedness to the topic of the foregoing article have led us to include it here as an "excursus." This review of Koch's *Das Buch Daniel* by Arthur J. Ferch appeared in *JSOT*, Issue 23 [July 1982], pp. 119-123. We express our gratitude both to the author of the review and to the editors of *JSOT* for permission to make this reprint, which is essentially the original review with only minor revisions.)

Koch's monograph is a critical survey of research on the book of Daniel since the late 19th century, which developed in connection with a form-critical and linguistic project on Daniel carried out in Hamburg, Germany. A related and more comprehensive study examining the history of interpretation during the last two millennia is currently under way, entitled *Europa und das Danielbuch*.

The nine chapters of the present volume focus on text-critical and canonical questions, issues of unity and genre, the assumed contemporary situation, origins of apocalyptic, and several theological themes, including the kingdom of God, angelology, the resurrection, and the identities of the "one like a son of man" and the "(people of) the saints of the Most High."

Koch notes with regret that the study of Daniel is no longer as intense as it was in past centuries, when both synagogue and church accepted its sixth-century B.C. origin (the "exilic-date thesis") and consequently recognized in its pages divine providence in history. Nowadays, Daniel research is complex and requires the interdisciplinary cooperation of linguists, literary critics, historians of antiquity, and specialists in comparative religions.

Despite the wide variety of opinions on Daniel, the majority of scholars have come to agree since ca. 1890—though contrary to the book's testimony—that the substantial composition of the protocanonical Daniel took place during the religious persecutions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (the "Maccabean-date thesis"). This latter thesis finds its central pillar in the putative correspondence of the *šiqquṣ šōmēm* with the desolating abomination introduced into the Jerusalem temple (1 Macc 1:54) and

assumes anonymous formation of the first and pseudonymous composition of the second half of Daniel (p. 136). Koch observes that more recently linguistic, literary, and traditio-historical considerations have softened this thesis. Thus, while the *terminus ad quem* generally remains the Maccabean period, it is conceded that the seer(s) incorporated earlier materials which, though redacted, still show their seams. Here, according to Koch, the scholarly consensus ends.

Koch stresses the need for additional text-critical study of the MT, LXX, Theodotion, Syriac, Latin, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions. While the DSS readings of Daniel inspire confidence in the MT, the divergence between the MT and the presumed Semitic originals of the LXX and Syriac may indicate no more than an independent MT redaction. The position of Daniel among the prophets in the Alexandrian canon and the fact that the DSS, NT, and Josephus regard the writer of Daniel as being a prophet provide evidence that in the older documents Daniel was at home among the prophets (p. 28). Since other biblical books are represented on papyri, Koch rejects D. Barthélémy's claim that the Danielic papyrus fragment from cave 6 demonstrates the non-canonical status of Daniel within the Qumran community. Why then does the massoretic-rabbinic tradition include Daniel before the bilingual Ezra in the Kethubim? Koch tentatively suggests that the mixture of sacred language and Aramaic may have led to the present position of Daniel.

Since the seventeenth century, questions pertaining to the two languages, the Persian loan words, and the Greek terms for musical instruments in Daniel, have contributed to the debate over the inspiration and genuineness of the book. Recent scholarship leads Koch to conclude that the Aramaic of Daniel—allowing for orthographic changes in the process of copying—is Imperial Aramaic of an eastern type which should be dated as early as the fifth century B.C. but no later than 300 B.C. (p. 45). Though this assessment challenges earlier scholarly opinions, it seems to be corroborated by the evidence; and commentaries, OT introductions, and even grammars will need to make changes accordingly.

In relation to the Aramaic of Daniel, Koch claims that radical criticism and its Maccabean date have lost the battle, though the numerous Persian loan words arguing for a time after 500 B.C. prevent proponents of the exilic thesis from carrying off the victory (pp. 45-46).

Koch finds an increasing number of scholars arguing for a lengthy tradition history in Daniel. His own proclivity toward this approach becomes repeatedly evident. He detects at least six successive stages and suggests the term *Aufstockungshypothese* ("hypothesis of extensions") to describe the complex development of the book. While this interpretation may convince those already committed to a traditio-historical growth of Daniel, scholars arguing for the book's unity will undoubtedly require

more evidence. Indeed, the tendency to impose Daniel upon an occidental Procrustean bed will need to be watched, particularly when it requires an unnecessary proliferation of arguments.

Though various cultures and literatures may have provided religio-historical building blocks for Daniel (and Koch provides the most comprehensive table of suggested derivations seen by this reviewer), he suggests that only future research will demonstrate which, if any, source(s) is (are) final. This reviewer has expressed the hope elsewhere (*JBL* 99:75-86) that future study will examine parallel terms and motifs in their total context to avoid the dangers of misreading elements of one culture in terms of another and of suppressing adverse evidence in the interests of a predetermined theory.

Koch is cautious, and is only certain of prior stages in Dan 4 in which Nebuchadnezzar's eviction and reinstatement are recognized as part of an organic development with the prayer of Nabonidus (4QPr Nab) and Nabonidus' inscription on the Sin temple of Harran (*ANET*[3], pp. 562-563). Yet, given the significant differences in these three texts, a great deal of more plausible evidence is needed to make compelling the case for organic development.

Koch challenges the notion that Daniel is the crowning witness to the second-century-B.C. clash between Hellenism and late Judaism. This *communis opinio* disregards the complexity of Hellenism and fails to recognize that second-century Judaism was hardly characterized by law and synagogue as sole centers of religion. Instead, Koch surmises that both the writer(s) of Daniel and the Maccabees were threatened by a mighty wave of astral religion, astronomy, and astrology, coupled with both calendar and eon speculations which found a significant expression in *baᶜal šāmēm* (= Olympian Zeus = *šiqquṣ šōmēm*).

Koch is equally dissatisfied with the critical interpretations of the time periods in Daniel. The suggestion is unsatisfactory that the 1150-day period (?) of Dan 8:14 was successively extended to 1260, 1290, and finally 1335 days, as victory eluded the nation. Similarly, while the 3½ times which are clearly too long to fit the Maccabean three-year revolt may be explained in terms of prophecy before the event, Koch argues that such an error is hardly adequate for a time in such close proximity to the presumed events. Critical explanations of the 490 years of Dan 9:24-27 are equally problematical. Indeed, it is impossible to apply these time periods with any certainty to events between 168-164 B.C. (p. 154). Yet, Koch's alternative, viz. to regard the 490-year period as part of an epochal schema involving a world year of 7×490 years spanning the period between creation and eschaton, appears equally desperate.

In the opinion of the author, there is no evidence for the view that the writer of Daniel belonged to the Maccabean party. If written to meet the

second-century crisis, why is there such silence concerning the Maccabean revolt and its leaders? Why is there no call to arms? Why the predominance of *vaticinia ex eventu*? Since the immediate socio-historical circumstances provide no clear indication for the circle out of which Daniel developed, scholarly discussion during the last few decades has sought to derive the *Sitz im Leben* from the peculiar language of the book—particularly developments out of prophecy or wisdom. On the assumption of the Maccabean date, Koch argues that quarrels over whether prophecy or wisdom is the source of this book are anachronistic.

As for the human and divine kingdoms in Daniel, Koch is critical of the trend which views these merely as opposites in which divine kingship could irrupt at any moment. This reviewer agrees with Koch's distinction between "the manlike figure" and "the saints of the Most High" in Dan 7. The latter, according to the interpretation, are present prior to and during the eschatological judgment. While Koch is reasonably certain that the *nomen regens* "people" refers to Israel, he prefers (with O. Procksch) to translate the *nomen rectum* of "saints of the Most High" as a plural (clearer in German as "*der* Höchsten") and to apply it to angelic beings (pp. 238-239).

Koch suggests a number of areas in need of further study. These include: (1) an exhaustive comparison of the Aramaic in Daniel, Ezra, and the targumim (p. 36); (2) a comparison of the Hebrew in Daniel and Qumran (p. 48); (3) the ultimate origin of the Aramaic visions and narratives (p. 92); (4) socio-historical research studying the Chaldeans, magi, and apocalypticists (p. 178); (5) angelology in Daniel and apocalyptic (p. 210); and (6) an analysis of relations between heavenly and earthly communities in apocalyptic literature (p. 237).

The extensive bibliographies following individual chapters include the major works on the topics discussed. Koch presents both conservative and liberal scholarship fairly and accurately. While challenging scholarship in a number of critical areas, he is never pejorative. The reviewer spotted only three typographical errors (on pp. 59, 123, 184). Also G. F. Hasel's work cited on p. 236 is partially misunderstood, for Hasel does not identify the manlike figure and the saints.

In sum, this monograph is indispensable as the best, up-to-date, compact, and yet-comprehensive critical summary of issues related to the oft-neglected book of Daniel. Its importance merits an English translation.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Summer 1983, Vol. 21, No. 2, 143-153.
Copyright © 1983 by Andrews University Press.

DEFILEMENT BY ASSOCIATION: SOME INSIGHTS FROM THE USAGE OF KOINÓΣ/KOINÓΩ IN ACTS 10 AND 11

COLIN HOUSE
Berrien Springs, Michigan 49103

Peter's vision of the sheet from heaven containing a variety of creatures (Acts 10:10-16) has engendered considerable scholarly debate, most of which misses the real point of the vision by failing to distinguish between the terms "common" and "unclean." Even modern English translations tend to obscure the sense of the text by treating the two Greek terms as synonymous and interchangeable. Consideration of the context, attention to the Greek terminology used, and recognition of the historical development leading up to the category of "common" (as distinguished from "unclean") will, I believe, inevitably lead to conclusions quite different from those usually set forth by commentators.

1. *The Contextual Setting*

The account of Peter's vision is initially set forth in the context of his visit to Cornelius, a Roman centurion residing in Caesarea (Acts 10:1-24). Then, a further reference to it is made as Peter later explains the incident to the church leaders in Jerusalem (Acts 11:1-18).

The Vision and Its Setting

Luke's account of the occurrence begins by noting that in response to an angelic visitation, Cornelius sent three of his household to Joppa to ask for Simon Peter. The next day, as the Caesarean emissaries were still on their journey, Peter went up to the roof of the Tanner's house to pray. While the mid-day meal was being prepared downstairs, he was taken in a prophetic trance and saw descending from heaven a sheet-like object filled with all sorts of quadrupeds, reptiles, and birds. A voice commanded, "Rise, Peter; kill and eat."[1] To this he answered that he had never

[1]The RSV is used for all Bible quotations, unless otherwise noted. In this text, Augustine unfortunately inserts πάν, "all," after θύσον, "slay," making it appear

eaten anything that was "common or unclean,"[2] and the voice then responded, "What God has cleansed, you must not call common." After three occurrences, the vision receded.

Manifestly, Peter did not immediately understand what he had seen.[3] While he pondered, three travelers arrived, stood before the gate outside the house, and called out to the residents to see if Simon Peter was there.[4] Following the Spirit's direct command to go down and accompany the men without hesitation,[5] Peter descended, invited the Gentiles into the house, and the next day returned with them to Caesarea.

Before instructing Cornelius in the gospel, Peter made it quite clear that he understood it to be unlawful for a Jew to associate with or to visit anyone of another race; however, since God had shown him that he should not call any person "common" or "unclean," he had come without objection. When the Spirit fell on the assembled Gentiles as he talked, Peter felt compelled to admit into fellowship people who had received the same sign of acceptance as the apostles themselves.

The Jerusalem Defense

When Peter went to Jerusalem (or as one early manuscript puts it, was summoned to Jerusalem[6]), he was asked to give an

---

that Peter was to slay and eat all the creatures in the sheet. See Richard Belward Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Westminster Commentaries, 12th ed., 41 (London, 1939): 150, n. 9.

[2]The answer implies that Peter recognized the voice immediately as that of his Lord, his answer being in his customary fashion.

[3]The word used to describe his turmoil (διενθυμουμένου) makes use of two prefixes to illustrate the inner anguish; διὰ, "through," and ἐν, "in." The suggestion is both penetration ("through and through") and upheaval ("in and out") of his mind. See A. T. Robertson, *Word Pictures in the New Testament*, 3 (Nashville, Tenn., 1930): 138.

[4]All three closely followed the demands of the Jewish concept of defilement which, among other things, prohibited unauthorized Gentile entry into Jewish homes; they stayed outside until invited within.

[5]The force of the second aorist imperative should not be overlooked. As the men had been explicitly directed to look for him, he was now to accompany them, without doubting.

[6]Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the New Testament* (London, 1971), pp. 382-384.

account of his behavior. Clearly, the question raised by the circumcision party[7] was not whether Peter should have instructed Gentiles in the gospel, but whether he should have eaten with uncircumcised men.[8] Peter thoroughly silenced his opposition by reciting, not what he had said to Cornelius, but what God had done.

In his Jerusalem defense, Peter pointed out that he perceived differences in the creatures only when he looked closer at the sheet. The nuance of the original is graphic: ἀτενίζω, "to stretch out the eyes." It was as a result of careful perception that he "saw in a flash" that the "unclean" creature was also present in the sheet, thus defiling the "clean."[9] F. F. Bruce, in portraying Peter's dilemma, aptly observes: "It has been asked at times whether Peter could not have killed and eaten one of the clean animals. But he was scandalized by the unholy mixture of clean animals with unclean; this is particularly important when we recall the practical way in which he had immediately to apply the lesson of the vision."[10]

It is important here to note also that although Peter used the terminology of "common or unclean," the voice itself referred only to the first of these two terms. Both in Luke's initial report of the vision and in Peter's later reference to it at the Jerusalem defense, the voice is said to have declared that what God had cleansed Peter

[7]As true as it is that Luke's term οἱ ἐκ περίτομης, "they of the circumcision" (KJV), could be merely a synonym for the early Jerusalem church (all male members were former Jews and therefore circumcised), it must nevertheless be acknowledged that devout diversity of opinion flourished as passionately then as it does now. If in Acts 10:45 Luke can openly refer to "faithful" components from within this group (ἐκ, "from out of"), then surely he can record that a faction also existed within the larger fellowship, opposed to Peter on the basis of his association with Gentiles. Paul, in writing to the Galatians, leaves us with no reasonable doubt as to the later existence of this political power block (see Gal 2:12, where the same term is used).

[8]As stated by William Neil, *The Acts of the Apostles*, New Century Bible (London, 1973), p. 142: "Luke is drawing attention for the fourth time to the human frailty that has always marred the Church, even in these early days; the hypocrisy of Ananias (5:2), the resentment of the Hellenists (6:1), the attempted bribery of Simon (8:18), and now partisanship."

