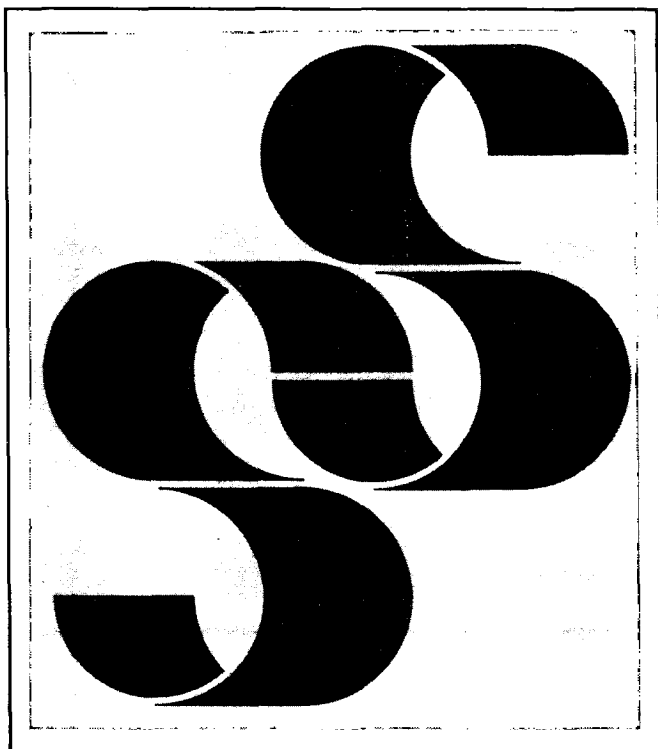


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1 CHRONICLES 16:8-36 AS LITERARY SOURCE FOR REVELATION 14:6-7

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That the book of Revelation is replete with OT allusions is generally recognized by NT scholarship. The purpose of the present article is to probe the OT literary background to one such passage in the Apocalypse, Rev 14:6-7.¹

1. *Introductory Observations*

It will be noted that in Rev 14:7, the proclamation of the first angel (in the series of three messages from vss. 6-11) contains four key words or expressions: "fear" (φοβέω), "glory" (δόξα), "judgment" (κρίσις), and "worship" (προσκυνέω).² These four words can be traced back to 1 Chr 16:8-36, David's psalm of thanksgiving at the return of the ark of the covenant and its reinstatement into the tent of worship in Jerusalem (cf. vss. 1-7).

This psalm has parallels in three psalms of the Psalter, which either have drawn upon it or provide the source from which it is constituted: Pss 96 (1 Chr 16:23-33); 105:1-15 (1 Chr 16:8-22); and 106:1, 47-48 (1 Chr 16:34-36). In addition, Ps 29 has a partial parallel with 1 Chr 16:23-33.³ Among these various sections in the Psalter,

¹I am indebted to Steven Thompson of Newbold College (Bracknell, Berkshire, England) for methodological insights that led me to this investigation and for several useful suggestions during the initial stage of my preparation of this article.

²The combination of these four key words can also be found in Rev 11:13-19 and 19:1-10, the only other NT passages where all four do occur in combination.

³It is not of significance for our study whether the three sections in the Psalter provided the sources for 1 Chr 16:8-36, or whether 1 Chr 16:8-36 was the original piece from which materials were taken and placed into separate Psalms. For a discussion of the issues, see, e.g., E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1965), pp. 221-224; H. Gese, "Die Entstehung der Büchereinteilung des Psalters," in Josef Schreiner, ed., *Wort, Lied, und Gottesspruch. Beiträge zu Psalmen und Propheten. Festschrift für Joseph*

only Ps 96 contains the four key expressions of Rev 14:7. However, in one case a different Greek word is used in Ps 96 (LXX, Ps 95); and the broader contextual parallels between 1 Chr 16 and Rev 14 are also lacking in Ps 96. For such reasons, 1 Chr 16:8-36 gives the best evidence for being the basic biblical literary background for Rev 14:6-7.⁴ (See further, in Excursus A at the close of this article.)

With regard to extra-biblical sources, there are two passages in the Qumran "War Scroll" (1QM) that have some parallels with Rev 14:6-7, primarily with respect to the occurrence of the four key words or expressions that have been mentioned above. These passages are 1QM 12:6-17 and 19:1-8, with the latter being basically a repetition of the former (with some minor changes). Both of these 1QM passages are so contextually different from 1 Chr 16 and Rev 14:6-7 that they can categorically be dismissed as furnishing the basic literary background for the wording of the latter text. (See further, in Excursus B at the close of this article.)

2. *The Four Key Words*

φοβέω, "fear"

In 1 Chr 16:8-36 and Rev 14:6-7, there is a call to "fear God." The first angel in Rev 14:7 begins his message thus—φοβήθητε τὸν θεὸν. In 1 Chr 16:8-36, LXX, two forms of φοβέω occur: φοβερὸς in vs. 25, within the statement, "Great is the Lord and most worthy of praise; he is to be feared" (μέγας κύριος . . . φοβερὸς . . .); and φοβηθήτω in vs. 30, in the command, "Fear before his presence, all the earth" (φοβηθήτω ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ).

δόξα, "glory"

As with φοβέω, δόξα is linked with God in the two passages under consideration. The second clause in the angel's proclamation in Rev 14:7 is a command to "give him [God] glory" (δοῦτε αὐτῷ

Ziegler (Würzburg, 1972), 2:61-62; T. C. Butler, "A Forgotten Passage from a Forgotten Era (1 Chr. XVI 8-36)," *VT* 28 (1978): 142-150; and A. E. Hill, "Patchwork Poetry or Reasoned Verse? Connective Structure in I Chronicles 16," *VT* 33 (1983): 97-101.

⁴It must be recognized, of course, that the book of Revelation often has multiple literary sources for a given passage or even a given symbol.

δόξαν). In 1 Chr 16:8-36, the word δόξα occurs four times: “Declare his glory [δόξαν] among the nations” (vs. 24); “glory [δόξα] and majesty are before him” (vs. 27); “ascribe to the Lord the glory [δόξαν] and strength” (vs. 28); and “ascribe to the Lord the glory [δόξαν] due to his name” (vs. 29).

κρίσις/κρίνω, “judgment”/“judge”

The third clause in the angel’s message in Rev 14:7 refers to judgment: “for the hour of his [God’s] judgment has come” (ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως). This statement is remarkably close to a statement in 1 Chr 16:33—“for he [God] is come to judge the earth” (ὅτι ἦλθε κρίναι τὴν γῆν).

Moreover, the term “judgments” occurs in 1 Chr 16:12, 14—in the expressions, “Remember his [the Lord’s] marvelous works that he has done, his wonders, and the judgments [κρίματα] of his mouth”; and “He is the Lord our God; his judgments [κρίματα] are in all the earth.” It is noteworthy that in each instance “judgment” or “judgments” are ascribed to God.

It is of interest to notice, too, that in David’s psalm of thanksgiving, several aspects of judgment are in view—the historical and local, on the one hand, and the eschatological and universal, on the other. By way of contrast, only the universal dimension is depicted in Rev 14:7. Here all nations, etc., are envisaged in this apocalyptic picture.

προσκυνέω, “worship”

The last of the four key words in Rev 14:7 is “worship”: “Worship [προσκυνήσατε] him who made the heavens. . . .” The same verb is found in 1 Chr 16:29, LXX: “Worship [προσκυνήσατε] the Lord.”

Summary

The foregoing survey concerning the four key words or expressions in Rev 14:7—φοβέω, δόξα, κρίσις, and προσκυνέω—shows that the Apocalypse uses a combination of words (and the related themes) appearing in 1 Chr 16:8-36. This survey is a first, and important, step in the line of evidence that reveals David’s psalm of thanksgiving to be a basic literary source for the language of Rev 14:6-7. To some further evidences in support of this conclusion we now turn.

3. *Other Similarities in Language and Conceptualization Between 1 Chr 16:8-36 and Rev 14:6-7*

Besides the four words discussed above, there is another remarkable similarity in expression between 1 Chr 16:8-36 and Rev 14:7, plus additional similarities that may be noted when comparing the preceding verse in Rev 14 (vs. 6) with the passage in 1 Chronicles.

οὐρανός και γῆ . . . (“heaven and earth . . .”)

The concluding command of the first angel’s proclamation in Rev 14:7 is to worship “him who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and springs of water” (τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν και τὴν γῆν και τὴν θάλασσαν και πηγὰς ὑδάτων). The words τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν are very close to some phraseology in 1 Chr 16:26: ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν οὐρανοῦς ἐποίησε, “our God made the heavens.”

It should also be noted that in 1 Chr 16:31-32, the triad of “heaven,” “earth,” and “sea” is mentioned, as in Rev 14:7, though in a somewhat different setting: “Let the heaven [ὁ οὐρανός] be glad, and let the earth [ἡ γῆ] rejoice. . . . Let the sea [ἡ θάλασσα] roar, with all that fills it.” (Nevertheless, this statement, though not explicitly referring to creation, is within the general context of the praise of God in vs. 26 because “the Lord made the heavens.”) The one phrase in Rev 14:7 without parallel in 1 Chr 16:8-36 is πηγὰς ὑδάτων, “springs of water.”

On the other hand, 1 Chr 16:32b-33 adds further expressions too: “Let the fields rejoice, and all that is in them; then shall the trees of the forest sing at the presence of the Lord, because he comes to judge the world.” The import of the last clause should not be overlooked when drawing parallels with Rev 14:6-7; for the reference to heaven, earth, sea, etc., in David’s psalm, vss. 26-33, is related to the reference to God’s coming in judgment—just as in the Apocalypse the reference to heaven, earth, sea, and springs of water is also connected with the mention of the coming of God’s judgment.

Expressions in Rev 14:6

Several expressions in Rev 14:6 deserve notice here because of their use also in 1 Chr 16:8-36, LXX, though in somewhat different ways or contexts. The most striking of these pertains to the proclamation of the gospel to every “nation [ἔθνος], kindred, tongue, and

people [λαόν]” (Rev 14:6), as compared with the phraseology about the wilderness wanderings of ancient Israel (1 Chr 16:20)—“They went from nation to nation [ἀπὸ ἔθνους εἰς ἔθνος], and from one kingdom to another people [λαὸν ἕτερον].” The terms ἔθνος, “nation,” and λαός, “people,” are obviously key ones here. And it should also be noted that the same is true in 1 Chr 16:24, which furnishes another close parallel to the wording in Rev 14:6. The text in 1 Chr 16:24 reads, “Declare among the nations [ἐξηγεῖσθε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι] his [God’s] glory, among all the peoples [πᾶσι τοῖς λαοῖς] his marvelous deeds.”

A further commonality in expression involves the phrase “eternal gospel” in Rev 14:6 (εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον). 1 Chr 16:36 proclaims a beatitude to the Lord “from everlasting to everlasting” (ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος). And although the term εὐαγγέλιον, “gospel,” in Rev 14:6 does not occur in 1 Chr 16:8-36, a statement in vs. 23 does provide an interesting point of comparison in thought: “Proclaim his [God’s] salvation from day to day” (ἀναγγεῖλατε ἐξ ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ).

4. *Synopsis of 1 Chr 16:23-26 and Rev 14:6-7*

The closest parallels structurally between David’s psalm of thanksgiving and Rev 14:6-7 may be limited to the section of 1 Chr 16 from vss. 23-26. The parallels here are sufficiently close that a synopsis may be outlined as follows:

1 Chr 16	Rev 14
vs. 23: “Sing [ᾄσατε] to the Lord, all the earth [πᾶσα ἡ γῆ];	vs. 3: “And they sing [ᾄδουσιν]”
vs. 23: “proclaim . . . his salvation (cont.) [ἀναγγεῖλατε . . . σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ].	vs. 6: “Then I saw another angel flying in the midst of heaven, having the eternal gospel to proclaim [εὐαγγεῖσαι εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον]
vs. 24: “Declare . . . his glory [ἐξηγεῖσθε . . . τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ]*	
vs. 24: “. . . among the nations [ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι] . . . * among all the peoples [ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς λαοῖς] his marvelous deeds.” (cont., with some repet.)	vs. 6: “to those who dwell on the earth [τοὺς καθήμενους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς], to every nation [πᾶν ἔθνος] and tribe and language and people [λαόν], saying in a loud voice:

- | | | | |
|---------|--|--------|--|
| vs. 25: | "... He [God] is to be feared [φοβερός ἐστιν]. . . ." | vs. 7: | "'Fear God [φοβήθητε τὸν θεόν]: worship him who made the heavens [τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανόν]. . . .'" |
| vs. 26: | "... our God made the heavens [ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησε]." | | |

*In vs. 24, the expression "among the nations" belongs in the ellipsis within the first excerpt, and "Declare" and "his glory" belong within the two ellipses of the second excerpt. Thus, the literal rendering is as follows: "Declare among the nations his glory, among all the peoples his marvelous deeds."

5. Conclusion

Summary of the Evidence Reviewed

The evidence with regard to the *similarity of key words* (especially the four words φοβέω, δόξα, κρίσις, προσκυνέω), the *use of words*, and the *structure* between 1 Chr 16:8-36 and Rev 14:6-7 strongly suggests that 1 Chr 16:8-36 has been the basic OT literary source for Rev 14:6-7. Another OT passage, Ps 96, though nearly identical to 1 Chr 16:23-33, is lacking in several features wherein there is closeness between the latter passage and Rev 14:6-7. Apart from 1 Chr 16:8-36 and Ps 96, there are no other passages in the OT which have a combination of the four key expressions of Rev 14:7.

The similarity between the Hebrew of 1 Chr 16:8-36 and 1QM 12:6-17 (and 1QM 19:1-8), with respect especially to the four key expressions discussed in the second section of this article, suggests that this material in the Qumran literature was possibly built on 1 Chr 16:8-36. But it is sufficiently different in context and structure so as to rule it out as basic background to Rev 14:6-7. I have found no other places in intertestamental Jewish literature where the four key words are connected.

Some observations will now be in order concerning the theological frame of reference to which the language of 1 Chr 16 is put to use in Rev 14:6-7. These observations will necessarily be brief here, but I hope in a later article to elaborate upon the theological implications.

The Theological Frame of Reference

A point of particular interest theologically is the direct relationship of the *ark of the covenant* not only to David's psalm of thanksgiving, mentioned earlier (cf. 1 Chr 16:1), but also to the scene in

Rev 14:6-7. It has been shown that in the structure of the book of Revelation, the vision of the ark of the covenant seen in heaven (11:19) is a prelude or "victorious vision" for the entire section of Revelation from 12:1 to 14:20.⁵ Thus, there is a striking parallel between the settings or occasions for the similar language used in 1 Chr 16:8-36 and Rev 14:6-7. Both passages are placed within the setting of some sort of manifestation of God's ark of covenant, with its double feature of containment of God's Ten-Commandment *law* and the presence of the *mercy seat*. That the Apocalypse thus draws attention to the ark of the covenant by employing vocabulary of 1 Chr 16:8-36 finds further illumination in Rev 14:12, where "the *commandments of God*" and "the *faith of Jesus*" are mentioned. This indicates that the three angels' messages stress both the "everlasting gospel" (cf. Rev 14:6) and the "commandments of God" (note the implications in all three messages in vs. 6-11).

The use of 1 Chr 16:8-36 (with its focus on the ark of the covenant) in Rev 14:6-7 brings to view several interesting theological themes which correlate with the context of Rev 14 and with the entire book of Revelation. Such theological themes include the following:

1. The divine *redemptive* activity—reflected in 1 Chr 16 and inherent in the focus of the three angels' messages of Rev 14:6-11 and in the term "everlasting gospel" in the first message (vs. 6).
2. The importance of God as Creator.
3. The idea of covenant. (Cf. 1 Chr 16:15, 17 and the covenantal form of the letters to the seven churches in Revelation,⁶ as well as the covenantal structure for the whole book of Revelation.⁷)
4. The emphasis on judgment.
5. The connection between judgment and the commandments of God as a basis for judgment.
6. The sanctuary as the center of worship, the place from which judgments proceed, and the place where fear of Yahweh is expressed.
7. The universal scope of God's love and power.

⁵Cf. K. A. Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, Florida, 1979), p. 48. Cf. also the outline on p. 51 and the diagram on p. 52.

⁶W. H. Shea, "The Covenantal Form of the Letters to the Seven Churches," *AUSS* 21 (1983): 71-84.

⁷K. A. Strand, "A Further Note on the Covenantal Form in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 21 (1983): 251-264.

All the foregoing themes are intertwined and closely linked together in Rev 14:6-7. This fact becomes more evident, clear, and meaningful by making reference to this passage's OT background literary source, 1 Chr 16:8-36, with which it has significant thematic affinities in addition to the language and structural similarities that we have noted.

* * * * *

EXCURSUS A

1 CHRONICLES 16:23-33 AND PSALM 96 AS POTENTIAL BACKGROUND SOURCES FOR REVELATION 14:6-7

1 Chr 16:23-33 and Ps 96 (LXX, Ps 95) are closely parallel, a fact already noted at the outset of the discussion in the main article, above. I have opted for the former, rather than the latter, as the basic OT literary source for Rev 14:6-7, on both linguistic and contextual grounds.

The following linguistic considerations may be noted: (a) φοβήθητω (1 Chr 16:30; cf. φοβήθητε in Rev 14:7) is lacking in Ps 96, which has σαλευθήτω instead (vs. 9); (b) the phrase *ὅτι ἦλθε κρίναι τὴν γῆν* (1 Chr 16:33) is closer to *ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως* (Rev 14:7) than is *ὅτι ἔρχεται κρίναι τὴν γῆν* (Ps 96:13); (c) one phrase in Rev 14:6, "to every nation, tribe, language and people" (*πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ φυλὴν καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ λαόν*), has no parallel in Ps 96, but can be traced back to 1 Chr 16:20: "from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people" (*ἀπὸ ἔθνους εἰς ἔθνος καὶ ἀπὸ βασιλείας εἰς λαὸν ἕτερον*). (It is of interest to note, as well, that another phrase within the general context of Rev 14:6-7—namely "into ages of ages" [*εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων*] in the third angel's message in vs. 11—has a parallel in the last words of the passage in 1 Chr 16 [*ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος*, vs. 36], but cannot be traced back to Ps 96.)

In addition to such linguistic considerations, the common motifs in the broader contexts for 1 Chr 16:8-36 and Rev 14:6-7 would suggest a connection between the two passages. Ps 96 does not (nor should it be expected to) provide detail regarding a background setting; but for both David's psalm

of thanksgiving and the apocalyptic first angel's message, such background is in view. And it is pertinent that the broader contextual setting of Rev 14:6-7 has striking parallels to the contextual setting of 1 Chr 16:8-36, as I have briefly indicated in the concluding section of my main article.

EXCURSUS B

THE FOUR KEY EXPRESSIONS IN 1QM 12:6-17

Although 1QM 12:6-17 uses the four basic key expressions or terms appearing in Rev 14:7, to which I have called attention in the main article, above, this 1QM passage is contextually and structurally so different from Rev 14 that it cannot seriously be considered as a background to Rev 14:7. Nevertheless, it may be of interest to notice these four key expressions as they occur in 1QM 12:6-17, as compared with their occurrence in 1 Chr 16:8-36 in the Hebrew text.

1. "*Fear*." The Hebrew term for "to be feared" in 1 Chr 16:25 is נוֹרָא (LXX, φοβερός), and is *apparently* also used in 1QM 12:6, where there is an unfortunate break in the text: [נוֹרָא]. The term for "fear" (imperative) in 1 Chr 16:30 is חִילוּ (LXX, φοβηθήτω; cf. φοβηθήτε in Rev 14:7). In 1QM 12:10, 13, there are also occurrences of חִיל, but with a different meaning than "fear."

2. "*Glory*." The Hebrew terms for "glory" in 1 Chr 16:8-36 are כְּבוֹד (vss. 24, 28, 29) and הוֹד (vs. 27). 1QM 12:6-17 has multiple occurrences of כְּבוֹד, such as in "the *glory* of your [God's] kingship" (line 6), "the King of *glory*" (line 7), and "Man of *glory*" (line 9).

3. "*Judge*" / "*Judgment(s)*." Forms of שָׁפֵט and מִשְׁפָּט are used in 1 Chr 16:33 (לְשָׁפוֹט, "judge"; κρίναι in LXX) and 16:12, 14 (וּמִשְׁפָּטֵי־יְהוָה and מִשְׁפָּטֵי, "judgments"; κρίματα in LXX). 1QM 12:10 also uses מִשְׁפָּט in the context of the activity of the "King of glory" / "Man of glory" (lines 7 and 9).

4. "*Worship*." The Hebrew term for "worship" / "tribute" / "obedience" occurs in 1QM 12:13, as well as in 1 Chr 16:29: "Worship [הִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ] the Lord" in the latter text; "their [the nations'] kings should give you [Zion] tribute [וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ] and serve you" in the 1QM passage. It is striking that the "tribute" in the War-Scroll depiction relates to a subservience to "Zion" (see line 12),

rather than worship to God, thus setting up a contrasting rather than paralleling usage.

It may be that 1 Chr 16:8-36 furnished some of the literary background to 1QM 12:6-17 and its parallel in 19:1-8. If so, the context into which the terminology has been set in the 1QM material is nevertheless so strikingly different from the basic motifs that are common to 1 Chr 16 and Rev 14 that this Qumran material may, as suggested earlier, be readily dismissed from consideration as literary background for Rev 14:6-7.

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It is apparent from the recent spate of English translations of the OT that scholarly consensus on the significance of the Hebrew form of the name for the Ammonite nation, *bny ʿmwn* (literally, "sons of Ammon"), is still lacking. Whereas the KJV is quite consistent in its rendering of the phrase as "children of Ammon,"¹ its lead has been followed by only the conservative literalistic NASB. Here the expression is translated almost uniformly as "sons of Ammon." Only occasionally does the gentilic, "Ammonite(s)," appear.² This contrasts sharply with most other recent translations. In the RSV, the only exceptions to the gentilic occur in Deut 2:19, 37; Jer 9:26 (Heb., vs. 25); 25:21; 27:3 (all "sons of Ammon"); Judg 11:27 ("people of Ammon"); and 2 Chr 20:10, 22, 23 ("men of Ammon"). The exceptions in the NEB simply delete the prefixed element, producing the shortened form, "Ammon."³ The JB transliterates the phrase as Bene-ammon in Gen 19:38. Otherwise, apart from the gentilic, the full form, "sons of Ammon," occurs thirteen times, and the abbreviated form, "Ammon," only once.⁴ The NIV translates *bny ʿmwn* as "people of Ammon" in 2 Kgs 23:13; as "men of Ammon" in 2 Chr 20:22, 23; as "men from Ammon" in 2 Chr

¹The gentilic, "Ammonites," occurs in 1 Sam 11:11 (cf. LXX and pc MSS); Jer 27:3; 40:11, 14; 41:10, 15; 49:1, 2; Ezek 21:20, 28 (Heb., vss. 25, 33); 25:2, 3, 5, 10; 2 Chr 27:5a.

²1 Sam 11:11; 2 Sam 10:1, 2, 3; 2 Kgs 24:2; 2 Chr 27:5 (three times). The marginal note to Gen 19:38 transliterates the expression as "Bene-Ammon."

³Judg 11:12, 33; 2 Sam 11:1; Isa 11:14; Jer 9:26 (Heb., vs. 25); 27:3; 40:11; 41:10; 49:2, 6; Ezek 25:5, 10; Zeph 2:8, 9. The full form, "people of Ammon," occurs in Jer 49:1.

⁴The full form appears in Num 21:24; Deut 2:19 (twice); Judg 3:13; 10:18; Jer 9:26 (Heb., vs. 25); 25:21; 49:1, 6; Amos 1:13; Zeph 2:8, 9; and Dan 11:41. The abbreviated form "Ammon" occurs in Ezek 25:5.

20:10; and as "leaders of Ammon" in Dan 11:41. The shortened form, "Ammon," is found in eight texts.⁵

In the translations which tend to prefer the gentilic, the reasons for deviating from this pattern are not always obvious. In many instances, the exceptional forms seem to be quite arbitrary, at times the changes occurring within the same context. It seems that a closer examination of the use of the Hebrew form of the expression, *bny* ^š*mwn*, is long overdue. I offer this study of the forms and usage of the name in the OT and in extra-biblical texts as a small contribution to the complex problem.

