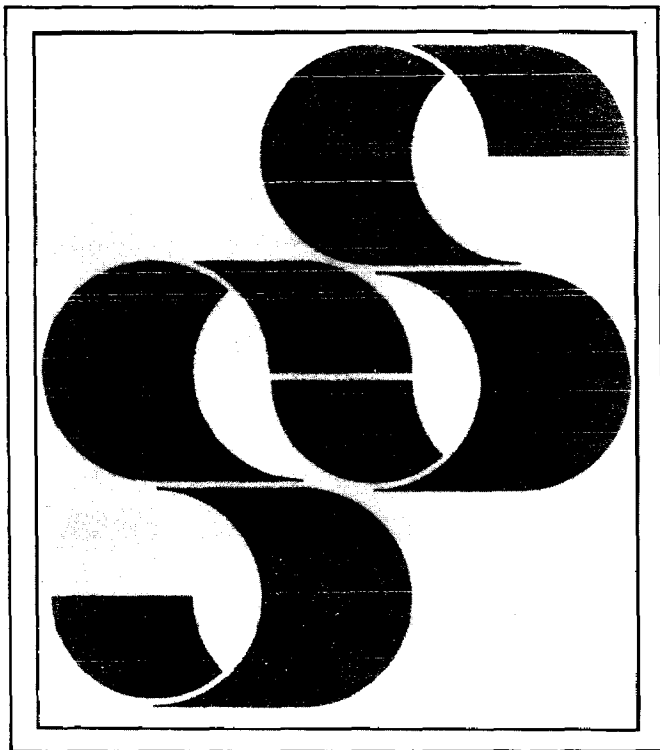


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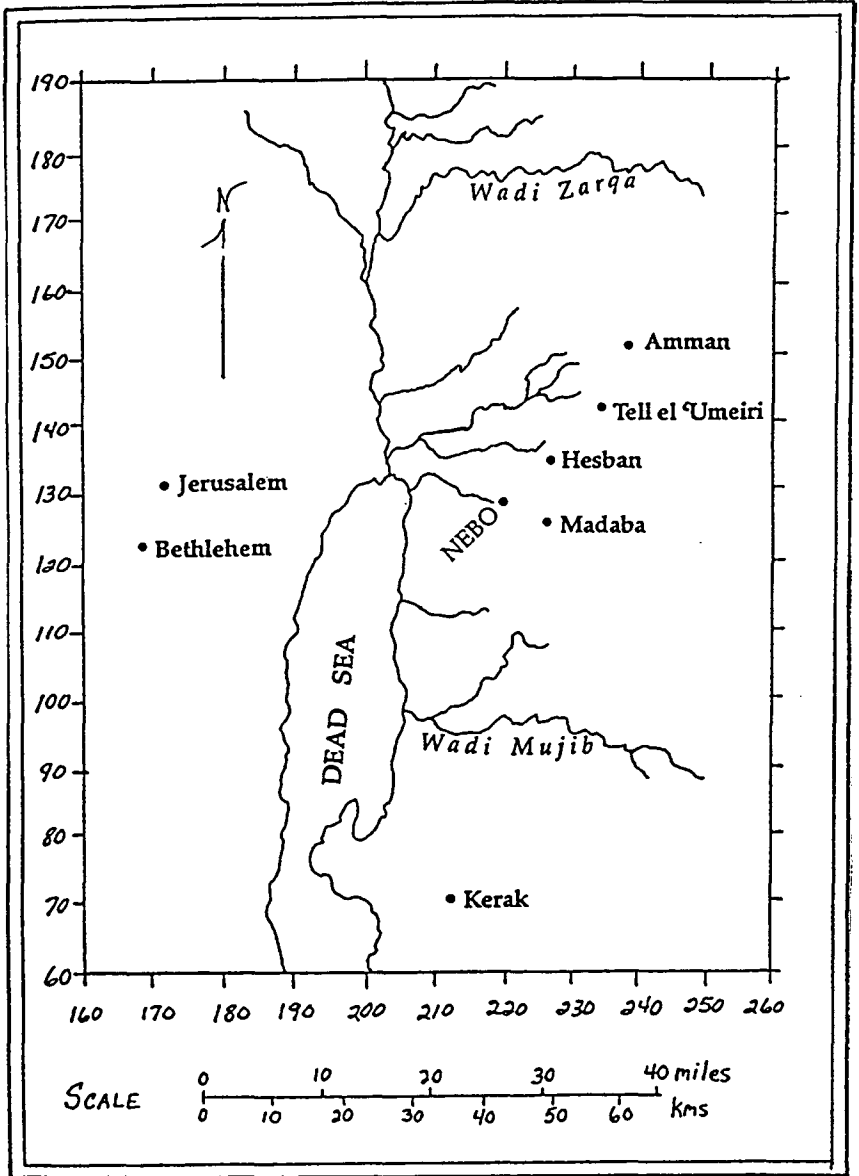


Plate I. Map of Palestine with the location of Tell el-Umeiri.



Plate 2. Aerial view of Tell el-^cUmeiri.

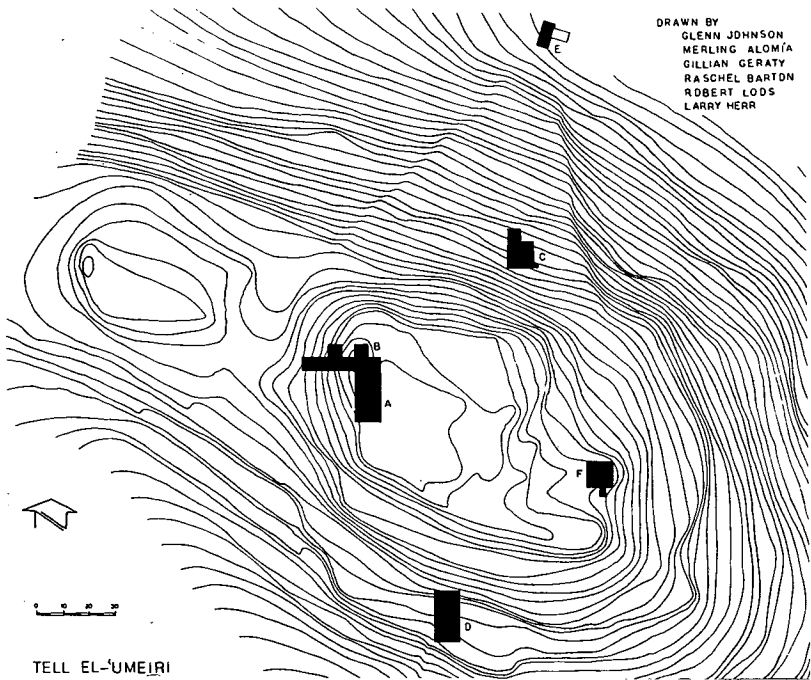


Plate 3. Topographic map of Tell el-^cUmeiri with Fields of excavation.

follows is a general preliminary report of the results achieved by the 100-member project team (see **Plate 4**). It should be read in the context of the first season's report, which also appeared in *AUSS*.² There the overall goals of the project, a description of the site of Tell el-^cUmeiri, and the evidence for possible identifications are all documented.

Once again the objectives of the project focused on cycles of intensification and abatement in settlement and land use in this frontier region: the Ammonite foothills on the northern edge of the Madaba Plains. Central to this focus was the study of the food systems employed by the inhabitants through time.³

The implementation of these objectives was refined during the 1987 season by enlarging the regional survey to three teams, each with its own primary objectives; by conducting excavations at three hinterland sites, most notably Rujm Selim (a small agricultural settlement some 2 km north of Tell el-^cUmeiri); and by expanding excavation areas on the central tell itself.

The following report will first summarize the findings of the regional survey, next highlight the results of the most extensive hinterland excavation, and then discuss the excavation results on the central tell, field by field.

of Oriental Research in Amman, provided invaluable assistance; the latter's director David McCreery, administrative director Glenn Peterman, and Ibtisam Dababneh, administrative assistant at ACOR, must be particularly mentioned. Others within Jordan without whom the excavation would not have been possible were Prince Raad ibn Zeid, who has been a constant supporter, and Richard T. Krajczar, Superintendent of the American Community School in Amman, who provided generous logistical support. The Baptist School near Shmeisani, Amman, through its principal, Wilson Tatum, gave virtually all its very ample facilities to the dig for headquarters. It offered adequate space for sleeping, eating, working, meeting, and recreation.

²Lawrence T. Geraty, "A Preliminary Report on the First Season at Tell el-^cUmeiri (June 18 to August 8, 1984)," *AUSS* 23/1 (1985): 85-110.

³Our working definition of "food system" is that of LaBianca from his 1987 Brandeis Ph.D. dissertation, soon to be published by Andrews University Press as *Hesban I—Sedentarization and Nomadization at Hesban and Vicinity: A Study of Food System Transitions in Transjordan*; namely, "a food system is a complex unity consisting of all of the purposive, patterned (institutionalized) and interconnected activities carried out by a group of individuals in their quest for food."



Plate 4. The 1987 team.

1. *The Regional Survey*⁴

In the preliminary report for the 1984 season the appearance, within the survey region, of a number of round or rectangular structures was noted.⁵ Often constructed with "megalithic" foundations, these structures were thought to be "farmsteads." Further work during the 1987 season enabled the survey team to classify these round and rectangular structures into five basic types: (1) large agricultural complexes or "estates"; (2) small farmsteads; and several types which now appear to be best classified as something other than farmsteads; (3) field shelters; (4) forts; and (5) kilns.

Large Agricultural Complexes

Additional examination during the 1987 season indicated that many of the larger "megalithic" structures recorded in 1984 did not occur as isolated phenomena throughout the countryside but rather were regularly associated with a number of the other features, including various wall lines (perimeter, field, and terrace walls), bedrock winepresses, millstones, caves (cellars), cisterns, and a wide variety of cupholes. Together, these features lend support to the suggestion that these "megalithic" sites should be classified, without becoming overly specific, as "agricultural complexes" (see **Plate 5**).

Excellent parallels for these complexes have been reported in the hill country around Jerusalem at sites such as Hurvat Ein Tutt, Khirbet er-Ras, and Ein Yalu.⁶ The only real difference between the "farm-units" reported around Jerusalem and the agricultural complexes near Amman is how the dominant building on the site was constructed: Near Jerusalem the central building was constructed according to the "four-room" house plan, while the rooms of those structures near Amman are divided differently and are of "megalithic" construction. Rather than reflecting the function of

⁴The regional survey was directed by Øystein S. LaBianca. Field Supervisors for the three major survey operations (as described in the text) were Gary Christopherson, Jon Cole, and Randall Younker. They were assisted by Dorothy Irvin, ethnographer; Howard Krug, tomb surveyor; John Lee, lithicist; Doug Schnurrenberger, geologist; and Judy Christiansen, Raymond Pelto, John Podgore, Rhonda Sandic, and Tony Squier, volunteers. Translator for the survey team was Naji Tannous.

⁵Geraty, pp. 106-108.

⁶G. Edelstein and S. Gibson, "Ancient Jerusalem's Rural Food Basket," *BAR* 8/4 (1982): 46-54.



Plate 5. Central building at Rujm Selim, a large agricultural complex near ^cUmeiri.

the building, this latter construction technique may simply reflect what was locally available in terms of raw materials as well as what was absent in terms of skilled workers and financial resources.

Small Farmsteads

Many of the same features mentioned above may also be present at the small farmsteads, but they are usually smaller in number as well as in scale. Thus, size is the main determining factor in this analysis.

Field Shelters

Many smaller, more-isolated stone structures were found in the fields, away from the main agricultural complexes and their associated features. They appear to be intended to provide shelter for families, farmers, or watchmen while they cared for the crops, particularly grapes, at critical times of the year. In the Bible, these structures were probably included by the term *migdālîm*,⁷ which can be divided into two groups: signal towers built by the state and

⁷O. Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987), p. 106.

those, such as ours, built by private individuals. Few, if any, of the structures found within the ^cUmeiri regional survey could be classified as military or state-run signal towers. In general, our structures were not built on high hilltops and did not command strategic views of the surrounding region, at least from a military point of view, but were usually located on spurs of hills overlooking specific agricultural fields, often in association with terraces and field walls. In short, they appear to be small (albeit frequently of “megalithic” construction), privately-built agricultural watchtowers intended for long-term use associated with intensive agricultural production.

Forts

There was at least one site that could properly be classified as a fort in the sense of the biblical *bîrānîyôdî*.⁸ This site was located on the summit of a high hill (see **Plate 6**).⁹ It was not only strategically located, providing an excellent view in any direction, but it also appeared more than adequate in both size and design to house a military garrison. The interior was divided into several rooms of varying size, undoubtedly serving different purposes such as storage, food preparation, and living. Caves and a large cistern were located nearby; but field walls, terraces, winepresses, and other features generally associated with the farmhouses appeared to be missing. All sherds collected by the survey were exclusively Iron I and II.

Kilns

Virtually all of the structures described above—large and small farmsteads, field shelters, and forts—were rectangular in shape. However, as noted in the 1984 preliminary report, a large number of the structures were circular in shape. Additional examination in 1987 led to the realization that there was remarkable uniformity in size (5 m in diameter) and construction components (small field stones) for virtually all the circular structures. Initially it was thought that these structures represented variant forms of either farmsteads or field towers. However, the thick walls (1 m) and lack of any obvious entrance and the discovery of plaster on the interior walls of the structures suggested some other function. Excavation of one of these circular structures revealed a large amount of intramural ceramic slag, suggesting that they were originally constructed as lime kilns (see **Plate 7**).

⁸A. Mazar, “Iron Age Fortresses in the Judean Hills,” *PEQ*, July-December 1982, p. 106.

⁹Coordinates 2328.1398; Ibach’s Site 135; Fohrer’s Site D.



Plate 6. Remains of an Iron Age military fort as found by the regional survey.



Plate 7. Lime Kiln located at ^ʿUmeiri Site 50.

2. *Rujm Selim*¹⁰

Regional Survey Site 34, Rujm Selim, was chosen for a sounding because of its several "agricultural" characteristics identified during the 1984 survey. These included two cisterns, a "tower"-like structure, and several cup holes and quarry marks in the vicinity. Furthermore, the pottery identified during the survey revealed a predominance of Iron Age sherds. Together these characteristics suggested an agricultural settlement of the Iron Age (see **Plate 8**).

Excavation in five Squares during the 1987 season revealed six apparent phases of occupation. Although there were no clear occupation loci from the earliest phase, Phase 6, the late Iron II period was evidenced by the main "tower" structure, with its four rooms, as well as the plastering of the structure and perhaps the cutting and plastering of the lower cistern.

Phase 5, apparently late Iron II/early Persian in date, produced a trilobate (Scythian) arrowhead found outside what appeared to be a perimeter wall. Inside this wall, a courtyard was discovered to have been leveled with fill dirt and then possibly cobbled and provided with a plaster installation. Inside the "tower" structure itself were found several interesting household remains, including two ceramic loom weights, a spindle whorl, and sherds from a Persian water jug.

Most of the evidence for Phase 4 came from the interior of the square structure. Late Hellenistic in date, it also provided the majority of the objects found at the site: a well-preserved coin of Ptolemy II (ca. 280-243 B.C.) (see **Plate 9**), a bronze pin clasp, two spindle whorls *in situ*, as well as a whole lamp. The interior of the "tower" structure appeared to have been remodeled at this time by collapsing the four original rooms of Phase 5 into two.

In Phase 3, probably Roman in date, the "tower" structure, which measured 9 × 9 m, was remodeled. One of the rooms contained the remains of a cobbled surface which was covered with smashed pottery of the Hellenistic/Roman periods.

During Phase 2, tentatively dated to the Ottoman period, there was evidence that the upper cistern was used as a dwelling, steps having been cut down into the cistern on the south side.

¹⁰Field Supervisor for Rujm Selim was Lorita Hubbard, assisted by Square Supervisors James Miller, Todd Sanders, and Lloyd Willis; volunteers included Kristy Hansen, Tamara Hoffer, Julio Juarez, Doris Strawn, and Ronda Westman.

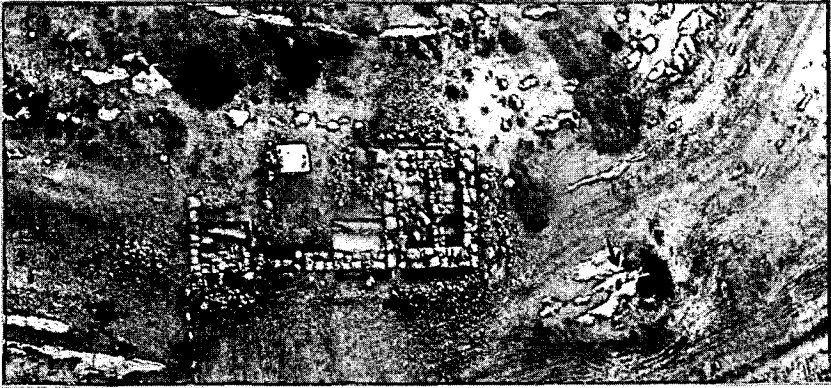


Plate 8. Aerial view of Rujm Selim, a large agricultural complex.



Obverse (A)



Reverse (B)

Plate 9 (A and B). Coin of Ptolemy II found at Rujm Selim.

Phase I evidenced seasonal occupation by modern nomads: campfire remains, tent pegs, nails, and soda-bottle fragments.

It would appear that Rujm Selim, with its rather lengthy occupational history (it was abandoned in the late Persian to early Hellenistic centuries), fits the first category of structures analyzed above, that of the large agricultural complex. Only some two kilometers from Tell el-^cUmeiri, it probably served the latter as a "daughter" agricultural site during the Iron Age and early Persian period, but was independently resettled in the Hellenistic period, when major sites in the region do not seem to have existed.

3. *Stratigraphic Excavations at Tell el-^cUmeiri*

Previous work by the Madaba Plains Project, during five seasons of excavation at Tell Hesban in the 1960s and 1970s and one at Tell el-^cUmeiri in 1984, has suggested the hypothesis that a series of five broad cycles of settlement intensification and abatement took place in the frontier region of central Transjordan.

Cycle 1: Prior to the Early Bronze Age a coherent picture of general regional intensification and abatement in settlement patterns is not available. From time to time specific sites were settled intensively, but broad regional settlement patterns have not yet been documented. Beginning with the Early Bronze Age, however, surveys have shown large increases in inhabited sites.¹¹ EB III seems to have been the period when Tell el-^cUmeiri was most extensively settled. In EB IV, however, the cycle seems to have begun the abatement process, with inhabited sites decreasing in quantity and quality until, by the Middle Bronze Age, very few sites have been located. Tell el-^cUmeiri was, however, a glaring exception with regard to the Middle Bronze Age.

Cycle 2: The period of abatement continued through the Late Bronze Age, although Tell el-^cUmeiri was still occupied, until the Iron I period, when settlements began to increase again. Intensification continued through the Iron II period, when a climax seems

¹¹See especially the Hesban survey, forthcoming as *Hesban 5* and authored by Robert Ibach, Jr.; also our 1984 survey in Geraty, et al., "Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1984 Season at Tell el-Umeiri and Vicinity," *BASOR Supplement* 24 (1986):125; and, among others, J. M. Miller, "Archaeological Survey of Central Moab, 1978," *BASOR* 234 (1979): 43-52; and B. MacDonald, "The Wadi el-Hasa Survey 1979 and Previous Archaeological Work in Southern Jordan," *BASOR* 245 (1982): 35-52.

to have been reached during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., a time when many major and minor sites have been located in the region.

Cycle 3: Little is known of the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods, but, beginning with small late-Hellenistic settlements, during a time when Rujm Selim seems to have been flourishing, the process of intensification began again, building slowly through the Roman centuries and reaching its zenith in the Byzantine era, when, except for the Modern Period, the region seems to have been the most heavily populated. Tell el-^cUmeiri (East) was occupied during these periods, rather than the earlier Tell el-^cUmeiri (West). The evidence is very strong that there was only a slight abatement during the initial years of Islamic rule, but when the caliphate moved to Baghdad with the Abbasids, the region seems to have been only lightly inhabited.

Cycle 4: Perhaps due to the region's importance to the Islamic reconquest of the Holy Land from the Crusaders, settlement again increased during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, from which large numbers of sites, including Tell el-^cUmeiri (North), have been found. But with Turkish control, intensification ceased and another period of abatement began.

Cycle 5: Few settlements seem to have existed in the region until late Ottoman times, when cave villages, such as Tell el-^cUmeiri (North), and fortified farmsteads began the fifth cycle of intensification—a cycle which has carried on unabated until the present.