[9]Robertson, p. 153.

[10]F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of the Acts*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956), p. 218, n. 15. See also the text comment on that page.

should not call "common"—with no mention of the "unclean" (Acts 10:15 and 11:9). This is a point to which we will return later.

2. *The Terminology Used*

Even though Peter consistently differentiated between "common" and "unclean," it seems reasonable to assume that the various translators of the English Scriptures believed this distinction to be defunct. Cognizance of their unstated bias aids in understanding why no modern attempt has been made to distinguish between the words twice recorded as Peter's response to the Voice's promptings, that is to say, κοινός/κοινόω, "common"/"to render common," has been taken as synonymous with ἀκάθαρτος, "unclean."[11]

However, not only is the repetition in Acts 11 of key thoughts and phrases from Acts 10 highly significant,[12] but Peter's use of the disjunctive conjunctive ἤ (κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον)[13] demonstrates his understanding of them as separate, albeit related, concepts. Rather than being synonymous, the relationship is processional or filial, for the Jewish idea of "commonality"—defilment by association—proceeded or grew from the concept of "unclean."

The LXX never uses κοινόω, as expressed here in Acts 10:15 and 11:9 for "to make/declare common," but consistently employs

[11]Cf. Richard J. Dillon and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Acts of the Apostles," in *The Jerome Bible Commentary*, ed. Raymond E. Brown (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), 2: 188.

[12]The laborious method of production precluded straying too far on any given subject, so when Luke chooses to repeat the vision in two different settings, it is as important to note the material that is reproduced without change, as it is to recognize that which is embellished and/or given greater emphasis. See especially Gerhard Delling, "τρεῖς, τρίς, τρίτος," *TDNT* 8: 222.

[13]Although Robertson (p. 136) believes that the invitation to slay included the "unclean" animals, examination of the text reveals that no absolute case can be established for such, unless one accepts the Augustinian πάν (cf. n. 1, above). Likewise for his attempt (p. 137) to combine the concepts of "common" and "unclean" in chap. 10, for although the copulative conjunctive καὶ is employed in some older texts (see F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* [Chicago, 1961], p. 231, for a listing of variant renderings and the disjunctive conjunction), the sense is established by parallelism. In his apologetic defense of chap. 11, Peter employs the disjunctive conjunctive ἤ, demonstrating their usage as distinct entities. Despite these quibbles, Robertson's grammatical observations on vs. 15 appear to be especially significant.

βεβηλοῦν, "to profane." The single usage of κοινόω in Jewish religious/historical literature of pre-NT times occurs in the apocryphal 4 Macc 7:6, where it conveys the meaning of cultic profanation.[14]

In this sense, the adjective κοινός, "common/profane," is likewise absent from the LXX, which uses βέβηλος to translate the Hebrew חֹל. As noted by Friedrich Hauck: "In Rabbinic literature, too, חֹל denotes what is profane in contrast to what is holy, to things devoted to God . . . [but it] is never used of men."[15]

Of basic significance, then, are these further observations by Hauck:

> Only in the apocr. is κοινός used for חֹל instead of βέβηλος, e.g., 1 Macc. 1:47: θύειν ὕεια καὶ κτήνη κοινά; 1:62: φαγεῖν κοινά. We find the same usage in Jos. Ant., 11, 346: αἰτία κοινοφαγίας (cf. Gl. 2:12ff.); 3, 181: βέβηλον καὶ κοινόν τινα τόπον; 12,320 (desecration of the temple); 13, 4: κοινὸς βίος (of apostate Jews). In general κοινός, like חֹל, is used only of things like these, but in Ep. Ar., 315 it is also used of men: τὰ θεῖα . . . εἰς ἀνθρώπους κοινοὺς (non-Jews) ἐκφέρειν. Philo does not have κοινός in the sense of "profane." This sense seems to have developed on Jewish soil. At any rate, there are no instances in non-Jewish secular Greek.[16]

It is recognition of the fact that the NT incorporates and reflects this exclusive Jewish sense of κοινός that illuminates why Peter should argue with his Lord over whether he should eat the "clean" creature. In his mind, the "clean" creatures in the sheet of the vision had now been rendered "common" through being defiled by the presence of the "unclean." As F. F. Bruce points out, in a statement noted earlier, Peter "was scandalized by the unholy mixture of clean animals with unclean."[17] According to traditional Jewish law, therefore, he could eat neither.

[14]Fr. Hauck, "κοινόω," *TDNT* 3:809.

[15]Idem, "κοινός," *TDNT* 3:791. The fact that forms of κοινός may be translated from Hebrew terms other than חֹל (e.g., οἴκῳ κοινῷ and οἰκίᾳ κοινῇ from בֵּית חָבֵר in Prov 21:9 and 25:24 ["common house"]) is, of course, taken for granted. See ibid., p. 790. This has no bearing, however, on our present discussion.

[16]Ibid., p. 791.

[17]Bruce, p. 218, n. 15.

Furthermore, as also noted earlier, the voice itself never mentioned "unclean." It invariably reprimanded Peter for declaring creatures to be "common."[18] He was never directed to consume the "unclean" creature, but rather immediately to desist from describing as "common" the creatures that God had declared "cleansed."[19]

It has been argued that this "cleansed" was either the sweeping removal of all distinctions by the Cross-event[20] or a special, extraordinary event here at the descent of the sheet[21]—an event demonstrating that Peter may now associate with Gentiles because God had either symbolically or actually "cleansed" the unclean creatures. However, if Peter was to disregard the distinctions of people on the

[18]In comparing Acts 10 and 11, the longest identical sentence is the reply of the voice to Peter's categorization of the creatures. Luke went to great pains to record Peter's exact defense.

[19]Hauck, "κοινόω," p. 809, notes that the imperative (κοίνου) in Acts 10:15 and 11:9 is best explained in the declarative sense: "to declare unclean or profane."

[20]See, e.g., Chr. Wordsworth, *The New Testament of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ in the Original Greek: With Introductions and Notes* (London, 1872), section on "Acts of the Apostles," 2: 90: "God *cleansed* all Nations by *one* single *act*. He cleansed the Gentiles who were unclean according to the Law, by the Blood of His Dear Son, shed once for all on the cross." Others holding this view include Charles W. Carter (*The Acts of the Apostles*, Wesleyan Bible Commentary [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1964], 4: 546: "By His [Christ's] sacrificial death, these distinctions have been forever abolished"); F. W. Stellhorn (*Annotations on the Acts of the Apostles*, The Lutheran Commentary, 6 [New York, 1896]: 139: "*Actually* by the death of Christ, which did away with all the types of the Old Testament, fulfilling the very last of them; *formally* by this command given to Peter"); and R. J. Knowling, "The Acts of the Apostles," in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll, 2 [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956]: 254-255). Also noteworthy is Rackham, p. 152: "His [Christ's] body was the true *vessel* which 'sealed up the sum of' created life, and so his incarnation had *cleansed* creation. And now he, by whom all things were made, pronounces all things clean. Henceforth nothing is unclean of itself. To make this declaration most emphatic, it is repeated *three times*."

[21]E.g., Neil, p. 139: "He had been rebuked by the divine 'voice' (verse 13), whose command to 'kill and eat' had pronounced all things clean . . ."; and Robertson, p. 137: ". . . this new proposal even from the Lord runs against all his [Peter's] previous training." See also J. W. Packer, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975), p. 83 (". . . God's command to eat cleansed all the animals in the sailcloth"); G. H. C. Macgregor, "Acts: Text, Exegesis, and Exposition," *IB* 9:136 ("*What God has cleansed*: Presumably by the command to eat. Or have we an echo of Mark 7:14-23, where Mark's comment on Jesus' teaching is that 'thus he declared all foods clean' [RSV]"); and William Barclay, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 80-81.

basis that the command of the voice had just at that time removed the distinctions of creatures, a difficulty arises in that the verb used is in the aorist indicative active—ἐκαθάρισε(ν), derived from καθαρίζω, "to cleanse." This verb form reveals that God's act of "cleansing" was punctiliar, historical, and declarative.[22]

By grammatical definition, ἐκαθάρισε(ν) precludes the present. It must refer either to the Cross-Event or to an event during the OT era. The latter is not an acceptable alternative, due to the voice's consistent reference to Peter's category of "common."

What was it that Peter declared to be "common"? The answer is clearly: The "clean" creature associating with the "unclean" in the sheet. Only the "clean" could be rendered "common," and then only by the "unclean," for these "unclean" creatures were the very agents of defilement. The voice pointedly ignored Peter's category of "unclean" and categorically denied that the "clean" creature was here defiled by contact with the "unclean."

3. *The "Common" Classification in Its Historical Perspective*

For the vision and divine instruction to be sensible to Peter, the concepts of "clean" and "unclean" must exist in the NT era. Rather than whether Gentiles were to be accepted into the Church, the point for pondering was how *he*, Peter, could associate with Gentiles and not be defiled. The vision definitively demonstrated to him that just as creatures could co-exist within the sheet and not defile or be defiled, so he too could associate with Gentiles without fear of contamination or pollution.

If the Cross had removed the distinctions between "clean" and "unclean" animals, the text should be expected to read differently. The voice should have ignored Peter's category of "common" and displayed annoyance at his continuing to regard creatures as "unclean." It should have said, "What God has cleansed, you must not call *unclean*."

This is, of course, contrary to the data. Peter saw "all" creatures and categorized them into two classes. The voice responded in

[22]Cf. Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1957; reprint ed., 1978), p. 282; and H. E. Dana and Julius R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (Toronto, 1927, 1955, 1957), pp. 193-194.

language of distinction—language that Peter should readily understand. It stated what the Cross-Event had really done: removed the "wall of separation," thus allowing the "clean" and the "unclean" creatures to associate freely again. Clearly, the Jew was to remain ethnically a Jew, the Roman a Roman, the Greek a Greek, etc., but now the divine command illustrates that free social interaction cannot defile.

The Jewish concept of defilement by association probably grew from God's principle of separation wherein he had warned the Israelites that they were not to follow the polluted example of the previous inhabitants of Canaan:

> I am the LORD your God, who have separated you from the peoples. You shall therefore make a distinction ["separate them," LXX; "put difference," KJV] between the clean beast and the unclean, and between the unclean bird and the clean; you shall not make yourselves abominable by beast or by bird or by anything with which the ground teems, which I have set apart for you to hold unclean ["separated from you as unclean," KJV]. You shall be holy to me; for I the LORD am holy, and have separated ["severed," KJV] you from the peoples, that you should be mine (Lev 20:24b-26).

Symbolic of the Israelites' separation of themselves from the surrounding nations was the separation—the physical partition—of the "clean" creature from the "unclean." It should be carefully noted that the subject of discussion in the foregoing passage is not the definition of a "clean" or "unclean" creature, but rather the *separation* of creatures that already were classified and known by these categories, symbolic of God's separating out the Jewish people from well-established national groups.[23]

[23]The root of the word used to describe this idea of separation was that which was used to describe the separation of light from darkness, the waters, and day from night in the creation narrative (Gen 1:4, 6, 14, etc.). In this passage it is clear that God was not defining the distinction of "clean" and "unclean," but rather he was adding the concept of symbolic separation to the established fact of the two categories of creatures. It is likewise interesting that ἀφορίζω, employed by the LXX to translate the Hebrew בָּדַל (not διαστέλλω as in Lev 11:47), is also used by Paul to describe Peter's action after the arrival of the "circumcision party" from Jerusalem (Gal 2:12). He "separated" himself from the Gentile brethren even after God had singularly blessed him with this vision of the distinct lack of any "wall of

It is possible that this passage in Leviticus was uppermost in Peter's mind at the time of his vision. In any event, the sentiments he expresses are the very ideas enunciated there.[24] However, nothing is mentioned in the passage itself about defilement by association with Gentiles; rather, what is in view is defilement by association with the *symbols*.

Prior to the time of Christ, an extension of this directive had developed. In order to avoid inevitable contact with the symbol, Jewish tradition added to the OT stipulation by eventually regarding association with Gentile human beings themselves as a source of defilement. It is in this context that Peter's understanding of the term "common" is intelligible.

As pointed out by T. C. Smith, "The Gentiles who ate some of the unclean animals listed in Leviticus 11 were unfit for social intercourse with the Jews. The separatist policy in Judaism became so strict that oil, bread, milk, and meat could not be purchased from Gentiles. To eat pagan food was an abomination, but to dine in the house of a pagan was much worse."[25]

Now, just as Peter was no longer to insist upon the "clean" creature's being separated from the "unclean" creature, the voice to him indicated that he should no longer regard either himself or his people as continuing to be especially separated out from the nations. That Peter understood the message in this manner is clear from his subsequent association with Cornelius and other Gentiles.

4. *Implications of NT Usage of the Term "Common"*

Clarification of the usage of κοινός/κοινόω in Acts 10 and 11 provides, first of all, concrete evidence for the continuity of OT distinctions between "clean" and "unclean" flesh foods into the NT era; otherwise, the vision would have had no meaning to Peter.

---

separation." Given Peter's apparent understanding of the freedom of association without fear of defilement (for he had eaten with Gentiles both openly and consistently), Paul's agitation at Peter's failure to withstand the intense political pressure appears altogether understandable.

[24]Another text that may have influenced Peter is, "Flesh that touches any unclean thing shall not be eaten; it shall be burned with fire" (Lev 7:19), even though the literal understanding of the passage is in reference to "peace offerings."

[25]T. C. Smith, "Acts," *The Broadman Bible Commentary* (Nashville, Tenn., 1970), 10:67.

Clarification of this terminology also strikes a direct, mortal attack upon the concepts of (a) the defilement (or making "common") of "clean" creatures by association with "unclean" creatures; and (b) a continuing exclusiveness of the Jews and their supposed defilement (being rendered "common") by association with "unclean" Gentiles.

It is obviously of utmost importance to keep in mind Hauck's analysis of the development of the designation "common";[26] in short, what this term meant in the NT era. It is possible (though not within the scope of this article to examine the evidence) that not only are the conclusions stated above relevant to the material in Acts treated in this article, but that they may also have implications with respect to other NT passages in which the term "common" is used.

For instance, when in Mark 7 the Pharisees urged that handling food with ceremonially unwashed hands rendered it inedible through defilement ("common," Mark 7:2, 5, 15, 18, 20, etc.), Christ rejoined that true defilement sprang from within rather than without. Mark concludes, "Thus he declared all foods clean" (vs. 19), deducing from the illustration of the eating of "clean" bread with "common" hands that in daily association the believer need not consider that "clean" foods would thus be rendered "common."

