

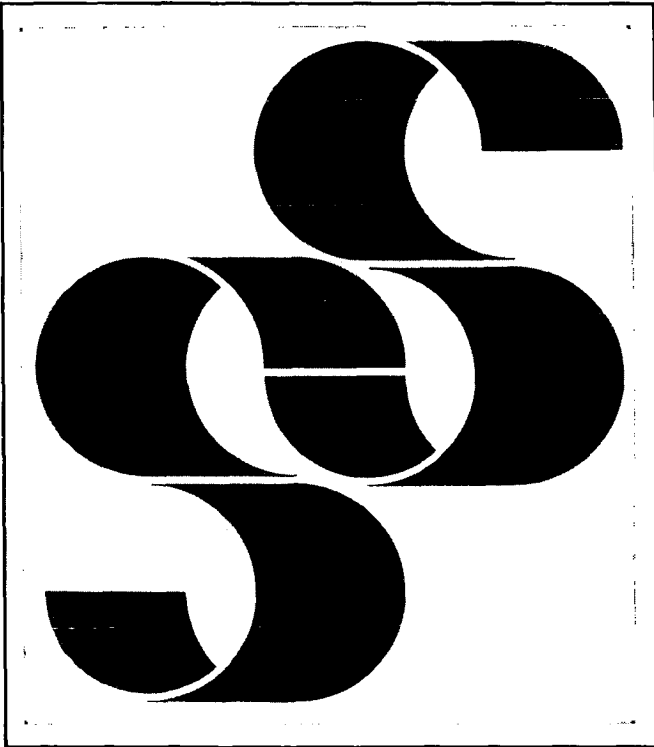
Andrews University
**SEMINARY
STUDIES**

COMPLIMENTARY COPY

Volume 29

Number 2

Summer 1991



Andrews University Press

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary
of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, U.S.A.

Editors: KENNETH A. STRAND, NANCY J. VHYMEISTER

Associate Editors: GERHARD F. HASEL, ROBERT M. JOHNSTON, JON PAULIEN,
LEONA G. RUNNING

Editorial Assistant: SALLY ANDRIAMIARISOA

Circulation Manager: SALLY ANDRIAMIARISOA

Editorial and Circulation Offices: AUSS, Seminary Hall, Andrews University,
Berrien Springs, MI 49104-1500, U.S.A.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES publishes papers and brief notes on the following subjects: Biblical linguistics and its cognates, Biblical theology, textual criticism, exegesis, Biblical archaeology and geography, ancient history, church history, systematic theology, philosophy of religion, ethics, history of religions, missiology, and special areas relating to practice of ministry and to religious education.

The opinions expressed in articles, brief notes, book reviews, etc., are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

Subscription Information: ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. The subscription rate for 1991 is as follows:

	U.S.A.	Foreign (in U.S.A. funds)
Regular Subscriber	\$13.50*	\$15.50*
Institutions (including Libraries)	16.50*	18.50*
Students	10.50*	12.00*
Retirees	10.50*	12.00*

(Price for Single Copy is \$6.00)

*NOTE: These are net rates for *prepaid* orders. A handling and service fee of \$1.50 will be added if orders are to be billed.

Subscribers should give full name and postal address when paying their subscriptions and should send notice of change of address at least five weeks before it is to take effect (old address as well as new address must be given). Send all communications to AUSS, Seminary Hall, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104, U.S.A.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 29

Summer 1991

Number 2

CONTENTS

A Note on *AUSS* Staff Changes 115

ARTICLES

MULLINS, TERENCE Y. Jesus, the "Son of David" 117

NEWPORT, KENNETH G. C. The Pharisees in Judaism
Prior to A.D. 70 127

STRAND, KENNETH A. Church Organization in First-
Century Rome: A New Look at the Basic Data 139

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

PFANDL, GERHARD. The Latter Days and the Time of the
End in the Book of Daniel 161

ROENNFELDT, RAY C. W. Clark H. Pinnock's Shift in His
Doctrine of Biblical Authority and Reliability: an Analy-
sis and Critique 163

BOOK REVIEWS 165

Allen, Diogenes. *Christian Belief in a Postmodern World:*
The Full Wealth of Conviction Fernando Canale

Bernal, Martin. *Cadmean Letters* James E. Miller

Clines, David J. A. *Job 1-20* Gordon Christo

Duke, Rodney K. *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler:*
A Rhetorical Analysis John W. Wright

Dyrness, William A. *Learning about Theology from the*
Third World Jon L. Dybdahl

Efird, James M. *A Grammar for New Testament Greek* Sakae Kubo

Hatch, Nathan O. <i>The Democratization of American Christianity</i>	George R. Knight
Lotz, David W., ed., with Shriver, Donald W., Jr., and Wilson, John F. <i>Altered Landscapes: Christianity in America</i> . . .	Gary Land
McArthur, Harvey K., and Johnston, Robert M. <i>They Also Taught in Parables: Rabbinic Parables from the First Centuries of the Christian Era</i>	Earle Hilgart
Neyrey, Jerome H. <i>Paul, In Other Words: A Cultural Reading of His Letters</i>	Herold Weiss
Owens, John Joseph. <i>Analytical Key to the Old Testament</i>	Jacques B. Doukhan
Rack, Henry D. <i>Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism</i>	Russell L. Staples
Oden, Thomas C., and Longden, Leicester R. <i>The Wesleyan Theological Heritage: Essays of Albert C. Outler</i>	Russell L. Staples
Robertson, O. Palmer. <i>The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah</i>	Gerhard F. Hasel
Stanton, Graham N. <i>The Gospels and Jesus</i>	Herold Weiss
Thompson, Leonard L. <i>The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire</i>	Kenneth A. Strand
BOOK NOTICES	191

* * * * *

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary
of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, U.S.A.

The articles in this journal are indexed, abstracted, or listed in: *Book Reviews of the Month*; *Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus*; *International Bibliography of the History of Religions*; *Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete*; *New Testament Abstracts*; *Old Testament Abstracts*; *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *Orient-Press*; *Recently Published Articles* (publication of the American Historical Association); *Religion Index One: Periodicals* (formerly *Index to Religious Periodical Literature*); *Religious and Theological Abstracts*; *Seventh-day Adventist Periodical Index*; *Subject Index to Periodical Literature—Mosher Library*; *Theologische Zeitschrift*; *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

A NOTE ON *AUSS* STAFF CHANGES

(by Kenneth A. Strand)

The masthead of this issue of *AUSS* (on the inside front cover) reveals some significant staff changes.

The Editorship

George R. Knight, who joined the *AUSS* staff as an associate editor in the Summer of 1985 and who became the journal's first full coeditor in January of 1988, has found it necessary to resign his *AUSS* duties in order to devote more time to his extensive teaching and writing activities. Our editorial staff and readership owe him a debt of gratitude for his excellent service. Though we shall miss him as a member of the *AUSS* editorial staff, we are pleased that he is still near by (his teaching office is next to my own!), and that his name will continue to appear in *AUSS* as a fairly frequent author of book reviews.

Nancy J. Vyhmeister became *AUSS* coeditor in March, filling the vacancy left by Knight. Her educational credentials and experience, including editorial and translation work, make her eminently qualified for this position. She holds a Master's degree in Religion (with emphasis on biblical languages) and a doctorate in Religious Education, plus having had considerable graduate work in Library Science. After a number of years of educational service in South America, she and her husband, Werner K. Vyhmeister, joined the Andrews University teaching staff, where during the 1970s and early 1980s she taught graduate-level research-methods courses, was adviser for the M.A. Program in Religion, served as a professor in the Department of World Mission, and held the post of Seminary librarian. In 1984 the Vyhmeisters took up duties at the SDA Theological Seminary, Far East, a postbaccalaureate-level theological institution in the Philippines (now a constituent school of the Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies)—he as the president and academic dean, and she as a teacher of research methods and biblical studies. Their return to the U.S.A. came in response to Werner's acceptance of the deanship of the Andrews University Theological Seminary, and she graciously accepted *AUSS* editorship as well as an appointment as Professor of World Mission and teaching assignments in research methods and Biblical Greek. We give Dr. Nancy Vyhmeister a most hearty welcome to editorship of *AUSS*.

Book-Review Editorship

For the past several years Dr. Knight has carried the *AUSS* book-review editorship in addition to his other editorial work. His service in this capacity

concludes with the present issue, whose book reviews he assigned and edited. Until such time as a special "Book-Review Editor" may be designated, Dr. Vyhmeister will care for our book-review section as well as having general editorial responsibilities.

Circulation Manager and Editorial Assistant

Edwin E. Reynolds, who during the past year has served *AUSS* in a dual role of Circulation Manager and Editorial Assistant, has found it necessary to resign these positions so as to be able to spend full time on his Ph.D. dissertation. We thank him for the excellent service he has rendered.

Sally Andriamiarisoa has accepted the two positions vacated by Reynolds. Before coming to Andrews University, where she is currently a Ph.D. student in the Theological Seminary, Mrs. Andriamiarisoa had considerable experience in editorial work for bilingual (French and English) periodicals, plus serving as a translator of articles from English into French. We extend to her a warm welcome.

JESUS, THE "SON OF DAVID"

TERENCE Y. MULLINS
Philadelphia, PA 19129

In 2 Sam 5:4-10 David's conquest of Jerusalem and his making it "the city of David" are described. The great taunt which his enemies, "the Jebusites, the natives of the land," hurled at him was, "You will not come in here, but the blind and the lame will ward you off" (5:6). David conquered the city (v. 7), after which he declared, "Whoever would smite the Jebusites, let him get up the water shaft to attack the lame and the blind, who are hated by David's soul" (v. 8). The comment is then added: "Therefore it is said, 'The blind and the lame shall not come into the house'" (v. 8).¹

This ancient series of taunts resounds as an almost unnoticed counterpoint to the "Son-of-David" motif in the Gospel of Matthew.

1. *Analysis of the Data in Matthew*

There are six occasions mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew wherein persons call Jesus "the Son of David." In each case the episode is associated with conflict between Jesus and the religious leaders of his day, and in each case there is also a reference to blindness. We will look at these six occasions briefly in the sequence in which they appear in Matthew.

Matthew 9:27-34

The first instance of this threefold conjunction of motifs is in 9:27, where two blind men call out to Jesus, "Have mercy on us, Son of David." If we assume that this title, "Son of David," was a messianic one—a matter which seems fairly well established now—any encounters with blind or lame persons could, in the light of 2 Sam 5:4-10, have a special significance. They could, in fact, even pose or provide a situation wherein the legitimacy of a person's claim to the title might be placed in question. Thus, when the two

¹Scripture quotations herein are from the RSV.

blind men applied the title “Son of David” to Jesus, those who witnessed the encounter may have understood it as being either a challenge to or an acknowledgment of, Jesus’ right to the title.

Jesus healed the blind men (Matt 9:29-30). This miracle of healing could, in turn, have been viewed by the blind men themselves and by onlookers as evidence that Jesus was indeed the Messiah. Furthermore, the statement that “they [the two blind men] went away and spread his fame through all that district” (v. 31) would indicate that they were speaking of him as the Messiah. Shortly thereafter, in the same locale (“as they were going away,” v. 32), and following a further healing—namely, that of a dumb man whom Jesus made able to speak (vv. 32-33)—the Pharisees derided Jesus’ success, attributing his power to “the prince of demons” (v. 34). In so doing, they were denying that he was the true Messiah.

Matthew 12:22-24

The second instance in Matthew of a confluence of the three motifs is in 12:22-24. In this case, a blind and dumb demoniac was brought to Jesus, and Jesus healed him so that he both spoke and saw (v. 22). At this point the people asked in amazement, “Can this be the Son of David?” (v. 23). But again the Pharisees sought to deny Jesus this title by declaring, “It is only by Beelzebul, the prince of demons, that this man casts out demons” (v. 24).

Matthew 15:22-31

The third time the title “Son of David” is used of Jesus in the First Gospel is 15:22. In the literary context Jesus had recently engaged in a debate with the Pharisees (15:1-11), and when his disciples pointed out that he had offended the Pharisees (v. 12), Jesus referred to the Pharisees as “blind guides,” indicating that “if a blind man leads a blind man, both will fall into a pit” (v. 14). Jesus then went into the region of Tyre and Sidon, where a Canaanite woman asked him to cure her daughter (vv. 21-22). Her words were: “Have mercy on me, O Lord, Son of David; my daughter is severely possessed by a demon” (v. 22).

Jesus healed the woman’s daughter (v. 28). Then he departed from there, and “passed along the Sea of Galilee” and “went up on the mountain,” where “great crowds came to him, bringing with them the lame, the maimed, the blind, the dumb, and many others”

(vv. 29-30). He healed these, with the result that the crowd "wondered" and "glorified the God of Israel" (vv. 30-31).

In this instance, the confluence of the three motifs is admittedly somewhat loose. Nevertheless, the episode containing the "Son of David" acclamation is juxtaposed with both a controversy scene wherein blindness is attributed to the Pharisees and with a subsequent healing which included the blind and lame (and dumb) among the unfortunates whom Jesus restored to health and normalcy.

Matthew 20:30-21:16

The fourth, fifth, and sixth times that the title "Son of David" is applied to Jesus in Matthew are connected, in that the references to this title (20:30; 21:9,15) occur during the same trip by Jesus. This was a trip in which Jesus traveled from Jericho to the temple in Jerusalem.

After leaving Jericho, Jesus encountered two blind men who called out repeatedly, "Have mercy on us, Son of David!" (20:30-31). Jesus healed them, and they "followed him" (v. 34). Then he continued on his way to Jerusalem, accompanied by shouts from the people, "Hosanna to the Son of David!" (21:9). Jesus entered the city and the temple, and he cleansed the temple (vv. 12-13). Then "the blind and the lame came to him in the temple, and he healed them" (v. 14). Conflict ensued "when the chief priests and the scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children crying out in the temple, 'Hosanna to the Son of David!'" (vv. 15-16). This is the climax of the Son-of-David controversy. In the city of David, Jesus had been acclaimed as the Son of David so widely by the people that even the children picked up the phrase.

Although Jesus had healed the blind and the lame in the temple, Jesus himself soon disavowed "Son of David" as an adequate messianic title (22:41-46). After that, this title is not again applied to Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew.

Assessment

It is now evident that in these passages where Matthew presents people as applying the title "Son of David" to Jesus, this motif clusters with two others: that of the blind/lame (recalling 2 Sam 5:4-10) and that of conflict with the religious authorities. As I have

pointed out elsewhere,² a regular combination of motifs gives them implications which the same motifs may not carry individually. This may very well be the case in regard to the combination of motifs that we are exploring here.

2. *Significance of the Three-motif Constellation*

Accounting for the Data

There are three basic ways to account for the constellation of the three motifs mentioned above:

1. The constellation could be original to Matthew, a distinctive literary expression which he created to convey his theological interpretation of events in the life of Jesus, or to explain who Jesus was.

2. At the other end of the spectrum, the constellation could represent the way things actually happened. The passage from 2 Samuel could have given rise to a popular expectation that anyone claiming to be the Son of David would have to endure confrontation with the lame and the blind in order to prove that claim. Blind and lame persons, then, would accost such claimants and demand to be cured; they might even be urged into doing so by persons who wanted to discredit the claimants. Jesus, so accosted, cured the blind persons; but his enemies tried to discredit the sign.

3. In between the two foregoing explanations is the possibility that the author of the First Gospel found the constellation in the material before him. This, of course, just moves back one step the question of how the pattern developed. In other words, did the pattern originate in that earlier source, or was it taken from still earlier material? Irrespective of this consideration, however, this option of Matthew's finding the constellation in material that he had before him could account for the appearance of the constellation in his Gospel.

Evaluation of the Possibilities

Several considerations must be given attention in any attempt to determine which among the three aforementioned possible explanations is the most likely one through which to account for the three-motif constellation in Matthew. Among such considerations the following would appear to be particularly important.

²Terence Y. Mullins, "Visit Talk in New Testament Letters," *CBQ* 35 (1973): 350-358, esp. 356-357.

In favor of the first hypothesis—i.e., that Matthew produced the constellation of the three motifs—is the fact that he uses the title "Son of David" in his own characterization of the Gospel as the "book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham" (Matt 1:1). This statement is followed by a genealogy which places special emphasis on the status of Abraham and David—even to the extent of adding a comment that "all the generations from Abraham to David were fourteen generations, and from David to the deportation to Babylon fourteen generations, and from the deportation to Babylon to the Christ fourteen generations" (v. 17). Thus, the title "Son of David" seems clearly to have had a special significance for Matthew.

In addition, there is the fact that the first instances in which persons call Jesus the Son of David in Matthew are unique to that Gospel. And still another point suggesting that the constellation may have originated with the author of the First Gospel is the fact that *every* account of the healing of a blind person in the Gospel of Matthew is set forth in close association with the use of the phrase "Son of David."

On the other hand, against the first hypothesis is the fact that not all of the uses of the title "Son of David" in Matthew are associated with the other two motifs. The contexts of the first two occurrences (1:1, 20) use the phrase without any accompanying reference to those motifs. The first occurrence seems obviously to represent an editorial use unattributable to any other source. The second applies the term to Joseph, not to Jesus.

Another reason for doubting that the author of the First Gospel created the constellation is the fact that this Gospel makes no overt reference to the account in 2 Sam 5. This is significant in view of Matthew's repeated reference to events as being fulfillments of OT Scripture; thus, about the only credible way to account for Matthew's absence of a reference to 2 Sam 5 in the passages where the three motifs appear is to conclude that this Gospel writer did not see such a connection. In other words, the counterpoint was already orchestrated before the author of the First Gospel wrote that Gospel.

Further Relevant Considerations

In our attempt to account for the three-motif constellation in the Gospel of Matthew, a further point to consider is the fact that both Mark and Luke have parallels to the healing incidents in Matthew and that both use the phrase "Son of David." It would, of

course, be difficult to argue that Matthew originated the three-motif constellation if an example of it can be found in one of his sources. As for the other synoptic Gospels, this constellation is not, however, really present in Mark, much less in Luke.

In Matthew 20, as Jesus goes out of Jericho, he is addressed as "Son of David" by two blind men. Since he is on his way to Jerusalem, there is continuity here with his entrance into Jerusalem and his being hailed there as "Son of David," his healing of the blind and the lame, and his conflict with the chief priests and scribes. In this entire section of Matthew the title "Son of David" occurs four times (20:30-31; 21:9,15), there are two encounters with the blind (20:30; 21:14), and there are two instances of conflict with religious authorities (21:12,15). Thus, the three motifs are manifestly present.

In Mark, on the other hand, there is no use of the title "Son of David" in connection with Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, and there is no reference to his healing of the blind and the lame. In addition, there is a clear break in Mark's narrative between 11:11 and 11:12, so that the conflicts with religious authorities at 11:15 and 11:27-33 are not indicated as being a part or follow-through of the Bartimaeus incident. In that incident there is indeed a connection between the use of the title "Son of David" and the healing of the blind beggar; but the third motif, that of conflict with religious authorities, is not indicated as being a part of that event or in close conjunction with it.³

3. *Interpretation of the Data*

There are three aspects of the data which require interpretation: (1) the relationship of the three-motif constellation to the use of the title "Son of David" in Matt 1, (2) the general function of this

³It is often assumed that the author of the First Gospel changed the Bartimaeus story which he found in Mark, dropping the name and speaking of two blind men. (See, e.g., Sherman E. Johnson's treatment in *IB* 7:498.) Yet, the case for literary dependence here is weak. The account of the healing of the blind men in Matthew has 79 words, with only 21 identical with words in Mark, and even six of these are trivial: *ti, autō, hina, kai, kai, autō* (Matt 20:32b-34 and Mark 10:51b-52). Only one phrase is significant enough to suggest strongly any literary dependence: *kai stas ho Iēsous* (Matt 20:32 and Mark 10:49). In my view, the author of the First Gospel doubtless had Mark before him, but he seems also to have had another source which he followed here rather than Mark. Indeed, he probably followed that source throughout the section 21:11-19 as well.

constellation in Matthew, and (3) the relation of the strong emphasis on "Son of David" in Matthew to the passage in which Jesus indicates that the Messiah is not the son of David (Matt 22:41-46). The following observations may be made:

1. If I am correct in concluding that the absence of an explicit reference to 2 Sam 5:4-10 and the two uses of "Son of David" in Matt 1 without association with blindness are indications that the author of the First Gospel probably did not see a special importance in references to blindness in conjunction with the "Son-of-David" title, then his reason for taking over this two-motif combination undoubtedly related to the popular use of "Son of David" as a messianic title. He used such incidents as he found them, relating them fairly intact. This would agree with his use of both "Son of David" and "Son of Abraham" in his opening sentence. "Son of David" would assert Jesus' lordship over the Jews, and "Son of Abraham" would assert Jesus' lordship over the non-Jews, the nations to whom Abraham was to be a blessing.

