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THEOLOGY OF SEXUALITY IN THE SONG OF SONGS:
RETURN TO EDEN

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"For in all the world there is nothing to equal the day on which the Song of Songs was given to Israel, for all the writings are Holy, but the Song of Songs is the Holy of Holies."[1] Such was the vision of the exalted importance of the Song of Songs as purportedly expressed by Rabbi Aqiba at the Council of Jamnia (ca. 90 A.D.). According to tradition, Aqiba's speech helped confirm the Song's place in the canon of Scripture.

1. *Allegorization of the Song of Songs*

Unfortunately, the speech did not equally serve to confirm a lofty conception of sexuality. Even the Jewish rabbis, with their basically healthy and robust view of sexuality, apparently had great difficulty seeing how what seemed to be a purely secular love song could be included in the sacred canon. Therefore they adopted and developed an elaborate allegorical interpretation of the Song which downplayed the literal sense in favor of a hidden, spiritual meaning. When Aqiba said the Song of Songs was the Holy of Holies, what he probably had in mind was that the Song was a detailed allegory of the historical relationship between the Divine Presence (the *Shekinah* in the Holy of Holies) and the people of Israel from the Exodus to the coming of the Messiah.[2] Thus, Aqiba warned against taking the Song of Songs only as a human love song: "He

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[1]Mishnah, *Yadaim* III, 5.

[2]See Marvin Pope, *Song of Songs*, AB (Garden City, NY, 1977), pp. 89-112, for a detailed description of the development and content of the normative Jewish interpretation of the Song of Songs as pioneered by Aqiba and found full-flowered in the targum to the Song of Songs. In the latter the following historical periods appear to be the allegorical referents of the major divisions:

1. Exodus and Entry into Canaan—Cant 1:2-3:6.
2. Solomon's Temple—Cant 3:7-5:1.
3. Sin and Exile—Cant 5:2-6:1.

who trills his voice in the chanting of the Song of Songs and treats it as a secular song has no share in the world to come."[3]

Christian allegorists went even further than the rabbis: They not only downplayed, but rejected the Song's literal sense altogether. Influenced by the pagan Greek philosophies (i.e., Platonic dualism, stoicism, and the Hellenistic-Roman cults), they posited a dichotomy between things of the flesh and things of the spirit. Purity was associated with sexual renunciation, and all expressions of bodily pleasure—including sexual expression—were considered evil. In the Song of Songs all erotic imagery was allegorized as the yearning of the soul for union with God, or an expression of Christ's love for his church. As by allegory the Greek philosophers had succeeded in transforming the sensuous gods of Homer and Hesiod into ethereal, spiritual ideals, so the celibate church theologians were "able by allegory to unsex the Sublime Song and make it a hymn of spiritual love without carnal taint."[4]

Origen of Alexandria (ca. 185-254), one of the foremost Christian proponents of the allegorical method of Biblical interpretation, wrote a 10-volume commentary of nearly 20,000 lines on the Song of Songs. In the prologue he warned that the Song of Songs is safe reading only for mature persons no longer troubled by sexual desires: "I advise and counsel everyone who is not yet rid of the vexations of flesh and blood and has not ceased to feel the passion of his bodily nature, to refrain completely from reading this little book and the things that will be said about it."[5] Origen further pleads: "We earnestly beg the hearers of these things to mortify their carnal senses. They must not take anything of what has been

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4. Rebuilding of Temple—Cant 6:2-7:11.

5. Roman Diaspora and Coming of Messiah—Cant 7:12-8:14.

(See Pope, pp. 95-101, for a detailed analysis.)

[3]*Tosephta Sanhed* XII, 10, quoted in Roland K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1969), pp. 1054-1055. William E. Phipps, *Recovering Biblical Sensuousness* (Philadelphia, 1975), p. 47, alternatively argues that Aqiba is opposed to the use of Canticles as a "vulgar" or "bawdy" song outside of the context of marital love.

[4]Pope, p. 114. For a discussion of medieval allegorizing of the Song of Songs and samples of the specific exegesis, see pp. 112-124, and passim.

[5]R. P. Lawson, trans., *Origen: The Song of Songs, Commentary and Homilies*, Ancient Christian Writers, vol. 26 (Westminster, MD, 1957), pp. 22-23, quoted in Pope, p. 117.

said with reference to bodily functions but rather employ them for grasping those divine senses of the inner man."[6]

For fifteen centuries the allegorical method held sway in the Christian church, and the Song of Songs became "the favorite book of ascetics and monastics who found in it, and in expansive commentaries on it, the means to rise above earthly and fleshly desire to the pure platonic love of the virgin soul for God."[7]

During these 1,500 years only one church leader of stature dared to protest against the allegorical interpretations. Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350-428) asserted in his commentary that the Song should be understood according to its plain and literal sense—as a love song in which Solomon celebrates his marriage. This view was considered so radical that even his student, Bishop Theodoret, considered Theodore's literal interpretation "not even fitting in the mouth of a crazy woman."[8] The Second Council of Constantinople (553) anathematized Theodore and condemned his views as unfit for human ears.

The allegorical interpretation of Canticles continued its dominance in Roman Catholicism until very recently and was also generally accepted among Protestant scholars until the nineteenth century. Luther, though breaking formally with the allegorical method, still criticized those who attempted to interpret the song literally.[9] The Westminster Assembly in the seventeenth century censured blasphemous Presbyterians who "received it as a hot carnal pamphlet formed by some loose Apollo or Cupid."[10] John Wesley wrote to his Methodist followers that

[6]Origen, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, 1.4, quoted in Phipps, p. 51. So, e.g.,

> the kiss of Christ = the Incarnation
> the cheeks of the bride = outward Christianity, good works
> the golden chain = faith
> spikenard = redeemed humanity
> hair like flocks of goats = nations converted to Christianity
> navel of the Shulamite = cup from which God gives salvation
> the two breasts = the OT and NT

[7]Pope, p. 114.

[8]Johannes Quasten, *Patriology* (Utrecht, 1966), 3:540, quoted in Phipps, p. 59.

[9]Jaroslav Pelikan, ed. *Luther's Works* (St. Louis, MO, 1972), 15: 192-195; cf. Phipps, pp. 57-58.

[10]Westminster Assembly, *Annotations upon All the Books of the Old and New Testaments* (London, 1951), 1: n.p., quoted in Phipps, p. 58.

the description of this bridegroom and bride is such as could not
with decency be used or meant concerning Solomon and Pharaoh's
daughter; that many expressions and descriptions, if applied to
them, would be absurd and monstrous; and that it therefore
follows that this book is to be understood allegorically concerning
that spiritual love and marriage which is between Christ and his
church.[11]

2. *The Literal Interpretation of the Song of Songs*

The allegorical interpretation still has its representatives,[12] but
fortunately it is no longer anathema (at least in most circles) to
interpret the Song according to its plain and literal sense. The
break with the traditional allegorical view was foreshadowed in
John Calvin. The Reformer maintained that Canticles is both
inspired by God and a song of human love. The English Puritan
Edmund Spencer seems to have been among the first to concur with
Calvin, and two centuries later the German Romanticist J. G. von
Herder also interpreted the Song as a natural expression of human
love.[13] Since the time of Herder a number of novel interpretations
of the Song have arisen, attracting some adherents;[14] but in recent
decades "there has been a notable trend toward the interpretation
of the Song of Songs as human love poetry."[15] Although diverging
in a number of significant details, contemporary interpreters gen-
erally do not feel constrained to "unsex the Sublime Song." H. H.
Rowley, after a thorough review of the Song's hermeneutical his-
tory, gives a judgment consonant with the literal interpretations of
Theodore, Spencer, Herder, and in harmony with today's prevail-
ing scholarly assessment: "The view I adopt finds in it nothing but
what it appears to be, lovers' songs, expressing their delight in one

[11]John Wesley, *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament* (Bristol, Eng.,
1765), 3: 1926, quoted in Phipps, p. 58.

[12]See, e.g., A. B. Simpson, *The Love-Life of the Lord* (Harrisburg, PA, n.d.),
and the notes in the Jerusalem Bible.

[13]See Phipps, pp. 59-61; Pope, pp. 126-127; 131-132.

[14]For details on the various dramatic and dream theories, cultic/liturgical
interpretations, wedding-week theory, etc., see Pope, pp. 133-192, and Harrison,
Introduction to the OT, pp. 1052-1058.

[15]Pope, p. 192.

another and the warm emotions of their hearts. All of the other views find in the Song what they bring to it." [16]

If one interprets the Song according to its plain and literal sense, then it must be concluded that one whole book of the OT is devoted to celebrating "the dignity and purity of human love." [17] A whole book extolling the beauty of human sexual love! How could Scripture more forcefully proclaim that human sexuality is not cheap, ugly, and evil, but beautiful, wholesome, and praiseworthy!

3. *The Song of Songs, the Garden of Eden, and the Nature of Sexuality*

In the Song of Songs we have come full circle, in the OT, back to the Garden of Eden. Several recent studies have penetratingly analyzed and conclusively demonstrated the intimate relationship between the early chapters of Genesis and the Song of Songs. [18] In the "symphony of love," begun in Eden but gone awry after the Fall, Canticles constitutes "love's lyrics redeemed." [19] Phyllis Trible summarizes how the Song of Songs "by variations and reversals creatively actualizes major motifs and themes" of the Eden narrative:

> Female and male are born to mutuality and love. They are naked without shame; they are equal without duplication. They live in gardens where nature joins in celebrating their oneness. Animals remind these couples of their shared superiority in creation as well as their affinity and responsibility for lesser creatures. Fruits pleasing to the eye and tongue are theirs to enjoy. Living waters replenish their gardens. Both couples are involved in naming; both couples work. . . . Whatever else it may be, Canticles is a commentary on Gen. 2-3. Paradise Lost is Paradise Regained. [20]

[16]H. H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament* (London, 1952), p. 233.

[17]E. J. Young, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1949), p. 336.

[18]See especially Phyllis Trible, "Depatriarchalizing in Biblical Interpretation," *JAAR* 41 (1973): 42-47; idem, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 145-165; Francis Landy, "The Song of Songs and the Garden of Eden," *JBL* 98 (1979): 513-528; and idem., *Paradoxes of Paradise: Identity and Difference in the Song of Songs* (Sheffield, Eng., 1983), pp. 183-265.

[19]Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, p. 144.

[20]Idem, "Depatriarchalizing," p. 47.

The Song of Songs is a return to Eden, yet the lovers in the Song are not to be equated with the pre-Fall couple in the Garden. The poetry of Canticles reveals the existence of a world of sin and its baleful results: There are the angry brothers (1:6), the wet winter (2:11), the "little foxes that spoil the vineyards" (2:15), the anxiety of absence from one's beloved (3:1-4; 5:6-8; 6:1), the cruelty and brutality of the watchman (5:7), and the powerful presence of death (8:6). Yet the lovers in the Song are able to triumph over the threats to their love.

In parallel with Gen 2:24, the Song depicts the ideal of "woman and man in mutual harmony after the fall."[21] The theology of this inspired reflection and elucidation of the divine ideal for post-Fall sexuality may be discussed under the major subheadings that emerged in my treatment of sexuality in Gen 1-2 in a previous article.[22]

Sexuality Is Good

First, underlying the entire Song is the same high doctrine of creation that forms the backdrop for biblical wisdom literature in general.[23] Without explicitly mentioning that God "has made everything beautiful in its time" (Eccl 3:11), the author describes the beauty of God's handiwork made during the six days of creation week in the lovers' natural surroundings: brilliant light, fountains and springs, many waters, mountains and hills, pastures and vineyards, trees and flowers, sun and moon, birds and animals.[24] Like-

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[21]Ibid., p. 48.

[22]See Richard M. Davidson, "The Theology of Sexuality in the Beginning: Genesis 1-2," *AUSS* 26 (1988): 5-24.

[23]The majority of scholars represented, e.g., by James Crenshaw, ed., *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (New York, 1976), p. 5, would exclude Canticles from discussion of wisdom literature; but Roland E. Murphy, *The Forms of the Old Testament Literature*, vol. VIII: *Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Esther* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1981), p. xiii, argues that although not technically wisdom literature, the Song "emphasizes values which are primary in wisdom thought (cf. Prov. 1-9)." Murphy, ibid., cites a number of scholars who are becoming "open to ascribing the preservation and transmission of these poems [Canticles] to the sages of Israel." For a discussion of the doctrine of Creation in wisdom literature, see, e.g., Crenshaw, *Studies*, pp. 22-35.

[24]The six days of Creation are profusely represented:

1. Light: "flashes of fire" (8:6) of YAHWEH—cf. below, p. 18.

wise, sexuality is assumed to be a creation ordinance, given by God for man to enjoy.[25] In lofty love lyrics "the voices of the Song of Songs extol and enhance the creation of sexuality in Gen. 2."[26]

Sexuality Is for Couples

Secondly, the man and woman are a duality, as in the beginning—a lover and his beloved. Hypotheses which suggest a lovers' "triangle" in the Song, with a rustic shepherd and King Solomon vying for the same Shulamite, are not convincing.[27] Furthermore, recent studies provide strong evidence for the unity of the Song, rather than its being a collection of unrelated love poems. Roland Murphy points to recurring refrains, themes, words, and phrases;[28] J. Cheryl Exum analyzes numerous structural indications of "a unity of authorship with an intentional design";[29] Michael Fox elaborates on four factors that point to a literary unity: (1) a network of repetends (repetitions), (2) associative sequences, (3) consistency of character portrayal, and (4) narrative framework;[30] and William Shea seems to clinch the case for unity by his persuasive

2. Water and air: springs of fresh water, fountains or wells, many waters, wind (North and South)
3. Land and vegetation: mountains and hills (Lebanon, Amana, Senir, Gilead, Hermon, Carmel); pastures, vineyards (Ein-Gedi); trees (palm, cedar, pine, apple, fig, pomegranate, nuts); fragrances (nard, saffron, calamus, cinnamon, frankincense, myrrh, aloes); etc.
4. Luminaries: sun, moon
5. Birds (and fish): turtledoves, ravens
6. Animals (and man): gazelles, young stags, hinds of the field, flocks of goats, sheep, lions, leopards, etc.

[25]See below, pp. 18-19, for a discussion of the divine origin of love in the Song.

[26]Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, p. 145.

[27]The "Shepherd" hypothesis argues for three characters: the Shulamite, her shepherd-lover, and King Solomon, who carries the Shulamite by force to his harem and, after unsuccessfully attempting to seduce her, allows her to return home to her rustic lover. This view (popularized by H. Ewald and accepted by S. R. Driver, C. G. Ginsburg, and many others) is discussed (with major proponents) and critiqued in, e.g., Harrison, *Introduction to the OT*, p. 1054; cf. Pope, pp. 136-141.

[28]Roland E. Murphy, "The Unity of the Song of Songs," *VT* 29 (1979): 436-443.

[29]J. Cheryl Exum, "A Literary and Structural Analysis of the Song of Songs," *ZAW* 85 (1973): 47-79.

[30]Michael V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison, WI, 1985), pp. 209-222.

demonstrations of an overarching chiastic structure for the entire Song.[31] It is in a *unified* song, therefore, that the love relationship between a *couple*—man and woman—is extolled and celebrated.

Sexuality Is Egalitarian

Third, the lovers in the Song are presented as equals in every way. Canticles "reflects an image of woman and female-male relations that is extremely positive and egalitarian."[32] The keynote "of the egalitarianism of mutual love"[33] is struck in Cant 2:16: "My beloved is mine and I am his." The Song of Songs begins and closes with the woman speaking. The woman carries the majority of the dialogue (81 verses to 49 for the man).[34] She initiates most of the meetings and is just as active in the lovemaking as the man. Likewise, she is just as eloquent about the beauty of her lover as he is about her. The woman also is gainfully employed as a shepherdess and vineyard keeper. In short, throughout the Song she is "fully the equal of the man."[35] As in Gen 2, she is man's "partner . . . , 'the one opposite him.' "[36]

Feminist readings of the Song of Songs have tended to argue for a reversal of the divine judgment given in Gen 3:16, so that the "Return to Eden" in Canticles means the recovery of the pre-Fall male-female relationship.[37] However, attempts to contrast the "recovery of mutuality" in the Song with the "male power" of Gen 3:16[38] misconstrue both the nature of the divine judgment and the meaning of mutuality. In my discussion of Gen 3:16 in a previous article,[39] I set forth evidence that God's judgment was prescriptive,

[31]William H. Shea, "The Chiastic Structure of the Song of Songs," *ZAW* 92 (1980): 378-396.

[32]Leonard Swidler, *Biblical Affirmations of Women* (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 92.

[33]Ibid.

[34]The count may vary, depending upon the interpretation of the sometimes ambiguous first-person statements.

[35]Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, p. 161.

[36]Foster R. McCurley, *Ancient Myths and Biblical Faith: Scriptural Transformations* (Philadelphia, 1983), p. 101.

[37]See especially Trible, "Depatriarchalizing," p. 46; idem, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, pp. 159-160.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Richard M. Davidson, "The Theology of Sexuality in the Beginning: Genesis 3," *AUSS* 26 (1988): 121-131.

not simply descriptive. It did not portray the perverted use of male power that would result from sin, but rather it gave the divine normative pattern for the achievement of true mutuality after the Fall. This pattern did not nullify the full equality ("one-fleshness") between husband and wife set forth in Gen 2:24, since the latter verse, as we noted, is specifically addressed to post-Fall conditions. Yet in the context of sin, God appointed the husband to "rule" (*māšal*)—in the sense of "protect, love, care for," rather than "subjugate, coerce, tyrannize"—as a blessing for the maintenance of union and preservation of harmony within the marriage setting.

In the Song of Songs, as we have already noted, the voices repeatedly speak of post-Fall conditions which impinge upon the couple's relationship. The way of "woman and man in mutual harmony after the fall"[40] is likewise portrayed in imagery consonant with the divine norm given in Gen 3:16. Note in particular Cant 2:3:

> As an apple tree among the trees of the wood,
> > so is my beloved among young men.
> With great delight I sat in his shadow,
> > and his fruit was sweet to my taste.

Francis Landy has not failed to catch the intent of the imagery:

> The apple-tree symbolizes the Lover, the male sexual function in the poem; erect and delectable, it is a powerful erotic metaphor. It provides the nourishment and shelter, traditional male roles—the protective Lover, man the provider. . . .[41]

Cant 8:5 seems to continue the apple tree/protector motif:

> Who is that coming up from the wilderness
> > leaning upon her beloved?
> Under the apple tree I awakened you. . . .

Thus the Song of Songs has recovered the true "lyrics" of the "symphony of love" for post-Fall sexual partners. In the garden of Canticles the divine plan for man's post-Fall role in the sexual relationship—*māšal*, "to protect, love, care for"—is restored from its accumulated perversions and abuses outside the Garden of Eden.

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[40]Trible, "Depatriarchalizing," p. 48.

[41]Landy, "The Song of Songs," p. 526.

That this *māšal* is the "rule" of love and not tyrannical power is made explicit in the Song by attributing to the man the "strong desire" (*tᵉšûqāh*) which is connected with the woman in Gen 3:16. As in the divine judgment God promises to the woman that still "Your desire (*tᵉšûqāh*) shall be for your husband," now in the Song the woman says, "I am my lover's and for me is his desire (*tᵉšûqāh*)" (7:10). She thus joyfully acknowledges the mutuality of love that inheres in the ideal post-Fall relationship even as she is leaning upon, and resting under the protecting shadow of, her lover.

Sexuality Is Related to Wholeness

Closely related to the motifs of equality/mutuality, we note, fourthly, the concept of wholeness in sexuality. That concept is highlighted by "one of the key themes in the Song"—"the presence and/or absence of the lovers to each other." [42] Throughout the Song the fact of physical closeness is obviously important as the lovers speak and cling to each other: "His left hand is under my head, and his right arm embraces me" (2:6; 8:3). Even more significant is the feeling of loss and anxiety in the partner's absence. Already in Cant 1:7 the desire of the beloved for a rendezvous with her lover is clear ("Tell me, you whom my soul loves, where you pasture your flock . . . ?"), but the motif reaches its zenith at the matched sections of the chiasm[43] in which the dreaming woman searches anxiously for her lover:

> Upon my bed at night
>   I sought him whom my soul loves;
> I sought him but found him not. . . .
>   "Have you seen him whom my soul loves?" [44]

> I opened to my beloved,
>   but my beloved had turned and gone. . . .

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[42]Roland E. Murphy, "A Biblical Model of Human Intimacy: The Song of Songs," in *Concilium: Religion in the Seventies*, vol. 121: *The Family in Crisis or in Transition*, ed. Andrew Greeley (New York, 1979), p. 63.

[43]See Shea, pp. 388-389, 396, for structural analyses of the dream sections (3:1-5; 5:2-8).

[44]Cant 3:1-3 (cf. vss. 1-5).

> I sought him, but found him not;
>> I called him, but he gave no answer.[45]

The absence motif serves to heighten the meaning of presence. Lovers need each other to be whole. In the Song man and woman each appears as an individual—capable, independent, self-reliant— and at the same time they have become "bone of one's bone, flesh of one's flesh."

Sexuality Is a Multidimensional Relationship

From the aspect of wholeness and solidarity we are led to a fifth insight into the nature of sexuality: Paradisiacal sexual love means a multidimensional relationship. The relational symphony of the sexes in the Song of Songs is a "live performance" of the "score" set for them in Gen 2:24. As in Gen 2 man "leaves" (i.e., he is free from all outside interferences in the sexual relationship), so in Canticles the lovers are unfettered by parental prearrangements[46] or political promises.[47] They are in love for love's sake alone. They are free for the spontaneous development of an intimate friendship.[48] In the freedom from outside interferences the couple may find mutual attraction in the physical beauty[49] and inward character qualities[50] of each other.

[45]Cant 5:6 (cf. vss. 2-8).

[46]Numerous references in Canticles are made to the mothers of the lovers (1:6; 3:4, 11; 6:9; 8:1, 2, 5), indicating the closeness of ties that continue between parent and son (3:11)/daughter (3:4; 8:2). But in all of this there is nothing of the parents' interfering with the lovers' freedom of choice and action. Thus both the fifth commandment and the "leaving" of Gen 2:24 are upheld.

[47]I concur with F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes* (Grand Rapids, MI, n.d.), p. 3, that according to the most natural reading of the text, the Shulamite is not the daughter of Pharaoh (as maintained by many), but "a country maiden of humble rank, who by her beauty and by the purity of her soul, filled Solomon with a love for her which drew him away from the wantonness of polygamy, and made for him the primitive idea of marriage, as it is described in Gen. 3:23ff., a self-experienced reality."

[48]The Shulamite is considered as close as a sister by her lover (4:9; 5:1; etc.), and she in turn can say of him, "This is my beloved and he is my friend" (5:16).

[49]For a discussion of the mutual, frank, and erotic expression of praise for each other, see below, p. 17.

[50]See Thorleif Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared to Greek* (New York, 1960), pp. 77-89, for a discussion of how the imagery used in praise of bride and groom in

As in the Genesis model, in which man and woman are to "cleave" to each other in a marriage covenant, so the Song of Songs climaxes in the wedding ceremony. The chiastic structure of the unified Song reveals a symmetrical design focused upon a central section which describes the wedding of Solomon and his bride.[51] Cant 3:6-11 clearly portrays the wedding procession of Solomon "on the day of his wedding" (3:11). What follows in Cant 4:1-5:1 appears to encompass the wedding ceremony proper.[52] Only here in the Song does Solomon address the Shulamite as his "bride" (*kallāh*, 4:8, 9, 10, 11, 12; 5:1).[53] The groom praises the bride, paralleling the Arab *wasf* of modern village weddings in Syria.[54] Following this come the central two verses of the entire chiastic structure of the Song (4:16, 5:1), which seem to be the equivalent to our modern-day exchange of marriage vows.[55] The groom has compared his bride to a garden (4:12, 15); now the bride invites her groom to come and partake of the fruits of her (and now his) garden (4:16), and the groom accepts her invitation (5:1a-d). The marriage covenant solemnized, the invitation is then extended to

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Canticles penetrates beyond the surface to describe dominant and admirable qualities of the partners.

Cf. Delitzsch, p. 5: "That which attached her [the Shulamite] to him [Solomon] is not her personal beauty alone, but her beauty animated and heightened by nobility of soul. She is a pattern of simple devotedness, naive simplicity, unaffected modesty, moral purity, and frank prudence,—a lily of the field, more beautifully adorned than he could claim to be in all his glory. We cannot understand the Song of Songs unless we perceive that it presents before us not only Shulamith's external attractions, but also all the virtues which made her the ideal of all that is gentlest and noblest in woman."