Whether Mark or a later editor is responsible for the parenthetical comment would appear to be immaterial. Surely, no one would seriously insist that Christ was advocating the inclusion of "unclean" foods within the parameters of a pre-Cross debate with Pharisees, who would hardly have allowed "unclean" creatures

[26]John Brunt, "Unclean or Unhealthful? An Adventist Perspective," *Spectrum*, February 1981, p. 19, demonstrates one of the more logical conclusions an interpreter is forced to consider when κοινός/κοινόω is either ignored or misunderstood. He states that "Mark's comment transcends the question of unwashed hands and declares that *all* foods are clean (Mark 7:19). It is hard to imagine that first-century Gentile Christians would have taken that to mean all foods except those declared unclean in Leviticus 11."

However, as documented by both Hauck and Robertson (see p. 147, above; and Hauck, "κοινός," p. 791; Robertson, p. 137), the aspects of defilement and pollution involved here were peculiar to *Palestinian Judaism*. This development, as well as the fact that Christ's pre-Cross debate was within this Jewish-Palestinian context, renders it difficult to imagine why Brunt calls upon first-century Gentile-Christian opinion as the norm.

into their definition of food, let alone have considered them capable of being defiled! After all, as stated earlier, the "unclean" articles were the very instruments of defilement. By definition, they could never be the recipients of defilement. Thus, the argument that Christ declared "all" creatures to be acceptable as food would appear to be void.[27]

Similarly, Paul was "firmly persuaded" that flesh meats offered to idols were rendered "common" only in the mind of the "weak" individual (Rom 14:1, 14). Such a person would consume only vegetables because these were not offered to idols before being sold in the market-place, and therefore would not be defiled. Paul stated that "everything is indeed clean . . ." (Rom 14:20) because, as with the parenthetical comment of Mark 7:19, nothing within the parameters of "clean" food should be thought of as being made "common."

In retrospect, the polemic indicated in these passages is directed, not against the OT distinction between "clean" and "unclean" animals, but at the concepts and practices developed in later Judaism that the "clean" would become "common" or "defiled" by contact with "unclean" (or with other "common" or "defiled") objects.[28] In addition, the basic thrust of the account in Acts 10 and 11 extends this concept to the sphere of human association. Palestinian Judaism applied the idea of "defilement" or "commonality" to the Jew who associated with Gentiles. This was an unwarranted distinction on the basis of the OT itself, but all the more so in the light of the Cross-Event, which had broken down the "wall of separation."

[27]See above, pp. 147-149 and the references in nn. 14 and 15.

[28]It is interesting to note that Lev 11:34 indicates that "food . . . which may be eaten" (יֵאָכֵל; see also Gen 6:21) is not "defiled" or "made common" by contact with the "unclean," but is in fact to be regarded as if it too were "unclean."

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Summer 1983, Vol. 21, No. 2, 155-168.
Copyright © 1983 by Andrews University Press.

GREGORY 1175: ALEXANDRIAN OR BYZANTINE IN THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES?

W. LARRY RICHARDS
Pacific Union College
Angwin, California 94508

1. *Introduction*

Gregory 1175 is an eleventh-century Greek manuscript from Patmos containing the book of Acts, the Pauline Epistles, and the Catholic Epistles.[1] According to many significant critical editions of the Greek NT, including von Soden, Merk, Bover, and Nestle,[2] MS 1175 is a witness to the Alexandrian text-type in both Acts and the Catholic Epistles. In this article we are concerned with the manuscript's text-type in the Catholics only.

Results from my studies in 1974 on the Greek manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles[3] showed that in 1, 2, 3 John, MS 1175 is definitely a solid witness, not to the Alexandrian text, but rather, to the Byzantine text. Two alternatives quite naturally arose: (1) has MS 1175 been classified incorrectly in all of the Catholics, or, (2) is MS 1175 Alexandrian in some of the Catholics and Byzantine in 1-3 John and possibly others? In either case, on the basis of my work in 1-3 John, the classifications of this manuscript by von Soden, Merk, Bover, and Nestle in their critical texts, and by

[1]Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1962). Portions of 1 Thessalonians and Hebrews, as well as all of Philemon and most of Titus, are missing.

[2]Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, Teil 2: *Text mit Apparat* (Göttingen, 1913); Augustinus Merk, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, 9th ed. (Rome, 1964); Joseph M. Bover, *Novi Testamenti Biblia Graeca et Latina*, 5th ed. (Madrid, 1968); E. Nestle and K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 25th ed. (New York, 1963).

[3]*The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Catholic Epistles of the Johannine Epistles* (Missoula, Mont., 1977).

R. Schnackenburg is his commentary on 1-3 John,[4] are either partially or wholly incorrect.

In the present essay I shall explore the evidence pertinent to the alternatives mentioned above and seek to answer the questions as to whether Gregory 1175 has a Byzantine text throughout the seven epistles or a mixture of Byzantine and Alexandrian types.

2. *Method*

In order to determine the text-type of MS 1175, we examined all of the units of variation in the Catholic Epistles where the Textus Receptus (TR) and the key Alexandrian witnesses differed. The MSS selected to represent the Alexandrian text are the four major uncials which have been well established as Alexandrian MSS: MS 01 (Sinaiticus), MS 02 (Alexandrinus), MS 03 (Vaticanus) and, MS 04 (Ephraemi). Wherever at least two of these four MSS agreed against the TR, the reading was considered.

MS 1175 was collated[5] and then compared with the four Alexandrian MSS and with the TR. The TR was used as a representative for the Byzantine text, and so a word of explanation should be given. One might suggest that to use the TR as a representative for the Byzantine text would be just as inappropriate as using any *one* of the Alexandrian MSS to stand for the Alexandrian text. Many studies have shown, however, that the TR and other Byzantine MSS agree more often with one another than do the Alexandrian MSS. That is, when dealing with MSS which agree with one another 90 percent of the time or more, as do the Byzantine MSS, any one of them would serve fairly well as a representative of the text; whereas an Alexandrian MS, which has its level of agreement with other Alexandrian MSS in the 70 percent range, could not serve the text-type as well. The 70 percent level of agreement immediately and correctly suggests a greater divergence of "text" readings. If we were to take any four Byzantine MSS and note how often they would evenly divide in a given area of text, we would find that the number of split readings would be

[4]Rudolf Schnackenburg, *Die Johannesbriefe*, vol. 13 of *Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, eds. A. Wikenhauser and Anton Vögtle, rev. 2d ed. (Freiburg i.B., 1963).

[5]The 1873 Oxford edition of the TR was used as the norm.

significantly lower than we would find among the four selected Alexandrian witnesses.[6]

It is important to keep in mind that the classification of the text of MS 1175 was not based on how often it disagreed with the TR, but rather on how often it agreed with the TR in comparison to how often it agreed with the Alexandrian MSS. For obvious reasons, we have eliminated from consideration those places where the TR, MS 1175, and three of the four Alexandrian witnesses all agree.

MS 1175 was examined in these units to see how often it agreed with the TR and how often it agreed with the Alexandrian witnesses. The classification was based on the readings in which three of the four Alexandrian MSS (or all four) differed from the TR. The alignment of MS 1175 in such places (i.e., with either the TR or with the Alexandrian MSS) provides us with the data necessary for classification purposes. However, even where the four Alexandrian MSS split evenly, it is valuable to note whether MS 1175 is in agreement with the two Alexandrian witnesses which agree with the TR or with the two which disagree with the TR.

In the following discussion I shall provide the statistics for each of the individual epistles. As the paragraphs below indicate, MS 1175 in the Catholic Epistles agrees with both the Alexandrian text and the Byzantine text. It is, in fact, fairly easy to determine the point in the text where the shift occurs. In the first three books (James and 1-2 Peter) MS 1175 agrees with the Alexandrian text-type in a significant majority of places; in the remaining four epistles (1-3 John and Jude) MS 1175 agrees with the Byzantine text-type. It is worthy of note that when MS 1175 lines up with the Alexandrian MSS, it does so with about the same percentages other Alexandrian MSS agree with one another. The same holds true, but to a lesser degree, when MS 1175 follows the Byzantine text.

Before we turn to the statistical analysis of the individual books, a word about the tables of readings (beginning on p. 162) should be given. The first entry is always that of the TR; it is therefore easy for the reader to detect at a glance whether MS 1175 agrees with the TR (an "X" on the same first line), or with the

[6]I made a random check in the Catholic Epistles in the Nestle-Aland Greek text (25th edition) to discover how often the TR and the Byzantine text agree. The results bear out the point I am making here.

Alexandrian text (an "X" on the second line). Parentheses around the "X" simply means that the reading in the particular MS at this point is slightly different from the reading given in the left-side column, but nevertheless is close enough to the reading to be listed. The units of variation are given separately for each book, and the numbering begins with number *one* for each book.

3. *Analysis of the Individual Books*

James

The classification of MS 1175 in James was based on 43 units of variation (see pp. 162-163). Of the 43 units, MS 1175 agrees 67 percent of the time with the Alexandrian readings (29 of 43), and 33 percent of the time with the TR (14 of 43). The MS would therefore be classified Alexandrian in James.

There are eleven readings in which the four Alexandrian MSS split; i.e., two would agree with the TR and two would read against the TR. What happened to MS 1175 in these eleven units with divided Alexandrian support? In eight of these eleven, MS 1175 reads *against* the TR, leaving three places where MS 1175 agrees *with* the TR. These eleven readings, therefore, strengthen the Alexandrian nature of the text of MS 1175 in James.

1 Peter

As already noted, MS 1175 is also Alexandrian in 1-2 Peter. In 1 Peter, I worked basically with 52 units of variation (see pp. 163-165). MS 1175 agrees with the Alexandrian witnesses with the same percentages we found in James: 67 percent agreement (35 of 52). The MS agrees with the TR in the remaining 17 readings. In the seven readings in which the Alexandrian MSS split, MS 1175 agrees in only two against the TR. That is, in these seven places, MS 1175 is more Byzantine than Alexandrian. But this fact does not alter the classification of our MS.

2 Peter

In 2 Peter (see pp. 165-166), an examination of the readings in which there is no split among the Alexandrian MSS shows that MS 1175 once again is Alexandrian by practically the same percentages

we noted for James and 1 Peter. MS 1175 agrees with the Alexandrian text 69 percent of the time (11 of 16) and with the TR 31 percent of the time (5 of 16).

There is, however, an unusual difference in the nature of the MS support in 2 Peter which we did not have in either James or 1 Peter, and that is that in 2 Peter there is a large number of readings in which the four Alexandrian MSS split. In fact, there are more readings which evenly divide than there are readings which do not. As we noted above, the classification of 2 Peter is based on 16 readings. There are 20 additional readings in 2 Peter in which the Alexandrian MSS are divided. In a majority of these (11 of 20) MS 1175 agrees with the TR, so that if we combine all of the readings under consideration we may have a clue to a shift in text-type. That is, MS 1175 agrees with the TR 44 percent of the time (16 of 36) when we include the readings with divided support.

We must keep in mind that this shift is only evident when we expand the number of units of variation, and that this extension of evidence occurs because of the apparent lack of uniformity among the Alexandrian MSS in 2 Peter. The next question to be asked is whether any pattern emerges among these four MSS.

In the 36 units, I checked the Alexandrian MSS to determine how they related to each other and how they related to MS 1175 and the TR. It is clear that MSS 01 and 02 are closer to one another than in any other combination, reading together fourteen times. This, of course, tells us that MS 03 and MS 04 are therefore closer to one another than either would be in any other arrangement, agreeing in the same fourteen places. MS 1175 agrees with MSS 03 and 04 eleven times in the split readings, and only three times with MSS 01 and 02.

With these figures in mind, I next asked: What do we find when we look at the fourteen readings vis-à-vis the TR? In these readings MSS 03 and 04 are closer to the TR than MSS 01 and 02, agreeing with the TR in nine of the fourteen readings. This indicates, therefore, that MSS 03 and 04 are closer to the Byzantine text than MSS 01 and 02. Furthermore, MS 1175 follows MSS 03 and 04 rather faithfully in these fourteen readings with divided support (7 of 9 which agree with the TR, and 4 of the 5 which read against the TR). What this all suggests is that there may be a slight shift in MS 1175 away from the Alexandrian text in that it aligns

itself with the two Alexandrian MSS (03 and 04) which also are not as "Alexandrian" in 2 Peter.

1 John

Although the evidence for MS 1175 for 1-3 John is available in the study referred to in the introduction of this paper,[7] it would be helpful to provide the data here, as well as to list the readings used for the present study. After extracting the readings in 1 John which coincide with the process being followed in this investigation, I was left with 42 readings (see pp. 166-167). MS 1175 agrees with the TR 83 percent of the time in these units of variation (35 of 42), and 17 percent of the time with the Alexandrian MSS.

The Byzantine affinity is strengthened for MS 1175 when we look at the readings where the Alexandrian witnesses evenly divide. There are fifteen such readings, and in all but one, MS 1175 agrees with the two Alexandrian MSS which read *with* the TR.

2 John

Nine readings were used as evidence in 2 John, and MS 1175 agrees with the TR against the Alexandrian text in all nine, for 100 percent agreement. There is one reading with divided support, and MS 1175 agrees with the two Alexandrian MSS which agree with the TR.

3 John

What we just observed about 2 John is essentially the same for 3 John. Nine readings were used, and in these units our MS agrees with the TR 89 percent of the time (8 of 9). Again, there is one reading with divided support, and in it MS 1175 agrees with the TR.

Jude

As we turn to the last of our seven books, we find MS 1175 continuing to agree with the Byzantine text, but even more so than the level of agreement that clearly emerged with 1 John. Sixteen readings served as a basis for classification, and MS 1175 agrees with the TR in 88 percent of these readings (14 of 16). In four other places the Alexandrian witnesses were divided. And of these, MS

[7]See n. 3, above.

1175 lined up with the two Alexandrian MSS agreeing with the TR in three of the four readings.

4. *Conclusion*

Before making some concluding remarks, one further question should be addressed: How is it that so many editors of Greek NT texts could have missed this classification?

I would like to propose a possible answer. Von Soden was the first to erroneously classify MS 1175 in the Catholics, and I believe editors have simply followed von Soden. This indeed seems to be the case for Bover, who obviously leaned more heavily on von Soden's text than he did on the text of Westcott and Hort.[8] Bover actually states in his introduction that "in our apparatus, the text of von Soden is firmly preserved. . . ."[9] This dependence on von Soden's text presumably carried over to von Soden's classifications!