2. The function of the three-motif constellation in Matthew is complicated by the author's taking over a two-motif combination ("Son of David" and blindness/lameness) and uniting it with a third motif (conflict with religious authorities). The two-motif combination may already have had a function which does not appear in its use in Matthew. Nevertheless, when used in conjunction with the motif of conflict with religious authorities, the two-motif combination serves to indicate popular affirmation of Jesus as Messiah in contrast to the rejection of that popular claim by the Jewish religious authorities.

Since Matthew, in my view, probably found the "Son-of-David" and the blindness motifs already combined in at least two sources available to him (Mark being one of them), that combination must have been an early one, possibly preliterate. The joining of this two-motif combination with the third motif, however, appears only in Matthew. The conjunction seems somewhat strained in that at no point do the religious authorities speak specifically to the blindness theme. In the pericope of the blind and dumb demoniac, the authorities dismiss Jesus as an exorcist whose power comes from evil sources (12:22-24). This is the sort of reply given also in indicating Jesus' conflict with the authorities in the healing of a "dumb demoniac" (9:32-34), an incident recorded in immediate conjunction with the first "Son-of-David"/blindness healing (vv. 27-31).

In all of the references wherein the three-motif constellation occurs in Matthew, the opposition to Jesus is on a forensic level. The enthusiasm for Jesus is likewise reasonable and lacking in any sort of fanaticism. Moreover, the constellation does not function in Matthew to set the stage for martyrdom, but to indicate popular support for a religio-political cause and the official resistance given to it.

3. Despite minor differences, all three synoptic Gospels make the same point on the question of the relation of the Messiah to David. The point that then comes as a climax and surprises us is that in reality the Messiah is not properly called "Son of David" because he is David's Lord. This is, of course, one aspect of a general insistence in the NT that Christ is superior to OT figures. The extent, diversity, and vigor of this emphasis make it a distinctive NT motif and one worth documenting here somewhat at length.

In Paul and John there is the superiority of Christ to Moses (2 Cor 3:7-14; John 1:17; 6:33; cf. also Acts 13:38-39 and Heb 3:3). Matthew and Luke record the superiority of Christ to Solomon (Matt 12:42; Luke 11:31), and they also record the superiority of Christ to Jonah (Matt 12:41 and Luke 11:32). John records the superiority of Christ to Abraham (John 8:33-58; cf. also Heb 6:19-7:8). All the synoptic Gospels record the teaching that Christ is superior to David (Matt 22:43-45; Mark 12:37; Luke 20:41-44; cf. also Acts 2:22-36; 13:36-37), and a related theme appears in Matt 12:6.

The synoptic account of Christ's being David's lord finds all three Gospels in accord on the general thrust and the important specific components of the pericope. The specific components are: (1) Jesus is called the Son of David, (2) David in the Psalm (101:1) says that Christ is his lord, and (3) this indicates that the Christ is not merely the Son of David. The general thrust is that Jesus does not accept "Son of David" as adequately describing the Christ.

For interpreting Mark and Luke this does not present any great problem. It does present a problem for interpreting Matthew. Although it is true that in Matthew Jesus never applies the term "Son of David" to himself and that likewise his disciples never apply it to him, nevertheless the author of the First Gospel uses the appellation "Son of David" to describe Jesus (1:1) and emphasizes its popular use. The term is therefore obviously important to him.

All of this would lead us to expect that the account in Matt 22:41-46 would therefore have toned down the general thrust of the story and might even have sought to diminish its importance in the

Holy-Week narrative. But when we compare this episode in Matthew with the same episode in Mark and Luke, however, we find the opposite to be the case. Indeed, in Matthew the issue is placed in a more formal setting than in Mark and Luke, and the steps of literary progression are clearer and better defined. The First Gospel gives a clear and distinct structure to the episode:

Setting—	22:41
The question at issue—	22:42a
The answer—	22:42b
Evaluation of the answer—	22:43-45
Conclusion—	22:46

This is an evaluation form, and it is not unique, of course, to Matthew, for it appears in Mark and Luke as well.⁴ Its function is to highlight theological conflict, especially key moments of theological development, and is essentially a Socratic type of device that moves from a generally accepted position to a more profound understanding.⁵ This episode is, therefore, given special attention and special importance in Matthew.

The effect of the careful development of the "Son-of-David" motif up to this point in Matthew and its dramatic deflating here serves to establish and emphasize the fact that Jesus did not permit anyone to define for him the nature of his claims. It is clear in Matthew that Jesus had a genealogical claim to the title "Son of David"; it is clear that he passed the tests of his spiritual claim to the title; it is clear that he was popularly acclaimed as the "Son of David." In short, it is clear by this point in Matthew that Jesus had the credentials which qualified him to be called the "Son of David." And it is at just this point that he rejected the title as constituting an inadequate description of his claims.

From here on in Matthew, the point of the conflict is no longer between a popular concept and the rabbinic interpretation of its fulfillment. Rather, from this juncture onward the conflict centers on Jesus' own personal claims and his enemies' determination to destroy those claims.

⁴See the excursus at the end of this article for two examples involving material included in all three Synoptics.

⁵It may also be considered as an example of *qal w^ahomer*, a rabbinic interpretational rule attributed to Hillel.

EXCURSUS
TWO EXAMPLES OF THE EVALUATION FORM

1. The Confession at Caesarea Philippi

Element of the Form	Matthew	Mark	Luke
Setting	16:13a	8:27a	9:18a
Question	16:13b	8:27b	9:18b
Answer	16:14	8:28	9:19
Evaluation	16:15-16	8:29	9:20
Conclusion	16:17-20	8:30	9:21-22

2. The Debate over Authority

Setting	21:23-24	11:27-29	20:1-3
Question	21:25a	11:30	20:4
Answer	(21:25b)	(11:31a)	(20:5a)
	(21:26a)	(11:32a)	(20:6a)
Evaluation	(21:25c)	(11:31b)	(20:5b)
	(21:26b)	(11:32b)	(20:6b)
Conclusion	21:27	11:33	20:7-8

THE PHARISEES IN JUDAISM PRIOR TO A.D. 70

KENNETH G. C. NEWPORT
Hong Kong Adventist College
Clear Water Bay Road
Kowloon, Hong Kong

1. *Introduction*

In a previous note I looked at the phrase “the seat of Moses” in Matt 23:2 and concluded (with David Hill) that the reference is to an actual stone seat upon which these Jewish leaders sat in the synagogue.¹ In the present article I wish to explore this question further by looking at the role exercised by the Pharisees in pre-A.D.-70 Judaism. This study, then, is linked to the earlier one: Here I seek to demonstrate that such an understanding of Matt 23:2—namely, that the Pharisees really did sit upon a literal “seat of Moses” and that they were held by the common people to be authoritative in matters of the law—is plausible in the context of what we know about the role of the Pharisees in Judaism prior to A.D. 70.

This question that I am raising is far from an idle one. It is imperative that NT scholarship understand the historical context in which the NT writings were written; and since the Pharisees are mentioned no fewer than sixty-seven times in the four gospels, the importance of having a clear conception of precisely who they were and what they did is evident. This matter is of particular importance when one seeks to understand Matt 23. Here the Pharisees come under significant attack; and yet, some scholars argue, the portrait of the Pharisees presented in this chapter is not historically plausible. In short, the suggestion is that the description of the Pharisees in Matt 23 is not valid for the period prior to A.D. 70, but that it belongs to Matthew’s own time of writing, subsequent to that date. For this and a variety of other reasons, NT scholarship has concluded that Matt 23 must have arisen in a post-A.D.-70 *Sitz im Leben*.

In the present study I seek to show, on the other hand, that the portrait of the Pharisees in Matt 23 is historically plausible. I do not,

¹Kenneth G. C. Newport, “A Note on The ‘Seat of Moses’ (Matthew 23:2),” *AUSS* 28 (1990): 53-58.

however, wish to be misunderstood in this respect. Matt 23 intentionally presents only the worst side of the Pharisees, the passage being clearly polemical in tone. For a more complete picture, this account must be supplemented and balanced with what we know about the Pharisees from other sources.

The spirituality of the Pharisees is not, however, the topic of this present study. Rather what I wish to show here is simply that despite scholarly protests to the contrary, the Pharisees really did "sit upon the seat of Moses" in pre-A.D.-70 Judaism and that they indeed had enough popular support to enable them to advise a would-be convert against joining the new Jewish sect of the Nazarenes (Matt 23:13).² Also, they were sufficiently respected by the people to be greeted and called "rabbi" in the market place (v. 7), and were able to gain the best seats in the synagogue by virtue of the high esteem in which they were held by the common people (v. 6).³

In short, it is my contention that prior to A.D. 70 the Pharisees were the kind of real historical opponents depicted in Matt 23. They were not simply anachronistic representatives of a later "synagogue across the street" at the time when Matthew's Gospel was written.⁴

2. *The Pharisees in Pre-A.D.-70 Judaism*

Let us look, then, at the role of the Pharisees in Judaism prior to A.D. 70. This is not an easy topic, for although scholars are generally agreed on the question of the role of the Pharisees in Judaism after the destruction of the Temple, their earlier situation is far less clear. This lack of clarity is caused primarily by the ambi-

²Such seems to be the best interpretation of this verse, according to which the Pharisees do not enter the kingdom themselves and prevent others from doing so. What does this mean? Probably that the Pharisees did not join the nascent Christian church and that they even prevented others from doing so by giving advice against joining the new group.

³On the question of whether "rabbi" was used as a title in Judaism in the period prior to A.D. 70, see especially Hershel Shanks, "Is the Title 'Rabbi' Anachronistic in the Gospels?", *JQR* 53 (1962-63): 337-345; idem, "Origins of the Title 'Rabbi,'" *JQR* 59 (1968): 152-157; Solomon Zeitlin, "A Reply," *JQR* 53 (1962-63): 345-349; idem, "The Title Rabbi in the Gospels is Anachronistic," *JQR* 59 (1968): 158-160. Note also Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, AB, vols. 29 and 29A (Garden City, NY, 1966-1970), 1:74.

⁴Cf. Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, 1968), xi.

guity relating to the documents that provide the evidence. The Mishnah was compiled ca. 200, and consequently there is always the nagging doubt that a particular saying attributed in it to a rabbi who lived before A.D. 70 has not been correctly attributed. The problem intensifies as we come further down the stream of time, so that the Tosephta and Talmuds can be used with only very extreme caution as sources of evidence for the situation prior to A.D. 70.

Furthermore, many NT scholars feel that the NT records cannot be relied upon for data regarding the Pharisees; for after all, so the argument runs, the Pharisees and the early Christian church came into conflict and thus the NT writers, being Christians, fell far short in giving us a fair picture of what the Pharisees were really like. For many scholars, therefore, there is ambiguity because of their own presuppositions and biases regarding the NT documents, as well as by virtue of the lateness of the pertinent Jewish sources.

The ambiguity has led, of course, to considerable disagreement among researchers. The extent or range of such disagreement can be seen, for instance, when one compares the work of such noted historians of Judaism as Jacob Neusner⁵ and Ellis Rivkin.⁶

Briefly, Neusner argues that the Pharisees formed an exclusivist sect which was concerned primarily with matters of ritual purity. As such, they had very little to do with the common Jew in the street. The main focus of the religious life of the Pharisees was, according to Neusner, the maintenance of ritual purity—an assessment in which Neusner has the support of quite a number of scholars.⁷

Rivkin, on the other hand, has come to entirely different conclusions. According to him, the Pharisees were very much a people's party, a group whose main concern was with the teaching and

⁵Jacob Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70*, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1971).

⁶Ellis Rivkin, "Defining the Pharisees: The Tannaitic Sources," *HUCA* 40-41 (1969-1971): 205-249; idem, *A Hidden Revolution* (Nashville, TN, 1978); idem, "Scribes, Pharisees, Lawyers, Hypocrites: A Study in Synonymity," *HUCA* 49 (1978): 135-142.

⁷See, e.g., Marcel Simon, *Jewish Sects at the Time of Jesus*, trans. James H. Farley (Philadelphia, 1967), 27-43; Louis Finkelstein, *The Pharisees: The Sociological Background of Their Faith*, 3d ed. (Philadelphia, 1962), 1:75-76; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, trans. and ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, Matthew Black, and Martin Goodman, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1973-1987), 2:381-403.

exposition of the law. They were not separatistic; rather, they played a full and leading role in Jewish political and religious life.⁸

We will now examine the question of the role of the Pharisees before A.D. 70 by looking at the sources which seem to be potentially of the most use, namely the writings of Josephus, the letters of Paul, and the four Gospels.

3. *Information from Josephus*

The evidence from Josephus concerning the identity of the Pharisees and the role that they played in Judaism is fairly clear: For him the Pharisees were, and long had been, a major force in Jewish society. They had influence with "the people" and with political leaders, and were the leading (or perhaps "earliest") "sect" of his day.⁹ In his words as set forth in his *Jewish War*, "Of the two first-named schools [Sadducees and Pharisees], the Pharisees . . . are considered the most accurate interpreters of the laws, and hold the position of the leading [or earliest] sect, [and] attribute everything to Fate and to God."¹⁰

The importance of this statement is clear, for here Josephus states unequivocally that by the time of the writing of the *War* (ca. A.D. 74) the Pharisees held a position of some authority among the Jewish people. They were not only the "leading sect" (or perhaps the earliest), but were also considered to be experts in legal matters.

This statement by Josephus does not stand alone, however, for frequently he indicates or implies in his writings that the Pharisees were influential among the common people and that they played an important role in political events. According to him, such had been the case since early times. In fact, the Pharisees were one of the three

⁸The central thrust of Rivkin's arguments has been most recently endorsed by E. P. Sanders, who argues similarly that Neusner's description of the Pharisees as a purity sect does not reflect the evidence (see Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* [London, Eng., 1990], especially pp. 166-184).

⁹The Greek word used is *prōtos*, which may have either meaning. See William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 2d ed., rev. F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker (Chicago, 1979), 725-726; G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), 1201.

¹⁰*Jewish War* 2.162. Translations of Josephus are from LCL.

sects that Josephus has listed as being in existence at the time of the high priest Jonathan, ca. 150 B.C., and more importantly they played an important role during the rule of John Hyrcanus, ca. 134-104 B.C. Josephus tells, for example, of a split which occurred between the Pharisees and Hyrcanus. The importance of Josephus' account of this split is not so much the fact of the occurrence itself as it is the fact that since there was such a split, there must formerly have been unity. And indeed Josephus says as much in his account:

As for Hyrcanus, the envy of the Jews was aroused against him by his own successes and those of his sons; particularly hostile to him were the Pharisees, who are one of the Jewish schools, as we have related above. And so great is their influence with the masses that even when they speak against a king or high priest, they immediately gain credence. Hyrcanus too was a disciple of theirs, and was greatly loved by them. And once he invited them to a feast and entertained them hospitably, . . . ¹¹

The state of affairs thus described was not to last, however, for at that feast a certain Eleazer made a slanderous remark against Hyrcanus, throwing doubt upon his legitimacy and calling for his resignation as high priest. The other Pharisees rejected the claims of Eleazer, and did not side with him against Hyrcanus. This was not sufficient, however, for one of Hyrcanus' other close friends, a Sadducee named Jonathan, who called for the death of the slanderer. On this matter the Pharisees did not agree, but advised rather that the man should be whipped and chained. Hyrcanus grew angry, for he did not consider this lighter punishment to be severe enough; and consequently he began to suspect that the Pharisees were in sympathy with the rebel spokesman. The inevitable result was the split and animosity to which Josephus alludes.¹²

According to Josephus, therefore, the Pharisees lost the royal favor which they had formerly enjoyed; but they did not, it seems, lose the support of the people. This is evidenced by the important role they played just a few years later in the rebellion against Alexander Jannaeus (ca. 104-78 B.C.). As Rivkin points out,¹³ the extent of this role is brought out by Josephus in his account of the

¹¹*Ant.* 13.288-289.

¹²For the full account see *Ant.* 13.288-296.

¹³Rivkin, *Revolution*, 43-44.

advice that Alexander gave from his deathbed to his wife, Salome Alexandra:

And when the queen saw that he [Alexander] was on the point of death and no longer held to any hope of recovery, she wept and beat her breast, lamenting the bereavement that was about to befall her and her children, and said to him, "To whom are you thus leaving me and your children, who are in need of help from others, especially when you know how hostile the nation feels towards you!" Thereupon he advised her to follow his suggestions for keeping the throne secure for herself and her children and to conceal his death from the soldiers until she had captured the fortress. And then, he said, on her return to Jerusalem as from a splendid victory, she should yield a certain amount of power to the Pharisees, for if they praised her in return for this sign of regard, they would dispose the nation favorably toward her. These men, he assured her, had so much influence with their fellow-Jews that they could injure those whom they hated and help those to whom they were friendly; for they had the complete confidence of the masses when they spoke harshly of any person, even when they did so out of envy; and he himself, he added, had come into conflict with the nation because these men had been badly treated by him.¹⁴

This passage has been quoted at length because it clearly reveals that the Pharisees were influential among the people in the Second-Temple period. In fact, relating to the year 78 B.C., it depicts a time that antedates A.D. 70 by nearly a century and a half. Moreover, it should be noted that the passage is not entirely sympathetic towards the Pharisees, as may be inferred from the indication that they spoke "harshly" "out of envy," not as a result of their justifiable dislike of an individual who had crucified 800 of their number somewhere in the region.¹⁵ This statement is no sycophantic gush churned out by a Pharisaic sympathizer. Consequently, its testimony to the favor which the Pharisees had among the masses is to be taken seriously as a reliable historical account.

In summary, it would thus appear that, according to the foregoing statements from Josephus, the Pharisees had significant influ-

¹⁴*Ant.* 13.399-402. The full deathbed speech continues to 13.404. Alexandra's subsequent support of the Pharisees is described in 13.405-415.

¹⁵For an account of this extremely gruesome event, see *Ant.* 13.380. See also Schürer, 1:224.

ence well before A.D. 70. Further references could be cited,¹⁶ but this is perhaps unnecessary inasmuch as the main conclusions are already clear: (1) According to Josephus the Pharisees were an influential and respected group among the Jews of his own day. (2) He had information, as well, to suggest that this popularity was not a new development. (3) Moreover, he notes that the Pharisees were especially known for their skill in interpreting the law and for transmitting unwritten traditions and laws which they had inherited from their forebears.

In short, the picture which Josephus gives is not that of a group of super-pious individuals who kept themselves aloof from the *ḥāḥārēš*. Rather, they were a scholar class who associated freely with the people and who actively engaged in all aspects of Jewish life.

This view is, of course, fundamentally different from that proposed by Neusner. As we have seen, Neusner's contention is that the Pharisees were a group of separatists who were strongly devoted to ritual purity and who consequently would have little to do with the common Jew. Neusner's work on the Pharisees suffers from its serious defect in not allowing sufficiently for the evidence from Josephus. On this point he has been criticized by E. P. Sanders,¹⁷ who correctly notes that Neusner's suggestion that the Pharisees played no role in politics after about 50 B.C. is contradicted by several passages from both the *War* and *Antiquities*. The evidence we have adduced above indicates Sanders' criticisms to be sound.