[51]See Shea, pp. 387-395.

[52]See ibid., p. 394, for discussion of supporting evidence for this conclusion; Pope, p. 508, lists other commentators who have come to similar conclusions.

[53]See Delitzsch, pp. 81, 90-91, for the significance of the term *kallāh* here.

[54]For illustration and analysis of the *wasf* (the "description" of the physical perfection and beauty of the bride and groom sung in the modern village wedding festivals in Syria), see Delitzsch, pp. 172-176; Pope, pp. 55-56 (includes further bibliography); Marcia Falk, *Love Lyrics from the Bible: A Translation and Literary Study of the Song of Songs* (Sheffield, Eng., 1982), pp. 80-87.

[55]Delitzsch, p. 89, argues that "between iv. 16 and v. 1a the bridal night intervenes," but the evidence from the text set forth by Shea, p. 394, appears to argue for linking 5:1 with what comes before. Thus all is part of "the wedding service proper."

the friends of the bride and groom to join in the wedding banquet (5:1e).

In Gen 2:24 the "cleaving" refers not only to the formal marriage covenant, but to the inward attitudinal dimensions of the covenant bond. Likewise, the Song reveals the fidelity, loyalty, and devotion of the partners,[56] the steadfastness of their love,[57] and the exclusiveness of their relationship.[58] The description of the "covenant partnership" between Solomon and the Shulamite, like the word *dābaq*, "connotes a permanent attraction which transcends genital union, to which, nonetheless, it gives meaning."[59]

As in Gen 2:24, where the "one-flesh" union follows the "cleaving," so in the Song of Songs sexual intercourse occurs only *within* the context of the marriage covenant. Those scholars who argue to the contrary[60] have failed to take seriously the unity of the Song and the testimony of the groom regarding his bride. Solomon likens his bride to a garden during the wedding ceremony proper. More precisely, she is a *locked* garden (4:12):

[56]See, e.g., Cant 3:1-5; cf. 2:16; 6:3; and the general use of the possessive pronouns and language of ardent devotion throughout.

[57]See especially Cant 8:6, 7; cf. discussion and references in Pope, p. 195.

[58]This seems to be implied in, e.g., Cant 2:16; 6:3; R. G. Laurin, "The Life of True Love: The Song of Songs and Its Modern Message," *Christianity Today* 6 (1962): 1062-1063, argues for this motif also in Cant 7:13. Of course, the reference to the 60 queens and 80 concubines (of Solomon?) in Cant 6:8 must also be taken into account. Delitzsch, p. 111, takes the low number (compared to the record in 1 Kings 11:3) as an indication of the occurrence of the marriage early in Solomon's reign, yet indicative of the fact that Solomon himself did not live up to the ideal of exclusiveness. Joseph C. Dillow, *Solomon on Sex: The Biblical Guide to Marital Love* (Nashville, 1977), p. 121, postulates that this harem may have been inherited from his father David, and "Solomon may not have been sexually involved with those many concubines until later in his reign, when we know he began to degenerate into lustful polygamy." G. Lloyd Carr, *The Song of Solomon*, TOTC (Downers Grove, IL, 1984), p. 148, notes that it is not necessary to equate this harem with Solomon's: "More probably, no particular harem is being considered. Note the text does not say 'Solomon has' or 'I have,' but it is a simple declaration: *'There are . . . ,* and my beloved is unique' (vs. 9, NIV)."

[59]Raymond Collins, "The Bible and Sexuality," *BTB* 7 (1977): 153; see the discussion of *dābaq* in Davidson, "Gen 1-2," p. 21.

[60]See, e.g., Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, p. 162: "to the issues of marriage and procreation the Song does not speak." Cf. McCurley, p. 101: "It is not even clear in the Song that the man and woman are married to each other."

> A garden locked is my sister, my bride,
>   a garden locked, a fountain sealed.

Modern commentators generally concur that here "the locked gar-
den denotes virginity."[61] If this interpretation is correct and the
Song is a unity, then the groom is clearly announcing at the
wedding ceremony that his bride is still a virgin. In fact, the high
point of the ceremony and of the entire Song is focalized in the
invitation and acceptance on the part of bride and groom to "be-
come one flesh" with each other through sexual intercourse. Sexual
union is thereby reserved and preserved for husband and wife after
marriage.

The pivotal, central section of the Song, with its description of
the wedding ceremony of Solomon and his virgin bride, must be
given due weight in the interpretation of what precedes and fol-
lows. In light of the information from this midsection, the love
lyrics of Cant 1:3-5 cannot describe premarital sexual intercourse.
The earlier sections of the Song may consist of later reflections
upon the love relationship as it developed up to the time of the
wedding, including poetic descriptions of sexual relations in the
bridal chamber on the wedding night. Franz Delitzsch, followed
recently by Joseph Dillow and others,[62] has argued rather convinc-
ingly that the Song of Songs contains a series of reflections encom-
passing the historical scope of the relationship between Solomon
and the Shulamite from the first flush of friendship and love through
the courtship period, reaching its climax on the wedding day and
extending beyond with a depiction of married life together. Al-
though Delitzsch should probably be faulted for his emphasis upon
the melodramatic character of the Song (six acts, each with two
scenes) and for his interpretation of certain details, yet his overall
analysis has much to commend it.

Dillow has shown how this approach may actually provide in
the Song a "Biblical Guide to Married Love"—principles pertain-
ing to each stage of the love relationship. We note a few of Dillow's

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[61]Pope, p. 458. Carr, p. 123, sees the garden here as a euphemism for the female
sexual organs and concludes that "*a fountain sealed* and *a garden locked* speak of
virginity." Cf. Delitzsch, p. 84: "To a locked garden and spring no one has access
but the rightful owner, and a sealed fountain is shut against all impurity."

[62]Delitzsch, pp. 10-11 and passim; Dillow, passim; cf. S. Craig Glickman, *A
Song for Lovers* (Downers Grove, IL, 1976), passim.

points. In the bride's wedding-day reflection of Cant 1:1-8, for example, Dillow draws attention to her healthy attitude toward sexuality in anticipation of the wedding night (1:2-4), recognition of the principle of natural versus contrived beauty and acceptance of the special value of physical imperfections (1:5-6), the need for counting the cost of commitment to the relationship (1:7-8), and the virtue of modesty (1:7b). Again, according to Dillow, in the reflection over the lovers' courtship (2:8-3:5), the Song emphasizes how the relationship of Solomon and the Shulamite developed as they spent time together getting to know each other (the springtime visit, 2:8-17) and worked through problems (the "little foxes," 2:15-17) gnawing at the love relationship. Dillow also explores the portrayal of the sexual relations of the bride and groom in their bridal chamber (1:17-2:7) for insights into the nature of sexual intimacy and how to enhance it.[63] As a final sample, we note Dillow's analysis of later sections of the Song, interpreted as referring to the couple's married life subsequent to the wedding: The dream of 5:2-8 is seen to reveal sexual problems arising in their marriage (Solomon's late-night approaching and her lack of interest), while Cant 5:9-6:13 presents a working out of those sexual problems through a change of attitude and action.[64]

Whether or not one accepts the historical-biographical interpretations of Delitzsch/Dillow, it may be affirmed that the Song of Songs parallels and expands upon Gen 1-3 in its portrayal of a multidimensional sexual relationship between Solomon and the Shulamite.

Sexuality Is Pleasurable

As a sixth insight into the nature of sexuality from the Song of Songs, we note one aspect that is *not* mentioned. The Song contains

[63]Dillow, pp. 26-41.

[64]Ibid., pp. 98-147. According to Dillow, pp. 129-130, the "three basic attitudes adopted by Shulamith and Solomon in the interim between the beginning of the sexual problems and their solution" include: (1) "the assuming of responsibility for one's own behavior instead of blaming the mate"; (2) "to render a blessing when hurt or offended by one's mate," and (3) "a complete and transparent communication of one's feelings." The change of action involves the Shulamite's aggressively taking the initiative in the loveplay (ibid., pp. 130-147). Note also Dillow's analysis of the wedding night (4:1-5:1) as providing insights into the sexual intimacy between bride and groom (pp. 72-97) and of the final section of the Song, summarizing how love is awakened, defined, developed, and enjoyed (pp. 148-157).

no reference to the procreative function of sexuality. As is true with
the Creation account of Gen 2, the sexual experience within mar-
riage in the Song is not linked with utilitarian propagation. Mc-
Curley expresses it nicely: "The love affair is by no means designed
for the production of progeny. The pleasure of the bedroom rather
than the results for the nursery occupies the poet's concern here."[65]
Lovemaking for the sake of love, not procreation, is the message of
the Song. This is not to imply that Canticles is hostile to the
procreative aspect of sexuality: The lovers allude to the beauty of
their own conception (3:4; 8:2) and birth (6:9; 8:5). But in the Song
sexual union is given independent meaning and value; it does not
need to be justified as a means to a superior (i.e., procreative) end.

Sexuality Is Beautiful

This leads us to the final insight and the major statement of
the Song of Songs regarding the nature of sexuality. In living
pictures sexuality is presented as wholesome, beautiful, and good;
something to be celebrated and enjoyed without fear or embarrass-
ment. In the Canticles, as in Gen 1, sexuality, along with the rest of
God's creation, is *ṭôḇ mᵉʾoḏ*—"very good." As in Gen 2, lovers in
the Song stand "naked and . . . not ashamed" before each other.

We have returned to Eden. "The Song," says Herder, "is writ-
ten as if in Paradise. Adam's song: Thou art my second self! Thou
art mine own! echoes in it in speech and interchanging song from
end to end."[66] Though in a sinful world, lovers after the Fall may
still bask in the beauty of Paradise. "Male and female," writes
Trible,

> first became one flesh in the garden of Eden. There a narrator
> reported briefly their sexual union (Gen. 2:24). Now in another
> garden, the lovers themselves praise at length the joys of inter-
> course. Possessive adjectives do not separate their lives. "My
> garden" and "his garden" blend in mutual habitation and har-
> mony. Even person and place unite: the garden of eroticism is the
> woman. In this garden the sensuality of Eden expands and
> deepens. Emerging gradually in Genesis 2-3, all five senses capitu-
> lated to disobedience through the tasting of the forbidden fruit.
> Fully present in the Song of Songs from the beginning, these

[65]McCurley, p. 101.
[66]Quoted in Delitzsch, p. 5.

senses saturate the poetry to serve only love. Such love is sweet to the taste, like the fruit of the apple tree (2:3; cf. 4:16; 5:1, 13). Fragrant are the smells of the vineyards (2:13), the perfumes of myrrh and frankincense (3:6), the scent of Lebanon (4:11), and the beds of spices (5:13; 6:2). The embraces of lovers confirm the delights of touch (1:2; 2:3-6; 4:10, 11; cf. 5:1; 7:6-9; 8:1, 3). A glance of the eyes ravishes the heart (4:9; 6:13), as the sound of the lover thrills it (5:2). Taste, smell, touch, sight and hearing permeate the garden of the song.[67]

Set against a backdrop where all is sensuously beautiful,[68] the lovers in the Song celebrate the beauty of married sexual love. In language that is erotic and sensual and yet in delicate taste, the lovers extol each other's beauty. By means of poetic metaphors, *double entendres* that both reveal and conceal, the ecstatic pleasure of sexual intimacy is described.[69] As we have already noted, the very apex of the book—the chiastic center (4:16-5:1)—consists of an invitation to consummate marriage through sexual union.

4. Conclusion

A whole book taken up with celebrating the wholesome beauty and enjoyment of human sexual love! How can the inclusion of such a book be justified in the sacred canon? No further justification is needed. Those who have resorted to an allegorical interpretation to legitimize the existence of Canticles in Scripture have missed the crucial point—the Song of Songs in its plain and *literal* sense is *not* just a "secular" love song, but is fraught with deep spiritual, theological significance. From the OT Hebrew perspective God is not absent from the Song, nor are his love and concern for his creatures lacking in it. Rather, they are clearly shown in the enjoyment and pleasure (given by God to man in the creation) which the lovers find in each other and in their surroundings.[70]

In harmony with the presentation of creation in Genesis, sexuality in the Song is part of God's good creation; and since it is

[67]Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, pp. 154-155.

[68]See above, p. 6, note 24; ibid., pp. 155-157; Falk, pp. 88-106; and Murphy, "Human Intimacy," p. 64.

[69]For an analysis of the imagery of intercourse in the Song, see, e.g., Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*, pp. 152-153, 157; Dillow, pp. 28-32, 72-86; Exum, pp. 57-58, 71.

[70]Stephen Sapp, *Sexuality, the Bible, and Science* (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 26.

created by God, it speaks eloquently—perhaps most eloquently of all—of his love for his creation as it is enjoyed in harmony with the divine intention. The affirmation of human sexual love in the Song is therefore an implicit affirmation of the Creator of love.

The Song of Songs also may contain an explicit indication of the divine source of human love. The climax of the Song is generally recognized to come in the great paean to love in Cant 8:6-7. A number of scholars have suggested that the best translation of šalheḇetyāh in v. 6 should be "a flame of Yah(weh)." The whole verse would then read:

> For love is as strong as death,
>   ardent love as relentless as Sheol;
> the flash of it is a flash of fire,
>   a flame of Yah(weh) himself.[71]

If this interpretation is correct, then true human love is explicitly described as originating in God as "a spark off the original flame." To put it another way, human love at its best, as described in the Song, points beyond itself to the Lord of love.

In the final analysis, therefore, the allegorical interpretation of the Song may be correct in its *conclusion* that the Song shows God's love for man, but incorrect in the *way* in which the conclusion is reached. The love relationship between Solomon and the Shulamite is not a worthless "husk," to be stripped away *allegorically* to find the Song's kernel or the "true" meaning—the love between God and his people. Rather, the love relationship between husband and wife, described in the Song, has independent meaning and value of its own that is affirmed and extolled. At the same time this human love is given even greater significance as it *typologically* points beyond itself to the divine Lover in the Song's climax (8:6). Rather than an *allegorical* understanding (with its fanciful, externally-and-arbitrarily-imposed meaning that is alien to the plain and literal sense), the Song itself calls for a *typological* approach,[72] which

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[71]See the Jerusalem Bible translation; Delitzsch, p. 147; Robert Gordis, *The Song of Songs: A Study, Modern Translation and Commentary* (New York, 1954), p. 74; Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., *Toward Old Testament Ethics* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1983), p. 195; Murphy, "Human Intimacy," p. 65; cf. BDB, p. 529. Delitzsch, p. 147, argues forcefully for interpreting šalheḇetyāh as a true subjective genitive ("flame of Yahweh") and not as a mere superlative strengthening of the idea ("mighty flame").

[72]For the distinction between allegory and typology, see Richard M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical Τύπος Structures* (Berrien Springs, MI, 1981), pp. 20, 81, 100-101.

remains faithful to, and even enhances, the literal sense of the Song by recognizing what the text indicates—that human love typifies the divine. Thus human sexual love, already highly esteemed in Scripture, is given its highest acclamation. The Song of Songs, therefore, becomes the fitting climax and the supreme statement on the nature of sexuality in the OT. We have indeed reached the "Holy of Holies."

THE INSCRIBED TABLETS FROM TELL DEIR ʿALLA

PART I*

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During the 1964 season of excavations at Tell Deir ʿAlla on the eastern side of the mid-Jordan Valley, the Dutch expedition led by H. J. Franken recovered eleven clay tablets from the floors of two storerooms, Rooms IX and X, located across a courtyard from the Late-Bronze-Age temple at the site.[1] Three of the tablets were inscribed with texts written in a previously unknown script, seven of the tablets were incised only with dots, and one tablet appeared to be merely a lump of clay squeezed by hand. Franken is to be complimented and thanked for his prompt publication of the find. His manuscript announcing the discovery of the tablets was completed but two weeks after the end of the excavations.[2] All three of his articles which dealt with the tablets in one way or another appeared in journals dated to 1964.[3]

In the present study, the inscribed tablets are designated by Roman numerals, as follows:

Tablet I (or Text I) = Deir ʿAlla No. 1449

Tablet II (or Text II) = Deir ʿAlla No. 1441

Tablet III (or Text III) = Deir ʿAlla No. 1440

The reason for this particular sequence will be made clear in my treatment of the decipherment of the texts and the historical implications involved. Franken has provided line drawings and some

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Editor's Note: The continuation and conclusion of this study, in "Part II," is currently planned for the Summer 1989 issue of *AUSS*.

[1]H. J. Franken, "Excavations at Deir ʿAllā, Season 1964," *VT* 14 (1964): 417-422.

[2]H. J. Franken, "Clay Tablets from Deir ʿAlla, Jordan," *VT* 14 (1964): 377-379.

[3]H. J. Franken, "The Stratigraphic Context of the Clay Tablets Found at Deir ʿAlla," *PEQ* 96 (1964): 73-78, plus the articles mentioned in nn. 1 and 2, above. For the excavations at the site in general, see idem, *Excavations at Tell Deir ʿAllā I* (Leiden, 1969).

photographs of these three inscribed tablets and line drawings of
all eight unwritten tablets, plus photographs of six of the latter.[4]
My own line drawings given herein are based on those of Franken.
The line drawings for the first two inscribed tablets appear below,
and those for the third inscribed tablet will be set forth in the
subsequent installment (Part II) of this article, in conjunction with
the discussion of the dotted tablets that will be given there.

1. *Studies of the Tablets*

Unfortunately, relatively little has been done in studies of
these tablets since they were published. In a passing remark, W. F.
Albright suggested that they might have originated with the Philis-
tines because of "their similarity to Minoan tablets."[5] As Trude
Dotan noted, however, "this extremely attractive proposal is difficult
to substantiate because the derived Philistine pottery at Deir ʿAlla
was found in the Iron-Age-I levels following the destruction of the
temple complex."[6]

The first two studies of the Deir ʿAlla tablets appeared the year
after they were discovered. In the first study of them, A. van den
Branden concluded that their script was most directly related to
early Arabic scripts.[7] While van den Branden made a useful begin-
ning in the study of these tablets, his special reliance upon Arabic
scripts has not produced an overall solution to their texts. H.
Cazelles followed up van den Branden's study by agreeing that
some of the letters in this script were related to early Arabic forms,
but he also noted that other letters resembled those in the Phoeni-

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[4]For his line drawings of all eleven tablets, see "Stratigraphic Context," p. 73,
Fig. 1. A further line drawing, in larger size, of text I appears in "Clay Tablets,"
p. 380; and such a drawing of text III appears in the same article on p. 378. Photo-
graphs of six of the eight dotted texts appear in "Excavations," Plate Va. Franken
has also published photographs of inscribed texts II and III in "Excavations," Plate
Vb, and "Clay Tablets," Plate 1, respectively.

[5]W. F. Albright, "Syria, the Philistines, and Phoenicia," in *Cambridge Ancient
History*, 3d ed., vol. 2, part 2, p. 510.

[6]T. Dotan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (Jerusalem, 1982), p. 84.

[7]A. van den Branden, "Déchiffrement des inscriptions de Deir ʿAlla," *VT* 15
(1965): 129-149.

cian alphabet. He suggested that attention should be given to their relations in that direction.[8]

Almost a decade passed before the Deir ʿAlla tablets were treated again. Following up the idea that the script of these tablets might have come from the Aegean world, Z. Mayani attempted to decipher the tablets on the basis of Etruscan.[9] His results are so exceptional that they are not dealt with further here.

The most recent study of one of these tablets was published more than a decade ago. In 1975, G. E. Mendenhall transcribed and translated one of the three written tablets, but this was only as a passing comment in a study on another subject.[10] As a result, Mendenhall's cursory treatment provides no detailed interpretation of the palaeography or linguistics involved. Mendenhall sees the text as written in a script related to hieroglyphic Luwian but conveying a message in a Semitic language. The message is the record of a delivery of some donkeys. Because of its linguistic consistency, Mendenhall's is probably the best of the previous studies of these tablets.

My own interest in these tablets dates to a seminar I taught at Andrews University in the Spring term of 1985. A graduate student in that seminar, Aecio Cairus from Argentina, undertook a study of the Deir ʿAlla tablets for his research project. I did not encourage him in this undertaking because at the time I considered the tablets undecipherable. Cairus persevered, however, and eventually convinced me that he had indeed identified seven more letters of this script beyond those identified by earlier researchers (see Section 3 below). Because of the difficulty of the script, this was a remarkable achievement.

On various occasions during the course of that seminar, Cairus and I discussed the identification of individual signs, the meaning of different words, and the overall significance of the texts. In spite of the progress made, the texts remained difficult. In the final written report of his research, Cairus presented three different ways in which the two tablets with which he dealt (texts I and III) could

[8]H. Cazelles, "Deir-Alla et ses tablettes," *Semitica* 15 (1965): 5-21.

[9]Z. Mayani, "Un apport à la discussion du texte Deir ʿAllah," *VT* 24 (1974): 318-323.

[10]G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore, MD, 1975), pp. 160-161.

be translated. He has subsequently presented the results of his work on this subject to the Midwestern sectional meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature that met at Andrews University in February 1986.

While I am deeply indebted to Cairus for his identification of the letters which I accepted from him, plus some of the words in my translations which were first proposed by him, other lexical items and the overall translation and interpretation of the tablets proposed below are my own responsibility and the result of my continuing work on this subject. I have also added here my translation of the third and more badly damaged tablet (text II) and my interpretation of the dotted tablets with which Cairus did not deal.

2. *The Archaeological Context*

These tablets were found on the floors of two storerooms that were located immediately adjacent to the sanctuary at the site. Since the pottery in the final phase of the sanctuary and in the storerooms was essentially the same, it is evident that all of the buildings in the complex were destroyed at approximately the same time. A faience vase bearing the cartouche of Queen Taousert, who reigned in Egypt at the beginning of the twelfth century, was found in the final destruction level of the sanctuary; hence a date for this destruction just after 1200 B.C. is appropriate from the archaeological evidence.

This date of just after 1200 B.C. for the final destruction of the sanctuary complex, however, does not necessarily provide a specific date for the writing of the tablets. The archaeological evidence indicates only that they could not have been written any later than ca. 1200; it does not tell us how long before that final destruction they were written. Several objects found in the sanctuary complex antedated its final phase by rather long periods of time. A Hyksos scarab was found in the storerooms with the tablets, and it must have been more than three centuries old by the time of that destruction.[11] Two large painted LB-I vessels were found in the cella of the temple, and they came from an earlier phase of that structure.[12] It is possible, therefore, that these tablets could have originated from a time considerably earlier than the destruction of the final

[11]Franken, "Excavations," Plate VIII, no. 3.
[12]Ibid., Plate I.

phase of the sanctuary. The archaic nature of their script suggests that they probably did.

3. *Analysis and Decipherment of the Script*

The process of deciphering the script used on these tablets has been a slow one, to which each of the studies cited above has made a contribution. For reasons of space, identifications for signs in previous studies which have been rejected are not here discussed.

The first of the letters in this script, which van den Branden correctly identified, was the *gimmel*. It consists of a vertical stroke which curves to the right at its head. The form is similar in later West-Semitic scripts, but the head became more angular.

Van den Branden's second correct letter was the *pe*. This he identified on the basis of parallels with the bow-shaped *pe* of Thamudic and Safaitic scripts. In Canaanite writing the *pe* was written with more of a curve, and it does not straighten out as much at the ends of the stroke.

Van den Branden was also the first to identify the *samek* in these texts. It is a typical West-Semitic *samek*, which consists of three horizontal strokes on a vertical stem.

The final letter, utilizable from van den Branden's identifications, is the *taw*. It, too, is typical of West-Semitic *taw*s in that it was written with two crossed strokes.

The *kaph*, which was first identified by Cazelles, has a trefoil head and a vertical tail like the later forms of the West-Semitic *kaph*. The use and length of the tail of the *kaph* seem to vary among the Deir ꜤAlla tablets.

The *yod*, which Cazelles identified, lacks the forked head of the later West-Semitic *yod*s. It was written here with just a dot, or not even that, at the head of the vertical stroke.

The *reš* that Mendenhall recognized has a direct parallel with the head-shaped sign with which the *reš* was written in the Proto-Sinaitic script.

The first of the letters which Cairus identified is the *beth*. Later West-Semitic *beth*s have triangular heads and angular tails. What Cairus noted here was that there is a letter with a triangular head, but it is represented only by three corner dots. The tail of this letter consists only of a straight downstroke without any bend in it.