This study has shown that Gregory 1175 is a witness to the Alexandrian text in James and 1-2 Peter, and to the Byzantine text in 1-3 John and Jude. In terms of the number of books, MS 1175 is Byzantine in the majority of the Catholic Epistles (4 of 7), but in terms of quantity, MS 1175 is more Alexandrian than Byzantine (591 lines of text in James and 1-2 Peter as compared to 355 lines of text in 1-3 John and Jude).[10]

Because of these facts, we may conclude that it would not be accurate for editors of critical texts of the Greek NT to list MS 1175 as a witness to the Alexandrian text in the Catholic Epistles. That would be misleading. The answer, therefore, to our question about MS 1175, "Alexandrian or Byzantine in the Catholic Epistles?," is really quite simple: it is *both*.

[8]Bover writes, e.g., in his Introduction: "Inde fit, ut in multis, Westcott-Hortianum textum deserens, cum Sodeniano consentiat: non quod Sodenianum tamquam normam seu criterium assumat, sed quia visum est antiquioribus quibusdam lectionibus sua esse iura tribuenda; in quibus probandis, a Westcott-Hort longius etiam quam Soden ipse textus noster discedit" (p. xiii).

[9]Ibid, p. xx.

[10]This information is based on the 26th edition of the Nestle-Aland Greek text. It is interesting that in this latest edition of the Nestle-Aland text, MS 1175 is no longer cited as a witness to the Alexandrian text, and one might assume that the change in text-type within the Catholic Epistles for MS 1175 was detected prior to the publication of the 26th edition.

JAMES

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
1. 1:12	κυριος OM	X	(X)	X	X	X	X
2. 1:18	αυτου εαυτου	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. 1:19	ωστε ιστε	X	X	(X)	X	X	X
4. 1:19	εστω + δε	X	X	X	(X)	X	X
5. 1:20	ου κατεργαζεται ουκ εργαζεται	X	X	X	X	X	X
6. 1:25	ούτος OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
7. 1:26	εν ύμιν OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
8. 2:2	την OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
9. 2:3	και επιβλεψητε επιβλεψητε δε	X	X	X	X	X	X
10. 2:3	αυτω OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
11. 2:4	και (1) OM	X	X	X	X	(X)	X
12. 2:5	του κοσμου τουτου τω κοσμω	X	X	X	X	X	X
13. 2:5	επηγγειλατο επαγγελιας	X	X	X	X	X	X
14. 2:10	τηρησει πταισει τηρηση πταιση	X	X	X	X	X	X
15. 2:14, 16	το OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
16. 2:17	εργα εχη εχη εργα	X	X	X	X	X	X
17. 2:18	εκ χωρις	X	X	X	X	X	X
18. 2:18	σου (2) OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
19. 2:18	δειχω σοι σοι δειχω	X	X	X	X	X	X

JAMES (*cont.*)

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04[1]
20. 2:18	μου (2) OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
21. 2:19	ὁ θεος εις εστι εις ὁ θεος εστιν εις εστιν ὁ θεος	X	X	X	X	(X)	X
22. 2:20	νεκρα αργη	X	X	X	X	X	X
23. 2:22	συνηργει συνεργει	X	X	X	X	X	X
24. 2:24	τοινυν OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
25. 3:3	προς εις	X	X	X	X	X	X
26. 3:3	αυτους ήμιν ήμιν αυτους	X	X	X	X	X	X
27. 3:4	σκληρων ανεμων ανεμων σκληρων	X	X	X	X	X	X
28. 3:5	μεγαλαυχει μεγαλα αυχει	X	X	X	X	X	X
29. 3:5	ολιγον ήλικον	X	X	X	X	X	X
30. 3:8	δυναται ανθρωπων δαμασαι δυναται δαμασαι ανθρωπων δαμασαι δυναται ανθρωπων	X	X	X	X	X	X
31. 3:8	ακατασχετον ακαταστατον	X	X	X	X	X	X
32. 3:9	θεον κυριον	X	X	X	X	X	X
33. 3:12	ούτως ουδεμια πηγη άλυκον και ουτε άλυκον	X	X	(X)	X	X	X
34. 3:18	της OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
35. 4:1	και + ποθεν	X	X	X	(X)	X	X
36. 4:4	μοιχοι και OM	X	X	X	X	X	

[1]Evidence from MS 04 is lacking in James from 4:2 to the end of the book.

JAMES (*cont.*)

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
37. 4:5	κατωκησεν	X					
	κατωκισεν		X	X	X	X	
38. 4:7	αντιστητε	X					
	+ δε		X	X	X	X	
39. 4:11	και (1)	X					
	ή		X	X	X	X	
40. 4:12	ὁ (1)	X			X		
	OM		X	X		X	
41. 4:12	νομοθετης	X					
	+ και κριτης		X	X	X	X	
42. 4:12	συ τις ει ὁς κρινεις τον ἑτερον	X					
	συ δε τις ει ὁ κρινων τον πλησιον		X	X	X	X	
43. 4:13	και (1)	X	X		X		
	ή			X		X	
44. 4:14	δε	X					
	και		X	X	X	X	
45. 5:4	απεστερημενος	X	X		X		
	αφυστερημενος			X		X	
46. 5:9	κατακριθετε	X					
	κριθητε		X	X	X	X	
47. 5:11	ὑπομενοντας	X					
	ὑπομειναντας		X	X	X	X	
48. 5:12	εις ὑποκρισιν	X	X				
	ὑπο κρισιν			X	X	X	
49. 5:16	εξομολογεισθε	X					
	+ ουν		X	X	X	X	
50. 5:16	τα παραπτωματα	X					
	τας ἁμαρτιας		X	X	X	X	
51. 5:16	ευχεσθε	X	X	X			
	προσευχεσθε				X	X	
52. 5:18	ὑετον εδωκε	X	X			X	
	εδωκεν ὑετον			(X)	X		
53. 5:19	αδελφοι	X					
	+ μου		X	X	X	X	
54. 5:20	ψυχην	X	X			X	
	+ αυτου			X	X		

1 PETER

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
1. 1:7	τιμην και δοξαν	X					
	δοξαν και τιμην		X	X	X	X	X
2. 1:8	ειδοτες	X			X		
	ιδοντες		X	X		X	X
3. 1:12	εν	X	X	X			X
	OM				X	X	
4. 1:16	γενεσθε	X					
	εσεσθε		X	X	X	X	X
5. 1:22	δια πνευματος	X	X				
	OM			X	X	X	X
6. 1:22	καθαρας	X	X	X			X
	OM				X	X	
7. 1:23	σπορας	X	X			X	
	φθορας			X	X		X
8. 1:23	εις τον αιωνα	X	X				
	OM			X	X	X	X
9. 2:2	αυξηθητε	X					
	+ εις σωτηριαν		X	X	X	X	X
10. 2:3	ειπερ	X	X				X
	ει			X	X	X	
11. 2:5	λιθοι ζωντες	X	X	(X)			
	λιθον ζωντα				X	X	X
12. 2:5	οικοδομεισθε	X	X		X	X	
	εποικοδομεισθε			X			X
13. 2:6	διο και	X					
	διοτι		X	X	X	X	X
14. 2:6	ακρογωνιαιον εκλεκτον	X		X	X		
	εκλεκτον ακρογωνιαιων		X			X	X
15. 2:12	εποπτευσαντες	X			X		
	εποπτευοντες		X	X		X	X
16. 2:13	ουν	X	X				
	OM			X	X	X	X
17. 2:14	μεν	X	X				X
	OM			X	X	X	
18. 2:16	δουλοι θεου	X			X		
	θεου δουλοι		X	X		X	X
19. 2:24	αυτου	X		X			
	OM		X		X	X	X

1 PETER (*cont.*)

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
20. 2:25	πλανωμενα πλανωμενοι	X	X	X	X	X	X
21. 3:1	αἱ OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
22. 3:5	επι τον θεον εις θεον	X	X	X	X	X	X
23. 3:7	συγκληρονομοι + ποικιλης	X	X	X	X	X	X
24. 3:7	εκκοπτεσθαι εγκοπτεσθαι	X	X	X	X	X	X
25. 3:8	φιλοφρονες ταπεινοφρονες	X	X	X	X	X	X
26. 3:9	ειδοτες OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
27. 3:10	αυτου (1) OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
28. 3:10	αυτου (2) OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
29. 3:11	εκκλινατω + δε	X	X	X	X	X	X
30. 3:12	οἱ OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
31. 3:13	μιμηται ζηλωται	X	X	X	X	X	X
32. 3:15	δε OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
33. 3:15	θεον χριστον	X	X	X	X	X	X
34. 3:17	θελει θελοι	X	X	X	X	X	X
35. 3:18	επαθε ὑπερ ἡμων απεθανεν	X	X	X	X	X	(X)
36. 3:20	ἁπαξ εξεδεχετο απεξεδεχετο	X	(X)	X	X	X	X
37. 3:20	ολιγαι ολιγοι	X	X	X	X	X	X
38. 4:1	ὑπερ ἡμων OM	X	(X)	X	X	X	X

1 PETER (*cont.*)

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04[1]
39. 4:1	εν OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
40. 4:3	του βιου το θελημα το βουλημα	X	X	X	X	X	X
41. 4:4	βλασφημουντες και βλασφημουσιν	X	X	X	X	X	X
42. 4:7	τας OM	X	X	X	X	X	
43. 4:8	δε OM	X	X	X	X	X	
44. 4:8	ἡ OM	X	X	X	X	X	
45. 4:8	καλυψει καλυπτει	X	X	X	X	X	
46. 4:9	γογγυσμων γογγυσμου	X	X	X	X	X	
47. 4:14	δοξης + και δυναμεως	X	(X)	(X)	X	X	
48. 4:14	κατα μεν αυτους βλασφημειται κατα δε ὑμας δοξαζεται OM	X	X	X	X	X	
49. 4:16	μερει ονοματι	X	X	X	X	X	
50. 4:17	ὁ OM	X	X	X	X	X	
51. 4:19	ὡς OM	X	X	X	X	X	
52. 5:1	πρεσβυτερος + ουν	X	X	X	X	X	
53. 5:1	τους OM	X	X	X	X	X	
54. 5:2	εκουσιως + κατα θεον	X	X	X	X	X	
55. 5:5	ὑποτασσομενοι OM	X	X	X	X	X	
56. 5:8	ὁτι OM	X	X	X	X	X	

[1]From 4:5 to the end of 1 Peter, textual evidence in MS 04 is lacking.

1 PETER (*cont.*)

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
57. 5:11	ἡ δοξα και OM	X	(X)	X	X	X	
58. 5:12	ἐστηκατε στητε	X	X	X	X	X	
59. 5:14	αμην OM	X	X	X	X	X	

2 PETER

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
1. 1:3	ὡς + τα	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. 1:3	δια δοξης και αρετης ιδια δοξῃ και αρετῃ	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. 1:4	μεγιστα ... τιμια τιμια ... μεγιστα	X	(X)	X	(X)	(X)	(X)
4. 1:4	εν + τῳ	X	X	X	X	X	X
5. 1:9	ἁμαρτιων ἁμαρτηματων	X	X	X	X	X	X
6. 1:10	σπουδασατε + ἱνα δια των καλων εργων	X	X	X	(X)	X	X
7. 1:13	εν (2) + τῃ	X	X	X	X	X	X
8. 1:17	παρα + του	X	X	X	X	X	X
9. 1:18	εξ εκ του	X	X	X	X	X	X
10. 1:21	ποτε προφητεια προφητεια ποτε	X	X	X	X	X	X
11. 2:2	απωλειαις ασελγειαις	X	X	X	X	X	X
12. 2:4	τετηρημενους κολαζομενους τηρειν	X	(X)	X	X	(X)	(X)
13. 2:6	καταστροφῃ OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
14. 2:12	καταφθαρησονται και φθαρησονται	X	X	X	X	X	X

2 PETER (*cont.*)

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
15. 2:13	κομιουμενοι αδικουμενοι	X	X	X	X	X	X
16. 2:14	πλεονεξιαις πλεονεξιας	X	X	X	X	X	X
17. 2:17	νεφελαι και ὁμιχλαι	X	X	X	X	X	X
18. 2:17	εις αιωνα OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
19. 2:18	οντως ολιγως	X	X	X	X	X	X
20. 2:18	αποφυγοντας αποφευγοντας	X	X	X	X	X	X
21. 2:20	κυριου + ἡμων	X	X	X	X	X	X
22. 2:21	επιστρεψαι εκ εις τα οπισω ανακαμψαι απο	X	(X)	X	X	(X)	(X)
23. 2:22	δε OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
24. 2:22	κυλισμα κυλισμον	X	X	X	X	X	X
25. 3:3	αυτων επιθυμιας επιθυμιας αυτων	X	X	X	X	X	X
26. 3:7	αυτου + τῳ αυτῳ	X	X	X	X	X	X
27. 3:9	ὁ OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
28. 3:9	εις δι'	X	X	X	X	X	X
29. 3:10	ἡ OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
30. 3:10	εν νυκτι OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
31. 3:10	λυθησονται λυθησεται	X	X	X	X	X	X
32. 3:10	κατακαησεται εὑρεθησεται αφανισθησονται	X	X	X	X	X	X
33. 3:13	το επαγγελμα τα επαγγελματο	X	X	X	X	X	X

2 PETER (*cont.*)

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
34. 3:15	αυτῳ δοθεισαν δοθεισαν αυτῳ	X	X	X	X	X	X
35. 3:16	ταις OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
36. 3:16	οἱς αἱς	X	X	X	X	X	X

1 JOHN

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
1. 1:3	απαγγελλομεν + και	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. 1:5	αὐτη εστιν εστιν αὐτη	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. 1:5	επαγγελλια αγελλια	X	X	X	X	X	X
4. 1:7	χριστου OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
5. 1:8	ουκ εστιν εν ἡμιν εν ἡμιν ουκ εστιν	X	X	X	X	X	X
6. 1:9	ἁμαρτιας (2) + ἡμων	X	X	X	X	X	X
7. 2:4	λεγων + ὁτι	X	X	X	X	X	X
8. 2:6	ούτως OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
9. 2:7	αδελφοι αγαπητοι	X	X	X	X	X	X
10. 2:7	απ' αρχης OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
11. 2:10	εν αυτῳ ουκ εστιν ουκ εστιν εν αυτῳ	X	X	X	X	X	X
12. 2:13	γραφω εγραψα	X	X	X	X	X	X
13. 2:18	ὁ OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
14. 2:19	ησαν εξ ἡμων εξ ἡμων ησαν	X	X	X	X	X	X

