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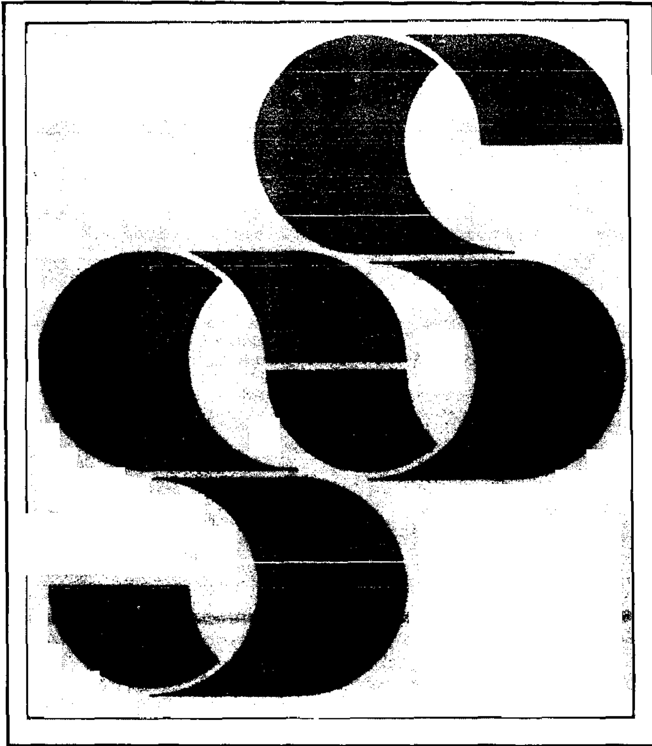

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE
A TRIBUTE TO HULDRYCH ZWINGLI

KENNETH A. STRAND
AUSS Editor

Last year, in follow-up of the Martin Luther Jubilee, *AUSS* devoted a full issue to this pioneer of sixteenth-century Protestant reformers, who had been given such widespread attention in 1983 on the five-hundredth anniversary of his birth. Although the quincentennial of Huldrych Zwingli's birth in 1984 did not elicit the same degree of response, nevertheless Zwingli has been honored, both last year and this year, in various convocations and publications here and abroad. Although we have felt it inadvisable for *AUSS* to devote again a full issue to another personage of the sixteenth century—important though he may be—, we have deemed it appropriate to include as one of our main articles in each issue this year a presentation that in some way highlights the contributions of Zwingli.

Accordingly, in our Spring number, we carried a study by J. Wayne Baker which, though dealing with a broader concern (dialogue and debate between Basel and Zurich on the matter of church discipline), does give a fair amount of attention to the pioneer Zurich reformer himself. In the present number, the major article which immediately follows this introductory note and chronological table is by world-renowned Zwingli specialist Ulrich Gäbler, who probes certain questions at the "cutting edges" of present-day Zwingli research. The final article on Zwingli—planned for our Autumn issue—is being prepared by another authority on the Swiss Reformation, Daniel A. Augsburger, who will highlight important aspects of the Zurich reformer's career that have given him an enduring significance.

Last year, in our *AUSS* Luther issue, we included a brief chronological sketch of that Reformer's career—one taking note also of important events contemporary with Luther's life span. A similar brief chronological sketch of Zwingli's career is provided below, with notice again of certain important events which occurred in his lifetime. For further details concerning the Reformation in Germany, that earlier chronological table may be consulted (see *AUSS* 22 [1984]: 25-32).

Before we proceed to the chronological sketch of Zwingli's life, a summary of the political situation in Switzerland during the time of his reformatory career in Zurich (1519-31) is appropriate. At that time,

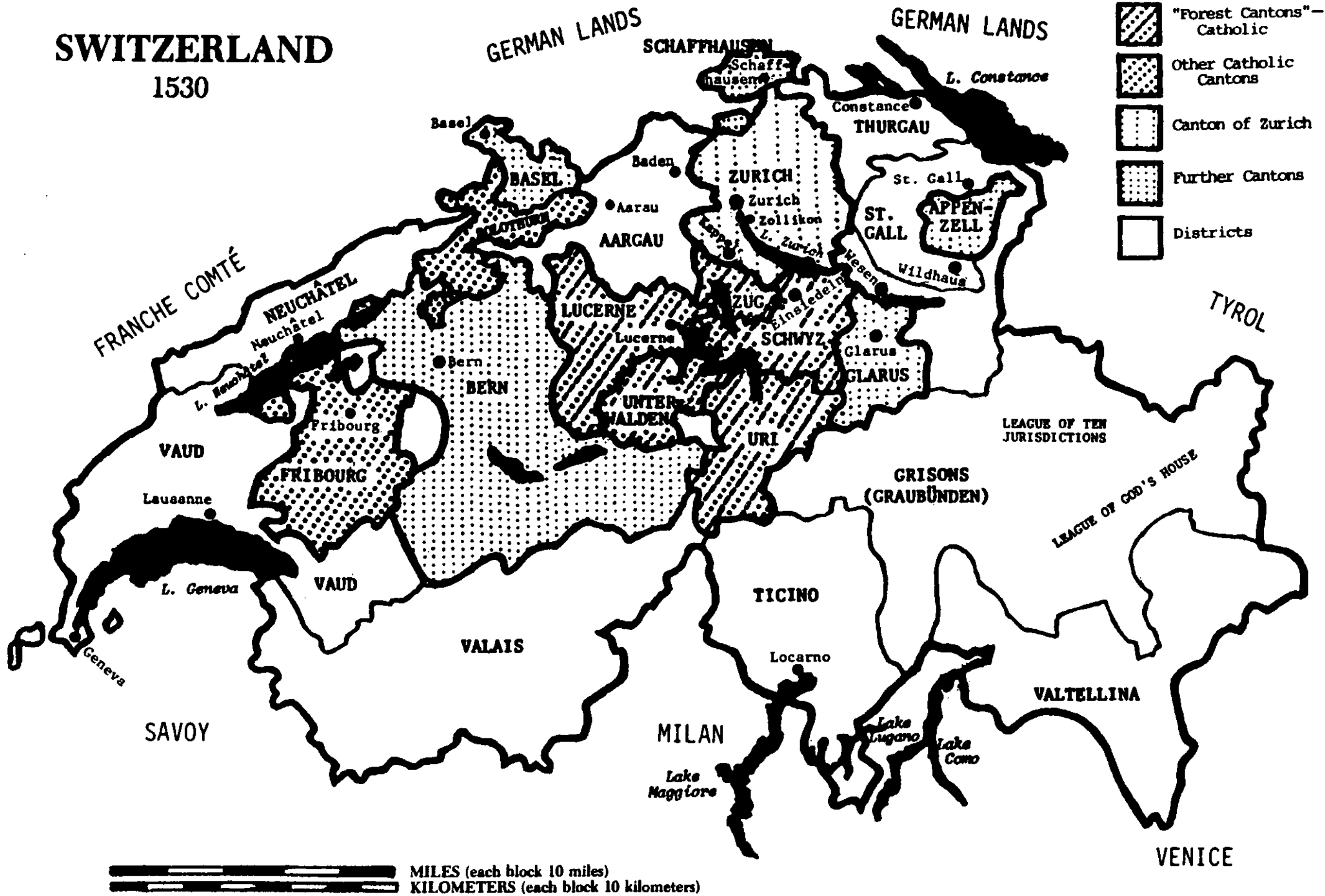
Switzerland consisted of thirteen cantons in somewhat loose confederation, plus some "common" and "allied" districts (of which more will be said below). The Confederation originated with the joining of three "forest" or "rural" cantons in 1291 – Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Uri. Ten further cantons entered the Confederation as follows: Lucerne (another "forest" canton) in 1332; Glarus and Zurich in 1351; Zug (also a "forest" canton) in 1352; Bern in 1353; Fribourg and Solothurn in 1481; Basel and Schaffhausen in 1501; and Appenzell in 1513. Nominally, Switzerland was part of the Holy Roman Empire; but, by the Treaty of Basel of September 22, 1499, after a decisive Swiss victory over Emperor Maximilian's armies, the Confederation was assured of virtual political independence within the Empire. The Swiss were valiant soldiers; and by Zwingli's time, it had become customary to sell mercenary services (sometimes called "pensioning") to foreign powers, such as France, the Pope, and the Empire. During the second decade of the sixteenth century, Swiss troops fighting in Italy as mercenaries for the French suffered heavy losses – especially in 1515 at Marignano, where Zwingli himself was present as a chaplain.

During the middle to late 1520s, four cantons converted quite thoroughly to the kind of evangelical faith promoted by Zwingli: namely, Zurich, Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen. In Appenzell, some six of the eight districts also opted for the new faith; and Glarus was somewhat more evenly divided between the two religious parties. On the other hand, cantons remaining staunchly within the Catholic camp were the five "forest cantons" of Lucerne, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug, plus two cantons farther to the west – Fribourg and Solothurn.

In addition to the thirteen cantons, there were in "Switzerland" various "allied districts," such as the Grisons ("Graubünden"), St. Gall, Neuchâtel, and Valais. There were also "subject territories" or "common bailiwicks," such as the Aargau, Thurgau, and Vaud. Most such territories became divided between the old and new faiths, but the Valais and certain other regions bordering on Italy adhered to Catholicism. (Geneva, the Vaud, and Neuchâtel eventually became Calvinistic.)

Post-Zwinglian Switzerland saw various "allied districts" and "common bailiwicks" gain the status of cantons: Aargau, Geneva, Grisons, Neuchâtel, St. Gall, Thurgau, Ticino, Valais, and Vaud.

As for the city of Zurich itself, at the time of Zwingli's arrival in 1519 it was subject ecclesiastically to the Bishop of Constance – an allegiance broken as the city and canton turned Protestant. The political affairs were conducted by two burgomasters, a "Small Council" (Council of Fifty), and a "Great Council" (Council of Two Hundred).



SWITZERLAND
1530
"Forest Cantons"—Catholic
Other Catholic Cantons
Canton of Zurich
Further Cantons
Districts
GERMAN LANDS
SCHAFFHAUSEN
Schaffhausen
GERMAN LANDS
L. Constance
Constance
THURGAU
Basel
BASEL
Baden
ZURICH
Zurich
Zollikon
L. Zurich
Kappel
St. Gall
ST. GALL
APPENZELL
Wildhaus
Wesen
Aarau
AARGAU
SOLOTHURN
FRANCHE COMTÉ
NEUCHÂTEL
Neuchâtel
L. Neuchâtel
LUCERNE
Lucerne
ZUG
Einsiedeln
SCHWYZ
Glarus
GLARUS
TYROL
Bern
BERN
UNTERWALDEN
URI
Fribourg
FRIBOURG
VAUD
LEAGUE OF TEN JURISDICTIONS
LEAGUE OF GOD'S HOUSE
GRISONS (GRAUBÜNDEN)
Lausanne
L. Geneva
VAUD
TICINO
VALAIS
Geneva
Locarno
VALTELLINA
SAVOY
MILAN
Lake Lugano
Lake Como
Lake Maggiore
VENICE
MILES (each block 10 miles)
KILOMETERS (each block 10 kilometers)

HULDRYCH ZWINGLI
(from an oil painting by Hans Asper, produced shortly after Zwingli's death in 1531)

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF ZWINGLI'S CAREER
(WITH NOTICE OF CERTAIN SIGNIFICANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS)

Introductory Note: Inasmuch as no biographical sketch of Zwingli is given above, the entries in the "Zwingli" column are often more detailed than would otherwise be the case (see also the biographical highlights provided by Ulrich Gäbler in his article in this issue of *AUSS*). In the "Other Events" column, references to Luther and the German Reformation are sparse, inasmuch as a considerable amount of information in this regard has been provided earlier, in "Meet Martin Luther: An Introductory Biographical Sketch" and "A Brief Chronology of Luther's Career" in *AUSS* 22 (1984): 15-32.

Date	*Zwingli*	*Other Events*
1484-1506	Early Life (Prepastoral Period)	
1484	Born in Wildhaus, Jan. 1	Innocent III becomes pope (1484-92)
1489-94	At Wesen with uncle (Bartholomew Zwingli); elementary schooling	Alexander VI becomes pope, 1492 (1492-1503) Columbus lands in West Indies, 1492 Maximilian becomes emperor of Holy Roman Empire, 1493 (ruled 1493-1519)
1494-1500	To Basel in 1494 (study under Gregory Bünzli); to Bern by (or before?) 1498 (study of classics in school headed by Heinrich Wölflin)	Vasco da Gama reaches India by sea route, 1498
1500-02	In Vienna, university study (also perhaps an earlier matriculation in 1498?)	

Date	*Zwingli*	*Other Events*
1502–06	In Basel, university study; Bachelor of Arts, 1504; Master of Arts, 1506 (Thomas Wyttenbach among professors)	Pius III pope for less than a month in 1503; Julius II becomes pope (1503–13) Heinrich Bullinger born, 1504 (lived 1504–75)
1506–16	Period of Service as Parish Priest in Glarus	
1506	Appointed vicar in Glarus, to succeed Johannes Stucki; ordained priest on Sept. 29, celebrates 1st Mass in Wildhaus; takes up duties in Glarus in October	
		John Calvin born, 1509 (lived 1509–64) Henry VIII accedes to English throne, 1509 (ruled 1509–47) Erasmus writes *Praise of Folly*, 1509 Roman Catholic 5th Lateran Council convenes, 1512 (1512–17)
1513	Chaplain with Swiss mercenaries at Battle of Novara	Leo X becomes pope (1513–21)
1514	Dedication of a "Dialogue" (not extant) to Desiderius Erasmus (Zwingli a great admirer of the "Prince of Humanists" until at least 1519; breach developing thereafter, with a climax in 1523 when knight-humanist Ulrich von Hutten, in flight from Germany, was received warmly by Zwingli after being refused asylum by Erasmus)	
1515	Chaplain with Swiss mercenaries at Battle of Marignano; heavy death and injury toll leads Zwingli to oppose Swiss mercenary service, except for the pope *The Ox and Other Beasts* (allegorical expression of Switzerland's position among surrounding powers, with opposition to Swiss mercenary service)	Francis I accedes to throne of France (ruled 1515–47) 1st volume of humanistic *Letters of the Obscure Men*

Date	*Zwingli*	*Other Events*
1516–18	Period of Service as Chaplain in Einsiedeln (in Chapel of Benedictine Abbey)	
1516	Transfer to Einsiedeln because of animosity of French partisans in Glarus; becomes preacher in chapel of Benedictine abbey (Zwingli's leave from Glarus considered temporary, with an assistant priest officiating for him there)	1st ed. of Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum*, 1516 (Greek NT, with Latin translation and notes)
	Beginning of exposition of the Gospel lections on the basis of *sola scriptura* (according to Zwingli's later recollection)	2d volume of *Letters of the Obscure Men*, 1517
		Luther's 95 Theses, 1517
1518	Made pontifical acolyte	
	Public attack (from pulpit) of monk Samson's sale of indulgences (Samson promptly recalled)	
	Concluding sermon in Einsiedeln, Dec. 27	
1519–31	Period of Service in the Great Minster of Zurich	
1519	1st sermon as priest in the Great Minster, Jan. 1 (begins exposition of Gospel of Matthew)	Charles I of Spain becomes Emperor Charles V of Holy Roman Empire (emperor, 1519–56; d. 1558)
	Contact with some of Luther's early writings (mention in a letter in February)	Luther and Eck in Leipzig Debate
	Stricken by Plague in September; recovery (his brother Andrew later died from Plague); deep religious reaction to the illness and recovery, expressed in hymn "Help, Lord God, Help in This Sore Strait"	

Date	*Zwingli*	*Other Events*
1521	Made a canon in the Great Minster, with increase in remuneration Attack on Swiss mercenary service, leading Zurich to refuse participation in treaty placing all other Swiss cantons under French pay	Luther at Diet of Worms, April 17–18; imperial ban on May 26 and papal excommunication in October (Bull drafted in January, issued in October)
1522	Attack on Lenten fasting, in April Secret marriage to a widow, Anna Reinhart (public announcement made in 1524) Treatise *On the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God* (a sermon preached earlier to Dominican nuns), expressing emphatically Zwingli's acceptance of the principle of *sola scriptura* *Beginning and End* (*Archeteles*), strongly defending Scripture authority as opposed to papal and episcopal authority	Adrian VI becomes pope (1522–23) Luther's "September Bible" (1st ed. of Luther's German NT)
1523	Participant in 1st Zurich Disputation, Jan. 29; presentation of his "67 Articles" Meeting with Hinne Rode, who brought Cornelius Hoen's letter on the Eucharist to Zurich, in summer Replacement of Latin with German in some baptismal ceremonies, Aug. 10 *Essay on the Canon of the Mass*, in late August 2d Zurich Disputation, Oct. 26–28 (main topics, Mass and images) *Short Christian Introduction*, in November (basics of evangelical belief)	Clement VII becomes pope (1523–34)

Date	*Zwingli*	*Other Events*
1524	Use of pulpit to promote reforms terminating pilgrimages, removing images, etc.	Rise of Peasants' Revolt in southwest Germany (ending in 1525, with severe slaughter and the death of Thomas Müntzer)
	Publication of NT in Swiss dialect; initiation of work on OT (*see also note 1, following this chronological listing*)	Catholic alliance: "forest cantons" of Lucerne, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug
	Birth of first child, daughter Regula, July 24	
	Meeting with Guillaume Farel and Antoine du Blet, who visited Zwingli in Zurich and encouraged him to write a work for circulation in France	
1525	*On True and False Religion* (with prefatory letter to Francis I), in March—written in response to request of Farel and du Blet (earliest truly comprehensive treatise on Protestant theology)	"Anabaptism" inaugurated in Zurich among some of Zwingli's followers who had earlier begun to urge steps beyond his reform measures; first adult "rebaptism" among these "Swiss Brethren" was that of Georg Blaurock by Conrad Grebel, in January (Felix Manz was another early Anabaptist leader in Zurich, in whose house this baptism was probably performed)
	Holy-Week celebration of Lord's Supper in evangelical fashion—ordinary table, both bread and wine to communicants, use of German language, etc., April 13, 14, 16	
	Influence in establishing *Ehegericht* ("Marriage Court"), which was to become the main organ of church discipline in Zurich	
	Influence in transforming the endowed chapter of the Great Minster into a theological school, the *Carolinum/Prophetzei*	
	Publication of Cornelius Hoen's letter on the Eucharist	
	Participation in three disputations with Anabaptists (Anabaptists declared losers by Zurich City Council)	

Date	*Zwingli*	*Other Events*
1526	*Brief Introduction Concerning the Last Supper of Christ,* in January—forerunner of Eucharistic controversy with Luther (*see also note 2, following this chronological listing*) Birth of 2d child, son Wilhelm, Jan. 29 Expression of disapproval for imprisonment of "Swiss-Brethren" Anabaptists Blaurock, Grebel, and Manz, although disgusted by their "rashness" (stated in letter of March 7 to Joachim Vadian)	Disputation at Baden in the Aargau between Catholics and Swiss reformers (Zwingli was not present) 1st Diet of Speyer: *cuius regio eius religio* Turkish victory at Mohács, Hungary
1527	Increasingly negative attitude toward Anabaptists (e.g., assent in the killing of Manz by drowning, in January) Open attack (in *Friendly Exposition*) on Luther's view of Eucharist (*see also note 2, following this chronological listing*)	Charles V sacks Rome "Christian Civic Alliance" inaugurated between Swiss evangelical territories—beginning with Zurich-Constance alliance (*see also note 3, following this chronological listing*)
1528	Birth of 3d child, son Ulrich, Jan. 6 Participation in Bern Disputation, in January Influence in Zurich's establishment of a "synod" (organization with oversight of doctrine and morals; comprised of ministers of Zurich canton, two lay persons from each parish, and eight government representatives)	Bern declares itself Protestant, in February (through influence of Berchtold Haller et al., and following the Disputation in January)
1529	"1st Peace of Kappel," June 25 (*see also note 3, following this chronological listing*) Participant in Marburg Colloquy, Oct. 1–3 (*see also note 2, following this chronological listing*)	Basel declares itself Protestant, in February (through influence of Johannes Oecolampadius et al.) 2d Diet of Speyer: revocation of *cuius regio eius religio* (and "protestation" by group of Lutheran princes and cities, on April 19) Turkish siege of Vienna

Date	*Zwingli*	*Other Events*
1530	Birth of 4th child, daughter Anna, May 4 Preparation of *Fidei ratio* (a confession of faith), in June–July; dedicated to Charles V, for presentation at Diet of Augsburg (but not read there) Influence and participation in seeking alliances with Venice and France, 1530–31 (*see also note 3, following this chronological listing*)	"Augsburg Confession" (Lutheran; drafted by Philip Melanchthon), presented to Diet of Augsburg on June 29 *Confessio tetrapolitana* (prepared by Bucer and Capito for the four cities of Strassburg, Constance, Lindau, and Memmingen), presented to Diet of Augsburg on July 9
1531	*Short Exposition of the Christian Faith* (dedicated to Francis I; carried to Paris in July) Chaplain with troops at "2d Battle of Kappel"; killed in the battle, Oct. 11 (*see also note 3, following this chronological listing*)	Turkish victory at Güns, Hungary

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Note 1—Zwingli's Contribution to the "Swiss-German" Bible. Zwingli, like Luther, had a keen interest in making the Bible available to the common people in their native language. His NT translation into "Swiss-German" came from the press of Christoffel Froschouer in Zurich as early as 1524. It was heavily informed by Luther's NT, which had appeared only two years earlier; but Zwingli's own systematic exposition of the NT in his sermons at the Great Minster, beginning in 1519, doubtless also made a significant contribution to his translational task. Upon completing his work on the NT, Zwingli immediately took an interest in having the OT translated as well. Leo Jud became a chief workman in this new undertaking, assisted by Konrad Pellikan and Theodor Bibliander. Again, such parts of Luther's version as were available at the time were utilized; but the completed edition was printed by Froschouer in 1529, some five years before the appearance of the first complete edition of Luther's German Bible. This 1529 Zurich Bible contained six volumes, with its various sections dated as follows: #1—the Pentateuch, 1525; #2—Joshua-Esther, 1525; #3—Job-Canticles, 1525; #4—Prophets, 1529; #5—Apocrypha, 1529; #6—the NT, 1524. A subsequent edition of 1529–30 lacks the Apocrypha; provides no date for volumes 2, 3, and 4; gives the date for volume 1 (the Pentateuch) as 1530; and indicates that the NT volume was first published in 1527.

Note 2—The "Sacramentarian Controversy." The "sacramentarian" view—namely, that Christ is not bodily present in the Eucharistic elements of bread and wine, but is rather present symbolically, emblematically, or "sacramentally"—was a departure from both the Catholic and Lutheran doctrines on the matter. The strongest impetus

seems to have come from a letter (i.e., treatise in letter form) by Cornelius Hoen, a lawyer in the Netherlands, setting forth the concept that Christ's words "This is my body" really mean "This *signifies* my body"—just as is the case with regard to Christ's referring to himself as "a door," "a way," "a corner-stone," and "the vine." (Hoen's position was actually an extension of the more "rudimentary-sacramentarian" view expressed during the preceding century by Wessel Gansfort [d. 1489] in a treatise on the Eucharist.)

Probably prepared in 1520, Hoen's letter was evidently sent to Wittenberg as early as 1521, and it seems to have arrived there while Luther was away at the Diet of Worms (or perhaps while he was at the Wartburg Castle subsequently). Luther became acquainted with Hoen's position, but did not, of course, adopt it. Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, on the other hand, began promulgation of a sacramentarian stance after Hoen's material had reached him in Wittenberg.

