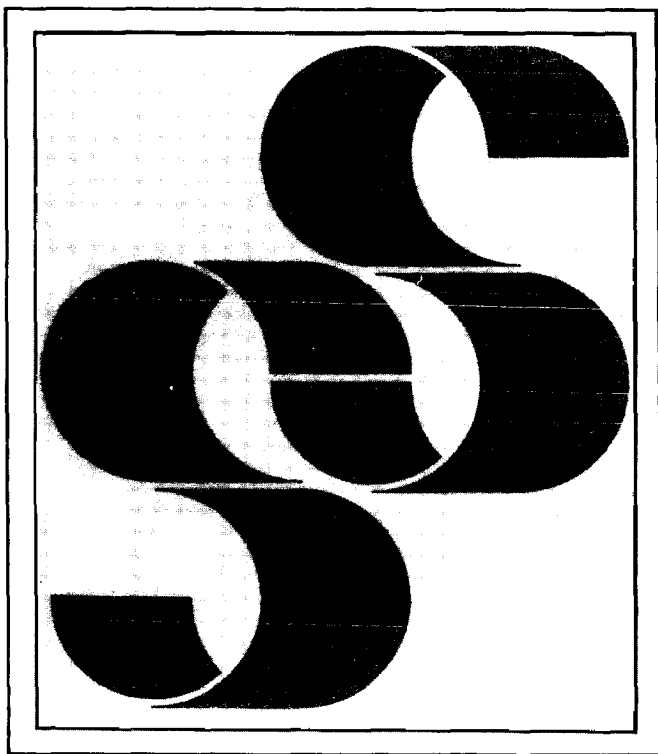


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**ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES**

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## AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO VOLUME 26

This issue of *AUSS* inaugurates our twenty-sixth year of publication, and completes my own fourteenth year as Editor. Especially in recent years, our staff has faced constantly increasing duties, with four of our Associate Editors now in heavy administrative responsibilities—two at East-coast and West-coast institutions, and two here at the Theological Seminary. I have recommended keeping these folk on the staff for the invaluable, though more limited, service they render. But the need has become obvious that in order to maintain—and hopefully to expand—our services (more on this below) additional input in the editorial role of the journal has become a vital desideratum.

### *Introducing a New Editor*

It is with gratitude to our Seminary and University Administration and to our University Press Board and Board of Trustees that I am able at this time to introduce a new editor, George R. Knight, who will share with me full editorial responsibilities. Knight transferred several years ago from the School of Education to the Theological Seminary, at which time we arranged for him to join our *AUSS* staff as an Associate Editor. An accomplished and well-published research scholar, he brought with him a wealth of background in scholarly writing; but he also came to us with considerable experience and knowledge concerning both the editorial process and the production aspects of publishing. In the capacity of Associate Editor he has already provided *AUSS* with invaluable service, and it is my special pleasure to be able to introduce him to you at this time in this new role of full editorship. To him and to all members of our *AUSS* staff I am heavily indebted for the excellent service they render—service beyond their already excessively heavy programs of administrative, teaching, and other duties.

We should also add here that regretfully we must report the resignation of William H. Shea as Book Review Editor more than a year ago—at the time when he transferred from Berrien Springs to Washington, DC, to become an Associate Director of the Biblical Research Institute. His name has been retained in our masthead throughout 1987, however, inasmuch as he was responsible for arranging most, if not all, of the book reviews that appeared in *AUSS* last year. We owe him a debt of gratitude for the years of service he gave us, and we look forward to receiving frequent articles and book reviews from him personally. George Knight has kindly taken upon himself the role of Book Review Editor (which he has approached with enthusiasm and vigor, in addition to his much-appreciated general co-editorship of the

journal) until such time as a new appointment to this office is made; and for this service, too, I am most grateful to him.

### *AUSS Plans for the Future*

Over the years *AUSS* has been privileged from time to time to expand its areas of coverage—a process begun under Founding Editor Siegfried H. Horn, who during his long tenure gave the journal international recognition as an outstanding scholarly serial publication. Under Horn's editorship, the journal moved from an annual to a biannual publication, and added various new features as the years went by. In 1980, we were privileged to expand *AUSS* into a triannual publication, an event that allowed us opportunity for several further elements of expanded coverage. Currently we regularly provide articles, book reviews, and book notices treating the various theological disciplines listed on the inside front cover of the journal. In addition, we have been privileged from time to time to include Andrews University dissertation abstracts, and to incorporate various special features, such as the Catalog of Reformation-era Pamphlets in the Heritage Center of the James White library. Also, we have been able to publish oversize issues devoted to specific occasions (e.g., the Luther issue in 1984 and the Leona Running *Festschrift* issue in 1987).

There are other features we have planned to introduce, but which thus far we have been unable to incorporate because of time and staff limitations. These include reports on major bibliographical tools and theological resources worldwide, assessment and comparison of major Bible commentaries (currently partially cared for through book reviews), and details concerning a number of scholarly services available at Andrews University. We hope that we can now finally begin to include such items at appropriate times. Moreover, George Knight also brings to *AUSS* his own repertoire of ideas to make the journal an ever-more useful publication for you, our valued readers.

### *This Volume of AUSS*

In the summer of 1987 the second season of archaeological excavation at Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Umeiri in Jordan made various interesting discoveries. A report on this excavation had been intended for the present issue of *AUSS* but has been delayed in order to accommodate a more thorough assessment of some unique and important finds. The report, together with accompanying photographs, will be forthcoming in a subsequent issue of *AUSS* this year.

Andrews University will also soon begin archaeological work in Israel, and reports are planned concerning the progress of the surveys and excavations there. In the present issue of *AUSS*, Randall Younker, Director of the Institute of Archaeology at Andrews University, provides a preview notice regarding a special archaeological survey planned for the summer of 1988. Also in this issue P. David Merling, Curator of the Horn Archaeological

Museum, presents a tribute for Siegfried Horn's 80th birthday, together with a report on the status of refurbishment of the Horn Museum.

In closing this preview of the 1988 volume of *AUSS*, I wish to thank both our readers and contributors, as well as our staff, for the kind support given to *AUSS*.

Kenneth A. Strand  
Editor





THE THEOLOGY OF SEXUALITY  
IN THE BEGINNING:  
GENESIS 1-2

RICHARD M. DAVIDSON  
Andrews University

The first two chapters of the Bible deal directly with the question of human sexuality. Not only is human sexuality presented as a basic fact of creation, but an elucidation of the nature of sexuality constitutes a central part of the Creation accounts. These opening chapters of Scripture, coupled with the portrayal of disruption and divine judgment presented in Gen 3, have been described as of seminal character and determinative for a biblical theology of sexuality. It has been correctly noted that a clear understanding of these basic statements is crucial, since here "the pattern is established and adjudged good. From then until the close of the biblical corpus it is the assumed norm."<sup>1</sup> In this article we will focus upon the theology of sexuality in the creation accounts (Gen 1-2), and in a subsequent article we will explore the theological insights on sexuality emerging from Gen 3.

1. *Sexuality in Genesis 1:1-2:4a*

In Gen 1:26-28 "the highpoint and goal has been reached toward which all of God's creativity from vs. 1 on was directed."<sup>2</sup> Here in lofty grandeur is portrayed the creation of man (*hā'ādām* = "humankind"):

<sup>26</sup>Then God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth."<sup>27</sup>So

<sup>1</sup>Dennis F. Kinlaw, "A Biblical View of Homosexuality," in Gary R. Collins, ed., *The Secrets of Our Sexuality: Role Liberation for the Christian* (Waco, TX, 1976), p. 105.

<sup>2</sup>Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 57.

God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them. <sup>28</sup>And God blessed them, and God said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth."<sup>3</sup>

It has been rightly observed that discussion among theologians over this passage has largely focused on the meaning of man's creation in the "image of God" and has almost entirely ignored the further affirmation that humankind is created male and female.<sup>4</sup> In harmony with the concerns of this study we must focus in particular upon the neglected statement—"male and female he created them"—without ignoring the question of the *imago Dei* and the wider context of the chapter. The fundamental insights into the theology of human sexuality which emerge from Gen 1:1-2:4a are here discussed under seven major subheadings.

### *Creation Order*

In the clause concerning man's creation as male and female (Gen 1:27c) we note, first of all, that sexual differentiation is presented as a creation by God, and not part of the divine order itself. This emphasis upon the *creation* of sexual distinction appears to form a subtle but strong polemic against the "'divinisation' of sex"<sup>5</sup> so common in the thought of Israel's neighbors.

Throughout the mythology of the ancient Near East, the sexual activities of the gods form a dominant motif.<sup>6</sup> The fertility myth was of special importance, particularly in Mesopotamia and Palestine. In the fertility cults creation was often celebrated as resulting from the union of male and female deities: "Copulation and procreation were mythically regarded as a divine event. Consequently the religious atmosphere was as good as saturated with mythical sexual conceptions."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup>All English renditions of Scripture herein are from the RSV.

<sup>4</sup>Paul K. Jewett, *Man as Male and Female: A Study of Sexual Relationships from a Theological Point of View* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1975), p. 19.

<sup>5</sup>Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (New York, 1962), 1:27.

<sup>6</sup>Raymond Collins, "The Bible and Sexuality," *BTB* 7 (1977):149-151, conveniently summarizes the major aspects of sexuality (fertility, love-passion, destructive capacity, sacred marriage) in the ancient Near Eastern myths.

<sup>7</sup>Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:27.

In contrast to this view of creation as divine procreation, the account of Gen 1, with its emphasis upon the transcendent God (*Elohim*) and a cosmic view of creation, posits a radical separation of sexuality and divinity. God stands “absolutely beyond the polarity of sex.”<sup>8</sup> The sexual distinctions are presented as a creation by God, not part of the divine order.

### *A Duality from the Beginning*

Secondly, it may be noted that God created the bipolarity of the sexes from the beginning. The popular idea of an ideal androgynous being later split into two sexes cannot be sustained from the text. Gerhard von Rad correctly points out that “the plural in vs. 27 (‘he created them’) is intentionally contrasted with the singular (‘him’) and prevents one from assuming the creation of an originally androgynous man.”<sup>9</sup> The sexual distinction between male and female is fundamental to what it means to be human. To be human is to live as a sexual person. As Karl Barth expresses it, “We cannot say man without having to say male or female and also male and female. Man exists in this differentiation, in this duality.”<sup>10</sup> Whether or not we agree with Barth that “this is the only structural differentiation in which he [the human being] exists,”<sup>11</sup> the sexual distinction is certainly presented in Gen 1 as a basic component in the original creation of humankind.

### *Equality of the Sexes*

A third insight into the theology of human sexuality stems from the equal pairing of male *and* female in parallel with *hā’ādām* in Gen 1:27. There is no hint of ontological or functional superiority or inferiority between male and female. Both are “equally immediate to the Creator and His act.”<sup>12</sup> In the wider context of this passage, both are given the same dominion over the earth and other living creatures (vss. 26 and 28). Both are to share alike in the blessing and responsibility of procreation (vs. 28). In short, both participate equally in the image of God.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Von Rad, *Genesis*, p. 60.

<sup>10</sup>Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, 3/2 (Edinburgh, 1960):286.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Helmut Thielicke, *The Ethics of Sex* (New York, 1964), p. 7.

### *Wholeness*

A fourth theological insight will serve to bridge our discussion from “male and female” to the *imago Dei*. In Gen 1:27 the generic term for humankind (*hāʾādām*) includes both male and female. “The man and the woman together make man.”<sup>13</sup> The holistic picture of humankind is only complete when both male and female are viewed together. Such a description points to the individuality and complementarity of the sexes, and will be more fully developed in Gen 2.

### *Relationship*

The existence of the bipolarity of the sexes in creation implies not only wholeness but relationship. The juxtaposition of male and female in Gen 1:26 intimates what will become explicit in Gen 2: the full meaning of human existence is not in male or female in isolation, but in their mutual communion. The notion of male-female fellowship in Gen 1 has been particularly emphasized by Barth, who maintains that the “I-Thou” relationship of male and female is the *essence* of the *imago Dei*. For Barth, Gen 1:27c is the exposition of vs. 27a. and b. Man-in-fellowship as male and female is what it means to be in the image of God.<sup>14</sup>

Barth’s exclusive identification of the sexual distinction with the image of God is too restrictive. Our purpose at this point is not to enter into an extended discussion of the meaning of the *imago Dei*.<sup>15</sup> But it may be noted that the Hebrew words *selem* (“image”) and *dēmût* (“likeness”), although possessing overlapping semantic ranges, in the juxtaposition of vs. 26 appear to emphasize both the concrete and abstract aspects of human beings,<sup>16</sup> and together indicate that the person as a whole—both in material/bodily and

<sup>13</sup>Johannes Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture* (London, Eng., 1926), 1-2:61-62.

<sup>14</sup>Barth’s discussion of this point extends through major portions of his *Church Dogmatics*, vols. 3/1, 3/2, and 3/3. See the helpful summary of his argument in Jewett, pp. 33-48.

<sup>15</sup>The literature on this subject is voluminous. For a survey of views, see especially Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary* (Minneapolis, 1984) pp. 147-155; G. C. Berkouwer, *Man: The Image of God* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1962), pp. 67-118; Anthony A. Hoekema, *Created in God’s Image* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1986), pp. 33-65; and cf. Phyllis Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (Philadelphia, 1978), p. 29, n. 74, for further literature.

<sup>16</sup>See Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 854, 198 [hereinafter cited as

spiritual/mental components—is created in God's image. In his commentary on Genesis, von Rad has insightfully concluded with regard to Gen 1:26: "One will do well to split the physical from the spiritual as little as possible: the whole man is created in God's image."<sup>17</sup>

Von Rad has elsewhere further elucidated the meaning of the *imago Dei* in terms of mankind's dominion over the earth. Just as earthly kings set up images of themselves throughout their kingdom as a "sign of sovereign authority," so in the context of Gen 1:26-28 man is God's representative—his image—to uphold and enforce his claim as sovereign Lord.<sup>18</sup> If the image of God includes the whole person, and if it involves human dominion over the earth as God's representative, this, does not, however, exclude the aspect of fellowship between male and female emphasized by Barth. The sexual differentiation of male and female (vs. 27c) is not identical to the image of God (vs. 27a-b), as Barth maintains, but the two are brought into so close connection that they should not be separated, as has been done for centuries. The synthetic parallelism of vs. 27c, immediately following the synonymous parallelism of vs. 27a-b, indicates that the *mode* of human existence in the divine image is that of male and female together.<sup>19</sup>

The aspect of personal relationship between the male and female is further highlighted by the analogy of God's own differentiation and relationship in contemplating the creation of humanity. It is hardly coincidental that only once in the creation account of Genesis—only in Gen 1:26—does God speak of himself in the plural: "Let *us* make man in *our* image, after *our* likeness." There have been many attempts to account for this use of the plural, but the explanation that appears most consonant with both the immediate context and the analogy of Scripture identifies this usage as a plural of fullness. The "let us" as a plural of fullness "supposes that there is within the divine Being the distinction of personalities" and expresses "an intra-divine deliberation among 'persons' within the divine Being."<sup>20</sup>

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BDB]; cf. N. W. Porteous, "Image of God," *IDB*, 2:684-685; von Rad, *Genesis*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>17</sup>Von Rad, *Genesis*, p. 58.

<sup>18</sup>Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:146.

<sup>19</sup>See the argumentation for this point in Jewett, p. 45, and *passim*.

<sup>20</sup>See Gerhard Hasel, "The Meaning of 'Let Us' in Gen 1:26," *AUSS* 13 (1975):58-66; the quotation is from p. 65. Cf. Derek Kidner, *Genesis: An Introduction*

The juxtaposition of the plurality of the divine “let us” in vs. 26 with the plurality of the “them” (male and female) in vss. 26-28 is not without significance. Karl Barth appears to be right in his contention that a correspondence or analogy is intended “between this mark of the divine being, namely, that it includes an I and a Thou, and the being of man, male and female.”<sup>21</sup> The statement of this correspondence “preserves with exceeding care the otherness of God,”<sup>22</sup> precluding any notion of the bisexuality of God, and yet at the same time underscores the profound importance of the personal relationship and mutuality of communion in human existence as male and female. Just as there takes place in the divine being deliberating over humankind’s creation—“the differentiation and relationship, the loving coexistence and co-operation, the I and Thou”<sup>23</sup>—, so the same are to be found in the product of God’s crowning creative work.

### *Procreation*

It is clear from Gen 1:28 that one of the primary purposes of sexuality is procreation, as indicated in the words “Be fruitful and multiply.” But what is particularly noteworthy is that human procreativity “is not here understood as an emanation or manifestation of his [the human being’s] creation in God’s image.” Rather, human procreative ability “is removed from God’s image and shifted to a special word of blessing.”<sup>24</sup> This separation of the *imago Dei* and procreation probably serves as a polemic against the mythological understanding and orgiastic celebration of divine sexual activity. But at the same time a profound insight into the theology of human sexuality is provided.

Procreation is shown to be part of the divine design for human sexuality—as a special added blessing. This divine blessing/command is to be taken seriously and acted upon freely and responsibly in the power that attends God’s blessing.<sup>25</sup> But sexuality cannot be

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*and Commentary*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Downers Grove, IL, 1967), p. 52.

<sup>21</sup>Barth, 3/1:196.

<sup>22</sup>Tribble, p. 21.

<sup>23</sup>Barth, 3/1:196.

<sup>24</sup>Von Rad, *Genesis*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>25</sup>The Hebrew word for “bless” (*berak*) in Gen 1 implies the power to accomplish the task which God has set forth in the blessing. See Josef Scharbert, “ברך

wholly subordinated to the intent to propagate children. Sexual differentiation has meaning apart from the procreative purpose. The procreative blessing is also pronounced upon the birds and fish on the fifth day (vs. 22), but only man is made in the image of God. Gen 1 emphasizes that the sexual distinction in humankind is created by God particularly for fellowship, for relationship, between male and female. This will become even more apparent in Gen 2, where the motif of relationship dominates and procreation is not mentioned at all.

### *Wholesomeness and Beauty*

A final insight from Gen 1 into the theology of human sexuality emerges from God's personal assessment of his creation. According to vs. 31, when "God saw everything he had made"—including the sexuality of his crowning work of creation—"behold! it was very good." The Hebrew expression *ṭōb m'od* ("very good") connotes the quintessence of goodness, wholesomeness, appropriateness, beauty.<sup>26</sup> The syllogism is straightforward. Sexuality (including the act of sexual intercourse) is part of God's creation, part of his crowning act. And God's creation is very good. Therefore, declares the first chapter of Genesis, sex is good, very good. It is not a mistake, a sinful aberration, a "regrettable necessity,"<sup>27</sup> a shameful experience, as it has so often been regarded in the history of Christian as well as pagan thought. Rather, human sexuality (as both an ontological state and a relational experience) is divinely inaugurated: it is part of God's perfect design from the beginning and willed as a fundamental aspect of human existence.

It is not within the scope of this study to draw out the full range of philosophical and sociological implications that follow from the theology of human sexuality set forth in Gen 1. Perhaps it may suffice to repeat again the central clause—"male and female created he them"—and then exclaim with Emil Brunner:

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*brk*" *TDOT*, 2:306-307; Hermann W. Beyer, "εὐλογέω, εὐλογητός, εὐλογία, ἐνευλογέω, *TDNT*, 2:755-757.

<sup>26</sup>BDB, pp. 373-375; Andrew Bowlings, "טוֹב (ṭōb)," in R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke, eds., *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* (Chicago, 1980), 1:345-346 [hereafter cited as *TWOT*].

<sup>27</sup>Harry Hollis, Jr., *Thank God for Sex: A Christian Model for Sexual Understanding and Behavior* (Nashville, TN, 1975), p. 58. (This is Hollis' phrase, but not his view.)

That is the immense double statement, of a lapidary simplicity, so simple indeed that we hardly realize that with it a vast world of myth and Gnostic speculation, of cynicism and asceticism, of the deification of sexuality and fear of sex completely disappears.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. *Sexuality in Genesis 2:4b-25*

In the narrative of Gen 2:4b-25 many of the insights from Gen 1 into the theology of human sexuality are reinforced and further illuminated, while new vistas of the profound nature of sexual relationships also appear.<sup>29</sup>

### *Creation Order*

The accounts of creation in Gen 1 and Gen 2 concur in assigning sexuality to the creation order and not to the divine realm. But while Gen 1 does not indicate the precise manner in which God created, Gen 2 removes any possible lingering thoughts that creation occurred by divine procreation. In this second chapter of Scripture is set forth in detail God's personal labor of love, forming man from the dust of the ground and "building"<sup>30</sup> woman from one of the man's ribs.

### *Androgyny or Duality from the Beginning*

Some recent studies have revived an older theory that the original *hā'ādām* described in Gen 2:7-22 was "a sexually undiffer-

<sup>28</sup>Emil Brunner, *Man in Revolt* (Philadelphia, 1947), p. 346.

<sup>29</sup>Weighty evidence presented by several recent seminal studies points to the conclusion that the first two chapters of Genesis do not represent separate and disparate sources as argued by proponents of the Documentary Hypothesis. See especially Jacques Doukhan, *The Genesis Creation Story: Its Literary Structure*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 5 (Berrien Springs, MI, 1978). Doukhan's literary/structural analysis shows that instead of comprising multiple sources, Gen 1-2 provides a unified dual perspective on Creation—and on the God of Creation. In Gen 1:1-2:4a we find the picture of an all-powerful, transcendent God (*Elohim*) and a cosmic view of Creation. In Gen 2:4b-25, God is further presented as the personal, caring, covenant God (*Yahweh Elohim*), with Creation described in terms of man and his intimate, personal needs. From this unique dual perspective of infinite/personal God and cosmic/man-centered creation emerges a balanced and enriched presentation of the divine design for human sexuality.

<sup>30</sup>See below, pp. 16-17.



entiated earth creature,"<sup>31</sup> or "basically androgynous: one creature incorporating two sexes."<sup>32</sup> But such an hypothesis is not supported by the text. According to Gen 2:7, 8, 15, 16 what God creates before woman is called *hā'ādām* "the man." After the creation of woman, this creature is denoted by the same term (vss. 22-23). Nothing has changed in the makeup of "the man" during his sleep except the loss of a rib. There is no hint in the text of any division of an originally bisexual or sexually undifferentiated being into two different sexes. It should be concluded that *hā'ādām*, "the man" formed before woman, was not originally androgynous, but was "created in anticipation of the future."<sup>33</sup> He was created with those sexual drives toward union with his counterpart. This becomes apparent in the man's encounter with the animals which dramatically points up his need of "a helper fit for him" or "corresponding to him" (vss. 18, 20). Such a need is satisfied when he is introduced to woman and he fully realizes his sexuality vis-à-vis his sexual complement.

#### *Equality or Hierarchy of the Sexes*

The one major question which has dominated the scholarly discussion of sexuality in Gen 2 concerns the relative status of the sexes. Does Gen 2 affirm the equality of the sexes, or does it support a hierarchical view in which man is in some way superior to the woman or given headship over woman at creation? Over the centuries, the preponderance of commentators on Gen 2 have espoused the hierarchical interpretation, and this view has been reaffirmed in a number of recent scholarly studies.<sup>34</sup> The main elements of the narrative which purportedly prove a divinely-ordained hierarchical

<sup>31</sup>Tribble, p. 80.

<sup>32</sup>United Church of Christ, *Human Sexuality: A Preliminary Study of the United Church of Christ* (New York, 1977), p. 57.

<sup>33</sup>C. F. Keil, *The First Book of Moses* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1949), p. 88.

<sup>34</sup>For examples, see Samuele Bacchiocchi, *Women in the Church: A Biblical Study on the Role of Women in the Church* (Berrien Springs, MI, 1987), pp. 31, 71-79; Barth, 3/1:300; 3/2:386-387; Stephen B. Clark, *Man and Woman in Christ: An examination of the Roles of Men and Women in the Light of Scripture and the Social Sciences* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1980), pp. 23-28; Jerry D. Colwell, "A Survey of Recent Interpretations of Women in the Church" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Grand Rapids Baptist Seminary, 1984); Susan T. Foh, *Women and the Word of God: A Response to Biblical Feminism* (Phillipsburg, NJ, 1979), pp. 61-62; S. H.

view of the sexes may be summarized as follows: (a) man is created first and woman last (2:7, 22), and the first is superior and the last is subordinate or inferior; (b) woman is formed for the sake of man—to be his “helpmate” or assistant to cure man’s loneliness (vss. 18-20); (c) woman comes out of man (vss. 21-22), which implies a derivative and subordinate position; (d) woman is created from man’s rib (vss. 21-22), which indicates her dependence upon him for life; and (e) the man names the woman (vs. 23), which indicates his power and authority over her.

Do these points really substantiate a hierarchical view of the sexes? Or is Phyllis Tribble correct in asserting that “although such specifics continue to be cited as support for traditional interpretations of male superiority and female inferiority, not one of them is altogether accurate and most of them are simply not present in the story itself.”<sup>35</sup> Let us look at each point in turn.

First, because man is created first and then woman, it has been asserted that “by this the priority and superiority of the man, and the dependence of the woman upon the man, are established as an ordinance of divine creation.”<sup>36</sup> But a careful examination of the literary structure of Gen 2 reveals that such a conclusion does not follow from the fact of man’s prior creation. Hebrew literature often makes use of an *inclusio* device in which the points of central concern to a unit are placed at the beginning and end of the unit.<sup>37</sup> This is the case in Gen 2. The entire account is cast in the form of an *inclusio* or “ring construction”<sup>38</sup> in which the creation of man at the beginning of the narrative and the creation of woman at the end of the narrative correspond to each other in importance. The movement in Gen 2 is not from superior to inferior, but from

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Hooke, “Genesis,” *Peake’s Commentary on the Bible* (London, Eng., 1962), p. 179; James B. Hurley, *Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1981), pp. 206-214; Edmond Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament* (New York, 1958), pp. 156-157.

<sup>35</sup>Tribble, p. 73.

<sup>36</sup>Keil, p. 89.

<sup>37</sup>For discussion of this construction, see especially the following: James Muilenburg, “Form Criticism and Beyond,” *JBL* 88 (1969):9-10; Mitchel Dahood, *Psalms*, AB (New York, 1966), 1:5; Phyllis Tribble, “Depatriarchal-izing in Biblical Interpretation,” *JAAR* 41 (1973):36.

<sup>38</sup>Muilenburg, p. 9.

incompleteness to completeness. Woman is created as the climax, the culmination of the story. She is the crowning work of creation.

If a hierarchy of the sexes is not implied in the *order* of their creation, is such indicated by the *purpose* of woman's creation, as is suggested in a second major argument for the hierarchical interpretation? Gen 2:18 records the Lord's deliberation: "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him *ʿezer kʿnegdô* [KJV, "a help meet for him"; RSV, "a helper fit for him"; NASB, "a helper suitable to him"; NIV, "a helper suitable for him"]." The Hebrew words *ʿezer kʿnegdô* have often been taken to imply the inferiority or subordinate status of woman. For example, John Calvin understood from this phrase that woman was a "faithful assistant" for man.<sup>39</sup> But this is not the meaning conveyed by these terms!