Rivkin has perhaps fallen afoul of the opposite snare by giving the material in Josephus too much weight. However, his assessment

¹⁶E.g., in his *Life* he tells of a certain Simon, "a native of Jerusalem, of a very illustrious family, and of the sect of the Pharisees, who have the reputation of being unrivalled experts in their country's laws" (191). And in *Antiquities*, he makes several pertinent references, such as 13.298 and 18.17. In connection with the latter reference we read: "The Pharisees simplify their standard of living, making no concession to luxury. They follow the guidance of that which their doctrine has selected and transmitted as good, attaching the chief importance to the observance of those commandments which it has seen fit to dictate to them. . . . They are, as a matter of fact, extremely influential among the townsfolk; and all prayers and sacred rites of divine worship are performed according to their exposition" (18.12-15). The passages in *Ant.* were probably written in the early 90s A.D. and may on that account be discounted as solid evidence of the situation before A.D. 70. What is to be noted, however, is their agreement with the statement from *Jewish War* 2.162 (quoted above), which antedates the *Antiquities* by almost two decades.

¹⁷E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia, 1985), 188, and 388-389, n. 59.

of passages such as those cited above, even if slightly credulous, strengthens his case considerably. For Rivkin, the Pharisees were, as we have seen, a scholar class primarily concerned with the study of the Torah, but which held a position of importance among the common Jews. Moreover, Sanders has noted that Josephus' silence on such matters as the Pharisees' supposed obsession with ritual purity lends support to the view that purity was not something with which the Pharisees were overly concerned.¹⁸

4. *The New Testament Data*

Josephus' description of the Pharisees is not contradicted in the NT. Not surprisingly, the NT says very little on the political role of the Pharisees, but it does refer rather explicitly to matters of their beliefs and popular appeal, and in this it agrees with Josephus.

In the NT the Pharisees are regularly portrayed as individuals who were particularly concerned with legal matters. The NT also parallels Josephus in presenting the Pharisees as being influential among the people and as actively engaging in many aspects of day-to-day Jewish life.

Paul

Paul, in speaking to the Philippians regarding his former status as a Pharisee, bore witness to the fact that the Pharisees were particularly careful regarding observance of the law. He stated that he had been "as to the law a Pharisee, as to zeal a persecutor of the church, as to righteousness under the law blameless" (Phil 3:5b-6). To the Galatians Paul gave indication that he had been "extremely zealous" for the traditions of his fathers, and had been advanced in Judaism beyond many of his age (Gal 1:14). It would appear, then, that Paul's life as a Pharisee had been characterized by careful observance of the law, enthusiasm for certain "traditions," and excessive zeal in the pursuit of Judaism—a zeal which led to his persecution of the nascent Christian church. He was prepared, it seems, even to sully his hands by consorting with heretics.

The picture which Paul thus gives of Pharisaism is not that it was an isolated sect devoted to ritual observance of the law at the expense of open contiguity with the *‘am hā-‘āreṣ* of Israel. He does

¹⁸Ibid.

not say, "You know of my former life in Judaism, how I separated myself from the commoners, and kept myself in a state of ritual purity." The picture is indeed quite different.

The Synoptic Gospels

Paul's outline sketch is supported by the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels, for in these Gospels, too, the Pharisees are portrayed as a scholar class intensely concerned with legal matters and active in the community of Israel. This is evidenced, for instance, in such examples as the cornfield incident (Mark 2:23-27), the healing-on-the-Sabbath episode (Mark 2:1-12), the debate about fasting (Mark 2:18-22), and the numerous debates between Jesus and the Pharisees on points of law and doctrine (Mark 7:1-22; 12:13-24).¹⁹ It is obvious that the Pharisees were considered as being just the sort of people who would challenge Jesus on legal points, and would do so in public settings.

Again, there is no evidence that the Pharisees held themselves aloof from the people. Rather, they are portrayed as individuals who mixed with the common people of Israel—all, that is, except the unrepentant "sinners," the *rešā'im*, who openly and wantonly flouted the will of God.²⁰

The very fact that so much of the controversy material in the Synoptic Gospels centers upon conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees may itself be evidence for their direct involvement in day-to-day Judaism of the period prior to A.D. 70. Sanders has noted that when it comes to history of traditions, there is never smoke without fire.²¹ Such clashes as there were occurred not because the Pharisees opposed Jesus for what he was (i.e., God-fearing, pious, etc.) or for what he taught (i.e., the mercy of God, the love of the Heavenly Father, and the coming of the kingdom) but rather for what he was not (i.e., a Pharisee) and for what he did not teach (i.e., the "traditions" of the fathers).

¹⁹The historicity of such events have, of course, been challenged by various scholars, but such argumentation is rather immaterial. Even if these accounts were to be considered lacking in historicity, they would nevertheless give witness to the conception held concerning the Pharisees—a conception which is clearly validated by other evidence of the kind I have given above.

²⁰On the *rešā'im*, see Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, chap. 6.

²¹*Ibid.*, 18-22, following Henry J. Cadbury.

The Gospel of John

In assessing the NT evidence on the Pharisees, we must also take into account the Gospel of John; and here, as Rivkin notes, the general picture is in keeping with the rest of the NT.²² Rivkin is certainly right to allow some weight to the Johannine material, though some might think that the date of this Gospel would diminish the strength of the evidence. In any case, several passages from the Fourth Gospel should be noted here.

The first of these passages is John 1:24, where it is specifically stated that those who came to question John the Baptist concerning his identity had been sent by the Pharisees. It should be observed, however (though Rivkin fails to do so), that in John 1:19 the same group is said to have been sent "by the Jews." It is possible, therefore, that here John is simply equating Pharisees with the Jews, making no real distinction between them.

The evidence from John 3:1-2 is stronger. This passage records that Nicodemus, "a man of the Pharisees . . . a ruler of the Jews," came to Jesus and addressed him as "Rabbi." The implication is that this man, who happened to be a Pharisee, was also a leader of the Jews. Jesus himself acknowledges Nicodemus' status as a "teacher," for in reply to Nicodemus' question he asks, "Are you a teacher of Israel, and yet you do not understand this?" Clearly this statement implies that "teacher of Israel" and "Pharisee" were understood as being, if not synonymous, at least partly overlapping terms.

John 7:45-52 may also provide some insight into the conception of the Pharisees as set forth by the author of the Fourth Gospel. The passage reads:

The officers went back to the chief priests and Pharisees, who said to them, "Why did you not bring him?" The officers answered, "No man ever spoke like this man!" The Pharisees answered them, "Are you led astray also? Have any of the authorities or of the Pharisees believed in him? But this crowd, who do not know the law, are accursed." Nicodemus, who had gone to him before, and who was one of them, said to them, "Does our law judge a man without first giving him a hearing and learning what he does?" They replied, "Are you from Galilee too? Search and you will see that no prophet is to rise from Galilee."

²²Rivkin, *Revolution*, 120-121.

Clearly, the Pharisees are here depicted as persons of some importance. They take an active role in attempting to bring a perceived heretic into line; and they are set against "this crowd" who "do not know the law," indicating that they considered themselves to be legal experts. They are also portrayed as having authority to judge a man, though in this case they jump to conclusions without hearing all the evidence. It hardly needs to be said that this general conception of the Pharisees fits in well with that which is found elsewhere in the NT and in the writings of Josephus.

The other references to Pharisees in the Gospel of John support the view that the author conceived of them as important and influential members of the Jewish community. Especially to be noted is the evidence from John 12:42-43, which states that, despite a seeming blanket prohibition to the contrary, many of the Jewish authorities believed in Jesus. Others, however, drew back from open confession of Jesus "for fear of the Pharisees . . . lest they be put out of the synagogue." Clearly, the implication here is that the Pharisees actually controlled synagogue membership.

5. Conclusion

We have seen that the evidence from Josephus and the NT supports the view of Rivkin that the Pharisees of the period prior to A.D. 70 were a people's party. The Pharisees were active in the religious and political life of Judaism and were not, it seems, the kind of separatist purity sect that some, such as Neusner, have set them forth as being. Indeed, the picture of the Pharisees as being "on the seat of Moses" and having influence among the common people, who respected them, is quite plausible in the light of what we can reasonably piece together regarding the role and activities of the Pharisees in pre-A.D.-70 Judaism.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION IN FIRST-CENTURY ROME: A NEW LOOK AT THE BASIC DATA

KENNETH A. STRAND
Andrews University

Historians of early Christianity, as well as specialists in NT and Patristic studies, have taken for granted that the basic organizational systems for local Christian congregations of the first century took one or the other of just two forms: (1) the ancient “presbyterial” pattern of a twofold ministry of “elders” (also alternatively called “bishops”) and “deacons”; (2) the monepiscopal pattern of a threefold ministry of *one* bishop, plus elders and deacons. In a previous discussion that dealt broadly with the rise and spread of monepiscopacy¹ I raised a query as to whether the earliest Christian community in Rome might not have had a governance system differing from both of the foregoing—a system patterned after the contemporary political governmental style in vogue in the city of Rome and in municipalities in the Roman West.²

Specifically, the question is whether in the first-century Roman church there may not have been a system of *dual leadership* rather than either the monepiscopal or the presbyterial form of governance. In this article, we first look briefly at the Roman background and then in somewhat more detail at some of the main Christian source materials that have a bearing on our question—both contemporary sources and early (but non-contemporary) lists of Roman bishops. An excursus at the end of the main text elaborates somewhat further on the Roman background.³

¹Kenneth A. Strand, “The Rise of the Monarchical Episcopate,” *AUSS* 4 (1966): 65-88.

²*Ibid.*, 83-84.

³Useful for an overview of Roman history are such standard general discussions as Arthur E. R. Boak, *A History of Rome to 565 A.D.*, 4th ed. (New York, 1955), and *Cambridge Ancient History* (see esp. vol. 10, chaps. 5-18). Especially useful for information on the Roman magistracies is Leon Homo, *Roman Political Institutions from City to State* (London, 1929). Ancient Roman historians providing information on the Augustan Age are Tacitus, *Annals*; Dio Cassius, *Roman History*; and Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* (the last-named often being somewhat unreliable). Very helpful,

In a follow-up essay, our analysis of some of the succession lists will be continued and we will also explore pertinent data from several other early non-contemporary documents. Then that essay will close with a review of certain of the more basic considerations related to our topic, followed by some conclusions and implications that emerge from our study.

1. *The Roman Background*

During the time period in which we are interested here, the basis of government in Roman civil administration was that of institutions inherited from the Roman Republic (ca. 508 B.C. to 27 B.C.), under which the highest magistracy was the consulship. This office consisted of *two* equal "consuls" elected for coterminous one-year terms.

Augustus (d. A.D. 14), whose restructuring of the Roman government in 27 B.C. included a division of the Roman provinces into "senatorial" and "imperial" domains, inaugurated what has come to be known as the "Empire" period of Roman history (27 B.C. to A.D. 476). In his reorganization he was, however, insistent on maintaining his leadership position on the basis of Republican administrative institutions.

Until 23 B.C. Augustus' constitutional basis of authority was the consulship, which he had held continuously since 31 B.C.⁴ In this office, he had more prestige and power than did his colleague by virtue of his holding such a fairly long succession of one-year terms and by his being considered by the Roman people as the savior of Rome from the civil wars and internecine strife that had characterized the late Republic.

too, is inscriptional material published in the massive multivolume *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. This includes, for instance, in 3:769-799, the famous *Res gestae divi Augusti*, which provides Augustus' own detailed account of his accomplishments (it was composed shortly before this emperor's death in A.D. 14). It appears in English translation under the title "The Accomplishments of Augustus (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*)" in Naphtali Lewis & Meyer Reinhold, eds., *Roman Civilization: Selected Readings*, vol. 2, *The Empire* (New York, 1955), 9-19. This document has come down in its most complete form (with text in both Latin and Greek) as an inscription on the walls of a temple at Ankara, the ancient Ancyra. Hence it is also referred to as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

⁴He had also held the consulship as early as 43 B.C. (in collegiality with Quintus Pedius).

Beginning in 23 B.C. he utilized as his basis of authority the powers vested in two other Republican institutions—the office of “proconsul” (given him in five- and ten-year grants and defined as “maius” or “highest”), and the “tribunician authority.” The latter, which he reckoned in annual terms continuously from 23 B.C. until his death, gave him the wide range of authority held in the Republic by popular representatives known as “tribunes”—an authority which included veto power over legislation and “intercessory” powers that could block proceedings against individuals or groups. Twice after 23 B.C. he again held the consulate for annual terms, in 5 B.C. and 2 B.C. On these occasions he continued, of course, to retain his proconsular and tribunician powers.⁵

Thus from 27 B.C. until his death in A.D. 14, Augustus' position was a superior one, higher than that of his co-consul when he himself was a consul, and higher than that of the two consuls when he was not personally a consul.

The early form of the Roman Empire as it was instituted by Augustus has come to be designated at the “Principate,” from the fact that a “princeps” (or “first citizen”) led out.⁶ In contrast, the later form which emerged when all Republican institutions had been either brought to their demise or had been rendered totally ineffective is designated as the “Autocracy” or the “Dominate.”⁷ Its duration was from the beginning of the reign of Diocletian in A.D. 284 until the fall of Rome in 476. The subordination and disappearance of the Republican institutions did not come suddenly, of course,

⁵At the death of Lepidus in 12 B.C., Augustus also became Pontifex Maximus, the head of Roman religion. This office undoubtedly enhanced his already great prestige, but can hardly be reckoned as one of the key bases for his supreme political authority (contra Homo, 226).

⁶This term, signifying government under a *princeps*, when spelled with an initial capital letter “P” is used to designate the Roman form of government as established by Augustus and carried on by his successors for some three centuries. When a lower-case “p” is used as the initial letter, the term signifies the office (or tenure in that office) of a specific *princeps*.

⁷“Autocracy” is the more commonly used term, but some authorities (e.g. Homo) designate the late Roman Empire as the “Dominate.” In Diocletian's time, the consulate, the last real vestige of Republican authority, was basically an honorary office, with one consul in Rome and one in Constantinople. The main function of these consuls was to give the designation for each year and to provide popular entertainment on certain occasions. Two and a half centuries later, in 540, the consulship was totally eliminated under Justinian.

but involved a gradual process that occurred step by step during the era of the Principate.

From 27 B.C. till the end of the first century A.D., however, the concept of "first-citizen" rule based on Roman-Republic governance modalities (adjusted though they were) remained basically intact in the thinking of the Roman citizenry in Rome and the Roman West. Augustus himself had been careful to reject the office and title of "Censorship of Morals" offered him on three occasions (19, 18, and 11 B.C.); and he had earlier twice rejected, as well, the "Dictatorship" and a perpetual consulship (all three in 22 B.C.).⁸ Thus he manifested his desire and intent to avoid institutions that would provide extraordinary power. The dictatorship in particular was offensive. Originally, it had been an emergency office intended to supersede the authority of the consuls only on rare occasions and with a time-limit of six months, but in the late Republic it had been granted to Julius Caesar for a ten-year term in 46 B.C. and then for life the very next year—the tenure, however, being of short duration because of Julius' assassination in 44 B.C.

Throughout his principate⁹ Augustus himself maintained this stance of adherence to Republican institutions, as did a number of his successors as well. "Republican-minded" emperors of the first century A.D., such as Claudius, were at death "deified" or "divinized" by the Senate. The three would-be autocrats during this century—Caligula (d. 41), Nero (d. 68), and Domitian (d. 96)—were, by way of contrast, execrated after death by the Senate. This fact is an indication that at least this far into the history of the Roman Principate, Republican ideals were still quite highly esteemed in Rome.

Another pertinent evidence that the Republican collegiate-governance modality was still viable and in vogue in the Roman West during the first century A.D. is the fact that western municipalities had collegiate top magistrates—either *duoviri* ("two men") or *quattuorviri* ("four men").¹⁰ The duovirs commonly had two junior colleagues called "aediles."

Could this concept of collegiality in political governance have provided both the psychological basis and a practical example for

⁸*Res gestae divi Augusti*, pars. 5 and 6. See Lewis & Reinhold, 11.

⁹See n. 6, above.

¹⁰Cf., e.g., the formal charters granted by Domitian to the Spanish towns of Salpensa and Malaca in the years 81 and 84 (see Lewis & Reinhold, 321-326).

incorporating a similar ecclesiastical collegiality into the governance of the Roman church during the first century? This is the possibility at which I hinted in my earlier essay and that I wish to explore further here and in the follow-up essay. It is a reconstruction which, I feel, makes the best sense out of the confusing source materials that pertain to the polity of the Roman church during the latter half of the first century.

2. *The Christian Source Materials: An Overview*

Ancient Christian source materials of relevance to the present inquiry are (1) contemporary documents of the first century and early second century that pertain to the church in Rome; (2) episcopal succession lists of Roman bishops, the earliest extant one dating to ca. 185; and (3) other non-contemporary sources of information regarding governance of the Roman church during the first century.

Contemporary Information

Documents in the first category include Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which slightly antedates the basic time frame in which we are interested here: namely, the period from Peter's and Paul's ministry in Rome up to the time of Xystus ("Sixtus"), whose episcopacy is commonly dated as A.D. 115-125.¹¹ The main importance of this document for the topic we are investigating is its lack of information directed toward this topic. Paul's Roman letter, written shortly prior to the Apostle's own arrival in Rome, was obviously addressed to concerns other than that of church organizational style.¹²

More to the point with respect to our topic are the letter of Clement of Rome to the church in Corinth ca. A.D. 95, the seven epistles of Ignatius of Antioch ca. A.D. 115, Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians written very shortly after Ignatius' epistles, and the

¹¹Xystus died sometime between 124 and 126; therefore 125 is frequently chosen because of its being the "median" date. Since Xystus ruled ten years (according to the main succession chronologies), his accession is placed at 115. These termini vary from Eusebius, as will be seen below. Approximations though they are, with a range of plus or minus one year, they are the first dates for a Roman bishop that can be fixed with fair certainty.

¹²It deals with theological matters and with concerns related to practical matters of Christian life.

early section of the Shepherd of Hermas.¹³ These sources, along with others, were reviewed in my article on the rise and spread of monepiscopacy and cannot again be treated in detail here.¹⁴ The main point is that these sources leave us with the information that at their time of origin, monepiscopacy had not yet moved west of the Aegean Sea to Greece, Macedonia, and Rome. This is so even though by ca. A.D. 115 it was already firmly entrenched in the Roman province of Asia, just east of that sea, as well as being the governance modality farther east in the church of Antioch in Syria.¹⁵

Especially telling are Ignatius' remarks. In spite of his strong and repeated emphasis on monepiscopacy in his letter to Polycarp of Smyrna, in the one he wrote to the Smyrnaean church, and in his letters to four other churches in the Roman province of Asia,¹⁶ there is no indication whatsoever that the Roman church similarly had monepiscopal governance. Although care must always be taken when arguing from silence, in this particular case the silence seems especially significant because of its striking contrast to the heavy emphasis on monepiscopacy in Ignatius' other six letters, supplemented also by Ignatius' reference in his Roman letter to himself as "bishop of Antioch."¹⁷

Succession Lists and Other Non-Contemporary Sources

Succession lists of Roman bishops give a different picture, of course: namely, that of a single line of Roman bishops in succession from Peter or from Peter and Paul. These lists pertaining to Rome (and also similar lists for Christian congregations in other cities)

¹³The so-called "Apostolic Fathers," among whom these writers are included, are available in numerous editions, including the English translations of LCL and ANF, vol. 1 (LCL includes, as well, an edited version of the Greek text). For pertinent information on these fathers and on relevant references in their works, see Strand, 72-73, nn. 20, 23, and 26.

¹⁴For a considerable number of pertinent references in Ignatius, see Strand, 72-73, n. 23; also cf. the discussion of Ignatius on pp. 75-79.