1 JOHN (*cont.*)

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
15. 2:23	εχει + ὁ ὁμολογων τον υἱον και τον πατερα εχει	X	X	X	X	X	X
16. 2:24	ουν OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
17. 2:27	εν ὑμιν μενει μενει εν ὑμιν	X	X	X	X	X	X
18. 2:27	αυτο αυτου	X	X	X	X	X	X
19. 2:28	ὁταν εαν	X	X	X	X	X	X
20. 2:28	εχωμεν σχωμεν	X	X	X	X	X	X
21. 2:29	ὁτι + και	X	X	X	X	X	X
22. 3:1	κληθωμεν + και εσμεν	X	X	X	X	X	X
23. 3:2	δε OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
24. 3:5	ἡμων OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
25. 3:7	τεκνια παιδια	X	X	X	X	X	X
26. 3:10	ποιων + την	X	X	X	X	X	X
27. 3:11	αγγελια επαγγελια	X	X	X	X	X	X
28. 3:13	μη και μη	X	X	X	X	X	X
29. 3:13	μου OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
30. 3:14	τον αδελφον OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
31. 3:14	αδελφον + αυτου	X	X	X	X	X	X
32. 3:15	αυτῳ ἑαυτῳ	X	X	X	X	X	X
33. 3:16	τιθεναι θειναι	X	X	X	X	X	X

1 JOHN (*cont.*)

	Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04[1]
34.	3:18	μου OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
35.	3:18	μηδε + τη	X	X	X	X	X	X
36.	3:18	αλλ' + εν	X	X	X	X	X	X
37.	3:19	και (1) OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
38.	3:19	γινωσκομεν γνωσομεθα	X	X	X	X	X	X
39.	3:19	τας καρδιας την καρδιαν	X	X	X	X	X	X
40.	3:21	ήμων (1) OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
41.	3:22	παρ' απ'	X	X	X	X	X	X
42.	3:23	πιστευσωμεν πιστευωμεν	X	X	X	X	X	X
43.	4:3	χριστον OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
44.	4:3	χριστον εν σαρκι εληλυθοτα OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
45.	4:19	αυτον OM	X	X	X	X	X	
46.	4:20	πως ου	X	X	X	X	X	
47.	5:5	τις + δε	X	X	X	X	X	
48.	5:6	αίματος + και πνευματος	X	X	X	X	X	
49.	5:6	Ιησους ό χριστος Ιησους χριστος	X	X	X	X	X	
50.	5:9	ήν ότι	X	X	X	X	X	
51.	5:10	έαυτφ αυτφ	X	X	X	X	X	

[1]MS 04 is missing from 1 John 4:19 to the end of 2 John.

1 JOHN (*cont.*)

	Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
52.	5:13	τοις πιστευουσιν εις το ονομα του υίου του θεου OM	X	X	X	X	X	
53.	5:15	και εαν οιδαμεν ότι ακουει ήμων OM	X	X	X	X	X	
54.	5:15	παρ' απ'	X	X	X	X	X	
55.	5:20	ή OM	X	X	X	X	X	
56.	5:21	έαυτους έαυτα	X	X	X	X	X	
57.	5:21	αμην OM	X	X	X	X	X	

2 JOHN

	Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
1.	3	κυριου OM	X	X	X	X	X	
2.	5	γραφων σοι καινην καινην γραφων σοι	X	X	X	X	X	
3.	6	εστιν ή εντολη ή εντολη εστιν	X	X	X	X	X	
4.	6	καθως ηκουσατε απ' αρχης ίνα ίνα καθως ηκουσατε απ' αρχης	X	X	X	X	X	
5.	7	εισηλθον εξηλθον	X	X	X	X	X	
6.	8	VERBS IN FIRST PERSON VERBS IN SECOND PERSON	X	X	X	X	X	
7.	9	του χριστου OM	X	X	X	X	X	
8.	11	γαρ λεγων λεγων γαρ	X	X	X	X	X	
9.	12	ελθειν γενεσθαι	X	X	X	X	X	
10.	13	αμην OM	X	X	X	X	X	

3 JOHN

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
1. 5	εις τους (2) τουτο	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. 7	εθνων εθνικων	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. 8	απολαμβανειν ὑπολαμβανειν	X	X	X	X	X	X
4. 9	εγραψα + αν + τι	X	X	X	X	X	X
5. 10	εκ OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
6. 11	δε (OM)	X	X	X	X	X	X
7. 12	οιδατε οιδας	X	X	X	X	X	X
8. 13	γραφειν γραψαι σοι	X	X	X	X	X	X
9. 13	γραψαι γραφειν	X	X	X	X	X	X
10. 14	ιδειν σε σε ιδειν	X	X	X	X	X	X

JUDE

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04[1]
1. 1	ἡγιασμενοις ηγαπημενοις	X	X	X	X	X	
2. 3	κοινης + ἡμων	X	X	(X)	X	X	
3. 4	χαριν χαριτα	X	X	X	X	X	X
4. 4	θεον OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
5. 5	ἁπας τουτο ὁτι ὁ κυριος παντα ὁτι (ὁ κυριος)[2] ἁπαξ	X	X	X	X	X	X

[1]MS 04 is missing for unit 1 and not legible in unit 2.

[2]MSS 02 and 03 read Ιησους, and MS 01 omits definite article.

JUDE (*cont.*)

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	1175	01	02	03	04
6. 7	τουτοις τροπον τροπον τουτοις	X	X	X	X	X	X
7. 12	περιφερομεναι παραφερομεναι	X	X	X	X	(X)	X
8. 13	τον OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
9. 14	μυριασιν ἁγιαις ἁγιαις μυριασιν	X	X	X	X	X	X
10. 18	ὁτι (2) OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
11. 18	εν εσχατῳ χρονῳ επ' εσχατου χρονου[3]	X	(X)	(X)	(X)	X	X
12. 20	τῃ ἁγιωτατῃ ὑμων πιστει εποικοδομουντες ἑαυτους εποικοδομουντες ἑαυτους τῃ ἁγιωτατῃ ὑμων πιστει	X	X	X	X	X	X
13. 22	ελεειτε ελεγχετε	X	X	(X)	X	(X)	X
14. 22	διακρινομενοι διακρινομενους	X	X	X	X	X	X
15. 23	οὑς δε εν φοβῳ σωζετε εκ του πυρος ἁρπαζοντες (οὑς δε)[4] σωζετε εκ πυρος ἁρπαζοντες (οὑς δε ελεατε)[5] εν φοβῳ	X	X	X	X	X	X
16. 23	ἁρπαζοντες + οὑς δε ελεατε	X	X	X	X	X	X
17. 24	αυτους ὑμας	X	X	X	(X)	X	X
18. 25	σοφῳ OM	X	X	X	X	X	X
19. 25	ἡμων + δια Ιησου Χριστου του κυριου ἡμων	X	X	X	X	X	X
20. 25	εξουσια + προ παντας του αιωνος	X	X	X	X	X	X

[3]MSS 01 and 02 have the definite article preceding χρονου.

[4]These two words are omitted in MS 03.

[5]These three words are omitted in MS 04.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Summer 1983, Vol. 21, No. 2, 169-171.
Copyright © 1983 by Andrews University Press.

A FURTHER NOTE ON DANIEL 6: DANIEL AS "GOVERNOR"

WILLIAM H. SHEA
Andrews University

Although Darius the Mede has received considerable attention in discussions on the historical aspects of Dan 6, Daniel's own part in the events described there has not received a similar amount of attention from historians. In my earlier article, "Darius the Mede: An Update,"[1] I endeavored to assess the current state of the studies pertaining to this individual, as well as giving the evidence for my own view that identifies him as Gubaru, the general mentioned in connection with the fall of Babylon in the Nabonidus Chronicle. It is fitting that I should follow up that earlier article with at least a brief analysis of Daniel's own role in Babylon, as envisaged in chap. 6. Further attention to this matter, in relationship to chap. 10, will be given in a future article.

From the standpoint of Daniel himself, the importance of Dan 6 is what it tells us about the position he occupied in the Babylonian bureaucracy when it was reorganized under Persian control. It was this position that engendered the jealousy of his fellow officials and thus brought his physical well-being into jeopardy. That narrative indicated his position as one of pre-eminence. Darius the Mede appointed 120 satraps and three chief ministers over them, and Daniel was the first of these three chief ministers. While Dan 6 does not specifically identify Daniel as the governor of Babylon, that appears to be the logical way to understand the terminology employed there. The outcome of the story does not detract from that interpretation, since Daniel did not lose his pre-eminent position, but rather "prospered during the reign of Darius, and during the reign of Cyrus the Persian" (Dan 6:28).

The recognition of Daniel's occupancy of this important political position raises the question of whether or not we are in

[1]In *AUSS* 20 (1982): 229-247.

possession of any extra-biblical information that might be relevant to a recognition of Daniel's possible governorship of Babylon. What do we know about the governors of Babylon in the early Persian period? The Gubaru who served as governor of Babylon from the 4th year of Cyrus to the 5th year of Cambyses is the first governor of this period whose name is attested in the contract tablets.

J. C. Whitcomb has collected all of the known references to this governor in his presentation of the proposal that this governor was Darius the Mede.[2] On the other hand, as noted above, I have identified Darius the Mede with an earlier Gubaru, the general who captured Babylon. One of the significant problems encountered in attempting to identify Darius the Mede with the later governor Gubaru was not mentioned in my earlier article: namely, the chronological distribution of the cuneiform references to this later governor. The fact that the Gubaru who earlier appointed governors in Babylonia died there soon after his conquest of the capital city, according to the Nabonidus Chronicle,[3] means that there are no references to any governor of Babylon to fill the void of some four years between the events described in the Chronicle and the first appearance of the name of the governor Gubaru in the contract tablets.

The most likely explanation for this distribution is that this later Gubaru began to serve as governor of Babylon in the 4th year of Cyrus, when he first appears in these texts, and that he completed his term of service in that office at some time during the 5th year of Cambyses, when he disappears from the texts written in Babylonia. Such an interpretation of the data supports the idea advanced in my earlier article that all three of the references to Gubaru in the Nabonidus Chronicle refer to one and the same individual—namely, the person who conquered the city of Babylon, appointed governors there, and died soon afterwards. Thus, that Gubaru is to be distinguished from this later governor with the same name.

An additional objection to identifying the later governor Gubaru with Darius the Mede is that such an identification leaves

[2]John C. Whitcomb, *Darius the Mede* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1959), pp. 11-16.

[3]A. L. Oppenheim, "Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts," in *ANET*, p. 306.

no room for Daniel as governor of Babylon, since in that case Gubaru must have governed Babylon all the way through the reign of Cyrus. On the other hand, if Daniel was the governor of Babylon early in the reign of Cyrus, the distribution of texts mentioning Gubaru the governor is just what one would expect. It would indicate that Gubaru took over the post of governor from Daniel at some time during the 4th year of Cyrus.

In this connection, a reference of special interest is Dan 10:1, where the last historical date in the book of Daniel is found. That date is the first month of Cyrus' 3d year; and the indication is, of course, that Daniel was still alive up to that point. He was, however, quite elderly by this time, and in the normal course of events probably died soon thereafter. It is not unexpected, therefore, that we should find another individual—Gubaru—in the governor's position soon after we last hear of Daniel.

Thus, not only do the contract tablets provide a place in history for Darius the Mede, but they also provide a place in history for Daniel as governor of Babylon. Moreover, that place fits very well with the requirements of the chronological references in Daniel. The name of the person who governed Babylon during the four years prior to the governor named Gubaru has not yet been recovered from contemporary cuneiform texts. However, if and when it is recovered, we should not be surprised to find that it bears some relationship to Daniel's Babylonian or Hebrew name.

BOOK REVIEWS

Aharoni, Yohanan. *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982. Trans. from Hebrew by Anson Rainey. xx + 344 pp. $27.50/$18.95.

I consider this to be the best intermediate level textbook on the archaeology of the land of Israel currently available. W. F. Albright's *Archaeology of Palestine* is now out of print. K. Kenyon's *Archaeology of the Holy Land* is not as readable or as broad and up-to-date as Aharoni's work. For beginners I would still recommend K. Schoville's *Biblical Archaeology in Focus*; but after finishing that volume, the progressing student should turn to Aharoni's work. (I have been informed that a multi-authored volume on this subject is in preparation, but since it is not available yet, the foregoing recommendation stands.)

Aharoni's text follows the customary chronological outline of the subject, beginning with the Paleolithic period and extending down to the end of the Iron Age with the fall of Judah to Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. A little over 100 pages of text are spent on the Israelite period, and about the same amount is devoted to the preceding Canaanite period. The first 50 pages, which treat the earlier periods, can be considered introductory in nature. They lead into the archaeological periods, which receive justifiably greater stress.

Within each archaeological period treated, a relatively wide spectrum of sites, artifacts, architecture, and interpretations is dealt with. Two dozen pottery plates are scattered throughout the volume, illustrating the development of ceramic typology through the different archaeological periods. Some 80 maps, top plans, and line drawings illustrate the different subjects treated, and these are supplemented by 50 photographs, all collected in one section near the end of the volume. As far as the technical layout is concerned, the major drawbacks of the book—the lack of footnote references and an absence of an index of topics—hamper its usefulness as a reference tool.

At the outset, the reader will notice that the terminology employed for the standard archaeological periods is not that of the customary Bronze and Iron Ages. These have been replaced by the terms "Canaanite" and "Israelite." This procedure creates a problem for Transjordan, where one should refer to a parallel site as, e.g., "Moabite I" or "Moabite II." I also find somewhat jarring the anachronism of referring to Canaanites in the third millennium B.C. as living in "Eretz Israel." (When that terminology

is used, it should be used consistently. Yet, the cover title refers to the "Land of Israel," while the body of the text employs the terminology "Eretz Israel.")

Terminology aside, there are more substantive issues involved at points of dispute in this book. As is to be expected, Aharoni has devoted a fair amount of text to special issues in which he himself was involved. One of these discusses whether the new Early Iron Age of "Israelite" villages which spread over the hills of Galilee and elsewhere was contemporaneous with the end of the Late Bronze Age (LB) or only followed after it. The author holds that they were contemporary, while his principal protagonist, Yigael Yadin, held that they were only successive. Aharoni's interpretation (pp. 160-161) appears definitely preferable in this instance, since some late LB pottery has now been found at some of these sites.