The word *ʿezer* is usually translated as "help" or "helper" in English. This, however, is a misleading translation because the English word "helper" tends to suggest one who is an assistant, a subordinate, an inferior, whereas the Hebrew *ʿezer* carries no such connotation. In fact, the Hebrew Bible most frequently employs *ʿezer* to describe a superior helper—God himself as the "helper" of Israel.<sup>40</sup> The word can also be used with reference to man or animals.<sup>41</sup> It is a relational term, describing a beneficial relationship, but in itself does not specify position or rank, either superiority or inferiority.<sup>42</sup> The specific position intended must be gleaned from the immediate context. In the case of Gen 2:18 and 20, such position is shown by the word which adjoins *ʿezer*, namely *kʿnegdô*.

The word *neqed* conveys the idea of "in front of" or "counterpart," and a literal translation of *kʿnegdô* is thus "like his counterpart, corresponding to him."<sup>43</sup> Used with *ʿezer*, this term

<sup>39</sup>John Calvin, *Commentary on Genesis* (Grand Rapids, MI, n.d.), 1:129.

<sup>40</sup>Exod 18:4; Deut 33:7, 26; Ps 33:20; 70:5; 115:9, 10, 11.

<sup>41</sup>Isa 30:5; Hos 13:9; Gen 2:20.

<sup>42</sup>R. David Freedman, "Woman, A Power Equal to Man," *BARev* (1983):56-58, argues that the Hebrew word *ʿezer* etymologically derives from the merger of two Semitic roots, *ʿzr*, "to save, rescue," and *gzr*, "to be strong," and in this passage has reference to the latter: woman is created, like the man, "a power (or strength) superior to the animals."

<sup>43</sup>Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 2d ed. (Leiden, 1958), p. 591.

indicates no less than equality: Eve is Adam's "benefactor/helper," one who in position is "corresponding to him," "his counterpart, his complement."<sup>44</sup> Eve is "a power equal to man;"<sup>45</sup> she is Adam's "partner."<sup>46</sup>

As a third alleged indication in Gen 2 of male superiority and female subordination, it has been argued that since woman came out of man, since she was formed from man, therefore she has a derivative existence, a dependent and subordinate status. That her existence was in some way "derived" from Adam cannot be denied. But derivation does not imply subordination! The text indicates this in several ways. We note, for example, that Adam also was "derived"—from the ground (vs. 7)—but certainly we are not to conclude that the ground was his superior! Again, woman is *not* Adam's rib. It was the raw material, not woman, that was taken out of man, just as the raw material of man was "taken" (Gen 3:19, 23) out of the ground.<sup>47</sup> What is more, Samuel Terrien rightly points out that woman "is not simply molded of clay, as man was, but she is architecturally 'built' (2:33)." The verb *bnh* "to build," used in the creation account only with regard to the formation of Eve, "suggests an aesthetic intent and connotes also the idea of reliability and permanence."<sup>48</sup> To clinch the point, the text explicitly indicates that the man was asleep while God created woman. Man had no active part in the creation of woman that might allow him to claim to be her superior.

A fourth argument used to support the hierarchical view of the sexes concerns the woman's creation from Adam's rib. But the very symbolism of the rib points to equality and not hierarchy. The word *šēlā*<sup>c</sup> can mean either "side" or "rib."<sup>49</sup> Since *šēlā*<sup>c</sup> occurs in

<sup>44</sup>Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:149.

<sup>45</sup>Freedman, pp. 56-58. Freedman notes that in later Mishnaic Hebrew *k<sup>e</sup>neged* clearly means "equal," and in light of various lines of biblical philological evidence he forcefully argues that the phrase *ēzer k<sup>e</sup>negdō* here should be translated "a power equal to him."

<sup>46</sup>Ibid, p. 56; Gen 2:18, NEB.

<sup>47</sup>Tribble, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, p. 101.

<sup>48</sup>Samuel Terrien, "Toward a Biblical Theology of Womanhood," in Ruth T. Barnhouse and Urban T. Holmes, III, eds. *Male and Female: Christian Approaches to Sexuality* (New York, 1976), p. 18.

<sup>49</sup>BDB, p. 854. Numerous theories have been propounded to explain the meaning of the rib in this story: e.g., J. Boehmer, "Die geschlechtliche Stellung des Weibes in

the plural in vs. 21 and God is said to take "one of" them, the reference in this verse is probably to a rib from Adam's side. By "building" Eve from one of Adam's ribs, God appears to be indicating the mutual relationship,<sup>50</sup> the "singleness of life,"<sup>51</sup> the "inseparable unity"<sup>52</sup> in which man and woman are joined. The rib "means solidarity and equality."<sup>53</sup> Created from Adam's "side [rib]," Eve was formed to stand by his side as an equal. Peter Lombard was not off the mark when he said: "Eve was not taken from the feet of Adam to be his slave, nor from his head to be his ruler, but from his side to be his beloved partner."<sup>54</sup>

This interpretation appears to be further confirmed by the man's poetic exclamation when he saw the woman for the first time (vs. 23): "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh"! The phrase "bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" indicates that the person described is "as close as one's own body."<sup>55</sup> It denotes physical oneness and a "commonality of concern, loyalty, and responsibility."<sup>56</sup> Much can be deduced from this expression regarding the nature of sexuality, as we shall see below, but the expression certainly does not lead to the notion of woman's subordination.

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Gen 2 und 3," *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 79 (1939):292, suggests that the "rib" is a euphemism for the birth canal which the male lacks; P. Humbert, *Etudes sur le récit du Paradis* (Neuchâtel, 1940), pp. 57-58, proposes that the mention of the "rib" explains the existence of the navel in Adam; and von Rad, *Genesis*, p. 84, finds the detail of the rib answering the question why ribs cover the upper but not the lower part of the body. Such suggestions appear to miss the overall context of the passage with its emphasis upon the *relationship* between man and woman.

<sup>50</sup>Westermann, p. 230.

<sup>51</sup>Collins, p. 153. It may be that the Sumerian language retains the memory of the close relationship between "rib" and "life," for the Sumerian sign *it* signifies both "life" and "rib." See S. N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (Garden City, NY, 1959), p. 146. This is not to say, however, that the detail of the rib in Gen 2 has its origin in Sumerian mythology. The story of creation in Gen 2 and the Sumerian myth in which the pun between the "lady of the rib" and "lady who makes live" appears (*ANET*, pp. 37-41), have virtually nothing in common.

<sup>52</sup>Keil, p. 89.

<sup>53</sup>Trible, "Depatriarchalizing," p. 37.

<sup>54</sup>Quoted in Stuart B. Babbage, *Christianity and Sex* (Chicago, 1963), p. 10. A similar statement is attributed to other writers as well.

<sup>55</sup>Collins, p. 153.

<sup>56</sup>Walter Brueggemann, "Of the Same Flesh and Bone (Gen 2:23a)," *CBQ* 32 (1970):540.

The last major argument used to support a hierarchical view of the sexes in Gen 2 is that in man's naming of woman (vs. 23) is implied man's power, authority, and superiority over her. It is true that assigning names in Scripture often does signify authority over the one named.<sup>57</sup> But such is not the case in Gen 2:23. In the first place, the word "woman" ( *ʿiššāh* ) is not a personal name, but only a generic identification. This is verified in vs. 24, which indicates that a man is to cleave to his *ʿiššāh* ("wife"), and further substantiated in Gen 3:20, which explicitly records the man's naming of Eve only after the Fall.

Moreover, Jacques Doukhan has shown that Gen 2:23 contains a pairing of "divine passives," indicating that the designation of "woman" comes *from God*, not man. Just as in the past, woman "was taken out of man" *by God*, an action with which the man had nothing to do (he had been put into a "deep sleep"), so in the future she "shall be called woman," a designation originating *in God* and not man. Doukhan also indicates how the literary structure of the Genesis Creation story confirms this interpretation.<sup>58</sup> The wordplay in 2:23 between *ʿiš* (man) and *ʿiššāh* (wo-man) and the explanation of the woman's being taken out of man are not given to buttress a hierarchical view of the sexes, but rather to underscore man's joyous recognition of his second self. In his ecstatic poetic utterance, the man is not determining who the woman is, but delighting in what God has done. He is saying "yes" to God in recognizing and welcoming woman as the equal counterpart to his sexuality.<sup>59</sup>

In light of the foregoing discussion, I conclude that there is nothing in Gen 2 to indicate a hierarchical view of the sexes. The man and woman before the Fall are presented as fully equal, with

<sup>57</sup>For examples of the oriental view of naming as the demonstration of one's exercise of a sovereign right over a person, see 2 Kgs 23:34; 24:17; Dan 1:7. Cf. R. Abba, "Name," *IDB*, 3:502.

<sup>58</sup>See Doukhan, pp. 46-47, for substantiation and further discussion of these points. For other lines of evidence disaffirming man's authoritative naming of woman in Gen 2:23 in contrast to his authoritative naming of the animals in Gen 2:19-20, see especially Tribble, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, pp. 99-100, and Gerhard Hasel, "Equality from the Start: Woman in the Creation Story," *Spectrum* 7 (1975):23-24.

<sup>59</sup>See Barth, 3/2:291; Tribble, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, p. 100.

no hint of a headship of one over the other or a hierarchical relationship between husband and wife.

### *Sexuality as Wholeness*

Both the first and second chapters of Genesis affirm the attribute of wholeness in the human sexual experience. But in Gen 2 we encounter a twofold amplification of the meaning of sexual wholeness. First, Gen 2:7 articulates a holistic view of man. According to the understanding of anthropology set forth in this verse, man does not *have* a soul, he *is* a soul. He is a living being, a psychophysical unity.<sup>60</sup> There is no room in such a view for a Platonic/Philonian dichotomy of body and soul. Excluded is the dualistic notion of the ascetics that the body is evil and therefore all expressions of the body pleasures—including sexual expressions—are contaminated. The holistic view of man presented in Gen 2:7 means that human sexuality cannot be compartmentalized into “the things of the body” versus “the things of the spirit/soul.” The human being is a sexual creature, and his/her sexuality is manifested in every aspect of human existence.

The meaning of wholeness is also amplified in Gen 2 with regard to the differentiation between the sexes. Whereas from Gen 1 it was possible to conclude in a general way that both male and female are equally needed to make up the image of God, from Gen 2 we can say more precisely that it is in “creative complementarity”<sup>61</sup> that God designed male and female to participate in this wholeness. Gen 2 opens with the creation of man. But creation is not finished. The man is alone, he is incomplete. And this is “not good” (vs. 18). Man needs an *‘ezer k’negdô*—a helper/ benefactor who is his counterpart. Thus begins man’s quest to satisfy his God-instilled “hunger for wholeness.”<sup>62</sup> Such hunger is not satisfied by his animal companions but by the sexual being God has “built” (“aesthetically designed”) to be alongside him as his complement. Adam in effect exclaims at his first sight of Eve, “At last, I am whole! Here is the complement of myself!” He recognizes,

<sup>60</sup>Stephen Sapp, *Sexuality, the Bible, and Science* (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 5-6.

<sup>61</sup>Terrien, p. 18.

<sup>62</sup>Sakae Kubo, *Theology and Ethics of Sex* (Washington, DC, 1980), p. 19.

and the narrative instructs us, that “man is whole only in his *complementarity* with another being who is like unto himself.”<sup>63</sup>

### *A Multi-dimensional Relationship*

Closely connected with “complementary wholeness” is the idea of relationship. If Gen 1 whispers that human sexuality is for fellowship, for relationship, Gen 2 orchestrates this fact with a volume of double forte, and the melody and harmony of the narrative portray richness and beauty in the relational symphony of the sexes.

According to Gen 2, the creation of Eve takes place in the context of loneliness. The keynote is struck in vs. 18: “It is not good that the man should be alone. . . .” The “underlying idea” of vss. 18-24 is that “sexuality finds its meaning not in the appropriation of divine creative powers, but in human sociality.”<sup>64</sup> Man is a social being; sexuality is for sociality, for relationship, companionship, partnership. In principle, this passage may be seen to affirm the various mutual social relationships that should take place between the sexes (as is also true with the “image-of-God” passage in Gen 1); but more specifically, the Genesis account links the concept of sociality to the marriage relationship. This is apparent from 2:24: “Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife, and they become one flesh.” The introductory “therefore” indicates that the relationship of Adam and Eve is upheld as the ideal for all future human sexual relationships. Certain significant insights into the nature of sexuality call for attention in this verse.

First, man *leaves*. The word *ʿāzab* is a forceful term. It means literally “to abandon, forsake,” and is employed frequently to describe Israel’s forsaking of Yahweh for false gods.<sup>65</sup> The “leaving” of Gen 2:24 indicates the necessity of absolute freedom from outside interferences in the sexual relationship. Barth has pointed out that in a very real sense Gen 2 represents the “Old Testament Magna Charta of humanity” as Adam was allowed freely and exuberantly

<sup>63</sup>Collins, p. 153. Italics supplied.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

<sup>65</sup>See BDB, pp. 736-737; Deut 28:20; Judg 10:13; 2 Chron 34:25; Isa 1:4; etc.



to recognize and affirm the woman as his partner.<sup>66</sup> Just as this freedom was essential in the Garden, so it is crucial in all succeeding sexual relationships.

What is particularly striking in vs. 24 is that it is the *man* who is to “leave.” It was a matter of course in the patriarchal society at the time Gen 2 was penned that the wife left her mother and father. But for the husband to “leave” was revolutionary!<sup>67</sup> In effect, the force of this statement is that both are to leave—to cut loose from those ties that would encroach upon the independence and freedom of the relationship.

Second, man *cleaves*. The Hebrew verb *dābhaq*, “cleave,” is another robust term, signifying “strong personal attachment.”<sup>68</sup> It is often used as a technical covenant term for the permanent bond of Israel to the Lord.<sup>69</sup> As applied to the relationship between the sexes in Gen 2:24, it seems clearly to indicate a covenant context, i.e., a marriage covenant, paralleling the “oath of solidarity” and language of “covenant partnership” expressed by Adam to Eve.<sup>70</sup> But as was true with Adam, more is involved here than a formal covenant. The word *dābhaq* especially emphasizes the inward attitudinal dimensions of the covenant bond. It “implies a devotion and an unshakable faith between humans; it connotes a permanent attraction which transcends genital union to which, nonetheless, it gives meaning.”<sup>71</sup>

Third, man and woman “become one flesh.” We may immediately point out that this “one-flesh” union follows the “cleaving” and thus comes within the context of the marriage covenant. The unitive purpose of sexuality is to find fulfillment inside the marital relationship. Furthermore, the phrase “man and his wife”—with

<sup>66</sup>Barth, 3/2:291.

<sup>67</sup>Some have seen behind this passage a hint of a matriarchal social structure, but evidence for such an hypothesis is not convincing. For further discussion of this theory, see Jewett, p. 127.

<sup>68</sup>See BDB, pp. 179-180; G. Wallis, “דָּבַחַּק *dābhaq*,” *TDOT*, 3:80-83; Earl S. Kalland, “דָּבַחַּק (*dābhaq*),” *TWOT*, 1:177-178.

<sup>69</sup>See, e.g., Deut 10:20; 11:22; 13:4; Josh 22:5; 23:8.

<sup>70</sup>For discussion of the covenant language used by Adam, see Brueggemann, pp. 532-542.

<sup>71</sup>Collins, p. 153.

both nouns in the singular—clearly implies that the sexual relationship envisioned is a monogamous one, to be shared exclusively between two marriage partners. The LXX translation makes this point explicit: “they *two* shall become one flesh.”

The “one-flesh” relationship certainly involves the sexual union, sexual intercourse. The physical act of coitus may even be in view in this passage as the primary means of establishing the “innermost mystery”<sup>72</sup> of oneness. But this is by no means all that is included. The term *bāśār*, “flesh,” in the OT refers not only to one’s physical body but to a person’s whole existence in the world.<sup>73</sup> By “one flesh” is thus connoted “mutual dependence and reciprocity in all areas of life,”<sup>74</sup> a “unity that embraces the natural lives of two persons in their entirety.”<sup>75</sup> It indicates a oneness and intimacy in the total relationship of the whole person of the husband to the whole person of the wife.<sup>76</sup>

### *Sexuality for Procreation*

With regard to Gen 1 we noted that a primary purpose of sexuality was for personal relationship, and that procreation was presented as a special added blessing. The significance of the unitive purpose of sexuality is highlighted in Gen 2 by the complete absence of any reference to the propagation of children. This omission is not to deny the importance of procreation (as becomes apparent in later chapters of Scripture). But by the “full-stop”<sup>77</sup> after “one-flesh” in vs. 24, sexuality is given independent meaning and value. It does not need to be justified only as a means to a superior end, i.e., procreation.

### *The Wholesomeness of Sexuality*

The narrative of Gen 2 highlights the divine initiative and approbation in the relationship of the sexes. After the formation of

<sup>72</sup>Otto Piper, *The Biblical View of Sex and Marriage* (New York, 1960), pp. 52-67, explores the possible dimensions of this “inner mystery.”

<sup>73</sup>See John N. Oswalt, “בָּשָׂר (bāśār),” *TWOT*, 1:136; N.P. Bratsiotis, “בָּשָׂר bāśār,” *TDOT*, 2:325-329.

<sup>74</sup>Piper, p. 28.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>76</sup>Herbert J. and Fern Miles, *Husband-Wife Equality* (Old Tappan, NJ, 1978), p. 164.

<sup>77</sup>Walter Trobisch, *I Married You* (New York, 1971), p. 20.

woman, the *Lord God* “brought her to the man” (vs. 22). The Creator Himself, as it were, celebrated the first marriage.<sup>78</sup> Thus, the “very good” which is pronounced upon humankind and human sexuality in Gen 1 is in Gen 2 concretized in the divine solemnization of the “one-flesh” union between husband and wife.

Sexuality is wholesome because it is inaugurated by God himself. Since the inauguration occurs within the context of a divine-human relationship, sexuality must be seen to encompass not only horizontal (human) but also vertical (spiritual) dimensions. According to the divine design, the sexual relationship between husband and wife is inextricably bound up with the spiritual unity of both man and woman with their Creator.

A final word on God’s Edenic ideal for sexuality comes in vs. 25: “And the man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed.” The Hebrew construction of the last English phrase may be more accurately translated “they were not ashamed *before one another*.”<sup>79</sup> Viewed in contrast with the “utter [shameful] nakedness”<sup>80</sup> mentioned in Gen 3, the intent here is clear: namely, that “shameless sexuality was divinely ordered; shameful sexuality is the result of sin.”<sup>81</sup> According to God’s original design, sexuality is wholesome, beautiful, and good. It is meant to be experienced between spouses without fear, without inhibitions, without shame and embarrassment.

Just as the “one-flesh” experience applied to more than the physical union, so the concept of nakedness probably connotes more than physical nudity.<sup>82</sup> As Walter Trobisch states it, there is implied the ability “to stand in front of each other, stripped and undisguised, without pretensions, without hiding, seeing the partner as he or she really is, and showing myself to him or her as I really am—and still not be ashamed.”<sup>83</sup>

<sup>78</sup>See Brueggemann, pp. 538-542, for evidence for linguistic and contextual indications of a covenant-making ceremony.

<sup>79</sup>BDB, p. 102.

<sup>80</sup>This will be discussed in a subsequent article, “The Theology of Sexuality in the Beginning: Genesis 3,” forthcoming in *AUSS*.

<sup>81</sup>Collins, p. 154.

<sup>82</sup>See Kidner, p. 66: Vs. 25 indicates “the perfect ease between them.” The theory that Adam’s and Eve’s nakedness without shame refers to their lack of consciousness of their sexuality will be treated in my forthcoming article (See n. 80, above).

<sup>83</sup>Trobisch, p. 82.

As we complete our discussion of the theology of sexuality in Gen 2, we must reject the claim that this chapter displays a “melancholy attitude toward sex.”<sup>84</sup> Instead, we must affirm with von Rad that Gen 2 “gives the relationship between man and woman the dignity of being the greatest miracle and mystery of creation.”<sup>85</sup>

<sup>84</sup>Cuthbert A. Simpson, “The Book of Genesis: Introduction and Exegesis,” IB (New York, 1952), 1:485-486.

<sup>85</sup>Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:150.

## SOME GREEK WORDS WITH HEBREW MEANINGS IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

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In two previous articles I examined closely the use of certain prepositions in the book of Revelation, and the conclusions were fairly clear: The Greek of Revelation is under significant Semitic influence, and this influence is far more than surface deep.<sup>1</sup>

The present study takes this investigation one step further, for whereas my previous articles concentrated upon prepositions and prepositional phrases, the present essay opens up the whole question of Semitic influence upon the general vocabulary of the Apocalypse. This question is of potential importance, for if it can be shown that the author of Revelation sometimes had a Hebrew or Aramaic word in mind as he wrote a Greek one, exegetes and translators alike will need to take careful note, allowing in each case for the possibility of Semitic encroachment upon individual Greek words.

### 1. *A Survey of Recent Scholarship*

In recent years there have been two major studies on the Greek of Revelation: Steven W. Thompson's *The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax* (1985),<sup>2</sup> and G. Mussies' earlier lengthy work, *The Morphology of Koine Greek as Used in the Revelation of St. John* (1971).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>K. G. C. Newport, "The Use of *Ek* in Revelation: Evidence of Semitic Influence," *AUSS* 24 (1986):223-230; and "Semitic Influence in Revelation: Further Evidence," *AUSS* 25 (1987):249-256. See also K. G. C. Newport, "Semitic Influence on Prepositions in Revelation: Some Examples," *BT* 37 (1986):328-334.

<sup>2</sup>Steven W. Thompson, *The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax* (Cambridge, Eng., 1985). The book contains the main findings of Thompson's Ph.D. dissertation, completed at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, in 1976.

<sup>3</sup>G. Mussies, *The Morphology of Koine Greek as Used in the Apocalypse of St. John*. Supplement to *NovT* 27 (Leiden, 1971). For a summary see G. Mussies, "The Greek of the Book of Revelation," in J. Lambrecht, ed., *L'Apocalypse johannique et*

Neither of these works, however, deals extensively with matters of vocabulary. Thompson devotes one chapter to a study of "Greek verbs with Hebrew meanings," but this amounts to only just over five pages.<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, Matthew Black's essay, "Some Greek Words with 'Hebrew' Meanings in the Epistles and Apocalypse" (1976),<sup>5</sup> is of great value, though it naturally enough leaves many stones unturned. Other more general works, such as Nigel Turner's *Christian Words*<sup>6</sup> and David Hill's *Greek Words with Hebrew Meanings*,<sup>7</sup> while being of good general use, have little to offer specifically on the vocabulary of Revelation.<sup>8</sup>

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*L'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium, vol. 53 (Louvain, 1980), pp. 167-177.

<sup>4</sup>Thompson draws attention to the following: (1) the use of *thaumadzein* to mean "to be appalled" at Rev 17:6, 7, and "be desolated" at Rev 13:3 and 17:8; (2) the use of *didonai* to reflect the Hebrew *nāṭan*, which results in the Greek verb taking on a far wider semantic range than is normal (see, e.g., Rev 2:23; 3:8, 9; 6:8; 7:2; 9:5; 17:7); (3) the use of *klēronomein* meaning "take possession" in Rev 21:1; (4) the use of *poimainein* to mean "push aside" or "shepherd away" at Rev 2:27 and 19:5; (5) *heuriskein* meaning "to be" rather than "to be found" at Rev 12:8 and 20:11; and (6) the use of *poiēin* meaning "to yield" at Rev 22:2. In each of the above, Thompson demonstrates his case from the LXX.

<sup>5</sup>Matthew Black, "Some Greek Words with 'Hebrew' Meanings in the Epistles and Apocalypse," in J. R. McKay and J. F. Miller, eds., *Biblical Studies: Essays in Honour of William Barclay* (London, Eng., 1976), pp. 135-146. In addition to those pointed out also by Thompson, Black notes the following: (1) the use of *thanatos* meaning "lethal disease" at Rev 2:23, 6:8, and 18:8; (2) *prōtotokos* at Rev 1:5 possibly meaning "chief" or "sovereign"; (3) the use of *adikein* meaning "to withhold (fraudulently)" at Rev 6:6, and "to smite" at Rev 7:2, 3, and at 9:4, 10; and (4) the use of the expression *miq hōrq* meaning "in a flash," found, e.g., at Rev 18:10, 17. Like Thompson, Black cites the LXX in support of his cases.

<sup>6</sup>Nigel Turner, *Christian Words* (Edinburgh, 1980).

<sup>7</sup>David Hill, *Greek Words with Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms* (Cambridge, Eng., 1967)—a study specifically of soteriological terms, as the subtitle suggests. Hill refers to Revelation only twice, and both occurrences are in footnotes.

<sup>8</sup>Other studies relating to the grammar in Revelation, though not specifically to the book's vocabulary, include G. C. Ozanne, "The Language of the Apocalypse," *Tyndale House Bulletin* 16 (1965):3-9 (also his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "The Influence of the Text and Language of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation," Manchester University, 1964); and A. Lancellotti, *Sintassi Ebraica nel Greco dell' Apocalisse* (Assisi, 1964). Nigel Turner's *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1965), is also to be checked on individual words, as is R. H. Charles's old, but still very useful, commentary, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, ICC, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1920).

## 2. *Some Examples of Greek Words That Appear to Mask Semitic Concepts*

The present study seeks to build upon the earlier work surveyed above, either by giving further examples of Greek words found in the book of Revelation which appear to mask Semitic concepts or by calling attention to additional occurrences in Revelation of such words already noticed by the previous investigators.

### *Poiein*

Thompson has noted the use of *poiein* meaning "to yield" in Rev 22:2, and in support of his case cites 4 Kgs 19:30 LXX, where the Greek verb certainly has this meaning.<sup>9</sup> The idiom *poiein karpon* is found, as well, in the Gospel of Matthew, where similar Semitic influence seems likely.<sup>10</sup>

However, Semitic influence may also be responsible for the use of *poiein* meaning "to appoint" at Rev 1:6, 3:12, and 5:10. In these instances the Greek again seems dependent upon the Hebrew *ʿāsâ*, which has this meaning.<sup>11</sup> We might note, for example, 1 Kgs 12:31, which reads in the RSV, "He also made houses on high places and appointed priests from among all the people, who were not of the Levites." The LXX employs *poiein* here, as it does for 1 Kgs 12:6, where the meaning is similarly "appoint."

This meaning for *poiein* is not common in Classical Greek, however, as is perhaps reflected in the fact that Liddell and Scott give only 1 Kgs 12:6 LXX and Mark 3:14 as examples.<sup>12</sup> In the light of this probable Semitic influence in Revelation, the verb *poiein* in Rev 1:6, 3:12, and 5:10 may have a slightly more technical sense than translators have generally allowed.

A further example of Semitic encroachment upon the Greek verb *poiein* is found in Rev 13:5. The RSV translates this verse, "And the beast was given a mouth uttering haughty and blasphemous words, and it was allowed to exercise authority for

<sup>9</sup>Thompson, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup>On such usage of the verb *ʿāsâ*, see Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1907), p. 794 (hereinafter BDB).

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*; and see also William Gesenius, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*, trans. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles (London, Eng., 1881), pp. DCLII-III.

<sup>12</sup>H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1861), p. 1428.

forty-two months." But this translation masks a difficulty, for the Greek reads, "... *kai edothē autō eksousia poiēsai mēnas tessera-konta [kai] duo.*" The translators of the RSV have taken *eksousia* as the direct object of *poiēsai* rather than of *edothē*.

