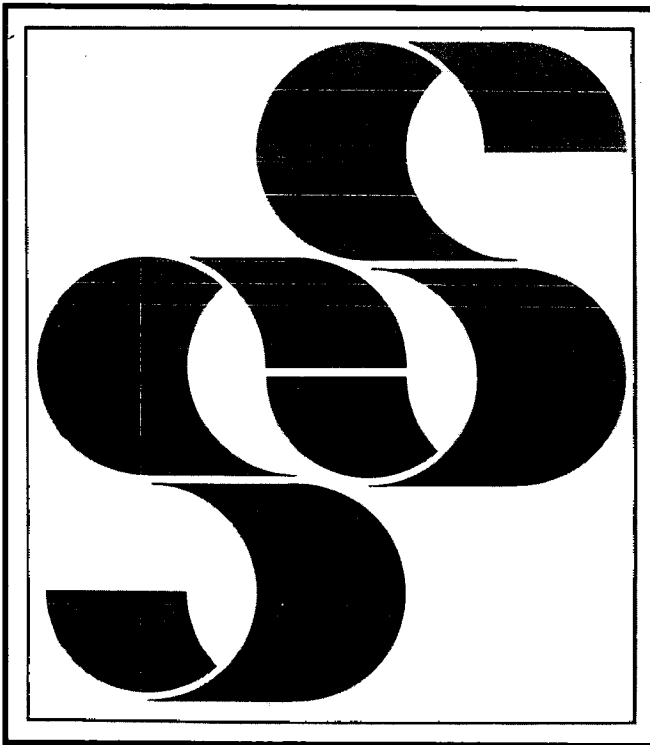


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# ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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## EPIGRAPHIC FINDS FROM TELL EL-UMEIRI DURING THE 1989 SEASON

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One seal, three seal impressions, and one inscribed ostrakon were discovered in 1989 at Tell el-*Umeiri*. All inscriptions date between the 7th and 5th centuries B.C. The seal was written in the Ammonite script, while the seal impressions were in Aramaic script; there are too few letters on the ostrakon to discern the script type.

### *The Seal*

The scaraboid seal (object no. 1749; see Figs. 1 and 2) was found in the topsoil of Field A (Square 7K72, Locus 2) above the northernmost building of the Field A public complex. It was ca. 1.4 cm long, 1.2 cm wide, and a maximum of .8 cm thick. A hole, ca. .3 cm in diameter, was drilled through its length to accommodate a string for hanging around the wrist or neck.

The seal was inscribed on both sides with both the name of the owner and a faunal depiction. On the top, or rounded, part was a bovine head with large horns curving in sweeping "S" forms. The edge of the seal is surrounded by a series of short diagonal lines that appear like a rope motif on the impression. Above the animal is a six-letter inscription containing the possessive preposition *lamed* followed by the name of the owner: *l'ams*, "belonging to 'Il'amas."

On the bottom, or flat, side of the seal was a bird perched atop what appears to be an open lotus and facing left. Although the bird, as carved on the seal, stands only ca. .7 cm tall from tail to head, the seal is carved with such precision that several attributes of the bird may be discerned. Its bill is long and curved; its tail is of moderate length and terminates in a squared shape; and its wing seems to be mottled, probably to depict feather patterns. Unfortunately, size is not suggested.

I was able to find three similar birds with ranges that include Syria-Palestine. The first is the orange-tufted sunbird, which enjoys a rocky savannah habitat primarily in Palestine; this one is very small.<sup>1</sup> The second is the red-billed chough, found especially among steep cliffs, hill crags, and old quarries near grasslands.<sup>2</sup> The third possibility is the raven or crow, although its bill is somewhat smaller than that on our seal.<sup>3</sup> If our bird is one of these three, the mottled wing represents feather patterns, not color differences. If the presence of the lotus flower can be connected with the bird, the sunbird could be the correct identification, because it is a nectar-feeding bird.

The inscription circles the bird and is separated from the ends of the seal by a single inscribed line encircling the outer edge of the seal. The inscription contains three words, each separated by a short vertical word divider. The first word begins below the tail of the bird and is identical to that on the upper surface of the seal: *lʿlʿmš*. Following a word divider, the word *bn*, "son of," is visible above the head of the bird. The third word, the patronym, does not continue the direction of the inscription, but switches directions, beginning at the lotus and ending at the second word divider, reading *tmkʿl*. The inscription thus reads in whole, *lʿlʿmš bn tmkʿl*, "belonging to ʿIlʿamaš son of Tamakʿil."

The paleography of the inscription displays the typical vertical stance of Ammonite characters, well known now from many seals.<sup>4</sup> None of the letters is highly diagnostic, but the presence of only two strokes to the right of the upright on the *šade* and the single stroke to the right of the upright on the *taw* may suggest an advanced date (end of the 7th century B.C.). However, the *kaph* fits an earlier date best (ca. 700). A date within the 7th century B.C. is suggested.

<sup>1</sup>C. Harrison, *An Atlas of the Birds of the Western Palearctic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1982), 275.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 313.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 310-312.

<sup>4</sup>L. G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978); and U. E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1989).

The two names on the seal, ʾIlʾamas and Tamakʾil, are also typical Ammonite names, well known from other seals.<sup>5</sup> ʾIlʾamas probably means "Il is strong." The theophoric element, ʾIl, is ubiquitous on Ammonite seals, while the verbal element is typical of names of the region (in the Bible there are four Amaziahs [*ʾamasyhw*] and one Amoz [*ʾms*], while the element *ʾms* occurs on one Moabite seal.<sup>6</sup> Tamakʾil means "Il sustains" or "Il leads."

The two features of the iconography are also very well known in the Ammonite tradition. Similar birds are found on two Ammonite seals,<sup>7</sup> and a similar bovine head is found on another seal.<sup>8</sup> But more importantly, the two are found together on three Ammonite seals.<sup>9</sup> In all three of these occurrences, two birds flank a bovine head which is virtually identical in shape to that on our seal. In two cases, the birds seem to have mottled wings.<sup>10</sup> Although our seal does not contain this exact scene, the juxtaposition of a bovine head with a perching bird on opposing sides of a seal suggests familiarity with Ammonite glyptic art.

Most commentators seem to suggest that the mammal head is that of a ram,<sup>11</sup> except once when uncertainty was expressed.<sup>12</sup> I have taken the position that it is a bovine head—perhaps that of a steer, as suggested by the shape of the horns. If there is any symbolic meaning behind the image, the prevalence for ʾIl names in the Ammonite onomasticon (and on our seal) would suggest that

<sup>5</sup>For Tamakʾil, see Aufrecht, nos. 1, 3, 14, 26, 62 (ʾIltamak), 76, 84, 85 (hypocoristicon, Tamakaʾ), 86, 113, 132; and for ʾIlʾamas, see Aufrecht, nos. 5 and 18.

<sup>6</sup>For the occurrence on a Moabite seal, see Herr, 154.

<sup>7</sup>Aufrecht, nos. 14 and 60.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., no. 19.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., nos. 87, 106 and 114; see also H. J. Franken and M. M. Ibrahim, "Two Seasons of Excavations at Tell Deir ʾAlla, 1976-1978," *ADAJ* 22 (1978): pl. 30.2.

<sup>10</sup>Aufrecht, nos. 106 and 114.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 231, 269, 285.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 47.

ʿEl) was associated with a bull, and some specialists suggest that the same was true in Iron-Age Israelite traditions (the golden calf/bull of Exod 32 and 1 Kgs 12).<sup>13</sup>

### *Two ʿmn Stamped Jar Impressions*

Two seal impressions with identical inscriptions were found on the upper portions of two jar handles. The first (object no. 1799; see figs. 3 and 4) was found in the topsoil of Field A (Square 7K62, Locus 2) above the northeast corner of the four-room building in the Field A public complex. It was impressed into the wet clay while the hand was moving to the right, and one can see the slip marks on the left side of the impression and the pushed-up clay on the right (fig. 3). This impression measures ca. 1.8 cm long and 1.5 cm wide.

The second seal impression (object no. 2028; see figs. 5 and 6) was found in the topsoil of the same Square in Field A (Square 7K62, Locus 4) above the northeast corner of the four-room building or the southern part of the northern building in the Field A public complex. It was ca. 1.9 cm long and 1.4 cm wide. All letters are flattened at the top. Perhaps the jar was wiped with a rag after the impression was made but prior to firing.

We are considering both impressions together because they carry the same inscription. However, because the space between the two lines is greater on no. 2028 than on no. 1799, and because the letters are slightly different, they were probably impressed by different seals. Although the letters on both impressions are relatively unclear, we are virtually certain that the reading for no. 1799 is correct (fig. 4), while the visible traces on no. 2028 suggest the same letters made in similar ways. When viewed through a low-magnification binocular microscope under a variety of lighting configurations, both impressions are much clearer than in the published photographs. Unfortunately, the high density of large non-plastics in the clay of the jars has confused the appearance considerably. Both impressions are to be preserved and housed by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

The forms of the letters on both impressions are similar (figs. 3 and 5), reading *šbʿ/ʿmn*, with three letters on each line. There

<sup>13</sup>See J. M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God* (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1990), 51, for the various alternatives to bull imagery among Iron-Age Israelites.



does not seem to be a line separating the two registers. There are two ways to understand the inscription. The first is that all six letters spell a personal name, with *ʿmn*, "Ammon," the national name, standing for the theophoric element. This is the typical way of understanding normal seal inscriptions; but if so, the verbal element *šb*<sup>7</sup> is very difficult to understand. I would suggest, therefore, a second and more probable alternative translation in which the first element, *šb*<sup>7</sup>, is a hypocoristic name with <sup>ʾ</sup>*aleph* based on *šwb* (or possibly *yšb*), and with the second word, *ʿmn*, referring to a regional identification. But before I expand on this reading we must first devote attention to the paleography.

It is clear that the script of both impressions is Aramaic. Both *šins* are made of three strokes, with the center stroke slanting upward to the right (contrary to appearances on the photograph of no. 1799 [fig. 3], which has been distorted by a non-plastic in the clay). This form of the letter does not occur in Ammonite,<sup>14</sup> but it is common in Aramaic, especially in the 6th and 5th centuries.<sup>15</sup> The *šin* of no. 2028 (fig. 5) seems to lean farther to the left than that on no. 1799.

The head of both *bets* is wide open, as is typical in Aramaic inscriptions of the 6th and early 5th centuries.<sup>16</sup> The Ammonite open form is always more closed.<sup>17</sup> The *bet* on no. 1799 seems to be slightly larger than the one on no. 2028.

The <sup>ʾ</sup>*aleph* is the typical star form found in both Aramaic and Ammonite script traditions.<sup>18</sup> In our two impressions, this form seems to display the lower horizontal stretching beyond the vertical (see especially no. 1799). The horizontal strokes on no. 2028 seem to be more parallel than on no. 1799. (The vertical scratch to the left of the <sup>ʾ</sup>*aleph* on no. 1799 should not be confused with a stroke.)

Both *ayins* are squared and probably wide open at the top, although markings on both letters may suggest partial closing.

<sup>14</sup>Herr, figs. 37 and 45.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., figs. 14 and 33.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., figs. 2 and 23.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., figs. 34 and 42.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., figs. 1, 23, 34, and 42.

Under a binocular microscope, however, these markings appear secondary (scratches and ware imperfections). The squared *ayin* is well known in Ammonite seal scripts,<sup>19</sup> but the letter is seldom open and, when it is, is usually round. The form fits best the Aramaic *ayins* of the late 7th to the 5th centuries.<sup>20</sup>

The *mem* with a middle vertical stroke does not occur in Ammonite scripts,<sup>21</sup> but is an important form in Aramaic inscriptions of the 6th century.<sup>22</sup> Later forms of 5th-century Aramaic have a much shorter head, giving the letter a more vertical orientation.

The *nun* is similar to Ammonite forms of the late 7th and early 6th centuries,<sup>23</sup> but is extremely frequent in the Aramaic tradition from the 7th to the 5th centuries.<sup>24</sup>

Most of the letters in the impressions have a relatively wide range of occurrence in the Aramaic script from the late 7th century to the early or mid 5th century. However, the *mem* can suggest a more limited time span in the 6th century, perhaps most likely in the second half of the 6th century. Moreover, the use of the Aramaic script on two impressions from an Ammonite site favors a date after the mid 6th century, when the use of the Ammonite script seems to have ceased in favor of Aramaic.<sup>25</sup> To my knowledge, this is the first time this phenomenon is witnessed on seal epigraphy.

As we return now to the reading of the seal impressions, I would suggest that, given their date and script, these impressions are the first examples (to my knowledge) of Persian provincial seals for the province of *Ammon*. As such, they parallel the *yhd/yhwd*

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., fig. 44.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., figs. 12 and 31.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., figs. 36 and 44.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., figs. 10 and 30.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., figs. 36 and 44.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., figs. 11 and 30.

<sup>25</sup>F. M. Cross, "Ammonite Ostraca from Heshbon," *AUSS* 13 (1975): 14.

stamps from the province of Judah.<sup>26</sup> If we may therefore use the analogy of the *yhw*d stamps for our two stamps, I would suggest that the name on the first line šbʾ, "Shubaʾ," indicates either the governor or the treasurer of the Persian province ʿmn, "Ammon," mentioned in the second line.<sup>27</sup> Because my paleographic analysis and that of Avigad on the *yhw*d stamps<sup>28</sup> came independently to precisely the same dates for these provincial stamps, it may be implied that both the ʿmn and *yhw*d stamps played similar roles at the same time in their respective Persian provinces. We are not as yet aware of an Ammonite provincial governor named Shubaʾ. The only governor mentioned in the Bible is one of the Tobiahs (Neh 2, 4, 6, and 13), but Josephus mentions others also named Tobiah.