¹⁵See *ibid.*, 72-75.

¹⁶These are the epistles to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, and Philadelphians. These four, together with those to Polycarp, the Smyrnaeans, and the Romans, are the authentic letters of Ignatius. A recension spuriously ascribed to Ignatius, expanding the genuine letters and adding others, appeared during the Middle Ages. Both recensions of the seven letters are included in parallel columns in ANF 1:49-96, followed by an abbreviated three-letter Syriac recension on pp. 99-104 and the medieval spurious letters on pp. 107-126.

¹⁷See Ignatius, Rom 2:2.

were at first prepared and used as a demonstration that the Christian church, as contrasted with Gnostic heretics, had a guarantee of truth and orthodoxy by virtue of its having had an unbroken succession of leaders reaching back to the apostles—something the heretics could not claim.¹⁸

It must be remembered, first of all (and as a matter of utmost importance), that even the earliest of the succession lists were documents constructed considerably after the time of the apostles Peter and Paul and the early post-apostolic leaders of the church in Rome. In addition, the several basic lists that exist for the Roman church contain variations that bespeak somewhat different background materials and/or developmental histories. Moreover, the variations in the lists involve such basic considerations as the precise order in which the bishops are given, the inclusion or absence of chronological data, and the striking differences that occur in the chronological information appearing in some of the lists.

3. *The Succession Lists of Roman Bishops*

It is unfortunate that whereas we have at least some significant contemporary source materials for the developments that I treated in my article on the rise and spread of moniscopacy, the main sources for the topic now under consideration cannot boast such luxury. Rather, the succession lists of Roman bishops (and also the other notations concerning the earliest episcopal succession in the Roman church) were, as already indicated, later materials in relationship to the particular succession in which we are here interested. They were, in fact, prepared from approximately a century to several centuries after the time of the first successors of the apostles.

As we now look at the basic Roman episcopal succession lists we find that they fall into three main categories: (1) the earliest compilation, known to us from information set forth by Irenaeus, Eusebius, and Epiphanius; (2) the list represented in Optatus and Augustine;¹⁹ and (3) the so-called “Roman List” preserved in the

¹⁸So specifically indicated, e.g., in Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3.3.1-4 and 3.4.1 (ANF 1:415-417), and in Tertullian, *On Prescription against Heretics*, chap. 32 (ANF 3:258).

¹⁹Identically the same list is in evidence in writings of both church fathers, with Augustine (A.D. 400) undoubtedly borrowing from Optatus (ca. 370). For notation of the specific references, see n. 31, below. These church fathers lived in the same general region of North Africa (within what is modern Algeria), and both of them referred to the Roman episcopal succession in contexts contra Donatism.

Liberian Catalogue, which in turn was incorporated in the *liber pontificalis* ("Book of the Popes").

For the period of interest to us, the main distinguishing feature (aside from the specific dates indicated for the bishops in some of the lists) is the sequential placement of Clement in the succession as given in these three categories of lists: respectively, third from Peter and Paul, second after Peter, and first after Peter.²⁰ This phenomenon will be reviewed further as we proceed to analyze the various succession lists.

*The Earliest Extant Succession
List of Roman Bishops*

The earliest extant list of the succession of Roman bishops is the one penned by Irenaeus circa A.D. 185 in his famous work *Against Heresies*.²¹ It carries the line of succession from the apostles Peter and Paul (both are mentioned) up through Eleutherus, whose term of episcopal office in Rome began about 174 or 175. The list was repeated by Eusebius of Caesarea in both his *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History* early in the fourth century and by Epiphanius of Salamis late in that same century.²²

Eusebius, in his historical account, repeatedly refers to a Syro-Palestinian Christian named Hegesippus,²³ who took a trip to Rome during the episcopate of Anicetus (ca. 155-166) and who there found records from which he "arranged" or "drew up" a succession of the Roman bishops down to his time.²⁴ There is scarcely any doubt but that Eusebius used Hegesippus as his main source for the early

²⁰For the so-called "Roman list," the indicated sequence places Clement in second place, but the dates supplied for him would put him as the first successor after Peter, with Linus actually having had contemporary tenure with that apostle. Further elucidation appears below.

²¹Irenaeus, 3.3.3 (ANF, 1:416, col. 1).

²²The data from Eusebius' *Chronicle* (both Armenian and Jeronian recensions) and from the *Ecclesiastical History* are conveniently compiled in a table by J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part 1, *S. Clement of Rome*, vol. 1, 2d ed. (London, 1890), 208-209. The relevant text material from Epiphanius, *Panarion* 27:6, is given in the original Greek in Lightfoot, 169-170.

²³Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 2.23.19; 3.11.2; 3.19; 3.20.8; 3.32.2; 4.8.1; 4.11.7; 4.22.1; and others.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 4.22.3. The Greek text appears in Lightfoot, 153-154. In his notation on p. 154 Lightfoot states that the "context requires διαδοχὴν ἐποίησάμην 'I drew up a list of (the episcopal) succession.'"

succession up to Hegesippus' own time,²⁵ and it seems fairly certain that both Irenaeus and Epiphanius did so as well.²⁶

The list as given by Irenaeus has no chronological information, but Eusebius has added both length of terms of office and dates for the bishops. The dates are stated as synchronizations with years in the reigns of the various Roman emperors.²⁷ Eusebius' chronological data in their extant forms are certainly flawed, for at times the information is conflicting as to the number of years that a certain bishop served. Such conflicts occur not only between the chronology of the *Chronicle* and that of the *Ecclesiastical History* but also between the two basic extant recensions or versions of the *Chronicle* itself, the Armenian and that of Jerome.²⁸ The data in the *Ecclesiastical History* are generally assumed to represent Eusebius' corrected form of the chronological information.²⁹

²⁵It is not clear whether Hegesippus' list reached only to Anicetus, during whose episcopacy he was in Rome, or whether he continued it to Eleutherus. Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 4.22.3. (Did Hegesippus even possibly remain in Rome until the time of Eleutherus, as Eusebius, 4.11.7, states? The NPNF editor disputes this, in NPNF, 2d series, 1:184, n. 19; his line of argument is worth considering, but is not entirely convincing.)

²⁶References in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, passim (cf. n. 23, above) reveals that church historian's pervasive use of Hegesippus. The information concerning the succession of bishops in Rome (and other churches, as well) accompanied by dates for their tenure are scattered throughout this work, but a listing without dates quoted directly from Irenaeus also occurs, in 5.6.1-4. Concerning Irenaeus' and Epiphanius' probable use of Hegesippus, the comparison of materials and the analysis given by Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Primitive Church Studied with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry: The Hewett Lectures, 1928* (London, 1929), 288-295, are so convincing as to place almost beyond any doubt the thesis of Hegesippus' providing the major common source for these two church fathers in their portrayal of the early episcopal succession in Rome. (Irenaeus did, of course, personally visit Rome some one or two decades after Hegesippus' stay there, and might have done some independent work in producing his succession list in *Against Heresies* 3.3.3, but any evidence for such a thesis is not in hand.)

²⁷Convenient lists appear in Lightfoot, 208-209.

²⁸The lists in Lightfoot (see n. 27) highlight the divergences.

²⁹Lightfoot, 231, holds a contrary opinion. He feels that the *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History* were prepared at virtually the same time and with use of the same documents. He does, however, allow that there were "two separate issues [of the *Chronicle*] at different dates." This likelihood alone, I would suggest, undercuts his thesis that Eusebius did not use further documents in preparing the data in the *History*, for his second version of the *Chronicle* was probably merely an extension, not a revision.

Before we move ahead to consider other succession lists and notations regarding ordinations by Peter and/or by Peter and Paul, it will be useful to give a listing of the Irenaeus/Eusebius/Epiphanius succession up through Anicetus (where the Epiphanian succession list stops, though the Irenaeus includes also Soter and Eleutherus, and the Eusebian extends still further). This listing is provided in **figure 1**, with the chronology indicated as follows: (1) from the *Chronicle*, both recensions; (2) from the *Ecclesiastical History*; and (3) as given in a typical modern reconstruction.³⁰ In all cases, the dates should be considered as tentative and highly uncertain for the period up to Xystus, ca. A.D. 115, especially so in view of the fact that the contemporary sources of information for this period give no evidence of a monepiscopal succession in Rome.

Other Succession Lists

From this point onward, as we look at further succession lists, our focus will be on only the first five or six Roman bishops who are said to have succeeded Peter (Paul is not placed with Peter at the head of those lists)—i.e., the line of bishops up through Evaristus.

The Optatus/Augustine Succession List. The list as given by Optatus (ca. 370) and Augustine (in 400)³¹ is basically the same as that of Irenaeus, Eusebius, and Epiphanius, except that with respect to our time period Clement precedes “Anencletus”³² instead of following him. Modern scholarship tends to look upon this anomaly as simply a reversal of the positions of Anencletus and Clement in the sequence. This thesis is plausible; and additional weight accrues

³⁰Our modern reconstruction is based on the accession dates as given by Streeter, 184. In n. 1 on that page, Streeter states that the dates he uses are “as restored from the ‘term numbers’ in the *Chronica* of Hippolytus by H. J. Lawlor in his *Eusebius*, ii, p. 44.” This particular set of episcopal datings has been adopted by other scholars, and seems to be the preferable one among several that I have seen.

³¹The Latin text for the pertinent portion of these two sources—Optatus, *De schism. Donat.*, 2.3, and Augustine’s epistle *ad Generosum* (no. 53), par. 2, is provided by Lightfoot, 171-174.

³²“Anencletus” and “Anacletus” are variant spellings of the same name in occurrences of this name in the ancient sources, and there are other spellings in the ancient manuscripts, as well (cf. n. 51, below). Herein I have standardized the spelling as “Anencletus.” It should be noted that the Greek *Anenklētos* (Ἀνέγκλητος), “the blameless,” is undoubtedly the correct form, with the *Anacletus*, “called back,” of the Latin lists undoubtedly being a corruption. See the illuminating discussion given by Lightfoot, 80, n. 3, who points out (among other things) that the Greek ἀνάκλητος “is never, so far as I can discover, used as a proper name, nor would it be appropriate. In Dion. Cass. xlv.12 it is given as a translation of the military term ‘evocatus.’”

FIGURE 1
EUSEBIAN AND MODERN CHRONOLOGIES FOR THE FIRST
TEN SUCCESSORS OF PETER AND PAUL IN ROME

Name of Bishop	Dates as Indicated in Eusebian Materials			A Modern Reconstruction
	The Chronicle		The Ecclesiastical History*	
	Armenian Recension	Jerome's Recension		
1. Linus	66-79	68-80	—	64-76
2. Anencletus	79-87	80-92	80-92	76-88
3. Clement	87-94	92-99	92-100	88-97
4. Evaristus	94-103	99-109	100-109	97-105
5. Alexander	103-114	109-119	109-119	105-115
6. Xystus	114-124	119-128	119-128	115-125
7. Telesphorus	124-134	128-138	128-138	125-136
8. Hyginus	134-138	138-142	138-?	136-140
9. Pius	138-152	142-157	—	140-155
10. Anicetus	152-164	157-169	—	155-166

*The blanks in this column occur because Eusebius failed to give synchronizations with the reigns of Roman emperors.

to it from the fact that Augustine and Optatus later in their listings have also reversed the sequence of Pius and Anicetus, placing the latter before the former.

The Liberian Catalogue and Liber Pontificalis. The earliest portion of the list of Roman bishops set forth in the so-called "Liberian Catalogue" is believed to represent the work of Hippolytus of Rome and/or Portus,³³ at least in the origin of its chronology. This individual prepared an episcopal catalog and general chronology reaching to the time of Bishop Pontianus (230-235).

Somewhat over a century later, at the time of the pontificate of Liberius (352-366), this list was extended so as to reach up to and include the accession of Liberius. In this extended form the list has come to be known as the "Liberian Catalogue." This catalogue was incorporated, in turn, into the *liber pontificalis*, a production whose earliest recension can be dated to the late sixth or early seventh century and which carries the papal succession down to Gregory I (590-604). The *liber pontificalis* was periodically updated thereafter.³⁴

Although the Roman list of the Liberian Catalogue appears in various alternative forms, the text as given by J. B. Lightfoot serves well for our purposes and is utilized here.³⁵ For references to the *liber pontificalis* version(s) and additions, the English translation of Louise Ropes Loomis will be cited.³⁶

³³There is diversity of opinion regarding Hippolytus' exact status as "bishop" and as to the location where he was a bishop. The most common view now current is that he was indeed a bishop (he refers, of course, to himself as such) and that his see was in Portus, near Rome. The earliest mention of him in the literature as Bishop of Portus is found in the *Chronicon Paschale* (completed about 678), though the ancient statue of "St. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus," discovered in 1551 in a cemetery near Rome, may well be an even earlier attestation. W. Ernest Beet, *The Early Roman Episcopate to A.D. 384* (London, [1913]), 320-323, sets forth a rather extraordinary view that Hippolytus was an assistant bishop in the Roman church—and thus, a bishop *in* Rome, but not "Bishop of Rome." Other views are current too (e.g., Hippolytus as a schismatic bishop or counter-bishop in Rome), but the exact details of his episcopacy are not crucial for our purposes in this essay. What is important here are the facts (1) that he was a careful research scholar of considerable ability, and (2) that he was recognized by later generations as sufficiently orthodox and authoritative to allow his writings a prominent and *bona fide* ongoing place in the literature of the early church.

³⁴For further information, see Lightfoot, 246-252. The text of the Liberian Catalogue is given in Latin in *ibid.*, 253-258.

³⁵See n. 34, above.

³⁶Louise Ropes Loomis, trans., *The Book of the Popes (Liber Pontificalis) to the Pontificate of Gregory I*, reprint ed. (New York, 1965 [copyright, 1916 and 1944]).

Liberian Catalogue Data

As the Catalogue list begins, it first notes Peter's term of office in Rome as 25 years, 1 month, and 9 days. ("Petrus, ann. xxv, mens. uno, a. viiii").³⁷ Then it goes on to indicate that Peter was in Rome in the time of Tiberius, Gaius (Caligula), Claudius, and Nero, from the consulship of Minuci (Vinicii) and Longine until the consulship of Nerine (Nerone) and Vero (Vetere)—that is, from A.D. 30 to 55.³⁸ The chronology that is given is surprising, to say the least, inasmuch as both Paul and Peter were martyred in Rome near the end, not the beginning, of Nero's reign, which extended from 54 to 68.

Liber Pontificalis Information

With respect to the information given regarding Peter in the *liber pontificalis*, the chronology is also most intriguing. One statement regarding Peter declares that he both came to Rome during the reign of Nero and was bishop there for 25 years, 1 month, and 8 days (or in an alternate listing: 25 years, 2 months, and 3 days).³⁹ If he first came to Rome during the reign of Nero, he could not have had a 25-year episcopate and still have been martyred during that emperor's reign, for his episcopal term would have been about a decade in excess of the full term of Nero as emperor.

The next statement in the entry concerning Peter indicates that he "was bishop in the time of Tiberius Caesar and of Gaius [Caligula] and of Tiberius Claudius and of Nero."⁴⁰ This statement and the term length mentioned (25 years, 1 month, 8 days) are, of course, what we find in the Liberian Catalogue (the difference in the entries for the days—viiii and viii days, respectively—represents an easily made scribal error).⁴¹

What is most curious in the *liber* entry, however, is the anomaly already noted between the term length for Peter and the statement that Peter came to Rome during the reign of Nero, plus still another

³⁷See the entry for Peter in Lightfoot, 253.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Loomis, 4.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹In copying texts, the ancient scribes would at times miscopy a number by inadvertently adding or subtracting a "i," by reading "v" as "x" or vice versa, by confusing "l" with "i," etc. We must remember also that the handwriting of the still-earlier scribes whose texts they copied was not at times sufficiently clear.

incongruity: Since the *liber* fixes the martyrdom of both Paul and Peter to the year A.D. 67,⁴² Peter's 25 years in Rome must have begun, not with Tiberius, who died in A.D. 37 (i.e., 30 years before the martyrdom of the two apostles), but with Claudius.

Jerome in his *On Illustrious Men* (written in Bethlehem in 392) follows the same 25-year tradition, but places Peter's arrival in Rome in "the second year of Claudius" and he indicates the termination of Peter's term of "sacerdotal" service there as being in "the last, that is the fourteenth, year of Nero"—i.e., from 42 to 68 (or 67, as the end of the "25 years").⁴³ (That both Paul and Peter first went to Rome during Nero's reign is the most likely reconstruction and is the view generally held today.)

Another interesting remark made about Peter in the *liber pontificalis* is that he "ordained two bishops, Linus and Cletus, who in person fulfilled all the service of the priest in the city of Rome for the inhabitants and for strangers; then the blessed Peter gave himself to prayer and preaching, instructing the people."⁴⁴ If this was indeed the case, Linus and Cletus would seem to have been sort of coadjutors or junior colleagues of Peter (Paul is not here mentioned). Or perhaps Peter was still considered (along with Paul) as an itinerant leader, with Linus and Cletus appointed as the resident leaders in the local church. Those who held the title of "apostle" (such as Paul and Peter) moved from locale to locale with a broad ministry that might at times include a considerable length of stay in one place. In the apostolic era it also entailed (in some instances at least) the appointment by apostles of local church leadership of the fixed, non-itinerant kind.⁴⁵

In the summary of ordinations given in the entry for Peter in the *liber*, that apostle is declared to have ordained "3 bishops, 10

⁴²Loomis, 5; cf. also n. 3 on that page.

⁴³Jerome, *De vir. illus.*, chap. 1 (NPNF, 2d series, 3:361).

⁴⁴Loomis, 5.

⁴⁵Cf., e.g., the ordination of elders in local churches by Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14:23). Various other examples are given in patristic literature, such as Tertullian's statement (ca. 300) that the church of Smyrna "records that Polycarp was placed therein by John" (*On Prescription against Heretics*, chap. 32 [ANF 3:258]). Irenaeus, who during his youth had seen Polycarp, speaks of the latter as having been "by apostles in Asia, appointed bishop of the Church in Smyrna" (*Against Heresies*, 3.3.4 [ANF 1:416]).

FIGURE 2
THE EARLY ROMAN SUCCESSION
IN THE "LIBERIAN CATALOGUE" AND
LIBER PONTIFICALIS

<i>LIBERIAN CATALOGUE</i> (Lightfoot, 253)	<i>LIBER PONTIFICALIS</i> (Loomis, 4-10)
1. Peter (30-55)	1. Peter
2. Linus (56-67)	2. Linus (56-67)
3. Clement (68-76)	3. Cletus (77-83)
4. Cletus (77-83)	4. Clement (68-79)
5. Anencletus (84-95)*	5. Anencletus (84-95)
6. Evaristus (96-108)**	6. Evaristus (96-108)

*Variant spellings: "Anacletus," "Anaclitus."
 **Actually given as "Aristus" (shortened from "Evaristus").

priests, 7 deacons."⁴⁶ The bishop whom Peter ordained, in addition to Linus and Cletus, was undoubtedly Clement, for it is stated elsewhere in the entry that Peter "consecrated blessed Clement as bishop and committed to him the government of the see and all the church. . . ."⁴⁷ Some of the added information in the *liber* beyond that which appears in the Liberian Catalogue has derived from Pseudo-Clementine literature that we shall discuss in the follow-up article.

The Episcopal Successions in the Catalogue and Liber

The successions as set forth in the Liberian Catalogue and in the *liber pontificalis* version given by Loomis may at first sight seem different. The situation is indicated in **figure 2**.

⁴⁶Loomis, 6. The listings in two variants have the order reversed, but the enumeration is the same. Also one of the variants indicates that Peter "held three ordinations."

⁴⁷Ibid., 5.

It is apparent that there is a reversal of “Cletus” and “Clement” in the *liber*. However, when the two lists are analyzed on the basis of the chronology given, the successions of the bishops would actually be in identically the same order.