Excavations of the site had two goals related to this understanding of cyclic intensification and abatement: (1) The hypothesis needed to be tested by excavation. This had been done initially by the Madaba Plains Project for Cycles 3-5 and, to a lesser extent, Cycle 2 at Hesban, but Tell el-^cUmeiri with its Bronze- and Iron-Age occupation allowed much more detailed testing from the earlier cycles. How did a major site reflect the cycles of intensification and abatement? (2) Exceptions to the hypothesis needed to be examined to understand how sites, occupied during periods of abatement, functioned. Indeed, this was a major reason for the choice of Tell el-^cUmeiri for excavation, for preliminary surveys had suggested occupation during the abated Middle and Late Bronze Ages. How did a major site function during periods when sedentary regional support systems were not in evidence?

In 1984, four fields of excavation had been opened on the site to examine these questions—Fields A, B, C, and D. In 1987, three of the four—A, B, and D—were expanded, while one—Field C—was diminished. In addition, two new fields were opened—Fields E and F. (Again see Plates 2, 3.)

*The Ammonite Citadel: Field A*¹²

Examination of the last major period of occupation at the site was continued at the western edge of the acropolis, where four squares had been opened in 1984. Four new squares were laid out north of the 1984 excavation in order to outline the northern limits of the Ammonite Citadel discovered in 1984 and to connect with the expansion of Field B, the western defense system (see Plate 10). It was hoped that the detailed study of this major building in one of the most important parts of the summit would help answer the questions regarding the processes of abatement at the end of Cycle 2. How did the remains reflect the abatement process? When did it occur? Did it occur suddenly or over a length of time? Whereas the 1984 excavations had been inconclusive regarding these questions, the finds in 1987 suggested at least tentative answers.

The two major phases discovered during the previous season were again encountered, but additional information was also discovered regarding: (1) the initial construction of the citadel; (2) the citadel's western and northern limits; and (3) occupation of the area after the citadel went into disuse.

Although little is yet known of the Iron I settlement, excavations at the western edge of Field A uncovered fragmentary Iron I walls (for a house?) and a deep debris deposit immediately to the west of the citadel and retained by one of the foundation walls that had been in use with the earliest phase of the citadel. No other Iron I remains were found at similar levels inside the citadel.

¹²The staff was divided into four sections, responsible for excavation, regional survey, laboratories, and camp logistics. In charge of planning and overall execution of the project were Lawrence T. Geraty, Larry G. Herr, and Øystein S. LaBianca, co-directors of the project.

The excavation staff, supervised by Herr, included six fields of excavation on the tell, and also one at Rujm Selim (a small agricultural site described above). Each field utilized one local workman per square. Field Supervisor for Field A, the Ammonite Citadel, was John Lawlor, assisted by Square Supervisors Nicholas Kronwall, Desmond Potts, Thomas Potts, and Nazmieh Rida; volunteers included James Byers, Charles Castleberg, Monique Escamilla, Sharon Penley, Malcolm Potts, Steven Russell, James Sawtell, and Dena Zook.



Plate 10. Aerial view of Fields A and B.



Plate 11. Foundation walls of the Ammonite citadel in Field A.

Likewise, no foundation trenches have been found for any of the walls of the citadel. It would seem that the builders dug a large foundation area into the Iron I settlement in order to construct the foundations of the citadel (see Plate 11). Just how deep this foundation was dug is still unknown, because the bottoms of the citadel walls have not yet been found; but the lowest floors so far encountered were ca. 1.4 m below the top of the Iron I walls. The lack of foundation trenches indicated that this was a large-scale excavation intended to clear a large area for a series of basement rooms. It was thus a major alteration of the plan of the Iron-I settlement. It is here suggested that this construction was part of the overall intensification process taking place at Tell el-^cUmeiri and its region, in which a large public structure was built to meet the needs of a strengthening economic and social order.

Only two of the exterior limits of the citadel have been uncovered: the west (where the foundation cut was discovered) and the north (where a pillared structure, possibly a house, has been found). Neither exterior wall was found to be specially strengthened, suggesting that the citadel may have been a complex of buildings with an outer fortification wall. But the latter has yet to be discovered.

Unfortunately, no other data were found beyond those discovered in 1984 that would lend information concerning the specific function of the building: the thick walls and large size of the complex do not fit a domestic interpretation. The work of the 1987 season confirmed the monumental nature of the complex, which measured at least 17 m north to south and 12 m east to west, with no signs of the southern and eastern limits.

Precisely when the citadel was constructed is not yet known, because excavations have not reached founding levels. The pottery from the earlier of the two phases so far isolated reflected the corpus typical to central Transjordanian plateau sites in the late Iron II period.

More can be said, however, about the citadel's end: Within one of the debris layers sealed below the surface of the upper phase of the citadel was an Attic sherd possibly dating to the fifth century B.C. In the rest of the earth layers and surfaces of the upper phase, other sherds of early-Persian date appeared together with those of the late Iron II corpus. It would thus appear that the citadel was in use well into the Persian period. The ceramic rhyton (see Plate 12) and pot found on the upper surface would support this conclusion.

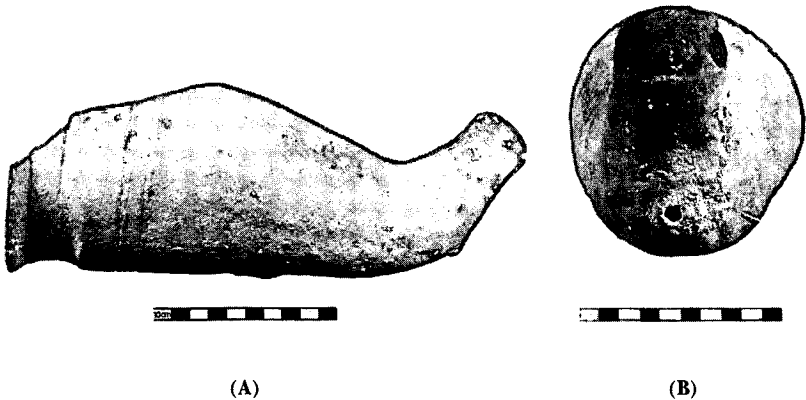


Plate 12 (A and B). Ceramic rhyton from Field A.

The abatement process does not seem to have been sudden. No signs of destruction were found in the upper levels of the last citadel. Instead, after the citadel had gone out of use, builders constructed two large semi-underground installations into the area north of the citadel, destroying much of a possible pillared house which seems to have been contemporary with the citadel.

The first installation was a small plastered pool whose interior measured 2×2.75 m and was ca. 2 m deep (see **Plate 13**). The installation was buttressed strongly on all four sides by over a meter of well-laid stones. Five steps descended steeply into the pool from the north (the bottom two were narrower than the upper three), but the buttressing stones indicated that most likely one, and possibly two, others existed originally. The interior was covered with two layers of plaster, suggesting that it had been repaired and thus used over a period of time.

The superstructure of the pool probably was constructed of finely-hewn ashlar blocks, because about fifteen such stones, not in evidence anywhere else on the site, were found in the fill inside the pool and in its immediate vicinity. Associated with this installation were two fragmentary surfaces that contained pottery from the late Iron II and early Persian periods, similar to the pottery found in the fill inside the pool.

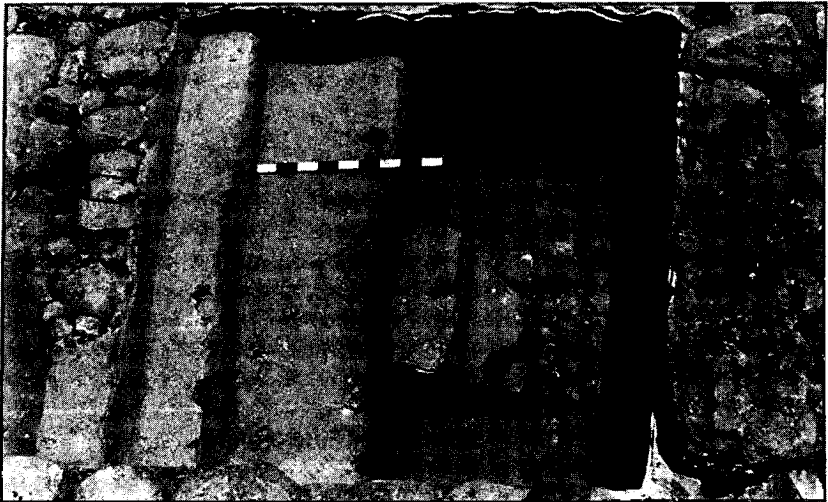


Plate 13. Plastered pool in Field A.



Plate 14. Stone-lined silo in Field A.

The second installation was a narrow, stone-lined silo, measuring ca. 1.25 m in diameter at the lip and narrowing slightly as it descended to its bottom 2.80 m deep (see Plate 14). The fill from the silo contained nothing that suggested its function, but it may have served to hold jars which were lifted by means of rope or a hooked stick.

It would thus seem that after the citadel went out of use the site continued to be occupied, probably on a less intensive level than before; that is, the public structure of the citadel was apparently judged unnecessary, and no more large structures with walls sufficiently large to thwart destruction by farming activities were built. In this abated state, however, the site lasted long enough for the pool to receive a second coat of plaster. No evidence of further building activity was found in Field A.

*The Western Defensive System: Field B*¹³

A significant indicator for the processes of intensification and abatement at a settlement is the presence or absence of fortifications.

¹³Field Supervisor for Field B, the Western Defensive System, was Douglas Clark, assisted by Square Supervisors Gillian Geraty, Gary Kent, David Merling, and Gotthard Reinhold; volunteers included Hans-Dieter Bienert, Caroline Cameron, Rafael Figueroa, Vanessa Martin, Kevin Nelson, Nora Peppers, Erwin Syphers, and Janelle Willis.

The objectives for Field B on the western slope of the summit were to examine the changes which took place in the defenses of the site through time. For this reason, four squares and part of another had been excavated in 1984, and in 1987 the field was expanded to seven squares. In this way, the complete slope was excavated and connected with the northern squares of Field A.

In one small area, a probe uncovered ashy destruction debris with pottery dating to the Late Bronze and early Iron Ages, including a Late Bronze biconical painted jug with handle on the shoulder. However, not enough is yet known of the Late Bronze settlement to be able to answer the question of just how much abatement had occurred between Cycles 1 and 2 at ^cUmeiri in the Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age.

By the late Iron I period (or earlier) it seems that the site was surrounded by a casemate wall and beaten-earth rampart system. Such a development suggested that the intensification process for Cycle 2 was already well under way. An addition to this system, discovered in 1987, was a revetment wall, made of a single line of large boulders, at the bottom of the rampart (see Plate 15).

Just inside the casemate wall, which seems to have continued through the Iron II period, were two phases of fragmentary walls and surfaces dating to the early Iron II Period. Farther to the east, in the two squares immediately to the north of Field A, two phases of fragmentary domestic architecture included stone walls; cobble, plaster, and beaten-earth surfaces; hearths; and pits. Unfortunately, not enough remained for a clear plan to emerge. Excavation of the foundation trench for the plastered pool, mostly in Field A, cut through these occupation levels, leaving portions of late Iron II holemouth pithoi *in situ*. One pithos base was sliced vertically through the middle. Activity patterns for these domestic areas thus included storage.

A corner of the Field A plastered pool extended into Field B, where it seems to have been in use with the uppermost walls and surfaces in the northern part of the field, as evidenced from both the 1984 and the 1987 excavations. All walls and surfaces were, however, fragmentary and were difficult to interpret beyond obvious non-monumental characteristics. The masonry of the walls included a wide variety of stone cutting, suggesting that the occupants did not have the leisure and/or resources to construct fine structures. This confirmed the suggestion for Field A that this phase represented the abatement process at the site, when, perhaps, the settlement was forced to adopt new, less-intensive strategies to exist.



Plate 15. Revetment wall and rampart in Field B (RW, revetment wall; CW, casemate wall).

*The Northern Terrace: Field C*¹⁴

Five of the six squares in Field C were completed in 1984 (see **Plate 16**). In many of the earth layers, Middle Bronze Age pottery had been found, but none of it associated with *in-situ* remains. All debris above the Early Bronze Age levels had been disturbed during the late Iron II period. But the uncompleted square (8L82) had reached undisturbed Middle Bronze Age levels (see **Plate 17**). Because the random surface survey of 1984 produced significant numbers of Middle Bronze Age sherds from this area, it was decided to complete excavation of Field C in order to examine this period of occupation, a time when the rest of the region was experiencing a distinctive lack of settlement.

As in the rest of the squares in Field C, EB III remains were found above bedrock and included fragments of walls that remained one course high. Isolated pockets of ash above the surfaces suggested burning activities associated with the final occupation, but the remains were not extensive enough to suggest destruction. No EB IV remains were uncovered.

Above the EB III remains were two phases of fragmentary Middle Bronze Age walls and surfaces, in one of which a small sherd of punctured Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware was discovered. Domestic Middle Bronze II pottery and objects were found, including a complete bronze needle, and an obsidian fragment that suggested trade with Anatolia.

While central Transjordan was in general abatement during this period, Tell el-^cUmeiri was a significant exception, seemingly prospering with extensive trade and fine domestic tools. Too little was excavated to be able to describe in detail the economic state of the settlement at this time, but it seems to have been a major city, isolated and apparently lacking a rural support system. Much more work on this exception to the above hypothesis needs to be done in the future.

The walls and surfaces on the Middle Bronze terrace were truncated in the north by a substantial terrace wall built in two parts. The first section, in the west, contained pottery from the end of the Late Bronze Age, while the second, in the east, produced early Iron I sherds. No other remains were found, suggesting that the northern slope was now extramural. Although the strong abatement processes reflected in the region around ^cUmeiri were thus again not in

¹⁴Field Supervisor for Field C, the Northern Slope, was James Battenfield, assisted by Square Supervisor Taleb Smadi and volunteers Linda Paustian and Sandra Smith.



Plate 16. Aerial view of Field C.

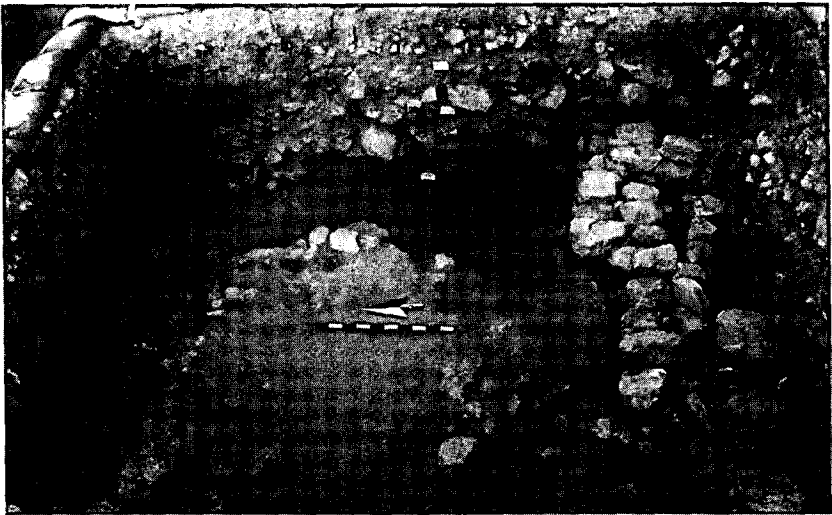


Plate 17. Early and Middle Bronze Age remains in Field C.



Plate 18. Aerial view of Field D.

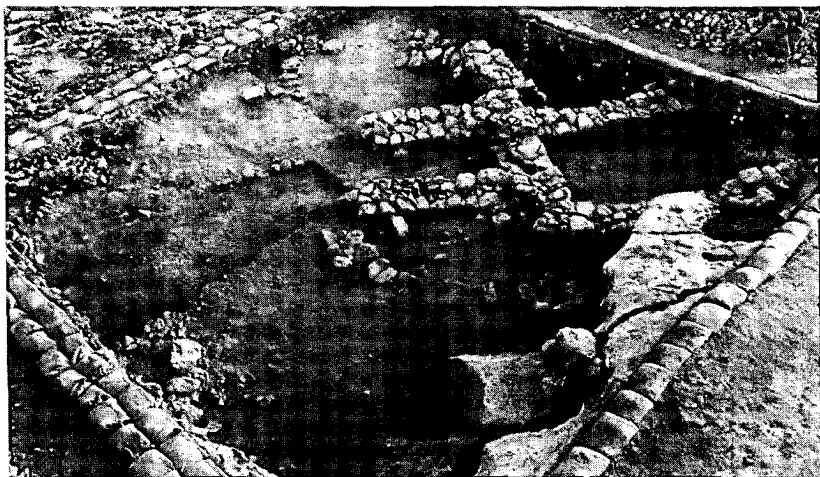


Plate 19. EB III domestic complex in Field D.

evidence for the Late Bronze period, the settlement appears to have declined in size. Although the data base is small, the information suggests no radical change or destruction between the Late Bronze and Iron I settlement, but rather only the extension of a terrace wall.

*The Lower Southern Terrace: Field D*¹⁵

The 1984 excavations on the lower southern terrace uncovered two fragmentary phases from the EB IV period which yielded information regarding the abatement process of Cycle 1. The field was expanded in 1987 to intercept potentially better-preserved remains beneath what appeared to be deeper debris to the north (see Plate 18). Instead, four phases of an EB III domestic complex were found north of a terrace wall uncovered in 1984, but whose function had not been known prior to 1987. No EB IV remains appeared in Field D in 1987. There is thus new information regarding only the height of the intensification process during Cycle 1.

The EB III domestic complex was built on a bedrock terrace that seems to have been carved back in places (see Plate 19). All

¹⁵Field Supervisor for Field D, the Lower Southern Terrace, was Michèle Daviau, assisted by Square Supervisors Timothy Harrison, George McCourt, Marilyn Murray, and Katrina Rounsefell; volunteers included Wallace Amundson, Bonnie Battenfield, Randall Clark, Lynda DuPreez, Ron DuPreez, John Giddings, Carla Jones, Zlatko Kanacki, Kimberly Murray, Warren Ruf, Lynn Smith, and Charles Urquhart.

four phases of the complex reused the major walls, constructing and dismantling other minor walls as house plans changed. At least two of the rooms were long rooms, with doors through their short sides. No benches were found, but plaster with reed impressions from roof and/or wall coating was found in a yellow matrix that was probably the earth topping of the roof. In one room, eleven thin surfaces had been laid one on top of the other, indicating constant occupation and reuse of the area. The surfaces were not compact, suggesting that they had been laid rapidly during intensive use. Although they were difficult to discern in vertical section, broken ceramic vessels and other objects were frequently found lying on them. The finds associated with these surfaces reflected common domestic activities, such as food preparation (mortars, grinders, bones from meat animals, and cooking pots), food storage (a bin built into a wall and many large pithoi with flaring, thickened rims and rope molding at the base of the neck [one jar contained about 4000 chick peas]), and tool-making (thousands of flint flakes and a few tools). Embedded in the surfaces were mortars, sockets, hearths, and pillar bases. One of the surfaces, perhaps a courtyard, was made of thinly laminated plaster.

Field D best represented the apex of intensification of Cycle 1, although located on the periphery of the site and thus most likely not representing its most prosperous expression. Still, its architecture and domestic material culture reflected an economic and social order that was organized and reasonably prosperous. Although the abatement process for the Early Bronze settlement could not be shown from data collected this season, a comparison of the remains described above with those of the EB IV phases discovered in 1984 shows that prosperity declined in the following period. The EB IV houses were much smaller, with poorly constructed walls, while the individual housing units were farther removed from each other, reflecting a reduced population density. The abatement process had already begun.

*The Water System: Field E*¹⁶

Ever since Tell el-^cUmeiri was rediscovered in 1976, it has been assumed that the reason it was occupied—and indeed re-

¹⁶Field Supervisor for Field E, the Water System, was James Battenfield, assisted by Square Supervisors Curtis Cherry and Bryce Cole; volunteers included Boguslav Dabrowski, Jeff Fisher, Jonathan Fisher, Tracy Wilmott, Kim Wilhite, and Nathaniel Yen.

mained settled throughout the abatement years between Cycles 1 and 2—was the presence of the only spring between Amman and Madaba. The tell itself was not the highest and most easily fortified hill in the region; its views to the north, west, and south were limited by higher hills immediately adjacent. The availability of water thus seems to have overcome strategic weaknesses in the decision regarding where to settle. Even after the site was abandoned, other settlements arose nearby which could still utilize the water source.

Located at the foot of the northern slope of the site, immediately outside the convergence of the V-shaped walls of the northern suburb, the source is presently dry. Raouf Abujaber, whose family has owned the land on which the water source is located since late Ottoman times, reported that the source had produced water until the 1930s. When it became dry, his family capped the installation with reinforced concrete (see **Plate 20**).