As late as 1961 it was thought that Ammonite civilization ceased to exist in the mid 6th century and did not begin again until the Hellenistic period.<sup>29</sup> Our two seal impressions add to the emerging consensus for a Persian province of Ammon. They were most likely products of the Persian bureaucracy, perhaps associated with taxation. As far as we know, they are the only two "provincial" seals yet found in the Ammonite region. Because they were discovered in topsoil immediately above the public buildings at the western edge of Tell el-ʿUmeiri, it appears that during the latest phase, the early-Persian period of those public buildings, they functioned in association with the Persian provincial government.

#### *Another Seal Impression*

About three-fourths of another seal impression was preserved on a fragment of a jar rim (figs. 7-9). The sherd (object no. 1699) was found in the topsoil of Field A (Square 7K42, Locus 2) above

<sup>26</sup>N. Avigad, *Bullae and Seals from a Post-exilic Judean Archive*, Qedem 4 (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Institute of Archaeology, 1976); and E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 B.C.* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1982), 202-206. See also F. M. Cross, "Judean Stamps," *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969): 20-27.

<sup>27</sup>See Stern, 205-206, for the consensus view of the *yhw*d stamps.

<sup>28</sup>Avigad, 21-24.

<sup>29</sup>G. M. Landes, "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites," *BA* 24 (1961),

the southern portion of the public building complex. It was impressed onto the thickened jar rim just above its join with the neck (fig. 9), and it measured ca. 2.1 cm long and 1.9 cm wide.

The inscription is contained within a single line frame. Although it is more difficult to read than the preceding two impressions, the script on this impression appears again to be Aramaic of the late 6th century and to contain three letters in each of two lines, as well.

The first letter appears to be a *bet* with a wide open head, similar to those on the preceding two impressions. The space for the second letter is covered with scratches, but may have contained an open *ayin*, again similar to those suggested for the preceding two impressions. This letter is more visible under a binocular microscope than in the photograph. An apparent circle to the left of where the letter should be is a defect in the ware. The last letter of the top line would appear to be a *lamed*, giving us a theophoric element, *b'l*. On the bottom line, a long vertical stroke kicks to the right at an acute angle, while two slightly sloping horizontal strokes are just visible to the left of the vertical, suggesting a *yod*. At this point, the break in the sherd obscures the reading somewhat, but another open *ayin* seems to be clear.

There is room for one more letter, such as *zayin*. If it is a *zayin*, the reconstructed inscription would read, *b'ly'z*. The name would thus mean "Ba'al strengthens." But several other reconstructions are possible, as well, such as roots like *y'd* ("to appoint"), *y'l* (to profit"), or *y's* ("to counsel").

The script is almost identical to that of the previous two inscriptions. The wide open head of the *bet* and the one clear *ayin* suggest the Aramaic script of the late 7th to early 5th centuries. The other letters fit that time range, as well. However, because the impression comes from a region dominated by Ammonite inscriptions, my suggestion is that it postdates the early 6th century, the period when Ammonite script seems to have disappeared, as mentioned above.

The jar on which the impression was placed was a large-necked storejar with a slightly flaring, thickened rim.<sup>30</sup> It is not a

<sup>30</sup>Ware description: exterior fabric color: 10YR6/2 light brownish gray; core color: 7.5YRN6/ gray; interior fabric color: 5YR6/2 pinkish gray; lithic non-plastics were highly dense: some very coarse sand, some coarse sand, some medium sand, ca. 50% fine sand; non-plastic shape was primarily round to sub-round and a few sub-angular; voids included simple fissures of very coarse sand size and round pits

typical late Iron II form in our region. The best parallels come from the Persian period at Hesi<sup>31</sup> and Gezer.<sup>32</sup> It would thus appear that the best date for the jar and its seal impression is the late 6th or early 5th century.

### *Inscribed Ostrakon*

The ostrakon (figs. 10 and 11) was found in Field F (Square 7L08, Locus 44) in a layer of fill debris that was probably immediately outside the settlement. It was therefore in secondary deposit. The letters were inscribed onto a jar or krater before firing. From the curvature of the sherd and the presence of the top of a handle, it would appear that the inscription, which appears along the left-hand side of the handle, was written as if the vessel were on its side.

One full letter and a portion of a second one are visible. If the inscription is turned properly, the head of a *bet*, *dalet*, *qoph*, or *reš* is present, followed by a very clear *šin*. Because of the presence of the handle, it is likely that this is the end of the inscription. Above the *dalet*, two parallel lines are visible, possibly constituting a *zayin*; but it is more likely that the marks were placed there simply to bind the handle to the vessel.

Although not enough remains of this inscription to be certain of its reading, it is tempting to speculate that the original inscription read *qdš*, "holy." However, it must be stressed that many other reconstructions are likewise possible. Vessels with *qdš* inscribed on them have been found at several sites, such as Arad,<sup>33</sup> Hazor,<sup>34</sup>

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from coarse sand to fine sand size; manufacture was partially coil and wheel made; there was no surface treatment or decoration; the sherd was underfired.

<sup>31</sup>W. J. Bennett and J. A. Blakely, *Tell el-Hesi: The Persian Period (Stratum V)* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), figs. 139:5 and 143:17.

<sup>32</sup>S. Gitin, *Gezer III* (Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 1990), pl. 29:10.

<sup>33</sup>Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 118.

<sup>34</sup>Y. Yadin, *Hazor III-IV* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1961), pl. 357.

Beer Sheba,<sup>35</sup> and possibly Tell Beit Mirsim.<sup>36</sup> Barkay suggests the vessels with a *qdš* inscription were used to hold sacrificial gifts in association with temples or shrines. Our inscription differs, however, from those listed above, because it was inscribed prior to firing. Other evidence of religious activity at the site is suggested by a ceramic stand found in 1984.<sup>37</sup>

The letter forms are not helpful paleographically. If the partial letter is a *bet*, *dalet*, or *reš*, the head looks closed, suggesting a date before the late 7th century. The rest of the pottery in the deposit from which the ostrakon came was dated to the late Iron II period.

#### *Acknowledgements*

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<sup>35</sup>Y. Aharoni, *Beer-Sheba I* (Givatayin-Ramat Gan: Tell Aviv University Institute of Archaeology, 1973), pl. 69.2.

<sup>36</sup>G. Barkay, "A Bowl with the Hebrew Inscription *qdš*," *IEJ* 40 (1990): 124-129.

<sup>37</sup>B. Dabrowski, "Ceramic Stand from Tell el-ʿUmeiri," *AUSS* 29 (1991): 195-204.



Fig. 1. Clay impression of the two-sided seal; object no. 1749.

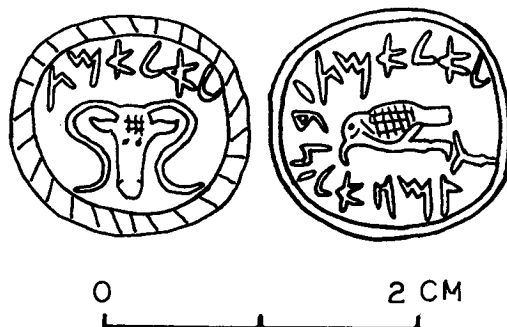


Fig. 2. Drawing of the impression of the two-sided seal; object no. 1749.

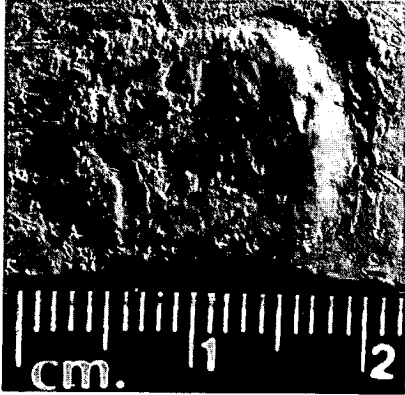


Fig. 3. Aramaic seal impression;  
object no. 1799.

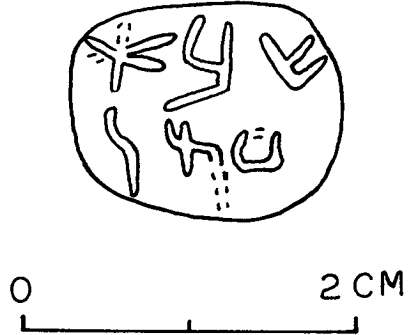


Fig. 4. Drawing of Aramaic seal;  
impression; object no. 1799.

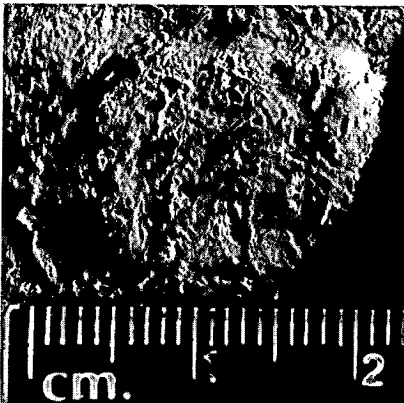


Fig. 5. Aramaic seal impression;  
object no. 2028.

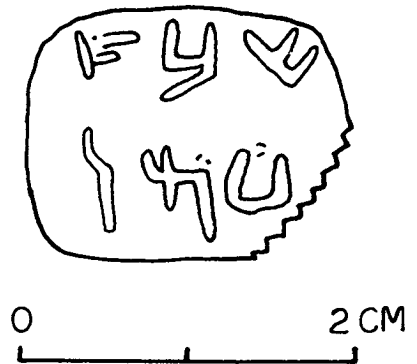


Fig. 6. Drawing of Aramaic  
impression; object no. 2028.



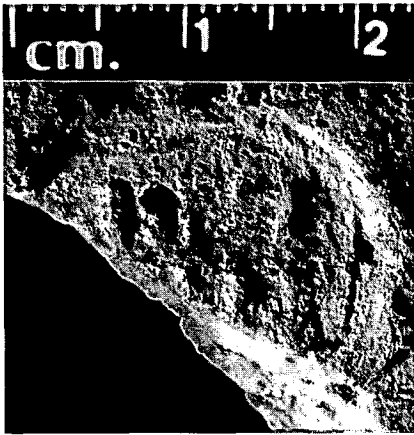


Fig. 7. Aramaic seal impression; object no. 1699.

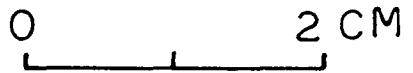
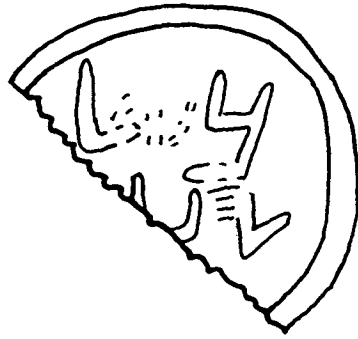


Fig. 8. Drawing of Aramaic seal impression; object no. 1699.

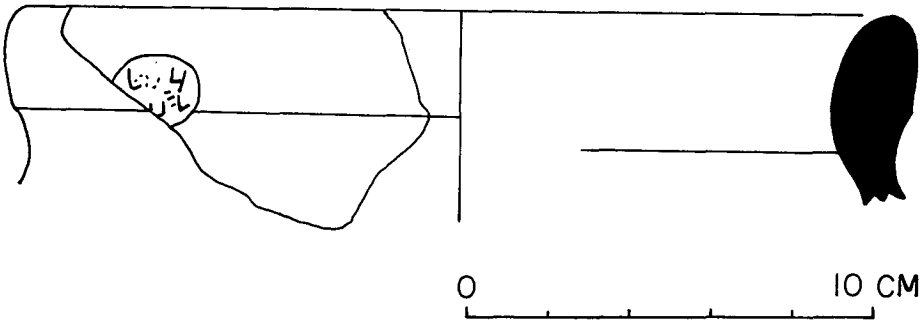


Fig. 9. Seal impression 1699 on the rim of a Persian jar.

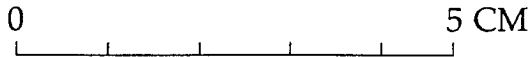
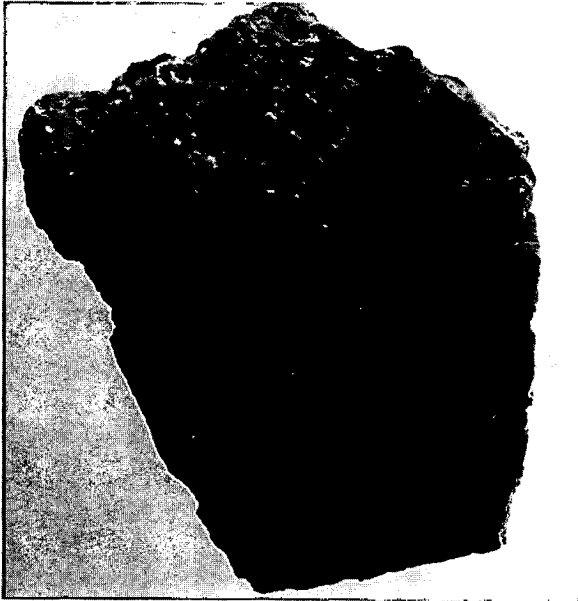


Fig. 10. Inscribed ostracon from Field F.