1. *Ammon in the OT*

Frequency and Distribution of the Name

As Table 1 indicates (see p. 199), the name Ammon appears 106 times in the OT. Of these occurrences, 104 use the full form, *bny* ^š*mwn*, representing almost 100% consistency.⁶ Gentilic forms are found in an additional twenty-one texts, or slightly more than 17% of all references to the Ammonites by name. More than three-fourths of the occurrences of Ammon appear in historical narrative; the remainder are found in prophetic and poetic texts.

These observations may be best interpreted by comparing them with the frequency and distribution of the names for Israel, for which the *bny*-GN form (i.e., "sons of" + Geographic Name) is also common, as illustrated in Table 2 (on pp. 200-201). The following chart highlights the areas of contrast:

<i>Point of Comparison</i>	<i>Ammon</i>	<i>Israel</i>
Ratio of <i>bny</i> -GN occurrences to the total references to the nation by name (excluding gentilics)	98.1%	25.3%
Ratio of <i>bny</i> -GN occurrences in the Pentateuch to the total occurrences of the <i>bny</i> -GN form	7.7%	59.1%
Ratio of <i>bny</i> -GN occurrences in the poetic/prophetic texts to the total references to the nation by name	95.4%	7.7%
Ratio of gentilics to all forms of the national name	16.5%	.2%

(Footnotes 5 and 6 appear on the following page)

TABLE 1
 Frequency and Distribution of References to
 the Ammonites in the OT

OT Book	<i>bny</i> ^c <i>mwn</i> ("sons of Ammon")	^c <i>mwn</i> ("Ammon")	^c <i>mwny</i> (<i>m, l, wt</i>) ("Ammonites")
Genesis	1	...	...
Numbers	2	...	...
Deuteronomy	5	...	2
Subtotals	8	...	2
Joshua	3	...	...
Judges	27	...	...
1 Samuel	2	1	2
2 Samuel	17	...	1
1 Kings	2	...	4
2 Kings	2	...	...
Subtotals	53	1	7
Isaiah	1	...	...
Jeremiah	10	...	...
Ezekiel	7	...	...
Amos	1	...	...
Zephaniah	2	...	...
Subtotals	21	...	...
Psalms	...	1	...
Daniel	1	...	...
Ezra	...	...	1
Nehemiah	...	...	6
1 Chronicles	14	...	1
2 Chronicles	7	...	4
Subtotals	22	1	12
Grand Totals	104	2	21

(Footnotes for p. 198)

⁵Judg 11:28, 33; Jer 9:26 (Heb., vs. 25); 25:21; 27:3; 40:11; Ezek 25:5; Amos 1:13.

⁶The only exceptions are 1 Sam 11:11 and Ps 83:8. L. Koehler, "Der Name Ammoniter," *TZ* 1 (1945): 155, suggests that the abbreviated form was determined in the latter text by metrical considerations. Concerning the former, certain ancient translations (including the LXX, Targumim, and Peshitta) assume *bny*. Cf. S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, 1890), p. 66.

TABLE 2
 Frequency, Distribution, and Genre of
bny ysr'l in the OT

OT Book	Form		Genre of <i>bny ysr'l</i>	
	<i>ysr'l</i> ("Israel")	<i>bny ysr'l</i> ("Sons of Israel")	Narrative	Poetry
Genesis	43	7	7	...
Exodus	170	124	124	...
Leviticus	70*	54	54	...
Numbers	238	171	171	...
Deuteronomy	72	21	20	1**
Subtotals	593	377 (64%)	376	1
Joshua	160	69	69	...
Judges	184	61	61	...
1 Samuel	151	12	12	...
2 Samuel	117***	5	5	...
1 Kings	203	21	21	...
2 Kings	164	11	11	...
Subtotals	979	179 (18%)	179	...
Isaiah	92	5	3	2
Jeremiah	125	9	1	8
Ezekiel	185	11	11	...
Hosea	44	6	5	1
Joel	3	1	...	1
Amos	30	5	1	4
Obadiah	1	1	...	1
Jonah	...	...	...	...
Micah	12	1	...	1
Nahum	1	...	...	...
Habakkuk	...	...	...	...
Zephaniah	4	...	...	...
Haggai	...	...	...	...
Zechariah	5	...	...	...
Malachi	5	...	...	...
Subtotals	507	39 (8%)	21	18

TABLE 2 (cont.)

OT Book	Form		Genre of <i>bny ysr'el</i>	
	<i>yśr'el</i> ("Israel")	<i>bny yśr'el</i> ("Sons of Israel")	Narrative	Poetry
Psalms	62	2	...	2
Job	...	...	...	...
Proverbs	1	...	...	...
Canticles	1	...	...	...
Ruth	5	...	...	...
Lamentations	3	...	...	...
Qoheleth	1	...	...	...
Esther	...	...	...	...
Daniel	4	1	1	...
Ezra	40	4	4	...
Nehemiah	22	9	9	...
1 Chronicles	114	4	4	...
2 Chronicles	186	23	23	...
Subtotals	439	43 (10%)	41	2
Grand Totals	2517	638 (25%)	617	21

*Excluding the four gentilics in Lev. 24:10-11.

**Deut 32:8. Cf. LXX *aggelos*; Qumran fragment, *bny 'lhyim*, "sons of God." P. Skehan, Qumran and the Present State of the Old Testament Text Studies: The Masoretic Text," *JBL* 78 (1959): 21-25.

***Excluding the gentilic in 2 Sam 17:25.

How are these dramatic differences in forms and distribution to be explained? The first point of comparison is probably the most difficult, but the explanation will emerge as the study proceeds. The marked difference in the Pentateuchal occurrences may not be written off by simply noting that the history of Israel touches that of the Ammonites more frequently in the post-Pentateuchal texts. I have argued elsewhere⁷ that the prominence of the form *bny yśr^l* ("sons of Israel") was related directly to the consciousness of tribal interrelationships and the Israelites' belief in their common descent from a single ancestor. The farther back the traditions go, the more common is the compound form. With the institution of the monarchy, the minimizing of the significance of these tribal associations resulted in a drastic reduction in the use of the full form of the name.

Concerning Ammon, on the other hand, the transition from a tribal organization to monarchic structures appears to have had no effect on the form of the name. Although the beginnings of the Ammonite monarchy are unclear, by the time of Jephthah a king (*mlk*) seems to have been in firm control of the state.⁸ Even so, apart from Ps 83:8 and possibly 1 Sam 11:11, the long form of the name remains the only acceptable form.

In my previously mentioned investigation,⁹ I also observed that the distribution of *bny yśr^l* was affected by the literary genre of the documents. In the poetic and prophetic texts, only 7.7% of the occurrences use the long form of the name. Since Ps 83:8 represents the sole exception to the full form of *bny ^cmwn* in the same types of texts, it is obvious that the literary style had no similar bearing on the form of the name preferred.

The fact that the gentilic form for Israel occurs only five times (always in the singular) suggests that *bny yśr^l* was employed as the gentilic as well as the simple national name. However, because gentilic forms of Ammon appear twenty-two times out of a total of 127, it may not be argued that *bny ^cmwn* was the normal gentilic form.

⁷D. I. Block, "'Israel'-'Sons of Israel': A Study in Hebrew Eponymic Usage," forthcoming in *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*.

⁸Judg 11:12, 13, 14, 28. References to the kings of Ammon occur also in 1 Sam 12:12, 2 Sam 10:1, Jer 27:3, 40:14, 1 Chr 19:1, and 2 Chr 27:5. Cf., too, the Tell Siran Bottle Inscription, lines 1, 2, 3. See n. 36, below, for references.

⁹See n. 7, above.

Usage

The syntactical constructions involving *bny ysr^{2l}* and *bny ^cmwn* present similar contrasts. Although construct chains like ^c*dt bny ysr^{2l}* ("the congregation of the sons of Israel"),¹⁰ *m^tw^t bny ysr^{2l}* ("the tribes of the sons of Israel"),¹¹ *šb^ty bny ysr^{2l}* ("the tribes of the sons of Israel"),¹² *zqny bny ysr^{2l}* ("the elders of the sons of Israel"),¹³ and *bkwr bny ysr^{2l}* ("the first-born of the sons of Israel")¹⁴ do occur, there appears to have been a general resistance to certain combinations. *Bny ysr^{2l}* never appears as the genitive of a designation for God; only once is it found after a term representing the territory of the nation;¹⁵ kings and judges are never identified as "the king(s)/judge(s) of *bny ysr^{2l}*."

The situation is reversed for *bny ^cmwn*. The expressions *mlk bny ^cmwn* ("the king of the sons of Ammon")¹⁶ and ²*rs bny ^cmwn* ("the land of the sons of Ammon")¹⁷ occur more frequently than any other. When we add to these ²*lhy bny ^cmwn* ("the gods of the sons of Ammon")¹⁸ and the euphemistic *šqš bny ^cmwn* ("the abomination of the sons of Ammon"),¹⁹ along with another geographic phrase, *gbwl bny ^cmwn* ("the boundary of the sons of Ammon"),²⁰ more than two-thirds of all bound structures involving *bny ^cmwn* are accounted for. Even references to the main Ammonite city, *r^bt bny ^cmwn* ("Rabbah of the sons of Ammon") always uses the compound form when the nationality of the city is identified.²¹ Whatever reasons there might have been for the hesitation to make similar grammatical associations with *bny ysr^{2l}*, here they are not a factor.

¹⁰Exod 16:1 + twenty-six times.

¹¹Num 36:8, 9; Josh 19:51.

¹²Num 36:3; Josh 4:5, 8.

¹³Exod 4:29.

¹⁴Num 3:45, 46, 50; 8:17.

¹⁵Josh 11:22, ²*rs bny ysr^{2l}*.

¹⁶See n. 8, above, for references.

¹⁷Deut 2:19, 37; Josh 13:25; Judg 11:15; 2 Sam 10:2; 1 Chr 19:2; 20:1.

¹⁸Judg 10:6; 1 Kgs 11:33.

¹⁹1 Kgs 11:7.

²⁰Num 21:24; Deut 3:16; Josh 12:2; 13:10.

²¹Deut 3:11; 2 Sam 12:26; 17:27; Jer 49:2; Ezek 21:25.

The consistent use of *bny* ^c*mwn* in association with the names of surrounding nations is also significant. We may note the following sequences:

- Judg 10:6 *ʔlhy ʔrm sydwn mwʔb bny* ^c*mwn plšty*m (“the gods of Aram, Sidon, Moab, Bene-ammon, Philistines”)
- Judg 10:11 *mšrym hʔmry bny* ^c*mwn plšty*m (“Egypt, Amorites, Bene-ammon, Philistines”)
- 1 Sam 14:47 *kl ʔybyw bmwʔb wbbny* ^c*mwn wbʔdwm wbmlky šwbh wplšty*m (“all his enemies, against Moab, and against Bene-ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines”)
- 2 Sam 8:11b-12 *kl hgwym ʔrm mwʔb bny* ^c*mwn plšty*m (“all the nations: Aram, Moab, Bene-ammon, Philistines”) (= 1 Chr 18:11)
- 1 Kgs 11:33 *ʔštrt ʔlhy šdynyn kmwš ʔlhy mwʔb wmlkm ʔlhy bny* ^c*mwn* (“Ashtoreth the god of the Sidonians, Chemosh the god of Moab, and Milcom the god of Bene-ammon”)
- 2 Kgs 23:13 *ʔštrt šqš sydynym wkmwš šqs mwʔb wmlkm tw^cbt bny* ^c*mwn* (“Ashtoreth the abomination of the Sidonians, and Chemosh the abomination of Moab, and Milcom the abomination of Bene-ammon”)
- 2 Kgs 24:2 *gdwdy kšdym ʔrm mwʔb bny* ^c*mwn* (“bands of the Chaldeans, Aram, Moab, and Bene-ammon”)
- Jer 9:25
(Eng., vs. 26) *mšrym yhwdh ʔdwm bny* ^c*mwn mwʔb wkl qšwšy pʔh hyšbym bmdbr* (“Egypt, Judah, Edom, Bene-ammon, Moab, and all side-trimmed dwellers in the desert”)
- Jer 25:19-23 *mlky mšrym ʔrš h^cwš ʔrš plšty*m ʔdwm mwʔb bny ^c*mwn šr sydwn hʔy ʔšr b^cbr hym ddn tymʔ bwz wkl qšwšy pʔh* (“the kings of Egypt, the land of Uz, the land of the Philistines, Edom, Moab, Bene-ammon, Tyre, Sidon, the coastland which is across the sea, Dedan, Tema, Buz and all side-trimmed”)
- Jer 40:11 *kl hyhwddym ʔšr bmwʔb wbbny* ^c*mwn wbʔdwm wʔšr bkl hʔršwt* (“all the Jews who were in Moab and among Bene-ammon and in Edom and all who were in all the lands”)

Amos 1-2 *dmšq ʿzh šr ʾdwm bny ʿmwn mwʾb yhwdh yśrʾl*
 (“Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Bene-ammon,
 Moab, Judah, Israel”)

The only example of the abbreviated form occurs in Ps 83:7-9 (Eng., vss. 6-8), *ʾhly ʾdwm wyšmʿlym mwʾb whgrym gbl wʿmwn wʿmlq plšt ʿm yšby šwr ʾšwr* (“the tents of Edom and the Ishmaelites, Moab and the Hagrites, Gebal and Ammon and Amalek, Philistia with the inhabitants of Tyre, Assyria”). It should be noted that here the shortened form of *plštym* (“Philistines”) is also used, perhaps determined by rhythmic considerations.

On the other hand, where the lists consist of gentilic forms, *bny ʿmwn* is also replaced by the true gentilic, *ʿmwny* (“Ammonites”):

Ezra 9:1 *mʿmy bʾršwt ktwʿbtyhm lknʿny hḥty hprzy hybwsy*
hʿmny hmwʾby hmšry whʾmry (“from the peoples
 of the lands with their abominations, from the
 Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites,
 the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and
 the Amorites”)

Neh 4:1 *hʿrbym whʿmnywm whʾšdwzym* (“the Arabs, the
 (Eng., vs. 7) Ammonites, and the Ashdodites”)

2 Chr 26:7-8 *plštym hʿrbym hyšbym bgwr bʿl whmʿwnym . . .*
hʿmwnym (“Philistines, the Arabs who lived in
 Gurbaal, and the Meunites . . . the Ammonites”)

This suggests that the full form *bny ʿmwn* was perceived to bear the same significance as “Edom” or “Moab.”

Finally, attention should be drawn to two texts in which the compound form of the name appears to carry a geographic sense. The inconsistency in the gender of the name in Ezek 25:1-7 is striking. To begin with, in vss. 2-3a, *bny ʿmwn* is treated as masculine.²² However, with the commencement of the direct divine address, the gender changes.²³ In vs. 5b, a reversion to the masculine occurs,²⁴

²²Note the suffix in *ʾlyhm* (vs. 2), and the form of the imperative, *šmʿw* (vs. 3).

²³Note the Masoretic pointing of the infinitive, *ʾomrēk* (vs. 3b). This is consistent with the following *nōtʿnāk, bāk, piryēk, hʿlābēk*.

²⁴Note *ydcʿtm*.

this gender being maintained until the end of vs. 7. Although the anomalies of vss. 3b-4 may easily be removed by slight alterations to the Masoretic pointing, this solution cannot be applied to vs. 10, where, along with Moab, *bny ʿmwn* is clearly presented as feminine, even by the consonantal text.²⁵ *Bny ʿmwn*, probably intended here as a geographic designation, will become a possession for *bny qdm*.²⁶

A geographic significance for *bny ʿmwn* seems to be intended in Zeph 2:9, as well. First, here Moab and *bny ʿmwn* are compared with Sodom and Gomorrah, respectively, both of which are well-known place names. Second, the verb which follows Moab (and in view of the parallelism, also does double duty for *bny ʿmwn*) is feminine (*thyh*).²⁷ Third, the following lines speak of desolate places.²⁸

All the foregoing observations on the frequency and distribution of *bny ʿmwn*, and on its usage in the OT, demonstrate that the Hebrew employment of the full form of the name was governed by fundamentally different considerations from those applied to the use of *bny ysr ʿl*.

2. Ammon in Extra-biblical Sources

To date, aside from the biblical references, the name of the Ammonite nation has surfaced only in the annals of the neo-Assyrian kings and in one indigenous Ammonite text.

²⁵*bny qdm ʿl bny ʿmwn wnttyh lmwršh lmʿn lʿ tzkr bny ʿmwn bgwym.*

²⁶Contra Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 440, *mwršh* is used elsewhere only with reference to land.

²⁷On the use of the feminine for names of countries and cities, see K. Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter," *ZAW* 16 (1896): 56-60. Cf. also *GK* 122h-i.

²⁸The preformative *m* in *mmšq* and probably also in *mkrh* should be interpreted as *m locals*. Cf. *GK* 85e. Therefore, the verse may be translated as follows:

Surely Moab will be like Sodom,
And *bny ʿmwn* like Gomorrah;
A place of nettles and salt pits,
A perpetual wasteland.

This geographical sense may be required, as well, where verbs of motion are combined with the preposition *ʿl* (e.g., Jer 41:10, 15 and perhaps also Dan 11:41).

Neo-Assyrian Sources

Three basic forms of the name appear in the Assyrian texts: (1) a short form, ^{c/1}*Am-ma-na*; (2) a lengthened form, ^{m/c/1}*bīt Am-ma-na*; and (3) a second lengthened form, ¹*ba-an Am-ma-na*.²⁹ Of these, the first occurs but twice, the last only once.³⁰ It is apparent that, as in the Hebrew writings, the scribes displayed an overwhelming preference for a compound form of the name. But why *bīt* should have been prefixed to *Am-ma-na* is not clear. If it was intended as a translation of the Canaanite *bn* (cf. *bny* ^c*mwn*), the bound form of *mārum* would have been anticipated. This word, however, is never employed as an element in a place name. F. Hommel has suggested that *Bīt Amman* was actually a shortened form of *Bīt Rabbath Amman*.³¹ It seems more likely, however, that *bīt*, "house, household,"³² functioned as an approximate equivalent of the Hebrew *bny*, perhaps a rough translation, the form of which was influenced by the propensity of the Assyrians to identify states on the *bīt*-GN model.³³

The most remarkable form, however, is the single occurrence of ¹*ba-an Am-ma-na*. The prefixed *ba-an* is totally unexpected, since it is found in no other toponym. Furthermore, if *bānu* was intended as an Akkadian translation of Canaanite *bn*, this too is unprecedented, since this form never occurs with this sense.³⁴ It would appear,

²⁹For references, see S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970), pp. 16, 76.

³⁰In contrast, the only reference to the name Israel to have surfaced to date uses the short form, *Sir-²a-la-aja*. The same applies to the Akkadian equivalents of Moab and Edom. Cf. Parpola, s.v., "*bīt*."

³¹F. Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients* (Munich, 1926), p. 164, n. 1.

³²*CAD* 2:282-295 (and cf. *AHW*).

³³For hundreds of citations, cf. Parpola, s.v., "*bīt*."

³⁴The form *bīnu*, however, does occur occasionally: (1) In personal names, e.g., *Bi-in-ka-li-šar-ri* (Sargonic period) (*CAD*, 2:243); *Bi-in-Na-rum* (Hammurabi era) (H. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names from the Published Tablets of the So-called Hammurabi Dynasty B.C. 2000* [Philadelphia, 1905], p. 75); *Bi-in-am-mi* (West Semitic, Kassite period) (A. T. Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Kassite Period*. Yale Oriental Series, 1 [New Haven, Connecticut, 1912],

therefore, that here in ¹*ba-an Am-ma-na* we are to recognize a simple transliteration of West Semitic *bn ʿmn*.³⁵ The singular form of the prefix remains problematical.

Ammonite Sources

The only certain native documentation of the name Ammon is contained in a recently discovered seventh-century B.C.E. bottle inscription from Tell Siran.³⁶ The pronunciation of the name *bn ʿmn*,

p. 65); ⁴*Nabu-bi-na-uka*?in (Neo-Assyrian) (J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung* [Leipzig, 1939], p. 38). (2) In a votive inscription, wherein Marduk is called *bi-in-Du-ku* (C. J. Gadd, "On Two Babylonian Kings," *SOr* 1 [1925]: 29-31). (3) In a Sargonic cylinder inscription: *ina arḫi šitan araḫ bin Dāra-gala [Ea]*, "in the new moon of the month of the son of [Ea]." (4) In a hymn: *bukir bi-in Anim luzmur dunnaka*, "O child, son of Anu, let me sing your strength" (*KAR* 158 i 120, as translated by CAD, loc. cit.). (5) *Bīnu* in parallel to *māru* in Atra-ḫasis I:93-96 (cf. the comments by W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* [Oxford, 1969], pp. 150-151). (6) In synonym lists, as one of the synonyms of *māru* (A. Draffkorn Kilmer, "The First Tablet of *maliku-šarru* Together with Its Explicit Version," *JAOS* 83 [1963]: 436-437). Cf. also the equation of *bīnu* with *ze-ru*(?) (Kilmer, pp. 322-331). For Mari names beginning with *bin*, see H. B. Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore, Md., 1965), p. 176.

³⁵So also H. Donner, "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Staates Moab in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrh. v. Chr.," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 5 (1957): 161, "Das Element *ba-an* versucht den stat. cstr. plural *bny* keilschriftlich wiederzugeben."

³⁶The first three lines of the text read as follows:

<i>m^cbd ʿmndb mlk bn ʿmn</i>	"The product of Amminadab, king of <i>bn ʿmn</i> ,
<i>bn ḫṣl² mlk bn ʿmn</i>	the son of Hiṣsil-EI, king of <i>bn ʿmn</i> ,
<i>bn ʿmndb mlk bn ʿmn</i>	the son of Amminadab, king of <i>bn ʿmn</i> ."

The foregoing is the transliteration of H. O. Thompson and F. Zayadine, "The Tell Siran Inscription," *BASOR*, no. 212 (1973), p. 9. Cf. F. Zayadine and H. O. Thompson, "The Ammonite Inscription from Tell Siran," *Berytus* 22 (1973): 132; F. M. Cross, "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Sīrān," *BASOR*, no. 212 (1973), pp. 12-15; P. E. Dion, "Notes d'épigraphie Ammonite," *RB* 82 (1975): 24-33; C. Krahmalkov, "An Ammonite Lyric Poem," *BASOR*, no. 223 (1976), pp. 55-57; O. Loretz, "Die ammonitische Inschrift von Tell Siran," *Ugarit Forschungen* 9 (1977): 169-171; William H. Shea, "The Siran Inscription: Amminidab's Drinking Song," *PEQ* 110 (1978): 107-112; and R. B. Coote, "The Tell Siran Bottle Inscription," *BASOR*, no. 240 (1980), p. 93.

which occurs in lines 1, 2, and 3, is not certain.³⁷ *Bn* is usually interpreted as a plural with the final *mater lectionis* missing.³⁸ In accounting for this feature, appeal has been made to the Phoenician practice, which regularly omitted this orthographic element.³⁹

This solution is doubtful, however. First, it would be surprising if the Aramaeans to the north,⁴⁰ the Hebrews to the west,⁴¹ and the Moabites to the south⁴² should have adopted the practice, but the Ammonites, located in the center of these three, should have resisted the development. Second, a final *mater lectionis* has been identified on a sixth-century B.C.E. ostrakon from Heshbon,⁴³ rendering unlikely the suggestion by F. Zayadine and H. O. Thompson that "the absence of the *matres lectionis* could be characteristic of the Ammonite language."⁴⁴ Appeal to *m^cbd* in line 1 as another illustration of an omitted final *y* is speculative.⁴⁵

Two alternative solutions are possible. P. E. Dion has argued that *bn^cmn* should be treated as a single word, in which case the missing element would be an internal vowel letter, whose absence would be in keeping with early Aramaic, Moabite, and Hebrew orthography.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the possibility remains, though

³⁷The reading *bn^cm[y]*, proposed for the Amman Theatre Inscription by R. W. Dajani, "The Amman Theatre Fragment," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, 12-13 (1967-68): 65-67, has been recently revised to *bn^c§[...]*, by W. J. Fulco, "The Amman Citadel Inscription: A New Collection," *BASOR*, no. 230 (1979), pp. 38-40.

³⁸Zayadine and Thompson, "Ammonite Inscription," p. 129; Thompson and Zayadine, "Tell Siran Inscription," p. 9; Cross, p. 15.

³⁹Zayadine and Thompson, "Ammonite Inscription," p. 136. On the Phoenician orthography, see J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, AnOr 46, 2d rev. ed. (Rome, 1970), pp. 40-41; F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence*, AOS 36 (New Haven, Connecticut, 1952), pp. 20-21; Z. Zevit, *Matres Lectionis in Ancient Hebrew Epigraphs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), p. 4.