At present, a hole has been opened in the capping by vandals. This hole allowed the excavators to study the interior to a depth of ca. 5 m. Ashlar blocks made up the four walls of a large shaft ca. 2.5×3.5 m in size. The bottom was filled with rubble and recent garbage. Two architectural phases could be discerned in the ashlar, with the top two courses being clearly much more recent than the

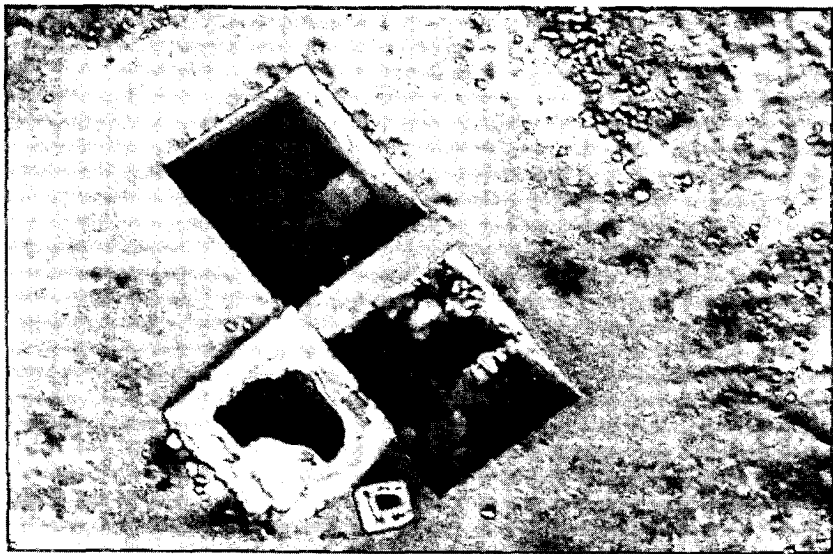


Plate 20. Aerial view of Field E.

lower courses. The top course of the lower phase included the springstone of an arch. At the bottom, an arched channel or tunnel led to the west but ended after ca. 1 m.

It was decided not to excavate the interior, because fill debris inside a water installation seldom provides evidence either for the construction date or for associated use patterns. Instead, two squares were opened on the western side of the installation in order to examine (1) foundational features of the present structure; (2) any previous structures that may have been preserved; and (3) the intensity, quality (architectural features), and chronology of use; as well as (4) the question of whether the source was a spring or a well.

The excavations encountered several earth layers which must have been dump debris from periods when the water system was cleaned out. The earliest such material contained secondarily-deposited EB III low-necked water jars, virtually to the exclusion of other forms. There were also several pockets of dumped debris from episodes of cleaning activity which contained 1026 diagnostic sherds from the late Iron Age II, at least 90% of which were water jars and jugs. Above the late Iron II remains were several deposits of dumped cleanup debris which contained almost exclusively early Roman water jars and jugs. It would thus seem that the area was used for water resources, at least through the early Roman period. No significant later remains have been found until comparatively modern times.

*The Eastern Shelf: Field F*¹⁷

During the 1984 random surface survey, the eastern shelf produced the most balanced series of ceramic readings anywhere on the site; that is, pottery quantities from all major periods of settlement at the site were represented in more-or-less equal percentages. It thus seemed likely that excavation in 1987 would produce remains from these periods without a major disruption and that the living strategies of each settlement could be examined in detail in terms of the project's overall questions concerning intensification and abatement. There were also surface indications that the southern city wall ended here in a tower. North of the "tower" was a slight

¹⁷Field Supervisor for Field F, the Eastern Shelf, was Russanne Low, assisted by Square Supervisors Wendell Buck, James Fisher, Denise Herr, and Katariina Mantyniemi; volunteers included Jon Asgeirsson, Nina Asgeirsson, Alessandro Bruno, Ann Fisher, Brent Geraty, Thomas Wehtje, and Wiley Young.



Plate 21. One side of an outer gate bastion in Field F.

depression running up the slope from the east, flanked by another rubble pile on the north, thus suggesting the existence of a gateway at the eastern summit. It has been hypothesized that the Kings' Highway ran just to the east of the site, roughly where the modern Queen Alia International Airport Highway runs today.¹⁸ If so, the most likely location for the gate to the city would be on the eastern side. Four squares were initially laid out to intersect the eastern side of the northern "tower" of the proposed gateway and to examine the eastern shelf as it approached the structure. A fifth square was added later.

The earliest levels were reached in a 1-m-square sounding at the end of the season. Here several hard earth layers containing pottery of the early Iron II and Iron I horizons were excavated. These lay immediately beneath what appeared to have been a bastion, perhaps an outer gate complex, running perpendicular to the slope (see Plate 21). Three short piers extended from this thick (ca. 1.5 m) north-south wall.

The most interesting feature of this structure was a standing stone near one of the piers, accompanied by the bottom half of a

¹⁸D. B. Redford, "Bronze Age Itinerary in Transjordan," *Journal for the Society for the Study of Egyptian Archaeology* 12 (1982): 55-74.

large pithos embedded in the associated surface and a boulder with a hole carved in one end as if it were intended to tether an animal. This suggested the kind of activity patterns that would be typical of gates—such as tethering a beast of burden while the owner did business inside the summit wall, and public-ceremonial activities associated with a pithos next to a standing stone. A similar standing stone with associated basin has been found at Tell el-Far^{ah} (N) in the gate of Niveau VIIb (10th century).¹⁹

The interpretation is that the approach to the acropolis traversed the slope from north to south through the outer bastion and then turned west for the final approach. However, the wall had very shallow foundations, resting on a compact and stable earth layer. Indeed, a foundation trench was found only on the upslope side of the wall. An ashy layer immediately above the beaten-earth surface that was in use with this wall may reflect the destruction of the wall. Late Iron II and early Persian pottery were found in the associated surface and earth layers.

The area does not seem to have been occupied after its destruction. A series of weak terrace walls and irregular pits can be related to activities of a considerably abated settlement dated to early Persian times, probably contemporary with the plastered pool in Field A. Still later, there is evidence that this area of the mound was used for farming. Although the tell itself was not occupied at this time, the farm on its slopes reflected the intensified nature of settlement in the region during the Byzantine period, from which many such settlements have been found by surveys. The very latest evidence in Field F was an Islamic period burial containing an intact male skeleton with a javelin blade in its pelvis (see Plate 22).

4. *Epigraphic Finds*

The range and variety of small finds in 1987 was comparable to those of 1984, so the list need not be repeated except to mention, perhaps, some fine examples of Iron-Age figurines, both human (see Plates 23, 24) and zoomorphic (see Plates 25, 26).

Again, the most interesting finds were epigraphic. Although two small ostraca with very fragmentary signs of script were discovered, the most important inscriptions were ones from Fields F and B.

¹⁹A. Chambon, *Tell el-Far^{ah} I* (Paris, 1984), p. 155.



Plate 22. Burial of adult male with javelin blade in the pelvis.



Plate 23. Head of a human figurine fragment with head-dress.

Plate 24. Head of a human figurine fragment without head-dress.



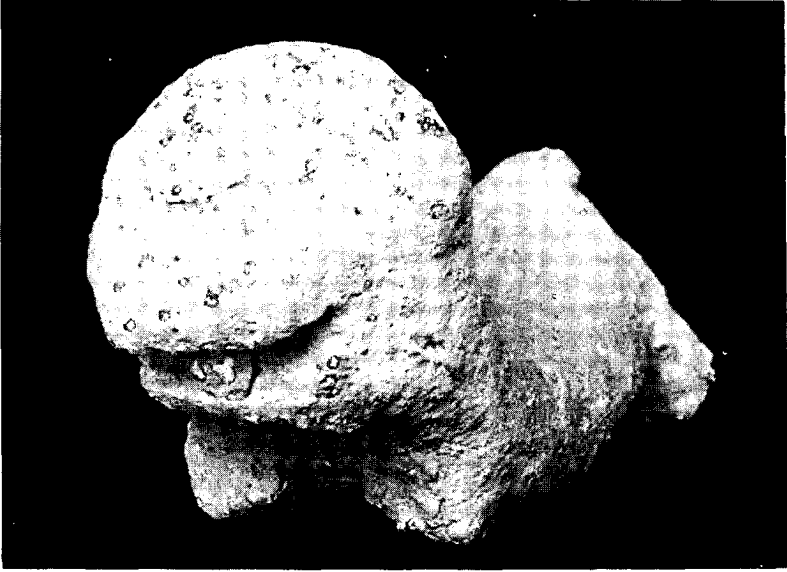


Plate 25. Zoomorphic figurine fragment.



Plate 26. Zoomorphic figurine fragment.

From Field F came a small scaraboid seal made of red limestone found *in situ* (see **Plate 27**). Both the low quality of the stone and the nature of the inscribed materials on the seal suggest that it did not belong to a wealthy person. The first four letters of the inscription appear on the top line, with the last letter on the second; the rest of the second line is empty. There is no iconography. The script is typical of the Ammonite national script of the early sixth century B.C. and reads *lšm^cz*, "belonging to Shem^caz." Especially distinctive is the *zayin*, carved in the shape of a squat Z, typical of late-Ammonite forms. The name itself, or elements of it, are very common to Semitic onomastica—including those in the Bible—but the bearer of the seal is unknown to history.

From Field B, out of a large trenchpit dug after the Persian period pool went out of use, came an Egyptian seal impression: On an Iron I jar handle was found the cartouche of the 18th-Dynasty Pharaoh Thutmose III, typical of copies made in the 12th century, long after the Pharaoh was gone from the scene (see **Plate 28**). It is not confirmation of D. B. Redford's suggestion that Thutmose III actually visited Tell el-^cUmeiri (biblical Abel-keramim), because

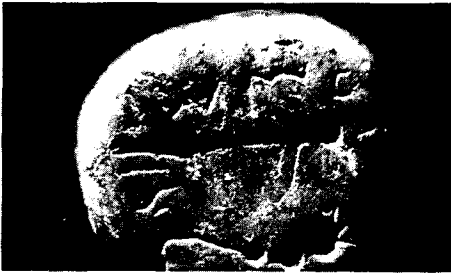


Plate 27. Red limestone seal from Field F.



Plate 28. Seal impression with the cartouche of Thutmose III.

many similar seals, each with his cartouche, were made throughout Palestine in the centuries following his rule.²⁰

The importance of the epigraphic finds from both the 1984 and 1987 seasons at Tell el-^cUmeiri is remarkable; these finds are of interest to historians, linguists, and biblical scholars alike.²¹ One

²⁰Cf. Redford, in the title cited in n. 18, above.

²¹To facilitate in-field identification, documentation, and conservation of pottery, objects, flints, human skeletal remains, animal and plant remains, ethnobotanical samples, geological samples, and other ecofacts, separate processing stations and procedures were set up at the beginning of the season in the large gymnasium at headquarters.

Pottery processing included stations where sherds were washed, read, counted, registered, technologically analyzed, mended, drawn, photographed, and further analyzed as needed. Pottery Registrar was Mary Ellen Lawlor, assisted by Kathy Mallak, Nancy Lawlor, and Renée Lawlor. Ceramic technological studies were carried out by Gloria London, assisted by potter Marlene Sinclair. Pottery washing was organized by Vanessa Martin.

Processing of small finds was the responsibility of the Object Registrar, Elizabeth Platt, assisted by Karis Lawlor. This station included the cleaning, identification, registration, drawing, photographing, and conservation of artifacts such as coins, cosmetic implements, jewelry, figurines, ostraca, textile tools, and stone utensils. Drawings of the objects were made by artist Peter Erhard; after he left, the job was carried on by Monique Escamilla and Alessandro Bruno. Two special studies were also carried out: one on textile tools and their associated industries, by Dorothy Irvin; and another on stone tools, by John Lee.

The ecology laboratory, supervised this season by Randall Younker, included separate processing stations, each with its own equipment (scales and microscopes) for processing flotation samples; human and animal osteological remains; ethnobotanical samples; earth and rock samples; flint chips and artifacts; and a work station for the members of the regional survey, where maps and aerial photographs could be examined in preparation for the next day's fieldwork. Ramona Hubbard, Phyllis Richards, and Sandra Penley conducted the flotation procedure; and preliminary identifications were made by Russanne Low. Charles Castleberg cleaned the animal bones, and Doug Schnurrenberger and George McCourt processed the geological samples. Flint remains from Field D were analyzed by Peter Sheppard.

Field identifications resulting from each of these processing operations were compiled and integrated into the stratigraphic records by a computer system assembled and programmed by James Brower. He also entered the field data on a weekly basis, providing checks to the recording procedures of each supervisor. No diagnostic sherds, bones, or flints were discarded. What was not turned over to the Department of Antiquities at the end of the season or shipped to North America for further analysis was stored in stackable crates along with the rest of the project's equipment. Of the items shipped to North America, the small objects have been housed in the Horn Archaeological Museum at Andrews University, and the publishable pottery has been temporarily housed at Canadian Union College until the

can imagine that this tell on the edge of the Madaba Plains has yet other treasures waiting to be found during the third season of the Joint Expedition to the Madaba Plains, currently scheduled for June 19 to August 8, 1989.

project is completed, when it will be sent to the Museum at Andrews University.

Glenn Johnson supervised the drafting team, which included Ron Haznedl, and, for a few days, Carlene Johnson. Also located at headquarters was a makeshift darkroom for processing and developing film. The photography team was headed by Larry Coyle, assisted by Judy Christiansen, Tamara Hoffer, Ronda Sandic, Thor Storfjell, and Erwin Syphers.

At headquarters the daily logistic needs of the staff were supervised by Lawrence Geraty, and included the camp staff: Bjørnar Storfjell, part-time administrative director; Wallace Amundson, part-time administrative director; Erwin Syphers, physician; James Byers, physician; Ted Pottle, head cook; Ramona Hubbard, Ann Syphers, and Mary Ziemke, assistant cooks (many volunteers also helped with the kitchen work, especially Sandra Penley, Phyllis Richards, and Doris Strawn); and Raymond Pelto, handyman. Lloyd Willis acted as chaplain, and Nora Peppers and Rafael Figueroa produced a series of video presentations about the dig.

MARTIN LUTHER AND HIS THEOLOGY
IN GERMAN CATHOLIC INTERPRETATION
BEFORE AND AFTER VATICAN II

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Recent Roman Catholic research has produced a series of outstanding works on Luther's life and theology. During the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the present century, the serious scientific work was for the most part done by Lutherans and other Protestants, with names such as Theodosius Harnack, Adolf von Harnack, Karl Holl, Paul Althaus, Heinrich Bornkamm, W. von Loewenich, R. Hermann, and H. J. Iwand being well known.¹ Why, then, has the more fair and serious Catholic interpretation of Luther arisen only so recently?

1. *The Basis and Course of Earlier Catholic Interpretation*

Cochlaeus' Influence

An answer to this question of why the more scientific and accurate Catholic depiction of Luther is so recent was well stated at the time of World War II by Catholic scholar Adolf Herte in a three-volume work, *Das katholische Lutherbild im Bann der Lutherkommentare des Cochlaeus*. His clear and, for many Catholics, embarrassing answer was this: Catholic Luther interpretation for the previous 400 years had more or less repeated what Johannes Cochlaeus, a contemporary of Luther, set forth in his extremely negative *Commentaria de actis et scriptis M. Lutheri*.² Cochlaeus' writings were basically nothing but fiction, calumny, and lies. In the rude style of that time, Cochlaeus depicted Luther as a monster, a demagogue, a revolutionary, a drunkard, and a violator of nuns.³

¹See Ernst-Heinz Amberg, "Luther in der Theologie des 20. Jahrhunderts," *TLZ* 108 (1983): 802-815.

²An edition has been published in Münster by W. Aschendorff in 1943.

³Theodor Kolde, "Cochlaeus," *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. D. Albert Hauck, 3d ed., rev. and enl., 22 vols. (Leipzig, 1898), 4: 194-200.

This same style continued during the following centuries. The Jesuits in their jubilee book of 1640, *Imago primi saeculi societatis Jesu*, called Luther the "blemish of Germany," the "filthy wretch of Epicurus," and the "corruptor of Europe."⁴ Although the expressions became softer during the following centuries, the biographical and theological standpoint remained mainly polemical.

Johann Möhler

Johann Adam Möhler, the prominent theologian and historian of the Catholic Tübingen school in the early nineteenth century, admitted that Luther's feelings were sound and healthy, i.e. Luther was not a decadent man; but he contended that Luther's doctrine of justification caused a misunderstanding of ethics of which the Reformer himself was unfortunately unaware. Indeed, Luther's entire doctrine was nothing else than the renewal of Gnosticism.⁵

Ignaz Döllinger

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Ignaz Döllinger, one of Catholicism's most famous church historians, who later broke with his church after the dogma of papal infallibility had been proclaimed, wrote a three-volume work entitled *Die Reformation*. In it Döllinger attempted to apply Leopold von Ranke's principles of modern historiography to church history, but his outcome was just the reverse, for again the treatment took the form of polemics. Döllinger admitted that Luther was the most popular character that Germany had ever possessed, but declared that the Protestant Reformation, judged according to its fruits, was a "soul-murdering heresy"⁶ which stifled every arousal of conscience by the illusion of a false assurance of salvation.⁷

Johannes Janssen

At about the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century this same kind of problematical procedure reached its culmination in

⁴See Walter Beyna, *Das moderne katholische Lutherbild* (Essen, 1969), p. 13.

⁵J. A. Möhler, *Symbolik*, 6th ed. (Munich, 1895), pp. 242-245.

⁶I. Döllinger, *Kirche und Kirchen, Papsttum und Kirchenstaat*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1861), p. 341.

⁷I. Döllinger, *Die Reformation*, 3 vols. (Reprint ed.; Frankfurt a. M., 1962) 3: 43.

three authors: Johannes Janssen, Heinrich Denifle, and Hartmann Grisar. Janssen, a historian who later became a Catholic priest, wrote a work entitled *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, in which he glorified the Middle Ages and devalued the era of the Reformation. For him, Luther was a sick soul with inferior character.⁸

Heinrich Denifle and Hartmann Grisar

The rudest attack, however, came from Denifle, a Dominican monk and renowned specialist in the study of the Middle Ages. In 1904, his book entitled *Luther und Luthertum* appeared. In it he depicted Luther as a moral miscreant who had invented the doctrine of justification to excuse his own immoral life.⁹ He accused the Reformer of being guilty of a "damned half-knowledge"¹⁰ and of a "philosophy of the flesh,"¹¹ and he called Luther's doctrine a "seminar of sins and vices."¹² In several passages he chose the form of personal address to Luther, exclaiming, for example, "Luther, in you there is nothing divine!"¹³

A more subtle, but in its effect no less offensive, approach was used by Jesuit priest Grisar, Professor of Church History in Innsbruck, whose book entitled *Luther* appeared in 1911. Ostensibly, Grisar gave the impression of being fair and objective, but into his supposedly neutral statements he skillfully mingled subtle insinuations about Luther's immorality, abnormality, and haughtiness.¹⁴

The Catholic philosopher Johannes Hessen has evaluated the methods of Denifle and Grisar as follows: "One may doubt which of the two methods of killing Luther was the most pleasant: The rude, but open, way of the Dominican . . . or the cunning method of the Jesuit. . . . There is no doubt that both methods are failures."¹⁵

⁸See Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther im Spiegel der deutschen Geistesgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1955), pp. 261-264.

⁹H. Denifle, *Luther und Luthertum*, 2d ed. (Mainz, 1904), 1: 605.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 666, 681.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 787.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 799.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 797.

¹⁴See Bornkamm, pp. 335-340.

¹⁵See *ibid.*, p. 107.

2. *Beginnings of a New Approach*

Just before and during World War II a turning point was reached in Catholic Luther study in that a change for a fairer and more objective evaluation of Luther began to develop. This was the beginning of the new Catholic Luther interpretation that has caused a sensation in the religious world of today.

Joseph Lortz

The new stance can be traced back especially to the work of Joseph Lortz, who in 1939 wrote a two-volume work entitled *Die Reformation in Deutschland* (Eng., *The Reformation in Germany*). The publication has become a best-seller, with tremendous echo in the Catholic as well as in the Protestant theological and historical milieu. In fact, Lortz's volumes have been compared with von Ranke's classic work in the nineteenth century, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*.

Lortz tried seriously to understand Luther and the Reformation. In one stroke he abandoned, once and for all, the polemical approach, denying, for example, the legend of Luther's immorality. Lortz declares that "Luther was not motivated by low inclinations and desires when he broke with the church . . . this ought to be understood by everyone."¹⁶ The Reformation was inevitable, Lortz suggests, with the Catholic Church having been guilty of corrupting the life and thought of medieval Christianity.¹⁷

But, says Lortz, Luther did not fight real Catholicism. Catholicism as Luther understood it was the prevailing Scholasticism of the late Middle Ages, the so-called "Occamism" in which Luther had been brought up—a position the Reformer finally rejected as a new kind of Pelagianism because theologians such as William of Occam and Gabriel Biel had made man's will and work precede God's grace according to the famous sentence, "Si homo facit, quod in se est, deus dat ei gratiam."¹⁸ Thus Luther, who probably was not very well acquainted with High Scholasticism and especially not with Thomas Aquinas, fought only a decadent form of

¹⁶J. Lortz, *Die Reformation in Deutschland*, 4th ed. (Freiburg i. Br., 1962), 1: 192.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 176.