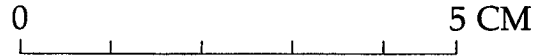
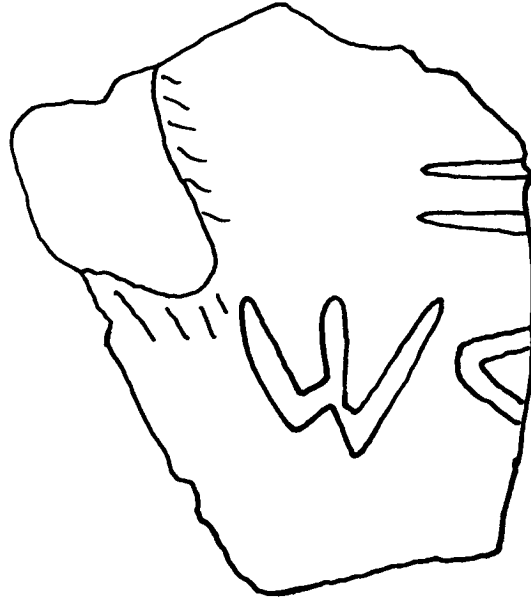


Fig. 11. Drawing of inscribed ostracon from Field F.

## "SO," RULER OF EGYPT

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The following study is a report of the research on a problem in the history in the late eighth century B.C. which was worked out in collaboration with Alberto R. Green of Rutgers University. The results of this joint effort were reported by Green to the Egyptian-Israelite history section of the Society of Biblical Literature at the annual meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana, in November of 1990.

The historical correlations worked out in that joint venture remain unchanged here. The new contribution in the present study has to do with the linguistics of the key word and central problem of the biblical passage involved, the name of the king of Egypt mentioned in 2 Kgs 17:4, traditionally rendered "So." The problem here is that this name does not occur as the name of any ruler in Egyptian history. For the biblical spelling of the name, there would have been, of course, a transliteration from Egyptian into Hebrew. But just who in Egyptian history was this "So"?

My purpose in this essay is to extend the discussion on the question of the transliteration and to find (hopefully) a better solution to So's identity than has thus far been forthcoming. Even though the historical reconstruction set forth herein has already been presented in a public forum, as mentioned above, it is reiterated here as a background for, and aid to, setting my linguistic proposal in context.

### 1. *The Historico-political Setting*

The historico-political setting may be described as follows:<sup>1</sup> As the northern kingdom of Israel went down to its final defeat at the

<sup>1</sup>For a useful review of the history of this period in Egypt see K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster, 1973), 348-380.

hands of the Assyrians, the last king to rule in Samaria—Hoshea—appealed to Egypt for military assistance against the eastern colossus. The fact that he made such an appeal is not surprising. What is more difficult to clarify is the precise ruler in Egypt with whom he lodged this appeal. The question, then, in regard to 2 Kgs 17:4 is simply this: Who was the king named So?

If the country of Egypt had been unified at this particular time—namely, the decade during which Samaria fell—the answer to this question would be much easier to give. Then we would need to deal with only one line of kings in one dynasty, so that our task would be merely a matter of picking from that list one king from the appropriate time and with the appropriate name (based on phonetic comparisons).

But the picture here is complicated by the fact that Egypt was not unified at this time. It was broken up into a number of smaller units or nomes, each under a local ruler. What we have, then, is a collection of contemporaneous kinglets, not one strong king ruling a central monarchy. In times of weakness, Egypt had a tendency to break up into northern and southern segments, and that was the case at this time too. Beyond that, however, the Delta in particular was divided up into a number of local units. That this was the situation is made evident in particular by the long list of local rulers given on Piankhy's stela, which comes from this very time.

Among this collection of local rulers in the Delta, two in particular stand out above the others: Tefnakht, who ruled from Sais in the western part of the Delta, and Osorkon (i.e. Osorkon IV), who ruled from his royal residence in the eastern section of the Delta. While these were by no means the only rulers in the Delta, they were the two most prominent ones there at the time when Hoshea appealed to Egypt for help against the Assyrians. These two rulers therefore certainly deserve consideration in the attempt to identify So, king of Egypt. Moreover, they have been identified in that way by various scholars.

We should also look toward Upper Egypt for powerful figures at this time, for this is the era when the 25th Dynasty was on the rise and was beginning to meddle in the affairs of Lower Egypt. Even though the 25th Dynasty did not take complete control of Lower Egypt until later, the successful campaign of Piankhy into this area brings that Nubian dynasty onto the scene.

Thus we have at this particular time three concurrent rulers in Egypt who apparently were significant enough for us to consider in attempting to identify So: namely, Tefnakht in the western Delta

of Lower Egypt, Osorkon IV in the eastern Delta of Lower Egypt, and Piankhy in Upper Egypt and beyond.

The earliest interpretive suggestion was one that opted for a Nubian candidate: In translating 2 Kgs 17:4, the Lucianic Version of the LXX added for So, king of Egypt, the phrase "Adrammelech the Ethiopian, living in Egypt." This is obviously an interpretation, not just a translation. The name "Adrammelech" in the Lucianic Version is not very helpful, however, for it apparently was taken from the name of the son of Sennacherib who, according to 2 Kgs 19:17, assassinated the Assyrian king. Although the name itself is not helpful, the concept of a Nubian or Ethiopian king who was residing in Egypt is noteworthy. While there could be some mistaking of the particular individual who was the king of Egypt to whom Hoshea appealed, there was no mistaking the dynasty that was involved.

In addition, the Lucianic remark gives a hint that Piankhy, rather than some other later king of the 25th Dynasty, was the Egyptian ruler involved, for the statement refers to the fact that this king was somewhat of a temporary resident "living in Egypt," instead of a full-fledged king of Egypt (as the later rulers of this Dynasty were).

## 2. Reconstructions That Have Been Suggested

When modern commentators began to look for the identity of So, they favored a different interpretation from the one suggested by the Lucianic Version. They did concur that the 25th Dynasty was involved, but they favored some of its later rulers. Sir Flinders Petrie argued that the king in question here was Shabako,<sup>2</sup> and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt favored Shebitku.<sup>3</sup> In their day the chronological problems involved had not been worked out in detail. In fact, it was not until 1922, when R. Kittel suggested that the Egyptian king in this verse should be identified with Piankhy of Nubia, that the chronological problem had really been addressed.<sup>4</sup> Shabako and Shebitku were too late for Hoshea's time, but Piankhy

<sup>2</sup>F. Petrie, *Egypt and Israel* (London, 1912), 75-77.

<sup>3</sup>C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Israel: Seine Entwicklung im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1911), 100-104.

<sup>4</sup>R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* 2, 4th ed. (Gotha, 1922), 465.

was a serious contender for power in Egypt in the 720s and thus should be taken into account, as Kittel proposed.

Subsequently, the scholarly search for So turned northward. This was especially the case after World War II.

Currently, a basically different approach is taken among these alternative hypotheses. Instead of looking for a king whose name could match with So, researchers have broadened their perspective so as to consider titles and place names. The first suggestion of this sort was one proposed by S. Yeivin in 1952,<sup>5</sup> who took the expression "So" to be, not the *nomen* or *praenomen* of an Egyptian king, but a title which stood for "vizier." Consequently, he believed that the biblical reference was to the "vizier of the king of Egypt," not to a king of Egypt by name. Yeivin's hypothesis has been abandoned, however, because we now have a better reading for the Egyptian word for "vizier," and it does not fit the biblical expression.

Also left along the wayside is the view that So was the Egyptian general *Sibʿ*, who is known from an inscription of Sargon II for this period. With cuneiformists now reading the signs of his name as *Reʿ*,<sup>6</sup> it can no longer be matched with So.

In 1963 H. Goedicke offered the suggestion that So was not a personal name, but that it should be taken as the place name of Sais.<sup>7</sup> This required emending an extra preposition into the biblical phrase to make it read, "to Sais, to the king of Egypt." With this reconstruction the king involved was left unnamed, but from historical considerations Goedicke identified him as Tefnakht I, a reconstruction supported by W. F. Albright.<sup>8</sup>

R. Sayed also argued in favor of Tefnakht, but he did so on different grounds.<sup>9</sup> He took the biblical So to stand for the first part of *Si3-ib*, the Horus name of that king. Countering this proposal, Kitchen noted that when foreign texts refer to an Egyp-

<sup>5</sup>A. L. Oppenheim in J. B. Pritchard, ed., *ANET*, 2d ed. (Princeton, 1955), 285.

<sup>6</sup>R. Borger, "Das Ende des ägyptischen Feldherrn Sibʿ = s6'," *JNES* 19 (1960): 49-53.

<sup>7</sup>H. Goedicke, "End of 'So, King of Egypt,'" *BASOR* 171 (1963): 64-66.

<sup>8</sup>W. F. Albright, "The Elimination of King 'So,'" *BASOR* 171 (1963): 66.

<sup>9</sup>R. Sayed, "Tefnakht ou Horus Si<sup>3</sup>-(IB)," *VT* 20 (1970): 116-118.

tian pharaoh, they almost always use his *nomen* or *praenomen*, not his Horus name.<sup>10</sup>

Utilizing the weaknesses in the Tefnakht hypothesis as a foil from which to develop an alternative candidate for So, K. A. Kitchen nominated Osorkon IV of Tanis and Bubastis.<sup>11</sup> His criticisms of the Saite hypothesis have recently been summarized by Duane Christensen, as follows:<sup>12</sup> (1) Tefnakht was geographically too far distant in Sais to be of significant assistance to a king in Israel. (2) The reading proposed by Albright and Goedicke requires an emendation. (3) Hebrew kings had previously dealt with the 22d Dynasty, and to Israel the kings at Sais were of an unknown quantity and quality. (4) The Hebrew prophets of the eighth century had the same kings of the eastern Delta in view as did the kings of Israel and Judah. (5) Osorkon IV is a better historical and linguistic candidate. The linguistic part of this equation is brought out by connecting the biblical So with the second syllable in the name of Osorkon.

These propositions by Kitchen are not, however, without weaknesses. The distance from Israel should not be considered as a major factor, since kings from all parts of Egypt involved themselves in the affairs of Western Asia at one time or another. Kitchen's argument against emendation seems particularly weak, inasmuch as he himself uses it in treating almost all of Osorkon's name as being omitted. The historical situation does not stand Osorkon in good stead because he was, as Kitchen readily admits, a weak king and would not have been able to provide much significant military assistance to Hoshea. Finally, a linguistic correspondence that is based essentially upon one letter does not provide a very strong phonetic connection.

The foregoing reconstructions, as well as the historical circumstances (as noted earlier), thus leave us with three main candidates in Egypt for the biblical So: the older view of Piankhy from Nubia, the more recent view of Tefnakht from Sais, and the most recent proposal of Osorkon from Tanis. While current scholarship divides between support for either Tefnakht or Osorkon, my

<sup>10</sup>Kitchen, 373.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 372-374.

<sup>12</sup>D. Christensen, "The Identity of 'King So' in Egypt (2 Kings xvii 4)," *VT* 39 (1989): 144-145.

proposal presented below is a revival of the identification of So with Piankhy.

### 3. *The Historical and Chronological Correlations*

As a part of addressing in more detail this identification of So with Piankhy, an issue in historical and chronological correlation needs first to be addressed. This has to do with (1) the date for Piankhy's campaign to Lower Egypt, and (2) the time from which Tefnakht dated his regnal years in relationship to Piankhy's campaign. These two issues are interrelated.

#### *The Military Campaigns of Tefnakht and Piankhy*

The chronological problem has lurked in the background of our subject for some time, but it has recently been brought to the fore by Christensen.<sup>13</sup> The first consideration here is that Tefnakht clearly was an expansionist ruler. He started on the warpath, and that warpath took him first of all to other parts of the Delta. His conquests did not stop with these regional activities, however, for he turned next to the South. His most distant point of penetration in that direction appears to have been Hermopolis. Piankhy's stela gives us this information.

This southward move of Tefnakht was evidently seen by the Cushite king as a threat, so he set his forces in motion to counter Tefnakht's moves. One division of Piankhy's troops was sent to besiege and conquer the recently surrendered Hermopolis; a second detachment was sent to engage Tefnakht's ships on the Nile; and a third body of troops was sent to engage Tefnakht at Heracleopolis, which was still holding out against Tefnakht's siege. Piankhy's troops were victorious on all fronts. As Christensen puts it, "Tefnakht saw his short-lived empire crumbling even more quickly than it had taken shape."<sup>14</sup>

Three more major cities of the Delta submitted to Piankhy, and then Memphis fell to him by stratagem. Tefnakht retreated to take refuge on one of the remote islands in a western mouth of the Nile, and from there he finally submitted to Piankhy. The situation in

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 145-149.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 148.



the Delta had changed completely. Nine months earlier, the petty Delta dynasts had been faced with an emergent kingdom based in Sais. Now all prospects for this had disappeared, swallowed up in the conquests of Piankhy. The Delta dynasts were all now his vassals, having taken an oath of allegiance to him, and paying tribute to him.

Unfortunately, Piankhy's campaign has been difficult to date. Kitchen dates that campaign to 728, and commences the official regnal years of Tefnakht after that.<sup>15</sup> Christensen, on the other hand, dates Piankhy's campaign in the interval between 724 and 722,<sup>16</sup> and he dates both the beginning of Tefnakht's campaigning and the commencement of Tefnakht's official regnal years before that time. That makes Tefnakht's brief day in the sun fall at the right time for Hoshea to send to Tefnakht for help.

*Chronological Factors Involved in the Dating of Tefnakht's Regnal Years*

The foregoing historical overview has revealed that there are, in fact, three main elements for us to consider: (1) the date of Tefnakht's campaign, (2) the date of Piankhy's campaign, and (3) the date from which Tefnakht began to reckon his official regnal years as king. Of one thing we are sure: namely, that Piankhy's Stela indicates Tefnakht's campaign as taking place before Piankhy's campaign. Indeed, the latter campaign put an end to the former one. The question then is whether Tefnakht dated his regnal years from the time when he began his own militaristic expansion, or whether his regnal-year dating was not begun until after he was defeated by Piankhy and had surrendered to him. Christensen opts for the former view, and Kitchen for the latter.