The circular infolded *lamed*, which Cairus recognized, comes fairly close to the *lamed* in the abcedary of the ꜤIzbet Ṣarṭah Ostracon.[13]

[13]The *lamed* occurs as the 10th letter in the second line; the 12th, 26th, and 29th letters of the fourth line; and the 12th letter of the fifth or alphabetic line of the ꜤIzbet Ṣarṭah Ostracon. See M. Kochavi, "An Ostracon of the Period of the Judges from ꜤIzbet Ṣarṭah," *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977): 1-13.

Figure 1. Table of Letters of the Script of Deir ᶜAlla

	Text I	Text II	Text III
ᵓAleph	-	-	-
Beth	-	-	
Gimmel	-	ᒋᒋ	
Dalet	--	-	
He	ⱻ	ⱻ	-
Waw	Υ	Υ	Υ
Zayin	-	Ⴗ	Ⳃ
Heth	-	-	-
Ṭeth	-	-	-
Yod			
Kaph	Υ Ⳙ	Ⳙ	Ⳙ Υ
Lamed	Ϙ	-	-
Mem	Ⴝ	Ⴝ	Ⴝ
Nun	-	-	⌇
Samek	--	-	⧧ ⊂
ᶜAyin	-	⊂	⊂
Pe	⟨	⟨	-
Ṣade	-	--	-
Qoph	-	-	-
Reš	ⱱ	-	ⱱ ⱱ
Sin	-	-	⟨
Taw	+ ✕	✕	+

Cairus's distinction between the *mem* and the *nun* is especially impor-
tant for understanding these Deir ᶜAlla texts. In later scripts, both of these
letters had wavy-lined heads extending to the left from the head of their
downstrokes. The *mem*, however, has multiple notches, while the *nun* has
only one. In these texts Cairus has identified the wavy vertical line as the
nun and the broad vertical V as the *mem*. This seems to run in the oppo-
site direction from the parallels. Cairus adopted this position on the basis
of the sense that they brought to their respective words. When he showed
me these identifications, I checked some of the early alphabets for parallels
and found one for the *mem* in the abcedary of the ᶜIzbet Ṣarṭah Ostracon.[14]
Thus the *mem* that we find here has a parallel in at least one other early
alphabet. That leaves the alternate letter as a *nun*.

ᶜ*Ayin* was originally written in the form of a horizontal oval or circle
with a dot in it, representing the eye with a pupil. What Cairus recognized
here is that we have half of this sign—one curved line with a dot in it, but
lacking the lower curved line and being turned 90° to stand vertically.

Cairus's bow-shaped *śin* is relatively close in form to the later West-
Semitic *śins*, except that it has been rotated 90° to stand vertically like the
ᶜ*ayin*.

The vertical box-shaped sign at the beginning of the one word on the
side of text III has been difficult to identify. It looks most like *ḥeth*, but it
does not function like *ḥeth* because it is followed by a clear example of an
ᶜ*ayin*. The combination of *ḥeth* followed by ᶜ*ayin* does not occur in West-
Semitic languages. In his search for another letter with which to identify
this sign, Cairus settled upon the *zayin*. If this sign is rotated 90°, like the
two previous letters discussed, and its excess of crossbars is removed, this
sign would resemble the later *zayin*. The key to this identification may lie
in the fact that the letter's top horizontal crossbar extends between the two
vertical strokes at an angle, as does the vertical connector between the
horizontal strokes of the later *zayin*.

There are some additional signs which should now be added to the
foregoing list. The first of these proposed here is *he*. One example of a
vertical box-shaped sign with one central crossbar appears in text II, and

[14]The alphabet of the ᶜIzbet Ṣarṭah Ostracon has been misinterpreted with
regard to *mem* and *nun*. It has been thought that the last letter in the alphabet
before the break in the middle of the sherd was the *nun* and that the *mem* was
missing. Actually, the last letter before the break is the *mem* and the *nun* was
written back in the sixth position of the letters in the alphabet. It is the standard
notched form of the *nun* that was written there in error, and to compensate for this
error the scribe wrote the *waw*, the correct letter of that position, underneath the
nun. That makes the broad letter like the v-shaped letter of the Tell Deir ᶜAlla
tablets' *mem*. For details, see the line drawing of the ostracon which accompanies
Kochavi's article referred to in n. 13.

another occurs in text I. While this sign looks something like *heth*, *heth* does not make sense in these contexts while *he* does, and *he* is the letter that looks most like *heth*. The clue to identifying *he* here may lie in the facts that only one central crossbar extends between the vertical strokes and that the vertical stroke on the left appears to be less deeply incised than the one on the right.

Both Cazelles and Cairus considered identifying the letter with the semicircle atop the vertical stroke as a *waw*, but in the end they rejected that identification. That original identification is retained here. This letter looks very much like the *waw*s in other West-Semitic alphabets, and it functions well in these texts as a *waw*.

The triangular letter which consists of only three dots has a head which is similar to the head of the *beth*, but it does not have a tail, as does the *beth*. The letter in later alphabets which has a triangular head but only a rudimentary tail is the *dalet*; hence this letter has been identified as a *dalet* here.

There appears to be another example of the *zayin* present here, this one in text II. It is also a vertical box-shaped sign, but it has no central crossbar, only top and bottom crossbars, and the top crossbar is incised at an angle like that of the *zayin* on the side of text III. If this sign is rotated 90° and its bottom crossbar is removed, it also looks like the later *zayin*.

Together, these letter identifications yield the alphabet that is outlined in Figure 1. While the forms of some of these letters are unusual and quite archaic, most of them can still be related to forms known from other early West-Semitic alphabets. From the standpoint of these relations, there is no need to identify this script as non-Canaanite. It should rather be thought of as compatible with other early Canaanite scripts.

Before proceeding to the transliteration and a translation of the texts of the three tablets, the long slash marks inscribed in these texts should be mentioned.The slash marks are clearly word dividers. They make, in fact, much better word dividers than the short vertical strokes or dots that were used in later texts.

4. *Text I: Pethor Smitten*
(*Deir ʿAlla No. 1449*)

General Introduction

In connection with text I and also the further two written tablets, the pattern of treatment is as follows (indicated by side subheads): First the transliteration and translation are given; next

my line drawing of the particular tablet is presented (as given in line drawing below); then general introductory comments are made (whenever there are such); following those comes the analysis of the text upon which my transliteration and translation are based; and finally, attention is given to the historical and geographical implications of the information elicited from the text. In tablet I, which is inscribed with only one line, the final two items require but one side heading each, whereas in tablets II and III, each of which contains more than one line, the headings for these two final areas of treatment will be on a line-by-line basis.

Transliteration and Translation of Text I:

lkm / mk. / wtm.y / whm / mk. / ptr

(1a) "To you (have come) a smiter and a finisher,
(1b) and they (are) the smiters of Pethor."

The Line Drawing:

WHS
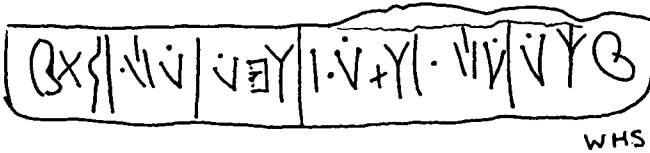
Analysis of the Text

This text was written all on one line located along the edge of the tablet, and all six boxes for the words of this text were marked off on this line. The superior and inferior flat surfaces of the tablet were not incised.

The first letter of the first word can be identified as a circular infolded *lamed*, comparable to that of the ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah Ostracon. This is followed by a standard form of the *kaph* with a trefoil head and vertical tail. The large V of the *mem* concludes this word. *Lkm* divides nicely into the prefixed preposition *l* and the suffixed pronoun *km*, second person plural. It translates as, "To you. . . ." The position of this prepositional phrase suggests that a form of the verb "to be" should be understood with it, here translated freely as "have come."

The first noun which tells what came to the people was written with a large notched *mem*, a trefoil *kaph*, and a dot following the *kaph*. This fits either one of two words in Biblical Hebrew—*makkâ* as the noun for "blow, stroke, wound, defeat"; or the Hiphil participle *makkê* from the derivative root *nkh*, "to beat, strike, smite, defeat." Either the noun or the

verb would bring satisfactory meaning to this passage, but the verbal form
has been preferred for its emphasis on agency over result: thus, "smiter."
No indicator of the final vowel was written, but a dot does follow the *kaph*
both here and in the same word in the fifth box. In Biblical Hebrew the
kaph in these forms was doubled by using a *dagesh forte*. It looks very
much as if that was the scribe's intent here by use of this dot.

The third word is introduced by a *waw* with a forked head, which
should serve as a conjunction. Therefore a form and a function similar to
those of the preceding word are thus expected. The *taw* and *mem* from this
word's root occur next, and they are clear. They are followed by a dot and
a plain vertical stroke of the *yod*. The most direct relationship is to the
root *tmm*, "to finish, complete." If the dot doubles the letter that it
follows, as it appears to do elsewhere in this text, the *yod* following could
provide the reason why it should function in this way. When endings were
added to this Hebrew verb, its doubled forms appeared. This final *yod*
probably is not a pronominal suffix. More likely, it represents the *i*-vowel
of the old genitive case ending, a case ending which would be appropriate
here with a word that ends a prepositional phrase. My translation of this
word is "finisher."

The next word begins with a standard form of the *waw* with a forked
head. This should serve as a conjunction that introduces the other major
statement of the text. This is followed by the vertical box-shaped sign,
which has been identified as the *he* rather than *ḥeth*. *He* also makes better
sense here. The last sign of this word is the large V-shaped *mem* that has
already been seen three times in this text. The word present here is
w + *hm*, or the conjunction followed by the third person masculine plural
independent pronoun, "they." The natural plural antecedent of this pro-
noun should be the two objects mentioned together immediately before it,
the "smiter" and the "finisher."

The fifth word in this line is the same as the second. It consists of a
mem followed by a *kaph* and a dot. As in the previous case, this should be
taken as a Hiphil participle from *nkh*, "to smite." For the third time in
this line a dot appears to function as doubling the consonant that it
follows. Since the subject of this participle is in the plural, the participle
should be plural too. But it lacks the *mem* of the plural ending, so it
probably should be taken as in construct with the following word. The
final vowel of the plural construct was not written out here. With the verb
"to be" understood, this second statement should thus far be translated as,
"and they (are) the smiters of. . . ."

The object which was smitten by these two "smiters" (i.e., by the
"smiter" and "finisher" in the first statement) was named at the end of the
line, and that name reads quite clearly. Its first two letters are the *pe* and
taw, which van den Branden identified, and its final sign is the head-
shaped letter, which Mendenhall recognized as the *reš*. The name of the

object which received these two blows or attacks is, therefore, *ptr.* These consonants can be vocalized quite readily to yield the name "Pethor."

Historical and Geographical Implications

Pethor is identified in Num 22:5 as the home of Balaam the prophet. This text thus provides us with an identification for that site, which previously was in dispute. Both the location of Pethor and the ancient name of Tell Deir ᶜAlla have been uncertain, but thanks to this text, those two puzzle pieces can now be put together by identifying Tell Deir ᶜAlla as Pethor. Further discussion of this identification follows later in this study, in Part II of this article.

The translation developed here for this six-word line thus not only identifies as Pethor the site at which the tablet was found, but also indicates that Pethor had been attacked by two successive waves of attackers. Although this text does not identify those attackers, it appears that the related tablet written in the same scribal hand (II) does do so.
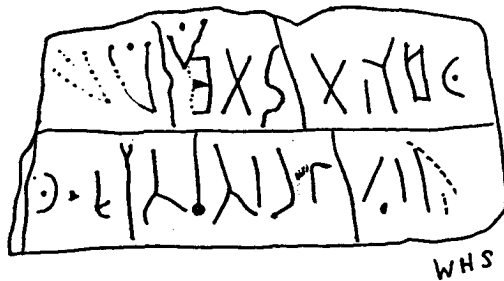
5. *Text II: Pethor's Smiters (Deir ᶜAlla No. 1441)*

Transliteration and Translation:

(1) *ᶜzwᵗt / pthm / m[k.]*
(2) *[wᵓdr]ᶜ.y / wywᵛgg / mk[.]*

(1) "The mighty ones of Pithom (are) a sm[iter],
(2) [and Edre]ᶜi and Yog (are) a smiter."

The Line Drawing:

WHS

Introduction

Text II was inscribed upon the top surface of its tablet in a boustrophedon order, as Franken originally noted. This is clear from the fact that the letters face in one direction in one line and in the other direction in the other line. Both lines read from right to left, as the preceding text did, but the lines are upside down in relation to each other. Some of the letters of the text have been broken away at its right end. The written surface of the tablet has been damaged and contains many horizontal cracks. These make the text difficult to read.

Since the script of this tablet especially resembles that of tablet I, it is reasonable to suggest that it was written by the same scribe and at the same time as that tablet. If this was the case, then it is natural to anticipate that the contents of this text may be related to the contents of text I. Tablet I left off with the two attackers who smote Pethor still unidentified. It appears that this text provides those identifications.

Analysis of the Text of Line 1:

The first word of this text begins with a clear-cut case of the vertical half-eye sign of an ʿayin. This is followed by a vertical box with its upper horizontal bar crossing at an angle. Rotating this sign 90° suggests its similarity to the later *zayin*, with which it should be identified. Next comes a *waw*, with the forked head that is common to these two texts. The last letter of this word is a *taw*, written here with its customarily crossed strokes.

Between the *waw* and *taw* of this word there is a vertical stroke that would ordinarily be identified as a *yod*. Here, however, I would suggest a different function for that stroke. The first two letters of ʿzw ʾt make up the word ʿuz, which is used in Biblical Hebrew either as a noun or as an adjective meaning "strong, mighty, powerful." To this the feminine plural ending -ôt has been added, but that ending contains this intrusive *yod*. Rather than serving as a true *yod* here, this stroke appears to have been used as a vowel marker for the *waw* which precedes it, indicating that it should be taken as vocalic ô rather than as consonantal *w*. The *waw* conjunctions of these texts are not followed by such a marker. I have indicated this proposed function with a *v* above the line after the *waw* with which it was used. The identity of the ʿuzôt or "mighty ones" mentioned here is addressed further below.

The first two signs of the next word were accurately copied by Cazelles from Franken's photograph, and they can be identified with the *pe* and *taw* that van den Branden recognized. The *pe* is more damaged than the

taw. The next letter begins with a vertical stroke, as Cazelles copied. A short horizontal stroke extends to the left from the middle of this stroke, as Cazelles also copied. While they are more difficult to see in the photograph, two other horizontal strokes appear to project to the left from the top and bottom of the vertical stroke. There may possibly be another vertical stroke on the left, but this is uncertain. This box-shaped sign matches the form of the *he* that is found in the fourth word of the preceding inscription. The final sign of this word is located in the left upper corner of the word-box. It has been obscured in part by abrasion to the tablet, but it can still be read. It consists of a large V with a dot between the heads of its limbs. This is the form consistently used by these texts for *mem*.

On the basis of the foregoing identification of the letters in this word, the word can now be read as *pthm*. This word occurs as a place name, Pithom (consonantal *ptm*), in Exod 1:11. It was one of the two major store cities that the Israelites built for Pharaoh in Egypt. These two names, Deir ᶜAlla *pthm* and biblical *ptm*, are essentially the same except for the way in which they treat the spirantization of the *taw*. In Biblical Hebrew this was accomplished by the absence of a *dagesh lene*. Lacking such an indicator, the Deir ᶜAlla scribe appears to have compensated by following the *taw* with *he*. Because of their close written and phonological relationships, the two names can be taken as referring to one and the same place, the significance of whose presence in this text is discussed further below and in Part II of this article.

The last word in this first line is badly damaged and difficult to read. It can be reconstructed, however, from the traces that remain and by parallelism with other parts of this text and with text I. Three dots cross the right upper part of this box in a horizontal line. These remain from the first letter of this word, and the traces of a large V extend down from the outer two of them. This is sufficient evidence upon which to reconstruct another *mem* here. Only faint traces of the next letter are still present. To anticipate a reading from the next line of this text, we may note that the word in the parallel position there, in the third box, reads more clearly as *mk*. The same word occurs twice in text I. On the basis of these parallels and the faint traces present, it seems reasonable to reconstruct a *kaph* here. In its preceding occurrences, *mk* has been treated as a Hiphil participle from the verb *nkh*, "to smite," and so it should be treated here too: thus, "a smiter."

Historical and Geographical
Implications of Line 1

With these three words read and reconstructed, the larger significance of this line can be considered. *ᶜUzôt* refers to the "mighty," with a plural ending. *Pthm* is the name of the place Pithom in Egypt. These two words can be taken as related to each other in a

construct chain. The verb "to be" is understood here again, just as it was in the two statements of text I. The last word of this line indicates that the "mighty ones of Pithom" were identified as a "smiter" or attacker. If this text is to be connected with the previous one, as seems reasonable, the place smitten or attacked was Pethor. Thus, one of the two groups that attacked Pethor was some of the "mighty ones" from Pithom in Egypt.

While one might think at first of Pharaoh and his army in this connection, there was a more direct way in which Canaanites could have referred to him in person at the head of his forces. Therefore another, more homogenous, group appears to be in view here. Since the Israelites built Pithom during their stay in Egypt and left it when they exited from Egypt, they make good candidates for this description. The proposal here, then, is that the "mighty ones" from Pithom in Egypt were none other than the Biblical Israelites, and that at some time during their travels in Transjordan they attacked Pethor. The feminine ending on the word for "mighty" is curious. Perhaps it is modeled upon the feminine plural ending that accompanies ṣābā (ṣᵉbā'ôt), "hosts, army, warriors."

Since the name for the other store city built by the Israelites in Egypt was Ramesses (Exod 1:11), the question arises why Pithom was referred to here instead of Ramesses. The availability of the latter name for inclusion here depends upon when this text was written. If it was written before the accession of Ramesses II, ca. 1290, it could not have mentioned the city of Ramesses, because that city was only renamed for him after he came to the throne. This text could still have referred to Pithom earlier than 1300, however, for the name of that city was not coupled chronologically to a particular Pharaoh's name. Although a precise date for these texts has not been established as yet, several of their linguistic and palaeographic features point to a rather lengthy interval between their writing and the ca. 1200 destruction of the temple complex in which they were found.

Analysis of the Text of Line 2

Most of the first word in the second line of this text has been broken away. Traces of the vertical half-eye sign identify an ʿayin as the first legible letter after the break. A vertical stroke, possibly a yod, follows this, and there may be a dot between them. There is a longer stroke to the left of the first vertical stroke. Even though it is damaged, it probably should be taken as the line which delimits the end of this word box. It is difficult to

reconstruct a word here on the basis of just two letters. By parallel with the presence of a place name in the first line, a place name might also be expected here. Connecting that expectation with what follows suggests the name of the Bashanite city Edreʿi for restoration here (consonantal *ʾdrʿy*, Num 21:33-35). This proposal is, of course, quite tentative.

The word in the next box begins with a standard form of the *waw* with a forked head. This should serve as a conjunction to connect this word with the preceding one. The vertical stroke of a *yod* then follows, and its head has been dotted. Another good example of the *waw* comes after this *yod*. A vertical stroke without a dotted head follows this second *waw*. The difference between the dotted stroke which follows the first *waw* and the plain stroke which follows the second may be functional. It was suggested above that in the preceding line of this text the vertical stroke which follows the *waw* of the plural ending on ʿuzôt (ʿuzwʾt) may have acted as a marker for the vocalic function of the *waw* which it followed. The same suggestion may be offered here. In this case, the dotted stroke before the second *waw* should be taken as a consonantal *yod*, and the stroke after it should be taken as a vocalic indicator for it. A vertical stroke with a head that curves to the right comes next and is readily identifiable as a *gimmel*. The final letter in this word-box is difficult, but I take it to be another example of the *gimmel* which has been turned upside down. The rotation of the second letter in a pair can also be seen in the case of *mkk* in text III.

The word in this box should thus be read as *wywʿgg*. The first *waw* has been taken as a conjunction and the second as a vowel letter accompanied by its marker, i.e., *w* + *yôgg*. *Yogg* is not analyzed well either as a verb or as a noun, and parallelism with the first line suggests taking it as a personal or place name. While *yôgg* does not correspond to the name of any place known in this region of Transjordan, it does bear a certain resemblance to the personal name of Og. Og was the king of Bashan when the Israelites arrived in Transjordan after the Exodus (Num 21:33). The central portions of these two names, consisting of a vocalic *waw* followed by a *gimmel*, correspond directly. The additional *gimmel* at the end of the inscriptional name is not an important difference, as it may not have been doubled by the biblical writer. Only the initial letters, ʿayin and *yod*, respectively, differ significantly between these two names. This difference is not due to a known phonetic shift. It could have resulted from a scribal error during the course of the transmission of the biblical text. On the other hand, it could also have come about through different ways in which the original scribes heard this man's name, inasmuch as it probably came to them through oral rather than written communication. Since the similarities between these two names still appear to outweigh this one main difference, it is proposed here to identify Deir ʿAlla's (*y*)*ôg*(*g*) with the biblical (ʿ)*ôg*.

The two letters of the word in the next box are partially damaged but still legible. Both of them consist of large V-shaped signs. The point of the first is missing, and the left limb of the second is faint. They both appear to have dots between the heads of their upper limbs. By parallelism with the word used twice in the first text, a stroke rather than a dot can be reconstructed between the limbs of the second sign. That makes the first letter a *mem* and the second a *kaph*. Thus we have here another occurrence of the Hiphil participle *mk* from *nkh* (referring to a "smiter") that we have already seen three times previously in these texts. A form of the verb "to be" can also be understood here, between the word pair earlier in this line and *mk*.

Historical and Geographical Implications of Line 2

The three words in this line transcribe [ʾdr]ᶜ.y / wyw ̈gg / mk, and they translate as "[Edre]ᶜi and Yogg (are) a smiter." This line of text identifies another party that attacked Pethor—Og and his forces from Bashan. Og had two main residences in his territory, one at Ashtaroth and the other at Edreᶜi (Deut 1:4, Josh 12:4, 13:12). It would have been more logical for him to launch a campaign into the Jordan Valley from the latter (at Derᶜa), because it was farther south than the former (at Tell ᶜAshtarah). Thus, if Edreᶜi is the name that was broken away in part from the beginning of the second line, there would have been good reason to mention it here.

The Song of Heshbon (Num 21:26-30) describes Og's fellow Transjordanian king Sihon as an aggressor who campaigned victoriously into Moabite territory to the south. It would have been natural for Og to act in a similar fashion, but he was not able to campaign very far to the south because by crossing the Jabbok River he would have penetrated into Sihon's territory and come into conflict with him. The best direction for Og to expand his territory was to the west, down to the river in the Jordan Valley. Located just north of the confluence between the Jabbok and the Jordan, Pethor at Tell Deir ᶜAlla probably was one of the last sites that Og conquered in filling out the territory of his kingdom.

The presence of the memory of Sihon's attack upon Moab in the Biblical text suggests that it was a relatively recent occurrence when the Israelites arrived in the area. Mention in this inscription of Og's attack upon Pethor, along with reference to the subsequent Israelite attack upon the same site, suggests that it too was a relatively recent event by the time the Israelites arrived there.

The Chronology of Events and the
Textual Order in Tablet II

A question of chronology and textual order arises from the identification of both the Israelites and Bashanites as conquerors of Pethor. Which came first? Num 21:33-35 tells of the Israelite defeat of Og, the conquest of Bashan, and the annihilation of Og's forces and families. Historically, therefore, the Bashanite conquest of Pethor had to occur before the Israelite conquest of the same site, for the Bashanites were not around any longer after the Israelites came through this area. The translation of this text, as given above, presents the Israelites as a smiter of Pethor in the first line and Og and his forces as a smiter in the second line. Because this text was written boustrophedon, however, this order could just as well have been reversed. I have translated the text in this order because it seemed easier to go from one to the other linguistically and epigraphically, and I have also retained it for reasons of literary relations that are described later, in the forthcoming Part II.

(To be continued)

LUTHER'S FIRST EDITION OF THE PENTATEUCH*

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The Adventist Heritage Center in the James White Library of Andrews University is fortunate to have in its collection a very good copy of the first edition of Martin Luther's German translation of the Pentateuch, the first section of the Reformer's German OT.[1] This volume was included as a part of two major donations

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*The collections of primary source materials referred to in the following notes are abbreviated as follows:

LW—The American Edition of *Luther's Works* (Philadelphia and St. Louis, 1955-).