Catholic theology, while the real Catholicism (which was mainly Thomism) remained untouched.¹⁹

Lortz clearly points out in his *Reformation in Deutschland* that Luther was no modern subjectivist (subjectivism was rather anticipated by Erasmus), but rather a Christ-centered thinker with enormous and deep strength of faith, influencing generations of Christians; if it were not so, Protestant Christianity would have disappeared a long time ago.²⁰ In a letter to some German soldiers during World War II, Lortz was even more positive, stating that Luther was a man of secular significance, an inexhaustible ocean of religious strength. He was a real "homo religiosus," not a shallow kind of Christian, but a confessor of "theologia crucis." He was an evangelist of Jesus Christ and of Christ's gospel of redemption and grace. Luther's earnestness as a monk, his love for the Scriptures, his belief in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, his life of prayer and piety—all of these point to the "homo catholicus" in this "heretic."²¹

It is interesting to notice that Lortz still considered Luther a "heretic." He explained Luther psychologically: In spite of Luther's many wonderful sides, Luther was an "Erregungstyp" ("emotional character").²² Luther formed his theology out of his own experience and therefore was unable to integrate other theological aspects which were contrary to his inner life and thoughts.

Johannes Hessen

Because of Lortz's attempt at a psychological explanation of Luther, the Catholic philosopher Johannes Hessen, in a booklet entitled *Luther in katholischer Sicht* (1st ed., 1947; 2d ed., 1949), criticized Lortz. Hessen has pointed out that Lortz's psychological explanation is unsatisfying—that the difference between Catholicism and Luther is not a psychological one, but a theological one. Luther had a real and justified theological burden. Thus, Hessen

¹⁹Ibid., p. 170. If this is so, a twentieth-century Protestant-Catholic encounter on the reformational issues should probably be easier than it has seemed to be in former times.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 400-402.

²¹Cited by Johannes Hessen, *Luther in katholischer Sicht*, 2d ed. (Bonn, 1949), p. 16.

²²Lortz, *Reformation*, 1:162.

has given one of the most enthusiastic Catholic appreciations of Luther that appeared before Vatican II. Luther, to Hessen, was a real "reformer, a restorer," whose only mistake was that he was more earnest and deep than his contemporaries.²³ If Luther sometimes exaggerated, this was because of his prophetic mission, for the prophet must fight any kind of deformation with all the means at his disposal. Luther only fulfilled a historical law. (Towards the end of his life, Lortz too had begun to appreciate Luther more and more as a "prophet," a "theologian of high rank," and a "mighty spiritual power," whose "riches must be gathered into the Catholic Church."²⁴ On Luther's main point—i.e., the doctrine of justification—Catholics can agree with the Reformer.²⁵)

Erwin Iserloh

Lortz's work is presently being continued by his one-time student Erwin Iserloh, who achieved prominence in 1961 through an article on Luther's "95 Theses."²⁶ Iserloh has also written the articles on Luther and the German Reformation in the fourth volume of the *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (2d ed., 1979), edited by Hubert Jedin.

According to Iserloh, Luther was a "Behaupter" ("maintainer"); in the Reformer's theology there was no room for compromises, but only for confession. This confession proceeded from the truly religious experience of the Majesty of God, on the one hand, and man's sinfulness, on the other hand.²⁷ But like his master Lortz, Iserloh affirms that Luther mixed up Late Scholasticism with Catholicism, thus fighting a deviation instead of the real phenomenon.²⁸

²³J. Hessen, *Luther in katholischer Sicht*, 1st ed. (Bonn, 1947), p. 18.

²⁴J. Lortz, "M. Luther. Grundzüge seiner geistigen Struktur," in *Reformata Reformanda*, ed. E. Iserloh and K. Reppen, 2 vols. (Münster/W., 1965), 1: 220, 221, 218.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 244.

²⁶E. Iserloh, "Luthers Thesenanschlag—Tatsache oder Legende?" *TThZ* 70 (1961): 303-312. Iserloh tried to prove that Luther had not actually posted those theses on the door of Wittenberg's "Schlosskirche."

²⁷E. Iserloh, "Martin Luther und der Aufbruch der Reformation (1517-25)," in *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Hubert Jedin, 7 vols. (Freiburg i. Br., 1962-79), 4: 15, 17.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 41.

Summary

The foregoing studies on Luther's life and person were surely profitable because they brought a change in Catholic thinking about Luther. But those historical studies had their limitations inasmuch as they did not include Luther's theology.

Certain Protestants in the recent past have produced some fine works on Luther's theology. These include Paul Althaus, *Die Theologie Martin Luthers* (1961); Gerhard Ebeling, *Luther. Einführung in sein Denken* (1964); Rudolf Hermann, *Luthers Theologie* (1967); and Friedrich Gogarten, *Luthers Theologie* (1967). Thus far there is, however, no general presentation of Luther's theology in Catholic research, with perhaps the exception of Otto Hermann Pesch's *Hinführung zu Luther* (1982) that will be mentioned later. This is a kind of introduction to Luther's theology. Nevertheless, the 1960s have produced some interesting works on special features in this field. For example, a rather complete picture of Catholic interpretation of both the person and the theology of Luther has been given by Werner Beyna, *Das moderne katholische Lutherbild* (1969). This has brought us, of course, to the time of Vatican II and thereafter.

3. *The Most Recent Catholic Appraisals*

The present situation is characterized by an inner-Catholic tension between the older "historical" school (J. Lortz, H. Jedin, E. Iserloh, P. Manns) and the more recent "systematical" school (A. Brandenburg, H. Küng, St. Pfürtnner, H. Fries, O. H. Pesch). The "systematicians" criticize the historical school on three points: (1) The historians proceed from the standpoint that Catholic dogma is not to be disputed; (2) they see a Catholic irreconcilability with Luther's doctrine of God's sovereign action in salvation, an action that excludes cooperation on the part of the recipient; and (3) they are not ready (with the exception of Hessen) to learn anything from Luther. This threefold criticism has been set forth by the most outstanding representative of the new approach, the former Dominican monk Pesch, already mentioned earlier for his incorporation of a broad theological perspective in his treatment of Luther.²⁹ To a certain extent, this new doctrinal dialogue began in 1957 with

²⁹See Peter Manns, *Lutherforschung Heute* (Wiesbaden, 1967), p. 10.

Hans Küng's famous book *Rechtfertigung*, a dialogue between Karl Barth and Catholicism. But because Luther's doctrine was not addressed directly by Küng, the new school considers its beginning to be with Albert Brandenburg's *Gericht und Evangelium* in 1960.

Albert Brandenburg

According to Brandenburg, who seems to have been very deeply influenced by Gerhard Ebeling's existentialist Luther interpretation, Luther's theology is mainly a new hermeneutic. The initial notion in Luther is the "Deus absconditus"; the second notion is the judgment concept; and the culmination appears in the concept of faith, faith being the basic form of existence (with the historical event thus being secondary and personal engagement primary in importance).³⁰ It is because of this existentialist character of Luther's theology, Brandenburg declares, that the Reformer is a "Lutherus praesens" for all Christians³¹—an interpretation that has not found unanimous agreement. But Brandenburg insists on the Catholic integration of Luther's theology. In *Die Zukunft des Martin Luther* (1977) he calls the Reformer the "first evangelical theologian in the Church," a person who must get "his deserved place in the Church" and from whom alone Catholicism and Protestantism can expect a "renewal of Christianity."³²

Stephan Pfürtner

In 1961 Stephan Pfürtner published a booklet entitled *Luther und Thomas im Gespräch* (Eng., *Luther and Aquinas: A Conversation*) in which he deals with the special aspect of the assurance of salvation in Thomas Aquinas and in Luther. For him, Luther's "fides actualis" corresponds to the Catholic "fides caritate formata."³³ He doubts the Council of Trent's theological understanding of Luther's assurance of salvation; therefore it is possible to maintain that Luther was not condemned by that Council.³⁴ Though Aquinas rejects an assurance of grace,³⁵ he teaches an assurance of

³⁰See Beyna, p. 193.

³¹A. Brandenburg, *Die Zukunft des Martin Luther* (Münster/W., 1977), p. 42.

³²*Ibid.*, pp. 41, 65, 81.

³³S. Pfürtner, *Luther and Aquinas: A Conversation*, trans. E. Quinn (London, 1964), p. 40.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 31.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 37.

hope;³⁶ and both Aquinas and Luther refute the un-Christian "securitas" assurance—Luther by faith, and Aquinas by hope. This consideration could serve as foundational in the search for "a synthesis of an understanding of faith"—a synthesis that one day could even be realized.³⁷

Otto Hermann Pesch

The most complete and thorough work on the subject of Aquinas and Luther, however, is a book of nearly 1000 pages by Pesch, Professor of Ecumenical Theology at the Protestant Theological Faculty in Hamburg: *Theologie der Rechtfertigung bei M. Luther und Thomas von Aquin*, published first in 1967 and reprinted in 1985. Pesch believes that there are only formal differences, no substantial ones, between the two theologians. Luther's theology is existential, Thomas's is sapiential;³⁸ but they do not differ in their main points of justification, and therefore there is no reason for condemning one or the other.³⁹ Pesch further points out that the polemics between Protestants and Catholics for 500 years has perhaps been only a big misunderstanding.⁴⁰

In 1967 a smaller work by Pesch also appeared: *Die Rechtfertigungslehre Luthers in katholischer Sicht*. In it Pesch has elaborated six points of importance in Luther's doctrine of justification: (1) The Law and the Gospel; (2) *simul justus et peccator*; (3) *justitia aliena* ("external justice"); (4) *sola fide numquam sola* ("faith justifies alone, but does not remain alone"); (5) the assurance of salvation; and (6) God's sole agency and man's non-free will.

Pesch's treatment of the six points is as follows: He admits that Catholic theology has failed to accept the antithesis between the Law and the Gospel, but is not troubled in this regard, because modern man does not experience sin through the Law, but rather through existential need. In this respect, both Catholics and Protestants are in the same boat.⁴¹ The formula "*simul justus et peccator*,"

³⁶Ibid., p. 41.

³⁷Ibid., p. 113.

³⁸O. H. Pesch, *Theologie der Rechtfertigung bei Martin Luther und Thomas von Aquin* (Darmstadt, 1985), pp. 937-938.

³⁹Ibid., p. 950.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 951.

⁴¹O. H. Pesch, *Die Rechtfertigungslehre Luthers in katholischer Sicht* (Berlin, 1967), p. 53.

already treated by Grosche, Koster, and Rahner, can also be integrated into Catholic theology. Sin as sensuality in the human mind is more than the "fomes peccati," the latent possibility of sin in case of temptation. Sin is a dynamic power in man; therefore Catholics can also speak of a total depravity of human faculties. However, Pesch admits that the concept of the Council of Trent, the concept of inherent grace, is incompatible with man's being permanently in sin.⁴²

In order to overcome Luther's opposition to the Catholic concept of grace as an ontological quality, Pesch calls attention to the fact that only the nonbinding *Catechismus Romanus* speaks of "divina qualitas in anima," while the Council of Trent only mentioned grace as being inherent in man.⁴³ Pesch is very open to Luther's accentuation of good works and agrees with Rudolf Hermann that the Reformer fought simply against the possibility of a presentation of man's works before God—a view that is also a perfectly genuine Catholic attitude.⁴⁴ Perhaps Catholics can even agree with Luther's assurance of salvation. The fact that Luther distinguished between "certitudo" and "securitas," maintaining assurance on the condition of faith for the present moment of faith and refuting assurance of eschatological accomplishment, could be, according to Pesch, the basis for a dialogue. Assurance of hope in Aquinas is, at any rate, very near to Luther's view. Against Luther's assertion of non-free will, Pesch points out that Catholic theology is more capable of explaining man's responsibility *vis-à-vis* sin.⁴⁵

In four points Pesch in 1967 still saw differences that had not yet been resolved. These may be listed as follows:⁴⁶

Luther	Catholicism
Forensic justification	Effective justification
<i>Sola fide</i>	<i>Fides caritata formata</i>
Grace as a relationship	Grace as a quality
The Word of God as the main vehicle of grace	The sacraments as the main vehicle of grace

However, in more recent publications—*Mysterium salutis* (1973), and *Gerechtfertigt aus Glauben. Luthers Fragen an die*

⁴²Ibid., p. 61.

⁴³Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 68.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 77.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 78.

Kirche (1982)—Pesch expresses his firm conviction that the doctrine of justification according to the present understanding of many Lutheran and Catholic theologians “does not separate the churches any more.”⁴⁷ Indeed, it is possible to say, “United in the doctrine of justification? We confidently affirm: ‘Yes!’”⁴⁸

August Hasler

Another most interesting work, *Luther in der katholischen Dogmatik*, was published by the Swiss theologian August Hasler in 1968. In it, Hasler reports his investigation of the most prominent Catholic dogmatic textbooks of earlier times and of the present day (more than thirty titles) in order to ascertain how correctly their authors have interpreted Luther’s theology. The outcome was disappointing. With the exception of Michael Schmaus, the well-known dogmatist in Munich, all of the other Catholic spokesmen showed only a limited acquaintance with Luther’s theology. They often misunderstood him, and they usually quoted him according to secondary sources, seldom according to the Weimar Edition. Hasler then analyzes the main features of Luther’s thought, proposing to find a common terminology in order to arrive at common beliefs. However, he admits that even with this being done, there will still be differences of understanding between Catholicism and Lutheranism.⁴⁹

Peter Manns

Especially has the Luther commemoration of 1983 produced some new Catholic works on Luther’s life and theology. Peter Manns, one of the most famous spokesmen of the Lortz school, produced, for instance, an illustrated biography in which he rigorously refutes the idea of any pathological trait in Luther’s character and maintains the normality of Luther’s monastic crisis and the profound theological character of the Reformation.⁵⁰

Interestingly enough, Manns considers Luther’s teachings on “pure love,” or love as the fulfillment of the Law, as the Reformer’s

⁴⁷O. H. Pesch, *Gerechtfertigt aus Glauben. Luthers Fragen an die Kirche* (Freiburg i. Br., 1982), p. 42.

⁴⁸O. H. Pesch, “Gottes Gnadenhandeln als Rechtfertigung des Menschen,” in *Mysterium salutis*, ed. J. Feiner and M. Löhrer (Einsiedeln, 1973), 4/2: 913.

⁴⁹A. Hasler, *Luther in der katholischen Dogmatik* (Munich, 1968), p. 347.

⁵⁰Peter Manns, *Martin Luther* (Freiburg i. Br., 1982), pp. 52, 82.

central point.⁵¹ This love points in two directions—love as the gift and triumph of God's grace, on the one hand, and love as a categorical refutation of antinomianism, on the other hand.⁵² Manns closes his discussion with the following statement:

Whoever follows Luther, lives a good life and dies even better, for at the end of the dark tunnel there is somebody who loves us and about whom we can freely rejoice. This is Luther's ecumenical testament, for which we should with modesty be thankful.⁵³

Alfred Läßle

Alfred Läßle, Professor of Practical Theology at the Catholic Theological Faculty in Salzburg, has contributed to the Luther commemoration of 1983 with a biography entitled *Martin Luther. Leben, Bilder, Dokumente*. He views the Reformer as a Catholic phenomenon, "coming out of the Catholic world" and at the same time "remaining in it until the end."⁵⁴ Perhaps one has to be a Catholic, he feels, in order really to understand Luther; indeed, "Luther was much more Catholic than a Lutheran of today may realize."⁵⁵

Läßle compares and contrasts Luther with Savonarola. Both have much in common, but there is one significant difference: Savonarola would have repudiated most of Luther's Reformation program.⁵⁶ Savonarola never abandoned the Roman Church, its traditions, and its sacraments. Läßle stresses Savonarola's "unreduced Catholicism in its evangelical fullness,"⁵⁷ thereby insinuating that the Italian Dominican monk, not the German Augustinian, was the real reformer.

Pesch's *Hinführung zu Luther* gives a far better insight into Luther's concerns than does Läßle, by indicating that Luther's reformation was a "theological revolution,"⁵⁸ a change in the

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 83-84.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid., p. 220.

⁵⁴A. Läßle, *Martin Luther. Leben, Bilder, Dokumente* (Munich, 1982), p. 14.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 130.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 132.

⁵⁸O. H. Pesch, *Hinführung zu Luther* (Mainz, 1982), p. 39.

course of the Church by a categorical return to the Scriptures—something that in the sixteenth century meant an inevitable break with the Church, while today it means the possibility of enlarging Catholic theology.⁵⁹ For Pesch, Luther was the “common teacher” of both Protestants and Catholics.⁶⁰

4. Conclusion

We close this survey of German Catholic Luther research by mention of a twofold conclusion set forth by Walter Kasper and Hans Küng, followed by a final question concerning Luther and Catholicism. Kasper and Küng have suggested that, on the one hand, (1) the Catholic understanding of Luther's person and theology has made enormous progress in the last few decades, while on the other hand, (2) the Catholic hierarchy has failed to keep in step with this progress.⁶¹

The question then arises, Is the French theologian and Lortz disciple Daniel Olivier correct when he says, “Catholicism did not and does not want to have anything to do with Luther, because Luther's Christianity is incompatible with the doctrine of Rome”?⁶² Or is Pesch right when he says, “In spite of some necessary criticism, Luther and his thought can today be perceived as another possibility of theological thinking and Christian existence which has its correct place in the Catholic Church”?⁶³

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 46.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 272-279.

⁶¹Walter Kasper and Hans Küng, “Verständigung über Luther?,” *Concilium. Internationale Zeitschrift für Theologie* 12 (1976): 473 (hereinafter cited as *Conc (D)*).

⁶²Daniel Olivier, “Warum hat man Luther nicht verstanden? Katholische Antwort,” *Conc (D)* 12 (1976): 477.

⁶³O. H. Pesch, *Ketzerfürst und Kirchenlehrer* (Stuttgart, 1971), p. 42.

“COSMOLOGY” AS A KEY TO THE THOUGHT-WORLD OF PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA¹

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Much of the charm of the “allegorical method” lies in the fact that under its influence difficult texts that seem to evoke the deepest truths and inconsistencies turn out to point subtly to higher things. In a word, difficulties dissolve. The negative side of this is that not only the difficulties of the text dissolve, but so also does the original meaning. Applied enthusiastically, the allegorical method turns a text into a cryptogram which points directly to the “higher truths” that the interpreter wishes his audience to consider. The text can thereby become a vehicle for the thoughts of the interpreter, rather than those of the original author.

The Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria was one such enthusiastic practitioner of the allegorical method. The OT became for him a vehicle with which he could present his own ideas—ideas that were congenial to his time and locale. They were, in fact, also congenial to a number of prominent Christian thinkers in the early and medieval church.

However, the modern reader, Christian or otherwise, often finds Philo anything but congenial. Philo’s world of thought appears to be an alien and frustratingly inconsistent universe that moves according to unfamiliar principles. Indeed, one of the main challenges of modern research into Philo is to understand how his thought-world fits together, to perceive the underlying principles behind what he says.

The present essay has grown out of research into this question. In it, I investigate the possibility that Philo’s cosmology may provide the unifying key to unlock the mysteries of his thought-world. “Cosmology” is, of course, a word that can be used to

¹An earlier version of this essay was presented as a paper at the 1987 regional SBL meetings held in Chicago. I would like to express special thanks to Abraham Terian for his encouragement and advice in the preparation and presentation of this paper.

describe a wide variety of interrelated conceptions. Primarily, it relates to the larger questions of the origins of the "cosmos" (the total universe), its structure, and its present and future history. Within the world of thought in which Philo worked, these questions were intimately tied into the associated questions of God's nature, God's relationship with the "cosmos," and man's relationship to all of the foregoing.

1. *Philo's Cosmological Concepts*

In the following discussion I shall first treat briefly Philo's concepts regarding several basic aspects of his cosmology—the Creation, God's nature, and the physical cosmos. Next I shall relate his cosmological thought to what may be called his "philosophical goal" or objective. Finally, I shall endeavor to ascertain to what extent or in what ways Philo's cosmology serves—and wherein it fails to serve—as a key to Philo's thought.

Creation

Philo's views about Creation (as recorded in Gen 1 and 2) are rather complex.² Of particular interest is his concept that Creation was conducted in two stages—first the realm of ideas (*kosmos noētos*), and then the sensible world (*kosmos aisthētos*). This idea of a double Creation emerges in particular in his interpretation of the opening chapters of Genesis (with the accounts in Gen 1 and 2 representing, in fact, two separate stages in creation):

For God, being God, assumed that a beautiful copy would never be produced apart from a beautiful pattern, and that no object of perception would be faultless which was not made in the likeness of an original discerned only by the intellect. So when He willed to create this visible world He first fully formed the intelligible world, in order that He might have the use of a pattern wholly God-like and incorporeal in producing the material world, as a later creation, the very image of an earlier, to

²This has been documented by Thomas H. Tobin, *The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation*, CBQMonSer 14 (Washington, DC, 1983), p. 31. Tobin lists the different strands of interpretation regarding creation that are found in Philo. See also the short, but rather telling, criticisms of Tobin's main theses in Appendix II of David T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 556-558.

embrace in itself objects of perception of as many kinds as the other contained objects of intelligence (*Op.* 16).³

Thus, God first fashioned a model of the entire cosmos and everything in it, and only thereafter caused the "sense-perceptible" world to come into existence. An interesting corollary is that man himself is the image of a heavenly man. In commenting on Gen 2:7 Philo suggests that this text reveals "very clearly that there is a vast difference between the man thus formed and the man that came into existence earlier [in Gen 1] after the image of God" (*Op.* 134). He goes on to say that the former ("the man so formed," as recorded in Gen 2:7) is "an object of sense-perception, partaking already of such or such quality, consisting of body and soul, man or woman, by nature mortal," while "he that was after the (Divine) image was an idea or type or seal, an object of thought (only), incorporeal, neither male nor female, by nature incorruptible" (*ibid.*).