⁴⁰Cross and Freedman, pp. 31-33; Zevit, pp. 11-36.

⁴¹Cross and Freedman, pp. 56-57; Zevit, pp. 4-5.

⁴²Cross and Freedman, pp. 43-44.

⁴³See *bny gbl^p* in Cross, "Heshbon Ostrakon II," p. 126.

⁴⁴"Ammonite Inscription," p. 136.

⁴⁵Krahmalkov, p. 56, translates, "poem"; Loretz, p. 170, "Gegenstand"; Shea, p. 108, "From the cultivation of . . ."; Coote, p. 93, "product."

⁴⁶Dion, p. 26. Cf. Cross and Freedman, pp. 31-32, 43-44, 56-57.

perhaps remotely, that *bn* is intended as a singular. This could explain the form of the Akkadian transliteration, *ba-an*, but would contradict the consistent Hebrew form of the binomial.

The final vowel of ^c*mn* is equally uncertain. Again the absence of an internal *mater lectionis* makes it impossible to determine if a *u*-class vowel (as preferred in the Canaanite dialects) or an *a*-class vowel (as in the Akkadian transliteration, *Am-ma-na*)⁴⁷ is intended.⁴⁸

Ugaritic Sources

Although the Ugaritic texts naturally contain no references to the Ammonite nation, they are of great importance to the present investigation because they attest to a personal and guild name which closely resembles the national appellation. The forms identified to date range from the independent ^c*my* to the full form, *bn* ^c*myn*.⁴⁹ Whatever else the significance of these names may be, their existence should caution against explaining away the personal name of Lot's son in Gen 19:38 as a mere popular etymology for the name of the nation, devoid of any historical memory of an actual person or clan by that name.⁵⁰

⁴⁷Cf. the occasional retention of the *u*-class vowel in *Mu²a-a-ba* (Moab) and the consistent spelling of *U-du-mu* (Edom). See Parpola, s.v., "*bil*."

⁴⁸The significance of the *-ōn* ending in Hebrew has been debated. L. Koehler, "Der Name Ammoniter," *TZ* 1 (1945): 156, has argued that it serves merely as a stylistic variation of the original name, devoid of any real meaning. J. J. Stamm, "Zur Ursprung des Names der Ammoniter," *ArOr* 17/2 (1949): 382, maintains that the *-ōn* ending gives the name a diminutive sense, and should be understood as "kleiner Onkel." Huffmon, p. 136, has pointed out that **-ānum* in Akkadian, from which is derived Canaanite *-ōn*, "is a legitimate Northwest Semitic ending" and "appears to go back to a Proto-Semitic feature as a diminutive suffix." Cf. W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik, samt Ergänzungsheft zum Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, *AnOr* 33/47 (Rome, 1969), pp. 70-71.

⁴⁹For references, see C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, *AnOr* 38 (Rome, 1965), p. 457, #1865. For a detailed discussion of *bny*-PN names, see A. Alt, "Menschen ohne Namen," *ArOr* 18 (1950): 9-24. Cf. also D. J. A. Clines, "X, X ben Y, ben Y: Personal Names," *VT* 22 (1972): 266-287; and G. M. Landes, "A History of the Ammonites . . ." (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1956), pp. 4-12. Note also from the Kassite period, *Bi-na-am-mi* (see above, n. 33).

⁵⁰So too Landes, p. 10; and also in subsequent publications by Landes: "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites," *BA* 24 (1961): 66-68; and "Ammon," in *IDB* 2: 109.

3. *Conclusions*

On the basis of the biblical data, it is clear that *bny* ^c*mwn* cannot be interpreted along the same lines as *bny ysr*^l. The Ammonite and Akkadian references agree with the consistent Hebrew pattern of including the prefixed element as an integral part of the national name. The Ugaritic texts confirm that names resembling *bn(y)* ^c*mn* were commonly applied to individuals and clans.

It may be concluded, therefore, that the prefixed *bn/bny* is not primarily an indicator of the common genealogical roots of the Ammonites, as it is in expressions like *bny ysr*^l, *bny* ^c*šw* ("sons of Esau"),⁵¹ *bny* *l*^t ("sons of Lot"),⁵² *bny* ^c*yr* ("sons of Seir"),⁵³ and *bny* *h*^t ("sons of Heth").⁵⁴ Nor does it indicate citizenship or residence in a place, as in "sons of Bethlehem," "sons of Jericho," "sons of Jerusalem," etc.⁵⁵ If the name provides any hints concerning the ethnic cohesion of the Ammonites, these are to be found in the perception of the individual, Ben-^c*ammi*, as the eponymous ancestor.⁵⁶ In this respect, then, the significance of the full form, Bene-ammon, compares with Moab, Israel, and Heth. In the aetiological account of Ammonite origins preserved in Gen 19:30ff., the personal name is described as summarizing the story of the ancestor's origins, providing a close semantic parallel to that of his brother/cousin Moab.⁵⁷

⁵¹Deut 2:4, 12, 22, 29.

⁵²Deut 2:9, 19.

⁵³Gen 36:20; 2 Chr 25:11.

⁵⁴Gen 23:3, 5, 7, 10, 16, 20; 25:10. On all of these, cf. Block, forthcoming (see n. 7, above).

⁵⁵For references for these and many more, cf. H. Haag, "Ben," *TDOT* 2: 151.

⁵⁶Cf. *bn ymyn*, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Benjamin; Gen 35:18.

⁵⁷*Ben-^cammi* signifies "son of my paternal kinsman." Moab seems to be derived from *min-²āb* (> *mē²āb*), "from (my) father." In the absence of scholarly consensus on the actual origins of the name "Moab" (for suggestions and bibliography, see D. I. Block, "The Foundations of National Identity: A Study of Ancient Northwest Perceptions" [Ph.D dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1982; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1983], p. 397, n. 2), Gen 19:37 provides the clearest hint of the Hebrew understanding.

Consequently, it is possible that the best way to interpret *bny ʕmwn* throughout the OT would be to follow the lead of the JB in Gen 19:38, and thus simply to transliterate the full name Bene-ammon, as we do with Israel, Moab, Edom, Judah, and many other national names. The only improvement that might be made in the treatment of this Genesis text would be to drop the definite article.

PIERRE VIRET'S CONCEPT OF A JUST WAR*

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For as long as people have discussed war, they have talked about it in terms of right and wrong. The sixteenth century was no exception. That century was an age of upheaval, unrest, and war. The religious leaders of the period could not avoid discussing the moral implications of the military conflicts of the time. Thousands of followers looked to them for guidance as they made their way through the moral quicksand of such questions as whether or not it was permissible for "a true Christian" to take arms and shed blood—and if so, under what circumstances.¹

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¹For an excellent introduction to the sixteenth-century political world in which Viret lived and moved, see Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563* (Geneva, 1956); Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564-1572* (Geneva, 1967); and J. H. M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1975). For the historical, theological, and ethical background of the just-war theory in Western thought, see the following: C. J. Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude to War* (London, 1919); Robert H. W. Regout, *La doctrine de la guerre juste de saint Augustine à nos jours, d'après les théologiens et les canonistes catholiques* (Paris, 1934); Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Re-Evaluation* (New York, 1960); Paul Ramsey, *War and the Christian Conscience: How Shall Modern War Be Conducted Justly?* (Durham, N.C., 1961); M. D. Chenu, "L'évolution de la théologie de la guerre juste," in Chenu, *La parole de Dieu*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964), 2:571-592; Paul Ramsey, *The Just War: Force and Political Responsibility* (New York, 1968); L. B. Walters, Jr., "Five Classic Just War Theories: A Study in the Thought of Thomas Aquinas, Vitoria, Suarez, Gentili and Grotius" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1971); Walter Bense, "Introduction," in Gerrit Jan Herring,

Pierre Viret (1511-1571), long-time friend and close associate of John Calvin, was such a leader. One of the most popular of the first-generation Calvinist reformers, Viret's words carried great weight with the faithful in Western Europe—especially in the French-speaking areas. Therefore, what he had to say about war and peace interested and influenced large numbers of people.²

More than fifty of Viret's works appeared in at least seven different languages in the sixteenth century. Many of these books went through numerous printings.³ Among them, his monumental two-volume theological discourse entitled the *Instruction chrestienne*, published in 1564, contains an interesting discussion of the concept of a just war and represents his mature thought on the subject.⁴ In addition, he discussed the issue in several other books,

The Fall of Christianity: A Study of Christianity, the State and War (original ed., 1930; reprint ed., New York, 1972), pp. 5-47; L. B. Walters, Jr., "The Just War and the Crusade: Antitheses or Analogies?," *The Monist*, Oct., 1973, pp. 584-594; James T. Johnson, *Ideology, Reason, and the Limitation of War: Religious and Secular Concepts, 1200-1740* (Princeton, N.J., 1975); Yehuda Melzer, *Concepts of Just War* (Leyden, 1975); Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975); Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York, 1977); and James T. Johnson, *Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War: A Moral and Historical Inquiry* (Princeton, N.J., 1981).

²The best of a number of biographies of Viret is one published in the early twentieth century by Jean Barnaud, a scholarly minister of the French Reformed Church: *Pierre Viret, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Saint-Amans, 1911). Barnaud's work is sympathetic and somewhat uncritical, but still generally sound and useful. For a more recent assessment of Viret's life and work, see Robert D. Linder, *The Political Ideas of Pierre Viret* (Geneva, 1964), esp. pp. 11-51 and 177-179.

³Viret wrote in both French and Latin. In addition, Viret himself translated a number of his French works into Latin, while others rendered many of his books into various other languages, including English, German, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish. Thus, Viret had a rather widespread international audience and influence. For one specific example of this, see Robert D. Linder, "Pierre Viret and the Sixteenth-Century English Protestants," *ARG* 58 (1967): 149-171. For a systematic listing of all of Viret's known works, see Linder, *The Political Ideas of Pierre Viret*, pp. 181-191.

⁴Pierre Viret, *Instruction chrestienne en la doctrine de la loy et de l'Evangile; et en la vraye philosophie et theologie tant naturelle que supernaturelle des Chrestiens; et en la contemplation du temple et des images et oeuvres de la providence de Dieu en tout l'universe; et en l'histoire de la creation et cheute et reparation du genre humain*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1564). Hereinafter cited as *Instruction chrestienne*. In this

including his important *L'Interim*, first published in 1565.⁵ These two treatises and several others appeared and circulated widely during the difficult and tense first years of the so-called Wars of Religion in France.⁶

1. Sixteenth-Century Views of War and Peace

Viret's century was a time of transition in both religion and politics in European history. This was true in terms of the way religious leaders viewed the issues of war and peace, as well as in several closely related areas of thought, such as the right of political resistance to established authority. In the case of the issue of war and peace, the sixteenth century saw a shift from the dominant crusading ideology of the late Middle Ages to an effort to recover early Christian pacifism by Desiderius Erasmus, Thomas More, and the Anabaptists, as well as a much more widespread attempt to revive and perhaps reformulate the Augustinian just-war theory on the part of many Roman-Catholic and Protestant thinkers.

The Council of Trent (1545-1563) officially retained the crusading ideal, decreeing that "the enemies of the Church are to be

work, Viret brings together in a more or less systematic manner a great deal of his thought on a variety of subjects, including politics. The date 1564 distinguishes this work from two previous and much less complete editions (1556 and 1559) of one of his books with almost exactly the same title.

⁵Pierre Viret, *L'Interim, fait par dialogues* (Lyon, 1565).

⁶The first three of the Wars of Religion in France occurred in 1562-1563, 1567-1568, and 1568-1570, respectively. Viret served as a pastor and evangelist in southern France from 1561 until his death of 1571. Therefore, he was present and active in that country during the first three religious wars. In addition to his important *Instruction chrestienne* of 1564 and his *L'Interim* of 1565, Viret published several other influential works during this period, including *De l'authorite et perfection de la doctrine des saintes Escritures, et du ministere d'icelle; et des vrais et faux pasteurs, et de leurs disciples; et des marques pour cognoistres et discerner tant les uns que les autres* (Lyon, 1564); *De la providence divine, touchant tous les estats du monde et tous les biens, et les maux qui y peuvent advenir, et adviennent ordinairement, par la volonte et le juste jugement de Dieu* (Lyon, 1565); *De l'estat, de la conference, de l'authorite, puissance, prescription et succession tant de la vraye que de la fausse Eglise, depuis le commencement du monde, et des Ministres d'icelles et de leurs vocations et degrez* (Lyon, 1565); and *Response aux questions proposees par Jean Ropitel, minime, aux ministres de l'Eglise Reformee de Lyon* (Lyon, 1565).

coerced even by war."⁷ However, most leading Catholic political theorists agreed with the majority of Protestant thinkers who wrote on the topic that some kind of adaptation of the Augustinian just-war theory was more compatible with Christian doctrine and contemporary developments. Thus, for example, just-war advocates like Francisco Suarez, Francisco de Vitoria, and Noel Beda all seemed to operate within the natural-law framework, which was to characterize the Catholic position on war and peace in the post-Tridentine period. This was true even though throughout most of the century the practical result of this theory was to desacralize the war against the Muslim Turks and redirect the crusading spirit against Protestantism.⁸

For their part, most Protestant thinkers embraced a similar just-war position. Martin Luther's 1529 treatise *On War Against the Turk* appeared to be more pacifist than it really was. His later writings were much more in the just-war camp, and, together with a growing body of other Protestant literature on the subject, they signaled an end to the medieval model of a Christendom united under the cross and papacy. They also marked the beginning of the more modern model of a community of independent states whose autonomy was grounded in natural law and whose bond of union was more vaguely cultural than specifically religious.⁹

Contrary to popular opinion and many American high-school history texts, first-generation Calvinism did not continue the medieval concept of the crusade to establish the true religion. To be sure, within the larger Reformed community of faith, Zwinglian-ism started out as a militant expression of Protestantism with a belligerent policy much in the spirit of some of the earlier portions

⁷John Eppstein, *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations* (London, 1935), pp. 82-83; and Friedrich August Freiherr von der Heydte, *Die Geburtsstunde des souveränen Staates* (Regensburg, 1952), pp. 101-106 and 239-245.

⁸Bernice Hamilton, *Political Thought in Sixteenth-Century Spain: A Study of the Political Ideas of Vitoria, De Soto, Suárez, and Molina* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 135-157; and Walter F. Bense, "Paris Theologians on War and Peace, 1521-1529," *CH* 41 (1972): 168-185.

⁹Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 292-308; J. W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1929), pp. 1-30; and Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1978), 2:3-19. Skinner's work is based on the most recent scholarship and provides the best available introduction to sixteenth-century political thought.

of the OT. Also, some second- and third-generation Calvinists in France and the British Isles, as well as some self-proclaimed twentieth-century theological descendants of Calvin in Northern Ireland, have assumed a crusading mentality in terms of defending and/or spreading the faith by force. But neither Calvin nor most of his closest associates—including Viret—sanctioned war as a legitimate means of spreading the gospel. In fact, Calvin was reluctant even to approve of war as a means of defending the true Reformed faith, although his successor at Geneva, Theodore Beza, did. Even so, it is well worth noting that Geneva maintained official neutrality during the period of the Wars of Religion in France in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁰

Both Calvin and Viret discussed the Christian's role in organized combat in terms of a just war. Viret, as much or perhaps even more than Calvin, demonstrates that first-generation Calvinism was much less aggressive than many in the past have supposed. In fact, if anything, Viret might be said to have advocated a position which, relatively speaking, could be called liberal Calvinism. In order to demonstrate this, I want first to look at Viret's view of a just war, then point out what he says about waging war with

¹⁰Calvin's just-war theory can be found in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford L. Battles, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1960), 2:1499-1501. For a critical evaluation of the older view that Calvin sanctioned war as a means of spreading the gospel, see Bense, "Introduction," in Heering, *The Fall of Christianity*, pp. 14-18.

For examples of the interpretation that Calvin and Calvinism represented an illiberal, intolerant, bellicose strand of Protestantism, see such works as Sebastian Castellio, *Concerning Heretics: Whether they are to be persecuted and how they are to be treated*, ed. and trans. Roland H. Bainton (New York, 1935); and Hoffman Nickerson, *The Loss of Unity* (Garden City, N.Y., 1961). In the former work, Bainton writes of Calvin in the Introduction (p. 74): "He had had no liberal period like Luther and Brenz. If Calvin ever wrote anything in favor of religious liberty it was a typographical error." In his *Loss of Unity*, Nickerson entitled his chapter on Calvin "Devil-Worshipping Genius," indicated that Calvin taught that it was all right to kill for religious reasons, and observed that in the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism in the sixteenth century, Calvin added a note of contempt to a note of hatred generated by Luther and the Catholics (pp. 186-212). It is fair to point out that Bainton's perception of Calvin is far less harsh and rigid than is that of Nickerson (e.g., see Bainton in Castellio, *Concerning Heretics*, p. 75). However, this essentially negative view of Calvin and Calvinism on such issues as toleration, war, and peace has been picked up by others and widely disseminated in high-school texts and in popular literature.

other Christians and with the Turks, note his approval of resistance to oppressive political regimes, and cite a few of his proposals for peace.

2. *Viret's View of a Just War and Conditions Governing It*

In general, Viret's ideas concerning war and peace follow the guidelines for a just war laid down by Augustine in the fifth century.¹¹ That is, in order for Christians to wage a "just war," five conditions must be met: (1) a proper authority must conduct the war; (2) there must be a just cause for the conflict; (3) the war must be entered into with the right intention, namely, to establish a just peace; (4) military discipline must be maintained during the conflict; and (5) justice must be preserved during wartime as it would be in peacetime. In addition, both Augustine and Viret agreed that wars were always evil, though on some occasions they might be necessary in order to prevent worse evils. Finally, both agreed also that a war should never be waged to exterminate the enemies of the faith and that there was no room for private initiative in waging war, just or otherwise.

Viret's most clear exposition of his concept of a just war occurs in his *Instruction chrestienne*. Using the dialogism so common to much of his literary output, Viret discussed this issue in the context of the sixth of the Ten Commandments: "You shall not kill."¹² After reviewing what might be called the conventional exceptions

¹¹Herbert A. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine* (New York, 1963), pp. 154-171. St. Augustine's just-war theory comes from his *City of God*, Books IV and XIX. For further insight into Augustine's views on war and peace, see Walter F. Bense, "Introduction," in Harald Fuchs, *Augustine und der Antike Friedensgedanke* (original ed., 1926; reprint ed., New York, 1973), pp. 5-19.

¹²Exod 20:13. See Viret, *Instruction chrestienne*, I:482-509. Viret did not cite Augustine directly in this passage in his *Instruction chrestienne*, but it is obvious that he followed the great Church Father's guidelines for establishing the justness of any given war. This is hardly surprising, since Viret knew Augustine's work well and cited him frequently elsewhere in his own writings, including this particular book. Moreover, Viret had been exposed to the teachings of Augustine and his sixteenth-century disciples while a student at the University of Paris in 1527-1530—the very time when the outspoken champion of scholastic orthodoxy, Noel Beda, was faculty syndic there. See Bense, "Paris Theologians on War and Peace," pp. 168-170, 175-180.

to this divine prohibition, Viret's two interlocutors moved on to the related subject of war. Daniel is Viret's chief spokesperson and Timothy is his amiable, pious foil. The two friends agree that the chief purpose of the magistrate is to preserve the peace and that princes and magistrates also can be murderers, *if* they kill the innocent.¹³

Timothy observes:

I conclude from what you have said that, just as the magistrate wields the sword of God for the defense of the good and the punishment of evil according to the justice ordained by God, so he is also given the right to wage a just war, when he has to deal with someone who, having trampled right and reason under foot, resorts to force and violence.¹⁴

Daniel responds:

If it is lawful for a magistrate to punish a small group of evil-doers using a small number of his subjects and officers, then is it not lawful for him to punish a great multitude of evildoers with a great number, when it is necessary to restrain them? But a prince ought to be well advised when he undertakes a war, after having explored all means at his disposal to avoid conflict and maintain peace, that he recognize the great and terrible evils which ordinarily accompany any war, so that the medicine be not worse than the evil that he desires to remedy.¹⁵

Timothy continues:

It should be clearly understood that all war is evil, in that in waging war it is nearly impossible to avoid the commission of sin or great injustice in one way or another. If they are both present, then it is even worse. But they are part of a larger good when the war is grounded in right and in justice, in order to maintain the honor of God and the Church and the public welfare and to correct intolerable evils, and in so far as God, by his just judgment, uses such an instrumentality to punish the sins of men.¹⁶

¹³Viret, *Instruction chrestienne*, 1:504-506.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 1:506.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*

And Daniel adds:

You have said it very well. It then follows that those princes and magistrates who wage war without regard to these things, but only because of their own ambition, or because of a desire for revenge, or because of avarice, rapacity or tyranny, they then are the public brigands and the grand chiefs and captains of the other brigands.¹⁷

All of this is a fairly straightforward Augustinian explanation for a just war in which a Christian may participate. This is not surprising, since Viret studied at the Collège Montaigu at the University of Paris from 1527-1530 when Montaigu was dominated by Noel Beda and his Augustinian views concerning natural law and war and peace. As in the thought of Augustine and in Beda's *Annotationum* of 1526 on war and peace, so in Viret there is the insistence that the just war must meet the conditions traditionally assigned to it, and also an indication that these conditions would quickly show the injustice and evil consequences of most wars.¹⁸

But the aforementioned dialogue is not all that Viret had to say about just and unjust wars. In his *Instruction chrestienne*, he continued his analysis of those conditions under which a princely subject could participate in war. As he proceeds, some differences between Viret and the Augustinians begin to appear, especially in terms of permissible disobedience based upon the soldier's individual conscience. Timothy picks up the dialogue where it left off. He asks: "If those who lead are the chiefs and captains of brigands, are not those who fight under them guilty of their crimes?"¹⁹

Daniel's response to this inquiry begins as a conventional explanation of the matter. He declares:

There are two things to consider here. The first is that the subject ought to ignore the grounds for the cause of the war and not worry about whether or not it is just or sinful, just as Joab ignored the reason why David commanded him to kill Uriah. For

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Cf. Noel Beda, *Annotationum . . . in Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensium libri duo Et in Desiderium Erasmus Roterodamum liber unus, qui ordine tertius est* (Paris, 1526). See also Robert D. Linder, "Pierre Viret's Ideas and Attitudes Concerning Humanism and Education," *CH* 34 (1965): 25-26; and Linder, *The Political Ideas of Pierre Viret*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁹Viret, *Instruction chrestienne*, 1:506-507.

he did not know what David had in mind, and thus was not able to make a judgment concerning David's reasons for the order; thus he had no other choice but to obey his prince. The other thing that should be considered is that the subject has no authority to compel his prince to give him reasons for his princely commands and actions. For what kind of order would that be if a prince had to give reasons to his officers and subjects for all of his commands?²⁰

But at this point in his exposition, Daniel opens up a very large hole in the moral dike—one through which the proverbial large chariot can be driven. Daniel continues:

The subject then has no alternative but to obey his prince, for he has no means of judging the prince's decision *except* when the sin involved in obedience is so great and so obvious that it constitutes an open contravention of the informed Christian conscience. For a man is not obligated to go to war to kill simply to satisfy his prince's appetite merely because the prince commands it. What if a prince commands his subject to kill an innocent man or to ravish his wife or to persecute or murder the faithful who follow the Word of God—is he then obligated to obey?²¹

The answer appears obvious in this context, and Timothy, as anticipated, replies:

I think not. For I cannot believe that God approved the actions of the citizens of the town of Naboth when they killed that good person at the instigation of Queen Jezebel in order to carry out her will and command. But if it is a matter of dealing with a tyrant, and I refuse to obey, then I certainly will put my body and my general welfare in great jeopardy.²²

But to this, Daniel solemnly responds:

It may be that you will lose your life and your goods in such a situation, but it is better than offending God and losing your immortal soul. For we should always adhere to the apostolic rule in such cases: "It is always better to obey God than men." (Acts 5:29) And as Jesus Christ said: "Do not fear those who are able to

²⁰Ibid., 1:507. The allusion to the murder of Uriah the Hittite is from 2 Sam 11.

²¹Ibid. Italics mine.