The document prepared by Hoen also reached northern Switzerland—carried there personally by Hinne Rode, rector of the school operated by the Brethren of the Common Life in Utrecht (where Hoen had once been a student), and by a companion, George Saganus. In January of 1523, these two advocates of sacramentarianism visited Johannes Oecolampadius in Basel, and in the summer of the same year, they met Zwingli in Zurich. Then, in November of 1524, they traveled to see Martin Bucer in Strassburg. The two Swiss reformers and Bucer were convinced of the correctness of Hoen's views on the Eucharist, as evidenced in their own writings on the subject. As early as March of 1525, Zwingli set forth in his *Commentary on True and False Religion* his new understanding of the Eucharist; also that same year, he published Hoen's letter. Zwingli's *Brief Introduction Concerning the Last Supper of Christ*, published the next year, may be considered a forerunner to his open controversy with Luther on the subject; and his first truly open and formidable *direct* attack on the Wittenberg Reformer's views was set forth in his *Friendly Exposition* of 1527. This treatise critiqued the position enunciated by Luther the preceding year in his *Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ Against the Radicals*. The *Friendly Exposition* evoked from Luther a quick and vehement response, entitled *That These Words, "This Is My Body," Still Stand Against the Radicals;* and, in turn, Zwingli produced a sharp reply, *That These Words, "This Is My Body," Retain Their Original Meaning*. Both of these "responses" appeared during 1527, and the next year Luther continued the debate, in his *Confession Concerning the Lord's Supper*. In September of that same year, Zwingli and Oecolampadius sent forth jointly a reply to Luther.

Meanwhile, Bucer and his associates in Strassburg began seeking means for reconciling the differences between the Wittenbergers and the Swiss reformers; and in this effort, a Lutheran prince, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, was to become a key figure. Philip's own friendly attitude toward Oecolampadius (evidenced, e.g., in correspondence in 1528) and, more particularly, political developments of the year 1529 brought the Hessian prince to the very center of the picture. Especially, when early in 1529 the Second Diet of Speyer revoked the *cuius-regio-eius-religio* principle ("as ruler, so religion"), there were heightened fears among reform-minded rulers that Emperor Charles V and the Catholic princes would put forth new efforts to stamp out the evangelical faith. Philip, in view of such a threat, had great concern that there be unity among the German and Swiss Reformation parties; and he arranged for a meeting of these parties in his castle in Marburg. There, on October 1-3, 1529, a colloquy took place which paired in debate Oecolampadius with Luther, and Zwingli with Melanchthon. Concerning the fifteen doctrinal articles discussed, there was basic agreement on all except that which pertained to the Eucharist. On this matter, both parties were intransigent, thus shattering hope for the unification that the Strassburg reformers and Philip of Hesse had worked so hard to bring to reality.

Note 3—Zurich, Swiss Politics, and the Reformation. In 1524, when Zurich's reform activities were going on apace, the five "forest cantons" of Lucerne, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug became sufficiently alarmed to enter into a Catholic defensive league. This was the forerunner of further religiously determined leagues a few years later. As reformation activities spread from Zurich to encompass other cantons, territories, and cities, these "Protestant" political units began to group, through various alliances, into what became known as the "Christian Civic Alliance." It was inaugurated by Zurich's alliance in 1527 with the city of Constance. Then, through various other treaties, Bern, Basel, Biel, St. Gall, and Mülhausen became part of the "league" by early 1529. In response, during April of 1529, the five "forest cantons" (now also joined by Fribourg) entered an alliance with King Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Emperor Charles V. Among the various incidents of violence that followed, one of the more significant ones was the condemnation and death by burning of Jakob Kaiser, an evangelical preacher from Zurich who had endeavored to proclaim the new faith in Catholic territory. In June of 1529, Zurich moved some 4,000 troops to Kappel, within the canton of Zurich but near the border of Zug. However, no real hostilities occurred between these Protestant soldiers and the larger contingent of Catholic troops that confronted them across the border; and an armistice was declared on June 25, the so-called "First Peace of Kappel." Zwingli thereafter sought new alliances beyond the borders of Switzerland, including overtures toward both Venice and France during 1530-31. (It was in this context that Zwingli dedicated his last major work, *Short Exposition of the Christian Faith,* to Francis I.) But the foreign alliances did not materialize. Zurich, nevertheless, took certain steps against the Catholic cantons, such as placing an embargo on their importation of various foodstuffs and of iron and steel. Thus threatened, these Catholic cantons responded by sending an army of some 8,000 troops across the Zug border to Kappel on October 11, 1531. There, in a bloody battle on that same day, Zwingli himself, who had accompanied the troops, was killed. A further battle on October 24 brought the war to a decisive end, and in November the "Second Peace of Kappel" was signed, highly favorable to the Catholic victors. Thereafter, Zurich's aggressive evangelization of northern Switzerland was halted, so that the Catholic and Protestant regions there became more-or-less static or "fixed." Henceforth, Bern and especially Geneva were to become the chief centers of Swiss Protestant activity. As for Zwingli's own work, Heinrich Bullinger, pastor at Bremgarten, succeeded him in the spiritual leadership in Zurich; but Bullinger did not inherit Zwingli's political influence, nor did he engage in any significant way in his predecessor's political activities.

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HULDRYCH ZWINGLI AND HIS CITY OF ZURICH*

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One of the most fascinating aspects of Huldrych Zwingli's life is its multi-faceted character.[1] From the beginning of his work in Zurich in 1519, Zwingli became more and more active in a variety of roles and came to be involved in the most divergent issues. For the biographer, this situation creates considerable difficulty in finding the real thread of Zwingli's life and activity, if there is truly any such.

Where, for instance, is the center in 1526 (if I may choose an arbitrary year) for a person engaged in the following tasks?: parish priest at the Grossmünster, the main church of Zurich; a commentator and translator of the OT at the "Prophezei,"[2] the Bible school; and expositor of the NT at the Fraumünster, the second most important church of the city; a weekly preacher there; a theologian in the conflict with Luther about the Lord's Supper; a polemicist against Johannes Eck in the controversy over church authority; a defender of his own work against the Anabaptists; the "brain" behind the plan for a war against the Catholics in

*Adapted and revised from a paper presented at Andrews University on May 9, 1984, and submitted as an article in the original Dutch to the *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* under the title "Huldrych Zwingli in zijn milieu" (forthcoming, as of the present writing). I am indebted to Mr. E. Broekema of Amsterdam for the English translation of the original paper, and also wish to express gratitude to the *Archief* for the courtesy of permitting publication in English in this somewhat different form. (An enlarged treatment of the subject is scheduled to appear in 1985 in my book on Zwingli, to be published by Fortress Press in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.)

[1]For a general overview of Zwingli's career, the best biography in English is George Richard Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge, Eng., 1976).

[2]For an explanation of the name and origin, cf. n. 37 below, and the material in the text itself which this note documents.

Switzerland; the sole witness in a lawsuit against the receivers of mercenaries; and an adviser to the public officials of Zurich.

Out of this variety of tasks, I wish here to deal with four aspects of Zwingli's career in Zurich that help to clarify his role in the context of the forces that were operative in the city at that time. But first, attention must be given briefly to two preliminary matters—an overview of Zwingli's life; and a glance at the Grossmünster's position and function as the institutional basis for Zwingli's reformatory work.

1. *Preliminary Observations on Zwingli's Career and on the Grossmünster in Zurich*

Brief Overview of Zwingli's Career

Zwingli was born on January 1, 1484, in the Swiss village of Wildhaus, the son of a well-to-do farmer. After taking the usual school and university training, completing the latter in Basel, he studied theology for about half a year, in 1506 (also in Basel). Subsequently, he served as a parish priest, first in the little rural village of Glarus (from 1506 to 1516) and then at the monastery of Einsiedeln (from 1516 to 1518).

On January 1, 1519, Zwingli began service as a parish priest at the Grossmünster in Zurich. There he came into conflict three years later with the competent bishop of the diocese, because of an attack on the regulations pertaining to Lent. Zurich's City Council, however, defended Zwingli. Moreover, it began slowly and gradually to withdraw the city from the episcopal authority, building up at the same time a well-organized evangelical church. This process was completed, essentially, in 1525.

Within Zurich during the next few years, the Anabaptists began to endanger Zwingli's reformation by setting higher renewal demands than the ones he required. Also, an attempt at unification with the Lutherans failed. The Colloquy in Marburg in 1529, which was intended to settle theological differences between the Swiss and Saxon reformers so as to make possible a large anti-imperial alliance, only highlighted and solidified the distinct difference in position between Luther and Zwingli on the Lord's Supper.

Meanwhile, in Switzerland the Reformation was developing in Basel, Bern, Schaffhausen, and some smaller territories. A con-

flict arose with those parts of Switzerland that had remained Roman Catholic—a conflict caused by the expansive efforts of the Protestants. In the course of the conflict and the open warfare that it entailed, Zwingli was killed at the Battle of Kappel on October 11, 1531.

The Grossmünster as the Institutional Basis for Zwingli's Work

My second preliminary remark deals with the Grossmünster as the institutional basis for Zwingli's activity in Zurich.[3] The Grossmünster, erected in the ninth century (and to which belonged the church of St. *Felix* and *Regula*), was an institution of great influence on both the political and economic life of the city. It even owned land and villages outside Zurich and acquired the right to earn tithes and to appoint the ministers in those places. In spite of this far-reaching authority on the part of the Grossmünster, the Zurich City Council succeeded in obtaining a certain power or control through its appointment of new canons, the administrative body for the ecclesiastical institution; but, to be sure, the Council preferred to appoint such canons from among members of the old Zurich families in the Grossmünster.

Although theoretically twenty-four canons were in charge of the administration of the institution, the City Council acquired the right in the fifteenth century to appoint a layman as controller of the economic activities of the Grossmünster. Thus, the Grossmünster was rendered incapable of doing anything against the political and economic interests of the city. But in spite of this fact, it nevertheless formed an institution having a certain degree of autonomy in the small town of about 5,000 inhabitants.

The Grossmünster was, of course, mainly a religious institution. The canons had to say masses, dedicated and paid by the Zurichers. For operating the parochial work, the canons hired a

[3]Theodor Pestalozzi, *Die Gegner Zwinglis am Grossmünsterstift in Zürich*, Schweizer Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 9/1 (Zürich, 1918); Jacques Figi, *Die innere Reorganisation des Grossmünsterstiftes in Zürich von 1519 bis 1531*, Zürcher Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 9 (Zürich, 1951); and Hans Morf, "Obrigkeit und Kirche in Zürich bis zu Beginn der Reformation," *Zwingliana* 13/3 (1970), pp. 164–205.

parish priest, with three assistants. Therefore—and I stress this point—the post of parish priest at the Grossmünster lay precisely at the boundary between the secular city and the ecclesiastical institution.

Moreover, because of the fact that there was no university in Zurich, the Grossmünster also represented the scholarly elite of the town. Prior to Zwingli's arrival there, a group of reform-minded men had already endeavored to bring about changes in the spiritual life of the community, for they had taken keen notice of the spiritual misery of the late-medieval church. The Grossmünster was by no means a traditionally minded Catholic institution, and it is important to recognize that Zwingli from the very beginning of his stay in Zurich was accompanied and supported by a group of loyal friends devoted to the idea of a renewal of the church.

2. *The First Disputation in Zurich*

The first main facet to which I wish to call attention in my discussion of Zwingli's career is the context of the situation in Zurich as occasioned and revealed by the disputation held in the city on January 29, 1523—commonly referred to as the First Zurich Disputation. It is generally agreed that this disputation held a key position in Zwingli's own life and in the history of the Reformation in Switzerland. Nevertheless, the opinions about the intent and character of the disputation differ widely, and one can distinguish roughly three points of view:

1. That the disputation was a "put-up" job: The suggestion is that already beforehand, Zwingli and the Council had agreed upon the result. Thus, the whole affair was meant only to manipulate public opinion and to demonstrate Zwingli's and the Council's position of power.[4]

2. That the conference was truly in the line of late-medieval disputations and of the diocesan synods, but was something totally new from the standpoint that the civil administration took the initiative: The disputation, in this view, was therefore a "discovery" on the part of Zwingli, and the Council's intention was to provide

[4]E.g., Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven, Conn., and London, Eng., 1975), pp. 125, 136.

a broader basis for the decision that had already been made prior to the meeting. Thus, in a sense, the disputation and its results can be considered as the founding assembly of the evangelical church in Zurich.[5]

3. That the point of the matter was not so much a theological-ecclesiastical affair as it was a lawsuit: In this view, the Council, being responsible for law and order, had functioned to examine the accusations brought up against Zwingli. In such context, theological subjects were naturally also raised. Thus, the disputation must be understood as a measure for pacification, in addition to which it is noteworthy that the assembly claimed, as well, to have the authority to decide and have the final say on theological matters. Thus, it bypassed the traditional entities for such theological decisions—namely, theological faculties of universities and bishops in charge of the dioceses.[6]

What was the precise situation? In order to determine this, a bit of background history is necessary first. As early as the summer of 1522, it had become clear that the criticisms being leveled by Zwingli and his followers against the abuses in the Catholic church went further than did the usual late-medieval complaints. Zwingli's criticisms were directed against fasts, clerical celibacy, the privileged place of cloisters in the urban society, and the Catholic tithing system. Even more striking than Zwingli's criticisms, however, was the manner in which during the summer of 1522 the City Council wished to solve the problems—a manner clearly in contrast to the late-medieval procedure. In April of 1522, the Bishop of Constance, under whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction Zurich fell, sent a delegation to the city with the instruction to protest before the City Council against Zwingli's utterances.[7] However, the Council did not simply receive this delegation with a view to subsequent adjudication; on

[5]*Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke*, ed. Emil Egli, et al., unter Mitwirkung des Zwingli-Vereins in Zürich (Berlin, 1905), 1: 443 (hereinafter cited as *ZW*); Bernd Moeller, "Zwinglis Disputationen. Studien zu den Anfängen der Kirchenbildung und des Synodalwesens im Protestantismus," 2 parts, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 87 (1970): 275-324, and 91 (1974): 213-364; Heiko A. Oberman, *Masters of the Reformation: The Emergence of a New Intellectual Climate in Europe*, trans. Dennis Martin (Cambridge, Eng., 1981), pp. 210-239.

[6]Oberman, pp. 195-196, 229-230.

[7]*ZW* 1:137-154.

the contrary, the parish priest was allowed to defend himself before the Council against the charges of the bishop, with the Council itself acting as an arbiter between the bishop and his priest. The outcome was that the political body protected its subjects and required justification from the bishop for the existing ecclesiastical system.[8] This meant, in fact, that as early as in April of 1522 the traditional system of relationship between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities was broken in Zurich.

The bishop naturally did not resign himself to this sort of result. He appealed to the Diet of the Swiss Confederacy and asked the allies for an intervention in Zurich. Consequently, on December 5, 1522, the Diet gave summons to repeal the "new doctrine" and to control book production in both Zurich and Basel.[9]

In Zurich itself too, of course, not everyone was pleased with Zwingli's criticisms. Among the most outstanding opponents were, first of all, members of the mendicant orders that Zwingli had attacked very fiercely;[10] second, the economic elite of the city;[11] and third, some of the canons at the Grossmünster.[12]

Consequently, by the close of the year 1522 there were several different elements or constituencies involved in the conflict surrounding Zwingli's preaching: The Grossmünster itself must resolve the internal conflict concerning its priest, Zwingli; the City Council, in view of its responsibility for quiet and order in the city and countryside, had to make a decision for or against the outspoken parish priest; the bishop, who saw the existing ecclesiastical authority and institutions in jeopardy, could not but enter the fray,

[8]*Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533*, ed. Emil Egli (Zürich, 1879), no. 236 (pp. 76-77). (Photomechanical reprint ed. by DeGraaf in Nieuwkoop in 1973 has inserted additional half-title-page with title *Aktensammlung* . . . .)

[9]*Amtliche Sammlung der ältern eidgenössischen Abschiede*, ed. Johannes Strickler, 4/1a (Brugg, 1873): 246-259.

[10]Cf. Zwingli's letter to Beatus Rhenanus, 30 July 1522, *ZW* 7: 549; Oberman, p. 214.

[11]*ZW* 5: 402-415; Leo Schelbert, "Jacob Grebel's Trial Revised," *ARG* 60 (1969): 32-64; Walter Jacob, *Politische Führungsschicht und Reformation. Untersuchungen zur Reformation in Zürich 1519-1528*, Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte, 1 (Zürich, 1970), pp. 62-66.

[12]Above all, Konrad Hofmann; cf. Pestalozzi, pp. 37-60.

unwilling to accept the solution that was surfacing; and, finally, the case had become one on the federal level, inasmuch as the other members of the Swiss Confederacy feared that by means of Zwingli's preaching, the Lutheran heresy would obtain a foothold on Swiss soil.[13] Indeed, these four domains—the Grossmünster, the city of Zurich, the diocese and other Roman-Catholic institutions, and the Swiss Confederacy—remained till the end of Zwingli's life the most important spheres of influence impinging upon his activity and demanding his attention.

The disputation of January 1523 was obviously meant to bring clarity to the indistinct situation in Zurich's ecclesiastical and political relationships at that time. Zwingli himself more than once had asked for a disputation as a forum for the defense of his doctrine,[14] and surely it was not against Zwingli's wish that the Council decided to reach a solution to the problems by means of a disputation. Be all that as it may, it is important that even prior to the disputation, there were judicial, ecclesiastical, theological, and political forces at work.

On January 3, 1523, the Zurich Council summoned all the clergy of the city and of the countryside to convene on January 29 at the town hall on the banks of the Limmat River.[15] All were to have opportunity to make known their objections to Zwingli's sermons, and the Council was then to consider the criticism offered and to come to a judgment on the basis of the Bible. Thus, the Council was to act as a judge concerning doctrine. As a help for the discussion in the disputation, Zwingli hastily gave a summary of his preaching in sixty-seven articles[16] (and incidentally, it is stated in these articles that the City Council is allowed to exercise such an arbitrarial function[17]).

[13]*ZW* 2: 144.26-32; Cornelis Augustijn, "Allein das heilige Evangelium. Het mandaat van het Reichsregiment 6 maart 1523," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n.s., 48 (1967-68): 150-165; Ulrich Gäbler, "Luthers Beziehungen zu den Schweizern und Oberdeutschen von 1526 bis 1530/1531," in Helmar Junghans, ed., *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526 bis 1546. Festgabe zu seinem 500. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1983), 1: 482.

[14]*ZW* 1: 246.26-247.3 and 324.29-30; cf. Pestalozzi, pp. 56, 85.

[15]*ZW* 1: 466-468.

[16]Ibid., pp. 458-465.

[17]Ibid., p. 462.19-21.

More than 600 persons met on January 29 for the disputation.[18] Among them was a delegation from the bishop, led by Johannes Fabri. This espiscopal delegation denied that the assembly had the right to discuss ecclesiastical matters of this kind, for such discussion must take place only at a church council.[19]

As for the disputation itself, as early as the afternoon of the 29th, the City Council made determination that no one had succeeded in demonstrating Zwingli to be a heretic.[20] Therefore, he was granted permission to continue preaching in the spirit of the sixty-seven articles, and so also were the other ministers.

As we evaluate the decision of the Council, it is of striking importance to take note of what was *not* said. Nothing, for instance, was stated about abrogation of ecclesiastical orders. (In this respect, everything was to remain as it already was, with only the future determining how the burning question would be solved.) The Council, moreover, did not formally range itself on the side of Zwingli and did not accept the sixty-seven articles as a basis for the Reformation in Zurich. On the other hand, the decision meant, of course, that Zwingli's preaching was legitimatized and that he also enjoyed an enormous gain in prestige personally. In fact, the Council's stipulation to the effect that the ministers had to preach in harmony with Zwingli's manner and spirit meant that his conceptions received a sort of normative status; and this, in turn, anticipated his later role as an adviser of the public authorities.

Even though the City Council did not on this occasion make any concrete decisions concerning church organization, it did settle for the future the way in which resolutions pertaining to church affairs were made. For this purpose, no separate ecclesiastical institution was created (such as, for instance, a consistory); but rather, the public authorities retained full charge of ecclesiastical life. From the standpoint of the church, the only remaining independent office was that of minister—in Zwingli's terminology, the office of "prophet" and "shepherd."[21] To Zwingli, the City Councillors were the repre-

[18]Ibid., pp. 472-569.

[19]Ibid., p. 491.3-6.

[20]Ibid., pp. 469-471.

[21]Zwingli wrote a booklet with the title "The Shepherd"; see ibid., 3: 1-68.

sentatives of the church community, and therefore they were allowed to speak and act in its name.

In sum total, then this First Zurich Disputation made visible for the first time in that city a sort of "teamwork" that would become typical of the Zurich Reformation and of Zwinglianism itself. Here we can see a clear difference from the situation that existed in Germany. Zwingli brought into the Reform tradition a concern for getting support directly from the political leaders.

With respect to the three current interpretations of the disputation, as outlined above, the following may now be said: (1) the result of the disputation surely was not pre-arranged; (2) there was no question of there being a foundational assembly; and (3) the disputation was indeed more than simply a juridical-theological trial. In short, a new system of making ecclesiastical decisions was being introduced.

This new system manifested its first expression of major proportions in the basic and sweeping ecclesiastical changes in Zurich which were effected in the year 1525. Included were the closing down of the cloisters as independent economic and juridical units,[22] relief from the Catholic tithe regulations,[23] transformation of the sacrament of the Mass,[24] institution of a marriage court (which later also functioned as a morality-policing unit),[25] and finally the foundation of the Prophezei, the afore-mentioned Bible school. The only major Reformational entity still lacking was the synod;[26] it assembled for the first time some three years later, on April 21, 1528.

[22]Ibid., 2: 461-466 and 609-616; also 6/3: 347, n. 6; Paul Schweizer, "Die Behandlung der zürcherischen Klostergüter in der Reformationszeit," *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz* 2 (1885): 161-188.

[23]James M. Stayer, Werner O. Packull, and Klaus Deppermann, "From Monogenesis to Polygenesis: The Historical Discussion of Anabaptist Origins," *MQR* 49 (1975): 96-98.

[24]*ZW* 4: 1-24; Markus Jenny, *Die Einheit des Abendmahlsgottesdienstes bei den elsässischen und schweizerischen Reformatoren*, Studien zur Dogmengeschichte und systematischen Theologie, 23 (Zürich and Stuttgart, 1968).

[25]Walther Köhler, "Zwingli vor Ehegericht," in *Festgabe des Zwingli-Vereins zum 70. Geburtstag seines Präsidenten Hermann Escher* (Zürich, 1927), pp. 166-169.

[26]*ZW* 6/1: 529-534; Robert C. Walton, "The Institutionalization of the Reformation at Zürich," *Zwingliana* 13/8 (1972): 497-515.

At this juncture it may be useful to say a bit more about the way in which, under the new system, ecclesiastical decisions were actually made *in concreto*, and concerning the part played by Zwingli and the other ministers in the process. A certain pattern can be discerned, which in its ideal or typical form shows the following course:[27] One of the leading ministers—Zwingli himself or one of his colleagues—would bring up in his preaching the abuses which these clergymen considered present in the church. By this means, the question would become a "public issue." Their followers would no longer accept the compromised traditional practices; for instance, they might refuse to pay the tithes. The City Council's judgment was then sought, either by the ministers themselves or by other persons involved. It was customary that the Council would at this point set up a committee to consider the matter and to prepare a decision. On such committees, theologians were always included—very often, Zwingli himself. The committee would prepare a written statement of advice—advice that often was also explained orally in the meeting of the Council.[28] After that, the Council made its decision.

The sources concerning the deliberation of the committees are, for the most part, still extant; but the data about the deliberations in the Council meetings themselves are lacking, so that the proportions of "yes" and "no" votes are unknown (the minutes mention only that the decisions were affirmative or negative).

It is striking with what care and hesitancy the Council made decisions concerning the Reform activities. Often the committee proposals were sent back by the Council. Those concerning the Mass were referred several times before the Council's acceptance in the form in which they were adopted.