Aharoni does not fare quite so well in his dispute with Yadin about the Iron-II gate and wall at Megiddo. Both he and Yadin agree that the four-entry-way gate there is Solomonic and dates to the tenth century, but Aharoni holds that a solid wall there belongs with this gate, while Yadin's opinion is that a casemate wall belongs with it. It seems to me that too much space has been devoted by Aharoni to this discussion (pp. 201-205) in a textbook of this type. The merits of the case are difficult to judge without consulting the more detailed reports or possibly even making a personal field examination.

However, in whatever way the technical archaeological argument is settled, Aharoni's historical reconstruction from it seems strained: "According to this stratigraphic analysis, which can hardly be cast in doubt in the light of numerous data from Megiddo, it is reasonable to assume that the city suffered some destruction between the reigns of David and Solomon. Is such a thing possible, since there is no information about an event such as that? One must beware of the paucity of source material available and the selectivity of biblical historiography . . . " (p. 209).

On the other hand, Aharoni's position on the date of the destruction of Lachish III, 701 over against Albright's 597, continues to be strengthened by further research and the results of ongoing excavations.

While this book provides an excellent archaeological picture of the settlement because of the author's own field research in that area, its archaeological treatment of the Conquest is very thin. The reason for this is that Aharoni has subscribed to the Alt-Noth view that the "conquest" was a process of infiltration and settlement by the Israelite tribes, rather than seeing it commence with a series of military campaigns directed by Joshua. In this connection, the brief dismissal of the archaeological problems of LB Jericho seems quite sketchy (pp. 177-178).

As is to be expected, occasional errors of fact or unlikely interpretations crop up in a work of this type. The high number of burials estimated for

the cemetery at Bab edh-Dhra is based upon Paul Lapp's earlier work, and it has been revised downwards by the current excavators (p. 54). The area of Early Bronze (EB) Ai is overestimated (p. 59) on the assumption that the town occupied all of the territory inside the walls at the foot of the hill. Aharoni's EB IV (p. 71) and the EB IV which is becoming the more popular term for Albright's Middle Bronze (MB) I are two different things, which contributes to confusion in terminology. Ai was destroyed earlier in EB than the rest of the sites listed on p. 80 (cf. p. 71).

W. G. Dever's excavation of an MB I (= EB IV) site in the Negev-Sinai region has shown that the stone circles of such sites were more in the nature of dwellings than Aharoni admits (p. 86). The Hyksos Dynasty of Egypt was the 15th Dynasty, not the 16th (pp. 99, 105). The author's identification of Tell Masos with biblical Hormah (p. 103) is debatable if not dubious. The reference to Fig. 40 on p. 136 should be transposed to follow the preceding sentence in order to make sense. There is a typographical error on p. 140, where "Stratum X" of Megiddo, supposedly destroyed by Thutmose III, should read "Stratum IX." The proposed connection of the Iron-I well at Beersheba with Abraham (p. 168) rests upon a misinterpretation of what the biblical text requires.

Excavations now begun at Tell Miqne have shown that the site was occupied prior to Iron I, contrary to what Aharoni has written on p. 187 (based on old survey work). On p. 214, the author objects to the use of the term "Proto-Aeolic" for a certain type of pillar capital, but Fig. 67 on the next page is labelled with this same term. "Beersheba V" comes from David's "time," not David's "region" (p. 218). Aharoni assumes that the biblical text refers to a temple at Beersheba (p. 229), when the text is not that explicit. The reference to Fig. 82 at the bottom of p. 253 is a typographical error.

These quibbles over matters of detail do not detract in any significant way from the excellence of the overall comprehensive treatment of the subject matter provided in this book. For what it sets out to accomplish, this is the best publication on the subject currently available. Our thanks are also due to its translator for making this material available to an English-reading audience.

Andrews University WILLIAM H. SHEA

Binns, E. Randall. *The Archaeology of the Mind: Modern Man in Search of His Roots*. Cambridge, Eng.: Heffers Printers, 1982. 602 pp. £10.

This monumental study, the fruit of many years of research and travel, compares both modern psychological insights and ancient mythology with

data in the Bible record. The author proposes that original truths which the Creator taught to humankind at the beginning were deformed and mythologized in the pagan cultures. In a comprehensive review of Greek and biblical literatures, this volume traces distorted Greek parallels as compared with items preserved in the records of the OT and NT. The author, a former teacher at Newbold College in England, manifests a high level of competence in dealing with the ancient materials, both linguistically and conceptually, as well as in extracting and applying relevant insights from modern psychology.

Part I in six short chapters reviews "Points of Contact Between the Psychology of Carl Gustav Jung and the Bible." This section provides the foundation for the further chapters by suggesting how the primordial ideas were developed in the ancient world and by comparing and contrasting this development in the pagan mythologies with that of the biblical record. In my view, the presentation is competent, judicious, and balanced, bringing to attention some of the most relevant psychological insights.

Part II consists of five chapters on "The Sanctuary and the Temple." These chapters cover rather familiar terrain for biblical scholars, but are nonetheless outstanding and afford fresh and illuminating insights into the drama of salvation as exhibited in the worship system of ancient Israel.

Part III, "Myth and Pagan Divinities and Ritual," contains ten chapters which treat a remarkably wide range of Greek myths surrounding a number of ancient heroes or deities: Herakles; Gaia, Ouranos and the Early Ages of Man; Zeus; Dionysos; Hera, Athene and Aphrodite; Hermes, Kadmos, Apollo; Demeter and the Eleusinian Mysteries; Oedipos, Bellerophon, Prometheos; and Okeanos. The last of these chapters provides a sublime climax to the study by discussing Okeanos with its counterpart in Rev 21 and 22, particularly the restoration of the original "Garden of Eden" with its "River of Life."

The author's thesis is well summed up in the book's concluding remarks: "Modern man needs to return to the recognition that both individually and collectively he is rooted in those archetypal beginnings which were on the spiritual level. . . . God is still speaking to us as He has done from the beginning, and He now calls us to recognize that all the non-Biblical 'religions' are merely fossilized, degenerate remnants of the original Truth, and that *His* thinking must govern ours. . . ." The book also contains notes, indexes, and a bibliography.

Andrews University LEONA GLIDDEN RUNNING

Carson, D. A., ed. *From Sabbath to Lord's Day: A Biblical, Historical and Theological Investigation.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1982. 444 pp. Paperback, $10.95.

It is a striking occurrence that two monumental works on the Christian day of worship should very recently have been in press simultaneously: the volume here under review, and the one reviewed by Niels-Erik Andreasen on pp. 184-188, below. By their broad scope of treatment (OT to modern times), they add significantly to the growing number of scholarly treatments of the subject, including the widely recognized and influential monographs (more limited in scope) by Willy Rordorf (*Der Sonntag*, 1962; Eng. ed., *Sunday*, 1968) and Samuele Bacchiocchi (*From Sabbath to Sunday*, 1977). (See *AUSS* 16 [1978]: 333-342 and 17 [1979]:85-104 for review articles treating the Rordorf and Bacchiocchi publications.)

Seven scholars collaborated in the preparation of the volume here under review: Carson himself, in addition to editing the volume, wrote the first chapter ("Introduction") and chap. 4, "Jesus and the Sabbath in the Four Gospels." The other authors and their contributions are as follows: Harold H. P. Dressler, chap. 2, "The Sabbath in the Old Testament"; C. Rowland, chap. 3, "A Summary of Sabbath Observance in Judaism at the Beginning of the Christian Era"; Max M. B. Turner, chap. 5, "The Sabbath, Sunday, and the Law in Luke/Acts"; D. R. de Lacey, chap. 6, "The Sabbath/Sunday Question and the Law in the Pauline Corpus"; A. T. Lincoln, chaps. 7 and 12, "Sabbath, Rest, and Eschatology in the New Testament" and "From Sabbath to Lord's Day: A Biblical and Theological Perspective"; and R. J. Bauckham, chaps. 8 through 11—"The Lord's Day," "Sabbath and Sunday in the Post-Apostolic Church," "Sabbath and Sunday in the Medieval Church in the West," and "Sabbath and Sunday in the Protestant Tradition."

This summary of authors and chapter titles makes obvious several important characteristics of the volume: (1) its broad scope (mentioned earlier); (2) the rather limited area assigned to each contributor (with perhaps the exception of Bauckham) so as to assure the possibility for competent treatment; and (3) the preponderance of attention given to NT data. Concerning the third item, it may be noted that more than half of the book's main text is devoted to discussion of the NT materials (chaps. 4-7, plus parts of chaps. 8 and 12), in contrast to less than half for all the rest—the OT, Jewish sabbath observance at the beginning of the Christian era, and the entirety of the post-NT Christian era. Granting that the crucial nature of the NT data makes them deserve a measure of this more detailed treatment, I nevertheless cannot but feel that other significant matters have been given correspondingly short shrift.

The point of view expressed toward the rise and meaning of Sunday as a Christian day of worship differs in one way or another from what may be found in most of the recent major publications in the field—including those of J. Francke, P. K. Jewett, R. T. Beckwith and Wilfrid Stott, Bacchiocchi, and the multi-authored work reviewed later in this issue of *AUSS*. Whereas such publications tend to consider the sabbath as a "creation ordinance" which either is transferred to Sunday in apostolic times or is maintained on the seventh day of the week in the NT period (Sunday emerging in the post-NT era), the authors of *From Sabbath to Lord's Day* deny that the sabbath is a "creation ordinance" at all. Accordingly, they reject the "transfer theory" (i.e., that the OT sabbath obligations are transferred to Sunday). They also forthrightly admit the paucity of NT data for Christian Sunday observance, but they nevertheless conclude that Sunday should be observed as a special day for Christian worship—though by no means as a sabbath or rest day. It is, in fact, this particular thesis (together with the interpretation of data leading to it) which provides the editor with rationale and justification for adding this new volume to the numerous already-existing books on the subject (pp. 14-17).

The views of such authors as Jewett and Bacchiocchi are critiqued at various points throughout the chapters of this volume; but as Carson points out, "We have not written in order to demolish the theories of others. Indeed, as a matter of policy we have focused attention on primary sources; we refute opposing positions only when it is necessary to do so in order to establish our own position" (p. 16). It is to the credit of Carson and his collaborators that despite their attacks upon other positions, an irenic tone has consistently been maintained. One receives the feeling that these scholars have seriously endeavored to get at the heart of the issues, without becoming overly polemical or dogmatic. On the one hand, they maintain an attitude of kindness and respect for those who differ from them; and on the other hand, they acknowledge the limitations and the tentativeness of a number of their own conclusions.

It is impossible in this review to outline and evaluate the lines of argument presented in each chapter of the volume; rather, I shall focus upon a few of the more crucial issues or matters that appear heavily contributory to the thesis of the book. Such elements are elaborated in various sections of chaps. 2 through 11, and are drawn together by Lincoln in chap. 12, a chapter which provides a helpful summary and synthesis of the materials presented earlier.

In his relatively short chapter on the sabbath in the OT (only some 14 pages, excluding endnotes), Dressler argues on the basis of literary structure that God's rest on the seventh day (Gen 2:2-3) is the capstone to the account of creation week, and concludes, further, that God's ceasing from

work "on the seventh day to 'rest' and be 'refreshed' . . . can only indicate that the goal of creation is not mankind, . . . but that all creative activities of God flow into a universal rest period" (p. 29). Thus, for Dressler, "Genesis 2 does not teach a 'creation ordinance' . . . ; the institution of the Sabbath for the people of Israel, however, was based on the creation account and became a sign of God's redemptive goal for mankind" (p. 30).

Lincoln becomes even more emphatic than Dressler in denying the sabbath as a "creation ordinance," suggesting that Exod 20:11 has etiological features. For him, this portion of the sabbath commandment of the Decalogue is to be seen as explaining the newly introduced sabbath "by reference to a past event, God's seventh-day rest after the creation, utilizing the terminology of Genesis 2:3 and a play on words to make its point" (p. 349).

This line of argument misses the mind-set of the ancient Hebrews, as well as failing to grapple with the realities of the historical situation. Its understanding of etiology may also be questioned, inasmuch as modern investigation reveals that etiology functions to explain *time-honored* institutions. It does not serve as rationale for *new* practices. (See, e.g., the discussion by John Bright, *Early Israel in Recent History Writing: A Study in Method* [Chicago, 1956], pp. 91-100.)

A further flaw in Lincoln's thesis is his view that the Decalogue itself is "*pars pro toto*, the part standing for the whole" of the Mosaic covenant in the sense that "what is true of the place of the covenant as a whole will also be true of the Decalogue" (p. 356). But it must be remembered that the Decalogue was given *first*, and that these "Ten Words" were stated in *apodictic* form (i.e., broad statement of *principles*). Case-law stipulations, ritual regulations, etc., were to function *within the sphere of these more basic Ten Words*—Ten Words to which God "added no more" (Deut 5:22). (Perhaps an analogy may be made with constitutions and laws of modern nations, though the parallel is by no means exact: rather than a nation's constitution being "*pars pro toto*" of its laws, the constitution is the *foundational statement* indicating the direction which specific laws of the community should take.)

In dealing with the data in the Gospels, the authors of *From Sabbath to Lord's Day* tend to be cautious—rightly so—in their evaluation of Christ's sabbath miracles as evidence of sabbath-breaking. Carson correctly identifies Jesus' breaches of sabbath regulations as involving Halakah, not any written precepts of the Torah (see chap. 4, passim, and the summary statements on p. 84). One may question, however, Carson's conclusion that Jesus' radicalization of Torah included *repeal* as well as intensification. The one example of repeal of Torah which Carson provides (p. 76)—Mark 7:14-23—is really *set in the context of Halakic regulations* about ritual

washing of hands. Moreover, there is pertinent question as to what is meant in this Marcan passage by "defilement" or "rendering common," for that too is apparently a development that stands in contrast to the OT's own regulations on "clean" and "unclean" (see now Colin House's discussion given in the present issue of *AUSS*, pp. 143-153).