SW—*Selected Writings of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia, 1967).

WA—Weimar Edition of Luther's works (Weimar, 1883-1983). In addition to *WA* as an identification for the volumes containing general treatises, sermons, etc., the following abbreviations are used for the volumes in the several other subdivisions of this massive collection: *WA-Br, Briefwechsel*; *WA-DB, Deutsche Bibel*; and *WA-TR, Tischreden.*

[1]Three volumes containing successive portions of the OT up to the prophets appeared within a period of less than two years: The Pentateuch, 1523; Joshua-Esther, 1524; and Job-Ecclesiastes, 1524. Because of various time-consuming interruptions—including the Peasants' Revolt, the Sacramentarian Controversy, the "Visitation" program in Saxony, preparation of certain liturgical materials and the catechisms, and periods of debilitating illness—Luther was delayed in his work on the major and minor prophets, a completed edition of which did not appear until 1532. In the interim, however, his translations of several of these prophetic books were published, as follows: Habakkuk in 1526, Zechariah and Isaiah in 1528, Daniel in 1530, and also Ezekiel 38-39 in 1530. Luther completed translating the OT Apocrypha from 1532 through 1534 (his translation of the Wisdom of Solomon had already appeared in 1529), so that the first edition of his complete German Bible—the OT canonical books, the OT Apocrypha, and the NT—finally came from the press in 1534.

In the meantime, Luther continued to "update" his translation of the Bible portions already printed, and in addition he produced separate editions of the Psalter in 1524, 1528, and 1531—the last two being rather thorough revisions. All the while, Luther continued his theology lectures at the university, a heavy load of preaching, the writing of a variety of works, a massive correspondence, and other routine activities.

of Reformation source materials provided by Mr. and Mrs. James C. Trefz of Silver Spring, Maryland, more than two decades ago.[2]

It was while the first edition of Luther's German NT, the famed "September Bible," was in the hands of the printer between May and September of 1522[3] that Luther immersed himself in the task of translating the OT. By December he had completed the manuscript, and the printed Pentateuch appeared early in 1523, with Melchior Lotther of Wittenberg as the printer. (For the title, see **Plate 1**, below.) By the time this volume came from the press, the Reformer, in typical Luther style, had begun to work arduously on the second section of his OT translation.[4] His plan for dividing the OT into several volumes apparently grew out of his recognition that the entire OT printed in large folio format would yield a volume too cumbersome and costly for widespread use, especially among the masses of common people.[5]

1. *Luther's Translation Task*

Luther's task as a translator of the Pentateuch and the rest of the OT embraces a number of relevant and related considerations. First of all, how capable was he of dealing effectively with both the Hebrew "host language" and the German "receptor language"? Then further, what tools and other sources of help did he have at hand? What were his goals, procedures, and the kinds of difficulties he encountered in his work? Finally, what may be said concerning the magnitude of his achievement?

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[2]This funding from the Trefzes made possible the acquisition of an almost complete set of the comprehensive standard Weimar edition of Luther's works (1883-1983), except for some few of the more recently published volumes. It also provided for all but two of the forty-seven Reformation-era *Flugschriften* in the Heritage Center. A "Catalogue" of this pamphlet collection, prepared by Mary Jane Mitchell, appeared in *AUSS* 24 (1986): 83-112, and was also issued in separate binding. The Trefzes provided a substantial subsidy, too, toward helping defray the expense of printing this Catalogue.

[3]The publication date for this edition is given as 21 September 1522, but the volume may actually have come from the press a few days earlier.

[4]See n. 1, above.

[5]His intent to subdivide the OT into separate parts is indicated in his letter of 3 November 1522 to George Spalatin (*WA-Br* 2:613-614, no. 546). Undoubtedly Luther had in mind OT sections close in trim size to his huge folio "September Bible."

Luther's Qualifications as a Translator

It is well established that Luther's OT translation is based on the Biblical text in the original Hebrew language and that Luther had considerable expertise in this language when he began work on the Pentateuch. His use of Hebrew, in at least an elementary way, was manifested as early as his lectures on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* at the University of Erfurt from 1509 to 1511, and it seems evident that he was then using Johann Reuchlin's *Rudiments of Hebrew (De rudimentis Hebraicis)*, published in Pforzheim in 1506 and consisting of a two-volume lexicon plus a one-volume grammar. When Reuchlin's Hebrew text of the seven "Penitential Psalms" appeared in 1512, Luther soon made use of it too, referring to it as early as the summer of 1513 in his *scholia* to Psalm 4.[6] Moreover, in 1517 he issued a German exposition of these seven psalms, and began a translation of them as well. From 1518 (or early 1519) to 1521, he lectured a second time on the Psalter, now using the Hebrew text as the basis and revealing considerable competence in Biblical Hebrew as he did so.[7] But the best and most direct evidence of his high level of expertise in the Hebrew language by 1522 and onward is the keenness he demonstrated, while producing his OT translation, in detecting the precise nuances in the Biblical text, even to the extent of grasping various ones missed by the Vulgate, the LXX, and Nicholas de Lyra.[8]

This significant command of the Hebrew "host language" was, however, only the first of two basic areas of expertise that

[6]*Scholia* were a lecturer's somewhat lengthy comments or annotations on the text. These were frequently kept in separate "notebooks," except when printers provided special "teachers' editions" of the Biblical text with considerable "white space" on each page for such annotations. The shorter marginal or interlinear notes were called "glosses."

[7]J. M. Reu, *Luther's German Bible* (Columbus, OH, 1934), p. 118, refers to Luther as having "gained a thorough mastery of the Hebrew language" by the time the Reformer began this series of lectures.

[8]In Luther's Foreword in the Pentateuch edition here under consideration, he states that "the translators of old, even Jerome, made mistakes in many passages" (unnumbered leaf 6, recto; English translation in *SW* 4:389). In other settings he made similar comments about de Lyra and the Latin and Greek translations (see, e.g., the excerpts from *Von den letzten Worten Davids* and from *Tischrede* no. 1040, given in Reu, pp. 264, 268).

Luther needed for translating the OT, the other being a broad, comprehensive, in-depth grasp of German. But to have expertise in the German language of Luther's day was no small achievement. The type of linguistic variations common even today within any of the world's major languages because of geographical barriers and differences in occupation and social status are only partially indicative of the nature and magnitude of Luther's problem. Within the boundary of the German lands themselves (exclusive of other German-speaking regions) there existed at that time three major German-language groups or clusters: Upper High German in the South,[9] Middle High German in the central regions,[10] and Low German in the North and Northwest,[11] each with its own variations and admixtures. When one adds to this a remarkable inconsistency in grammar and particularly in orthography (the latter often noticeable within the very same writings!), coupled with the absence of the kind of lexical and other tools that would be useful in clearing up the confusion, one can begin to appreciate the stupendous task facing Luther. It was the kind of task that led him to declare in the Foreword to his Pentateuch volume, "I thought I was well educated . . . but now I see that I cannot handle even my own native German tongue. Nor have I read, up to this time, a book or letter which contained the right kind of German."[12]

Nevertheless, as J. M. Reu has pointed out, Luther had a high level of linguistic ability and also the very type of extensive exposure to German language variations that would be of vital importance to him as a translator. By wide travel in the German lands, he had gained a firsthand acquaintance with the kinds of German

[9]With variations in Bavaria, Swabia, and other areas near the upper Rhine and the headwaters of the Danube.

[10]The language type used in Saxony, including the Saxon court. It had rather broad usage, as well, as the official language in German diplomatic circles; and, moreover, it was the language type into which the medieval High-German printed editions of the complete Bible have been classified—editions that came from presses as far removed from each other as Strassburg along the middle Rhine, Nuremberg, and even Augsburg. For details concerning these Bibles, see Kenneth A. Strand, *German Bibles Before Luther* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1966).

[11]The language used throughout a broad area in the German lands, including Lübeck and Rostock on the shores of the Baltic, Cologne and its environs, and even locations having relatively close proximity to Saxony. This variety of German—particularly in its so-called "West Low-German" form (used in the areas along the lower Rhine)—was in many respects much like the Dutch language.

[12]On unnumbered leaf 6, recto; English translation in *SW* 4:390.

used in all the major language areas, and, moreover, he had had significant in-depth contact with a broad spectrum of German people from various quite-divergent walks of life.[13]

Luther's Tools and Other Sources of Help

When Luther began translating the Pentateuch, several printed editions of the Hebrew OT, as well as various manuscript copies, were in circulation, and it appears that from among these the basic text he chose to use was the edition of Jean Gerson published in Brescia in 1494.[14] This was supplemented with Hebrew Bible manuscript materials, a copy of the Latin Vulgate, and a copy of at least one of the pre-Lutheran German Bibles.[15] Luther also consulted the commentaries of Nicholas de Lyra and works by other expositors, Reuchlin's *Rudiments*, and an edition of the LXX, probably the one published in Venice in 1518.

In spite of his own excellent qualifications as a translator and the variety of tools to which he had ready access, Luther felt the need, as well, for assistance from experts, such as Philip Melanchthon and Matthew Aurogallus, colleagues at the University of Wittenberg.[16] There were instances, too, when he and these collaborators sought even wider counsel, requesting aid, for instance, from George Spalatin at the court of Elector Frederick. Some specific

[13]Reu, pp. 140-142.

[14]Gerson, a French scholar and chancellor of the University of Paris, flourished in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (d. 1429). Two other printed editions of the NT circulating in Germany by 1520 were the Soncino edition of 1488 and Daniel Bomberg's Rabbinic Bible published in four parts in Venice in 1517-18. The massive Complutensian Polyglot, printed in Alcala, Spain, between 1513 and 1517 and published with Pope Leo X's sanction in 1520, was probably not well known in Germany in the early 1520s.

[15]Scholarship has been divided as to whether the Zainer Bible of ca. 1475 or the Koberger Bible of 1483 was the one that Luther had in hand. See my discussion in the "Historical Introduction" to *Luther's "September Bible" in Facsimile* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1972), p. 7. Actually, he may have had a copy of both editions before him as he worked on the OT; but, in any case, the two editions contain basically the same text, as does also the whole series of pre-Lutheran High-German editions from the Mentel Bible of ca. 1466 to the Silvanus Otmar Bible of 1518. This text represents a translation from the Vulgate, not from the Hebrew.

[16]Luther's mention of these two co-workers in a publication of 1530 is quoted below (reference is given in n. 20). It is noteworthy, too, that in his Foreword to the Pentateuch, Luther points out that he has "not worked at this [translation task] alone," but has "used the services of anyone" whom he could get (unnumbered leaf 6, verso; English translation in *SW* 4:390-391).

examples of the help requested from Spalatin will be mentioned later in this essay.

Luther's Goals, and Difficulties He Encountered

Luther's basic aim for his translation was to put the Bible text into a clear and forceful, yet simple, German that would open up Scripture in a meaningful way to the masses of German-speaking people. In essence, this objective consisted of two related and intertwining goals: (1) to render God's word faithfully; and (2) to provide a translation using good, readily understandable German. These goals he stated and amplified on numerous occasions—in correspondence, prefaces to Bible books, table talks, and various treatises.[17] To achieve them was no simple matter, however, for the Hebrew language is by no means *exactly* translatable into German, and Luther's search for the best idiomatic equivalents was frequently an elusive task.

As indicated earlier, there were occasions when Luther and the experts assisting him in Wittenberg were so stymied that they sought aid from Spalatin at the Elector's court. In one such case, Luther asked Spalatin for information concerning certain of the unclean game animals, birds, and reptiles mentioned in Lev 11.[18] On another occasion, he sought help in finding the best German equivalent for certain words or phrases in several passages in the book of Genesis.[19]

Indeed, in his effort to achieve effective communication, Luther spared no pains. Later, in reminiscing on the difficulties encountered when translating Job, he commented, "Master Philip, Aurogallus, and I labored so, that sometimes we scarcely handled three lines in four days."[20] Although Job was undoubtedly the most

[17]Cf., e.g., *WA-Br* 1:38 (letter to Scheurl on 6 May 1517) and *WA-Br* 2:490 (letter to Spalatin on 30 March 1522). A large number of table talks touching this matter are scattered throughout the various volumes of *WA-TR*, but have been conveniently collected and topically arranged in an English translation by Reu, pp. 265-270 (a few also appear scattered throughout vol. 54 of *LW*). Luther's treatises, *Sendschreiben vom Dolmetschen* (1530), *Summarien über den Psalter und Ursachen des Dolmetschens* (1533), and *Von den letzten Worten Davids* (1543) provide rather extended discussions of the Reformer's translation objectives and principles.

[18]*LW* 49:19-20, postscript in letter no. 127.

[19]*WA-Br* 2:625-626, letter no. 553.

[20]From his *Sendschreiben vom Dolmetschen*, rendered in English as "On Translating: An Open Letter," in *SW* 4:173-194. The specific statement appears in *SW* 4:180.

difficult of the OT books for Luther to translate, his similar great care and tedious search for the most appropriate German expressions to convey the meaning of the original text are in evidence for other parts of the OT as well.[21] The length to which he would go to assure such precision is exemplified in a fascinating approach he took in connection with the Pentateuch. In order to be better equipped for his treatment of the sacrificial procedures described therein, he visited a butcher, watched the man slaughter several sheep, and inquired as to the identification of the various anatomical parts.[22]

Luther's Achievement as Bible Translator

And what may we say about Luther's achievement in providing his German Bible translation? Perhaps the words of Albert Hyma provide as good an assessment as any:

> One of his [Luther's] most important labors was the translation of the Bible into virile German. Although fourteen editions [of the complete Bible] had already appeared in High German and four others in Low German, Luther was the first to produce a translation that met the demands of the masses. He literally produced the modern language of Germany. Being situated in the center of the German-speaking countries, about half-way between North and South, and also between East and West, he was destined to become a tremendous figure in the field of philology. . . .
>
> It is remarkable that Luther's most important contribution to the making of German civilization in modern times has been treated with indifference on the part of many theologians and even historians. His creation of modern High German is a tremendous feat, worthy of untold eulogy.[23]

Were Hyma alive today, he would undoubtedly rejoice to see the recognition that Luther has begun to receive in recent years for

[21]The original manuscript copies carrying Luther's notations in his own hand are extant, e.g., for the second and third parts of the OT (see n. 1, above); and these contain a profusion of words and phrases crossed out and replaced, often several times for the very same word or phrase! Other lines of evidence are the changes occurring in successive editions of his Bible (or portions thereof) and the protocols extant for some of the more formal work of revision in the 1530s to 1540s.

[22]The account is reported by Johannes Mathesius in his thirteenth sermon on Luther's career and is given on p. 316 in the edition of Georg Loesche.

[23]Albert Hyma, *Martin Luther and the Luther Film of 1953* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1957) and its reprinted edition entitled *New Light on Martin Luther* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1958), p. 111.

his remarkable contribution to the German language and to German culture in general.[24] It is a contribution that even received acclaim from the government of the German Democratic Republic in connection with the quincentennial celebration of Luther's birth.[25]

There was, however, also the more immediate recognition that the Reformer received through the amazing popularity that his translation gained during his own lifetime. This was particularly true of the NT, which was repeatedly reprinted in a quick and continuous succession of editions.[26] Even separate parts of the OT enjoyed a considerable degree of success in this regard.[27]

2. *Description of the First Edition of Luther's German Pentateuch*

A few comments are now in order concerning the format and content of the first edition of Luther's German Pentateuch. The volume itself is a large folio publication containing some 148 leaves (147 in the Heritage-Center copy, as indicated below), plus eleven unnumbered insert leaves containing full-page woodcut pictures. The printed page is single-column and typically measures from about 23 to 24 cm. in length (including running heads and subscript "catch-words") and 13 cm. in width (plus occasional marginal notes 2.7 cm. wide). The trim size of the Heritage-Center copy is approximately 28.5 by 19.5 cm.

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[24]Hyma, one of the most outstanding and renowned Reformation specialists of our era, died in 1978.

[25]This "jubilee year" was 1983. Concerning the honor rendered Luther in the German Democratic Republic, see Kenneth A. Strand, "Current Issues and Trends in Luther Studies," *AUSS* 22 (1984):151-155.

[26]It is known, e.g., that no fewer than 87 editions of the NT in High German and some 19 in Low German were printed within the first twelve years of the initial publication (i.e., by the time of the appearance of Luther's complete Bible in 1534). It is estimated that these various editions amounted to more than 200,000 copies. See E. Zimmermann, "Die Verbreitung der Lutherbibel zur Reformationszeit," *Luther Vierteljahrsschrift der Luthergesellschaft* 16 (1934):83.

[27]Cf. *WA-DB* 2:218-221 for descriptions of two further Wittenberg editions of the Pentateuch which appeared in 1523. The Psalter was especially popular and was printed as a separate work in 1524, in addition to its inclusion in Luther's third portion of the OT published the same year (cf. n. 1, above). From 1524 through 1527 some twelve editions of this Psalter came from presses in various places, as noted in *WA-DB* 2:278-438.

General Contents of Luther's Pentateuch

The contents of this first volume of Luther's OT translation are as follows: The title-page is on the recto of the first leaf (see **Plate 1**), followed immediately by a "table of contents" on the verso of that leaf (see **Plate 2**). This listing of contents contains all the OT canonical books plus the so-called "OT Apocrypha." The fact that the Apocryphal books are unnumbered sets them apart as distinct from the OT canonical writings.

A ten-page "Foreword" (*"Vorrede"*) begins on the recto of the second leaf (see **Plate 3**), and serves as an introduction to the entire OT, to each of the Pentateuchal books, and to Luther's translation procedures (the last item having been already mentioned above). At the conclusion of this Foreword, there occurs at the bottom of the verso of the sixth leaf a woodcut depiction of a coat of arms showing a serpent on a cross. This woodcut measures approximately 8.0 cm. in height by 5.5 cm. in width.

Next comes the Biblical text itself, embracing the five books of Moses (there are no special prefaces to the individual books). Up to this point the leaves (i.e., the first six) are unnumbered, but the text of Genesis through Deuteronomy carries leaf numbers. These are in the upper right corner of the rectos and in the same line as the running heads (see **Plate 4**). There is no numbering on the versos — a rather general practice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The numbered leaves are I through CXXXX, with text material on all pages from the recto of I through the verso of CXXXX, except for a blank page after the conclusion of Genesis (leaf XXXVI verso) and another at the end of Numbers (leaf CXIV verso).

Immediately following the close of the Biblical text, this copy has one unnumbered leaf printed on both sides with a list of comments or corrections. The leaf has a trim size slightly smaller than the rest of the pages and gives the appearance of having been "tipped in." The total leaf count for this copy is thus 6 unnumbered leaves, plus 140 numbered leaves, plus 1 unnumbered leaf, for a total of 147 leaves. A second concluding unnumbered leaf is lacking. This leaf is a blank leaf, and hence no textual material has been left out in this Heritage-Center copy.

Woodcut Pictures

At the beginning of the *Vorrede* and of each of the five Bible books there is a pictorial woodcut initial (see **Plates 3 and 4**). The

one for the *Vorrede* is, however, repeated at the beginning of
Deuteronomy, so that there is a total of six pictorial initials show-
ing five different scenes. These woodcut initials vary slightly in
their measurements from about 7.0 by 5.7 cm. up to about 7.2 by
6.0 cm.

Full-page woodcut pictures occur, as mentioned earlier, on
eleven unnumbered insert leaves, there being but one such woodcut
on each leaf, and thus a total of eleven pictures. These are inserted
at appropriate places to correspond with items mentioned in the
text of the books of Genesis and Exodus. There are no full-page
pictures for Leviticus, Numbers, or Deuteronomy. Interestingly,
the woodcuts vary in the direction they face, with some facing the
preceding printed page and others having the blank side of the leaf
come first. The procedure of having unnumbered insert leaves for
the woodcuts is rather unusual, and the next Lotther Wittenberg
edition utilized the more common practice of including its full-
page woodcuts on the regularly printed and numbered leaves.

The contents of the woodcut pictorial representations are as
follows:

    1—The Flood and Noah's Ark
    2—Abraham Restrained from Sacrificing Isaac
    3—Jacob's Dream of a Ladder Reaching to Heaven
    4—Joseph Interpreting Pharaoh's Dream
    5 through 10—Various Depictions of the Israelite
       Tabernacle Complex and Its Furnishings
    11—Aaron in the High Priest's Attire

Some of these pictorial woodcuts are shown herein in facsimile
reproduction, beginning with **Plate 5**, below. It should be noted
that these reproductions, as well as those in **Plates 1-4**, are in
substantially reduced size. The actual measurements of the full-
page pictorial woodcuts vary from approximately 23.5 by 16.0 cm.
down to about 22.5 by 14.5 cm., and in one case—#9, a picture of
the laver and altar of burnt offering—only 22.0 by 13 cm. (still, of
course, a significant size). The woodcut border surrounding the
title on the title-page (see **Plate 1**) measures larger than any other
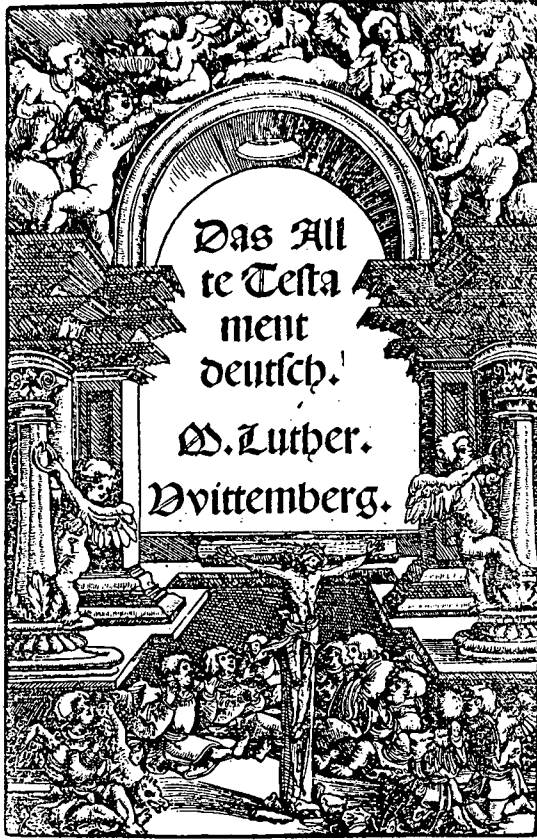printed page, its dimensions being 25.6 by 16.3 cm.

Das All
te Testa
ment
deutsch.
M. Luther.
Vvittemberg.

Die bucher des alten testaments XXIIII.

1	Das erst buch Mose	Genesis.
2	Das ander buch Mose	Exodus.
3	Das dritte buch Mose	Leuiticus.
4	Das vierde buch Mose	Numeri.
5	Das funfft buch Mose	Deuteronomios.
6	Josua.	
7	Der richter	Judicum.
8	Ruth	
9	Samuel	Regum. 1. 2.
10	Der konige	Regum 3. et 4.
11	Chronica	Paralippomenon .1.2.
12	Esra	
13	Nehemia	
14	Esther	
15	Diob	
16	Psalter	
17	Spruch Salomonis	Prouerbiorum.
18	Prediger Salomonis	Ecclesiastes.
19	Dohe lied Salomonis	Canticum Canticorum.
20	Jsaia	
21	Jeremia	
22	Esekiel	
23	Daniel	
24	zwolff kleyne propheten mit namen.	

1	Mosea.
2	Joel.
3	Amos.
4	Abdia.
5	Jona.
6	Micha.
7	Nahum.
8	Habakuk.
9	Zophonia.
10	Haggi.
11	Sacharia.
12	Malachia.

Thobia
Judith
Baruch
Esra (heyt
Das buch der weysz
Weyse man
Machabeus

Plate 1. Luther Pentateuch: Title Page

Plate 2. Luther Pentateuch: List of Contents

Vorrede Martini Luther.