²²Ibid. The story of the killing of Naboth is found in 1 Kgs 21:1-16.

kill the body but cannot kill the soul, rather fear him who can send both soul and body to the fires of hell." (Matthew 10:28)²³

The example of the murder of Naboth in Viret's discussion of this issue appears to have been carefully chosen. According to the ancient account found in 1 Kings 21, Naboth had owned a highly desirable vineyard in Jezreel beside the palace of Ahab, the King of Israel (died ca. 853 B.C.). When Ahab tried to purchase it or trade him for a "better vineyard" elsewhere, Naboth declined, citing an ancestral attachment to the piece of real estate in question. When Ahab's queen, Jezebel, saw that her husband was extremely depressed over this turn of events, she told him not to worry, because she would take care of it. She wrote letters in Ahab's name to the city fathers of Naboth's town, directing them to arraign Naboth on a trumped-up charge of treason and blasphemy. The notables of Jezreel followed the queen's orders and Naboth was tried, convicted, and executed in a duly established court of law. Thus, Ahab obtained his coveted vineyard! The fact that the death of an innocent, God-fearing person occurred on orders from a lawfully constituted but wicked prince by means of lawfully constituted court procedures that produced an unjust verdict could hardly have been lost on Viret's biblically literate readers.

Thus, there is in Viret room for disobedience based upon the citizen's or soldier's individual decision that the command received is unjust or illegitimate. And, unlike Augustine, there is in Viret no talk of being able to kill in love. Instead, Viret urges his readers to obey the magistrates and princes as a matter of course, for they "are ordained by God to preserve the peace."²⁴ Still, that obedience is not absolute, but qualified, as the previously cited examples demonstrate. Either the magistrate and prince operate to establish justice and preserve the peace and to wage war for the same purposes, or they do not. And when it is necessary and just to wage war against those who do evil, there is no suggestion in Viret that this can be done out of love for the wrongdoer even as correction and chastisement are imposed upon a son by a loving father, as Augustine believed. To the contrary, Viret teaches that the individual Christian should never be the aggressor in the act of killing,

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., 1:504.

and that if he must act in self-defense, he should ask God to forgive him for what he must do because of the hardness of the human heart and the sin of the human condition.²⁵ One may, according to Viret, kill in self-defense or perhaps in a truly just war, but not seek to mask that killing in love.

3. *Viret's View on War with the Turk and with Christians*

In several other places in his writings, Viret mentions specific instances which throw light on his concept of a just war. Viret agreed with Luther that Christians should not wage war against the Turks, but gave as his primary reason for this something different from Luther. Viret agreed with the German Protestant leader that religiously motivated crusades were wrong, but he did not join Luther in condemning the Turkish wars because of the financial drain involved or because he felt that military efforts would be fruitless apart from a general repentance. Rather, Viret stressed the fact that both the medieval crusades and the Christian war against the Muslim Turks of his day degraded the Christian religion. Viret argued that the Christian faith should be spread by persuasion and that genuine conversion could not be forced. Thus, the proper way to deal with the Turks was to send them missionary preachers, not the sword!²⁶

In a like manner, Viret criticized the use of coercion against Anabaptists. Under no circumstances would he support a crusade against them, and he argued that persecution was something in which Reformed Christians should not participate. He called persecutors "tyrants," and clearly opposed wars against the Anabaptists and other alleged heretics. This does not mean that Viret felt that the Anabaptists and similar groups should go unopposed. To the contrary, he believed that they were wrong and should be confronted—but with words and argumentation, not with swords and inquisitions.²⁷

Further, Viret agreed with Erasmus, and most of the other Christians who wrote on this topic in this period that there should be no war between "true Christians." However, "true Christians"

²⁵Ibid., 1:502.

²⁶Viret, *L'Interim*, p. 182.

²⁷Linder, *The Political Ideas of Pierre Viret*, pp. 154-155.

meant different things to different writers on the subject of war and peace. Most Roman Catholic writers regarded true Christians as those in a state of grace. Others, such as Beda and Josse Clichtove, thought of the wrong done in such a conflict between Christians in more natural or secular terms. For Viret, it was a different matter. Viret readily admitted that there were Christians in many different communions, but argued that this was a matter of an individual's faith in Christ, which was between the individual and God. However, he pointed out the inconsistencies of papal policy concerning Catholic crusades against Protestants. How can the Pope wage war, he asked, against fellow Christians, while tolerating Jews and certain other non-Christians in papal territories? He argued that Christians should not be guilty of killing other Christians under any circumstances, and that ultimately coercion did no good, anyway, in terms of true religion.²⁸

4. *Viret on the Question of Resistance to Political Regimes*

Consistent with his views on the possibility of Christian participation in a just war in certain carefully identified circumstances was Viret's endorsement of the right of resistance in certain unusual situations. Like Calvin, Viret urged obedience to legitimately constituted kings and magistrates and to civil laws, as a general principle for the Christian life. In this respect, he was like most of his fellow Calvinists, who followed the traditional Christian teaching (based mostly on Rom 13) that resistance to superiors and the civil government was wrong. He maintained that it was the duty of the individual Christian to obey the non-spiritual edicts and decrees of the secular state. In many places in his writings, he counseled caution, moderation, and peace in all things.²⁹

²⁸Viret, *L'Interim*, pp. 219-225. This later became a fairly common argument used by French Huguenots against continued Roman Catholic persecution of Protestants in that country. Viret appears to have been the first to articulate it. It was probably based on his own observations of what was fairly obvious to any Protestant familiar with the situation in southeastern France between Lyon and Nîmes in the mid-sixteenth century, since in the nearby papal enclave around Avignon, papal forces both protected a Jewish ghetto and tried to exterminate Protestants in nearby towns like Orange.

²⁹See, e.g., Viret, *Instruction chrestienne*, 1:447-454; Viret, *De l'autorite et perfection de la doctrine des saintes Escritures*, pp. 67-69; Viret, *Response aux*

However, just as obedience to the princes and the magistrates was conditional in the case of war, so obedience to them in the ordinary political process also was conditional. According to Viret, only after all other expedients had been tried—such as prayer, persuasion, or passive resistance—could a Christian believer take up arms against an established government. And then it would be done only in defense of the gospel and only when led by duly constituted inferior magistrates who already possessed a measure of legitimate political authority. As in the instance of waging war, there is no room for private initiative here. Further, Viret taught that in order for these inferior magistrates to resist a tyrant legitimately, they in some measure had to derive their authority from the people they were supposed to be leading and serving. This responsibility to a political constituency was in addition to the personal accountability which every civil official had to God. In such an event, the good magistrate was lawfully fulfilling his office by taking up arms in order to protect the innocent from the wicked.³⁰

Moreover, Viret made it clear in his 1547 *Remonstrances aux fideles* that in this context he meant any duly constituted inferior magistrate—hereditary, appointive, or elective. However, as was true with most of his published works, in this case Viret was not writing for a scholarly and international audience, but for a more

questions proposees par Jean Ropitel, pp. 57-58; and Viret to the Council of Geneva, dated Feb. 6, 1563, at Lyon, letter no. 13, P. H. 1169, Archives d'État, Geneva.

³⁰Pierre Viret, *Remonstrances aux fideles qui conversent entre les Papistes; et qui ont offices publiques, touchant les moyens qu'ilz doivent tenir en leur vocation à l'exemple des anciens serviteurs de Dieu* (Geneva, 1547), pp. 236, 331-338; and Robert D. Linder, "Pierre Viret and the Sixteenth-Century French Protestant Revolutionary Tradition," *Journal of Modern History* 38 (1966): 125-137. It is also significant that Viret was the first of the Calvinist writers to authorize active political resistance to tyranny. For a full discussion of this and related matters, see pp. 132-134 in my article cited above. It is interesting to observe that Viret was apparently the first Calvinist leader to address the issue of the right of resistance to legitimately ordained magistrates who were guilty of ungodly behavior. Here, he appears to abandon the Augustinian assumption that, even if a ruler fails to discharge the duties of his office, he must still be regarded as wielding power ordained by God. In this respect, Viret seems to have been the hinge between Calvin and Beza, on the one hand, and the more radically minded John Ponet, Christopher Goodman, and John Knox, on the other. See Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2:225-238.

general, popular, and French readership; therefore he was not as meticulous and detailed in his presentation as he otherwise might have been. He probably had in mind the Swiss mountain cantons, which chose their own leaders; the largely independent and republican city-states of Switzerland; the great, semi-autonomous cities of France, which elected municipal magistrates; and perhaps the various provinces and petty principalities within the kingdom of France, political units which enjoyed a large measure of self-government.³¹

Thus, the focus of Viret's remarks concerning the right of resistance was somewhat different from that of a just war, but the basic issues and principles involved were the same in Viret's thought. There were times when a just cause allowed deviation from the generally accepted and divinely appointed behavior patterns of Christian believers. Moreover, his views on a just war and on the justification for political resistance to tyrants appear to be consistent with one another.

5. *Viret's Proposals for Peace*

Viret discussed war and peace, but did he have a program for peace? No, not in the sense that he wrote a comprehensive tract on "peace and how to obtain it." However, scattered throughout his writings there are suggestions calculated to promote peace in the world, especially within Christendom.

For example, and perhaps most obvious, Viret felt—like most Christian thinkers of his age—that the "main cause of wars in our time is our own sins."³² According to him, Christian believers

³¹Viret's further comments on the subject seemed to fit these particular political entities: "I wish to say that we have many examples of those of whom I speak in many countries where the people have great liberty and freedom. For they are like lords unto themselves, except for some small recognition or obligation which they owe to some princes." *Remonstrances aux fideles*, p. 337. Also see Viret, *Traitez divers pour l'instruction des fideles qui resident et conversent es lieux et pais esquels il ne leur est permis de vivre en la pureté et liberte de l'Evangile* (Geneva, 1559), Part V, pp. 287-288. For more information on the subject of provincial and local government in France and Switzerland in the sixteenth century, see Gaston Zeller, *Les Institutions de la France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1948), pp. 37-56; *Histoire de Genève des origines à 1798*, published by the Société D'Histoire et D'Archéologie de Genève (Geneva, 1951), *passim*.; and Robert M. Kingdon, "The First Expression of Theodore Beza's Political Ideas," *ARG* 46 (1955): 88-89.

³²Viret, *Instruction chrestienne*, 2:1-6.

should pray for peace and actively repent of their sins. The world cannot give true peace. Only God can give true peace through faith in Jesus Christ, and that experience is the foundation of any real peace to be established on earth.³³

But there was more to Viret's suggestions for peace than the theological admonition to trust Christ and forge ahead. He often spoke movingly concerning the plight of the poor and pleaded for what today would be called social and economic justice as a basis for true peace on earth and good will among all peoples. He occasionally denounced the rich who lived off the sweat of the poor, and he called for laws which would protect workers from economic exploitation by the wealthy. He firmly believed that poverty could be overcome with hard work, while at the same time championing the right of the poor to obtain meaningful employment. He even suggested that the Reformed churches in the area of Orbe, Switzerland—his native land—should organize a program of systematic help for the poor: "For what better way is there to bring peace to the land and to show the true love of God than to provide the poor and oppressed with an opportunity to engage in the dignity of labor."³⁴

Viret frequently made a third suggestion which he felt would help establish the public peace, and that was for all people of good will everywhere to tolerate the religious beliefs of other people. Indeed, he never went so far as the Anabaptists and never advocated full-blown religious liberty, but he did recommend toleration within reasonable limits. His more moderate outlook may have been the result in part of his own kindly nature and gentle disposition—often mentioned by those who knew him best—or it may have grown out of his humanist training as a young man. Whatever the case, he was much sought after as an agent of conciliation, and his reputation for fairness was widely known to Protestants and Catholics alike. He not only advocated religious

³³Pierre Viret, *Exposition familiere sur le symbole des apostres, contenant les articles de la foy et un sommaire de la religion chrestienne* (Geneva, 1560), pp. 21-25.

³⁴Pierre Viret, *Instruction chrestienne et somme generale de la doctrine comprise es saintes Escritures, ou les principaux poincts de la vraye religion sont familièrement traittez par Dialogues* (Geneva, 1559), p. 21. For similar sentiments, see Viret, *Instruction chrestienne* (1564), 1:575-663 and 2:701-702; and Pierre Viret, *Le monde a l'empire et le monde demoniacle, fait par Dialogues* (Geneva, 1561), pp. 113-115, 161-165, 212-221, and 273.

toleration as a cornerstone to true peace in the world (especially among Christian nations), but he was also, in fact, among the most tolerant of the first-generation Calvinist reformers.³⁵

One of the weaknesses of Viret's suggestions for establishing and nourishing the public peace was, of course, that he was not a man of politics but a man of the pulpit. He could propose, warn, counsel, advise, teach, and advocate, but he could not make the key decisions reserved for statesmen and politicians. On the other hand, while he lived, Viret exercised considerable influence over a number of important Calvinist lay leaders, including several powerful figures in sixteenth-century French politics.³⁶ To be sure, like most of the key Protestant clergy of his day, Viret could only point out that God offered his peace to all people, delineate ways in which they could appropriate that peace (in both a religious and political sense), and emphasize that it was potentially universal—on the condition that they accept God's peace and conform their will to his. But that was often a powerful influence in an age of religion and religious commitment!

³⁵Linder, *The Political Ideas of Pierre Viret*, pp. 143-176; and Robert D. Linder, "Calvinism and Humanism: The First Generation," *CH* 44 (1975): 179-181. On the other hand, Viret could be a moving preacher and a tough opponent, as many Roman Catholic leaders in southern France found out in the period 1561-1571. He was not a mild-mannered personality nor a milk-toast liberal. But he could debate an issue vigorously, without malice toward those with whom he disagreed. Both Catholics and Protestants regarded him as one of the few to whom they could turn when they needed a respected arbiter. E.g., see Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, pp. 136, 178-182; and Ann H. Guggenheim, "Beza, Viret and the Church of Nîmes: National Leadership and Local Initiative in the Outbreak of the Wars of Religion," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 37 (1975): 33-47.

³⁶Viret died at Pau, France, on April 4, 1571. His passing was the cause of great lamentation among the Protestants of France. For instance, Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, wrote to the Council of Geneva concerning his death: "Among the great losses which I have sustained during and since the last war, I place in the fore-front the loss of Monsieur Viret, whom God has taken unto Himself." Jeanne d'Albret to the Council of Geneva, dated April 22, 1571, at Pau, *Papiers Herminjard*, the Musée historique de la Réformation, Geneva. For other examples of Viret's relationships with powerful sixteenth-century French political figures, see Viret, prefatory letter to Gaspard de Coligny, dated Sept. 25, 1565, at Lyon, in *L'Interim*, Sigs. [1.i. to 2.x. verso.]; Nancy L. Roelker, *Queen of Navarre: Jeanne d'Albret, 1528-1572* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 230-231, 273-274; and Linder, *The Political Ideas of Pierre Viret*, pp. 111-112.

As for Viret himself, he definitely advocated a political position which might be properly called the Calvinist left: namely, revolution led by the inferior magistrates, but only under extreme provocation; and war waged, but only under the most pressing circumstances and only in order to establish a just peace. He believed that a just war must meet all of the conditions traditionally assigned to it by Augustine, and he held that a rigorous insistence on these conditions would quickly show that most wars were unjust. Moreover, he taught that a believer need not participate in an unjust war which violated the informed Christian conscience and/or threatened to compromise that believer's primary commitment to God. Viret's position illustrates that first-generation Calvinism was far less monolithic than is often thought and that, contrary to popular notions, Calvinist leaders could be extremely sensitive to such issues as war and peace.

6. *Implications of Viret's Approach*

Christians today can learn a great deal from Viret's thoughtful approach to the problems involved in embracing the doctrine of the just war. It is obvious that he was concerned that Christian believers observe two basic guidelines that are today referred to as "the principle of proportion" (which requires that the good achievable or the evil prevented be greater than the values destroyed or the destruction involved in any resort to arms) and "the principle of discrimination" (which stresses that some acts are not permissible even when fighting a so-called just war). Moreover, Viret linked Christians in the just-war tradition to their roots—roots which emphasize that all wars are evil and which restrain the participants in those wars which are deemed just and therefore necessary to be fought. There appears to be no room in Viret's thought for an aggressive first-strike mentality, or for warfare that is total and unrestrained.

Finally, Viret's ideas concerning a just war once again bring to the fore the issue of the responsibility of the individual versus the power of the secular state. Can the two ever be reconciled? In particular, should Christians participate in the martial activities of today's secular state under any circumstances? If so, what constitutes a just war in this age, especially in pluralistic societies? And under what circumstances is it permissible for Christians of one

nation to kill Christians of another nation—or for that matter, for Christians of any nation to kill anybody else—during time of war? Or did Jesus in principle disarm all Christians?

What is the responsibility of the individual Christian today in relation to the modern secular state and its military ventures? Pierre Viret has not provided any definitive answers to this important question, only the hope that individual responsibility and the power of the state can be made compatible in the case of a truly just war. But it is clear that he preferred that Christians be known as peacemakers!

JOHN WESLEY'S *ARMINIAN MAGAZINE*

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A century ago, William Edward Hartpole Lecky, the Irish historian, stepped back a pace from his discussion of John Wesley and the development of eighteenth-century British Methodism to view the broader scene, as it were, and to draw forth a reasonable conclusion concerning the influence of Wesley upon the life of mid and late eighteenth-century Britain. "It is no exaggeration to say," he remarked of Wesley, "that he has had a wider constructive influence on the sphere of practical religion than any other man who has appeared since the sixteenth century."¹

The "wider constructive influence" originated, of course, from John Wesley's own discipline and energy, from his dedication to routine, and from his sense of endurance. Nevertheless, the positive direction of British Methodism also came out of a number of extremely practical vehicles through which his particular brand of evangelicalism reached into almost every village and almost every county of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and onto the shores of the American colonies. John Wesley relied upon field preaching, lending societies, folk medicine, electricity, lay preachers, schools, publishing houses, and the popular press to rally Britons—Anglicans, Dissenters, Roman Catholics—to the ideas and the ideals of Methodism; he identified for them the social and the spiritual means by which to endure the worldly inequities of life in the second half of the eighteenth century.

If, in assessing the success of Wesley's various constructive projects for the furtherance of Methodism, the principal criterion is longevity, the laurel would most assuredly go to *The Arminian Magazine*. It was also one of the distinctively *popular* periodicals circulated throughout the British Isles during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

¹William Edward Hartpole Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 3d ed., rev. (London, 1883-1890), 2:631.

1. *Overview of the Magazine's Origin and History*

Wesley inaugurated *The Arminian Magazine* in January 1778 (he was then but six months from his seventy-fifth birthday) and continued to supervise its total content through the January 1791 number, which his book stewards published only six weeks prior to his death on March 2. The remainder of the fourteenth volume, for 1791, came forth under the direction of George Story of Hull, Wesley's trusted Yorkshire preacher and amanuensis, who superintended the periodical through 1797. Then, Story and Joseph Benson, one of the early editors of John Wesley's collected works, changed the name to the *Methodist Magazine*. Under this title it existed from 1798 to 1821. Then, for more than a century, from 1822 through 1932, it continued as the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, after which it returned to its former title of *The Methodist Magazine*.

However, if a serious student wishes to stretch the point of chronology, the monthly *Arminian Magazine* actually began twenty-nine years prior to January 1778. This was when John Wesley issued, between 1749 and 1755, his contribution to encyclopaedic literature, the fifty-five volume series entitled *The Christian Library: Consisting of Extracts from, and Abridgements of, the Choicest Pieces of Practical Divinity which have been published in the English Tongue*. It was printed in Bristol by William Pine.

Although separated by almost three decades, the purposes of *The Arminian Magazine* and *The Christian Library* were the same. For six years, John Wesley had spent most of his spare time in the construction of his self-contained library for the enlightenment of unenlightened Methodists: He read, digested, and rewrote practically the entire range of orthodox and Puritan literature—the Apostolic Fathers, the Christian martyrs, John Smith (the Cambridge Platonist), George Fox, Samuel Clarke, William Whateley. In *The Christian Library*, he proposed to provide members of Methodist societies with samples from the noblest of Christian authors; and as usual, his method was to remove objectionable and unimportant or conflicting ideas, after which he would revise ornamental language.

When the complete set had been published, Wesley went through all of the selections and marked passages that he never should have included in the first place—sentences and paragraphs

that ran afoul of his own doctrines. Simply, he had not the time to spend in supervising the publication of every one of the volumes, nor could he always determine that printers followed his meticulous directions. However, Wesley himself never published a revision of *The Christian Library*. Thomas Jackson, the early nineteenth-century editor of Wesley's works, uncovered the corrections and issued the second edition (London: Cordeaux, 1819-1827). Its thirty volumes contained Wesley's annotated version of the original, in addition to the supplementary abridgements that the Methodist founder had prepared but had never inserted into the 1749-1755 numbers.

As may clearly be observed from its full title, *The Arminian Magazine: Consisting of Extracts and Original Treatises on Universal Redemption*, Wesley's 1778 project came forth as an attempt to continue the purpose and the work of *The Christian Library*. However, for this newest endeavor, Wesley broadened the scope of this monthly journal and took aim directly at the intellects and the morals of British Methodists. He would add biographies of his preachers, correspondence related directly to Methodist activities, poetry that met with his own and his brother Charles's approval, and minutes of Methodist conferences. In later issues, he would insert sermons—those of his and others' composition. The initial number appeared on 1 January 1778, printed in London by Frys, Couchman and Collier, who produced the first two volumes; after that, from 1780 through 1791, Wesley transferred the printing to John Paramore, who produced the journal from the Foundry in Upper Moorfields and then from the New Chapel at City Road. In all, Paramore printed vols. 3 through 14.

However, *The Arminian Magazine* existed for reasons other than a simple expansion of *The Christian Library*, for Wesley could not always easily separate the political issues of the day from the higher educational and intellectual motives. From the outset, he needed an effective means by which to counter the scurrilous and often overheated attacks of the Calvinist elements within the Church of England, specifically those from the hymnodist and editor of the *Gospel Magazine*, Augustus Montague Toplady, who reacted with extreme violence against Wesley's position on free grace and his notion that England's war with her American colonies was not really in the best interests of the nation. At one end of the rhetorical see-saw, Toplady viewed Wesleyan Methodism as "the

famous Moorfields powder, whose chief ingredients are an equal portion of gross Heathenism, Pelagianism, Mahometanism, Popery, Manichaeism, Ranterism, and Antinomianism, culled, dried, and pulverized, and mingled with as much palpable Atheism as you can scrape together."²

For his own part, Wesley responded with equal vigor and venom. Those who opposed his *Calm Address to the American Colonies* (1775), he declared, had behaved "just as I expected they would. And let them lick up Mr. Toplady's spittle still: a champion worthy of their cause."³

Nonetheless, *The Arminian Magazine* did not suffer for long from such exchanges. Once Wesley forced himself to see beyond the limits of factional backbiting, the real rationale for his monthly journal emerged—those very reasons that gave legitimacy to the popularity of his project. By underscoring his demand that Methodist preachers devote a certain part of their time to methodical reading and study, by encouraging regular reading habits within all Methodist societies, by attempting to inculcate sound theology, and by striving to cultivate both piety and a sense of taste, the founder and leader of British Methodism committed himself first to dissemination of knowledge and second to a strong vehicle for that dissemination. And as some would still claim, *The Arminian Magazine* thus served as one of the earliest popular religious periodicals circulated throughout Britain, and it stood as one obvious symbol of that "wider constructive influence" of eighteenth-century Wesleyan Methodism to which Lecky referred.

2. General Content of the Journal

The Arminian Magazine became, then, John Wesley's grand focal point for spreading religious knowledge and concerns. As indicated earlier, it included excerpts from the works of others, letters to and from the Methodist leadership, anecdotes to illustrate the benefits from Methodist principles and practices, biographical sketches of worthy models (exemplars of piety and morality), and

²Quoted in Robert Southey, *The Life of Wesley and the Rise and Progress of Methodism* (1820; reprint, London, 1901), p. 179.

³Nehemiah Curnock, ed., *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.* (London, 1909-1916), 6:85. (Hereinafter cited as *Journal*.)

the best representatives from religious and moral poetry (with Isaac Watts, Philip Doddridge, and Charles Wesley heading the list).

The Journal's Goals and Rationale

Holding firmly to the tradition of the eighteenth-century British literary periodical, somewhat reminiscent of Steele's proclamation of political neutrality in *The Spectator*, John Wesley actually announced, in his proposals of 14 August 1777, that *The Arminian Magazine* "will contain no news, no politics, no personal invectives, nothing offensive either to religion, decency, good nature, or good manners."⁴ Thus, at least the *prefaces* to the first four volumes (1778-1781) tended to focus on that general character of the *Magazine*, although the discerning reader could identify the strong political and theological overtones in the various pieces (as such devices were applied in making a thorough defense of British Methodism). In the prefaces to the remaining volumes under his direction (vols. 5 through 13, 1779-1790), Wesley limited himself to rather short pronouncements on the specific works contained therein.