As for any NT evidence relating to Sunday as a special time for Christian worship (in this volume, Sunday as a *full day of rest* from routine activities is emphatically denied), the authors readily concede that such evidence is scant and controversial—as well as somewhat late, when viewed in relationship to the Cross and Resurrection. They do not, therefore, press for Sunday's investiture with worship significance in the immediate post-Resurrection period. Nevertheless, they feel, as Lincoln puts it, that the "scanty" evidence—the data of Acts 20:7, 1 Cor 16:2, and Rev 1:10—"points us clearly in one direction" (p. 383). This direction, as summarized by Lincoln, is that Acts 20:7 refers to a Sunday, not Saturday, assembly; that even though the putting aside of funds mentioned in 1 Cor 16:2 "is not directly connected with public worship," the "most likely factor" for singling out this day "remains that this was in fact the day for the Corinthians' regular assembly for worship"; and that "Revelation 1:10 adds to this somewhat sparse evidence by indicating that the title of 'Lord's Day' had been conferred on the first day of the week" (ibid.).

Obviously, Lincoln's conclusion regarding 1 Cor 16:2 is mere speculation and represents a *non sequitur* in relationship to the text itself. Would it not, in fact, be more logical to deduce the very opposite from the text: namely, that "laying aside" funds "at home" on the first day of the week is evidence *against* there being public worship services on that day?

As for the situation at the Troas meeting depicted in Acts 20:7ff., Turner's argumentation in chap. 5 that this took place on a Sunday night rather than on a Saturday night is not compelling (the question as to which night it was must remain an open one), nor is he convincing in his view that the coming together to break bread definitely signified an assembling for the purpose of celebrating the Eucharist (see pp. 130-131). While we recognize with Turner (and with Joachim Jeremias, to whom he appeals on p. 130) that to "break bread" came frequently to have this sort of technical significance, a wooden application of it in this particular context creates confusion, for in that case Paul evidently celebrated the Eucharist a second time that night, after restoring Eutychus (vs. 11)!

The already "scanty" evidence has now been reduced to a single text, Rev 1:10—a text that does not even specify or identify a particular day. In later usage, "Lord's Day" did, of course, refer to Sunday; but the question must be raised here as to the legitimacy of reading back into NT usage that later "Lord's Day" terminology. (Cf., e.g., the treatment by Walter F. Specht

on pp. 125-127 of *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* [see p. 184, below] and my own discussion in *NTS* 13 [1966-67]: 174-181.)

Bauckham makes clear, however, in his more specific treatment of the "Lord's Day" in chap. 8, that he does not consider Christian Sunday observance to be simply a late innovation even in NT times. Indeed, although he vigorously refutes Willy Rordorf's thesis that its origin lies in an Easter-Sunday evening meal of the disciples with their risen Lord, he opts for a somewhat later *Palestinian* origin—an origin for which NT evidence is lacking, as he candidly admits (pp. 234-236). He speculates that the universality of Christian worship on Sunday outside of Palestine "when the evidence becomes available in the second century" makes irresistible the conclusion "that all of the early missionaries simply exported the practice of the Palestinian churches," especially since the universal imposition of the practice left "no hint of dissent and disagreement" (p. 236).

But what does early Christian history *really* suggest? Aside from the fact that clear and direct evidence for this sort of universality belongs to the *third* century rather than to the second, there is difficulty in seeing why such a development left absolutely *no traces* of itself in conjunction with either the *giving* Palestinian Jewish-Christian church or any of the *receiving* Gentile churches. *Major changes of this sort increase and intensify the evidence, rather than leaving no trace!*

The treatment afforded developments in post-NT church history by *From Sabbath to Lord's Day* is indeed all too brief, as I have noted earlier. A more thorough-going approach to the evidence regarding the sabbath-Sunday controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, as well as a number of other relevant matters, would not only enhance our understanding of those later centuries, but would also provide a more adequate frame of reference for assessing the rather obscure earlier developments that led up to the more-clearly-documented later situation. Nevertheless, it must be recognized, too, that Bauckham's task in covering the entire span of post-NT Christian history was an especially formidable one and that he therefore deserves commendation for covering in as much detail as he does the data pertaining to those many centuries.

In at least one major concern, the authors of this volume have been quite successful: namely, in demonstrating the lack of canonical support for the "transfer theory" of sabbath obligations to Sunday. As Bauckham has noted (p. 287) and Lincoln has echoed (p. 386), this Sunday sabbatarianism "was a medieval, not a patristic, development." But the question arises: In setting forth their evidence, have not these authors also undercut their own thesis?

In his synthesizing summary chapter, Lincoln admits that if "to set a normative pattern an imperative in the New Testament is required, then

observance of the first day of the week does not come into the category of normative patterns of practice" (p. 387). But he goes on to suggest that Rev 1:10 provides "more promising data." In his view, the limited evidence of Rev 1:10 suggests that "a precedent had already been set in the practice of at least John's churches" (p. 387). It was, according to him, undergirded by the "theological rationale of Christ's lordship demonstrated in His Resurrection on the first day of the week"; and furthermore, its applicability was not just to Roman Asia nor to only the early-church period, but is one that remains in effect "throughout the church's life" (p. 388). Thus, he finds that, after all, "the practice of Sunday worship . . . lays high claim to bearing the mark of canonical authority" (ibid.).

But, pray tell, how can this diminutive and attenuated string of suppositions lead to such a lofty conclusion? It would seem that Lincoln and the other authors of this volume, in their effort to steer a course which avoids both the "sabbath-transfer theology," on the one hand, and the conclusions of Samuele Bacchiocchi in favor of the continuation of the Saturday-sabbath, on the other hand, have set forth a view of Sunday in the early Christian church which simply cannot give the day the virtually normative status that in the final analysis is here claimed for it.

The foregoing negatives do not minimize the significance of *From Sabbath to Lord's Day*. This book *is* an important publication, and it will undoubtedly be recognized as such by modern biblical scholarship for years to come. Its authors show an outstanding acquaintance with relevant secondary literature. In many ways, the vast amount of material to which they call attention, as well as their own incisive analysis, is instructive indeed. Their critiques of differing viewpoints are usually penetrating. As is so often the case, however, these are frequently of better quality than are their own positive contributions. In any event, this publication is one which will be—and should be—read, though such reading should necessarily be with cautions of the sort sampled in this review.

The volume contains no bibliography, but the chapters close with sections of endnotes that provide in themselves an outstandingly rich mine of information. Several helpful indexes conclude the book.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Hodges, Zane C., and Farstad, Arthur L., eds. *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text*. Nashville, Camden, and New York: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1982. xlvi + 810 pp. $13.95.

The title clearly indicates the contents of this book. The editors, especially Hodges, have for many years promoted the Textus Receptus (TR) or the majority text. Textual critics have not generally concerned themselves

with this resurgence of the TR. They feel that that battle was fought long ago and the superiority of the TR has been discredited once and for all.

Besides the other editor of this volume, supporters of the TR are Terence Brown, David Otis Fuller, Edward F. Hills, Wilbur N. Pickering, and Jakob van Bruggen. The most influential book in promoting this point of view is that edited by Fuller, entitled *Which Bible?* (1970). Pickering and van Bruggen have presented the most significant arguments, the former in *The Identity of the New Testament Text* (1977) and the latter in *The Ancient Text of the New Testament* (1976). D. A. Carson, in *The King James Version Debate: A Plea for Realism* (1979), and Gordon Fee, in "Modern Textual Criticism and the Revival of the Textus Receptus," *JETS* 21 (1978):19-33, have most effectively refuted this point of view.

In the introduction, an explanation is given for the editors' selection of the majority text as that which represents the earliest tradition, followed by an explanation of their apparatuses, discussion of John 7:53-8:11, and a discussion of the apparatus for the Apocalypse. There is a select bibliography at the end of the volume. The text is printed in very readable type, with English subtitles.

There are two apparatuses. The first includes all the significant divisions within the surviving manuscripts, and also the differences between this text and the 1825 Oxford edition of the TR. The second apparatus includes the differences between this text and that of the United Bible Societies' and Nestle-Aland's texts which are not already included in the first apparatus.

Since the TR is characterized by fullness, the significant difference between this text and modern critical texts lies in its additional matter. The following are readings added in this text but omitted in critical texts: Matt 5:44 (parts); 6:13b; Ὑποκριταί and τοῦ προφήτου in 16:3-4; 17:21; 18:11; 23:14; καὶ ἐστρώννυον εἰς τὴν ὁδόν in Mark 11:8; 15:28; 16:9-20; ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησε in Luke 9:54; καὶ εἶπεν . . . ἀλλὰ σῶσαι in 9:55-56; 23:17; 24:12; καὶ λέγει . . . ὑμῖν in 24:36; 24:40; καὶ ἀνεφέρετο . . . αὐτόν in 24:51-52; ἐκδεχομένων . . . νοσήματι in John 5:3-4; 7:53-8:11; Rom 14:24-26 (instead of at 16:25-27); 16:24.

There are two significant readings, however, that have not been added in this text. These are Acts 8:37 and 1 John 5:7-8. The reason is that these do not have the support of the majority text. In Rev 22:14, this text reads "Blessed are those who do his commandments," but better manuscripts read, "Blessed are those who wash their robes."

It is unfortunate that this anachronistic text should appear at this time along with its companion volume The New King James Version, at a time when manuscripts of a very early age (2d and 3d century) have been discovered which contradict its claims.

Newbold College
Bracknell, Berkshire, England

SAKAE KUBO

Strand, Kenneth A., ed. *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*. Washington, D. C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1982. 391 pp. $19.95.

This symposium volume contains essays by nineteen authors, most of them associated with Andrews University, on the general theme of the sabbath. Its chapters are grouped in three sections and are followed by eight appendices, a glossary, and two indices. Due to the considerable variety among the various chapters in both method and approach to the subject, specific comments will be made about each contribution, followed by some concluding assessment of the whole volume.

The biblical section opens with an incisive chapter on the sabbath in the Pentateuch (G. F. Hasel), where the "ideas, themes, and motifs" of the sabbath come to clearest expression (p. 21). Hence, the treatment is largely theological in nature, and despite certain disclaimers, it follows quite closely the findings of a number of theological treatments of the sabbath. On the very difficult question of the early history of sabbath observance, Hasel distances himself (and rightly so, I believe) from the array of recent and current hypotheses. The chapter on the prophetic and historical books (G. F. Hasel and W. G. C. Murdoch) takes the form of a survey of sabbath texts with brief exegetical comments.

Two chapters on the sabbath in "sectarian" and rabbinic Judaism (Sakae Kubo and R. M. Johnston) discuss the sabbath in interaction with a difficult and hostile world. The ensuing tension between strict sabbath rules and leniency in sabbath observance introduced by the pressures of practical life, evokes some sympathy for the Jews of that period, and places their religion in a more favorable light than is familiar to readers of the sabbath conflicts in the gospels. The following two chapters, dealing with sabbath and Sunday in the NT (W. F. Specht), show that the sabbath was observed in the first Christian century as a day of rest and of worship by Jesus and his followers, whereas Sunday was not. This is essentially a historical argument. Theologically speaking, Specht holds that Jesus disclosed the "purpose of the original [sabbath] institution" (p. 101), that he did not abolish it, nor liberate his followers from the sabbath's obligations (p. 105). On this score, one misses an exegetical treatment of much-debated passages such as Rom 14:5 and Col 2:16f. (see, however, Appendices C and D).

The second, historical section of the book traces two themes from the second to the nineteenth century A.D., namely, the emergence and dominance of Sunday observance in Christianity and the scattered and struggling remnants of sabbath (Saturday) observance among isolated Christian groups. The first chapter on early Christianity (Samuele Bacchiocchi) traces the displacement of sabbath observance by Sunday observance to anti-Jewish

sentiments among Christians in Rome at the time of the Jewish persecutions, and to the already-existing sun cult. Additional factors contributing to this change (Christ's resurrection, annual Easter-Sunday celebrations, the Easter-to-Pentecost season) are introduced in Appendix B (K. A. Strand), and further information on the complexities of the planetary week, sun day worship, etc., appears in Appendix A (S. D. Waterhouse).

The second theme (remnants of Christian seventh-day sabbath observance) is considered in the two following chapters (W. K. Vyhmeister). Evidence of Saturday-Sunday (two-day) observance is well known in early eastern Christian churches (see also Appendix B), and there is even scattered evidence of Sabbath (Saturday) only observance. However, due to the polemical nature of many of the sources, it is not always clear if observance of Saturday is motivated by latent Jewish influence (p. 157) or renewed Jewish influence (p. 161), or whether it is the result of indigenous Christian considerations of the Bible and of theology (pp. 181-182).

The chapter on the medieval period (Daniel Augsburger) shows the triumph of Sunday observance as a civil and ecclesiastical institution, undergirded by a "sabbath" theology. Faint echoes are heard of seventh-day sabbath observance, though not among the Waldenses (pp. 207-208). The Reformation era (K. A. Strand) confirmed the observance of Sunday, but the Reformers were pressured to justify retaining an ecclesiastical institution while opposing ecclesiastical authority. This pressure led some Reformers to view Sunday observance as a matter of civil ordinance with spiritual overtones gained from the sabbath institution (pp. 218-219), whereas other (radical) Reformers apparently reverted to a seventh-day-sabbath practice; in some instances, but not generally, this was under Jewish influence (pp. 220-225).

The Puritans (W. B. Douglas) developed a strong biblical covenant theology, which included considerations of the sabbath, in their effort to advance a struggling English reformation. On the matter of sabbath observance, a majority—with the help of the so-called "transfer theory" (i.e., what the Bible says about the sabbath really applies to the Christian Sunday)—developed a vigorous sabbath theology and praxis.

A minority (considered to be significant, pp. 237-239) adopted Saturday-sabbath observance, for which they were persecuted. They also formed the first Christian-sabbath-observing communities in the New World (pp. 240-241).

This brings us to the last chapter in the historical section, dealing with the New World (R. F. Cottrell). It differs from the rest of the material by ignoring the majority (Sundaykeepers) and focusing exclusively on the minority (Saturday observers): primarily, but not exclusively, the Seventh-day Adventists. In tracing the early development and growing success of

sabbath observers among New-World Christians, the unusual thesis is formulated (p. 256) that a direct relationship exists between membership growth and the combination of sabbath observance and advent faith. One suspects that other factors played a role as well.

The third section of the volume, dealing with sabbath theology, is disproportionately short, consisting of only three chapters. The sabbath in modern Jewish theology (Roy Branson) portrays the struggle of Judaism with the sabbath institution in a secular world. Is the sabbath ultimately an expression of God's absolute will, or is it rather a contribution to human civilization—or better yet, is it an enrichment of human experience? This divergence, which is said to experience a new convergence, is mild compared with that of contemporary Christian theologies of the sabbath (H. K. LaRondelle). The latter is further exacerbated by a distinction between Christian interpreters who treat the sabbath theologically while ignoring its specific legal and temporal requirements (referred to as radical-critical and neo-orthodox approaches) and evangelical interpreters whose theological energies are exhausted by discussions of the legal and temporal requirements of the "sabbath." This peculiar situation may explain the fact that the last chapter, "Reflections on a Theology of the Sabbath" (Raoul Dederen), seems to find more affinity among the work of so-called critical theologians than among the evangelicals. However, these reflections are ultimately biblically based, with the result that the last chapter returns us repeatedly to the themes of the first chapter, though in a somewhat abbreviated way.