This, however, is hardly the most obvious way of reading the verse, which might perhaps be literally rendered as "And was given to him . . . authority 'to do' forty-two months." But once again, recourse to the Semitic languages seems to provide a solution: The Hebrew *ʿāsā*, of which *poiein* is the obvious Greek equivalent, can mean "to spend time," as in Ruth 2:19 and Eccl 6:12 (the latter of which reads, "For who knows what is good for a man while he lives the few days of his vain life, which he passes like a shadow" [Hebrew, "... *w<sup>e</sup>ya<sup>a</sup>šēm kaššēl*"; LXX, "*epoiēsen autas*"]). Further evidence is found in 1 Kgs 20:40 LXX, Job 23:9 LXX, and Acts 15:33.<sup>13</sup>

### *Onoma*

Another example of Semitic influence upon the vocabulary of Revelation is found in the use of *onoma*. In Rev 3:4, for example, the Greek word clearly means "individuals," but this is hardly explicable on the basis of normal Greek usage. Indeed, Liddell and Scott point out specifically that "*onoma*" means "a name and nothing else"—that is, in opposition "to the real person or thing."<sup>14</sup>

The Hebrew/Aramaic word *šēm*, however, does have the meaning of "individual." Hans Bietenhard thinks this meaning is still "contested,"<sup>15</sup> but Num 26:53 seems to provide reasonably clear evidence. That verse reads, "To these the land shall be divided for inheritance according to the number of names (Heb., *b<sup>e</sup>mispar šēmôt*; LXX, *eks arithmou onomatōn*)." To this example we might add Num 1:2, 17, 20; 26:55; 1 Chr 23:24; and Acts 1:5. Thus, the use of *onoma* in Rev 3:4 seems explicable in terms of Semitic usage of *šēm*.

One further use needs to be noted. In Rev 11:13 we read, "And at that hour there was a great earthquake, and a tenth of the city fell; seven thousand people [*onomata anthrōpōn*] were killed in the

<sup>13</sup>See further BDB, p. 795; Gesenius, p. DCLVII.

<sup>14</sup>Liddell and Scott, p. 1232.

<sup>15</sup>Hans Bietenhard, "*Onoma*," *TDNT* 5:252.



earthquake, and the rest were terrified and gave glory to God." Once again it seems that *onoma* has been used in the sense of individuals.

*Onoma* is also used in Rev 3:1 in the sense of "fame" or "reputation." Such usage is found in classical literature,<sup>16</sup> and we cannot therefore pin down the idiom as an undisputed Semitism; but the fact that this usage is also common for the Hebrew *šēm* (e.g., Gen 6:5; 12:4 2 Sam 8:13) makes it quite probable that its use in Revelation is dependent upon Hebrew rather than upon Classical-Greek idiom.<sup>17</sup>

### *Skēnē*

In Rev 21:3 we read, "And I heard a great voice from the throne saying, 'Behold the dwelling of God is with men. He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself will dwell with them'" (RSV). The word "dwelling" here translates the Greek *skēnē*, the literal translation of which would be "tent."

*Skēnē*, however, appears in the LXX with a somewhat more specialized meaning, for it is frequently used to translate the Hebrew word *miškān*, an expression used almost exclusively for the dwelling place of God (for examples, see Exod 25:8 [9]; 26:6, 7, 12; Num 1:1, 50; 1 Chr 6:48). The Hebrew word is built upon the root *škn*, of which there are many derivatives, including *š<sup>c</sup>kinā*, that is, "the presence of God." It is perhaps not purely coincidental that the Greek word *skēnē* used in the LXX and also here in Revelation has the same three consonants.

The possibility arises, therefore, that the use of *skēnē* in Rev 21:3 may be under the influence of the Hebrew concept of the *miškān* of God. R. H. Charles thinks that this is the case, though he denies absolutely that *skēnē* refers to the literal dwelling place of God.<sup>18</sup> Rather, Charles suggests that the *skēnē* here refers to the presence of God, that is, his *shekinah*.<sup>19</sup>

Charles's suggestion is certainly not without foundation. As pointed out above, *skēnē* and the Hebrew root *škn* have clear links

<sup>16</sup>Liddell and Scott, p. 1232.

<sup>17</sup>See further BDB, pp. 1027-1028; Gesenius, p. DCCCXXXII.

<sup>18</sup>Charles, 2:206.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

in the LXX; and Charles notes also Targum Jonathan on Lev 26:11, where such an extension of the word *miškān* is evident.<sup>20</sup> The Aramaic here has *šekinaṭ*, which is to be translated “presence” rather than “tabernacle,” and this seems to be the meaning of the word in Rev 21:3 also. That the verse should not be understood as referring to a literal “tabernacle” in which God will dwell is strongly suggested by Rev 21:22, where it is specifically stated that there will be no temple (*naos*) in the city. It is more probable, then, that *skēnē* in Rev 21:3 means “presence.”

Almost all translations have overlooked this probability. The NIV has “. . . the dwelling of God is with men,” and the NEB translates *skēnē autou* as “his dwelling.” Other translations do much the same, with the exception of the NJB, which comes closest to the most probable meaning of the verse with “. . . here God lives among human beings” (*Bible de Jerusalem*: “Il aura sa demeure avec eux”). Similarly, many commentators, while hinting at the *šekinâ/miškān/skēnē* overlap, fall short in their comments by not giving details from the Hebrew OT and the LXX.

#### *Pempein, Plēgē, Kruptein*

Further Semitic evidence is detectable also at Rev 14:15. Here the RSV translates, “And another angel came out of the temple, calling . . . ‘put in your sickle, and reap, for the hour to reap has come. . . .’” The imperative “put” here translates the Greek verb *pempson*, which is normally rendered “send.” In Hebrew, however, the verb *šālah*, which also means “send,” can appear with an extended meaning together with the noun “sickle,” as in Joel 3 (4):13 (LXX, *eksaposteilate drepana*); and, more generally, it often has the meaning of “to stretch out.”<sup>21</sup> This is most probably the explanation of the otherwise unusual Greek of Rev 14:15.

So, too, we might note the use of *plēgē* at Rev 13:14. The sense here clearly requires the word to be translated as “wound,” which comes close to the classical meaning of “blow” or “strike.”<sup>22</sup> A more precise parallel, however, is found in Hebrew, where the word *makkâ* regularly means “wound,”<sup>23</sup> a meaning which has

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>BDB, pp. 1018-1019.

<sup>22</sup>Liddell and Scott, p. 1417.

<sup>23</sup>BDB, pp. 646-647.

been carried over into the LXX with the word *plēgē* (LXX, 3 (Eng. 1) Kgs 22:35; 4 (Eng. 2) Kgs 8:29 and 9:15).

Finally, we might notice Rev 2:17, which speaks of "hidden" manna. "To hide" is the normal translation of the Greek verb *kruptein*, and the translators of the NEB, RSV, NIV, and KJV are therefore justified in their translation. But, as we have shown, the Greek of Revelation cannot be classed as "normal." In the context of the passage and in the light of the possible Semitic influence, the verb might better be translated "stored up." To support this view we may note that the Hebrew verb *šāpan* ("to treasure" or "to store up"),<sup>24</sup> is several times translated using *kruptein* in the LXX (Prov 1:11, 2:1, 7:1, 10:14; Job 23:12).

### 3. Conclusion

The several examples of "Greek words with Hebrew meanings" given above, together with those noted already by Thompson and Black, provide a fairly clear indication that the author was influenced by Semitic vocabulary in his selection of certain Greek words. Like the usage in the case of prepositions and prepositional phrases dealt with in my earlier articles, this further evidence should impress upon the exegete and translator alike a need for caution. Indeed, NT scholars may find Hebrew and Aramaic lexicons of great value as they work with the Greek text of the Apocalypse.

<sup>24</sup>BDB, p. 860.



## JOHN WESLEY'S JOURNAL: PRESCRIPTIONS FOR THE SOCIAL, SPIRITUAL, AND INTELLECTUAL ILLS OF BRITAIN'S MIDDLE CLASS

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Writing for *Blackwood's Magazine* less than eighty years following the death of John Wesley, the novelist Margaret Oliphant (1828-1897), in one of her "Historical Sketches of the Reign of George II," identified the life of the founder and leader of British Methodism as "no life at all in the ordinary sense of the word, but only a mere string of preachings. His journals are like the notebooks of a physician—a curious, monotonous, wonderful narrative."<sup>1</sup> Certainly, throughout the fifty-five years of that "wonderful narrative," from 14 October 1735 through 24 October 1790, Wesley did preach to congregations; and he did ride to and through hundreds of towns, villages, and cities in Britain, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. He inculcated religion; he conversed with practically everyone whom he met; he sympathized with, harangued against, and prayed for and with backsliders; and he read volumes of poetry, history, theology—even a bit of fiction. He also wrote sermons, tracts, dictionaries, grammars, biographies, and hymns.

All of the foregoing activities Wesley discussed within the covers of his journals. More importantly, however, those same journals exposed to the middle and lower classes of eighteenth-century Britain—to Wesley's contemporaries as well as to generation after generation of their offspring—a panorama of eighteenth-century British life and eighteenth-century British thought that otherwise may well have been denied them. Indeed, the journals of John Wesley laid claim, early in their production and development, to a clearly determined audience.

Wesley, himself, through his publishers and book agents in Bristol and London, issued his journals between 1739 and 1791 in

<sup>1</sup>Margaret Wilson Oliphant, "Historical Sketches of the Reign of George II: Wesley," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 104 (October 1868):429.

the form of what he termed “extracts,” each comprising a *duodecimo* volume of approximately a hundred pages. Further, he placed the extracts at the end of the 1774 edition of his collected *Works*, and subsequent volumes of the narrative became additions to editions of the *Works* published during his lifetime. There exists little doubt but that Wesley realized the value to others of those observations and experiences. Originally his reading audience comprised only family and friends, in addition to Wesley himself: “It not being my design to relate all those Particulars, which I wrote for my own Use only; and which would answer no valuable End to others, however important they were to me” (*Journal* 1:83).<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, Wesley did feel obliged to justify and to defend such experiences as the Georgia mission, his journey to Germany among Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf’s Moravian Brethren, his religious conversion, and the purposes of evangelical reform (or “Methodism”). His audience expanded considerably with the fourth extract for the period 3 September 1741 to 27 October 1743—the first volume of the journals published without a prefatory note of justification. By the time of that extract, Wesley’s evangelical journey had extended far beyond the limits of London and Westminster; and it is evident that with that section of the journal he had already become a pastor and preacher to the people of England, Ireland, and Wales. In the entries in his journals, he addressed his thoughts and his deeds to all whom he had converted and to those whose associations with British Methodism would be forthcoming.

### 1. *Wesley’s Purpose: To Set Forth Methodist Evangelicalism*

In the “Preface” to the third extract of the journal, covering the period from 17 September 1738 to 1 November 1739 and printed in Bristol by Felix Farley in 1742, Wesley announced his design to “declare to all mankind what it is that the Methodists (so called) have done, and are doing now—or, rather, what it is that God hath done, and is still doing, in our land. For it is not the work of man which hath lately appeared. All who calmly observe it must say, ‘This is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes’”

<sup>2</sup>Citations from John Wesley’s *Journal* will herein be given as in-text references. The edition of the *Journal* is that of Nehemiah Curnock, ed., *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, 8 vols. (London, 1909-16).

(*Journal* 2:67). At that same time, the founder and leader of British Methodism had set forth, upon the pages of a tract entitled *The Character of a Methodist*, an important variation of the same theme, the observation and meaning of the work of man on earth:

By consequence, whatsoever he doeth, it is all to the glory of God. In all his employments of every kind, he not only aims at this, (which is implied by having a single eye,) but actually attains it. His business and refreshments, as well as his prayers, all serve this great end. Whether he sit in his house or walk by the way, whether he lie down or sit up, he is promoting, in all he speaks or does, the one business of his life; whether he put on his apparel, or labour, or eat and drink, or divert himself from wasting labour, it all tends to advance the glory of God, by peace and good-will among men. His one invariable rule is this, "Whatsoever ye do, in word or deed, do it all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him."<sup>3</sup>

Wesley clearly viewed himself as the master Methodist, the representative and the demonstrator, the agent of God who would communicate the sound and the sense of God's work to those less capable (in his view) of understanding it. He intended that his journal would house the record of that work; he intended that those who read the accounts would find their ways to social and theological salvation. To that end, Wesley relied upon his plain, direct language and his highly homiletic tone to strike at the very souls of his middle-class readers. The journals would complement, by example and illustration, the exhortations delivered from pulpits and in open fields, and from town squares and steamy upstairs chapel rooms.

John Wesley, as apothecary of eighteenth-century evangelicalism, fashioned the elixirs by which Methodists might find their way out of the darkness of economic and spiritual despair. The style and tone of the journal narratives advance the heavy burden that Wesley himself bore in his personal commitment to labor in God's employ. Thus, between 5 and 10 December 1785, in his eighty-second year, he reported his having "spent every hour I could spare in the unpleasing but necessary work of going through the town [London], and begging for the poor men who had been

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Jackson, ed., *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, 14 vols. (London, 1829-31), 8:345.

employed in finishing the new chapel. It is true I am not obliged to do this; but if I do not, nobody else will" (*Journal* 7:129-130). Wesley sought neither self-righteousness nor self-pity, standing well above such motivations. Rather, he endeavored to strike at the very consciences of his readers, at their own sense of what they could do and what they might aspire to accomplish for the state and the status of fellow human beings.

However, Wesley's journals do not limit themselves to stabs at the moral nerves of apathetic or insensitive middle-class Methodists. Such a limited goal would, in turn, have unduly narrowed the scope and the purpose of the recital of his own experiences and would have mired them deeply in the sands of rhetorical redundancy. For John Wesley, the narrative records of his travels abound with descriptions of that which he perceived as God's creation passed on to humankind as the grandest of all legacies. He tried exceedingly hard to instill in his readers the full impact of that legacy. Thus, for instance, on Wednesday evening, 5 August 1747, while he was traversing on horseback the sixty-three miles of rough, mountainous Welsh road through Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire that would eventually take him to Merionethshire, Wesley observed:

... I was surprised with one of the finest prospects, in its kind, that I ever saw in my life. We rode in a green vale, shaded with rows of trees, which made an arbour for several miles. The river laboured along on our left hand, through broken rocks of every size, shape and colour. On the other side of the river the mountain rose to an immense height, almost perpendicular: and yet the tall, straight oaks stood, rank above rank, from the bottom to the very top; only here and there, where the mountain was not so steep, were interposed pastures or fields of corn. At a distance, as far as the eye could reach, as it were by way of contrast, "A mountain huge uprear'd/Its broad bare back"<sup>4</sup>—with vast, rugged rocks hanging over its brow, that seemed to nod portending ruin (*Journal* 3:310-311).

<sup>4</sup>Obviously a misquotation (or a version, perhaps, from Wesley's own edition) from John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 7:285-287:

Immediately the mountains huge appear  
Emergent, and their broad bare backs upheave  
Into the clouds.



Coming from one whose journal and diaries have been long considered as eighteenth-century spiritual backdrops to spiritual incantations from the pulpit, the preceding description appears especially secular—as though it would have fit comfortably into one of a score of travel narratives (in or out of fiction, even) that inundated the popular literature of the age. However, one must keep in mind that John Wesley tended to control his reliance upon secular imagery and secular emphasis; he wrote principally to advance the cause of his religious organization and to justify the choice of those who embraced it. For Wesley, the journey through Wales provided but one more opportunity to reveal to his audience the end product of God's providence, to serve (in Shakespearean terms) as Brutus' glass, thus reflecting to the most insensitive among the Methodists the results of God's works.

Critics and antagonists could scoff at Wesley's sermons, at Wesley's Conference minutes, at Wesley's tracts on medicine and the weather; but those same individuals could hardly challenge a faith anchored to the stark realities of a natural order that advanced the sharp outlines of the actual world. Thus, the Methodist patriarch carefully planted in his journals passages that allowed his readers to see the world as it existed, a world stripped of ornamentation and distortion. The strength of Wesley's descriptions of nature—including the clarity and the purity of their language—emerges as a quality that all but few readers could easily grasp and appreciate.

## 2. *Evidences of Wesley's Prejudices and Strong*

### *Personal Convictions*

However, that same collection of journal extracts also houses the prejudices of John Wesley: his attacks upon persons and institutions, and upon books and objects, which he had determined as detrimental to those who sought spiritual profit from British Methodism. Although Wesley had the benefit of both the bachelor's and master's degrees from Oxford, and while he retained his fellowship at Lincoln College until marriage forced him to resign, his critical method inclined toward the superficial and the expeditious. Rarely did he indulge in thorough analysis of person or object. Of course, he usually lacked sufficient time for such exercise. He read and reacted "on the run," as it were—reading while on horseback

or in chaise, and observing mostly from a geographical or chronological distance. Furthermore, his prejudgments often stemmed also from the self-imposed boundaries of his own faith: If anyone or anything ventured outside of, or conflicted with, his view of the Scriptures, he automatically rejected such opposition—and indirectly instructed his middle-class followers to do the same.

We may notice, as an example of the aforementioned process, John Wesley as a “cultural critic,” functioning as such within the narrow space of a six-day journey from Hampton Court to Dorking (Surrey) and back to London. On Friday, 7 February 1772, he walked through Hampton Court Palace and spent some time gazing upon the art therein. His reaction does not surprise us:

Of pictures I do not pretend to be a judge; but there is one, by Paul Rubens, which particularly struck me, both in the design and execution of it. It is Zacharias and Elizabeth, with John the Baptist two or three years old, coming to visit Mary, and our Lord sitting upon her knee. The passions are surprisingly expressed, even in the children; but I could not see either the decency or common sense of painting them stark naked. Nothing can defend or excuse this: it is shockingly absurd, even an Indian being the judge. I allow [that] a man who paints thus may have a good hand, but certainly *cerebrum non habet* (*Journal* 5:444).

Wesley’s attentiveness to specific detail reveals itself in the above passage, but it is obvious, too, that a hard-core biblical morality controls the beacons of Wesley’s “art-critical” orb. He stands always ready and willing to separate art from religious commitment and religious intent—and even to relegate the most respected among artists to the junkyard of ethical commonality, should that person fail to achieve the levels represented by Wesley’s own moral agency for the cultural and spiritual improvement of the unenlightened.

Three days later, on his way to Dorking, Wesley read a tract by William Jones (1726-1800)—perpetual curate of Nayland (Suffolk), musician, composer, and theologian—with the title, *Zoologica Ethica: A Disquisition concerning the Mosaic Distinction of Animals into Clean and Unclean: being an Attempt to explain to Christians the Wisdom, Morality, and Use of that Institution* (London, 1771). To his readers, he introduced that obscure piece as “ingenious,” particularly in terms of Jones’s unique moral interpretation of Levitical law: that God “intended it as a standing

warning to His people against the fierceness, greediness, and other ill properties which so eminently belonged to those beasts or birds that they were forbidden to eat or touch" (*Journal* 5:445).

The next day, Wesley came upon a totally different work, one by Laurence Sterne that aroused his prejudice against both author and title. Again, the tone and style of the journal entry sound a warning:

I casually took a volume of what is called *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy*. *Sentimental!* what is that? It is not English; he might as well say *Continental!* It is not sense. It conveys no determinate idea; yet one fool makes many. And this nonsensical word (who would believe it?) is become a fashionable one! However, the book agrees full well with the title, for one is as queer as the other. For oddity, uncouthness, and unlikeness to all the world beside, I suppose, the writer is without rival (*Journal* 5:445).

Thus, within the space of five days and a single page, Wesley signals Methodists to beware of Rubens's indecency, to reject Sterne's linguistic caprice, and to embrace the ingenuity of Jones's observations upon clean and unclean beasts. In no instance did he attempt to delve beyond the crust of his conclusions; he reacted with immediacy and then, after brief reflection, usually transferred those same reactions onto the pages of his journal.

A similar process holds true for a work that would eventually assume special significance for Wesley and for British Methodism. On the day following Wesley's reading of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* and on his return to London from Dorking, he read what he termed "a very different book": *An Historical Account of Guinea; or, a Caution to Great Britain*, by Anthony Benezet (1713-1784), who was a French Huguenot educated in London, a resident of Philadelphia, and a member of the Society of Friends.<sup>5</sup> For Wesley, Benezet's narrative awakened in him the evils of "that execrable sum of all villainies, commonly called the Slave-trade. I

<sup>5</sup>The title cited by Wesley in the journals is confusing, since Benezet wrote *two* books on the slave trade: *A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies on the Calamitous State of the Enslaved Negroes* (1766) and, five years later, the *Historical Account of Guinea: Its Situation, Produce, and the General Description of Its Inhabitants* (1771). Wesley's journal citation suggests a combined edition of Benezet's two works, or, perhaps, a lapse of memory on the part of Wesley between the time when he read both volumes and his making notation in the journal.

read of nothing like it in the heathen world, whether ancient or modern; and it infinitely exceeds, in every instance of barbarity, whatever Christian slaves suffer in Mohametan countries" (*Journal* 5:445-446).

Benezet's accounts would eventually lead Wesley to a connection within the anti-slave-trade movement headed by William Wilberforce. However, that association would be extremely loose. The abolishment of slavery and the slave trade in late-eighteenth-century England remained a *Quaker* project, and this meant that Wesley—through his journals, sermons, and tracts—could only inform and educate his Methodist followers rather than actually mobilize them toward a specific action. Nonetheless, the patriarch of British Methodism evidenced a strong, personal commitment to the cause to which Benezet had introduced him, and few who read the journal entries relative to that topic could fail to perceive Wesley's sincerity and intensity.<sup>6</sup>

Simply and obviously, Wesley viewed his journal as an important instrument by and through which he could fashion the thinking and strengthen the faith of those who had joined his religious organization. In addition, he sought to persuade them to form what he believed to be the proper values and priorities. Thus, in further illustration of these purposes of his, we may take note of his reaction to two museum displays. On Wednesday, 3 March 1773, he responded to an invitation to visit the museum of one James Cox, a jeweler in Spring Gardens, London.<sup>7</sup> The collection there consisted of unique pieces of time mechanisms and jeweled ornaments—items that found their way into descriptions by Horace Walpole and into the lines of Sheridan's *The Rivals*. Wesley's reaction reflected once again his antagonism toward the superficiality of items material and decorative: "I cannot say my expectation was disappointed; for I expected nothing and I found nothing but a

<sup>6</sup>See Samuel J. Rogal, "John Wesley's Role in the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade," *Evangelical Journal* 3 (1985):21-36.

<sup>7</sup>James Cox's open room (or "museum") functioned between 1772 and 1775. Its owner (fl. 1757-1791) served in the employ of the East India Company, which presented Cox's works to various oriental potentates. Cox also worked directly, during the 1770s, for the Chinese and Russian courts. One item, given to the Emperor of China in 1766, represented a gem-encrusted golden chariot drawn along by a coolie and bearing a seated lady who fanned herself with one hand and who in the other hand held a fluttering songbird (see John Fleming and Hugh Honour, *Dictionary of the Decorative Arts* [New York, 1977], p. 211).

heap of pretty, glittering trifles, prepared at an immense expense. For what end? To please the fancy of fine ladies and pretty gentlemen" (*Journal* 5:499).

### 3. *Wesley's Descriptive Ability and Attention to Detail*

Nearly eight years later, on 22 December 1780, Wesley visited what then represented the nucleus of a collection which ultimately became the British Museum (then housed in Montague House). For his part, Wesley could well have been back in Cox's Museum, as he exclaimed:

What an immense field is here for curiosity to range in! One large room is filled from top to bottom with things brought from Otaheite; two or three more with things dug out of the ruins of Herculaneum! Seven huge apartments are filled with curious books, five with manuscripts, two with fossils of all sorts, and the rest with various animals. But what account will a man give to the Judge of the quick and dead for a life spent in collecting all these? (*Journal* 6:301).

Again we witness Wesley's attention to detail—a careful description carried forth on the basis of clear spatial arrangements. Furthermore, the reader grasps the image as it extends forward and comes to rest upon a typical Wesley thesis, a moral variation upon the words of Eccl 1:2: "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity."

Interestingly enough, that same reader might well have noticed how carefully Wesley positioned the British-Museum entry in the particular section of his journal—or, more accurately, how carefully he had planned the events of the week to create the most profound effect upon someone who would take note of his activities. Thus, on 16 December 1780, he received word from the anti-Catholic instigator, Lord George Gordon, that the former wanted to see him. On the 18th Wesley gained permission for the audience, and on the 19th he spent an hour with Gordon in the latter's cell at Newgate Prison, where their conversation "turned upon Popery and religion." Then, two days following the British Museum tour—Sunday, 24 December—Wesley preached three times at three different London locations, "desiring to make the most of this solemn day" (*Journal* 6:301-302).

For some reason, he recorded nothing in his journal for 17, 20, 21, and 23 December—or, perhaps, he chose not to publish what he

had recorded therein. At any rate, he led the readers of those extracts along a path of obvious contrasts, upon a series of spiritual and moral fluctuations. Those experiences and reactions, recorded and placed strategically within the journal and handled with utmost editorial delicacy, encouraged Methodists to confront Wesley's administration one frame at a time, rather than to see it as a network of related actions and reactions. The journal, then, comes forth not as an autobiographical account governed by chapters or even episodes, but rather as a highly descriptive rotogravure, wherein each entry graphically advances its own moral lesson.

#### 4. *Conclusion*

John Wesley's journal echoes the sound and the sense of a spiritual and social leader guided by the conviction of his own role in history. Wesley's journal proves not as interesting or as lively as the prose fiction of the age, for he possessed neither the imagination nor the literary force of Smollett, Sterne, Fielding, or even Richardson. Nonetheless, the narratives complement that genre. While the novels abound with true imagination, spirit, wit, characterization, delightful imitation, and even some plot, Wesley's journals bare to the world the heart of a man obsessed by the sense of vocation, of a man who would but do a little work for God before he returned to the dust. "I am now an old man," wrote Wesley to begin the final year for his journal and of his life, "decayed from head to foot. My eyes are dim; my right hand shakes much; my mouth is hot and dry every morning; I have a lingering fever almost every day; my motion is weak and slow. However, blessed be God, I do not slack my labour. I can preach and write still" (*Journal* 8:35).

Such a self-portrayal hardly surprised anyone, especially since it came from a man who had begun his half-century-long narrative on the eve of his mission to Georgia, on the eve of his first significant failure. That self-portrayal came from a writer whose journal reverberates with moral and spiritual evenness and with stylistic consistency. Finally, it came from an eighteenth-century patriarchal figure who, in true Jonsonian fashion, never wrote a line or uttered a sentence but for a purpose. He wrote for an audience that could comprehend his designs, learn from his examples, and—most importantly—follow his notions toward ecclesiastical reform.

## THEOPHILUS BRABOURNE AND THE SABBATH\*

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Theophilus Brabourne's<sup>1</sup> *Discourse Vpon the Sabbath Day* (1628) was "the first major work to appear in the seventeenth century advocating the Christian observance of Saturday."<sup>2</sup> His extensive writings on the Sabbath were a significant contribution.<sup>3</sup> Even King Charles I reacted to one of Brabourne's books on the Sabbath, reissuing on October 18, 1633, "that royal declaration

\*Obtaining primary sources for this article was most difficult. I used the sources of nearly two dozen libraries, and corresponded with over a dozen different individuals. I wish to express appreciation to all of them, but I must make special mention of three individuals who provided me with unusual assistance: Oscar Burdick of the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California; Janet Thorngate of the Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society, Janesville, Wisconsin; and Thomas McElwain, Abo, Finland. I also acknowledge technical assistance provided by Ruth I. Satelmajer and Ingrid I. Satelmajer.