As alte testament halten ett
lich geringe / als das dem
Judischen volck alleyne gegeben vnd nu
fort aus sey/vnd nur von vergangenen ge=
schichten schreybe / meynen / sie haben
gnug ann newen testament/vnd geben fur
eytel geystliche synn ym alten testament
zu suchen / wie auch/Origenes/ Hieron.
vnd viel hoher leute mehr gehalten haben/
Aber Christus spricht Johannis.5. for=
schet ynn der schrifft/denn die selbige gibt
zeugnis von myr. Vnd Paulus gepeut
Timoth. er solle anhalten mit lesen der
schrifft/vnd rhumet Ro.i. wie das Euan
gelion sey von Gott ynn der schrifft verhey
ssen/vnd .i. Cor.15. sagt er/Christus sey nachlaut der schrifft von Dauids
geblüte komen / gestorben vnd vom todt aufferstanden / So weyset vns
auch S. Petrus mehr denn eyn mal enhyndern ynn die schrifft/Damit sie
vns yhe leren / die schrifft des alten testaments nicht zuuerachten/sondern
mit allem vleys zu lesen / weyl sie selbs das newe testament so mechtiglich
grunden vnd beweren durchs alte testament vn sich drauff beruffen/wie au=
ch S. Lucas act. 17. schreybt / das die zu Tessalonich teglich forscheten
die schrifft/ob sichs so hielte /wie Paulus lerete. So wenig nu des newen
testaments grund vnd beweysung zuuerachten ist /so theur ist auch das al=
te testament zu achten./Vnd was ist das newe testament anders denn eyn=
offentliche predigt vnd verkundigung der spruche ynn alten testamen gesetzt
vnd durch Christum erfullet?

Das aber die ihenigen /so es nicht besser wissen / eyn anleyttung vnd vn=
terricht haben /nutzlich drynnen zu lesen/hab ich dise vorrede nach meynem
vermugen / so viel myr Gott geben./gestellet / bitt vnd warnet treulich eyn
iglichen frumen Ch   t/das er sich nicht stosse an der eynfeltigen rede
vnd geschicht/so yhm   st begegne wirt/Sondern zweyfele nicht dran / wie
schlecht es ymer sich ansehen lesst/es seyen eytel wort / werck / gericht vnd
geschicht der hohen gottlichen maiestet/macht vnd weysheyt/Denn dis
ist die schrifft/die alle weysen vnd klugen zu narren macht/ vnd alleyn den
kleynen vnd einfeltigern offen stehet/wie Christus sagt Matth.11.Darumb las
deyn dunckel vnd stulen faren/vnd halte von diser schrifft/als von der aller
hohisten edlisten heiligtumb/als von der aller reichisten fund gruben/ die nim
mer mehr gnug aus gegrund werden mag/auff das du die gottliche weys=
heyt finden mugest/ welche Gott hie so alber vnd schlecht furlegt/das er
allen hochmut demphe./Hie wirstu die windeln vnd die krippen finden/
da Christus ynnen ligt/dahyn auch der engel die hirten weyset/Schlech=
te vnd gering wind el sind es / aber theur ist der schatz Christus/der dryn
nen ligt.

So wisse wisse nu/das dis buch eyn gesetzbuch ist/das do lert was man
thun vnd lassen sol/vnd daneben anzeyget exempel vnd geschicht wie sol=
ch gesetz gehalten oder vbertreten sind/gleich wie das newe testament eyn
                            A ij   Euange

Plate 3. Luther Pentateuch: Beginning of *"Vorrede"*

Das erst buch Mose. I.

Das Erst Capitel.

IN anfang schuff Gott
hymel vnd erden / vnd
die erde war wüst vñ leer / vnd es war
finster auff der tieffe / vñd der wind
Gottis schwebet auff dem wasser.

Vnd Gott sprach / Es werde lie#
cht / Vnd es ward liecht / vnd Gott
sahe das liecht fur gut an / Da schey
det Gott das liecht vom finsternis /
vnd nennet das liecht / Tag / vnd die
finsternis / Nacht / Da ward aus
abend vnd morgen der erste tag.

Vnd Gott sprach / Es werde ey#
ne feste zwisschen den wassern / vnd
die sey eyn vnterscheyd zwisschen den wassern / Da machet Gott die
feste / vnd scheydet das wasser vnter der festen / von dem wasser vber
der festen / vnd es geschach also / vnd Gott nennet die festen Hymel /
Da ward aus abend vnd morgen der ander tag.

Vnd Gott sprach / Es samle sich das wasser vnter dem hymel / an
sondere ortter / das man das trocken sehe / vnd es geschach also / Vnd
Gott nennet das trocken / Erde / vnd die samlung der wasser nennet
er / Meere / vnd Gott sahe es fur gutt an.

Vnd Gott sprach / Es lasse die erde auff gehen gras vnd kraut
das sich besame / vnd fruchtbare bawme / da eyn iglicher nach seyner
art frucht trage / vnd habe seynen eygen samen bey. yhm selbs / auff
erden / vnd es geschach also / Vnd die erde lies auff gehen / gras vnd
kraut / das sich besamet / eyn iglichs nach seyner art / vñ bawme die da
frucht trugen / vnd yhren eygen samen bey sich selbs hatten / eyn igli#
cher nach seyner art / vnd Gott sahe es fur gut an / Da ward aus
abend vnd morgen der dritte tag.

Vnd Gott sprach / Es werden liechter an der feste des hymels /
vnd scheyden tag vnd nacht / vnd seyen zu zeychen / zeyttungen / tagen
vnd iaren / vnd seyen liechter on der festen des hymels / das sie schey#
nen auff erden / vnd es geschach also / Vnd / Gott machet zwey gros
se liechter / Eyn gros liecht / das dem tag furstunde / vnd eyn kleyn
liecht / das der nacht furstunde / datzu auch sternen / Vnd Got setzt
sie an die feste des hymels / das sie schienen auff die erde / vnd dem tag
vnd der nacht furstunden / vnd scheydeten liecht vnd finsternis / vnd
Got sahe es fur gut an / Da ward aus abend vnd morgen der vierde
tag.

Vnd Gott sprach / Es errege sich das wasser mit webenden vñ le#
bendigen thiern / vnd mit geuogel das auff erden vnter der feste des
hymels fleuget / Vnd Gott schuff grosse walfisch vnd allerley thier /
das da lebt

A

Plate 4. Luther Pentateuch: Beginning of Genesis

Plate 5. Luther Pentateuch: Woodcut Depicting
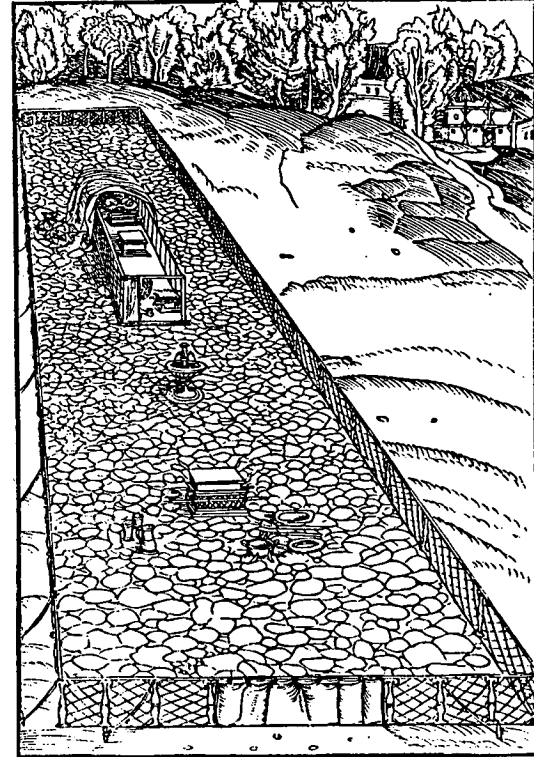Joseph Interpreting Pharaoh's Dream

Plate 6. Luther Pentateuch: Woodcut Depicting
the Tabernacle Complex

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE LIST OF TRIBES
IN REVELATION 7

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The enigmatic sequence and nebulous origin of the list of tribes in Rev 7:5-8 has constantly vexed biblical interpreters during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For example, in 1920 the noted exegete R. H. Charles stoutly argued that "the text *is* unintelligible as it stands. . . ."[1] Not much later, J. Rendel Harris lamented the "extraordinary confusion which prevails in the order."[2] Such being the case, the list has engendered numerous exegetical maneuvers by creative interpreters. These interpreters have focused upon this particular list for the following basic reasons: (1) it parallels no other biblical or non-biblical list;[3] (2) Judah—instead of Reuben—heads it; (3) it includes Levi, an unusual, but not unique, phenomenon; (4) it does not include Dan; and (5) it includes both Joseph and Manasseh, but not Ephraim. In this article I will investigate both the problem surrounding the source for the tribal list in Rev 7:5-8 and the question of the omission of the tribe of Dan from that list.

1. *Austin Farrer's Proposal Re-examined*

Though interpreters have advanced several ingenious theories to account for the list, none of them has either satisfactorily solved

[1]R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh, 1920), 1:207.

[2]J. Rendel Harris, *The Twelve Apostles* (Cambridge, Eng., 1927), p. 94.

[3]Cf. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, New Century Bible (London, 1974), p. 144; Charles, 1:207; Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI, 1977), p. 169; J. P. M. Sweet, *Revelation*, Westminster Pelican Commentaries (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 149. Beasley-Murray proposes a Jewish source but does not specify further. For an early investigation into the sequencing of the various tribal lists in biblical and non-biblical texts, see G. Buchanan Gray, "The Lists of the Twelve Tribes," *The Expositor*, 6th series, 5 (1902): 225-240.

all of the problems associated with the text or gained widespread support.[4] One solution, however, calls for further investigation. Austin Farrer[5] observed that the list "comes very close to a list in Ezekiel . . . which must surely have served St. John as a model."[6] One finds this list in Ezek 48:31-34. Farrer further stated that the sequence of the list in Revelation, rather than following the compass directions in Ezekiel, is instead identical to the sequence of directions given in Rev 21:13 (i.e., East to North and then South to West). In his scheme, however, the tribes in 7:5-8 do not correspond to the pattern of three gates per side of the New Jerusalem mentioned in Rev 21, but are arranged in a diagonal square, so that Judah, Asher, Issachar, and Benjamin (the first, fourth, ninth, and last tribes) are at the respective corners of the compass.[7] Thus, his arrangement of the tribes in 7:5-8 is as follows:[8]
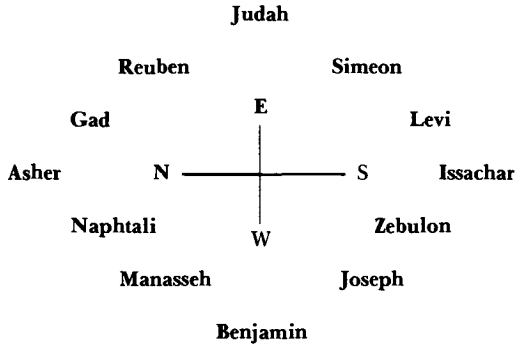
[4]Most commentators reason that Judah has been advanced to the head of the list because of the pre-eminence given to the Lion of the tribe of Judah in Revelation (cf., e.g., Beasley-Murray, p. 143; Charles, 1:208; Mounce, p. 169). The inclusion of Levi is not a major problem, since several OT lists include this tribe. Most attention has focused upon the omission of Dan and the inclusion of both Joseph and Manasseh. Briefly, reasons advanced for Dan's omission have included: (1) the tribe was associated with idolatry; (2) the tribe simply died out; (3) the tribe was associated with the antichrist; and (4) the Greek *Dan* was mistakenly replaced by an abbreviated *Man* (for Manasseh), which was later lengthened to the present Manasseh (but the Bohairic Coptic is the only version that contains *Dan* in place of Manasseh; a few minuscules, including 1854, have replaced *Gad* with *Dan*). Cf. Charles, 1:208-209; R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. John's Revelation* (Columbus, OH, 1943), p. 254. While the omission of Dan is obvious, the question has generally remained unsolved as to whether Joseph or Manasseh (or even Levi) was added to replace him in order to keep the number of tribes at 12. Lenski, p. 254, believes Joseph replaced Ephraim (cf. also E. W. Hengstenberg, *The Revelation of St. John*, [Edinburgh, 1851], 1: 301); and Mounce, p. 169), while Charles, 1:208, asserts that Joseph is original to the list. Sweet, p. 149, cautiously states that Manasseh is "probably" a substitute for Dan (cf. J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, AB, 38 [Garden City, NY, 1975], p. 118), while Henry Barclay Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 3rd ed. (n.p., 1908; reprint ed., Grand Rapids, MI, 1951), p. 98, states that Levi has replaced Dan!

[5]Austin Farrer, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (Oxford, 1964).

[6]Ibid., p. 107.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., p. 106.

Judah

Reuben   Simeon

Gad   E   Levi

Asher   N ———————— S   Issachar

Naphtali   W   Zebulon

Manasseh   Joseph

Benjamin

Farrer observes that the arrangement locates the elder tribes of Leah (Reuben, Judah, and Simeon) opposite the tribes of Rachel (Manasseh [actually a grandson], Benjamin, and Joseph), with the "junior" tribes of Leah (Levi, Issachar, and Zebulon) located opposite the tribes of the handmaids (Gad, Asher, and Naphtali).

While intriguing, Farrer's solution is not without its flaws. For one thing, only in a theological sense could Levi be termed a "junior" tribe of Leah, since it not only had greater historical importance than Reuben and Simeon, but it also was genealogically prior to Judah. A more major criticism concerns the allocation of the tribes according to compass points rather than the gate-system (i.e., three gates per side) in Rev 21:13. Farrer is inconsistent in using the directions in chap. 21, but not the gate-system itself. One should either use the directions in conjunction with the gate-system, use neither the directions nor the gate-system, or use the gate-system alone (with another set of directions) on the basis of Ezek 48. Otherwise, such selectivity places one in an exegetically precarious position.

2. *Ezekiel 48:31-34 as Background for Revelation 7:5-8*

Farrer is correct, nonetheless, in maintaining that the list in Rev 7 derives from Ezek 48:31-34.[9] The list in Ezekiel runs as follows:

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[9] I came to this conclusion independently of Farrer.

NORTH	Reuben
	Judah
	Levi
EAST	Joseph
	Benjamin
	Dan
SOUTH	Simeon
	Issachar
	Zebulon
WEST	Gad
	Asher
	Naphtali

This list—as the source for Rev 7:5-8—decidedly solves the problems concerning the enigmatic "insertions" of Levi and Joseph (and the resultant "omission" of Ephraim), and thus leaves only the priority of Judah over Reuben, the omission of Dan, and the insertion of Manasseh to be analyzed.

The Question of Sequence

But first the question of sequence needs to be addressed. Farrer's East → North → South → West scheme is less convincing than the following one which I present below. Amazingly, when one reverses Ezekiel's list in a counterclockwise fashion, it closely resembles the list in Rev 7! One can see the obvious nature of this in the following diagram:

Ezek 48:31-34 Counterclockwise

Direction	Tribes	Rev 7:5-8
NORTH	Reuben	Judah
	Judah	Reuben
	Levi	Gad
WEST	Gad	Asher
	Asher	Naphtali
	Naphtali	(Manasseh)
SOUTH	Simeon	Simeon
	Issachar	Levi
	Zebulon	Issachar

EAST	Joseph	Zebulon
	Benjamin	Joseph
	(Dan)	Benjamin

One can easily see that, with the exception of the tribes of Levi and Manasseh (the "added" tribe), each tribe listed in Rev 7 is no more than one position away from its corresponding position in Ezek 48:31-34 when one sequences this list from North to West to South to East (instead of North to East to South to West).

It is now possible to hypothesize how the list in Revelation derived its final form from the source in Ezekiel. Whether or not the author of Revelation was responsible for this final list (rather than its antedating his use of it) is beyond certainty, however. Also, the exact sequence of changes is beyond exact confirmation, although some are evidently prior to others, as I will demonstrate below.

The Insertion of Manasseh in Revelation 7

It appears evident that one of the first changes in Revelation from Ezekiel's list—that is, after reversing the sequence to a counter-clockwise order—was the removal of Dan and the insertion of Manasseh. I will discuss the possible reasons for the omission of Dan later in this article. With the deletion of Dan, the only other tribe that one could substitute consisted of either Ephraim or Manasseh, since Levi and Joseph were already listed.[10] Apparently, Ephraim was ignored because of its historically notorious relationship to idolatry, and thus Manasseh became the replacement.[11]

Insertion of a Genealogical Pattern

Next, a genealogical pattern was apparently superimposed onto Ezekiel's list,[12] for the present list in Revelation reveals that each successive pair of names (except that of Naphtali and Manasseh)

[10]The list in *Jub.* 38:5-8 includes Reuben's eldest son Hanoch as a replacement for Joseph, but this certainly is an aberration.

[11]Cf. Hengstenberg, p. 301. See also Gray, pp. 225 and 235-236.

[12]This was a common device in OT lists. See ibid., pp. 227 and 229-230. See also Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 25-48,* trans. James D. Martin, Hermeneia (Philadelphia, 1983), p. 546, on the close regard for the genealogical relationships in the list in Ezek 48:31-34.

consists of full brothers (i.e., there are no paired half-brothers). This is remarkable, considering the radical changes that have taken place in this list.

With this in mind, two things become apparent: first, that Levi was dropped .down the list behind his next full brother, Simeon (for in Ezekiel's list Gad—next listed—was but a half-brother of Levi); and second, that Manasseh was inserted in the only viable place within this scheme, namely, next to Naphtali. This was the *only* viable position for Manasseh for the following reasons: (1) Since Joseph is paired with Benjamin, the next closest relative with whom Manasseh could be paired was Naphtali, his foster-uncle (i.e., Jacob's son by Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid; Naphtali was in essence Rachel's "foster-son"); (2) Naphtali had no close relative other than Manasseh with whom to be paired; (3) because Dan was Naphtali's full brother, the two tribes were normally associated together in genealogical and tribal lists;[13] and (4) Manasseh was historically associated with the West,[14] which is just where this tribe ends up in the list in Rev 7. Thus, Manasseh's substitution next to Naphtali logically "fits." With such being the case, Dan must have been omitted from the list *before* Manasseh was added.

Finally (or even earlier in the process), Judah was moved up to the head of the list because of the emphasis upon Jesus Christ as the Lion of the tribe of Judah in Rev 5:5. Thus we have the list as we see it in Rev 7:5-8.

Summary of Development Stages

The diagram on page 59 summarizes the proposed stages of development from Ezekiel's list to that of Revelation.

3. *Primacy of the Tribe of Judah in the List of Revelation 7*

One might legitimately ask, Why was the original list in Ezekiel reversed in a *counterclockwise* fashion in the first place? In other words, why did the northern direction maintain its primacy, rather than starting with the western tribes (as a simple reversal

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[13]Cf. Gen 29:31-30:24; 35:23-26; 46:8-25; Exod 1:1-5; Num 2:3-31 (see also chaps. 7 and 10); Deut 27:12-13; Josh 13-19; and 1 Chron 12:24-37.

[14]Num 2:3-31.

Development from Ezekiel to Revelation

Original:			Initial	Revised	Final:
Eze 48:31-34	*Reverse*[15]	*Drop Dan*	*Pairing*	*Pairing*	*Rev 7:5-8*
Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Judah
Judah	Judah	Judah	Judah	Judah	Reuben
Levi	Levi	Levi			Gad
			Levi	Gad	Asher
Joseph	Gad	Gad	Gad	Asher	Naphtali
Benjamin	Asher	Asher			Manasseh
Dan	Naphtali	Naphtali	Asher	Naphtali	Simeon
			Naphtali	*Manasseh*	Levi
Simeon	Simeon	Simeon			Issachar
Issachar	Issachar	Issachar	Simeon	Simeon	Zebulon
Zebulon	Zebulon	Zebulon	Issachar	*Levi*	Joseph
					Benjamin
Gad	Joseph	Joseph	Zebulon	Issachar	
Asher	Benjamin	Benjamin	Joseph	Zebulon	
Naphtali	Dan	---			
			Benjamin	Joseph	
			---	Benjamin	

would run)?[16] One can postulate a few reasons for this. For one thing, a simple reversal would place the tribe of Judah near the end of the list. But this would be contrary to the honor that the author of Revelation has recognized in Judah as the tribe of the Lion— Jesus Christ, the King of Kings (5:5; 17:14; 19:16). Thus, John has purposely avoided placing Judah at the end of the list of tribes.

Also, closely related to the concept of the primacy of the tribe of Judah is the implicit significance given to the North in the book of Revelation. The sequence of visions in Rev 1-11 is related to the

[15]That is, counterclockwise.

[16]Interestingly, the counterclockwise directions in Rev 7 (i.e., North, West, South, and East) are a simple reversal of the directions given the geographical layout of the 12 tribes in Num 2:3-31 (i.e., East, South, West, and North). The list of tribes in Num 2, however, is more divergent than that in Ezek 48:31-34: (1) there are 13 tribes listed; (2) Ephraim is included; and (3) the tribal associations themselves are much different (e.g., Judah with Issachar and Zebulon, Dan with Asher and Naphtali, etc.). For an example of a simple reversal in Revelation, compare the description of the sea beast in 13:1-2 and Dan 7:3-8, 19-20; the sea beast has ten horns, resembles a leopard, and has feet like a bear and a mouth like a lion, while Daniel presents these same items in the reverse order.

furniture in the sanctuary (i.e., candlestick[s] in 1:13; altar of in-
cense in 8:3-5; ark of the covenant in 11:19). Apparently the throne-
vision of chaps. 4-5 relates to the *table of shewbread*, for it is the
only "missing" piece of furniture.[17] The fact that the seven lamps
of fire (i.e., the "candlestick") burn before the "throne" (4:5) gives
weight to this idea.[18]

The fact that the table of shewbread was located on the northern
side of the earthly tabernacle/sanctuary (Exod 26:35; 40:22) gives
further credence to the apparent regal symbolism (cf. Ps 48:2; Isa
14:13, Ezek 1:4) associated with the North in Revelation, and thus
the list of the tribes of Israel in 7:5-8 begins in the North with the
royal tribe of Judah. Consequently, immediately after the listing of
the tribes, John sees a great multitude of saints praising God before
the throne (7:9-17); John has gone full circle, from the northern
tribes to the western, southern, and eastern tribes, and now back to
the North, where God's throne is located.

4. Omission of the Tribe of Dan in the List of Revelation

Now we come to the question of why the tribe of Dan was
omitted in the list in Rev 7. Dan was associated with idolatry in the
OT (cf. Judg 18; 1 Kgs 12:28-29) and in later Jewish thought,[19] and
Revelation contains a strong polemic against idolatry (cf. 2:20;
13:14-15; 14:9; 19:20; 21:8; 22:15). One could therefore postulate
that this association with idolatry was at least one reason why Dan
was excluded from the list. But when other contemporary apoca-
lyptic lists, such as the Temple Scroll (11QT 39:[11], 12-13, and

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[17]Contra Mario Veloso, "The Doctrine of the Sanctuary and the Atonement as
Reflected in the Book of Revelation," in Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard
Lesher, eds., *The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theo-
logical Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1981), pp. 398-399. See also Kenneth A. Strand,
"The 'Victorious-Introduction' Scenes in the Visions in the Book of Revelation,"
AUSS 25 (1987):267-288. He states (p. 274, n. 11) that the throne-of-God motif is not
basically an indicator of locale.

[18]For further discussion about this idea, see C. Mervyn Maxwell, *God Cares*,
vol. 2: *The Message of Revelation for You and Your Family* (Boise, ID, 1985),
pp. 164-167, 171-173.

[19]Cf. *Gen. Rab.* 43.2; *Num. Rab.* 2.10; *Midr. Ps.* 101.2; *b. San.* 96a; *Pesiq. R.*
11.3, 12.13, and 46.3; and *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 3.12.

40:14-41:10), include Dan, one wonders about the importance of this particular stigma attached to Dan.[20]

As early as Irenaeus (ca. A.D. 185) and up through the Middle Ages, there was a strong belief that the antichrist would come from the tribe of Dan.[21] This is perhaps based on *T. Dan* 5:6, a pre-Christian work which states that the prince of the sons of Dan is Satan. This work in itself does not, however, identify the antichrist as coming from this tribe.[22]

It seems likely, though, that there is another reason why Dan was excluded, namely, that the tribe of Dan was associated with Judas Iscariot, the traitor.[23] This reasoning is nothing more than implicit, for there is no evidence prior to Revelation that Dan and Judas were associated together. There is, nevertheless, much evidence that in later Christian tradition the two were closely related.

The book of Revelation, following an old and influential Christian tradition (cf. Matt 19:28; Luke 22:30), associates the twelve tribes of Israel and the twelve apostles.[24] For example, while the names of the tribes are written on the twelve gates of the New Jerusalem, the twelve apostles' names are written on the twelve

[20]Cf. M. Wilcox, "Tradition and Redaction of Rev 21, 9-22, 5," in J. Lambrecht, ed., *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, BETL 53 (Leuven, 1980), p. 214.

