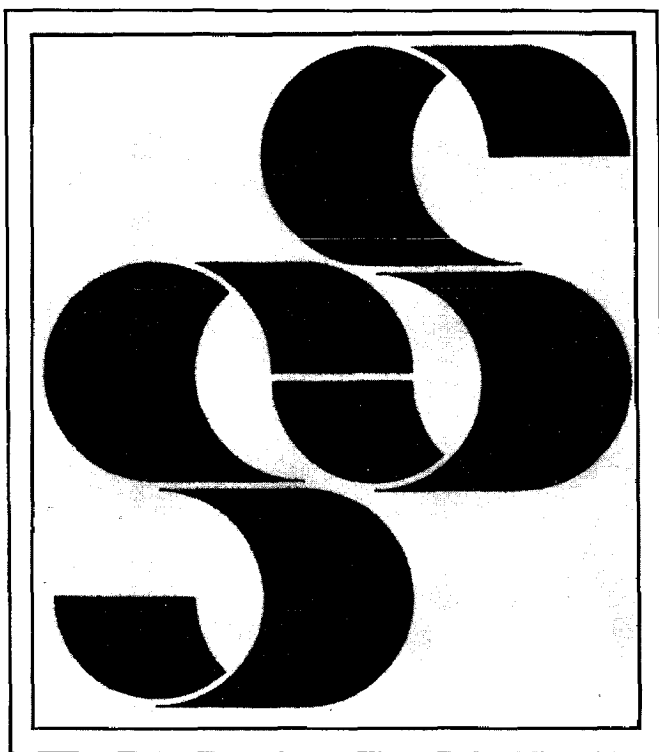


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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO VOLUME 24

In 1984, with the appearance of our large special issue on Martin Luther (in honor of the Luther quinqucentennial the year before), *AUSS* inaugurated a plan to supplement its regular contents from time to time with certain “extras.” In 1985 we took a further step in this direction by including several articles on Huldrych Zwingli (in honor of the Zwingli quinqucentennial the year before); a preliminary report on the first season of archaeological excavation at Tell el-^cUmeiri, including a topographical map and seventeen photographs; and a description of the Wurker Bible Collection, plus facsimile reproductions of ten pages from several significant editions of the Luther Bible.

Another “special item” has been included in the present issue of *AUSS*: a catalog of forty-seven Reformation-era tracts in the Heritage Room (an Archive and Research Center) of the James White Library at Andrews University. Further information concerning these tracts and the catalog is given in the introductory materials preceding the list of bibliographical entries. Following that listing, a concluding section of the catalog shows in facsimile reproduction twelve title-pages and two remarkable woodcuts from tracts in the collection.

Some of the tracts in this collection are curious indeed—such as the very first one, which purports to be a letter from Lucifer, Prince of Hell, to Martin Luther. “Letters from hell” were a counterpart to the so-called “letters from heaven,” which also circulated during the Reformation era and earlier. Although in this issue of *AUSS* it has not been possible to include a discussion of this particular tract or of any others, it is our hope to be able to share with our readers in some of our future issues brief information on the contents, historical setting, etc., of at least a few of the more intriguing (and/or less well-known) tracts in this collection. Also, we look forward to the possibility of making information available on other valuable resources of the Heritage Room. We will, too, of course, continue our practice of publishing our usual complement of articles, book reviews, book notices, and dissertation abstracts, covering in each volume a variety of disciplines and fields of theological interest.

As always, we are grateful both to our authors and our readers, as well as to the numerous “behind-the-scenes” persons who make each issue of *AUSS* possible. To all such, I extend herewith my deepest appreciation and thanks. And we of the *AUSS* staff trust that the contents of this present Volume 24 will be enjoyable, helpful, and profitable to you, our cherished readers.

Kenneth A. Strand
Editor

THE ALTAR OF INCENSE IN HEBREWS 9:3-4

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An intriguing question to students of the letter to the Hebrews is why in Heb 9:3-4 the altar of incense (χρυσοῦν ἔχουσα θυμιατήριον) of the Hebrew sanctuary is placed in the "Most Holy Place" or "Holy of Holies" rather than in the "Holy Place," whose lampstand and table of showbread are mentioned in vs. 2. The Holy Place is the location assigned to the altar of incense of Exodus, which specifies that Moses should place it "before the veil that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy seat that is over the testimony, where I will meet with you" (Exod 30:6; cf. Exod 40:5 and Lev 16:18). This positioning of the altar of incense is further attested by the fact that incense was offered on it daily, whereas the Most Holy apartment of the sanctuary was entered only once a year, on the Day of Atonement, by the high priest alone (Exod 30:7-10 and Lev 16).¹

With respect to the situation that existed at the time when the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, Philip E. Hughes has aptly

¹As observed more than a century ago by Edward E. Atwater, erroneous conclusions about the location of the altar of incense have sometimes been drawn from Exod 40:5—"Thou [Moses] shalt set the altar of gold for the incense before the ark of the testimony." The misconception drawn from this text is that the incense altar indeed stood in the Holy of Holies; but as Atwater goes on to point out, although the altar was "before the ark," it was "also before and not behind the partition veil." *The History and Significance of the Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews* (New York, 1875), p. 41, n. 2.

In this connection, it may also be noted that certain ancient Canaanite temples had an inner space or shrine, with steps up from the outer room, and with an altar (presumably for burning incense) below the steps. Some post-Solomonic temple structures that are probably Israelite have come to light, as well. One such structure, found by Y. Aharoni in ⁶Arad in Judah and dating to ca. 9th-7th century B.C., has a raised *d^ebîr* with two incense altars before it. For summarized data concerning ancient temple finds of this sort, see Lawrence T. Geraty, "The Jerusalem Temple of the Hebrew Bible in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, ed. A. V. Wallenkampf and W. R. Leshner (Washington, D.C., 1981), pp. 51-55.

pointed out that the “proper position of so important an article as the altar of incense was hardly a subject of doubt or dispute.”² After noticing evidences from Philo of Alexandria and Josephus, both of whom located the incense altar in the “vestibule or antechamber” (i.e., in the Holy Place), Hughes goes on to suggest that it “is impossible to doubt that the disposition of the various furnishings of the Jewish shrine was perfectly familiar to the average Jew in the first century of our era.”³ The general arrangement of the furnishings of the original Israelite sanctuary had remained the same, of course, in Solomon’s temple, in the post-exilic temple, and in Herod’s reconstruction.⁴

1. *Suggested Solutions to the Altar Location* *Given in Hebrews 9:3-4*

We may now ask, what solutions have been proposed for the apparent discrepancy between Heb 9:3-4 and other biblical and historical data of the kind that we have noted above?⁵ Perhaps some of the earliest attempts to grapple with this problem are evidenced in the textual emendation represented in the fourth-century Codex Vaticanus, wherein the reference to the golden altar of incense is transferred from Heb 9:4 to 9:2, thus placing it with the objects described as belonging in the Holy Place. The best textual evidence is against this variation, which consequently must be viewed as merely a scribe’s attempt to correct the text.

Another solution reaching back to ancient times—and also represented throughout the Christian centuries—is that the term *θυμιατήριον* in 9:4 should be rendered as “censer” rather than “altar.”⁶ Jerome’s Vulgate took this direction in its use of the term

²Philip E. Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977), p. 310.

³*Ibid.* The references to which Hughes calls attention in Philo are *Vita Mos.* ii.94f., 101-104; and *Quis Rev. Div. Her.* 226. The references he cites in Josephus are *Bell. Jud.* v.216ff.; and *Ant.* iii.139-147, 198.

⁴Cf. André Parrot, *The Temple of Jerusalem* (London, Eng., 1957), pp. 31, 33.

⁵Several of the following views, plus some others not noted here, have been called to attention by Hughes, pp. 309-313 and the footnotes on those pages.

⁶Hughes, p. 311, lists, e.g., Theophylact, Anselm, Aquinas, Luther, Grotius, Bengel, and Alford as holding this view.

turibulum ("censer") instead of *altare* ("altar"). The KJV also adopted the rendering "censer," as is true too even in the case of a few twentieth-century English Bible translations (such as those of Weymouth, Wuest, and the *Concordant Version*).

Indeed, "censer" is a legitimate alternative to "altar" as a translation of θυμιατήριον.⁷ But should it be so rendered in Heb 9:4? On the strength of similar "frequent earlier and contemporary enumerations of the holy vessels," R. H. Charles feels that θυμιατήριον in Heb 9:3-4 "should be taken . . . in its meaning of 'altar of incense,' and not in that of 'censer'."⁸ The majority of translators, commentators, and exegetes obviously have evidenced the same view.⁹

Some commentaries suggest that Heb 9:3-4 is simply in error concerning the location of the altar of incense.¹⁰ However, in contrast to this view, certain exegetes have suggested another (and in my opinion, more viable) solution: namely, that the statement in Heb 9:3-4 locates the altar on the basis of function rather than specific spatial position. W. S. Caldecott, for example, states:

On the western side of the outer hall stood a small golden table or altar. This was the altar of Incense, the sanctity of which surpassed that of the other articles of furniture around it. Its true

⁷Various commentators have, of course, taken note of this fact, for θυμιατήριον means a "vessel" for burning incense, and hence would properly be translated as either "censer" or "altar." In Heb 9:3-4, the context certainly seems to favor "altar." F. F. Bruce has stated the case well: "There was only one incense-altar, but there were several censers; and though it might be argued that the special reference here is to Aaron's censer, which he used on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:12; cf. Num. 16:46), this censer was scarcely distinctive enough to be mentioned separately; further, we are not told where it was kept, but since Aaron used it to carry fire into the holy of holies, to burn incense on it there, it is unlikely that it was kept in the holy of holies." *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1964), p. 185.

⁸R. H. Charles, ed. and trans., *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (London, Eng., 1896), p. 168.

⁹This preponderant view presumably is held mainly on contextual grounds; cf. n. 7, above.

¹⁰See, e.g., Hugh Montefiore, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York, 1964), p. 145; and James Moffatt, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Edinburgh, 1924), p. 114. Moffatt suggests that the "inaccuracy was rendered possible by the vague language of the pentateuch about the position of the altar of incense" in Exod 30:6, "where ἀπέναντι may mean 'opposite' or 'close in front of' the curtain—but on which side of it?"

position was within the Holy of Holies, and the writer of Hebrews gives it as one of the properties of that place (Heb. ix.3). It was by divine direction that it stood "before" (i.e., to the east of) the Veil, and "before" the Mercy-seat (Exod. xxx.6).

The reason for this departure from absolute correctness of position is that incense of sweet spices was to be burnt upon this altar every morning and every evening (Exod. xxx.7, 8) at the time of the offering of the daily burnt sacrifices. Had it stood in its proper place, within the second veil, the Holy of Holies would require to be entered twice daily, instead of once yearly. To guard the sanctity of the Most Holy place from too frequent intrusion by man, the incense-altar was placed "without the veil," means being taken that the smoke of the incense . . . should find its way into the inner shrine, the more immediate dwelling place of Jehovah.¹¹

Hughes, in a similar vein, feels that "our author, so far from being guilty of ignorance of eccentricity, was, as Spicq judges, following a liturgical tradition which recognized a special doctrinal association between the altar of incense and the holy of holies."¹²

At this juncture, it should be pointed out that the OT itself also mentions the altar of incense in close connection with the Holy of Holies. First, we may note two references in Exodus:

Exod 30:6: "And you shall put it before the veil that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy seat that is over the testimony, where I will meet with you." (RSV)

Exod 40:5: "Moreover, you shall set the gold altar of incense before the ark of the testimony, and set up the veil for the doorway to the tabernacle." (NASB)

In these two texts, specific orders are given regarding the location of the altar of incense within the sanctuary. It is most significant that the location of this altar is given, not in conjunction with the Holy Place or its furnishings, but rather in connection with the Holy of Holies and its articles. Moreover, as seen in the first text above, an *event reference* is also given for the altar of incense:

¹¹W. Shaw Caldecott, *Solomon's Temple* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 277.

¹²Hughes, p. 312.

“before the mercy seat that is over the testimony, *where I will meet with you*” (emphasis supplied). This would seem to imply that the altar of incense is very closely related to the Most Holy Place and to the communication with God spoken of in connection with that inner room.

Another pertinent OT reference appears in 1 Kgs 6:19-22, in the description of the construction of Solomon’s temple:

¹⁹The inner sanctuary he prepared in the innermost part of the house to set there the ark of the covenant of the Lord. ²⁰The inner sanctuary was twenty cubits long, twenty cubits wide, and twenty cubits high, and he overlaid it with pure gold. He also made an altar of cedar. ²¹And Solomon overlaid the inside of the house with pure gold, and he drew chains of gold across, in front of the inner sanctuary, and overlaid it with gold. ²²And he overlaid the whole house with gold, until all the house was finished. Also the whole altar that belonged to the inner sanctuary he overlaid with gold. (RSV)

Here both the ark of the covenant (vs. 19) and the altar of incense (vs. 20) are described in conjunction with the *d^ebîr*, the Most Holy Place; and indeed, that altar is also referred to as *belonging* to the inner sanctuary (vs. 22b).¹³

Perhaps the most significant reason why the altar of incense is placed in the Most Holy Place in Heb 9:3-4 is that the ministry of the incense of this altar was singularly on behalf of that inner shrine. The smoke of the incense of this altar found its way into the inner shrine, into the presence of Yahweh. In this vein, B. F. Westcott has suggested that the “Altar of incense bore the same relation to the Holy of Holies as the Altar of burnt offering to the Holy Place. It furnished in some sense the means of approach to it.”¹⁴ However, there is a further feature that deserves particular attention in this connection: namely, the fact that the very kind of incense burned upon this altar connected the altar even more closely to the Holy of Holies.

¹³Aside from the fact that the Hebrew of the MT so reads, it is interesting to note the similar thrust of the LXX reading: θυμιατήριον κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ θαβῆρ, “in the presence [or, ‘in the face’] of the shrine [i.e., Holy of Holies].”

¹⁴B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: The Greek Text with Notes and Essays* (London, Eng., 1889; reprint, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1955), p. 247.

2. "Inner" Incense and the Altar of Incense in Hebrews 9:3-4

Menahem Haran has given a detailed description of the kind of incense burned upon this golden altar of incense.¹⁵ It was a special, "inner," incense—distinguished in both its use and composition from the ordinary, "outer," incense. It was burned only in the interior of the sanctuary/temple, whereas the "outer" incense was used in censers in the courtyard ritual. In fact, only once a year was this "inner" incense burned in a censer; namely, on the Day of Atonement, when the high priest carried it into the Most Holy Place. As Haran has stated, this incense was indeed "a special kind of incense set apart for the interior of the temple, and for there alone."¹⁶

As to its composition, in which it differed from the common incense, Haran has provided the following explanation.

The difference is one of ingredients. The incense of the court is always mentioned without any additional epithet, whereas that of the tabernacle is punctiliously referred to as "the incense of *sammîm*." It is so called because, in addition to frankincense, it has three other ingredients, which are the *sammîm*, "spices" (Exod. 30:34-8)—something that is not usual in ordinary incense. Moreover, because of the special ritual character of this "inner" incense, it is stated that the frankincense added to it must be "pure" (ibid., v. 34)—a requirement which is not mentioned in the case of the frankincense added to the ordinary grain-offerings.¹⁷

With respect to the matter of composition in relationship to ritual use, Haran states further:

As indicated in the prescription, this incense has two main ingredients. The first are *sammîm*, which perhaps are not exactly spices, but substances of another kind (as some commentators have remarked) which serve to improve the mixture of spices when added to it. Three kinds of *sammîm* are mentioned here:

¹⁵Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, Eng., 1978), pp. 208, 241-243.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 241.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 208.

nāṭāp, *šḥēlet*, and *ḥelbēnāh*. The second ingredient is pure frankincense, *lḥōnāh*, the same spice which was added to the memorial-portions of the grain-offerings. It is only in connection with this incense and with the shewbread, both of which belong inside the tabernacle, that the priestly regulations emphasize that the frankincense must be “pure,” *zakkāh*.¹⁸

The inclusion of such large quantities of *sammîm* in incense was, at any rate, something exceptional. That is why this incense is associated with them and designated by the conjoint form *q^etōret hassammîn*, “the incense of *sammîm*,” to distinguish it from the censer-incense which is called simply *q^etōret*, without any appellation, that is, ordinary incense. The fact is that in virtually every reference to the “inner” incense it is punctiliously described as “the incense of *sammîm*.” Just as the incense of *sammîm* must not be put outside the tabernacle . . . , so “strange incense,” *q^etōret zārāh*, may not be offered on the altar of gold. . . . In one place the altar of gold is actually given the full epithet of “the altar of the incense of *sammîm*” (Lev. 4:7).¹⁹

Of great significance to our study is the fact that the only incense the high priest carried with him into the *d^ebîr* during the Day of Atonement was *sammîm* incense—the exclusive incense of the golden incense altar. The cloud rising from it would cover the mercy seat, whereupon was manifested the presence of Yahweh; and thus the high priest would be shielded from God’s presence and not die (Lev 16:12-13). Accordingly, *sammîm* incense served, then, not only as “inner” incense of the sanctuary, but as verily “innermost” incense by reaching the very presence of God.

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, the ritualistic importance and theological significance of the altar of incense in the sanctuary of ancient Israel were derived, not merely from its location in the Holy Place, but also—and perhaps more importantly—from the ministry of its incense in the Most Holy Place. Thus, the description in Heb 9:3-4, rather

¹⁸Ibid., p. 242.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 243.

than showing ignorance of the Hebrew ritual, would appear to indicate familiarity and knowledge of that ritual's most minute particulars and subtle meanings. That is to say, these seemingly problematical verses do not reveal either a textual corruption or any inconsistency or error on the part of an uninformed author, but suggest instead a precise theological interpretation of the function of the altar of incense in the sanctuary services.

This fact becomes even clearer when one remembers the context of the passage in question. The concern there is a spiritual and theological one, expressing the divine reality of Christ's work as High Priest in "the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands" (Heb 9:11). Therefore, it is understandable that even when the earthly sanctuary is described in 9:3-4, the emphasis is more in terms of deeper theological meanings, functions, and relationships than on merely the formal structural arrangements. In short, when the Holy of Holies is described in that passage, the golden altar of incense is mentioned because of the sacral, ritualistic, and intercessory significance of the special incense ascending into the presence of Yahweh enthroned upon His mercy seat.²⁰

²⁰In this connection, it is interesting to compare another NT reference to the altar of incense—Rev 8:3-4. In this apocalyptic vision, precisely the theological concept we have just noticed is illustrated: As the angel offers "much incense" on that altar "before the throne," the smoke of the incense mingles with the prayers of the saints in going "up before God."

RELIGIOUS SCHISM AS A PRELUDE TO THE AMERICAN
CIVIL WAR:
METHODISTS, BAPTISTS, AND SLAVERY

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Optimism reigned in early and middle nineteenth-century America. Faith was focused on human potential, and hope was placed in achieving human perfection through the reform of both individual lives and society as a whole. The Protestant churches stimulated reform of every type as they united across denominational lines to bring about the Kingdom of God on earth. Being the moral leaders of antebellum America, the Protestant churches unfortunately failed to confront unitedly the slavery issue. The problem was ignored as long as possible, but the 1840s saw schism in the nation's two largest Protestant denominations—the Methodists and the Baptists. The ecclesiastical split of these denominations along geographical lines not only foreshadowed the national political schism of the 1860s, but also contributed to it.

1. *The Influence of Religion in American Life*

The religious revivals which swept parts of the country under Charles G. Finney and others in the decades before the Civil War were influential in shaping the morals and the reformist thoughts of the nation. Albert Barnes, a prominent Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia in the 1840s, could state that there was rarely "a city or town or peaceful hamlet that has not been hallowed by revivals of religion and in this fact we mark the evidence, at once, that a God of mercy presides over the destinies of his people."¹

Multitudinous benevolent societies and reform organizations sprang up under the influence of Protestant religion. In the 1830s,

¹Quoted in Winthrop S. Hudson, *American Protestantism* (Chicago, 1961), pp. 103-104.

that optimistic clergyman-reformer Lyman Beecher commented in the following way on the value and influence of such societies:

They constitute a sort of disciplined moral militia, prepared to act upon every emergency, and repel every encroachment upon the liberties and morals of the State. By their numbers, they embolden the timid, and intimidate the enemy; and in every conflict the responsibility, being divided among many, is not feared. By this auxiliary band the hands of the magistrate are strengthened, the laws are rescued from contempt, the land is purified, the anger of the Lord is turned away, and His blessing and protection restored.²

Of all the obstacles to a state of perfection in society, slavery remained the most formidable barrier to evangelical hopes. The anti-slavery crusade was only one of many nineteenth-century reform movements, but it rose to prominence because of the scope of its appeal, because of its clear-cut effort to apply Christianity to the American social order, and because it was the most obvious antithesis to the professed ideals of democratic institutions. Another reason for the popularity of the anti-slavery cause was that slavery was “close enough to irritate and inflame sensitive minds, yet far enough removed that reformers need have few personal relations with those whose interests were affected.”³

The involvement of the churches in the issues of reform was of immense significance, for religion played a tremendously influential part in American life. Alexis de Tocqueville, that keen observer of the American scene, had been amazed by the power of religion in America in the 1830s. De Tocqueville noted that there existed “no country in the whole world in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America.”⁴ He also observed how closely intertwined were the struggles for democracy and morality: “In France I had seen the spirits of religion and

²Quoted in Jerald C. Brauer, *Protestantism in America* (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 150.

³Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (Chicago, 1966), p. 134.

⁴Quoted in Timothy Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform* (New York, 1957), p. 18.

of freedom almost always marching in opposite directions. In America I found them intimately linked together in joint reign over the same land."⁵

Similar observations about the impact of religion in American life were made by James Dixon, a prominent British Methodist who traveled widely in America in the 1840s. Said Dixon:

It is my deep conviction, that religion is the conservative power of American society. It is the salt of the community; it is the life of the soul of public and private virtue; it is the cement, the power of coherence which holds the states together; and, by purifying the public morals, elevating the soul with noble sentiments, creating the sense of responsibility, and stimulating to industry, it is creative of their greatness and power.⁶

Robert Baird, writing at a time when the religious press and educational institutions were flourishing as never before, stated that it was "interesting to mark the influence of Christian institutions on society . . . and the great amount of knowledge communicated in the numerous discourses of a well instructed ministry."⁷ By 1850, for example, religious publications accounted for over one-fourth of the total newspaper and periodical circulation in New York, and in Massachusetts the proportion was even greater.⁸

Protestantism had dominated the religious and cultural scene in the United States from the beginning of settlement, but it was stronger than ever in the mid-nineteenth century. According to Winthrop S. Hudson, Protestantism "had established undisputed sway over almost all aspects of national life." In a "Protestant America that had been fashioned by the churches," their influence "extended far beyond their somewhat narrowly defined membership," and "among the populace at large the patterns of belief and

⁵Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence (Garden City, N.Y., 1969), p. 295.

⁶James Dixon, *Personal Narrative of a Tour Through a Part of the United States and Canada: with Notices of the History and Institutions of Methodism in America* (New York, 1849), p. 192.

⁷Robert Baird, *Religion in the United States of America* (New York, 1969; originally published, Glasgow, 1844), p. 412.

⁸Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District* (New York, 1965), p. 104.

conduct—both public and private, individual and corporate—were set by the churches.”⁹

2. *Methodist and Baptist Strength*

The revivalist spirit that swept so much of the country prior to the 1840s did more to benefit the Methodist and Baptist churches than any other denominations.¹⁰ The South had been especially influenced by the evangelical Christianity of these groups at the expense of the Episcopal Church in that region. As an aftermath of revivalism, the South became grounded in a firm evangelical orthodoxy. By 1855 in the country at large, Methodist and Baptist main-line denominations and their splinter groups accounted for seventy percent of the total Protestant membership.¹¹

The Methodist Episcopal Church experienced remarkable growth in the early 1840s. The church census for 1840 showed a total membership of 842,517, which included nearly 100,000 blacks.¹² By 1844, Methodist membership was numbered at 1,068,525; but total adherents were estimated to be 4,500,000.¹³ In spite of some variations in membership statistics, there is little doubt but that the Methodist Episcopal Church had the largest following of any denomination in America during the 1840s. Other statistics of interest include the facts that in 1849 the Methodists had 1,476 traveling preachers in rural areas, that by 1860 Northern Methodists alone were operating twenty-six colleges and 116 academies and other schools, and that in 1852 the State of Indiana could claim that eleven of its thirteen congressmen were Methodists, along with one senator and the governor.¹⁴

⁹Hudson, pp. 109-110.

¹⁰See Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment* (New York, 1962; originally published, Minneapolis, 1944), p. 39; and Cross, pp. 252-253.

¹¹Smith, p. 22.

¹²Charles Elliott, *Sinfulness of American Slavery*, 2 (New York, 1969; originally published, 1850): 343.

¹³*Methodist Quarterly Review*, 3d series, 5 (October 1845): 54. In 1843, *Niles' National Register* presented a Methodist membership figure of 1,168,526, including 128,410 Negroes and 3,379 Indians.

¹⁴See Craven, p. 115, and Smith, p. 24.