<sup>1</sup>Brabourne most often used this spelling for his name, although several variations exist.

<sup>2</sup>Bryan W. Ball, *The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981), p. 139.

<sup>3</sup>The following is believed to be a complete list of Brabourne's writings on the Sabbath: *A Discourse vpon the Sabbath Day* (n.p., 1628) (hereinafter *Discourse*); *A Defence Of that most Ancient, and Sacred ordinance of GODS, the SABBATH DAY* (Academix Cantabrigiensis Liber, 1632; first published in 1631, I have been able to locate only the 1632 edition) (hereinafter *Defence*); *A Reply to Mr Collings Provocator Provocatus: or, To His Answer Made to Mr Boatman, Touching Suspension from the Sacrament* (London, 1654); *A Reply to the Indoctus Doctor Edoctus, or, To Master Collings His Answer Made to Master Brabourn's First Part of the Change of Church-Discipline* (London, 1654) (hereinafter *A Reply to the Indoctus Doctor*); *An Answer to M. Cawdry's Two Books of the Sabbath Lately Come Forth* (n.p., 1654); *The Second Vindication of My First Book of the Change of Discipline: Being a Reply to Mr Collings His Second Answer to It* (London, 1654); *An Answer to Two Books on the Sabbath* (London, 1659) (hereinafter *Answer to Two Books*); *Of the Sabbath Day, Which Is Now the Highest Controversy in the Church of England* (n.p., 1660); "An Answer to Mr Burt. on Ye L. Day Sabbath . . ." (unpublished book manuscript, Bodleian Library, Oxford Microfilm ms. Bodley 538), although the date of this manuscript has not been established, we know that Burton's book was published in 1631.

respecting things lawful on Sunday, which is better known as the Book of Sports.”<sup>4</sup> Although Brabourne’s writings on the Sabbath were important, he has generally received only passing mention. The purpose of this article is to provide an introduction to his life and his teachings about the Sabbath.<sup>5</sup>

### 1. *Biographical Sketch*

Brabourne was born in 1590 in Norwich, England, where he lived and worked most of his life. He died in 1662.<sup>6</sup> In 1654 in a book written to refute a Mr. Collings, Brabourne gave a sketch of his life:

I was brought up in the FREE SCHOOL OF NORWICH, until I was fifteen years of age, and when I was even ready for Cambridge, fifty years since, then the Bishops began to silence godly Ministers, before Crosse and Surplice. Now my Father being a godly man, desired to have me prove a godly minister, which if he doth saith my Father, my sonne shall be silenced. Therefore he sent me to London to be his Factor, to sell his stockings by wholesale to Shopkeepers. (malitious Mr. Collings might know, that London Factors pick no stockings there) I lived in London until I was married, and then returned and lived some two - three years with my Father, during which time, I gave myselfe to my book, three able Divines successively reading to me; which pains I took meerly out of my love to learning, not so much as thinking to make use of it in their ministry, though got after disposed it otherwise; the which hat since turned to my no final griefe, in regard of the contempt of some such proud clergymen as Mr. Collings is; and to my no little damage in estate, by reason of the Bishops; I dare say I am five-hundred pounds the worse, for meddling in the ministry: but I have laid it aside not of late years, God providing better for me: but though I come not

<sup>4</sup>Alexander Gordon, “Theophilus Brabourne, M.A.,” *The Sabbath Memorial* 13 (January & April 1887): 567.

<sup>5</sup>In all of Brabourne’s writings, “Sabbath” refers to the seventh day of the week, Saturday. The first day of the week he always calls “Sunday,” or “Lord’s day.” In this article “Sabbath” and “Sunday” will be used in the same way unless a quoted source has another meaning.

<sup>6</sup>Most list his death in 1661. Gordon, p. 568, argues convincingly that Brabourne died in 1662. Gordon’s conclusion is based on an examination of Brabourne’s will.



into the pulpit, less I shall provoke envy, yet I spend my days wholly in my studie.<sup>7</sup>

Even though in 1654 Brabourne still called himself a clergyman,<sup>8</sup> he no longer had a parish. After completing his studies with the “three able Divines” he received his M.A. degree before ordination. On September 24, 1621, Thomas Dove, Bishop of Peterborough, and previously Dean of Norwich, gave him priest’s orders. On April 18, 1622, he was licensed for the Norwich diocese by Bishop Harsnett. In about 1630 Brabourne obtained the curacy of Catton (near Norwich) and was paid forty pounds a year.<sup>9</sup>

### *The Road to Prison*

Had Brabourne been satisfied to carry out his pastoral responsibilities in Norwich in the usual manner, we most likely never would have heard of him. His problems started in 1628 with the publication of *A Discourse Vpon the Sabbath Day*. Although at that time the book did not seem to attract much attention, it was the beginning of his problems. In 1631 he issued another book which did attract attention.<sup>10</sup> It appears that Brabourne’s difficulties began because he dared to dedicate his 1631 book, *A Defence Of that most Ancient, and Sacred ordinance of GODS, the SABBATH DAY*, to Charles I.<sup>11</sup> Brabourne asked Charles I to call for a reformation of the true Sabbath.<sup>12</sup> Apparently fearful that his appeal would not be heeded, he reminded the king that some OT monarchs—such as Hezekiah and Josiah—became famous by instituting Sabbath reform.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>7</sup>*A Reply to the Indoctus Doctor*, p. 94. The original spelling from Brabourne’s sources is retained in all quotations.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>9</sup>Gordon, p. 566.

<sup>10</sup>*Defence*. Even the title suggests a change in his own attitude. Although the book was first published in 1631, it does not seem that any copies of that edition have survived. The 1632 edition was used in this article. All secondary sources consulted also refer to the 1632 edition.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. (a) 2. Richard Müller incorrectly states that it was dedicated to James I: “Dieses Buch, das dem König Jakob I gewidmet wurde, verursachte grosses Aufsehen.” See Müller, *Adventisten - Sabbat - Reformation* (Lund, Sweden, 1979), p. 156.

<sup>12</sup>*Defence*, p. (a) 3.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. (a) 3,v.

In reaction to Brabourne's bold act of dedicating a controversial work to him, the King directed Bishop Francis White to deal with the heretic. Part of White's response was a book that appeared several years later.<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, Brabourne was required to personally defend his books and his views. Over twenty years later he recalled some of these meetings and conferences.

Many years since, I held a Conference with that Reverend Bishop, D. White, at Ely House in Holbourn, about the Sabbath, it lasted many dayes, an houre or two in a day; after that, I did the like once before Archbishop of Lambeth; but in all these contests I was never so abused as now, by Mr. Collings; I never had one disgraceful word from them.<sup>15</sup>

These meetings, however, did not produce a change in Brabourne. The next step was an appearance before the High Commission. He vividly recalled that experience:

On the day of my censure in the high Commission Court, which lasted a whole afternoon of a long Summers day, neer an hundred Ministers present as I was told, besides hundreds of other people: the Bishop of Ely (after the King's advocate had pleaded a long time against me read a discourse against me, about an houre long, wherein he argued against the Sabbath day; some of his Arguments were new things to me not heard of before which at present I could not answer.) (but since as soon as I got out of prison, I have answered his book, though I have not printed it).<sup>16</sup>

White's recollection of the High-Commission hearing does not show him to be sympathetic to Brabourne:

But while he was in this heat . . . crying in all places where he came, *Victoria, victoria*: he fell into an *ambuscado*, and being intercepted, he was convented and called to an account, before *Your Grace, and the Honourable Court of High Commission*.<sup>17</sup>

Brabourne was in prison at the Gate-House in Westminster for eighteen months. In addition, he spent nine weeks there while he

<sup>14</sup>Francis White, *A Treatise of the Sabbath-Day* (London, 1635).

<sup>15</sup>*A Reply to the Indoctus Doctor*, p. 74.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>17</sup>White, p. A-2.

was being examined. He described the prison as “nasty” and loathesome.” The prisoners he referred to as “rogues, and lousie fellows, and cheaters.”<sup>18</sup>

Although the conditions were miserable, he did not suffer the fate called for by one of the judges, Sir Henry Martin, who asked for the death sentence. Some individuals reported to Brabourne’s wife that he was to be burned.<sup>19</sup>

### *The Release from Prison*

After spending a year in prison, Brabourne was given an opportunity to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud. Six months later Brabourne signed a document which obtained his release.<sup>20</sup> This document was misunderstood during Brabourne’s lifetime, and there is still confusion as to how it was obtained and what it really stated.

Bishop White wrote that Brabourne became “an unfained conuert, and in a publike and honourable audience, he made this voluntary and humble submission. . . .”<sup>21</sup> White failed to mention that it was prison which encouraged Brabourne to consider submission. Winton Solberg’s historical account is even less accurate, since he does not even mention the prison experience. He writes that the “High Commission induced him to abandon his Judaical views. . . .”<sup>22</sup> This is hardly correct, since the Commission sentenced him to prison *because* it could not induce him to abandon his views.

Brabourne did not see it as a voluntary statement. Writing two decades after signing, he reminded his readers that he “did not easily give away to submission. . . .” He submitted only after the terrible prison experience, calling it a “recantion of a rash word, not of the matter. . . .” He reminded his antagonist, Collings, that “I did not recant one tittle of what I write against it [Sunday]; I only wrote that I confessed it [Sunday] to be an holy day of the Church; and so much I might have said of Christmas Day also. . . .”<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup>*A Reply to the Indoctus Doctor*, p. 101.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>20</sup>Gordon, p. 567.

<sup>21</sup>White, p. 305.

<sup>22</sup>Winton U. Solberg, *Redeem the Time: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), p. 79.

<sup>23</sup>*A Reply to the Indoctus Doctor*, p. 101.

An examination of the statement reveals that Brabourne's analysis of it was correct. It was worded in such a way that he basically submitted himself to the church. He accepted Sunday to be a "Holy day of the Church. . ."<sup>24</sup> He did not change his position on the Sabbath, but only admitted that he was rash in his position. Did he abandon his views, as Solberg maintains? Hardly! After his prison experience, he wrote six additional books on the Sabbath along with one unpublished manuscript that has survived.<sup>25</sup>

## 2. *The Sabbath and the Lord's Day in Brabourne's Writings*

Walter B. Douglas provides a helpful introduction to the controversy which developed between the proponents of the Sabbath and the Lord's day. Puritans in the early part of the seventeenth century were advocating adherence of Sunday. Another group agreed with the concept, but added a new dimension; that is, of advocating that the biblical Sabbath should be kept. Theophilus Brabourne belonged to the latter group.<sup>26</sup> He picked up his sabbatarian argument from the Puritans, but "it was difficult," suggests Bryan Ball, "for Brabourne or any of those who followed him, to see how the sacredness of that particular day could be abrogated or how it might be transferred to any other day [i.e., other than the seventh day] of the week."<sup>27</sup> The established church argued against both Sunday sabbatarians and Saturday sabbatarians.<sup>28</sup>

Brabourne, as indicated above, took an active part in the controversy between the proponents of Sabbathkeeping and the proponents of Sundaykeeping (whether the strict Puritan concept or the more "liberal" concept of the established church). An examination of his two major works enables us to see the trend of his

<sup>24</sup>The statement is reproduced in Erick T. Bjorck, *A Little Olive Leaf Put in the Mouth of that (so called) Noah's Dove* (New York, 1704), pp. 30-31.

<sup>25</sup>See n. 3 for a list of his writings on the Sabbath. He also wrote other books (mostly on church government), but they are not related to the subject under study.

<sup>26</sup>Walter B. Douglas, "The Sabbath in Puritanism," in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, ed. Kenneth A. Strand (Washington, D.C., 1982), p. 229. While Douglas seems to put Brabourne into the group of Puritans advocating the Sabbath, that is not correct, since Brabourne disassociated himself from the Puritans. See *Defence*, p. (c) [5].

<sup>27</sup>Ball, p. 141.

<sup>28</sup>Douglas, p. 299.

argument. More emphasis will be given to the 1632 book, since the 1628 book was in a sense an introduction to his position. The titles alone give a hint as to their character. That of the 1628 book emphasized "discourse," whereas the 1632 title stressed "defence." He wrote that "my former booke [1628] was a time of silence."<sup>29</sup>

### *The Law and the Fourth Commandment*

Brabourne realized that if he was to defend the Sabbath he must deal with the law. He saw an inseparable relationship between the Sabbath and the law. "The morall Sabbathes, together with whatsoever else is commanded in the morall law, I doe defend. . . ."<sup>30</sup> This moral law was not a burden to the Christian, for "Loue, is the summe of this law; and loue, is the law we shall walke by in the kingdome of heauen, 1. Corint. 13.8.13 and will they reject that law on earth, which we shall walke by in the kingdome of heauen?"<sup>31</sup>

If the moral law is eternal, how does it relate to one's salvation? Brabourne was no doubt aware that a charge of legalism might be made against him; thus he stated that "we doe not defend the law to be in force unto Iustification: for, by the *workes of the law shall no flesh be justified*, Rom. 3.20. we defend the law to be in force only unto *obseruation*."<sup>32</sup> He went on to point out that Paul also argued against justification by the law.<sup>33</sup>

While he defended the moral law and the Sabbath of this law, he outrightly rejected the ceremonial law and the ceremonial Sabbaths.<sup>34</sup> He believed that his position was more defensible than that of proponents of Sunday, who designated a part of the commandment to be moral (the idea of a Sabbath) and the other part ceremonial (which day). Such reasoning he called a "mingle mangle, such a hotch potch: the 4th com. is by these Interpreters become, halfe fish, halfe flesh; A Lynsey wolsey; A morrall Ceremoniall Commandement; partly lasting, partly faded."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup>*Defence*, p. (c) [4], v.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 113.

Brabourne went on to show that the Sabbath was a part of the moral law, and more specifically, a part of the fourth commandment. If, he asked, Christians state that the “loue of Christ contraineth them . . . why then may not the loue of God likewise contraineth them, to obey his commandments in Exod. 20.1 & c.?”<sup>36</sup> If we work when God rests and if we rest when God works we are not imitating God.<sup>37</sup> Rest and holiness are two important themes of the Sabbath.<sup>38</sup>

As Brabourne viewed it, the most important theme of the fourth commandment (the Sabbath commandment of the Decalogue) is one of “specificity.” To illustrate this “specificity,” he referred to the third commandment:

Remember The Sabbath day; not Remember A Sabbath day:  
finally, were it lawfull thus to wrest Scripture, whereas the third  
Comm. is, Thou shalt not take The name of the Lord thy God in  
vaine & c. might not I here caule thus; Thou shalt not take A  
name of the Lord they God in vaine . . . ?<sup>39</sup>

If the preciseness of the third commandment cannot be changed, then Brabourne throughout his writings maintained that the preciseness of the fourth commandment should not be changed. Because the commandment is specific, Sunday or the Lord’s day cannot be the Sabbath. The table below gives a summary of the basic differences between the two days as he saw them:

<i>Sabbath</i>	<i>Lord’s day (Sunday)</i>
Seventh day	“Eighth” day
In memory of Creation	In memory of Redemption
Appointed by God	Supposedly appointed by Christ
Imitation of God	No imitation of God <sup>40</sup>

The one unusual, if not strange, interpretation of the fourth commandment is Brabourne’s definition of the length of the Sabbath. The Sabbath day is not a twenty-four hour period, but is rather “that space of tyme and light from day peepe or day breake

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>38</sup>Discourse, p. 96.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>40</sup>Defence, p. 73.

in the morning, vntill day be quite off the skye at night. . . .”<sup>41</sup> Even though he went on to defend his unusual interpretation of the length of the Sabbath, his arguments at best can be called novel.

### *Lord's Day not the Sabbath*

Brabourne examined the various arguments which were used to show that Sunday or the Lord's day was the Sabbath. Some of his arguments can be summarized in the following manner.

First, the Lord's day could not be a Sabbath, Brabourne argued, because there are examples of travel on the Lord's day. Such traveling is prohibited on the Sabbath day and if Sunday had become the Sabbath, then such activity would not have been allowed.<sup>42</sup>

Second, a popular argument used for Sunday was to proclaim it a memorial to redemption. If Sunday was to be kept in memory of redemption, then Brabourne argued that every third day of the week should be kept since it took Christ three days to complete his work of redemption. While Brabourne did not deny that it was a memorial to the redemption event, he pointed out that “for the Redemption, we haue two *Sacraments*, Baptisme & the Lords Supper, to keepe in memory the Redemption, & these are helps enough, so as there is no necessity of a Sabbath day also, for the same end.”<sup>43</sup>

Third, even though there are examples of preaching and of some offering preparation activity on the first day of the week in the NT, Brabourne pointed out that these activities did not make Sunday the Sabbath.<sup>44</sup> In fact, the arguments for Sunday being the Sabbath are so weak that one would have the “need of *Sampsons* streng[t]h to drage & hale this 4th Comm. vnto the Lords day.”<sup>45</sup>

If there was no biblical basis for Sunday becoming the Sabbath, then why was it that the church as a whole accepted it as the Sabbath? Brabourne reviewed several reasons.

He pointed out that the prophet Daniel foretold this change. Even in his less controversial book of 1628, he referred to Daniel

<sup>41</sup>*Discourse*, p. 85.

<sup>42</sup>*Defence*, pp. 177 & 179. Brabourne refers to Luke 24:1-13 and Matt 16:6.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 254.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 199.

7:25, which states that “he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws. . . .” Brabourne believed that this was a prediction that someone would attempt to change the biblical Sabbath.<sup>46</sup> In his later book he became even more specific: “Oh, how is this abused Commandement, to be deplored & lamented! & how are the Agents herein, to be loathed and abhorred? for they attempt with that wicked man, prophesied on by *Daniel*, to change times & lawes, Dan. 7.25.”<sup>47</sup> He is not specific as to who makes the changes. However, at the beginning of the paragraph from which the above quotation is taken he referred to the change of the second commandment by the papacy. It cannot be determined for certain whether Brabourne saw the pope as the one who will “think to change times and laws.” Later he specifically made the Council of Laodicea responsible for the change.<sup>48</sup>

Although Brabourne did not accept Sunday as the Sabbath day, he did give Sunday a somewhat special standing. He admitted that Sunday may have been kept perhaps quarterly, or twice a year “for a Sabbath.”<sup>49</sup> He also believed that the “Lord’s day” mentioned in Rev 1:10 may “be a yeerly Sabbath.”<sup>50</sup> Nowhere, however, did he accept Sunday as *the* Sabbath day.

### *The Sabbath Still in Force*

Throughout his writings, Brabourne argued that the Sabbath was still valid. His two major books provide us with some specific arguments for this position. The following arguments give a good summary of the positions developed throughout his various writings:

1. The Lord’s day was not in force and thus the Sabbath was.<sup>51</sup> To those who maintained that Sunday was to be kept as a memorial to the resurrection, Brabourne responded that this was not possible. Since the disciples did not know, nor believe, that Christ would be

<sup>46</sup>*Discourse*, p. 28.

<sup>47</sup>*Defence*, p. 296.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 483.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 163. Emphasis added.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>51</sup>*Discourse*, p. 169.



raised until that particular Sunday was over, how could they have kept it in memory of the resurrection?<sup>52</sup>

2. The seventh day was never abolished.<sup>53</sup>

3. The seventh day was never changed.<sup>54</sup>

4. The Sabbath was "written by God in tables of stone."<sup>55</sup>

5. There "can be no day for a Sabbath weekly and ordenarily but the 7th day."<sup>56</sup>

6. God must have one day in seven for a Sabbath. It is Saturday, the seventh day of the week.<sup>57</sup>

7. God expressly commanded the seventh day in his moral law. If we abolish the fourth commandment, then "why may not the Papists cauille against 2<sup>d</sup> Comm: and say, that I indeed, it forbad Images to the Jewes, but not to Christians."<sup>58</sup>

8. Matt 5:18 shows that every part of the law will be in force to the world's end. Therefore, the Sabbath was to be in force "to the world's end."<sup>59</sup> In this text, Christ prophesized the duration of the law.<sup>60</sup>

9. The Sabbath was a means "to keepe in memory the miraculouse worke of the creation."<sup>61</sup>

10. The Sabbath reminds us that God is our sanctifier.<sup>62</sup> Because Christians are subject to pride,

I conclude, like as the Sacraments be signes of justification: so the Sabbaths be signes of sanctification: The one, pointing to God the Sonne; The other, to God the Father: let both be retained in the Church of God, since both be of Diuine Institution; the one ordained by Christ, the other by God the Father, Exod. 31.13.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>52</sup>*Defence*, p. 404.

<sup>53</sup>*Discourse*, p. 170.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 198.

11. The apostles “did constantly obserue & keepe it, after Christs resurrection.”<sup>64</sup>

12. To those who maintained “that they would imbrace the Sabbath, if it could be proued to be a Law of nature,” Brabourne responded that natural law could not be used to oppose moral law.<sup>65</sup>

### 3. *The Sabbath in Brabourne's Life*

In his writings, Brabourne took a very strong position for the seventh-day Sabbath. His strong advocacy for the Sabbath even put him into prison and brought derision from fellow clergy. Did his position on the Sabbath convince him that he should keep it? On this matter, there seems to be some confusion.

In his writings, he pled for church unity on the question of the Sabbath. As a result, Brabourne believed that it would be better not to keep the Sabbath until the “tyme of reformation.”<sup>66</sup> In his first two books on the Sabbath, he pled for a reformation which would restore the Sabbath. Until this reformation, “a Romish Relique, and Popish Tradition is honoured, in stead of an ordinance of Gods, his Holy Sabbath.”<sup>67</sup> He believed that Luther brought about a reformation of the second commandment, but in the seventeenth century there needed to be a reformation of the fourth commandment.<sup>68</sup>

In some ways Brabourne did not act comfortably with his own position regarding Sabbathkeeping. He thought, however, that God was providing a dispensation until the Sabbath reformation came about. This dispensation, nevertheless, was not universal. It was only “for such as are perswaded, that the Sabbath day is still in force. . . .”<sup>69</sup>

On the other hand, there is some evidence to suggest that Brabourne did keep the Sabbath for a while. His Sabbathkeeping

<sup>64</sup>*Defence*, p. 466.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 531.

<sup>66</sup>*Discourse*, p. 235.

<sup>67</sup>*Defence*, p. 618.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 611.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 599.

probably started after the publication of his two major books on the subject. Alexander Gordon has pointed out that Brabourne left ten pounds to a congregation of Sabbathkeepers in his will. Gordon, in fact, feels confident in stating that “we may be sure he kept sacred his daylight Sabbath on the Saturday.”<sup>70</sup>

#### 4. Summary

Brabourne’s arguments for the Sabbath were well stated and he dealt ably with the theology of the Sabbath. The thrust of his writings was not only to prove that Sunday was not the Sabbath, but to show how Christians would benefit by keeping the biblical seventh-day Sabbath. It would be well to summarize his main themes:

1. The Sabbath has a universal quality and it never was, nor is it now, for the Jews only. Since it is a memorial to creation, all should keep it since “euery man hath a benefit by the Creation. . . .”<sup>71</sup>

2. The change from Sabbath to Sunday was not accidental. Daniel made a specific prediction in Dan 7:25 that such a change would take place. The Council of Laodicea was largely responsible for fulfilling this prophecy. The church in Rome, also was instrumental in this change since “*there was no Ecclesiasticall or Church assemblies, upon the Sabbath day at Rome, as there was in other Churches.*”<sup>72</sup>

3. The Sabbath is a sign of God’s sanctification in the life of the Christian.

4. There was a role for Sunday, or the “Lord’s day.” Brabourne believed that Sunday was a sign of redemption, while the Sabbath was a sign of creation and sanctification. Sabbath was the king and Sunday was the deputy.<sup>73</sup> (He did not deny that Sunday may have been kept occasionally as a Sabbath; his argument was that Sunday had never replaced *the* seventh-day Sabbath.)

5. The Sabbath was not a legalistic relic, but a gift from God. Some three years before his death in 1662, Brabourne wrote:

<sup>70</sup>Gordon, p. 568.

<sup>71</sup>*Defence*, p. 253.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 481.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 600.

Christ said the Sabbath was made for man, *Mark. 2.27.* that is the Sabbath when it was made (as at the Creation it was) then it was made for man, for the good and benefit of man: and shall we imagine that no man had good and benefit by keeping it, untill 2000 years after in *Moses* time? God makes nothing in *vaine*: and shall we think he made the Sabbath at the Creation in *vaine*? Thus I have maintained. 1. The *Antiquity* of the Sabbath, and that it is as old as this world is. 2. That all men, not only *Jews*, but also *Gentiles* so soon as they come to know the true God, and that he at the Creation sanctified the 7th day for *man*, they are bound to sanctifie the 7th day Sabbath.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup>*Answer to Two Books*, p. 10.

## RESPONSE ARTICLES

### EDITOR'S NOTE

*AUSS* occasionally prints differing viewpoints on a topic. When a subsequent article takes the form of rebuttal of a presentation published earlier in *AUSS*, the author of the original article is given an opportunity to respond. The general rule is that such dialogue is subject to the usual criteria governing *AUSS* articles, including the stipulation that the discussion should enhance knowledge in the field by presenting new information and/or fresh insights on old materials.

In the following dialogue, Lester L. Grabbe critiques a presentation made in 1983 by William H. Shea concerning the Belshazzar of Dan 5, and Shea in turn responds. Although Grabbe's article does not add materially to what scholars critical of the Daniel account have already iterated, but rather simply refocuses their arguments for a specific purpose, we have felt that it is legitimate to include it as part of a dialogue that may have some informational value for our readers. Shea too, in the first sections of his article, refocuses information that is rather well-known. However, in the latter part of his article he presents a fascinating new interpretation of certain data in two ancient Babylonian documents from the immediate post-Nebuchadnezzar era (and hence the title "Bel(te)shazzar Meets Belshazzar").

—K.A.S.



## THE BELSHAZZAR OF DANIEL AND THE BELSHAZZAR OF HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

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In a recent issue of this journal William H. Shea has discussed the question of Belshazzar in the light of current scholarship, concluding among other things that the writer of Dan 5 was an eyewitness of the events narrated in that chapter.<sup>2</sup> While some of the article is devoted to giving evidence for this conclusion, much of it is predicated on the assumption that Dan 5 is historically accurate. In other words, a good deal of Shea's discussion assumes what he is attempting to prove!

To begin with a prime example, Shea discusses the important question of whether Belshazzar was ever made king over Babylon, and in doing so he faces squarely the difficulties involved. In the end, Shea tacitly recognizes that we have no external evidence that Belshazzar was ever formally king, for he speaks of "two possible explanations."<sup>3</sup> He obviously favors one of these, giving a lengthy and ingenious explanation—virtually a *tour de force*—of how Belshazzar *could* have been made king at the last minute. But it is all pure conjecture and assumes the accuracy of Daniel's ascription of kingship to Belshazzar. Shea does not mention another possible explanation, one favored by the majority of OT scholars: that even though there is a historical figure behind Dan 5, much of the chapter is unhistorical theologizing.