In the initial volume, we learn, not surprisingly:

Our design is, to publish some of the most remarkable tracts on the universal love of God, and His willingness to save all men from sin, which have been wrote [*sic*] in this and the last century. Some of these are now grown very scarce; some have not appeared in English before. To these will be added original pieces, wrote [*sic*] either directly upon this subject, or on those which are equally opposed by the patrons of particular redemption.⁵

Further, Wesley indicated in this preface that the organization of each number would identify four parts: (1) a defence of the doctrine that "God willeth to all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (p. 280); (2) an extract from the life of a notable Christian (for example, James Arminius, Martin Luther, Bernard Gilpin, Peter Jaco, and John Atlay [even Wesley's troublesome book steward would have his day in the court of Christian

⁴Quoted in Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.* (1870; reprint, New York, 1872), 3:281.

⁵Thomas Jackson, ed., *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley* (London, 1829-1831), 14:279. (Hereinafter cited as *Works*.)

virtue)]; (3) testimonials of Christian experiences; and (4) poetry to give rhythm in support of Methodist doctrine.

Criticisms, and Wesley's Attempts to Meet Them

In the preface to the second volume (dated 1 January 1779), Wesley turned his attention to the criticisms directed to *The Arminian Magazine* during its initial year of publication. Although he expressed some surprise at hearing "so few objections to the work" (p. 282), he nevertheless considered and countered specific points. Thus:

1. *It is too short*: He has added eight pages to each issue.
2. *It lacks variety*: There is enough variety, but he will add biographical accounts of Methodist preachers.
3. *It lacks illustrations*: He has added pictures, but is generally dissatisfied with the quality of the engravings.
4. *Certain of the tracts are hard to understand*: He will make them plainer.
5. *The letters are not spiritual enough*: He believes that they are more than abundant in spirituality.
6. *The poetry is not original enough*: He has added original verse.⁶

Wesley continued to concern himself with his readers' reactions in the preface to the third volume (London, 1 January 1780). Obvious to everyone, however, he was merely being polite, for he appears to have been suffering only from an excess of editorial riches: "I have still an abundance of letters in my hands, equal to any that have yet been published." Further, "I have likewise . . . abundance of verses, many of them original" (pp. 285-286).

In fact, in the preface to the fourth volume (1781), Wesley informed his readers that there exists not the slightest danger that he will exhaust either himself as a writer or his stock of others' compositions, while the number of his correspondents is increasing daily. Once again encountering objections about the quantity and the quality of the illustrative matter (he refused to trust *country* engravers!) and the variety of poems and biographies, he concludes that preface on a tone of heavy resignation that assumes, almost, the quality of final prayer:

⁶*Works*, 14:282-283.

These things we will do, if God permit. But who knows what we may do or be tomorrow? For what is our life? Is it not a vapour that just appears and vanishes away? O let us secure a permanent life that will remain when heaven and earth fall away!⁷

If nothing else, the prefatory statements to *The Arminian Magazine* indicate both the problems and the frustrations that arose from the project, while the actual contents identify not only what John Wesley had in mind for his popular periodical, but the extent to which he yielded to his readers' comments and criticisms. For example, the twelve numbers for 1779 (vol. 2) comprise 664 pages. These include six essays, fourteen accounts of lives (or biographical sketches with obvious moral emphasis), thirty-four letters on various subjects and written at various times between 1742 and 1778 (eight by John Wesley and twenty-six by sundry disciples of British Methodism), and eighty-three poems on obvious subjects and forms—including twenty-one Latin epigrams with Wesley's English translations; twenty-six hymns (most of them by John and Charles Wesley); six epitaphs of pious (and, presumably, Methodist) persons; two paraphrases of OT Psalms; and a single paraphrase of OT narrative.

True to his original organizational plan, Wesley inserted into this second volume of *The Arminian Magazine* essays in defense of Christian and Methodist doctrine—most of which he himself had written, or for which he had prepared extracts. Topics covered were "An Appeal to the Gospel for the True Doctrine of Divine Predestination," "God's Love to Mankind," "The Scripture Doctrine concerning Predestination, Election, and Reprobation," "Thoughts on Salvation by Faith," "A Treatise concerning Election and Reprobation," and "Predestination Calmly Considered."

⁷The biographical sketches in this same volume, all written by John Wesley, obviously served as models of virtue and piety in their various forms and shapes. Wesley further determined that the achievements of those persons (who represented both the present and the past) would serve to establish a proper sense of direction for his followers and his readers. Therefore, the poet John Donne appeared within the pages of *The Arminian Magazine*, alongside

⁷*Works*, 14:289.

of James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, and William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, who were two eminent scholars of the Established Church.

However, the true substance of the biographical sketches—to support Wesley's intent to reach out to all social and theological levels within his societies—can be found in the descriptions of those persons who roamed the island-kingdom in behalf of Wesleyan Methodism: Thomas Rankin, superintendent of the societies in America; Thomas Olivers, the sub-editor of *The Arminian Magazine* and an energetic participant in Wesley's paper war with Augustus Toplady and the Anglican Calvinists; and Sarah Ryan, an early female Methodist itinerant preacher and Wesley's housekeeper at Bristol and Kingswood School. In addition, Wesley introduced his readers to a close-knit cadre of circuit riders whose names, even among the current scholars of Methodist history, mean little: John Pawson, Alexander M'Nab of Perth, Benjamin Rhodes, John Oliver, Thomas Tennant, William Hunter, John Allen, and John Merlin (known, popularly, as "The Weeping Prophet of High Wycomb"). Wesley saw them all as true symbols of integrity, sincerity, and simplicity; in turn, all of them responded to what he asked of them and ordered them to do. From the pages of *The Arminian Magazine*, Methodism's founder and leader hoped that the records of such individuals might reach forth and affect others with the zeal and dedication of the eighteenth-century evangelical revival.

Examples of Organization and Content of the Journal

A fairly close look at one number from the second volume, September 1779, reveals how Wesley, rather early in his editorship, organized the material at hand. To begin, he spread the longer pieces over a number of issues. Thus, "A Treatise concerning Election and Reprobation" (an extract from Robert Barclay's *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* [1678]) appeared serially in *The Arminian Magazine* from April through October 1779. Also in the September issue of 1779, he inserted the second of the three installments of his "Life of Dr. Donne,"⁸ followed by a fairly recent

⁸Tyerman, 3:316-317, claims that the Donne biographical sketch was "mentioned by Wesley's own pen, though never included in his collected Works." It does not exist in Jackson's 1829-1831 edition.

(dated 1 July 1779) biographical essay, "An Account of Mr. Thomas Tennant. Written by Himself. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley." The final prose piece was a letter (again, more of an essay than a simple epistle) written by Wesley from Kingswood on 12 March 1756 to William Dodd, the popular preacher of Magdalen Hospital, tutor to Lord Chesterfield's son, and best known because of Johnson's literary efforts on his behalf. This letter was in response to that Anglican cleric's attack upon the doctrine of Christian perfection.

Wesley concluded his September 1779 number with two poetic pieces: Matthew Prior's lengthy "Henry and Emma"; and an unidentified Latin epigram, with Wesley's translation. A number of the faithful objected to Prior's poem because it was not strictly religious (or, perhaps like Johnson, they thought it dull and tedious), and therefore they considered it out of place in *The Arminian Magazine*. Nonetheless, the editor termed it "one of the finest poems in the English language; and whoever can read it without tears, must have a stupid, unfeeling heart." But Wesley also added, "I do not know that anything of the same kind will appear in any other following Magazines."⁹

Indeed, Wesley proved so sensitive to his readers' reactions that he constantly shifted emphasis and form. Again, as but a single representative sample, we may notice the differences between this second volume, from 1779, and the ninth one, from 1786. Although the latter contains only twenty-four additional pages (688 as opposed to 664 for vol. 2), it holds a total of 189 items—fifty-two more than the earlier volume. But Wesley had gone beyond simply adding to the size of his issues. Its twenty-three essays were considerably shorter; and in addition to these, the readers could find the following: three moral dialogues; seven of Wesley's sermons; fourteen biographical sketches; four letters from noted persons of the past (Christopher Columbus and Mary Queen of Scots being two); twenty-six letters written to Wesley; seventy-four short narrative-descriptive accounts of death, extraordinary occurrences, journeys, locales, and moral anecdotes; thirty-four poems (no hymns or psalm paraphrases, but including selected passages from Pope's *Messiah* and Gray's *Elegy*); and, as appropriate conclusions, three copies of the wills of prominent Methodists.

⁹*Works*, 14:285.

The 1786 volume of *The Arminian Magazine* truly reflects an aspect of John Wesley's leadership and control over British Methodism. Although he remained alert to his followers' legitimate intellectual and spiritual requirements, he ignored their whims and fancies. Once he had decided upon the specific contributors to their moral well being, he sought to provide these in abundance.

Although the authorship of the pieces in *The Arminian Magazine* cannot always be quickly determined, Wesley did provide a loose index of names, titles, and subjects for each bound volume. In terms of identification, the prose pieces prove no serious problem, for Wesley himself wrote the largest portion at one time or another, while he revised, altered, and extracted the remainder (even though at times the original authorship may not be easily identified).

The same general observation may be made regarding the poetry. Determining its authorship is not overly difficult. Although most of the passages themselves contain no reference to the author (i.e., no "byline"), and recognizing that Wesley tended toward slight textual changes, we can nevertheless ascertain authorship by means of the names in the index, by the poetic forms used, and by the titles themselves. Thus, the reader could observe such titles as "A Translation of a Latin Epitaph, Written by Sir Richard Blackmore, On His Lady" (vol. 5, August 1782, p. 445); "Hymn to Adversity: by Gray" (vol. 10, July 1787, pp. 391-392); "A Contemplation on Night (By Mr. Gay)" (vol. 10, March 1787, p. 167); "The Second Satyr of Persius (Translated by Mr. Dryden)" (vol. 10, December 1787, p. 664); "The Miser and Plutus (A Fable by Mr. Gay)" (vol. 10, November 1787, p. 613); and "Edwin and Angelina (by Dr. Goldsmith)" (vol. 10, p. 500).

The textual changes themselves tended to reflect either a particular edition consulted by Wesley, or his own linguistic or rhythmical whims. For example, line 212 from James Thomson's *Winter* reads "Where are you now? and what is your amount?" In *The Arminian Magazine* (vol. 11, December 1788, p. 669), Wesley retitles a passage from *Winter* as "A Night-Piece on a Sick Bed" and changes the foregoing line to read, "Where ye now? and what is your amount?" In quoting from Dryden's translation of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*—particularly from the prologue to the Parson's Tale (which Wesley in vol. 11, March 1788, p. 165, entitled "The Character of a Good Parson: Imitated from Chaucer"),

Wesley makes modification: The late seventeenth-century poet wrote, "Refined himself to soul, to curb the sense,/And made almost a sin of abstinence"; Wesley changed the lines to read, "Denied himself so far, to curb his sense,/He made almost a sin of abstinence." As a final instance of Wesley's editorial hand, we may note a passage from John Gay's "A Contemplation on Night." The original reads, "The blooming flowers with opening beauty glow," which Wesley changed to "The blooming flowers with opening beauty flow" (vol. 10, March 1787, p. 167). However, such revisions remain minor, since the largest portion of verse in *The Arminian Magazine* represents what John Wesley wanted his readers to read and to assimilate—hymns written by Charles Wesley, Isaac Watts, and Philip Doddridge; and carefully extracted fragments from works by Abraham Cowley, Matthew Prior, John Byron, James Macpherson, Phillis Wheatley, and Alexander Pope.

Noted prose writers who were represented in Wesley's periodical include the theologian Richard Baxter, the humanist Desiderius Erasmus, the philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg, and the physician George Cheyne. However, the reader must search for those writers. *The Arminian Magazine*, under Wesley's firm direction, remained a *Methodist* miscellany. Its editor never solicited material from the literati of the day, nor did he appear particularly inclined to include works from those writers whose definition of, and purposes for, literature differed radically from his own. His definition, although never formulated as such, may nonetheless be found in a number of his tracts. For instance, in *A Plain Account of Kingswood School* (1781), the Methodist leader announced that "particular care is taken that nothing immodest or profane be found in any of our authors. . . . We take care that our books be not only inoffensive, but useful, too; that they contain as much strong, sterling sense, and as much genuine morality, as possible; yea, and Christian morality."¹⁰

Within the prefaces to various volumes of *The Arminian Magazine*, he further defined literature simply by setting forth, and thereby establishing, his critical criteria. Thus, in the introductory remarks to the fourth volume (1781, p. 3), he determined not to "fill up any publication of mine with bits and scraps, to humour any one living." He stated further that "I am not fond of verbose

¹⁰*Works*, 13:295.

writers, neither of very long treatises. I conceive, the size of a book is not always the measure of the writer's understanding. Nay, I believe if angels were to write books, we should have very few folios." As one further clue to Wesley's definition of literature we may note that in the third volume of *The Arminian Magazine* he included Matthew Prior's "Henry and Emma." Although this was not a religious poem, the piece attracted Wesley because it contained "nothing that can offend the chastest ears." Further, he considered it "one of the finest poems in the English tongue, both for sentiment and language; and whoever can read it without tears, must have a stupid, unfeeling heart" (vol. 3, 1780, p. 3).

The prose in *The Arminian Magazine* also certainly reflects the sentiments of the foregoing statements about the meaning, function, and form of literature. Of course, most of that prose came from Wesley's own pen. Even so, his editorial methods seem, today, as interesting as the actual content of the works themselves. Essentially, Wesley knew the benefits to be derived from serializing. He not only could control and even reduce the length of works (his own, as well as that of others), but he could just as easily hold on to his readers, retaining them from one number to the next.

As an illustration of his serializing, we may notice how he managed a prose tract entitled *The Calvinist-Cabinet Unlocked: in an Apology for Tilemus against a Vindication of the Synod of Dort*. Wesley first inserted the piece into the January 1783 number, on pp. 3-6. Then he carried it forth—four to five pages at a time—through the next *twenty-three* numbers!¹¹ For two years, he literally spoon-fed this highly charged dialogue to his audience in small doses; for the same length of time, he kept his Methodist followers tuned to the arguments surrounding the Arminianism-Calvinism

¹¹Exactly how Wesley distributed *The Calvinist-Cabinet Unlocked* may be seen as follows:

Volume 6 (1783)—January, pp. 3-6; February, pp. 57-61; March, pp. 113-117; April, pp. 169-172; May, pp. 225-229; June, pp. 281-284; July, pp. 337-341; August, pp. 393-397; September, pp. 449-452; October, pp. 505-508; November, pp. 561-566; December, pp. 625-628.

Volume 7 (1784)—January, pp. 307; February, pp. 61-66; March, pp. 117-120; April, pp. 173-178; May, pp. 229-233; June, pp. 285-289; July, pp. 341-346; August, pp. 397-402; September, pp. 453-457; October, pp. 509-513; November, pp. 565-569; December, pp. 621-626.

controversy that had existed since the seventeenth century and had taken so much of his own time and energy.

Wesley's Own Prose Contributions

However, the heart of the prose found in *The Arminian Magazine* remains those works written by John Wesley himself—sermons, letters, tracts, and extracts from earlier moments in his long life. The monthly journal gave the aged Wesley one additional opportunity to contact his followers, even though a number of them had heard the message before. Through *The Arminian Magazine*, he could provide readers with a sense of person, a sense of life, and a thread of unity behind the seeming variety of his periodic miscellany of Methodism. Thus, he exhorted his readers by reprinting a number of his earlier sermons; and those who gazed upon the language of his message received, at the same time, the animated force that declared the source of his authority.

In his sermon "On Divine Providence" (vol. 9, March 1786, pp. 125-131), for instance, he explicated the omnipresence of God, "who sees and knows all the properties of the beings that He hath made. He knows all the connections, dependencies and relations, and all the ways wherein one of them can affect another." In "The More Excellent Way," a sermon carried over into two numbers (vol. 10, July and August, 1787, pp. 341-346, 398-406), he includes a purely autobiographical incident to illustrate how the Christian must spend his money. Recounting his own days as a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, living on £28 per year, he states:

He lived on twenty-eight, and gave away forty shillings. The next year receiving sixty pounds, he still lived on twenty-eight, and gave away two and thirty. The third year he received ninety pounds, and gave away sixty-two. The fourth year he received a hundred and twenty pounds. Still he lived as before on twenty-eight; and gave to the poor ninety-two. Was not this a more excellent way?

Indeed, the practicality of John Wesley was such that it became an essential element of his theological and personal composition; it proved to be a major reason for the success of British Methodism in the eighteenth century. *The Arminian Magazine* served as a means whereby Wesley could, with expedition, disseminate that practicality among the lower classes.

Two Major "Key Documents" on Methodism

In addition to containing reprints of Wesley's sermons, the monthly journal housed major documents by Wesley that underscored the problems surrounding British Methodism. Two of these may serve as examples. On 4 August 1786, immediately following the annual Conference, the Methodist patriarch remained in London to write his "Thoughts upon Methodism," which he inserted into *The Arminian Magazine* for February 1787 (vol. 10, pp. 100-102). The eleven-paragraph essay exists as a summary of John Wesley's fears for the future of Methodism. Simply, he viewed his evangelical organization as "plain, scriptural religion, guarded by a few prudential regulations. The essence of it is holiness of heart and life. . . ." However, he saw, from one perspective, the very *virtue* of Methodism becoming the cause of its downfall: "For religion must necessarily produce both industry and frugality; and these cannot but produce riches. But as riches increase, so will pride, anger, and love of the world. . . ." The solution? Simply this: Methodists, to continue as Christians, must "save all they can" so as to "give all they can; then, the more they gain, the more they will grow in grace, and the more treasure they will lay up in Heaven."

The force of the essay comes not only from Wesley's clear prose style, but from his balance of emotion with logic and common sense. He wrote the piece out of a sense of deep concern, but he never abandoned reason. In the excerpt quoted above, he identified a possible consequence, of "holiness of heart and life," but he never totally gave in to it: "As long as they [holiness of heart and life] are joined together in the people called Methodists, no weapon formed against them shall prosper. But if even the circumstantial parts are despised, the essential will soon be lost. And if ever the essential parts should evaporate, what remains will be dung and dross."

Finally, Wesley generated clarity in his essay from his organization of the material and his attention to conciseness and brevity. The opening paragraph contains the reason for writing the essay, paragraphs 2 through 7 set forth a brief sketch of Methodism, paragraphs 8 through 10 outline the dilemma, and the final paragraph announces the simple solution.

The second example of a key document on Methodism appearing in *The Arminian Magazine* takes the form of a letter—one of the most important letters that Wesley composed. He wrote it from London on 20 December 1751 and sent it to one of his preachers, Ebenezer Blackwell; and he inserted it into *The Arminian Magazine* for June 1779 (vol. 2, pp. 310-317) under the title “A Letter on Preaching Christ.” In this epistle, Wesley outlines the results of his experiences as a preacher of the gospel, describing the specific methods of preaching that he had found to be effective. He begins with simple definitions of his principal terms:

I mean by “preaching the gospel” preaching the love of God to sinners, preaching the life, death, resurrection, and intercession of Christ, with all the blessings which in consequence thereof are freely given to true believers. By “preaching the law” I mean explaining and enforcing the commands of Christ briefly comprised in the Sermon on the Mount.

Then, directing his attention to the Apostles and the NT epistles, Wesley singles out Paul, James, Peter, and John as having “built up believers.” He, his brother Charles, and several of the early Methodist preachers followed these Apostolic models, and they thus succeeded in establishing, maintaining, and increasing the Methodist societies throughout Britain. However, he continues, there then came along a “new manner” of preaching—“speaking much of the promises, little of the commands (even to unbelievers, and still less to believers). . . .” Thus, Wesley intended his letter as a directive to his preachers, as a strict warning for them to follow only the “scriptural way, the *Methodist* way, the true way.”

In reprinting his epistle to Ebenezer Blackwell in *The Arminian Magazine*, John Wesley sought to broaden the range of his recipients, to include both Methodist preachers *and* their listeners. The essential metaphor of the piece may appear to have been severely overworked (even for Wesley’s day), but again, the Methodist patriarch sought the quickest road to clarity and simplicity:

The “gospel preachers” so called corrupt their hearers; they vitiate their taste, so that they cannot relish sound doctrine; and spoil their appetite, so that they cannot turn it into nourishment; they . . . feed them with sweetmeats, till the genuine wine of the kingdom seems quite insipid to them. They give them cordial

upon cordial, which makes them all life and spirit for the present; but meantime their appetite is destroyed, so that they can neither retain nor digest the pure milk of the Word.

Once again, Wesley could prove to the world that those who did not understand the essence of British Methodism simply did not want to understand. By virtue of his being a writer and being an editor of a *popular* religious journal, there existed little else that he could do to explicate and to clarify his own position.

3. *Conclusion: The Arminian Magazine in Retrospect*

Viewed from the distance of two centuries, *The Arminian Magazine* may appear dull and undistinguished—marked, at best, by a rehash of what had been written forty or fifty years earlier. However, when placed within the context of the significance of eighteenth-century British Methodism—alongside its conventions of chapel service, class and band and society meetings, love feasts, and annual conferences—, this journal assumed significance in and for the specialized world of Methodist activity. *The Arminian Magazine* symbolized John Wesley's own method of gathering and disseminating knowledge. Throughout his life, the founder and leader of Methodism probably possessed as much general knowledge as any among his contemporaries; yet, he really never bothered to focus upon a single aspect of learning. Thus, by choice and by the nature of his mission to serve mankind, he applied what he knew to the advancement of what may be termed *popular enlightenment*; his *Arminian Magazine* became his own receptacle to house what he considered essential knowledge—information that he could easily deposit and then regularly distribute to his societies throughout the island-kingdom. John Wesley, according to the editor of his "Journals," existed as "the best gatherer and scatterer of useful knowledge that Georgian England knew."¹²

As long as Wesley remained alive to direct and control *The Arminian Magazine*, it served as the best possible means for spreading and imposing culture upon his followers. Further, it did well to serve his own socio-political interests at opportune moments—such as the support for William Wilberforce's anti-slave trade

¹²*Journal*, 1:21.

crusade, and the appeal for Sunday schools. But when John Wesley died on 2 March 1791, the magazine that was the real force and spirit of Wesleyan Methodism, as the eighteenth century knew it, expired with him.

The same may be said, of course, of its rivals, too. Toplady had passed from the scene thirteen years earlier, within the same year that saw the birth of *The Arminian Magazine*; and his *Gospel Magazine* lasted but another six years before it gave way to *The Spiritual Magazine*. By 1793, the *Evangelical Magazine* had assumed responsibility for Toplady's brand of Calvinism, but its editors determined that their pages would be "devoid of personality and acrimonious reflections on any sect of professing Christians."

In 1798, *The Arminian Magazine* became, simply, *The Methodist Magazine*. With the name change came also the declaration that "Calvinists and Wesleyans have ceased to irritate each other."¹³ Nevertheless, John Wesley's venture into the area of popular periodical literature had come forth as more than a mere irritant; in the truest sense, *The Arminian Magazine* had transmitted to his followers his notion that they must maintain the highest levels of religious and intellectual commitment, and it had enabled him to exercise a cultural and even educational influence over those who were, in the vast majority of instances, morally and intellectually inferior to him. *The Arminian Magazine* was, then, as Wesley himself envisioned it, still another beacon of warm light by which the founder and leader of British Methodism might turn his membership away from the cold, material inducements of late eighteenth-century industrialization and guide them toward a better life in a better world.

¹³ John Walsh, "Methodism in the End of the Eighteenth Century," in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, ed. Rupert Davies and Gordon Rupp (London, 1965), 1:298.

REVELATION 5 AND 19 AS LITERARY RECIPROCALLS

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My colleague Kenneth A. Strand and I have published previously in *AUSS* two studies on the literary form of Rev 18.¹ In those two studies, that chapter was found to be a discrete literary unit consisting of seven hymns of judgment upon the impure woman of the prophecy, called "Babylon the Great." These seven hymns are distributed in chiasmic order according to both their *form* (Shea) and their *theological content* (Strand). I take that conclusion about Rev 18 as the starting point for the following discussion of Rev 19.