Moreover, the "formed man" has within him a copy of this archetypal man—namely, the mind:

One is the archetypal reason above us, the other the copy of it which we possess. Moses calls the first the "image of God," the second the cast of that image. For God, he says, made man not "the image of God" but "after the image" (Gen. i.27). And thus the mind in each of us, which in the true and full sense is the "man," is an expression at third hand from the Maker, while between them is the Reason which serves as model for our reason, but itself is the effigy or presentment of God (*Her.* 231).

Even in creation, God is somewhat distant from the world, entrusting the creation of some of the less salubrious aspects of the cosmos to lesser beings, his "Powers":

"God said, let us make man after our image" (Gen. i.26), "let us make" indicating more than one. So the Father of all things is holding parley with His powers, whom He allowed to fashion the

³Translations of Philo's work are from the LCL editions: *Philo*, 10 vols., trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (London, 1929); *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesis*, Supplement 1, trans. Ralph Marcus (Cambridge, MA, 1961) (hereinafter *QG*); and *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum*, Supplement 2, trans. Ralph Marcus (Cambridge, MA, 1961) (hereinafter *QE*). Abbreviations used are found in *Philo*, 1:xxiii-xxiv. In addition, *Prov.* refers to *De Providentia*. In-text citations are given herein for all direct quotations from Philo.

mortal portion of our soul. . . . And He employed the powers that are associated with Him. . . . Therefore God deemed it necessary to assign the creation of evil things to other makers, reserving that of good things to Himself alone (*Fug.* 69-70; cf. *Conf.* 179).

God's Nature

God, for Philo, takes on many characteristics which are generally associated with Greek conceptions. For example, the God of Philo is a God that does not change: "Separate, therefore, my soul, all that is created, mortal, mutable, profane, from thy conception of God the uncreated, the unchangeable, the immortal, the holy and solely blessed" (*Sac.* 101). For this reason, Philo believes that "nothing which tends to destruction should have its origin in Him" (*Conf.* 181). In some comments denying the possibility that God can "repent," he queries:

For what greater impiety could there be than to suppose that the Unchangeable changes? . . . Can you doubt that He, the Imperishable Blessed One, who has taken as His own the sovereignty of the virtues, of perfection itself and beatitude, knows no change of will, but ever holds fast to what He purposed from the first without any alteration? (*Deus* 22, 26).

Here, as elsewhere, Philo is much embarrassed by the anthropomorphisms of the OT.⁴

Indeed, God transcends anything that we can comprehend: "Yet the vision only showed that He is, not what He is. For this which is better than the good, more venerable than the monad, purer than the unit, cannot be discerned by anyone else; to God alone is it permitted to apprehend God" (*Praem.* 40). As a consequence of this, God is so far removed from his created cosmos that he communicates with created beings through a series of intermediaries. The exact details of these intermediary beings can vary, in his separate discussions, but the following is a representative statement:

In the first place (there is) He Who is elder than the one and the monad and the beginning. Then (comes) the Logos of the Existent One, the truly seminal substance of existing things. And from the divine Logos, as from a spring, there divide and break

⁴Cf. *Post.* 3-7; *Deus* 51-65 (this to explain that God has no need of hands, feet, nostrils, etc.); *Plant.* 32-36; *Conf.* 134; *Decal.* 32-35; *QG* 1.93; *QG* 2.54.

forth two powers. One is the creative (power), through which the Artificer placed and ordered all things; this is named "God." And (the other is) the royal (power), since through it the Creator rules over created things; this is called "Lord." And from these two powers have grown the others. For by the side of the creative (power) there grows the propitious, of which the name is "beneficent," while (beside) the royal (power there grows) the legislative, of which the apt name is "punitive." And below these and beside them (is) the ark; and the ark is a symbol of the intelligible world. . . . And the number of the things here enumerated amounts to seven, (namely) the intelligible world and the two related powers, the punitive and beneficent; and the two other ones preceding these, the creative and the royal, have greater kinship to the Artificer than what is created; and the sixth is the Logos, and the seventh is the Speaker. But if you make the beginning from the upper end, (you will find) the Speaker first, and the Logos second, and the creative power third, and the ruling (power) fourth, and then, below the creative, the beneficent (power) fifth, and, below the royal, the punitive (power) sixth, and the world of ideas seventh (*QE* 2.68).⁵

The Physical Cosmos

Philo's view that between God and the tangible cosmos there is a whole series of intermediaries (which is evidenced in the immediately foregoing quotation) has important implications for his conception of the physical cosmos. For Philo, the physical cosmos consists of eight concentric spheres centered on the earth, which is round. Immediately above the earth is the sphere with the moon, and between the earth and the moon is the air, which is inhabited by angels and souls. At the other extremity, the outermost sphere contains the fixed stars. Then come the seven inner spheres, consisting of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Mercury, Venus, and Moon. How the conceptualization is utilized in allegorical Scripture interpretation by Philo will now be illustrated by several examples.

In commenting on the Cherubim and the sword of flame which guarded Eden, Philo states:

I suggest that they are an allegorical figure of the revolution of the whole heaven. For the movements assigned to the heavenly

⁵Cf. the mention of the creative (God) and the kingly (Lord) potencies in *Abr.* 121 and *Fug.* 103-104.

spheres are of two opposite kinds, in the one case an unvarying course, embodying the principle of sameness, to the right, in the other a variable course, embodying the principle of otherness, to the left. The outermost sphere, which contains what are called the fixed stars, is a single one and always makes the same revolution from east to west. But the inner spheres, seven in number, contain the planets and each has two motions of opposite nature, one voluntary, the other under a compelling force (*Cher.* 21-22).

Philo relates the central position of the sun in the midst of the planets to the seven-branched candelabra:

The holy candlestick and the seven candle-bearers on it are a copy of the march of the choir of the seven planets. . . . But the best conjecture, in my opinion, is that of those who assign the middle place to the sun and hold that there are three above him and the same number below him. The three above are Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, and the three below are Mercury, Venus and the Moon, which borders on the lower region of the air (*Her.* 221, 224).

Of the ladder which Jacob saw in his dream, Philo has this to say:

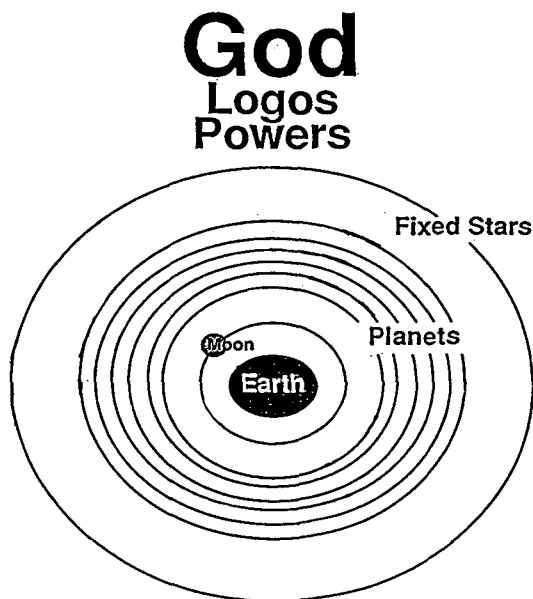
“Stairway” when applied to the universe is a figurative name for the air; whose foot is earth and its head heaven. For the air extends in all directions to the ends of the earth from the sphere of the moon which is described by meteorologists as last of the heavenly zones, and first of those which are related to us. The air is the abode of incorporeal souls, since it seemed good to their Maker to fill all parts of the universe with living beings. He set land-animals on the earth, aquatic creatures in the seas and rivers, and in heaven the stars, each of which is said to be not a living creature only but mind of the purest kind through and through; and therefore in air also, the remaining section of the universe, living creatures exist (*Som.* 1.134-135).

The last quotation above leads us again to an important, but frequently overlooked, element of Philo’s cosmology—namely, that the heavenly bodies form an integral part of a chain of beings that extends from God, as unchangeably perfect, down through the Logos, the powers, the stars, the planets, the sun, the moon, the angels which inhabit the air, and finally to man himself. We have already met this chain of beings in our treatment of Philo’s view of God’s nature. Here it will suffice to notice one further description—a description wherein the heavenly bodies are referred to as “magistrates” and also as “lieutenants of the one Father of all”:

Some have supposed that the sun and moon and the other stars were gods with absolute powers and ascribed to them the causation of all events. But Moses held that the universe was created and is in a sense the greatest of commonwealths, having magistrates and subjects; for magistrates, all the heavenly bodies, fixed or wandering; for subjects, such beings as exist below the moon, in the air or on the earth. The said magistrates, however, in his view have not unconditional powers, but are lieutenants of the one Father of All (*Spec.* 1.13-14).

Thus, while not independent divinities, the heavenly bodies are part of the hierarchy of heavenly beings. Elsewhere Philo calls the stars "souls divine" or "mind in its purest form" (*Gig.* 7), and he refers to the sun and moon as "natural divinities" (*Prov.* 2.50).

The foregoing information can now be combined to form a picture of the cosmos as Philo understood it. (See the accompanying diagram.) At the apex is God, associated with the Logos and the Powers. Below them are the fixed stars, and then the spheres of the planets, including the sun and moon. Below the moon, in the air, are the angels; and below the angels, man. At the bottom of



this ladder of importance are the four elements—water, fire, earth, and air.⁶

This physical cosmos, with the earth at the center and the eight concentric spheres, is, as we have seen, an integral part of Philo's hierarchy of intermediaries between God and man. It therefore holds an essential place within Philo's total cosmology.

2. *The Philosophic Goal*

Not only is the physical cosmos part of the hierarchy of intermediaries between God and man; it is intimately tied to Philo's philosophic goals—goals also linked with his view of man. The human being, for Philo, was composed of two parts, soul and body. Of the two, the former was by far the most important, the body being but a "corpse." "When, then, O soul," he asks, "wilt thou in fullest measure realize thyself to be a corpse-bearer?" (*L.A.* 3.74). Bodily pleasure is called "the beginning of wrongs and violation of law" (*Op.* 152),⁷ and Moses is praised for being "content with nothing but complete absence of passion" (*L.A.* 3.129).

Consequently, man is to control his body, but feed his soul. Moreover, philosophy is the means by which the soul can move to the contemplation of the heavenly realities, to which it belongs, and to which it can return. Its ultimate good occurs when

in all matters turning away from what is base and from all that draws it to things mortal, it soars aloft and spends its time in contemplation of the universe and its different parts; when, mounting yet higher, it explores the Deity and His nature, urged by an ineffable love of knowledge (*L.A.* 3.84).

In another passage where he refers to "the health of the body, the keenness of the senses, the coveted gift of beauty, the strength which defies opponents, and whatever else serves to adorn our soul's house, or tomb" he concludes:

⁶For Philo, the physical cosmos is made up of these four elements, as, of course, was practically universally assumed in the Greek world. This finds very frequent mention in Philo (e.g., *Op.* 146; *Plant.* 3-6, 120; *Her.* 134-135; *Mos.* 1.96; *Mos.* 2.88; *Decal.* 31; *Cont.* 3; *QG* 3.49, 4.8; *QE* 2.73, 85). Philo also seems to subscribe to the view that the heavens were made of a different element (*QE* 2.85). See Ursula Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen bei Philo von Alexandrien* (Leiden, 1968), pp. 57-61, for a more extended discussion of these elements as Philo understands them.

⁷Cf. *L.A.* 3.107; *Deus* 143.

Great ventures such as these betoken a celestial and heavenly soul, which has left the region of the earth, has been drawn upwards, and dwells with divine natures. For when it takes its fill of the vision of good incorruptible and genuine, it bids farewell to the good which is transient and spurious (*Deus* 150-151).

Thus, the goal of existence for Philo is to reunite the soul with God, to restore it to its proper place in the heavens.⁸ This is achieved by subduing the body, eliminating the passions, and by an educational program that culminates with philosophy (cf. *Cong.* 9-18). A program of this sort leads to ecstatic experiences of the kind that at times happened to Philo himself. He declares that "I have approached my work empty [on certain occasions] and suddenly become full, the ideas falling in a shower from above and being sown invisibly, so that under the influence of the Divine possession I have been filled with corybantic frenzy and been unconscious of anything, place, persons present, myself, words spoken, lines written" (*Mig.* 35). It is interesting to compare this with what he says about the experience of the OT prophets: In them the divine mind excluded the human mind (*Spec.* 1.65).

3. *Cosmology and the Key to Philo's Thought World*

Now that some aspects of Philo's cosmology have been explored, it should be possible to give some assessment of the value which that cosmology may have as a key to unlocking Philo's thought-world. On the positive side, cosmology does seem to encompass a whole range of Philo's thought—his conceptions of

⁸There is yet another delightful expression of this found in "On the Special Laws," and cited by Erwin R. Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 5-6:

There was once a time when by devoting myself to philosophy and to contemplation of the world and its parts I achieved the enjoyment of that Mind which is truly beautiful, desirable, and blessed; for I lived in constant communion with sacred utterances and teachings, in which I greedily and insatiably rejoiced. No base or worldly thoughts occurred to me, nor did I grovel for glory, wealth, or bodily comfort, but I seemed ever to be borne aloft in the heights in a rapture of soul, and to accompany sun, moon, and all heaven and the universe in their revolutions.

For Philo to accompany the "sun, moon, and all heaven and the universe in their revolutions" was not just an expression of poetic excess. He considered these to be higher beings with which he was communing.

Creation, God, how God relates to both mankind and the cosmos in general through a succession of intermediaries, what man's true goal in life should be, and how Philo understands his own religious experiences. That cosmology also fits well his understanding of anthropology and his fundamental distinction between material things and mind. Perhaps with a little effort it would be possible even to graft his ethics into this system. There is indeed a remarkable consistency in Philo's cosmological viewpoint throughout all his writings.

On the other hand, an honest reading of the entire corpus of Philo's writings must leave a lurking suspicion that although cosmology is an important element in the total structure of Philo's thought, it is not the sole key to his thought-world. Indeed, Philo gives a great deal more attention to ethics and anthropology than he does to cosmology, and it is precisely in these areas that he is so seemingly inconsistent.⁹ Cosmology cannot be the only center of Philo's thought, inasmuch as it does not encompass these two important areas, nor does it explain the principle upon which Philo operates to produce such apparently inconsistent statements about things which are very important to him and to which he has devoted a great deal of thought.

Another suspicion aroused by a reading of the total Philonic corpus is that even Philo's consistency in the area of cosmology may be due to his expressing himself less on this subject than he does in other areas. In fact, on occasion he can give a somewhat different view of how he understands the hierarchy of beings between God and man. Another passage in his writings which is often set forth to understand how Philo organizes the hierarchy of beings is as follows:

With their company let the whole choir of philosophers chime in, harping on their wonted themes, how that of existences some are bodies, some incorporeal; and of bodies, some lifeless,

⁹In the realm of anthropology, e.g., as Goodenough points out:

The Stoic eightfold division of the soul into the ruling reason, the five senses, and the two powers of speech and generation; the Platonic division into reason, spirit or emotion, and desire; the Aristotelian division into the parts which are nourished, those which have sense perception, and those which reason; all these Philo can use interchangeably, guided largely by the numbers or details involved in a scriptural passage he may at the time be allegorizing (p. 151).

some having life; some rational, some irrational, some mortal, some divine; and of mortal beings, some male, some female; a distinction which applies to man; and of things incorporeal again, some complete, some incomplete; and of those that are complete, some questions and inquiries, imprecations and adjurations (*Agr.* 139-140).¹⁰

Philo goes on to say that these are the things that are "set forth in the elementary handbooks" (*ibid.*). Thus, he appears to be giving an outline taken directly from another source. Consequently, this description may well represent a view which is not so central to his understanding as the one involving the eight concentric spheres. Nevertheless, it provides a different, and somewhat contradictory, outline of the hierarchy of beings.

Furthermore, the exact dividing line in Philo's hierarchical cosmology between the realm of ideas and the sense-perceptible world is not clear. The distinction between the two is very important in Philo, but it does not surface in any prominent way in his comments about the cosmological hierarchy.¹¹ In short, although it is itself reasonably stable, Philo's conception of the physical cosmos is not adequately or clearly integrated into other areas which he considers important. Consequently, while cosmology is very important to Philo, and while it provides some help in understanding him, we must conclude that it is not the single key to unlock his thought-world.

4. Conclusion

There are reasons, aside from understanding Philo himself, that make Philo's cosmology important. It is important, for instance, for the light it throws upon the intellectual world into

¹⁰It is so used, e.g., in Früchtel, pp. 44-45, cf. p. 42; and Georgios D. Farandos, *Kosmos und Logos nach Philon von Alexandria* (Amsterdam, 1976), pp. 259-263, esp. p. 262; Abraham Terian, *Philonis Alexandrini de Animalibus: The Armenian Text with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Chico, CA, 1981), p. 35.

¹¹My thanks to David Aune for bringing this to my attention. From *QE* 2.68 (cited above), it might appear that the line is drawn underneath the seven powers (the intelligible world lies below the arc), but Philo is not consistent in his enumeration of the powers. Moreover, he calls the stars "souls divine" or "mind in its purest form" (*Gig.* 7), and this may indicate that his realm of the *kosmos noētos* began among the spheres. The difficulty of knowing exactly where Philo would draw the line between the realm of ideas (*kosmos noētos*) and the sensible world (*kosmos aisthētos*) is highlighted dramatically by the diagram in Farandos, p. 306, which shows the relationship between the two realms.

which Christianity emerged. In particular, it may assist in furthering the investigation into some of the varieties of Christian expression that were deemed inappropriate by the writers of the NT, and which have often been considered as the specter of some form of gnosticism. Also notable about Philo's cosmology are many features which appear to lie behind ideas opposed in the NT itself, such as a concentration of mystical ideas about the heavens, heavenly powers, and angels, linked together with Jewish practices such as circumcision. Philo's cosmology is in all probability not the original source of these ideas, but it does illustrate the sort of fertile soil in which they could grow.

The particular value of Philo's cosmology for this question lies in the fact that Philo is representative of a larger group of thinkers. Several lines of evidence point in this direction. For example, on occasion Josephus allegorizes the OT in a way that is similar to, though also different in detail from, Philo. There are strong similarities between the physical cosmologies of both writers.¹² Another line of evidence is the relatively frequent mention that Philo makes of other allegorists. While it is not always easy to distinguish the viewpoints of these other allegorists from those of Philo,¹³ the references to them make it clear that Philo was in dialogue with a much larger group—a group which, if it did not

¹²E.g., in his description of the temple of Jerusalem, Josephus gives a very interesting allegorical interpretation of the temple which closely resembles that of Philo:

Before these hung a veil. . . . Nor was this mixture of materials without its mystic meaning: it typified the universe. For the scarlet seemed emblematical of fire, the fine linen of the earth, the blue of the air, and the purple of the sea. . . . The seven lamps (such being the number of the branches from the lampstand) represented the planets; the loaves on the table, twelve in number, the circle of the Zodiac and the year; while the altar of incense, by the thirteen fragrant spices from sea and from land, both desert and inhabited, with which it was replenished, signified that all things are of God and for God (*Jewish War* 5.4-5; in LCL 5.212-213, 217-218).

¹³These references are listed and their difficulties are discussed by David M. Hay, "Philo's References to Other Allegorists," *Studia Philonica* 6 (1979-80): 41-75. Hay concludes "that Philo's works are in good measure the product of a school of allegorical exegetes, perhaps in some fashion the precipitate of actual classroom instruction" (p. 61).

hold exactly the same ideas as Philo, at the very least had a conceptual framework that was close enough to his for him to be able to argue with them. Indeed, some of the inconsistencies in Philo may well grow out of the way he drew upon and presented the results of these other allegorists.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE HISTORICAL-JESUS MOTIF IN THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

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The book of Hebrews offers a richness in such themes as Christology, ecclesiology, eschatology, and soteriology, all of them set within the framework of a paraenetic thrust—a call to faithfulness in a time of impending difficulties.¹ (Cf., e.g., the term “word of exhortation” in 13:22.²) The present study deals specifically with the historical-Jesus motif. I examine first the book’s use of the term *Iēsous*, then the broader connections of the historical-Jesus motif, and finally the author’s purpose for featuring the motif.