In summary, the First Zurich Disputation inaugurated a new procedure for making decisions concerning church affairs in Zurich, but the Reformation that took place was a slow process. The rise and implementation of the new process, moreover, was open and

[27]J. F. Gerhard Goeters, "Die Vorgeschichte des Täufertums in Zürich," in *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie der Reformation*, Festschrift für Ernst Bizer (Neukirchen, 1969), pp. 239-281; and Jacob, passim.

[28]René Hauswirth, "Wie verhandelte das Parlament des Alten Zürich? Versuch einer Rekonstruktion von Ratsdebatten aus der Bullingerzeit," *Zürcher Taschenbuch* 1973, n.s., 93 (1972): 30-49.

transparent. The political practice itself did not differ greatly from that of the pre-Reformation period, and the case was that Zwingli accommodated himself to the practice in Zurich, rather than the other way around.

3. *Zwingli's Political Role in Zurich*

The next question I wish to explore is Zwingli's role in the political affairs of Zurich. If one wonders whether Zwingli played any political role, then the answer must be, without any hesitancy, affirmative. Something other than that was not possible, in view of the function he served. The Grossmünster was a political-economic factor of eminent importance in Zurich society, and therefore always played a special role politically. The parish priests who served there in the pre-Zwinglian era were also political figures—for instance, Konrad Hofmann, who later was to become one of Zwingli's antagonists. And in the Reformation period itself, Zwingli was not the only theologian who acted as an adviser to the City Council, for this function was filled by his ministerial colleagues, as well. Perhaps even till now, historians tend to overestimate Zwingli's role as a political adviser, at the expense of these other figures. Nevertheless, although Zwingli was not the only adviser to the Council, he naturally played a primary role, and by his frequent appointments to committees, his impact was especially significant.[29]

By 1529, the Reformation in Zurich was made secure. The Anabaptist influence had declined, the power of the rich persons responsible for mercenaries was broken, and, as already noted, a synodal organization had been introduced. The main thrust of the religio-political activities of Zurich was now shifting to a policy for extending the Reformation over the whole of Switzerland and safeguarding the results by means of alliances with political powers outside the Swiss Confederacy. Negotiations were conducted, for instance, with Hesse in Germany, with Venice in Italy, and with France.[30]

[29]Jacob, pp. 84-85.

[30]René Hauswirth, *Landgraf Philipp von Hessen und Zwingli. Voraussetzungen und Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen zwischen Hessen, Strassburg, Konstanz, Ulrich von Württemberg und reformierten Eidgenossen 1526-1531*, Schriften zur Kirchen- und Rechtsgeschichte, 35 (Tübingen and Basel, 1968); Helmut Meyer, *Der Zweite Kappeler Krieg. Die Krise der Schweizerischen Reformation* (Zürich, 1976).

It is an established fact that Zwingli became increasingly occupied with these matters of inter-canton and international scope. He was regularly a member of those committees of the Council which were in charge of the preparation and the execution of the Council's decisions in this arena; and with respect to such committee activities, Zwingli held a unique position among the ministers. As far as is known, no other minister was appointed on committees of this sort between 1529 and the time of Zwingli's death in 1531. Thus, Zwingli was the only theologian in Zurich who during this period was occupied with the foreign policies of Zurich on an institutional basis.

Serving in this capacity, Zwingli also drew up proposals, which in part are extant.[31] Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine his specific influence on the decisions that were reached in the committees. But certainly, he was rather highly regarded as an expert. In 1531, for instance, there were only three politicians who had been appointed to such committees more frequently than Zwingli[32]—a fact that means nothing other than that Zwingli had taken a very prominent place among the politicians too.

On the other hand, it also remains an essential fact that he could never take part in the final and definitive making of the decisions, for such decisions were made in the Great Council, of which he was not a member. In this purely political function, he consequently remained only an adviser—albeit, one of the most important of such advisers.

In short, we may state that after the first war of Kappel in 1529, it became possible for Zwingli to submit ideas and suggestions for Zurich foreign policy in a rather direct way, placing them before the decision-making political bodies. In this respect of moving in a purely political environment, he stands apart from all the rest of the Protestant reformers.

In the final analysis, however, it is uncertain just how successful he was with his proposals. In any event, in 1531 there came such a drifting apart between him and the political bodies that he resigned as parish priest,[33] probably because the Zurich policies

[31] Meyer, pp. 29, 74.

[32] Ibid., pp. 316-322, and p. 353, n. 68.

[33] Gottfried W. Locher, *Die Zwinglische Reformation im Rahmen der europäischen Kirchengeschichte* (Göttingen and Zürich, 1979), pp. 527-528.

seemed too moderate to him. Only a delegation of Zurich politicians succeeded in making him change his mind. He was deemed indispensable, in view of the difficult situation in the summer of 1531, when strained relations of Zurich with the Catholic cantons reached the boiling point.

4. *Zwingli as Bible Teacher*

The next question I wish to address is that of Zwingli's activity as a Bible teacher. In a review of his activities at the Prophezei it is important, first of all, to consider the institutional aspects of the matter. As early as in 1523, Zwingli had challenged the autonomy of convents and cloisters,[34] and in September of that year the autonomy of the Grossmünster's convent was abrogated by a contract between the Grossmünster canons and the City Council.[35] Nevertheless, a certain economic independence was still granted to this institution. Moreover, in 1523 a plan was conceived for setting up a new training institute with public exegetical lectures at the Grossmünster. But not until some two years later could the plan be implemented, when the Catholic school-head Niessli died on April 3, 1525, and was succeeded by Zwingli. The latter very soon reorganized the school. The schools at both the Grossmünster and the Fraumünster came under the direct control of the City Council,[36] and the curriculum of the fourth class of the Latin school at the Grossmünster was amplified with lectures on the biblical subjects. This constituted the Prophezei,[37] the Bible school of the Grossmünster.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of this school is still fragmentary. For instance, it has not yet been sufficiently investigated as to whether the already-existing educational program at the nearby cloister of Kappel was influential in determining the Zurich educational reforms, nor has sufficient attention been given as to whether

[34]*ZW* 1: 461.16-18; 2: 253.16-261.13.

[35]*Actensammlung*, no. 426 (pp. 168-171).

[36]Kurt Spillmann, "Zwingli und die Zürcher Schulverhältnisse," *Zwingliana* 11/7 (1962): 427-448.

[37]The term "Prophezei" is derived from 1 Cor 14:26-33; cf. *ZW* 4: 393.26-419.6, 361-365, and 701.6; *Actensammlung*, no. 426, items 5 & 6 (pp. 169-170); Fritz Büsser, "Théorie et pratique de l'éducation sous la Réforme à Zurich," in Jean Boisset, ed., *La réforme et l'éducation* (Toulouse, 1974), pp. 153-169.

the Prophezei, in turn, was the model for the reorganization of other cloister schools in the countryside of Zurich. The curriculum and the division of the educational responsibilities among the teachers at the Prophezei are also not entirely clear. In any case, however, there was no intention to make the Prophezei into a university.

In the first years of its existence, the Prophezei functioned as an institution for the retraining of the ministers in the city of Zurich. It thus provided a sort of "continuing education," but one in which the preachers were absolutely obliged to follow the lectures. Every morning, except on Fridays and Sundays, the students from the fourth class of the Latin school, the canons, the ministers of Zurich, and learned guests from outside the town came together in the choir loft of the Grossmünster.

During Zwingli's lifetime, only the OT was explained according to a regular pattern at the Grossmünster. The procedure was as follows: A certain Bible passage was first commented on by the teacher of Hebrew; then it was explained by Zwingli on the basis of the Greek LXX; and finally, in addition to this exegetical work, one of the Zurich ministers gave a homily in German for the common people.

Paralleling his educational work at the Grossmünster, Zwingli also took part in the instructional program at the Fraumünster.[38] There he provided exegetical lectures on the NT at least once a week, following up the lectures by preaching for the common people, probably mostly on Fridays (Friday was the market day of the week, when many people from the countryside were in town).

From these activities in giving OT and NT lectures emerged Zwingli's exegetical works.[39] However, concerning the precise composition of these writings, countless unsolved questions remain. Zwingli's exegetical writings were edited by other persons in the sixteenth century, partly with the use of materials already published elsewhere, so that in point of fact it is never entirely clear whether Zwingli had given his lectures in this form. Indeed, it may be that thoughts from other publications or from other expositors

[38]Walter E. Meyer, "Die Entstehung von Huldrych Zwinglis neutestamentlichen Kommentaren und Predigtnachschriften," *Zwingliana* 13/6 (1976): 285-331.

[39]Cf. *ZW*, vols. 13 and 14.

have been included in the final text provided by the editors.[40] Unfortunately, we do not know of any manuscript containing a sermon or lecture directly from Zwingli.

Let me conclude: It is an established fact that Zwingli was active daily as an exegete for a learned public, and that his exegesis is characteristic of a close connection between scholarly explanation and preaching for the common people. At any rate, his activity at the Prophezei shows that Zwingli lived and worked in an intellectual environment and that he was not only an ecclesiastical and political activist.

5. *Zwingli's Own Concept of His Role as Reformer*

The final matter that I wish to explore concerning Zwingli is how he understood himself in his role as a reformer. How did he define his own position in all the varied activities in which he was engaged?

In seeking to answer this question we could think, of course, in the first instance, of his doctrine of ministry as it is presented in his book *The Shepherd,* which appeared in the year 1524. However, here I wish to bring out a different aspect: namely, the question as to how Zwingli saw his role in the conflict concerning the Lord's Supper. Within the context of this emerges an indication as to Zwingli's concept of his own place and the place of Zurich within the broader circle of Protestant reformers and with respect to the Reformation in general.

It was in the autumn of 1524 that Zwingli discovered what he thenceforth considered to be the true meaning of the word *est* in the words of institution of the Eucharist: This *est* must be interpreted as *significat,* and thus he rejected the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine. From that time onward, Zwingli's so-called "symbolic" view of the Lord's Supper remained firm, although later he did make certian changes and modifications in it.[41]

[40]Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli im 20. Jahrhundert. Forschungsbericht und annotierte Bibliographie 1897-1972* (Zürich, 1975), pp. 21-25.

[41]*ZW* 6/3: 231-291, esp. 244-245; cf. Stefan N. Bosshard, *Zwingli-Erasmus-Cajetan. Die Eucharistie als Zeichen der Einheit,* Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, 89 (Wiesbaden, 1978), pp. 76-89.

For us here, however, it is more important to ascertain the place that he gave to this discovery in the history of Christian thought. Of course, Zwingli was convinced that he had the correct biblical view. But beyond this, he took pains to demonstrate that the view was also that of the church fathers, especially Augustine. And naturally, he made polemical use of Augustine against Luther on this subject.[42] Zwingli's view on the historical development concerning the Lord's Supper paralleled his view concerning the emergence of church structure: Both the Mass and papacy were medieval developments. Repeatedly in his addresses to Luther on the Eucharist, he reproached the latter with the thought that Luther was adhering to a view that originated only in the Middle Ages.[43]

But there is more: In all of this, Zwingli was convinced that within the circle of Protestant reformers, it had fallen to his lot to accomplish the task of restoring the pristine doctrine of the sacraments. From his point of view, it was the merit of the humanist Erasmus to have rediscovered the Bible,[44] and of Luther to have broken the power of the papacy;[45] now it was he himself who was destined to add the capstone—the true doctrine of the sacraments.[46] So, in his opinion, there was to be seen a clear progression from Erasmus to Zwingli. Zwingli was—if I may say this in a somewhat exaggerated fashion—the finale or apex in the renewal of the church. He was restoring the model of the true Christian community.

In his own judgment, Zwingli was thus the most radical of the Protestant reformers, and his appraisal of the conflict about the Lord's Supper had to do, in a profound sense, with his own self-consciousness and self-conception. Therefore, for a number of years, he hoped to be able to convince Luther of the rightness of his own eucharistic views. It was only after the failure of the Colloquy of

[42]Alfred Schindler, *Zwingli und die Kirchenväter*, 147: *Neujahrsblatt, zum Besten des Waisenhauses Zürich* (Zürich, 1984), pp. 48-50, 65-68.

[43]Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli*, p. 486, n. 12.

[44]*ZW* 5: 815.18-818.3.

[45]E.g., ibid., 2: 147.14-20, and 6/2: 247.2-4. See Locher, p. 90.

[46]*ZW* 3: 786.1-4, 800.3-4, and 816.21-30; Paul Boesch, "Zwingli-Gedichte (1539) des Andreas Zebedeus und des Rudolph Gwalther," *Zwingliana* 9/4 (1950): 215-216; Gottfried W. Locher, "Eine alte Deutung des Namens Zwingli," *Zwingliana* 9/5 (1951): 307-310.

Marburg in 1529 that it became clear to Zwingli that there was no possibility for the development of a unilateral progression from Erasmus to his own work—a progression in which the Lutheran reform movement could be bent to the reform in Zurich. And consequently, from 1529 onward, his utterances became characterized by a fierce anti-Lutheranism.[47] The Lutheran Reformation and Zwinglianism, he saw to his dismay, would not follow each other up chronologically, but the two would remain in existence alongside of each other. In theory, of course, Zwingli still went on claiming his place as the most radical of the Protestant reformers; but he knew that Lutheranism could not be conquered, and he perceived that Zurich would not become the sole model for a Christian city.

6. *Conclusion*

In conclusion, I will endeavor to tie together the foregoing sketchy reflections by means of several summarizing observations.

First, the uniqueness of Zurich in Reformation history lies in a combination of several factors. Even before Zwingli's arrival in Zurich, this town on the Limmat played a very special political role within the Swiss Confederacy. Among the Swiss cantons, only Zurich refused to give support to the French king in his attempt to secure Swiss mercenary soldiers for his wars against the pope. Zurich alone stood on the side of the Hapsburg/papal party. Again, before Zwingli's arrival, the social-political situation in Zurich seemed to show tendencies of bringing about an increase of power on the part of the City Council. Moreover, the ecclesiastical situation in Zurich differed from that in such places as Basel or Strassburg, in that Zurich had no bishop within its walls, but was subject to the Bishop of Constance. Thus, the ecclesiastical affairs in Zurich could develop in an environment of somewhat less strict diocesan control. On the other hand, and in further support of this tendency toward ecclesiastical independence, was the fact that the Grossmünster of Zurich had a group of learned men who were well able to settle church affairs. So the basis for change was already present before Zwingli arrived, and the way was paved for policies and procedures that

[47]Already his contemporaries noticed that; cf. Martin Bucer in his letter to Zwingli of 18 September 1530, in *ZW* 11: 139.12-140.22.

would aim at indigenous control of the whole of the political and ecclesiastical life of the city.

Second, it must be remembered that Zwingli was not alone in his work. During his whole lifetime in Zurich, he was accompanied by a group of academically trained friends who supported him and with whom he exchanged ideas. Furthermore, from about 1523 onward, Zwingli could rely also on a group of loyal politicians. Already in a very early stage of the reforming process, top figures in the political life of Zurich came to agree with Zwingli's position.

Third, in both theological and ecclesiastical terms, Zwingli was a leading figure in Zurich. His theology lay the basis for his preaching activity; and, it seems to me, his basic premise was that preaching must aim at the renewal of the whole community. Zwingli was convinced that the preachers would be asked in the final judgment whether or not they had endeavored to preserve the community from sin and sinners. In a sense, Zwingli tried to change the whole city into a cloister, the whole community into a body of Christ. Therefore, he attacked both the Anabaptists, who formed a separate group within the Christian body, and the Catholics, who maintained the existence of certain spiritual enclaves within the urban society.

Fourth, and finally: Aside from the contributions of his theological thinking, it may be said of Zwingli that he carried out his message *in person.* His participation in the battle at Kappel in 1531 was a clear expression of this fact. There he fought bravely indeed, as the oldest sources tell us.[48] With the Zwinglian defeat at Kappel, as well as Zwingli's own death there, ended the dream to be able to win not only Zurich but also the whole Swiss Confederacy to the Zurich model of renewal of Christianity. With that battle at Kappel, the expansion of the Reformation in northern Switzerland was immediately terminated, and the denominational map of German Switzerland was thereafter fixed for centuries to come.

Catholics and Lutherans alike commented on Zwingli's death—that obviously God had spoken out his judgment upon this heretic. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that Zwingli stands as an honest example of a preacher who cared about his fellow human beings and who cared about the community in which he lived and served. In my opinion, this is in itself a contribution to the history of Christianity that is worthy of both praise and emulation.

[48]Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*, p. 533.

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THE EXEGETICAL METHODS OF SOME SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ROMAN CATHOLIC PREACHERS IN ENGLAND: FISHER, PERYN, BONNER, AND WATSON PART I

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In earlier articles, I have explored the exegetical methods of representative Anglican and Puritan preachers and also of late medieval sermons.[1] This article and a subsequent one will be devoted to the exegetical methods displayed in sermons of four Roman Catholic preachers in England who flourished in the sixteenth century: John Fisher (1469-1535), William Peryn (d. 1558), Edmund Bonner (1500?-1569), and Thomas Watson (1513-1584). A major question is the extent to which the biblical exegesis and other homiletical concerns identify these preachers as being medieval or Renaissance oriented. Are they, for example, more akin to the medieval preachers or to the Anglican preachers we have dealt with in the earlier studies?

The presentation that follows will of necessity first give an overview of the careers of these four preachers, noting the historical setting in which their preaching took place. Then, attention will be given to their specific exegetical techniques and homiletical concerns.

1. *Overview of the Careers of the Preachers*

John Fisher

John Fisher received his first degree at Michaelhouse, Cambridge, in 1483 at the age of fourteen, was appointed master in 1497,

[1]"The Exegetical Methods of Some Sixteenth-Century Anglican Preachers: Latimer, Jewel, Hooker, and Andrewes," Parts I and II, *AUSS* 17 (1979): 23-38, 169-188; "The Exegetical Methods of Some Sixteenth-Century Puritan Preachers: Hooper, Cartwright, and Perkins," Parts I and II, *AUSS* 19 (1981): 21-36, 99-114; "Late-Medieval Sermons in England: An Analysis of Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Preaching," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 179-203.

and received his doctorate in theology in 1501.[2] As early as 1494 he had been appointed senior proctor of two annually appointed proctors, who were executive and administrative officers of the University.[3] The Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of King Henvy VII, chose him as one of her chaplains and later as her confessor in place of Richard Fitz-James, who became Bishop of Rochester in 1497.[4]

Edward Surtz divides Fisher's life into three major periods, and groups his extant works accordingly: (1) the Catholic humanist (1497-1517); (2) the ecclesiastical protagonist (1517-1527); and (3) the royal antagonist (1527-1535).[5] The first period was marked by important promotions and significant works.[6] In 1503, the Lady Margaret instituted readerships in divinity at Oxford and Cambridge. Fisher was the first Lady Margaret Reader at Cambridge, as John Roper was at Oxford. In 1504, Fisher was elected chancellor of Cambridge, and served annual terms until 1514, when he was elected for life. On November 24, 1504, he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, and two days later took his place in the Star Chamber as a member of the King's Council.

The sermons of Fisher's early period (1497-1517) were devotional and non-controversial. Throughout August and September, 1504, he preached before Lady Margaret ten sermons on the seven penitential psalms (Vulg. Pss 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142).[7] At her request, these sermons were published in 1508 under the title *Fruytful Sayings of David*, and they were reprinted some six times before 1529.[8] Also belonging to this early period of Fisher's career is a lengthy, undated sermon preached "vpon a good Friday," the theme of which was the crucifixion of Christ.

[2]See E. E. Reynolds, *Saint John Fisher* (Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire, 1955 and 1972), p. 6; *ODCC*, 1957 ed., s.v. "Fisher, St. John."

[3]Reynolds, p. 7.

[4]Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[5]Edward Surtz, *The Works and Days of John Fisher: An Introduction to the Position of St. John Fisher (1469-1535), Bishop of Rochester, in the English Renaissance and the Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 3.

[6]Reynolds, p. 15.

[7]Reynolds, p. 18; Surtz, p. 3.

[8]Surtz, p. 3.

When Henry VII died at Richmond on April 21, 1509, it fell to the lot of John Fisher to preach the funeral sermon at St. Paul's on May 9.[9] This sermon, which occupied about an hour, focused attention mainly on the king's repentance. The panegyric absorbed only a few minutes.

The Lady Margaret died June 29, 1509, and a month later Fisher preached a commemorative sermon, subsequently published under the title *A mornynge remembraunce . . . of the noble prynces Margarete . . . .*[10] As E. E. Reynolds points out: "This sermon is almost entirely a panegyric in which the preacher likened the Lady Margaret to 'the blessed woman Martha,' basing his remarks on the gospel of the commemorative Mass said on the thirtieth day after a funeral, St. John xi, 21-27, the conversation of Martha and Jesus before the raising of Lazarus."[11]

Surtz categorizes Fisher's early sermons as distinctively Catholic with "no fear of the Protestant menace, no need for caution in statement, and no retirement from possibly extreme positions."[12] The same cannot be said of the sermons of his second period (1517-1527), with the possible exception of *Two Fruytfull Sermons* preached, it is thought, in 1520, but not published until 1532.[13] Yet, even in these two sermons it is possible to detect a foreshadowing of Fisher's later conflict with Henry VIII. Alluding to the Field of Cloth of Gold, he speaks of the pleasure and pomp associated with the courts of England and France as manifested on that occasion.[14] But these pleasures and shows of worldly beauty are nothing to be compared with the joys of heaven. Even King Solomon, in the midst of opulence and indulgence, was obliged to relegate the things of this world to vanity, weariness, and displeasure. By contrast, heaven is a place of untrammelled joy and unexcelled beauty,

[9]Reynolds, p. 36.

[10]John Fisher, *The English Works of John Fisher*, ed. John E. B. Mayor, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, no. 27 (London, 1876), 1: 289. (Hereinafter cited as Fisher, *EW*.)

[11]Reynolds, p. 38.

[12]Surtz, p. 4.

[13]Ibid., p. 27; Reynolds, p. 85.

[14]John Fisher, *Two Fruytfull Sermons* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 10909, 1532), sig. A3^r. (Hereinafter cited as Fisher, *TFS*.)

where there is no fear of poverty, no greed or covetousness, no sickness, no fear of death, no pride, no envy, or desire for honor.[15]

It would seem that the obvious allusion to the worldly mindedness of both Henry VIII and Francis I could not fail to be detected. This slur could perhaps be dismissed as spiritual concern in 1520 when the sermons were first preached; but by 1532, when they were published, Henry could hardly fail to interpret it as a further evidence of Fisher's basic recalcitrance.

Meanwhile, between 1517 and 1527 Fisher was involved in theological controversy with the continental Protestant Reformers. From about 1520 onwards there was a great influx of Lutheran literature into England.[16] A trial before the ecclesiastical authorities could result from possession of such books, but relatively few persons were indicted. Probably the pope's bull condemning forty-one heretical ideas taken from Luther's works was known in England early in 1521, even though Henry did not permit it to be proclaimed until June.

In May, Cardinal Wolsey announced a public burning of heretical literature, on which occasion Fisher was to preach the sermon. Reynolds dates this event on May 12, 1521, the Octave of the Ascension, whereas Surtz places it on May 22.[17] The occasion was marked by ecclesiastical pomp and circumstance. Archbishop Warham of Canterbury and Bishop Ruthall of Durham were present. The staging, of course, was the work of Wolsey. Other bishops and high officers of state and ambassadors were present.[18] The central motif of Fisher's sermon was the Holy Spirit's uninterrupted guidance of the Church. Fisher presented the pope as *iure divino* head of the universal Church.[19] For this reason, Henry later issued a proclamation for the surrender of all copies of the sermon. Wynkyn de Worde published it shortly after it was preached, and reprinted it twice (1522?, 1527). After that, it was not published again until the reign of Mary (1554 and 1556). A Latin translation of the sermon was made by Richard Pace, who was secretary first to

[15]Ibid., sigs. A3^{r-v}, B1^{r}.