Shea mentions the important study of R. P. Dougherty more than half a century ago.<sup>4</sup> He does not refer to the lengthy review of

<sup>1</sup>My sincere thanks to Amélie Kuhrt, who read a draft of this article and made a number of helpful comments, as well as bringing some bibliographical items to my attention which I otherwise would not have been aware of.

<sup>2</sup>W. H. Shea, "Nabonidus, Belshazzar, and the Book of Daniel: An Update," *AUSS* 20 (1982):133-149.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup>R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, Yale Oriental Series, vol. 15 (New Haven, CT, 1929).

that work by H. H. Rowley, however, and goes on to repeat a number of assertions about Dan 5 which Rowley—and others—have argued against in some detail.<sup>5</sup> This does not mean that Rowley was necessarily correct in all his objections, but it would seem that Shea should address himself to some of these difficulties rather than simply repeating naive claims which many think were refuted long ago. The rest of my article covers some of the major points which seem to me to be relevant to the question.

### 1. *When Did Belshazzar Die?*

Dan 5:30 makes the clear statement that Belshazzar was killed on the very same night that he had seen the “handwriting on the wall.” If there is any event crucial to the historicity of the account, surely this would be it. Yet our current knowledge of the fall of Babylon allows us to say with a good deal of confidence that *Belshazzar did not die at that time*. This is clear from the Nabonidus Chronicle, which is a trustworthy and valuable source for Babylonian political history where it is extant:

Within the boundaries of their interest, the writers are quite objective and impartial. . . . Further, the authors have included all Babylonian kings known to have ruled in this period and there is no evidence that they have omitted any important events which have a bearing on Babylonia during their reigns. Every significant event known in the period from sources other than the chronicles . . . which affects Babylonia is referred to in the chronicle.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup>H. H. Rowley, “The Historicity of the Fifth Chapter of Daniel,” *JTS* 32 (1931):12-31; “The Belshazzar of Daniel and of History,” *Expositor*, 9th series, 2 (1924):182-195, 255-272. Cf. also the major commentaries, in particular R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford, 1929), and J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1927); see also L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB 23 (Garden City, NY, 1978). The comment by the Assyriologist W. von Soden about Dougherty’s book should be noted (“Eine babylonische Volksüberlieferung von Nabonid in den Danielerzählungen,” *ZAW* 53 [1935]:88, n. 1): “I cannot consider his conclusions from cuneiform and later traditions to be correct for the most part [Seine Folgerungen aus Keilschrifturkunden und späteren Überlieferungen kann ich allerdings zum grossen Teil nicht für richtig halten].”

<sup>6</sup>A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley, NY, 1975), p. 99. I have used Grayson’s edition of the Nabonidus Chronicle for the research for this article.



While the Nabonidus Chronicle is unfortunately fragmentary for a number of years, it is basically complete for the year in which Babylon fell. Column iii, lines 14-18, describes the taking of the city of Babylon by Gubaru "without a battle," the flight and subsequent capture of Nabonidus, and the entry of Cyrus into Babylon about three weeks after Gubaru had entered. Although these lines are almost perfectly preserved, there is no mention of the death of Belshazzar or of anyone else. Unless there has been a grave and otherwise unattested scribal lapse at this point, we can only conclude that Belshazzar was not killed at the time of the taking of Babylon. But there is no reason to allow for even this unparalleled error for the simple reason that the city fell "without a battle"; no one died, much less the king's son, because there was no fighting in this part of the conquest. After the Babylonian defeat at Opis, the will to defend themselves seems to have collapsed, and the Persians evidently just walked into the capital city. This is, of course, a direct contradiction of the statement in Dan 5:30.<sup>7</sup> In fact, we have no knowledge that Belshazzar was even still alive in Nabonidus' last year. Our known documented evidence for Belshazzar ceases after Nabonidus' 14th year, several years before the fall of Babylon.<sup>8</sup> While we cannot know for certain, we must allow for the possibility that Belshazzar was already dead by the time of Nabonidus' last year.

The information of the Nabonidus Chronicle is borne out by some other considerations. Berossus, whose account of the fall of Babylon is extant, says nothing about the death of the king's son.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, he does state that Nabonidus, after first fleeing, decided to surrender to Cyrus, who treated him well and let him settle in Carmania.<sup>10</sup> The gracious treatment of conquered rulers

<sup>7</sup>For a long time it was thought that the individual whose death is reported in Nabonidus Chronicle iii.23 might be the king's son (see, e.g., Rowley, "The Belshazzar of Daniel," p. 259). No recent editions read anything but "the wife" of the king. In any event, the death of the individual in question occurred several weeks after the city was taken.

<sup>8</sup>See Dougherty, p. 85, for the last reference to Belshazzar in the extant tablets.

<sup>9</sup>The standard collection of fragments is F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden, 1957), no. 680. A convenient translation of the major passages with commentary is S. M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus* (Malibu, CA, 1978).

<sup>10</sup>Jacoby, no. 680, F 9 = Josephus, *C. Apion* 1.146-153.

was a general characteristic of Persian rulers, Nabonidus being no exception.<sup>11</sup> But if Nabonidus was treated well, why should Belshazzar have been killed? And if he had been killed, a particularly notable event for the reasons already indicated, why would both Berossus and the Chronicle be silent on the matter?<sup>12</sup> In sum, the current state of our information is overwhelmingly against the historicity of Dan 5:30 as it stands.

## 2. *Was Belshazzar Ever King?*

Shea has faced squarely the problem that Belshazzar is never referred to as "king" in any of our sources, contrary to some other

<sup>11</sup>Herodotus claims that it was the Persian custom "to honor king's sons; even though kings revolt from them, yet they give back to their sons the sovereign power" (3.15), and he goes on to give several examples to demonstrate this. Herodotus' statement is backed up with examples of actual treatment of captured kings as reported by other writers. For example, as already noted, Nabonidus was not killed but treated kindly and allowed to settle in Carmania, according to Berossus (see n. 10, above), who seems to be supported by the recently published *Dynastic Prophecy* (ii.18-21; see A. K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts* [Toronto, 1975], pp. 32-33). Croesus, king of Lydia, was also resettled at Ecbatana, according to Ctesias (Jacoby, no. 688, F 9 = Photius, *Bibl.* 72.5), or in Beroea, according to Justin 1.7.7. Nabonidus Chronicle ii.17 has sometimes been interpreted to mean that the king of Lydia was killed by Cyrus, but there are two problems with this interpretation: (1) it is not certain that the country there is Lydia (see Grayson, *Chronicles*, p. 282), and (2) the verb *idūk* can mean "fight, conquer" as well as "kill." For a thorough discussion of the question, see J. Cargill, "The Nabonidus Chronicle and the Fall of Lydia," *American Journal of Ancient History* 2 (1978):97-116. Another example of the Persian attitude to conquered kings is that of Astyages of Media who was resettled among the Barcanians, according to Ctesias (Jacoby, no. 688, F 9 = Photius, *Bibl.* 72.6), or the Hyrcanians, according to Justin 1.6.16.

<sup>12</sup>The only writing other than Dan 5 to suggest that a ruler was killed in the taking of the city is Xenophon (*Cyr.* 7.5.30). However, it must be kept in mind that the *Cyropaedia* is a very poor source for the doings of Cyrus: when not in downright error, the information it gives is often only an extremely garbled version of Persian history and can seldom be accepted when there is no independent confirmation (cf. H. R. Breitenbach, "Xenophon," *PW*, 9/A2: 1709-1718). In the case of the taking of Babylon, the *Cyropaedia* contradicts our contemporary sources (the Nabonidus Chronicle and the Cyrus Cylinder), nor is it even clear that the king said to be slain was meant to be Belshazzar: The king is described as being young, yet his father is stated to have been killed by Cyrus (*Cyr.* 4.6.2). If Xenophon is preserving a vague memory of an actual neo-Babylonian ruler, it could just as well be Nabonidus as Belshazzar.

writers on the subject.<sup>13</sup> He attempts to obviate the difficulty by proposing a theory by which Belshazzar was formally given the kingship of Babylon on the night of the city's fall. Thus, the banquet of Dan 5 is interpreted as being actually a coronation ceremony for Belshazzar, while references to Belshazzar as "king" in the book of Daniel are done so proleptically. The theory is ingenious and, if accepted, would certainly remove some of the obstacles to reconciling the Belshazzar of Daniel with that known from the cuneiform sources.

But every theory, no matter how ingenious, must be evaluated in the light of possible alternatives to it. Shea does not consider whether his theory of a coronation ceremony in Dan 5 is the most natural explanation of the data there. First, there is no hint in the text that Belshazzar is being crowned. Second, why would his *concubines* be a part of the ceremony? Third, and most important, why would Belshazzar be made a king of Babylon when his father Nabonidus has already fled and the Persians were about to take the city? Such a theory also completely negates the climax of the chapter: Daniel's prophecy. In the light of the immediate events, a prophecy that Babylon was about to fall would hardly be surprising and certainly would not be evidence of Daniel's great wisdom. The only startling aspect of the episode would be the disembodied hand which did the writing. But what purpose would such a cryptic method of delivering the message serve when its actual content was so banal for the night in question? In his determination to find historicity in Dan 5, Shea has ignored the actual theological content of the account.

The aim of the chapter is surely to depict an arrogant king who flouts the majesty of the true God by drinking out of the temple vessels from Jerusalem and, moreover, by praising his idolatrous gods while doing so. This act of thumbing his nose at the true God is made more grave by the participation even of Belshazzar's concubines. Just as Belshazzar's "father" Nebuchadnezzar had committed an act of *hubris* and had suffered divine punishment, so the "son" repeats the sin and likewise reaps divine wrath. That the fate of Nebuchadnezzar, along with Daniel's amazing prediction of it, only a few decades before would have been

<sup>13</sup>See, e.g., G. F. Hasel, "The Book of Daniel: Evidences Relating to Persons and Chronology," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 42-43.

forgotten so easily by Belshazzar would be absurd under normal circumstances. But the chapter is evidently not interested in such matters of logic or historicity but in proclaiming a theological message. Shea's efforts to find a coronation ceremony here ignore both the actual content of the chapter and its alleged setting at the time of the fall of Babylon.

### 3. *Daniel as "Third" in the Kingdom*

About the only positive evidence for the historicity of Dan 5 evinced by Shea is that Daniel was elevated to be "third" in the kingdom by Belshazzar. Rather surprisingly, Shea puts a great deal of emphasis on this as proof that the chapter was written by an eyewitness.<sup>14</sup> This argument is not new and was long ago attacked as incorrect.<sup>15</sup> Basically, the argument is that the Aramaic word in Dan 5:7, 16, 29 (*taltî, taltâ*<sup>2</sup>) should not be translated literally as "third," but is actually the name of an official in the court. Recourse is usually made to the Akkadian word *šalšu*, which can mean "third" but is also the name of an official. If this explanation is correct, then Daniel's office says nothing about how many rulers there were in Babylon.

Shea's most cogent objection to this explanation seems to be a linguistic one.<sup>16</sup> He asks why an Akkadian title *šalšu* would yield the Aramaic word *taltâ*<sup>2</sup>/*î*. A loanword from Akkadian to Aramaic should yield *šalšâ*<sup>2</sup>/*î*, which would seem to eliminate from consideration any explanation of the Aramaic term as a borrowing from Akkadian (though Shea does not consider the possibility that the term is a calque [loan translation] rather than a direct borrowing). But what is surprising is that Shea, after pointing out the difficulties with the traditional explanation, is then willing to assume that the

<sup>14</sup>Shea, p. 146: "The record of Dan 5 also recognizes by its references to 'third ruler' that Nabonidus was still alive, even though not present in Babylon."

<sup>15</sup>See some of the major commentaries cited in n. 6, above. Shea specifically interacts with Montgomery, p. 256. However, it should be noted that the same argument is used by von Soden, p. 88, n.1, who cites Ernest Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum nach Briefen aus der Sargonidenzeit* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 111-115.

<sup>16</sup>Shea's other objections depend on having an exact knowledge of what being a *šalšu*-officer would mean, rather than allowing for semantic development in a borrowed word, as one should.

meaning "third ruler in the kingdom" can be taken for granted without further argument. This ignores several problems: for example, how could Belshazzar make Daniel "third ruler" after himself and Nabonidus, without Nabonidus' own permission? It also ignores the most natural interpretation of the promise which is already given in Dan 6:3 (Eng 6:2): Daniel is one of three "presidents" (*sārkin*) who rule under the king. Thus, the promise of Belshazzar is fulfilled under his conqueror, Darius the Mede. There is no compelling reason to assume that Dan 5:7, 16, 29 indicates a knowledge of the existence of Nabonidus, and the context of the chapter is certainly against it.

#### 4. *Was Nitocris the Queen at the Banquet?*

One final point is of no major consequence but is perhaps illustrative of how Shea's determined attempts to find historicity in Dan 5 has led him to overlook major considerations. He very tentatively identifies the "queen" at the banquet with Herodotus' last great Babylonian queen Nitocris (1.185-188). Shea is commendably cautious, but he has also made no attempt to examine the question very carefully. Herodotus' Nitocris was a woman who ruled in her own right, something which neither Nebuchadnezzar's nor Nabonidus' wife did.

There have been several studies of the question, though. Some of these are not easily accessible, but it is rather surprising that Shea refers to none of them. The Nitocris figure is important for Dan 5 because it illustrates how a historical figure can enter the domain of legend. H. Lewy suggested Nitocris was a combination of the wife of Shamshi-adad V (who also appears in the Semiramis legend) and the wife of Sennacherib who, as Esarhaddon's mother, may have ruled on her own as regent for a period of years.<sup>17</sup> Another proposal is that she was the mother of Nabonidus.<sup>18</sup> These suggestions are of less consequence than recognizing the process by which such legends grow up in popular tradition, of which there are many examples in the Greek accounts of the ancient Near

<sup>17</sup>H. Lewy, "Nitokris-Naqi<sup>2</sup>a," *JNES* 11 (1952):264-286.

<sup>18</sup>W. Röllig, "Nitokris von Babylon," *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*, Festschrift für Franz Altheim zum 6.10. 1968, 2 vols., ed. R. Stiehl and H. E. Stier (Berlin, 1969):1.127-135.

East.<sup>19</sup> As Shea states, there is probably much legendary material associated with the Nitocris figure but evidently a historical core. Of course, this is precisely how most scholars would see the Belshazzar figure of Dan 5: much legendary material but a historical core!

### 5. *Conclusions*

This brief article has addressed only some of the issues relating to Dan 5 and Belshazzar. I have been careful not to attribute to Shea arguments which he has not used. Rowley took up a number of other such arguments advanced in an attempt to defend the historicity of Dan 5, but there is no indication that Shea adheres to these. In any case, it seems to me that the question of Belshazzar's death and kingship are the really vital ones.

All theories have to be defended, not only on internal grounds, but on their utility compared with possible alternative theories. One can attempt to develop theories which defend the historicity of the Belshazzar of Daniel with greater or lesser cogency. But, ultimately, the question is which of several possible theories is most likely in the light of current knowledge. Our knowledge is and always will be incomplete; in the light of present knowledge, however, I would suggest that the *most likely* theory is that Dan 5 draws on certain historical remembrances of Belshazzar but is itself largely an unhistorical account whose aim is primarily theological.

<sup>19</sup>See, e.g., H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, "Exit Atossa: Images of Women in Greek Historiography on Persia," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (London, 1983), pp. 20-33.

## BEL(TE)SHAZZAR MEETS BELSHAZZAR

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I appreciate Lester L. Grabbe's interest in and response to my previously published article on Nabonidus and Belshazzar.<sup>1</sup> His observations on this subject are welcome, and he takes issue with my presentation at four points of major and minor significance: (1) the death date of Belshazzar, (2) The Hebrew view of the coregency dates in Dan 7:1 and 8:1, (3) the offer to Daniel to become the third ruler in the kingdom, and (4) the identity of the queen mother in the narrative of Dan 5. These issues are discussed in this order.

### 1. *The Issues*

#### *The Date of Belshazzar's Death*

Of Grabbe's four criticisms of my previous study, this is the only one of major significance in terms of evaluating the accuracy of Dan 5 as a historical document. Grabbe maintains that Belshazzar did not die the night that Babylon fell to the Persians, as Dan 5 would indicate. If Grabbe is right concerning this, then the account in Dan 5 is wrong; and if Dan 5 is correct, then Grabbe is wrong. The matter is that straightforward.

In order to advance and support a proposal such as Grabbe's, the obligation rests upon the one proposing it to produce some other, independent, source material to support the case—preferably a primary source or sources, though any credible secondary sources would be admissible. But Grabbe has not produced any such material to indicate that Belshazzar did not die on the night that the book of Daniel indicates.

The nature of the argument produced by Grabbe is, therefore, an argument from silence. If that is the kind of argument that is

<sup>1</sup>William H. Shea, "Nabonidus, Belshazzar, and the Book of Daniel: An Update," *AUSS* 20 (1982):133-149.

really going to be used as evidence to indicate when Belshazzar died, then we are going to have to confer immortality upon him, for there is no source extant at all which refers to Belshazzar's death other than the book of Daniel. I for one would have welcomed some new source shedding light upon this episode, but it has not yet been forthcoming. Nor has any reason yet been shown as to why the testimony of Dan 5 on this point should not be taken as accurate. As I pointed out in my previous study, the writer of Dan 5 put his veracity on the line when he pointed out who was and who was not in the palace the night the city of Babylon fell and what happened to the major personage who was there.

But the picture is not quite so neutral as the foregoing remarks might suggest, for we do have testimony also from the Greek historians on certain important aspects of the matter. Xenophon is particularly important, for he indicates that there was a banquet in progress in Babylon the night the city fell, and that a king was killed in the city when that happened (*Cyropaedia* 7.5.26-30). Herodotus corroborates the point about the banquet, but does not mention the death of a king (*Histories* 1.193). Thus we are not dealing with only two poles around this story—the biblical and the cuneiform—as I discussed in my previous study. It actually is a three-cornered picture, with the Greek historians joining in with those two other sources.

Once again, the nature of this relationship among the sources is harmonious and complementary. Daniel, Xenophon, and Herodotus all indicate that a banquet was in progress the night that the city fell to the Persians; Daniel and Xenophon indicate that a king died there that night; and Daniel supplies the name of that king. The cuneiform Nabonidus Chronicle, in turn, complements Daniel's testimony by indicating why the other king, Nabonidus, was not in the city that night. Except for a footnote reference to Xenophon (n. 13), Grabbe has not challenged the accuracy of the Greek historians nor of the Babylonian Chronicle on these points, so it remains questionable as to just why Dan 5 should be challenged.

#### *Hebrew Dates for the Babylonian Coregency*

The matter of the Hebrew dates for a Babylonian coregency between Nabonidus and Belshazzar is a point of considerably less importance, for it is clear, whatever one does with them, that Dan 7:1 and 8:1 indicate that the writer was aware of the coregency



arrangement in effect between Nabonidus and Belshazzar. Grabbe does not dispute that there was such an arrangement in effect, he simply does not like my political evaluation of the nature of the arrangement. Let me simply review in brief the points that I made in support of my proposal. First, it is clear from the cuneiform sources that some sort of a regency arrangement existed between these two individuals for a period of ten years. Second, the eastern Babylonians did not ordinarily employ the political relationship of coregency, while the western kings of Judah did so, according to the best chronological reconstruction for the dates of their reigns.<sup>2</sup> Third, the Jews in Babylonian exile continued to date according to their own native Judahite system, as witnessed by all of the dates in Ezekiel and also the dates found in Neh 1 and 2. These three propositions still add up to support the reasonableness of the proposal which I advanced in this regard, and Grabbe has not provided any evidence to weaken these supports for that proposal.

If Grabbe does not accept my own theory about how this coregency operated, he now has another alternative to consider—the one which has recently been proposed by A. R. Millard on the basis of Millard's work with the bilingual (Aramaic-Akkadian) inscription from Tell Fekheriyah.<sup>3</sup> In the Assyrian version of this text the principal person involved is referred to only as a "governor," while in the Aramaic part of the text he is referred to as "king" (*mlk*). Millard's explanation is as follows:

Each inscription was aimed at a different audience, the Assyrian version to the overlords, and the Aramaic version to the local people. What to the Assyrian-speaking overlords was the governor was to the local Aramaic-speaking population the equivalent of king. . . . In the light of the Babylonian sources and of the new texts of this statue, it may have been considered quite in order for such unofficial records as the Book of Daniel to call

<sup>2</sup>For the classical presentation of coregencies in the chronology of the Hebrew kings, see Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, MI, 1965). Thiele's proposal on this point continues to gain ever more widespread acceptance. For the most recent example of this—the utilization of coregencies to solve the difficulties in Israelite chronology for the period of the kings—see N. Na'aman, "Historical and Chronological Notes on the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the Eighth Century B.C.," *VT* 31 (1986):71-90.

<sup>3</sup>A. R. Millard and P. Bordreuil, "A Statue from Syria with Assyrian and Aramaic Inscriptions," *BA* 45 (1982):135-141.

Belshazzar "king." He acted as king, his father's agent, although he may not have been legally king.<sup>4</sup>

### *The Third Position in the Kingdom Offered to Daniel*

I still stand behind the position which I advocated in my previous article concerning the position that Daniel was offered according to the record of Dan 5—namely, that Daniel really was offered the position of "third" importance in the kingdom, coming behind only Nabonidus and Belshazzar in this regard. I would have hoped that Grabbe would have discussed the linguistic merits of this case pro and con, but he has not.

Aside from the linguistic factor, however, there is also the context of the situation in which Daniel is depicted. In Babylon a *šalšu* officer was a "third"-rank official. In terms of the story told in Daniel, this would be a rather minor appointment made for a very important service to the king—mediation on his behalf in the realm of the gods. One would expect that Daniel would have been rewarded in a manner commensurate with the task which he performed for the king. The third position in the kingdom would have been considerably more appropriate a reward for such a service than his appointment to the rank of *šalšu* officer.

It might also be noted that Millard, in his recent discussion of the subject of Belshazzar in Daniel and history, has also held to the interpretation that what was offered to Daniel was the position of "third" ruler in the kingdom, not the position of a "third"-rank official in the Babylonian government. "If Belshazzar was king, why couldn't Daniel become second to him, as Joseph had become second to Pharaoh in Egypt (Gen 41:40,44)? The answer may be that Belshazzar was himself the second ruler in the kingdom. If Belshazzar's father, Nabonidus, was actually king, then Belshazzar was second to him. Thus Belshazzar could offer only third place to Daniel."<sup>5</sup>

### *The Identity of the Queen Mother in Dan 5*

Grabbe exaggerates the importance which I attach to the identity of the queen mother in the story. In actuality, this point is

<sup>4</sup>A. R. Millard, "Daniel and Belshazzar in History," *BARev* 11 (1985):77.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 78.

quite peripheral and insignificant to the central subject matter in my article. If Grabbe has a better candidate for this individual's identification, then so much the better.

## 2. *A More Central Issue*

I am somewhat disappointed that Grabbe has not undertaken an evaluation of the more important and central matter in my previous study, i.e., how well Dan 5 and the Nabonidus Chronicle concur in terms of identifying who was and who was not in the palace the night the city of Babylon fell to the Persians. How did the writer of Dan 5 know that Belshazzar, a very obscure figure historically, was present in the palace that night, while Nabonidus, the far better-known figure historically, was not?

The Nabonidus Chronicle, a text essentially contemporary with these events, gives a clear explanation of who was where and why. Among extant ancient sources, only Dan 5 ranks alongside the Chronicle in terms of accurate knowledge of these events in this detail. The most ready explanation for this accuracy is that the information has come down to us through the words of a contemporary or first-hand witness to them, which is what Dan 5 depicts Daniel as being.

Before we turn to consider some new primary sources which bear upon this episode, the general relationship of theology to history may be noted as a fitting conclusion to this section of the study. Grabbe sees Dan 5 as "unhistorical theologizing," thus cutting the narrative's theological point loose from any concrete historical mooring. Aside from the issue of historicity that has already been addressed, I prefer to see a more directly integrated and complementary relationship between theology and history. Obviously, the theological point which the writer has made in Dan 5 carries more validity if the event serving as the basis for that theological point actually did happen. A broad parallel may be drawn here with the event and theology of the Exodus. The OT view of God as the Redeemer and Deliverer of Israel would have considerably less validity if Israel did not actually leave Egypt in Mosaic times. It might also be noted in passing that Grabbe has taken a rather unkind cut at OT theologians, ancient and modern, through his pejorative use of the term "theologizing."

### 3. *Illumination Through Further Ancient Texts*

Since Grabbe has not introduced any new primary sources into this discussion, I would like to introduce two. One of these was published more than half a century ago and the other was published a quarter of a century ago. They both mention a "Belshazzar," but in quite a different context from any of the references to Nabonidus' son in Dan 5, 7:1, and 8:1. The unusual nature of these two texts requires that a number of preliminary points need to be made in order to evaluate their potential significance for the book of Daniel.

#### *Distribution of the Name "Belteshazzar" in the Book of Daniel*

Upon arrival in Babylon, Daniel and his three friends were given Babylonian names (Dan 1:7). These names occur occasionally thereafter throughout the rest of the book up to Dan 10:1, where the last mention of Daniel's own Babylonian name is given. In general, these Babylonian names occur mainly in narratives where direct dialogue or direct interaction with Babylonian officials or Babylonian kings is involved. The names of Daniel's three friends, for example, occur thirteen times in the narrative of Dan 3. In eight of these instances they are either quoted from Nebuchadnezzar or described in terms of his actions towards the persons bearing the names. In two more instances the actions or words of Babylonian officials employ these names. In only three cases does the use of the names involve words or actions for which the Hebrews themselves were responsible, and these are naturally found in the context of the other ten Babylonian uses in the chapter.

This usage may be contrasted with the use in Dan 2 of the Hebrew names of the same individuals. When Daniel came home to have prayer with his friends about the king's dream, their Hebrew names are employed (2:17). However, at the end of the chapter, in the account of Nebuchadnezzar's appointing Daniel's three colleagues to their offices, their Babylonian names are again used (2:49).

The same pattern also holds true with respect to the use of Daniel's own Hebrew and Babylonian names. The Hebrew name of Daniel occurs 72 times in the book, while his Babylonian name of Belteshazzar occurs only 10 times. The following is the pattern of these occurrences:

Chapter	Hebrew, "Daniel" Occurrences	Babylonian, "Belteshazzar" Occurrences
1	10	1
2	17	1
4	2	6
5	6	1
6	20	0
7	4	0
8	3	0
9	2	0
10	5	1
12	3	0

With the exception of the first and the last references to Belteshazzar, all occurrences of the use of this name can be explained in terms of the principle of direct dialogue with a Babylonian. An official uses this name in Dan 2:26, Nebuchadnezzar himself uses it in Dan 4, and Belshazzar's queen or queen mother uses it in Dan 5. Dan 1:7 explains how Daniel came to bear this name, and the occurrence in 10:1 forms an *inclusio* around the book as a whole, in combination with that initial reference in 1:7.

Thus, the principle involved in the book of Daniel for both Daniel and his three friends is that there is a distinct inclination to use their Hebrew names, except where strictly required by a Babylonian setting or by direct dialogue with a Babylonian personage. The writer of the book appears to have had a personal aversion to the use of their Babylonian names unless it was absolutely necessary for the narrative in context.