The Baptist churches in America, although lacking the governmental structure and organic unity of the Methodist Church, formed the second largest denominational group in the country during the period under consideration. Membership in Baptist churches in 1850 was reported at 587,423;¹⁵ and four years later, this number had increased to 704,926 actual members and 4,000,000 total followers.¹⁶ By 1860, Baptist-sponsored educational institutions numbered 33 colleges and 161 secondary-level institutions.¹⁷

Both Baptist and Methodist churches published dozens of religious papers and journals. Even in the 1830s the *Baptist Register* of Utica, New York, could boast over 200 agents; and as Whitney Cross points out, "It seems an inescapable conclusion that a considerable proportion even of laymen read and relished the theological treatises."¹⁸

In the antebellum decades, Baptists and Methodists were leaders in constructing new church buildings, as well. In 1841 alone, out of a total of 880 such edifices erected in the United States, approximately 250 were Baptist and 250 were Methodist facilities.¹⁹

3. *Response to Abolitionism*

While prospering numerically, the churches found themselves in a dilemma when it came to active involvement in controversial reform, such as abolitionism. Although they held sway over the professed morality of the nation, yet they were fearful of alienating groups and sections within their folds. Prior to the Methodist and Baptist sectional splits of 1844 and 1845, official church declarations in these denominations and in most others were often neutral on the slavery issue, or even clearly anti-abolitionist. Abolitionists, some of whom had lashed out at the Constitution and even at the Bible as being pro-slavery, harshly criticized the churches for their lack of conviction and decisive action. Meanwhile, the churches

¹⁵C. C. Goss, *Statistical History of the First Century of American Methodism* (New York, 1866), p. 150.

¹⁶*Methodist Quarterly Review*, 3d series, 5 (October 1845): 55.

¹⁷Smith, p. 36.

¹⁸Cross, pp. 105-109.

¹⁹Baird, p. 728.

agonized over their proper roles and pondered the effects on the unity of the nation if they were to pursue the abolitionist cause.

The criticisms and pleadings addressed to the churches are indications that their influence was strong and that their cooperation was considered vital to the success of the anti-slavery crusade. William Lloyd Garrison, writing in the *Liberator*, violently attacked the nation's churches for tolerating slavery, but at times he was more gentle in appealing for the help of religion in ridding the land of this evil. According to the *Liberator*, churches must not divorce themselves from the slavery question, and they had little to fear if they pursued the just cause of abolitionism. One *Liberator* editorial declared that abolitionist principles and true Christian precepts were one and the same. The cause of the slave would not create division if carried into the churches, for Christian duty and the good of humanity were synonymous. "If our brethren in the school of Christ are willing to imbibe his spirit, and, knowing his duty, [are] willing to perform it, they will have no fears that the cause of mercy will divide the churches."²⁰

Abolitionists urged the clergy to set an example for their people by repudiating slavery. Public speeches, as well as the press, were employed in exhorting American Christianity to commit itself to the cause. An abolitionist picnic and rally held in Westminister, Massachusetts, on the Fourth of July 1843, included a speech asking if it were right for slavery to be tolerated by "ye ministers and professed disciples of HIM who came to preach deliverance to the captives; and who placed himself in the condition of a slave and a malefactor to redeem the world?" The speech continued:

Are you yet stumbling blocks in the way of the Lord, which is being cast up for his ransomed? . . . Do you know the love of God as it is in Christ, and still not abhor slavery with your whole heart? . . . They shall not see the face of the Lord's anointed, til they bless his coming in every great work of reform. And you of the ministry, and church who see and feel your duty, will you lead off in this work?²¹

When abolitionists' pleas for anti-slavery commitment and involvement on the part of the churches produced insignificant results,

²⁰*Liberator* (Boston), October 13, 1843, p. 161.

²¹Adin Ballou, "The Voice of Duty," *An Address Delivered at the Anti-Slavery Picnic at Westminister, Mass. July 4, 1843* (Milford, Mass., 1843), p. 9.

criticism of the churches' apathy followed. An anti-slavery tract of the 1850s found it deplorable that "the great majority of ministers of every denomination, remained utterly indifferent to the facts and the arguments which were set forth concerning slavery." Its author, Charles K. Whipple, went on to say that "both church and congregation soon learned to appeal to the indifference of so pious and excellent a man as their minister, as a sufficient reason for their own indifference to the guilt and the danger involved in slavery."²²

By placing moral responsibility on each individual, not just on the clergy, appeals were also made to the laity of apathetic churches to take action against slavery, as in the following *Liberator* editorial:

Let the religion that you profess be brought to bear with mighty power against slavery, this enemy of the religion of Christ. . . . Let me remind you that you cannot shift off your duties and responsibilities onto the clergy or other persons; then speak out, brethren, for the groans of the slave rise to heaven from this professed enlightened Christian land. Shall professed Christians be silent? If you honor the religion you profess, which has been accused of upholding slavery, speak out.²³

Tension between abolitionist societies and organized religion reached such a point that the latter was often held directly responsible for slavery by the former. A caustic critique of "Modern Christianity" in the *Liberty Bell*, written by Henry Clapp, Jr., was one of many articles denouncing hypocrisy in the churches and stating that it would be almost better to be an infidel than to be an American Christian. According to that polemic, there was a simple way to get rid of slavery: "But do this—dethrone the pro-slavery priesthood of America and its cannibal god—and humanity will spring to her feet with the alacrity of youth; the cords of oppression which have worn deep into her quivering flesh, will be snapped assunder; the clouds of superstition . . . will be scattered."²⁴

Another article in the *Liberty Bell*, by H. I. Bowditch, maintained that "if the Church did not exert a decidedly enslaving influence upon the community, emancipation would have taken place

²²Charles King Whipple, *Relations of Anti-Slavery to Religion* (New York, 1856), p. 1.

²³*Liberator*, September 29, 1843, p. 154.

²⁴Henry Clapp, Jr., "Modern Christianity," *Liberty Bell*, 1847, pp. 19-20.

long since." The same article continued with the following indictment: "The Southern Church of the present day allows a man to sell his brother into wretched bondage; and the Northern Church says 'Amen' by its ominous silence."²⁵

The Church in the North was held responsible for failing to provide an example which would prick the Southern moral consciousness, as evidenced, for instance, in the words of Wendell Phillips: "But for the countenance of the Northern Church the Southern conscience would have long since awakened to its guilt, and the impious sight of a Church made up of slaveholders and called the Church of Christ, been scouted from the land."²⁶

James G. Birney, the National Liberty Party's presidential candidate in 1840 and 1844, wrote a scathing attack in 1842, entitled *The American Churches, the Bulwarks of American Slavery*. This book linked the existence of slavery to the permissiveness of the church. Birney would have agreed with Whipple's contribution to the *Liberator*:

If the Church and the clergy had been faithful to their principles, anti-slavery societies would never have existed, for they would never have been needed.

. . . the position, character, and influence of the clergy and the Church, render them far more dangerous enemies of the anti-slavery cause than all its other enemies combined.

Nothing can be plainer than that, if the religion of a country does not actively oppose slavery, it will be its defense and bulwark.²⁷

Furthermore, even such a prominent member of the clergy as Albert Barnes was forced to admit that "it is probable that slavery could not be sustained in this land if it were not for the countenance, direct and indirect, of the churches."²⁸

It is clear that the tremendous influence on society wielded by the American churches was recognized by opponents of slavery.

²⁵Henry I. Bowditch, "Slavery and the Church," *Liberty Bell*, 1843, pp. 9-10.

²⁶Wendell Phillips, "Disunion," *Liberty Bell*, 1847, pp. 19-20.

²⁷Charles King Whipple, "The Church and the Clergy," *Liberator*, January 26, 1844, p. 13.

²⁸Albert Barnes, *The Church and Slavery*, 2d ed. (Detroit, 1969; originally published, Philadelphia, 1857), p. 28.

And in turn, many American Christians squirmed with discomfort at the criticisms of abolitionists. Indeed, many Protestants became convinced that perhaps they did share in the guilt of slavery, though the denominations with substantial followings in the South were understandably reluctant to act with haste in opposing slavery. It would take much agonizing and wrangling before a clear anti-slavery posture was taken by the mainline denominations.

4. *Sectional Division Within the Churches*

Since the two denominations most numerous in membership had considerable followings in both the North and South, any disturbance in Methodist and Baptist unity along sectional lines would have repercussions extending beyond mere theological debate. These denominations grew up in America, in intimate contact with slavery; and it was this very issue of human bondage which was to cause the greatest schism ever experienced by America's churches. Evangelical Protestantism may have been capable of producing a spirit of reform and religious fervor, but it was unable to hold itself together when the nation was divided in opinion concerning slavery. The problems of the churches were the problems of the nation at large, and because of the churches' vast influence on society, it was likely that ecclesiastical schism over slavery would sharpen sectional hostility and push the issue even more heatedly into the arena of politics.

Ecclesiastical division—preceded by several years of heated moral debate over slavery in pamphlets, the press, and the pulpit—erupted in the 1840s as Methodists and Baptists sectionalized over the slavery issue. The Methodist Episcopal Church in its 1844 convention was faced with strong convictions coming out of New England. These convictions, as summed up in the Boston Convention's position, were "that slave-holding is sin; that every slaveholder is a sinner, and ought not to be admitted to the pulpit or the communion; that the Methodist Episcopal Church is responsible for slavery in its pale; and that nothing short of a speedy and entire separation of slavery from the church could satisfy the consciences of honest Abolitionists, and therefore reformation or division is the only alternative."²⁹

²⁹Quoted in Lucius C. Matlack, *The Anti-Slavery Struggle and the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, 1969; originally published, New York, 1881), p. 152.

When a motion to suspend Bishop James Andrew, who through inheritance had become a slave owner, was presented, the denomination was churned into a frenzy. The suspension of the Bishop, it was prophesied by a Virginia delegate, could have devastating consequences:

The division of our church might follow, a civil division of this great confederacy may follow that, and then hearts will be torn apart, master and slave arrayed against each other, brother in the church against brother, and the North against the South; and when thus arrayed with the fiercest passions and energies of our nature brought into action against each other, civil war and far-reaching desolation must be the final results.³⁰

A strongly sectional vote suspended the Bishop, and Southern reaction was swift. "The South cannot submit," stated a declaration produced by the Southern caucus, "and the absolute necessity of division is already dated."³¹

Baptists were soon to follow the divisive ways of the Methodists. Their home and foreign mission societies—areas of ministry which fostered Baptist cooperation and loosely tied the denomination together—became the scenes of bitter agitation between abolitionists and pro-slavery Southerners. One Southern committee drafted a resolution declaring that abolitionism was unscriptural, in violation of the national constitution, in opposition to the peace and prosperity of the churches, and dangerous to national union.³² Both home and foreign mission agencies in their triennial conventions decided on a parting of the ways, goaded by the board's ruling that no slaveholder could be accepted as a foreign-missionary candidate. Thus, the Southern Baptist Convention was born.

5. *National Reaction to Ecclesiastical Division*

It was clearly recognized in both press and government circles that religious passions had indeed been heated to a dangerous degree by the slavery controversy. The moral arguments dividing the North

³⁰*Journals of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, vol. 2, *Debates of 1844* (New York, 1844), p. 95.

³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

³²William Wright Barnes, *The Southern Baptist Convention, 1845-53* (Nashville, Tenn., 1954), p. 23.

and South over the institution, as well as the denominational divisions triggered by the slavery issue, did not go without notice among the American people and the nation's political leaders. Although opinions varied somewhat, the religious schism in the country was generally viewed with a great deal of alarm and regret. Men in high places perceived an ominous sign of worse things to come.

The Methodist and Baptist churches had heretofore bound together separate and often disparate segments of the population. Prior to the Methodist schism of 1844, Bishop Nathan Bangs, for instance, had pointed out to New England audiences that Methodism was "the chief religious and, in a sense, the chief social tie between the Northern and Southern states."³³ There were, of course, other ties uniting North and South, such as the American democratic tradition and family relationships, but the breaking of the ecclesiastical tie between the sections came as a devastating blow to national unity.

Immediately following the adjournment of the 1844 Methodist Conference, the press reacted to the important news of a division within Methodism. The Charleston *Mercury* published a protest of the Southern delegates over the Bishop Andrew affair, stating also that the schism marked "an epoch—the first dissolution of the Union." The Columbia *South Carolinian* felt that the division within Methodism was desirable because it would "arouse the North to a proper sense of the pernicious influence of abolitionism." If the North would only take heed to the dangers of abolitionism, there would be "a closer, and happier union, religious and political." But if it would not do so, "then it is evident that the separation will soon end in a political one."³⁴ The *New York Daily Tribune* carefully reported the events of the 1844 Methodist General Conference, and provided reasons for the widespread attention which that convention had received:

The session just closed is, we believe, the longest ever held by this important ecclesiastical body, and its proceedings were certainly never watched with more absorbing interest either by members of the Methodist Communion or by the public at large. The

³³Quoted in Smith, p. 189.

³⁴Quoted in Charles B. Swaney, *Episcopal Methodism and Slavery* (New York, 1969; originally published, 1926), p. 287.

eminent character and ability of its members, its important relations to society and the Church, and, above all, the nature and bearing of the questions on which it was called to act, were calculated to secure for it a large share of public attention, and to excite the deepest interest in its proceedings in every part of the country.³⁵

South Carolina's powerful Senator, John C. Calhoun, watched the Methodist General Conference of 1844 with keen interest, and he invited a number of Southern delegates to meet with him in Washington on their return from the New York convention. In later years Calhoun was to place great significance upon this rupture. And, writing in retrospect in 1867, Methodist leader Abel Stevens also placed great importance on the church split in terms of national events which followed: "This stupendous rupture, it cannot be doubted, was the effective beginning of the great national rupture which soon after startled the world with the greatest civil war of modern history."³⁶

The Methodist Church rupture of 1844 certainly did not create the slavery issue, for two opposing camps had long been forming, even under the dome of the nation's capitol. The ecclesiastical crisis, however, brought the issue into the national spotlight, and by dividing North and South on moral principles, it certainly made the possibility of political division far from remote. Well-known public figures such as Henry Clay were quick to see a connection between what was happening in religious circles and what might occur in the political realm. In April of 1845, Clay wrote as follows regarding the Methodist division:

It was, therefore, with the deepest regret that I heard, in the course of the past year, of the danger of a division of the [Methodist Episcopal] church, in consequence of a subject of slavery. A division, for such a cause, would be an event greatly to be deplored, both on account of the Church itself and its political tendency. Indeed, scarcely any public occurrence has happened for a long time that gave me so much real concern and pain as the menaced separation of the Church, by a line throwing all the Free

³⁵*New York Daily Tribune*, June 13, 1844, p. 2.

³⁶Abel Stevens, *A Compendious History of American Methodism* (New York, 1867), p. 526.

States on one side, and all the Slave States on the other. I will not say that such a separation would necessarily produce a dissolution of the political union of these states; but the example would be fraught with imminent danger, and, in cooperation with other causes unfortunately existing, its tendency on the stability of the Confederacy would be perilous and alarming.³⁷

The need for Baptist unity in North and South was recognized, and schism in the Baptist Church was deplored, just as the Methodist division had been. A Southern Baptist leader, Richard Fuller, gave a strong plea for Baptist unity before a split actually occurred in that body. Burdened over the possible consequences of a denominational division along sectional lines, he wrote in 1845:

My chief hope for the Union is in the conservative power of religion, and the day is not far when that power will be required in all its stringency. Look at the distracted condition of the land; reflect on the appalling character of a civil war; and if you love the country, or the slave, do not sever the bonds which unite Baptist churches. Compared with slavery, all other topics which now shake and inflame men's passions in these United States, are really trifling.³⁸

At the time of the Baptist crisis, *Niles' National Register* reported in May of 1845 that "the crisis is approaching—the Baptists have been aroused; their deepest feelings have been probed." The *Register* went on to point out that the Baptist denomination "is the largest in the United States, it has had an influence and a sway at the south which is hardly understood, a movement made here will be a wide one."³⁹

Later the same year, *The Christian Review*, a Baptist periodical, noted that "to sever ties by which the parties had been so long bound together, to draw a dividing line between North and South, was a solemn and momentous act. It was a deed not to be hastily or rashly done." No one, it continued, "can calculate the extent of the

³⁷Letter to Dr. W. A. Booth, April 7, 1845, in Calvin Colton, ed., *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay* (New York, 1856), p. 525.

³⁸Richard Fuller, *Domestic Slavery Considered as a Scriptural Institution* (New York, 1847), p. 3.

³⁹*Niles' National Register*, May 24, 1845, p. 187.

influence which this single act may exert, not only upon the great work of imparting Christianity to the heathen, but upon the interests, or even the existence, of our common country."⁴⁰

After both Methodists and Baptists had divided sectionally, the *Richmond Christian Advocate* found the schism objectionable "on the ground that, if we had Northern and Southern churches, it would not be long before we should have Northern and Southern Confederacies."⁴¹ In fact, as sectional issues were strained almost to the breaking point in 1850, the ecclesiastical division over slavery was also used as evidence in political circles to show the seriousness of the national situation, and it was widely suggested that the Union was clearly in jeopardy.

In his last formal speech before the Senate on March 4, 1850, Senator Calhoun described the erosion of the Union by various factors, not the least of which was ecclesiastical division:

It is a great mistake to suppose that disunion can be effected by a single blow. The cords which bound these States together in one common Union, are far too numerous and powerful for that. Disunion must be the work of time. It is only through a long process, and successively, that the cords can be snapped, until the whole fabric falls asunder. Already the agitation of the slavery question has snapped some of the most important, and has greatly weakened all the others. . . .

The cords that bind the States together are not only many, but various in character. Some are spiritual or ecclesiastical; some political; others social. . . .

The first of these cords which snapped was that of the powerful Methodist Episcopal Church. The numerous and strong ties which held it together, are all broken, and its unity gone. They now form separate churches; and, instead of that feeling of attachment and devotion to the interests of the whole church which was formerly felt, they are now arrayed into two hostile bodies, engaged in litigation about what was formerly their common property.

The next cord that snapped was that of the Baptists—one of the largest and most respectable of the denominations. . . . If the agitation goes on, the same force, acting with increased intensity,

⁴⁰"The Division of the Baptist General Convention," *The Christian Review*, 10 (December 1845): 487.

⁴¹Quoted in Swaney, p. 288.

as has been shown, will finally snap every cord, then nothing will be left to hold the states together except force. But, surely, that can, with no propriety of language, be called a Union. . . .⁴²

A few days later, in his famous "Seventh of March" speech, Daniel Webster once again pointed out how significant the moral and religious arguments over slavery had been in the land. The anti-slavery moral argument was a big factor in the differences between North and South, and ecclesiastical division greatly deteriorated national unity. Strong religious convictions, Webster feared, would in the case of slavery produce serious results. In his mention of disappointment in the split of the Methodists, it is clear that he saw slavery as the cause of that split; and he concluded that arguments involving religious principles were to be feared because of the passion aroused. Webster referred to Calhoun's earlier speech, as he declared:

Why, sir, the honorable Senator from South Carolina, the other day, alluded to the great separation of that great religious community, the Methodist Episcopal Church. That separation was brought about by differences of opinion upon this peculiar subject of slavery. I felt great concern, as the dispute went on, about the result; and I was in hopes that the difference of opinions might be adjusted, because I looked upon that religious denomination as one of the great props of religion and morals, throughout the whole country, from Maine to Georgia. The result was against my wishes and against my hopes. . . .

Sir, when a question of this kind takes hold of the religious sentiments of mankind, and comes to be discussed in religious assemblies of the clergy and laity, there is always to be expected, or always to be feared, a great degree of excitement. It is in the nature of man, manifested by his whole history, that religious disputes are apt to become warm, and men's strength of conviction is proportionate to their views of the magnitude of the questions.⁴³

There were those in the United States who saw the validity of moral and ecclesiastical arguments over slavery and felt that the

⁴²Richard K. Crallee, ed., *Speeches of John C. Calhoun, Delivered in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States* (New York, 1851-1856; reissued, New York, 1968), pp. 542-558.

⁴³*Congressional Globe* (Washington, D.C.), 21/1 (March 8, 1850): 477.

churches must lead society down the narrow path of justice. William Goodell, author of a book published in 1852 dealing with both sides of the slavery question, was such an individual. He, too, bore testimony of the connection existing between political and religious division: "It was seen by many, at an early day, that the same principle that required *political* secession, required, in like cases, *ecclesiastical* secession; and the more especially as the church is naturally expected to be purer than the State, and to constitute the guide and teacher, by which, on great moral questions, the legislation of a country must be moulded." Furthermore, he made a dire prediction that unless the churches took the moral lead and the government followed, "it is evident that the sun of American liberty must go down in darkness, or be subjected to a baptism in blood."⁴⁴

Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, on the other hand, had little patience with those who debated the morality of slavery. To argue in such fashion, he maintained, was to endanger severely the existence of the Union. He said, "I do not know of any tribunal on earth that can decide the question of the morality of slavery or any other institution."⁴⁵ In his 1858 debates with Abraham Lincoln, Douglas reiterated his position in the following way:

I hold that the people of the slaveholding states are civilized men as well as ourselves; that they bear consciences as well as we, and that they are accountable to God and their posterity, and not to us. It is for them to decide, therefore, the moral and religious right of the slavery question for themselves within their own limits.⁴⁶

This remark by Douglas had been made on October 13. Two days later, Lincoln pointed an accusing finger at the menace of slavery. It was slavery which was at the root of the ecclesiastical division, Lincoln declared, and it was the slavery controversy that was eroding the Union:

We have sometimes had peace, but when was it? It was when the institution of slavery remained quiet where it was. We have

⁴⁴William Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery* (New York, 1968; originally published, 1852), pp. 487, 585.

⁴⁵Robert W. Johannsen, ed., *The Letters of Stephen A. Douglas* (Urbana, Ill., 1961), p. xxvi.

⁴⁶Robert W. Johannsen, ed., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (New York, 1965), p. 275. From the debate of October 13, 1848, at Quincy, Illinois.

had difficulty and turmoil whenever it has made a struggle to spread itself where it was not. . . .

Parties themselves may be divided and quarrel on minor questions, yet it extends not beyond the parties themselves. But does not this question [slavery] make a disturbance outside of political circles? Does it not enter the churches and rend them asunder? What divided the great Methodist Church into two parts, North and South?

Has any thing ever threatened the existence of this Union save and except this very institution of slavery?⁴⁷

6. Conclusion

Clearly, the moral and religious division over the issue of slavery in the period from 1840 to 1860 was perceived as being highly significant by elements of the press, by church leadership, and by public figures. When we deal with historical causation, there is a sometimes-overlooked element: namely, that the significance of an idea, a movement, or a single event is dependent on how that idea, movement, or event is *perceived* by those whom it affects at the time. For this reason alone, the denominational and moral crisis over slavery was highly significant, for it was viewed by a great many persons as being very influential.

If any issue could divide the churches in mid-nineteenth-century America, it was slavery. Keeping unity in the ecclesiastical and the political realms proved to be impossible; and it was the same issue, slavery, that was largely responsible in both cases. That issue was a multi-faceted one, as is often the case; for it involved political, social, economic, moral, and religious elements all at once. The ecclesiastical split came first, and through it the moral disjunction of the United States became institutionalized.

There can be little doubt but that the snapping asunder of the ecclesiastical cords that helped to unite the nation provided more than a prophecy of the sectional hostility and violence that was to come. The split in America's churches was not only the first major institutional break between North and South; it was also a significant contributor to the disruption of the Union represented in the Civil War.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 313, 314, 317. From the debate of October 15, 1858, at Alton, Illinois.

THE NEO-BABYLONIAN HISTORICAL SETTING FOR DANIEL 7

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In a series of earlier studies on the historical chapters of Daniel, I have suggested that a number of details in those narratives can be correlated with events of the sixth century B.C. to a greater degree than has previously been appreciated.¹ In some instances, it is also possible to make a rather direct correlation between an historical narrative in the book and a related prophetic passage. An example of this is supplied in the final three chapters of the book.² By locating the historical narrative of Dan 10 in the early Persian period, it is also possible to propose the same date for the immediately connected and directly related prophecy of Dan 11-12.³

Another example of the same kind of relationship can be proposed for Dan 9. An historical setting for the prophecy of 9:24-27 can be inferred indirectly from my previous study on Darius the Mede in Dan 6,⁴ since the narrative in which this prophecy of 9:24-27 occurs is dated, in 9:1, to Darius' reign. Thus, this prophecy fits with the indicated early-Persian-period setting, a setting also presupposed by the lengthy prayer preceding the prophecy—namely, Daniel's appeal for the fulfillment of Jeremiah's prediction concerning the return and restoration of the Judahite exiles (9:4-19). The contents of Daniel's prophecy correlate well in this respect, too, as being a forward look to the future of the community, once it had been restored. Thus, the expressed date in the heading of Dan 9:1,

¹W. H. Shea, "Daniel 3: Extra-Biblical Texts and the Convocation on the Plain of Dura," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 29-52; idem, "Nabonidus, Belshazzar, and the Book of Daniel: An Update," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 133-149; idem, "Darius the Mede: An Update," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 229-247; idem, "A Further Note on Daniel 6: Daniel as 'Governor,'" *AUSS* 21 (1983): 169-171; idem, "Wrestling with the Prince of Persia: A Study on Daniel 10," *AUSS* 21 (1983): 225-250.