[16]Reynolds, p. 93.

[17]Ibid.; and Surtz, p. 8.

[18]Reynolds, p. 93.

[19]Surtz, p. 8.

Wolsey and later to Henry VIII. This translation was printed by John Siberch in Cambridge early in 1522. The pope was quick to thank Fisher for the sermon.[20]

In the ensuing few years Fisher published a number of polemical treatises against Luther; but for the purposes of our discussion, it is Fisher's sermons, rather than his treatises, that are especially important. His final flurry against Luther was his sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral on February 11, 1526.[21] Cardinal Wolsey was present with thirty-six bishops and abbots and a great number of the nobility and gentry. The occasion was the abjuration of an Augustinian friar named Robert Barnes, who on December 24, 1525, had preached at St. Edwards, Cambridge, a sermon which was judged to be Lutheran in intent. The doctrinal objections to Barnes's sermon were slight, but his forthright criticism of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of England led to a vociferous reaction. A list of twenty-five offensive opinions was taken from the sermon and condemned. Wolsey, whose wealth and pomp Barnes had attacked, arranged the abjuration. Barnes was brought before the bishops of London (Tunstall), Rochester (Fisher), Bath (Clerk), and St. Asaph's (Standish) in the presence of many others. Fisher's sermon, which had lasted for two hours, was shortly afterwards published in London by Thomas Berthelet.[22]

The sermons of John Fisher to which I have referred in this brief outline of his career as a preacher and controversialist are those which will be considered as we study his biblical exegesis and its significance. These sermons are especially enlightening since they cover such a large segment of Fisher's life, and since they include excellent exemplars of characteristic pastoral preaching as well as polemical discourses designed to denigrate the Reformation and counteract its influence. Fisher's use of the Bible in these sermons will throw some light on the question of his relationship to the presuppositions and procedures of humanism.

William Peryn

William Peryn was a Dominican, educated at Oxford. He later went to London, where he vigorously opposed the Protestants. For

[20]Ibid.

[21]Reynolds, pp. 114-116.

[22]Surtz, p. 13.

a period of time he was the chaplain of Sir John Port. When the royal supremacy was declared in 1534, he went abroad, but he returned to England in 1543, when the Catholic reaction set in. Early in the reign of Edward VI he recanted his Catholic position (June 19, 1547) in the church of St. Mary Undershaft. It was not long, however, before he again fled England. On the accession of Mary (1553) he returned and was made prior of the Dominican house of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, "the first of Mary's religious establishments."[23] The sermons to which reference will be made in this article were "preached in the hospitall of Saynt Antony in London," possibly in 1545. They were published in 1546 and again in 1548 under the title *Thre godlye and notable sermons, of the moost honorable and blessed sacrament of the aulter.*[24] These sermons are significant in that they were preached later in the reign of Henry VIII by a lesser light for whom no claims have been made regarding leanings toward humanism.

Edmund Bonner

Edmund Bonner is remembered more for his contribution to the Catholic reaction in the reign of Mary than for his excursions into the realm of homiletics. Nevertheless, his extant homilies are a valuable indication of the kind of scriptural exegesis which in the mid-sixteenth century was respected by Roman Catholic preachers, and recognized to be consistent with the restoration of the old order undertaken by Mary and her bishops. His wide experience in the English and papal courts rendered him thoroughly conversant with the best sixteenth-century Roman Catholic thought. As early as 1519 he graduated from Pembroke College, Oxford, with degrees in canon and civil law.[25] On July 12, 1525, he was admitted doctor of civil law. In 1529 and 1530 he was employed as chaplain to Cardinal Wolsey. Hence he had early contact also with Henry VIII and his secretary, Gardiner. Bonner spent the year 1532 in Rome, having

[23]For these details, see *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereinafter *DNB*), 1917 ed., s.v. "Peryn, William."

[24]William Peryn, *Thre godlye and notable sermons* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 19789, 1548), sig. A1^r.

[25]Bonner's subsequent training in Roman law is mentioned in Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England* (New York, 1950 and 1963), 1:25.

been sent there by Henry to protest Henry's being cited to the papal court to answer for his divorce of Catherine. By March 6, 1533, he was in Bologna, where Pope Clement VII had gone to meet Emperor Charles V. Bonner followed the pope into France towards the end of the year, and the next year was back in England. About 1536 he was sent to Hamburg, Germany, to establish an understanding between Henry and the Protestants of northern Germany and Denmark; and the year 1538 took him again to the Continent, first to the imperial court and later to the French court as English ambassador.

Having held various ecclesiastical posts earlier, Bonner was consecrated Bishop of London on April 4, 1540. In that same year he was placed on a commission to study doctrine, and the next year he opened a session at the Guildhall to try heretics.[26] From this point on, he successfully established a considerable reputation as a persecutor of Protestants.

Bonner had no difficulty in accepting the doctrine of Royal Supremacy so long as this involved no denial of the pope's primacy over the whole church of Christ.[27] This explains his cooperation with Henry VIII and his fall from influence in the reign of Edward VI. Yet, there is good evidence that Bonner maintained an anti-papal stance for a time during Henry's reign, not out of conviction, but out of fear. At the trial of William Tims on March 28, 1556, Bonner admitted that during Henry's reign he had written the anti-papal preface to Gardiner's book, *De vera obedientia*, out of fear of death.[28]

Early in the reign of Edward VI Bonner was imprisoned for his acceptance of Edward's injunctions only "if they be not contrary to God's law and the statutes and ordinances of the church."[29] In 1549 he was again imprisoned, in Marshalsea prison, for failing to cooperate fully with the council in religious matters.[30] There he

[26]These details may be noted in *DNB*, 1917 ed., s.v. "Bonner or Boner, Edmund."

[27]Hughes, 1:206.

[28]Ibid., 2:297-298.

[29]Ibid.; cf. A. F. Pollard, *The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI. to the Death of Elizabeth (1547-1603)* (New York, 1969), p. 15; A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York, 1964), pp. 43, 203.

[30]Dickens, pp. 227-228.

remained till the accession of Queen Mary in 1553,[31] at which time he was restored to his see.

He played a prominent role in the Marian reaction, having been prepared well for such a role by his previous experience as a bishop and ecclesiastical statesman. In September 1554, he revived processions, restored crucifixes and images, and published for use by the clergy a book of "profitable and necessary doctrine." At that time he also provided a set of homilies.[32] The next year, the book of doctrines and the homilies were published together, and in a foreword dated July 1, he indicated that the reason for the printing and distribution of these sermons was the present dearth of preachers and the inability in discharging the office of preaching. "Therfore desyryng to have something done onward, til God of his goodnes provide something better, I have laboured with my chaplaynes, and frends, to have these Homilies printed, that he maye have somewhat to instruct, and teach your flocke withall. . . ."[33] Thoroughly conversant as he was with papal concepts regarding doctrine, Christian practice, and ecclesiastical procedure, Bonner was eminently qualified to write and issue homilies which were specifically designed to reconcile the layman to the Church of Queen Mary.

Early in the reign of Elizabeth, Bonner was again in trouble for his staunch Catholic loyalty. On May 30, 1559, he was imprisoned in Marshalsea for refusing to take Elizabeth's oath of supremacy, dying there a decade later, on September 5, 1569.[34]

Thomas Watson

Thomas Watson is the fourth sixteenth-century preacher whose sermons will be noted below. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, Watson was elected a fellow about 1535 and functioned for several years as dean and preacher. He was a careful—even fastidious—scholar, with background in the humanistic learning which at that time was being set forth at Cambridge. His having this sort of background confronts us with some intriguing questions: Might we expect certain of the philological and literary

[31]Pollard, pp. 41, 43, 51, 94, 124; Dickens, p. 259.

[32]Hughes, 2:243-245.

[33]Edmund Bonner, *A Profitable and Necessary Doctrine* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 3283, 1555), fol. 2^r.

[34]*DNB*, "Bonner"; Pollard, pp. 194, 208, 218.

interests of the humanists to emerge in his sermons? To what extent, if any, was his biblical exegesis influenced by humanistic scholarship? To such questions we will return later in the course of our discussion.

After receiving the Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1543, Watson was appointed to various clerical positions. During the reign of Edward VI he distinguished himself as an enthusiastic supporter of Gardiner's opposition to the religious changes being made by the council. He was imprisoned in 1551. Upon Mary's accession, he became one of the leading Catholic controversialists, as well as a noted preacher. On August 20, 1553, he was chosen to preach at Paul's Cross, and on May 10, 1554, his *Two notable Sermons made the thirde and fyste Fridays in Lent last past before the Quenes highnes concerninge the reall presence of Christes body and bloode in the Blessed Sacramente* were published in London by John Cawood.[35] In 1558 he revised the sermons he had preached at court in 1556 and published them under the title *Holsome and Catholyke doctryne concerninge the Seuen Sacramentes of Chrystes Church, expedient to be knowen of all men, set forth in maner of Shorte Sermons to bee made to the people.*[36]

In the meantime, he had been very active in other ways. In convocation on October 23, 1553, he defended the Roman Catholic doctrine of the real presence in opposition to James Haddon and others. He disputed with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford in April, 1554, the year in which he was also awarded the doctor of divinity degree. He also took part in the legal proceedings against Hooper and Rogers. Cardinal Pole had appointed Watson one of the delegates to visit Cambridge University in 1556-7, a visitation which resulted in the posthumous trial and condemnation of Bucer and Fagius, whose bodies were exhumed and burned. In 1557 Watson became Bishop of Lincoln.[37]

Since he refused to take the new oath of supremacy early in Elizabeth's reign, Watson was committed to the Tower in 1560.[38] In

[35]These details are noted in *DNB*, 1917 ed., s.v. "Watson, Thomas."

[36]Thomas Watson, *Holsome and Catholyke doctryne concerninge the Seuen Sacramentes* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 25112, 1558); Hughes, 2:245.

[37]See *DNB*, "Watson"; Hughes, 2:330.

[38]See Pollard, pp. 206-207; Hughes, 3:36, 246, 259, 304, 414-415, 417.

and out of prison after that time, Watson was finally committed to Wisbech Castle in 1580, where he died on September 27, 1584. His importance in Mary's reign has been described as follows: "Watson was perhaps, after Tunstall and Pole, the greatest of Queen Mary's bishops. De Feria described him in 1559 as 'more spirited and learned than all the rest.' . . . Ascham spoke warmly of Watson's friendship for him, and bore high testimony to his scholarship."[39]

Summary Concerning the Four Preachers

We have in Fisher, Peryn, Bonner, and Watson four very representative Roman Catholic preachers of the sixteenth century. Fisher is a fine example of a leading pastor, bishop, and controversialist during the reign of Henry VIII. Peryn represents the level of opinion held by the small-time preachers who opposed the Reformation. Bonner and Watson were leading bishops in Mary's reign, both of whom ultimately fell victim to the Elizabethan Settlement. The sermons of Fisher and Watson can be considered for any possible leanings towards the methods and mores of the humanists, those of Bonner as the product of an ecclesiastical statesman committed to the forcible extirpation of heresy, and those of Peryn as reflecting the opinions of the average committed Roman Catholic priest of the mid-sixteenth century.

My plan is to examine the exegetical method of these preachers, in relationship to their use of allegory, typology, literal expositions, and redaction; the appeal they made to church fathers; and their attitude toward antiquity. The first of these—allegory, which was such a favorite technique of the exegetical procedure in the late medieval sermons noted in an earlier study[40]—deserves special consideration here, as we ask whether these sixteenth-century preachers are distinctively medieval or Renaissance representatives. Hence, the remainder of this article will deal with this topic. The continuation article will treat the other concerns indicated above.

Throughout the entire discussion in both articles, it is important, of course, to keep in mind the basic question as to whether the biblical exegesis of these preachers categorizes them as belonging to the old order of late medieval preachers, or to the new order

[39]*DNB*, "Watson"; cf. Pollard, p. 124.

[40]Gane, "Late-Medieval Sermons in England," pp. 181-188.

for whom a new set of literary and linguistic tools has come into play. Just where do they stand in relation to the Renaissance in general and to the humanist movement in particular?

2. *Allegory*

Regarding the use of the allegorical interpretation of scriptural material, we shall note that this is very prevalent in the early sermons of Fisher and in the sermons of Peryn, but less so in Fisher's later sermons and in the homilies of Bonner and Watson. After first noticing the "exegetical style" of the preachers in this matter, we will raise the question of why the divergence.

Fisher

As our first example of Fisher's early use of allegory we may note his sermon on the first penitential psalm (Ps 6): In exegeting it, he refers to Christ's sleeping in the boat during the storm on the Sea of Galilee (Matt 8:23-27), and looks upon the stormy sea as signifying "the trouble of the soule whan almyghty god tourneth away his face from the synner. . . ." Just as Christ awoke and rebuked the storm, so "the vexacyon of the soule shall not be mytygate & done away vnto the tyme our mercyfull lorde god tourne hymselfe vnto the synner."[41] This sort of spiritual application of that particular pericope is one, of course, that is quite common to preachers both ancient and modern.

Preaching on the third penitential psalm, Fisher likens Mary the mother of Jesus to the morning that comes after the darkness of the night and before the brightness of the day. Also, just as the "wyse man" teaches that God caused light to shine out of darkness (cf. Ps 112:4), so, declares Fisher, Mary was born free from sin after mankind had been subject to it for centuries.[42] Furthermore, when the sun rises, the morning becomes brighter and brighter, "so cryst Ihesu borne of this vyrgyn defyled her not with ony maner spotte of synne but endued and replete her with moche more lyght and grace than she had before."[43] All of this could simply be regarded as an

[41]Fisher, *EW*, 1:12-13.

[42]Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[43]Ibid., p. 48.

extended sermon illustration, except that Fisher proceeds to provide scriptural backing for the analogy.

Referring to Gen 1, Fisher points out that God made heaven and earth; then on the first day of creation, weak light was made; and on the fourth day, the sun was created. Heaven and earth, he declares, may signify to us "man & woman," the light created on the first day symbolizes Mary, and the sun created on the fourth day signifies Jesus Christ. He adds: "Take hede how convenyently it agreeth with holy scrypture this virgyn to be called a mornynge."[44] Thus, by an allegorical application of the creation story, Fisher has endeavored to provide biblical support for his concept.

Commenting on Ps 51, Fisher likens the beings who dwell in hell, who are waiting to devour careless Christians, to the wild beasts, birds, and serpents which Moses predicted would come upon Israel if they were unfaithful. He cites Eccl 12:1, 6: "Haue mynde on they creatour & maker in the tyme of thy yonge aege, or euer the potte be broken vpon the fountayne"; then he interprets the pot to be man's weak, frail body, which when broken falls into the well, "that is to saye in to the depenesse of hell."[45] The silver cord, also mentioned in Eccl 12:6, becomes to Fisher the life of man which holds up the soul of man within the pot, or body: "For as a lytell corde or lyne is made or wouen of a fewe thredes, so is the lyfe of man knytte togyder by foure humours, that as longe as they be knytte togyder in a ryght ordre so longe is mannes lyfe hole and sounde."[46]

To prove that this cord is held by the hand and power of God, Fisher quotes Job, and then goes on to say that if the life-line to God is broken, the pot (the body) is broken and the soul "flyppeth downe into the pytte of hell," there to be torn in pieces by "those moost cruell hell houndes."[47]

No doubt the language of Eccl 12 is intended to be metaphorical, but Fisher has read into it allegorical applications which fit nicely with the theme of his sermon. Obviously, the context was not important to Fisher. The verse immediately after the one on

[44]Ibid., p. 49.

[45]Ibid., pp. 91-92.

[46]Ibid., p. 92.

[47]Ibid., pp. 92-93.

which he bases his allegory teaches that at death "shall the dust [body] return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it" (Eccl 12:7, KJV). The passage says nothing of a soul being contained in a pot until the pot is broken, at which time the soul descends to hell.

Fisher also read a great deal into the reference to the pelican, the owl, and the sparrow in the fifth penitential psalm (Ps 102). The passage reads, "I am like a pelican of the wilderness: I am like an owl of the desert. I watch, and am as a sparrow alone upon the house top" (vss. 6-7, KJV). In context, the three similes are designed to illustrate the psalmist's state of mental and spiritual destitution. He stands alone and depressed because God has allowed his enemies to reproach him. The message is spiritual rather than doctrinal, but Fisher uses the passage as a major reference to the sacrament of penance: The pelican represents contrition, the first part of penance; the "nyght crowe" (or owl) signifies confession; and the sparrow represents satisfaction.[48]

Fisher quotes Jerome as his authority for the habits of the pelican, which by nature lives in a desolate place.[49] When the pelican finds her young slain by a snake, she mourns, and flays herself upon the sides; similarly, when those who are genuinely contrite find their children—that is, their good works—destroyed by deadly sin, "they mourne & wayle sore, they smyte themselfe vpon the breste with the byll of bytter sorowe" so that "the corrupte blode of synne may flowe out."[50] Jerome did precisely this, according to Fisher. Afraid lest his sorrow for sin was not adequate, "he smote vpon his brest with an harde flynte stone." If the sinner will smite himself inwardly in view of his sins, his past good deeds will be revived and he will be delivered from eternal death. "So that euery contryte persone may saye *Similis factus sum pellicano solitudinis*. I am made lyke to the pellycane by contrycyon."[51] We notice that Fisher mistranslates "*solitudinis*" so as to render the verse applicable to the sacrament of penance.

[48]Ibid., p. 151.

[49]Ibid., pp. 151-152.

[50]Ibid., p. 152.

[51]Ibid.

The "nyght crowe" or owl dwells in the daytime in walls and secret corners of buildings. Only at night does it come out, and then "with a mournynge crye & myserable, & sorowful lamentacyon." In like manner, those who were once baptized, but afterward fall into deadly sin, are divested of light and are covered with the darkness of sin.[52] Then they go to the priest and confess their sins and the sun of righteousness shines upon them again. After confession, it is necessary for them to be like the sparrow; they must avoid "the deuylles snares" just as the sparrow avoids "the baytes & trappes of byrde takers that be aboute to catche her."[53] The person who is engaged in making satisfaction for sin must be as vigilant as the sparrow so that he can avoid his spiritual enemies.[54]

In this discourse, Fisher has taken two verses of Ps 102 and, with little respect for their context, has applied them allegorically to teach the importance of the three aspects of the sacrament of penance. This was, of course, the customary approach to Scripture in late medieval sermons. The ecclesiastical and doctrinal understandings of the Church were tenuously supported by the technique of discovering meanings which were not immediately apparent in the text. In his early sermons, Fisher makes extensive use of this exegetical method.[55]

While Fisher's later sermons do not make such a large use of allegory, the technique is not entirely lacking. In his *Two Fruytfull Sermons*, which were probably preached in 1520, but not published until 1532, he speaks, for instance, of three kinds of fruit in Paradise (Garden of Eden)—that of the tree of life, that of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and that of the regular trees of the garden—and then allegorizes the fruit as betokening "unto us pleasure, because that fruyt is pleasant for to taste." The three kinds of fruit, he goes on to say, represent three types of pleasures "whiche be offred unto us in this lyfe."[56] The fruit of the tree of life represents the pleasures of life which emanate from Christ. The fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil symbolizes

[52]Ibid., pp. 152-153.

[53]Ibid., p. 154.

[54]Ibid., p. 155.

[55]Ibid., pp. 200-208, 289-293, 388, 394-397, 407-428.

[56]Fisher, *TFS*, sig. E4^r.

those pleasures which bring our souls to everlasting death. The regular trees of the Garden betoken those pleasures which are things indifferent, "so that neyther we shall haue greate rewarde for theym, ne yet great punysshment."[57] These "indifferent" pleasures include such activities as eating, drinking, sleeping, walking, speaking, and taking recreation. Without any indication in biblical literature that the trees of Eden were to be regarded symbolically, Fisher has treated them as allegorical representations of aspects of human life.[58]

Fisher's 1521 *Sermon Made Agayn the Pernicyous Doctryn of Martin Luther* is substantially lacking in biblical allegory. A number of suggestions may be offered in explanation of this fact. Perhaps by now the influence of humanism on Fisher was such as to engender greater respect for the literary and philological methods of the Renaissance. On the other hand, the fact that his 1520 sermons, which made such considerable use of allegory, were published in 1532, presumably with the knowledge and consent of Fisher himself, would indicate that there was no dramatic change in Fisher's exegetical methodology during the final fifteen years of his life. Rather, it would seem that the absence of biblical allegory from the sermon against Luther is to be explained by the nature of the subject matter and the nature of the audience.

Of necessity, Fisher's sermon against Luther's doctrine dealt with those Lutheran interpretations which undermined the doctrinal formulations of the papal church. His response consisted of a direct statement of his own concept of authority in religious matters; of counterinterpretations of scriptural passages used by Luther, employing similar methods as those used by the Reformer; and of the attempt to discredit Luther as a thoroughly insincere Christian and an heretical persecutor. In his effort to persuade those who had already strayed into Lutheranism, it would seem to be a matter of diplomatic necessity to speak their language. They were less likely to have been swayed by the kind of allegory characterizing Fisher's earlier sermons than by the approach to Scripture which was respected and used by the Reformers. Thus, the evidence would seem to suggest that Fisher excluded allegory from his 1521

[57]Ibid.

[58]Cf. ibid., sig. G1^{v}-G4^{v}.

sermon, not because he had basically altered his hermeneutic, but because of the demands of the situation.

Such an interpretation of the 1521 sermon is reinforced by the reappearance of a degree of biblical allegory in Fisher's 1526 sermon against the heretics at the abjuration of Robert Barnes. Allegory as used in this sermon is still relatively slight in comparison with Fisher's early sermons. The motivation for the lack is probably to be explained as similar to that for the omission of allegory from his 1521 sermon, but it appears that he was not entirely able to exclude a method of interpretation which, over a period of years, had become an integral part of his homiletical technique.

At the abjuration of Barnes, Fisher applied the story of blind Bartimaeus to the problem of the Lutheran heresy. Of the multitude that was walking along the road with Jesus just before the healing of Bartimaeus, those who went ahead of him, Fisher said, betoken "the fathers and the people of the olde testament."[59] Those who followed him signify Christian believers after the birth of Christ. Those who went before rebuked Bartimaeus for calling out for Christ, because they symbolized OT people who were under the dreadful, rigorous law of Moses. Those who followed Christ were more merciful toward Bartimaeus, for they typify Christians who today enjoy a dispensation of grace and mercy.[60]

Fisher pointed out that Bartimaeus was a symbol of the heretics. First, he was "singular by hym selfe."[61] Just so, the heretics, motivated by pride, study to be singular in their opinions. Unfortunately for Fisher's application, however, the Matthean account of the story has *two* blind men sitting by the roadside (Matt 20:29-34). Fisher goes on to say, in the second place, that just as Bartimaeus was blind literally, so the heretics are blind theologically and spiritually. Third, the fact that the blind man was sitting by the wayside and not walking betokens that the heretics are sitting outside of the right way instead of journeying toward heaven. Fourth, the

[59]John Fisher, *A sermon had at Paulis by the commandment of the most reuerend father in god my lorde legate, and sayd by John the bysshop of Rochester, upon quinquagesom sonday concernynge certayne heretikes, whiche than were abiured for holdynge the heresies of Martyn Luther* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 10892, 1525), sig. B1^{v}.

[60]Ibid., sig. Bii^{r}.