In both forms of this particular succession list, moreover, there appears to have been a doubling of Anencletus into “Cletus” and “Anencletus.” Possibly two persons are actually in view, but the data from all the other major independent sources would make it seem more likely that “Cletus” is simply a shortened form of “Anencletus.”⁴⁸

It is further noteworthy that Linus, who is placed in all the lists as the immediate successor of Peter (or in some lists as the successor of Peter and Paul) is indeed so enumerated in the Liberian Catalogue and in the *liber pontificalis* but is assigned the period from 56-67 as the time of his episcopacy.⁴⁹ These dates would make the *end* of Linus’ episcopal term occur the same year as the traditional one for the martyrdom of Peter and Paul! Thus, the beginning date given for Clement—i.e., 68—makes him, in actuality, the *first* successor of Peter.

Some other ancient writings that we will analyze in our next article also place Clement as the *immediate* successor of Peter. The most notable—and credible—of these is Tertullian of Carthage (ca. 200).⁵⁰ And Jerome makes an interesting reference to Clement as “the fourth bishop of Rome after Peter [obviously counting Peter as the first bishop], if indeed the second was Linus and the third Anacletus,⁵¹ although most of the Latins think that Clement was second after the apostle.”⁵² Obviously, at least two traditions as to

⁴⁸In the three related listings of Irenaeus, Eusebius, and Epiphanius, the name “Cletus” (in Gk., Κλήτος, “Klētōs”) appears in Epiphanius in place of the “Anencletus” of the other two writers.

⁴⁹Cf. figure 2.

⁵⁰Tertullian, *On Prescription against Heretics*, chap. 32 (ANF 3:258). Direct quotation from this source will be given in our follow-up article.

⁵¹In the manuscripts and editions giving this source, a variety of spellings occur of “Anencletus”/“Anacletus,” such as “Anenclitus,” “Anincletus,” “Anecletus,” “Aneclitus,” and “Anicletus”; also “Elitus” for “Cletus.” See NFNF, 2d series, 3:366, col. 2, n. 2.

⁵²Jerome, *De vir. illus.*, chap. 15 (NPNF, 2d series, 3:366). We have noticed also, of course, the further variation represented in the Optatus/Augustine listing of this same time period; but in that list, the placement of Clement before Anencletus is an obvious erroneous reversal of the two names.

the earliest post-apostolic episcopal succession in Rome were circulating ca. A.D. 400: (1) the one indicated in Eusebius (and in Irenaeus and Epiphanius); and (2) the one expressed by Tertullian and which later surfaced also in the chronology of the Liberian Catalogue and *liber pontificalis*.

4. *Preliminary Assessment of the Data*

The basic question emerging from the foregoing data is whether any semblance of order can be elicited therefrom. It has become customary in scholarly circles to reconstruct the history of this early Roman succession by rejecting at least the chronological information of the Latin (or Roman) list—even though that information may well have derived from such a careful researcher as Hippolytus in the earlier part of the third century.

But are the variant succession lists and seemingly aberrant chronologies *really* as mutually exclusive as one might think at first glance? Is it possible that a different reconstruction—one paralleling the patterns recognizable in the Roman government's administrative modalities—could reveal that the conflicts we *think* we see in the data are not quite so irreconcilable after all?

We must certainly admit, of course, the presence of scribal errors in these materials and also the incorporation of information from unreliable sources (especially into the *liber pontificalis*). These matters do not necessarily, however, do away with the more essential data represented—data which have derived from early and credible sources. My previous study on monepiscopacy discovered a basic harmony among source materials which various researchers had considered as more or less irreconcilable. What was needed was simply a broad understanding and correlation of the sources in their contexts both geographically and chronologically.⁵³ Historians constantly make discoveries of this sort.

There is still further evidence that we must explore before we draw our ultimate conclusions, and to such evidence we will turn in our next essay. At this stage of our inquiry, however, we can at least ask ourselves some pertinent questions with regard to the direction our study has thus far taken us.

⁵³Strand, 74. Some examples of rectification of earlier misconceptions regarding the letters of Ignatius are given in n. 31 on p. 75, and in n. 33 on pp. 75-76. Other examples exist as well, of course.

First of all, if indeed first-century civil polity in Rome itself and the *duovir/quattuorvir* governance of western municipalities provided a pattern for Roman church administration to copy, could not there be a fairly high degree of possibility (or even probability) that there were *colleagues* in leadership of the Roman church in the earliest period of that church's existence? Just as Peter and Paul worked in concert and collegiality there, is it not possible that Linus and Anencletus were indeed coadjutants, as certain traditions indicate? And could not Clement possibly also have fitted into some sort of collegiate role immediately after the death of Peter? Moreover, if Clement was a co-bishop from ca. 68 to 76 (as per the Liberian Catalogue) and then again held the episcopacy some two decades later from ca. 88 to 97, this would be a near-parallel to Augustus' holding consulships till 23 B.C. and then being a consul again in 5 and 2 B.C.

And there are other facts to consider, as well: (1) that the contemporary evidence gives no indication of monepiscopacy in the Roman church during the first half century or so of its existence after the death of Paul and Peter; (2) that the single-line succession lists were originally created contra the Gnostics in order to trace a step-by-step succession of leaders in local Christian churches, this as guaranteeing the faithful transmission of apostolic truth within the *bona fide* Christian congregations; and (3) the earliest such list—that of Hegesippus—was drawn up (i.e., “assembled” and/or “arranged”) by him personally. This last-mentioned fact takes on added significance in view of Hegesippus' own background experience with monepiscopacy as the only church-governance style (monepiscopacy had been operative in Syro-Palestine, Hegesippus' homeland, for a considerable length of time) and in view of the further fact that monepiscopacy was already well entrenched in Rome, in Corinth, and in other places that Hegesippus may have visited. In piecing together the bits of information he found in Rome concerning the Roman church's leaders, he undoubtedly *assumed* that there had been from the beginning only a single line of bishops also in that church.⁵⁴

As mentioned earlier, in our next essay we will explore several further ancient sources of information concerning the earliest leader-

⁵⁴See *ibid.*, 74-75, 79-80. For a thoroughgoing discussion which elucidates backgrounds and rationale pertaining to church governance, including the early rise of monepiscopacy in the Jerusalem church, see Arnold Ehrhardt, *The Apostolic Succession in the First Two Centuries of the Church* (London, 1953).

ship succession in the post-apostolic Roman church, analyze a bit further the succession lists (particularly their chronological data), and set forth some conclusions and implications deriving from this study.

EXCURSUS

OVERVIEW OF ROMAN REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS OF PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE IN THE "AUGUSTAN PRINCIPATE"⁵⁵

In the main text above, I pointed out that three Republican institutions or authorities of major significance were the chief means by which, along with prestige, Augustus ruled as *princeps*—the consulate, the proconsulate, and the "tribunician authority." Inasmuch as many *AUSS* readers may have little knowledge of Roman history, this excursus is presented for the purpose of furnishing such readers with at least a quick overview of the development of these republican forms up to 27 B.C., the year when Augustus' "political overhaul" was complete and put into operation.

Political Institutions of the Roman Republic

After the collapse of the Roman monarchy about 509 B.C., an assembly of the people known as the Curiate Assembly took on added authority in passing legislation presented to it and also became the elective body for the new Roman magistracies. Other assemblies of the people—the Centuriate and Tribal—were later instituted and took over the major functions of the Curiate Assembly. Only the latter of these needs further mention, which will be given below under the heading "Civil Tribunate and 'Tribunician Authority.'"

In addition to the assemblies of all the people, which were called only at intervals, there was a prestigious body called the "Senate" that could and did enact decrees or laws within limits given to its jurisdiction. A sort of "carry-over" of the old royal council of the Monarchy period, this group of statesmen kept the day-to-day operation of Rome functional, primarily with respect to legislative enactments needed. This Senate was originally composed only of members from leading Roman families in wealth, political heritage, and general influence. The senators were called *patres* ("fathers") and their entire families came to be known as "the patrician" class, in contrast to the common citizenry known as "plebeians" or "plebs." (As Rome expanded its boundaries, it incorporated, as well, peoples who were non-citizens but who were granted varying degrees of political rights.)

⁵⁵See the sources mentioned in n. 3.

With respect to the election of Roman magistrates, only the full citizenry (both patricians and plebeians) could vote, but the plebeians were originally barred from holding office, from becoming a part of the senatorial elite, and from participating in high-level legislative activities.

The Consulship

The consulship originated at the very outset of the Republic period, though at first the holders of this highest elected office were called "praetors." When "consul" became the standard term for holders of this top magistracy, it continued to be the designation used during the era of the Roman Republic, except for some 75 years from the latter part of the fifth century to nearly the middle of the fourth century. For this period of time the consulship was suspended in favor of boards of "military tribunes with consular power," a political shift that took place because of a military reorganization. However, after the system of regular consuls was reinstated in 362 B.C., it continued as such throughout the rest of the history of the Roman Republic and into the early Roman Empire.

The consulship was characterized by *collegiality* (two equal consuls), by *annuality* (one-year terms of office held concurrently), and by receipt of the office through *popular election*. One particularly interesting feature of the reorganization of 362 B.C. was the stipulation that no magistrate could run for reelection to the same office without a lapse of ten years. By curbing the opportunity for any one individual to gain an excessive amount of power, this regulation further safeguarded the principle of a genuinely democratic form of government. Also in 362, an assistant to the two consuls was added, bearing the title of "Praetor."

Although originally reserved only for patricians, the consulship was partly opened to plebeians by the "Licinian-Sextian Laws" of about the mid-fourth century (usually attributed to the year 363 B.C.). At this time, it appears that one consul could be chosen from among the tribunes, representatives of the plebeians (see below under "The Civil Tribunate and 'Tribunician Authority'"). A societal outcome was the breaking down of the old demarcation between patricians and plebeians and the creating of a new kind of dichotomy between an emerging "patrician-plebeian" nobility and the poorer plebs.

Imperium

Imperium was the supreme authority that had been vested in the earlier kings with respect to civil, military, and judicial administration. Thus, as had been the case with the kings, now under the Republic only the magistrates with *imperium* had the full power of "life and limb" in both military and civil contexts. Furthermore, only such magistrates could introduce into the Senate and the assemblies of the people legislative proposals to be enacted.

The consuls and their assistants, the praetors, were the only regular magistrates having unlimited *imperium*. There was a provision that in cases of extreme emergency a dictator could be appointed by the consuls (with the advice and consent of the Senate) for a tenure of not more than six months. The dictatorship, like the consulship, carried unlimited *imperium*.

The Proconsulship

The proconsulship emerged as an extension of the consulship. As Rome expanded and was engaged in far-flung military campaigns, the question arose as to what would happen if the consuls were leading the Roman armies at the time when their terms of office expired. Leading the armies was one of their major functions, along with their general civil administration.

This need for consuls to continue in battle at the end of their annual tenure led to a constitutional readjustment that permitted, with the approval of the Senate, that consuls could continue to lead the armies temporarily even after their elected successors had taken office. In this capacity, these "ex-consuls" were called "proconsuls" ("for consuls"). Moreover, they continued to have *imperium*, but this *imperium* was limited to the particular military leadership in which they were engaged, and it was subordinate to that of the consuls. In no case could it be exercised within the limits proper of the city of Rome. Eventually, with geographical growth and the establishment of Roman provinces, ex-consuls and ex-praetors were appointed as "proconsuls" for the governorship of the provinces (as, for instance, in the Roman province of Asia in Western Asia Minor).

The Civil Tribune and "Tribunician Authority"

The civil tribunate emerged by way of concessions by the patricians to the plebeians. Tribunes were elected representatives of the plebeians, who during the period of the Roman Republic gained powers of intercession and veto. That is, they could intercede in such a way as to terminate proceedings against a member of their group who was being unjustly punished by the magistrates, and they could place an injunction against legislation which they deemed detrimental to the common good.

The Hortensian Law of 287 B.C. greatly enhanced the status of tribunes (and of the plebs in general), even considerably more so than did the Licinian-Sextian legislation mentioned above. The tribunes' veto power was now strengthened by allowing tribunes to be present in the Senate and there to speak to, and even to veto, proposals before that body. Thus they could effectively keep proposals from ever acquiring the status of law. Moreover, the assembly of the plebeians, called the "Tribal Assembly" in contrast to the broader assemblies of all Roman citizenry (which were commonly dominated by the patricians), was made the main legislative body for the Roman State. Finally, the Hortensian Law also stipulated that

enactments of the Tribal Assembly would become law without either prior or subsequent approval by the Senate.

The political clout that was gained by the tribunes at this time was thus very great indeed; and, furthermore, from a sociological standpoint, the Hortensian Law was a catalyst that hastened greatly the breaking down of the caste distinction between patricians and plebeians. Later the concept of a "tribunician authority" emerged as a reflection of the powers gained by the tribunes.

Modification in Roman Republic Institutions during the Late Republic

During the turmoil of the late Republic, especially in the first century B.C., the Republican institutions underwent considerable modification. For instance, the ten-year time lapse between terms of service in the same magistracy fell increasingly into disuse. Thus, consuls could continue in office year after year, through annual reelection, and by this means they could gain considerable prestige and power. The concept of *two* equal consuls serving concurrently, however, was not similarly modified. Collegiality was a principle of major importance in the late Republic, and continued to be so in the early Principate.

Perhaps the most flagrant late-Republic violation of the older Republican practices was the extension of the time limits on the dictatorship. The case of Julius Caesar (mentioned above, in the main text) provides a prime example of this adjustment.

Augustus' Sources of Power

Octavian, Julius Caesar's adopted son, achieved extraordinary prominence as a "savior of Rome" at the time of late-Republic political and military turmoil. When he came into a rulership role he shunned the autocratic aspects of Julius' career. Under the title of Augustus Caesar, he was, as mentioned in our main text, the first so-called Roman "emperor," who inaugurated the Principate and ruled through the use of Republican offices and powers.

Inasmuch as Augustus' use of Republican models as his source of authority has already been adequately noted, we need not pursue this topic further here. The purpose of this excursus has simply been to provide a quick overview of the backgrounds for the Republican forms and institutions that played such an important role in Augustus' creation of the Principate. Those Republican forms and institutions, including the concept of collegiality, continued to carry considerable prestige and influence for the Roman populace and in western municipalities throughout the first century A.D.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

Andrews University doctoral dissertations are microfilmed by University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Some dissertations will also have been published in dissertation series (e.g., the Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series), and in such cases, the pertinent information will be noted in connection with the abstract printed herein.

THE LATTER DAYS AND THE TIME OF THE END IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL

Author: **Gerhard Pfandl**. Ph.D., 1990.

Adviser: Gerhard F. Hasel

This study attempts to investigate the two temporal expressions *b^eah^ari^l hayyāmim* (the latter days) and *ʿē^l qēš* (the time of the end) in the book of Daniel. Its main objective is to determine the precise meanings of these phrases and the relationship between them.

Chapter 1 presents a historical review of literature on the expression "the latter days" and "the time of the end." The four major schools of interpretation (Historical-critical, Preterist, Historicist, Futurist-dispensational) and their understanding of these phrases are outlined and the great divergence of opinions among scholars concerning them is noted. Furthermore, the issues and problems which this study addresses are pointed out.

The investigation of the phrase "the latter days" in chapter 2 shows that only in the Akkadian literature do we find any parallel phrases to *b^eah^ari^l hayyāmim*. However, the Akkadian phrases *ana ahrat umē* and *ina arkāt umē* never appear in a religious context and lack an eschatological meaning. In the OT *b^eah^ari^l hayyāmim* can refer to various periods in the history of Israel, some of which are eschatological, e.g., Deut 4:30; Jer 23:20; 30:24, and others which are not, e.g., 31:29; Jer 48:47; 49:39. In the book of Daniel the expressions *b^eah^ari^l hayyāmim* (10:14) and *b^eah^ari^l yōmayyā^w* (2:28) are equivalent. Both phrases refer to the future which began in the time of Daniel and which reaches down to the time of the Messianic kingdom.

The investigation in chapter 3 indicates that the words *ʿē^l* and *qēš* by themselves can have an eschatological meaning, e.g., *ʿē^l* in Jer 3:17; 8:1-8; 18:23; 33:15 and *qēš* in Amos 8:2; Lam 4:18 and Ezek 7:2,3,6. The phrase *ʿē^l qēš* or a cognate equivalent does not appear anywhere in the ancient Semitic literature outside of the book of Daniel. It is an apocalyptic terminus

technicus found five times in the latter half of the book of Daniel (8:17; 11:35,40; 12:4,9) and always refers to the apocalyptic end of world history, the final period of time leading up to the absolute End.

The final chapter presents an overall summary and presents certain conclusions concerning the two phrases “the latter days” and “the time of the end” and their interrelationship.

CLARK H. PINNOCK'S SHIFT IN HIS DOCTRINE OF BIBLICAL AUTHORITY AND RELIABILITY: AN ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE

Author: **Ray C. W. Roennfeldt**, Ph.D., 1991.

Adviser: Raoul Dederen

This study investigates Clark H. Pinnock's shift in his doctrine of biblical authority and reliability.

A brief introduction, delineating the objectives, method, and delimitations of the study, is followed by an historical survey of developments in regard to biblical authority and reliability from the sixteenth century onwards. There were few doubts regarding scriptural authority and veracity until the rise of English Deism, biblical criticism, and religious liberalism. The resulting demolition of the traditional view of Scripture was protested by Fundamentalism, then by evangelicalism. Contemporary evangelicals, however, reveal little uniformity in regard to the doctrine of Scripture. Pinnock's own role in the Southern Baptist inerrancy debates can be viewed as representative of that diversity.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of Pinnock's major concerns, shaping influences, and shifts of opinion regarding apologetics, soteriology, theology proper, political theology, and Pentecostalism. His desire that evangelical theology be both conservative and contemporary is revealed in his development in all these themes.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on Pinnock's early and later thinking concerning biblical authority/reliability. The early Pinnock considered that Scripture explicitly taught the inerrancy of the original autographs. He qualified the inerrancy category by reference to the "intention" of the text, regarded biblical difficulties as "apparent," and argued from biblical reliability to authority. The later Pinnock attempts to move conservatives toward acceptance of Scripture's human form. He rejects his earlier view as inadequate from the standpoint of biblical teaching and the role of the Spirit. A strict view of inerrancy is now considered incompatible with anything less than a deterministic doctrine of God.

The final chapter evaluates the strengths, weaknesses, and consistency of Pinnock's two views and suggests the reason/s for his shift. While the early Pinnock stresses the divine role in inscripturation, the later seems to emphasize the human. His conclusions in each of these periods reflect the consequence of a Calvinism to Arminianism paradigm shift which began with his soteriology, moved to his doctrine of God, and filtered into his view of Scripture. He may need to make adjustments to his system to maintain a high view of biblical authority and reliability.

BOOK REVIEWS

Allen, Diogenes. *Christian Belief in a Postmodern World: The Full Wealth of Conviction*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989. 238 pp. Paperback, \$15.95.

Diogenes Allen's *Christian Belief in a Postmodern World* is an apology of Christianity addressed to the educated churchgoer who, under the influence of postmodern scientific culture, may wonder, "Why should I go to church when I have no religious needs?" Allen's answer is that they should do so "because Christianity's true" (p. 1).

Understanding the truth of Christianity, according to Allen, requires a rather general awareness of our postmodern times. As a result of the mindset which originated in the Enlightenment, "Christianity has been on the defensive intellectually" (p. 2). However, "our situation is now far better than it has been in modern times because our intellectual culture is at a major turning point. A massive intellectual revolution is taking place that is perhaps as great as that which marked off the modern world from the Middle Ages. The foundations of the modern world are collapsing, and we are entering a postmodern world" (ibid.). Allen broadly defines his understanding of "postmodernity" as post-Enlightenment (post-Hume and -Kant) (p. 6). Postmodernity in Christian theology is a reaction to nineteenth-century liberalism that includes four main trends: 1) the confessional trend indebted to Barth; 2) the existential-hermeneutical trend indebted to Heidegger and Schleiermacher; 3) a very recent deconstructionist trend indebted to Heidegger and Derrida; and finally, 4) a process trend indebted to Whitehead and Hartshorne (ibid.). Allen summarizes his argument in favor of the truth of Christianity in three main steps. First, a proper understanding of the existence of and order in the world points "to the possibility of God." Second, "our needs, unless deliberately restrained, lead us to search for what is ultimate." Third, "the conviction concerning the reality of God comes from the actual experience of divine grace frequently made possible through the witness of the Bible" (p. 19).