1. *The Hymns of Rev 19:1-8 and Those in Rev 18*

With the seven brief hymnic statements of Rev 18 constituting a discrete literary unit, how do the hymns which follow in Rev 19 relate to them and to the book of Revelation as a whole? Rev 19 begins with a hymn in praise of God for his just judgments, especially upon the symbolic woman discussed in the two preceding chapters. This hymn (in vss. 1-3) is cried out with a mighty voice by a great multitude in heaven. Next (in vs. 4), the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders bow down and worship God with their exclamation, "Amen! Hallelujah!" Thirdly, there comes a voice from the throne which exhorts all of God's servants to praise Him (vs. 5). And finally, the great multitude is heard again rejoicing because the Lord God Almighty reigns and the "Marriage of the Lamb" has come (vss. 6-8). At that point, the passage shifts to another topic: namely, instructions to the prophet to write down what he has seen and heard (vss. 9-10).

¹K. A. Strand, "Two Aspects of Babylon's Judgment as Portrayed in Revelation 18," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 53-59. W. H. Shea, "Chiasm in Theme and by Form in Revelation 18," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 249-255.

That there are four hymnic statements in Rev 19:1-8 is clear not only from their differing content, but also from the statements which introduce them and the source from which they issue—the great multitude, the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders, the voice from the throne, and again the great multitude. If these four hymns of Rev 19 were added to the seven in Rev 18, we would have a total of eleven hymnic statements to outline and organize by form and content. Do all eleven of these belong together, or should the latter four be separated off from the previous seven as a separate literary unit? Several considerations suggest that the four hymns of Rev 19 belong together as a separate literary unit.

In the first place, only the first of these four is related to the hymns of the previous chapter by content, and that as a transitional summary statement. Basically, these four hymns of Rev 19 are addressed to God, in praise of him, whereas those of the previous chapter are addressed against the woman, Babylon, who suffers from the judgments she justly receives.

In the second place, the scene of action in Rev 19 is considerably different from that in Rev 18. In the earlier chapter, it is on earth; in Rev 19 it is in heaven: In Rev 18 the parties proclaiming the justice of the judgments upon the woman include the kings, merchants, and seamen of earth, an angel who comes down to earth, and an angel who casts a millstone into the sea, which is on earth. By way of contrast, the action in the case of the four hymns with which Rev 19 begins is focused in heaven. The great multitude who cry out the first and last of these exclamations are said to be "in heaven" (19:1). The four living creatures and the twenty-four elders who utter the second of these exclamations are always seen to be before God's throne in heaven (19:2; cf. 4:2-6). The third charge is uttered by a voice from the throne of God itself (19:5). No reference is made in any of the headings of these hymns to any proclamation of them on earth; rather, they are all sung in heaven.

Thus, from a study of their internal contents and their labels, there is good reason to separate the hymns of Rev 19 from those of Rev 18. However, there is also a third reason why the four hymns of Rev 19 should be separated from the seven hymns of Rev 18: namely, their location in the chiasmic structure of the book of Revelation. This structure has been elucidated by Strand in his

studies on the book.² In his outline, the seven trumpets and the seven plagues are seen to balance each other towards the center of the book. This is true both in terms of their location within that structure and through the similar phraseology they employ.³ Further towards the commencement and conclusion of this outline, one encounters the "Church Militant" in this present Earth (Rev 1-3) and the "Church Triumphant" in the New Earth (Rev 21-22).

The passage with which we are dealing here, Rev 19, is located in the section intermediate in position between these central and peripheral blocs. Strand has labelled this general section of Rev 19:1-21:4 as the "Judgmental Finale by God."⁴ The balancing intermediate section in the first half of the book (Rev 4:1-8:1) he has identified as the "Ongoing Activity of God." Within these intermediate sections I have previously suggested that the seven seals can be seen as balanced by the seven hymns of judgment in Rev 18.⁵

Since the Millennium is a somewhat different topic, Rev 20 can be excluded from consideration here. On the other hand, Rev 4 and 5 come together as a pair of related passages, so they can be considered together. In a chiasmic structure, however, the last part of the first section should be considered in comparison to the first part of the last section. This means that we have narrowed down our comparison to one between the end of Rev 5 and the beginning of Rev 19. What do we find of a similar nature in these two sections?

2. *A Comparison of the Hymns in Rev 5:8-14 and 19:1-8*

Rev 5 concludes with a series of four hymns (vss. 8-14). Following the Lamb's taking the scroll from the hand of God (vs. 7)

²K. A. Strand, *Perspectives in the Book of Revelation* (Worthington, Ohio, 1975); idem, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, Florida, 1979); idem, "Chiasmic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 401-408. See especially the chart on p. 52 in the second work listed in this note.

³Strand, *Interpreting*, p. 47.

⁴Ibid., p. 52.

⁵Shea, "Chiasm in Theme," p. 250.

this series of four hymns is sung in praise to the Lamb for his having redeemed mankind by his blood.

Structural Parallels

The first of the four hymns in Rev 5 is sung by the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders (vss. 8-10). The next hymn is sung by the heavenly host of angels (vss. 11-12). Then all of the animate universe joins in on a grand chorus of praise (vs. 13). Finally, the scene shifts back to the group with whom this set of hymns began, the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders. They utter the final word, "Amen!" (vs. 14).

In terms of balance, therefore, we find that Rev 5 ends with four hymns and Rev 19 begins with four hymns. The same number of songs sung in each case suggests that this relationship is not just accidental, but that it is by design. Both of these sets of four hymns are also sung in the same context, heaven. Beyond that, these two passages contain a certain similarity of order for the different choruses that sing these songs; but when they are compared in detail with each other, that order is found to be *reciprocal* in nature. This can be demonstrated best by an outline of the headings for the groups involved (Outline 1, below).

OUTLINE 1: RECIPROCAL NATURE OF THE HYMNS IN REV 5 AND 19

Rev 5:8-14

Rev 19:1-8

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. Four living creatures and twenty-four elders fell | B. I heard what seemed to be the mighty voice of a great multitude in heaven, saying, |
| B. The voice of many angels, 10,000 × 10,000 and 1000s of 1000s saying with a loud voice, | A. Twenty-four elders and four living creatures fell down and worshiped . . . saying, "Amen! Hallelujah!" |
| C. Every creature in heaven, on earth, under the earth, and in the sea, saying, | D. From the throne a voice, saying, |
| A. The four living creatures said, "Amen!" the twenty-four elders fell down and worshiped. | B'. I heard what seemed to be the voice of a great multitude, saying, |

The four hymns of Rev 5 begin and end with the same group, the four living creatures and twenty-four elders. The four hymns of Rev 19 begin and end with the same group, the great multitude in

heaven. It is this same group of the multitude of heavenly angels that occupies second position in the series of Rev 5. In turn, the group with which the series of Rev 5 begins, the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders, occupies second position in the series of Rev 19. There is also a difference, however, in that the order of the components has been reversed. In Rev 5, the order is "the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders," while in Rev 19:4 it is "the twenty-four elders and the four living creatures." Just as the book of Revelation itself is chiasmic, and as these passages are chiasmic, so this phraseology has been turned around into a chiasmic order when its occurrences in these two passages are compared.

As for the two sets of singers, the one real difference lies in the fact that whereas all of the animate chorus of the universe joins in the anthem in Rev 5, only a voice is heard from the throne in Rev 19. However, a certain balance is involved here, too, since in the place where all of God's creatures appear in one instance, God himself appears in the other.

The "great multitude in heaven" from whom the voice is heard twice in the latter series has been identified here with the "many angels" whose voice is heard in the first series. The word "voice" is used twice in 5:11 and once each in 19:1 and 19:6, so that the number of its occurrences is the same between the two passages. The number of angels in 5:11 is given as "myriads of myriads and thousands of thousands," which parallels the number of angels gathered before the throne in the heavenly court scene of Dan 7:10. The number is the same, but the order between 1000s and 10,000s has been reversed between Daniel and Revelation. This is one of a number of links between these two passages. In the outline above, I have paraphrased the OT passage for use here with this NT passage, in order to emphasize the numerical link. Rev 5:11 is the only passage in Revelation where the angelic host is numbered, and Dan 7:10 is the only passage in Daniel where that host is numbered.

The Addresses of the Hymns

As far as the messages of the hymns of Rev 5 and 19 are concerned, one fact stands out from a comparison between these two passages. The hymns of the former chapter are directed to Christ as

the Lamb and give praise to him for the redemption he has worked out; and in Rev 19, it is God the Father who is addressed by the hymns, with his judgment and rule being emphasized. But there are common elements in this. In the first and third hymns of the latter passage, although the address is given simply as "God," in the fourth hymn he is identified as "Lord God Almighty." This is the same title used for God the Father in Rev 4:8, the God from whom the Lamb receives the scroll in chap. 5.

There is also a crossover in the address of the hymns themselves in each set. The next to the last hymn of Rev 5 is addressed to both "him who sits upon the throne" and "the Lamb," and the last of the four hymns in Rev 19 refers to both the "Lord God Almighty" and "the Lamb" whose bride is ready for the marriage.

Other Considerations

The length of the hymns varies in the two passages. Rev 5 begins with its longer hymn, it continues with two medium-length hymns, and it concludes with its separate "Amen." Rev 19 begins and ends with its longer hymns, and a medium-length hymn and a separate "Amen" occur between them.

Three out of four of the hymns in Rev 19 begin with the word "Hallelujah." The exception is the second one, the one that is uttered by the elders and the living creatures. They say "Amen" there, the same thing they say at the end of the series of hymns in Rev 5. Having repeated this "Amen" in Rev 19, they then add "Hallelujah" to it. This "Amen" in the series of Rev 19 appears to serve the purpose of adding emphasis to the preceding hymn, which extols the justice of God in his judgments.

Summary

The parallels between these two sets of hymns can be seen from a number of points of view. First, the number of four in each series is the same. Second, the hymns are distributed in the same pattern as far as their participants are concerned—A:B:C:A' in both cases (in Outline 1, above, the Rev 19 series is given as B:A:D:B' to highlight the links between the two sets of hymns). Third, there is a crossover between the participants in these two sets of hymns, and this crossover follows a pattern of A/A' being utilized for B in the opposite series (again, highlighted in Outline 1). Fourth, there

is a pattern in terms of the persons being addressed. In the first instance it is A:A:A + B:A, while in the second it is B:B:B:B + A. Fifth, the fourth hymn in the first series is essentially the same in content as the second hymn in the second series, and it is sung by the same group. Sixth, there are seven different words or phrases that are common to both sets of hymns.

The foregoing lines of evidence appear to be sufficient to illustrate the point that the two sets of hymns in Rev 5:8-14 and 19:1-8 are closely related to each other. One by-product of this fact is the isolation, as well, of the set of four hymns at the beginning of Rev 19 from the set of seven hymns on a different topic in Rev 18.

3. *The Hymns in Their Broader Contexts in Rev 5 and 19*

A final point that we should consider here is the fact that the four hymns at the beginning of Rev 19 are found in a context very similar to that in which the four hymns at the end of Rev 5 are found. Aside from the basic setting of the throne surrounded by four living creatures and twenty-four elders, three main elements are especially noteworthy in these contexts. First, there is the appearance of Christ and his direction of motion and function in each case. Second, there is the somewhat parenthetical personal involvement of the prophet with the vision. And third, there are two sets of related hymns that have already been examined in detail above. The intrusion of the prophet and the nature of Christ's appearance in both visions deserve a further word here.

It is indeed a rather striking feature of these two apocalyptic narratives that the prophet intrudes into the scene of action in each vision. In Rev 5, the prophet appears in the vision when he begins to weep because no one was found worthy to open the scroll in the right hand of God. One of the elders in the scene of the vision comforts him by assuring him that Christ as the Lion of the tribe of Judah and as the Root of David has conquered and is thus worthy to open the scroll (5:4-5). In Rev 19, when the four hymns of that chapter were concluded, the angel instructed John to write down the true words of God. John then fell at the feet of the angel in directing his worship towards him, but was instructed not to do that (19:9-10). In each case an imperative in the negative was addressed to the prophet: in the first case he was *not* to weep; in the second, he was *not* to worship the angel.

The views of Christ in these two narratives may also be compared and contrasted. In Rev 5:5-7, Christ is given one set of titles, is described in one way, and carries out one particular type of activity—the taking of the scroll from the hand of God. In Rev 19:11-16, he is given another set of titles, is described in another way, and carries out another type of activity—riding forth from Heaven to take over rule in the earth as King of kings. Although these two views of Christ tell us different things about him, they nonetheless are related in that he and aspects of his activity are the subjects of the two scenes. It is also interesting to notice the reciprocal nature of his motion in these two cases. In the former he comes to the Father to take the scroll, whereas in the latter he rides forth from the Father to take over the rule of the earth.

These three main scenes that we have just noted can also be related to each other in a structural order. In Rev 5 we see the challenge to Christ and his response to that challenge broken up by the prophet's interaction with the vision. This is then followed by the four hymns with which Rev 5 concludes. The order here is thus: A₁:B:A₂:C. Rev 19 begins with its set of four hymns or C. It continues with the prophet's interaction with the vision or B. It concludes with a vision of Christ, or A (for purposes of the present discussion I have limited the portion of Rev 19 examined here to vss. 1-16). The order of presentation in Rev 19 is thus a straightforward C:B:A. This is obviously an inversion of the order in chap. 5 (allowing of course for the completion of action denoted by A₂).

These two larger contexts of the hymns can be compared in outline form (given in Outline 2, on p. 257). From such a comparison it seems reasonable to conclude that the four hymns of Rev 19:1-8 constitute a literary unit of their own—one that is separate from Rev 18—and that they belong more directly to those elements of the literary structure of the book of Revelation which involve the rest of chap. 19. These relations also suggest that chap. 19 may tell us something more about the nature of what is described in the interesting and important scene of Rev 4-5, which itself is a topic that deserves further investigation.

OUTLINE 2: THE CONTEXTS OF THE HYMNS IN REV 5 AND 19

Rev 5

A₁. Setting for the Appearance of Christ,
vss. 1-3

B. Prophet's Interjection, vss. 4-5

A₂. Appearance of Christ: Comes to the
Father as Redeeming Lamb, vss. 6-7

C. Four Hymns, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. Elders, vss. 8-10} \\ \text{b. Angels, vss. 11-12} \\ \text{c. Universe, vs. 13} \\ \text{a'. Elders, vs. 14} \end{array} \right.$
vss. 8-14

Rev 19

C. Four Hymns, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{b. Angels, vss. 1-3} \\ \text{a. Elders, vs. 4} \\ \text{d. God, vs. 5} \\ \text{b'. Angels, vss. 6-8} \end{array} \right.$
vss. 1-8

B. Prophet's Interjection, vss. 9-10

A. Appearance of Christ: Goes from
the Father as King of kings, vss.
11-16

BOOK REVIEWS

The Aramaic New Testament, Estrangelo Script, Based on the Peshitta and Harklean Versions. Knoxville, Ohio: American Christian Press, 1983. xxi + 524 pp. \$24.95.

The unique feature of this new edition of the Syriac NT is that it has been produced with the help of a computer. It is printed in a very beautiful, newly designed Estrangela script, whose appearance is qualitatively identical to typeset Syriac texts from major publishers.

The volume begins with a preface (pp. vii-viii), followed by a two-page introduction in English (pp. ix-x), and its translation into German, French, and Spanish (pp. xi-xxi). The Syriac text occupies the remainder of the book, 524 pages.

The purpose of the publication is stated in the preface by V. P. Wierville: "to make available this Peshitta version of the Aramaic Bible as an aid to Biblical research scholarship in reconstructing the original of God's revelation, the Scriptures" (p. vii). After relating his long-time cooperation with G. Lamsa, Wierville states that "his [Lamsa's] knowledge of textual history plus the findings of other twentieth-century scholars indicated that Aramaic rather than Greek was the original language of the New Testament. Aramaic was the native language spoken by Jesus Christ and his apostles. It was the lingua franca of the ancient Near East. Yet the dominating influence of Greek in the West has obscured the importance and vitality of the ancient Aramaic texts until recently. Because of the immense importance of this printed edition of the Aramaic text in Estrangelo characters, we trust it will be an aid in the advancement of Biblical scholarship. The concordance and lexicon which are forthcoming will be further steps in elucidating this ancient text and helping us to recover the original message of God's Word" (pp. vii-viii). Thus, we can see that this edition is intended to give new fuel to the discussion of the Aramaic origin of the NT. The present review limits itself to finding out whether or not this edition is a capable tool to help us reach a decision in this matter.

From the unfortunately too-short introduction we learn that the editors catalogued 600 Aramaic manuscripts. It is not clear whether they all are NT manuscripts. Whatever the case may be, only four British-Museum manuscripts form the basis of the Peshitta portion of the edition: Add. 14,453 for Matt 6:25 to end of John; Add. 14,470 for Matt 1:1-6:25, Acts 10:21-12:4, Rom 1:1-1:18; Add. 14,473 for Acts 1:1-10:21, 12:4 to end,

James, 1 Peter, 1 John; Add. 14,475 for Rom 1:19 to end, 1 Corinthians through Hebrews.

No criteria are given why these particular manuscripts have been chosen from among other possible manuscript alternatives. It seems that the preference of the unnamed editors was for early (i.e., fifth-sixth-century) manuscripts. It is unstated why some earlier chapters of Romans and nearly the entire book of Hebrews were selected from the tenth-century portion of manuscript Add. 14,475 (the dating is that given by W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, part 1 [1870], p. 87), and not from other earlier manuscripts at our disposal.

The introduction also mentions that the Harklean version has been used for the remainder of the NT books—2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude according to John Gwynn, *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible* (1909); and Revelation from John Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (1897), citing the Crawford manuscript.

The decisive feature of this edition is the lamentable absence of a critical apparatus. In this regard, it shares the place with other presently available Syriac Bible editions such as the one by Samuel Lee, the Urmia and Mosul editions, and the NT in Syriac by the British and Foreign Bible Society prepared by G. H. Gwilliam. For the Gospel portion, Gwilliam made use of the text he established in his critical edition of the Gospels, *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum* (1901). The difference as compared to these editions is that the present edition follows specific manuscripts which are readily available on microfilm. At least, we need not guess as to the manuscript background. From the introduction, it appears that the text printed in any given portion is that of *one single* manuscript, except where it is defective.

The printed text has some peculiarities. Apart from the dots differentiating Rēsh and Dālath and the plural dots, there is no other diacritical point or accent/punctuation mark in the entire NT. Why these have been left out can only be guessed. Possibly no rules were formulated as to what to include or to exclude, and the shifts in manuscripts would have made evident the manuscripts' varying pointing preferences and given the edition an uneven appearance. Or, it may have been decided to give the text an older, "pre-diacritical" appearance by leaving the diacritics and punctuation marks out. The net result is the same ambiguity which has troubled the ancient native Syrian writers and which has led to the creation of these reading helps. To leave out the accents and diacritics means that we deprive ourselves of the particular understanding of the Syriac text as perceived by writer and/or copyist. Further, it makes some aspects of the Syriac verbal system more difficult to discern and to evaluate (along the lines of F. Rundgren, "Das altsyrische Verbalsystem," *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* 11 [1960]: 49-75) when no differentiation between the homographs p^{ca}l pt sg m and p^{ca}l pf sg 3m is indicated. For comparison, it should be noted that the Peshitta Institute in Leiden, The Netherlands, has allowed

for their Syriac OT the practical minimum of homograph differentiation: a dot above the word in the case of demonstratives which can be confused with independent personal pronouns, p^{ca}l pt sg m, the pronominal suffix sg 3f *ṁ*, and when needed for the intensive conjugations and for other homographs whose meaning from the context is not clear. Punctuation is reduced to a single dot. This or a similar procedure, even if not perfectly ideal, would do more justice to the scriptural heritage of the Syrian church. For unvowelled reading training, however, this present edition is an excellent tool.

The reviewer has checked the work in a few passages in Revelation (1:10, 7:2-9, 13:8). The Crawford manuscript printed in Gwynn's edition of the Apocalypse has been used (the same as used by the editors). In addition, manuscript Mardin Orth. 35, published by A. Vööbus, *The Apocalypse in the Harklean Version* (1978) has been collated. Both manuscripts come from approximately the same period (twelfth-thirteenth century). Only the most important variants are quoted to illustrate the point, the remainder being merely summarized. The following sigla are used in the review: "A" for the printed text of the edition reviewed, "C" for the Crawford manuscript underlying the edition in Revelation, "M" for the manuscript Mardin Orth. 35. Additional qualifiers following "C" and "M" denote whereon my observations are based: "(facs)" when using the photographic reproductions in the books, "(print)" when using the typeset text in Gwynn's edition, "(text)" when referring to the reading in the text of "M," "(marg)" when referring to the marginal reading of "M" varying from the reading of the text of "M."

The following findings emerged:

1) Differences exhibited by "C" and "M"

Rev. 1:10	C(print) A	ܘܢܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܬܐ	ܘܢܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܬܐ	"on the first day of the week"
	M(facs, text)	ܘܢܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܬܐ	ܘܢܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܬܐ	"on the Lord's day"
	M(facs, marg) (sic)	ܘܢܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ		"on the first day of the week"
Rev. 7:2	C(facs) A		ܫܘܠܘܟܐ	"seal"
	M(facs)		ܫܘܠܘܟܐ	"seal" } synonyms were used
	C(facs) A		ܕܘܫܒܘܬܐ	"raised"/"loud" (voice)
	M			omitted
Rev. 7:4	C(facs) A	ܘܢܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܬܐ	ܘܢܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܬܐ	"the number of the sealed ones"
	M(facs)	ܘܢܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܬܐ	ܘܢܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܬܐ	"the number of those who have been sealed"
				The substantivated passive participle in C has been expressed by a demonstrative followed by a relative clause in M.

Rev. 8:13	C(print) A	ܘܨܘܪܐ	“in the heaven”
	M(facs)	ܡܠ ܗܘܐ ܐܦܝܢ ܕܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܕܡܝܢܐ ܘܨܘܪܐ	“in the midst, having a tail of blood” (Greek misunderstood)

Further differences are in status, numerus, perfect/participle pointing, possessive and genitic expression, spelling, word order, transposition, in vocabulary beyond that already quoted, and in the presence, absence, or interchange of conjunctive ܐ and ܐ.

The variants in this category are of importance to judge the manuscript's relationship with the Greek, an item of major relevance, especially in the Harklean version.

2) *Instances where the editors copied incorrectly from manuscript C into the text of the edition (A)*

Rev. 7:3	C(facs+print) A	ܘܘܫܘܒܐ ܘܘܫܘܒܐ	“hurt” (verb). The ܘ is in the facsimile and in the typeset text of Gwynn, but not in this edition. The meaning of the word is the same, but the spelling is different. Compare another form of the same verb in the preceding verse, ܘܘܫܘܒܐ, where it has been correctly copied.
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Rev. 7:9	C(facs) C(print) A	ܘܘܫܘܒܐ ܘܘܫܘܒܐ ܘܘܫܘܒܐ	“and thereafter” “thereafter” in both cases
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The copula “and” (ܘ) has been omitted in the last two cases. Gwynn has a note in his edition “Correct by prefixing ܘ, — accidentally omitted in printing” (p. 58).

The mistakes in category 2 have to do with the reliability of input and ultimately with the reliability of the edition. They indicate insufficient final proofreading against the manuscripts. The first-mentioned mistake cannot be caught by the computer's Syriac spelling checker, if existing, because other forms of the same verb occur elsewhere in the edition with and without ܘ (e.g., with ܘ also Rev. 9:4; without ܘ Rev. 6:6, Mark 16:18, Luke 10:19, 11:7). The second mistake, the omission of ܘ, cannot be caught either, because the Syriac passage makes sense without the conjunction, but it is interesting to compare it with the Greek.

Some of the variants in these two manuscripts are also found in other manuscripts (for details, consult Gwynn's *Apocalypse*) and reappear in the

presently available editions of the Syriac NT. Most of the variants quoted above illustrate the futility of an edition without a critical apparatus. The whole spectrum of Syriac biblical text transmission can only be observed through a critical edition involving all manuscripts up to at least the twelfth-thirteenth century. Manuscripts after that date exhibit predominantly inner-Syriac variants, but there are exceptions to that rule. Without a fully reliable variant documentation, studies in manuscript relationship and translation techniques cannot easily be made. Nor is it possible to discuss meaningfully an Aramaic *Vorlage* of the NT, as the editors look forward to doing.