²Shea, "Wrestling with the Prince," pp. 225-250.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

⁴Shea, "Darius the Mede," pp. 229-247.

the implied date for Daniel's prayer (cf. vss. 2-3), and the nature of the contents of the prophecy itself in vss. 24-27 all fit together in a harmonious whole that is readily compatible with an early-Persian-period origin.

My previous historical studies on Daniel have, then, provided reasonable settings in the life of the sixth century B.C. for two of the prophecies of the book, those of Dan 9 and Dan 10-12. More can be said, however, about the historical setting for the prophecy of Dan 7, and it is the purpose of this study to explore that relationship.

1. *History and the Dateline of Daniel 7*

The prophecy of Dan 7 is dated to the first year of Belshazzar (vs. 1). As far as the date of authorship of this prophetic narrative is concerned, this date would have been a very unusual one to have been employed by a Palestinian author writing in the second century B.C., the date commonly applied to this narrative. On the other hand, it makes very good sense if considered as coming from an author writing in Babylon during the sixth century B.C. From the recovery of the composition known as "The Prayer of Nabonidus" among the fragments of the scrolls at Qumran,⁵ it is clear that at least some Jews who lived in Judea in the second and first centuries B.C. were aware of the historical existence of Nabonidus as the last king of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty. Inasmuch as this composition also reveals a knowledge of the fact that Nabonidus spent a considerable number of years in Tema of Arabia, it is reasonable to expect that his position as the last king of the dynasty probably was known, as well. Belshazzar, on the other hand, is *not known* from any historical sources that survived in continued use, aside from the book of Daniel itself and those references that are directly dependent upon Daniel.⁶ A date in the time of Belshazzar in the sixth century B.C. is, therefore, a much better setting for the origin of the dateline of Dan 7:1—and, thus, for the prophecy connected with it.

⁵J. T. Milik, "'Priere de Nabonide' et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel," *RB* 63 (1956): 407-415.

⁶H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires* (Cardiff, 1935), p. 10.

2. *History and the Contents of the Prophecy of Daniel 7*

This bare historical fact about the dateline of Dan 7:1 becomes much more important when it is employed to assess the significance of the first year of Belshazzar as the setting for the giving of the prophecy in chap. 7. The question here may be put as follows: What was so significant about the first year of Belshazzar that made it important enough to serve as the occasion for the giving of this prophecy, and why was this prophecy given at this precise time rather than at some other time? An answer to this twofold question can be proposed from a comparison between the major event that happened in Babylon during the year of the dateline and the contents of the prophecy.

The major event that occurred in Babylon during the first year of Belshazzar was that very event to which the dateline itself points—namely, the installation of Belshazzar as regent of Babylon when his father, King Nabonidus, left for an extended stay in Tema of Arabia. Even though I have suggested a minor alteration in the way this action is viewed,⁷ it still should be described as the establishment of a coregency. This is the way in which it has been treated by various commentaries and histories of that period.

The political importance of this event is emphasized by the fact that for the series of years thereafter, the Nabonidus Chronicle records mainly that the king stayed in Tema, that Belshazzar was in Babylon, and that the New Year's festival—for which the personal presence of Nabonidus was necessary—was not celebrated.⁸ Clearly, then, as far as events in Babylon were concerned, the most important event in the first year of Belshazzar was the establishment of the coregency between Belshazzar the son and Nabonidus his father.

With this major event identified by the dateline of Dan 7:1 as the immediate background for the occasion of the giving of the prophecy of Dan 7, the contents of that prophecy can be examined for any potentially significant relationship to that background. Here, one's attention is immediately called to the climax of the vision, its last major scene that is described in vss. 9-14. This scene is set in heaven. There, the Ancient of Days presides over a heavenly

⁷Shea, "Nabonidus, Belshazzar, and the Book of Daniel," pp. 133-149.

⁸*ANET*, p. 306.

tribunal. The final act in that heavenly court scene was revealed to the prophet when he saw,

And behold, with the clouds of heaven
there came one like a son of man,
and he came to the Ancient of Days
and was presented before him.

And to him was given dominion and glory and kingdom,
that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him;
his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass
away,
and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed (Dan 7:13-14).

In the study of this passage, I concur with G. F. Hasel's conclusion that the "Son of Man" should be distinguished from the "Saints of the Most High" that are mentioned in Dan 7:17, 22, 25, and 27.⁹ This "Son of Man" is a heavenly figure, and those "Saints" are located on earth. I also concur with Arthur Ferch's elucidation of this subject.¹⁰

We have here, then, a single individual in heaven who partakes of both divine and human (messianic) characteristics, and he comes to the Ancient of Days—God who sits upon the central throne in the scene—and receives from him rulership over the final, eternal, all-encompassing kingdom of God on earth. This passage, thus, describes the establishment of a coregency: that of the Son of Man with the Ancient of Days.

Although this is the description of the establishment of a coregency between quite different types of individuals than those participating in such an arrangement in Babylon in 550 B.C., there still is present here the description of the establishment of a similar type of arrangement between them: *a coregency*.

The conclusion to be drawn from this comparison is that during the first year of Belshazzar, the year in which he was installed as coregent with his father Nabonidus, the prophet received—according to the dateline connected with it—a vision of the future

⁹G. F. Hasel, "The Identity of 'The Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," *Biblica* 56 (1975): 176-185.

¹⁰A. J. Ferch, *The Apocalyptic "Son of Man" in Daniel 7* (Th.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1979).

establishment in heaven of a coregency between two beings there. A comparison between these two events of similar nature can be outlined as follows:

	<i>Historical Coregency</i>	<i>Prophetic Coregency</i>
<i>Date:</i>	1st year of Belshazzar (550 BC.)	The End of Time
<i>Location:</i>	City of Babylon	The Temple in Heaven
<i>Senior Coregent:</i>	Nabonidus	The Ancient of Days
<i>Junior Coregent:</i>	Belshazzar	The Son of Man

As a minor chronological aside, it should be pointed out that, by nature of the relationship involved, there was in ancient practice no accession period for the junior coregent at the time he was appointed. Since the establishment of a coregency did not require the death of the old king, the junior king began dating his regnal years from the time of his installation in office. Thus, the 1st year of Belshazzar was the same year as that in which he was appointed as regent; it was not the year after that appointment. This type of arrangement is most clear from the information about the Egyptian coregencies,¹¹ it is chronologically compatible with the coregencies in the kingdom of Judah,¹² and thus it is also probable for this coregency in Babylon.

3. Conclusion

The nature of the relationship between these two coregencies expressed in the Danielic passage should be carefully noted. By no means is it implied here that Dan 7:9-14 constitutes a description or prophecy of the establishment of the coregency between Nabonidus and Belshazzar. The contents of the prophecy make it clear that this is not the case. This heavenly coregency is at least four kingdoms later than the one between Belshazzar and Nabonidus.

¹¹On the Egyptian coregencies, see W. J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC, vol. 40 (Chicago, 1977).

¹²For the coregencies among the kings of Judah see E. R. Thiele, *Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965).

The relationship between the two is rather one of analogy or parallelism. At the time when one of these coregencies was established in Babylon, the prophet was given a vision about the establishment of a coregency of a similar type, but of quite different nature, that would be established in the future.

While these two coregencies were, thus, by no means one and the same, it should be pointed out that the contemporary earthly coregency served to illustrate the future heavenly one. In order for the prophet better to understand what he was given in vision, this was shown to him in the very same year that a similar relationship was established on an earthly scale directly before his eyes—in his time and place. In other words, a human analogy has been employed here as the setting for, and illustration of, the divine event yet to come.

Finally, it should be noted how particularly appropriate this specific year was. Since no other coregencies are known to have occurred during the seven decades of the existence of the Neo-Babylonian dynastic empire, this year was the most appropriate one in that whole era for the Babylonian captive Daniel to have been shown a vision which included this element. The date in the dateline of Dan 7:1 is, therefore, altogether appropriate for the occasion upon which to have given the prophet a vision with the contents outlined in chap. 7.

SOME MODALITIES OF SYMBOLIC USAGE IN REVELATION 18

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The book of Revelation is by far the richest Bible book in allusions to other parts of Scripture, especially the OT.¹ It undoubtedly is also the richest with respect to modalities in which the allusions occur. Aside from the broad concepts of "fluidity" in symbolic portrayal, "rebirth" of images, and "blending" or "merging" of symbolic backgrounds,² there are other important facets of

¹Various commentators have noted this fact. See, e.g., H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 3d ed. (London, Eng., 1909; reprint ed., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1951), pp. cxl-clviii, where an extensive listing of comparisons between Revelation and the OT is provided (affecting 248 of Revelation's 404 verses); and Merrill C. Tenney, *Interpreting Revelation* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1957), pp. 26-27, 101-116, and especially the table on p. 104. It should be noted that Swete's textual comparisons are based on the listing of Westcott and Hort in their Greek NT, and that Tenney, although making reference to Swete on p. 101, has provided a different sort of tabulation in his table on p. 104. Most listings number the allusions at fewer than 500, although J. Massyngberde Forde in the Anchor Bible volume on *Revelation* (vol. 38, 1975), refers to A. Vanhoye as having computed the number as 518. Actually, however, Albert Vanhoye, "L'utilisation du livre d'Ézéchiel dans l'Apocalypse," *Bib* 43 (1962), p. 439, refers to the statistics offered by several investigators, and he attributes the statistic of 518 allusions (plus other figures mentioned by Ford, such as 88 allusions to Daniel) to A. Gelin, *L'Apocalypse*, in *Bible Pirot* (Paris, 1938), pp. 589-590. Presently work is being done by my colleague Jon Paulien that may reveal the numbers of allusions thus far suggested by the investigators as being far too low; a count of upward of a thousand may prove to be more reasonable. (Incidentally, the term "allusions" is used herein in a broad sense that includes both "quotations" and "allusions" as defined by Tenney, p. 103. There are no "citations" in the Apocalypse.)

²"Fluidity" in symbolic portrayal has received brief discussion in K. A. Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. (Naples, Fla., 1979), p. 28; "rebirth" of images is a term used by Austin Farrer, *A Rebirth of Images: The Making of St. John's Apocalypse* (Oxford, Eng., 1964; and Gloucester, Mass., 1970); and the "blending" or "merging" of images is described in K. A. Strand, "An Overlooked Background to Revelation 11:1," *AUSS* 22 (1984): 317-319, where I relate this kind of symbolic portrayal to what Paul S. Minear has termed a "trans-historical model"

the Apocalypse's use of symbolic representation that deserve notice. Two such further modalities that are represented in Rev 18 are the focus of the present brief article: (1) *dramatic inversion* (or *reversal*) of images, and (2) *literal transmission* of OT expression and/or conceptualization into the new literary medium and setting. The former will be illustrated from vs. 6 and the latter from vs. 20.

1. *The Literary Structure of Revelation 18*

The portrayal of Babylon's judgment in Rev 18 takes the literary form of a well-balanced chiasm, a subject treated in two earlier *AUSS* articles.³ The blocs of material can be outlined as follows (a more-detailed diagram appears at the close of this article):

- A. Introduction (Babylon's Doom Pronounced; Her Internal Condition Described; Her Sinful Activities and Relationships Summarized), vss. 1-3
- B. "Interlude" (Appeal to "Come Out of Babylon"; Statement of Judgment on Babylon), vss. 4-8
 - C. The Litany Proper (Mourning of Kings, Merchants, and Seafarers at Babylon in Flames), vss. 9-19
- B'. "Interlude" (Call for Rejoicing; Statement of Judgment on Babylon), vs. 20
- A'. Conclusion (Babylon's Doom Graphically Expressed; Her Internal Condition Described; Her Sinful Activities and Relationships Summarized), vss. 21-24

Of particular interest to us here are two closely corresponding statements in the two "interludes"—namely, the two specific references to the divine judicial verdict against Babylon. These are as follows:

Vs. 6: "Render to her [Babylon] as she herself has rendered, and repay her double for her deeds; mix a double draught for her in the cup she mixed." (RSV)

and as "a comprehensive rather than a disjunctive mode of seeing and thinking" (see my n. 6 on p. 319, and Minear, "Ontology and Ecclesiology in the Apocalypse," *NTS* 12 [1965/66]: 96).

³K. A. Strand, "Two Aspects of Babylon's Judgment Portrayed in Revelation 18," and W. H. Shea, "Chiasm in Theme and by Form in Revelation 18," in *AUSS* 20 (1982): 53-60 and 249-256, respectively.

Vs. 20: "For God has judged your judgment against her." (A fairly literal rendition; see section 3 of this article)

The foregoing declarations are patterned after the law of malicious witness. According to that law, as stated in Deut 19:18-19, the judges were to make diligent investigation of the case; and, upon discovery that false testimony had been brought against an individual, judgment was to be rendered to the effect that the accuser would be treated "as he had intended to do to his brother." A concrete illustration of the same judicial concept from ancient Persia occurs in the book of Esther, in Haman's being hanged on the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai (Esth 7:9-10). Also, the principle of making the penalty commensurate with the crime, as reflected in the *lex talionis* ("eye-for-eye," etc.; cf. Deut 19:21, Exod 21:23-25, et al.), appears to be background for these statements in Rev 18.

2. The "Dramatic-Inversion" Modality

The first declaration in the judgment-decree statement of Rev 18:6—"Render to her [Babylon] as she herself has rendered"—is totally comprehensible as being within the scope and intent of the law of malicious witness. It also comes squarely within the penalty parameters designated in the *lex talionis*: "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth" (not "two eyes for one eye, two teeth for one tooth," etc.).⁴ The curious part of the decree of Rev 18:6 is the second declaration: "and repay her double for her deeds; mix a double draught for her in the cup she mixed."

It may be that this *heightened form* of the declaration is a poetic device incorporated for emphasis. However, even if this be the case, a point of interest to us here is that the declaration appears to be related to a series of OT passages that pertain to the experience of the southern Israelite kingdom of Judah in connection with the

⁴George E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1955; reprinted from *BA* 17 [1954]: 26-46, 49-76), has dealt with certain basic concepts and structures relating to ancient Israelite law and covenant, especially in the setting of broader concepts and structures of law and covenant in the ancient Near East. Regarding the *lex taliones*, he has made the observation that this law was "originally a measure of protection. It contrasted originally to the Song of Lamech (Gen. 4:23-24), and is simply the classical legal policy that legal responsibility is limited to the extent of injury done" (pp. 16-17).

Babylonian captivity and subsequent restoration. These passages are as follows (given here in RSV translation):

Isa 40:2—“Speak tenderly to Jerusalem, and cry to her that her warfare is ended, that her iniquity is pardoned, that she has received from the Lord’s hand double for all her sins.”

Isa 61:7—“Instead of your shame, you shall have a double portion; . . . therefore in your land you shall possess a double portion. . . .”

Jer 16:18—“And I will doubly recompense their iniquity and sin [i.e., “iniquity and sin” in Judah; cf. vs. 10-17], because they have polluted my land. . . .”

Jer 17:18—“Let those [people in Judah] be put to shame who persecute me [Jeremiah]; . . . destroy them with double destruction.”

Zech 9:12—“Return to your stronghold, O prisoners of hope; today I declare to you that I will restore to you double.”

The striking point to notice here is that although there are OT references that thus refer to a doubling of Judah’s punishment (and also a double measure in her restoration), such language is *not used with regard to ancient Babylon*, the prototype for the apocalyptic Babylon of Revelation. In fact, one of the most prominent and basic of the OT backgrounds for the “fall-of-Babylon” material in Rev 17-18—namely, the “fall-of-Babylon” prophecy of Jer 50-51⁵—contains multiple references to the divine verdict against ancient Babylon; but in every case, her punishment is decreed to be equivalent to (not a doubling of) what her offenses have been: She is to be rewarded “according to her deeds” (Jer 50:29; see also 50:15 and 51:6, 10, 11, 24, 49, 56). Moreover, it should not be overlooked in this connection that the two strongest declarations concerning “double” punishment for the people of Judah (Jer 16:18 and 17:18)

⁵Note may be taken, e.g., of the following: “The “golden-cup” imagery (Jer 51:7 and Rev 17:4), nations drinking of Babylon’s “wine” (Jer 51:7 and Rev 18:3), Babylon’s *sudden fall* (Jer 51:8 and Rev 18:2, 8, 10, 17, 19), the “flee-from-Babylon” appeal (Jer 51:6 and Rev 18:4), Babylon’s destruction by *fire* (Jer 51:30-32, 58 and Rev 18:9, 18), the stone-hurled-into-water symbolism (Jer 51:63-64 [into “the Euphrates,” to rise no more] and Rev 18:21 [into “the sea,” to be found no more]), etc.

come from this very same prophet, Jeremiah, who repeatedly refers to only equivalency in punishment for Babylon.

What we appear to have in Rev 18:6b-c, then, is an interesting reversal-of-roles type of allusion wherein it is now Babylon, not Judah, that is to receive a double measure of punishment. This symbolic portrayal is an example of what may well be called the “dramatic-inversion” modality. (It is to be remembered, too, of course, that Rev 18:6a represents a direct allusion to Babylon’s judgment as pronounced in Jer 50-51; thus Rev 18:6 in fact includes two distinct kinds of allusion, with two different ancient political entities furnishing the backgrounds.)

Though it is beyond the scope of this brief study to probe in depth the possible reasons for Revelation’s use of this modality in connection with the judgment-on-Babylon portrayal, a brief comment or two may be made in passing. First of all, there may be a subtle suggestion that the “new” Babylon’s outrages parallel those of ancient Judah, for which Judah at that time received double punishment. Certainly, this new Babylon is an entity of unparalleled profligation and cruelty, of which the account in Rev 17-18 gives ample evidence (cf. 17:2-4, 6; 18:2-5, 7, 24).

In the second place, there may also be, in this same connection, an implication that this new Babylon, in her self-centered pride, haughtiness, and atrocities against Christ’s loyal followers, was sinning against greater light than had been the case with her ancient counterpart. In her blasphemies, in her making the nations mad with intoxication, and in her shedding the innocent blood of God’s saints, she had a greater degree of awareness of what she was *really* doing than did ancient Babylon in attacking Judah and Jerusalem of old. This greater awareness was, consequently, more akin to the divine enlightenment and God-given privileges of ancient Judah that led to “double” punishment for Judah when she repudiated those benefits.⁶

⁶In other words, greater privileges bring greater responsibilities—whether this be for God’s own people or for the “new” Babylon of the Apocalypse. The principle is repeatedly set forth in Scripture. One may note, e.g., Amos’s doom prophecies (“for three transgressions . . . even for four” [1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; and 2:1, 4, 6]) wherein Israel’s privileged status and *corresponding responsibility* are dramatically set forth in 3:1-2. Compare also Jesus’ woe pronouncement upon Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum (Matt 11:21-24), and the statement that from the one “to whom much is given much will be required,” etc. (Luke 12:48).

In a somewhat different vein, it is interesting to note, further, that Rev 18:6 may not furnish the sole example of “dramatic-inversion” allusion within the book. Very possibly there is another instance of it in Rev 11:13. Here, in conjunction with reference to the great earthquake that destroyed “a tenth of the city,” it is further stated that seven thousand people were killed and that “the rest feared and gave glory to the God of heaven.” G. B. Caird has suggested that these “seven thousand” slain in the earthquake of 11:13 constitute a symbolic counterpart to the faithful “seven thousand” who had “not bowed the knee to Baal” at the time of Elijah (1 Kgs 19:18).⁷ Caird’s interpretation in this respect is strengthened, of course, by the fact that “Elijah” and “Jezebel” imagery is basic in Revelation’s symbolic portrayal—with Elijah imagery, for that matter, occurring earlier in this very same pericope (see 11:6: the two witnesses have power to “close the sky, so that no rain may fall”).⁸ If indeed Caird’s interpretation is correct (as I feel that it is), we have here another example of Revelation’s use of the “dramatic-inversion” modality.

Finally, as we conclude this section of our study, it may be well to point out that this dramatic-inversion modality in alluding to OT materials serves to heighten the already-pervasive contrasts within Revelation itself. This internal “dramatic inversion” occurs, for instance, in such cases as the beast-worshipers receiving blood

⁷G. B. Caird, *Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, Harper’s New Testament Commentaries (New York, 1966), pp. 165-168. Caird further suggests, contrary to virtually every other commentator, that the last part of vs. 13 depicts *true repentance* on the part of the survivors of the earthquake, and that it thus stands in contrast both to Rev 9:20-21 (where *unrepentant* persons are described) and to the foregoing clause in 11:13 itself. He points out that the *same* basic Greek terms for “fear” and “give glory” occur also in Rev 14:6-7, where it is clear that a *genuine* religious experience is meant. (English translations hardly do justice to the Greek ἔμφοβοι ἐγένοντο in 11:13 by such renditions as “became terrified” [RSV], “were terrified” [TEV and NIV], or “were afraid” [New KJV]; and even the word “fear” has, of course, negative connotations in English. The term “God-fearers” helps us get closer to the real meaning, also inherent in the expression “fear of the Lord.” Caird himself renders the clause in 11:13 as “paid homage.”)

⁸“Jezebel” of 2:20-23 parallels, of course, the harlot “Babylon” of Revelation; and as has now been shown by W. H. Shea, “The Location and Significance of Armageddon in Rev 16:16,” *AUSS* 18 (1980): 158-162, the “Armageddon” symbol in Rev 16:16 stems from Elijah’s victory on Mt. Carmel over the false prophets of Jezebel (see 1 Kgs 18:19-40).

to drink for having shed the blood of God's servants (16:4-6), torment and mourning to be given to Babylon in proportion to her self-glorification and luxurious living (18:7), the homage eventually given to the Philadelphian Christians by their erstwhile accusers (3:9), the proud "new" Babylon in flames in contrast to God's eternal new Jerusalem in glory (chaps. 18 and 21-22), and many others.⁹

3. *The "Literal-Transmission" Modality*

NT scholars have long been aware of the unusual Greek style in which the Apocalypse is written—a style characterized, among other things, by its "solecisms" and "semitisms."¹⁰ In recent years there has been an increasing awareness that this phenomenon may represent a *purposeful* or *intentional* procedure, rather than giving evidence of the writer's ineptness in the use of the Greek language.¹¹ I would, in fact, go so far as to consider it a "modality" of linguistic and symbolic usage in the Apocalypse—what might be called the modality of "literal transmission."

In my earlier study on this 18th chapter of Revelation I pointed out that Bible translations generally fail to do full justice to the last part of vs. 20.¹² When one recognizes that there is a chiasmic parallel of vs. 20 with vs. 6 and that the law of malicious witness forms the conceptual and foundational literary background in both of these

⁹An excellent list of nearly two dozen of the striking contrasts in the Apocalypse has been furnished by Edwin R. Thiele, *Outline Studies in Revelation* (Berrien Springs, Mich., 1949), p. 7 (the pagination may vary in subsequent editions).

¹⁰In a disparaging vein, Dionysius of Alexandria in the third century A.D. referred to "solecisms" and "idiotisms" (see Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 7.25). For a brief modern analysis and discussion, see, e.g., Swete, pp. cxxiii-cxxv.

¹¹Compare, e.g., Robert H. Mounce's discussion of the "grammatical difficulties" in Rev 1:4 (*The Book of Revelation* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977]), p. 68, and n. 13 on that page).

¹²Strand, "Two Aspects," p. 56, where I have noted the RSV, "God has given judgment for you against her"; the KJV, "God hath avenged you on her"; and the NIV, "God has judged her for the way she treated you." Most major English translations seem to provide the same nuances of thought: Virtually identical wording to that in the KJV occurs not only in the New KJV, but also in Goodspeed and in the *Twentieth-Century New Testament*. Very close in thought to the RSV rendition are K. S. Wuest, "God pronounced judgment for you against her"; the Berkeley Version, "On your behalf God has decided sentence against her"; the New Berkeley Version, "On your behalf God has passed judgment against her"; and the NAB, "God has

verses, there should be a more literal translation of the Greek than is normally given. The Greek reads ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς, which I earlier translated as “God has judged your judgment against [or, “on”] her.”¹³

In subsequent reflection on this verse and on my translation of it, I now feel that I did not myself render the text quite literally enough, in view of the context in which the statement occurs. The specific phrase to which I wish here to give a more literal rendering is the very last one in the verse: ἐξ αὐτῆς—literally, “out of her.” Thus, the statement regarding Babylon’s judgment should read, “God has judged your judgment out of her.”

Judgment “out of her”! But why this seemingly awkward declaration? For the solution, we must look to the OT sources of the imagery. The entire 18th chapter of Revelation represents a broad blending and merging of OT backgrounds. Among these is the “fall-of-Babylon” prophecy in Jer 50-51, as we noted in the second section of this article. However, perhaps even more prominent as background for the imagery in Rev 18 is the prophecy against Tyre in Ezek 26-28. The listing of trade wares and the lament of kings, merchants, and seafarers in Rev 18 draw especially heavily on Ezek 27:25-36 and 28:17-18. Could it be that with this sort of pervasive allusion in Rev 18 to these sections of Ezek 27 and 28, the striking phrase “out of her” in Rev 18:20 also finds its root source there?