[61]Ibid., sig. Bii^{v}.

blind man was separated from those following Christ, as the heretics are separated from the Church.[62] Just as the blind man was given sight, so must the heretics "be restored unto the true faith"; as the blind man cried for mercy, so must the heretics do; as Christ commanded that the blind man be brought to him, so the heretics must "be reduced unto the wayes of the Church."[63] Before receiving his sight, the blind man assented to the will of Christ, and so must heretics "fully assent unto the doctrine of Christus Churche."[64]

It could be argued that Fisher's use of the story of Bartimaeus was merely a homiletical device, rather than a genuine example of his exegetical method. He must have known all too well, for instance, that in the primary setting of the Bible story, as told by the Gospel writers, there was no suggestion of the applications he was making. Perhaps so; but, as we have seen, this kind of interpretation is so characteristic of his sermons, especially in his early period, that it reveals an unconcern for a hermeneutic based on language, context, and *Sitz im Leben*. Fisher's method perhaps seems somewhat more innocuous when used as a means of illustrating situations in the world of his day than it does when used as a means of substantiating the doctrinal positions of his Church. Either way, however, meanings are "found" in the Bible which have no relation to the thought content of the biblical literature itself.

Peryn

Allegorical interpretation of biblical material is a pervading method in William Peryn's *Thre godlye and notable sermons* (1548). A few striking examples will be given. By eating of the forbidden fruit of the tree, Adam procured and ministered death to all his posterity, whereas it was the fruit of another tree that gives life to Adam's posterity: "Certainly, there is none other frute, that mynystereth and restoreth lyfe agayne, unto the posteritie of Adam, but onely the frute that honge on the tree of the crosse, (which is Jesus CHRISTE) the blessed frute, of the immaculate wombe of

[62]Ibid., sig. Biii^r.

[63]Ibid., sig. Biv^r.

[64]Ibid., sig. Biv^v-Bv^r.

Marye."[65] The purpose of the analogy is to bolster Peryn's argument that the eating and drinking of Christ's actual body and blood in the sacrament of the altar is the means of eternal life.[66]

Throughout his three sermons, Peryn uses similar allegorical applications of scriptural passages in support of the doctrine of transubstantiation. In his third sermon, he likens the heretics to the foxes which Samson tied together by their tails. The heretics are "tayd together to one ende and purpose, that is the distruction, and subversion of the pure and syncere corn, of the catholyke faith of Christe."[67]

Against the notion that Christ is literally sitting on the right hand of the Father in heaven, Peryn argues that the Father does not have a right hand or a left, or bodily members at all. God is a Spirit. Hence, when the Bible speaks of the bodily members of God, it signifies to us the invisible attributes of God, such as his power, knowledge, majesty, and glory. The eyes and ears of God refer to his knowledge of all things, and the hands and arms of God speak of his omnipotence.[68]

Peryn's point is vital to his argument in answer to those who reject transubstantiation: "Then Christe to syt on the ryghte hande of the father, is none other, then that Christe (concernyng his divinitie) is (euery point) of equall power, maiestie, and glorie, with the father."[69] Therefore there is no reason why Christ cannot be actually in the sacrament, "though he be syttyng in heaven on the ryght hande of the father."[70] Peryn has skillfully employed an allegorical application of Heb 8:1 as a means of answering the argument from that text used by the Reformers.

Bonner and Watson

Bonner's *Homilies*, published in 1555, are a dramatic departure, in terms of exegetical method, from the sermons of Fisher and

[65]Peryn, sig. Kvii^r.

[66]Ibid., sig. Kviii^v.

[67]Ibid., sig. Qi^v.

[68]Ibid., sig. Qvii^r.

[69]Ibid., sig. Qvii^v.

[70]Ibid., sig. Qviii^r.

Peryn.[71] They contain practically no allegorical interpretation. Their purpose is clearly apologetic. Certain major doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church are supported by a sprinkling of proof texts. Scripture figures quite largely in these sermons, but without any attempt at genuine exegesis involving recognition of context, language, and historical setting of the material. There is no more evidence of the suppositions and methods of humanism in Bonner's sermons than there is in Fisher's or Peryn's.

The same may be said for the sermons of Thomas Watson as for those of Bonner. They are distinctly apologetic in nature. His *Two notable sermons* of 1554 were especially designed to exonerate "the reall presence of Christes body and bloude in the blessed Sacrament."[72] His 1558 sermons dealt with all seven sacraments, hence their title, *Holsome and Catholyke doctrine concerninge the Seuen Sacramentes.*[73] But in neither collection of sermons does Watson resort to the frequent use of allegorical interpretation, as does Peryn in his support of transubstantiation. Yet, judging from his sermons, I would suggest that Watson is clearly no humanist whose basic hermeneutic has been modified by the new historical, literary, and philological procedures.

J. W. Blench's comments regarding the sermons of Bonner and Watson are an accurate evaluation of their use of Scripture:

> Following from this position, it is not surprising to find that in the two sets of dogmatic homilies of the reign, Bonner's and Watson's, Scripture is not so much expounded for itself, as used as an arsenal of illustrative texts to illuminate and confirm Catholic doctrine. In these sermons "the Faith" is preached with occasional reference to the Bible; there is no attempt at general exegesis of any portions of Scripture.[74]

[71]Edmund Bonner, *A Profitable and Necessary Doctrine* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 3283, 1555).

[72]Thomas Watson, *Two notable sermons made . . . before the Quenes highnes . . . .* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 25115, 1554), sig. Ai^{r}.

[73]Thomas Watson, *Holsome and Catholyke doctryne concerninge the Seuen Sacramentes* (Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms, STC no. 25112, 1558).

[74]J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1964), p. 52.

Blench finds the interpretation used by the preachers of Mary's reign to be "frequently allegoric" in manner, but without the extremes of late medieval sermons.[75] Yet, allegory is by no means frequent in the homilies of Bonner and Watson. Their particular application of scriptural texts may be open to question, but not usually in view of their identification of "hidden meanings."

Analysis of the Change in Approach

The question now confronts us: Why the change in approach from the time of Fisher and Peryn to that of Bonner and Watson? We noticed that in his defensive sermons even Fisher used far less allegory. Peryn was not so discriminating. Bonner and Watson forsook it almost entirely.

The reason for this change in approach by Bonner and Watson seems to be found in the fact that they were living at a time when the attempt was being made to restore England to the dogmas and mores of the medieval papacy, after Protestantism had made very large inroads during the reign of Edward VI. Homiletical emphases and apologetic methods tend to vary with the theological and religious orientation of audiences. The exegetical methods and arguments which were likely to be influential with the majority of Englishmen during and at the end of Henry VIII's reign were most unlikely to be so effective after the leavening effect of Protestantism during Edward VI's reign.

Although Bonner and Watson make little attempt to exegete passages of Scripture, they are wise enough to recognize that the old allegorism has been effectively undermined by the widely accepted "literal" interpretations of the Reformers. Bonner and Watson have not moved an iota from the doctrinal formulations respected by Fisher and Peryn, but they have modified the vehicle of their expression.

(To Be Continued)

[75]Ibid., p. 53.

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THE "SUMMER THAT WILL NEVER END": LUTHER'S LONGING FOR THE "DEAR LAST DAY" IN HIS SERMON ON LUKE 21 (1531)

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The fact that Luther's doctrine of justification through faith in Jesus Christ alone represents a theological constancy, from the time of his Reformation breakthrough until the end of his life, is a solid component of modern Luther research.[1] Besides this, however, there is a second, equally continuous line of thought in Luther's theology: the expectation of the imminent return of Christ.[2]

Already as early as in his *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* of 1520 and in his 1522 "Sermon on Luke 21:25-36," words such as these are found: "I hope that the Last Day is near at hand"; "No one can take away from me [the firm belief] that the Last Day is not far off."[3]

With his deepening conviction, from 1530 on, that Rome would not be willing to be reformed, that the Jews were obstinate, and that the Turks were an overpowering threat, testimonies of this sort increased. In that very year 1530, before his translation of the whole OT was completed, he published a shorter work entitled "The Prophet Daniel, in German," for the Reformer was sure that the consummation of world history was very near. He stated, "The world runs and hastens so excellently towards its end, that I often feel very strongly as if the Last Day would come sooner than we can complete translating the Holy Scriptures into German."[4]

[1]See Johann Heinz, *Justification and Merit: Luther Vs. Catholicism*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, 8 (Berrien Springs, Mich., 1984), pp. 13–15.

[2]See Ernst Staehelin, *Die Verkündigung des Reiches Gottes in der Kirche Jesu Christi* (Basel, n.d.), 4: 33, 39, 40-42, 56-57.

[3]Ibid., pp. 39, 40. The expression "dear Last Day" (in the subtitle to this article) appears in Luther's correspondence, in the *Weimar Ausgabe* of his work (hereinafter *WA*), *Briefwechsel* 9:175, line 17.

[4]Staehelin, p. 56.

With advancing age, Luther became increasingly disillusioned with the thought that the world and Christendom would be able to solve their own problems. Among his statements revealing this despair are the following: "It [the world] is the devil's child . . . it cannot be helped nor advised." "Therefore I know of no other advice and help than the coming of the Last Day." "Help, dear Lord God, that the blessed day of your holy future will soon come."[5]

While Luther's doctrine of justification has received, and still receives, almost limitless discussion and evaluation in the literature, it is strange that this second constant element in Luther's proclamation only rarely finds attention among the theologians. In German research on Luther, it is rather the biographers—e.g., Rudolf Thiel, Heinrich Fausel, Walter von Loewenich, and Peter Manns[6]—who portray and try to understand Luther's fervent expectation of the *parousia*. Heiko A. Oberman, however, is especially noteworthy for the attention he gives to this aspect of Luther's religious thought.[7] He shows clearly that for Luther, because of the Reformer's theological disposition, there is no secular golden age on earth, and that the world's turning point can only be achieved through the *parousia*. With this view, the Reformer stands in the tradition of the NT, and of Augustine and Bernard; as a result, he is in diametrical opposition to modern thinking in general.[8]

Luther tried to understand the "signs of the time," Oberman points out. The sale of indulgences, persecutions, apostasy from the gospel, and rampant immorality—these were, for him, signs of the nearness of the end.[9] Also, according to Oberman, Luther was not the founder of a new form of Christianity, but a prophetic herald in view of the end, "since the Reformer was driven by

[5]See, respectively, *WA* 32/2:476-477; *WA*, *Tischreden*, 6:254, lines 25-26 (no. 6893); and *WA*, *Tischreden*, 5:349, lines 25-26 (no. 5777).

[6]Rudolf Thiel, *Luther* (Wien, 1952), pp. 722-729; Heinrich Fausel, *D. Martin Luther* (München, 1966), 2: 286-314; Walter von Loewenich, *Martin Luther. Der Mann und das Werk* (München, 1982), pp. 314, 370; and Peter Manns, *Martin Luther* (Freiburg i.B., 1982), pp. 187, 213, 220.

[7]Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther. Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 55-56, 72-81, 325.

[8]See ibid., pp. 55-56, 72-74.

[9]Ibid., pp. 78-81.

peculiar thoughts of the devil and the Last Day."[10] Oberman thinks that Luther, with his theology, would probably seem "much too conservative and devout" in the arena of a modern theological faculty.[11]

Is it because of these apocalyptic elements in Luther's thinking, often evaluated as relics of a past from the Middle Ages,[12] that some interpreters of Luther's theology are so silent with respect to this obviously constant element in the teaching of the Reformer? Whatever the reason, it is strange that the more recent German works on Luther's theology hardly comment on this theme, and that when they do comment on it, this is only occasionally—usually in the form of hints made in connection with his teaching on the "two kingdoms" and the judgment. Such is the case, for instance, with regard to Rudolf Hermann, Gerhard Ebeling, Bernhard Lohse, and Otto H. Pesch.[13] Only the classical work of Paul Althaus is as yet the most explicit one on this theme.[14]

Althaus points out that "Luther's theology is thoroughly eschatological in the strict sense of expecting the end of the world. His thoughts about the eschaton are not a conventional appendix, but a section of his theology which is rooted in, indispensable to, and a decisive part of the substance of his theology."[15] Althaus is, above all, successful in showing clearly that Luther, as a result of the doctrine of the certainty of salvation, rediscovered through the promise of the *parousia* the joy of the early Christian church, and that he could thus overcome the fearful *dies irae*, the "Day of Wrath" of the Middle Ages.[16]

[10]Ibid., p. 325.

[11]Ibid., p. 324.

[12]Cf. ibid., p. 73.

[13]Rudolf Hermann, *Luthers Theologie* (Göttingen, 1967), p. 227; Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther. Einführung in sein Denken*, 2d ed. (Tübingen, 1964), p. 199; Bernhard Lohse, *Martin Luther. Eine Einführung in sein Leben und Werk* (München, 1982), p. 202; and Otto H. Pesch, *Hinführung zu Luther* (Mainz, 1982), p. 232.

[14]Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia, 1966). (This is a translation by Robert C. Schultz from the 2d German ed. of Althaus, *Die Theologie Martin Luthers* [Gütersloh, 1963].)

[15]Ibid., pp. 404-405.

[16]Ibid., pp. 419-421.

How various elements—signs of the end, the *parousia*, admonition, hope, and joy—became for Luther a convincing force, as marks of true Christianity, may be shown in a short summary of his "A Comforting Sermon on the Coming of Christ, and the Preceding Signs of the Last Day, Luke 21,"[17] from the year 1531. The following will be a synopsis of the contents of this "Comforting Sermon."

As he begins his sermon, the Reformer expresses his conviction that the world can no longer be helped by "preaching, calling, exhorting, threatening, nor supplicating."[18] The world, he feels, is "the devil's child" and remains a "murderers' pit."[19]

The papists, he continues, place their hope in politics. The emperor will come to Germany with his troops and exterminate the Lutherans. This is their *salvator venit*, the "arrival of their Savior"; but, the emperor is a "false savior."[20] Luther does not deny that the emperor is a pious man, but his followers have of a "*Heiland*" ("Savior") made a "Feiland" ("filer")[21]—i.e., somebody at whom the enemies for a long time file and tinker, so as to make him finally meet their expectations. Luther admonishes his listeners to wait for the "right Savior," who has promised his return with such certainty that he is no "Feiland" (now meaning "failure"), but one who has never failed nor lied.[22]

In order to strengthen his church in this expectation, God has given her signs.[23] Just as there are signs for insignificant things, so must there be signs for the *parousia*, which is the most important event that has not yet been fulfilled.[24] The signs have, according to Luther, a manifest double-character. They occur in heaven and are

[17]*WA*, 34/2: 459-482. All further references in this article will give both page numbers and line numbers.

[18]Ibid., 466.27-28.

[19]Ibid., 476.35-477.9; and 475.25.

[20]Ibid., 466.36-467.26. It is impossible to render an exact translation of the German word-play "Heiland"/"Feiland." "Heiland" means "savior"; "Feiland" is a fictive word, here meaning a substitute savior.

[21]Ibid., 468.18.

[22]Ibid., lines 24-28.

[23]Ibid., 466.28-31.

[24]Ibid., 459.20-23.

effected on earth.[25] They are given for the strengthening of the believers and as a judgment for the unbelievers; that is to say, for the Christian they are the promise of the coming liberation, while for unbelievers they are an announcement of the impending judgment.[26] At present, the latter still enjoy the "grace" that makes them unconcerned, while the former already may discern the "wrath of God," which, however, will not hurt them, since God cares for his children.[27]

The signs appear also for the purpose that the believer may know when Christ will return and how to get ready for that event. The latter can only be a source of joy for the Christian; and about the former, Luther does not wish to quarrel, but personally is of the opinion that the signs "already have happened to a considerable extent."[28]

In order to discern such things, one certainly needs faith, since the "astronomers" regard all these phenomena as being "natural" events.[29] The Reformer, by way of contrast, sees in the natural catastrophes of his time (floods and earthquakes), and the political-religious events (the apostasy of the papacy, and the peril of the Turks) signs which faith can discern.[30] The proof of the signs lies in the gigantic dimensions and the frequency of the phenomena (Luther uses the expression "thick and frequent").[31]

Faith makes the proclamation of the signs a "lovely, cheerful sermon." This joy is the hallmark of the right interpreter, since the "foretellers and prophets" (Luther probably has the astrologers in mind) merely talk about catastrophes. Only the Christian can understand the "joyous, lovely word 'vestra redemptio.'" Therefore, the *parousia* must be seen through the eyes of Christian hope, and not of worldly wisdom.[32] This hope alone lends wings to our life, so that Luther would not want to have been born if there were

[25]Ibid., 461.21-30.

[26]Ibid., 460.15-19; 482.24-26.

[27]Ibid., 460.19-23, 27-30; 464.14-29.

[28]Ibid., 461.18-21, 31-34.

[29]Ibid., 461.34-462.19.

[30]Ibid., 463.10-15; 478.10.

[31]Ibid., 463.24.

[32]Ibid., 460.24-25; 463.30-33; 469.30; 470.26-32; 481.12-16.

not a return of Christ. The malice of the world would be unbearable, were it not that God would "strike vigorously" some day.[33]

The arrival of the "blessed day" must be longed for, and one must sigh and shout for it, since the Christian in this world is surrounded by "nothing but devils."[34] He who does not desire this day, does not understand the Lord's Prayer and is unable to pray it.[35] According to Luther, the plea in this prayer that "your kingdom come" points to the *parousia*. This supplication is *the* prayer of the Christian.[36] In this sense, Luther modifies the words of Paul in 1 Cor 15 and says that if Christ would not return, we would be the most miserable among men.[37]

At the present time, Luther continues, the Christians bite into "the sour apple" and drink a "bitter drink," but then the "sweetness" will come.[38] Therefore, Christ now invites his children to stand up and be joyful.[39] Even if the proclamation of the gospel finds no reward among men, the Reformer nevertheless lives and preaches, so that the "little flock" may understand it.[40] He concludes his sermon with the inspiring metaphor that "winter has lingered long enough," and "now a beautiful summer will approach—a summer that will never end."[41]

[33]Ibid., 465.31-466.26; 473.29-32.

[34]Ibid., 466.31-32; 469.24-25.

[35]Ibid., 475.14-16.

[36]Ibid., 474.25-475.14.

[37]Ibid., 466.21-22; 472.17-22.

[38]Ibid., 472.26-27.

[39]Ibid., 478.26.

[40]Ibid., 473.26-29; 479.26-28.

[41]Ibid., 481.25-27.

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IS THE SPELLING OF "BAALIS" IN JEREMIAH 40:14 A MUTILATION?

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A recent paper by William H. Shea published in *AUSS* suggests that the biblical spelling of Baalis (*baᶜalîs*), the Ammonite king mentioned in Jer 40:14, was probably a deliberate mutilation of the Ammonite spelling, *baᶜalyišᶜa* (or, *baᶜalyašaᶜ*) found on a seal impression discovered at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri during the 1984 Andrews University archaeological expedition to that site.[1] (This seal impression will be published by me in a forthcoming issue of the *Biblical Archaeologist*.) Shea's opinion is that Jeremiah himself changed the spelling in order "to deny a predication about a foreign god."[2] In this case, the name would mean "Baal is salvation," "Baal is savior," or "Baal saves"—all of which would be distasteful theological ideas to an orthodox Yahwist.

Prior to my detailed work on the impression I, too, held this view concerning the origin of the Jeremiah spelling. It had been suggested by Robert G. Boling after he had examined, at my behest, F. M. Cross's article on the Siran Bottle inscription, in which Cross lists the known Ammonite kings.[3] This view became, in fact, the consensus view among all staff members during and immediately following the excavation.

However, during my preparation of the impression for publication, several indications suggested that there was no mutilation. First of all, a rather general observation may be made: In writing

[1]W. H. Shea, "Mutilation of Foreign Theophoric Names by Bible Writers: A Case Brought to Light by the Excavation at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 111-115. See also L. T. Geraty, "A Preliminary Report on the First Season at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 85-110, especially pp. 98-100.

[2]Shea, p. 115.

[3]F. M. Cross, "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Siran," *BASOR*, no. 212 (December 1973), p. 15. Boling stayed at the American Center of Oriental Research in Amman during the excavation and had easy access to its library.

the story of the murder of Gedaliah in Jer 40, Jeremiah would probably have cared less about the meaning of a foreign name (with its foreign theophoric element, of course) than about his audience's understanding of his story. In view of this, it is likely that he would have used a spelling familiar to his readers; and thus "Baalis" should have been the normal spelling of the name in Hebrew at that time. To have used a new spelling of a name would only have tended to confuse his audience.

Shea mentions "Abed-Nego" as an example of a name wherein the foreign theophoric element was changed, and compares it with "Baalis" as an example of foreign names in the Bible that are among "some cases" in which there appears to have been deliberate name alteration "for the theological reasons of the author."[4] Shea also recognizes that there "are, of course, many occurrences of foreign names in the Bible which have been preserved accurately, even including names which contain predications about foreign and Yahwistically unacceptable gods."[5] I feel, however, that he has not given due weight to the many names with foreign theophoric elements retained by Bible writers, including Jeremiah.

Indeed, although these writers did alter some names, as Shea indicates, *much* more often they did not. Israelites who had names with foreign theophoric elements include two named simply Baal (1 Chr 5:5, 8:30), and such others as Baalhanan (1 Chr 27:28), Beeliada (1 Chr 14:7), Esther=Ishtar (book of Esther), Meribaal (1 Chr 8:34), Mordecai=Marduk (book of Esther), and Resheph (1 Chr 7:25).

But more relevant to this discussion are non-Israelite names with similar theophoric elements: Baalhanan, an Edomite king (Gen 36:38); Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon (book of Daniel); Benhadad, the name of three kings of Damascus (1 Kgs 15:18, 20:1, 2 Kgs 13:3), or simply the throne name for the family of Aramean kings in Damascus (Jer 49:27); Chedorlaomer, the king of Elam, whose name contains the Elamite deity Kudur (Gen 14); Ethbaal, the father of Jezebel (1 Kgs 16:31); Evil Merodach, a son of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 52:31; Merodach=Marduk); Hadad, the name of three individuals, including two Edomite princes (Gen 36:35,

[4]Shea, pp. 114-115.

[5]Ibid., p. 115.

1 Kgs 11:14) and a son of Ishmael (1 Chr 1:30); Hadadezer, a king of Zobah (2 Sam 8); Merodach Baladan, a king of Babylon (Isa 39); Nebuchadnezzar (book of Daniel; Nebu=Nabu); Nebushasban, a prince of Babylon (Jer 39:13); Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar's captain (Jer 39:9, et al.); and Nergalsharezer, the name of two princes of Babylon (Jer 39:3).

The book of Jeremiah itself contains six names with foreign theophoric elements: Benhadad, Evil Merodach, Nebushasban, Nebuzaradan, Nergalsharezer, and Nebuchadrezzar (=Nebuchadnezzar). The name "Nebuzaradan" occurs in chap. 40, the same chapter in which "Baalis" also occurs. Why would Jeremiah do nothing with these names, while stubbornly altering the name of the king of Ammon? Moreover, the name "Benhadad" is a direct Hebrew translation of the Aramaic "Barhadad," the name of several kings of Damascus known from Aramean inscriptions. Both the Hebrew and Aramaic forms of the name mean exactly the same thing—"Son of Hadad."[6] Why would the Bible writers, including Jeremiah, translate the name into their own language but retain the foreign theophoric element, if they wished to deny the importance of these foreign gods?

This question is especially relevant regarding the name Baal, which can also be a masculine title for men or gods. Wives called their husbands "baal" (Deut 22:22, 24:4, etc.). Although Bible writers were always careful not to give their own God the title Baal, since confusion could result, the habit of giving such a title to any god probably lies behind the frequent place names that incorporate the element Baal—such as, Baal Gad (not related to the tribe of Gad; Josh 11:17, et al.); Baal Hamon (Cant 8:11); Baal Hazor (2 Sam 13:23); Baal Hermon (Jgs 3:3); Baal Meon (Num 32:38, et al.); Baal Perazim (2 Sam 5:20); Baal Shalisha (2 Kgs 4:42); and Baal Tamar (Jgs 20:33). Many more place names incorporating the names, not simply titles, of foreign deities, could be listed. Most of these places were in Israelite hands, but there was no attempt to mutilate their names, either by the Israelites living in those places or by the Bible writers recording them. Several places were even

[6]See H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 2d ed., 1 (Wiesbaden, 1966): 203 (nos. 201 and 202), and also commentary section in 2 (Wiesbaden, 1968): 203-211.

given their names by prominent Israelites, such as David (e.g., Baal Perazim).