Some of the chronological factors here are relatively clear. A. Spalinger has shown that Shabako killed Bakenranef, the successor to Tefnakht, in 712.<sup>17</sup> A monument of Bakenranef is dated to his 6th (and final) year. Prior to that, we have a monument dated to year 8 of Tefnakht. If this was the last year of

<sup>15</sup>Kitchen, 362-364. See especially n. 688 on pp. 362-363.

<sup>16</sup>Christensen, 147.

<sup>17</sup>A. Spalinger, "The Year 712 B.C. and Its Implications for Egyptian History," *JARCE* 10 (1973): 95-101.

Tefnakht, a point about which we are not entirely sure, Tefnakht's first year would be 725. On this point Christensen and Kitchen agree. But Kitchen puts this after Piankhy's conquests, while Christensen lines it up with the beginning of Tefnakht's campaigning prior to Piankhy's coming on the scene of action.

One factor that bears upon this matter is the dating of Tefnakht's regnal years. There are two possibilities here. Tefnakht may have taken up royal titles and dating at the time that he set out upon his campaign, or he may have been permitted to take up those titles and that kind of dating by Piankhy after Piankhy had defeated him. The fact that Piankhy obviously permitted these claims to continue is evident from the fact that Tefnakht's inscriptions run up to year 8. This lends support to the idea that Piankhy tolerated or accepted such a usage without interrupting it. If so, then he may also have acceded to the use of those titles and this kind of dating at their outset, after he defeated Tefnakht, for he would have been more likely to stop their use by an enemy who had been employing them before being defeated.

A stronger line of evidence, however, comes from the titles that Tefnakht did use in his earlier rulership, before he took over his full royal titulary. Upon his claim to kingship Tefnakht took a Horus name, a golden Horus name, a Neby name, and a *praenomen* to accompany his *nomen* of Tefnakht. Before that time, however, the monuments show nine different titles which he used. Some were religious, such as Prophet of Neith and Edjo, while others expressed his political claims, such as Great Chief of the Ma, Great Chief of the Libu, Great Chief of the entire land, and Prince of the Western Nomes. When Piankhy had his great conquest written up in Napata, royal titles were not employed for Tefnakht, but the latter was identified as ruler of three of the western nomes and three cities in the west lands. By no means can this be stretched into a claim to kingship.

The comparison is thus with the pre-kingship titles of Tefnakht, which are amply documented. To make Tefnakht a full king by this time is not just an argument from silence, it is an argument which runs counter to the evidence. On this point we must adjudge Kitchen correct in indicating that Piankhy's campaign came prior to Tefnakht's full titulary and regnal dating. This favors an early date for these events.

### *A Chronology of Egyptian Events*

At this point we should construct our chronology for the aforementioned Egyptian events. Shabako defeated and killed Bakenranef in 712, Bakenranef's sixth and last year. That dates the accession of Bakenranef to at least as early as 718. Prior to Bakenranef's accession, there was a minimum of the eight inscriptively known years of Tefnakht. This takes us back to 726 for Tefnakht's first year, which at the latest should also coincide, approximately, with his official coronation as king. Since Tefnakht's kingship began after, not before, Piankhy's campaign, that campaign should be dated to the preceding year, 727. Tefnakht's own campaign should thus be dated to the year before that, 728. Thus, I favor Kitchen's high date for these events over Christensen's low dates, even though Christensen has done a better job of portraying the dire political straits to which Tefnakht had been reduced after his defeat.

### *Correlation with the Biblical and Assyrian Data*

With the Egyptian scene now drawn up, we should next look at the biblical and Assyrian materials in order to correlate them with the pattern set forth above. Concerning this matter we have a useful new study by Nadav Na'aman.<sup>18</sup> Of special interest here is the way in which this researcher has treated the Babylonian Chronicle's reference to the dealings of Shalmaneser V with Samaria. For the chronology of this reference he has stated the following:

The text of the chronicle is organized throughout in a chronological order, with each and every event accurately dated within a specific year of the king of Babylonia and a transverse line marked to separate the years of reign. The 'ravaging' of Samara in is included within the accession year of Shalmaneser and should accordingly be assigned to that year.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>N. Na'aman, "The Historical Background to the Conquest of Samaria (720 B.C.)," *Biblica* 71 (1990): 207-225.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*

As Na`aman has noted, as early as 1887 H. Winckler dated this event to that accession year of Shalmaneser, or 727 B.C. For the verb *hepu* which is used here Na`aman points out that a simple meaning of "to ravage" or "plunder" is adequate.<sup>20</sup> It does not have to refer to a complete and devastating conquest with attendant destruction. Thus, this reference can be separated from what happened to Samaria at the end of the three-year siege by the Assyrians. This makes a nice correlation with 2 Kgs 17:3, the verse which precedes the reference relating to king So. It states, "Against him [Hoshea] came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria and Hoshea became his vassal, and paid him tribute." Hoshea would have had all the more reason to pay that tribute if Shalmaneser was ravaging the country at that time.

From these useful correlations, however, Na`aman's study diverges from the historical evidence in an attempt to locate the entire subsequent siege and conquest of Samaria within the reign of Sargon II.<sup>21</sup> While it is possible to attribute the end of the siege of Samaria and its final conquest to Sargon, it is not possible to attribute the entire siege to him without completely dismissing the biblical references to this subject. Both this passage (2 Kgs 17:4) and one in the next chapter (2 Kgs 18:9-11) make it clear that a considerable portion of the three-year siege must be attributed to Shalmaneser.

In general agreement with this is the fact that the Eponym Chronicle lists three campaigns for the years 725, 724, and 723, against a country for which the name has unfortunately been broken away.<sup>22</sup> To deny a connection between this record and the biblical data is to overlook the obvious. The three-year campaign of the Chronicle is most naturally taken as the same three-year campaign referred to in 2 Kgs 17 and 18, and the name of Samaria should be supplied to the damaged Assyrian text from the biblical references.

Thus we have two Mesopotamian sources which bracket the verse with which we have been dealing. The Babylonian Chronicle

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1965), 144, 213.

supplies the parallel to verse 3, which records an occurrence at the beginning of the reign of Shalmaneser in 727, and the Eponym Chronicle provides the parallel to the siege from 725 to 723/22 that is mentioned in verse 5. This leaves us with the year 726 as an open year between these two events, thus providing an opportunity for us to date to that year the events mentioned in verse 4, including the embassy of Hoshea to king So. This Assyro-biblical chronology can now be laid alongside the one which has been reconstructed above for Egypt.

When such a correlation is made, it can be seen that Tefnakht's campaign began in 728, the last full year of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III in Assyria. Piankhy's campaign in answer to Tefnakht occurred in the year following, 727. In Assyria this was the year when Tiglath-Pileser died and when Shalmaneser V came to the throne. During that same accession year, Shalmaneser set about quelling a revolt in the Assyrian empire, in the course of which part of his attention was directed to Samaria. It was therefore at this time that he ravaged Israel and extracted a surrender and payment of tribute from Hoshea.

Disgruntled with what Shalmaneser had done to him and to his land, Hoshea set out to acquire support for rebellion. The quarter to which he turned for this assistance was Egypt. In 726, the year after Piankhy's victorious campaign, it was abundantly clear where the real power in Egypt lay. That power was not seated in Tanis or Bubastis or Sais. It was seated at Napata in Nubia, and it was exercised by Piankhy. Thus it would have been to Piankhy that Hoshea sent his ambassadors.

Piankhy was now the suzerain over the Delta and the rest of Lower Egypt, and he was the most powerful figure on the scene of action in Egypt, as he had recently demonstrated. If any assistance of significance was to be forthcoming to Hoshea from Egypt, it would have to come from Piankhy or at least be authorized by him. Thus, from the standpoint of both chronological correlations and historical circumstances, Piankhy fits best as the king So to whom Hoshea sent for assistance. The requested assistance was not forthcoming, however, and this fits well with the fact that Piankhy did not return to Lower Egypt after this.

As we conclude our discussion on the biblical passage in question, we may note that 2 Kgs 17:6 refers to the exile of the captives from Samaria and the places to which they were sent in the east. Assyrian records point out quite clearly that this was the action of Sargon II, who followed Shalmaneser V on the throne. He

may also have finished the conquest of Samaria for Shalmaneser, either before or after the latter's death.

The entire biblical passage of 2 Kgs 17:3-6 can now be outlined as follows:

1. Verse 3 is paralleled by the Babylonian Chronicle's reference to the ravaging of Samaria by Shalmaneser, dated as 727.
2. Verse 4 points to an unsuccessful embassy sent to So, king of Egypt. I have suggested that this embassy was sent to Piankhy of Nubia, suzerain over Egypt after his victorious campaign in Lower Egypt. That campaign has been dated to 727, and the embassy to Piankhy by Hoshea in the next year, 726.
3. Verse 5 refers to the three-year siege of Samaria conducted mainly by Shalmaneser in 725, 724, and 723. The precipitating event for this siege was Hoshea's treachery in sending ambassadors to Egypt.
4. Verse 6 refers to the deportation of the exiles after the fall of Samaria. This action was carried out by Sargon II after he secured control over the Israelite kingdom at the beginning of his reign.

#### 4. *The Linguistic Question*

Historical and chronological correlations have now been worked out between the biblical, Babylonian, and Egyptian sources. These have pointed to Piankhy as the mysterious So to whom Hoshea sent ambassadors according to 2 Kgs 17:4. One final correlation remains to be made, and that pertains to the matter of linguistics. Linguistic correlations with Osorkon rest, as we have seen, upon only one common consonant. Correlations with Tefnakht do not even rest upon a relationship with any of his throne names. The question then is, Is the situation regarding Piankhy any better?

At the time when Green and I worked out the historical and chronological scheme described above, I proposed a linguistic connection between the biblical name of So and the Egyptian Pharaoh Piankhy's titulary. The suggestion at that time was that Hebrew *siwa*<sup>c</sup> (not vocalized as *sô*<sup>3</sup>) derived from the first part of Piankhy's Horus name of *sima*<sup>3</sup> *tawy*, "Pacifier of the Two Lands." The first part of this name, the verbal element, was then connected with the biblical name through a simple and well-known phonetic shift in labial letters, from *sima*<sup>3</sup> to *siwa*<sup>c</sup>.

I have now dropped that interpretation and wish here to propose another connection which may possibly be a more direct

way to making the identification. Because foreign texts seldom use the Horus name to identify a pharaoh, one should look more directly at Piankhy's *praenomen* and *nomen*. The most direct connection should be with this king's *nomen*, Piankhy. But we now know through more recent detailed studies<sup>23</sup> that this king's *nomen* should not be read as "Piankhy," but rather as "Piye." It is thus with "Piye" rather than with "Piankhy" that any correlation of the biblical name "So" must be made if indeed it derived from his Egyptian royal *nomen*.

It may be noted that in general both of the names So and Piye are short. That does not mean that they have to be the same name, but it does point in a similar direction—much more so than if one were a long name and the other a short one.

Starting with the final *e*-vowel, we may note that the Hebrew letter *aleph* at the end of this name can carry with it either an *e* or an *a* vowel, but not an *i*, *o*, or *u* vowel, which would be represented with a *yodh* or a *waw*. An example of a Hebrew word ending in an *aleph* vocalized with an *e*-vowel would be the word *tame*?, "unclean, defiled." Thus, the final vowel reconstructed by Egyptologists in Piye is compatible with the way in which this final consonant in Hebrew can be vocalized in an acceptable fashion.

As far as the medial consonant of this word is concerned (not the medial vowel letter), it should be noted that the *waw* and the *yodh* were written in a form very close to each other in both the preexilic and the postexilic Hebrew scripts. In the preexilic script, both of these letters were written with a long vertical tail and a divided head. The only difference between them was that the *yodh* had a sharply forked head while the *waw* had a curved semicircular head. At times the neck of the *yodh* angled to the left, whereas the *waw* remained directly vertical. Since these differences are minor, there are various occasions upon which these two letters can be confused in preexilic inscriptions. The problem remains the same in the postexilic script. The differences now become the length of the tail, the *waw*'s tail being longer, and the angle with which the head of the letter bends to the left, the *yodh* coming closer to a right angle than the *waw*. The distinction between these letters poses such a common problem that at times in the Dead Sea Scrolls it becomes extremely difficult to distinguish between them. The suggestion I am making here is that the scribe originally wrote

<sup>23</sup>K. Baer, "The Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt," *JNES* 32 (1973):24-25.

a *yodh* and that the later copyists developed this into a *waw* in the course of transmission.

The initial consonant of Piye is a bit more difficult to explain, for we have to go from the Egyptian *p* (Hebrew *pe*) to a Hebrew *s* (*samekh*). In the preexilic script these two letters do not look much like each other. The *pe* is a large curved letter, occasionally more angular, while the *samekh* is a vertical line with three crossbars. In the postexilic period, however, these two letters looked more alike, for the *samekh* came to be a circular letter with a point aiming to the left at its left upper corner. The *pe* was circular, but it still was an open circle, even though it had a small curved line extending downward from its left upper corner. Thus the difference came to be whether the circle was open or closed to the left, and how much of a point or line was written at the left upper corner of the letter. A confusion between these two letters in the postexilic period could thus have led to this shift of *p* to *s*.