It should be noted at the outset that my use of the term “historical Jesus” is not in the same sense as that of the critical-historical scholars or that of the form-critical school. Rather, it denotes the human Jesus or aspects of his life as mentioned in the book of Hebrews.

1. *The Christological Title Iēsous*

The book of Hebrews abounds in Christological titles, employing some twenty such names and titles.³ The name “Jesus,” though not the most abundant, occurs ten times, and in eight of these occurrences it is strategically located—2:9; 3:1; 6:20; 7:22; 10:19; 12:2, 24; 13:12.⁴ F. V. Filson affirms that the name “Jesus” is used “to designate the central figure of the gospel story, the historical figure whose work ‘yesterday’ was God’s decisive redemptive act ‘in

¹Cf. Estella B. Horning, “Chiasmus, Creedal Structure, and Christology in Hebrews 12:1-2,” *Journal of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research* 23 (1978): 37-48.

²Unless otherwise noted, all English Scripture citations herein are from the RSV.

³Cf. Ralph P. Martin, *New Testament Foundations* 2 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1978): 349.

⁴Cf. also J. Harvill, “Focus on Jesus,” *Restoration Quarterly* 22 (1979): 129-140.

these last days' (1:2)."⁵ Edward Schillebeeckx, conversely, asserts that though some would emphasize the ten occurrences of the name, their belief that it is used in an absolute sense "rests on an optimistic delusion."⁶

The Eight Strategically Located References

The question that confronts us, then, is this: Just how is the name "Jesus" used in the book of Hebrews? In order to determine the answer, the eight references mentioned above will now be briefly examined.

1. *Heb 2:9*. The use of the name "Jesus" in Heb 2:6-9 is in the context of proof of the superiority of the Son over the angels. In vs. 7, Ps 8:4-6 is quoted to show that man was made lower than the angels, but in vs. 9 the reference is applied to Jesus. Within this context, therefore, a reference to the historical Jesus is evident, for since man was made "for a little while lower than the angels," and since Jesus is referred to as being lower than the angels for "a little while," then that "while" when Jesus was lower than the angels must be the period of his incarnation.

In vs. 9 "Jesus" is used absolutely, and the participial clause which is in apposition to the name points to the period of Jesus' humanity. This occurrence of "Jesus" must, therefore, be a reference to his human name. It is a reference that calls attention to the historical Jesus and to his accomplishments for human beings. H. Montefiore notes that the name "occurs in an emphatic position in the sentence, stressing the humanity of the Saviour by its juxtaposition with 'lower than the angels.'"⁷

2. *Heb 3:1*. The first word in Heb 3:1 is *hothen*, "therefore," which indicates that a conclusion is being drawn from the preceding argument—that given in 2:9-18, where Jesus is described as a merciful high priest on the basis of his humanity and his participation in suffering and temptation. On the basis of this argument,

⁵Floyd V. Filson, "Yesterday": *A Study of Hebrews in the Light of Chapter 13*, Studies in Biblical Theology, 2d series, 4 (Naperville, IL, 1967): 36-37.

⁶Edward Schillebeeckx, *Christ: The Experience of Jesus as Lord* (New York, 1980), p. 261. For an opposite view, cf. E. F. Scott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Edinburgh, 1922), pp. 148-149.

⁷Hugh Montefiore, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York, 1964), p. 58.

the "holy brethren" are called upon in 3:1 to consider "Jesus," the apostle and high priest of our confession.

Iēsoun, the direct object of the sentence, is both absolute and emphatic. It is used as the personal human name of the Son, to highlight his humanity. Schillebeeckx counters that *archierea*, "high priest," here qualifies *Iēsoun* and therefore makes it a reference to "Jesus the high priest sent by God."⁸ It should be observed, however, that the full expression *apostolon kai archierea* is in apposition to *Iēsoun*. Furthermore, only one article governs both nouns, implying that the human "Jesus" is both apostle and high priest.⁹ "Apostle" refers to his earthly state, as God's representative among men, while "high priest" refers to him as man's representative to God.¹⁰ This thought can be better understood in the light of the preceding discussion in 2:9-18, where his experiences in the historical state are said to have qualified him for his high-priestly office.

Thus, the human "Jesus" is vital to the argument in this verse. What is emphasized is that the person for contemplation is the glorified Jesus of Nazareth.

3. *Heb 6:20*. Chap. 6 is designed to stir up the sluggish energies of the saints, motivating them to renewed hope. God's reliability and immutability are used as evidence that their hope will not be misplaced. Vs. 19 indicates that the Christian's hope is a sure and steadfast anchor, since it is centered in the heavenly sanctuary in the very presence of God, where, according to vs. 20a, Jesus went as our forerunner (*hopou prodromos huper hēmōn eisēlthen Iēsous*).

In this context, which alludes to the high-priestly office of the Son ("a high priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek"), it might seem that *Christos* or *Iēsous Christos* would have been more appropriate titles, especially since the high priest is an anointed one. The nomenclature, however, is *Iēsous*, used absolutely and emphatically. The implication of this use of the human name seems to indicate to the struggling Christians that they can take heart, inasmuch as their representative in the heavenly sanctuary, in whom they are to hope, is one with whom they can identify.

⁸Schillebeeckx, p. 261.

⁹See Sharp's rule in James A. Brooks and Carlton L. Winebery, *Syntax of New Testament Greek* (Washington, DC, 1979), p. 70.

¹⁰See F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI, 1964), p. 515.

4. *Heb 7:22*. Chap. 7 sets forth the superiority of this new priesthood, opening with a discussion of Melchizedek, the priest-king, and his superiority to the Aaronic priesthood. Vs. 11 then introduces the new priesthood, and a discussion of its superiority to the Aaronic priesthood follows. It is in the specific context of this discussion that vs. 22 asserts: *kata tosouto [kai] kreittonos diathēkēs gegonen enguos Iēsous*, “This makes Jesus the surety of a better covenant” (so the RSV, but more literally, “By so much Jesus has become the surety of a better covenant”).

In this statement, the name *Iēsous* is strategically located. Its position marks both its emphatic and its absolute usage. The glorified historical Jesus is made the surety of a better covenant. Donald Guthrie notes “that special significance must be attached to the use of the human name here, since it is as perfect representative of *mán* that he [Jesus] becomes the *surety*.”¹¹ With its new priest, who took office by an oath, unlike the former priests, who took office by law, the new priesthood offers a better hope (vs. 9) to draw near to God. The priest, Jesus, is one who understands man’s lot, having successfully faced suffering and temptation.

5. *Heb 10:19*. Vs. 19 in chap. 10 begins an exhortation based on the argument of the previous doctrinal section. The word *oun*, “therefore,” in the opening phrase of this verse is resumptive and, as Guthrie points out, refers to “the whole preceding demonstration.”¹² The readers are told that it is the blood of the historical Jesus that grants access to the sanctuary. *Iēsou* (in the phrase *en tō haimati Iēsou*, “by the blood of Jesus”) is both absolute and emphatic, and its allusion to the historical Jesus can be deduced from the reference to his blood. It is the sacrificial death of the historical Jesus, identified here by his personal name, that qualifies Jesus for his office and secures for his loyal followers an access to “the holies.”

6. *Heb 12:2*. The reference to Jesus in *Heb 12:2* (“looking to Jesus the pioneer and perfecter of our faith . . .”) is significantly located in the Greek in at least two ways. First, it comes in the section that immediately follows the cataloging of the faithful ones given in chap. 11. Second, the absolute and emphatic *Iēsoun* is not

¹¹Donald Guthrie, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, Tyndale New Testament Commentaries (Grand Rapids, MI, 1983), p. 165.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 210.

only last in the clause which began in vs. 1, but it is also the last word in the midpoint of a chiasm comprising vss. 1-2.¹³

The human name of the Son is once again used here to call attention to the "human person, our Lord in His earthly life."¹⁴ That it is the glorified Jesus of Nazareth that is to be the object of the Christian's gaze is indicated by the reference in vs. 2 to Christ's crucifixion preceding his being "seated at the right hand of the throne of God."

7. *Heb 12:24*. The usage of the absolute *Iēsou* in 12:24, where Jesus is spoken of as "the mediator of a new covenant," occurs in the broader context of a comparison of the "awesomeness of the giving of the law with the majesty of the new covenant."¹⁵ The saints are at Mount Zion, not at Sinai (vs. 22). Here they have come to "Jesus," the Mediator of a new covenant. *Iēsou* occurs in the emphatic position; and while it is Jesus' high-priestly function to which allusion is being made, it is his historical name that is held up to inspire the faltering faith of the believers.

8. *Heb 13:12*. Our final reference, in 13:12, cites a specific historical event in the life of the historical Jesus—his death "outside the gate." The fact that the previous verse notes that the sin-offering was made "outside the camp" implies that Jesus of Nazareth died as a sin offering outside the walls of Jerusalem. *Iēsous* in this reference is both emphatic and absolute.

Conclusion

Contrary to Schillebeeckx's claim, a scrutiny of the foregoing eight references indicates that *Iēsous* is indeed used absolutely in the book of Hebrews. Furthermore, its occurrence in the emphatic position in the majority of instances suggests that this usage is deliberate and not incidental. Filson is therefore correct in asserting that "the basic function of the name Jesus is to designate the central figure of the gospel story, the historical figure."¹⁶ The intent of the absolute use could very well be to draw attention to his real humanity.

¹³A more detailed discussion will be presented later in this article.

¹⁴W. H. Griffith Thomas, "Let Us Go On" (Grand Rapids, MI, 1944), p. 157.

¹⁵Guthrie, p. 259.

¹⁶Filson, p. 37.

On this basis, therefore, it can be concluded that the name is used technically in Hebrews. Its strategic positioning accords it a key place in the author's development of his theme. M. R. Vincent is undoubtedly right in his claim that "in this epistle that name [Jesus] usually furnishes the key to the argument of the passage in which it occurs."¹⁷

2. *A Brief Examination of Texts Referring to the Historical Jesus*

Having looked at eight key references to the name "Jesus," in order to clarify how that name is used in the book of Hebrews, we next broaden our scope to a consideration of passages that embrace the historical-Jesus motif.¹⁸ Our purpose is to determine the place assigned this motif in the book. Our examination will include some of the verses and passages already noted above, but will also encompass further passages that elucidate the specific motif, even though the *name* "Jesus" does not occur.

Some Preliminary Matters

The book of Hebrews opens with a presentation of the pre-existent Son as God's supreme revelation for these last days. A series of participial constructions in 1:3-4 carries him from being one bearing "the very stamp of his [God's] nature" and "upholding the universe by his word of power" through the event of his making "purification for sins" and his subsequent exaltation. Within this passage there is, thus, an implicit reference to the historical Jesus, for it was as a human being that he offered up himself for the "purification" of "sins."

A second point should be noted: namely, the juxtaposition of the themes of the historical Jesus and the subsequently exalted Lord. The point of this association seems to be that exaltation was guaranteed by the purification which took place in the human realm.¹⁹

¹⁷Marvin R. Vincent, *Word Studies in the New Testament* 4 (New York, 1918): 399.

¹⁸Martin, p. 352, calls the book of Hebrews "remarkable for its heavy concentration on the humanity of 'Jesus'"; and Guthrie, p. 48, suggests that some of the clearest references to Jesus' human experience outside the Gospels occur in Hebrews.

¹⁹See Guthrie, p. 68; F. D. Nichol, ed., *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* 7 (Washington, DC, 1980): 397 (hereinafter *SDABC*).

The Historical Jesus Passages

Heb 2:3. In Heb 2:3 the author states that the great salvation of which he speaks was first proclaimed "by the Lord" (*dia tou kuriou*). That this is a reference to the proclamation made during the earthly life of Jesus can be deduced from the language and context. First, in the NT epistles the term *kuriou* with the definite article is used as a reference to the historical Jesus.²⁰ In the second place, reference is made at the end of the verse to a further attestation by those who were original hearers—doubtless a reference to the apostolic proclamation. Finally, God is said to have borne witness to the gospel by attestation with signs and wonders and mighty works, a statement which seems to be a reference to the miracles which accompanied the ministry of Jesus. The terms used to denote the miracles here—*sēmeion*, *teras*, and *dunamis* (vs. 4)—are identical with those used in the Gospels. They are also the very words used by Peter on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:22) to refer to God's attestation of Jesus, though Peter sets them forth in the reverse order. In Heb 2:4 they are in the instrumental case (*sēmeiois*, *terasi*, *dunamesi*), and each adds an idea about the work of Jesus.²¹ It is evident that the earthly ministry of Jesus is being linked here with the portrait of the Son painted in chap. 1.²²

Heb 2:9. Earlier we noted that the first use of the name "Jesus" in Hebrews is found in 2:9. Here it serves not only to mark Jesus' essential humanity, but also to link the "Lord" in 2:3-4 with the human Jesus. Thus, 2:9 contains the book's second pairing of the historical Son with the exalted Lord. Whereas in 1:3b it is stated that his session "at the right hand of the Majesty on high" takes place after his having made "purification for sins," here his being "crowned with glory and honor" follows after, and is contingent on, his "suffering of death." The double parallel between 2:9 and 1:3b is evident. It appears that the suffering of death achieves purification for sins, while the crowning with glory and honor is equivalent to sitting at the right hand of the Majesty on high. And as noted earlier, 2:9 further designates the person involved in these achievements as being the historical Jesus, identified by his human name.

²⁰Werner Foerster, "Κύριος," *TDNT* 3 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1965): 1092.

²¹A. T. Robertson, *Word Pictures in the New Testament* 5 (New York, 1972): 343.

²²Cf. Marcus Dods, "The Epistle to the Hebrews," *The Expositor's Greek Testament* 4 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1961): 260.

Heb 2:14. In Heb 2:14 we find an emphasis on the necessity for solidarity between the Pioneer of salvation (cf. vs. 10) and those to be saved. The argument is that since "flesh and blood" is the realm in which the heirs of salvation exist, Jesus (cf. vs. 9), in order to identify with them, "himself likewise partook of the same nature." Guthrie's affirmation that this verse "sums up the perfect humanity of Jesus" is germane,²³ especially when considered in the light of the fact that in Rabbinic writings "*blood and flesh*" is, as stated by Vincent, "a standing phrase for human nature in contrast with God."²⁴ This, then, is a significant reference to Jesus, attributing to him flesh and blood—i.e., humanity.

Heb 2:17. In Heb 2:17, the same theme is continued. This verse asserts that the solidarity with "his [Jesus'; cf. vs. 9] brethren" was not partial.²⁵ The reason for the necessity of the Son's being fully incarnate, moreover, is "so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God, to make expiation for the sins of the people." The point is that his participation in the human experience was a necessary qualification for his high-priestly office and function.²⁶

Summary of Chap. 2. Chap. 2 has the greatest concentration of references to the historical Jesus to be found in Hebrews, and gives evidence of the fact that the historical-Jesus motif is an essential one. The argument set forth in this chapter makes the point that the Son's humanity, with its suffering and death, eminently qualified him—identified as Jesus—to become the exalted high priest, i.e., the priest-king. William Johnsson is certainly correct when he asserts that "the human experiences of the Son qualify or equip him for the role laid out in the divine purpose."²⁷ The addressees can thus be encouraged, for solidarity in humanity guarantees sympathy and access.

Heb 3:1. Chap. 3 opens with a command to "consider Jesus." As noted in the first section of this article, the technical use of the name "Jesus" in vs. 1 indicates a reference to the historical Jesus;

²³Guthrie, p. 92.

²⁴Vincent, p. 404.

²⁵Montefiore, p. 67.

²⁶See *SDABC* 7: 407; Bruce, p. 53.

²⁷William G. Johnsson, *Hebrews*, Knox Preaching Guides (Atlanta, GA, 1970), p. 20.

and moreover, the phrase "the apostle and high priest of our confession," which is in apposition to "Jesus," is significant. While F. F. Bruce is correct in saying that the statement marks out Jesus as God's representative among men and men's representative in God's presence,²⁸ most commentators and scholars miss a salient point in this unique reference to Jesus as "apostle." The passage is usually viewed in terms of Heb 1:2 and thus is seen as emphasizing Jesus as God's ambassador to human beings. This is a legitimate thought, of course, but it is incomplete; for while earthly ambassadors do not assume the nationality of the countries in which they serve, Jesus, as God's ambassador to man, assumed humanity. This is precisely the point of 2:9-18 to which *hothen*, "therefore," in 3:1 calls attention, and thus the term "apostle" in the latter verse refers to the historical Jesus of Nazareth, God's ambassador. (The pairing in this verse—that of the human Jesus with his high priesthood—has already been discussed in our earlier treatment of Heb 3:1.)

Heb 4:14-16. In Heb 4:14 the argument of 2:9-18 is resumed—i.e., the discussion of Jesus as high priest. He is here called "great," a reference to his dignity.²⁹ He is said to have "passed through the heavens," suggesting that he is in the presence of God, thus superior to Aaron. The identification that is made here is interesting: *Iēsoun ton huion tou theou*. These two titles—"Jesus" and "the Son of God"—used together signify the Son's two natures, human and divine. Thus, the believers are called upon to confess their unique priest, who is both human and divine.

Furthermore, we have here an explicit linking between priesthood and the earthly Jesus. It was during his earthly existence that he in human form experienced man's lot and that he successfully endured temptation. Consequently, vs. 15-16 exhort Christians to draw near to the throne of God with confidence, since their high priest is one who by experience can sympathize.

Heb 5:7-10. In Heb 5:7-10 we find the most explicit reference to the historical Jesus that we have thus far encountered. The "mortal life"³⁰ of Jesus is here called "the days of his flesh," and the author cites events—"a historical reminiscence"³¹—from the life of Jesus.

²⁸Bruce, p. 55.

²⁹Cf. Brooke F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York, 1892), p. 105.

³⁰Cf. Vincent, 4: 434.

³¹Guthrie, p. 128.

His prayers and supplications, which are offered with loud cries and tears, are mentioned. Most commentators agree that these are allusions to his Gethsemane experience.³² Concerning the significance of this reference to the historical Jesus, Guthrie declares:

He [the author of Hebrews] seems to want to dispel any idea that Jesus is a mystical non-historical figure by abruptly reminding the readers of what happened *in the days of his flesh*. The expression is interesting because it draws attention to the reality of his human life. The writer has already made this clear in chapter 2 (see verses 14 and 17), but the present reference much more vividly introduces a clear allusion to the historical record of the life of Christ. Indeed this is one of the most vivid examples in the New Testament outside the Gospels.³³

Vss. 8-10 list two achievements of the historical Jesus. He has learned obedience through the things he suffered, and he has been made perfect; thus he has become the source of eternal salvation to those who obey him. Though suffering and perfection are separated here, on the basis of 2:10 we could conclude that suffering was the agent that taught him obedience and resulted in his "being made perfect" (5:9). Heb 5:10 provides a further pairing between a reference to the historical Jesus and a reference to his high priesthood: On the basis of his achievements, he is "designated by God a high priest after the order of Melchizedek."

Heb 7:14. Chap. 7 discusses Melchizedek, emphasizing his superiority over the Aaronic priesthood. In this context there is reference in vs. 14 to the historical Jesus, here designated "our Lord," as being a descendant of the tribe of Judah—a nonpriestly tribe.

Heb 7:26-27. Later in the same chapter, in vss. 26-27, there is treatment of Jesus' qualification as high priest and his status as the "surety of a better covenant" (vs. 22). In these verses, five significant terms feature his qualifications and illustrate his preeminence. He is holy (religious qualification),³⁴ guileless (moral qualification),³⁵

³²Cf., e.g., *ibid.*, p. 129; *SDABC* 7: 429; R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of James* (Columbus, OH, 1946), pp. 161-163; and Thomas, p. 63.

³³Guthrie, p. 129.

³⁴Walter Grundmann, "ακακος," *TDNT* 3:482.

³⁵*Ibid.*

undefiled (cultic qualification),³⁶ separated from sinners (qualification that combines both ethical and divine elements),³⁷ and exalted above the heavens (divine qualification). Three of these terms allude to Jesus' earthly life, one to his high-priestly ministry as a consequence of his successful earthly life, and one to his exalted status. Here, then, is another instance where there is a pairing of the historical Jesus with exaltation.

Heb 10:5-18. In contrast to the inadequate animal sacrifices referred to in Heb 10:1-4, vs. 5-18 of the same chapter set forth the adequacy of Christ's sacrifice. While the former sacrifices were repeated, Jesus' sacrifice was a single, once-and-for-all-time sacrifice of himself. This contrast is elaborated through the citing of specific aspects of the life of the historical Jesus; and significantly, vs. 12 contains a further pairing of Jesus' human life with priesthood and exaltation. In short, the passage in Heb 10:5-18 demonstrates that Christ's superior ministry began only after he had first successfully functioned in his dual capacity as victim and priest and then had been exalted.