Christian Belief in a Postmodern World appears to be a project conceived mainly in terms of negative rather than positive apologetics. Allen's approach to Christian apologetics in three stages is very appropriate, yet it broadens the range of areas to be defended beyond the mere existence of God (part 1) into some basic problematic Christian doctrines (part 2), and the relationship of Christianity to other religions (part 3). Allen's apologetic strategy consists basically in allowing for both the possibility and necessity

of God *vis-à-vis* our scientific culture, which has been criticized and brought up to date. In the first part, Allen is able to show that a scientific approach to knowledge does not necessarily contradict the existence of God or the human need for God. On the contrary, science in its incompleteness seems to point to God.

In the second part, Allen follows the same kind of strategy, "making room" for belief. Yet, he now deals with issues like grace, faith, revelation, and providence, that presuppose a more precise theological interpretation than the general issue of the possibility of God. It is at this point that some difficulties in Allen's presentation come into view. First, science is assumed as the parameter for the possibility of the Christian understanding of the issues at stake. Second, Allen's defense is based on a reinterpretation of the content of the issues he is defending. Even though it is clear that many difficulties are solved when a proper understanding of Christian doctrines is achieved, such a task belongs to systematic theology rather than to apologetics. Third, the profile of the interpretation of Christianity that Allen has in mind is not totally clear. Allen's defense covers a wide and complex range of issues that are not clearly analyzed. In order for clarity of presentation and argument to be enhanced in this kind of hermeneutical apologetics, a more precise presentation of the reinterpretation itself is required. For instance, when the central issue of God's activity is dealt with, Allen dogmatically rejects that God's creation can be understood within the physical order of cause and effect because "God does not physically interact with the universe" (p. 160). Yet, when analyzing the divine agency in a scientific world, the possibility of miracle in the physical world is recognized (p. 180). One wonders about the reasons for discriminating between the actions of God. Why is the physical action of God in the historical continuum allowed in some events (the cross, miracles of Christ) but dogmatically rejected in others (creation of the world)? Allen's clarification on this and similar issues may contribute to a more precise communication of his thought and perhaps to an enhancement of his argument.

I wonder whether Allen's approach to apologetics is not pointing beyond itself to the need for a much deeper reinterpretation of Christianity itself: a reinterpretation that should be developed in faithfulness to the foundational ideas that the Christian community has preserved in its original reflection, namely, the Bible. Allen seems to work with an understanding of Christianity that is more open to philosophical and scientific foundations than to an original search for them in the Bible. Be that as it may, Allen's work is worth reading, considering, and analyzing, not only for its threefold approach to apologetics but also for its overall clarity in argument and serious scholarship in analysis.

Bernal, Martin. *Cadmean Letters*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990. xiii + 156 pp. \$19.50.

Martin Bernal has taken upon himself the formidable task of reshaping scholarly thought on Semitic and Egyptian influences in the formation of classical Greek culture. The study begins with a history of how Eurocentrism and anti-Semitism have seriously skewed our understanding of relations between Greece, Egypt, and the Levant. As a result, scholarly inertia has held in place conclusions based on unfounded racial presuppositions. The first chapter of *Cadmean Letters* chronicles this history with special reference to the transmission of the alphabet from the Levant to Greece. The transmission tends to be dated to the Iron Age, from as late as the 7th century (Classics) to as early as the 11th century (Semitics). Bernal would date the primary transmission of the alphabet to the Bronze Age, before or during the 15th century.

In chaps. 2 and 3 Bernal makes specific critiques of the standard models for the transmission of the alphabet and proposes his own model. He criticizes the simplistic tree model of transmission, preferring a wave model in which waves of influence move out from one or more centers, each leaving its mark. Bernal sees two major waves in the transmission of the alphabet. These moved from the Levant to Greece, one in the Bronze Age and the second in the Iron Age. Bernal also questions the idea that "primitive" syllabaries were replaced by the more advanced alphabet. Rather he points out several examples of how the alphabet was used to form syllabaries, especially those of Iberia.

In chaps. 4 and 5 the author gives a detailed analysis of the Spanish syllabaries and the Greek alphabet to show that the Semitic alphabet of the 14th-15th centuries must have been the alphabet of primary transmission responsible for these two writing systems. By the 11th century the alphabet of the Levant, especially Phoenicia, had lost many of the features clearly evidenced in the alphabets and syllabaries of the Mediterranean world.

Bernal argues that at least some of the Greek vowels were invented in a Semitic context prior to the transmission of the alphabet. His strongest argument concerns the letter *epsilon* (*E*) which is derived from *hē*. Bernal points out that the second vowel *ʔalep* of Ugaritic (*ʔi*) is strikingly similar to the form of *hē*. He describes this *ʔalep* as a *hē* with a diacritical mark to indicate that it is the vowel. Bernal's weakest argument concerns the *ʔayin* which became the Greek *omicron*. Bernal also argues that the "added letters" at the end of the Greek alphabet (*phi*, *chi*, *psi*, and *omega*) are among the oldest of the Greek letters. The strong Phoenician influence in the archaic period reshaped the alphabet, which was already widespread throughout the Greek world. As a result, those letters which did not fit the Phoenician pattern were relegated to the end of the alphabet. At this time

some letters already present in Greek use were reshaped under Phoenician influence.

Following a brief conclusion concentrating on the Greek alphabet, Bernal includes a one-page appendix consisting of a letter sent in 1915 by his grandfather, Alan Gardiner, to his grandmother, after Gardiner presented a paper on the transmission of the alphabet. The letter gives a brief insight into the personalities and issues of the period. Following the bibliography is an index of authorities cited.

The chief difficulty of Bernal's thesis is the presence of long silent periods in the record. Of course, such silences already exist in the accepted models. Also, many of the important epigraphic finds are not archaeologically datable, so these "silent" periods may not be quite so silent. However, Bernal goes to extremes when he derides what he calls a "fetish for attestation" (p. 64). Although available evidence is limited, this is one "fetish" which needs to be more popular.

The inertia against which Bernal is moving is very great. His work is carefully done and has great merit. *Cadmean Letters* is an important contribution to the study of the alphabet's transmission. As Bernal stands alone in this field, his work should be read critically. More important, it should be read.

Madison, WI 53713

JAMES E. MILLER

Clines, David J. A. *Job 1-20*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 17. Dallas: Word Books, 1989. 651 pp. \$24.99.

Because the Book of Job is one of the greatest works of world literature, most commentary writers approach it with trepidation. Clines considered his task "nearly as dangerous as composing a ninth symphony" (p. xi).

In a commentary on Job one looks quickly to examine the author's views on a number of problems: relationship of the prose story and poetry dialogue, the alleged 'disarray' in the third cycle of speeches, the place of the poem on wisdom in chapter 28, and whether the Elihu speeches constituted part of the original composition. (See C. S. Rodd, "Which Is the Best Commentary? Part iv: Job," *Expository Times* 97 [1986]: 356-360.)

Clines is not dogmatic, but he believes it probable that the author of the prologue and epilogue story is also the poet of the dialogue, and that he wrote the prose deliberately for its place in the book.

Since the commentary covers only the first twenty chapters of Job, the third cycle of speeches is not addressed. From the outline in the introduction, however, it appears that Clines does not resort to re-arrangement of the text. On the other hand, he does allow for the possibility of "dislocation in the

course of scribal transmission," and for the theory that the poem on wisdom should be attributed to Zophar (though he does not consider that a solution). He believes "one must acknowledge the possibility that the Book of Job has been subject to expansion" (p. lix).

In a departure from the practice of earlier commentaries on Job, Clines devotes only a page to the problem of suffering. That reflects today's trend. The "problem of suffering" theme is considered the motto only for those approaching the book for the first time. Clines does spend nine pages on "The Moral Order of the World." He sees the argument of the book as addressing the question of whether there is any moral order in this world, "whether there is any rule whereby goodness is rewarded and wickedness is punished" (p. xxxix).

The commentary on each section is preceded by a fairly exhaustive bibliography related to that passage. Works listed in these bibliographies are not listed in the general bibliography unless they are referred to more than once. The bibliographies on the separate passages are extremely helpful.

Next comes Clines' translation of the passage, followed by fairly detailed philological notes. A commentator on the book of Job must wrestle with the meaning of many *hapax legomena*. Clines shares that struggle with his readers, also supplying the conclusions of other scholars.

The author also provides an adequate discussion on the form/structure/setting of each passage, after which the commentary proper appears under "Comments." Lastly, Clines supplies an "Explanation." The person who wants nothing more than a quick survey of what is happening in sequence is advised to read in succession the explanation at the end of each section.

One significant discussion that is missing is on the historical context of Job, namely, on the date and authorship of the book. Interestingly, Clines omits this because he believes the primary question is the meaning or interpretation of the book. He spends all his time and effort in that area. Questions of date, authorship, and sources he considers extrinsic to the book itself. Certainly the meaning of the book is more important than its history. Dates are important in locating theology in history, but Clines claims to know nothing of either the author or the date of Job's composition. His guesses, he asserts, would not be better than those of others. His attitude toward the problem of unlocking the mysteries of the historical context seems correct in the light of the contradictory results from other researchers' studies.

Clines' major contributions to the study of Job are his bibliographies (better than anything else in print) and the comprehensiveness of his material. One cannot but look forward to his second volume.

Duke, Rodney K. *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler: A Rhetorical Analysis*. Bible and Literature Series, no. 25. JSOT Supplement Series, no. 88. Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990. 192 pp. \$39.50.

For those well acquainted with the books of Chronicles—laity, clergy, and scholars alike—the phrase “the persuasive appeal of the Chronicler” seems at best paradoxical. First and Second Chronicles usually overwhelm the contemporary reader, not with interest and emotion, but more often with a yawn. Duke has therefore set for himself a formidable task in this study: to show that “the Books of Chronicles exemplify artistic persuasion” (p. 151).

Duke begins his study by placing his literary/rhetorical approach within the history of interpretation of Chronicles and Aristotelian rhetorical categories. In the second chapter, the core of the work, the author classifies Chronicles within Aristotle’s category of deliberative or political speech—a speech which exhorts people to a particular course of action. For Duke, Chronicles exhorts its audience to seek and obey Yahweh, and thus insure national well-being. The Chronicler structures his narrative to accomplish this end. He begins with an introduction (1 Chr 1-9) to dispose “the audience to a favorable reception” (p. 52) of the work before presenting paradigmatically the reigns of David and Solomon (1 Chr 10-2 Chr 9) as “the statement of the case”—prosperity results from seeking Yahweh. Chronicles concludes with the “argument”: the demonstration of the benefits of seeking Yahweh through the history of the Davidic kings (2 Chr 10-36).

Duke devotes the rest of the book to articulating the specifics of the Chronicler’s rhetoric through the work’s “logos” (its rational appeal), “ethos” (its credibility), and “pathos” (its emotional appeal). According to Duke, the Chronicler rationally demonstrated his case through the use of “enthymemes” (rhetorical syllogisms with a major premise implied rather than stated) and “examples,” moving from largely inductive arguments in the beginning (via examples) to more risky, deductive arguments (via enthymemes) by the end of the narrative. The Chronicler establishes his credibility through rearranging and omitting, rather than contradicting, earlier traditions; using “external,” authoritative evidence for new materials; and writing in the omniscient, third-person narrative voice. Finally, the Chronicler attempts to move his audience emotionally through contrasting those who “seek Yahweh” with those who forsake Israel’s God, lining up the audience’s emotions with the appropriate character action. These elements, combined with “skill and artistry” (p. 151), produce the work’s “persuasive appeal.”

Duke’s accomplishment has been to support recent scholarship’s reading of Chronicles through an appeal to Aristotelian rhetorical theory. Herein lies the book’s strength—and a major weakness. Duke depends

heavily, and often without sufficient warrant, upon secondary literature. For instance, largely on the basis of G. E. Schaefer's unpublished dissertation "The Significance of Seeking God in the Purpose of the Chronicler," he emphasizes the motif "seeking Yahweh"—as "a total response of the worshiper to God" (p. 50)—as central to the Chronicler's purpose. Yet an examination of the data in appendices 1-3 indicates that this dependence may be problematical. In appendix 2, "Speech Material with 'Seeking' Enthymeme" (pp. 159-161), Duke lists thirty-seven occurrences of the seeking-Yahweh motif. Of these, over half (20/37) are "implicit." More seriously, in at least nine instances that Duke lists as "explicit," the "seeking" motif is not directly stated but, at best, implicit (1 Chr 28:2-8; 2 Chr 7:12-22; 12:5; 12:7-8; 16:7-9; 19:2-3; 20:20; 20:37; 21:12-15; and 25:7-9). While "seeking Yahweh" is an important motif in Chronicles, it does not seem able to bear the structural weight that Duke places upon it unless one broadens the concept to include all religious and cultic behavior. "Seeking Yahweh" becomes an inner, subjective, theological virtue, more appropriate to contemporary American piety than to the Jerusalem temple cult. By his dependence upon Schaefer, Duke empties Aristotle's "deliberative rhetoric" of any real political force, transforming the Davidic dynasty into "every person" rather than a viable political institution.

Duke's work, despite its limitations, opens up at least two new fields of inquiry into Chronicles. A literary analysis of Chronicles is welcome in light of a tendency to read the history exclusively as a reworking of Deuteronomistic History, rather than as a narrative in its own right. Second, Duke's appeal to Aristotle raises the question of the relationship of Chronicles to Greek theory and historiography of approximately same period. Duke utilizes Aristotle's *Rhetoric* because he considers it to be "one of the earliest and most influential descriptive works on rhetoric" (p. 38).

Does Duke succeed in proving the literary artistry of the Chronicler? Not really. For example, he strains for consistency in his argument on the progressive importance of the enthymeme, after showing its presence and importance in 1 Chr 1-10, and underemphasizes the radical results of the Chronicler's rewriting of history while trying to establish the Chronicler's rhetoric of credibility. His brief chapter (9 pages) on Chronicles' emotional appeal will move few towards his position. Theologically, though, Duke has succeeded in bringing a reading of the often neglected books of Chronicles closer to the theological discourse of the church. Within the academe, Duke has begun an agenda that may help us ultimately to better understand Chronicles within the dimly seen world of postexilic Judaism. Despite the work's limitations, then, we can thank Duke for the fruits of his labor.

St. Mary's College
Notre Dame, IN 46556

JOHN W. WRIGHT

Dyrness, William A. *Learning about Theology from the Third World*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990. 221 pp. Paperback, \$12.95.

Dyrness' book is a general introduction to the way Christians outside North America think about their faith. The author's interest in the topic is understandable in light of his own missionary experience in the Philippines and his position as dean of the influential School of World Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary.

The author notes the well-documented fact that the heartland of the church is shifting rapidly from Europe and North America to Latin America, Africa, and parts of Asia. If the theology of the majority is what matters, then the theology of the third world is worth caring about.

Attempting to avoid the pitfalls of ethnocentrism, xenocentrism, and relativism, Dyrness opts for what Charles Taylor calls "the interpretive view" (p. 121). This method calls for both sides in the cultural encounter to question and challenge their own culture in a productive dialogue.

The difficulty in cross-cultural theology is describing how the Scripture message relates to particular cultures, or what is commonly called "contextualization." Dyrness rejects what he calls anthropological, praxis, and translation models proposed by others in favor of his model, which he labels "the interactional model" (p. 29). In it, contextualization is an on-going process in which Scripture is read and obeyed by a body of believers. Meanwhile, ongoing faith dialogues with culture, which progressively comes under the analysis of Scripture. Out of this hermeneutical circle comes a genuinely contextualized theology.

The bulk of this book deals with general descriptions of African, Latin American, and Asian theologies. Dyrness believes the opportunity and challenge of African theology is to root faith in its own specific setting and history, and in the process to see life as a single reality. Latin American theology, on the other hand, deals with social and political issues. Thus, much of Dyrness' discussion revolves around liberation theology and the quest of oppressed peoples for justice and peace. Moving to Asia, Dyrness finds the task of interaction more diverse and difficult. Possible avenues for evangelical and biblical dialogue with the Asian setting lie in an emphasis on religious experience and ties between the biblical description of the human plight and the Buddhist emphasis on human life as marked by change, decay, and suffering.

The book concludes with a case study in Christology, with each of the three major third-world areas bringing insights to the topic. A final chapter is entitled: "Where do we go from here?"

Dyrness is to be applauded for his serious introduction to a key topic. For too long evangelicals have avoided the issue of contextualization and rejected the very idea that there might be an African or Latin American

theology. The author describes these third-world theologies, accepting them as true Christian efforts. He also lays a philosophical and methodological foundation for future dialogue and evaluation.

The most creative part of the book is Dyrness' introductory chapter, which proposes his methodology for doing cross-cultural theology. Dyrness claims that the more specific a third-world theology is to its setting, the more power it has. If this is true, the way we go about doing theology is of vital importance. The author has done much to point us in the right direction by his "interactional model," which has its roots in Robert Schreiter's earlier work.

The sections describing third-world theologies are long, involved, and in places difficult to follow. A shorter, crisper description, followed by more case studies, like the one on Christology, would have been helpful. Given the importance of third-world theology, and its future importance to the church, more space needs to be given to the wide-ranging implications of such a theology for the North American church. Surely doctrine, hermeneutics, mission, and church polity and practice in the West would be heavily impacted. At this early stage, however, too clear a delineation of implications for western Christianity may not be possible or might prove too frightening.

All four models suggested for contextualization, including Dyrness' own "interactional model," fall short in one area. Contextualization is not simply a dialogue, but rather a three-way conversation. Not only are Scripture and the local culture involved, so is the missionary culture. Even if the "missionary" comes not as a person but as a copy of Scripture in the local language, the fact that it comes written in a book as a translation is already a third cultural involvement. Thus Scripture and its original culture, the mediating missionary culture, and the receiving culture are all involved in a three-cornered dialogue. This is the birth milieu of third-world theology.

This book is a sign that evangelicalism is becoming involved in a crucial issue for an increasingly international Christian family. It deserves wide and careful reading.

Andrews University

JON L. DYBDAHL

Efrd, James M. *A Grammar for New Testament Greek*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990. xvii + 168. \$19.95.

Greek grammars are relatively plentiful in the market, but if one can improve what is available, there is always room for one more. Each new author of a grammar feels that way. The bottom line is whether such an improvement makes it worth adding another.

Obviously, the book contains the facts of grammar common to any book of this sort. One cannot improve on that. One can always improve on a clearer presentation of the material, a better method of teaching, or a better arrangement of the material to help the student.

The author, Professor of Biblical Interpretation at the Divinity School of Duke University, excels in the first of these. There is a marked clarity of presentation. His method seems to be the traditional deductive approach, which may be the best for his purpose: to present the basic grammar in one term, so that the student will be able to read the Greek New Testament the following term. Obviously, this will have limitations for the college student who has two terms in which to acquire basic skills. But one must question whether this method, even in that context, is the best today. What is missing is repetition, which incorporates the material into the student's thinking. My suggestion here would be some type of graded reader. The student needs to have practice in reading connected sections instead of independent sentences.

The author should be commended also for bringing in basic syntactical matters as well, such as the different types of conditional sentences; the use of subjunctives, imperatives, and infinitives; indirect discourse; and the use of the different negative words. He also rightly emphasizes throughout the significance of the kind of action in Greek verbs.

The arrangement of the materials is quite subjective—that is, some would prefer to place some materials earlier than others. I would have placed the third-declension nouns and the passive voice earlier, but all Greek teachers recognize that everything needs to, but cannot, be learned at once. If we put something earlier, something else has to be put later.