Indeed so! It is an expression drawn from the language of Ezek 28:18: “So I brought forth fire out of the midst of you; it consumed you.” And thus, in Rev 18:20, which climaxes the litany concerning Babylon’s being destroyed by fire (vss. 9-19), there has been a *literal transmission* of the conceptualization (and terminology) “out of” that appears in the OT root source. The fact that the very text alluded to in Ezekiel also refers to a destruction by fire makes the allusion all the more impressive.

exacted punishment from her on your account.” Quite similar to the NIV is the TEV, “God has condemned her for what she did to you!” A nuance of thought slightly different from any of the foregoing occurs in the NEB, “in the judgement against her he [God] has vindicated your cause!”; and in C. K. Williams, “God has given judgement in your cause against her.” The main versions capturing the correct thought are the English Revised and the American Standard versions, whose wordings are identical, except for spelling (Am. Stand., “God hath judged your judgment on her”).

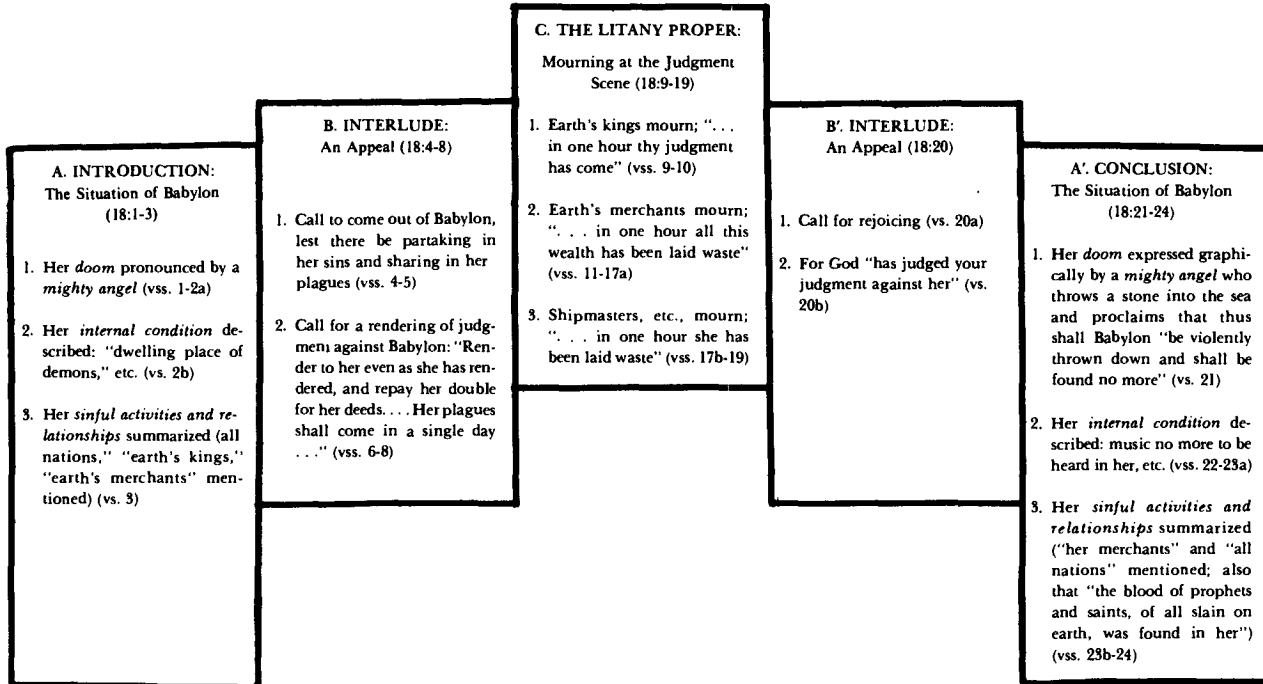
¹³In “Two Aspects,” p. 56, I have used the preposition “on”; in the diagram in *ibid.*, p. 54 (reprinted at the close of the present article), I have used “against.”

What we have in Rev 18:20b turns out, thus, to be an illustration of *intentionality* with respect to what might otherwise seem to be a rather peculiar use of the Greek language. It may be pointed out, further, that the presence of examples of this “literal-transmission” modality in Revelation should not be surprising, for both the exceptional richness of that book’s OT allusions and the fact that Revelation is an apocalyptic book would give cause for purposeful use of this modality. In fact, I suspect that this modality, although at times yielding for us “solecisms” and “semitisms” that may seem strange, actually served as a very useful communicative device—one with which John’s original readers and hearers were perfectly comfortable, and which, indeed, they appreciated and enjoyed.¹⁴

4. Conclusion

The Apocalypse is a Bible book that is exceptionally rich, not only in its imagery and symbolic representation, but also in the variety of modalities it utilizes in drawing upon OT materials. Our grasp of the nature and function of such modalities and the recognition of where and how they occur in the messages of the book will help us to grasp more fully the meaning of those messages—indeed, will be an important aid in illuminating for us significant nuances that we might otherwise miss. In addition, an understanding and recognition of these modalities may readily contribute, as well, to an upward assessment of the book’s Greek text—an assessment that sees the text as being, not the work of an ignoramus who unwittingly succumbed repetitively to a clumsy Greek style, but rather the masterwork of a nimble craftsman whose use of the Greek language served as an effective communicative tool to enhance the clarity and to heighten the forcefulness of his symbolic presentation.

¹⁴By no means do I intend to imply that the “literal-transmission” modality is the solution for all (or perhaps, even most) of Revelation’s “solecisms” and “semitisms.” What I would suggest, however, is twofold: First, this modality provides an explanation that is both reasonable and intelligible with respect to some of these phenomena as represented in the Apocalypse. Second, this very fact should lead us toward seeking rational explanations for the various other “solecisms” and “semitisms,” and should steer us away from the sorts of “solutions” that attribute the unusual character of Revelation’s Greek text to simply the writer’s ineptitude in using Greek, his purposeful choice of some kind of esoteric or “heavenly” language, etc.



THE CHIASTIC LITERARY STRUCTURE OF REV 18

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LITURGICAL ORDER AND GLOSSOLALIA: 1 CORINTHIANS 14:26c-33a AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

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Problem. Though the practice of glossolalia, understood as continuing the phenomenon described in 1 Cor 14, has spread through both Catholic and Protestant denominations, it has remained something of a puzzle among Christians, some of whom regard it as a mark of genuine faith, while others look upon it as a repellent distraction. Inasmuch as verses 26c-33a of this chapter highlight and summarize the directives by which Paul sought to regulate the practice among the Corinthians, a careful exegesis of these verses provides a basis upon which the topic of glossolalia in the chapter as a whole might be most clearly explicated and proper contemporary applications might be drawn.

Method and Results. Chap. 1 examines previous works and reveals that major monographs on tongues lean toward topical or phenomenological approaches, while exegesis of 1 Cor 14 is virtually confined to commentaries and articles. The topical studies show little agreement concerning the function of glossolalia, while the exegetical works show remarkable agreement concerning the importance of Corinthian tongues as an ecstatic prayer experience.

Chap. 2 attempts to reconstruct aspects of the context that affected Corinthian attitudes. It appears that several influences created a predilection toward enthusiasm among Corinthian believers, so that they fell easy prey to over-emphasis and lack of order, which Paul attempted to correct, while at the same time preserving the value of charismatic gifts.

The exegesis in chap. 3 suggests that glossolalia as a charism was intended as a personal, spiritual uplift which was both a gift from God and a glorification or praise directed to God. The exegesis also indicates that while Paul's directives disapprove of uncontrolled public glossolalia, they do not deny that the phenomenon, practiced privately (or interpreted for the church), had value.

From the exegesis in chap. 3, several applications for the contemporary church are made in chap. 4. For example, the diverse gifts which Paul has listed indicate his acceptance of diversity in the procedures of orderly worship. So, although the temptation to exploitation is close at hand, modern Christians should be cautious about criticizing fellow-Christians who express their spiritual vitality in enthusiastic ways.

THE STRATIGRAPHY OF TELL HESBÂN, JORDAN, IN THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

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Problem. The purpose of the present study was to identify the Byzantine evidence from the Tell Hesbân Excavations in Jordan and to delineate site-wide strata parameters within this period.

Method. The Byzantine remains from the site were identified through an analysis of the excavators' field notes and balk drawings. Field ceramic readings and stratigraphic relationships determined the period, stratum, and stage to which a locus belonged.

Results. The Byzantine evidence from Tell Hesbân fell into four strata. The transition from the Late-Roman period was not very distinct from a cultural viewpoint and came about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Stratum 10 was the earliest Byzantine stratum. The dates assigned to the four strata were as follows: Stratum 10, A.D. 363-408; Stratum 9, A.D. 408-527; Stratum 8, A.D. 527-614; Stratum 7, A.D. 614-636.

Heavy commercial activity took place during the time of Strata 10 and 9, but decreased sharply in the later strata. A church was constructed on the Acropolis in the middle of the fifth century A.D. It was probably destroyed by an earthquake early in the sixth century. During the Stratum-8 period, this church was rebuilt and two other churches were added to the site. The Acropolis Church was again destroyed early in the seventh century A.D. Stratum 7 was a period of decline in both the population and the extent of the settlement.

Conclusion. The findings of this study seem to support the broad outline of Byzantine history in Palestine as known from other excavations and the literary sources. This includes the economic and religious situations.

BOOK REVIEWS

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

This book contains Brown's Sprunt Lectures, delivered at Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia, in January of 1980. As published, the book reads well and carries on an extended conversation with other scholars in the footnotes. Brown begins by defining the apostolic age as the period A.D. 33-66, and the sub-apostolic age as the period A.D. 67-100. Brown's concern in the book is "to see how the different emphasis" in each of seven witnesses of the sub-apostolic age answers "*the question of survival* after the death of the great first generation of apostolic guides or heroes" (p. 30; italics his). After an exposition of each of the seven answers presented, Brown does an evaluation of its strengths and weaknesses.

In the Pauline tradition, Brown finds three answers: According to the Pastorals, survival depends on the establishment of regulations for a structured clergy that enjoys religious respectability. This answer attempts to preserve the apostolic heritage in the face of radical new teachers, and to encourage institutional virtues in pastors. But it creates a sharp division between those who teach and those who are taught. In Colossians/Ephesians, the answer is the deification or reification of the church, and the demand that the allegiance of the members be to the church. But this overlooks, or may be a way of covering up, the real wrongs that may exist within the church, and may prevent needed reforms. In Luke/Acts, the church is seen as the agent of the Spirit that was active in the Law and the Prophets and in Jesus, and that now acts through the apostles. The continuity of the Spirit's activity insures bigger and better things. But this romantic triumphalism cannot account for the internal tensions and the reverses suffered by the gospel in the real world.

In 1 Peter, Brown finds the three Pauline answers filtered through the Petrine prism, and as a result the church is seen as belonging within the background of Israel. In trying to encourage Christians undergoing severe persecution, whose churches may have been established by the Petrine Gentile mission in northern Asia Minor, this Roman author, who is also acquainted with the ecclesiology of the Pastorals, does not answer in terms of church structures. Instead, he elaborates on how God in the desert created a people by bringing in those who were not a people. But this emphasizing of election may only fuel the antipathy of "those outside."

The Fourth Gospel, Brown suggests, offers the exact opposite answer to that given in the Pastorals. Here, survival is dependent on the egalitarian

nature of the community of disciples, including women. Neither office nor charisma is given status; rather, only organic attachment in love to Jesus is what authenticates Christians. This emphasis on a personal relationship has made John the gospel of choice among revivalists. But this lack of ecclesiastical structure, according to Brown, allowed for the rise of a secessionist movement within the ancient Christian community, which, as the Johannine Epistles show, brought about the rupture of *koinonia* between the two groups and led to the rise of the "Elder" as an ecclesiastical authority indispensable for survival. Still, the Johannine tradition serves as a reminder that the church must not occupy the place of Christ in the lives of Christians.

Finally, Brown sees the Gospel of Matthew as reflecting a situation in which legalists and libertines espouse strongly adversary positions. In a discriminating and nuanced manner, Matthew charts a middle course that allows the church to embrace people holding diverse opinions, while promoting "a chair of authoritative judgment" (p. 134) and incorporating a corrective against possible ecclesiastical abuses. He also gives to the teaching of Jesus a new theological status which prevents the absolutizing of the gospel as proclamation, even within the church.

One may quarrel here or there with Brown's interpretations. For me, the quarrels would be more a matter of degrees of emphasis than one of substance. Is there, for example, the degree of a difference that Brown suggests between Peter and Luke/Acts on the centrality of Israel? Has he given enough emphasis to the authority of the Risen Lord in the Matthean church? Is the Johannine perspective as individualistic, and therefore open to the dangers of constant schisms, as Brown says? No one may quarrel with Brown's basic premise, however; for no Christian who claims to be informed by the Bible can uphold one answer and neglect the others.

Of a more fundamental nature to the whole enterprise of Brown's book is the question whether the death of the apostles represented such a felt threat to the survival of these different Christian communities that these different Christian testimonies were written in order to insure survival. That the question of apostolic origin became an argumentative tool in the middle of the second century is clear enough. But that the gospels, or any other NT writings, were written because of the passing of the apostles, or the original eyewitnesses, is not supported by the evidence. Still, Brown's delineation of the pluralism enriching primitive Christianity is most helpful when what we are after is not only what the NT meant, but also what it means.

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.

This is a commentary that I would rate very highly. On occasion, Clines adopts positions on some elements in the narratives of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther which see these narratives as less historical in nature than I would; but such occurrences do not, in my opinion, detract from the fact that this is a well-written, well-informed, and judiciously presented commentary. Moreover, the volume is packed with information, including references to the secondary literature; and the linguistic, historical, and archaeological facts presented are up-to-date and accurate.

The commentary begins with a bibliography for all three of the OT books treated. Introductory matters on Ezra and Nehemiah are then taken up, with the sources for these books being discussed first. Clines indicates that these sources include mainly the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah, plus various lists of persons. As to the composition of these books, he takes the rather standard view that the Chronicler put them into their present form ca. 400 B.C. (pp. 9, 14).

The major problem here is, Who came first—Ezra or Nehemiah? And what were the dates of their respective missions to Judah? Clines has weighed the arguments “pro” and “con” from several points of view (pp. 16-24), and concludes that Ezra preceded Nehemiah and that Ezra’s mission should be dated in 458 B.C. Nehemiah then followed Ezra to Judah in 445 B.C. Clines injects one qualification, however; namely, that the references to Ezra in the book of Nehemiah should be rejected as historically inaccurate; there was, he feels, no overlap between the work of these two men.

The last introductory topic that Clines takes up is the matter of the theology of these books. Here he emphasizes the Chronicler’s view of post-exilic Judah as the true heir and legitimate successor to pre-exilic theocratic Israel (p. 25).

A few minor historical and typographical errors have found their way into the verse-by-verse commentary that follows. Anshan is in Persia, not in Elam (p. 34). Artaxerxes’ decree has been left out of the list of decrees given in Ezra 6:14 (p. 94). Obviously, 331 A.D., not 31 B.C., is intended for the end of the Persian period (p. 272). The Jerusalem priesthood probably was “unconfident” rather than “inconfident” in the face of Tobiah’s opposition (p. 239). Nebuchadnezzar did not campaign through the Negeb in 598, but went straight to Jerusalem (p. 46; cf. W. H. Shea, in *PEQ*, 1979, 113 and passim). And in regard to the trans-shipment of cedars for the temple (p. 68), the reference should be to the “Yarkon River” rather than “Tell

Qasile." These few inaccuracies do not detract, however, from the overall value of the commentary.

A commonly discussed problem relating to the early chapters of Ezra is whether Zerubbabel was the same person as Sheshbazzar or whether these two names are the names of two different individuals. Clines follows the majority view that Zerubbabel and Sheshbazzar were distinct persons (pp. 41, 89), while this reviewer follows the minority view in holding that one and the same individual is represented by both names. Clines makes the interesting suggestion, however, that Sheshbazzar might be identified with Shenazzar, a son of the exiled king of Judah, Jehoiachin (referred to in 1 Chr 3:18).

Another problem with which Clines wrestles is the differences between the parallel lists in Ezra 2 and Neh 7. He concludes in favor of the priority of Nehemiah's list (p. 45), but offers no final solution for reconciling the two lists (p. 60). His linguistic and geographic observations connected with the treatment of these lists are informative and useful.

Clines consistently employs a spring-to-spring calendar for the Jews (pp. 63, 89), but he is forced to emend the dates in Neh 1:1 and 2:1 in order to make them fit this calendrical theory (pp. 136-137). The preferable alternative, which requires no emendation of these dates, is to accept a fall-to-fall calendar for the dates in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Also, recognition of a fall-to-fall calendar in these books would have resolved Clines's problem of having Ezra traveling on a Sabbath (p. 95).

With regard to occupation of the site of the city of Jerusalem before Nehemiah got its walls up, Clines holds that there was some occupation. However, the sparse support for this conclusion makes it dubious. Concerning Nehemiah's task to get the walls of the city of Jerusalem back up again, Clines calls attention to archaeological evidence indicating that the stumps of the pre-exilic walls were used for this purpose on the north and west sides of the city, but that Nehemiah's new wall followed the crest of the city's hill on the east and thus lay inside of the old walls (p. 147).

In general, Clines presents an accurate and sympathetically positive picture of the characters and work of both Ezra and Nehemiah. He also gives accurate discussions of Persian history and Persian loanwords in several connections (pp. 36, 42, 84, 86).

The major literary-historical problem with regard to Ezra and Nehemiah is where to locate the narrative of Neh 8-10. Clines transposes Ezra's reading of the law in Neh 8 forward time-wise to 458 B.C. and connects it with Ezra's earlier ministry instead of with Nehemiah's later ministry (pp. 180-181). In this case, Clines must excise the reference to "Nehemiah the governor" in Neh 8:9 (p. 185) as being the work of a later scribe. This leaves the "day-of-repentance" narrative in Neh 9 rather free-floating, not tied directly to either Ezra or Nehemiah (p. 192). Because of the connections

between the offenses described in Neh 10 and 13, Clines locates the former as following historically after, and as a response to, the latter (p. 199). The memoirs of Nehemiah then resume in 11:1 and continue to the end of the book, along with the lists located within them. This arrangement for chaps. 8-10 may not be entirely satisfactory, but Clines has set forth his case clearly and forcefully and it warrants careful study.

The third and final book covered in this commentary is Esther. Following a discussion of the relationship of this book to its extracanonical additions, Clines takes up the subject of the historicity of the events described in the book. Current scholarly opinion commonly sees Esther as a historical novelle. To this Clines accurately objects: "The term 'historical novel' is a misleading one, however. No matter how authentic the period detail of a historical novel may be, if its central plot or narrative is fictional, it belongs on the fiction shelves and not among histories—good, bad or indifferent" (p. 256). Nevertheless, Clines himself follows a somewhat curious course with regard to the question of historicity. He presents seven arguments against the historicity of the book (pp. 257-260) and five arguments in favor of its historicity (pp. 260-261), but then comes to no final conclusion in the matter: "No clear conclusion emerges from this survey of the evidence, but there can be little doubt that the evidence should be thoroughly reviewed before any decision by the reader is reached" (p. 261).

Next, Clines treats the following topics: (1) Purim (extra-biblical source for this allowed, p. 266); (2) extra-biblical literary influence upon Esther (largely rejected, p. 268); (3) the theology of Esther—(a) God reverses historical fortunes of Israel and brings salvation, and (b) human and divine factors are complementary (p. 268)—; and (4) the date of composition (considered to be relatively early in the Persian period, p. 272).

The verse-by-verse commentary on Esther is then provided. Here Clines is sensitive to the fine literary nuances in the book (pp. 284, 300, 303, 307), to the Persian-period background (pp. 275-279, 295-296), and to the Yahwistic value of the theology of the book in spite of the absence of God's name in it (p. 271).

Clines holds that in its original form Esther ended with chap. 8, and that chaps. 9 and 10 were added later (p. 319). Some evidence against this position can be found in the literary structures proposed for the book by Radday and Berg, to which Clines has referred (p. 269).

Regardless of whether or not one agrees with the positions which Clines has taken on the more-debatable issues in these three OT books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, gratitude and thanks are due him for providing a commentary which is lucid, informative, sensitive, and useful. Indeed, this is a welcome addition to the commentary literature on these three biblical books.

Collins, John J. *Daniel: With an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature. The Forms of the Old Testament Literature*, vol. 20. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. xii + 120 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

This slender volume, authored by one of the most prolific writers on apocalyptic and the book of Daniel, is one in a series of twenty-four to be published in the 1980s. The series is aimed at presenting a form-critical analysis of every book of the OT.

Collins divides the volume into (1) an introduction to apocalyptic literature, and (2) a form-critical analysis of the canonical Daniel. The second section follows a fourfold development: (a) a presentation of the structure of each chapter (except chaps. 10-12, which are discussed as a unit); (b) a classification of genre and subgenres; (c) suggestions as to the setting of each individual unit; and (d) a discussion of intention of each pericope. The author observes that though apocalyptic literature has been recognized as a distinct class of writing since 1832, form-critical analysis of this type of document has been attempted seriously only during the last two decades, as exemplified in the publications of P. Vielhauer, K. Koch, the SBL group's results recorded in *Semeia* 14 and more recently D. Hellholm. It is significant that this approach was called for a decade and a half ago by Koch, who contended that one of the reasons for the decline of research in apocalyptic was the lack of the application of the historico-critical method, especially form-critical analysis, for apocalyptic. Though Hellholm's study of the genre is still incomplete, it is clear that he relies more on text linguistics than on traditional form-criticism, of which he is somewhat critical.

According to Collins, the two main types or subgenres of apocalyptic are "historical apocalypses" (characterized by a review of history in some form) and "otherworldly journeys" (visionary experiences mediated by angels, who serve as guides and interpreters), though the component forms of both often overlap. Examples of "historical apocalypses," in which the most common medium of revelation is the symbolic dream vision (other forms include epiphany, angelic discourse, revelatory dialogue, midrash, etc.), are Daniel, Jubilees, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, etc. Biblical tradition has no clear precedent for the apocalyptic "otherworldly journey." Ezek 40-48, the closest biblical approximation to this type of apocalypse, has, however, neither an ascent to heaven nor a descent to the netherworld. Extracanonical examples of this second subgenre include 2 Enoch, 3 Baruch, the Apocalypse of Abraham, etc. The medium of revelation in the second kind of apocalypse is (1) transportation of a visionary, or (2) a revelation account.

Collins disagrees with those who see the origin of apocalyptic in the late sixth century B.C. and maintains that the genre as defined by him emerged in Judaism during the Hellenistic age. Moreover, in his opinion, apocalyptic literature is not all the product of a single movement, hence the *Sitz im Leben* could be a conventicle rather than a community or a movement.

With regard to the book of Daniel, Collins only obliquely refers to the sensitive theological question regarding the authenticity of Daniel. Related to this issue is the distinction which he draws between ostensible settings explicitly given in the text (which he consistently regards as fictional) and the putative "actual" settings. In his assessment, he relies on the dated results of H. H. Rowley and of other persons unnamed. Indeed, on matters of introduction and setting, which are significant for any form-critical analysis, the author argues as if few advances have been made since S. R. Driver (1900). Collins either chooses to ignore, or is unaware of, several important twentieth-century discoveries and recent scholarly evaluations, such as studies of Dan 1:1 in the light of the *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* (published by D. J. Wiseman in 1956); the cuneiform data for the evidence of a *Bēl-šar-ušur*, the son of Nabonidus and the Belshazzar in Daniel (*ANET*, p. 309, n. 5); relevant evidence from Qumran; etc.

A similar stance is revealed by Collins in a recent article ("Daniel and His Social World," *Int* 39 [1985]:131-132) wherein he throws scholarly caution to the wind and attempts to elevate a hypothesis to the level of demonstrable fact by stating, "We are relatively well-informed about the situation in which Daniel was composed. Despite the persistent objections of conservatives, the composition of the visions (chaps. 7-12) between the years 167 and 164 B.C. is established beyond reasonable doubt." Nowhere does Collins respond to the evidence to the contrary, some of which I have mentioned in *AUSS* 21 (1983): 129-141. Instead, he uncritically reflects here, as elsewhere, dated positions.

Collins conveniently resorts to the genre "apocalyptic" as an endorsement for his conclusions. His position begs the question, however, by contending that the book of Daniel finds its best parallel in the Pseudepigrapha and then proceeding to impose upon Daniel the features of *ex eventu* and pseudonymity, which are so characteristic of pseudepigraphic works. Methodologically, such reasoning is highly questionable, for it does not follow that the prophecies in Daniel must be *ex eventu* and *pseudonymous* just because they have affinities with the genre apocalyptic. This is particularly evident when we remember that the prime specimen of apocalyptic is the last book of the NT—a book that is commonly considered as *not* pseudonymous. Moreover, scholars generally recognize that while there are significant affinities between the book of Daniel and apocalypses of the

second century B.C. and later, there are also distinct differences which should not be ignored.