Heb 10:19-25. Heb 10:19 introduces a hortatory section in which Christians are urged to approach confidently the sanctuary "by the blood of Jesus." Not only is the personal name "Jesus" used here—which, as we have seen, has a technical sense in the epistle—but the reference to his blood is obviously an allusion to his crucifixion. Here, then, the accomplishment of the human Jesus is set forth as giving Christians confidence to approach the heavenly sanctuary.

Vs. 20 states that Jesus opened "a new and living way" through "the curtain, that is, through his flesh." The phrase "through his flesh" takes us once again to the human experience of Jesus. And the reference to him in vs. 21 as "a great priest" is another instance when discussion of his humanity is followed by a reference to priesthood.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷See Lenski, p. 243, and Guthrie, p. 146, both of whom see Jesus being set apart from sinners in that while he was man he did not sin. See also Robertson, p. 386, and Vincent, p. 446, who view the phrase as referring to Jesus' exaltation above men. Perhaps the phrase makes reference to Jesus' qualification as high priest in the sense that while Aaronic priests were sinners and had to be made ceremonially clean in order to function in their office, Jesus—though man—was separated from sinners in that he never participated in sin. He is therefore a high priest exalted above men because he is ethically superior.

Heb 12:2 and 13:11-13. Heb 12:2 has been treated earlier, and we need here only to reiterate that the human Jesus who suffered is also the one who is subsequently glorified. The human Jesus is the author of faith, and the glorified Lord is its consummator. We have also treated earlier the central concept of Heb 13:11-13, and therefore need here only to note that this passage provides one further coupling of the historical Jesus with his role as high priest.

Conclusion

We have now surveyed eleven passages that link the earthly Jesus either with priesthood or with exaltation. This recurring phenomenon is crucial in determining the author's purpose for featuring the historical Jesus. Furthermore, the majority of passages occur at critical junctures in the development of the book's thesis or argument. Some of these passages are found in conclusions to doctrinal sections, others within hortatory sections, and still others in conclusions to hortatory sections.

Contrary to Schillebeeckx, who claims that "there is no mention in Hebrews of a *special* interest in the *earthly* Jesus that stands out from the rest of the New Testament,"³⁸ the present essay reveals that the book has a definite interest in the historical Jesus. I would concur with Estella Horning that "his [Jesus'] humanity and suffering" are "repeatedly made the focus of attention" as the basis of the book's total argument and exhortation."³⁹ The next question to consider is, What was the author's purpose in thus featuring the historical Jesus?

3. The Purpose in Stressing the Historical Jesus

In considering the author's purpose in stressing the historical-Jesus motif, we begin with the link made between the historical Jesus and both his priesthood and his exaltation. Six of the eleven passages surveyed place the human Jesus and priesthood side by side, while the other five pair the human Jesus with exaltation. It seems, however, that no sharp distinction is intended between his priesthood and his exaltation. The correlation of these could be based on the fact that it is in his exalted state that Jesus functions

³⁸Schillebeeckx, p. 261.

³⁹Horning, p. 42.

as high priest. One could, therefore, speak of this link as being between the earthly Jesus and the "exalted high priest."

An analysis of the passages where this pairing occurs reveals that they may be divided into four groups: (1) Four passages seem to indicate that the earthly experience of Jesus *qualified* him for priesthood or exaltation. (2) Three passages are hortatory in nature. Two of these exhort the believers on the basis that the exalted human Jesus is priest or that his blood grants access for confident approach to the sanctuary. The other exhorts the readers to go forth to meet Jesus outside the camp, since he suffered outside the gate. (3) Two passages seem to emphasize *chronology*, suggesting that exaltation took place subsequent to the sacrifice. (4) The final two passages hold up the exalted human Jesus as a model. The specific references for each of these four groups is as follows:

<i>USAGE</i>	<i>REFERENCES</i>
Qualification	2:9; 2:14; 2:17; 5:7-10; 7:14; 7:26-27
Exhortation	2:3; 4:14-16; 6:17-20; 7:22; 10:19-25; 13:11-13
Chronology	1:3-4; 10:12
Model for Christians	3:1; 12:2

It is obvious that the "Qualification" and "Chronology" passages are descriptive rather than paraenetic. We therefore focus our attention here on the two aspects more directly in line with the author's obvious and overt paraenesis—"Exhortation" and "Model for Christians."

Exhortation: The Accessible Exalted Lord

The book of Hebrews in the "Exhortation" passages we have noted and also quite pervasively elsewhere emphasizes that the exalted Lord is not to be regarded as inaccessible. He is gone, but only as a forerunner (6:20). He is exalted above the heavens and seated "at the right hand of the Majesty on high" (1:3), but he is performing a vital function as a unique link (mediator) between God and man. In short, God's Son, who entered into solidarity with us, has become qualified by his human experiences to serve as high priest in God's presence, thus granting human beings access to God. As J. Harvill observes: "The doctrine of Jesus' high priestly

ministry is directly bound up with the reality of his humanity and cannot be understood apart from that doctrine (see esp. chaps. 2 and 4). This is because the essence of priesthood is to form a link between man and God."⁴⁰ The fact that it is the human Jesus who is exalted to high priesthood means that man can approach the mercy seat with confidence. This fact is therefore used as a source of exhortation to motivate the believers.

Model for Christians

A further purpose of the book of Hebrews seems to be to inspire Christian addressees.⁴¹ Since the glimpses which are given of the congregation (3:12; 5:11; 10:25, 35-36; 12:3; and *passim*) reveal that they are "marked with lassitude of faith, fear of suffering, and lack of faithfulness towards the congregation,"⁴² the church apparently contained members who were having difficulty to maintain their equilibrium and loyalty amid trial and suffering. That this epistle could have been written to such a congregation without intending to display Jesus as an example to follow in the face of suffering seems inconceivable. The author seems to be saying: Here is a model; trust him and follow his example. Bruce puts it aptly:

But the question for them [the addressees] to face was: were they to fall back and lose everything or press on to perfection? Our author urges them to press on, in spite of all the suffering it may involve, and he sets before them the example of Jesus, who set his face 'like a flint,' refusing to turn back, and was thus made 'perfect through sufferings.' His example and His present aid might well encourage them too to persevere.⁴³

It does indeed seem that the great emphasis in Hebrews on the earthly Jesus was designed to give the suffering Christians a model.

⁴⁰Harvill, p. 130.

⁴¹In contrast to my contention here, William Johnsson, *In Absolute Confidence* (Nashville, TN, 1979), p. 70 (cf. also his *Hebrews*, p. 87), is emphatic that Christians are not called upon to do what Christ did, but rather to trust in what he has done. To Johnsson, the book of Hebrews fails to point to Jesus as example at the places where such would be most effective.

⁴²W. G. Kümmel, ed., *Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville, TN, 1965), pp. 280-281.

⁴³Bruce, p. 104.

Ralph Martin detects good use of the “imitation of Jesus motif” in the epistle. He calls attention to the author’s showing Jesus in his suffering and testing, in his endurance to the end, as well as in his learning of obedience. The progression in the Jesus experience is from suffering to being crowned with honor. “‘Follow Him’ (12:2) is the author’s clarion call.”⁴⁴

Furthermore, it appears that the author is using nontraditional vocabulary for his appeal to imitation. Twice the believers are urged to “consider” Jesus. In the first instance, the word *katanoēō* is used (3:1). This word implies setting one’s mind upon an object, immersing oneself in it, thus apprehending it in its whole compass. It is used here in Hebrews to impress upon the readers the duties involved in being a Christian: the duty of looking to the Mediator of salvation, and that of concentrating upon his exemplary moral conduct.⁴⁵

In the second instance, the word is *analogisasthe* (12:3), its only usage in the NT. It implies the careful estimate of one object with regard to another. B. F. Westcott sees the writer as saying, “Consider Christ, reckoning up His sufferings point by point, going over them again and again, not the sufferings of the Cross only, but all that led up to it.”⁴⁶

Besides these two instances, a verb of “seeing” is also used in motivating the readers. Occurring in 12:2, *aphorōntes* implores them to look away from all that detracts and fix their gaze only on Jesus, and in 13:13 the hortatory subjunctive is used to invite the readers to join the author in going forth to Jesus outside the camp, bearing abuse for him. This involves following the example of Jesus, who suffered outside the gate (vs. 12).

While these three Greek words do not occur in what might be called “effective” sections, they are to be found in hortatory contexts. This concentration on Jesus is appropriately termed the “Christian’s Jesus-fixation” by Harvill, who believes that “‘looking unto Jesus’ is not a Christian option, but a way of life.”⁴⁷ While a “Jesus-fixation” presupposes trust, it produces more than trust. By beholding we become changed, and it seems that the author is

⁴⁴Martin, p. 104.

⁴⁵Ernest Würthwein, “κατανοέω,” *TDNT* 4: 973-975.

⁴⁶Westcott, p. 397.

⁴⁷Harvill, p. 129.

holding up Jesus as an example, a model, whom Christians through their Jesus-fixation can emulate as they face suffering. Westcott observes that "if the eyes are steadfastly turned to Him," the believer "cannot fail to ponder the vision and to estimate the power of His work in relation to Life," and that "if the leader bears the brunt of the battle the soldier can follow."⁴⁸

Of many passages in the book of Hebrews suggesting or implying the imitation of Jesus, we notice one, Heb 12:1-2, a bit further at this point. It is pivotal in the epistle, forming a bridge between chaps. 11 and 12, and thus, as Horning states, it links "the Christology of Hebrews to its basic paraenetic message: exhortation to faithfulness in following Jesus."⁴⁹

When the structure of the passage is scrutinized, a chiasm is detected. This inverse parallelism is significant, for the first four lines refer to the believers and the last four to Jesus, with a "Jesus-fixation" statement at the center. This chiasm is evident both in the Greek and in the English. Following is Horning's diagram in English:

Therefore
 we, *having seated around about us such a cloud of witnesses,
 setting aside every weight and every clinging sin . . .
 with patient endurance . . .
 let us run the race that is set before us . . .
 keeping our eyes on Jesus, the pioneer and perfecter of the faith,
 who for the joy that was set before him . . .
 patiently endured a cross . . .
 despising shame . . .
 is seated at the right hand of the throne of God.*⁵⁰

Usually, the center of a chiasm is the most important part, carrying the principal point. N. W. Lund states that the center is always the turning point and carries a change of trend of thought, an antithetical idea, and usually divine names and titles.⁵¹ At the center of this chiasm is to be found the personal historical name of the Son, in the midst

⁴⁸Westcott, p. 397.

⁴⁹Horning, pp. 37-48.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 41.

⁵¹N. W. Lund, *Chiasm in the New Testament: A Study in Formgeschichte* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1942), pp. 40-41.

of a "Jesus-fixation" statement. Horning is convinced that the parallelism between the believers (first four lines) and Jesus (last four lines in inverse order) highlights an imitation motif. She says, "It is a challenge to imitate the faith demonstrated in the single-minded life and death of Jesus," and also states further that "both the structure and vocabulary of our text require that we see discipleship in terms of imitation of Jesus or following in his steps."⁵²

Perhaps it would not be too much to say that Heb 12:1-2 is representative of the underlying concern of the entire epistle, especially when seen in the light of the exhortation of 13:13: "Therefore let us go forth to him outside the camp" and bear the abuse he endured.

⁵²Horning, pp. 43, 46.

BOOK REVIEWS

Handy, Robert T. *A History of Union Theological Seminary in New York*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987. xiv + 378 pp. \$30.00.

Just as Fuller Theological Seminary (see review on George M. Marsden's *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* in this issue of *AUSS*) holds a unique place in the history of conservative theological education and scholarship in the United States, so Union Theological Seminary of New York has a similar position in the liberal arena. With such men as Philip Schaff, Charles Briggs, George Albert Coe, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Henry Sloan Coffin, Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul Tillich, Henry P. Van Dusen, Robert McAfee Brown, George A. Buttrick, James Moffatt, James N. Cone, and a score of other preeminent scholars on its faculty, the history of Union is also the story of a cross section of the development of American scholarship in nearly every area of religious studies.

Union Seminary was founded in 1836. Handy's history was developed to commemorate the institution's sesquicentennial anniversary. As such, it is the only history of the seminary covering its entire existence. Previous histories of note are George Lewis Prentiss's *Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York: Historical and Biographical Sketches of Its First Fifty Years* (1889), Prentiss's *Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York: Its Design and Another Decade of Its History* (1899), and Henry Sloan Coffin's *Half Century of Union Theological Seminary, 1896-1945* (1954). Besides having been long out of print, these earlier volumes needed updating.

Robert T. Handy, Henry Sloan Coffin Professor Emeritus of Church History at Union, served as a full-time faculty member and sometime administrator at the school from 1950 through 1986. Thus he has an insider's view of its history. That, of course, gives him both the advantage of being a participant in much of the institution's recent history and the disadvantage of subtle and not-so-subtle bias as he writes about "his" school, colleagues, and students.

Handy's book traces the seminary's development from its inception as an independent seminary for the training of Presbyterian ministers in 1835, up through its rapid development and almost continual growth from the 1850s through the mid 1960s, and into its period of retrenchment in the period of "turmoil," "transition," and "testing" from the mid 1960s through the present. Of particular interest is his treatment of the Briggs

heresy trial in the 1890s, in which the seminary asserted its stand on academic freedom and broke the formal relationship it had voluntarily (rather than legally) sustained to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church between 1870 and 1894. That move did much to set the liberalizing direction of Union in the twentieth century. While the treatment of Briggs is helpful, it does not particularly add any new information to a field which has already been adequately covered in previous works. Other topics of special interest in Handy's volume are his treatment of the consistent but growing positions of Union in the field of civil rights and ecumenism.

A History of Union could have been a stronger book. In many ways it seems to be a history directed at the institution's alumni. Largely based on secondary sources, at times it is anecdotal. A great deal of space is devoted to biographical sketches of its presidents and leading professors. Some sections, in fact, are a kind of who's who on the faculty, a problem that gets worse in later chapters as programs and personnel proliferate. One would have hoped for a volume treating more of the substantial issues in the school's controversial and path-breaking history.

In spite of the book's weaknesses, it is still a valuable contribution to the fields of American religious and educational history. It performs a valuable service in bringing together an overview of the entire history of Union that emphasizes biographical sketches of its major personalities and traces several emphases in its institutional development. Of particular interest, undoubtedly not a purpose in the mind of its author, is its consistent tracing of the gradual step-by-step decisions that led Union from being an institution serving a conservative evangelical constituency to its becoming a school pushing at the frontiers of a worldwide ecumenism that encompasses the non-Christian faiths. The mentality and processes underlying such a transformation are informative to both those who would like to encourage and those who would like to avoid such a drift.

Andrews University

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Kittelson, James M. *Luther the Reformer: The Story of the Man and His Career*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1986. 334 pp. \$24.95/\$8.95.

Lewis W. Spitz (in an "advertising comment") has referred to Kittelson's *Luther the Reformer* as "the best complete biography of Martin Luther, the man and the reformer, available to the English reading world. It is historically solid, factually authentic, psychologically sensitive, personally perceptive, socially aware, and, above all, theologically knowledgeable and persuasive" (p. 1). With the assessment of the first sentence in this quotation the present reviewer quite readily concurs, but the wide

range of praise given in the second sentence tends to overrate Kittelson's accomplishments.

To his credit, the author seeks in this volume to overcome the chronological, theological, and other imbalances evident too frequently in Luther biographies. He treats Luther's *entire* career, generally in an even-handed way; and he also endeavors to portray the Reformer holistically by giving due recognition both to the various components in Luther's personality and to the interaction of the personal and public aspects of Luther's career. Especially has Kittelson served us well by including adequate attention to the so-called "later Luther," a facet of the Reformer's life and experience generally bypassed or traversed altogether too lightly by previous biographers.

The volume is addressed basically to a popular audience and thus largely omits issues of scholarly debate. One can wonder, however, if at least the end-note references should not have incorporated some information concerning various of the more significant and crucial questions relevant to any biographical portrayal of Luther. In a few instances, I even found myself unsure of Kittelson's own assessments with respect to controversial issues.

In addition to presenting a fascinating and eminently readable biography, Kittelson has made several further noteworthy contributions in this volume: (1) numerous woodcuts and other pictorial representations illumine the text throughout; (2) a chronological table (pp. 21-28) gives a helpful, succinct overview of the Reformer's career, plus dates for various other significant events of the time; (3) the "Introductory Bibliography" (pp. 313-326) is arranged topically and is strikingly rich; and (4) there are several good indexes and two maps at the end of the volume (pp. 327-334).

It is obvious that Kittelson writes as a knowledgeable expert on his subject, and he does so with great fluency. Indeed, throughout his book he never fails to arouse considerable human interest. But his flair for picturesque language also seems at times to override the more important consideration of complete accuracy (unintentionally so, of course), without giving the reader adequate warning that this is the case, and his floridity occasionally takes him beyond documentable data. As just one example, is it proper to characterize Luther's transfer from Erfurt to Wittenberg in 1511 as "exile" (p. 22; cf. pp. 62, 79) and dramatically portray it as such (pp. 62, 63)?

Aside from a few minor details with which I might take issue in the chronological table, there are inadvertent misstatements of fact that are more significant. Three will here be noted. On pp. 103 and 105 Kittelson indicates that proceeds from the indulgence being sold by Tetzel (i.e., the indulgence raising the critical controversy with Luther) were to "help build the Sistine Chapel." In the same general context (on pp. 104, 108) Kittelson also, however, correctly refers to "St. Peter's," seemingly unaware that his references are to *two different* places. By the beginning of the

sixteenth century the ancient St. Peter's Basilica had fallen into disrepair, whereas the Sistine Chapel was a recent structure. (Michelangelo did mural and ceiling painting at the Sistine; but this was both before and after the time of the indulgence sales in question, at which time he was in Florence, not Rome.)

A second puzzling statement is that "Tetzel was in a town across the river from Wittenberg" (p. 106). The river must, of course, be the Elbe, on which Wittenberg is situated. The difficulty is that crossing this river from Wittenberg, which (looking downstream) is on its right bank, or north side at this particular place, simply takes a person farther into Saxony, where the sale of indulgences by Tetzel was prohibited. Jüterbog, some 25 or 30 kilometers to the northeast of Wittenberg, was probably the nearest locale where Tetzel's salesmen functioned.

Finally, Kittelson's portrayal of Staupitz's relationship to the German Augustinian Observantines is flawed (pp. 57-58). Contrary to the impression given, Staupitz was *already* their head in Germany at the time of Luther's trip to Rome. Also, there were some twenty-nine Observantine houses in the German Congregation, not "nine" (perhaps an uncorrected typesetter's mistake?).

The flaws, however, should not be considered as outweighing the usefulness and merits of a book filled with as much important factual information as is Kittelson's *Luther the Reformer*.

This volume will undoubtedly be especially helpful for its targeted audience, lay persons desiring a fairly comprehensive and eminently readable presentation of the career and activities of the pioneer Protestant Reformer.

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Malherbe, Abraham. *Paul and the Thessalonians*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987. 120 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

A current trend in American education is toward inter-disciplinary studies. A part of that trend, Abraham Malherbe's book is a fascinating attempt to bridge the gap between NT scholarship and the discipline of pastoral care. As Malherbe unpacks Paul's motives and techniques in addressing the first-century church at Thessalonica, the reader gains insight into the foundation, care, and feeding of religious communities.

Malherbe's stated purpose is "to illuminate [Paul's] practice by comparing it to that of his contemporaries who were engaged in a similar, if not identical, enterprise" (p. 108). Thus, the book focuses more on Paul's "practice" in caring for the churches he had founded than it does on his theology. A careful study of such "pop philosophers" of first-century Greece as Dio Chrysostom and Musonius Rufus leads Malherbe to conclude that 1 Thessalonians is a fairly typical piece of first-century Greek

“pastoral care.” By including lengthy passages from the writings of such philosophers, he invites readers to evaluate the evidence for themselves.

The book contains four main chapters. The first, “Founding the Christian Communities,” deals primarily with the sociological process of conversion in its first-century context. Paul’s evangelistic method was carried out in the setting of the everyday tasks of an ancient household. There he modeled the faith for new and prospective converts in relative seclusion, amenable to the building up of a small but stable community. The bridge to that community was the process of conversion, a process familiar to the philosophers of the day. The main difference between Paul and the philosophers was that he attributed conversion to the power of God, while they emphasized that the power to change was inherently human and required only the skills of the teacher and the right use of reason and will by the student.

The second chapter, “Shaping the Community,” concerns itself with the process by which Paul established a congregation from among those converted by his life and preaching. Malherbe notes that among the philosophers it was widely recognized that conversion brought with it social, as well as religious and intellectual, dislocation. He sees this kind of dislocation in the *thlipsis* of 1 Thess 1:6 and 3:3, 4 and in the mention of disorderly, discouraged, and weak elements in the community in 5:14, 15. Paul’s answer to the struggles of new converts was to gather them around him and demonstrate in his daily tasks how to live the Christian life in community. In this he had much in common with the moral philosophers of his day.