Taking these two potential scribal errors into account, one minor and one major, we find the following course of development from Egyptian Piye to Hebrew *Siwe*<sup>2</sup> (*Sô*<sup>2</sup>) as it is now found in the printed Hebrew Bible: *Piye*—*Piye*<sup>2</sup>—*Piwe*<sup>2</sup>—*Siwe*<sup>2</sup>. In this case we are not dealing with phonetic shifts in pronunciation as to how this foreign king's name was heard, but rather with scribal shifts in the way in which letters were written in the successive copies of the scroll of Kings as handed down from generation to generation.

### 5. Conclusion

In summary we should note that the real power in Egypt during the decade of the 720s was held by Piye in Nubia. Osorkon in the eastern Delta was virtually an impotent kinglet, and Tefnakht in the western Delta was not much stronger. Tefnakht's real weakness was readily demonstrated when his forces encountered those of Piye.

Since this demonstration of Piye's power and Tefnakht's weakness took place shortly before the time when Hoshea needed to call upon Egypt for assistance, according to the chronology developed here, Hoshea should have been able to read those events clearly enough to know that Piye was the only real source of power in Egypt upon which he could call. Whether Piye could have helped Hoshea to any significant extent on the battlefield we will never know, for he did not respond to this appeal for assistance from Samaria.



## ADDENDUM

The most recent study of the problem of King So that has appeared, subsequent to my preparing the foregoing article, is John Day, "The Problem of 'So, King of Egypt' in 2 Kings XVII 4," *VT* 42 (1992): 289-301. Day adopts the common view that this King So was Tefnakhte of Sais and that the name of his capital became confused with the personal name now in the text. Day's study differs from others written from the same general point of view, in that other studies have relegated to later copyists the confusion of the personal and place names, whereas Day would attribute it to the original author/editor. Since my study has taken a different approach to this matter, Day's study does not materially affect the conclusion I have reached.



## PETER AND PAUL IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION IN THE CHURCH AT ROME

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The earliest extant information concerning the episcopal succession in the Christian community at Rome names two apostles, Peter and Paul, as originators of that succession. Paul, however, soon dropped out of this role in most of the ancient sources, with ongoing Christian tradition looking upon Peter alone as the inaugurator of the Roman episcopal succession.

The existence of this curious phenomenon is well known, of course; what is not well known is precisely how and why the transition came about. The present essay addresses this particular matter.

### 1. *Some Preliminary Observations*

Certain preliminary observations need to be set forth before we turn our attention to the main relevant ancient sources that have a bearing on our inquiry:

First of all, the debate as to whether the earliest administrators of the Roman church were each a *primus inter pares* or a *monepiscopus* is not particularly germane to our topic.<sup>1</sup> Possibly more relevant is the likelihood that the earliest governance modality in the Roman church was neither of the foregoing, but rather a formal *collegial* arrangement. Any discussion of this also stands largely aside from the issue we are exploring in the present essay.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, Protestant writers espouse the former of these two positions, with the latter position being represented by Roman Catholics, Orthodox, and High Anglicans.

<sup>2</sup> In essence, the extension of the collegial-governance modality to the earliest successors of Peter and Paul would merely provide a further evidence that both

Second, the question before us is not an inquiry regarding the rise and development of the expression "See of Peter," a matter that has long been heavily discussed and at times hotly debated.<sup>3</sup> The transition from a "Peter-and-Paul" to a "Peter-only" foundation for the succession lists of Roman bishops<sup>4</sup> could have been prior to, contemporary with, or subsequent to the conceptualization which gave rise to this designation for the Roman See. In any case, the earliest extant occurrence of the term itself, "See of Peter," is found in a letter written by Cyprian of Carthage to Cornelius of Rome in A.D. 252.<sup>5</sup> Side issues of this sort, interesting and important as they may be in their own right, are outside the scope of this essay. In short, our investigation herein is confined to a precise and specific consideration of the "how," "when," and "why" of the transition from the portrayal of Peter and Paul as cofounders of the Roman episcopal succession to the portrayal of Peter alone in that capacity.

Third, it is of vital importance to recognize that the transition with which we are dealing is not from "Paul only" to "Peter only,"

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apostles were originally mentioned together as inaugurating the episcopal succession of the Roman church.

<sup>3</sup> Books and articles on the subject continue to appear, though some of the most forceful argumentation occurred about a century ago. One may note, e.g., the strong exception taken by Luke Rivington, *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894, xxii and 3-18), to works or opinions of W. Bright, J. B. Lightfoot, F. U. Puller, G. Salmon, et al. Also in some of the Appendix materials in his volume, Rivington quite strongly attacks various of Puller's conclusions.

In the more recent literature, there is simply general recurrence of the lines of argument already set forth by earlier generations of scholars, albeit in a more charitable vein (the tendency has been for polemical discussions to be displaced by either apologetic ones or simply straightforward historical presentations). A recent work that is particularly useful for its comprehensive presentation of pertinent ancient source materials is the 3d ed. of James T. Shotwell and Louise Ropes Loomis, *The See of Peter* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

<sup>4</sup> For details concerning these succession lists and other relevant ancient source materials, see Kenneth A. Strand, "Church Organization in First-Century Rome: A New Look at the Basic Data," *AUSS* 29 (1991): 143-157; and id., "Governance in the First-Century Christian Church in Rome: Was It Collegial?" *AUSS* 30 (1992): 61-66.

<sup>5</sup> Cyprian, Ep. 54.14 in ANF 5:344, col. 1, where the rendition is "throne of Peter" instead of the more common "See of Peter" (in the Oxford ed. this epistle is numbered 59).

but from "Peter and Paul" to "Peter only." The latter two designations—and solely those two—are represented in connection with ancient succession lists and in other accounts of the early Roman episcopal succession.

Fourth, it is vitally important, too, that a distinction be made between what we witness in accounts of the Roman episcopal succession and what we encounter in other statements about the two apostles. Somehow, Paul dropped out of the succession, but his apostolic authority continued nonetheless to be recognized and set forth in other ways. For instance, down through the centuries papal bulls have been issued in the names of both Peter and Paul, and contemporary practice in the Roman Catholic church provides other evidences of an historically ongoing reverence for both of these apostles.<sup>6</sup>

Fifth, it is postulated that the two apostles were *originally* considered and treated *together* as being in a coequal collegial relationship in Rome, for this is precisely the way the extant evidence reveals the situation to have been, as we shall see below. Furthermore, the evidence gives no warrant for the thesis that from the outset there were two universally accepted concepts existing side by side—that Peter alone was properly spoken of as the originator of the Roman episcopal succession, and that Paul was included with him in some of the early listings simply because Paul was a "cofounder" of the Roman church.<sup>7</sup> This conjectural thesis simply is not substantiated by the way in which the ancient documents read.

## 2. *The Pertinent Data*

### *Peter and Paul as Joint Founders of the Roman Episcopal Succession*

We must now turn our attention to the main ancient sources that have a bearing on our study. These include the succession lists themselves, plus other pertinent remarks scattered throughout a variety of documents.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., the joint commemoration of Peter and Paul in the Mass, and also the celebration of June 29 as the "Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul."

<sup>7</sup> The position, e.g., taken by Rivington, 18-19.

*Irenaeus and Hegesippus.* The earliest extant source concerning the Roman episcopal succession is the succession list and account given by Irenaeus of Gaul (ca. A.D. 185),<sup>8</sup> who used the concept of "apostolic succession" as a guarantee that the established Christian churches, not the troublesome heresiarchs, were the true guardians and transmitters of apostolic truth.<sup>9</sup> Rather than setting forth multiple examples of episcopal successions, however, Irenaeus chose to present one prominent illustration: namely, "the very great, the very ancient, and universally known Church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul."<sup>10</sup> He states further that the "blessed apostles, then, having founded and built up the Church, committed into the hands of Linus the office of the episcopate," with Anencletus<sup>11</sup> succeeding Linus and with Clement following Anencletus "in the third place from the apostles."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Irenaeus' important work *Against Heresies* (or in any event, at least its Book 3) was written during the Roman episcopate of Eleutherus (174-189) and may have appeared a few years earlier or later than 185. This dating of the work is based on the fact that Irenaeus' succession list in 3.3.3 not only closes with Eleutherus but also specifically states that Eleutherus "does now, in the twelfth place from the apostles, hold the inheritance of the episcopate" (in ANF, 1:416).

<sup>9</sup> *Against Heresies* 3.3.1 makes this fact clear. It is a common theme among all the early Christian antihetical writers.

<sup>10</sup> *Against Heresies*, 3.3.2 (in ANF 1:415).

<sup>11</sup> In western lists this name usually occurs as "Anacletus," but "Anencletus" is undoubtedly the original and correct form. For a brief discussion regarding the name itself and other variant spellings, see Strand, "Church Organization," 148, n. 32, and 154, n. 51.

<sup>12</sup> Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 3.3.3 (in ANF 1:416). The term "founded" used in this and in the preceding statement has concerned some modern authorities because the NT epistle to the Romans makes clear the existence of a Christian congregation in Rome prior to Paul's arrival there. In assessing Irenaeus' remarks (and also those of other early fathers in similar contexts), we must keep in mind two factors: (1) the tendency to identify major sees as apostolic foundations, and (2) the very real contribution which Peter and Paul made to the organization and position of honor that accrued to the church in Rome. Later writers could therefore, with some degree of justification, refer to the Roman church as having been "founded" by Peter and Paul.

Irenaeus may very well have consulted records in Rome when he visited there ca. 178.<sup>13</sup> Or he may have copied an earlier list prepared by Hegesippus and incorporated in the latter's *Hypomnemata*, a work no longer extant.<sup>14</sup> Most likely, he utilized both procedures, but probably depended basically on the work that had already been done by Hegesippus. In any case, his list matches perfectly that of Hegesippus as reconstructed from two ancient sources that are mentioned in the next two paragraphs below.

*Hegesippus, Epiphanius, and Eusebius.* Hegesippus, a Syro-Palestinian Christian, had visited Rome during the episcopate of Anicetus (ca. 155-166), and on that occasion had perused records of the Roman church and assembled a succession list of Roman bishops up through Anicetus.<sup>15</sup> This list he probably expanded later to include also Soter and Eleutherus.<sup>16</sup> It is now quite clear, especially since the analyses of J. B. Lightfoot and B. H. Streeter, that Hegesippus' list up through Anicetus was preserved intact by Epiphanius of Salamis (late fourth century).<sup>17</sup> This eastern church father refers to the sequence of the earliest bishops of Rome as follows: "Peter and Paul, apostles and bishops, then Linus, then Cletus,<sup>18</sup> then Clement. . . ."<sup>19</sup> This unequivocal statement

<sup>13</sup> The trip was shortly after the severe persecution at Lyons and Vienne in Gaul, a persecution which took place in the year 177. See Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 5.3-4. A letter to Christians in "Asia and Phrygia" describing in detail the persecution appears in 5.1.3 through 5.2.7.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.22.1, refers to the *Hypomnemata* as consisting of five books. (The term *Hypomnemata* has been translated into English variously as "Memoirs" or "Note Books.")

<sup>15</sup> So Hegesippus tells us in an excerpt quoted by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 4:22.1-3.

<sup>16</sup> See *ibid.*, and also 4.11.7.

<sup>17</sup> See J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part 1: *S. Clement of Rome*, 1 (London: Macmillan, 1890), 326-333; and Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Primitive Church Studied with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry* (London: Macmillan, 1929), 290-295.

<sup>18</sup> "Cletus" is a shortened form of "Anencletus." Cf. n. 26, below; also n. 11, above.

<sup>19</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 27.6, as translated by Lightfoot, 329.

provides strong evidence indeed that *originally*, in the work of Hegesippus, *both apostles* were indicated as being at the head of the Roman episcopal succession.

Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Ecclesiastical History* (early fourth century) not only quotes Irenaeus' listing of the early bishops of Rome,<sup>20</sup> but also gives the same episcopal succession in references that are scattered throughout his historical portrayal.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, he sets forth the identical succession in his *Chronology*, a separate work.<sup>22</sup> Eusebius' scattered references in his *Ecclesiastical History* have undoubtedly derived from the pioneer work of Hegesippus, whom Eusebius frequently cites.<sup>23</sup>

*Peter as Sole Founder of the  
Roman Episcopal Succession*

*Tertullian, Optatus, and Augustine.* The first extant patristic source which refers to Peter alone as initiator of the Roman episcopal succession is Tertullian of Carthage, who during the first decade of the third century referred to the "apostolic churches" as having "registers" of episcopal succession and to the Roman church as having recorded that Clement was ordained by Peter to be Peter's successor as bishop of Rome.<sup>24</sup> Tertullian, however, does not follow up this remark with an actual succession list.

Such a list is given by two other North African church fathers, Optatus of Mileve in Numidia (ca. 370) and Augustine of Hippo

<sup>20</sup> Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 5.6.1-3,4-5: two excerpts from Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 3.3.3.

<sup>21</sup> Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 3.2, 13, 15, 34; 4.1, 4; etc.

<sup>22</sup> Lightfoot, 208-209, has compiled in table format the pertinent data from both recensions of the *Chronicle* (the Armenian and Jeromian) and from the *Ecclesiastical History*.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 2.23.3,19; 3.11.2; 3.19; 3.20.8-9; 3.32.2; 4.8.1; 4.11.3; 4.21; and 4.22.1.

<sup>24</sup> Tertullian, *On Prescription against Heretics*, chap. 32. Curiously, the ANF editor has indicated that the word he has translated as "registers" is *Fastos* in the original (ANF 3:258, n. 8). Actually it is *census* (obviously here the plural). That Tertullian considers these "registers" as giving evidence of a succession is clear from his immediately preceding statement (in 32.1) challenging the heretics to produce the "roll of their bishops, running down in due succession . . ." (ANF, 3:258).