I would suggest that as a matter of high priority a list of NT Syriac manuscripts be published, similar to what has been done by the Peshitta Institute in Leiden, for the OT manuscripts. Also, textual reasons should be given for an inclusion or exclusion of particular manuscripts, for age alone is not the determining factor for the authority of a manuscript, neither is its script.

In conclusion, it may be said that the computer is a welcome tool in any undertaking of a critical edition in order to manipulate the myriads of details, also to make print in non-Latin alphabets available at affordable prices in combination with a pleasant aesthetic appearance. The team can be congratulated for that. However, in serious research, especially when involving controversial issues, we must use all known and accessible data. This text edition unfortunately gives less data in those portions of the NT where critical editions exist. As compared to these, the present work is a leap backward. When it comes to the portions of the NT for which there are no critical editions, the microfilms of the manuscripts used in this edition will give more information. The greatest desideratum in Syriac NT studies is an up-to-date critical edition covering the entire NT. Let us concentrate time, talents, and funds on that.

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JOHANN E. ERBES

Cassidy, Richard J., and Scharper, Philip J., eds. *Political Issues in Luke-Acts*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1983. ix + 180 pp. \$16.95/\$9.95.

Encouraged by the interest in, and the positive response to, the publication *Jesus, Politics, and Society*, its author, Richard Cassidy, and Philip Scharper from Orbis Books planned the present volume. *Political*

Issues in Luke-Acts allows several scholars to interact with Cassidy and to pursue their understanding of issues raised by him. This interaction provides interesting and informative reading by bringing together some of the most recent research in the area of Luke-Acts and its socio-political concerns.

The content of this volume can be reviewed by perusing the titles of the various essays. These titles and their contributors are as follows: Robert F. O'Toole, "Luke's Position on Politics and Society in Luke-Acts"; Willard M. Swartley, "Politics and Peace (Eirēnē) in Luke's Gospel"; J. Duncan M. Derrett, "Luke's Perspective on Tribute to Caesar"; Frederick W. Danker, "Reciprocity in the Ancient World and in Acts 15:23-29"; Quentin Quesnell, "The Women at Luke's Supper"; J. Mas-syngbaerde Ford, "Reconciliation and Forgiveness in Luke's Gospel"; Charles H. Talbert, "Martyrdom in Luke-Acts and the Lukan Social Ethic"; Daryl Schmidt, "Luke's 'Innocent' Jesus: A Scriptural Apologetic"; E. Jane Via, "According to Luke, Who Put Jesus to Death?"; and Richard J. Cassidy, "Luke's Audience, the Chief Priests, and the Motive for Jesus' Death."

Andrews University

GEORGE E. RICE

Davidson, Richard M. *Typology in Scripture*. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, 2. Berrien Springs, Michigan: Andrews University Press, 1981. xiv + 496 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

The thesis of this dissertation is that typology is a biblically based hermeneutical approach to OT Scripture; that it pertains to specific, detailed, divinely designated historical prefigurations in the OT; that it has a horizontal and a vertical dimension; that its NT fulfillment is determined by eschatological, christological-sociological, and ecclesiological dimensions; and that it is subject to a *devoir-être* ("must-needs-be") interpretation, i.e., the types are prophetic predictions of what must come to pass.

In developing this thesis, Davidson reviews the history of typological interpretation to the nineteenth century, and during the twentieth century. This brings into view the historical-critical opposition to traditional typological interpretation, as well as the so-called "post-critical neo-typology" of the twentieth century. Davidson distances himself from the former, due to its neglect of *bona fide* biblical typological structures, and from the latter, due to its denial of the predictive element in biblical

history. Instead, Davidson opts for a biblically based and controlled approach to typology.

This approach requires a semasiological investigation of *typos* and biblical cognates (chap. 2). Davidson concludes that the word comes from a verbal root meaning "to strike" and that it developed a broad range of meanings: "impression," "stamp," "mold," "die," "cast," "relief," "graven image," "form/shape/features," "archtype/pattern/model," "outline/sketch," "rough draft/text" (p. 184). Moreover, these meanings all belong to a three-part pattern of (1) matrix (*Vorbild*), (2) impression (*Nachbild*), and (3) *Nachbild-Vorbild* (in which case the *Nachbild* becomes *Vorbild*, and the original *Vorbild* becomes *Urbild*). With this understanding of the terminology, Davidson examines six hermeneutical *typos* passages, that is, passages in which typology is employed by NT writers as a hermeneutical tool (1 Cor 10:6, 11; Rom 5:14; 1 Pet 3:21; Heb 8:5; 9:24). In each case, Davidson concludes that the typological structure implies a historical reality in the OT and an escalation (*Steigerung*) in the NT counterpart, a NT eschatological fulfillment, a christological-soteriological and ecclesiological context, and is based upon a prophetic advance-presentation, a divine design, according to which "the OT realities were superintended by God so as to be advance-presentations of NT realities" (p. 402). The typological structures generally have a horizontal (historical) dimension; but in the book of Hebrews a vertical (cosmic) dimension also emerges, according to a pattern of *typos* structures in Exod 25:8 (developed in an excursus [pp. 367-388]). Finally, Davidson concludes that the NT salvation-historical perspective of "inaugurated" eschatology, "appropriated" eschatology, and "consummated" eschatology provides the framework for the *typos* structures.

This dissertation contributes to biblical studies by reviewing the history of typological interpretation and by delineating the key issues at stake. Its insistence that a hermeneutic of typology must be controlled by scriptural usage can only be applauded. It remains to be seen how well such a principle of interpretation, narrowly defined, will serve as a general hermeneutical key to unlock the mysteries of the Scriptures.

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NIELS-ERIK ANDREASEN

Doukhan, Jacques. *Aux Portes de l'Espérance. Essai biblique sur les prophéties de la fin*. Dammarie les Lys, France: Editions Vie et Santé, 1983. 316 pp. (Price not indicated.)

Jacques Doukhan in this volume, "At the Doors of Hope," has produced an elegant, creative study of biblical prophecies concerning the end, keyed to the theme of restoration in Hos 2:14-19, where the Valley of Achor (trouble) becomes a Door of Hope.

Part One, "View of a Prophet," contains a chapter on "A Revelation from Above," concerning Hebrew prophetism; and a second chapter, "A Vision of the Future," which shows how "the glance of the biblical prophet embraces, beyond the particular experience, the vast horizon of history on the grand scale."

In Part Two, "View of the End," three chapters deal, respectively, with the OT apocalyptic book of Daniel, in "The Judgment"; with Rev 14:6-12, in "The Cry"; and with Dan 11 in conjunction with Rev 16, in "The War." The author very skillfully exhibits the parallels and correlations between these two apocalyptic books of Daniel and Revelation, and in his discussion illuminates other biblical passages, as well.

In Part Three, "The Irruption of God," the first chapter, "Like a Thief," focuses on 1 Thess 4:16-5:11; and the second chapter, "At the Awakening," treats the resurrection passages Job 19:25-27 and 1 Cor 15:35-37, 42-44.

The final chapter, "The Lord is My Shepherd," is a moving, poetic conclusion to this well-reasoned, beautifully written exposition.

The author, himself of Jewish-Christian background, has an outstanding ability to penetrate the meaning of the Hebrew text and to understand its language; and he has a literary gift in French, his native tongue, that makes this book a joy to savor. His powers of analysis are also richly employed in this work.

After forty-one pages of notes, some of which are lengthy discussions, Doukhan includes a two-page chart showing "The Parallelism of the Prophecies of the End," and a one-page chart, "Chronology of the Prophecies of the End." Ten pages of "Selective Bibliography" are followed by an analytic index, and the table of contents. His dedication reads: "In memory of my brother André, dead of despair, sadly I dedicate this book to the despairing ones of the world."

The book should be translated into English (the author is capable of doing this), and thus it would be more readily available to a wide popular audience.

Fee, Gordon D. *New Testament Exegesis: A Handbook for Students and Pastors*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983. 154 pp. \$11.95.

Gordon Fee has set his hand to a task that is destined to fill an urgent need. There are several good books on the topic of exegesis that can be recommended for students and pastors wishing to sharpen their skills. However, until the publication of *New Testament Exegesis*, there has not been a book that takes its reader step by step through the process of exegesis from the opening of the Bible to the writing of an exegesis paper or the preparation of a sermon.

The titles of the four chapters that make up this work are self-explanatory: "Guide for Full Exegesis," "Exegesis and the Original Text," "Short Guide for Sermon Exegesis," and "Aids and Resources for the Steps to Exegesis." Each chapter is subdivided into numbered, progressive steps of proper exegesis. An "Analytical Table of Contents" becomes a cross-reference for each procedure.

Chap. 1 can serve as an excellent example of the well-thought-out organization of the book. The first section deals with the "Initial Steps for All Genres," and presents the reader with eight steps to follow. Then "Special Consideration for Different Genres" deals with each major division of NT literature; e.g., "Exegeting the Epistles," "Exegeting the Gospels," "Exegeting Acts," "Exegeting the Book of Revelation." Each of these different genres is subdivided into progressive steps that will help the reader to exegete the genre as a unique piece of literature. Then the chapter closes with a section that presents further steps in exegesis that are common to all genres.

Chap. 2 indicates how the original text should be handled. There is a section that shows how to deal with variant readings, another that shows how to analyze the structure of a Greek sentence and its grammar, and a section that shows how to do a word study. Important tools are introduced, as Arndt and Gingrich, Moulton and Milligan, Kittel, etc. The student is not only told where these tools are to be used in the successive steps of exegesis, but, more importantly, how they are to be used. This chapter closes with an explanation of how to establish the historical-cultural background of the passage being exegeted and how to analyze a pericope.

All of the foregoing help a student to organize and write a paper. To the credit of Fee, he has not forgotten the lifelong student who already occupies a pulpit and may feel unsure about doing exegesis for the purpose of sermon preparation. Chap. 3 is, as noted above, a "Short Guide for Sermon Exegesis." It, too, is divided into progressive steps that will help make exegesis an indispensable part of sermon preparation.

Finally, the last pages are devoted to resource tools that will aid in exegesis. These tools are divided into subsections that are cross-referenced

to the various steps in exegesis explained and demonstrated throughout the book.

Teachers of NT will find *New Testament Exegesis* to be a remedial tool that can be recommended to students who have problems in writing exegesis papers. They will also find it to be an excellent textbook for beginners. All students and pastors who take seriously the charge to rightly divide the Word of Truth will find this book to be a necessity for their libraries.

Andrews University

GEORGE E. RICE

Halpern, Baruch, and Levenson, Jon D., eds. *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1981. xiv + 446 pp. \$22.50.

This tome, dedicated to Harvard University professor Frank Moore Cross, Jr., on his 60th birthday, is designed to open the world of modern biblical scholarship to the intelligent non-specialist and layperson. The task is accomplished in fourteen essays by specialists in various fields of study. The reader is confronted with a sample of each biblical period in the OT and NT and introduced to the cutting edge of contemporary critical scholarship. All chapters are explications and extensions of the wide areas of scholarship of Cross, to whom also "An Appreciation" (pp. 3-7) is dedicated by David Noel Freedman. This "Appreciation" contains many valuable insights into Cross's career and achievements.

The first essay is by John A. Miles, Jr., entitled, "Radical Editing: *Redaktionsgeschichte* and the Aesthetic of Willed Confusion" (pp. 9-31). It contains a strong reaction against the historical-critical method, calling for a full-fledged reappraisal of this entire methodology and revealing its internal problems.

An essay by Conrad E. L'Heureux on "Searching for the Origins of God" (pp. 33-57) makes accessible the principal conclusions of the historical study of the early religion of Israel and adds the dimension of theological reflection. Baruch Halpern has addressed the topic, "The Uneasy Compromise: Israel Between League and Monarchy" (pp. 59-96), by tracing Israel's history in the premonarchy period.

Under the heading, "Withholding the Word" (pp. 97-114), W. Janzen discusses the topic of false prophecy, while Robert B. Coote discusses the story of Elijah and Elisha in "Yahweh Recalls Elijah" (pp. 115-120). Richard J. Clifford, S. J., expounds Ps 78 in an essay entitled "In Zion and David a New Beginning: An Interpretation of Ps 78" (pp. 121-141); and

Jon D. Levenson expounds 1 Kgs 8 in "From Temple to Synagogue: 1 Kings 8" (pp. 143-166), treating this text as a pivotal one in the transition from Israelite faith to Judaism and Christianity.

A traditio-historical investigation under the title "From Egypt to Egypt: Dtr¹ and Dtr²" (pp. 167-192) is provided by R. E. Friedman; and a structuralist approach is found in the essay, "Reporting Speech in the Book of Deuteronomy: Toward a Compositional Analysis of the Deuteronomistic History" (pp. 193-211), by Robert Polzin. "Satire and Symbolism in the Song of Jonah" (pp. 213-246) is treated by James S. Ackerman; and the topic of "The Origin of the Idea of Resurrection" (pp. 247-321) is discussed at length by Leonard J. Greenspoon in such passages as Dan 12:2; Isa 26:14, 19; Jer 51:39, 57; Job 14:12; Ezek 37:1-14; Isa 53:10-12; 1 Kgs 17; 2 Kgs 13; Hos 6:1-3; Deut 32:39; 1 Sam 3:6; and 1 Kgs 18:27. Greenspoon examines, in addition, alleged extrabiblical connections relating to his topic.

"The Samaritan Problem: A Case Study in Jewish Sectarianism in the Roman Era" (pp. 323-350) is tackled by James D. Purvis, while John J. Collins describes "Patterns of Eschatology at Qumran" (pp. 351-375) and Adela Yarbro Collins seeks to determine the date of the book of Revelation as having been produced after 70 A.D., in her essay entitled, "Myth and History in the Book of Revelation: The Problem of Its Date" (pp. 377-403).

The volume concludes with a "Bibliography" of Frank M. Cross, Jr., from 1947 through December 1979. A "Subject Index," an "Author Index," a "Scripture Index," and a "Language Index" provide easy access to the contents of this book.

The thinking reader will be rewarded by the amount of stimulation received, as well as by the diversity of subjects presented. No one will be expected necessarily to agree with the various conclusions presented, but the various essays will be rich stepping stones for further reflection and study.

Andrews University

GERHARD F. HASEL

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

Harvey, a fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford, has made a valiant attempt to give the quest of the historical Jesus a new lease on life. He wishes "to give a new turn to the argument" because he feels that theologians have not been looking for "the bare bones of Jesus' biography." Rather, they have been involved with obtaining information about

“such subtle and intimate matters” that they have left us with “no reliable historical knowledge about Jesus with regard to anything that matters” (p. 6).

In order to give the quest this “new turn,” Harvey proposes that in real life individuals are faced with a limited number of options, which are the givens of their particular historical circumstances. Harvey’s proposal is to recreate the options made available to Jesus by his historical time and place, and then determine which alternative Jesus opted for and why. Clearly, Harvey is reverting to the old quest in that he is interested in Jesus’ interior life.

Harvey divides Jesus’ landscape into several segments. As a public figure projecting an image, Jesus had some options. As a Jew living under the law, Jesus had other options. As someone with a story to tell, he also had certain options. As someone with divine power at his disposal, he had more options. As someone who knew himself well and needed to describe himself with a name, he again had options. And as someone who lived in a strongly monotheistic religious environment, he had definite constraints.

As one surveys this landscape, it becomes clear that the study assumes the divine nature of Jesus, so that the person here being considered is not at all a historical person but a supernatural being, now somehow confronted by historical constraints, and forced to make what are tantamount to “human” decisions. How or why this is necessary or possible is never explained.

According to Harvey, given the choices available to him, Jesus turns out to have been a scribe, a Pharisee, a prophet who performed miracles, not to buttress his teaching (p. 113), but in order to challenge his audience to attempt the impossible (p. 115), and who spoke of the end only because all stories need an ending (p. 72) and his audience expected a new age (p. 83). He knew himself to be divine, and the agent of God on earth; thus, during his lifetime he was called “Messiah,” but this description was used without any messianic overtones (p. 140), since it meant “appointed to an office” (apparently that of prophet). He also claimed for himself the designation “Son of God,” which brought about the charge of blasphemy under which he died (p. 171). In the meantime, his followers, being “instinctive monotheists,” did not risk to call him “Son of God” during his lifetime, and “there is no unambiguous evidence that the constraint of monotheism was effectively broken by any New Testament writer” (p. 178).

What is most disconcerting about Harvey’s “new turn” is his complete deletion of apocalypticism as a live option to the historical Jesus. What since the time of J. Weiss and A. Schweitzer has been at the forefront of NT research, both on the European Continent and in America, cannot be dismissed with but a couple of lines. We are told by Harvey that there were no apocalypticists in Jesus’ time, apocalypticism being purely a literary phenomenon (p. 57). He is not, of course, the first to suggest this.

But those who have said so have received strong arguments to the contrary. Therefore, the matter cannot be presented as settled. It may be convenient to avoid having to deal with apocalypticism as an option for Jesus, but doing so is certainly not an option for any modern quester of the historical Jesus.

Harvey also fails to take seriously the thorough hellenization of Palestine, as argued by Tcherikover, Hengel, and others. What Harvey presents as the only options within the constraints of law and monotheism, therefore, proves artificial. How would he explain the signs of the zodiac that have been found in the mosaic floors of the synagogue at the Hot Springs of Tiberias? His efforts to discuss the teachings about the Kingdom of God without a single reference to eschatology is a *tour de force* that fails. He grants that Jesus was mistaken about the time of the kingdom, and from that he decides that Jesus was not really serious about time. Therefore, the apparent tension between the "already" and the "not yet" is dismissed by Harvey as a modern misunderstanding, the whole thing having to do with the fact that Jesus was talking about normal circumstances as if they were an emergency (p. 92). What Harvey fails to do is to provide the key for doing this transposition.

At first, this book may appear impressive because of the tightness of the argumentation. But it collapses because of the many unexamined presuppositions, and because of the way in which evidence is selectively presented or ignored, or at times even twisted. Thus, for instance, in discussing the title "Son of God," Harvey refers us to John 20:28, Thomas' confession, where the words are actually "My Lord and my God." Furthermore, according to Harvey, the Gospel of John does not present a challenge to monotheism. One is consequently left to wonder how he would explain the argumentation of John 5. In another connection, we are told that the arguments for persecutions in NT times have been proven to be circular (p. 88, n. 70). But the question of persecutions in the NT is not an argument, it is a stated fact for which there is too much evidence in the NT to allow the matter to be dismissed in this fashion.

One could go on raising objections about details, but this would be superfluous. The book fails, because it has reduced history to a very narrow and somewhat convoluted corridor, with very few doors opening onto it. Can one really believe that Jesus had to become either a zealot or a Pharisee because these were the only options history had to offer him? It is to Harvey's credit that he at times sees Jesus creating options for himself. But if that is so, then the "notion of historical constraint" (p. 6) which is basic to the whole argument of this book has failed to provide the promised "new turn" to the quest for the historical Jesus.

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HEROLD WEISS

Ishida, Tomoo, ed. *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1982. xx + 409 pp. \$35.00.

This is one of the better volumes of collected papers from symposiums or similar sources that I have seen for quite some time. The papers printed in this volume were originally presented to the International Symposium for Biblical Studies held in Tokyo, Japan, from December 5 to 7, 1979. The theme of study for the symposium, as is evident from the title to the volume, was the United Monarchy, and involved investigations of the literature, history, and archaeology pertaining to the period.

Accordingly, the emphasis of this volume lies in the same direction. Of the studies presented in the main section, the first seven relate to literature of the period, another six treat historical topics, and two deal more specifically with archaeological subjects. A second, shorter section of the volume includes two studies not directly related to the subject of the conference: D. N. Freedman's review of the relationship of the archives of Ebla to the OT, and J. V. Kinnier Wilson's study of medicine in the land and times of the OT. The volume concludes with five sets of indices: biblical and extra-biblical texts, lexical lists of ancient words, proper names, authors cited, and subjects treated.

In general, I would say that the quality of papers presented live up to the high level of performance expected from the rather notable collection of OT scholars invited to this rather prestigious conference. The volume would make a useful source book for an OT seminar for graduate students on the subject of the United Monarchy.

The volume opens, as the symposium did, with the address of welcome by Masao Sekine of the Japanese Biblical Institute, who also served as presiding official of the conference. His own study follows next, and it deals with the lyric literature of the period. Sekine deals with four main texts: 2 Sam 1, the Song of Songs, Ps 16, and Prov 8. Canticles he sees as a unified composition, a position with which I agree (cf. *ZAW* 92 [1980]:378-396). He concurs with Dahood that Ps 16 relates to a Canaanite background, a position with which I also agree.

R. N. Whybray has concentrated on Prov 10-29 in his study of wisdom literature. In his attempt to date this bloc of literature, he sees some of these materials as pre-monarchic in origin, some as coming from the time of the United Monarchy, and other contents as deriving from the Divided Monarchy. W. H. Schmidt in his essay has argued for dating his Yahwist source to the time of the United Monarchy.

In a study of the literary structure of the Succession Narrative (2 Sam 7-20, 1 Kgs 1-2), K. K. Sacon, another of the Japanese scholars at the conference, has isolated more than a dozen chiastic structures on the

large and small scale. And D. J. McCarthy has returned to his favorite subject of Treaty and Covenant, or "Compact," as he calls it here. The covenant with Yahweh, McCarthy argues, provided a basis for the elaboration of social institutions with the rise of the Israelite monarchy, and it also tied the king rather directly into the cult.

J. J. M. Roberts has examined the different theological connections of Zion in this literature. His study reveals the related ideas that Yahweh was the ultimate king over Zion, that he chose Zion for his dwelling place, and that he would protect it from its enemies and bless its inhabitants.

I found T. N. D. Mettinger's study of the epithet "Yahweh Sabaoth," or "Lord of Hosts," to be one of the more interesting studies in this volume. Mettinger reveals quite clearly that this terminology had strong connections to the sanctuary.

The historical studies of the volume take up with the study by the editor T. Ishida on the politics of the development of David's kingship as revealed by the Succession Narrative. In a study of Israel's relations with Egypt, A. Malamat first describes the development of Israel from tribal state to empire in four phases. Pharaoh's purpose in entering into political relations with this greater Israel was to exploit the commercial advantages available thereby.

According to H. Donner, Solomon's relations with Phoenicia were not all one-sided. Solomon was dependent upon Hiram for both expertise and materials. Thus, Hiram gained in influence and even in territory at Israel's expense. Relations in David's time were more indirect, consisting mainly of peaceful coexistence. From a study of Solomon's trading practices, Y. Ikeda has concluded that Solomon's commerce in horses and chariots was not so much to supply a standard military quality and quantity of them as to supply especially fine ornamental-quality chariots with high-quality horses for special use on state occasions.

H. Tadmor calls attention to the decline in the influence of the political and military leaders of the tribes with the rise of the monarchy. Some of the rebellions against David and Solomon (2 Sam 15, 20; 1 Kgs 11-12) can be explained in part through a temporary resurgence by those holding office in these pre-monarchic institutions.

The different categories of labor required of the populace by the king are classified by J. A. Soggin. Objections to these labor requirements contributed to the unrest that eventually led to the breakup of the kingdom.

The two archaeological studies in this volume are of quite a different nature. One is comprehensive, and one is limited in scope. W. G. Dever's study, the comprehensive one, provides us with information on the present state of the art—knowledge about what we can learn from virtually all of the excavations in Palestine in which materials from this period are attested. M. Tadmor's study is more limited in scope, dealing with the

Late-Bronze-Age female cult figurines by means of an extensive catalogue of illustrations. The absence of these figurines from early Israelite settlements suggests that a shift in the religious beliefs of the populace of the land took place at this juncture in time.

In concluding this surface survey of the contents of this volume, I would say that the majority of these studies are very well done and provide highly informative sources for the examination of different aspects of the period under study. This book probably contains the single best collection under one cover of studies that deal with the United Monarchy. On the basis of the quality of this final product, the International Symposium for Biblical Studies held in Tokyo in 1979 must be judged a success.

Andrews University

WILLIAM H. SHEA

Knight, George R., ed. *Early Adventist Educators*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1983. xv + 250 pp. \$9.95.

It is characteristic of innovative social movements to sense in the second century of their existence that the story of their origins is in jeopardy. Pioneer figures have departed, followed by the next generation that worked in close conjunction with them. By that time, institutional establishment has provided resources and sufficient sophistication to support reflective analysis. The result is an apologetic re-study of roots that at times emits odors of iconoclasm.