If such a pattern were to be applied to the name *baʿalyišʿa*, the meaning would be "Lord of salvation," designating any god the parents had in mind. Shea has mentioned that the name Baal is not known as the theophoric element in other royal Ammonite names.[7] Not only is this true, but out of 152 names of Ammonites appearing on Ammonite inscriptions known to me, this name alone uses the element Baal.[8] We have, therefore, no solid indication of Baal-worship among the Ammonites. Indeed, the element Baal occurs much more frequently in Israelite names from the same period. Though it cannot be proved, it is very possible that the Baal element has been used as a title in this name. If such were the case, Jeremiah would have had no reason to alter the name.

Indeed, it is interesting to note that in two of the three biblical examples of clear mutilation given by Shea and Geraty ("Abed-Nego" from "Abed-Nebo" and "Moses" from "Ramose" or "Thutmose"),[9] it was the theophoric element itself that was mutilated—unlike the pattern in "Baalis." The one exception ("Jezebel" from "Ezebel") exhibits a very well-known pattern used with names including Baal in Israel, wherein a word-play based on a homonym having the meaning of "shame" was used to embarrass a particularly disliked person. Certainly, Jezebel falls into that category. But Baalis displays neither of these two patterns.

Thus, not only is there no reason to claim a history of mutilation of foreign theophoric elements by Bible writers, including Jeremiah; there is also no pattern which would fit "Baalis," if it were a mutilation. Actually, all three of the mutilated names mentioned above by Shea and Geraty probably were not mutilated by the Bible writers, but by the people using them in everyday language. The writers simply used the well-known, mutilated forms. Writers write to be understood and should, therefore, use the forms of names with which their audiences are familiar.

[7]Shea, pp. 112-113.

[8]See Kent P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age* (Chico, Calif., 1983), pp. 95-98.

[9]Geraty, p. 100, n. 15.

All of the above lines of argument show it to be highly unlikely that Jeremiah deliberately altered the spelling of Baalis. Moreover, in the light of two plausible alternative explanations for the origin of the spelling, it does not seem proper at this moment to suggest deliberate mutilation.[10]

[10]Ibid., p. 100, and nn. 16 and 17 on that page. I also treat further evidence in my own article, "The Servant of Baalis," forthcoming in *BA*.

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FURTHER LITERARY STRUCTURES IN DANIEL 2–7: AN ANALYSIS OF DANIEL 4

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An important contribution to the study of the literary structure of Daniel was published in 1972 by A. Lenglet, wherein he noted that the narratives of the Aramaic section of the book (2:4-7:28) are arranged in a chiastic order.[1] In this arrangement, the two outline prophecies of the rise and fall of the successive nations, as given in Dan 2 and Dan 7, are located at the opposite ends of this chiastic section. Dan 3 and Dan 6, which describe, respectively, the persecution of the three Hebrew worthies in the fiery furnace and Daniel in the lion's den, also balance each other as the intermediate blocks of this chiasm. Finally, Dan 4 and Dan 5 are juxtaposed at the center of the chiasm, with prophecies about two Neo-Babylonian kings—Nebuchadnezzar's seven years of insanity in the first case, and Belshazzar's loss of the kingdom to the Persians in the second. These relations can be outlined as follows:

C. *Dan 4*: Nebuchadnezzar's Insanity	**C′. *Dan 5*: Belshazzar's Downfall**
B. *Dan 3*: Fiery-furnace Persecution	**B′. *Dan 6*: Lions'-den Persecution**
A. *Dan 2*: Prophecy of the Nations	**A′. *Dan 7*: Prophecy of the Nations**

Once this succession of literary relations has been outlined, it raises a corollary line of inquiry. If this large-scale chiasm is present in Dan 2-7, then there probably should be other chiastic structures on a smaller scale located within this section. My proposal is that there are indeed such structures and that two of them are located in the narratives of Dan 4 and Dan 5. In the present article, I shall deal with the structure of chap. 4, and in a following article I shall

[1]A. Lenglet, "La structure litteraire de Daniel 2-7." *Bib* 53 (1972): 169-190.

examine the structure of chap. 5 and indicate how the structures of both chapters are to be incorporated into the overall chiasm of Dan 2-7 that has been outlined above.

1. *The Blocs of Chiastic Material in Daniel 4*

Prologue and Epilogue

An immediate clue to the fact that chap. 4 is in chiastic form is evident, it appears to me, on the basis of the nature and relationship of the two pieces of poetry found in the prologue (vss. 1-3) and epilogue (vss. 34-37) to this narrative.[2] The pieces of poetry are in vs. 3 and vss. 34d-35, respectively. Just the very fact that they are present in these two passages is already evidence for some kind of relationship between them, even if this is only as an inclusio to the narrative.

The relationship is seen to be more close, however, when the contents of these poetic pieces are compared. What emerges from such a comparison is the fact that the last half of the first poetic unit is the direct equivalent of the first half of the second, with but one minor alteration—namely, that the terms "kingdom" and "dominion" have been reversed in their order of mention. This correspondence both in *form* and in major *items of thought* indicates that these two literary sections can be correlated in a chiastic relationship. In fact, the alternation of "kingdom" and "dominion" is itself a chiastic arrangement of the major items of thought.

Thus, what we find here is a chiasm within a chiasm: The chiasm by content is located within the chiasm by form. These relationships can be demonstrated best by comparing the context of the two sections alongside of each other (here given in English translation):

Dan 4:3	***Dan 4:34d-35***
How great are his signs, how mighty his wonders!	
His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation.	**For his dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom endures from generation to generation.**

[2]All verses mentioned in this article follow the versification of the English Bible. Translations throughout are from the RSV.

All the inhabitants of the earth are
accounted as nothing;
and he does according to his will in the
host of heaven
and among the inhabitants of the earth;
And none can stay his hand
or say to him, "What doest thou?"

It should be noted, furthermore, that the second of these two poetic pieces is in itself also chiastically arranged. First of all, it is chiastic by *form* in that it is composed of a bicolon followed by a tricolon, which in turn is followed by another bicolon. The tricolon at the center of this piece is chiastic, too, by *content*: It begins with a reference to the inhabitants of earth, its center consists of a reference to the host of heaven, and it concludes with mention again of the inhabitants of earth. All of this can be demonstrated by setting in Dan 4:34d-35 out in the following poetic form (italics supplied in order to highlight this central chiasm):

For his dominion is an everlasting dominion,
and his kingdom endures from generation to generation;

All the *inhabitants of the earth* are accounted as nothing;
and he does according to his will in the *host of heaven*
and among the *inhabitants of the earth*;

And none can stay his hand
or say to him, "What doest thou?"

The Central Passages: Recital and Interpretation of the Dream

With the relation of these small commencing and concluding blocs identified, the larger blocs of this narrative can now be examined for any similar relations. An obvious place to take up this task is at the center of the narrative, where two major passages are joined—Nebuchadnezzar's recital of the dream which he had seen (vss. 10-17) and Daniel's interpretation of that dream (vss. 20-26). These can be compared as follows:

Dan 4:10-17	*Dan 4:20-26*
[10]"The visions of my head as I lay in bed were these: I saw, and behold, a tree in the midst of the earth; and its	[20]"The tree you saw, which grew and became strong, so that its top reached to heaven, and it was visible to

height was great. [11]The tree grew and became strong, and its top reached to heaven, and it was visible to the end of the whole earth. [12]Its leaves were fair and its fruit abundant, and it was food for all. The beasts of the field found shade under it, and the birds of the air dwelt in its branches, and all flesh was fed from it.

[13]"I saw in the visions of my head as I lay in bed, and behold, a watcher, a holy one, came down from heaven. [14]He cried aloud and said thus, 'Hew down the tree and cut off its branches, strip off its leaves and scatter its fruit; let the beasts flee from under it and the birds from its branches. [15]But leave the stump of its roots in the earth, bound with a band of iron and bronze, amid the tender grass of the field. Let him be wet with the dew of heaven; let his lot be with the beasts in the grass of the earth; [16]let his mind be changed from a man's, and let a beast's mind be given to him; and let seven times pass over him.

[17]" 'The sentence is by the decree of the watchers, the decision by the word of the holy ones, to the end that the living may know that the Most High rules the kingdom of men, and gives it to whom he will, and sets over it the lowliest of men.' "

the end of the whole earth; [21]whose leaves were fair and its fruit abundant, and in which was food for all; under which beasts of the field found shade, and in whose branches the birds of the air dwelt—[22]it is you, O king, who have grown and become strong. Your greatness has grown and reaches to heaven, and your dominion to the ends of the earth.

[23]"And whereas the king saw a watcher, a holy one, coming down from heaven and saying, 'Hew down the tree and destroy it, but leave the stump of its roots in the earth, bound with a band of iron and bronze, in the tender grass of the field; and let him be wet with the dew of heaven; and let his lot be with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him':

[24]"This is the interpretation, O king: It is a decree of the Most High, which has come upon my lord the king, [25]that you shall be driven from among men, and your dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field; you shall be made to eat grass like an ox, and you shall be wet with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over you, till you know that the Most High rules the kingdom of men, and gives it to whom he will. [26]And as it was commanded to leave the stump of the roots of the tree, your kingdom shall be sure for you from the time that you know that Heaven rules."

Since Daniel's interpretation follows Nebuchadnezzar's recital of the contents of his dream in order, it is obvious that much of the

phraseology should be quite similar—the first portion of each interpretive statement, at least. And this turns out to be the case. The language of the second passage is very much in parallel with that of the first passage. At the center of Dan 4, therefore, we find twin parallel passages consisting of the recital of the contents of the dream and the interpretation of the contents of the dream.

The Intermediate Passages: The Receiving and Fulfilling of the Dream

The circumstances surrounding the receiving of the dream by Nebuchadnezzar are related in the passage which is located between the prologue and the recital of the contents of the dream (i.e., in vss. 4-7). In the balancing position in the second half of the narrative, between the interpretation of the dream and the epilogue, the description of the fulfillment of the dream is given (i.e., in vss. 28-33). These two passages are not directly related linguistically, but they are obviously directly related to each other thematically—as prophecy and fulfillment.

The second of these two intermediate passages, that which describes the fulfillment of the dream, is rather precisely delimited as a discrete linguistic unit by its shift from the first to the third person as the subject of the narration. This appears to have taken place for the evident reason that Nebuchadnezzar—the first-person narrator of the rest of this chapter—was not personally mentally responsible for an account of his actions while he was incapacitated.

It should be noted that both of these intermediate passages are also introduced with the king's name in the contextual setting of the palace in Babylon (vss. 4, 28-29). Moreover, both passages consist of three main elements, as follows:

Dan 4:4-7: Receiving the Dream	*Dan 4:28-33: Fulfilling the Dream*
1. Setting (vss. 4-5)	1. Setting (vss. 28-30)
2. Decree of the King (vss. 6-7)	2. Decree of Heaven (vss. 31-32)
3. Non-fulfillment, Chaldeans (vs. 7)	3. Fulfillment to Nebuchadnezzar (vs. 33)

Both of these passages contain repetitive and parallel phraseology within themselves. In the first case, the decree is for the wise men of Babylon in vs. 6, amplified in vs. 7 with the list of the "magicians, the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the astrologers" as

the group that was supposed to be able to explain the dream to the king. The charge to this group is stated in the same way in both instances: namely, to make known to the king the interpretation of the dream (vss. 6b, 7b).

In the second passage, the decree of heaven is first enunciated to the king (vss. 31-32); and then in very similar terms, it is stated as fulfilled to him (vs. 33). Only in the final phrase of vs. 33 about Nebuchadnezzar's hair growing to be like eagles' feathers and his nails becoming like birds' claws does the fulfillment expand significantly upon the statement of the decree of heaven.

The Linking Verses: Dialogue Passages

All of the major building blocs of the chiastic structure of Dan 4 are now in place, but it remains to put some "cement" between them. This cement consists of snatches of dialogue. Even with these minor bits and pieces, there is a chiastic relationship.

The gap between the giving of the dream (vss. 4-7) and the king's recital of it (vss. 10-17) is filled by the king's direct address to Daniel (vss. 8-9). Daniel does not answer at this point in the narrative. In the balancing position in the literary structure of the narrative (vs. 27), the gap is filled by Daniel's exhortation to the king to practice righteousness, in hope that the days of the king's tranquility might be lengthened. In this case, no reply is made by the king to Daniel.

Thus, these two brief pieces of literary cement act as opposites with respect to the dialogue reported: The king speaks to Daniel in the first case, and Daniel does not reply; Daniel speaks to the king in the second case, and the king does not reply. As can readily be seen from the identification of the speakers in these passages, these two pieces of literary cement form complementary and chiastically related components.

The same two speakers come together again at the center of this narrative of chap. 4, at the juncture between the recital of the dream by Nebuchadnezzar and its interpretation by Daniel. Here, the king speaks first, as he charges Daniel to interpret the dream, after the wise men have failed to do so (vs. 18). Then, seeing that Daniel is so dismayed by the interpretation of the dream, he urges Daniel not to be upset by the dream or by its interpretation (vs. 19a). Daniel then finally responds by wishing the consequences of the

interpretation of the dream to be upon Nebuchadnezzar's enemies (vs. 19b). Only after having said this does Daniel launch into the interpretation of the dream proper. Thus, a brief but genuine piece of dialogue appears at the center of this narrative, for the king speaks first and then Daniel responds.

The chiastic pattern of the pieces of cement between the major blocs in this narrative can now be set forth as follows:

A′. *The King Speaks, Vss. 18-19a*

[Nebuchadnezzar:] [18]"This dream I, King Nebuchadnezzar, saw. And you, O Belteshazzar, declare the interpretation, because all the wise men of my kingdom are not able to make known to me the interpretation, but you are able, for the spirit of the holy gods is in you."

[19]Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was dismayed for a moment, and his thoughts alarmed him. The king said, "Belteshazzar, let not the dream or the interpretation alarm you."

B′. *Daniel Replies, Vs. 19b*

Belteshazzar answered, "My lord, may the dream be for those who hate you and its interpretation for your enemies!"

A. *The King Alone Speaks, Vss. 8-9*

[Nebuchadnezzar:] [8]"At last Daniel came in before me—he who was named Belteshazzar after the name of my god, and in whom is the spirit of the holy gods—and I told him the dream, saying, [9]'O Belteshazzar, chief of the magicians, because I know that the spirit of the holy gods is in you and that no mystery is difficult for you, here is the dream which I saw; tell me its interpretation.'"

B. *Daniel Alone Speaks, Vs. 27*

[Daniel:] "Therefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable to you; break off your sins by practicing righteousness, and your iniquities by showing mercy to the oppressed, that there may perhaps be a lengthening of your tranquility."

The Prologue and the Epilogue Again

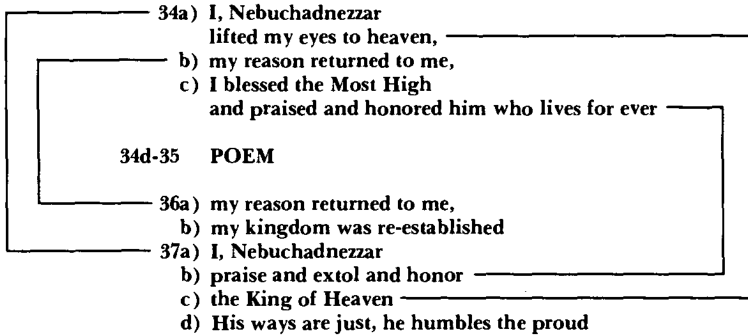
A preliminary consideration of the relation between the prologue and epilogue has already been given above. There are, however, some details in these two sections that require further examination. It has already been noted that the two poetic pieces

found within them are related to each other in a chiastic fashion both by form and by content, but it should here be added that these two poetic pieces are also related to each other in chiastic order according to their location within their respective literary units.

The prologue begins with a brief statement in prose (vss. 1-2), and this is followed by the brief unit of poetry (vs. 3). That unit of poetry comes at the end of the passage. In the epilogue, on the other hand, the piece of poetry is located near the commencement of the passage. Actually, the epilogue opens with a brief prose statement about Nebuchadnezzar's sanity returning to him (vs. 34a-b), followed by Nebuchadnezzar's praise of the Most High God, first briefly in prose (vs. 34c), and then in greater length in poetry (vss. 34d-35). Following this, the text contains a still longer passage of prose, which continues with a description of Nebuchadnezzar's restoration and concludes with further praise for the King of Heaven. Thus, the piece of poetry found within this passage is offset, since it is located between short and long pieces of prose; but the offset is towards the beginning of the epilogue, just as the piece of poetry in the prologue is found at the end of its section. And hence, these poetic pieces are related to each other chiastically, not only according to form and content, but also location. Moreover, the second of them is constructed chiastically within itself, as well.

Another relationship of that second piece of poetry to the epilogue in which it is found can be seen from relations between the prose passages which bracket it. They form an inclusio around the poetry. The relationships within the contents that are present here may be summarized as follows: In the first place, vs. 34a begins the narrative by telling of Nebuchadnezzar's lifting his eyes to *heaven*, while vs. 37 refers to God as the King of *heaven* (the only place in this narrative where he is referred to by that name). In the second place, Nebuchadnezzar declares, in vs. 34b, that "my reason returned to me," and he takes up the same statement at the beginning of vs. 36, after the poem of vss. 34d-35. And thirdly, Nebuchadnezzar also resumes, after the poetic section, his theme of praise to God which he began in prose preceding that poetry: After stating in vs. 34b that his reason had returned to him, Nebuchadnezzar continued in vs. 34c with the declaration that he "blessed the Most High, and praised and honored him who lives for ever"—a statement comparing directly with that in vs. 37, where

Nebuchadnezzar says, "Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and extol and honor the King of Heaven." (It is interesting to note, too, that in both cases of adulation there are three verbs of praise employed.) The manner in which these prose statements in the epilogue enclose the poetic piece between them can be outlined as follows:

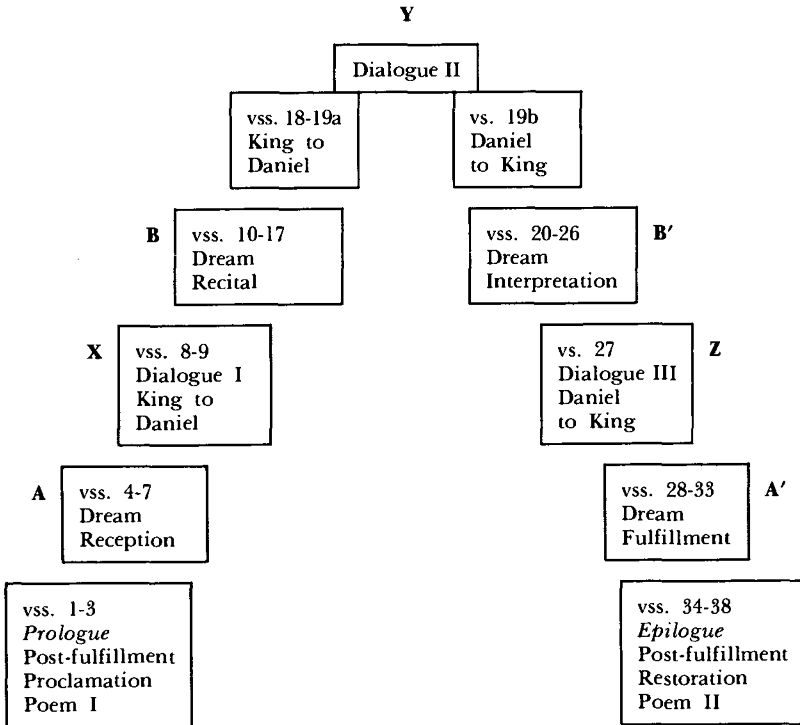


Only the two short statements in 36b and 37d, following the poem, are not related to statements made preceding the poem—namely, the statements concerning the re-establishment of the king and the reference to the justice of God. Thus, this brief poetic piece in 34d-35 is clearly enclosed by the frame or envelope construction present in the epilogue.

With these internal details of the epilogue described, we can now proceed to see how it relates to the prologue by overall content (the two have already been related by form, especially through their respective poetic pieces). As far as the central thrust of the contents of these two passages is concerned, the epilogue describes the state to which Nebuchadnezzar returned after the last portion of the prophecy about him was fulfilled—i.e., his restoration that had been foretold in the prophecy. The prologue describes his related action that stemmed from the vantage point of that restoration—namely, his report to the nations by way of reciting the signs and wonders that the Most High God had worked upon him. These two passages are thus related to each other as a description of the post-restoration state (epilogue) and the report that issued from that restored state (prologue).

2. *Summary of the Structure in Daniel 4*

With all of the main details in the literary structure of Dan 4 explored above, the findings from that examination can be summarized with the use of the following outline diagram:



BOOK REVIEWS

Elliott, John H. *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981. xiv + 306 pp. $24.95.

In his investigation into the epistle of 1 Peter, John Elliott continues the attempt to break away from parochialism in dealing with biblical documents. He does so in moving away from a purely literary and theological orientation and in paying more attention to the social milieu out of which the document arose. Accordingly, his treatment places an emphasis on how the ethos of the community impinged upon the thought of the writer (or the school) responsible for the document.

Much of the work produced in the decade since this enterprise began to blossom has gone the route of purely sociological analysis—i.e., utilization of modern sociological theories in endeavoring to explicate the social reality of a given document or its audience. Such attempts, however, are as inadequate as are the literary and theological investigations of traditional exegesis. Very little has been done toward combining exegesis with sociological investigation based on a socio-historical description, in an effort to be as faithful as possible to the totality of the message of a particular NT document.

Elliott's work has, in my opinion, come the closest to such an ideal, by engaging in what is called sociological exegesis, which Elliott defines as "the analytic and synthetic interpretation of the text through the combined exercise of the exegetical and sociological disciplines, their principles, theories and techniques" (pp. 7-8). He has rightly pointed out that the terms "social" and "sociological" must not be confused or used indiscriminately (p. 3). The former has more to do with social description and the latter with theoretical analysis. Elliott's major contribution, however, is his combination of a socio-historical description and the application of a sociological model in order to ascertain the "how" and "why" of the circumstances which lay behind the production of the document.

The epistle of 1 Peter lends itself well to Elliott's methodology, for not only is it an exegetical gold mine, but it is also an ideal document for the exploration of social issues. It is in dealing with the latter that the strength of Elliott's book lies. He finds that the central focus of 1 Peter concerns

"the interaction of Christians and society" (p. 49) and that the epistle is "a response to the typical set of problems created by the tension between sectarian particularism and societal pressures for conformity" (p. 225).

The thesis of *A Home for the Homeless* hinges on two words which the author finds to be "not merely linguistic but also sociological and theological correlates" (p. 23): viz., *paroikos* and *oikos*. Both terms provide the clues to the social setting of the audience and also provide the socio-religious response of the author(s).

The first word, *paroikos*, analyzed in chap. 1, identifies the addressees of 1 Peter as aliens and strangers in the territories in which they reside. This alienness/strangerliness is social and historical, and it should not be spiritualized, Elliott argues. If this be the case, then *diaspora* in 1 Pet 1:1 also has a sociological component, characterizing, as Leonard Goppelt notes, "the [the addressees'] position *in society*" (p. 46; the quotation comes from Goppelt, with emphasis supplied by Elliott). So also, the term *Babylon* in 5:13 expresses a religio-historical dimension of the Petrine audience's estrangement in society (pp. 39, 47-80). Elliott is, thus, adamantly opposed to translators who modify the Greek original by adding such words and phrases as "on earth," "earthly," "in this world," etc., in such verses as 1:17 and 2:11. The translations "pilgrims," "exiles," and "sojourners" also suffer from an imprecision which detracts from the social significance of the text, and they conjure up false associations, because they are based on unfounded assumptions (pp. 41-47). This is not to say that Elliott fails to recognize the religious implications of the terms, but these implications, he feels, in no way "vitiate the social conditions of the strangers and aliens to whom they are applied" (p. 48).