The third chapter, “Nurturing the Community,” focuses on the problem of how to nurture a community during one’s absence. The Thessalonians apparently felt abandoned as a result of Paul’s precipitous departure from their city. Paul chose to meet that problem in three ways: He sent Timothy as a representative, he wrote 1 Thessalonians, and he encouraged the converts to continue among themselves the nurture he had begun. In all three aspects, Paul was acting in harmony with the philosophical practices of the times. Recognition of that fact enables the interpreter to understand Paul’s pastoral methods in far greater and more practical detail than before.

It is in the final chapter, “The Christian Community in a Pagan Society,” that major differences between Paul and the popular philosophers are set forth. The Christians of Thessalonica were now, due to their conversion, radically different from the people around them. Paul was concerned that these Christians live the kind of “quiet life” (1 Thess 4:9-12) that would gain the approval of their pagan contemporaries. This quiet life was not, however, the laziness of “philosophical contemplation,” but was rather occupation in manual labor and the pursuit of civic responsibility.

Malherbe’s book concludes with helpful indexes of passages (one-third from the NT, the rest mostly Greek Gentile literature) and subjects

(including such fascinating key words as “courage,” “fault-finding,” “gratitude,” “reputation,” “sarcasm,” and “ugly disposition”).

The book as a whole is a success. For the pastor, especially one who considers Paul’s theology and practice in some sense authoritative, the volume is a gold mine of insight into the problems of establishing and nurturing a Christian community. As an expert in both the NT and the sociology of the Roman world, Malherbe has also succeeded in shedding fresh light on the issues and tactics involved in Paul’s writing of I Thessalonians. What is all the more impressive is that such an important contribution could be made in a book of only 120 pages.

Andrews University

JON PAULIEN

Marsden, George. *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987. xiv + 319 pp. \$19.95.

Originally, George Marsden tells us, he intended to write a history of fundamentalism since the 1920s as a sequel to his *Fundamentalism and American Culture*. When asked to write a history of Fuller Seminary, however, he saw an opportunity to use Fuller as a window through which to view the recent development of fundamentalism and evangelicalism. The result is a work that, while containing many of the elements of an institutional history, also tells a larger and even more significant story.

Founded by radio evangelist Charles Fuller in Pasadena, California, in 1947, Fuller Seminary sought to become a more conservative alternative to Princeton Theological Seminary. Drawing together faculty and administrators—including Harold Ockenga, Carl F. H. Henry, and Wilbur Smith—who had achieved eminence in the fundamentalist world, the seminary emphasized both scholarship and evangelism. Men such as Henry believed that through their conservative scholarship the faculty could move modern thought back to orthodox Christianity.

Tensions, however, appeared from the beginning. Although the seminary attempted to maintain a nonsectarian position with regard to long-standing fundamentalist controversies, it was unable to escape them. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., of which many faculty were members, pressured those faculty to leave Fuller and for a time was unwilling to accept Fuller graduates as pastors. Many fundamentalists believed that Bela Vassady, a European scholar who was not part of the American fundamentalist tradition, was too sympathetic to Karl Barth. Vassady proved to be a focal point of controversy after joining the faculty in 1948. In addition, faculty members such as Harold Lindsell and Charles Woodbridge attempted to move the seminary in the direction of fundamentalist separatism.

By the mid-1950s it was apparent that fundamentalism was splitting into two camps, the conservative wing retaining the name “fundamentalist”

while the moderates were increasingly called "evangelicals." Fuller Seminary became identified with the evangelical wing, represented by Billy Graham (who was closely associated with the seminary) and *Christianity Today*, a new magazine intended to be a conservative counterpart to the *Christian Century*.

But evangelicalism had to mark off its boundaries in order to distinguish itself from neo-orthodoxy and liberal theology. Inerrancy became the testing issue. Marsden writes: "Since fundamentalist evangelicals usually lacked authoritative church bodies, inerrancy was an effective tool for drawing a boundary for the movement" (p. 227). With the hiring of David Hubbard as president in 1963, however, the seminary moved toward a broader interpretation of inerrancy and in the process, according to Marsden, left the original fundamentalist agenda far behind. Establishment of schools of psychology and world mission and a movement away from a curriculum dominated by apologetics further indicated the seminary's increasing openness. Consequently, many evangelicals—moving back toward fundamentalism—looked elsewhere for more conservative alternatives to Fuller. After a major attack (that the seminary successfully weathered) on Fuller's orthodoxy by former faculty member Harold Lindsell in the late 1970s, the school appears, in Marsden's view, to have achieved independence from the "fundamentalist evangelical right."

Marsden has written a fascinating book. He deftly interweaves biographies, financial and administrative matters, theological discussions, and the fundamentalist-evangelical context of Fuller Theological Seminary. His sources include the records of the seminary, the papers of many individuals connected with it, and interviews. The resulting volume illuminates not only the development of Fuller Theological Seminary but also the recent course of American religious history. *Reforming Fundamentalism* is a model of sympathetic yet critical scholarship.

Andrews University

GARY LAND

McCarter, P. Kyle, Jr. *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible*. Guides to Biblical Scholarship. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986. 94 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

There are now several books on the market that treat the subject of OT textual criticism. However, while most use the space to cover basic rules and definitions and the description of the historical background to the ancient texts, P. Kyle McCarter's book actually shows one how to do textual criticism. It is the latest addition to the Guides to Biblical Scholarship series, and its aim is not only to familiarize students with the goals and methods of textual criticism, but to provide them with enough guidance to engage in the process for themselves.

The thesis of the book is that though copying has preserved the ancient text, it has also been the means of bringing about its corruption.

Thus, textual criticism is necessary in order to recover "an earlier, more authentic—and therefore superior—form of the text" (p. 12). In order to do textual criticism, McCarter argues, certain basic rules or guidelines are necessary. These guidelines, however, cannot be applied rigidly. The process must be carried out with intelligence and common sense, using both sound judgment and creativity. Textual criticism, therefore, is both art and science.

Chap. 2 treats the causes of textual corruption. These are categorized in three groups: (1) changes that lengthen the text, including expansion, dittography, glossing, and conflation; (2) changes that shorten the text, such as haplography and parablepsis (*homoiarcton* and *homoioteleuton*); and (3) changes that do not affect the length of the text, including graphic confusion, misdivision, metathesis, and modernization. These are discussed with clarity, and copious examples are given for each type of change from the biblical text.

Chap. 3 deals with the basic procedures of doing textual criticism. McCarter takes the student step by step through the process of evaluating the witnesses, choosing between readings, and the possibility of emendation when none of the readings are satisfactory. Again, examples are provided, but they are more selective than those in chap. 2 and are designed to help one steer clear of the extremes that result from an overly rigid application of the rules. Three very useful appendices provide a glossary of technical terms, a bibliography of the primary textual witnesses, and an evaluation of the textual characteristics of the MT and LXX for each book of the Hebrew Bible.

The one gap that remains in this work, other than the lack of an index, is a section dealing with the critical apparatus. In order to marshal all of the witnesses, including the locating of MS variants, it is necessary for one to have a working knowledge of the apparatus of the critical editions of the MT and the versions. In a short work such as this, space limitations probably precluded such a discussion, but some basic remarks on the subject and reference to source materials, nevertheless, might have been made. Materials available in English on the apparatus of the MT and LXX include R. Wonneberger, *Understanding the BHS: A Manual for the Users of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Rome, 1984); pp. v-viii of the first volume of the Larger Cambridge Septuagint; and Appendixes I and II of S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1968). For the other editions of the LXX, as well as the versions, one must consult the introductions to their critical editions in whatever language they appear.

Kyle's *Textual Criticism* is a practical and indispensable guide to the process of textual criticism of the OT by one of its masters. It is a significant addition to the growing methodological literature in the area of biblical studies and should be consulted by the serious student of the OT. Its practical, rather than merely descriptive, nature should give it lasting value.

Moore, R. Laurence, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. xx + 243 pp. \$28.00.

In the tradition of his *In Search of White Crows: Spiritualism, Parapsychology, and American Culture* (1977), R. Laurence Moore of Cornell University has again entered a relatively unexplored area of American religious historiography. Moore rejects "the tendency to equate Protestant culture in America with the activities of a few denominational groups labeled 'mainline'" (p. viii). As a result, he stands against the interpretation of American religious history that prevailed from the beginning of the nineteenth century up through Sydney Ahlstrom's massive *Religious History of the American People* (1972)—a historiographical tradition that began the story with the New England Puritans and traced the religious development of America through the "respectable" denominations, to the detriment of a pluralistic milieu that spawned countless "fringe" sects. The outsiders, Moore forcefully argues, were generally treated as deviants and problems.

Moore turns the traditional paradigm on its head, holding that it has been the very pluralism of American religion that has provided its dynamic and forms its essence. Even the New England Puritans, he points out, got their start as religious outsiders. Only in America did they become insiders whose respectability later gave birth to new varieties of outsiders. Thus Moore's work is in line with that of Catherine Albanese's *America: Religion and Religions* (1981) which "manages to ignore Protestants until the fourth chapter" (p. 20).

Moore's intention, despite his revisionism, is not to eradicate past American religious historiography, but to supplement it by setting forth "some reasonably fresh ways to understand religious pluralism" (p. x). His purpose is to suggest ways that the history of America's religious outsiders "may become more central to our understanding of American experience and generative of more useful historical controversy than has hitherto surrounded them" (p. xv).

Not only has Moore argued that the role of the outsider is central to the development of American religion, but he has also set forth the thesis that the availability of outsider religious options acted as a sort of safety valve by helping to "contain the worst tendencies in American life" through providing "ways for many people to invest their life with a significance that eased their sense of frustration" (p. 210). In addition, he put forth the view that religious outsiders in the American tradition had a definite utility in the development of the nation, "however politically useless or even pernicious" their dissent might have been, because they "did a great deal to expose the shabbiness and the arrogance of the culture surrounding them and [thus] contributed a fair measure to whatever success the American system has had" (p. xii).

Religious Outsiders is divided into two parts. Part one covers outsider religion as it relates to ethnicity and American identity. In this section

Moore has chapters dealing with Mormons, Catholics, and Jews. Part two discusses "religions for average Americans." It has chapters on Christian Science, Adventism and other premillennial groups, fundamentalism, and the Black churches. The book also includes an introductory chapter and a lengthy postscript. These two chapters set forth the author's presuppositions and indicate the framework and significance of the chapters composing the body of the study. Moore did not seek to be exhaustive in his treatment of outsider bodies. Rather, he chose groups that illustrated major themes.

Moore's volume has several problems. One has to do with the complexity of his field. By its very nature, the implications of religious pluralism are much more difficult to treat than are those of a unified system due to the fact that its subject matter is diversity. That dilemma is compounded by the problem that there are few, if any, satisfactory models upon which to build. It is always more difficult to operate in relatively unexplored territory.

A second difficulty is intimately related to the first: the book lacks unity. Moore himself was somewhat disconcerted over this point. He notes that he started out to write a book but "wound up with a manuscript that in form resembles a series of essays" (p. vii). That does not mean that the individual essays are not enlightening. They are generally quite insightful, but they are not coherent in the sense that they consistently develop a unified theme. The volume's theme is most evident in its opening and closing discussions.

A third difficulty is that Moore seems to put too much sociological emphasis on the development of American religious diversity and not enough on factors related to belief. His statement that "the gulfs that religious Americans have invented to distinguish their various religious groups have not always, or even usually, had much to do with theology" (pp. 207-208) would probably be vigorously objected to by most of those Americans he is talking about.

In spite of its weaknesses, many of which might be expected, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* has cut new ground in American religious historiography. As such it is a useful contribution. It remains, however, for Moore and others in the future to more fully and coherently develop the theses set forth in the book.

Andrews University

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Stein, Robert H. *The Synoptic Problem: An Introduction*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987. 292 pp. \$17.95.

Dissatisfied with previous works on the synoptic problem and wishing to place a text in the hands of his students that approaches this topic from an evangelical point of view, Robert Stein has written a book that he calls

an introduction and a work manual. Committed to helping students work their way through the various problems presented by the Synoptic Gospels, Part I addresses the pros and cons of Markan priority and the existence of Q. Eighty-nine parallel passages are treated in the volume. These passages are used to illustrate various points regarding the synoptic problem. The student is encouraged to use a color code (blue, black, red, yellow, green) to aid in seeing the triple and double traditions, exact agreements in wording and order, agreements that are not exact, and so on. Thus this introduction also becomes a work manual.

Part II discusses the presuppositions and value of form criticism, as well as the general reliability of the oral tradition. Redaction criticism—its method, practice, and value—is treated in Part III. A short but useful glossary and scripture and subject indexes conclude the volume.

Part I (pp. 29-157) of *The Synoptic Problem* proves to be an apology for Markan priority and the existence of a written Q. All of the classical arguments in favor of the two-document hypothesis are presented with a convenient summation (pp. 87-88). Stein's most impressive argument is the appearance and position of parenthetical material. This argument suggests that it is highly unlikely for two or three writers to insert into their accounts exactly the same comments (or comments that are nearly the same) in exactly the same places (p. 37). This argument, however, is not included in his convenient summation.

In considering the arguments for Markan priority, one is impressed with the importance of Luke 1:1-4. Stein returns to these verses repeatedly in defense of his position. How one interprets this passage will determine his acceptance or rejection of Markan priority. Of all the gospels, Luke alone informs us of his sources. Stein early appeals to the "many" of Luke 1:1 who have written accounts of Jesus' life and ministry in defense of Luke's use of Mark's gospel (pp. 29, 42, 43). However, there is a serious question as to whether these "narratives" are identified by Luke as primary sources. In addition, how does one get from "many" to one (i.e., Mark's gospel), if indeed these "narratives" were primary sources for Luke? At what point does Luke suggest in the listing of his sources that he set aside all others and used only one (Mark) or possibly two (if Q is taken as a written document)?

Luke clearly identifies his sources—eyewitnesses and ministers of the word. If *paredosan* (vs. 2) is taken to indicate the oral transmission of information, Luke effectively removes himself from the two-document hypothesis. Although he states that he is aware of many others who are working at a task similar to his, he does not identify them as sources. Indeed, by the use of the pronoun *hemin*, Luke tells us that they tapped the same reservoir he did (eyewitnesses and ministers of the word) and that they received their information in the same way—by oral communication. As Stein progresses in his presentation, he increasingly acknowledges the importance of oral tradition and includes a chapter on its general reliability. In fact, in that chapter Stein recognizes the role of the eyewitnesses

and the ministers of the word in orally delivering the gospel traditions "before being written down" (p. 194). Luke tells us plainly that he got his information from these eyewitnesses and ministers of the word. Thus, on the basis of Stein's own statement, Luke removes himself from the two-document hypothesis. It appears that Stein argues against himself.

For Stein's position to be convincing he must show Bo Reicke's (*The Roots of the Synoptic Gospels*) understanding of Luke 1:1-4 to be in error—that Luke and the "many" were writing simultaneously, that all were drawing upon the oral tradition, and that Luke does not hint at written sources with a single word (pp. 45, 46). Stein does not undertake that task. The similarities between Luke and Mark can be explained by the close personal relationship these two men enjoyed as a part of Paul's missionary team (Reicke, p. 52).

Because Matthew does not contain a statement about his sources, one can build a stronger case for Mark's priority. But in the process, one must take into account such works as that of John Rist (*On the Independence of Matthew and Mark*), who convincingly argues that "literary dependence is most unlikely between Matthew and Mark" (p. 107).

Although well written, *The Synoptic Problem* demonstrates many of the weaknesses within the two-document hypothesis. It is to Stein's credit, as a defender of Markan priority, that he recognizes these weaknesses when he notes that "the two-source hypothesis was, is, and will always be a 'theory.' It must never be accepted as a 'fact' or 'law'" (p. 136).

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GEORGE E. RICE

Verhoef, Pieter A. *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*. The New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987. xxv + 384 pp. \$21.95.

The conservative NICOT series now has available—in addition to the present work—volumes on Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Ezra and Nehemiah, Isaiah 1-39, Jeremiah, and the minor prophets Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah. The intent of the series is to use modern scholarship in explicating the books of the OT while recognizing the Bible as inspired and authoritative. The commentator provides his own translation of scripture. Pastors, scholars, and students are the intended audience.

Pieter Verhoef is Emeritus Professor of OT at the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa. The volume includes an excellent, well-focused ten-page bibliography that covers both Haggai and Malachi. One might now add Carol and Eric Meyers' recently-published commentary on Haggai in the Anchor Bible.

Verhoef takes a conservative position on authorship of the book of Haggai, seeing Haggai as originally delivering the four messages, though

he has some doubt that Haggai was responsible for the written record in its present form. The style is viewed as rhythmic prose. Three major themes are seen in the book: God, the temple, and the anointed one of the future.

The commentary section presents the ideas of previous expositors, in many cases giving their arguments for positions taken. Out of these, Verhoef makes a choice or presents his own case.

In dealing with the text, Verhoef gives a straightforward translation in prose form. Parallelism and poetic structure are indicated in the notes. The structural analysis is superb, but it would have been well to indicate the poetic style in the translation in such places as 1:6, 8, 9 and 2:20-23.

Verhoef has chosen his words carefully. For instance, "feared before the Lord" is used in 1:12 to indicate awe and terror rather than reverence. He has kept "the remnant of the people" in 1:12, 14 and 2:2, a translation that is preferred because "remnant" is a technical term in prophetic literature that denotes the survivors of God's judgment and the recipients of His eschatological deliverance. It is taken over in this way into apocalyptic. One recent translation has "the rest of the people," a phrase that is weak and fails to denote the meaning.

Such attention to detail and careful analysis is noted throughout. However, an in-depth discussion of the eschatological aspects of Haggai would have made a stronger work.

The commentary on Haggai is followed by Malachi in canonical order, though recent works often have seen the similarities with Zechariah 1-8 and placed the two together. The tie with Zechariah 7 and 8 is especially strong.

The work on Malachi has more depth than the one on Haggai in the sense that discussions of particular ideas are more extensive. There are excellent presentations of legal parallels; the word *kāḥôd*; the radical message of 1:11 ("for my name is great among the nations"); priestly functions in the postexilic period; the relationship between prophet, priest, and Levite; and judgment in 3:13-4:3.

The structural analysis of Malachi is very good and the rhythmic pattern is clear in the formatting of the translation. Difficulties in the text are clearly stated, but context and logic are used to make understandable translations (such as 2:15). Missing in an otherwise excellent discussion of 1:2, 3 (the loved-Jacob-hated-Esau passage) is a use of the covenantal idea of choosing and not choosing, an election emphasis.

While Verhoef dismisses the great difference of 4:4-6 with the rest of the book, he does admit it is a "more or less independent addition to his prophecy." Commentary on this contains a deeper eschatological picture than is presented in the comments on Haggai.

Regarding the physical aspects of the volume, the print is legible with glare-free, opaque paper, though each page is crowded. One could wish that a scholarly commentary of this caliber would be sewn rather than glued, so that it would lie open conveniently for study. Such is not the case. Maps and a chronological chart would have been helpful.

Overall, the translation, textual notes, and the exposition are superb, clearly written, and interesting. Any future work must consider what has been done here.

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WILLIAM H. HESSEL

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

In producing his theological-German reader, Helmut Ziefle has attempted 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). About half of the book is devoted to readings from various portions of the OT and NT in an edition of Luther's translation that uses twentieth-century language. This is followed by short excerpts from the works of representative theologians. A brief introduction to the career of each theologian is supplied. A shorter third section of the book sets forth a part of the author's biography of his mother, first in the German original and then in an English translation. That biography is significant from the standpoint of the fact that Ziefle's mother resisted Adolf Hitler and the German Youth Movement of the Third Reich.

For the biblical sections and those representing modern theologians, the text is given on right-hand pages, with the left-hand pages devoted to definitions and/or explanations of some of the more difficult words and idioms. Also, at the close of each section there is a set of exercises that usually covers several pages.

When one takes into account the number of pages in the book that are devoted to explanatory materials, exercises, and introductions, the space devoted to actual "theological text" has been greatly curtailed. For the person who is endeavoring to get the mastery of theological German for work in a doctoral program, it seems that the actual reading material is therefore quite slim, and that a further disadvantage lies in the fact that most of it is at a rather elementary level and hardly difficult enough to acquaint the student sufficiently with the vocabulary and style of many of the most prominent theological writers.

In defense of the author's approach, however, it must be said that he has excerpted materials from quite a number of nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers. I suspect, moreover, that the book may have been prepared more for the general reader of theological German than for the potential scholar in the field.

In any case, this volume is a fairly useful tool and complements well the author's *Dictionary of Modern Theological German* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1982).

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KENNETH A. STRAND

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = 'a	ד = d	י = y	ס = s	ר = r
ב = b	ה = h	כ = k	ע = 'e	ש = š
ג = g	ו = w	כּ = k	פּ = p	שׁ = š
דּ = d	ז = z	ל = l	פּ = p	תּ = t
הּ = h	ח = h	מ = m	צ = s	תּ = t
וּ = u	ט = t	נ = n	ק = q	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

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

(Dāgēs Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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