Early Adventist Educators fits neatly within the aforementioned generalization. A collection of eleven biographical essays preceded by an introductory segment by the editor, it sketches the careers of several of the early Adventist leaders. Although some of the persons described are well known for achievements outside the field of education, the focus here remains on their place as educational figures.

While the choice of educators might be questioned in certain isolated particulars, the mainstream figures who held administrative positions are included in the series. In essence, this book defines educators within administrative parameters rather than primarily as skillful teachers or explorers whose chief contribution was in advancing the state of knowledge.

Several qualities commend the book. Authors of the individual essays are well qualified, in some cases having written serious or even definitive biographies of the figures they treat. The considerable uniformity of style is a tribute to the skill of the editor. References to sources, while adequate and often to primary source material, are not allowed to intrude into the flow of thought. The collection achieves the enviable balance of reliability

based on sound scholarship without forfeiting readability to arcane discussions of theoretical or suppositional issues. Such balance enhances its attractiveness to general readers and specialists in Adventist history.

While resisting temptation to comment on each essay, the reviewer can draw attention appropriately to two or three. Writing an essay on Ellen White as an educator offers particular challenge because among the eleven, only she was neither a classroom teacher nor a school administrator, yet her influence pervades the entire Adventist educational system. Editor George R. Knight makes a particularly useful contribution to understanding Mrs. White's purposes by supplying information about her that rightfully belongs in a critical edition of her works. Much of her counsel is couched in general statements. This style of writing, common in the nineteenth century, obscures meaning for today's readers who are unacquainted with the context, both as to issues and in regard to personalities. This ignorance of context encourages well-meaning persons to assemble in an unwarranted manner selections from her statements as guidelines to policy. In his essay, Knight has included substantial background material that is helpful to a balanced understanding of White's purposes as she wrote.

Emmet K. Vande Vere's liquid essay on W. W. Prescott, a paragon of readability, is still filled with ideas. Based on correspondence of the parties under discussion, it paints a vivid word picture of Prescott's personality as well as of his activities.

Alta Robinson's sensitive treatment of Edson White, the creative but often-disappointed entrepreneur of the White family, climaxes in his eventual success as a riverboat missionary among blacks in the South. As an advocate of education as a tool, Edson deserves inclusion in the book.

In reference to educational efforts for blacks, the concluding essay on Anna Knight tells the story of a woman who by sheer intrepidity, buoyed by providential care, rose from ignorance to become a teacher of her people.

Early Adventist Educators assumes that its readers have considerable background in Adventist denominational history. Because that ideal often is unreached, the book could have been strengthened by expanding the introductory essay to include an organized survey of Battle Creek College's history. The reader eventually pieces together much of the information, but a more systematic introduction would be helpful.

One issue skirted by the series of essays is the reformist branch of Adventist education institutionalized in Madison College and its numerous offspring. Although this strand failed to become normative for the whole denomination, it has proved remarkably resilient, surviving to the present without direct denominational endorsement or financial support, and serving a special clientele.

Early Adventist Educators, although not intended to be a systematic history, even of Adventist education, will prove helpful both to serious and casual readers.

Adventist Review
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GEORGE W. REID

Lemaire, André. *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'Ancien Israël*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 39. Fribourg, Switzerland: Editions Universitaires; and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1981. 143 pp. SFr 29.

In a preceding article, the author, a specialist of North Semitic epigraphy, currently *chargé de recherches au CNRS*, had addressed himself to the question of the "abecedaries and the school-exercises in the North-Western epigraphy." Now, on the basis of this essay and taking into account new archaeological discoveries, he wishes to deal with wider questions concerning the existence of schools in ancient Israel and the role they played in the making up of the biblical canon.

Well-organized, and also in pellucid language, this book develops its subject in four steps. The first is an exploration of the contents of epigraphic materials from 'Izbet Şarṭah, Gezer, Lachish, Khirbet el-Qôm, Arad, Aroër, Qadesh-Barnea and Kuntilat-Ajrud. Lemaire thinks that these materials reveal several types of class exercises (abecedaries, repeated letters and words, personal names, listing of months, drawings, exercises in learning a foreign language).

The second step is an investigation of the biblical testimony in eleven passages which allude to schools in ancient Israel, as well as texts which belong to the so-called sapiential literature.

Then, on the basis of these two lines of inquiry, the author attempts, in his third step, to draw a synthetic picture of the school organization in Israel. He finds that three types of schools seem to have been operating at that time: the kingly school, the priestly school, and the prophetic school. Each of these schools may have developed a literary tradition, with its own collection of texts—its own textbooks of classics which developed ultimately into the biblical canon. The didactic function of those writings, according to Lemaire, has its equivalent in ancient Greek and Latin literature (see his discussion on p. 74), with the advantage not only of giving rationality to the canonization process, but of enabling us to reconstruct the history of this process.

This reconstruction itself is undertaken by Lemaire in his fourth and final step. Here, adopting the general outline of the Documentary Hypothesis, he proceeds as follows: The Yahwist tradition (J), which was promoted in the kingly school of Jerusalem under the reign of David, provided texts dealing with the history of David and of the patriarchs, his forefathers. The Elohist tradition (E), which appeared after the schism and within the kingly school of the Northern Kingdom, transmitted texts dealing with the history of the kings of Israel, and especially Jehu; it also included some of the Proverbs (25-39), some Psalms, and a prophetic tradition which started by the time of Elijah and Elisha, and which was finally written down in the eighth century (Amos, Hosea). At the fall of Samaria, the Elohist tradition was taken over in Jerusalem, in the context of Hezekiah's reform, and was integrated into the teaching of the kingly schools. The textbook which was then used in these schools brought the historical traditions of the North and of the South together into one single text (JE), the wisdom tradition collected by the people of Hezekiah (Prov 25-29), plus several prophetic writings (Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Micah). Josiah's reform yielded the development of the Deuteronomist tradition (D). The fall of Jerusalem brought an end to the kingly schools. Yet the cultural legacy of Israel survived and was combined into the priestly tradition, which until now had followed an independent path. Thus, the texts of the kingly schools, with those of the old priestly tradition and the new prophetic texts in the priestly vein (Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi), constituted the textbook of the priestly school (the so-called P). Finally, just after the catastrophe of the year 70, all the traditions (JEDP) were brought together and received their normative status, the canonization process being then closed.

Thus, according to Lemaire, the concept of a "canon" should have been reached at a last stage of the history of the schools—this as the result of a lengthy *natural* evolutionary process.

However, the material which he has collected in this book actually is too scattered and too fragmentary (see his own statement on p. 84) to be of decisive significance. Also, his arguments are often quickly drawn and weak. E.g., how can Lemaire be so sure about the drawings of Kuntilat-Ajrud mentioned on pp. 29, 31? Are they indeed from children's hands in schools? No historical proof is set forth, and the fact that these drawings seem to be of coarse features does not at all signify that the origin was from a child.

Furthermore, there are instances of sources being vague or absent. We have no precise reference to support Lemaire's statement that a priestly tradition is attested in Ugaritic literature (p. 70). The same can be said about his treatment of the function of the prophetic school, a matter which is not clearly settled and which has no biblical reference to it (see *ibid.*).

Lemaire's hypothesis of the canonization process of the schools' *text-books* remains itself questionable: Did the biblical texts become normative—hence canonical—as a result of their didactic function? Or, on the contrary, did they receive their didactic function because of their normative value?

In the final analysis, there is indeed cause to fear that the author's hypothesis, consciously referred to all along in his inquiry (cf. p. 84), has unduly affected and ultimately oriented his conclusions and interpretations so as to give birth to a highly speculative reconstruction of a history of the biblical texts. This history still remains, after all, without (if not beyond) control.

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JACQUES DOUKHAN

Meuser, Fred W. *Luther the Preacher*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1983. 94 pages. Paperback, \$4.50.

It would have been strange indeed if the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther (the year 1983) had gone unnoticed by the Protestant churches. It was not so strange, given today's frantic ecumenical spirit, that a Roman Pope would join in celebrating that anniversary in a Lutheran church. But what is really strange is that centuries of Luther research have not yet produced significant literature on Luther as a preacher. To the bridging of this vast literary chasm, Meuser makes a modest, albeit good and happy, contribution.

This book is divided into three chapters, in which are discussed Luther's passion for preaching, his style of preaching, and his gift for preaching. The presentation is a marvelous stimulant to thinking about that always-dynamic and sometimes-bombastic pulpiteer of Wittenberg.

Whatever else Luther was, he was first and foremost a preacher. His appointment by Staupitz to preach to the monks of the Augustinian cloister at Wittenberg, a task which at first terrified him, is what made him a theologian. That is the way it ought to be. One can be a good theologian and a bad preacher (of which there are many), but one can never be a good preacher if he or she is a bad theologian. It was the challenge and responsibility of the pulpit that drove Luther to the theologian's desk. He discovered early what every preacher and theologian must discover: that the best theology does not exist for itself, but is in the service of the pulpit.

One of Luther's major contributions was the deep conviction that God is present in the Word, in the preached Word. The sermon is the Word of God when the preacher preaches what the Bible says. In fact,

Christ himself speaks in it. His presence is tied to the message, and not to the messenger. Was such a view radical? Only to unbelief. It was certainly biblical, for Jesus said to his disciples: "He who hears you hears me" (Luke 10:16), and Paul believed that the word he preached was the Word of God (1 Thess 2:13). By such preaching, Christ battles the devil until the end; thus, preaching was always understood eschatologically by Luther. The sermon is the battleground on which Christ and Satan contend for the souls of men and women.

Because preaching is this, it is dangerous for both preacher and hearer. The preacher must be certain that he preaches the Word, what the Bible says; and hearers must listen with reverence and attention. Because preaching is this, and is set in the context of corporate worship, it was Luther's highest offering of praise to God. Thus, true Christian preaching was not for the lazy, slothful pastor, who sleeps and snores his way through ministry without reading, studying, and praying over the Scriptures. As Meuser says: "Not only was his [Luther's] conscience captive to the written Word of God, so was his preaching" (p. 41).

And what was the purpose, the goal, of preaching for Luther? Certainly not to impress the congregation with his homiletical ability. Certainly not to achieve popularity, which to him was "the preacher's deathtrap." But rather, it was to "help hearers understand the *text*, not just a religious truth. Its goal is that God may speak a gracious word through a text so that the people may be given faith or be strengthened in faith by the Holy Spirit. Its method is to take a given segment of Scripture, find the key thought within it, and make that unmistakably clear. The text is to control the sermon" (p. 47).

The author has done the whole of Christianity a service by calling attention to Luther as a preacher. Perhaps if the pulpits of today's churches were filled with more Luthers, the people of today's churches would be filled with more of Luther's faith.

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C. RAYMOND HOLMES

Schein, Bruce E. *Following the Way: The Setting of John's Gospel*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1980. 223 pp. \$12.50.

The author's Preface reveals that the purpose of this volume is "to describe the setting [of John's Gospel] as if one is present in first-century Palestine" (p. 8). Having lived in Jerusalem for fifteen years—"walking" the areas mentioned in the Gospel many times—affords Schein the unique opportunity of writing as one who is sharing his own experiences. This

allows him to treat the setting of John's Gospel by following a documentary approach that manages to stay intensely captivating.

There are twelve main chapters, plus a like number of appendices. The volume is profusely illustrated with photographs, plus sketches; and each of the first nine chapters (and a number of the appendices) are provided with maps indicating where Jesus and his disciples found themselves as John progresses with his story. The author refers to the maps as "actually satellite pictures" (p. 10).

Places, their names, the meaning of each name, and the significance of the events involving Jesus in relation to place and time are described with such attention to detail that the reader is virtually drawn into the role of a participant. In the ongoing narrative, one experiences "sunrise and sundown," the "heat of the day and the cool of the night," while being guided by a master tour guide up and down the length of Palestine, following Jesus as he heals the sick and preaches and teaches. The reader gets the feeling, for instance, of participating in the feasts, the author drawing from the *Mishnah* and other Jewish writings in explaining the meaning of the convocations. And as for geographical details pertaining to the narrative, Josephus provides him with many details that are helpful to him in reconstructing the setting of John.

Most of the twelve appendices are intended to explain Schein's preference for certain sites as the scenes of events previously credited to other places. He remains open, however, to the inevitable modifications of the geography, as more archeological discoveries are made. Short bibliographies are provided in connection with all but three of the appendices, and these appendices do have some in-text references.

The book is not without controversial positions. For example, does the author's apparent endorsement of progressive creationism (see chap. 1) do justice to the Prologue of John's Gospel? And is there justification for Schein's evident reluctance to use the word "miracle"? (We may notice, for instance, his suggestion that on the occasion of the great catch of fish after the Resurrection, it was Jesus' higher position—on land—that permitted him to see the fish which the disciples had missed [p. 185]!)

An interesting point that the author makes in Appendix IV is that the word *Ioudaioi* should not be rendered "Jews," but "Judeans," and that the term should be understood *geographically*. His arguments are not empty ones and should be considered, but they seem to lack a proper balance on this issue. (Perhaps the best position would be to translate selectively, following a strict *contextual* control.)

Schein appears to favor an early date for the Gospel. John's concern with so much detail and his synchronizing of Jesus' ministry with the feasts at Jerusalem would indicate that the account was intended for people who were familiar with the setting.

All in all, this book is worth reading, and it will provide hours of enjoyment to anyone interested in the Gospel of John.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

SYLVESTER CASE

Talbert, Charles H., ed. *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar*. New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1984. xi + 244 pp. \$12.95.

A program segment dealing with Luke-Acts in the Society of Biblical Literature has existed since 1972. From this segment came *Perspectives on Luke-Acts* (Danville, Virginia: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978). In 1979 a Luke-Acts Seminar was established with a five-year life span. This present volume, *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar*, has grown out of some of the work of those directly or indirectly related to that Seminar.

The present book is divided into three parts, with four essays each. "Part I/Introductory Issues" includes (1) "Western Non-Interpolations: A Defense of the Apostolate" by George Rice. This essay examines five of the seven non-interpolations within the context of accompanying variants in the Western text of Luke 24. These famous omissions, together with other variants, provide a defense for the apostles, who refuse to believe the report of Jesus' resurrection in the light of mounting evidence. (2) "Greco-Roman Imitation of Texts as a Partial Guide to Luke's Use of Sources" by Thomas Louis Brodie suggests that archaic language—for example, the appearance of Semitisms—especially in the first two chapters of Luke, cannot be taken as an indicator of an old or Semitic source, "since archaizing was a well-known feature of Hellenistic historiography" (p. 38). (3) "The Date of Luke-Acts" by John T. Townsend proposes a middle-second-century date for the composition of this two-volume work. Luke-Acts may be seen as a response to situations faced by the church of that period, two of which were Marcion's canon and the problems of Jewish Christians. (4) "The Conventions of Classical Biography and the Genre of Luke-Acts: A Preliminary Study" by David L. Barr and Judith L. Wentling suggests that Luke mixed a biographical technique and historical concern in the production of Luke-Acts. This approach was inspired by Luke's "regard for the Hebrew scriptures and his social location at the intersection of two cultures" (p. 76).

"Part II/Thematic Studies" includes (1) "Promise and Fulfillment in Lucan Theology" by Charles H. Talbert. Talbert concludes that the theme of prophecy-fulfillment, although being a major theme in Luke-Acts, is by

no means the only theme. In fact, Lucan scholars still face the challenge of deciding which theme is central and which themes are derivative. Present redaction-critical methods do not allow an answer to the question. (2) "The Salvation of the Jews in Luke-Acts" by Jack T. Sanders argues against the positions of J. Jervell (*Luke and the People of God* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972]) and E. Franklin (*Christ the Lord: A Study in the Purpose and Theology of Luke-Acts* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975]). For Sanders, the theology of Luke-Acts concerning the salvation of the Jews "is that the Jews are by nature stubborn and both unable and unwilling to recognize the will of God, even though God had for centuries attempted to explain his will to them alone" (p. 114). (3) "Paul in Acts: Lucan Apology and Conciliation" by Robert L. Brawley challenges suggestions that Luke does not attempt to legitimize Paul. Luke's portrait of Paul is an endeavor to counter anti-Paulinism from both Jews and Christians. Brawley's thesis is based on the suggestion that Luke concentrates on the Pauline Gentile mission rather than on the general advance of Christianity in the Roman Empire. (4) "The Title 'Servant' in Luke-Acts" by Donald L. Jones sees Luke's use of *pais* as a reflection not only of the Christology of Luke's own day, but of Luke's own thinking. *Pais* does not reflect a primitive Servant Christology of the early Christian community—for, in Jones's opinion, such a Christology did not exist.

"Part III/Exegetical Studies" includes (1) "Luke 3:23-38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Genealogies" by William S. Kurz. This essay suggests that the position of Jesus' genealogy in Luke 3 and its extension back to Adam show that it is in continuity with those in Luke's Greek Bible. That Luke's genealogy has been influenced by Hellenism is seen in the ascending format (son to father). (2) "The Divine Purpose: The Jews and the Gentile Mission (Acts 15)" by Earl Richard cautions against taking Acts 15 as the definitive statement of Luke on Israel's role in the worldwide mission of the church. Acts 15 is but a part, and the whole of Acts represents Luke's understanding. "As the mission to Israel has been but a partial success, so the heritage from Judaism has been but a mixed blessing" (p. 201). (3) "The Forensic Defense Speech and Paul's Trial Speeches in Acts 22-26: Form and Function" by Jerome Neyrey suggests that the trial speeches of Paul in Acts are to be seen as forensic defense speeches which follow the models presented in the classical rhetorical handbooks. (4) "On Why Luke Declined to Recount the Death of Paul: Acts 27-28 and Beyond" by G. W. Trompf proposes that although Luke records a number of deaths, and that the general issue of the nature of these individual deaths has affected the presentation of his material, the recording of Paul's beheading did not suit Luke's "artistic, political and historico-theological intentions" (p. 234).

Tarling, Lowell. *The Edges of Seventh-day Adventism*. Barragga Bay, N.S.W., Australia: Galilee Publications, 1981. 249 pp. A\$10.95 (+ A\$2.95 shipping).

The major premise of this book is that much may be discerned about the nature of the Seventh-day Adventist Church by observing its various fringe movements. In introducing this study of these fringe movements, the author also proposes to chronicle the maturation of Adventism from the rank of sect to that of denomination. His aim is to do this in an objective manner. Incidentally, the author does not mention whether he is or has been an Adventist. Nor does he indicate what are his specific qualifications for doing this study.

After the introductory chapter, the author does little to draw conclusions about the Adventist mind-set. Neither does he comment extensively on the maturation of the Seventh-day Adventist sectarianism into denominationalism. These he seems to leave to the reader, and contents himself with a descriptive analysis of the fringe movements under study. Though this book is easily one of the more objective works on the subject, yet Tarling leaves the reader with the distinct impression that he favors the maturity of denominationalism over the fervor of the sect.

Following the introduction are three sections classifying the fringe movements according to type. In the first section, Tarling chronicles the development of such parallel movements as the other three Advent movements which arose along with Seventh-day Adventism from among the Millerites in the 1840s. He also includes the various Churches of God, favoring the idea that the first of these Churches of God (Marion, Iowa) was a parallel movement and not an offshoot.

In the second section, Tarling chronicles such reform movements as the "Holy Flesh Movement," the Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement, and the Shepherd's Rod fragments (the "Davidians"). In the third section, he treats the salvation controversy from 1888 to the present. In the back of the book, an eight-page appendix of illustrations follows the index.

The book has no conclusion, leaving the reader with the question, "Where do we go from here?" Perhaps this is the very question which Tarling wishes to leave, particularly with his Seventh-day Adventist readers.

Tarling's presentation has certain positives and negatives, to which I would now call attention. First of all, if nothing else, this book is an excellent sourcebook for factual information. Important though these fringe movements have been to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, most church members (and pastors) know these groups only from hearsay. (The study is not exhaustive, but it is amazing how much information can be squeezed

into such a short readable book.) Second, it is also refreshing to see a work which tries to be sympathetic with all points of view, and yet to do so without hiding any blemishes. Finally, the book does indeed give the reader a better understanding of the Adventist mind-set.

On the other hand, the greatest lack in this volume, as I see it, is a problem of ideology that begins with the Introduction to the book. Though favoring denominationalism over sectarianism (the former as being more "mature"), Tarling fails to recognize that the church of the NT period had most of the attributes which he sees as characteristic of sects—loose organization with minimal bureaucracy, charismatic leaders with little theological training, the image of being a radical movement, the adding of authoritative writings to the existing Scriptures, etc. Given this sort of NT church-image, later movements (if they consider the NT at all normative) must deal with the problem of which attributes of the apostolic church should be preserved. Thus today, in an effort to make such an assessment, Bible-churches and Bible-institutions flourish outside the denominational establishments. And indeed, before any sect moves toward becoming a denomination, it must wrestle with which attributes of the denomination are acceptable or desirable. May not the very fact that many extra-denominational movements are flourishing suggest that some characteristics of the sect are needed and must be retained in the denominations if the denominations themselves are to stay alive?

The chapter headings of this book are illustrated with chessboard drawings related to the subject matter. In some cases they are intriguing and humorous. Often they seem to have no meaning.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

JAMES E. MILLER

Báez-Camargo, Gonzalo. *Archaeological Commentary on the Bible*. (With a foreword by Eugene A. Nida.) Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984. xiv + 288 pp. \$17.95.

This book is unique in the sense that archaeological information has been brought together and arranged in order (with constant biographical references), from Genesis to Revelation, by chapter and verse. The volume is an adapted and updated translation of the original Spanish text.

Forell, George Wolfgang. *The Luther Legacy: An Introduction to Luther's Life and Thought for Today*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1983. 79 pp. Paperback, \$3.95.

This short biography in a popular style stresses especially Luther's *theological* legacy, depicting the Reformer as the "faithful teacher," as Luther called himself.

Geller, Stephen A.; Greenstein, Edward L.; and Berlin, Adele. *A Sense of Text: The Art of Language in the Study of Biblical Literature—Papers from a Symposium at The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, May 11, 1982*. (A Jewish Quarterly Review Supplement.) Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983. 113 pp. Paperback, \$12.50.

Three papers that deal with the following topics: "Through Windows and Mirrors into the Bible History, Litera-

ture, and Language in the Study of Text"; "How Does Parallelism Mean?"; and "Point of View in Biblical Narrative." The essays treat literary theory, linguistic tools, and principles of Biblical exegesis.

Nida, Eugene A.; Louw, Jannie P.; Snyman, A. H.; and Cronje, J. v. W. *Style and Discourse: With Special Reference to the Text of Greek New Testament*. Cape Town, South Africa: Bible Society, 1983. ii + 199 pp. Paperback, \$5.95. (Copies may be obtained from: United Bible Societies, Transl. Dept., 1865 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023.)

Being the result of a series of 38 seminars, held at the University of Pretoria (under the auspices of the Department of Greek and of the Institute for Interlingual Communication of the South African Bible Society), this book is intended both as a treatise on style and discourse, with emphasis on the Greek NT, and as a tool for Bible translators.

Parrott, Bob W. *God's Sense of Humor: Where? When? How?* New York: Philosophical Library, 1984. xiii + 250 pp. \$17.50.

In this follow-up companion book to *Ontology of Humor*, the author explores humor from the pastor's point of view. The volume is intended as a guide for the use of humor in specific areas of ministry.

Trigger, B. G.; Kemp, B. J.; O'Connor, D.; and Lloyd, A. B. *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1983. xiii + 450 pp. £27.50/9.95.

In contrast to the traditional approach to Ancient Egypt—through art, architecture, and the monuments—, this volume traces the processes of political, social, and economic change in Egypt-

ian civilization, from earliest times to Alexander the Great, when Egypt entered the Hellenized world. It also explores Egypt's relationship with African neighbors. The first three of four chapters were originally written for the *Cambridge History of Africa* vol. 1, 1982. Contains lengthy, up-to-date bibliography.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = ' (aleph)	ט = d	י = y	ס = s	ך = r
ב = b	ה = h	כ = k	ע = c	שׁ = s̄
בּ = b̄	ו = w	כּ = k̄	פּ = p̄	שׂ = s̄̄
ג = g	ז = z	ל = l	פּ = p̄	צ = t
גּ = ḡ	ח = h̄	מ = m	צ = t̄	ק = f
ד = d̄	ט = t̄	נ = n	ק = q	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ְ = a	(vocal shewa) = e	ִ = δ
ֶ = ā	ֵ, ֶ = ē	ֹ = o
ִ = a	ִ = i	ֹ = o
ֶ = e	ֶ = i	ֹ = u
ֶ = ē	ֶ = o	ֹ = u

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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