The author is correct in emphasizing that there is no one way to translate certain verb forms. However, I wonder how the student responds when he is told in several places (pp. 12, 49, 88) that this is the case. Should he not be given at least one form of translation (perhaps the usual translation) and then be told that it may change according to the context, rather than be left in uncertainty?

In closing, I would like to make a few further observations: (1) For students, some of the chapters are packed with too much material. True, the material is related, and the student should be able to learn it all without too much difficulty, but I have tried to teach this way without great success. (2) Instruction in the transliteration of the short vowels should precede the exercise where such knowledge is required. (3) Greek-English vocabulary is provided, but no English-Greek vocabulary, though exercises throughout the book require translation from English to Greek. (4) Some of the English-to-Greek sentences in the translation are rather awkward and could be improved (see nos. 1, 3 on p. 31, and no. 2 on p. 85). Granted, one wants to include translation of forms that are presented in the grammar, but a little time and effort could have overcome these awkward expressions. (5) An

index is needed for quickly locating material, e.g., the conditional sentences, since they are not all in one chapter.

The clarity of the presentation and the compactness of the book will be appreciated not only by the students but also by teachers. With some of the improvements suggested above, it would be even more fully appreciated by its users.

Chico, CA 95926

SAKAE KUBO

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989. xiv + 312 pp. \$25.00.

Nathan Hatch's *Democratization of American Christianity* is a superb work in every sense. Not only is it adequately researched, delightfully written, and brimming with insights and human interest, but it is a path-breaking treatment of the development of American religion in the early national period (1790-1830).

During those years Christianity in the United States developed a uniqueness that not only set it apart from other religious models in the history of the church but also provided it with an exuberant vitality that continues to the present day. Yet, notes Hatch, this period in the evolution of the church in the United States has not received the kind of scholarly attention it should have. Furthermore, the attention it has received has too often lacked sufficient imagination and insight. Hatch's landmark work is both a demonstration of the kinds of creative work that can be done in this era and a call for more of the same. As such, it should set the agenda for fruitful study for years to come.

At the heart of Hatch's methodology is a reinterpretation of the religious dynamics of the Second Great Awakening. Too often, he suggests, religious treatments of the revival have retained a bias toward elite churches that has skewed the religious dynamics which were at the heart of the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian revolutions. Following the lead of such works as R. Laurence Moore's *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York, 1986 [reviewed in *AUSS*, Autumn 1988]), Hatch focuses his study on movements at "culture's periphery"—those movements that expressed "the most dynamic and characteristic elements of Christianity" during the early national period (pp. 221-222).

Overemphasizing the elite churches while ignoring those at the edges, Hatch argues, has blurred the radically different social functions which the revival assumed for proponents as diverse as the gentlemanly and aristocratic Lyman Beecher and exuberant innovators like Francis Asbury, Charles Finney, and a host of less-educated evangelists, such as William Miller and Joseph Smith.

In actual fact, Hatch asserts, the Second Great Awakening was anything but an expression of Protestant solidarity. To the contrary, an examination of the literature from outside the viewpoint of the traditional histories uncovers "a fault line of class" running across American Christianity, with "clergy from both ends of the social scale" battling "for cultural authority" (p. 226).

Thus the staid, well-educated Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist pastors of the old Federalist order were pitted against the socially disruptive, economically deprived, and often semi-illiterate clergy of the rising common people. Each side viewed the other adversarially in politics and culture as well as in religion.

The thesis of *The Democratization of American Christianity* is that the central force in the development of religion in the United States between 1790 and 1830 was its populist orientation. Flowing out of the democratic revolution was a religious revolution in which it was believed that the "common man" could perform the functions of the highly-trained clergy of the colonial period. Combined with the dynamic of the democratic revolution was a rapidly developing competitive culture that soon forced religion into the marketplace.

Hatch examines five distinct traditions that developed in early nineteenth-century America: the Christian movement (Christian Connection), the Methodists, the Baptists, the black churches, and the Mormons. The book demonstrates how each of these "mass movements" triumphed by reaching out to the populace through creative use of vernacular (and sometimes vulgar) preaching, the development of a mass religious culture in print, and the invention of American gospel music. In the process, the movements broke all the traditional rules in each of those areas of communication.

Motifs that united these diverse movements were the impelling desire to get back to the purity of NT Christianity (restorationism), a war against Calvinist theology and political control, a theology that united American nationalism and democracy with millennial hopes, and an aggressive belief that set forth the Bible as a book that every person could interpret. In short, these populist movements tended to be anticreedal ("the Bible our only creed"), antieducational, and antiecclesiastical.

In time, however, as Hatch points out, these populist religious movements evolved doctrinal platforms, started their own colleges and seminaries, and opted for systems of church government. In the face of those developments, he also demonstrates, new groups of populist leaders espousing the original "common man" values that gave rise to the movement in the first place split off from the parent bodies that had "degenerated" into creedalism and "priestcraft." Each new generation of clerical upstarts could build upon a population that recognized their populist arguments, entrepreneurial skills, and charismatic style. These elements, rather than the status of the

clergy, the power of the church's intellectual life, or the quality of its organization, are, according to Hatch, the driving force behind American Christianity.

In such a religious milieu one should not be surprised at the religious dominance of such leaders as Oral Roberts, Kathryn Kuhlman, Billy Graham, Robert Schuller, Jim Bakker, Jimmy Swaggart, Jerry Falwell, and Pat Robertson. After all, they speak the language of the people. As such, they continue a long tradition of democratic religious authority.

Andrews University

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Lotz, David W., ed., with Shriver, Donald W., Jr., and Wilson, John F. *Altered Landscapes: Christianity in America, 1935-1985*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989. xi + 387 pp. \$27.95/Paperback, \$17.95.

Altered Landscapes is a collection of twenty-one essays written in honor of Robert T. Handy, Henry Sloane Coffin Professor of Church History at Union Theological Seminary. The essays focus on the development of American Christianity from 1935 to 1985, thereby supplementing Samuel McCrea Cavert and Henry P. Van Dusen, *The Church through Half a Century: Essays in Honor of William Adams Brown*, published in 1936.

Though modeled on Cavert and Van Dusen's earlier volume, this book differs in important ways. Reflecting the greater pluralism of America's religious culture, essays on Catholicism and Jewish-Christian relations are now included. Social changes of the past fifty years have also necessitated separate discussions of women and blacks. International developments have led to an examination of third-world views of the American church.

The editors have divided their book into three parts. The first, "The Changing American Churches," includes essays on subjects such as modernism, evangelicalism, public worship, and world missions. Part two, "The Changing Theological Disciplines," addresses theological education, biblical scholarship, science and religion, ethics, and church history, among other subjects. The final section, "Reflections on Religion in a Changing America," contains two essays on the relationship of America's diverse religious past to its present and future.

Although much can be learned from almost any of the essays, a few stand out as particularly valuable. Leonard Sweet clarifies why the modernism that came to dominate mainstream Protestantism ultimately failed: it ironically lacked the "organizational and theological characteristics required by the modern urban environment" (p. 34). The evangelicalism that has moved to replace modernism is not a unified phenomenon, however, as George Marsden argues in his examination of the varieties of conservative

Christianity. Also breaking down the image of a monolithic subculture is Albert J. Raboteau's discussion of diversity within the black church.

That this sense of the pluralistic nature of both American culture and Christianity can lead to greater self-understanding appears in Gordon Tucker's study of Jewish-Christian relations. He argues that Christian theologians increasingly are recognizing "that the Church must understand itself in its Jewish context, that Christology cannot ignore the Jewishness of Jesus" (p. 152). From a different context, Kasuke Koyama points out that third-world Christians are increasingly asking how the Christian church in America is related to an American nation that they often find oppressive.

The relation of culture and religion also appears in the essays on the disciplines. Glenn T. Miller's examination of seminary education is particularly insightful. He argues that after William Adams Brown and Mark A. May published *The Education of American Ministers* in 1934, seminaries increasingly came to see themselves as professional schools similar to those of law and medicine. The ministry, correspondingly, developed into a "helping profession," alongside psychology and social work. The end result, Miller concludes, was that seminaries lost their position of intellectual leadership and fell behind society in addressing social issues.

Although all of the essays address history, not all are historically organized. William Bean Kennedy's examination of religious education, Wayne Proudfoot's discussion of religion and science, and Barbara Brown Zikmund's study of women and the churches are organized around themes or issues. This approach sometimes gives these essays an abstract quality that is not as well grounded in unique and particular facts moving through time as are those subjects examined in more conventional historical fashion.

Anyone concerned with contemporary American Christianity will find this book valuable. Because of the diversity of subjects addressed, *Altered Landscapes* should appeal to scholars in many disciplines and to church professionals who wish to better understand their occupations and the institutions within which they work.

Andrews University

GARY LAND

McArthur, Harvey K., and Johnston, Robert M. *They Also Taught in Parables: Rabbinic Parables from the First Centuries of the Christian Era*. Grand Rapids, MI: Academie Books, Zondervan Publishing House, 1990. 221 pp. Paperback, \$10.95.

A collection of 125 rabbinic parables which can reasonably be dated before 220 c.e. forms the core of this book. Where available, the translations offered are drawn, with some revisions, from standard English editions of rabbinic texts; where these were not available, the authors have made their

own translations. The second part of the book consists of a series of critical essays in which the authors undertake a detailed form-critical analysis of the rabbinic parables offered in part 1. The three final chapters are devoted to a comparison of rabbinic parables with those in the Gospels and to suggestions as to how the rabbinic materials may be valuable for contemporary Christian teaching and preaching. An amply annotated list of significant works in English, German, French, and Hebrew on rabbinic parables completes the book.

In comparing the rabbinic parables with those in the Gospels, and Johnston correctly point out that “while the rabbinic parables seek to reinforce conventional values, those of Jesus tend to undermine or invert them. . . . It is this upsetting quality of the typical gospel parable that provides the clearest contrast with that of the rabbinic literature. Jesus the parabler was a subversive” (p. 114).

A second main issue with which the authors are concerned is the view first made popular by Adolf Jülicher (*Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2 vols. [Tübingen, 1888, 1899]), on the basis of comparison with the classical Greek *parabolē*, that a biblical parable should be interpreted as making only one point. This understanding was also adopted by C. H. Dodd (*The Parables of the Kingdom* [London, 1935]) and by Joachim Jeremias (*Die Gleichnisse Jesu* [Göttingen, 1947]; English: *The Parables of Jesus* [New York, 1963]), perhaps the two most influential writers on the parables in this century. McArthur and Johnston repeatedly point out that the rabbinic parables characteristically are accompanied by interpretations that have multiple points of comparison, and that therefore the Jülicher-Dodd-Jeremias approach to the Gospel parables is untenable.

This evidence adduced from the rabbinic parables by McArthur and Johnston is significant in that it offers further confirmation of a wide consensus reached by scholars over the past forty years since Jeremias' work appeared, to the effect that Gospel parables cannot be interpreted with only one point. The one-point approach has also been rejected through comparison with the rabbinic materials by David Flusser and David Stern, and on the basis of Middle Eastern thought patterns and cultural practices by Kenneth E. Bailey. Also, from a somewhat different perspective, on the basis of literary analysis, a one-point interpretation has been seen as inadequate, and the Gospel parables have been perceived as polyvalent, evoking different meanings for different persons (e.g., Dan O. Via, John Dominic Crossan, and Paul Ricoeur).

McArthur and Johnston's work opens the door to further investigation. Not only does their material deserve to be related to the research cited above, but also to another question with which in recent years NT scholars have been concerned: how does the genre of parable evoke personal involvement in the reader/hearer? As we have noted, McArthur and Johnston make the important point that the Gospel parables turn conventional mores and

ethical attitudes around; how then do these affect the reader and effect a change in his or her own view of the world? From a literary-critical point of view, is there a dynamic in such story telling, and if so, where does it lie? Much attention has been given to this problem as it bears on the Gospel parables; in addition to the writers mentioned above as representing a literary approach, others such as Robert W. Funk (*Language, Hermeneutic and Word of God* [New York, 1966]) and Amos N. Wilder (*Jesus' Parables and the War of Myths* [Philadelphia, 1982]) are examples of scholars who have dealt in depth with this concern. Such research, then, poses questions for further comparative study of Gospel and rabbinic parables. How do the rabbinic parables "work" on the reader? Does their alignment with conventional wisdom mean that they are less effective? Or is the analysis of Gospel parables made by Christian literary critics based on a prior faith commitment, which is the real source of the dynamic, rather than on any inherent element or technique in the parable itself? David Stern, in particular, has addressed these questions in several studies (see, for instance, his remarkable essay, "Jesus' Parables from the Perspective of Rabbinic Literature," in *Parable and Story in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Clemens Thoma and Michael Wyschogrod [Mahwah, NJ, 1989], 42-80).

The book is attractively printed and remarkably free of typographical errors. One notes, however, several instances where the opinions of other scholars are cited, or quotations are given, without bibliographical references (e.g., pp. 96, 100, 111, 112, 157, 198, 199).

This is a valuable book. It fills a serious lacuna in the growing body of materials available in English for a better assessment of the thought world of the first centuries of the Common Era, and it is written without confessional bias. No other work gives as direct access to rabbinic parables. The book deserves a place in the library of every scholar, rabbi, or pastor who is concerned with ancient Palestinian Judaism—the spiritual world in which historic Judaism had its birth, in which Jesus taught, and from which the Gospels sprang.

McCormick Theological Seminary
Chicago, IL 60637

EARLE HILGERT

Neyrey, Jerome H. *Paul, In Other Words: A Cultural Reading of His Letters*, Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1990. 262 pp. \$19.95.

Neyrey takes as his basic premise that Paul was socialized "as a Pharisee's Pharisee" and that "in his most basic understanding of the cosmos Paul never ceased viewing the world as a Pharisee" (p. 223). As a consequence, his symbolic universe is one structured in terms of "purity," the Pharisaic code word for "order." To establish the boundaries within which

God's order obtains, society has established rituals, which make crossing the boundary possible, and ceremonies, which help to maintain order within. A study of Paul reveals that he is more concerned with rituals than with ceremonies. According to Neyrey, "Paul's most characteristic activity" is making boundaries (p. 87).

In his explorations of the language of the body in 1 Corinthians, Neyrey makes some rather important observations about the language of tolerance and intolerance in Paul. The rest of the book deals with the notion of sin as that which pollutes or makes impure, and evil as that which seduces or bewitches. The final chapters deal with Paul's being accused of witchcraft at Galatia and Corinth.

Recognizing the importance of recreating the historical context of the biblical materials has made dependence on other disciplines a *modus operandi* of biblical studies. Cultural anthropology may indeed have much to contribute to an understanding of the social world of early Christianity, just as Semitic linguistics, archaeology, and innumerable other disciplines have been doing all along.

Admittedly, Neyrey shows here and there a nuanced view of some Pauline texts, but the number is small. Moreover, the exegesis brought into the discussion in order to fit the cultural models, provided almost exclusively by Mary Douglas, is quite often forced. Is self-control, for example, Paul's "dominant virtue" (p. 195)? Does it argue that for Paul, when using the symbol of the body, the most important consideration is "control"? Does the impact of Christ's resurrection have anything to say about Paul's socialization and his language of the body? Does Paul argue that the covenant with Moses is obsolete on account of the temporal priority of the covenant with Abraham? He may have thought so on account of the apocalyptic finality of the cross of Christ. Is the issue in Rom 9-11 whether God's activity is orderly or disorderly? Perhaps the issue is whether God's election is static or dynamic; order or disorder may be seen in both.

Paul's relations with the Jerusalem "pillars" is a prime example of social relations which may be illumined by cultural anthropology. But here Neyrey proves most unconvincing. Does Gal 2:11-14 show that in his confrontation with Peter, Paul "resorts to name calling" (p. 200)? Since Paul does not appeal to Jerusalem in order to settle the crisis in Galatia, Neyrey considers that "implicit in this stance is Paul's sense of his own weak authority in Jerusalem" (p. 201). Paul, according to Neyrey, depended on the Jerusalem "pillars" for his legitimacy (p. 199). Does Gal 2:1-10 show a Paul who "lays his gospel before the Jerusalem leaders expressly for the purpose of receiving their commendation" (p. 193)?

Paul clearly was a child of the Hellenistic Age and was socialized as an apocalyptic Jew. Therefore he did not think in post-French Revolution, individualistic terms (p. 43). He clearly understood the cosmos in radically dualistic terms. He believed in the immediate agency of evil beings and

thought in terms of a chain of being, an intellectual fixture of that time. We already knew all this. Are we supposed to think that Paul was different from Josephus, who believed in the efficacy of oaths, curses, and adjurations, even if Paul and Josephus are quite different in that the first refers often to Satan and the second never does? Neyrey's claim that Paul's witchcraft accusations are "impervious to us" because "contemporary biblical criticism simply is not capable of understanding these verses" is, it seems to me, a bit pompous. Neyrey seems to be overly self-conscious about what he is doing. This attitude reveals itself in unnecessary apologetics (pp. 215-217) and some immodesty, as when he announces that his book is "a major contribution" to the quest for the *Sitz im Leben* of the Pauline letters (p. 19). Anyone wishing to see how symbolic anthropology is being used by NT students may find this book useful. As a contribution to Pauline studies, it makes a rather minor impact.

Saint Mary's College
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

HEROLD WEISS

Owens, John Joseph. *Analytical Key to the Old Testament*. Vol. 1: Genesis-Joshua (xi + 1020 pp.); vol. 4: Isaiah-Malachi (xi + 941 pp.). Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1989. \$34.95 each.

Among the many tools for the study of the Hebrew Bible, this new instrument will be noticed by both students and teachers, but not necessarily for the same reasons.

Students will be delighted and relieved, because for the first time they will have access to a tool that will guide their steps into the Hebrew Bible. "Each word of the entire canon" and "each form" is analyzed and identified by reference to a standard Hebrew-English dictionary (BDB) or grammar (Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley) and translated (RSV or literal rendering when judged necessary). Owens' achievement is enormous and deserves admiration. Henceforth, the student using this work will be exempted from the painful process of analyzing and parsing and will be free from the risk of error. Students will heartily recommend this book to each other.

The Hebrew teacher, however, will hesitate even to mention the work, for this "too helpful" tool may encourage the lazy student to avoid learning *why* a word has been so analyzed. In Hebrew grammar, just as in mathematics, the student who knows the answer but does not understand "why" is suspect and should not be rewarded.

The information given in the *Analytical Key* should not be considered as the final word, either on grammatical form or meaning. A mechanical approach to the text does not do justice to the complex nature of language. Certainly Owens is aware of the problem of mechanical analysis, since he

has been a Hebrew teacher for more than thirty-five years, and since he prefaces his work with a cautious note that places the analytical enterprise in the dynamic context of "culture," where "syntax" and "style" play a decisive role.

With all these reservations in mind, Owens' work has its place as a control and reminder, but never can it be a primary or final guide to supersede the necessary task of "intelligent" analysis.

Andrews University

JACQUES B. DOUKHAN

Rack, Henry D. *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989. xvi + 656 pp. \$39.95.

Oden, Thomas C., and Longden, Leicester R. *The Wesleyan Theological Heritage: Essays of Albert C. Outler*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991. 267 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

Amid the large amount of recent Wesley publishing, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, by Henry Rack, a Methodist minister, Wesley scholar, and lecturer in ecclesiastical history at the University of Manchester, is, by any reckoning, one of the most important studies of Wesley and the eighteenth-century Methodist movement.

In spite of the vast bibliography upon which Rack draws, reflected in some 82 pages of endnotes, the work appears to be based more on secondary sources than on the eight volumes of the Bicentennial Edition of Wesley's works published by early 1988, and builds more on reinterpretation than upon analysis of primary Wesley sources. Rack indicates at the outset that the challenge to the writer on John Wesley is not "lack of evidence or even of research"; it is the need "to penetrate the legend created by his followers and biographers. . . ." (p. xii). What the task calls for is "fresh interpretation rather than new facts" (p. xiv). And taking a realistic approach in this fresh interpretation, Rack has produced a book with which, the dust cover warns, "Methodists may feel unhappy."