The use of Daniel's Babylonian name occurs most frequently in Dan 4 because Daniel was involved there in a personal dialogue with Nebuchadnezzar about the contents of the king's second prophetic dream. The name of Belteshazzar comes quite naturally from Nebuchadnezzar's lips. The case in Dan 5, however, is quite different. In this narrative, Daniel's Hebrew name is used six times, but his Babylonian name is used only once. It is especially striking that Belshazzar himself never takes Daniel's Babylonian name upon his lips. It is the queen mother who mentions it the one time it occurs (5:12). This stands in direct contrast with the preceding chapter, where Nebuchadnezzar took the name of Belteshazzar upon his lips quite freely (4:8, 9, 18, 19 [three times]).

In Dan 5 it appears to be Belshazzar, rather than Daniel, who had an aversion to the use of the name Belteshazzar. Why so? One possible answer stems from the simple observation that the two names look very much alike. I would like to suggest that they did not just look alike, but that they were actually the same. If the Hebrew wise man who stood before Belshazzar bore the same name as the king himself, it would have been natural for the king to have been reticent to have used his own name for him.

*The Nature of the Babylonian Name "Belteshazzar"*

A study of the name "Belteshazzar" can be approached through two main avenues: (a) by paralleling it with what happened to the Babylonian names of Daniel's three friends, and (b) on the basis of an analysis of the name itself. In the first of these approaches, we find that it is the Babylonian name of Daniel's friend Azariah, Abed-Nego, which appears to provide the best parallel for what may have happened in the case of the name Belteshazzar. In an earlier study on Dan 3 I examined the names of Daniel's friends.<sup>6</sup> The Babylonian names of Shadrach and Meshach are difficult to analyze, but the name of Abed-Nego submits to analysis quite readily. Abed or *ʿebed* is the West-Semitic word for "servant," which can be translated into Old Babylonian as *wardum* and into Neo-Babylonian as *ardu*. The latter is the word found in the Babylonian "Servant-of-X" type of name in the sixth century B.C.

In this "Servant-of-X" kind of name, the word for "servant" was followed by the name of a god. Thus Nego should be the name of a Babylonian god, but no such god is known in the Neo-Babylonian pantheon. Once it is recognized, however, that a slight shift has taken place in the way a Babylonian god's name was written here, as compared with its normal form, the *gimmel* in the name Nego can be corrected to a *beth* (the preceding letter in the alphabet), yielding the well-known god name of Nebo/Nabu. The reason for this slight shift appears to have been a deliberate

<sup>6</sup>William H. Shea, "Daniel 3: Extra-Biblical Texts and the Convocation on the Plain of Dura," *AUSS* 20 (1982):29-51. See especially pp. 46-50 for the treatment of the names of the three Hebrews. This is not meant to suggest, incidentally, that there were no other persons named Ardi-Nabu in Neo-Babylonian times. On the contrary, the name probably was fairly popular in that period. For some examples, see R. H. Sack, *Amel-Marduk 562-560 B.C.* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972), p. 128, s.v. "Arad-Nabu."

attempt to corrupt the name of the Babylonian god found in Azariah's Babylonian name. The use of a Babylonian god's name for a Hebrew worshipper of Yahweh appears to have been unacceptable to the writer of Daniel, and hence this minor corruption was introduced into the name.

If this was done in the case of the name of Abed-Nego, then one might suspect that it may have happened in the case of Daniel's Babylonian name too. Thus this name requires a closer scrutiny. When the name Belteshazzar is examined in detail, one can readily see that something is wrong with it. The latter two elements in that name, *šar-ušur*, "protect the king," are the same as those found in the name of Belshazzar, and there is no problem with them. The problem in the name of Belteshazzar has to do with the divine element that precedes the final two elements. More specifically, the problem here has to do with the last consonant in this purported divine name. If it were Bel, that would be quite acceptable as the use of a common epithet meaning "lord" for Marduk, the city and national god of Babylon. Or if it had been written *blt* for Belit, that would also be acceptable as an epithet commonly used for goddesses. But neither of these is the way in which this divine element occurs here.

This element in the name of Belteshazzar in the book of Daniel was written with a *teth*: thus, *blt*. No god is known by this name, nor do we have any evidence of it as a title from Neo-Babylonian times. Thus something is definitely wrong with this name. It could have been written with the verb *balātu*, and that would have been acceptable Babylonian,<sup>7</sup> but then it would not have contained a divine element.

A divine element is mandatory here, according to Dan 4:8, where Nebuchadnezzar refers to Daniel as "he who was named Belteshazzar after the name of my god." While the name of the god Nabu is contained within Nebuchadnezzar's own name, the particular god to whom the king was especially devoted appears to have been Marduk, according to the evidence of his inscriptions. For instance, the Istanbul Prism, which was discussed in my earlier

<sup>7</sup>As a noun, the Akkadian word *balātu* refers to such things as "life, vigor, good health." As a verb, it can mean actions like "to get well, recover, be vigorous, in full health, stay alive, escape, heal, provide with food, keep alive." In personal names, it is used to predicate actions of the gods who are named in those personal names. *The Assyrian Dictionary*, ed. A. L. Oppenheim, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1965), 2:46-63.

study on Dan 3, spends three columns of its text on Nebuchadnezzar's devotion to Marduk, and only two columns on the long list of kings and officials whom he appointed or confirmed.<sup>8</sup>

For Daniel to have been named according to the name of Nebuchadnezzar's god Marduk, he could very well have been named with the divine element of Bel, but this does not fit at all with any name or verbal element based upon the root *blt*. Again, we can only conclude that there is something definitely wrong with Daniel's Babylonian name of Belteshazzar, and it looks very much as if it is a corruption of "Belshazzar," the same name as that borne by the son of Nabonidus at the end of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. What appears to have happened is that a perfectly good Babylonian god name, Bel (-Marduk), has been contaminated by the insertion of a nonsense letter, just as the name of Nabu in Abed-Nabu was corrupted by moving the second letter in the divine name one letter further along in the alphabet. The two names have undergone a similar distortion.

#### *Two Special Belshazzar Texts*

This analysis of Daniel's Babylonian name would not be particularly helpful unless there were some new texts to examine for a connection with it. Two such texts are now available. The first of these, in the Yale Babylonian Collection (YBC 3765) and published by R. P. Dougherty in 1929,<sup>9</sup> is the earliest tablet dated to the accession year of the reign of Neriglissar, the second king in succession from Nebuchadnezzar. The other tablet, in the Archaeological Museum of Florence (no. 135) and published by K. Oberhuber in 1960,<sup>10</sup> is dated toward the end of the reign of Amel-Marduk, Nebuchadnezzar's son and immediate successor. Hence, the more recently published tablet is the one of earlier date.

*The Tablet from Neriglissar's Reign.* The Yale tablet from Neriglissar's reign is a rather ordinary document. Dougherty has translated the body of the text as follows:

<sup>8</sup>E. Unger, *Babylon, die heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 282-294. Cf. also *ANET*, pp. 307-308.

<sup>9</sup>R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, Yale Oriental Series, vol. 15 (New Haven, CT, 1929), pp. 67-70.

<sup>10</sup>K. Oberhuber, *Sumerische und Akkadische Keilschriftdenkmäler des Archäologischen Museums zu Florenz*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Supplement 8 (Innsbruck, 1960), p. 95, no. 135.



(As to) one mina (and) seventeen shekels of silver, which are in one shekel pieces, belonging to Belshazzar (Bel-šar-ušur), the chief officer of the king (*amelšaqu šarri*), (charged) against Rimut, the son of Enlil-kidinnu, the silver which is from Nergal-danu, the son of Mukin-zer, for the road, whatsoever he shall gain upon it, half of the profit he shall share with Nergal-danu.<sup>11</sup>

Dougherty's description of the economic transaction involved is that it relates "to money belonging to Belshazzar, the chief officer of the king. The money was at the disposal of Nergal-danu, who lent it to Rimut in order that the latter might engage in some profitable enterprise, with the stipulation that half of the gain should be paid to the former."<sup>12</sup>

The transaction recorded is not particularly significant for us here, but the presence of the name of Belshazzar and his identification by office are important items for us to notice. Since this Belshazzar is not identified by patronym, as the other two individuals in the text are, Dougherty notes that "there is, therefore, no registered proof, from the documents now at our disposal, that the Belshazzar who was a chief officer of the king in the time of Neriglissar was the son of Nabonidus and hence the Biblical Belshazzar."<sup>13</sup> He goes on to propose, however, that "the facts are strongly in favor of such an identification" and that such a conclusion is "extremely probable."

I would suggest that this identification is not nearly so secure as Dougherty held. As far as the career of Nabonidus' Belshazzar is concerned, it appears somewhat out of place. When his father became king, he in turn became the crown prince. Then when his father left for Tema in Arabia, he became regent of the city and country of Babylon. This course follows a natural development, but to find him as a high officer of a king two reigns before his father came to the throne (the reigns of Neriglissar and Labashi-Marduk) may be promoting him before his time. (As we shall see in discussing the second tablet, this Belshazzar had been in favor during the reign of Neriglissar's predecessor, Amel-Marduk.) At the very least, one would have expected the father, Nabonidus, to have been promoted to such a post before the son, Belshazzar. The social

<sup>11</sup>Dougherty, pp. 57-68.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

and political affiliations of those earlier settings were different, as is witnessed to by the fact that both Amel-Marduk and Labashi-Marduk died by assassination. There is a very good possibility, therefore, that the Belshazzar who was *šaqu šarri* during the accession year of Neriglissar was not the Belshazzar who was promoted by his own father when the latter became king.

*The Tablet from Amel-Marduk's Reign.* The second tablet which mentions this same Belshazzar comes, as we have already noticed, from late in the reign of Amel-Marduk. The name of the month in its dateline is damaged, but since the year is Amel-Marduk's second regnal year, the tablet must date sometime between April and August of 560 B.C.

Once again, this Belshazzar is identified only by his title, and it corresponds to the post which he still held at the very beginning of the reign of Neriglissar—namely, *šaqu šarri*. In his review of the publication of the Florence tablets, J. Brinkman referred to this tablet as containing the earliest known reference to the son of Nabonidus.<sup>14</sup> From the observations made above concerning the Yale tablet published by Dougherty, it can be seen that this further, even earlier, exceptional tablet can also be taken as having reference to another Belshazzar who was not the son of Nabonidus.

### *The Historical Setting*

On the basis of the two texts discussed above, it is thus probable that another Belshazzar besides the son of Nabonidus can be identified as a resident in Babylonia during the first half of the sixth century B.C. This individual occupied the important post of *šaqu šarri* in the second year of Amel-Marduk. Amel-Marduk came to the throne in October of 562 B.C., when his father Nebuchadnezzar died. He was assassinated by his brother-in-law Neriglissar in August of 560 B.C. Amel-Marduk is known as Evil-Merodach in the Bible, and 2 Kgs 25:27 indicates that he was especially kind to Jehoiachin, the exiled king of Judah. On XII/27 of the 37th year of Jehoiachin's captivity—probably April 2, 561 B.C.<sup>15</sup>—the exiled

<sup>14</sup>J. Brinkman, "Neo-Babylonian Tablets in the Florence Museum," *JNES* 25 (1966):202-209. See especially pp. 202-203 for a discussion of this tablet.

<sup>15</sup>This date is that of Thiele, p. 172. It is interesting to note in this connection that not only could Jehoiachin's release have been influenced by the Babylonian custom of *mišarum*, but it could also have been influenced by the Hebrew custom of

Hebrew monarch was released from house-arrest by Amel-Marduk, who then elevated him and honored him above all of the other kings who were captive in Babylon.

In my earlier study on Dan 3, I suggested a reason for this kind attitude towards the king of Judah.<sup>16</sup> It may well have resulted from the influence which Abed-Nego had upon Amel-Marduk, while working as the latter's secretary during the years that Amel-Marduk was crown prince. This was the post to which Nebuchadnezzar assigned a man named Ardi-Nabu, according to the Istanbul Prism. Given the translation of the word for "servant" in this name, and given the alteration in its divine name proposed above, the Babylonian name of Ardi-Nabu can be equated directly with the name of Abed-Nego in Daniel. If these two names are equivalent, then this person who served the crown prince could well have been Daniel's friend.

Abed-Nego/Ardi-Nabu was not just an exiled Judahite, he was also a faithful Yahwist. This was already apparent from his part in the episode described in Dan 3. Given the strength of character that he demonstrated on that occasion, it would have been natural for him to have exercised a beneficial influence upon Amel-Marduk while serving him. If the faithful service that Ardi-Nabu/Abed-Nego rendered to Amel-Marduk contributed to a helpful outcome in the case of Jehoiachin, it would not have been surprising that Amel-Marduk might have been interested in having other Judahites serve in his administration. Daniel had previously held a high position in the government of his father, Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 2:48). Thus, Daniel would have been a logical candidate for such an appointment.

It is in this context that we find a Belshazzar who came to be the *šaqu šarri* of Amel-Marduk in the second year of his reign. The name "Belteshazzar," which is the form in which Daniel's Babylonian name was written in the book of Daniel, probably was derived from an original "Belshazzar." It underwent the modification described above because of Daniel's distaste for the name of the

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the sabbatical year and the release of the slaves at that time, for 562/561 fall-to-fall was a sabbatical year according to its alignment with the post-exilic sabbatical years that are known from Greco-Roman sources. For such dates and tables, see Ben Zion Wacholder, "The Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles During the Second Temple and Early Rabbinic Period," *HUCA* 44 (1973):153-196.

<sup>16</sup>See my article mentioned above in n. 6.

Babylonian god in the personal name assigned to him. For the Babylonian public, however, Daniel carried the same name of "Belshazzar" as did the person who rose to this important position under Amel-Marduk. Since Amel-Marduk already had another Judahite in his service (Ardi-Nabu/Abed-Nego), and since he had expressed favor on behalf of the captive king of Judah (Jehoiachin), it is reasonable to suggest that Daniel, another Judahite, be identified as the Belshazzar elevated to this high post.

The second of the two texts discussed above which mentions this Belshazzar is, as we have observed, the earliest of the texts dated to the accession year of Neriglissar, the successor of Amel-Marduk. This Belshazzar is then heard of no more after that. Since the transition between these two kings took place by assassination, it is unlikely that the latter would have retained for very long the high officials of the former. It is probable, therefore, that Belshazzar was removed from office early in Neriglissar's reign.

From this proposal to identify Belshazzar, the *šaqu šarri* of Amel-Marduk, with Bel(te)shazzar of the book of Daniel, it can be seen that Daniel probably occupied, albeit briefly, yet another political post in the Neo-Babylonian government that is not reported in the book of Daniel.

### *Conclusion*

To interpret the symbolic prophecies in the apocalyptic sections of Daniel correctly, their symbols need to be analyzed and decoded. A similar task must be carried out when an analysis of the Babylonian names given to Daniel and his three friends is undertaken. The principle that appears to have operated here is that the writer found it unacceptable to use the names for Babylonian gods in the personal names of the exiles from Judah who worshipped Yahweh. When he came to write them down in his scroll, therefore, he tampered with those Babylonian divine elements, altering them in ways ever so slight, but still sufficiently significant to change their content and meaning.

In analyzing these names from that point of view, we can see that the name of the god Nabu/Nebo in Abed-Nego was altered simply by shifting one letter in it. The name of Bel in Belshazzar was also altered simply by adding one letter to it—a letter which turned the name into a word having no connection with any Babylonian god. The author of the book was free to do this when

he wrote his own literary composition. When he participated in the public life of Babylon as a civil servant, however, it was necessary that his original and unmodified Babylonian name be used in the cuneiform records written about his activities.

This principle of alteration of the divine element in the Babylonian names given to the four Hebrew exiles in Daniel opens up a new avenue through which to identify these persons as they functioned in the Babylonian society of their time. In a previous study, I identified Abed-Nego as serving in the capacity of secretary to the crown prince Amel-Marduk. Now, in this study, I have added the proposal that Daniel himself can be identified as serving the same individual in an official capacity after Amel-Marduk became king.

Moreover, the historical developments which were in progress when the two afore-mentioned extra-biblical occurrences of the name Belshazzar were written down in their respective cuneiform sources provide a brief juncture in Neo Babylonian history in which conditions were favorable for the appointment of a Judahite like Daniel to the post mentioned with this name—i.e., Amel-Marduk's *šaqu šarri*. The proposal of this study is, thus, that two extrabiblical references to Daniel by his original Babylonian name of Belshazzar have now been found in cuneiform sources that date to 560 B.C. These may therefore be taken as contemporary references to the biblical Daniel while he was personally active in Babylon.



## ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

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### THE CONCEPT OF VENGEANCE IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION IN ITS OLD TESTAMENT AND NEAR EASTERN CONTEXT

Author and Degree: **Joel Nobel Musvosvi**, Ph.D.

Date When Dissertation Completed: August 1987.

Adviser: Kenneth A. Strand.

*(Joel Nobel Musvosvi is currently a member of the Religion Faculty of Solusi College, Zimbabwe, Africa.)*

This study attempts to resolve the theological and ethical problems raised by the call for and rejoicing at vengeance as they appear in Rev 6:9-11 and Rev 19:2, respectively. Central to the study is the question of whether vengeance in Revelation expresses a vindictive human attitude or a divine attribute of justice.

In Chap. 1 a review of pertinent literature reveals the lack of agreement among scholars on the interpretation of vengeance in Revelation. Chap. 2 examines the concept of vengeance as it occurs in several Ancient Near Eastern vassal treaties, the OT, and the Pseudepigrapha. This examination reveals that vengeance, in both biblical and extra-biblical documents, occurs in the context of covenant or treaty relationships. The evidence suggests that vengeance is not a human action of self-help; rather it is the prerogative of the highest authority in protecting loyal subjects.

Inasmuch as the survey of Ancient Near Eastern and OT backgrounds reveals suffering to be the context in which calls for vengeance occur, there was need to examine evidences for persecution in the Apostolic era. Chap. 3 reviews these evidences in the NT and especially in the book of Revelation.

Chap. 4 examines Rev 6:9-10 and 19:1-2, wherein the call for and response to vengeance occur in juridical contexts. In view of the unfair human verdicts against his saints, God must "retry" the case between them and the persecutors, so that the innocence of the saints and the guilt of the persecutors can be declared. The trial—a covenant lawsuit—involves an open review of the records of both defendant and plaintiff; and in line with

the law of malicious witness, God reverses Babylon's judgments. Thus, vengeance is demonstrated to be a divine attribute of justice.

The scenes of rejoicing in Rev 18 and 19 recall the Exodus-from-Egypt/Fall-of-Babylon motif and have parallels in some Ancient Near Eastern vassal treaties. The rejoicing is theocentric, and focuses on God's redemptive purpose. Vengeance means deliverance and the restoration of the kingdom to the saints.



CORRELATIONS BETWEEN OLD ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS  
AND THE ARAMAIC SECTION OF DANIEL

Author and Degree: **Zdravko Stefanovic**, Ph.D.

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*Problem.* In scholarly debates on the origin of Danielic Aramaic (DA), the corpus of Old-Aramaic (OA) texts has not received full attention. Thus, there is a lack of comparative studies between DA and OA. This type of study serves a twofold purpose: It contributes to providing an answer to the questions of origin of DA, and it provides fresh insights into both OA and DA.

*Method.* The present study of OA texts has been organized into seven sections which pertain to the literary and linguistic character of every one of the inscriptions: Description, Nature, Structure, Vocabulary, Orthography and Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax. The discussion of each of these sections has brought its corresponding subject into contact with the text of DA.

Eight OA inscriptions dating from the ninth to the seventh centuries B.C. have been studied. To these, six other inscriptions have been added since they come from a period of transition from OA into Official Aramaic (OfA).

*Results.* The text of DA in its present form contains a significant amount of material similar to OA texts. Literary evidence presented in this study on structure and vocabulary, as well as grammar (especially orthography) and syntax, points to the presence of early material in DA.

This contextual study of OA texts contributes to the present discussions on DA in that it presents the answers to certain objections raised regarding the traditional dating of DA. The study has produced a number of parallels which provide a better understanding of the literary, historical, and cultural situations of both dialects.

Three factors have to be accounted for in any conclusion on DA: geography, chronology, and the literary character of the text. A *desideratum* raised by this study is that the search for early dated features in DA should be pursued more intensively in the future.



## BOOK REVIEWS

Bruner, Frederick Dale. *The Christbook: A Historical/Theological Commentary: Matthew 1-12*. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987. xxx + 475 pp. \$24.95.

*The Christbook* grew out of Bruner's needs as a teacher of systematic theology in the Philippines. After some experimentation with different approaches to teaching systematics to third-world students, he found the gospel of Matthew to be the best vehicle. This commentary is the outgrowth of his experience.

The subtitle is to be taken seriously: the book is indeed *A Historical/Theological Commentary*. The historical/theological method (as contrasted to a historical/critical one) does not skip over the question of what the text *meant*, but it goes on from there to ask the further question: What does it *mean now*?

Hearing a commentary described as a theological commentary, and remembering that its beginnings lie in the attempt to teach systematic theology, one immediately thinks of Karl Barth's famous *Epistle to the Romans*. Barth's work is a rich meditation on the deeper theological meaning of Paul's letter to the Romans, but as a work of exegesis it is dissatisfying at times because the discussion of the actual meaning of the words of Paul is left somewhat in the background. Bruner makes reference to this danger, and he insists that a theological commentary must first pay close attention to the text. He has largely succeeded at this. The commentary does start with exegesis, and Bruner has clearly worked through many of the exegetical issues from the original text. But it moves beyond exegesis to look at some of the wider theological issues that are raised by the text. Briefly discussed are such things as the doctrine of Holy Scripture (pp. 13-17); the virgin birth (pp. 37-39); infant baptism (pp. 94-97); the relationship of faith and works (pp. 295-297), the nature of an adequate faith (p. 355); and the Sabbath (pp. 449-459), to mention just a few. Most of these arise fairly naturally from the text, although there are places where a reader with a background in more traditional exegesis will feel a certain discomfort with the addition of material which might be thought of as having a rather distant connection to the text at hand. Overall, however, the addition of this material from the wider perspectives of theological endeavor has an enriching effect. It brings things together which should not be kept apart—exegesis and theological reflection.

Since this work was published by Word Books, and written by an avowed evangelical (p. xxi), one would expect the commentary either to

avoid dealing with some of the more difficult issues in the exegesis of Matthew, or to reach predetermined answers, but such is not the case. Take, for example, the treatment of the genealogy of Jesus. While all the different explanations advanced on the subject of the genealogical problems are discussed, Bruner concludes that Matthew changed Asa to Asaph and Amon to Amos for theological reasons, and that Matthew probably just made a mistake in counting the third set of fourteen generations (there are only thirteen listed by Matthew). In Bruner's subsequent meditation on the doctrine of Holy Scripture, he suggests that Matthew did not possess mathematical inspiration. "I like Matthew's thirteen. I like it precisely because it 'de-magics' Scripture, humanizes, and normalizes it" (p. 15). This illustrates the great strengths of the book's methodology in approaching the task of systematic theology. While there are many who would debate with Bruner on the exegesis and the theological implications of this particular passage, as a systematic theologian he is very closely tying his systematic thought to the data of the Scripture itself. Problems are not casually brushed aside, but met honestly.

Many will find that another strength of the work is that it is closer to the needs of a preacher than most commentaries. The way that the wider theological issues and some contemporary issues are integrated into the text makes easier the task of enlivening the text of Matthew for a congregation. The commentary is also replete with telling phrases and practical applications.

In conclusion, while the commentary's methodology has some drawbacks (e.g., those rare occasions in which theological or practical connections are read into the text rather than out of it), Bruner has produced a unique product that should have usefulness and appeal to a wide range of readers. In purchasing the book, they receive a serviceable commentary together with the enriching of theological reflection and practical application. I await with interest the publication of *The Churchbook*, the second volume of the commentary, which will cover Matt 13-28.

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Evans, Louis H., Jr. *Hebrews*. The Communicator's Commentary, vol. 10. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985. 259 pp. \$16.95.

The principal aims of The Communicator's Commentary series are set forth by Lloyd Ogilvie in his editor's preface. He suggests that commentaries on the Bible tend to be either technical, with no application to daily life, or so popular that biblical roots are left unexplained. Thus,

neither type of commentary brings together the elements that communicators of the Bible need—scholarship *and* application. The Communicator's Commentary series endeavors to fill the gap by drawing on writers who are scholar preachers, persons who can make the necessary blend of technical detail and application. The series is based on the New King James version.

Several features of this Hebrews commentary deserve commendation. First of all, it is well written, and Evans is able to communicate difficult ideas in a clear, interesting manner. Also, one of the innovations of the series as a whole that is particularly valuable is the author's introduction of himself to the reader. Thus, the reader learns at the outset some of the significant elements of the writer's experience.

Evans next discusses issues of introduction to the book of Hebrews. The book, he indicates, was written by an unknown writer to a group of Hellenistic Jews who were second-generation Christians, and who had been reared in the Jewish religion and its rules of scriptural interpretation according to the standards of the synagogue. He then devotes several pages to outlining Jewish principles of scriptural interpretation, the *middoth*. He thinks it likely that the epistle was written about A.D. 68.

The actual commentary itself achieves the goals set forth for the commentary series. It is a blend of exegesis and application. There is frequent reference to the original language, the Greek words being transliterated. In addition, there are many illustrations for modern application.

Evans understands Hebrews against a background of Judaism, rather than Hellenism (or even, the Hellenistic Judaism of Philo Judaeus, as has been proposed by Spicq, among others). In commenting on Heb 8:5 he says: "Some argue that the term 'copy' is evidence of the influence of Hellenistic Platonism on our writer. I do not think the admitted similarity is to be taken seriously . . ." (p. 147). He argues that both the problems dealt with and the manner in which these problems are treated are Jewish, not Hellenistic, and he views the Jewish *middoth* as forming the key to understanding the use of the OT by the writer. In discussing the Melchizedek passages, for example, he makes the following general statement: "The relationship between truth and the arguments to convince another of that truth is as important to us today as it was to the Jewish readers of our teacher. . . . The arguments that had validity and weight for the mind of our writer's day were those of the pharisaical *middoth* and the process of oath-making. You and I may not be impressed with the validity of such arguments in the twentieth century, for we have accepted different criteria for validity" (p. 108). And in speaking of the way in which Melchizedek compared with Christ in being without father, mother, or genealogy, Evans declares that this "is definitely an audience-related device" (p. 114).

While the goals of the commentary series have added some strengths to this particular commentary, they have not been helpful in all areas. It is particularly noticeable, for instance, that many of Hebrews' exegetical

difficulties are ignored or receive but scant attention. For example, Evans comments that "our author puts the altar of incense in this Holy of Holies 'the Holiest of All,' vs. 3), as does the *Mishnah*" (p. 154), but makes no further elucidation. Surely, an evangelical who is writing a commentary for a popular audience should have more to say about this apparent anomaly as compared with the OT text. Also, a reader of this commentary would be unaware that there is considerable discussion as to the grammatical constructions and resultant meaning of Heb 9:11-12 (for an outline of the problems and easy access to the relevant literature, see Norman H. Young, "The Gospel According to Hebrews 9," *NTS* 27 [1981]: 202-205). Indeed, it is very rare to find any indication in this commentary that a particular text in Hebrews poses any exegetical problems. As a result, there are even fewer solutions or helpful suggestions for dealing with such problems. Perhaps it can be argued that in a commentary designed to be non-technical such matters should not have a place. On the other hand, if the commentary is designed for "communicators," then it would be helpful at least to make those public "communicators" aware of exegetical concerns in places where varying options have been chosen by different interpreters. Indeed, it would also be helpful to "communicators" to have reasons for choosing one option above another, so as to enable them to strengthen their presentations.