(ca. 400). Both of these place Peter alone at the head of the succession.<sup>25</sup> The "Liberian Catalog" of the year 354 and the later *Book of the Popes (liber pontificalis)*, in which the data of the Liberian Catalog were incorporated, also place Peter alone at the head of the succession.<sup>26</sup>

*Jerome's Testimony.* Jerome of Bethlehem (fl. ca. A.D. 400), who had originally lived in Rome and been baptized into the Christian church there, refers to Clement as the "fourth bishop" of Rome.<sup>27</sup> He also indicates that most of "the Latins" consider Clement as the second bishop of Rome, following immediately after Peter.<sup>28</sup> In both of these statements Jerome reveals that he himself believes Peter to have been Rome's first bishop, for he makes absolutely no mention of Paul.

#### A "Hybrid" Remark: The Apostolic Constitutions

The foregoing references represent the basic early sources that are the most relevant to our inquiry. However, mention must be made, as well, of one further piece of evidence that is of a somewhat "hybrid" nature: namely, a statement that occurs in the fourth-century compilation known as the *Apostolic Constitutions*. This statement is that Paul ordained Linus and that Peter ordained

<sup>25</sup> Optatus, *De schism. Donat.*, 2.3; and Augustine, epistle no. 53, *ad Generosum*, par. 2. The Latin original of the pertinent portions of both texts has been provided by Lightfoot, 171-174.

<sup>26</sup> Various editions of these have been published, but for the sections of interest to us herein, the following are both excellent and generally readily accessible: For the "Liberian Catalog" (in Latin), Lightfoot, 253-258; and for the *Liber Pontificalis* (in English translation), Louise Ropes Loomis, trans., *The Book of the Popes (Liber Pontificalis) to the Pontificate of Gregory I*, reprint of 2d ed. (New York: Octagon, 1965; copyrighted in 1944). It should be noted that "Anencletus" (western spelling) is doubled into "Cletus" and "Anacletus" in this textual tradition, and that in some texts "Cletus" is placed before "Clement" (and "Anacletus" after Clement), but with dates that nevertheless indicate Clement as being the immediate successor of Linus.

<sup>27</sup> Jerome, *Lives of Illustrious Persons* (L.: *De viris illustribus*), chap. 15.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

Clement after Linus' death.<sup>29</sup> If this remark represents even a partially valid reminiscence, it may have a bearing on the question we are investigating. On the other hand, we must keep in mind the possibility, or even likelihood, that it constitutes merely a late attempt to reconcile conflicting traditions that were circulating (there were several such attempts).<sup>30</sup>

### 3. *The Options from the Data*

With the early basic data in hand, we may now proceed to an analysis which first sets forth the options and then deals specifically with the question of how and why the shift came about from a Peter-and-Paul to a Peter-only account of the origin of the Roman episcopal succession.

1. *The concept of Peter's primacy.* In contrast to Paul, Peter was one of Christ's original twelve disciples and also a member of a closer circle of three—Peter, James, and John—who accompanied the Master closely on specific occasions, such as Christ's transfiguration (Matt 17:1-2) and Christ's time of prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane on the night of his betrayal (Matt 26:36-37).<sup>31</sup> In addition, there are NT references often considered as assigning Peter a leadership role over the other disciples, but these references are amenable to other interpretations;<sup>32</sup> and in any case, the very

<sup>29</sup> *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, bk. 7, sec. 4, chap. 46 (cf. Eng. trans. in ANF 7:478).

<sup>30</sup> For the attempts by Rufinus and Epiphanius, see Strand, "Governance," 62-63, 65-66.

<sup>31</sup> It should also be noted that these three were the only ones admitted to the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mark 5:37; Luke 8:51) and that it was these three, accompanied by Andrew, who appeared to be especially close to Jesus on Mt. Olives as he provided the forecast in Mark 13 (see v. 3).

<sup>32</sup> A prominent reference often put forward in this regard is Christ's reply to Peter's confession in Matt 16:16-18; but the response, on the other side, is that the "rock" here is Christ himself, as the context would seem to imply (16:15—Jesus Christ asking, "who do you say I am?"), and as emphasized elsewhere in the NT, where Jesus is referred to as the foundation or cornerstone (e.g., 1 Pet 2:7-8, Matt 21:42, Eph 2:20). The next verse in Matt 16 (v. 19), which refers to Christ's giving authority to "bind" and "loose" in heaven, is also argued in both directions: as a

fact that James, "the brother of the Lord" (Gal 1:19), not Peter, had such a leadership role in the early Jerusalem church contradicts the theory of an original and initial primacy of Peter.<sup>33</sup>

As to the situation in Rome itself, the earliest extant reference in conjunction with a Roman episcopal succession list refers, as we have seen, to both Peter and Paul as "the two most glorious apostles," thus not differentiating between them. Earlier than this statement from Irenaeus, however, we may note that Clement of Rome, in his letter to the Corinthian church (ca. A.D. 95), and Ignatius of Antioch, in his epistle to the Romans (ca. 115), depict both Peter and Paul in terms of equality concerning their service for the Christian community.<sup>34</sup> It would seem clear, therefore, that the evidence gives no support to the theory that from the very start there was Petrine episcopal supremacy in Rome.

2. *The concept of Peter's early arrival and lengthy tenure in Rome.* According to relatively late sources, Peter had a tenure of twenty-five years in leadership of the Roman church, Peter's arrival in Rome having occurred either during the reign of Tiberius (14-37) or in the second year of Claudius (A.D. 42).<sup>35</sup> It is difficult,

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reference to Peter (the Catholic view) or as a reference to all twelve disciples collectively and/or all Christians (the general Protestant view). There are, in fact, no so-called attestations to Petrine primacy in the NT that can *unequivocally* be considered as furnishing evidence of Peter's having had ecclesiastical primacy over the rest of Christ's twelve disciples.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. that James was the person presiding at the Jerusalem council reported in Acts 15, that early Christian tradition looked upon him as "the first to be made bishop of the church of Jerusalem" (Eusebius, *Ecccl. Hist.*, 2.1.2, in NPNF, 2d series, 1:104), and that even the so-called "letter of Clement" prefaced to the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*, was addressed to James, with the strong implication of James's considerable authority for the universal church.

<sup>34</sup> Clement, "To the Corinthians" (often referred to as "1 Corinthians"), chaps. 5-6; Ignatius, "To the Romans," chap. 4. Clement and Ignatius, however, do not set forth succession lists, the first such extant list being, as we have noted, the one given by Irenaeus.

<sup>35</sup> See, e.g., *Liber Pontificalis* (or the "Liberian Catalog") under the entry for Peter; and Jerome, *Illustrious Persons*, chap. 1. The former of these indicates Peter's 25-year tenure in Rome as being from A.D. 30 to 55 (obviously an impossibility).

however, to square such information with actual historical fact.<sup>36</sup> Much more likely to be correct is the tradition that both Peter and Paul came to Rome during the reign of Nero (54-68) and were martyred there late in that reign (probably in the year A.D. 67).<sup>37</sup>

3. *The concept of Pauline and Petrine segments in the Roman church, with the Petrine leadership line gaining ascendancy and permanency.* It has sometimes been conjectured that there were two major segments or factions in the Roman church of the apostolic period—one under the leadership of Paul, and the other under the leadership of Peter.<sup>38</sup> This conjecture has apparently arisen from, or been stimulated by, the so-called "hybrid" statement from the *Apostolic Constitutions* mentioned above. Not only, however, is the dependability of this particular source suspect, but so is the very theory of there having been two segments in the Roman church under the ministry of Peter and Paul; for surely, the typical apostolic emphasis on unity (see, e.g., Rom 12:4-8; 1 Cor 1:11-15; 12:12-25) suggests otherwise, as do also the aforementioned testimonies of Clement and Irenaeus. These point rather to a unified congregation having the two apostles in *collegial*, not separate, leadership. And in any case, the statement in the *Apostolic Constitutions* does not say anything about segments or divisions in the Roman church.

4. *The concept that Peter outlived Paul.* According to the remark in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Paul appointed Linus; then after Linus' death, Peter appointed Clement to be Peter's own successor. The strong implication is that Paul, as well as Linus, was dead at the time when Peter appointed Clement. Although the statement

<sup>36</sup> If we allow for Peter a 25-year term of service with the church in Rome, it is difficult to account for that apostle's activities as described in the NT book of Acts, plus 7 years in Antioch—plus also the time required for Peter's preaching ministry in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia (a preaching ministry attested, e.g., by Jerome, *Illustrious Persons*, chap. 1, and implied by the NT epistle "1 Peter" [inasmuch as that epistle is addressed, in 1:1, to the diaspora in those regions]). A still further puzzle, if Peter spent 25 years in Rome, is why Paul in his epistle to the Romans shows no awareness of Peter's being there when Paul wrote the epistle or of having been there previously.

<sup>37</sup> The *Liber Pontificalis*, as well as other sources, gives this tradition (in addition to the conflicting one mentioned above!).

<sup>38</sup> Even J. B. Lightfoot for a time adopted this position tentatively, but subsequently rejected it. See Lightfoot, 68, n. 1.

could be interpreted in several ways, the most plausible interpretation is that Paul appointed Linus to be either a junior colleague or a successor to Paul himself. In the latter case, we would have a four-step succession: Paul (or Paul and Peter), then Linus, then Peter, then Clement. This scenario would require that Linus died very soon after taking office—a possibility, but not a probability (otherwise, it would be necessary to abandon the well-supported historical tradition that Paul and Peter died in close time-proximity to each other).<sup>39</sup>

5. *The influence of the Pseudo-Clementine literature.* Two major documents falsely attributed to Clement of Rome (died ca. A.D. 100), the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies*, plus the shorter "Epistle of Clement to James," constitute what has come to be known as the "Pseudo-Clementines."<sup>40</sup> These literary pieces exalt the ministry of Peter in both East and West, but perhaps were written more for the purpose of exalting Clement as Peter's disciple and successor. Particularly the so-called letter of Clement to James of Jerusalem describes emphatically Peter's ordination of Clement as successor to himself in the Roman episcopal office.<sup>41</sup> This literature is to be dated no earlier than the last half of the second century; in fact, it probably did not arise or circulate until the third century. In any case, there is no evidence until considerably later than the second century that any *bona fide* church leader or chronicler took stock in it.<sup>42</sup>

6. *A counteractive to the Marcionite Scripture canon.* During the latter part of the second century the Christian church took special

<sup>39</sup> Various sources indicate that the martyrdom took place on the very same day—stated, e.g., by Jerome, *Illustrious Persons*, chap. 5, as being on the same day in the very same year. Prudentius (ca. A.D. 400) in his *Peristephanon*, hymn no. 12, however, gives the somewhat unusual information that the martyrdoms took place on the same day of the year, but were one year apart (with Paul being the first of the two to suffer martyrdom).

<sup>40</sup> See the discussion of this literature in Strand, "Governance," 62-63.

<sup>41</sup> Note especially this "Epistle of Clement to James," chaps. 2 and 19 (given in Eng. translation in ANF 8:218, 221-222).

<sup>42</sup> Absolutely clear and unequivocally certain reference to this literature does not occur until about the time of Rufinus ca. A.D. 400. The still-later *Liber Pontificalis* incorporated material from the Pseudo-Clementine epistle to James and from Rufinus into the later of two ancient recensions that are extant.

interest, as is well known, in declaring which of the early Christian writings were apostolic and therefore authoritative and normative, this in opposition to both Gnosticism and Marcionism. The former claimed special esoteric knowledge, and Marcion produced a NT canon which he and his followers set forth as the genuine NT.<sup>43</sup>

Marcion had come to Rome from his native Pontus, and there soon attached himself to the heresiarch Cerdo, who had arrived in Rome during the episcopate of Hyginus (ca. 136-140).<sup>44</sup> Marcion, like Cerdo, began to teach that there were two very different Gods—the OT one and the NT one.<sup>45</sup> He gained a large following, established congregations, and prepared a work entitled *Antitheses* (supposedly showing contradictions between the OT and NT writings). Because he considered parts of the traditionally accepted NT writings as too "Jewish" and too compatible with the OT, he decided to prepare his own NT canon. This consisted of the Gospel of Luke in shortened and expurgated form, plus some of the Pauline epistles, also in an adjusted form.

Obviously, Marcion's intent was to produce a compilation of supposedly "inspired writings" whose content would support his own heretical teachings. Though this Marcionite scripture canon may not have been prepared as early as the time of Justin Martyr (d. ca. 165), Marcion was already beginning to have a deleterious effect in Rome at that time, as mentioned in Justin's first *Apology* (dated ca. 150).<sup>46</sup> In fact, Justin wrote a complete work against Marcion, but this work is not extant.<sup>47</sup> Irenaeus, too, polemicized

<sup>43</sup> All recent major works on the history of the early Christian church treat Gnosticism and Marcionism. For reference to Marcion in the early-church period itself, see citations in nn. 44-49 below.

<sup>44</sup> See Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 1.27.1-3 (referred to by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 4.11). Details concerning Marcion's life and teaching are given by various ancient writers (some of the main ones will be cited below). A standard modern work on Marcion that is very useful is Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960 [reprint of the 1924 ed. published in Leipzig by J. C. Hinrichs Verlag]).

<sup>45</sup> Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 1.27.1-3.

<sup>46</sup> See, e.g., Justin Martyr, *Apology*, chap. 58.

<sup>47</sup> See Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 4.11.8-9.

against Marcion (ca. 185).<sup>48</sup> It was, however, Tertullian early in the third century that set forth the most pronounced and lengthy refutation of Marcion that is still extant.<sup>49</sup> Clearly by then, Christian leadership felt a distinct and urgent need to clarify in detail what constituted Christian teaching (as contrasted with Marcion's views) and to delineate which writings were accepted as authoritative by the church.