The scope and structure of the book are indicated by the subtitle, *John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*. Setting out to remedy what he considers to have been a defect in earlier Wesley studies, which focus too narrowly upon the story of the man, to the neglect of the social forces of the times and of the Wesleyan movement, Rack has given us a historical biography which locates Wesley within the patterns of thought of the eighteenth century and in the light of his relations with the Anglican Church and of his audience and following. As the title *Reasonable Enthusiast* suggests, this dual focus also serves as a foil against which to develop the paradoxes and tensions in the life and thought of Wesley himself. Wesley is presented as a man of two

worlds—an empiricist following Locke and the Enlightenment, but also an enthusiast giving credibility to a degree of heavenly illumination. The complex of tensions within Wesley's personal life and that of the movement is developed like a geological fault throughout the study.

Rack fulfills his purpose of bringing a fresh, new interpretation to the historical study of Wesley and Methodism. His work is penetrating and thorough and conducted with a high degree of objectivity. It rises above the many studies which exhibit a bias, either negative or positive. Particularly well covered in this study are the development of the Methodist organizational system and societies and Wesley's affective relationships with women. It would seem, however, that more attention should have been paid to Charles Wesley, to the relationship between the brothers, and to Methodist women preachers.

It is not so certain, however, that Rack does justice to Wesley's theological thought, which he regards as a "rough and ready . . . response to the practical needs thrown up by a revival situation" (p. 409). Rack is more inclined to read Wesley's theology off the surface of the movement than from a study of the roots of Wesley's thought. "To interpret all this in terms of Wesley's sources is not very helpful" (p. 409). This approach is borne out in the pattern of Rack's work, for he pays little direct attention to the letters between "John Smith" and Wesley or to his "Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion," which relate directly to Wesley's understanding of enthusiasm. He pays even less attention to Wesley's sermons, which were available in the new critical edition when he wrote. Rack's fundamental assessment of Wesley's theology is somewhat negative. In his view, it was "intellectually flawed," with little likelihood "that it would become significant" (p. 409). In the final analysis, he regards Wesley as a rationalist in form and an enthusiast in substance. The implication is perhaps that Wesley was an eighteenth-century man without an adequately thought-through theological system to speak to contemporary concerns. One gets the feeling, reading between the lines, that Rack the historian is somewhat negatively inclined toward theological dogmatism, and perhaps this provides the background for his views on Wesley as a theologian. In the judgment of this reviewer, John Wesley's theological contribution is not given adequate weight, nor is it studied at adequate depth in this volume.

In spite of its shortcomings in theological exposition, this book makes a large contribution to Wesley studies. It goes further than any other study to portray Wesley, his contemporaries, and the Methodist movement realistically in the world of their times. Rack is intimately acquainted with, and makes excellent use of, a vast body of Wesley literature and accurately characterizes much of it with a deft touch. To read the book is to renew acquaintance with the major contours of, and contributors to, Wesleyan thought. Not necessarily the best book for the person making a first ac-

quaintance with Wesley, it will certainly occupy a major place in scholarly circles for a considerable time to come.

The Wesleyan Theological Heritage is comprised of a series of fifteen selected essays written from 1961 to 1988 by Albert Outler, the late dean of British Wesleyan studies. This work is an ideal companion volume to those chapters in Rack's book (mainly chaps. 11 and 12) which deal with Wesley's theology. Whereas Rack sees Wesley's theology to a considerable extent as a response to the needs of the revival, Outler has made a meticulous investigation of the root sources of Wesley's theology. Outler thus approaches Wesley's theology from exactly the opposite direction from that of Rack. Nobody has been as well qualified to approach Wesley's theology this way as Outler, with his preparation in patristics, his long immersion in the Wesley writings in the production of the *John Wesley* volume in *A Library of Protestant Thought*, and the preparation of the four volumes of Wesley sermons for the Bicentennial Edition.

Most of the essays reproduced in this volume have been published before, but in scattered places, and have been difficult for the newcomer to Wesley studies to locate and assemble. The volume avoids unnecessary duplication in that it does not reproduce essays to be found within the more commonly available Wesley literature.

The informed Wesley scholar will have read many of these essays over the years, but this by no means detracts from the sheer delight of reading them at a single sitting and experiencing the cumulative force of the probings to which Outler subjects Wesley and the conclusions Outler develops. The difference between the methodologies which Rack and Outler employ in analyzing Wesley's theology is wide, and in spite of the Wesleyan commonalities that unite them, their conclusions regarding Wesley's theology differ considerably. The two books should provide the basis for more than one stimulating seminar debate.

Andrews University

RUSSELL L. STAPLES

Robertson, O. Palmer. *The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*. The New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1990. 357 pp. \$28.95.

In this commentary Robertson treats some of the neglected "minor" prophets in the prestigious NICOT series. Since the author has taught for two decades in well-known theological schools (Westminster and Covenant) and is currently pastoring a church, one expects a combination of interest in both the message of these three prophetic books and its application to the modern situation. The reader will not be disappointed: applications are made throughout to the modern situation.

Robertson holds that "there is a close-knit bond between prophecy and history." He argues that "the events that occurred to Judah and its neighbors spoke in anticipation of world-shaking circumstances that were yet to come" (p. vii). It is maintained throughout the commentary that "if successive divine judgments on ungodly nations have a prophetic dimension, then people and nations of today must take heed" (ibid.).

The historical survey of the times of the three prophets under discussion is cast in the framework of a "redemptive-historical setting" (pp. 1-17). "Theological perspective" (pp. 17-25) is the heading for what may be called a brief "theology" of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah. Special discussion is devoted to the virtual lack of messianism in these prophets. On the other hand, major emphasis is given to the justice, judgment, covenant, and salvation of God. It is concluded that "the love of God for a sinful people functions as the key factor in the salvational activity of God" (p. 24).

Nahum is said to derive most likely from the last days of the reign of Manasseh, ca. 642 B.C. Zephaniah must have had access to the "book of the law" (Deuteronomy) found in the days of Josiah, and his book is to be dated to the period shortly after its discovery in 622 B.C. Habakkuk, who functioned as a "cult prophet" (p. 37), is to be dated between 608 and 605 B.C. It is concluded that "the materials of the books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah present themselves as authentic words of the seventh-century prophets and should be treated as such" (p. 40).

The commentary proper of these three prophets is of rather varying lengths. Nahum is handled in about 80 pages, Habakkuk in 113 pages, and Zephaniah in 100 pages. The bibliography that concludes the introductory part of the commentary contains mostly articles. It includes but a handful of commentaries to which Robertson later refers. On this score the reader of NICOT expects more than has been provided.

A major issue in the book of Nahum is the relationship of the introductory psalm (Nah 1:2-8) to the remainder of the book. This part of the book is usually understood to provide a theological interpretation or introduction to the subsequent prophecies concerning the fall of Nineveh. Robertson is silent on this subject. He takes Nah 1:2-14 as its first unit and does not converse with scholars who divide the book differently, nor does he explain why his division is better.

Fortunately the usage of secondary literature in the writing of the commentary on Habakkuk is much better. A defense is provided for seeing the last chapter of the book as an integral part of the prophecy. The sensitivity to textual matters is also on a higher level.

The book of Zephaniah has the "day of Yahweh" as a "major organizational motif" (pp. 266-273). Robertson sees this motif as associated with the covenants with Noah, Abraham, and Moses and suggests that "the Day of Yahweh may be seen as the Day of his Covenant" (p. 268), an idea independently suggested also by D. Stuart in his 1989 commentary on Amos in the

Word Biblical Commentary series. These suggestions call for further investigation and attention.

It may be concluded that this volume of NICOT reflects a sound usage of the Hebrew text, a somewhat limited usage of literature on these prophets, a good grasp of literary characteristics of Hebrew poetry and its structures, and a sound approach to interpretation, with helpful applications to contemporary settings. Anyone reading this commentary will hear anew the prophetic call to live in a vital and dynamic faith relationship with the covenant God of old, who remains in charge of his people and the nations around them.

Andrews University

GERHARD F. HASEL

Stanton, Graham N. *The Gospels and Jesus*. Oxford Bible Series. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. xiii + 296 pp. \$59.00.

Stanton has divided his book into two parts. Part 1, consisting of 7 chapters, is devoted primarily to the evangelists. Four of the chapters deal with the picture of Jesus left by each of the four canonical Gospels. A short chapter argues for the necessity of reading the Gospels at two levels: for what they say about Jesus and for what they say about the Christian congregations they come from. Another chapter tries to answer the question, What is a gospel? The last one looks at the noncanonical gospels from antiquity for their value in the reconstruction of the life of Jesus.

Part 2 attempts to recover the Jesus who is at the root of the Gospel traditions. Its first two chapters try to lay the groundwork for the search. They assess the nature of the evidence available and the best methods for dealing with it. The next seven chapters look at what Stanton considers to be important facets of Jesus' life. A final chapter summarizes by asking: Who was Jesus of Nazareth? The last twenty-two pages provide a bibliography arranged by chapters as suggestions for further study (here it is easy to argue for significant omissions), an index of passages cited, and a rather meager general index.

Only rarely does Stanton venture to argue for a particular view. This becomes a severe handicap, particularly in the presentation of the redactional work of the evangelists. The four chapters on the individual Gospels are bland. Most regrettably, the argument for reading the Gospels at two levels goes to waste because we are never told how the Gospels contributed to the life of their respective congregations.

A related criticism may be leveled at part 2. After having established criteria for evaluating the authenticity of reports about Jesus in the Gospels, Stanton only once appeals to one of them in order to argue for the authenticity of a saying. Based on the criterion of dissimilarity, Stanton affirms that

the words, "Whoever divorces his wife and marries another, commits adultery against her," are "undoubtedly authentic" (p. 244). To defend the authenticity of the inscription placed on the cross, "The King of the Jews," however, Stanton appeals to the "criterion of embarrassment," which, unfortunately, was not included in the discussion of criteria of authenticity.

Most unsatisfactory is the way in which the author probes the "self-consciousness" and the "intentions" of Jesus. For example, after declaring that the miracle stories have been used to serve quite diverse roles, Stanton affirms that they reveal the intention of Jesus (p. 217). If, for example, Jesus used the designations "Son of God" and "Son of man" to describe a role which any human being might undertake, why expect much from them as revealing a unique "self-consciousness"?

What is sorely missing is the recognition that the Jesus presented in the Gospels is most forcibly constrained by a sense of "the time." In an unguarded moment Stanton admits: "Jesus expected that in the 'last days,' which he believed to be imminent, the temple would be destroyed and replaced by some form of alternative access to God" (p. 266). Would an expectation for "some form" of an alternative have brought about the death of Jesus? Stanton never takes account of the social context of the messianic expectations inflaming Jewish life at the time. By contrast, Paula Fredriksen's *From Jesus to Christ* (New Haven, 1988) is more satisfying.

Stanton advises that "it is all too easy for the modern scholar to make Jesus in his own image. That danger can be avoided only by assessing *all* the evidence equally rigorously—even the less congenial parts" (p. 273). While Stanton evidently has taken note of Albert Schweitzer's exposé of the dangers of drawing Jesus in the researcher's own image, he has overlooked Schweitzer's insistence that the most uncongenial, apocalyptic, first century must be taken seriously. Here Stanton fails according to his own standards. The book also fails vis-à-vis its exorbitant price!

Saint Mary's College
Notre Dame, IN 46556

HEROLD WEISS

Thompson, Leonard L. *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. xiv + 265 pp. \$23.96.

Leonard L. Thompson's *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire* is refreshing for its comprehensive approach to the matter of the social and political context of life in the Roman province of Asia at the close of the first Christian century. The book is also noteworthy for its suggestions concerning the place of John's Apocalypse within, or in relationship to, that context, novel (and perhaps faulty) as some of these suggestions may be.

The book is not a commentary on Revelation, though a few "comments" of interpretational nature do occur.

In his "Introduction" (pp. 1-8), the author states explicitly that his "interest in the Book of Revelation is limited to the situation in which it was first read and written" (p. 3). He goes on to share his conviction that "original meaning" and "original context" for the book of Revelation "are not normative for all subsequent readings" and that, likewise, later readings of that book "should not control how we understand its 'original context'" (p. 4).

The volume contains four major parts, each subdivided into chapters. The first part, "Orientation" (pp. 11-34), contains a discussion of Revelation's "Historical Setting and Genre" (chap. 1) and "The Social Setting of Apocalypses" (chap. 2). The second, including chaps. 3-5, deals with "The Script: Wholeness and the Language of the Book of Revelation" (pp. 37-91). The third part (chaps. 6-9) discusses "The Stage: Roman Society and the Province of Asia" (pp. 95-167). The final section, "The Play: The Apocalypse and the Empire" (pp. 171-201), applies Thompson's insights to Revelation itself (chaps. 10-12).

An appendix (pp. 202-210) reviews "Recent Theories about the Social Setting of the Book of Revelation." The theories selected for this review are those of Colin Hemer, John Court, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, John Gager, and Adela Yarbro Collins, respectively. Extensive endnotes (pp. 213-239), a bibliography (pp. 241-253), and three indexes (pp. 255-265) complete the work.

Thompson locates the historical setting of Revelation late in the reign of Emperor Domitian. He sees the provenance as being the Roman province of Asia in western Asia Minor (pp. 11-15). As to social setting, he opts for a context of "perceived," rather than real, crisis (pp. 27-28).

Thompson's four chapters dealing with linguistic considerations appear to this reviewer to be the most useful in the volume. His synopsis of the book of Revelation (pp. 37-40) is, however, superficial, without any real attempt to explore the book's literary structure and relationships. His explanation of "Boundary Situations" (in sociological terms) is particularly intriguing, especially in reference to what he designates as "blurred boundaries" and "soft boundaries" (pp. 75-86).

In chaps. 7-9 Thompson provides considerable useful information concerning many aspects of society in the ancient Roman province of Asia, including treatment of the Christian and Jewish subcultures there (pp. 116-145). His reconstruction of Domitian's reign as being basically a good one (chap. 6) rests, however, on dubious argumentation: that noble deeds of Domitian are recorded, that writers contemporary with this emperor praised him, and that deprecatory accounts of his reign emerge later. To consider these to be evidences, as Thompson seems to do, of an attempt to enhance Trajan by discrediting Domitian overlooks or minimizes several important

considerations: (1) Bad rulers have usually acquired their reputation in spite of positive aspects of their reigns and primarily because of *spasmodic* harmful outbursts. (2) Though the ancient Roman historians gave their grim portrayal of Domitian during Trajan's time or later, this fact does not make their depictions more suspect than the favorable picture given by several poets and other writers during Domitian's reign (the latter could simply have been using flattery as a means to self-preservation!). (3) If Nerva and Trajan felt it necessary to discredit their predecessor Domitian, it seems strange that the attack was not against the whole Flavian dynasty. (4) Though the attempt of emperors to discredit forerunners is a well-known phenomenon, there is little, if any, evidence of it in the early Roman Principate. (5) Thompson's thesis has no adequate explanation for the fact that Domitian was officially execrated (the opposite of apotheosized) at death. (6) At this early time, Roman persecution of Christians was not normally by imperial decision (Nero's case was an exception), but was rather a local matter. (7) On the matter of persecution of Christians, Thompson's theory hardly fits the evidence. Revelation's evidences of *real persecution* are so weighty as to raise serious doubt regarding any reconstruction that views the persecution as merely "perceived."

In spite of Thompson's somewhat unrealistic historical reconstruction—a major thesis that flaws also his applications in part 4—this volume contains much useful material and should be read by all persons making a serious study of the book of Revelation.

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

BOOK NOTICES

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Inclusion in this section does not preclude subsequent review of a book.

Allen, Leslie C. *Ezekiel 20-48*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 29. Dallas: Word Books, 1990. xxviii + 301 pp. \$24.99.

This commentary completes the treatment of Ezekiel begun by the late W. H. Brownlee. Besides performing the usual function of a commentator, Allen also scrutinizes Ezekiel's priestly training, as evidenced in the book's precise, structured, and chronological format.

Balswick, Jack O., and Morland, J. Kenneth. *Social Problems: A Christian Understanding and Response*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990. 357 pp. Paperback, \$22.95.

Informed by biblical insights and social science, the authors analyze eleven social problems in America. Each chapter explores the evidence and nature of a problem, its dimensions, available explanations for it, and programs for treating and preventing it.

Betsworth, Roger G. *Social Ethics: An Examination of American Moral Traditions*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990. 213 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

Betsworth introduces social ethics by focusing on the cultural narratives that shape American images of self and the world: the biblical stories, the American gospel of success, the idea of well-

being, and the global mission of America. Two narratives from "outsiders" (blacks and women) are included to provide correctives to self-deception in the four dominant motifs.

Brown, Colin. *Christianity and Western Thought: A History of Philosophers, Ideas and Movements*. Vol. 1, *From the Ancient World to the Age of Enlightenment*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990. 447 pp. \$21.95.

Brown presents an informed survey of Western thought from a Christian perspective. One aim of the work is to enable its readers to get a better grasp of the "love-hate relationship between philosophy and faith" that has gone on for nearly 2,000 years.

Davids, Peter H. *The First Epistle of Peter*. New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1990. xxii + 266 pp. \$24.95.

According to Davids, 1 Peter constitutes a coherent and significant work of NT theology and pastoral care. It serves as an example of how the early church applied Jesus' sayings and the OT writings to contemporary concerns (and thus functions also as a model for modern usage of those materials) and presents some extremely useful perspectives on living the Christian life.

Faivre, Alexandre. *The Emergence of the Laity in the Early Church*. Translated by David Smith. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1990. 242 pp. Paperback, \$11.95.

Faivre traces the history of the laity during the first five centuries of Christianity. He demonstrates that the laity did not appear as a separate class in the church until the middle of the third century. Prior to that time, all Christians were considered *klēros*, a "people set apart." The author holds that his findings are especially relevant to the vitality and mission of the present-day church.

Farmer, Kathleen A. *Who Knows What Is Good? A Commentary on the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes*. International Theological Commentary. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1991. xii + 220 pp. Paperback, \$15.95.

Unlike most other commentaries, the International Theological Commentary series has a primary aim of providing theological interpretations of the Old Testament that are applicable to the international Christian community rather than merely to those who live in the West. Farmer's work focuses on what is "good" for humankind and how they should live their lives on earth, as set forth in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.

Grant, Robert M. *Jesus after the Gospels: The Christ of the Second Century*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990. 134 pp. \$14.95.

This book is the published version of the Hale Memorial Lectures delivered at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in 1989. The focus of the lectures is on early attempts to synthesize diverse strands in the Gospel portraits of Jesus.

Oden, Thomas C. *After Modernity . . . What?: Agenda for Theology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Academie Books, Zondervan Publishing House, 1990. 224 pp. \$14.95.

This volume is a thorough revision of *Agenda for Theology: Recovering Christian Roots* (1979). As in the previous work, Oden decries the bankruptcy of modern liberalism and calls for a return to classical forms and symbols.

Pinnock, Clark H., and Brown, Delwin. *Theological Crossfire: An Evangelical-Liberal Dialogue*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990. 261 pp. Paperback, \$10.95.

Theological Crossfire is a plea for constructive liberal-conservative dialogue. It demonstrates what such an exchange can be like. The book is based on several assumptions, including one that holds that both conservatives and liberals have a great deal to learn from each other.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

- = a	◌◌◌, ◌ (vocal shewa) = e	◌◌◌◌◌ = o
◌◌◌ = ā	◌◌◌◌◌◌◌ = ê	◌◌◌◌◌◌ = o
◌◌◌◌ = a	◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌ = i	◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌ = ô
◌◌◌◌◌ = e	◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌ = î	◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌ = u
◌◌◌◌◌◌ = ē	◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌ = o	◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌ = û

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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