After setting forth in chap. 1 his presupposition concerning 1 Peter's audience as social *paroikos* (whom, incidentally, he identifies as rural tenant farmers [p. 63]), he develops in chap. 2 a "social profile" of these addressees. First, he proposes a social description which utilizes historical, geographical, legal, economic, religious, etc., data (pp. 59-73). Second, by using sociological theory, drawing on Bryan Wilson's sociological studies of sects, he places the recipients in the category of "sectarian" (pp. 73-78).

Then, utilizing this sect typology, Elliott attempts to explicate the socio-religious strategy of 1 Peter—a topic treated particularly in chap. 3. By identifying the audience as conversionist sectarians and by utilizing the sect typological model, he is able to demonstrate how the letter strategically counteracts the "demoralizing and disintegrating impact which social tension and suffering had upon the Christian sect" and how it presented reassurance of their "distinctive communal identity" (p. 148).

Chap. 4 treats further, in considerable detail, the strategy which, according to Elliott, is utilized by the author(s) of 1 Peter (based upon the model

presented in chap. 3). By the use of the word *oikos*, the letter presents a response to the *paroikos*-ness of the recipients. Elliott is quick to point out that we must move away from the exclusively cultic meaning of the word *oikos* in 2:5 and 4:17, for this sort of interpretation has "obstructed any curiosity concerning the political, economic and social implications of the term" (p. 165; cf. p. 169). It is the social orientation that is stressed here; the recipients of the letter are members of an *oikos* in an historical alien country. This gave a sense of belongingness or community. Thus, Elliott concludes that "the alternative to [the] predicament of *parokia* was not a future home in heaven but a place within the Christian fraternity here and now" (p. 233).

As already suggested, the strength of Elliott's attempt at a sociological "exegesis" lies in the sociological aspect of his endeavor. On the other hand, one is pressed hard to identify any thoroughgoing exegesis involving a literary, grammatical, and syntactical analysis. Most of what could be called exegesis in the usual sense is rather a word-study (and a good word-study, I may say) of *paroikos* and *oikos*. Of course, some analysis of the passages in which these words occur is attempted, but there is nothing of the nature that one would be comfortable to describe as genuine, thoroughgoing exegesis. A greater balance in this respect would have been achieved and a truer picture painted, had Elliott paid greater attention to this aspect of methodology.

Nevertheless, *A Home for the Homeless* is, without a doubt, a landmark production, particularly so in the sociological enterprise in NT studies. To engage either in Petrine studies or in the field of "Sociology and the NT" without taking into account Elliott's work is to proceed at the risk of being inadequate.

Finally, a word on format: The notes are placed at the end of each chapter, a practice that is always problematical in works which have such extensive and rich footnotes that are vital to the main body of material. It would have been much more convenient for the reader had the notes been in footnote style on each page—or, at least, all gathered at the back of the book. In addition, a basic bibliography, lacking in this volume, would have been an asset both to students of 1 Peter and to those engaged more generally in the "Sociology-and-the-NT" enterprise.

In closing, I would state that my foregoing criticisms should not be allowed to detract in the least from the excellent work produced by Elliott. In fact, I would consider this work somewhat of a masterpiece.

West Indies College PEDRITO U. MAYNARD-REID
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Ellison, H. L. *Exodus*. The Daily Study Bible Series. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982. 204 pp. Paperback, $6.95.

In keeping with the objectives of the Daily Study Bible Series, Ellison has produced a delightfully readable commentary. The volume contains many insights from recent scholarly studies, without becoming diverted by lengthy academic discussion. Preachers and laymen will especially appreciate the homiletic observations and the scores of brief illustrations.

It is a pity, however, that the author does not take up at somewhat greater length one or two of the theological questions which have puzzled laymen and scholars alike. One such item is the revelation of God's name YAHWEH in Exod 3:13-22 and 6:2-9. This might well have received longer comment than is given in the text and brief Appendix II; in fact, such would be particularly helpful, since the writer indicates strong reservations concerning the conclusions of those promoting the Documentary Hypothesis (cf. pp. 35-36, 38).

It is also unfortunate that some confusion slipped in concerning the orientation of the ancient Israelite tabernacle. The text on p. 147 contradicts the diagram on p. 148, though the diagram is, in fact, correct in showing the entrance to both tabernacle and courtyard in the east (see Exod 27:13; 26:22, 27; etc.).

Ellison gives appropriate stress to aspects of the modern applicability of the Ten Commandments, such as avoidance of legalism. On the other hand, he is not convincing as he presents his claim that Exod 16:22-30 can be best explained as an introduction to sabbath observance, rather than as a reintroduction of it (p. 111).

Written from a conservative viewpoint, the work upholds the essential historicity of the details connected with the Exodus experience. Events such as the supplying of manna and water in the wilderness may be partly explained naturalistically, the author feels, but insists that the miraculous element cannot be denied (pp. 89-90, 92; see also pp. 41, 54, 82).

Ellison emphasizes the spiritual concept of the Exodus and the applicability of the Exodus experience to twentieth-century Christians in need of deliverance from the bondage of despair, or from modern humdrum. He also notes that it is not uncommon for Jewish Christians to observe the Passover festival today (pp. 14-15), remembering its historical lessons.

Perhaps the greatest strength of this commentary is the author's refreshing enthusiasm for the story and text of the Exodus. He has taken seriously each aspect of the story as it has been passed on to us, and he has thus been able to share some of his own evident love for, and involvement in, this moving narrative.

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LLOYD A. WILLIS

Geller, Stephen A.; Greenstein, Edward L.; and Berlin, Adele. *A Sense of Text: The Art of Language in the Study of Biblical Literature*. Jewish Quarterly Review Supplement, Dropsie College. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983. 113 pp. Paperback, $12.50.

Three essays are published in this volume: Geller, "Through Windows and Mirrors into the Bible: History, Literature, and Language in the Study of the Text"; Greenstein, "How Does Parallelism Mean?"; and Berlin, "Point of View in Biblical Narrative." These essays were originally presented at a symposium at Dropsie College on May 11, 1982. All three explore the relationship between basic language and writers' artistry in biblical literature, but they explore it from rather different points of view.

The first essay, that of Geller, is the most difficult to grasp, largely because of its rather philosophical orientation. The first third of his essay draws a rather stark contrast between historical and literary critical study of the Bible, on the one hand, and the aesthetic study of the Bible as literature, on the other. The former approach, according to Geller, has disrupted the unity of the Bible, while the latter holds that the Bible must be studied as a unity in order to be appreciated. The wedge between these two schools of thought has been driven very wide and deep here. Form criticism, canonical criticism, and structuralism also fall by the wayside in the course of the examination of this dichotomy, although Geller seems somewhat more favorably inclined towards structuralism by the end of his essay. Typical of the emphasis that he has placed upon the difference between these two poles of study is his statement that "in truth, objective historical and subjective 'literary' approaches to texts seem to be totally discrete logically" (p. 12).

In the second section of his essay, Geller cites a work from the form critic H. Gunkel to illustrate how this tension has worked itself out in biblical studies. The third and final section of Geller's study is characterized by an imaginary dialogue between the Linguist and the Aesthete. No meeting of the minds is achieved from their confrontation; and, indeed, that is where Geller leaves the matter in the end. That being the case, the final two pages of his essay strike this reviewer as rather discordant with the thrust of his study, because they present an appeal for holding the two divergent types of biblical study together. He presents no concrete suggestions as to just how this can be accomplished.

The second essay, that by Greenstein, is an examination of how the poetic technique of parallelism develops the meanings of the thoughts and words it utilizes in biblical poetry. This is a useful study, with many germane observations on the nature and significance of parallelism. There are a number of different levels or aspects in which parallelism operates, including sense, words, sound, rhythm, morphology, and syntax.

Greenstein especially emphasizes the last of these aspects as being particularly characteristic of biblical parallelism. Classically—from Lowth's time onward—parallelism has been divided into the three main categories of "synonymous," "antithetic," and "synthetic." The last category in particular has drawn considerable criticism, as seeming to be mainly a wastebasket diagnosis for the cases not fitting into the other two categories. By applying transformational grammar to some of these cases, Greenstein has demonstrated that the parallelism present is commonly more direct than has heretofore been appreciated.

There are a few cases in which I would differ from Greenstein's poetic analyses. By following the versification of Cant 5:11-16 too closely, he has inserted an added element here (B + B′) which is not necessary. Vs. 11, for example, simply presents two cases of A + A′, not a case of A + A′ and an additional case of B + B′. He has also noted the chiasm in the opening tricolon of Ps 1 and the chiasm in its closing bicolon, but he has not noted that these two together create an inclusio by form around this poem. Generally speaking, however, Greenstein's categories of the usage of parallelism and his demonstrations of the ways in which meaning is derived from the occurrence of the parallelisms appear to be reasonable and accurate.

The final essay in the volume, that by Adele Berlin on the point of view in biblical narratives, is a model of clarity in its presentation. She has taken a number of biblical narratives and shown how the writing in them develops different points of view from their different scenes. Involved in the narratives are the points of view of the narrator, of the reader, and of the different participants in the stories themselves. The classic case in point here is her treatment of Gen 37. The narration of this story begins and ends from Jacob's point of view. Between these two poles, the narrative shifts to the points of view of the brothers of Joseph. Very little of the chapter is narrated from the point of view of Joseph himself, that point of view being developed to a greater degree in the later narratives about Joseph and his relatives. Berlin not only has shown the different points of view from which different scenes in biblical narratives have been written, but has also categorized the different ways in which these points of view can be used.

Each of the essays in this volume contributes, in its own way, to the goal of understanding the relationship between language and art in biblical literature, but I personally found the last of the three the most illuminating.

Andrews University WILLIAM H. SHEA

Hocking, David L. *The Nature of God in Plain Language*. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1984. 180 pp. $8.95.

One of the great needs today is for solid, sound theological thinking to be expressed in terms that are meaningful to those in the pew. This recent book by David L. Hocking, a pastor in Santa Ana, California, appears to be an attempt to meet this need.

The Nature of God in Plain Language is very readable (I might even say preachable), full of interesting illustrations from everyday life. The volume contains simplified arguments for the existence of God, a discussion of different modes by which God reveals himself, and a treatment of God's personality, uniqueness, and eternal nature. The latter part of the book treats the topics of God's omniscience, his faithfulness, and his love. The best chapters are, in my view, the ones in the middle of the book, where Hocking wrestles in some depth with the issues of God's omnipotence and omnipresence.

I believe that the typical lay person will enjoy this book and find some helpful insights in it. However, I am disappointed that the book does not deal more frequently with the theological terms and concepts familiar to the serious student. These could have been introduced in such a way as not to discourage the lay person, while yet making the book useful also for theological students as an introductory text in the Doctrine of God. As it stands, the publication fails to probe sufficiently the depths of theological thinking so as to be considered a theological textbook. Rather, the intended audience appears to be the non-Christian and the beginning Christian.

Also, the author's approach seems to be more apologetic than theological, with many items simply being asserted rather than reasoned out. Thoughtful readers, however, would undoubtedly appreciate wrestling with the difficult issues in a topic such as the nature of God.

In spite of my foregoing negative observations, I would like to commend Hocking and Word Books Publishers for the approach attempted in this volume. There is a need for this sort of approach. Apparently, Word Books plans to produce a series on theological topics "In Plain Language," and this is indeed a commendable project. I only hope that in future volumes the potential reader will be kept in mind who, while perhaps not wishing to wrestle with Latin, long names, historical detail, and various technical matters, nevertheless does desire to wrestle in depth with doctrine.

Andrews University JON PAULIEN

Meyers, Carol L., and O'Connor, M., eds. *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*. ASOR Special Volume Series, no. 1. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983 (published for the American Schools of Oriental Research). xvii + 742 pp. $35.00.

This volume could well turn out to be *the* publishing event of the 1980s in the OT field. If nothing else, it should win that honor by sheer dint of the mass of studies it presents—50 of them, in 742 pages! Moreover, many of the essays are by prominent OT scholars on the forefront of the scene of action today.

This book is naturally a tribute to the esteem and respect in which the honoree, director of the Program on Studies in Religion at the University of Michigan, is held. Freedman is well known as a prolific contributor to the discipline of OT studies, and this volume thus serves as a fitting tribute to his work. Given the nature of his interests, the studies contributed revolve around the subjects of archaeology, history, inscriptions, and poetic and literary analysis. I can do little more here than simply list the subjects covered in the various studies.

An introductory article for the publication is by P. J. King, former president of the American Schools of Oriental Research. In it, he reviews some of the history of the ASOR, concluding with observations on Freedman's contributions to the work of that organization.

The first main section of the book takes up the subjects of poetry and prophecy. A dozen chapters appear in this section, including studies on Isa 33 (J. J. M. Roberts), Isa 55 (R. J. Clifford), Ps 2 (H. Ringgren), Ps 23 (M. L. Barré and J. S. Kselman), Lam 1 (F. M. Cross), and Sirach 10:19-11:6 (A. Di Lella). Topical studies in this section include word studies on covenantal terminology (M. Greenberg), the use of *torah* in Hag 2:11 (Eric M. Meyers, who is also the Series editor), "Woe" in the woe oracles (D. R. Hillers), a linguistic study on the date of Malachi (A. E. Hill), and a study on particle counts in prose of the Hebrew Bible (F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes).

Two chapters in this first main section may be singled out for special, though brief, mention. In his study of Lam 1, Cross has made extensive use of a Dead-Sea-Scroll fragment to reconstruct the poetry of this OT passage—a study which, incidentally, has already won the Biblical Archaeology Society award for one of the best studies on archaeology or a related subject. Andersen and Forbes, in their computer study on the frequency of the use of the article, the direct-object marker, and the relative pronoun in the Hebrew Bible, have concluded that there is a clear-cut difference between the use of these in prose, where they occur frequently, and in poetry, where they occur much less frequently. In a professional society sectional meet-

ing on Hebrew poetry, Freedman himself had already mentioned the significance of this analysis by Andersen and Forbes.

The second main section of this *Festschrift* is entitled, rather broadly, "The Prose of the Hebrew Bible." Included are some literary studies, some theological ones, and some historical ones. C. B. Houk has investigated word and syllable counts in the Abraham narratives of Gen 12-23 as a possible clue to literary sources. J. R. Lundbom has presented some aspects of theological views of Abraham and David. J. Milgrom has examined two passages in Leviticus which involve purification rites. B. Peckham has provided a literary-critical examination of Deut 5-11. R. G. Boling has outlined the book of Joshua from thematic and structural viewpoints, and has studied some select problems in the book. E. F. Campbell, in his study of Jgs 9, has related the findings of archaeology to a biblical narrative. P. K. McCarter, Jr., views 2 Sam 6 as recording the ritual dedication of the City of David as the new religious and political capital of Israel. H. Tadmor has studied three Assyrian politico-military titles found in the Bible in the light of the cuneiform evidence. And K. Koch has summarized the present state of knowledge about Darius the Mede in the book of Daniel.

The more directly historical subjects are treated in the next section of the volume. Here A. Malamat discusses methodology in the study of early biblical history. O. Borowski has examined the role of the "hornet" in the Exodus and Conquest narratives. F. A. Spina has presented the social and historical role of the Israelites as "sojourners." C. L. Meyers, one of the co-editors of the *Festschrift*, has studied the role of women in Gen 3:16. Priestly divination is the subject of the study by H. B. Huffmon. A further treatment of 2 Sam 6 is given, this time by J. W. Flanagan, who looks at this passage from the standpoint of the social transformation occurring. (It would have been interesting to have had this chapter and McCarter's earlier one on the same subject printed back-to-back.) The chronology of Tyre in relation to biblical history is examined in the next chapter, by A. R. Green. A more broadly based study of pollution and purification than the earlier study by Milgrom is presented next by T. Frymer-Kensky. This is followed by W. Zimmerli's examination of the subject of Jerusalem in the view of the book of Ezekiel. Finally, this third main section of the volume concludes with H. Cazelles's study of the date of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. He concludes in favor of 587 B.C. over 586 B.C. for that date.

The next section of the book is on inscriptions, and is entitled "Northwest Semitic Epigraphy." It begins with a study by M. O'Connor, the other co-editor of the *Festschrift*, on the relationship between phonology, or pronunciation, and writing systems. This is followed successively by B. A. Levine's study of ritual texts from Ugarit, J. Seger's presentation of

jar signs from Gezer, S. H. Horn's recounting of the story of the discovery of the Moabite Stone, K. P. Jackson's collection of personal names from Ammonite texts, A. Temerev's examination of two Egyptian military terms used in the Persian period, B. Porten's study of endorsements on Aramaic papyri from Egypt, L. T. Geraty's update on the Hellenistic-period ostraca from Khirbet el-Kôm, and K. A. Mathews's review of the Dead Sea Scrolls written in the Paleo-Hebrew script.

The final section of the book is a kind of "catch-all," which is simply labeled "Other Perspectives." W. G. Dever begins it by discussing what can be learned from archaeology about the cult. The present reviewer has contributed the next study, one on the Palestinian place names in the Eblaite Geographical Atlas. L. E. Toombs has examined the role of Baal in the Baal cycle of texts from Ugarit. G. L. Windfuhr has presented some aspects of Zoroastrian theology. D. F. Graf has surveyed the surface findings from southern Transjordan which relate to the Nabateans. Proceeding from his OT studies on Jonah, G. M. Landes has gone on to examine the "sign of Jonah" in the NT and later literature. C. H. Gordon has examined early Jewish reaction to Christian borrowings from Judaism. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein has studied the current of humanism in Hebraic studies within Christian and Jewish circles from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries A.D. S. Segert has surveyed Prague Structuralism and what it may contribute to biblical studies in North America. And in the final study of this section, D. Robertson has discussed his experience in teaching the Bible as literature in a university setting.

The *Festschrift* concludes with D. N. Freedman's bibliography, prepared by M. O'Conner. It is a list which contains over 350 entries.

The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth is an important volume, bringing the reader up to date on current thinking throughout a broad spectrum of OT and related studies. As such, it deserves the careful attention of anyone with a major interest in the OT.

Andrews University WILLIAM H. SHEA

Nash, Ronald H. *Social Justice and the Christian Church.* Milford, Mich.: Mott Media, 1983. 175 pp. $12.95.

Social Justice and the Christian Church is a passionate pleading for economic and social conservatism. It contrasts socialism and capitalism and unhesitatingly proclaims the superiority of the latter, asserting it to be neither irrational nor immoral. Nash asserts that a capitalist economy is not incompatible with justice, which he painstakingly distinguishes from "social justice," a term he claims to be terribly subjective and bound

with an egalitarianism and an authoritarian concept of government that breeds poverty and destroys freedom. The arguments are certainly not new; but they are presented forcefully, and at times with impressive support. Obviously, the advocates of capitalism are no longer afraid to raise their voices.

The weakest point of Nash's argumentation appears to be his discussion of the concept of justice in the Bible. Although one must agree with him that the biblical demands for justice are not at all synonymous with the demands for a welfare state which attempts to redistribute wealth, one cannot help but be a bit disquieted with the ease with which he ascribes and confines the appeals for justice in the Bible to personal righteousness. Cannot the Bible give some light to modern man on the sinfulness of the oppression of the weak? Cannot men and women inspired by lessons from Scripture seek to draw up laws that will give relief to the poor from the forces that exploit them? Certainly, the Bible has something to say, even if one is committed to social equity rather than social equality.

The reader who expects, from the title, a book that is essentially a theological discussion will be disappointed. There is a minimum of theology in the volume, and the reason for this is clearly set forth by the author himself, who bemoans the fact that so many church members wanting to speak on economic or social issues are totally ignorant of the main tools of economic analysis or of sociology. The author's main aim is to tell, not what the Bible teaches, but rather what constitutes sound economic and social theory. Thus, the book is a concerted effort to expose the fallacies of socialism and to correct false perceptions of capitalism. The author is especially concerned with the many Christian believers who naively swallow leftist propaganda and believe that socialism is the human expression of God's will. He frankly suggests that many persons' opposition to capitalism is pure, irrational prejudice.

While we must agree with Nash on the theoretical level that capitalism does not lead to the exploitation of the working man, we could wish that he would at least admit that on the practical level it very often does. Consider, for instance, how quickly a corporation can close a plant and move its operations elsewhere, without the least concern for employees who have served it faithfully for many years! Does the fact that possibly general prosperity will be increased mean that men and women can be sacrificed at will to the "god" of the "bottom line" of profit?

In short, this author seems at times so concerned with economic theory that he too quickly passes by human problems. Nevertheless, in spite of my observations along this line, Nash's book deserves careful and critical reading.

Andrews University DANIEL AUGSBURGER

Neall, Beatrice S. *The Concept of Character in the Apocalypse with Implications for Character Education*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1983. xii + 224 pp. $21.50/$10.75.

Pioneering work is seldom, if ever, easy—a fact that is true in biblical studies as well as in other fields. The volume here under review represents pioneering work in several ways: (1) It provides a comprehensive thematic overview and analysis of significant material from a Bible book that has largely been neglected from the standpoint of *any* thoroughgoing thematic studies; (2) it focuses attention on the Apocalypse's rich material pertaining to "character" and "character development"; and (3) it deals with the biblical data within the framework of a pedagogical perspective that endeavors to relate the material to crucial experiential concerns. Thus, amidst the numerous commentaries that keep coming forth on the book of Revelation, Neall's publication is truly a unique type of work.

Actually, this study is the published form of Neall's doctoral dissertation presented in 1981 at Andrews University in the field of Education; it deals specifically with "Religious Education." As her own literature review (chap. 2) reveals, she entered not only an unexplored field, but also undertook a type of study for which no adequate models exist. For this very endeavor, then, we are indebted to her.

At the outset, it also must be stated that Neall has performed her task exceptionally well, in view of the hazards inherent in this sort of study—by no means the least of which is the need for sufficient expertise and skills in both of the disciplines involved. Neall's earlier training in religious studies and her considerable experience as a religion teacher, coupled with her doctoral work in the field of Religious Education, have made her an ideal person to undertake this specific research; and the results reported in her book are generally competent and helpful. Persons interested in biblical studies, as well as religious educators (whether in a church or in a school setting), may derive from this volume numerous helpful and practical insights.

Having said the foregoing (and intending to say it with *considerable emphasis*), I must add that Neall's study is nonetheless flawed in some ways that deserve mention (along with notice, of course, of particularly strong points) in any review that attempts to be fair, balanced, and of genuine value to the reader. To some such negatives I shall return later in this review.

In harmony with the style of educational dissertations, Neall's first three chapters treat (1) introductory matters (purpose of the study, presuppositions, rationale, delimitations, and similar items); (2) review of literature; and (3) description of the methodology used. These chapters are very short (all three are contained within pp. 1-25), and are followed by three

further (and longer) chapters that provide the details and conclusions of the study.

Chap. 4, "Background to Character Theory" (pp. 26-47) furnishes the conceptualization and a pedagogically oriented setting for the basic data reported in the exceptionally long chap. 5, "The Concept of Character in the Apocalypse" (pp. 48-183). The extended discussion in chap. 5 provides the real "heart" of the study, and is followed by a neatly conceived and competently executed synthesis in the final chapter, "Conclusions with Implications for Character Education" (pp. 184-207). A "Selected Bibliography" (pp. 208-223) and brief note about the author (p. 224) conclude the volume.

In providing the backdrop for her study, Neall states in chap. 4 that "Western systems of thought, whether of philosophy, theology, psychology, or education, issue largely from two main streams, the Graeco-Roman and the Hebraeo-Christian. From the former comes a humanistic understanding of man and character; from the latter a religious understanding. Most theories of character development center in one or the other systems of thought" (p. 26). She goes on to point out the "two streams have markedly different epistemologies, anthropologies, and ethical systems" (ibid.), and devotes this chapter to an analysis of these aspects in Platonic and Aristotelian thought, on the one hand, and as represented in the biblical data of OT and NT, on the other hand.