[21]Examples of those who made such connections include Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Rufinus of Aquileia, Augustine, Alcuin, and Rupert of Deutz. For references see Wilhelm Bousset, *Der Antichrist* (Göttingen, 1895), pp. 112-115; Klaus Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegese: Eine altkirchliche Apokalypse*, SPB, 27 (Leiden, 1976), p. 101; and Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle, WA, 1981), pp. 46 and 79-80 (see also pp. 128, 173-174, 178, and 214).

[22]See H. W. Hollander and M. De Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary*, Studia In Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha, 8 (Leiden, 1985), p. 287. Interestingly, in *T. Dan* 1:4-7, Dan states that he took pleasure in the selling of Joseph and rejoiced over his "death" (cf. Judas and his betrayal of Jesus)! On the problems in dating this work, see Hollander and De Jonge, pp. 10-29 and 82-85.

[23]Farrer, p. 108, made this connection but did not elaborate.

[24]For more on this relationship, see A. S. Geyser, "Some Salient New Testament Passages on the Restoration of the Twelve Tribes of Israel," in Lambrecht, pp. 305-310; idem, "The Twelve Tribes in Revelation: Judean and Judeo-Christian Apocalypticism," *NTS* 28 (1982): 388-399; and Celia Deutsch, "Transformation of Symbols: The New Jerusalem in Rv 21:1-22:5," *ZNW* 78 (1987): 113-114.

foundation stones of the city (21:12-14).[25] These stones allude to the stones on the breastplate of the high priest in the OT, where they referred to the twelve tribes (Exod 28:17-21; 39:10-13).[26]

But even more specifically, a comparison of the counterclock-wise reversal of Ezekiel's list of tribes and NT lists of the twelve disciples (Matt 10:2-4; Mark 3:16-19; Luke 6:13-16; and Acts 1:13) shows a startling parallel between Judas and Dan. Interestingly, only Peter, Philip, James of Alphaeus, and Judas Iscariot appear in the same position on all lists (except in Acts 1, where Judas is missing because of his death).[27] The following diagram illustrates the correspondences:

Tribes	*Apostles*
Reuben	Peter
Judah	-----
Levi	-----
Gad	-----
Asher	Philip
Naphtali	-----
Simeon	-----
Issachar	-----
Zebulon	James of Alphaeus
Joseph	-----
Benjamin	-----
Dan	*Judas Iscariot*

This association of Judas with Dan, combined with the fact that Judas had to be replaced among the Twelve, certainly seems significant.

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[25]Attempts to identify the tribes of Rev 21 by the list of jewels in the foundation have thus far been futile. For one thing, the list of jewels simply does not match any OT list. Cf. Wilcox, p. 214, esp. n. 32; Una Jart, "The Precious Stones in the Revelation of St. John xxi.18-21," *ST* 24 (1970): 150-181; and T. Francis Glasson, "The Order of Jewels in Revelation XXI.19-20: A Theory Eliminated," *JTS*, n.s., 26 (1975): 95-100.

[26]Cf. Geyser, "The Twelve Tribes," pp. 396-397.

[27]See Beltran Villegas, "Peter, Philip and James of Alphaeus," *NTS* 33 (1987):292-294. In Gen 49, five of the twelve tribes (Judah, Issachar, Dan, Naphtali, and Benjamin) are compared to animals. With the exception of Dan (serpent/viper), these tribes in Revelation 7 are in the *same* positions that these apostles hold: Judah (Lion)/Peter; Naphtali (Doe)/Philip; Issachar (Donkey)/James of Alphaeus; and Benjamin (Wolf)/Judas Iscariot. Admittedly, this is of dubious significance.

I would conjecture the possibility of an association between Judas and Dan as early as the tradition concerning Judas in Acts 1.[28] According to this tradition, Judas turned aside (vs. 25) from his portion or lot (*klēros*) in ministry (vs. 17) and went to his own place (*topos*, vs. 25). This is highly reminiscent of the movements of the tribe of Dan when it was unable to secure its inheritance (*klēronomos*, Judg 18:1, LXX[29]) and went to another place (*topos*, 18:3 [Codex Vaticanus only], 10, 12, LXX) in the north. As Dan lost its inheritance and turned away to another place, so did Judas.[30]

Some later Christian traditions explicitly associate Judas with the tribe of Dan (as well as Gad[31]). According to the *Book of the Cave of Treasures*, a Syriac work possibly as old as the fourth century, Judas Iscariot was "of the tribe of Gad or Dan."[32] Procopius of Gaza (ca. 475-528) in his commentary on Gen 49:16-18, however,

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[28]The reliance of Revelation on Acts is not strong and rather doubtful. According to Charles (1:lxxxiv and lxxxvi), perhaps Rev 2:20, 24 alludes to Acts 15:28 and Rev 14:7 alludes to Acts 4:24 and 14:15. It is possible, however, that the same traditions about Judas were known by both Luke and John without any interdependence.

[29]Werner Foerster ("*klēros*," *TDNT* 3 (1965):759-760, 777) states that while *klēros* and *klēronomos* are not equivalent terms in the OT, they were used interchangeably in relation to tribal lots/inheritances. See Josh 19:1-2 (LXX) in relation to Simeon (cf. 19:40-48 for Dan) for such an instance of interchangeability. According to *T. Dan* 7:3, Dan's descendants would be alienated from their inheritance, the race of Israel, their family, and their offspring. *T. Asher* 7:6 states that Gad and Dan would be scattered (as well as Asher's descendants) and would not know their lands, tribes, or tongue. Hollander and De Jonge, p. 360, conjecture an early tradition stressing the negative roles of these two patriarchs (cf. *JosAsen* 24-28 and *LivPro* 3:16). According to Judg 1:35, the house of Joseph (Ephraim? Manasseh?) replaced Dan in its former territory.

[30]In the Palestinian Targumim to Gen 44:18, Judah argues (concerning Benjamin) "that he was numbered with us among the tribes . . . and will receive a portion (lot) and share with us in the division of the land." Cited in Max Wilcox, "The Judas-Tradition in Acts I.15-26," *NTS* 19 (1972-1973):447. This language is strikingly similar to that in Acts referring to Judas as being numbered with the disciples and having received his portion—yet in the targum it refers to tribes!

[31]Harris, pp. 97-98, comments regarding the Syriac *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* that the tradition of Judas being from the tribe of Gad is one of the most primitive in the list.

[32]E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* (London, 1927), p. 256. For its date, see pp. 21-22.

firmly stated that Judas was of the tribe of Dan.[33] This same judg-
ment is found in the chapter on "The Genealogies of the Twelve
Apostles" in *The Contendings of the Apostles,* an Ethiopic work
possibly as old as the sixth century,[34] and also in the *Chronicle of
Michael the Syrian.*[35] But Solomon of Bassora, who wrote *The
Book of the Bee,* wrote that "Judas Iscariot . . . was . . . of the tribe
of Gad, though some say that he was of the tribe of Dan. He was
like unto the serpent that acts deceitfully toward its master, because,
like a serpent, he dealt craftily with his Lord."[36] But by the thir-
teenth century, in some circles, the association of Judas with Gad
had disappeared, while that between him and Dan remained.[37]

[33]Cited in J. Rendel Harris, "Did Judas Really Commit Suicide?" *AJT* 4 (1900): 508.

[34]E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles,* 2d ed. (London, 1935),
pp. 40-41. On the date, see p. ix. See also Harris, *Apostles,* pp. 98-100. According to
this listing, Judas has been artificially dropped from the sixth position to the last
position (as we have it in the Gospels); the proof for this is that the tribe of Dan has
been dropped out of its normal birth-order position and Simon the Zealot has been
associated with the *youngest* son/tribe, Benjamin. The rationale for this association
here is that Dan sold Joseph for 20 pieces of silver, even as Judas sold Jesus for 30
pieces of silver.

[35]Cited in Harris, *Apostles,* p. 100.

[36]Cited in Harris, "Judas," p. 508. See also idem, *Apostles,* p. 97.

[37]See Morton S. Enslin, "How the Story Grew: Judas in Fact and Fiction," in
Eugene Howard Barth and Ronald Edwin Cocroft, eds., *Festschrift to Honor F.
Wilbur Gingrich* (Leiden, 1972), p. 132. Enslin refers to the so-called Life of St.
Matthias in the *Legenda Aurea (Golden Legend),* written by the Dominican monk
Jacobus de Voragine (1230-1298), who later became archbishop of Genoa. Here
Judas' father Reuben is from the tribe of Dan.

See also Edward Kennard Rand, "Medieval Lives of Judas Iscariot," in *Anni-
versary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge* (New York,
1913), pp. 305-316; and Paull Franklin Baum, "The Medieval Legend of Judas
Iscariot," *PMLA* 31 (1916):481-632. The legendary *Life of Judas the Betrayer,*
though present throughout Europe and intended to blacken Judas' name, was never
mentioned by any ecclesiastical writer other than Voragine (Baum, pp. 481,483).
Overall, the medieval manuscript evidence for Judas' tribal origin is divided and
contradictory. The immediate precursor to the *Legenda Aurea*—i.e., Vatican MS
Palatinus 619—describes Judas as from the tribe of Judah (Rand, p. 305). Further
purported tribal origins for Judas include: Reuben (archetype "R" [Judas' father is
named Reuben]); Judah (part of the manuscripts in group "L" and a 1309 French
version); Issachar (the Welsh version [ca. 1300]); and Benjamin (a 1776 English
version).

On the other hand, Dan is purported to be the tribal origin by all of the manu-
scripts in group "H"—the longest and most elaborate of the manuscripts—of the

The relationship between the tribe of Dan and serpents/snakes is also a fruitful area for study in relationship to the association of Dan and Judas. In Gen 49:17, Jacob's blessing for Dan includes the following: "Dan shall be a serpent [*ophis*, LXX] in the way, a viper by the path, that bites the horse's heels, so that his rider falls backwards" (RSV).[38] Later, in Jer 8:16-17 the prophet describes the Babylonian threat against Judah as originating from Dan; part of this threat includes God's sending serpents (*opheis*, LXX). This association between Dan and the serpent was so strong that, according to Jewish tradition, the standard of Dan in the camp of Israel was a serpent on a field similar in color to sapphire.[39]

Referring to the Judas-tradition in Acts 1, J. Rendel Harris has suggested that the reference to Judas falling headlong, i.e., assuming a prone position (vs. 18: *prēnēs genomenos*), could have reference to the prophecy about the serpent on its belly in Gen 3:14.[40] On the other hand, F. H. Chase later was the first to suggest that this phrase in Acts could be a rare medical term referring to "swelling up."[41] Taking such a definition as legitimate,[42] Judas swelled up, burst, and thus died. Papias, cited by Apollinarius, first stated that Judas swelled up and then died (but did not burst).[43] In later traditions, this is, however, exactly what *serpents* did (i.e.,

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Legenda Aurea, part of the manuscripts in group "L," a 1724 and a 1765 English version, and three Russian manuscripts. One of the Russian texts mentions this association because the Antichrist is from this tribe, while another text incorporates Gen 49:17 (Dan as a serpent) into its rationale. See Baum, pp. 490-493, 496, 501, 533, 549, 563, 572, 577, and 628.

[38]This bears some resemblance to the action of the serpent (*ophis*) against the seed of the woman in Gen 3:15: it will "bruise his heel."

[39]*Num. Rab.* 2.7.

[40]Harris, "Judas," p. 508.

[41]F. H. Chase, "On *prēnēs genomenos* in Acts I 18," *JTS* 13 (1912):278-285. Chase adduced much support for this hypothesis from the Armenian and Old Latin versions, Athanasius, Oecumenius, and several other later authorities.

[42]Many scholars have; see William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 2d ed. (Chicago/London, 1979), s.v., *prēnēs*. Alasdair B. Gordon ("The Fate of Judas According to Acts 1:18," *EvQ* 43 [1971]:98-99) likes both meanings; i.e., he feels that the phrase has a double meaning.

[43]See Enslin, p. 128. Theophylact (*In Matt.* 27) later conflated this account with the one in Acts. See ibid., p. 130.

swelled up and burst). For example, in the Gnostic *Acts of Thomas*
30-33, a second-century work, a serpent who killed a youth con-
fesses that he caused Judas to take the bribe and betray Jesus, and
then Thomas orders this serpent to suck the poison out of the
youth. Upon doing so, it swells up and bursts.[44] The same idea—
that of a snake swelling up and bursting (but in different narra-
tives)—also occurs in the pseudepigraphical *Arabic Gospel of the
Infancy*,[45] the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*,[46] and in the *Gospel of
Pseudo-Matthew*.[47] Of course, one cannot read these concepts back
into Acts—or Revelation, for that matter (where there is a strong
polemic against the "serpent/dragon"![48])—but they do imply that
there was in early Christianity a strong tradition associating Judas
with the serpent—and ultimately Dan.

5. *Conclusions*

In this article I have demonstrated that it is best to understand
the list of tribes in Rev 7:5-8 as having been based on a counter-
clockwise reversal of the list of tribes in Ezek 48:31-34. Although
this is not the only reversal of an OT motif or set of motifs in
Revelation, the original reason for this reversal is not clear. This
modified reversal—a counterclockwise one—neatly fits, nonetheless,
into the theology of Revelation by maintaining the primacy of the
tribe of Judah. Dropping Dan from this list consequently becomes
the most significant change in the list, for every other change can

[44]See Harris, "Judas," p. 509. See also A. F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas:
Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, NovTSupp 5 (Leiden, 1962), pp. 79-81. In his
commentary on p. 228, Klijn points out the strong verbal links between Acts 1:18
here.

[45]Chap. 42. See M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (London, 1924),
p. 82. In chap. 35, Judas as a child attempts to bite all who come near him,
including Jesus. This is reminiscent of the bite of the serpent in Gen 3:15 and 49:17.
See also E. A. Wallis Budge, *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the
History of the Likeness of Christ* (London, 1899), pp. 70-71. Budge dates these
Syriac stories before the end of the fourth century (p. x).

[46]Chap. 16 in Greek text A; chap. 14 in the Latin text. See James, pp. 54, 65.

[47]Chap. 41. See James, p. 79.

[48]In Revelation, the serpent (*ophis*: 12:9 and 20:2) or dragon (*drakon*: 12:3, 4, 7,
9, 13, 16, 17: 13:2, 4; 16:13; 20:2) clearly represents Satan. The "dragon" was often
synonymous with the "serpent" (see BAG, s.v. *drakon*). But the serpent was also the
symbol of Dan in Jewish thought!

be explained in terms of this initial change. Thus, the claim that the text is unintelligible and confusing becomes groundless.

I have also attempted to understand the rationale for the dropping of Dan from the list in Revelation. The clear OT association of Dan and serpents/vipers, the historical apostasy of the tribe of Dan, the apostasy of Judas Iscariot, and the NT association between the 12 tribes of Israel and the 12 apostles of Christ, the polemic against the "serpent" and "dragon" (i.e., Satan) in Revelation, and the exclusion of the tribe of Dan from the list of tribes in Revelation—all of these items lead one to conjecture an implicitly understood relationship between Dan and Judas in Revelation. Thus they provide a persuasive reason for Dan's being dropped from the list.

Although *all* of the evidence explicitly associating Dan and Judas appears in the period after the writing of Revelation, could it be possible that such an association was implicit in NT times? Although the tradition about Judas in Acts 1 is suggestive, we must state, however, that at present this possibility is no more than a reasonable conjecture. In any case, the later Christian traditions that explicitly associate Dan and Judas, the serpent, and the antichrist point towards such a possibility of an earlier implicit association in the NT. If such an association does exist in Revelation, it would provide a logical and compelling reason as to why Dan—the Tribe of the Serpent—was excluded from the list of tribes in Rev 7:5-8.

RESEARCH NOTE

THE ETYMOLOGY OF *HAR-MAGEDON* (REV 16:16)

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Although the linguistic origin of biblical terms may prove to be uncertain and need not necessarily determine theological meaning, such terms may still carry some religious significance. This is apparent from Rev 9:11, where the name of the angel of the Abyss is given both in Hebrew (*Abaddōn*) and in Greek (*Apollyōn*). The phrase *harmagedōn* in Rev 16:16 deserves attention for its possible theological frame of reference. *Harmagedōn*, usually given in English as "Armageddon," occurs only once in all of Scripture, and it is accompanied by the added clue that the name is given "in Hebrew," the language of the OT. From a linguistic standpoint, biblical scholars are divided in their assumptions as to the original Hebrew word lying behind *Har-Magedon*. In fact, they generally regard the etymological problem as being unsolvable.[1]

The Patristic View

The oldest view set forth by Christian commentators concerning *Har-Magedon* was that the term meant literally "Mountain of Slaughter," as evidenced, for example, by Andreas of Caesarea and Oecumenius.[2] This interpretation apparently traced *magedōn* back to the Aramaic stem *gᵉdad*, meaning "to cut down, to hew down," or the Hebrew root *gādad*, meaning "to cut, to break in upon, to penetrate."

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[1]See listings of the various conjectures in R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1920), 2:50-51; *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1899 ed., s.v. "Armageddon," by T. K. Cheyne.

[2]Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, part 1, *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia*, Münchener Theologische Studien, vol. 1 (Munich, 1955), p. 175; H. C. Hoskier, ed., *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, vol. 23 (Ann Arbor, MI, 1928), p. 180.

Har-Magedon Connected with Megiddo

A second view is that *Har-Magedon* is somehow to be connected with Megiddo, a city in the Esdraelon plain, near Mount Carmel. Holding basically to this view can be reckoned all those who see *magedōn* as the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew name Megiddo. It is a notable fact that the LXX has transliterated Megiddo once by *Magedōn* (Judg 1:27) and also by *Mageddō* (2 Chron 35:22). In addition, Megiddo was the historic site of a victorious war of Yahweh against the Canaanite kings, celebrated in the famous Song of Deborah (Judg 4 and 5; see especially 5:19). Many exegetes refer further to Ezekiel's apocalyptic portrayal of the final war against Yahweh on "the mountains of Israel" (Ezek 38:8, 21; 39:2, 4, 17) to strengthen this as a typological taproot of Armageddon in the OT history of Israel. The nearest mountain to Megiddo is Carmel, which witnessed Elijah's dramatic victory over the prophets of Baal and where these prophets also were put to the sword (1 Kgs 18).

For linguistic and theological reasons of the foregoing kind, the identification of *magedōn* with Megiddo has found "the widest acceptance with scholars."[3] After reviewing the theories that have been set forth, E. Nestle concludes: "Upon the whole, to find an allusion here to Megiddo . . . is still the most probable explanation."[4]

Har-Magedon Connected with Mount Zion or the Mountain of God

The conjecture that *harmagedōn* would be the Greek transliteration of *har mōʿēd*, "Mountain of Assembly," a reference to the celestial "mountain" of God in Isa 14:13 (and indirectly to Ps

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[3]Ishon T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, (London, 1919; reprint Grand Rapids, 1979), p. 685; cf. Charles, 2:50; Henry Barclay Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 3d ed. (London, 1909), p. 209; *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, 1979 ed., s.v. "Armageddon," by W. W. Buechler ("the generally accepted view"); *The New Bible Dictionary*, 1962 ed., s.v. "Har-Magedon," by R. J. A. Sheriffs; *The New Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*, 1970 ed., s.v. "Har-Magedon"; Edward Robinson, *A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament*, new ed. (New York, 1858), p. 94.

[4]James Hastings, ed. *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 1909 ed., s.v. "Har-Magedon," by Eberhard Nestle.

48:1-8), is mentioned by most commentators, but favored by few.[5]
Introduced as a suggestion by F. Hommel in 1890, it was rejected
by most scholars as linguistically untenable (cf., e.g., H. Gunkel),
because, as stated by Joachim Jeremias, it "does not show how we
are to explain the rendering of ע in מוֹעֵד by γ" in *magedōn*.[6] G. R.
Beasley-Murray today judges likewise that this "speculation must
be viewed as dubious."[7] For the same reason *The Seventh-day
Adventist Bible Dictionary* calls the assumption that *har mōʿēd*
is the Hebrew original improbable.[8] In Hommel's view, *Har-
Magedon* refers to the world mountain of the gods in Babylonian
mythology.[9] Others think of Mount Zion.

Har-Magedon and the Septuagint Version of Zechariah 12:11

It seems that another linguistic phenomenon should be con-
sidered: the generally overlooked fact that the LXX in one instance
actually paraphrases (not transliterates) the name Megiddo in its
Greek version. In Zech 12:11, the LXX renders the phrase referring
to the plain of Megiddo as *en pediǭ ekkoptomenou*, which may be
translated literally into English as, "in the plain of the *cut down*
[pomegranate grove]."[10] This unique Greek paraphrase of Megiddo
suggests that the Jewish translators responsible for the LXX per-
ceived in Megiddo, not the Hebrew stem *yāʿaḏ* ("to assemble"), but

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[5]The best defense of this application seems to be Charles C. Torrey, "Arma-
geddon," *HTR* 31 (1938): 237-48.

[6]Joachim Jeremias, "*Har Magedon*," *TDNT* 1:468; see also, idem. "*Har Mage-
don*," *ZNW* 31 (1932):77; *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, 1939 ed.,
s.v. "Har-Magedon," by W. Ewing; *Biblisch-Theologisches Handwörterbuch zur
Lutherbibel und zu neueren Übersetzungen*, 1964 ed., s.v. "Harmagedon," by Gerold
Jalpers; *Funk and Wagnall's New "Standard" Bible Dictionary*, 1936 ed., s.v. "Har-
Magedon," by Andrew C. Zemos; James Hastings, ed. *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1963
ed., s.v. "Armageddon," by S. Mathews and F. C. Grant; *Calwer Bibellexikon*, 1959
ed., s.v. "Harmagedon," by Rudolf Borchert.

[7]G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, The New Century Bible Commentary (Lon-
don, 1974), p. 245.

[8]*SDA Bible Dictionary* (1979), s.v. "Armageddon."

[9]Fritz Hommel, "Inschriftliche Glossen und Exkurse zur Genesis und zu den
Propheten," *NKZ* 1 (1890): 406-408.

[10]The English bishop, Charles Wordsworth discovered this fact in the LXX
version of Zech 12:11. Commenting on Rev 16:16, he states, "The word *Arma-
geddon*, then, signifies a *Mountain of slaughter*; like that valley of *decision* or

rather Hebrew gāḏaḏ and Aramaic gᵉḏaḏ, meaning "to cut down."[11]
This conclusion supports the interpretation of Armageddon by the
first Christian expositors (Andreas and Oecumenius) mentioned
above.

The Theological Significance of Har-Magedon

Har-Magedon, "Mount Megiddo," is the apocalyptic name in
Rev 16:16 for the place where end-time Babylon and her worldwide
kings will receive the divine judgment because of their ultimate
rebellion (i.e., war) against God (Rev 16:19-21). It stands in direct
contrast to Mount Zion in Rev 14:1 as the place of divine deli-
verance for the 144,000 faithful saints of the Israel of God. Both
Megiddo and Zion are symbolic places, to be defined theologically
in the full perspective of Israel's history in the OT ("in Hebrew").
It needs to be recounted that the environment of Megiddo has
witnessed the dramatic defeat and destruction of the Canaanite
kings through the flooding of the river Kishon in the days of
Deborah (Judg 5:19-21); the slaughter of the false prophets of Baal
in the Kishon Valley in Elijah's time (1 Kgs 18:40);[12] and the
untimely death of the misled, pious king Josiah fighting on the
plain of Megiddo, which caused the annual mourning of all the
tribes of Israel (2 Kgs 23:29; 2 Chron 35:20-25; cf. Zech 12:11).
Austin Farrer has summed up the theological significance of Har-
Magedon most comprehensively:

> So in sum, Mt. Megiddo stands in his mind for a place where
> lying prophecy and its dupes go to meet their doom; where kings
> and their armies are misled to their destruction; and where all the
> tribes of the earth mourn, to see him in power, whom in weak-
> ness they had pierced. For there the stars in their courses fight
> against princes, and the floods of destruction sweep them away
> (Judges v. 19-21).[13]

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cutting off, described by the Prophet Joel (iii. 14), and it is a figurative expression
similar to that in the same Prophet, namely, the valley of Jehoshaphat (Joel iii. 2.
12), or judgment of God," The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus
Christ in the Original Greek (London, 1872), 2:248.

[11]For an extensive review of the views of the older commentaries, see Hans K.
LaRondelle, Het Bijbelse Toekomstbeeld (Brussels, 1962), pp. 280-311, 390-392.