In the absence of a militant ideology in Daniel, Collins continues to maintain, against the scholarly *communis opinio*, that the author(s) of Daniel is (are) not Maccabean nor from among the Hasidim, but instead from among the wise teachers called the *maskilim*. These, in Collins's view, were quietists communing with the angel world, and are possibly to be identified with educated teachers from the urban upper (though not necessarily rich) classes.

Only a few of the genre analyses suggested by Collins can be reported here. Collins dismisses such popular form-critical classifications of Dan 1-6 as *Märchen*, legend, aetiological narrative, and midrash. Instead, he argues that the overall genre-label should be court legends or legends in a court setting. This overall genre, in turn, accommodates subsidiary forms such as dream report, political oracle, doxology, interrogation, indictment speech, *peshet*, etc.

Turning to chaps. 7-12, Collins correctly objects to recent redaction-critical analyses which make insufficient allowances for the use of variations as a stylistic device and which depend far too heavily upon assumptions of occidental consistency. Also, contrary to his earlier opinion, he now believes that the traditional prayer of Dan 9 was included by the author of Dan 9 rather than by a later redactor.

Collins gives the genre-label "symbolic dream visions" to Dan 7 and 8, and he classifies Dan 10-12 (with the exception of the epilogue in 12:5-13) as an historical apocalypse in the form of a revelation resembling Dan 9 rather than the symbolic visions of Dan 7 and 8. The dominant genre of Dan 9, in his view, is an angelic discourse which, in turn, is a midrash on Jer 25:11-12 and 29:10.

It is with Collins's comments on the traditio-historical background to Dan 7 that I would like to take particular issue. His response (*JSOT* 21 [1981]:83-100) to my criticism (*JBL* 99 [1980]:75-86) of his thesis that Dan 7 presupposes a mythology ultimately derived from the Ugaritic complex somewhat modifies his earlier suggestions (reflected in *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, HSM 16 [Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977]), but his position still remains unconvincing and without factual support. Collins claims that the imagery of the sea, beasts, Ancient of Days, and the manlike being in Dan 7 has striking similarities to, and carries over allusions and associations from, the second-millennium-B.C. mythological conflict between Baal and Yam and the association of El and Baal. In his view, the Canaanite mythological material has actually influenced the author of Daniel.

To be sure, Collins does not maintain that the Baal cycle as known to us today was the exact prototype for Dan 7. Nevertheless, to all intents and

purposes there is little, if any, difference between the alleged variant that supposedly lay before Daniel and the Ugaritic material with which we are acquainted. In support of his thesis, Collins draws attention to several descriptive parallels (e.g., Daniel's third and fourth beasts have heads and horns, like the seven-headed Ugaritic dragon; Daniel's manlike being comes with clouds, like Baal who is a "rider of the clouds"; Daniel's Ancient of Days has white hair and presides over a judicial session, like El of Ugarit, who is depicted as an old, bearded person presiding over a heavenly council).

Further, Collins proposes that Dan 7 derived not only "fragmentary motifs from Canaanite mythology" but a whole "pattern," given the constellation of the individual motifs evident in Daniel (*Apocalyptic Vision*, pp. 101-105). He summarizes the sequence of events in the Canaanite stories as (a) the revolt of Yam (sea), (b) the defeat of Yam by Baal, and (c) the manifestation of Baal's kingship; and he maintains that the similarity between Dan 7 and points (a) and (c) of the Ugarit material "leaves no room for doubt that Daniel 7 is modelled on the same mythic pattern as the conflict of Baal in Yam" (*Apocalyptic Vision*, p. 106). Other mythic patterns are identified behind Dan 8 and 10-12, developing a system which allegedly forms the "framework of the message of the vision." Collins adds, significantly, that "the mythic pattern is one important factor which determines the meaning of the vision" (*Apocalyptic Vision*, p. 106; cf. pp. 165, 172, 207).

In his *JSOT* article mentioned above, Collins urges that the Ugaritic myths do not so much prove "the immediate source," but rather give "an example of traditional usage which illustrates the allusive context of the imagery" ("Apocalyptic Genre," p. 91). The "allusions" and "associations" are, of course, still anchored to the Baal cycle, as is evident from the repeated references that are made to descriptive parallels and similarities between the two bodies of literature.

Though Dan 7 interprets the sea as the earth and the beasts as four kings or kingdoms (vss. 17, 23), Collins contends that insistence on these meanings is a confusion of the "reference of the symbols" (i.e., earth, kings, kingdoms) with their "expressive value," which is "chaos" ("Apocalyptic Genre," pp. 92-93). Given the fact that "chaos" is not identified as an "expressive value" by the author of Dan 7, it can only be surmised that Collins derives this "value" from his interpretation of the Ras Shamra texts and then proceeds to urge this external meaning on the text of Daniel.

Another example of the dubious use to which the alleged mythological background is put is the proposition that the allusions associated with the imagery in both Daniel and Ugarit convey the idea of confrontation between the forces of chaos (in Daniel the sea, the four beasts, and the little horn are all considered the embodiment of the primordial forces of chaos,

just as in Yam in Ras Shamra) and heavenly figures (the Ancient of Days and the manlike figure, similar to El and Baal in Ugarit). It is evident that the proposed "expressive value" chaos is now pressed into service of further interpretation. For Collins it is this confrontation, and not "the temporal succession of world-kingdoms," which is the "main focus of Daniel 7" (*Apocalyptic Vision*, p. 106). Similarly, he maintains that the mythic pattern behind Dan 8 and 10-12 conveys the notion of confrontation between chaotic forces and heavenly figures and that it influences the biblical material to such a degree as to place main focus on instantaneous confrontation between God and worldly kingdoms, rather than on chronological developments in history. Collins notes, "It is crucial for the understanding of the vision that the mythic pattern takes precedence over the sequence of the four kingdoms [which implies chronological succession]" (*Apocalyptic Vision*, pp. 159-162).

It becomes apparent that Collins's hypothesis is beset by several problems:

(1) It oversimplifies the complexity of the Ras Shamra tablets, ignores their poor state of preservation, and disregards the variety of religious conceptions in the Canaanite world and the diversity of scholarly interpretation of the tablets. The theory assumes the existence of a well-established Baal cycle and a sequential arrangement for the "Canaanite myth" in which Baal is given his kingship by El after besieging Yam, but these are only unproven assumptions.

(2) The thesis concentrates on rather remote resemblances (the parallels of the kind that Collins postulates may be found in a variety of non-biblical religious texts), while downplaying significant differences which jettison the proposition. Since I have already argued this point elsewhere, I need not repeat any examples here (see *JBL* 99 [1980]: 79-86). These significant differences invalidate the constellation of motifs and alleged "allusive contexts" suggested by Collins.

(3) Collins concedes that there is always "discontinuity" in symbolic usage between an original source and a later writer. He recognizes correctly that "symbols do not necessarily carry the same reference as in the original" and that any use of earlier imagery involves the superimposition of one level of reference upon another. Just as symbolic language need not be univocal, so symbols may not have the same "expressive value" in two different contexts. What criteria, therefore, determine the continuity of symbolic usage between two texts? What control factors may be applied in order to safeguard scientific theological research? Collins's proposal that the meaning of one association of symbols determines or influences the meaning of another similar set is suspect, even if we merely consider the

hundreds of years which separate Ugarit and Daniel and the uncertainty about the history of the images involved.

(4) The postulate that the "expressive value" of sea and beasts in Daniel is "chaos" is disputable. J. C. H. Lebram notes that symbolization of world empires through beasts signifies neither a chaos battle nor creation myth, and that the appearance of "one like a son of man"—even in association with clouds—need not prove any relation to the Baal myth, for a similar figure features in Sir 24. Lebram observes that in the larger context of Dan 7, it is not mythology which keeps the individual elements together, but an apocalyptic scheme in which successive periods of history characterized by an ever-increasing lack of order are brought to an end through divine judgment and destruction of imperial powers (see *Theologische Realenzyklopaedie*, 8 [Berlin and New York, 1981]: 334). The allusion which the mood and attitude associated with the four beasts and the little horn evoke is more appropriately "imperial rule."

(5) Another serious problem with Collins's hypothesis is the disproportionate weight that it attributes to the supposed influence of the mythic patterns on the meaning of Daniel's visions. The alleged myths behind Dan 7-12 are considered as informing the message of Daniel to such a degree that, as we have noticed earlier, Collins deemphasizes the chronological development (i.e., the temporal succession of world empires) in favor of a spatial axis of history. This is not to deny the notion of a spatial axis of history in Daniel, but the excessive emphasis on "instantaneous confrontation" is a *tour de force* which glosses too readily over the explicit temporal designations and a four-empire scheme intended to convey the temporal axis of history.

Collins's volume on Daniel concludes with a sixteen-page glossary of forms, also citing the German equivalent designations. This book is the most comprehensive form-critical genre-label classification of the book of Daniel on the market and should prove useful to the researcher interested in such analysis. While it will encourage some consistency in classification, this reviewer suspects that it will not be the last word. Indeed, given the current theological interest in text totalities, one can only wonder if this series is not somewhat anachronistic.

Collins has gathered together extensive up-to-date bibliographies. It is only to be regretted that some significant articles and books representing presuppositions different from his own have escaped his notice (e.g., Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries [Downers Grove, Ill., 1978]). A casual reference to the "prayer of Azariah" and "Hymn of the Three Jews" is not matched by a corresponding discussion of the other apocryphal or deuterocanonical additions, such as "Susanna" and "Bel and the Dragon."

Though Collins's work reflects much research, students and/or pastors expecting another exegetical or expositional volume will be disappointed, for this is first and foremost a form-analytical handbook.

Wahroonga, N.S.W. 2076
Australia

ARTHUR J. FERCH

Demarest, Gary. *1, 2 Thessalonians, 1, 2 Timothy, Titus*. The Communicator's Commentary, vol. 9. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1984. 333 pp. \$14.95.

The purpose of "The Communicator's Commentary" series is to provide commentaries on the NT that make use of the insights gained from NT scholarship, yet are practical and devotional in nature. The aim is to fill the gap between commentaries whose depth of scholarship makes them useful only to the expert and popular commentaries that do not seriously touch base with the biblical text. Thus, these volumes have the potential to contribute, at a practical level, to a major hermeneutical concern: namely, to bridge the rift that has developed between teaching and preaching, between exegesis and application, and between the study of biblical concerns as opposed to the concerns raised by twentieth-century students of the Bible.

The series editor, Lloyd I. Ogilvie, has attempted to find authors who combine knowledge of the original languages and the current scholarly debate with a pastor's sensitivity to people's needs, who have an ability to discover and use vivid illustrations, and who can express themselves with simplicity and clarity in their use of the English language.

The author of the volume here under review, Gary W. Demarest, would appear to be well qualified for the assignment. During the past two decades he has been the pastor of the La Canada, California, Presbyterian Church; and in addition, he teaches preaching at Fuller Seminary. Thus, he is a "communicator" in both a preaching and a teaching role.

Although Demarest rarely addresses scholarly issues, he does seem to be aware of them. He uses word studies, archaeology, and background information wherever these help him to address what he perceives to be the concerns of his readers.

An example of the general approach used in this commentary may be of interest here. Demarest notes (p. 232) that by "reading between the lines" (a very noble scholarly pursuit these days!), one gets the impression that Timothy was rather shy and retiring, and uncomfortable with the major responsibilities that Paul had placed upon him; and thus there is a helpful message with special appeal to "all of us Timothys who, regularly or periodically, are required to do things beyond our natural desires and

abilities." This commentator's existential concern is further demonstrated by his choice of whimsical titles, such as "God Has No Grandchildren (2 Tim 1:3-5)," "Hanging Up the Spikes (4:6-8)," and "When Everyone Lets You Down (4:14-18)."

Although I personally found much of the material in this commentary to be somewhat superficial, there were some high points that I found greatly rewarding. The author's comments on Onesiphorus (2 Tim 1:15-18) and on the soldier, athlete, and farmer imagery (2:3-7) were enriching and challenging to me personally, and, by themselves, made the time spent in examining this volume well repaid.

Initially, I had considerable concern that the New KJV had been selected as the source for the biblical text. But as I used this volume in an adult Bible class, I felt better about the choice. The KJV is still the version of preference for a large number of churchgoers, and the New KJV retains both the literary beauty of the old English and the basic text of the KJV while modifying the language where it is no longer readily understood. Thus, for the audience of *The Communicator's Commentary* the choice would appear to work quite well, even though the New KJV is not based on the best manuscripts.

Demarest's approach is basically conservative. He accepts Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, and considers the Bible to be God's inspired word in a very high sense. He appears to be a former dispensationalist who is now open to other approaches to the biblical text. Nevertheless, he is still sympathetic to the dispensationalist approach, and individuals of that persuasion will not find this volume offensive. On the other hand, those who are not comfortable with dispensationalism will find his openness to other perspectives sufficient to appreciate the book, even in his discussion of 2 Thess 2. After all, his main concern is practical Christianity, not theological fine-points.

While this commentary does not reach the heights of Barclay's famed NT commentaries, it does reflect some of the more recent insights of NT scholarship; and I feel that I can recommend it as a valuable addition to the library of any preacher or lay person who wants to be more effective in communicating biblical insights to modern-day Christians.

Andrews University

JON PAULIEN

Jones, Gwilym H. *1 and 2 Kings*, vol. 1. *The New Century Bible Commentary*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984. lii + 300 pp. Paperback, \$7.95.

Following an extensive bibliography of thirty-eight pages, Jones takes up different aspects of technical introduction to the books of Kings. The

first major topic he discusses is textual criticism. Here he rather uncritically accepts F. M. Cross's particular theory of local Hebrew text types. One line of his support for this is found in the next section of the commentary, where Jones accepts the theory of Cross's student J. D. Shenkel that the Old Greek chronology preserves evidence for a more original Hebrew *vorlage* than does the MT. Some balance to this one-sided presentation is given in the third section, where Jones has noted D. W. Gooding's studies indicating the distinctly secondary nature of a number of passages in the LXX.

Jones turns next to the subject of chronology (pp. 9-28). This section is out of the order in which it should appear. It would more logically have followed the next section, which treats literary criticism (pp. 28-77), for Jones's method of handling the chronology of Israel becomes clear only when one understands his views on literary criticism. Chronological discrepancies are expected—yes, even demanded—by Jones's theory (pp. 41, 62, and *passim*). With this qualification in mind, we can examine his chronology.

As Jones points out, English works on the period of the Divided Monarchy commonly follow either the chronology of Edwin R. Thiele or that of W. F. Albright. German works make more use of the system of Joachim Begrich. Jones himself adopts, instead, the system of K. T. Andersen, with some of his own modifications. To pose the problem here, Jones begins by citing the excess of regnal years when they are measured by the synchronisms between the two kingdoms. He is inaccurate in the third of the three cases he cites, for the excess from Hezekiah to Josiah is a decade, not two years (pp. 11, 26; cf. D. N. Freedman, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, p. 277). He also cites the date of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah as 705 B.C., probably a typographical error for 701 (p. 11).

Chronological principles are examined next. The first is that of antedating and postdating. Contrary to what Jones states here, antedating was practiced throughout Egyptian history, not just "during certain periods" (p. 12). He holds that the northern kingdom held to antedating throughout its existence, and places the transition to postdating in Judah in the mid-seventh century. He next moves to the principle of "rounding off years." By this, he means that fractions of years were rounded off to the next lowest number. This view contradicts the biblical evidence, for inclusive reckoning (never mentioned by him) rounds off fractions of years to the next highest number (cf. 2 Kgs 18:9-10).

Jones is two-thirds correct for the calendars employed. He accepts a spring calendar for the northern kingdom and a fall calendar for the southern kingdom. In this he is correct, except that he switches to a spring calendar for the southern kingdom, which is not correct. Internal evidence and external correlations with Nebuchadnezzar's chronicle indicate that Judah continued to use a fall calendar until it came to an end (cf. S. H. Horn, in *AUSS* 5 [1967]:12-27, an article not cited in Jones's bibliography).

Jones rejects the proposal of Thiele that coregencies were employed in the ancient kingdom of Judah, and his failure to employ this principle naturally makes him unable to reconcile a number of the chronological data in Kings. Jones goes along with J. M. Miller (*JBL* 85 [1966]: 441-454, and 86 [1967]: 276-288) in favoring a number of divergent chronological readings from the LXX over those of the MT, and holds that when one does this, there is no chronological necessity for coregencies (p. 21). This observation is quite inaccurate. In the period from Jehu onwards, there are no divergencies between the LXX and the MT, but major chronological discrepancies remain there if one does not employ coregencies to resolve them.

In fact, this is the most difficult period of OT chronology, and the LXX does not help at all. Jones's denial that there is any evidence for coregencies in Kings (outside of Jotham's coregency during Azariah's leprosy) leads him to the LXX when he comes to the double dates in the MT for the accession of Jehoram of Israel. But in smoothing out the data, he disregards one of them. The other way to look at this set of double dates is that they are evidence for a further coregency, as are the double-dated inscriptions in Egypt.

Two chronological errors occur in the discussion of the period from 841 to 722: Jehoash paid tribute to Adad-nirari in 805, not 796 (Shea, *JCS* 30 [1978]: 101-113); and Hoshea paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser in 732, the year that Damascus fell, not in 731.

As a conclusion to the section on chronology, Jones provides a chart for his dates for the kings of Israel and Judah. Only a few of the problems present in this list can be noted here: (1) Jones dates the death of Ahab in 854, a year before he fought Shalmaneser III at the battle of Qarqar (at which Ahab was present, according to Shalmaneser's own inscriptions). (2) Jones dates the accession of Jehoash as 799, when the stela of Adad-nirari indicates that Jehoash was already on the throne by 805. (3) Jones dates Hezekiah's rule from 715 to 697, in spite of the fact that 2 Kgs 18:2 assigns this ruler a reign of 29 years. All in all, a distinctly inferior chronology has been produced here.

The next major section in the volume deals with literary criticism (pp. 29-77). This is an up-to-date and thorough synthesis of German thought on this subject. In general, Jones is a maximalist in terms of the number of sources and redactors for which he makes allowance as lying behind the present form of the canonical text. He rejects Martin Noth's concept of one deuteronomistic history (pp. 25-40), he rejects the two editions of the deuteronomistic history as held by F. M. Cross (pp. 31-34), he rejects the two-source and two-redactor theory of A. Jepsen (pp. 42-43), and he finally ends up with the three lines of deuteronomistic sources proposed by R. Smend, Jr.—DtrH(istorical), DtrP(rophetic), and DtrN(omistic). This procedure sorts out the materials in Kings according to the categories into which they fall: history, prophecy, and law. To hold to such literary-

source exclusivism seems simplistic, since it means that one writer or his school could not have written or collected materials about both law and prophecy, another about both prophecy and history, and another about both history and law. The result is one of having narrow literary furrows indeed.

Given the extent of this section of the book, only a few passing observations concerning it must suffice here. The first impression that comes is what a provincial exercise this is. The interpretation of recent German OT scholarship is given in extensive detail, while contributions made by British, French, American, and Israeli scholars on this subject are negligible (and when they are mentioned, they are only of peripheral interest to the author).

Second, it is of interest to see how little attention Jones pays to recent conservative scholarship on the book of Deuteronomy. Since he follows a standard literary-critical date of the seventh century for D, some cognizance should have been taken of the covenant structure of Deuteronomy which points towards a much earlier date for it, as has been called to the attention in the studies of Meredith Kline, K. A. Kitchen, and Peter C. Craigie.

Third, there are some transparent contradictions in this kind of work. One example of this is the Succession Narrative in 1 Kgs 1-2. Jones insists that this narrative should be retained with 2 Sam 9-20 as part of the Court History (p. 49), but then he goes on to give an extensive description (pp. 50-57) of the ways in which 1 Kgs 1-2 differs from 2 Sam 9-20. If there is such a great difference, why should the former be retained with the latter?

Fourth and finally, note should be taken of the extent to which this approach to literary criticism produces an excessive atomization of the text. A classic case in point here is the Elisha cycle. Concerning this, Jones follows the maximalist approach of H.-C. Schmitt (p. 73), which breaks down the Elisha cycle into so many bits, pieces, sources, redactors, and places of origin (pp. 69-73) that it is difficult to imagine how all the king's men could have gotten this humpty-dumpty back together again. If this approach is correct, then one more miracle should be included in the Elisha cycle—the miracle of how all these disparate pieces could ever have come together in their present canonical form.

The brief introductory section on the theology of Kings does not really present a theology of these books. Rather, it presents theologies of the different sources which are thought to have gone into making up the books of Kings (based on Jones's ideas set forth in the foregoing section on literary criticism). Jones ends up closest to, but not completely accepting, R. D. Nelson's dual theology of an optimistic pre-exilic (Josianic) source, and a pessimistic exilic source (p. 81).

Only random observations may be made on select points in the verse-by-verse commentary which follows the introductory sections. The commen-

tary in this first volume on 1 and 2 Kings carries only from the reign of Solomon to that of Ahab in 1 Kgs 16. (Vol. 2 takes up at that point.)

The literary-critical theories treated in the introduction are regularly taken over into the commentary section. As an example, the treatment given to Solomon's encounter with God at Gibeon, as recorded in 1 Kgs 3:1-15, may be noted. Concerning this encounter, Jones observes, "The kernel of the present narrative is the vision in vv. 4-15; but in its present form it is not a literary unit, and has clearly been expanded" (p. 120). He goes on to suggest a three-stage compilation of it. Also, Jones considers the story of Solomon and Sheba to be an exaggerated tradition from a popular legend (p. 220), and he poses at least three stages in its development, too.

This kind of literary critical work leads to some very negative historical judgments. Jones is at pains to eliminate all gold from Solomon's temple, attributing all such references to later sources (pp. 169, 171, 178). One of the most bizarre and nihilistic theories cited here is the one taken over from K. Rupprecht, who has, according to Jones, "convincingly argued" (p. 162) that neither David nor Solomon had anything to do with building a new temple in Jerusalem; they simply took over and renovated a Jebusite temple that was already standing in the city before their time (p. 152). Nathan's part in the succession narrative of 1 Kgs 1 comes off very poorly, too: "Many points in the narrative suggest that the oath is completely fabricated by Nathan, who was taking advantage of David's senility; it seems to be a case of Nathan suggesting the oath, rather than Bathsheba remembering it" (p. 93).

We have already noticed above how Jones's literary criticism has affected his chronology. This shows up in the body of the commentary in a somewhat contradictory fashion, in the case of both the accession and death of Solomon. In his comment on Solomon's death, Jones notes, "The death of Solomon cannot be dated with certainty; proposed dates vary between 926 B.C. . . . and 932 B.C." (p. 247). Yet, in his earlier chronological chart he places the accessions of Jeroboam and Rehoboam at the death of Solomon in 932 B.C., without qualification (p. 28). The datum for the commencement of the construction of the temple at the beginning of Solomon's reign receives a similar kind of treatment. For Jones, the 480 years mentioned in 1 Kgs 6:1 are an "editorial concoction" (p. 162).

The argument from silence is also abused in this commentary. Jones's treatment of the Queen of Sheba provides an example. Here he first notes, correctly, that the queens of the Arab tribes located to the south of Palestine were mentioned in Assyrian texts of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. But then he goes on to say that these "are dated in a later period; there is no attestation to a queen in Arabia in Solomon's time" (p. 221). What he fails to mention here is that there are no South Arabian inscriptions from the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., and Assyrian references to the people

there in that period are lacking because the Assyrians were not in contact with them at that time. Of similar nature is Jones's comment that because Tartessos does not occur in inscriptions until the end of the ninth century B.C., Solomon's ships could not have traded with it in the tenth century B.C. (p. 228).

Jones correctly identifies Siamun as the most likely candidate for the Pharaoh who gave his daughter to marry Solomon (p. 123). He also correctly identifies several of the officers' titles in Solomon's court as deriving ultimately from Egypt (p. 137). (Incidentally, a map for the provincial districts of Solomon would have been helpful.) For historical inaccuracies, however, one may note the ultra-high date for the Ahiiram sarcophagus from Byblos, ca. 1299 B.C. (p. 153; why not ca. 1300 B.C.?). Concerning geography, ancient Joppa is located under modern Jaffa, not at Tell Qasile, which was only an Iron I settlement of Philistines (p. 157). And the Sumerian word for palace is transliterated incorrectly on p. 168.

In general, Jones gives a rather negative evaluation of the character of the individuals mentioned in the narratives of 1 Kings. The case of Nathan has already been noted above. In addition, we may observe such items as these: Solomon comes off as a bloodthirsty powermonger in 1 Kgs 2 (pp. 107-118), and the Testament of David was inserted here later to rationalize his conduct (p. 106). Jones's literary criticism has, however, exonerated Solomon from any guilt in connection with the idolatry of his wives: "It may be that the king's wives and his idolatry were not linked together in the original tradition, nor were they necessarily condemned" (p. 233).

Jones gives rather short shrift to ancient Israelite ingenuity, and he favors a Phoenician origin of the temple plan. Even though it is "impossible to point to an exact replica of the Solomonic construction" outside of Israel, to Jones it still is certain that "Solomon was dependent upon the tradition of temple building in the Syro-Phoenician area for the architectural design of his Temple" (p. 162). As a matter of fact, the measurements of the temple really were multiples of those taken from the tabernacle; but, of course, Jones would naturally consider that a late literary creation too. He misunderstands the nature of the use of three Phoenician month names in the temple construction narrative (pp. 173, 193). These actually are evidence for an early date, rather than a late one, for these references in the text.