Since Marcion placed such an extreme emphasis on Paul as a true apostle of Christ, with Peter excluded in this respect, is it possible that Christian leaders in the Roman west began to place more emphasis on the role of Peter than on that of Paul by designating the former as the person from whom the Roman episcopal succession stemmed? The church in the west continued, of course, to accept both apostles as true spokesmen for God and considered that the writings of both of them were authoritative; but in spite of this fact, could it be that the Roman church deemed it now more advisable to place emphasis on Peter as originating its succession of bishops—especially so inasmuch as the purpose of succession lists was to guarantee apostolic truth and to give evidence of the church's unity?

#### 4. *Analysis of the Options*

In addition to the six options set forth above, there may be others of lesser prominence and/or lesser worth. Even in selecting from among these six options, we face the fact that the evidence is too scant and confused to draw conclusions that are more than tentative. Nevertheless, it may be well to look for a possible direction in which the solution to our basic question lies—the question of how and why there was a transition from the Peter-and-Paul to the Peter-only concept concerning the origin of the Roman episcopal succession.

First of all, we have noted in the ancient sources (1) that the concept of a Peter-and-Paul origination of the Roman episcopate appears earlier than does the Peter-only one, and (2) that the latter makes its initial appearance in an extant patristic source shortly after the year 200. We may reiterate here that the term "See of

<sup>48</sup> See, e.g., Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 1.27.1-2; 3.4.3; 4.8.1.

<sup>49</sup> Tertullian's treatise *Against Marcion* consists of five books, which appear in Eng. trans. in ANF 3:271-474.

Peter" as a designation for the Roman episcopate manifests itself still later, the first known reference being the one given by Bishop Cyprian in a letter to Bishop Cornelius of Rome in 252. It should be added here that Cyprian did not, however, use the term to indicate any primacy of the Roman See over his own in Carthage.<sup>50</sup>

In suggesting possible options as to the how and why of the transition which we are exploring, I have suggested six possibilities: (1) the concept of Peter's having had primacy over the other apostles; (2) the concept that Peter arrived in Rome earlier than Paul and had a longer tenure of service there; (3) the concept of there having been Pauline and Petrine factions or segments within the early Roman church, with the Pauline line dying out in favor of the Petrine one; (4) the concept that Peter outlived Paul; (5) the influence of the Pseudo-Clementine literature; and (6) a polemical reaction to Marcion and Marcionism, with an emphasis on Peter in contrast to Marcion's emphasis on Paul.

The first and second of these suggestions would be, in my estimation, only secondary factors strengthening the transition, once that transition itself was under way. If they had been causative factors in bringing about the transition, the earliest evidence should have made this clear; instead, we find reference to these considerations only later. (There is, of course, no doubt but that the Peter-primacy concept eventually became very important for the ongoing development of the authority of the Roman See. And as for the tradition about Peter's supposed early arrival and lengthy tenure in Rome, the very fact that this tradition was perpetuated in the *Book of the Popes* would seem to indicate that it, too, had some influence on the ongoing Petrine-primacy concept, once the concept itself had already arisen and was gaining momentum.)

The third option I have suggested—that of Petrine and Pauline factions in the Roman church—represents a concept which, as far as we can tell from early Christian literature, has no sound basis in historical fact, but rather the contrary. Moreover, the statement

<sup>50</sup> Though a number of Cyprian's epistles show high regard for the Roman See, it is clear that he felt no compulsion to obey orders from that See. In fact, he even strongly rebuked Roman Bishop Stephen ca. 257 over the latter's position on the "anabaptist" question, and he was the recipient, as well, of responses from other bishops who castigated the Roman bishop very severely (e.g., Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, whose letter appears in the corpus of Cyprianic correspondence, Ep. 75, Oxford ed.).



from the *Apostolic Constitutions* that has served as the incentive for proposing this theory of Petrine and Pauline factions gives no suggestion whatever of such. Thus, the third option, in my opinion, must be rejected outright as having no relevance to our inquiry.

The fourth option—that Peter outlived Paul and during that interval originated the ongoing succession of Roman bishops by ordaining Clement—rests on the same dubious source of information, the statement in the *Apostolic Constitutions* that forms the basis for the third option. If there were any significant time period after Linus' death (and presumably after Paul's death) during which Peter alone ordained Clement, there is absolutely no solid evidence to indicate so. Rather, the time proximity of the deaths of the two apostles seems fairly well established.

The fifth option—that the influence of the Pseudo-Clementines was responsible for bringing about the Peter-only rather than Peter-and-Paul placement at the head of the Roman succession—seems most implausible in view of the lack of attention to this literature (if it even existed as yet) at the time when the evidence for the "Peter-only" concept of the origination of the Roman episcopal succession began to emerge. Tertullian's statement in this regard, the first from a recognized patristic writer, did not derive from the Pseudo-Clementines, as is sometimes conjectured. Instead, as Tertullian himself makes clear, he derived his information from Roman "registers."<sup>51</sup> By some two hundred years later, this Pseudo-Clementine literature had, of course, begun quite visibly to play its role in the exaltation of Peter.<sup>52</sup> Thus, this fifth option can, like the first two mentioned above, be considered as giving a supporting role to a development which had already begun to take place.

The sixth option—that relating to the Marcionite crisis—probably deserves more attention than is apparent at first sight. In the flow of history, reactions to dangers come readily; and moreover, they often lead to counter-swings of the pendulum beyond the balanced midpoint. Could it be that this sort of dynamic was at work in developing the Peter-only thesis concerning the origination of the Roman episcopate? Could it have

<sup>51</sup> Tertullian, *On Prescription against Heretics*, chap. 32.

<sup>52</sup> By the time of Rufinus, as noted earlier. Rufinus even made a translation of some of this literature, as urged by Bishop Gaudentius of Brixia.

arisen because of the dangers and opposition to Christian faith that were manifested in Marcionism, with its extreme nonbiblical views and rejection of the apostolic authority of Peter?

The strong likelihood of such being the case is supported, it seems to me, by a consideration of the specific time frame and geographical region in which the Peter-only theory first emerged—namely, early in the third century in Rome itself and elsewhere in the Latin west (notably Carthage, where Tertullian was a presbyter). Christian leaders at that time and in that region had begun to manifest an urgent concern for the threats posed by Marcion and his followers.

### 5. Conclusion

Of the six factors considered above in connection with the question of the transition from a "Peter-and-Paul" to a "Peter only" concept concerning the origin of the Roman episcopal succession, the best relevant evidence points in the direction of the transition being a response to the Marcionite crisis close to the year A.D. 200, with several of the other factors subsequently becoming supportive of the transition. But why, we may ask, was Paul obliterated from his position as the apostolic collegial originator of the Roman episcopal succession while at the same time being retained along with Peter as an authoritative apostolic teacher?

The answer lies, perhaps, in the fact that episcopal succession had a meaningfulness beyond that of the teaching ministry *per se*. It was unthinkable in the Roman church to deny Paul's significant role in Rome as a true apostolic teacher, and it was just as unthinkable to repudiate his valued "canonical" writings.

However, as the concept intensified concerning the existence of only a single succession line of bishops in each major Christian congregation, the Roman church could have deleted the name of Paul from its succession so as to keep in a consonant pattern with the idea that there was only *one* apostolic founder for each major church. This pattern was indeed well established throughout Christendom even before A.D. 200, and the Marcionite crisis may well have been the "trigger" that set in operation the concept that this same modality pertained also to the Roman church. At that stage, some of the other factors mentioned above could easily have begun to enter the picture—and probably did so—to play their part in enhancing the idea that the Roman see was the "See of Peter" (with no mention of Paul).

## BOOK REVIEWS

Bernal, Martin. *Black Athena*. Vol. 2: *The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991. xxxiii + 736 pp. \$16.95.

Volume 1 (1987) of Bernal's work on Egyptian and Levantine influences on Greek civilization was a history of classical scholarship. In it Bernal showed that modern classical studies remain influenced by Eurocentrism and anti-Semitism. With volume 2 Bernal begins a detailed discussion of the evidence for his assertion, as well as its scholarly implications.

*The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence* synthesizes the witness of ancient documents, especially histories, and the archaeological evidence. The first nine chapters detail Egyptian influences through the Old and Middle Kingdoms, while chapters 10-12 discuss the New Kingdom and other influences from the Levant and Mesopotamia. The volume reaches only to the fall of Mycenaean civilization, ca. 1200 B.C. The endnotes alone take up 95 pages. The volume contains maps, charts, a glossary, and an index.

Bernal is not attempting a final reconstruction, but rather proposing a model based on ancient traditions. Though Bernal does not grant infallibility to ancient historians, he believes that "where ancient sources converge and are not controverted in Antiquity, one should take their schemes as working hypotheses" (26). However, the ancient sources he cites are classical; biblical material is largely ignored. An advantage to reading this book as a working hypothesis is that the weaker elements may be ignored without harm to the stronger points.

The chief contribution of this volume is in chronology and archaeology. When Bernal discusses the chronology of Egypt (206-216, 323-336) he makes the point that Egyptian chronology has been steadily shortening throughout this century, without the benefit of new evidence. With improved C<sup>14</sup> and other dating methods the short chronology is showing some problems and the long chronology corresponding advantages. His discussion of the dating of the Thera eruption is useful for both historiography and chronology (275-289).

The chief weakness of the volume lies in Bernal's handling of etymologies and mythical identities. Most of these discussions seem to rely on suppositions, very thin connections, and long chains of reasoning. For example, there is far too little source material to attempt an analysis such as fills chap. 2. Over the course of a millennium, language and pronunciation may drift considerably so that reconstructing the traditions and beliefs of Late Bronze Age Greece is almost impossible, although

something is known about the language. Reconstructing Early Bronze Age Cretan culture is almost impossible. Also, if Egyptian (and Levantine) influence continued throughout the Bronze Age, classical sources should reflect late Egyptian and Levantine traditions.

Bernal's discussion of Sesostris (chaps. 5-6) is breathtaking, if not difficult to swallow. According to Bernal the campaigns of this Pharaoh reached to the Caucasus and across Anatolia. Although his data can have alternate interpretations, perhaps we should enlarge our concept of the campaigns of the 12th dynasty.

This is only a small sample of the wide range of topics covered in Bernal's book. This book more than any other points out the apparent lack of communication which exists between the American School of Oriental Research and the Albright Institute of Archaeology, and more broadly between Near Eastern and classical archaeology. The breach between the two disciplines is due more to oversight than rivalry, yet as long as it exists, links between the ancient cultures will remain poorly understood.

The reconstructions of Bernal should be critically studied. It is certainly premature to take any of his conclusions at face value, but to ignore his work is ignorance indeed.

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Biblical Research Committee, Euro-Africa Division of Seventh-day Adventists. *Abendmahl und Fusswaschung* [Lord's Supper and Footwashing]. *Studien adventistischen Ekklesiologie*, 1, Hamburg: Saatkorn Verlag, 1991. 296 pp. Paperback.

This volume, the first in the series of "Studies in Adventist Ecclesiology," was prepared by the Biblical Research Committee of the Euro-Africa Division. According to Jean Zurcher, chairman of the BRC, its purpose was "to contribute toward a conscientious translation of the words and deeds of him who himself instituted the Lord's Supper as well as the rite of foot-washing." In *Abendmahl und Fusswaschung* thirteen European contributors, pastors and professors of theology, look at the ordinances of footwashing and the Lord's Supper from a biblical- theological and practical perspective.

The book is divided into four sections: In section A, six authors discuss the Biblical-historical and theological aspects of the Lord's Supper. Section B deals with the meaning of the ordinance of footwashing and its interpretation in Adventist theology. Section C addresses practical questions: "Common or Single Cup at the Lord's Supper?" "Open or Closed Communion?" "Who is Worthy to Participate in this Rite?" Other issues addressed are: formats for the celebration of the Lord's Supper on special

occasions, the administration of the Communion Service to the sick, and suggestions for footwashing among women church members. In the concluding part, D, reference is made to church documents dealing with the Communion Service. A summary of E. G. White materials is presented.

In his study entitled "The Historical and Theological Background of the Lord's Supper," Roberto Badenas defends the paschal character of the Last Supper. However, he emphatically states that the historical background should not hinder us from holding in high regard the extraordinary new dimension of this celebration. Jean-Claude Verrecchia discovers different theological emphases in the synoptic and Pauline supper accounts as he examines them on a tradition-, form- and redaction critical basis.

In the light of his search for the eucharistic practice in Acts, Bernard Sauvagnat concludes that the sharing of bread means that members of the Christian church have really become brothers and sisters. He emphasizes that this relation cannot be limited to a small circle of chosen people, but is to be extended to all. In his article "Sacraments or Word Actions?" Hans Heinz underlines the salvific nature of the word rather than a magical infusion of grace by means of the sacraments, which he finds lacking biblical basis.

Rolf Poehler maintains that the true meaning of the Lord's Supper is to be found in Christ, whose real presence is in the proclamation of the word and in the visible word. He insists that a denial of this fact leads to a misunderstanding of the church's constitutional function in the Lord's Supper.

Thomas Domanyi's essay on "The Adventist Understanding of the Lord's Supper Within the Ecumenical Context" is an attempt to balance the painful burden of a confessionally separated celebration of the Lord's Supper with the freedom in Christ. This freedom, he points out, allows the believer to celebrate the Lord's Supper according to his conscience and personal responsibility.