Another element that could well have been added to this commentary is guidance in the selection of further reading on the book of Hebrews. The occasional footnotes reveal that Evans is familiar with the literature on Hebrews, but the bibliography is only of the most general nature. Of course, this may be a lack in the commentary series, rather than simply of this particular volume.

The deficiencies just mentioned should not be allowed to detract from the basic accomplishments of this commentary. The volume achieves rather well the goals which it sets out to accomplish: namely, to comment on the book of Hebrews in a way that combines both exegesis and application. And, as stated earlier, it is well written and interesting to read.

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Lippy, Charles H., and Williams, Peter W., eds. *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements*. 3 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988. xvi + 1872 pp. \$225.00.

The *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience* is a publishing accomplishment of the first magnitude, providing students of

American religion and culture with a unique tool that has value for both the beginner and the mature scholar. The *Encyclopedia* is the fifth reference set in the Scribner American Civilization Series.

Unlike most dictionaries or encyclopedias, this work is organized by topical and thematic essays that provide more thorough discussion and analysis than do traditional formats. Thus, rather than setting forth a large number of brief dictionary-like entries, the *Encyclopedia* provides essays that "have been composed with an eye not simply to thorough coverage of a particular topic but also to the significance of that subject in the development of American society and culture and the religious traditions and organizations within it" (p. viii).

The essay on "Millennialism and Adventism" (pp. 831-844), for example, goes way beyond discussions of definitions, traditional post-millennialism, Millerism, Seventh-day Adventism, the Jehovah's Witnesses, and Dispensationalism. These items are included, but they are treated in the context of the deeply-rooted millennial impulse in human nature that is found in both the non-Christian religions and secular culture as well as in the Christian tradition. The essay therefore covers such issues as Jewish messianism, the Puritan New England mind, Manifest Destiny, slavery, black millennialism, the Ghost Dance of the North American Indians, apocalyptic imagery in hymns and television commercials, movies such as *Star Wars* and *The Empire Strikes Back*, and such best-selling books as *The Greening of America, 1984*, and *Fail Safe*.

In addition to this broad coverage the article probes into such basic issues as why millennialism has had a continuing major impact on American culture. Discounting the Niebuhrian hypothesis regarding the deprivation of the disinherited as a stimulus to millenarianism, the essay concludes that the millennial hope is rooted in human consciousness. "It is part of the way human beings in many cultures at many times make sense of the world they inhabit" (p. 842). Beyond that, the author points out that current scholarly investigation has shown that millennialism was far more central to early Christianity than has often been understood, especially since the medieval identification of Christendom with the kingdom of God on earth.

The essay concludes with the thesis that "millennial ideas flourish during times of social transition, periods when an old order is passing, but a new one has not yet emerged in any cohesive fashion" (p. 843). It then illustrates that thesis from history, including our present epoch which has a special fascination with apocalyptic millennialism.

This synopsis of the essay on "Millennialism and Adventism" should make it plain that the reader will receive insights into the nature of the topic that he or she could not expect to find in other encyclopedia treatments or even in most book-length presentations. Even the scholar will receive new insights in many cases. The treatment of each topic has been truly integrated into the larger aspects of human culture.

The *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience* is composed of 105 original articles. They are divided into 9 sections. Part I, "Approaches to Religion in America," illustrates the cross-disciplinary nature of the study of American religion. It features such topics as the historiography and the sociological study of American religion, theological interpretations and critiques of American society and culture, and the psychology of religious experience. Holding that no single method of investigation or interpretation can unlock the richness of American religion, the editors designed a reference work that has consciously sought to develop a variety of interpretive stances. Part II, based on the assumption that religion never develops in a cultural or historical vacuum, covers the religious contexts and backgrounds of North America. The longest section is part III, which discusses North American Jewish and Christian traditions. Part IV, emphasizing the pluralism of the religious enterprise, treats American manifestations of religions outside the Jewish and Christian traditions. "Movements in American Religion" is the topic of part V. It treats such subjects as revivalism, perfectionism, millennialism, harmonialism, pentecostalism, and ecumenism. Part VI covers American religious thought and literature, while part VII deals with liturgy, worship, and the arts. "Religion and the Political and Social Orders" is the subject matter of the essays in part VIII. Such issues as church and state, war and peace, social reform, and religious prejudice are covered. The last section deals with the dissemination of American religion, treating such topics as the professional ministry, education, and religious use of the media. In summary, while it is possible to conceive of topics that have not been covered, the *Encyclopedia* encompasses an extremely broad range of material.

Beyond the information contained in the essays, researchers will want to utilize the bibliographies at the end of each article. They are up-to-date and generally list the most important works. On the other hand, given the scope of the essays, the bibliographies cannot be comprehensive. As a result, the mature scholar will differ at times on which titles should have been included. All in all, however, the essays and their bibliographies will provide students with an informed starting place from which to initiate research.

Another plus of the *Encyclopedia* is its finding aids. Of particular importance is its well-integrated, 113-page, subject-title-name index. Beyond that, the various essays are cross-referenced.

The authors are generally leading scholars in their fields. Coming from Mexico, Canada, and all parts of the United States, they find their homes in a broad spectrum of academic disciplines. While the editors attempted to ensure that each essay met their general requirements, they also gave the authors room to contribute original scholarship in their own unique voices. Thus many of the articles are provocative as well as informative.



The editors, authors, and publisher are to be commended for their innovative contribution to the field of American studies. Users, however, must understand the purpose underlying this encyclopedia's design. Those students who seek to use it as they would other dictionaries and encyclopedias of religion will be sadly disappointed, but those who seek understanding of the place of their topics in a variety of contexts will be greatly aided in their explorations. Perhaps the best use of the *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience* will be in conjunction with more traditional reference works, rather than in place of them. The *Encyclopedia* provides the insight that makes the traditional approach to the "nuts and bolts" meaningful. As such, it will soon become an indispensable reference work for a variety of studies in both the field of American religion and the broader arena of American culture.

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GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Maynard-Reid, Pedrito U. *Poverty and Wealth in James*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987. 136 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

Pedrito Maynard-Reid offers a stimulating and important contribution to the growing number of studies that combine traditional exegetical method with insights from the social sciences in the study of moral issues in the NT. Through a detailed study of four passages (Jas 1:9-11; 2:1-13; 4:13-17; 5:1-6) the author explores James' teaching and seeks to discover what James means when he speaks of rich and poor.

The methodology employed is different from some works that utilize sociological exegesis. Maynard-Reid does not begin with general sociological models which are then used to analyze the text. Rather, he starts with the text itself and attempts a socio-historical description that includes the historical and linguistic methodology of traditional exegesis. This is a strength of the work. Too often exegetes who utilize sociological methods of interpretation are tempted to bend the text to fit models and theories that are formed from data that may or may not be truly applicable. This work not only avoids that temptation, but it also offers valuable social analysis of the actual data supplied by the text.

There are, however, elements in Maynard-Reid's methodology which are not clear. For example, he criticizes those who use sociological models for not leaving room in their methodology for the divine and non-rational element in the NT writings, but nowhere does he make it clear how this element makes a distinctly methodological difference in his own work. And with regard to exegetical method, this work appears to be much stronger on analysis than synthesis. The reader looks in vain, for instance, for clear summaries of the four major passages that back away from the

social, historical, and linguistic details and show the meaning of the passage as a whole.

The basic thesis of the book is that the terms "poor" and "rich" in James do not refer primarily to spiritual categories but describe genuine socio-economic conditions. James is seen to stand in line with the OT prophetic pronouncements of doom and with the Jewish apocalypticists who proclaimed judgment when he takes the financiers (chap. 2), rich merchants (chap. 4), and wealthy agriculturists (chap. 5) to task for their partiality, oppression, and exploitation. He is not calling them to repentance, but announcing coming judgment and their impending doom.

Maynard-Reid believes that this pronouncement comes from James, the brother of Jesus, and is addressed to Palestine at a very early time (before A.D. 50) when there was not yet a clear demarcation between Jews and Christians. This view of the background of James is both unprovable and highly questionable. It is hard, for example, to square James' address to the "diaspora" with a Palestinian destination in spite of what Maynard-Reid says on page 9, where even he must admit that the evidence he draws from Foakes Jackson and Lake for the Palestinian Jews being a "dispersion" does not specifically apply. In addition, there are a number of specific exegetical points that many would consider questionable.

None of this, however, detracts from Maynard-Reid's basic thesis, which is certainly correct—James does treat socio-economic realities. Maynard-Reid adequately supports his thesis through both analysis of the text and extensive use of historical background material. When he is through there can be no doubt that the terms "rich" and "poor" are terms with socio-economic significance in James. This convincing presentation of the thesis is the book's greatest strength. Its foremost weakness, on the other hand, is its failure to speak in a more specific way to the question of the relevance of James for issues of poverty and wealth in contemporary society.

Maynard-Reid does tell us that James attacks the rich to offer practical comfort to the poor and oppressed and that this attack also harbors a strong social justice stance. He also says that James shows that the poor are to be patient and not attempt to overthrow the rich by violent means to obtain justice. He even tells us that James reveals that our social involvement in the present is as important as our personal religious practices, since personal religion is meaningless without social commitment. But no suggestions are offered to inform readers about the shape of legitimate social involvement and responsibility in the modern world.

Perhaps Maynard-Reid feels that this would go beyond the scope of his study or the bounds of proper exegesis. Yet his analysis cries out for some word about what all of this means specifically for modern Christians. This final lacuna of the work does serve as a stimulus to our own moral

thought, but it would be helpful to know where Maynard-Reid would want that thought to take us. Thus a review of the present work must end with a hope that we will see another book that builds on the present to address this extremely important issue in contemporary society and Christian moral thought.

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Nash, Ronald H., *Poverty and Wealth: The Christian Debate Over Capitalism*. Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1986. 216 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

According to Ronald H. Nash, Christians need to care about the poor; but, he asserts, they need to do it from a position of knowledge, not one of ignorance. Good intentions are not enough. Those intentions need to be rooted in sound economic theory if they are to avoid disastrous results. Nash has not the slightest doubt that social policies such as the War on Poverty have harmed the poor. He is deeply concerned about what he considers to be the predictable results of all forms of socialism. In particular, his concern focuses on the fact that even conservative evangelical thinkers seem to be allured by various economic theories that are tintured with socialistic concepts. "Evangelical publishers like Eerdmans and InterVarsity," for example, "produce a steady stream of books recommending socialism as the only economic system that is consistent with the Bible" (p. 11). *Poverty and Wealth* aims its guns at all such "error."

The purpose of this book, notes Nash, is not to produce a Christian system of economics, because "there is no such thing as revealed economics" (p. 12). Rather, it emphasizes the distinction between good and bad economics, with good always being defined as unregulated capitalism that is untrammelled by governmental attempts to spread the nation's wealth among its citizens. Such tasks are best left to the private sector. Governmental interference, he claims, is a mistake that only leads to the need for greater interference to straighten out the mess. This process goes on *ad infinitum*. The only solution, asserts Nash, is for the government to stand back and let capitalism, informed by Christian principles, do its good work.

The real purpose of *Poverty and Wealth* is to inform conservative Christians on these economic truths, so that they will not be led astray by destructive theories. As a result, the first part of the book is an exposition of the Austrian theory of capitalism as set forth by Ludwig von Mises and his colleagues; the second section is an exposé of anything that partakes of socialism; and the third part discusses what these good and bad theories

mean for poverty in America and the third world. Nash's work might best be defined as a right-wing attack on left-wing economic policies. His special devils are the economic policies associated with liberation theology, governmental intervention in American capitalism, and evangelical authors such as Jacques Ellul and Andrew Kirk, whose writings, he feels, are economically pinkish at best.

Readers looking for theological discussion of Nash's economic proclamations will be sadly disappointed. Not only is there a minimum of theology in this volume, but that which is presented is both shallow and misleading. For example, while the fact of human sinfulness is not absent from Nash's discussions, his treatment of it seems to gloss over its radical nature in its effects on the operation of capitalism in the real world—effects that were blatantly evident in the largely unregulated capitalism of the late nineteenth century. Another example is related to his criticism of government intervention and regulation of American capitalism. Although Nash points out that God made property rights in Israel private, he completely overlooks the fact that God put very definite brakes on the amassing of wealth at the expense of the less fit through such provisions as the year of jubilee and the regular manumission of Hebrew slaves. Thus, the OT sets forth a kind of divine interventionism that provides a mixture of private property with checks and balances on the accumulation of wealth. This is closer to New Deal economics than it is to either the pure socialism set forth by some Christian liberals or the pure capitalism cherished by Nash.

In view of the biblical perspective of the nature of man, neither pure capitalism nor pure socialism works in a world of human selfishness and sin. From what we know of the OT, God recommended both in a system that provided a fine balance between the economic incentives of private property and very definite regulations that prevented the accumulation of excessive capital. This, of course, is the very thing that Nash is arguing against in twentieth-century America. Perhaps, for the sake of preserving his argument, it is best that he did not venture too deeply into theology and the biblical record.

Beyond the avoidance of in-depth integration of theology and economics, the book seems to be flawed in other ways. For one thing, it presents economic theories in a black-or-white manner that seems to make unregulated capitalism totally good and all forms of socialism entirely evil. Many of the shallow characterizations along this line do not seem to be particularly insightful in the light of either history or revelation. *Poverty and Wealth* also seems to be contradictory in some of its prescriptions. While decrying all forms of government interventionism in economics, for instance, the author is not opposed "to policies that *force* younger workers [as individuals] to set aside a portion of their present income to cover their financial needs after retirement" (p. 152, emphasis supplied).

Despite its faults, *Poverty and Wealth* is worthy of a reading because: (1) it represents the opinion of a fairly large sector of the evangelical community; and (2) it is helpful in critiquing errors in present policies, even if it is misleading in providing a Christian platform for solutions.

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GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Ruegsegger, Ronald W., ed. *Reflections on Francis Schaeffer*. Academic Books. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. xvi + 320 pp. Paperback, \$13.95.

Beginning with the publication of *Escape from Reason* in 1968, Francis Schaeffer attracted considerable attention from the conservative Christian community. Although at first he concentrated on intellectual issues that appealed to young people, by the late 1970s he turned to social issues and used film as well as print to communicate his message, thereby broadening his audience. Even before Schaeffer's death in 1984, evangelical scholars were assessing his thought. That process now continues as an attempt is made to put Schaeffer's life and ideas into perspective.

*Reflections on Francis Schaeffer* brings together ten essays by evangelical scholars who examine various aspects of his thought. The subjects include Schaeffer's intellectual roots (Forrest Beard) and apologetic method (Gordon R. Lewis); his understanding of philosophy (Ronald W. Ruegsegger), art and music (Harold M. Best), and modern theology (Clark H. Pinnock); and his views of history (Richard V. Pierard), ethics (Dennis P. Holinger), America (Ronald A. Wells), and evangelicalism (James B. Hurley). Except for Best's essay, which tends to wander from its topic, the chapters are well-focused and clear, although they often overlap one another.

For the most part, the authors agree in their assessment of Schaeffer. They frequently praise him for encouraging conservative Christians to take ideas seriously and to engage their culture. They portray him as an admirable person, particularly in his work with young people at his L'Abri retreat. And they view him as an evangelist rather than a scholar.

It is Schaeffer's scholarship that most interests these writers. Despite their sympathy with his objectives, they universally agree that Schaeffer's learning was not very deep. Although he had some sense of the general direction of modern thought, several of the authors state that he possessed little knowledge of specific thinkers and ideas. In explaining Schaeffer's scholarly weaknesses, Pinnock points out that his research was often largely limited to newspaper clippings. With regard to an even more fundamental issue, several writers criticize Schaeffer's tendency to reduce everything to world view. This idealistic reductionism, they say, overlooks the impact of

such influences as economics and technology in society and styles and forms in the arts.

The only point of major disagreement among the authors is whether Schaeffer was a presuppositionalist—following the tradition of Cornelius Van Til—in his apologetic method. On the one hand, Ruegsegger argues that he was not a presuppositionalist and Lewis states that his approach “was a nontechnical version of the verificational method” (p. 86). On the other hand, Pinnock finds him inconsistently moving back and forth between presuppositionalist and verificationalist methods. The issue is not merely academic, for it addresses the question of how one is to “speak”—to use Schaeffer’s word—Christianity in the unbelieving twentieth century.

This volume is a valuable corrective for those who have uncritically accepted Schaeffer’s arguments, and it increases our understanding of an important influence upon the recent history of conservative American Christianity. By pointing out the flaws and limitations of Schaeffer’s work, however, these essays also remind us that what he was attempting to do was a task that needed—and still needs—doing. Hopefully other Christians with greater learning and precision of thought and expression will carry on Schaeffer’s efforts to relate Christian truth to the intellectual and social needs of modern man.

Andrews University

GARY LAND

Steinmetz, David C. *Luther in Context*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986. xiii + 146 pp. \$25.00/\$7.95.

David C. Steinmetz, already well known for his scholarly contributions regarding Johann Staupitz and Luther, has put us in his debt by another significant publication contextualizing Luther. *Luther in Context* consists of a series of ten essays, as follows: “Luther Against Luther,” “Luther and Augustine on Romans 9,” “Luther and the Hidden God,” “Abraham and the Reformation,” “Luther Among the Anti-Thomists,” “Luther and Hubmaier on the Freedom of the Human Will,” “Scripture and the Lord’s Supper in Luther’s Theology,” “Luther and Calvin on Church Tradition,” “Luther and the Drunkenness of Noah,” and “Luther and the Two Kingdoms.” The substance of five of these essays has previously appeared in print.

According to the author, “These essays are exercises in intellectual history. They try to cast light on Luther’s thought by placing it in the context of his theological antecedents and contemporaries” (p. x). “A thing is frequently shown in sharper relief,” he goes on to say, “if it is compared with something else similar to it but from which it differs in certain important respects” (ibid.). In presenting his material on the various topics, Steinmetz generally follows the style of selecting and summariz-

ing the views of persons who have dealt with the same topic as Luther. In quite a number of instances, a connection is made between Luther and the particular individuals inasmuch as Luther makes reference to having read those individuals' works. However, in a few cases it seems to this reviewer that the link has not been thorough enough to provide a genuine exercise in intellectual *history*, even though the material nevertheless elucidates aspects of the thought world of the time.

The topic of the first chapter, "Luther Against Luther," needs clarification. Here Steinmetz deals with Luther's *Anfechtungen*—most precisely those linked to Luther's concept of the confessional as connected with his "monastic struggle." Our author chooses Dietrich Kolde and John of Paltz as illustrations of what is entailed in the confessional. In assessing Luther's situation as compared with these forerunners, Steinmetz says it is clear that Luther "had little sympathy with Paltz's minimal program of attrition and obedience. Luther took his cue from spiritual advisers like Kolde, who stressed the importance of rendering satisfaction for sins over and beyond the penances assigned by the confessor, and who attempted to make a sincere and complete confession out of a disposition of contrition" (p. 7).

As fascinating and enlightening as all of the studies in Steinmetz's *Luther in Context* are, it is impossible in this brief review to survey them, except to make the general statement that the author has revealed an immense sense of both depth and balance in covering a rather wide variety of topics and details. Perhaps it can be mentioned, in addition, that the final chapter on "Luther and the Two Kingdoms" does not follow the usual method of presentation; rather it highlights, in rebuttal to Reinhold Niebuhr, the fact that Luther's discussion of the "two kingdoms" is more in the pastoral vein than in the arena of political philosophy.

The volume contains endnotes (rather than footnotes) and a fairly comprehensive index. As a compilation of essays prepared at different times, it lacks some of the unity that a volume by one author normally displays, but this fact is not unduly detrimental. Perhaps, however, a final chapter of general review and assessment might have been helpful.

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Stiebing, William H., Jr. *Ancient Astronauts, Cosmic Collisions and Other Popular Theories About Man's Past*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1984. 217 pp. \$18.95/\$9.95.

This book by W. H. Stiebing, Jr., a history professor at the University of New Orleans, critically reviews several popular theories and ideas that have gained wide currency among the general public. The popular concepts dealt with are the universality of the Deluge, Atlantis, cosmic catastrophism, ancient astronauts, the mysteries of the pyramids, and early

voyages to the Americas. A concluding chapter summarizes some elements common to all of the above. In this final chapter Stiebing cites the poor nature of the evidence; simple answers to complex problems and a pervasive anti-establishment rhetoric are examples of the common elements. Stiebing goes on to conclude by furnishing some reflections on why the views commonly held by the public have gained such popularity. This growing popularity, he believes, is due primarily to the gap in communication between scholars and the general community.

Stiebing's treatment of the idea of a universal Flood is essentially even-handed. He brings to bear deficiencies in the interpretations of myths concerning the Flood, such as overstatement of the evidence and difficulties in locating the alleged landing-place of the Ark. Stiebing makes an acceptable case for most Flood stories being regionally and temporally disparate. He also notes that many of the stories that are cited in favor of universality can be understood as local in character or as having been brought by early Christian proselytizers and then regrafted into the tribal tradition. Stiebing also finds that some evidence is overstated, as in the case of the mass and instant destruction of the mammoths in Siberia, which is believed by many to be proof of a universal flood. Stiebing brings expert testimony to bear on this issue, to the effect that such deaths were far less instantaneous than some believe, inasmuch as decay was present in the corpses before they froze.

Also, at least five suggested locations for Noah's ark are noted, of which the one on the mountains of Ararat on the Turkish-Russian border, according to a number of lines of inquiry by Stiebing, is not very compelling. These, as well as the absence of any column of flood layers, plus the presence of flood layers from different time periods in Mesopotamia, make the idea of a universal Flood difficult to maintain uncritically, Stiebing feels. (For my view that stands in contrast to Stiebing's thesis of two Flood accounts in the book of Genesis, see William H. Shea, "The Structure of the Genesis Flood Narrative and Its Implications," *Origins* 6 [1979]: 8-29.)

The question of Atlantis is handled by Stiebing with equal reserve. He discusses various concepts for Atlantis' location and *floruit*. His basic conclusion is that in the absence of direct and substantial physical evidence for Atlantis we must remain circumspect with regard to our zeal concerning the existence of such an ancient and fabulous place. He also warns that we must be careful not to draw overmuch on Plato, our principal extant ancient source on Atlantis.

In dealing with cosmic catastrophism in historical times, Stiebing is once again relatively even-handed. He observes that many of these concepts are based on a single-minded interpretation of myths from different periods. Often such overriding interpretations cannot be justified. Instead, many people seem to believe that their overall assessment will somehow justify itself—i.e., "the end will justify the means." However, this approach



almost invariably ends without means of any sort. Furthermore, it would seem prudent for persons who have spent so much time in looking up these stories to know also a little about how and when they were written. Building catastrophic theories on the basis of a single reductionist interpretation of all myths is surely precarious. However, it must be stressed that while many of these myths are not necessarily "recollections of a fallen sky," some of them may be so.

Stiebing continues with an evaluation of Velikovsky's restoration of ancient history. This section was augmented by Stiebing's recent article in *BARev* 11 (July/August 1985): 58-69, dealing with this same question as well as other "restorations" of ancient history and stratigraphy.

In dealing with the remaining parts of Stiebing's book I have only a few minor criticisms. First, in referring to the function of the pyramids of Egypt, Stiebing uncritically accepts them as tombs. To date, however, no completely unambiguous *in situ* burials of a Pharaoh have yet been found in a pyramid from the earliest periods. This, to be sure, we are told is due to grave robbers. However, the fact that some Pharaohs had two tombs and some had two pyramids does not commend this view without qualification. Certainly, some other factors can have motivated these massive projects (see, e.g., Kurt Mendelsohn, *The Riddle of the Pyramids*, for another tentative possibility). Stiebing's questioning of the relationship of Old and New World pyramids by citing differences in construction and building material is not immediately decisive either. One would expect that availability of materials would have some bearing on construction material and methods. However, Stiebing's arguments concerning the chronological disparity between these Old and New World pyramids must be considered decisive until explicitly challenged with respect to the dating techniques themselves.

Stiebing concludes his book with an expression of hope for a concerted effort at narrowing the communication gap between scholars and the public that may "make people less intellectually unwary than they have been heretofore" (p. 175). He wishes to believe, thereby, that popular theories will "become much less popular in the future" (*ibid.*). While agreeing with the overall thrust of this most timely tome, I would rather suggest that our *desideratum* to be that meaningful interaction between scholars and the general public render improvements with respect to these popular ideas, so that the deficiencies in method and attitude could be remedied. This procedure of meaningful interaction would give people a better idea of the problems associated with their favorite concepts so that interested individuals would either re-evaluate their ideas in the light of criticisms or take those criticisms to task (or best of all, that some might do both). Ideally, this could develop into a situation of reciprocal enrichment.

However, as Stiebing notes, the failure to communicate can have unpleasant consequences, as in the Evolution-versus-Creation controversy. Academic issues should not be determined by plebiscite. However, neither

should the general public be treated as if they were from some sort of cult group (i.e., as being present only to pay and pray without questioning). Certainly, better communication is a commendable alternative to either of these options. It is in this regard that Stiebing's clearly written book is to be recommended to people of all backgrounds. Hopefully, it will be an inspiration to other scholars to produce marketable material for general consumption in addition to their usual scholarly articles. Stiebing is to be commended for his efforts to close this "communication gap" between scholars and the general public.

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HERB STORCK

Walton, Robert C. *Chronological Background Charts of Church History*. Academie Books. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. [xi pp.] + 84 Charts + [10 pp.]. Paperback, \$8.95.

*Chronological Background Charts of Church History* contains a wealth of historical detail in both table and diagram format. The book's spiral-bound pages are in 8½" by 11", and a number of the entries span two facing pages. Unfortunately, there is no commentary or "running text" as such, nor are there explanatory notes. Also, the publication lacks page numbers.

For the most part, the charts are serviceable and fairly reliable. The wide selection of material from the Early Church to the twentieth century makes it evident that, as the author states in his Preface, his "greatest challenge lay in taking a vast amount of information and reducing it to some orderly form" for classroom use (unnumbered Preface page). Earle E. Cairns, in a brief Foreword, has summarized the book as presenting "the significant facts of the past in useful charts and diagrams so that the student can see what facts are important and what their relationship is to the story of the church. The book will be a useful supplement to classroom text and lectures, supplying information on the who, what, when, where, and how of church history. It will also be useful to the general reader who desires a brief survey of the important data of church history" (unnumbered Foreword page).

Indeed, Walton has reduced a vast amount of material into an orderly form, and surely there is value in this for students in the classroom and for others with a basic knowledge of church history. I would disagree with Cairns, however, in seeing usefulness for the "general reader who desires a brief survey of the important data of church history." The material is too fragmentary for that, and much of it would probably confuse the un-knowledgeable reader.