Jones also thinks that Solomon's ships did not go very far during their three-year journey on the Red Sea. However, the pattern of travel of Solomon's fleet fits rather well with the same pattern followed by Egyptian ships sailing on that same body of water, because of the nature of the shifts in the winds and tides that occur there.

The two main problems with this commentary are its excessively enthusiastic acceptance of literary-critical and tradition-history theories, and its

excessively negative evaluation of the historicity of the biblical narratives. It would be difficult in the extreme to write any kind of history of Israel during the times of the kings using this commentary as a basis for its historiography. This commentary is mainly useful for its up-to-date review of the literary-critical theories on the deuteronomic history and their application to individual passages in Kings. It is generally inferior, however, to previous commentaries on Kings and to the other new volume in this same series (Ezra-Nehemiah-Esther) reviewed elsewhere in this journal.

Andrews University

WILLIAM H. SHEA

Oberman, Heiko A. *The Roots of Anti-Semitism: In the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress Press, 1984. xii+ 163 pp. \$13.95.

This volume is an eminently readable English translation of Oberman's *Wurzeln des Antisemitismus. Christenangst und Judenplage im Zeitalter von Humanismus und Reformation* (Berlin: Severin und Siedler, 1981). The author originally intended to write on the topic "Luther and the Jews," but found it necessary to broaden the scope to "Europe and the Jews" (pp. ix-xi). The publication is divided into three main divisions, with six chapters in each.

In Part I (pp. 17-64), the author covers broadly, in five chapters, the attitudes towards the Jews just prior to, and concurrent with, Luther's own expressions concerning them, his sixth chapter being devoted to the topic "Luther Speaks Out." The earlier chapters in this main division give attention to the stance and remarks of such prominent figures as Johannes Reuchlin, Johannes Pfefferkorn, and Desiderius Erasmus.

The era was one of considerable social ferment, and in Part II (pp. 65-87) Oberman duly takes note of the social situation as evidenced in social protest, anti-Jewish sermonizing, agitational literature, etc. Among his six chapters in this division of the volume, the following topics are included: "Luther and the *Zeitgeist*," "Agitation and Jew-Baiting," and "Fear of the Jews: Between Piety and Superstition" (chaps. 9, 11, and 12, respectively).

Luther's own expressions and attitudes receive a significant portion of Oberman's treatment, especially in Part III (pp. 93-137). Among specific topics treated in this final main division of the work is "The Harshness of the Old Luther" (chap. 16), a topic which has gained an increasing amount of attention in recent years.

This somewhat slender volume is well documented with endnotes, and five short indexes cover "Persons," "Places," "Subjects," citations of "Authors/Editors," and citations to the "Weimar Edition of Luther's

Works" (pp. 152-163). Fortress Press is to be commended for making available to an English-reading audience this short, but penetrating, work by a well-known Reformation specialist.

(*Note:* For some brief earlier references in *AUSS* to the German edition, see the special Luther issue of *AUSS*—vol. 22, no. 1, Spring 1984—, pp. 140, 141. These references were made in conjunction with discussion of the topic, "Luther and the Jews.")

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

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

Critical investigation of the life of Jesus and the systematic treatment of the gospels as historical documents amounted to perhaps the greatest and certainly the most controversial achievement in NT scholarship of the nineteenth century. This new style of reading the basic Christian texts quickly began to affect the religious conceptions of believers; and by chronicling a phenomenon of the Victorian religious publishing industry, Pals has developed a method of studying its progress in British public opinion. Gospel criticism became "a sort of vogue" during the 1860s and beyond, and what had been academic issues in Germany already for half a century became in Britain the subject of wide public concern in sermons and periodicals, and in the high-minded Sunday afternoon reading of thousands of respectable mid-Victorian households. A succession of best-selling attempts at a satisfactory narrative version of the life and times of Jesus maintained the focus of debate on the gospel sources and upon the historical figure of Jesus at a time when basic changes in the relationship between reader and Scripture had to be accommodated in the minds of educated Christians.

By a wide definition, thousands of publications of all sorts might be counted as Victorian "Lives" of Jesus, and Pals deals directly with scores of them. Most were imitations of a few influential works, and need to be considered only in general. By scanning the leading journals of this period for notices and reviews, Pals has selected the more interesting and important examples, in quantity sufficient to establish the limits of the genre. He offers in this monograph, which has been adapted from his 1975 University of Chicago doctoral dissertation, a survey and digest of extensive reading in shelves of mainly forgotten piety and argument, encountered frequently at Victorian rhetorical lengths that are now quite out of fashion.

As well as accounting briefly for the unique features and circumstances of his examples, Pals identifies key points of contention, such as the utilization of the Fourth Gospel or the attitude adopted toward miracles, and indicates the position of each work in such regards. At several points he outlines and revises a formula for popular success in the genre, reviewing conditions in the publishing industry and in the reading habits which favored these works. Of the literary texture of the "Lives," only scattered comments and brief quotations are provided, and Pals is not always at his best in addressing the subtleties of tone and style involved (as, for instance, when he distorts the light irony of Albert Schweitzer's chapter on Renan, bringing it into line with his own unduly shrill condemnation of the French writer). He has also decided to pass by the opportunity of following the less-disciplined artistic and literary ramifications of the issues (as, e.g., the "Pre-Raphaelite" painters responded to them in their religious illustrations, or as Robert Browning discussed them poetically).

The Victorian "Lives" arose from a concern which seems to have been relatively new in the nineteenth century—the attempt to separate out a chronological account of the public life of Jesus from the gospel context of spiritual interpretation laid over it a generation later to meet the needs of the early church. Victorian interest was stimulated especially in response to two well-known Continental works, David Strauss's *Leben Jesu* (1835-36) and the more popular *Vie de Jesus* (1863) of Ernest Renan. The radical advance in the application of historical and structural criticism which these writers proposed is made clear from the survey of earlier traditions with which Pals begins his study. German scholarship, represented by Strauss, had rendered obsolete the old form of the "gospel harmony," which dated back past Augustine to the early fathers and which was too often arbitrary and unworkable through pedantic literalism. It also isolated from practical consideration the medieval tradition of devotional hagiography in works such as the pseudo-Bonaventurian *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, with their fanciful backgrounds and apocryphal details. Building instead on the rationalist traditions of English Deism and the German Enlightenment (which had been largely ignored by ecclesiastical establishments), the general study of the gospels as records of ancient documents, rather than as sanctified Scriptures, began in English with the first grudging discussions of the *Leben Jesu* in the 1840s.

Strauss's massive and complicated work was hardly suited to the non-specialist reader, and only in part took the form of a biographical narrative. Although it was translated in 1846 (anonymously, by the novelist George Eliot), the effect of the *Leben Jesu* in Britain was mainly negative and indirect; its tenets received their widest circulation when quoted for refutation by orthodox writers, who would often have been happier to suppress

their pernicious influence. Strauss's basic critical strategy of reading the gospel stories as "myths" (i.e., "religious literature in which historical events are . . . created or enlarged to fit . . . ideal conceptions") was profoundly shocking, but the work could usually be ignored by the British press, or simply dismissed as "foreign." Strauss came to be seen as a mere bugbear, "the symbolic infidel of the 1840s," but Pals probably underestimates Strauss's readership in Britain, especially among free-thinking Christians.

In Strauss's wake, British writers began to pay lip-service to new critical techniques which their reverence still kept them from applying with any rigor. It took another foreign work, of wider appeal and easier scholarship, to directly inspire spokesmen for the British religious mainstream to enter the fray with their own full-blown "Lives." This was Renan's *Vie de Jesus*, intended for French Catholics. It was translated into English within months of its original edition and began very quickly to be much read and discussed in Britain.

Renan's achievement was one of vivid historical romance, rather than of original scholarship, and it is relevant to consider that the same century which developed these "Lives" of Jesus had also invented the historical novel. With his charming rational sentimentality and highly successful narrative structure, Renan was ideally suited to popularize the controversy while stimulating discussion with his unacceptably skeptical proposals. Having visited Palestine, he was able to incorporate travelogue material into his narrative, and this use of the Holy Land as a "fifth gospel" became one of the determining influences on the Victorian "Lives." But the combination of incontrovertible appeal with "unequivocal anti-Christian skepticism" made the *Vie de Jesus* a threatening book, greeted variously by British reviewers with outrage, sarcasm, and earnest refutation. The only solution was to reform Renan's techniques for more orthodox employment by British authors, and the genre which Pals identifies emerged in this process.

F. W. Farrar's *Life of Christ*, the most successful of these Victorian works, did not appear for another decade, but earlier examples quickly began to establish the pattern. The anonymous English best-seller *Ecce Homo* (1865) was the next great focus of discussion after Renan; its strategy was to acknowledge at the outset an acceptable perspective with regard to the miracles and the divinity of Jesus, but then to de-emphasize supernatural elements in favor of a human, sublimely inspirational teacher. Reaction to *Ecce Homo* dominated British journalism throughout 1866, and the example was set for widely successful publication of such works in large inexpensive editions. Many Victorian writers saw as their primary task the reassurance of believers, and although there was a vital minority strain of "rationalist" reading of the four gospels, the products of this

strain could not be widely distributed and were seldom noticed with any seriousness by the public press. They borrowed from the Continental "Lives" and contained more controversy than scholarship, but were nevertheless ahead of their time (as Pals indicates) in raising questions which conventional scholars managed to avoid until the close of the century. When Farrar's *Life of Christ* appeared in 1874 as Britain's definitive answer to Strauss and Renan, it appealed by maintaining a moderate orthodoxy in a florid romantic style, generally trusting in the interpretations of Paul and in the implications of the church creeds, rather than offering radical reassessments of the historical problems.

Farrar's book continued to sell throughout the final quarter of the century and was widely imitated. Great advances were not made in the popular tradition during these years, and the more important British works, such as Alfred Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (1883), concentrated on the minutiae of Jewish lore and culture contemporary with Jesus, constructing an elaborate and useful background for what in general remained a naively uncritical representation of the familiar three-year ministry. With the response having been made to the challenge of Strauss and Renan, there seemed to be no need to keep up with continuing theoretical experiments of German scholarship (as, for example, the idea of Mark's priority). There was also little debate between the orthodox and the rationalist writers in Britain, each group tending to present again and again its established characterization of Jesus, without advance.

By the end of the century, gradual acceptance of gospel criticism had been established in the British churches (as it had not in America), so long as it stopped short of any direct challenge to Christian supernaturalism and to the fundamental historical reliability of all four gospels. Some respected scholars went much further than this, and it began to be widely maintained that even if passages as central to Christian worship as the infancy narratives were indefensible as history, and even if many of the miracles were exaggerated reports or literary inventions in imitation of OT incidents, the basic truths of Christian teaching and revelation remained available for belief, independent of the uncertain determinations of historical scholarship. Ironically, this was not far from what Strauss had originally intended in treating the gospel incidents as myths.

Pals terminates his survey at approximately 1910, by which time the Victorian narrative popularizations of gospel criticism had declined from their influential position. Increasing concentration on the process of constructing what Norman Perrin has termed a "faith image" of the Savior, and assertions of theology's independence from strict principles of historical inquiry, seem to have undermined the religious value of these "Lives" quite rapidly after the turn of the century. Widespread Victorian debate

over the "higher criticism" of the gospels had been contained within acceptable limits, and was perceived as a healthy exercise for the religious mind. In contrast, the fundamental structural criticism of OT texts, especially following Julius Wellhausen's work on the Pentateuch, entailed giving up too much too soon, and was shut out from comparable public interest. When an increasingly skeptical generation of NT scholars began denying the possibility of reconstructing any historically tenable biography out of the Gospel sources, the whole problem of integrating new textual studies into popular religious conceptions faded from public interest.

In Albert Schweitzer's classic 1906 study of gospel scholarship in Germany in the nineteenth century (where the backwater of the British "Lives" requires little attention), the manifold historical problems come to seem almost irrelevant to modern religious ideas. History by itself can provide only the barest sketch of a Jesus who "will be to our time a stranger and an enigma." Leading British scholars, characterized by Pals as more "gentlemanly" in their greater concern with the popular implications of their work, found it difficult to go so far, and the interest in their writings which Pals generates seems to rest finally in their contribution to Victorian sociology and popular culture, rather than to theoretical progress.

The Victorians and their conception of Jesus are inseparable, and we know them both better as the result of this work by Pals.

Santa Cruz, California 95060

JOHN L. BRUNIE

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

This publication is a commentary which rivals in volume and scope some of the more massive tomes on biblical subjects produced in the nineteenth century. Its 600 pages cover only the first eleven chapters of Genesis.

Although Westermann is well known as a prolific contributor to OT studies, his commentary on Genesis surely ranks as his *magnum opus*. This is the first volume to be translated into English from his three volumes on Genesis originally published in German in the *Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament* series from 1974 to 1982. The other two volumes cover Gen 12-36 and 37-50, respectively.

A rather standard literary critical approach to the biblical text has been adopted here by Westermann, but the details of his presuppositions are found in a rather curious location. The history of the development of the literary criticism of Genesis (and of the rest of the Pentateuch) and the presently modified treatment of this type of criticism are described only at

the end of the volume. Since this information is presupposed all of the way through the volume, it would have been more logical to locate this material within the introduction at the beginning. Since another volume on Genesis is to follow, this material will become sandwiched between Gen 11 and 12. What one finds in the introduction, instead of this material, is an extensive comparative history-of-religions discussion of creation and flood stories.

While Westermann allows for some modifications of the documentary hypothesis (pp. 574-575), these remain minor. His adherence to the standard literary critical format is particularly disappointing when he comes to the Flood story of Gen 6-9 (pp. 395-398). Here he gives no recognition whatever to U. Cassuto's brilliant insights into the unified literary structure of this passage, now seconded by B. Anderson and G. Wenham. This omission is not for a lack of knowledge about Cassuto's work, for Cassuto's commentary is cited extensively elsewhere in Westermann's volume (cf., e.g., p. 353).

Inasmuch as Westermann is a noted form critic, it is natural that his work involves an extended treatment of the text of Genesis from that point of view, revealed in each of the successive sections of the text. The elements treated in those sections are: (1) bibliography, (2) translation, (3) translational notes, (4) history of exegesis, (5) literary form, (6) setting in life, and (7) commentary. That elements nos. 5 and 6 receive separate treatments in these sections reveals Westermann's interest in the text as a form critic.

The particular fault in this type of work, it seems to me, is one of omission. The form critic is interested only in small units of the text, not large ones. What is missing here is a discussion of literary structure on the larger scale, of rhetorical criticism, and of canonical criticism. Numerous observations and outlines of individual elements in various passages are presented at different points in the commentary, but the passages as a whole are seldom integrated into a unified whole, even if one views that whole as an end-stage in the canonizing process.

From the standpoint of form criticism, one might have expected to see some attention to the poetic passages in the first eleven chapters of Genesis; but these passages are dismissed, by and large, in one brief paragraph (p. 91). By way of contrast here, an extensive amount of attention is paid to the subject of the "image of God" in man, in Gen 1:26-27; but it is never noted that this statement about man's creation was composed in a very evenly balanced tricolon, as has been pointed out in E. A. Speiser's translation of this verse in the Anchor-Bible volume on *Genesis* (p. 4):

And God created man in his image,
in the divine image created he him,
Male and female created he them.

As far as the "Setting in Life" is concerned, this is particularly difficult

to determine for these chapters of Genesis. Gen 1 is interpreted here as deriving from a "cultic" setting (p. 92). The basis for that judgment is the praise of God that is found in this passage. If that is the case, then much of the Bible derives from a similar setting, so that this kind of distinction loses its significance. (The approach here is somewhat like that of an archaeologist who designates as "cultic" all those objects of undetermined function which he excavates.)

At times, this commentary seems somewhat uneven. The genealogy of Gen 5, for example, receives twice as long a treatment (pp. 345-362) as does the genealogy of Gen 11 (pp. 558-566). Another contrast is that with regard to Gen 5, Westermann claims he does not want to get involved in the differences between the birth and death ages among the versions (p. 353), but does print a chart of such differences with respect to Gen 11 (p. 559). At times, he appears a bit dogmatic in his discussion of this subject, stating, for example, that "it is absurd to say that the life-span of the primeval Babylonian kings is an expression of their great vitality" (p. 353). I would think that if a man was remembered as living to a ripe old age of 72,000 years (Alagar), that datum would provide quite a commentary on his vitality!

In general, the English translation is rather literal, and it eschews the more free dynamic equivalence-type of translation. I would question, however, whether Gen 1:2 should be translated in such a way as to refer to a "desert waste" (p. 76). Westermann takes the first line of Gen 1:1 as an independent statement, not a dependent clause, as has been popular in some recent commentaries (p. 97). He does not see much of the chaos myth present in Gen 1 (p. 105). He argues against Schmidt's view that the "evening-and-morning" formula of Gen 1 refers to 24-hour days, holding rather that the emphasis here is upon the 7-day week as a unit (p. 90). This may be a case where the exegete can "have his cake" and "eat it too," since these two views are not mutually exclusive.

The bibliographies presented in the successive sections of the book are extensive. A full page of fine-print bibliography has been collected, for example, on Gen 1:26-27 alone (p. 147).

In spite of negative points I have indicated above, there is no question but that Westermann's publication is an outstanding commentary on Genesis. It is a treasure-trove of information for the reader who is interested in studying these passages of Genesis in depth. Given its scope, the volume serves especially well as a research source. It is not necessarily the kind of commentary that one would use for browsing leisurely through its successive sections, but as a research tool it supersedes all previous commentaries on the biblical material covered. Even for the more conservative scholar who may not share all of Westermann's literary and form-critical presuppositions, his publication should be an invaluable aid toward detailed

study of Genesis. Our thanks and congratulations are due the translator and the publishing house for bringing this notable work to the English-reading public.

Andrews University

WILLIAM H. SHEA

Wiklander, Bertil. *Prophecy as Literature: A Text-Linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to Isaiah 2-4*. Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series, 22. Malmö, Sweden: Gleerup/Liber, 1984. xiii + 278 pp. Paperback, Swedish Crowns 150.00.

This book, a revision of Wiklander's 1983 Uppsala doctoral thesis, proposes "that Isaiah 2-4 is a structured and functional unit of discourse" (p. 248; cf. p. ix). Hereby, Wiklander distances himself from much recent scholarship which has generally found a collection of originally independent prophetic oracles in Isa 2-4.

To demonstrate this thesis, Wiklander undertakes a linguistic and rhetorical analysis, among whose characteristics the following receive special attention: reduction (looking at the text anew, without regard to previous interpretations); text-orientation (focusing upon the text from a variety of viewpoints); holistic approach (examining the parts of the text in light of the whole passage); synchronic analysis (viewing the text from a given point in time); and historical analysis (placing the text within a text-historical process of the literary work of Isaiah). By these approaches, he seeks to retrieve the "true" meaning of the text. "I shall try to grasp the *capacity of meaning* as it emerges in a distinct communicative setting. Thus, I shall proceed on the assumption—currently gaining ground in text linguistic research—that 'textual meaning' is a dynamic phenomenon and that 'texts' should be conceived as deriving their life from being integrated by the interpreter with dynamic socio-cultural and interactional processes" (p. 32).

How does such an analysis proceed, and what results does it yield when applied to Isa 2-4?

(1) Assuming this passage to be part of an anthology of Isaiah materials and to have made its first appearance in the period from 450-400 B.C., Wiklander examines its linguistic and rhetorical characteristics and looks for contemporary socio-cultural data from Israelite history having a bearing on the meaning of the text.

(2) Identifying certain "markers" (e.g., 2¹, 2⁵, 3^{1ff.}) in the text, recognized by both its author and its recipients, enables Wiklander to outline the larger sections in Isa 2-4. When viewed in the context of Isa 1-5, syntactic links between its various sections, either anaphoric (looking back

upon the preceding) or cataphoric (looking forward to what follows), set Isaiah 2-4 off from its larger context as possessing internal coherence. Finally, the text has syntactic characteristics identifying it as "audience-oriented," "argumentative-persuasive," and "oratorical."

(3) Turning to the semantic dimension of the text, Wiklander identifies the covenant, understood as a treaty between sovereign and vassal, as the dominant conceptual field. It gives coherence to the whole passage (Isa 2-4), and by virtue of the related field of lawsuit (*rib*), the passage again shows itself as "audience-oriented," and "argumentative-persuasive," and depends for its meaning upon the intended act of text reception.

(4) Reconstructing the argumentative situation (between author and receiver) by pointing to the political, national-ethnic, socio-economic, moral, religious-cultic aspects, Wiklander has identified the author's stance vis-à-vis his social support group (Jerusalem temple circles), its opposition (foreign advisers and local supporters), and the most likely historical setting for the text (Hezekiah's time). Finally, the text genre suitable to achieve the author's communication intentions is identified as written composition intended for oral performance, a "revelation text" in which the covenant lawsuit proceedings and the "prophetic vision report" are interfused (p. 215). This genre is entitled: "restoration of the covenant by means of prophetic revelation" (p. 219), and it is structured on the model of discourse designed to make the audience "think, feel, remember, believe, decide and do" (p. 227). By such a text production-reception, the audience is invited "to become the true and faithful vassal or covenant partner of Yahweh" (p. 228).

Reading prophecy as literature in this way enables the interpreter to ask new questions about the text and to carry away new, fresh answers. That would seem to be the chief contribution of the present work. However, not all questions about the book of Isaiah are answered equally well, so it seems; and some new ones arise. Thus, while some questions about the literary composition of Isaiah are addressed in a helpful way (e.g., the coherent unity of Isa 2-4), others are not (such as, the question of the composition of the whole book, its relationship to other prophetic books [e.g., Micah], and its place in Israel's history). Finally, from a theological perspective, some readers might wonder if the present sharp focus upon the literary characteristics of the passage will not raise the same theological questions, vis-à-vis inspiration, divine revelation and authority, that have been raised by other approaches to the prophets, such as form, tradition, and redaction analysis. But these cautions do not diminish the insights offered in this interesting study.

BOOK NOTICES

WINFRIED VOGEL

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

Austin, Gerard. *Anointing with the Spirit: The Rite of Confirmation*. Studies in the Reformed Rites of the Catholic Church, vol. 2. New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1985. xiii + 178 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

This second volume in the series on "Studies in the Reformed Rites of the Catholic Church" presents a historical survey of the rite of confirmation, a discussion of modern reforms in the rite, and an analysis of present practice. Suggestions for pastoral reform are included. The book contains a bibliography, an index, and notes at the end of each chapter.

Ballis, Peter H. *In and Out of the World: Seventh-day Adventists in New Zealand*. Palmerstone North, New Zealand: The Dunmore Press, 1985. 178 pp. Paperback, New Zealand currency \$16.95.

The seven chapters of this book constitute the published form of a series of Centennial Lectures on "Seventh-day Adventists in New Zealand" delivered in 1984. Adventist and non-Adventist academics examine the social dimension of this minority religious group in New Zealand society, focusing on historical development. The book includes two photographs, various tables, and an index.

Ford, W. Herschel. *Sermons You Can Preach on Matthew*. Grand Rapids,

Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985 (reprint of 1963 ed.). 242 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

This is a practical study that provides pastors and teachers with a way to work through the entire Gospel of Matthew. Through each of the thirty-one sermons, the author weaves the theme of the kingship of Jesus. The profound simplicity and practical application testify that these discourses have in fact been preached.

Moore, Carey A. *Judith: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1985. xxiv + 286 pp. \$14.00.

This latest addition to the well-known Anchor-Bible series presents a new translation of the apocryphal book of Judith, plus an extensive introduction that comprises almost half of the volume (117 pages). Included are nine pages of good and helpful bibliography. Moore's focus is on the historicity of the story and the writer's true intent, and he attempts to answer the question as to whether the writer's concern was more historical or more theological. The similarity between Judith and the story of Esther is also noted and explored. The volume is well documented and is enriched by detailed and insightful notes and photographs of the depictions of the story of Judith by old masters.

Rice, Richard. *The Reign of God: An Introduction to Christian Theology from a Seventh-day Adventist Perspective*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1985. xx + 404 pp. \$23.95.

This sizable work, the first comprehensive textbook on biblical doctrines from a Seventh-day Adventist standpoint, has been prepared by a theology professor at Loma Linda University. Written with the intention of providing "an exercise in theology," the volume is meant to be a careful reflection of Adventist beliefs within the larger framework of Christian thought. This publication further "seeks to encourage students to begin a careful consideration of their own religious beliefs . . ." (p. xiv). Intended for use in the classroom, the book includes helpful study aids at the conclusion of each chapter, and the author has endeavored to avoid technical terminology. Several indexes are included.

Vos, Arvin. *Aquinas, Calvin, and Contemporary Protestant Thought: A Critique of Protestant Views on the Thought of Thomas Aquinas*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co./Christian University Press, 1985. xvii + 178 pp. Paperback, \$13.95.