Some of the appendices treat peripheral matters, others elaborate on certain chapters, almost to the point of meriting inclusion among them. The treatment of Rom 14:5f., Col 2:16f., and Heb 4:4-9 (Appendices C, D, and E) is probably too brief to satisfy some readers and would probably have benefited from inclusion in the main part of the volume.

Meaningful detailed assessments of the conclusions of a volume of this scope are difficult, but it may be possible to ask in a general way about the degree to which it has reached its objectives. According to the preface, the book was designed to deal "comprehensively with the two main days of Christian worship" (p. 15). The title of the book, on the other hand, speaks only of the sabbath, and that, it would seem, is more accurate, for it really is a book written in defense of sabbath (Saturday) observance. Thus, it begins with the seventh-day sabbath, traces its confrontation with the first day, records its almost total disappearance during the medieval period, and recounts its re-emergence among the radical Reformers, Puritans, Baptists, and finally, Seventh-day Adventists. Its argument in favor of the sabbath observance is essentially historical in nature, namely, (1) that the seventh-day sabbath was the original day of rest and worship; (2) that its change to Sunday was ecclesiastically, not biblically, motivated;

(3) that therefore it was remembered by non-conformist church communities throughout the history of Christianity; and (4) that it has been reaffirmed by biblically oriented Seventh-day Adventists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Seen this way, the book may be compared and contrasted to D. A. Carson, ed., *From Sabbath to Lord's Day: A Biblical, Historical and Theological Investigation* (reviewed on pp. 177-182, above). This latter volume, of course, defends Sunday observance for Christians, and it does so on the basis of the same history of sabbath-Sunday that we have just reviewed, but its argument is essentially theological in nature, namely, that the change from sabbath to Sunday is justified, though not mandated, by the Christian gospel.

However, since Christianity is a historical religion that values its teachings by biblical and historical judgments, the first volume (edited by Strand) is the more persuasive: The defense of the sabbath (Saturday) observance has Scripture and history on its side. This second volume, in defense of Sunday, must argue theologically so as to bend the development from sabbath to Sunday in its favor, for there simply is no biblical injunction to Sunday observance that parallels the biblical injunction to sabbath observance.

However, the first volume, under review here, may have taken this second theological argument too lightly, because the sabbath observance that it defends on historical grounds must ultimately be seen as thoroughly Christian, not Jewish, in nature. Yet, it is recognized repeatedly that lingering sabbath observance among Christians was frequently motivated by latent Jewish influences. This could lead to the suggestion that the sabbath eventually lost out to Sunday, or nearly so, because it lacked persuasive, convincing, Christian theological support. Therefore, a defense of Christian sabbath (Saturday) observance should give serious consideration to the matters of law, Judaism, new covenant, faith, and certain crucial NT passages such as Rom 14:5f. and Col 2:16f.

In other words, recent Christian sabbath theology has been based essentially on the OT and perhaps on the Gospels, and it has been cited as effectively by defenders of both sabbath and Sunday observance (the latter, under the so-called "transfer theology"). Much good has come of this, but the question still remains: Can we really have an effective Christian sabbath theology without a Christian sabbath observance? Therefore, when a defense of Sunday observance is based upon a theological assessment of a church-historical event (change from sabbath to Sunday observance), a Christian defense of the sabbath, such as is undertaken here, based essentially upon history, cannot avoid a serious theological assessment of that same event. Such an assessment must be based upon a careful

reading of the total Christian canon of Scripture, OT and NT, if it is to avoid letting the influence of latent Judaism, on the one hand, and of the so-called "transfer theology" on the other hand, prejudice its sabbath theology and observance. This task, it seems to me, is still unfinished, the many excellent and helpful contributions of the present volume notwithstanding. To undertake this task we must produce a Christian theology of the sabbath, a theology that explores both the observance and the spirit of the sabbath, for in the long haul, it seems to me, we shall not be able to retain the latter without taking seriously the former.

Of course, these observations do not detract from the positive contributions of the many excellent chapters and appendices in this new sabbath volume, which the serious student of the sabbath can only welcome.

Loma Linda University
Riverside, California 92515

NIELS-ERIK ANDREASEN

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.

Bauckham, Richard J. *Jude, 2 Peter.* (Word Biblical Commentary. Vol. 50.) Waco, Texas: Word Books Publisher, 1983. 357 pp. $18.95.

Regarded by the author as an "explanatory work," since "no NT books have been more neglected by scholars than Jude and 2 Peter," despite their significance as documents of early Christian history.

Calvinus Reformator: His Contribution to Theology, Church, and Society. Papers Delivered at the First South African Congress for Calvin Research, August 12-14, Pretoria, 1980. Potchefstroom, Transvaal, Republic of South Africa: Potchefstroom University, 1982. 324 pp. Paperback, Rand 7.00.

The papers given at this international meeting, organized by the Institute for Reformational Studies at Potchefstroom University, deal with Calvin's theology, work, and life, as well as the Reformer's influence upon the South African church and the English-speaking ecclesiastical sphere.

Edwards, O. C., Jr. *Elements of Homiletic: A Method for Preparing to Preach.* New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1982. xiv + 132 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

Written as a companion book to Kavanagh's *Elements of Rite* (see below), this volume outlines a methodical procedure for constructing homilies. "It is how-to-do-it-at-all rather than how-to-do-it-artfully."

Greenberg, Moshe. *Ezekiel, 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* (The Anchor Bible. Vol. 22.) New York: Doubleday, 1983. xv + 388 pp. $16.00.

The first of two volumes on Ezekiel, adhering to the MT and employing the LXX, Peshitta, medieval Hebrew manuscripts, and rabbinic literature.

Hallo, William W.; Moyer, James C.; and Perdue, Leo G. (eds.) *Scripture in Context II: More Essays on the Comparative Method.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983. xv + 250 pp. $15.00.

This collection of essays had its origins in a summer 1980 seminar at Yale University, directed by William W. Hallo. The papers deal with "the major phases of ancient Near Eastern history" and focus on "the history, literary traditions, and religion of ancient Israel within the context of her cultural environs." Also noticed are "the implications of significant and important differences."

Inch, Morris, and Youngblood, Ronald (eds.). *The Living and Active Word of God: Essays in Honor of Samuel J. Schultz.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983. xiv + 355 pp. $17.50.

The twenty-three essays discuss selected topics from the OT and NT, and the authority and relevance of Scripture in general. Some of the essay titles are: "The Abrahamic Covenant: Conditional or Unconditional?"; "Jesus and Moses: Rabbinic Backgrounds and Exegetical

Concerns in Matthew 5"; "Hebrew Thought and Life in the Church"; "The Concept of Truth in the Contemporary Inerrancy Debate"; "Italics in English Bible Translation"; "The Bible the Foundation for a World and Life View."

Kavanagh, Aidan. *Elements of Rite: A Handbook of Liturgical Style.* New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1982. 109 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

Develops guidelines for Roman Catholic liturgical practice today.

Koteskey, Ronald L. *General Psychology for Christian Counselors.* Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1983. 302 pp. Paperback, $10.95.

Maintains that a good working knowledge of basic psychology is essential for effective counseling within a Christian context. Points out both weaknesses and valuable aspects in secular psychology. Discusses various psychological disorders and their treatment.

LaRondelle, Hans K. *The Israel of God in Prophecy: Principles of Prophetic Interpretation.* (Andrews University Monographs, Studies in Religion. Vol. 13.) Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1983. xiv + 226 pp. $14.95/$9.95.

Discusses various types of Bible interpretation, arguing against dispensationalism. Using the Bible as its own expositor, the author shows that "the Church is the continuity of the Old Testament Israel of God," and that "Gentile Christians do not constitute a different or separate entity from the faithful remnant of Israel. They are ingrafted into the messianic Israel."

Lester, Andrew D. *Coping with Your Anger: A Christian Guide.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983. 114 pp. Paperback, $6.95.

Explores the nature and importance of anger in Christian life and shows how to handle it and channel it into positive energy.

Millard, A. R., and Wiseman, D. J. (eds.). *Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives.* Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983. xi + 237 pp. $17.50/$9.95.

Seven essays seek to make a positive contribution to the debate on the historicity of the patriarchal narratives, both reviewing past attempts and breaking new ground. Attention is also paid to tradition-history and structural analysis of the text.

Moore, Mary Elizabeth. *Education for Continuity and Change: A New Model for Christian Religious Education.* Nashville, Tenn: Abingdon, 1983. 222 pp. Paperback, $10.95.

Searches for a new model which combines historical tradition and contemporary experience.

Thiele, Edwin R. *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, new rev. ed. (3d ed.). Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1983. 253 pp. $12.95.

This new edition of Thiele's renowned work on the chronology of the kings of Judah and Israel (first published in 1951 by the University of Chicago Press and Cambridge University Press) not only incorporates new data that have come to light, but also recasts the presentation into an attractive new organizational scheme, accompanied by numerous helpful diagrams and charts. Especially significant is the fact that Thiele has chosen to "discuss the Hebrew rulers one by one in the order of sequence in which their accounts appear in [the books of] Kings."

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א	= ʾ	ד	= *d*	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	= *d̲*	ט	= *ṭ*	נ	= *n*	ק	= *q*				

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

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

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

AASOR	*Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.*
AB	Anchor Bible
AcOr	*Acta orientalia*
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
ADAJ	*Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan*
AER	*American Ecclesiastical Review*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AHW	Von Soden, *Akkad. Handwörterb.*
AJA	*Am. Journal of Archaeology*
AJBA	*Austr. Journ. of Bibl. Arch.*
AJSL	*Am. Jrl., Sem. Lang. and Lit.*
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
ANEP	*Anc. Near East in Pictures,* Pritchard, ed.
ANESTP	*Anc. Near East: Suppl. Texts and Pictures,* Pritchard, ed.
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts,* Pritchard, ed.
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOS	American Oriental Series
APOT	*Apocr. and Pseud. of OT,* Charles, ed.
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgesch.*
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
ASV	American Standard Version
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
AUM	Andrews Univ. Monographs
AusBR	*Australian Biblical Review*
AUSS	*Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader*
BARev	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.*
BCSR	*Bull. of Council on Study of Rel.*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibB	Biblische Beiträge
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BIES	*Bull. of Isr. Explor. Society*
BJRL	*Bulletin, John Rylands Library*
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BO	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BQR	*Baptist Quarterly Review*
BR	*Biblical Research*
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BT	*The Bible Translator*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur *ZAW*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CC	*Christian Century*
CH	*Church History*
CHR	*Catholic Historical Review*
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIJ	Corp. Inscript. Judaicarum
CIL	Corp. Inscript. Latinarum
CIS	Corp. Inscript. Semiticarum
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
CQ	*Church Quarterly*
CQR	*Church Quarterly Review*
CR	Corpus Reformatorum
CT	*Christianity Today*
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
CurTM	*Currents in Theol. and Mission*
DACL	*Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de lit.*
DOTT	*Docs. from OT Times,* Thomas, ed.
DTC	*Dict. de théol. cath.*
EKL	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*
EncIsl	*Encyclopedia of Islam*
EncJud	*Encyclopedia judaica* (1971)
ER	*Ecumenical Review*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FC	Fathers of the Church
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies*
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HibJ	*Hibbert Journal*
HR	*History of Religions*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IB	*Interpreter's Bible*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*Interpreter's Dict. of Bible*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Int	*Interpretation*
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly*

Abbreviations (cont.)

JAAR	*Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.*
JAC	*Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum*
JAOS	*Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.*
JAS	*Journal of Asian Studies*
JB	Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical Hist.*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux*
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JMeH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JMES	*Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JMH	*Journal of Modern History*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPOS	*Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRAS	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*
JRE	*Journal of Religious Ethics*
JRelS	*Journal of Religious Studies*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JRT	*Journal of Religious Thought*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of OT*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSR	*Journ., Scient. Study of Religion*
JTC	*Journal for Theol. and Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theol. Studies*
KJV	King James Version
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LQ	*Lutheran Quarterly*
LTK	*Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche*
LW	*Lutheran World*
McCQ	*McCormick Quarterly*
MLB	Modern Language Bible
MQR	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCB	New Century Bible
NEB	New English Bible
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary, NT
NICOT	New International Commentary, OT
NIV	New International Version
NKZ	*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NPNF	Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers
NRT	*Nouvelle revue théologique*
NTA	*New Testament Abstracts*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTS	NT Tools and Studies
ODCC	*Oxford Dict. of Christian Church*
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Or	*Orientalia*
OrChr	*Oriens Christianus*
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PEFQS	*Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG	*Patrologia graeca,* Migne, ed.
PJ	*Palästina-Jahrbuch*
PL	*Patrologia latina,* Migne, ed.
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyl.*
QDAP	*Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.*
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.*
RArch	*Revue archéologique*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
RechSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
REg	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RelS	*Religious Studies*
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
RenQ	*Renaissance Quarterly*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RevSém	*Revue sémitique*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RHPR	*Revue d'hist. et de philos. rel.*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RL	*Religion in Life*
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
RPTK	*Realencykl. für prot. Th. u. Kirche*
RR	*Review of Religion*
RRR	*Review of Religious Research*
RS	*Religious Studies*
RSPT	*Revue des sc. phil. et théol.*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RTP	*Revue de théol. et de phil.*
SB	Sources bibliques
SBLDS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.
SBLMS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.
SBLSBS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study
SBLTT	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*
SCR	*Studies in Comparative Religion*
Sem	*Semitica*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SMRT	Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought
SOr	Studia Orientalia
SPB	Studia Postbiblica
SSS	Semitic Studies Series
ST	*Studia Theologica*
TAPS	Transactions of Am. Philos. Society
TD	*Theology Digest*
TDNT	*Theol. Dict. of NT,* Kittel and Friedrich, eds.
TDOT	*Theol. Dict. of OT,* Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.
TEH	*Theologische Existenz Heute*
TGl	*Theologie und Glaube*
THAT	*Theol. Handwört. z. AT,* Jenni and Westermann, eds.
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TP	*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*