The charts in this volume are divided into the following broad topic areas: "The Ancient Church (to 476)" (charts 1-18), "The Medieval Church (476-1517)" (charts 19-31), "The Reformation (1517-1648)" (charts 32-44), "The Modern European Church (from 1648)" (charts 45-52), "The American Church (from 1607)" (charts 53-76), and "Miscellaneous" (charts 77-84). As a few examples of the kinds of material covered, the following may be mentioned: "Early Symbols of Christianity," "The Apostolic Fathers," "Major Monastic Orders," Protestant reformers (in several groupings), theological issues of the Reformation era (under several headings), family trees of various American church groups, Popes recognized by the Catholic Church, Protestant and Catholic missionaries, and prominent English translations of the Bible. Furthermore, the richness of the material under some of the headings is almost breathtaking.

But tabulations of the sort given in this volume of "Chronological Background Charts" create their own hazards. The very sketchiness of the data can lead to misunderstandings at times. And the danger of presenting erroneous information increases in proportion to the amount and range of the data covered. Unfortunately, Walton's book—which is very good in many ways—suffers from what would appear to be a disproportionate amount of error in facts and in interpretive summaries. Chart 6, e.g., should indicate that Tertullian wrote a treatise against Praxeas (not Praxeus). Chart 32 contains several errors in connection with the "Four Major Reformers"—the most striking, perhaps, that Martin Luther was educated in Leipzig when in reality he was educated at the Universities of Erfurt and Wittenberg. Also, it is somewhat misleading to state that in "1508 [Luther] began teaching at the University of Wittenberg." (Luther did teach at the University of Wittenberg from 1508 to 1509, but only temporarily as a professor in the arts faculty; his first theological lectures subsequently took place in Erfurt, and it was not until after he received his doctorate in October of 1512 that he began his long and distinguished career as a theology professor at Wittenberg.)

Chart 62, on so-called "American Cults," supplies incorrect information in a number of instances; the diagramming in Chart 44 erroneously indicates the Reformed Tradition as a branch off from Lutheran tradition; and Chart 78, "The Pendulum Effect in Church History," displays such problematical generalizations that it might better have been omitted entirely. While a "pendulum effect" certainly did operate in various ways, it is erroneous to portray, as Chart 78 does, Gnosticism of the second and third centuries as a pendulum-swing away from Montanism, and Monasticism as a pendulum-swing away from Gnosticism.

The volume has a good index (useful indeed for a work of this sort). Unfortunately, the bibliography is limited and of rather unequal quality. Even Williston Walker's standard *History of the Christian Church* has been omitted, even though Walker's name has been included in Chart 84 as among the "Notable Protestant Historians of the Church."

In closing, I would recommend this volume as being a helpful tool for persons already sufficiently initiated into church history to be able to use it effectively—persons who can recognize and appreciate its values (and there are many), but who also are sufficiently grounded in the discipline to be able to differentiate between fact and non-fact.

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Watts, John D. W. *Isaiah 34-66*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 25. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987. xxxiii + 386 pp. \$24.95.

This volume represents the continuation and completion of Watts's unusual two-volume commentary on Isaiah. In scope and format it follows the pattern of the English-language Hermeneia series and the German-language *Biblischer Kommentar* series. Indeed, Watts acknowledges his debt to Wildberger's Isaiah commentary in the BK series (*Isaiah 1-33*, p. xi). The treatment of each text unit opens with a bibliography. Then follows a new translation with extensive textual notes. The form, structure, and setting are discussed, comments on individual verses follow, and an explanation of the theology or message of the passage concludes the treatment. Where necessary, this pattern is interrupted by excursions on individual problems. The bibliographies are extensive and up-to-date; the form, structure, setting, and comments are clearly set out and repeatedly offer helpful insights; and the explanations consist of brief summations of the importance attached to the passages under study.

The unusual aspect of Watts's work is associated with his understanding of the composition of the entire prophetic book. In distinction from both critical scholarship, which proceeds from the assumption of a three-part authorship of the Isaiah prophecy, and conservative scholarship, which assumes a single author (namely the eighth-century prophet Isaiah), Watts views the entire book from the perspective of a fifth-century writer (ca. 435 B.C.) to whom the entire Isaiah prophecy or "vision" is attributed. Thus, Watts is only marginally interested in the person and ministry of the eighth-century prophet named Isaiah and in the earlier history of the Isaiah prophecies. The focus throughout is upon the "vision" of Isaiah, meaning the particular understanding of God's plan for Israel which the proposed fifth-century writer applied to ten generations of Israelites living between the eighth and fifth centuries B.C. Central to that vision is the concept that from the eighth century forward God no longer views national Israel, Jerusalem, and its kingship as the arena of his activity on earth. Rather, the empires of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, now provide that arena, and Israel must fit into it by occupying a role of servitude in relation to the nations of the world (*Isaiah 1-33*, pp. xxxi-xxxii).

With this perspective in mind, Watts divides the entire book of Isaiah into twelve sections or "acts," the first of which forms an introduction (Isa 1-6) and the last a conclusion (Isa 62-66). Each act is divided into scenes constituting the text units around which the commentary is organized. In the view of Watts, the entire book of Isaiah may well have been intended for dramatic performance, and indeed the translation is provided with suggested speakers as in a play or libretto. But more importantly, the acts of the vision correspond to segments in Israel's history marked off by the kings or leaders in Jerusalem from Uzziah to Nehemiah. The second volume of the commentary, *Isaiah 34-66*, includes acts six through twelve, covering the period from king Jehoiakim to Nehemiah, and the age to come (act 12).

This perspective on the text produces some unusual interpretations. For example, Isa 52:13-53:12, the well-known suffering-servant passage, is assigned to act ten, describing the period of Zerubbabel, Darius, and Xerxes. The servant, distinguished from the sufferer here, is identified as king Darius (Isa 52:13), who had been invited to Jerusalem to investigate the death of an innocent sufferer, possibly Zerubbabel (Isa 52:14). The theological application of the suffering borne by Zerubbabel to Jesus Christ was subsequently made by the NT, but it corresponds with the vision of Isaiah, namely that God uses innocent death to achieve his goals (p. 233). This understanding of Isaiah's vision for the generation experiencing the death of Zerubbabel, followed by Darius' support of the Jews who had returned to Jerusalem, is attributed to the fifth-century writer of the book of Isaiah. Understood this way, prophecy reviews God's future for a past generation of Jerusalemites.

The many contributions of this commentary expressed in its bibliographies, translation, literary analyses, comments, and explanations will greatly benefit students of the Bible, both pastors and theologians. But the unusual perspective upon the text (a fifth-century application of the Isaiah vision in twelve acts to ten succeeding generations of Israelites) is not likely to gain wide acceptance and may indeed become an obstacle to some readers. The final form of the text represents an appropriate and even refreshing perspective from which to write a commentary. However, the division of the book into twelve acts, each interpreted from a narrowly defined historical context, may well pose an imposition upon the text—as though the prophetic vision is somehow held hostage by the events of 300 years of history.

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## BOOK NOTICES

EAVON LEE MOBLEY AND KENNETH A. STRAND

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.

Berkhof, Hendrikus. *Introduction to the Study of Dogmatics*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1985. 114 pp. Paperback, \$7.95.

The author aims to provide a concise guide to the field of dogmatics for beginning students and interested readers. This guide provides a useful tool in promoting an understanding of dogmatics and in developing a systematic, thorough and understandable method to account for one's faith.—E.L.M.

Borowski, Oded. *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987. xxii + 215 pp. \$20.00.

The author integrates the latest results of the investigation and analysis of archaeological field data relating to agriculture and food production with the related textual evidences from biblical and extra-biblical sources. Four major areas are covered in the study: (1) the land, (2) field work and grain production, (3) cultigens and cultivars, and (4) factors in soil fertility and crop yield. A bibliography, several indices, and a glossary of Hebrew terms are included.—E.L.M.

Brown, D. Catherine. *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987. 368 pp. \$54.00.

Brown examines sermons and writings

of Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris from 1395 to 1429 and a leader in the Conciliar Movement, with a view to elucidating pastoral concerns and popular religious perspectives of late medieval times. Treated are such topics as the preaching art, the "seven deadly sins," mysticism, marriage and family life, plus others.—K.A.S.

Carson, D. A., and Woodbridge, John D., eds. *Hermeneutics, Authority, and Canon*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. xii + 468 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

Critical questions regarding the nature of Scripture are dealt with in this collection of essays. Separate indices of persons, subjects, and Scripture references are included.—E.L.M.

Charlesworth, James H. *The New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Guide to Publications, with Excursions on Apocalypses*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987. 468 pp. \$42.50.

This large volume in the ATLA Bibliography Series lists more than 6000 publications from the eighteenth century onward that treat the NT apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings. The author provides, as well, a brief history of research on these non-canonical materials (which number some 104 documents), discusses the impact of the NT book of Revelation on later apocalypses,

and treats ancient Jewish and Christian apocalypses.—K.A.S.

Chilton, Bruce. *Beginning New Testament Study*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987. 208 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

Chilton has provided in this volume a simplified introduction to the NT that treats major issues of history and interpretation as well as providing information concerning the NT world. The volume also includes some discussion of the place of the NT in modern theology. (The Eerdmans edition is not available in the British Publishers Traditional Market, except Canada.)—K.A.S.

Cobble, James J., Jr. *The Church and the Powers: A Theology of Church Structure*. Peabody, MA: Hendrikson Publishers, 1987. 176 pp. Paperback, \$7.95.

This publication reviews and assesses the effects, both positive and negative, that the "power complex" of recent technological "advances" has engendered and continues to bring about. The author suggests a "servanthood" model as the church's viable response within the context of the radical changes now taking place in modern society.—K.A.S.

Conrad, Edgar W., and Newing, Edward G., eds. *Perspectives on Language and Text*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987. xxviii + 443 pp. \$32.50.

This collection of essays and poems presented in honor of Francis I. Andersen's sixtieth birthday reflects a diversity of subjects. Each essay touches upon an area of Andersen's broad range of interests, focusing particularly upon research in the Hebrew Bible.—E.L.M.

Deschner, John. *Wesley's Christology: An Interpretation*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988. 240 pp.

Paperback, \$11.95.

Deschner elucidates from John Wesley's "non-systematic" writings the main features of Wesley's concept of the person and work of Christ.—K.A.S.

Douglas, J. D., revision ed. *The New International Dictionary of the Bible: Pictorial Edition*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987. 1216 pp. \$30.95.

This massive volume is the successor to the well-known *Zondervan Pictorial Bible Dictionary*. The present publication is a thorough revision with a number of new features such as the following: (a) adaptation to the NIV, with cross-reference entries for terms in the KJV that are not in the NIV; (b) update of the articles, with some fully rewritten or completely new; (c) nearly 1,000 new illustrations; (d) sixteen pages of full-color maps fully indexed to the NIV; and (e) a complete Scripture index.—K.A.S.

Dudley, Carl S., and Hilgert, Earle. *New Testament Tensions and the Contemporary Church*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987. 176 pp. Paperback, \$10.95.

Two specialists in contemporary church and society and in NT studies have combined their expertise to produce a work showing the relevance of the NT for the church of today. This work has been described by Walter Brueggemann as "a sensitive combination of alert scholarship and discerning practical experience and common sense."—K.A.S.

Durham, John I. *Exodus*. Word Biblical Commentary, Vol. 3. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987. xxxiv + 516 pp. \$25.95.

The theological unity of Exodus in its canonical form—emphasizing the presence of the Lord with and in the midst of his people Israel—is the underlying



theme in this volume. The author notes the diversity of content in Exodus, but rather than confining his study to specialized concerns he emphasizes the unifying purpose of the book.—E.L.M.

Eslinger, Richard L. *A New Hearing: Living Options in Homiletic Method*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1987. 192 pp. Paperback, \$10.95.

Eslinger illustrates and explains five different homiletic approaches from sermons by five preachers: Charles Rice, Henry Mitchell, Eugene Lowry, Fred Craddock, and David Buttrick. The approaches range from "Preaching as Story" and "Narrative in the Black Tradition" to "Homiletical Plot," "Inductive Method," and "Phenomenological Method."—K.A.S.

Ferguson, Everett. *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987. 464 pp. Paperback, \$22.95.

This rather comprehensive overview treats Greek, Roman, and Jewish backgrounds to early Christianity, with the intent of providing an enhancement in understanding of both the NT and the early Christian church.—K.A.S.

Gill, Jerry H. *Faith in Dialogue*. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985. 159 pp. \$13.95.

As the title suggests, the author sees "dialogue" with challenges to faith as a viable option, and he examines both sides of the faith dialogue rather than opting for an either/or polarity. The natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities are dealt with in particular inasmuch as these disciplines pose the most serious challenges to faith.—E.L.M.

Gonzalez, Justo L. *A History of Christian Thought*. Revised ed. 3 vols. Nashville,

TN: Abingdon Press, 1987. Paperback, \$22.95 per volume or \$59.95 for the complete set.

This set is an updated version of what has come to be recognized as a standard work covering Christian thought from the Early-Church period to the twentieth century. In addition to revisions throughout, a new chapter on the twentieth century has been added, and the bibliography has been updated.—K.A.S.

Guthrie, Donald. *Exploring God's Word: A Guide to John's Gospel*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987. 232 pp. Paperback, \$7.95.

This popular-level book on the Gospel of John is basically in sermon-outline format. Its main purpose is to help Christians apply each portion of that Gospel (and also individual texts) to their daily lives. (The Eerdmans edition is not available in the British Publishers Traditional Market, except Canada.)—K.A.S.

Hatch, Nathan O., and Stout, Harry S., eds. *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. 336 pp. \$29.95.

The editors have compiled fifteen previously unpublished essays that illuminate Edwards's place in history, his literary contribution, and his theological and philosophical thought.—K.A.S.

Hesselgrave, David J. *Today's Choices for Tomorrow's Mission: An Evangelical Perspective on Trends and Issues in Missions*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987. 304 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

A fairly comprehensive analysis of the current status of the Christian foreign-mission enterprise, this publication takes into account trends and issues as set forth by specialists in some 2000

articles and reviews during the past two decades.—K.A.S.

Hurst, L. D., and Wright, N. T., eds. *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament: Studies in Christology in Memory of George Bradford Caird*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. 328 pp. \$49.95.

The editors have brought together twenty-one essays by distinguished scholars on the NT teaching and perspectives on the person and work of Christ. The specific topics have a rather wide range, including discussion of the Canon, the NT's use of the OT, NT miracles, Christ's preexistence, Christ's sacrifice, and other relevant subjects.—K.A.S.

Knibb, Michael A., ed. *The Qumran Writings*. Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 B.C. to A.D. 200. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987. 260 pp. \$44.50/\$14.95.

Knibb's volume is a collection of fresh translations of substantial extracts from the Qumran materials, together with an exegetical commentary. With its selections basically from several of the more impressive and lengthy tracts, this volume can serve as a sourcebook for study of the Qumran community.—K.A.S.

Koester, Helmut. *Introduction to the New Testament*, 2 vols. in paperback ed. (1. *History, Culture and Religion of the Hellenistic Age*; 2. *History and Literature of Early Christianity*). Hawthorne, NY: Walter de Gruyter, Inc., 1987. Each volume, \$16.95. (The hard-cover edition appeared in 1982, and is priced at \$32.95 per volume.)

A reissue in paperback of a standard comprehensive NT Introduction.—K.A.S.

Lawson, John. *The Wesley Hymns as a Guide to Scriptural Teaching*. Grand

Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988. 208 pp. \$14.95.

Hymns by Charles Wesley and John Wesley provide the basics for analyzing Wesleyan religious thought on more than fifty topics. The text for a number of the hymns is provided in a more complete form than is usual in present-day hymnals.—K.A.S.

Longman, Tremper, III. *Literary Approaches to Biblical Interpretation*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987. 192 pp. Paperback, \$12.95.

An analysis which stresses literary features of the biblical text, but not at the expense of historical content.—K.A.S.

Mann, C. S. *Mark*. The Anchor Bible, vol. 27. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1986. xxvi + 715 pp. \$20.00.

This volume completes the four Gospels in the AB series. The author points to new evidences that support the theory that Mark was written after Matthew and Luke and that it is probably a digest of these two Gospels.—E.L.M.

Marshall, Michael. *The Restless Heart: The Life and Influence of St. Augustine*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987. 192 pp. \$19.95.

This addition to Augustine literature reaches out in an uncommon but fascinating direction: It has emerged from (a) the author's study of Augustine and of that church father's works, *combined with* (b) travel to and within the places traversed some 1600 years ago by Augustine. Marshall was accompanied to North Africa and Italy by Charles Bewick, some seventy of whose photographs illustrate the text of *The Restless Heart*.—K.A.S.

Martin, Luther H. *Hellenistic Religions: An Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. 192 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

This volume provides a brief but comprehensive survey of the religious scene in the Greek and Roman world from the fourth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. Covered are the institutions, practices, beliefs, social status and nature, and conceptual framework of the various religious and quasi-religious movements treated.—K.A.S.

McKenzie, Peter. *The Christians: Their Beliefs and Practices*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1988. 352 pp. Paperback, \$17.95.

Peter McKenzie, head of the Department of Religion at the University of Leicester in England, has in this volume put together the first treatment in the English language to examine in detail Christianity from the phenomenological perspective. Christian beliefs, sacred objects, sacred places, and rituals are set forth in a topical arrangement.—K.A.S.

Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christianity in India, 1707-1858*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 592 pp. \$80.00.

This volume by a renowned authority on the history of Christian world-mission covers in detail and with balance a critical era of background for, and development of, modern Christian traditions in India (Roman Catholic, Anglican, and others). It complements Neill's earlier monumental volume *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to A.D. 1707*, published by Cambridge University Press in 1984.—K.A.S.

Neill, Stephen, and Wright, N. T. *The Interpretation of the New Testament,*

*1861-1986*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. 384 pp. \$27.50/\$10.95.

A standard survey of NT interpretation by the late biblical scholar and missiologist, Stephen Neill, has been expanded in this new edition to include a chapter covering NT scholarship of the last twenty-five years. N. T. Wright, the reviser, has also updated and expanded the entire contents of the volume. "This masterful survey describes the historical development of New Testament criticism, the contrasting personalities of scholars, and the permanent contributions made by various schools, ending with an assessment of the current status of the field."—K.A.S.

Outler, Albert C., ed. *The Works of John Wesley*. Vol. 4: *Sermons IV, 115-151*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1987. 608 pp. \$49.95.

This volume completes the four-volume definitive collection of 151 of John Wesley's sermons. The earlier volumes contain the first 114 sermons, as follows: vol. 1, sermons 1-33; vol. 2, sermons 34-70; and vol. 3, sermons 71-114.—K.A.S.

Ramm, Bernard L., et al. *Hermeneutics*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987. 152 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

The ten essays in this publication first appeared as section 3 of *Baker's Dictionary of Practical Theology* (1967). They cover broadly a variety of aspects of biblical interpretation and related concerns as set forth by nine prominent evangelical scholars (two chapters are by Ramm himself).—K.A.S.

Rendsburg, Gary A. *The Redaction of Genesis*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986. xii + 129 pp. \$12.50.

The author suggests a redactional structure of the book of Genesis on the basis of literary-critical analysis. He builds

on a number of shorter studies and developments in the debate on the nature of the composition of biblical narrative and its structure.—E.L.M.

Smedes, Lewis B., ed. *Ministry and the Miraculous: A Case Study at Fuller Theological Seminary*. Pasadena, CA: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1987. 80 pp. Paperback, \$3.95.

A task force of some twelve Fuller Seminary faculty members recently gave careful study to the biblical teaching on "miraculous healing" and related questions emerging in connection with a course setting forth "signs and wonders" as part of Christian ministry (a course suspended from the curriculum, pending the outcome of this study). The present booklet covers comprehensively the results of the faculty analysis, and in doing so it provides broad coverage of God's relationship to his world, the place of suffering in Christian experience, means of healing, etc.—K.A.S.

Stackhouse, Max L. *Public Theology and Political Economy: Christian Stewardship in Modern Society*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987. 192 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

This volume argues that the chief task of the Christian steward is to cultivate a new public theology that will shape the structures and policies of public life.—K.A.S.

Stephens, W. P. *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. 348 pp. \$55.00.

A detailed and thoroughly documented presentation, Stephens's *Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* is the first truly comprehensive and substantial treatment of the Zurich Reformer's theology to appear in the English language.—K.A.S.

Von Loewenich, Walther. *Martin Luther: The Man and His Work*. Trans. Lawrence W. Denef. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1986. 446 pp. \$24.95.

First published in 1982 as *Martin Luther: Der Mann und das Werk*, this book is an eminently readable English translation. For up-to-dateness and breadth of coverage of the entire career of the Reformer, the volume ranks among the most balanced and comprehensive.—K.A.S.

Verhoef, Pieter A. *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*. NICOT. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987. xxv + 364 pp. \$21.95.

The author offers a thorough exegesis and exposition of the books of Haggai and Malachi in this newest addition to the NICOT series. An "Introduction" to each book is given—covering such areas as authorship, unity, style, historical background, structural analysis, and overview of the book's message. Several indices at the conclusion of this volume will prove helpful to the reader.—E.L.M.

Zieffe, Helmut W. *Theological German: A Reader*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1986. 283 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

"*Theological German: A Reader* is an attempt to fill a void by providing meaningful and challenging texts and exercises for English-speaking students who want to read the German Bible and the works of German theologians in the original" (p. 9). Some of the more difficult words and idioms are defined or explained on pages facing the German text selections.—K.A.S.

**SPECIAL NOTICES**



A TRIBUTE TO SIEGFRIED H. HORN FOR  
HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY  
AND A NOTE  
ON THE HORN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

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Andrews University

March 17, 1988, was the 80th birthday of Siegfried H. Horn. His eight decades of life reveal a person who from his childhood was determined and purposeful. In his youth Siegfried developed an interest in biblical, historical, and archaeological subjects which rightly can be credited to the influence of his mother, who was a minister and teacher of the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church. Those readers who know Horn personally know also that as he lives to study he also lives to travel. As his mother influenced the direction of his studies, his father Albin Horn, an early aviation pioneer, gave him a love for travel and adventure.<sup>1</sup>

As a student, minister, missionary, scholar, teacher, and dean, Horn set high standards in all areas. Among Seventh-day Adventist scholars he can certainly be seen as a pioneer. Among his many firsts are the following: he established *AUSS* (1963), he initiated the excavations at Heshbon in Jordan (1968), he founded the Archaeological Museum (1970; renamed the Siegfried H. Horn Archaeological Museum in 1974), and as the first Director of the Th.D. program in the early 1970s he established doctoral work in the SDA Theological Seminary on a solid footing, a task he enhanced during his several-year tenure as Seminary Dean before his retirement in 1976. Through his teaching, prolific writings, and in other ways, he has undoubtedly influenced every major contemporary SDA theologian and biblical scholar, as well as making a significant impact on the world of OT scholarship in general, both in North America and abroad.<sup>2</sup>

The staff of the Horn Archaeological Museum had planned to honor Horn's 80th birthday with a rededication of the Museum during the month of March, 1988; but as is common in building projects, there have been unforeseeable delays. In 1982 the Horn Museum moved to a new location across the street from the SDA Theological Seminary. Since that time we

<sup>1</sup> A popular account of Horn's early life has been provided by Joyce Rochat, *Survivor: [A Biography of Siegfried Horn]* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986).

<sup>2</sup> A monumental 732-page *Festschrift* volume has been published to honor Horn: *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies*, Lawrence T. Geraty and Larry Herr, eds. (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986). The contributions of thirty-three well-known biblical scholars are included.

have been refurbishing the facilities. Lawrence T. Geraty, the former curator, began the process by developing the overall plan, refurbishing the office and work areas and raising almost two-thirds of the funds needed to complete the display area. Since 1985, when Geraty became the president of Atlantic Union College in South Lancaster, Massachusetts, I have directed the project.

We are now in the last phase of completing the Museum's display area. About a year ago we commissioned Nathan Greene to paint eleven murals, which will be used with the Museum's collections to provide a unique visual display of ancient artifacts in realistic, biblical scenes. The last of these murals will be finished in May, 1988.

Although the Museum was not ready to open in March, we will rededicate the Museum in September, 1988; and we wish Horn a happy 80th year and many more happy, healthy years to come.



## A NOTE CONCERNING AN UPCOMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE SEPPHORIS REGION IN ISRAEL

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It had been previously announced (in the last issue of the *Horn Archaeological Museum Newsletter*) that the Institute of Archaeology was planning a small excavation for this coming summer at Tel Mevorakh, a “daughter” settlement of Tel Dor, the latter serving as a major port city for the northern coast of Israel in antiquity. However, due to some unforeseen local political problems (not at all connected with the current upheaval taking place elsewhere in the country), we have had to postpone this project for the time being. However, Eric Meyers of Duke University in Durham, North Carolina,<sup>1</sup> has recently invited Andrews University archaeologists Randall W. Younker, P. David Merling, and J. Bjørnar Storfjell to conduct an intensive and comprehensive archaeological survey of a 5-kilometer region around Sepphoris, an ancient city just northwest of Nazareth, Israel, that Meyers is presently excavating.

Each of the afore-mentioned archaeologists will lead a team of three to four individuals in conducting the survey, with each member having a specific role—recorder, photographer, artifact-sample collector. Each archaeological site which is discovered will be mapped, described, photographed, and “sherded” (the process wherein broken potsherds are collected for dating). Collected data will then be returned to the field laboratory for further study and analysis.

The survey teams will use two types of survey methodologies—the random square survey, and the judgmental survey. The first type is conducted by dividing up the entire 5-kilometer region into 200-x-200-meter squares and then randomly selecting squares for intensive survey. The data thus collected will provide a statistically valid sample of what can be expected to be found in the region. The data will also provide a control for the judgmental surveys which are to be conducted in areas where environmental, topographic, and other factors lead us to suspect the presence of ancient remains.

The overarching objective of this new project is to gain an increased understanding of the various interrelationships of an ancient Palestinian urban center (in this case Sepphoris and its neighboring predecessor), with its

<sup>1</sup> Eric Meyers is also currently the Vice-President for Publications of the American Schools of Oriental Research, as well as the editor of the *Biblical Archaeologist*, the most authoritative popular American journal on Biblical Archaeology.

supporting hinterland region. The collected data will be analyzed through several interpretive frameworks—i.e. political, historical, and anthropological.

Since Sepphoris is located near Nazareth in the heartland of ancient Biblical Israel and was occupied continuously from pre-patriarchal times down to the NT period and beyond, much, if not most, of the material and information collected from this survey will greatly aid in reconstructing the day-to-day life of the peoples of Bible times. This reconstruction can, in turn, shed further light on the major historical and political events that occurred in the region which are known from both biblical and extra-biblical sources and which have great significance to students of the Bible. In short, this research can ultimately lead to a greater understanding of the events that are recorded in the Bible, particularly those that occurred in the Nazareth and Jezreel-valley region.

# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

## CONSONANTS

כ = k	ט = d	י = y	ס = s	ר = r
ב = b	ה = h	ק = k	ע = c	ש = s
ג = g	ו = w	ל = l	פ = p	ז = z
ד = g	ז = z	מ = m	צ = s	ח = t
ה = d	ח = h	נ = n	ק = q	ט = t

## MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

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

(Dāḡeš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

## ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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