This book sets forth a challenge to the common Protestant understanding of the nature and significance of Thomas Aquinas' work in comparison and contrast to Calvinistic thought. Vos describes some of the prevailing Protestant

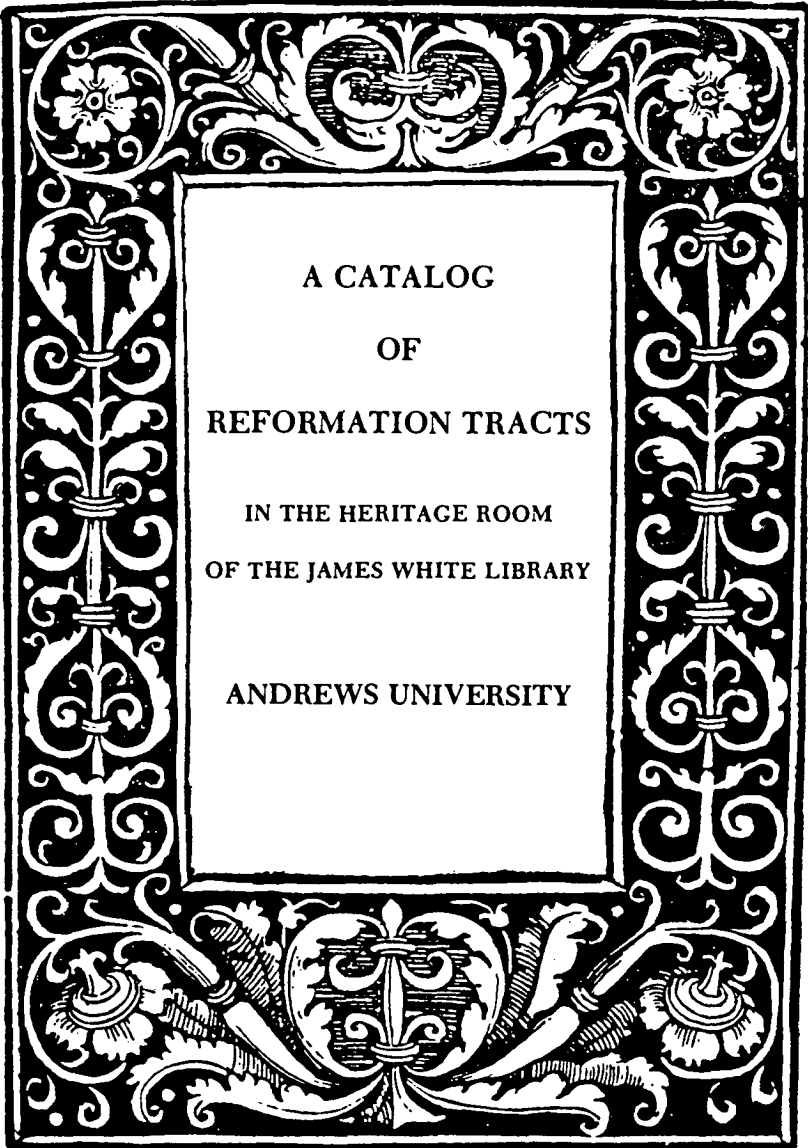
suppositions about what Aquinas has said, and he tries to show from the range of Aquinas' texts that such suppositions are in fact groundless. The book includes a bibliography and an index.

Wachler, Gottfried. *Die Inspiration und Irrtumslosigkeit der Schrift*. Uppsala, Sweden: Stiftelsen Biblicum, 1984. 120 pp. Paperback, Swedish Crowns 85.00.

Wachler provides a thorough discussion of the views of Hermann Sasse on the Bible as the true Word of God and on critical scholarship, following the publication of Sasse's collected writings in 1981. The author evaluates Sasse, and departs from him towards a stricter inerrancy model. Notes are included in the text.

Wenham, John W. *The Enigma of Evil: Can We Believe in the Goodness of God?* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1985. 223 pp. Paperback, \$7.95.

First published in 1974 under the title *The Goodness of God*, this apologetic volume seeks to provide an honest, careful look at the moral issues raised by the Bible and man's questioning mind. The focal point under scrutiny is: How can we maintain that God is good? The end result of Wenham's analysis is a positive exposition of the character of God. Author and subject indexes are included in the volume.



(Woodcut Border from a Luther Pamphlet of 1523, Catalog #22)

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

We are pleased in the current issue of *AUSS* to publish a catalog of forty-seven Reformation-era *Flugschriften* ("tracts" or "pamphlets") in the "Heritage Room" (an Archive and Research-Center complex) of the James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan.* The basic work in producing this catalog was done by Mary Jane Mitchell, Director Emerita of the Library, who was the Library's Director at the time when the tracts were acquired. Mrs. Mitchell also prepared the "Introduction" to the catalog. Subsequent to the initial work in providing the basic bibliographical and supporting information, we deemed it desirable to include additional data (such as printed-page size, further colophon or endnote information, and other items), and the task of researching and supplying these data was given to Ellen S. Erbes. Anyone unfamiliar with this sort of catalog preparation cannot possibly imagine the large number of hours of tedious and painstaking work done by Mrs. Mitchell and Mrs. Erbes. To both of them I express my deepest gratitude.

My appreciation and thanks are also herewith extended to Louise Dederen, Curator of the Heritage Room, for her constant helpfulness and many courtesies during the prolonged period of preparation of this catalog, and to Paul Denton, Director of the Andrews University Audiovisual Center, for his careful photographic work that has made possible the inclusion of some facsimile reproductions from the rare and sometimes rather delicate materials (see pp. 99-112, below).

Without the pamphlet collection itself, this catalog would not, of course, have come into being. In her "Introduction," Mrs. Mitchell explains the manner in which Andrews University came to have these holdings, and I would like here to join in her expression of gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. James C. Trefz, the donors of virtually the entire collection, and in her tribute to Daniel Walther, Church-History Department Chairman at the time of the acquisition, whose contacts with the bookseller and with the University administration opened the way for the acquisition. Also, I add here a further word of grateful appreciation to Mr. and Mrs. Trefz for their recent substantial financial contribution toward making possible the publication of this catalog.

Kenneth A. Strand
February 1986

* This catalog is being produced both in *AUSS* and as a separate offprint publication.

INTRODUCTION

REFORMATION TRACTS IN THE JAMES WHITE LIBRARY ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

The publication of this catalog of the Reformation tracts held in the Heritage Room of the James White Library at Andrews University is the fulfillment of a long-held wish. While the collection is, perhaps, not remarkable for size, it is the source of much value and interest for this university and community. A few of the titles have proved to be bibliographic puzzles. One is #43, attributed to Martin Reinhart; and another is #47, *Das wolff gesang*. Of particular interest is #41, *Bulla contra errores Martini Luther*, published and issued to the diocese of Augsburg. On the verso of the second leaf, fragments of the seal of the bishop remain. Several titles in this collection, though obviously genuine to the era, are not found in any of the standard bibliographies searched.

The first two Luther pamphlets owned by the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary are included in this collection: #3, *Adversus execrabilem antichristi bullam*; and #4, *Assertio omnium articulorum*. They were offered to Dr. L. E. Froom by the Library of Congress during the time he was doing research in the field of the Reformation for his four-volume *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* set. He purchased the two tracts in the name of the Seminary in the early 1940s.

Funds to purchase the larger part of this collection of *Flugschriften* were provided as a gift by Mr. and Mrs. James C. Trefz of Silver Spring, Maryland, to augment their earlier gift of Reformation and Luther materials. Included in this former collection with other fine standard Reformation books is the first printing (1523) of the Pentateuch as translated by Luther, *Das Allte Testament deutsch*. The Weimar edition of *D. Martin Luthers Werke* was also a major item in the first gift. The generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Trefz has made available in the James White Library a collection of Luther materials that is remarkable for a library of its size.

Mr. Peter Keisigloff, owner of the bookstore in Cleveland, Ohio, which offered the tracts for sale, had prepared most interesting notes in description of the items. During the preparation of this catalog I had the privilege of discussing briefly by telephone one or two of the pamphlets we had purchased from him over twenty years ago. Though he has retired from active work, he still remembers the collection and the research which went into the descriptions he prepared in presenting the tracts for sale. He expressed interest in the publication of this present catalog.

The cataloguing of this collection by the Technical Services Department of the James White Library for the general card catalog made the task of the physical description of the pamphlets easier. For this I thank and acknowledge those who did the original cataloguing, particularly Elfriede Raunio. Also, I thank Louise Dederen, curator of the Heritage Room of the library, for her helpfulness in making materials available to carry out the research. Nicole Clerc of Basel, Switzerland, consulted on our behalf Dr. Frank Hieronymus, a curator at the university library, regarding the proper identification of our copy of *Das wolff gesang*, #47, mentioned above.

The late Dr. Daniel Walther, chairman of the Seminary Church History Department when the collection was obtained, made the original contact with the bookseller and opened the way for the library to add these materials to its collection. I personally, and also the Andrews community of scholars, owe him a debt of gratitude.

Mary Jane Mitchell
Director Emerita, James White Library

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NOTE CONCERNING STYLE IN THIS CATALOG

In the preparation of this catalog, a genuine effort has been made to provide sufficient data and to set them forth in a style that will clearly identify the particular edition of a work in cases where more than one edition of that work appeared. Double vertical lines (||) indicate where line divisions occur in the title (and in colophon or endnote information). Punctuation in the text has not been modernized, but follows instead the original in all cases (e.g., slashes where those occur and commas where those occur, single or double slanted hyphens in the instances where those appear, etc.). Even artistic designs within the lines of title-page text are shown in reduced form (except in connection with one or two colophons, where the artistry is not crucial for the purpose of identification).

The type face used in this catalog has been standardized, as is generally the case with catalogs of this sort. The facsimile title-pages included (see pp. 99-112, below) provide at least an impression of the great variety of fonts used in printing these Reformation-era tracts. It should also be stated here that varying forms of letters such as “s” and “r” have been standardized in this catalog, and that where the “ß” occurs it has been transcribed as “sz” (rather than “ss”).

Finally, in each catalog entry the last item in the “description line(s)” (in bold italic) gives the vertical *printed-page* measurement for the tract.

—K. A. S.

**A CATALOG OF
REFORMATION TRACTS
IN THE HERITAGE ROOM
OF THE JAMES WHITE LIBRARY
ANDREWS UNIVERSITY**

1. [Anonymous]

Absag/ oder vhed schrifft/ || Des Hellischen Fürz/ || stē Lucifers/
Docz/ || tor Martin Luz/ || ther yetzt zu ge || sandt.: || [Colophon: Vnd
geben || inn vnz/ || ser || Stat d' || ewigen verz/ || damnüsz/ am
Letz || stenn tag Septembris || Anno der kleynen || zall im Vier ||
undzwã || zigstē || (Zwickau [?]: Jörg Gastel [?], 1524.)]

4to. [4] l. A²⁻³. 1st and 4th l. unsigned. Last l. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. *14 cm.*

Kuczyński #8.

2. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Acta. F. Martini || Luther August. || apud. D. Legatū Apoꝝ || stolicū
Augustae. || [Leipzig, Melchior Lotter, 1518.]

4to. [12] l. A²⁻³. [3d l. unsigned], B-B³ [3d l. unsigned]. Last p. blank.
Woodcut on t.-p. *16.5 cm.*

Benzing #236.



3. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

ADVERSVS EXECRABI/ || LEM ANTICHRISTI || BVLLAM,
MAR. || LVTHERVS. ✠ || VVITTEMBERGAE. || ANNO, M. D. XX
|| [Wittenberg, Melchior Lotter, 1520]

4to. [11] l. a^{2-b3}. 4th l. regularly unsigned. L. [9,10] also unsigned. Last 3
pp. blank. *16 cm.*

Benzing #724.

4. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

ASSER || TIO OMNIVM ARTICVLORVM || M. Lutheri, per Bullam Leonis, X. || nouissimã damnatorũ. ||  VVITTEMBERGAE.  || ANNO M.D. XX. ||

4to. 33 l. a²-h². 4th l. regularly unsigned. Last 3 pp. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. 15.5 cm.

Benzing #779.

5. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

DE CAPTIVITATE || BABYLONICA || ECCLESIAE, || Praeludium Martini || Lutheri. || Vvittenbergae. || [Wittenberg, Melchior Lotter, 1520.]

4to. [44] l. A²-L³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. Last p. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. 16 cm.

Benzing #704.

6. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.


Ain Christ^z || lyche vnd vast Wolge || grünte beweynung von dem Jüg || sten tag/ vnd von seinẽ zaichen || das er auch nit verr mer sein || mag. D.M.L. || . . . Witemberg. || [1522.]

4to. [15] l. A²-D³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. Woodcut border on t.-p. 16.5 cm.

Strip pasted on t.-p. "Ad Bibliothecam FF. Min. Convent."

Benzing #1489.





7. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

CONTRA HEN || RICVM RE^z || GEM ANGLIAE || MARTINVS || LVTHER. || Longe alius est hic liber  ille quem || ANTE HVNC uernacula || lingua scripsit. || VVITTEMBERGAE. || M. D. XXII. ||

4to. 32 l. A²-H³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. Last l. blank. 15.5 cm.

Benzing #1226 has the same t.-p. layout, but gives [Basel, Adam Petri] 1522 as imprint.

8. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Ein einfeltige || weise zu beten/ fur || einen guten || freund. ||  || D. Mart. Luth.  ||  Leipzig  || [Colophon: Gedruckt zu

Leipzig / || durch Valentin || Babst. || M. D. XLIX. ||]

8vo. [48] l. unsigned. Last l. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. and ornamental frames throughout. *14 cm.*

This copy in same binding with #s 10 and 34.

Benzing #3155a-3157. This 1549 ed. seems a reprinting of 1543, 1544, 1545 by Babst. Pagination, etc., identical.

9. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Das Eltern die || kinder zů der Ehe nicht zwingẽ || noch hindern/Vnd die kin || der on der elltern wilz || len sich nicht ver || loben sollẽ. || M. Luther. || . . . || [Colophon: M.D.XXiiij.]

4to. [4] l. A²⁻³. 4th l. unsigned. Woodcut border on t.-p. *15.5 cm.*

Kuczyński #1607.

Panzer #2191.

10. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

ENCHIRIDION || Der Kleine || Catechismus. || Fůr die gemeine || Pfarherr vnd || Prediger. || D. Mart. Luther. || ✻ Leipzig. ✻ || [Colophon: Gedruckt zu || Leipzig durch Vaz || lentin Babst. || 1549. ||]

8vo. [93] l. unsigned. Illus., 28 large woodcuts. First five l. and last p. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. and ornamental frames throughout. *14 cm.*

This copy in same binding with #s 8 and 34.

Benzing #2618-2619 same t.-p. and colophon except for date (1544, 1545, respectively).

11. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Hertzog Georg zů || Sachsen || Martin Lůther || Sendbrieff/ Szo Martin Luther zu Wittemberg dem || durchleuchtigen hochgepornen Fürsten und herren/ || herren George Hertzogen zu Sachssen etc. geschrie || ben. Auch Antwort Szo sein Fürstlich gnad || yme daruff gegeben warhafftig/ szunder zu ader abnehmen vorfertigt/ Lusticlich || zu lesen. || 1526 || [Endnote: Martino Luther zu Wit- || tenberg zuhanden.]

4to. 8 l. A^{2-B3}. 4th l. regularly unsigned. Last l. blank. *15.5 cm.*

This copy in same binding with #s 20, 21, 26, 31, and 42.

Benzing #2380.

12. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Die letzte Predigt || Doctoris Martini Lutheri heiliger || gedechtnis/
geschehen zu Witten~~z~~ || berg am andern Sontag nach || Epiphanijs
Domini/ den || xvij. Januarij. Jm || M D xlvj. || Jhar. || [Magdeburg,
1549] [Colophon: M. Stepha. Tuch.]

4to. 12 l. A²-C³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. Last p. blank. Unbound.
14.5 cm.

Not listed in Benzing or Kuczyński.

13. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Ein nützlich vnd fast tröst~~z~~ || lich predig oder vnderri~~ch~~ || tung/
wie sich ein christen mensch mit freüden || bereyten sol zu sterben/
Beschriben durch || Doctor Martinũ Luther || Augustiner. || [Colophon:
Getruckt in der loblichen stat Basel || durch Adam Petri. Anno.
M.D.xx. ||]

4to. [12] l. A²-C³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. 13 woodcuts interspersed with
text. Last p. blank. Woodcut on t.-p. *16 cm.*

Benzing #451.

14. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Offenbarung des || Endtchrists/ ausz dem || Propheten Daniel/ ||
wider Catha~~z~~ || rinum. || Martinus Luther. || Wittemberg. || M.D.iiiij.
[Sic!] || [Author's concluding statement: Datum zu Wittemberg || in
dem 1524. Jar/ || an dem ersten tag || Aprilis. ||]

4to. [87] l. A²-Y³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. 1st and last l. blank. Title
inserted in woodcut on t.-p. *15 cm.*

Benzing #885: Augsburg, Philipp Ulhart.

15. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Eine Pre~~z~~ || digt/ Vom ver~~z~~ || loren Schaf. Luce. xv. || D. Mart.
Luth. || Zu Wittemberg/ fur || dem Churfursten zu || Sachsen/ Herzog
Jo~~z~~ || hans Fridrich &c. || gepredigt. || M.D.XXXIII. || [Colophon:
Gedruckt zu Wittemberg/ durch Hans Lufft. || M.D.XXXIII. ||]

4to. 24 l. A²-F³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. Last p. blank. Large woodcut
border on t.-p. *14.5 cm.*

Benzing #3037 or 3039.

16. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

[Der Prophet Jona, aus~~er~~ || gelegt durch Mart. Luth. ||] [Colophon:
Gedruckt zu Wittemberg. || Michel Lotterus. Jm || M.D.XXVI. iar. ||]

4to. [45] l. A²-M. 4th l. regularly unsigned. Last p. blank. 16 cm.

T.-p. missing in this copy. Identified by layout and wording of the colophon.

Benzing #2269.

Kuczyński #1689.

17. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

RESOLVTIO || LVTHERIANA SVPER PROPOSITI- || ONE SVA
TERCIADECIMA DE || POTESTATE PAPAЕ. || [n.d., n.p.]

4to. [19] l. a²-e³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. 16.5 cm.

Benzing #395 gives Augsburg: Silvan Otmar, 1519.

18. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Resolutiones disputationum || de Jndulgētiarum virtute || F.
MARTINI LVTHER || AVGVSTINIANI || VITTENBERG~~er~~ || ENSIS,
|| [Woodcut] || Liber || Candidum & liberum lectorem opto. ||
[End-date for text: ANNO DOMINI, M, D, XVIII,]

4to. [62] l. A²-P³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. 1st l. and last 3 p. blank.
Woodcut on t.-p. 15.5-16.5 cm.

Benzing #205 gives Wittenberg: Johann Rhau-Grünenberg.

19. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Eyn Sendt~~er~~ || brieff vnd verantwort~~er~~ || tung etlicher Artickel/ an ayn
|| Christliche gemain der || Stat Eszling. || Martinus Luther. ||
Wittemberg. || 1523. ||

4to. [4] l. A²-³. 4th l. unsigned. Last p. blank. Woodcut border on
t.-p. 15.5 cm.

Benzing #1687 has t.-p. layout, but gives Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner, 1523, as
imprint.

Keisogloff #13 quotes Butsch *Bücherornamentik der Renaissance*, re pl. 92 (this
t.-p.) that the two figures at the bottom of the page are supporting Melchior
Lotter's (Wittenberg printer) printer's device.

20. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Eyn sermon am .xxi. || sonntag nach dem Pfingstag/ von || der rechten art des glawbens. || Von der art vñ bosz || heyt des teuffels vnsers widersachers. || Der spruch Pauli .ij. || Corint .iiij. (Wyr haben den schatz || ynn yrdischen gefessen.) Vnd Math. xvij || (Der glawb ist wie eyn senff korn) reychz || lich ausgelegt vnd mit schonen exempeln || Mosi/S. Petri vnd andern gezieret. || Wie der anfahend glawb vergleicht || wird eym pluenden bame. || Martinus Luther || Wittemberg .1526. ||

4to. [10] l. A²-C³, A²-B^{2a}, C-C³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. D¹ unsigned. No l. B³⁻⁴, but no omission of text between B² and C¹. Last p. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. 15.5 cm.

This copy in same binding with #s 11, 21, 26, 31, and 42.

Kuczyński #1695.

21. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Eyn sermon aus dem || 3. capittel Matthei/ Von der tauff || Christi/ ynn welcher er ynn seyn || ampt getretten/ Konig vnd Prie || ster vom vater geweyhet ist. || Wie alle gesschrift || des newen vnd alten Testaments || fast auff die tauff Christi gehet. || Martinus Luther. || Wittemberg. || 1526. ||

4to. 11 l. Irregular numbering of leaves: A³, A², B, B³, B³, unsigned, C, C², 2 unsigned l. All running text in correct order. Last p. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. 15 cm.

This copy in same binding with #s 11, 20, 26, 31, and 42.

Benzing #2352 gives imprint: Wittenberg [Nickel Schirlentz] 1526.

22. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Ain sermō || von den sybē bro || ten gepredyget durch || D. M. L. zū Witen || berg. Mar. am. 8. || Jm. jar. xxiiij. ||

4to. [4] l. A²⁻³. 4th l. unsigned. Last p. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. 16.5 cm.

Benzing #1801 gives imprint: [Augsburg: Melchior Ramminger] 1523.

23. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Eyn sermon vou (!) der || betrachtūg des heyligen leydens christi. || Doctur Martini Luther Augustiner zu Wittenbergk. || [Nürnberg, Jobst Gutknecht 1519?]

4to. [4] l. A²⁻³. 4th l. unsigned. Woodcut on t.-p. 16 cm.

Benzing #318.

24. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

SPECIAL AND CHO- || SEN SERMONS OF D. MARTIN ||
 LVTHER, COLLECTED OVT OF HIS || writings and preachings . . .
 || *Englished by VV. G.* || . . . || Imprinted at Lo[ndon 1581] || [William
 Gace, 1st English ed.]

Lge. 8to. [8] l. (with only iiij* signed) + 179 numbered p. A-A⁴ [+ 4
 unsigned l.]. Continues in this alternating pattern through the alphabet to Z;
 then same pattern for AA-GG. T.-p. damaged; date inserted by hand. 16.5 cm.
 Not in Benzing, Kuczyński or other Luther bibliographies consulted.

25. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Theologia teütsch || ¶ Disz ist ain Edels vnd kostlichs || bûchlin/von
 rechtem verstand || was Adam vnd Christus sey || Vnd wie Adam in vns
 || sterben/ vnd Christus || ersteen soll &č. || ¶ || M.D.XX. [Colophon: ¶
 Gedruckt vnnd volendet zû Augspurg durch || Siluanü Ottmar/ am.
 xxvj. tag Septembris. || Nach Christi geburt Fünfftzehnhundert vnd
 im zwaintzigsten jar &č. ||]

4to. [40] l. 2-3, A-J³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. 1st and last l. blank.
 Woodcut border on t.-p. 16.5 cm.

Benzing #168.

26. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

XXVII. Predig || D. Martin || Luthers. || newlich vszgang || en Anno
 .XXVI. || ¶ Durchsichtiget/vnd ni- || ordnung gestellt der || bessten
 form. || Sampt eim gemeynē || Register aller matery || Darin be- ||
 griffen.

4to. 107 numbered and 4 blank l. iii, a-z³, A-D³. 4th l. regularly unsigned.
 Woodcut border on t.-p. 15.5 cm.

This copy is same binding with #s 11, 20, 21, 31, and 42.

See Benzing #33, 34 for earlier eds., and Benzing #35 for (possibly) this ed.
 (Benzing #35 does not provide full title, so that it cannot be determined
 whether the Benzing copy has a misspelling that occurs in this copy:
 "niordnung" for "inordnung" [middle of second line of entry above].)

27. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

Von dem Bapstum zu Rome: wid || der den hochberumpten Ro ||
 manisten zu Leiptzck || D. Martinus Lu- || ther August. || Vuittenberg.
 || [Wittenberg, Melchior Lotter, 1520.]

4to. [31] l. A²-H³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. [G missing.] 15.5 cm.

Benzing #655 gives imprint.

28. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546; and Melanchthon, Philipp, 1497-1560.

Von dem Papst || Esel zu Rom vnd Münch kalbs || zů Freyburg in
Meyssen funden/ ain deüt || tung der zwů gewlichen figur̃n ||
Philippus Melanchthon || Doct. Martinus Luther. || M.D.xxiii. ||
Wittenberg. ||

4to. [10] l. A³-B³. 1st, 2d, 3d, 9th l. unsigned. Last 3 p. blank. 3
woodcuts. *15.5 cm.*

Benzing #1556 gives the exact t.-p., but identifies the printer as Jörg Nadler,
Augsburg.

29. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

DE VOTIS MONASTICI|S, || MARTINI LVTHERI || IVDICIVM
A SESE || RECOGNITṼM || ET AVC~~z~~ || TVM. || VVittenberge ex
Aedibus || Iohannis Grunenb. || 1522. ||

4to. [50] l. A²-M⁴. 4th l. regularly unsigned, except M⁴. Last p. blank.
Woodcut border on t.-p. *15.5 cm.*

Benzing #1010.