The information which Neall presents in this chapter is appropriate and helpful, but her treatment does suffer some limitations (perhaps due, in part, to space constraints). In the discussion of Plato and Aristotle, for instance, one senses a degree of inadequacy in the primary-source references and also in the too-exclusive use of relatively few secondaries—secondary sources, moreover, that are not standard analyses of those ancient Greek philosophers (even though they may be authorities on the history of education). Moreover, one can wonder why the Stoics are not included, even in passing mention—especially in view of the closeness in appearance (though not in integral nature) of Stoicism to early Christianity with respect to certain ethical concerns and behavior (we may think, for instance, of comparisons between the Stoic philosopher/statesman Seneca and the Christian apostle Paul, who were contemporaries). Finally, why is there no discussion of the *Roman part* of the "Graeco-Roman" stream to which Neall has called attention?

Chap. 5 treats the following major topics: "The Apocalyptic View of Man" (origin, nature, and destiny of man); "The Norm of Character" (the character of God, and Jesus and the commandments as norms of character); "Evil Character in the Apocalypse" (reference is made to evil in the world and also evil character in the church, such as spiritual declension); "Righteous Character: Its Distinctive Marks" (here note is taken of virtues

or qualities, such as "patient endurance" and "love," and of the descriptive adjectives "faithful," "holy," and "righteous"); "Righteous Character as Expressed in the Life" ("royal priesthood," "mission," "witness," "teaching," and a number of other matters, including some of a devotional nature, are here given due attention); "The Development of Righteous Character" ("motivation" and "means" are among the various significant considerations dealt with); "The Eschatological Test of Character" (here considered are the "issues" in the test, such as rival claims to worship; the "goal," whether perfection or loyalty; and "character requisites"); and "Judgment: The Evaluation of Character" ("the principals" in the judgment, the "criterion of judgment," "judgment on the churches," "judgment of the wicked," etc., are treated).

The foregoing overview of the contents of chap. 5 indicates the broad scope of the coverage. However, this very fact that the coverage is so broad leaves the treatment more superficial than what would be expected in a biblical-studies doctoral dissertation. The redeeming factor for Neall's dissertation is that it was presented as an *education* dissertation, not a biblical-studies or theological one. This is a consideration that the reader would do well to bear in mind. Indeed, the surprising thing is that Neall has been able to treat such a mass of biblical material as carefully as she has done, and in so cohesive and well-organized a fashion.

At this juncture, it may be well to call attention to several weaknesses in the presentation: (1) In chap. 5, as well as in chap. 4, the author's treatment is of rather sweeping nature, as already suggested above; it therefore lacks the in-depth coverage that a study of narrower scope could have achieved. (2) Perhaps deriving from this weakness is the fact that in commenting on some passages in Revelation where interpretations are extremely controversial, Neall fails to dialogue with the sources and does not always base her judgments on the best secondaries or, more appropriately, on her own in-depth analysis of the primary materials. (3) The footnote citations in both chaps. 4 and 5 do not indicate as thorough an acquaintance with the secondary literature as might be desirable. (4) Even though in chap. 5 Neall uses a vast number of biblical references (for this study, certainly the proper and crucial primary source material), she fails too frequently to utilize the Bible texts as well as she could in order to substantiate her points.

The first and third of these shortcomings have been touched upon earlier and need no further comment here. But a word is in order concerning the second and fourth weaknesses. As for Neall's use of secondary sources, one matter wherein there exists considerable diversity of opinion is the identity of the "two witnesses" of Rev 11, but here Neall has opted for one viewpoint on p. 96 ("saints"; see no. 3 in the list toward the bottom of the page, and the topic statement preceding the list), and apparently the

same or a similar one on p. 99 ("Christian church" as a "prophetic community"), while indicating in n. 3 on p. 99 that it is "more likely" that the "two witnesses" apply to the "two-fold 'Word of God and testimony of Jesus,'" equated with OT and NT witness (her footnote reference is to my article in *AUSS* 19 [1981]: 131-134). But nowhere in this treatment has she given the reader any awareness that she is cognizant of the truly *vast amount* of discussion on the subject. (It should be stated, however, that *most of the time* she does much better than this in recognizing varying viewpoints where they exist.)

A somewhat more "mixed" situation appears in her treatment of the term "faith of Jesus" on pp. 81-82. Here she notes the alternative interpretations offered in some commentaries—either "faith in Christ" or "doctrine about Christ." But these do not really exhaust the range and nuances of the interpretational suggestions made in the literature. She herself adds a third possible meaning, which, she declares "no commentary suggests" (an assessment that is perhaps a bit too sweeping): namely, "the faith which Jesus exercised" (p. 82). She goes on to mention the possibility of "double entendre" (correctly so, in my judgment), but unfortunately fails to give her own third alternative the in-depth treatment it deserves. *It*, in fact, is the *basic one* in Revelation, from which others derive their ultimate meaning; and it is also the one which would have provided the most substantial undergirding for the view of character and character education that she herself espouses. One would be well reminded, in this connection, of the thematic linkage to the Gospel of John (cf. the "vine-and-branches" pericope in John 15:1-8, and also the significance of 15:20, 17:18-21, and similar texts).

As for the incongruence at times in Neall's use of Bible texts, we may note, for instance, the concluding paragraph on p. 56, where she speaks of "divine love" as being "extended to the hostile world"—a group then described through several terminologies, including (as the first descriptive term) "those who dwell on the earth" in Rev 6:10, 11:10, 13:8, 13:14, and 17:8; but she fails to realize that this is *not* the same group of "those who dwell upon the earth" to whom "the gospel is proclaimed" in 14:6 (here she has inadvertently omitted the reference, but has quoted directly from that text). The former "earth-dwellers" are κατοικοῦντες ἐτὶ τῆς γῆς, the kind that are "settled" or "imbedded"; the latter are καθημένοι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, those "seated" or "sitting" (and thus, movable). Again, in her last sentence on p. 56, she uses Rev 9:20 and 16:9 to support her declaration, "Even God's judgments on the wicked world have a redemptive effect"; but *both* of these texts (the only two she uses in this connection) refer to *non*-repentance, and the second one is actually in conjunction with judgments in the eschatological consummation.

Notwithstanding difficulties of the foregoing type, Neall's book is most

valuable indeed, with chap. 5, in particular, being rich in helpful insights. The vast majority of her illustrations and elucidations are both accurate and appropriate. Also, especially noteworthy are the many instances where she provides, in exceptionally clear and well-organized fashion, lists of explications, conclusions, and the like—e.g., the three correspondences between Jesus' and the saints' faithfulness (p. 84), six evidences that the "bride-city" symbolism of Revelation represents the Christian church (pp. 138-139), seven character requisites for passing the "great eschatological test" (pp. 166-167), and many, many other useful and insightful listings.

With regard to the organization of material in this volume, it should be noted that Neall's two main "thesis" or "content-development" chapters—chaps. 4 and 5—contain at the end of each main section a "summary" (in chap. 4, three such summaries; in chap. 5, seven summaries of this kind, plus a concluding statement of "Summary and Conclusions"). Generally speaking, these summaries are not only of value to the reader from an organizational standpoint, but are succinct, clear, and incisive—and therefore are most helpful indeed in putting into focus the main points from the author's preceding discussion.

This brings us to a word about chap. 6, the final chapter, which, to my mind, is superb. Here Neall not only effectively summarizes the material she has presented earlier, but also places her whole study in the context of an evaluation relating to the two contrasting types of philosophical underpinning that she has brought to attention in chap. 4. Her basic analysis is amplified by portraying, in a sort of case-study form, her concept of the potential outworkings of the two philosophies in real life. For this purpose, she analyzes step-by-step the type of "character development" that might be anticipated for an individual under each philosophy and its pedagogy; and in doing so, she provides much food for thought and an excellent apologetic for the Christian approach to education and character development. In closing chap. 6, she also suggests some further fruitful areas for study that her own research has opened up.

In summing up Neall's *The Concept of Character in the Apocalypse*, I would say that despite certain hazards to which the book's broad coverage gives rise, the volume is outstanding—a pioneer work that is penetrating and competent. It is a worthwhile and helpful production for consideration by those who are interested in the book of Revelation, as well as being a major contribution for any and all who are interested in the essentials of character education. In the field of educational theory, I would venture to say that this book will likely become a standard work in the area of its subspecialty.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Patterson, Bob E. *Carl F. H. Henry*. Makers of the Modern Theological Mind. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1983. 179 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

Who are the "makers of the modern theological mind"? In 1972, the Word Book Publishers undertook an editorial series so as to answer this question, and to provide present-day readers with a reliable guide through the maze of theological ideas now afloat. Each major shaper of theological thought from Schleiermacher on is examined in a separate volume. The usual outline of these volumes is, first, a presentation of a biographical sketch of the theologian, and then notice of his method, his creative ideas, his place in the theological spectrum, and his weaknesses and contributions. The series is intended for laymen, for Ph.D. students preparing for comprehensive examinations, and for professionals in the field.

For the role of editor, the publisher judiciously chose Bob E. Patterson, presently Professor of Religion at Baylor University in Waco, Texas. The editor selects the authors for each volume from among professional scholars and theologians—preferably from among those who have studied with the theologian about whom they write. The authors stand in the line of the moderate to conservative Protestant tradition.

The collection thus far contains eighteen volumes. These treat Barth, Bonhoeffer, Bultmann, Hartshorne, Pannenberg, de Chardin, Brunner, Buber, Kierkegaard, Reinhold Niebuhr, H. R. Niebuhr, von Rad, Nygren, Schleiermacher, Küng, I. T. Ramsey, C. F. H. Henry, and Paul Tillich. The editor himself has authored two volumes in the series—the one on Reinhold Niebuhr, and now this recent one on Henry (which is the seventeenth in the series).

Several considerations have led the editor to recognize Carl Henry as being among the makers of the modern theological mind. For one thing, evangelicalism can no longer be ignored. According to a Gallup Poll, over forty million (28%) Americans belong to this interdenominational heritage; and "twice-born" men and women can be found among TV celebrities (Johnny Cash), have occupied the White House (Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan), and have held other key positions in our society. Without a doubt, somebody is behind this emergence of evangelicals; and Carl Henry, says Patterson, "is the prime interpreter of evangelical theology, one of its leading theoreticians, and now in his seventies the unofficial elder statesman for the entire tradition" (p. 9).

Following a well-documented biographical sketch, Patterson provides a description of Henry's restorationist approach to Christian theology. It is pointed out that according to Henry, modern Protestantism must reject the fundamentalism at its right, with its bigotry, anti-educational tendencies, and failure to apply Christianity to the whole of life. On the other side, through his books and editorials, Henry (who was the founding editor of

Christianity Today and remained its chief editor for eleven years) has called upon evangelicals to reject also the Neo-orthodoxy to evangelicalism's left, as being a school that retains too much of the liberal theology which it succeeded in defeating: In Neo-orthodoxy, confidence in the Bible is not restored; and the reality of miracles, of the devil, and of the second coming of Christ is explained away.

Patterson then proceeds to describe Henry's philosophical apologetics. The author rightly places Henry in the Augustinian and Calvinistic tradition. For Henry, the word of God and special revelation can give the answers which humanism, naturalism, and logical positivism have been unable to provide; and Christianity can be defended rationally, with Scripture being the ultimate principle or basis of verification. Henry's views of, and emphasis upon, revelation as God's speaking and showing, upon the Bible as the authoritative norm, and upon his doctrine of God—all of these receive adequate attention in Patterson's book.

Of particular importance is the last—and unfortunately, shortest—chapter, entitled, "Carl Henry and His Critics." The author notices that the critics regret Henry's unsteady hand in dealing with historical and critical issues in biblical exegesis. Patterson thinks this can be tolerated, since Henry is not a specialist, but more of a "generalist theologian."

A more serious objection to an almost exclusive rationalism has received adequate treatment. Patterson draws on Donald Bloesch (himself a fellow evangelical) and Bernard Ramm, who are Henry's most notable critics. Bloesch and many other evangelicals object to Henry's insistence that revelation can be tested for truth by logical categories, because then reason will become the final authority. They prefer to say that God can illumine the mind of the unbeliever to recognize and understand revelation, but revelation is not at the disposal of reason.

The book *Carl F. H. Henry* occupies a justified place within the series on the "Makers of the Modern Theological Mind." It is also a welcome contribution to theological research on at least two other accounts: First, an extensive investigation into evangelicalism's history, theology, development, and present status is definitely needed, and this volume makes a contribution in that direction. Second, Patterson's interpretation of Henry is for the most part objective. The book can be a good guide for students of evangelical theology.

Andrews University MIROSLAV KIŠ

BOOK NOTICES

KENNETH A. STRAND

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

Aston, Margaret. *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion.* Ronceverte, W.V.: Hambledon Press, 1984. 405 pp. $30.00.

Among topics treated by Aston are "Lollardy and Sedition, 1381-1431"; "Lollard Women Priests?"; "Devotional Literacy"; "Lollards and Images"; "Lollardy and the Reformation"; "John Wycliffe's Reformation Reputation"; and several others. The volume is a collection mainly of previously published articles, but does contain two new essays.

Aycock, Don M., and Goss, Leonard George. *Writing Religiously: A Guide to Writing Nonfiction Religious Books.* Milford, Mich.: Mott Media, Inc., 1984. xii + 258 pp. $13.95.

This is a book which, in the words of its Foreword-writer Sherwood Eliot Wirt, "is loaded with practical suggestions and guidelines for writers, quotes scores of contemporary editors and publishers, and contains standard information that is difficult to come by" (p. x). Treatment includes such matters as how to get and preserve ideas, the mechanics of writing up the material, how to contact editors and what to send them, and some six other main topics. A chapter on "Markets: Where to Sell Your Books" contains a fairly comprehensive list of publishers of religious books, together with their addresses, helpful notations that describe the kinds of material each of these publishers will consider, and information on how to make the initial contact concerning a manuscript. Included in the volume is a selective annotated bibliography of some ninety "how-to" or other tool-type publications helpful to the writer of religious books.

Bacchiocchi, Samuele. *Hal Lindsey's Prophetic Jigsaw Puzzle: Five Predictions That Failed!* Biblical Perspectives Series, 3. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Biblical Perspectives, 1985. 90 pp. Paperback, $2.95.

The title and subtitle suggest the major thrust of this compact booklet. The treatment is more than just a review of "predictions that failed," however, for it addresses fundamental issues of the underlying dispensationalist hermeneutic utilized by Lindsey, whose various works on eschatology and biblical apocalyptic (perhaps most notably his *The Late Great Planet Earth*) have achieved phenomenal popularity. Lindsey was chosen for this analysis, says Bacchiocchi, "simply because he is the best popularizer" of the dispensationalist school of prophetic interpretation; and Bacchiocchi's purpose is not only "to show the fallacy of Lindsey's prophetic scenario," but also "to help believers understand the true nature and function of End-time prophecies" (pp. 10-11).

Brown, Earl Kent. *Women of Mr. Wesley's Methodism.* Studies in Women and Religion, 11. New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1984. xvii + 262 pp. $39.95.

Brown treats first the kinds of roles which women have played in Methodism, such as class leaders, school administrators, visitors, lay preachers, and co-ministers with their husbands. Then a further major part of his book concentrates on the careers and contributions of six women in the early to mid years of

Methodist history: Sarah Crosby; Darcy, Lady Maxwell; Mary Bosanquet Fletcher; Elizabeth Ritchie Mortimer; Hester Anne Roe Rogers; and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. Though women's significant contributions to early Methodism have long been recognized, this publication is perhaps the first to provide a systematic and comprehensive treatment of their leadership roles.

Brown, Raymond E. *The Churches the Apostles Left Behind.* New York: Paulist Press, 1984. 156 pp. Paperback, $4.95.

This volume—which puts into printed form the author's Sprunt Lectures at Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia, in 1980—presents the thesis that the NT literature gives seven different answers or emphases regarding the survival of the apostolic church into the sub-apostolic era (which Brown dates to A.D. 67–100).

Carlisle, Thomas John. *Eve and After: Old Testament Women in Portrait.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. 160 pp. Paperback, $6.95.

A book of poems (for the most part, in free verse) highlighting many of the lesser-known women of the OT as well as those that are generally well-known, such as Eve, Sarah, Ruth, and Esther. (The author, a retired Presbyterian minister, has produced a number of earlier volumes of religious poetry, as well as having had more than a thousand poems published in periodicals.)

Clines, D. J. A. *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther.* The New Century Bible Commentary. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. xx + 342 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

Fairly brief introductory discussions for each of the three OT books treated in this volume deal with major historical and interpretational matters, each such discussion being followed by the verse-by-verse commentary for the respective book. The chronology of Ezra and Nehemiah, the parallel lists in Ezra 2 and Neh 7, archaeological information pertaining to Nehemiah's construction of the walls of Jerusalem, and the occurrence of Persian loan-words are among special matters treated in the preliminary discussions and/or verse-by-verse comments.

Congar, Yves. *Thomas d'Aquin: Sa vision de théologie et de l'Église.* London, Eng.: Variorum Reprints, 1984. ii + 334 pp. £26.00.

This volume provides, in a convenient reprint form, thirteen of Congar's essays (eleven in French and one each in English and Latin) which originally appeared during the preceding two to three decades. Although Aquinas's ecclesiological views (never systematized in any treatise by Aquinas himself) form a major thrust of this collection of essays, other topics are treated, as well—usually with an attempt to place Aquinas in dialogue with current theological issues and concerns in Roman Catholicism. (This book on Thomas Aquinas is the third volume of reprinted articles by Congar that has been issued by Variorum Reprints; the first two are devoted more exclusively to ecclesiology.)

Craigie, Peter C. *Psalms 1-50.* Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 19. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1983. 378 pp. $19.95.

One of three volumes on the Psalms in this commentary series (the other two are by other authors). Utilizes the usual helpful format of the series, giving for each psalm a bibliography, the author's translation and notes, description and

outline of the psalm, comments on the text, and some theological observations or explanations.

Gäbler, Ulrich. *Huldrych Zwingli. Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk.* München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1983. 163 pp. DM 34/DM 22.

A succinct summary of recent Zwingli research, providing a somewhat elaborate update to Gäbler's outstanding Zwingli bibliography published in Zurich in 1975. Since this new publication follows the pattern of relating the issues to Zwingli's own writings, the volume becomes also a useful reference tool and introduction to those primary source materials. (Gäbler is a renowned Zwingli scholar, who served for fifteen years at the University of Zurich before taking up his present position as Professor in the Theology Faculty of the Free University of Amsterdam. His article on "Huldrych Zwingli and His City of Zurich," which highlights certain current issues and discoveries in Zwingli research, appears in the present issue of *AUSS*, beginning on p. 143, above.)

Hartbauer, Roy Elden. *Take the Words Right Outta My Heart.* Berrien Springs, Mich.: Published by the author (704 Bluff View Drive, Berrien Springs, MI 49103), 1984. iv + 82 pp. Paperback, $6.00.

R. E. Hartbauer, Director of the Andrews University Speech and Hearing Clinic, has taught "Voice and Diction" to seminarians, and has now put into compact "textbook" form (and in popular style) essentials for effective oral communication by pastors and other church leaders. This text "has been prepared for both the seasoned pastor and the minister-in-training," and the "philosophies, principles, theories, concepts and procedures" enunciated "are appropriate for laity as well" (p. iv). There are ten chapters, covering "Intellectual and Emotional Use of the Voice," "Respiration," "Articulation (Diction)," "Reading Aloud," "Prayer," "Conducting the Church Board Meeting" (for which proper use of the voice is also pointed out as being important), plus several other topics; and the volume concludes with a short (two-page), helpful bibliography.

Martin, Ernest L. *The Original Bible Restored.* Pasadena, Calif., and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Eng.: Foundation for Biblical Research, 1984. [iv] + 328 pp. + insert chart. Paperback.

The author's thesis in this volume is that the English Bible should be put into a rather drastically revised arrangement which accords with what he considers the original order in the ancient manuscripts. He argues that the apostles Peter and John organized the canon, which in his insert chart he arranges as 22 OT books and 22 NT books on each side of a central section containing the four Gospels and the book of Acts.

Maxwell, C. Mervyn. *God Cares*, Vol. 2: *The Message of Revelation for You and Your Family.* Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1985. 573 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

C. M. Maxwell, whose first volume in this two-volume series provides an in-depth treatment of the OT apocalyptic book of Daniel, has now provided a monumental study of the NT Apocalypse. The present publication is not only the most recent, but also undoubtedly the most thoroughly researched and competent, commentary available on the book of Revelation from the historicist perspective. Sections of the biblical text (given in two-column format and in small bold type) are followed by extensive comments (in one-column format

and printed with larger type). The comments are supplemented with numerous diagrams and charts relating to Revelation's literary structure and patterns and to other relevant matters. Also, many illustrations (including color sketches and photographs) appear throughout the volume. Some 250 titles are listed in a "Selected Bibliography," and comprehensive topical and Scriptural indexes conclude the volume. The phrase "For You and Your Family" in the book's title is significant, for the author has provided a wealth of scholarly information in a popular style geared to accomplish his goal of making clear that Jesus "*lives* for children and families" and that indeed "God cares" (p. vi).

Morris, Richard. *The Church in British Archaeology.* Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 47. London, Eng.: Council for British Archaeology, 1983. (Distributor in U.S.A.: Humanities Press, Inc., Atlantic Highlands, N.J.) viii + 124 pp. $35.75.

A brief work which explains in laymen's language the scope and methods used in British "church archaeology" and surveys the major finds in this field during the main historical periods from Roman times to the Reformation era.

Paris, Peter J. *The Social Teaching of the Black Churches.* Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress Press, 1985. 176 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

Peter J. Paris, Professor of Ethics and Society at Vanderbilt Divinity School (Nashville, Tenn.), and a member of the Executive Committee of the Society for the Study of Black Religion, sets forth fundamental values of the Independent Black Church Movement. A basic principle of this movement he designates as "the black Christian tradition." In analyzing this principle in relationship to contemporary society, Paris critically examines the dilemmas, ambiguities, and deficiencies emerging in the social and political spheres, and concludes with a discussion of both the nature and distortions of power.

VanElderen, Bastiaan. *The First and Second Epistles to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus.* New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. 256 pp. $14.95.

A long-awaited commentary on the Pastoral Epistles that follows the general format and style of the NICNT series.

Westermann, Claus. *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary.* Translated by John J. Scullion. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984. xii + 636 pp. $29.95.

An English translation of the first volume of the 2d edition of Westermann's monumental three-volume commentary on Genesis in the "Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament" series.

Wohlfarth, Hansdieter. *Johann Sebastian Bach.* Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress Press, 1985. 128 pp. $14.95.

Appearing in the three-hundredth anniversary of Johann Sebastian Bach's birth, this biography is a fitting tribute to this great composer, whose numerous cantatas (some 200 are extant) provided a five-year cycle for the Christian year, and whose Christmas oratorio and passion music are well known and widely performed today. Wohlfarth's treatment reaches beyond simply a biographical sketch, taking note, as well, e.g., of the great composer's depth of spiritual devotion. The volume is enriched by inclusion of over forty pages of photographs, including many photographs in color.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = ʾ	ד = ḏ	י = y	ס = s	ר = r
בּ = b	ה = h	כּ = k	ע = ʿ	שׂ = ś
ב = ḇ	ו = w	כ = ḵ	פּ = p	שׁ = š
גּ = g	ז = z	ל = l	פ = p̄	תּ = t
ג = ḡ	ח = ḥ	מ = m	צ = ṣ	ת = ṯ
דּ = d	ט = ṭ	נ = n	ק = q	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

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

(Dāḡēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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