[12]See W. H. Shea, "The Location and Significance of Armageddon in Rev
16:16," AUSS 18 (1980): 157-162.

[13]Austin Farrer, The Revelation of St. John the Divine (Oxford, 1964), p. 178.

In response to the literal application of Armageddon in the future to the geographic location of a "Mount Megiddo" in Palestine,[14] two remarks can be made: First of all, a literal "Mount Megiddo" is *never* mentioned in the OT and does not actually exist. Consequently, the earliest Christian interpreters (including Origen and Eusebius) did not see in *Har-Magedon* the name of a place at all. A second, and decisive, argument against interpreting the reference in Rev 16:16 with geographic literalism is the fact that the OT prophets had already clearly designated the locality of the apocalyptic struggle: namely, on the mountains and valleys *around Mount Zion* (Joel 2:32; 3:1-17; Isa 29:1-7; Ezek 39:11; Dan 11:45; Zech 12:2, 3, 9; 14:1-4; cf. also 4 Ezra 13:35-39). The book of Revelation *continues* this uniform OT eschatology (Rev 14:1, 20; 20:9), with but one theological modification: *The Lamb of God* determines the new-covenant fulfillment and consummation of all of God's covenant promises and curses (see Rev 7:9-10; 12:17; 14:12; 15:1, 2; 17:14; 19:11; 21:9, 22, 23; 22:1, 3; cf. 2 Cor 1:20). Just as "Mount Zion" (Rev 14:1) is defined by the gospel as the place of Messianic salvation (Heb 12:22-24), so "Mount Megiddo" must be similarly defined as the place of curse and doom for the antichrist.

[14]C. I. Scofield and E. Schuyler English, eds., *The New Scofield Reference Bible* (New York, 1967), pp. 1368, 1372.

BOOK REVIEWS

Beasley-Murray, George R. *John.* Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 36. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987. xcii + 441 pp. $24.95.

Few ancient documents have been as thoroughly analyzed as the Gospel of John. Such major figures as Dodd, Bultmann, Barrett, Brown, Schnackenburg, and Haenchen have produced massive tomes to assist the reader in the book's interpretation. The production of yet another volume, however, is justified by the fact that the above tend to be heavy and detailed and usually deal with the literature of an earlier generation.

The Word Biblical Commentary series attempts to combine an evangelical commitment to Scripture and the gospel with serious scholarship of the highest order. The authors are distinguished and the bibliographies comprehensive. The series attempts to keep in mind the pastor as well as the scholar.

George R. Beasley-Murray is a British scholar who has taught for a number of years in the United States. He fits the mold of the Word series very well. For example, his respect for Scripture prevents him from emending texts if they can be understood as they stand (thus he sees no light in reversing chaps. 5 and 6). He is also unafraid to differ with earlier literature and carries a healthy skepticism for scholarly reconstructions (such as the Baptist movement and a supposed "signs gospel").

As a commentator on the Gospel of John, Beasley-Murray is remarkably restrained. He does not attempt to answer every possible question that arises out of the text. His commentary emphasizes the forest rather than the trees in John's Gospel. Beasley-Murray does the minimum with verse-by-verse commentary, preferring to draw out the key points of each verse or section. Each section is preceded by a summary of its structure and followed by a careful summary of the major theological themes. The commentary, therefore, is not tedious, as is often the case with Brown, since it avoids unnecessary digressions and points of detail. Its content is balanced, rich, and carefully considered. While it does not have the full detail of Brown or Schnackenburg, it is, in itself, sufficiently rewarding to satisfy most readers, while providing the kind of bibliography that more serious students of the gospel require.

The major weakness of this commentary lies in its treatment of the most recent literature. The bibliographies are solid from the 1950s through the 1970s, when the author was at the peak of his scholarly activity. And while Beasley-Murray shows awareness of the major commentaries produced in the first half of the 1980s, he rarely accounts for the journal

articles and monographs of the last seven years. Therefore, though the date
of publication is 1987, the book in many ways has the value of a work
published in 1980. While this is a strong update in comparison to Brown,
it does not offer a significant advance over Haenchen or Schnackenburg. It
is to be regretted that such a fine interpretation of the gospel does not list
more of the hundreds of recent publications relevant to the study of John.

Although the bibliographic weakness is regrettable, it does not present
a major barrier to the acceptance of Beasley-Murray's book as a major
contribution to the history of the interpretation of the Gospel of John.
Although it does not replace Brown or Schnackenburg, it offers an intrigu-
ing alternative to those who would prefer something less expensive and
technical. Its scholarly richness and spiritual depth will certainly commend
it to a broad constituency. It should receive a top rating among students,
pastors, and evangelicals in general, while offering a thoughtful supple-
ment to the massive volume of scholarly thought that has been expended
on John's marvelous portrayal of the life of Christ.

Andrews University   JON PAULIEN

Brownlee, William H. *Ezekiel 1-19*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 28.
    Waco, TX: Word Books, 1986. xlii + 384 pp. $22.95.

We here review an unfinished commentary. W. H. Brownlee died
while he was still working on Ezekiel 19. The editors are to be congratu-
lated for publishing it and particularly for making the book a memorial. It
is a well-deserved recognition of an excellent scholar.

The commentary follows the structural pattern of other volumes in
the Word Biblical Commentary series. Every section includes a bibliog-
raphy; a translation of the biblical text; textual notes; a discussion on
form, structure, and setting; and comments. Brownlee's translation sacri-
fices beauty, but reflects his text-critical decisions. Although he makes an
effort to follow the MT, he often introduces changes based on the LXX or
other texts.

It is difficult to imagine that after W. Zimmerli's masterful work
(*Ezekiel*, Hermenia [Philadelphia, 1979-1983]) and that of M. Greenberg
(*Ezekiel 1-20*, AB [New York, 1983]), another commentary on Ezekiel
could break new ground. Brownlee has done just that. On most of the
basic issues he has something challenging to say.

According to Brownlee, the locale of the prophet is not Babylon or
Jerusalem but Gilgal, Ezekiel's home town. He argues that the term *gôlâ*
("exiles") is an editorial modification of the original *hagilgālâ* ("to/at
Gilgal"), near Jericho. The change was introduced possibly during the
time of Zerubbabel, when the book underwent a major revision. The

revision had the purpose of legitimizing the new temple by arguing that God did not reject Jerusalem as the site of the true temple. The editors locate the prophet in Babylon with the exiles, thus indicating that the Lord was purging the city only, with the intention of returning to it.

This suggestion is innovative. Had Brownlee been able to provide good textual evidence for the editorial change that he is suggesting, his case would have been more solid. On the other hand, his arguments on the major revision of the book after the exile are not too persuasive.

Brownlee's discussion on the background of the text is brief and clear. He believes that the major content of Ezekiel is from the prophet himself. He suggests that Ezekiel was an itinerant prophet who edited his own oracles, adapting them to new situations. One of his disciples edited 35:1-36:15 and possibly 4:4-6, 8, conflating differing oracles delivered by the prophet. Chaps. 40-48 are not from Ezekiel, except chaps. 40-43 and 46:19-47:12. The rest of those chapters contain divergent and even contradictory points of view on priestly and Levitical matters. Other sections were added to the book possibly during the time of Alexander (e.g., 38:1-39:16).

This long process of formulation, reformulation, and synthesis is carefully developed by Brownlee, using the tools of redaction criticism. His conclusions are quite different from Zimmerli's, who used the same method. Scholars have recognized that the extremely uniform style of Ezekiel makes it difficult to distinguish traditional material from secondary revisions (e.g., W. H. Schmidt. *Old Testament Introduction* [New York: Crossroad, 1984], p. 247). One wonders whether Greenberg's "holistic approach" to the book of Ezekiel is not more adequate than a dissecting approach that attempts to reconstruct the background of a well-unified document. Greenberg's close reading of the text has uncovered its aesthetic beauty as well as its literary unity.

Brownlee has discovered in Ezekiel a large amount of biographical information. He was able to do that by interpreting the command, "set your face toward . . . and prophesy," as a language of dispatch, used very often in Canaanite literature. The formula consists of a command to go somewhere to deliver a message from the Lord. The implication is that Ezekiel must have been an itinerant prophet. He traveled throughout Palestine delivering messages to different nations. Brownlee uses the dates found in the book to identify Ezekiel's travel itinerary. He went to Egypt on January 7, 587 B.C. (29:1). During the summer of that year he returned to Gilgal, where his wife had died. There he also received the news of the fall of Jerusalem. Under those pressures he had a stroke that paralyzed him for some time (4:5-7). Late in September or October 587 B.C., he went with other refugees to Transjordan (chap. 25), and to Phoenicia (chaps. 26-28). On February 13, 586 B.C., he visited Tyre (chap. 26). Sometime during 586 B.C. he was ordered to go back to Egypt (32:2). Thirteen years later (573 B.C.) he left Egypt and returned to Palestine, accompanied by a group

of Jewish exiles in Egypt (29:21). Brownlee considers Ezekiel's behavior to be "unusual" but not "abnormal."

Brownlee's interpretation of the dispatch formula is suggestive and worthy of further careful study. The question remains whether one should or can use it the way he does. Ezekiel's two visits to Egypt cannot be supported by the dispatch formula, because it is absent from chap. 32. It is quite possible that the formula itself may not require the physical presence of the prophet in the place where he is sent.

Brownlee's book is teeming with valuable insights. Anyone interested in a challenging approach to Ezekiel should read this commentary. It is unfortunate that he could not finish his task, but what he left behind is penetrating.

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Burgess, Stanley M., McGee, Gary B., and Alexander, Patrick H., eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988. xiv + 914 pp. $29.95.

In many ways the Pentecostal movement has been one of the most frustrating branches of Christianity to study. The difficulty arises not only from the youthfulness of the movement, but also from its diversity, complexity, and populist orientation. The problems involved in understanding Pentecostalism were greatly compounded in the 1960s with the rise of charismatic movements in the Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and a large number of Protestant churches.

Adding to the difficulties faced by students of Pentecostalism and the charismatic movement has been the lack of broad reference works in the field with adequate bibliographies. Zondervan Publishing House is to be congratulated for its *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements,* a volume that should accomplish much in alleviating the problems involved in studying twentieth-century "spirit-filled" movements by providing a starting place to research a wide spectrum of topics. For the first time both neophytes and experts have an encyclopedic resource that provides concise sketches and up-to-date bibliographies on a variety of topics and personalities in the field of Pentecostal-charismatic studies.

The *Dictionary,* claim its editors, "is intended not only to increase the self-understanding of those inside the Pentecostal and charismatic movements, but also to introduce to the broader religious community the inner life and thought of a twentieth-century religious phenomenon that has had a significant impact on Christianity worldwide" (p. vii). As a result, Burgess, McGee, and Alexander have sought to avoid defensiveness and

polemics. Their aim is a balanced overview of these complex movements and the diverse traditions behind them. The editors are to be commended for that open approach, even though their authors undoubtedly have met the ideal with varying degrees of success.

Contributors were selected from a broad base of classical Pentecostals, charismatics from a variety of denominations, and those who stand outside the Pentecostal-charismatic realm. While the list of contributors is impressive, one looks at it in vain for the names of such premier scholars in the field of Pentecostalism as Donald W. Dayton and Walter J. Hollenweger and such authorities on the holiness movement as Melvin E. Dieter.

The *Dictionary* emphasizes Pentecostalism and the charismatic movement in North America and Europe, since those areas are their homelands. While most Pentecostals and charismatics are presently found in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, the editors decided that the best way to come to grips with the movements' macrocosmic issues was to focus on their development in the cultures of their origin. Even though there is some validity in that perspective, the approach in general has a distorting effect on the treatment of movements that provide some of the most dynamic agencies for the spread of Christianity in much of the third world. This pragmatic deficiency could have been corrected somewhat by major summary articles on these related movements in their various geographical regions, but a reader does not find such coverage.

The selection and treatment of topics, as rightly expected, is heavily slanted toward Pentecostal and charismatic concerns. Thus articles on the books of the Bible, for example, focus on areas of special interest to spirit-filled movements. Many of the contributions are surprisingly long. There are 16 double-columned pages on the "Catholic Charismatic Renewal," 22 pages on "Healing Movements," and 35 pages in three related articles on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. These longer articles provide a depth and breadth that a reader often longs for in other dictionaries.

Biographical sketches form a major portion of the work. Readers have ready access to information on such leaders as Aimee Semple McPherson, Paul Yonggi Cho, Jimmy Swaggert, and a host of lesser-known individuals. The sketches are up to date, as is illustrated by such items as coverage of the recent difficulties of Swaggert and Jim Bakker. In spite of the helpfulness of the biographies, too much space may have been given to them and not enough to issues of substance. That is particularly true of figures of lesser importance. On the other hand, the very splintered state of the movements means that there are a large number of leaders of relatively insignificant groups. The editors undoubtedly faced genuine difficulties at this point, even though they chose to treat only those groups or denominations with at least 2,000 members. Perhaps a good cross-reference index of personalities and movements might have simplified the problem and allowed for fewer entries on relatively insignificant topics.

Despite what could have been done with infinite space, finances, wisdom, and foresight; Burgess, McGee, and Alexander are to be thanked and congratulated for what they have accomplished in a finite volume that covers a complex, diverse, and illusive field of study. Their *Dictionary* is a pioneering reference work that is a welcome contribution in a neglected area. It joins the ranks of essential reference tools for students of modern Christianity.

Andrews University　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Cassidy, Richard J. *Society and Politics in Acts of the Apostles*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987. 255 pp. Paperback, $9.95.

Society and Politics in Acts of the Apostles is a concise yet thought-provoking treatise in straightforward style and simple language. As is true of his first tome, *Jesus, Society and Politics*, this work is highlighted by Richard Cassidy's innovative "Allegiance Theory" and backed by logical and forceful arguments. The book purports to do away with the traditionally held theories that the Book of Acts was written out of apologetical (political or ecclesial) concerns—i.e., to present either the innocuousness of Christianity before Roman authorities, or the benevolence of the Roman government before the Christian world.

Recognizing the weakness in the apologetical approaches, Cassidy suggests his "Allegiance Theory" as an alternate and more plausible approach to the understanding of the purpose for the writing of Acts. According to this theory, Acts was originally addressed to the Christian community at large (Theophilus here is either a prospective or converted Christian) to strengthen their faith and confirm them in their witnessing of, and allegiance to, Jesus. Acts, according to Cassidy, was "to provide the Christians of his [Luke's] days with perspective and guidance regarding the trial witness of Christians before various political officals" (p. 159).

Cassidy divides his book into two logical parts. The first ten chapters build evidence which he hopes will disprove the apologetical approaches (against Conzelmann and Walaskay), and the last chapter presents his "Allegiance Theory."

In the first three chapters Cassidy associates Jesus' sociopolitical stance with that of the Jerusalem community. His purpose is to show that for the disciples (as in the case of Jesus) to place the sovereign will of God over any political power was indeed a matter of concern and threat to the Roman authorities. The objective of chaps. 4-8 is very similar. Cassidy highlights Paul's constant clashes with non-Roman opponents ("Jewish-law" Christians and "unbelieving" Jews) in order to make clear the need for Rome's intervention. Thus Cassidy wishes to show the threat that the disciples' "disruptive" behavior posed for the Romans. In chap. 8 the

author openly makes a more specific charge against the apologetical approaches by calling into question the view that seeks to picture the Romans as benefactors and protectors of Christianity. Attention is called to the unjust treatment Paul receives from Lysias, Felix, and Festus, who act out of selfish motives at times by wanting to turn Paul over to the Jewish authorities in order to gain their favor. Chaps. 9 and 10 are left for methodological considerations, while the last chapter concentrates on Cassidy's "Allegiance Theory."

In short, two things are evident throughout Cassidy's book: (1) notwithstanding the fact that Christians cannot be classified as zealots, their political (God as supreme King) and social (disapproval of oppression) stance may bring disruptive consequences which threaten the Romans (against political apologetics); (2) Roman procedures are not congenial to Christian concerns. Cognizant of Paul's innocence and regardless of the fact that charges have not been substantiated, they nevertheless kept him a Roman prisoner for more than two years (against ecclesial apologetics).

Admittedly, there are several loose caveats in the apologetical theories. Yet Cassidy's exegesis is not totally convincing. The author fails to make a clear distinction between the charges brought against the disciples and the Roman officals' assessment of the veracity of the charges. Indeed, circumstances and self-interest prevented some Roman officials from dealing justly with Paul. But again, this only underscores their guilt, it does not disparage their assessment of Paul's innocence. Cassidy also seems oblivious to certain preferential treatments Paul received from Roman officials. For example, the centurion's sparing of Paul at the shipwreck (Acts 27:42, 43), and Julius's humane treatment of Paul (Acts 27:3). Neither does Cassidy reckon with the fact that disturbances most often arose out of Jewish incitation and not out of the supposed threat Christianity posed to the Romans. As a matter of fact, Luke never portrays the Roman authorities as taking the initiative against Paul or the disciples—which could be expected of authorities feeling threatened by such a sociopolitical stance.

As regards methodology, two things should be said. First, Cassidy is to be commended for his innovative "Allegiance Theory." Starting from a redaction-criticism stance, he takes the text very seriously. Passages not accounted for by the apologetical approaches of Conzelmenn and Walaskay are taken into consideration. Otherwise unexplained trial and witnessing passages in Acts receive the plausible explanation that Luke intended Acts to be an instructional manual for Christian trial witnessing. Second, despite the well-organized nature of Cassidy's book, it is bewildering that methodological considerations are discussed as late as chap. 9, especially considering the fact that the book's fundamental thesis lies in a preceding volume (*Jesus, Society and Politics*).

All things considered, *Society and Politics in Acts of the Apostles* is a pioneering work, containing worthwhile insights which will undoubtedly promote stimulating discussion. Indeed, after reading this seminal work, it

will be difficult for anyone treating the subject not to come into direct or indirect dialogue with Cassidy.

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Craigie, Peter C. *The Old Testament: Its Background, Growth, and Content*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1986. 351 pp. $18.95.

Peter Craigie attempts throughout this work to present the views of both modern, mainline, historical-critical scholars and traditional, conservative scholars on OT literature. Thus one finds fair and concise descriptions of varying views on composition and date for each OT book. In this respect, *The Old Testament* is a work of great balance. Craigie often sees value in positions with which he may not agree, and he offers a level-headed critique of entrenched positions on both the liberal and conservative sides of scholarship.

The work is divided into five parts. Part 1 introduces the book and deals with "The Phenomenon of the Old Testament." It contains brief but informative discussions of the nature of the OT, the titles of its separate books, the canon and formation of the entire Hebrew Bible, its languages and chronological perspectives, the preservation of its texts, its place in contemporary religions, and its relationship to the humanities. In the latter two sections Craigie illustrates the pervasiveness of the OT's influence in modern secular society and thus demonstrates the need to understand the OT.

Craigie excels in part 2, "Background of the Old Testament Period," in which he describes the important civilizations of the ancient Near East that contribute to an understanding of Israel's culture and literature. In the first half Craigie places the summarized OT story in the context of historical developments in the great civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt. In a second subdivision he discusses the value and admitted limits of archaeology in enhancing our understanding of the OT.

Part 3, the longest portion of the book (150 pp.), deals with the individual OT books. Here, in conformity with his opening remarks on canonization, Craigie deals with the literature in its Hebrew canonical order.

Craigie describes the "Content of the Old Testament" in part 4 in chapters entitled "The History of Israel" and "The Religion and Faith of Israel." Here the reader is confronted with problems and perspectives in the study of Israel's history. Craigie recognizes that the historical narratives are written from a theological perspective, using (from the modern his-

torian's point of view) incomplete sources. Even given the differences in scholarly opinion on matters of authorship and date, Craigie strives to offer the modern scholarly consensus on Israelite history. This history is composed of the so-called "pre-historic" and "historic" periods. Genesis through Judges represents those OT narrative works belonging to the former period. Craigie admits that there is greater consensus regarding the history of Israel contained in the books in the second category.

Having laid this foundation, Craigie then discusses each of the main historical periods that gave rise either directly or indirectly to the content of the Hebrew canon: those of the patriarchs, the Exodus and Sinai, the settlement of Canaan, the united and divided monarchies, and the exile and restoration. Here Craigie's position is conservative, as expected, and well-informed.

In the second chapter of part 4 ("The Religion and Faith of Israel") the author acquaints his reader with the components of ancient Israelite cult, common religious beliefs and ideas, the prophetic contribution to the faith of ancient Israel, and the place of the Wisdom traditions. One will come away from this section feeling less estranged from the peculiar idioms of such Biblical formats as the classical prophetic books and the Psalter.

The "Epilogue" orients the student toward the modern study of the OT and includes a useful annotated bibliography of books for the study of OT literature, history, and culture. Besides the Scripture index, there is a general index keyed to biblical names and topics.

An example of Craigie's balanced approach may be seen in his treatment of the composition of Isaiah. He recognizes that there are reasonable grounds for the hypothesis of multiple authorship, such as differences in historical perspective and literary style (pp. 153-154). Conservative scholarship's attempt to maintain the unity of the book's authorship, Craigie admits, represents "a minority position within biblical scholarship as a whole" (p. 155). On the other hand, he also recognizes that the author or editor has done nothing to confirm the modern notion of multiple authorship. This fact suggests that Isaiah is to be read and comprehended as a unit.

Craigie has packed a tremendous amount of useful information for beginning and advanced students into a relatively small space. *The Old Testament* is helpfully illustrated throughout with maps, chronological charts, script figures, and museum photos. The book is intended primarily for undergraduates. Craigie's work should make the OT far more accessible to a wide audience of pastors and educated laity.

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Doukhan, Jacques. *Daniel: The Vision of the End.* Berrien Springs, MI:
    Andrews University Press, 1987. ix + 182 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

Jacques Doukhan's work on the book of Daniel reflects a good deal of
effort and investigation. Attempting both a scholarly and a "spiritual"
treatment of Daniel's "vision of the end," he probes into some of the
mysteries and marvels of this OT apocalypse with an eye on literary,
historical, prophetic, theological, and existential dimensions.

Doukhan organizes his writing with particular attention to four major
"visions" in the book of Daniel. Following a brief introduction in which
he lays out his understanding of the eschatological nature of the book and
his methodology, he distinguishes among visions of (1) judgment (Dan 2,
7-8, 9), (2) waiting (Dan 12, Rev 14), (3) war (Dan 11, Rev 16), and
(4) Michael (Dan 12). The first three visions form the backbone of his
concern and serve as the platform from which he launches into discussions
of history and eschatology, hope and despair, and the cosmic conflict
between God and the forces of darkness.

Chapter 1, dealing with a vision of judgment, draws together the past
and the present/future by means of a synthetic reading of the biblical
chapters which involve the statue, beasts, and judgment scenes and times.
In quite easy fashion, Doukhan links events and predictions from Daniel's
time by means of *Yom Kippur* terminology and symbolism to the final
epoch of the Christian era, climaxing in the *parousia.* Preceding this
conclusion to world history, a period of judgment occurs, in which, as on
the Day of Atonement, lines of distinction are drawn between those who
repent and the recalcitrant wicked.

Chapter 2 emphasizes the importance of patience while awaiting the
parousia by outlining and carefully detailing the time prophecies in Daniel
and showing exactly how each finds fulfillment in historical events through
modern times. Daniel 11 provides the starting point for chapter 3, which
concentrates on a vision of war. Here our author marks out a "spiritual"
interpretation of the conflict between the kings of the North and South
which demonstrates the nature of war and God's role in judgment.
Throughout, Doukhan is anxious to stress (and does so especially in the
final chapter) the central focus on "the end" in the book of Daniel and to
draw from that a sense of respect for judgment and responsibility, a feeling
of human dignity, and hope for the future. We are not told, however,
exactly how Daniel's ancient readers were to maintain hope in the face of
the more than 2,000 years yet to elapse.

Doukhan's 113 pages of text are followed by 37 pages of notes, 2 charts
chronicling sources for his understanding of the visions of the end, 18
pages of bibliography, and an 8-page subject index.

I would certainly commend Doukhan for taking on the challenge of
addressing the complexities of the book of Daniel. The difficulties of
interpreting that document are legion and legendary.

Especially helpful are the insights derived from Doukhan's sensitivity to the literary features and structures of Daniel. These too often have been neglected. A tremendous richness awaits our attention in this arena of investigation. And although apocalyptic literature does not typically yield its ordering principles easily, Doukhan has opened another window or two through which we might profitably catch a glimpse of what makes the book of Daniel tick on the literary level.