30. Luther, Martin, 1483-1546.

wye man recht/ vnd vorstendig || lich ein menschen zum christen
glauben || tauffen sol vō. Doct. Martino Lu. || kurtz angetzeichent/
auff bit einz || redlychen Burgemeysters. || [n.p., n.d.]

4to. [4] l., unsigned. Last p. blank. 2 woodcuts on t.-p. *14.5 cm.*

Benzing #1641 gives imprint: [Erfurt: Wolfgang Stürmer, 1523.]

31. Agricola, Johann, 1492-1566.

[Der Neuntzigeste Psalmus . . . *] || [Colophon: Gedrůckt zu Wittemberg/
durch || Jorg Rhaw. Jm. 1526. Jar. ||

4to. 18 l. A²-D² [D³ and D⁴ missing, but no omission of text], E-E³. 4th l.
regularly unsigned. *21 cm.*

Not listed in Benzing, Kuczyński or Knaake.

*I.e., 91st Psalm of Hebrew Bible. T.-p. lacking in this copy; information in
Gustav Kawerau, *Johann Agricola von Eisleben* (Berlin, 1881) is as follows:
"Der Neuntzigeste Psalmus Wie keyn trost, hülf, odder sterck, sey, dem teuffel
vnd aller fär, geystlich vnd leylich, zu widerstehen, den alleyn bey Gott, vnd
seinem heyligen wort Joan. Agricola. Isleben. 1526."

32. Articles of Marburg.

☞ wes sich D. Martin || Luther .&c. mit Huldrichen Zwing< || lin
 .&c. der Strittigen Articul || halb/ vereint vnd vergli< || chen/ auff der
 Conuo< || catz zu Marpur</ || den dritten tag || Octob. || M D xxix. ||

4to. 4 l., unsigned, except a². Last p. blank. 14.5 cm.

Benzing #2731, gives imprint as Marburg: Franz Rhode, 1529.

**33. Eyn Clag vnd bitt der deutschē || Nation an den almechtigen || gott
 vmb erloszūg ausz || dem gefencknis des || Antichrist. || n.p., n.d.**

4to. [4] l. A²⁻³. 1st and 4th l. unsigned. Last p. blank. 15 cm.

Kuczyński #452 gives Wittenberg, 1520 as imprint.

Keisogloff List gives Erfurt, Matthes, ca. 1520.

Weller #1349; Jackson 2566; Maltzahn #914. These last three all cited by Keisogloff.

Verso of t.-p. has large woodcut by Lucas Cranach, representing the pope and the cardinals on horseback with the damned, plagued by devils in the background. c1520.

34. Dietrich, Veit, 1506-1549.

Einfeltiger vn || terricht/ wie man das || Vater vnser beten || sol.
 Durch || V. Dietrich. ☞ || . . . || ☞ Leipzig. ☞ || [Colophon:
 Gedruckt zu || Leipzig durch Va< || lentin Babst. || 1549]

8to. [46] l. unsigned. Last 6 l. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. and ornamental frames throughout. 14 cm.

This copy in same binding with #s 8 and 10.

Not in Kuczyński (other works by V. Dietrich are #598-600).

35. Erasmus, Desiderius, 1466-1536.

Vonn walfart || Erasmi Roterodami ver || manung. wo Chri< || stus
 vñ sein reich || zu suchen ist. || M. D. XXII. ||

4to. [4] l. A²⁻³. 1st and 4th l. unsigned. Last p. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. 15 cm.

Kuczyński #743.

Panzer #1291.

Keisogloff List #21.

36. Hadrianus VI (Adrian VI), Pope, 1459-1523 (r. 1522-1523).

SVGGESTIO DELI || berandi super propositione Hadriani pontificis
 || Romani, Nerobergae facta, ad principes || Germaniae, a quodam
 ingenue tum || in cōmune Reipub. Christia~~z~~ || nae, tum priuatim
 Germa~~z~~ || niae fauente, || scripta. || ME LEGAT QVICVN || que
 defensam uelit & Christianam reli~~z~~ || gionē. Et Germaniae, liberta~~z~~ ||
 tem uindicatam. || [Colophon: M. D. XXII.]

4to. [4] l. A²-A³, A⁴ unsigned. Last p. blank. *14.5 cm.*

Kuczyński #2595 same title, different edition. Not found in any of the other bibliographies.

37. Henricus VIII, King of England, 1491-1547 (r. 1509-47).

ASSERTIO || SEPTEM SACRAMENTORVM || aduersus Martinum
 Lutherū, aedita ab || inuictissimo Angliae & Franciae Rege, || et Do.
 Hyberniae Henrico eius nomi~~z~~ || nis octauo.: || ¶ANNO. M. D.
 XXIII. ||

4to. [2 l. unsigned] [40] l. A-I³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. First l. and last
 3 pp. blank. Woodcut top border and emblem below title. *15.5 cm.*

Kuczyński #995-997 different editions of this title.

38. Jonas, Justus, 1493-1555.

Vom Christlichen || abschied aus diesem tödlichen leben || des
 Ehrwürdigen Herrn D. Mar~~z~~ || tini Lutheri/ bericht/ durch D. ||
 Justum Jonam M. Michae~~z~~ || lem Celium/ vnd ander die || dabey
 gewesen/ kurtz || zusammen gezogen. || Gedruckt zu Wittenberg || durch
 Georgen || Rhaw. || Anno M.D.XLVI. ||

4to. [20] l. A²-D³. 4th l. regularly unsigned [first 2 and last 3 l. unsigned
 and blank]. On verso of t.-p., 10-cm. woodcut portrait of Luther with
 inscription: "Doctor. Martinvs. Lvtersv." *14 cm.*

Not in Benzing or Kuczyński.

39. Karlstadt, Andreas Rudolf Bodenstein von, 1480 (ca.)-1541.

Von dem Sabbat vnd || gebotten feyer~~z~~ || tagen. || Andres Carolstat. ||
 M.D.XXiiij. || Jhen. || (Jena)

4to. 32 l. *20 cm.*

Photostatic copy bound in boards.

Kuczyński #422.

40. Karlstadt, Andreas Rudolf Bodenstein von, 1480 (ca.)-1541.

Von manigfeltigkeit des || ainfeltigen ainigen willen || Gottes. || Was sünd sey. || Andreas Bodenstein von || Carolstat/ ain newer Lay. || Anno. M.D.XXIII. || [Augsburg ?]

4to. [34] l. A²-H³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. Last l. blank and lower right corner torn off. Decorative woodcut border on t.-p. 16 cm.

Title mentioned only in Edmonds #482: 1523 printing, Strassburg. Title different layout.

Keisogloff List #19: "Dodgson II, 142, 9."

41. Leo X, Pope, 1475-1521 (r. 1513-1521).

BVLLA CONTRA ER || rores Martini Luther & || sequacium || CVM Mandato Reuerendissimi domini || Episcopi Augusteñ. || [Augsburg, 1520.]

4to. [10] l. A unsigned. B-B³. Last l. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. 15.5 cm.

Keisogloff List #23: "The famous bull (Exurge Domine) which Pope Leo X published on June 15, 1520 against Martin Luther. . . . The bull was published simultaneously in different dioceses throughout Germany. This edition was printed in November 1520 by the archbishop of Augsburg and still bears on the verso of the second leaf part of the original seal of the archbishop."

42. Melanchthon, Philipp, 1497-1560.

Auslegung Phi || lipps Melanchthon vber || die Sprûch Salomo || mit seiner gunst vnd || willen verdeutschet || durch || Justum Menium || czu || Erfurd. ♪ || M.D.XXVi. || [Colophon: ♪ Gedruckt zu Erfurd durch Melchior || Sachssen/ zum Leoparthen bei || S. Georgen/ im iar. || M.D.XXvi.]

4to. [x] clvi p. A²-H³, H-L³, O-V³, X-Z³ Aa-Rr³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. Last p. blank. Woodcut border on t.-p. 15.5 cm.

This copy in same binding with #s 11, 20, 21, 26, and 31.

Not identified in any of the bibliographies consulted.

43. [Reinhart, Martin]

Anzaygung wie die gefallene || Christenhait widerbracht müg werdñ || in jren ersten standt in wólchem sie von || Christo vnnd seynē Aposteln erstlich || gepflantz vnnd auff gebawet ist. || Vor hundert jaren beschriben || vnd yetzt aller erst gefunden || vnd durch den druck

an || tag geben. || 1524. || Das Concilium zů Basel || vnnd die Bõhem
be= || treffende: || . . . [n.p., 1524]. . .

4to. [16] l. A²-D³. 4th l. regularly ned. Last p. blank. Woodcut border
on t.-p. 15.5 cm.

Kuczyński #2269 same date, but not exact t.-p.

Keisogloff: "First edition of an extremely rare book." Refers to Flechsig,
Cranachstudien, p. 207.

44. Sachs, Hans, 1494-1576.

Eyn gesprech eynes Euangelischen || Christen/ mit eynem
Lutherischen/ daryn || der Ergerlich wandel etlicher/ dye sich
Lutherisch nennen/ angetzeygt/ vñ || brüderlich gestrafft wirt. 1524. ||
Hans Sachs || . . .

4to. [8] l. A²-B³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. Last p. blank. Woodcut on
t.-p. 14 cm.

Kuczyński #2308 lists title but not this printing.

Keisogloff states that this is the 2d issue of the 1st ed. but does not document the
statement.

45. Toltz, Johann.

Eyn kurtzer vnd fast || nutzbarlicher beschei || dener Sermon vber ||
das Christliche lobge || sang Ein kindeleyn so || lobiglich ist vns gebo
|| ren hewte &c. || Johannes Toltz. || 1526. || [Colophon: Gedruckt zu
Leypsick durch Michel Blum. ||

4to. [4] l. A²-A³. A and A^[4] unsigned. Last p. blank. Woodcut border-on
t.-p. 16 cm.

Not listed in Kuczyński or Benzing.

**46. Wie der Hailig Vat || ter Bapst Adrianus ein geritten || ist zů Rom Auff
den .XXVIII. Tag des Mo- || nats Augusti. Im jar M.D.XXII. || Darbey
ain gesprech von || dreyen personen. || [1522.]**

4to. [4] l. A²-³. 1st and 4th l. unsigned. Last p. blank. Woodcut on
t.-p. 16.5 cm.

Keisogloff List: "S. Otmar, 1522."

Not found in any of the bibliographies consulted.

47. Vadianus, i.e., Joachim von Watt, 1485-1551.

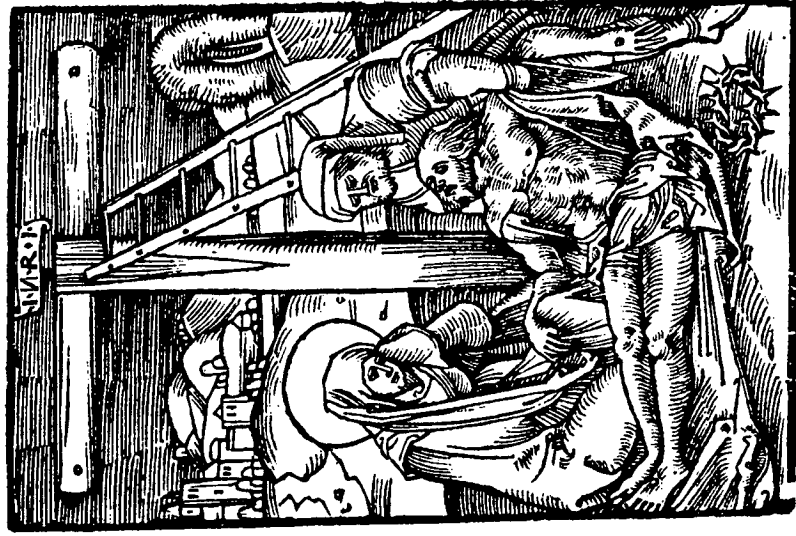
Das wolff gesang. || [Augsburg, 1520?]

4to. [20] l. A²-E³. 4th l. regularly unsigned. Last p. blank. Woodcut on
t.-p. 15.5 cm.

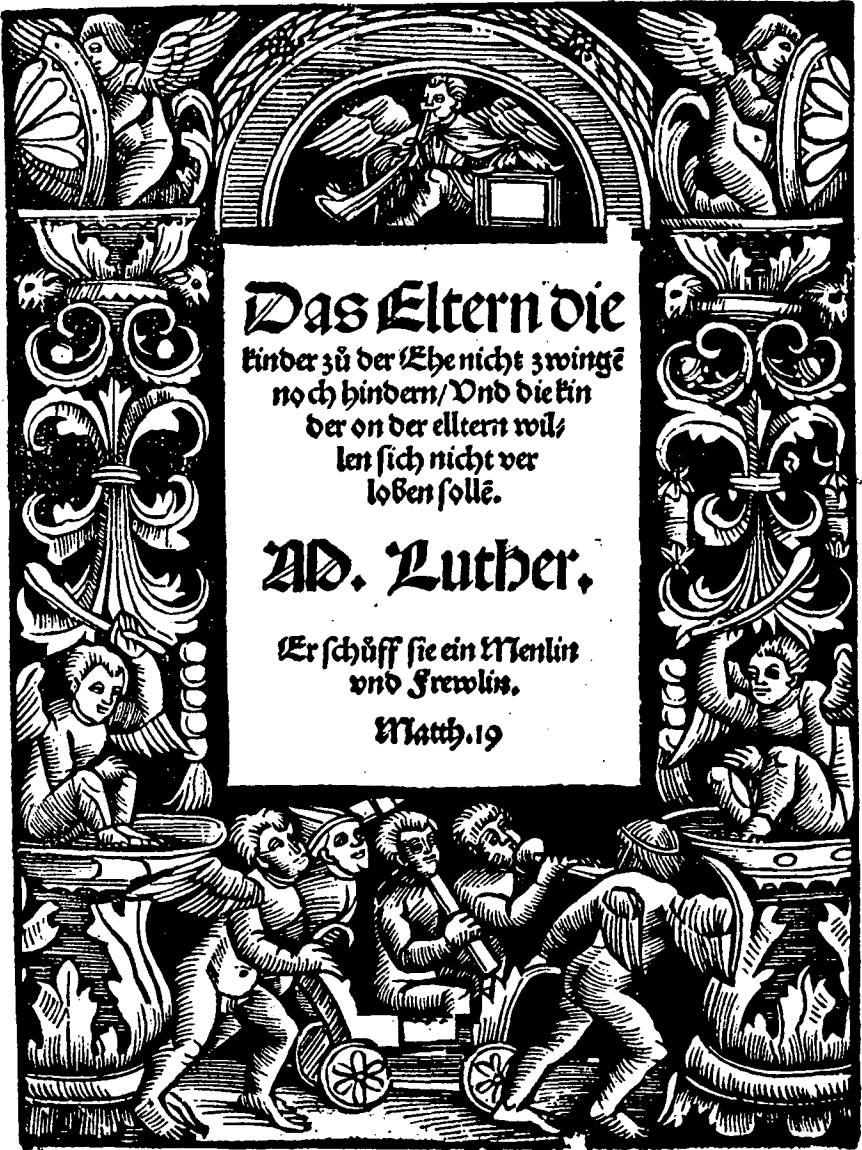
At the end of the text the name "Judas nasarei" is printed. This has been
established as the pseudonym of Vadianus. See Keisogloff list #26.

Acta of Martin Luther August.

apud. D. Legatū Apo-
stolicū Augustar.



(Title-page of #2)



(Title-page of #9)

Die letzte Predigt
 Doctoris Martini Lutheri heiliger
 gedechenis/ geschehen zu Witten-
 berg am andern Sontag nach
 Epiphantias Domini/den
 xvij. Januarij. Im
 M D xlvj.
 Jhar.

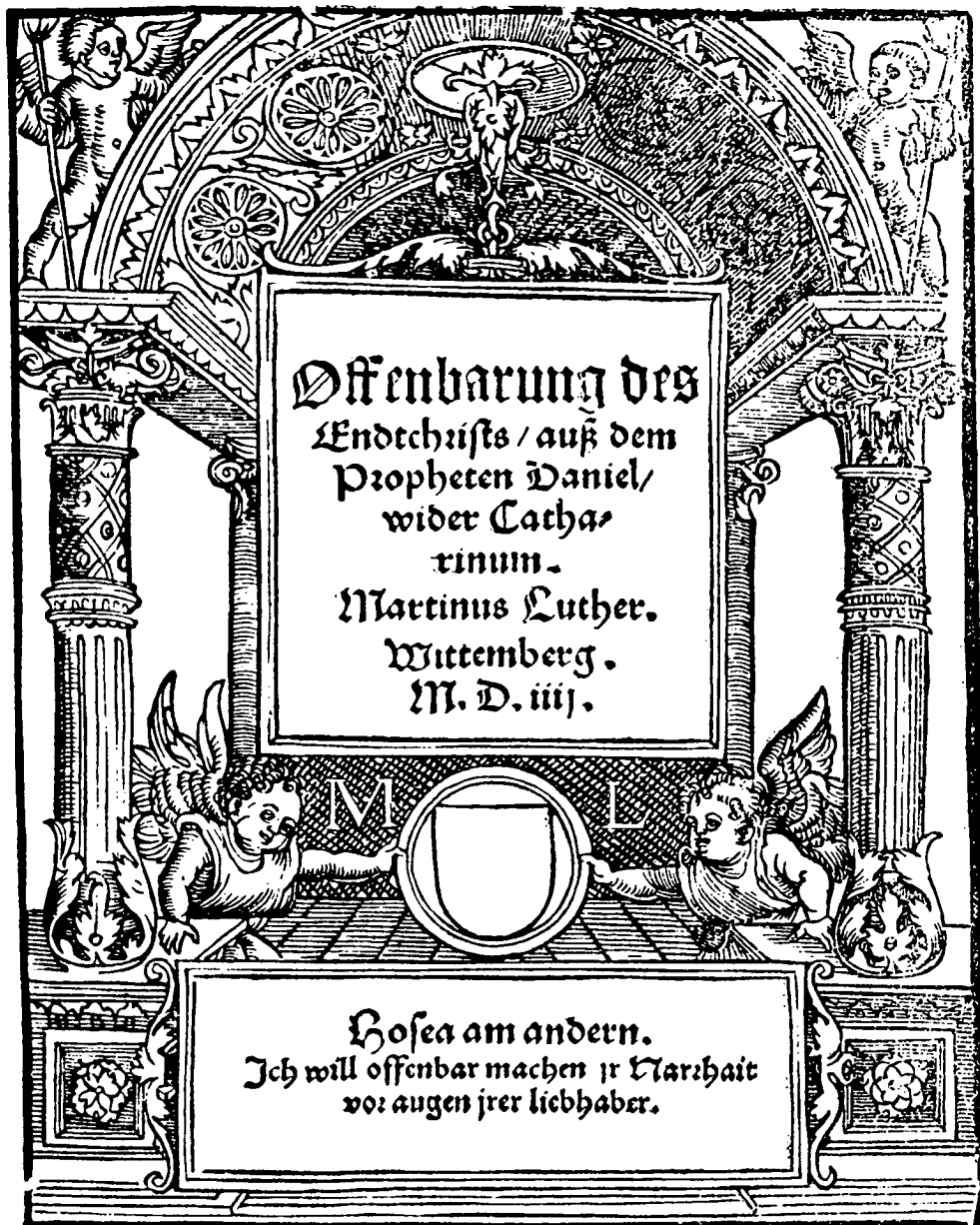
(Title-page of #12)

Ein nützlich vnd fast tröstlich predig oder vnderrichtung

wie sich ein christen mensch mit freunden bereyten sol zu sterben / Beschützen durch Doctor Martinū Luther Augustiner.



(Title-page of #13)





(Title-page of #15)

**Resolutiones disputationum
de Indulgentiarum virtute
F. MARTINI LVTHER
AVGVSTINIANI
VITTENBERG-
ENSIS,**



**LIBER
Candidum & liberum lectorem opto .**

(Title-page of #18)

Eyn sermon von der betrachtung des heyligen leydens christi. Doctor Martini Luther Augustiner zu Wittenbergk.

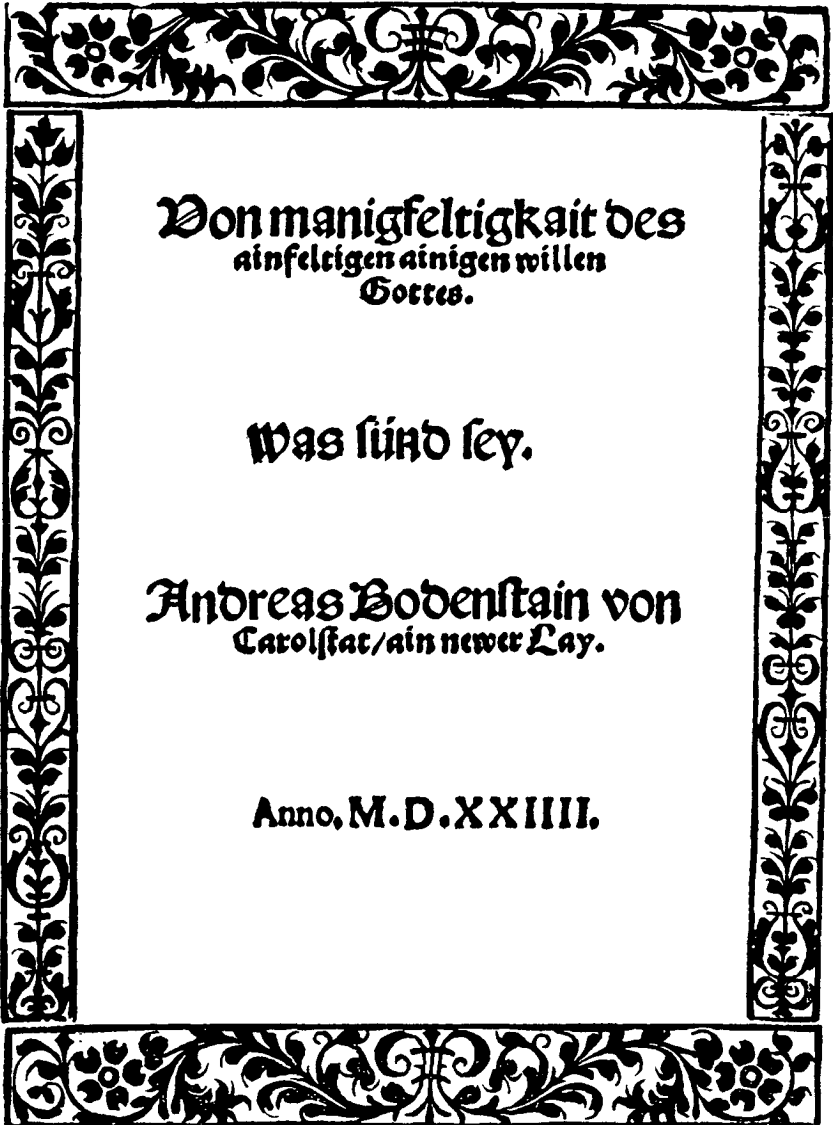


(Title-page of #23)

Vom Christlichen
 abschied aus diesem tödlichen leben
 des Ehrwürdigen Herrn D. Mar-
 tini Lutheri / bericht / durch D.
 Justum Jonam M. Michae-
 lem Celium / vnd ander die
 dabey gewesen / kurz
 zusammen gezogen.

Gedruckt zu Wittenberg
 durch Georgen
 Rhaw.

Anno M. D. XLVI.



Wie der Heilig Vat ter Papst Adrianus ein geritten ist zu Rom Auff den .XXVIII. Tag des Mo- nats Augusti. Im Jar M.D.XXII.

Darbey ein gesprech von
dreyen personen.



(Title-page of #46)

Das wolff gefang.



Ain ander hertz / ain ander klayd / Tragen falsche wölff in der hayd.
 Damit sy den gensen luffren / Den pflum ab den kröpffen rupffen
 Magstu hie bey gar wol verston / Da du liest die büechlein schon.

(Title-page of #47)

Der Papstesel zu Rom



"THE POPE-DONKEY"
(Woodcut from #28)

Das Münchkalb zu Freyburg



"THE MONK-CALF"
(Woodcut from #28)

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = ' (aleph)	ט = ḏ (tet)	י = y (yod)	ס = s (sade)	ך = r (resh)
ב = b (bet)	ח = h (het)	כ = k (kaph)	ע = ' (ayin)	שׁ = š (shin)
בּ = b (bet with dagesh)	וּ = w (vav)	כּ = k (kaph with dagesh)	פּ = p (pe)	שׂ = š (shin with dagesh)
ג = g (gimel)	ז = z (zayin)	ל = l (lamed)	פּ = p (pe with dagesh)	תּ = t (tet with dagesh)
גּ = g (gimel with dagesh)	מ = m (mem)	מ = m (mem)	צ = c (tsade)	תּ = t (tet with dagesh)
ד = ḏ (dalet)	נ = n (nun)	נ = n (nun)	ק = q (qaph)	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

- = a	וּ, וְ (vocal shewa) = e	וּ = o
וּ = ā	וּ, וְ = ē	וּ = o
וּ = a	וּ = i	וּ = o
וּ = e	וּ = i	וּ = u
וּ = ē	וּ = o	וּ = u

(Dāgēs Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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