Unfortunately, a number of problems attend Doukhan's work. We meet them as we reflect on his purpose and audience, his presuppositions and theoretical underpinnings, his logic in argumentation, and portions of his hermeneutical stance.

Although Doukhan has made it clear that he wants to explore the structure and purpose of Daniel as a vision of the end (the end in our time), his goal blurs a bit because he nowhere identifies his intended audience. On the other hand, much of what he asserts assumes a fairly narrowly-defined interpretational scheme for Daniel which is conservative and denominationally idiosyncratic (e.g., the significance of the year 1844 and the doctrine of the Sabbath) and thus seems to be addressed to readers who share that perspective from the start. There is nothing inappropriate about that; everyone begins with *a priori* assumptions. However, the major sources that support Doukhan's assumptions are conspicuously absent from the bibliography (e.g., Uriah Smith and Ellen G. White). If he is appealing to those who share his assumptions, he will surprise them by failing to include the expected sources; instead, he lists scholarly works deriving from varying viewpoints. If he is attempting to convince those acquainted with the scholarly references, he will likely leave them wondering where he got his assumptions. This approach may frustrate both groups of readers.

Doukhan's presuppositions, which pop up unexpectedly to the uninformed reader, are part and parcel of his methodology and of his conclusions. And it is through this particular set of spectacles that he reads Daniel and interprets its contents. In the process, logical argumentation suffers at times as he stretches some points beyond normal limits and as he appears arbitrary and selective in some of his literary analyses. A close look at the flow of verses on the chart on pp. 4-5, the selected chapters and books on p. 61, and the artificiality of the central paragraph on p. 95 illustrate the latter criticism. Instances of the former include: the assessment of uses of the *Niphal* form of verbs in Dan 8 and 9, noted on pp. 36-37; the discussion of grace and law on p. 42; some of the comments on the kings of the North and South; and remarks about evolution and unity movements on p. 98.

On the question of interpretation, Doukhan moves quite freely among texts and testaments without always taking into account contexts and settings. In addition, ancient and modern, devotional and theological concerns seemingly coalesce. This approach runs the risk of becoming

hermeneutically disoriented. The exegetical controls which govern the investigation of any text need to remain intact for the sake of consistency and integrity.

In conclusion, while Doukhan's work has made some significant contributions to the study of Daniel, its greatest weaknesses lie in the realm of clearly stated presuppositions and a well-defined audience. As a result, *Daniel: Vision of the End* will definitely contribute new insights to those whose reading of the book of Daniel resembles that of Doukhan and to those who share his presuppositions. On the other hand, it might add to the mystery and marvel surrounding Daniel for those who do not.

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Gundry, Robert H. *Sōma in Biblical Theology: With Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987 (first published in 1976). 279 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

Robert Gundry's *Sōma in Biblical Theology* is a sustained attack against the holistic understanding of *sōma*, as set forth primarily by Bultmann in his *Theology of the New Testament.* Gundry notes that Bultmann's holistic definition of *sōma* has been so widely accepted that "virtually all recent handbooks, dictionaries and studies of Pauline theology take it for granted with little or no felt need for argumentative justification" (p. 5).

Gundry's thesis is that a holistic definition of *sōma* cannot be sustained by a careful scrutiny of the biblical material and that a soul and body, inner and outer duality better represents the understanding of the biblical writers. Gundry prefers to speak of duality rather than dualism or dichotomy, since "duality—just because it sounds like a hybrid of 'dual' and 'unity' and poses the possibility of a functional as well as ontological understanding—better expresses Paul's way of thinking" (p. 83). By anthropological duality Gundry does not wish to imply a metaphysical dualism, in which the body is evil, but rather to affirm that man is made up of two substances which belong together though they possess the capability of separation. "Man is body plus soul/spirit, united but divisible" (p. 109). Separability of the corporeal and the incorporeal in man does not suggest any inferiority on the part of the corporeal, because "the true man is the whole man—corporeal and incorporeal together, the incorporeal acting through the corporeal, each equally deficient without the other" (p. 84).

Gundry's unambiguous conclusion is that in this anthropological duality *sōma* always denotes the physical side of man only; it is never used to represent the whole person. For example, Gundry devotes 50 pages to a

thorough treatment of *sōma* in the Pauline writings and concludes that "Paul never uses *sōma* as a technical term for the whole person but always of man's physique" (p. 83), and that the "separability of the inner man from the body comes out unequivocally in 2 Cor 12:2, 3," as well as in other places (p. 146).

Whether or not one agrees with Gundry's conclusions, a reader cannot but be appreciative of his singular contribution, particularly in the final section of the book, in which he valiantly attacks Bultmann and challenges the entire existential interpretation.

There are, however, some weaknesses in Gundry's work. The most serious one is methodological. It is difficult to avoid the impression that Gundry has reached his conclusion before examining the evidence. He sets out to investigate the meaning of *sōma* in biblical and extrabiblical litera-ture; but as early as page 10, after a few introductory remarks, he speaks of "the normal meaning of *sōma*" (this and similar expressions are used repeatedly; see pp. 30, 32, 50, 84, and *passim*). It becomes evident later on that the evidence in some places is made to fit his thesis (see, e.g., his treatment of Rom 12:1 and 1 Cor 5:3-5). His conclusion that the use of *sōma* for the physical body is "consistent and exclusive" (p. 168) poses the issue in the extreme alternative of either/or between *sōma* as the whole person and *sōma* as the physical body alone. That conclusion leads Gundry to overlook some of the nuances of meaning that various contexts suggest. Different overtones in the biblical use of *sōma* indicate that a both/and, rather than an either/or, approach is preferable. Often the use of *sōma* seems to denote the whole person, with an emphasis on the physical side; but Gundry's methodology does not allow for that possibility.

Gundry's book is a well-researched, thoroughly documented work that covers an impressive amount of material. An otherwise excellent contribution to biblical scholarship, however, is limited somewhat by the author's unbending stance on the meaning of *sōma* and an anthropological duality that allows for the separability of the soul from the body, a position that flies in the face of much recent research (see, e.g., George E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* [Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI, 1974], p. 457).

Andrews University   ATILIO DUPERTUIS

Hutchison, William R. *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987. xii + 227 pp. $24.95.

"Missionaries and their sponsors," writes Harvard's William R. Hutch-ison, "have on the whole remained shadowy figures in narrations of religious and general history." The reason for their neglect, he postulates,

is that "their best-known objectives have seemed more than a little embarrassing" (p. 2). The missionaries, while expressing excellent motives, too often have had a demeaning attitude toward both the religions and the cultures of less developed peoples. As a result of these and other complexities they have often been treated distortedly in the form of either hagiography or negative stereotyping, but the general reaction in scholarly circles has been avoidance of the topic.

Errand to the World is an admirable attempt to fill a major gap in American religious and intellectual history. It is, as the subtitle suggests, not a history of missions, but a history of Protestant thought as it relates to foreign missions. Hutchison begins by sketching the earlier mission experience of Catholics in Asia and North America and of Protestant missions to the Indians in the colonial period. Subsequent chapters trace the exuberant millennialism of the early national period; the mid-nineteenth-century rejection, and later reassertion of the "civilizing" approach to missions; the early-twentieth-century struggle between liberals and fundamentalists over the nature and purpose of missions; and the challenges to Christian missions from cultural and religious pluralism in the twentieth century.

Building upon the theme of Perry Miller's *Errand into the Wilderness*, Hutchison captures the activist flavor of American mission theory—a theory that developed within the ideological framework of Winthrop's imagery of a city on a hill, a manifest destiny tied to biblical prophecy, and America's redemptive role in world history. That theme puts Hutchison's book in the line of such influential works as Ernest Lee Tuveson's *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role*. With such an ideological background in the culture at large, it is little wonder that North American mission theory led to an aggressiveness that put its missionaries at the forefront of the worldwide movement by the beginning of the twentieth century.

Such a millennial burden, of course, was evident in the nation's political and economic theories as well. As a result, it is hardly surprising that missionaries from the United States tended to confound their religious mission with what many of them believed to be a cultural mandate to civilize the world along American lines. Thus the most persistent dilemma of both the missionaries in the field and their theorists at home was whether to "civilize" or merely evangelize. It is that theme—civilization versus evangelization—that runs through the center of Hutchison's treatment of American mission thought. His exposition is informative to missiologists and students of American religious history, but it will also prove to be insightful to those interested in the broader aspects of American cultural development.

It is unfortunate that the bulk of Hutchison's book is devoted to the thought of missionary theorists rather than to the thinking of front-line practitioners. That problem, however, is probably unavoidable, since the back-home theorists are generally the ones with the most time and inclina-

tion to put their thoughts on paper. Future studies might provide an extension of Hutchison's findings by gleaning the thoughts of practicing missionaries from their diaries and correspondence. Such studies, of course, would of necessity be much narrower in geographical and chronological scope than is *Errand's* broad survey.

Thus Hutchison's work might best be seen as a seminal piece that should provide a jumping-off place for several future studies. As such, *Errand to the World* is an introduction to the topic of the history of American missiological theory that awaits fleshing out.

Hutchison's book is lucidly written, as was his *Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*. Like that previous work, *Errand to the World* is a much-needed contribution to our understanding of a neglected topic. Future work in reconstructing the development of American missions will not be able to avoid the findings of Hutchison's path-breaking work as researchers seek to push back the frontiers of a topic heretofore largely avoided by the scholarly community.

Andrews University   GEORGE R. KNIGHT

LaRondelle, Hans K. *Chariots of Salvation*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1987. 192 pp. $12.95/$8.95.

Chariots of Salvation is a refreshingly new approach to the long-discussed but little-understood question of Armageddon. Today, too many Christians are influenced by the unfortunate misunderstanding of eschatological events propounded by the notes of the New Scofield Reference Bible. Eyes are thereby turned to the present State of Israel, the valley of Megiddo, oil, and the great powers of the East and the West. This, unfortunately, detracts from the central theme of the Bible—the revelation of a God who so loves individuals that He made a plan of salvation to redeem those who were victims of the great controversy between Christ and Satan over the Law of God and who wished to be redeemed.

Hans LaRondelle analyzes "the hermeneutical principles of the New Testament" and applies "them to the 'holy wars' in biblical history and prophecy" while concentrating on "the final religious war in Biblical prophecy" (p. 11). The author soundly observes that "any interpretation of 'Armageddon' not centered in and determined by the God of Israel *and* His Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, turns Bible prophecy into soothsaying" (p. 12).

The book develops its theme thoroughly and well, using the sound principle of allowing the Bible to interpret itself within its own context. The author carefully contrasts the distorted and incorrect interpretation of dispensationalists (such as Scofield, Lindsell, Walvoord, and others, whose writings lead to wrong hopes, expectations, and conclusions because of their "geographic literalism that maintains that physical Jerusalem is still

the center of prophetic fulfillment" [p. 27]) with the correct understanding that must be based on "a Christ-centered interpretation of Old Testament promises" (p. 27).

Using the theme of "Holy Wars," the writer traces and interprets the holy wars of scripture and lays a solid base for his interpretation of the last "Holy War"—Armageddon. The interpretation is adequately founded and well done. The reviewer has a problem, however, with the "kings of the east," as presented by LaRondelle. While C. M. Maxwell problematically suggests that "Christ and God the Father" are the "kings from the east" (*God Cares*, vol. 2: *The Message of Revelation for You and Your Family* [Boise, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1985], p. 443), as LaRondelle observes (p. 119), it is equally problematic to suggest that the angels of heaven are kings. As far as I know, angels have never been called "kings" but are rather "ministering spirits." It would therefore be out of place to interpret the "kings from the east" as angels from heaven.

A preferable way to handle the question would surely be to ask, "Who in heaven are called 'kings'?" While the author makes some reference to this concept (p. 121), he, unfortunately, does not develop it sufficiently. It could be pointed out that Christ is called "King of kings" (Rev 19:16). The kings of this earth have given their allegiance to Satan. Then who are the kings who are still loyal to Christ and are with Him in heaven? The clue is possibly given in Rev 4-5, where the twenty-four elders, who were redeemed from this earth (possibly those Jesus took with Him when He ascended— Eph 4:8), are referred to as "kings and priests" (Rev 5:10). Here we have "kings" with Christ in heaven, and they will come with Him when all heaven returns for the final victory over Satan and his evil forces, and to welcome the redeemed.

With the term "the east," as used in prophecy, established by LaRondelle as "heaven," it can be understood, therefore, that (with the above suggestion) the "kings from the east" might refer to Christ leading the twenty-four elders at the second advent, all surrounded by the holy angels— the ministering spirits, God's army—as they return as a mighty legion for the Battle of Armageddon.

Chariots of Salvation has been long overdue. It is well written and should be read by every student of Bible prophecy.

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McGrath, Alister E. *The Mystery of the Cross*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988. 192 pp. $11.95.

Every so often I pick up a book that not only has an impact on my scholarly discipline, but has a profound influence on my life as a whole.

The Mystery of the Cross, by Alister McGrath, is such a book. A lecturer in Christian Doctrine and Ethics at Oxford University, McGrath sees the cross as a powerful critique of the way in which modern scholars approach the study of Christian faith.

The book is divided into two main parts. In the first part McGrath argues that the cross is the central reality of Christian faith. Christianity's uniqueness is not found in its teachings, such as the Sermon on the Mount, but in a symbol of death and despair. The second part of the book contains an attempt to explicate the meaning of the cross, with particular emphasis on its meaning for today.

McGrath argues for the centrality of the cross on a number of grounds: (1) The NT writers not only asserted that the cross is the central reality of the gospel (1 Cor 15:3, 4); they placed it at the climax of each of the four Gospels. (2) The cross is the one aspect of the Christian religion that is truly unique, thus providing Christianity with both its basic identity and its relevance to a questioning world. (3) The cross has always confronted those who seek to approach Christianity. Not only is the cross at the heart of the kerygma, but in baptism and the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the cross is continually brought home to the worshipping community. Therefore, according to McGrath, to be a Christian is to find the cross inescapable.

In the process of identifying the cross as the central reality of Christian faith, McGrath offers a scathing rebuke to biblical scholarship for its neglect of the cross. He mocks scholarship's supposed "objectivity" by invoking the searching criticisms of Gadamer and Polanyi, and by noting how scholarly pictures of Jesus end up looking like self-portraits of those drawing the pictures. He needles the hidden agendas of scholars who, from a desire for advancement, often present bizarre distortions of Christian faith in order to gain notoriety, the most dependable route to publication.

What is the meaning of the cross? Above all, suggests McGrath, it provides a unique picture of God, a God willing to submit to humiliation, powerlessness, abandonment, and death. But, McGrath maintains, it is just such a God who can provide the answers to the two critical questions of modern secular experience: How can I find God when all I experience is his absence? And how can I believe in God in a world of pain and suffering? To these questions the cross provides the only meaningful answers. The crisis of maintaining faith while experiencing the absence of God is not a modern invention; it was tasted by God at the cross. And the same God who produced an Easter out of an instrument of torture, can do the same in everyday experience. The cross also indicates that God Himself is willing to share in the pain and suffering of every individual, thus providing dignity and significance to what otherwise would be void of meaning. In the light of the cross, it is an illusion to assume that God intervenes to avert suffering in every crisis. Obedience does not lead to a primrose path where all thorns have been removed. Because of such

insights, McGrath believes that the cross is the chief point of contact between the Christian faith and the secular world.

For McGrath, the cross challenges the believer to reject the sugar-coated gospel of success for one that makes sense of life, death, and suffering as they really are. The cross challenges the church to reject secular models of exercising power so that it can conquer in weakness, as Christ did. The cross challenges the theologian to reject the discipline's increasing distance from the life and concerns of the church in favor of a theology that is oriented to the pastoral and missiological needs of practical, everyday Christian living.

As with any other book, it is possible to criticize *The Mystery of the Cross*. The book's format leads to considerable repetition of some of the main points. McGrath's writing style is at times opaque, and it is often difficult to follow the flow of thought. But even here the opacity is more due to the depth and richness of the thought than to any confusion or muddy thinking on the part of the author.

Many scholars will probably find McGrath's chiding of their discipline offensive, but much of what he says is right to the point. We can all stand a little honest criticism. And for the general reader, who struggles to find an absent god and to regain again a sense of belonging to eternal realities, this book is a gold mine of insight and an infusion of faith.

Andrews University   JON PAULIEN

Neusner, Jacob. *The Enchantments of Judaism: Rites of Transformation From Birth Through Death*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1987. xv + 224 pp. $15.95.

Jacob Neusner dons many hats in this work: as a liturgist, he reviews and comments upon the basic religious practices of contemporary Judaism; as a scholar of religion, he describes and analyzes the foundational myths that impel Judaic belief and action; as an interpreter of Judaism to the Gentile world, he shows how holiness and sanctification lie at the heart of the ordinary life of the Jewish people; and as a committed Jewish theologian, Neusner presents his life's work from a new perspective—a vision of the imaginative and creative power of Torah.

The bulk of Neusner's book falls logically into halves, parts one and three deal with ceremonies and rites for the individual, while part two covers the same topics for the group. The work reviews major events in the cycle of Jewish life, from birth (circumcision and naming), to adolescence (*Bar* or *Bat Mitzvah*), to adulthood (marriage), and finally to death (burial). At the same time, the author leads his readers through a separate, more public cycle of festival and holiday observances, including Sabbath, Pass-

over, and Days of Awe ("High Holidays"). He documents not only the rituals of communal observance, but also the nearly abysmal lack of attention to many of these rites.

By intertwining these separate cycles—the one entirely individual and gripping, the other wholly communal and jejune—Neusner weaves together the fabric of Judaism. What do Jews say and do on a day-to-day basis? How does Judaic practice orient their lives in sacred time and space? These basic questions receive ample attention in Neusner's discussion of the capability of the intellect to surmount reality and lead an entire community to an enchanted world.

The tone of these discussions is engaging, ranging from presentations of the details of a given rite to autobiographical anecdotes aimed at illustrating the power and impact of Judaism through an insightful and personal treatment of many of his topics (such as his feelings about his own wedding and its significance). Neusner moves far beyond discussions of the liturgy found in his *Way of Torah: An Introduction to Judaism* (4th ed., [Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1987]). After following Neusner through these entirely new discussions, the reader nonetheless wants more.

Neusner supplies that further discussion in the final portion of the book, which turns from the liturgy itself to the theology that underlies it. In the most challenging segment of his monograph, Neusner seeks to explain why "Judaism [is] intensely affective in the private life and remarkably irrelevant to the public" (p. 195).

The answer lies in two separate Judaic thought systems, one essentially religious and one ultimately political. The *religious* aspect of Judaism— "with its Adam and Eve, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, slaves in Egypt, Moses in Sinai, sanctification in the here and now and salvation at the end of time" (p. 196)—underlies the private and individual expressions of ,contemporary Judaism. But, according to Neusner, it is Judaism's *political* vision—"the destruction of the Jews in Europe, the creation of the State of Israel" (p. 197)—that seems to guide public life in Judaism. Is it any wonder, then, that synagogues usually sit empty on Sabbath, while Israeli Independence Day celebrations are always crowded? Neusner here reflects upon the basic insight of more than twenty years of essays on Zionism and the Holocaust, brought together in *Stranger at Home: "The Holocaust," Zionism, and American Judaism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1985). In *Enchantments,* Neusner succeeds in explaining the *outcome* of the irreconcilable tension between the "Judaism of Torah" and the "Judaism of Holocaust and Israel": contemporary Jewry lies fractured between two realms, a shattered competition between individual and collective consciousness.

Precisely because of the self-evidence of Neusner's claim (once he so clearly states it), the basic thesis challenges his readers: How can Judaism

be integrated? How can the best of a religious world view be used to cope with the destruction and triumphs of political reality?

In the end, Neusner urges contemporary Judaism to adopt (or better, to re-adopt) a new mode of expression. Jews should move beyond production of holy words to the use of various artistic media, Neusner claims, so as to best confront the difficult situation facing American Jewry. *"We are Jews through the power of our imaginations,"* writes the author. This book—a work of art in itself—shows just how powerful that imagination can be.

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = ʾ	ד = d	י = y	ס = s	ר = r
ב = b	ה = h	כ = k	ע = $ʿ$	שׁ = $ś$
ב = $\underline{b}$	ו = w	כ = $\underline{k}$	פ = p	שׁ = $š$
ג = g	ז = z	ל = l	פ = $\underline{p}$	ת = t
ג = $\underline{g}$	ח = h	מ = m	צ = $ṣ$	ת = $\underline{t}$
ד = d	ט = $ṭ$	נ = n	ק = q	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

- = a	ּ, ׃ (vocal shewa) = ^{e}		= $ō$
ֶ = $ā$	ְ, ֳ.. = $ê$	ּ = o
ֱ = ^{a}	. = i	ֹ = $ô$
ֵ = e	׳. = $î$	ֻ = u
ֵ = $ē$	ֵ = o	ֹ = $û$

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

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   Mennonite Quarterly Review
NAB   New American Bible
NASB   New American Standard Bible
NCB   New Century Bible
NEB   New English Bible
Neot   Neotestamentica
NHS   Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT New International Commentary, NT
NICOT New International Commentary, OT
NIV   New International Version
NKZ   Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift
NovT   Novum Testamentum
NPNF   Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers
NRT   Nouvelle revue théologique
NTA   New Testament Abstracts
NTS   New Testament Studies
NTTS   NT Tools and Studies
ODCC   Oxford Dict. of Christian Church
OIP   Oriental Institute Publications
OLZ   Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Or   Orientalia
OrChr Oriens Christianus
OTS   Oudtestamentische Studiën
PEFQS Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.
PEQ   Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PG   Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed.
PJ   Palästina-Jahrbuch
PL   Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.
PW   Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyl.
QDAP   Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.
RA   Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.
RAC   Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.
RArch Revue archéologique
RB   Revue biblique
RechBib Recherches bibliques
RechSR Recherches de science religieuse
REg   Revue d'égyptologie
RelS   Religious Studies
RelSoc Religion and Society
RelSRev Religious Studies Review

RenQ   Renaissance Quarterly
RevExp Review and Expositor
RevQ   Revue de Qumrân
RevScRel Revue des sciences religieuses
RevSém Revue sémitique
RHE   Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RHPR   Revue d'hist. et de philos. rel.
RHR   Revue de l'histoire des religions
RL   Religion in Life
RLA   Reallexikon der Assyriologie
RPTK   Realencykl. für prot. Th. u. Kirche
RR   Review of Religion
RRR   Review of Religious Research
RS   Religious Studies
RSPT   Revue des sc. phil. et théol.
RSV   Revised Standard Version   •
RTP   Revue de théol. et de phil.
SB   Sources bibliques
SBLDS   Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.
SBLMS   Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.
SBLSBS Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study
SBLTT   Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.
SBT   Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ   Sixteenth Century Journal
SCR   Studies in Comparative Religion
Sem   Semitica
SJT   Scottish Journal of Theology
SMRT   Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought
SOr   Studia Orientalia
SPB   Studia Postbiblica
SSS   Semitic Studies Series
ST   Studia Theologica
TAPS   Transactions of Am. Philos. Society
TD   Theology Digest
TDNT   Theol. Dict. of NT, Kittel and
        Friedrich, eds.
TDOT   Theol. Dict. of OT, Botterweck and
        Ringgren, eds.
TEH   Theologische Existenz Heute
TGl   Theologie und Glaube
THAT   Theol. Handwört. z. AT, Jenni and
        Westermann, eds.
TLZ   Theologische Literaturzeitung
TP   Theologie und Philosophie
TQ   Theologische Quartalschrift
Trad   Traditio
TRev   Theologische Revue
TRu   Theologische Rundschau
TS   Theological Studies
TT   Teologisk Tidsskrift
TToday Theology Today
TU   Texte und Untersuchungen
TZ   Theologische Zeitschrift
UBSGNT United Bible Societies Greek NT
UF   Ugarit-Forschungen
USQR   Union Seminary Quarterly Review
VC   Vigiliae Christianae
VT   Vetus Testamentum
VTSup   VT, Supplements
WA   Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe
WO   Die Welt des Orients
WTJ   Westminster Theol. Journal
WZKM   Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.
ZA   Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZÄS   Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache
ZAW   Zeitsch. für die alttes. Wiss.
ZDMG   Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl.
        Gesellschaft
ZDPV   Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.
ZEE   Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik
ZHT   Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie
ZKG   Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZKT   Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie
ZMR   Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und
        Religionswissenschaft
ZNW   Zeitsch. für die neutes. Wiss.
ZRGG   Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.
ZST   Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie
ZTK   Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche
ZWT   Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche
        Theologie