Based on his exegetical and theological study of John 13, Bernard Oestreich focuses on the centrality of the person of Jesus in the rite of foot washing. From his perspective, both the Lord's Supper and footwashing belong to the same context, Jesus' last historic meal. Both ordinances are a symbolic proclamation of his death for us and both rites carry the same weight. In his survey of the historic Adventist interpretation of footwashing Oestreich shows that the symbolic-cultic interpretation of the ordinance of footwashing predominant in early Adventism was not endorsed by E. G. White. Therefore, he advocates a careful exegesis of John 13 as the only sound basis for grasping the christological meaning of this sacred rite.

Jean Zurcher also emphasizes the christological meaning of footwashing, which was authenticated by Christ and serves as a symbol of spiritual cleansing. It cannot be performed mentally, for true humility finds

expression in an act of humiliation. Since both the ordinance of foot-washing and the eucharist were instituted at the same time, they are to be observed together.

The real strength of this symposium lies in its christological emphasis. The view that the real meaning of the Communion is to be found in the person of Christ, as servant and Lord, is strongly articulated by Poehler and Oestreich.

Furthermore, Badenas' reconstruction of the paschal framework as the background for the wholly new Christian celebration of the Lord's Supper, as well as Heinz's emphasis on the word versus the sacraments, reaffirms this position. Perhaps new in the discussion is Verrecchia's study, which emphasizes the different theological nuances of the Lord's Supper as found in the Synoptic accounts and in 1 Cor 11.

The practical section of the book will, no doubt, help pastors deal with special situations. It will enable them to clear up misunderstandings, particularly in respect to the question "who is worthy to participate?" (Poehler).

On the other hand, one wonders why other Adventist scholars, who have written on the ordinances, were not consulted. This could have added another valuable dimension to these excellent studies.

Furthermore, one needs to carefully assess the views of these scholars. For example, the idea of the real presence of Christ in the proclamation of the word and in the visible word (Poehler) seems closer to Bultmann's existential approach than to the Adventist position. The view that the breaking of bread in Acts 2:42 refers to the Lord's Supper (Sauvagnat), as advocated by many NT scholars, remains unconvincing.

Mechanical errors of various kinds detract from the presentation of respectable content. However, the volume, as a first, represents an important step in European SDA scholarship.

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Black, David Allen, and David S. Dockery, eds. *New Testament Criticism and Interpretation*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991. 587 pp. Paperback, \$19.95.

As evangelicalism emerged from fundamentalism after World War II, it took a more positive approach toward critical biblical scholarship. That first generation was particularly indebted to George Eldon Ladd's landmark publication, *The New Testament and Criticism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1967). In it, Ladd turned his back on the fundamentalist assumption that critical methodology was irredeemably hostile to faith,

and sought to outline the ways in which evangelicals could benefit from an "evangelical biblical criticism." Ten years later British evangelicals, such as F. F. Bruce, I. Howard Marshall, Donald Guthrie, David Wenham, Stephen Smalley, Ralph Martin, and James Dunn, collaborated on a two-volume work entitled *New Testament Interpretation* (Exeter, England: Paternoster Press, 1977).

These two books form the background to *New Testament Criticism and Interpretation*, in which a new generation seeks to carry on the tradition of Ladd within the current American context. For the teacher who wishes to expose the student to a solid, contemporary, evangelical perspective on the task of NT scholarship, this volume fills a serious void.

The writers of *New Testament Criticism and Interpretation* position themselves in the middle, between those who prefer a return to fundamentalism, and those who have become comfortable with the methods, presuppositions, and results of contemporary critical scholarship. Critical scholarship is faulted for taking the clear things of Scripture and making them ambiguous because their content is unpalatable to the interpreter. On the other hand, fundamentalism is faulted for taking the ambiguities of Scripture and clarifying them in the light of a dogmatic agenda. In both cases the message of Scripture is lost. This volume seeks to avoid the dangers of both extremes without doing injustice to either reason or inspiration.

The authors of this volume are careful, therefore, to distinguish between two definitions of the word "criticism." They are very negative towards the Troeltschian triad of analogy, correlation, and criticism. On the other hand, they do not shy away from using the term "historical-critical method," when by "critical" one means "the making of informed judgments" (75).

Two other critical alternatives to the Black and Dockery volume have recently been published in English. One is the fine volume edited by Eldon Epp and George MacRae (*The New Testament and its Modern Interpreters* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989]). The other is a translation from the German (Hans Conzelmann and Andreas Lindemann, *Interpreting the New Testament*, translated by Siegfried S. Schatzmann [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988]). Among these three, the volume under review rates second because it falls a bit short of some of the significant scholarly contributions in the Epp and MacRae volume. However, it rates well ahead of the Conzelmann and Lindemann volume with its stolid translation English and dated methodology.

The primary purpose of *New Testament Criticism and Interpretation* is to introduce the seminary student to the field of NT interpretation from an evangelical perspective. The book is, therefore, most useful as a textbook.

Since the book has many authors writing on many topics, it is helpful to list its contents. The book is divided into three parts. Part 1, an intro-

ductory section, is perceptive and stimulating. It articulates for evangelical scholarship an agenda as rigorous in method as any science. At the same time it seeks to avoid the naturalistic biases so often intertwined with science.

Part 2 is entitled "Basic Methods in New Testament Criticism." It contains sections on textual, source, form, redaction, literary, canonical, and sociological criticism, as well as structuralism. On the whole, this section provides superb introductory material on basic methods. The evangelical perspective has a major impact on some of the chapters (form, redaction, and sociological criticism, in particular) while other chapters (text criticism, source criticism, and structuralism) are little affected.

Part 3 is entitled "Special Issues in New Testament Interpretation." This section contains a number of items not always handled in books of this type. There is noteworthy tension between two authors (Thomas Lea and Jerry McCant) regarding the proper evangelical approach to the issue of pseudonymity in the NT. This significant point of difference suggests that no rigid concept of orthodoxy was applied to the editing of the book. The resulting diversity can only enrich the student willing to interact with the perspectives of the book's authors.

Although I question many points in the book, I find the work quite impressive and plan to use it in a college-level course on NT Introduction and Methods. My reasons for choosing it are the following: 1) its evangelical perspective will be appropriate to the students anticipated for the class; 2) it is a worthy competitor to its more critical rivals in quality of scholarship; and 3) it is well-written and easy for the beginning student to follow. I also plan to include it in a bibliography of introductory readings in NT methodology for graduate students.

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Bosch, David. *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*. American Society of Missiology Series, no. 16. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991. xvii + 587pp. Cloth, \$39.95; paperback, \$24.95.

*Transforming Mission* is a magisterial study of the theology of mission from New Testament times to the present. It is the *magnum opus* of the well-known, late South African missiologist, David Bosch, and reflects a lifetime of missions experience, thought, and study. Bosch writes out of a sense that mission is in a state of crisis, beset from within by a loss of purpose and motivation, and regarded from without as being irrelevant to the purposes of society. The title, *Transforming Mission*, has a double meaning, both dimensions of which are intended to answer to this crisis. In the first sense, Bosch affirms that the mission of the Christian church is



a transforming force; in the second, that mission itself is in drastic need of transformation. It is perhaps the latter dimension that is given the greater eminence in this study.

As the subtitle indicates, this is a study in the theology of mission. As such it is a study of almost every aspect of theology of mission throughout the entire Christian era. It is organized into three separate and roughly equal parts and structured in six paradigms. Part 1 is a discussion of New Testament models of mission, with debts paid to the Old Testament and concentration on Matthew, Luke-Acts, and Paul—especially the eschatological Paul. Part 1 answers to Paradigm 1, but Bosch prefers to use New Testament "models," although later he refers to "the apocalyptic paradigm of primitive Christianity" (181).

Part 2 is a study of "historical paradigms of mission." Theologies of mission are considered under three paradigms: the Eastern Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Protestant Reformation. The concluding, and longest, chapter in this section is a bridge piece, in which Bosch traces the influence of the presuppositions of rational Enlightenment thought on Protestants and Roman Catholics (conservatives as well as liberals), which leads to the postmodern era of mission. The Enlightenment itself, however, is not designated as a missionary paradigm.

In Part 3, entitled "Towards a Relevant Missiology," Bosch presents two paradigms. The first, "The Emergence of a Postmodern Paradigm," is a study of the protean changes in the ways of thinking of the postmodern era and of the implications of these for mission. The second (sixth paradigm of the study) is tentative and presents "elements of an emerging ecumenical missionary paradigm." It is tentative in that the paradigm is yet emerging, and ecumenical because of convergent patterns of thought revealed in Roman Catholic, World Council of Churches, and evangelical mission documents. This chapter, the longest in the book (some 142 pp.), is a study, under 13 subtitles, of the major concerns, problems, and challenges in contemporary missions. Bridging the two paradigms of Part 3 is a brief chapter of four-and-a-half pages, entitled "Mission in a Time of Testing," in which the thesis of the book and the author's use of the concept of paradigm are clearly stated (366-367).

Bosch makes clear throughout this study that the Christian faith is intrinsically missionary and that it is broadly universal and addressed to all members of the human race. The eschatological dimension of the gospel is never far from the surface in the discussion of any of the paradigms. Bosch is constantly concerned to show that salvation has profound this-worldly constraints, as well as other-worldly hopes, and that the mission of the church should never be detached from the *missio dei* which defines its purpose and task. Bosch writes from within a conciliar Protestant position, but both Roman Catholics and evangelicals will find their thought handled evenly and fairly.

One might compare Bosch's use of paradigm to the principle of periodization in the study of history. This system allows the author to locate a movement in time and space and to concentrate on defining features without getting lost in excessive detail. It also facilitates a multi-disciplinary approach, obviously a great gain in missionary studies. But Bosch's concept of paradigm goes beyond that of periodization. In this he is indebted to Hans Küng, Michael Polanyi, and Thomas Kuhn, for whom paradigm shifts involve pronounced discontinuity from earlier paradigms. Bosch uses paradigmization and change with erudition and learning and with a high degree of responsibility. However, the question arises as to whether this medium exerts a subtle temptation to over-emphasize the element of change.

Doctoral students in theology, mission, and church history will find in this volume a great deal to stimulate thought and research. They should rejoice that there is at last a magisterial, scholarly study, devoid of cant and bias, that inexorably penetrates and deftly categorizes the theological dimensions of the missionary enterprise of the major Christian communities of the Christian era. Any missionary/administrator who is willing to invest the time and effort will also find a great deal here to clarify thought regarding, and give perspective to, contemporary challenges and opportunities in mission.

This is a thoroughly scholarly and extensively documented book, with a large bibliography and indices of scriptural references, subjects, authors and personal names. A few minor errors are noted. Most noticeably Joseph Schmidlin is misnamed "Julius" (4) and C. F. Henry is misnamed "Harry" (404).

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RUSSELL STAPLES

Brueggeman, Walter. *Interpretation and Obedience: From Faithful Reading to Faithful Living*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991. x + 325 pp. \$14.95.

Brueggeman's book contains a collection of essays and lectures dating from 1984 to 1988. The audiences for the original presentations vary from a convocation of the Sisters of Mercy to readers of *Horizons in Biblical Theology*. The approach is closely tied to the social studies. Brueggeman's first chapter is based on the work of clinical psychologist Pruyser (9). Brueggeman admits following Norman Gottwald's social analysis (263; 284, n. 2). Copious endnotes show more than passing acquaintance with other authors in the social sciences.

The key word throughout is "imagination," which the author himself has described as "rooted in news of a God who acts, speaks, lives, cares,

and frees" (23). For Brueggeman, "*Interpretive obedience* is an act of imaginative construal to show how the non-negotiable intentions of Yahweh are to be discerned and practiced in our situation. . . ." (1). "There is no eternal interpretation, no single "meaning" (131). Brueggeman states his thesis: "Liberated, imaginative interpretation and disciplined, committed obedience depend on and require each other for faithfulness" (1). He further notes that "the connection between interpretation and obedience, as Ricoeur repeatedly insists, is imagination" (4).

The biblical basis for Brueggeman's thought is found in Old Testament themes and stories: the covenant, the patriarchs, the prophets. His focus is on the application of the imaginative, alternative biblical script to the reality of everyday life. Living out this application leads to wholeness, community, peace and justice, and praise. In contrast to this imaginative alternative is the oppression of empire (146), royal monopoly (186), and temple power (271), which preserves the status quo and demands obedience.

Brueggeman places the "chapter on preaching the ten commandments at the structural center" of his book (3). At the "center and interpretive focus" of the decalogue is the Sabbath, a symbol of God's rest, a representation of freedom within the community, and above all, a radical invitation to equality—all must rest (151-152). The Ten Commandments are, he says, "the decree of the inscrutable God for the shape of a new, bonded relation" (146). "The alternative to the empire and its brick quotas is not unqualified, autonomous freedom but a new summons to obedience" (147). "For biblical faith, the ten commandments are absolute and non-negotiable" (152). "The decalogue is an invitation to evangelical obedience," which "is genuine delight" (155). However, the nonnegotiability of the Decalogue is to be held in tension with "interpretive openness" in order to avoid "imperial absoluteness and destructive autonomy." Today's preacher seeks to engage the congregation in an "interpretive process to ask how the liberating will of the Covenant God is to be enacted among us" (153).

In several of the chapters Brueggeman speaks of the center versus the margins: the dominant community—empire, king and priests, or modern social organization—against the poor and landless. The margin hears "new readings which are compelling and unavoidable" (129). "The imagination at the margin . . . evokes and articulates power against the oppressive monopolies" (191). "People who care about peace and justice in American society are essentially exiles who must practice their faith in a hostile environment" (206). The biblical *habiru* are the displaced, marginal people; God makes them into a community that dreams different dreams and endorses a new ethic (298-299). Marginal people, says Brueggeman, must be "brought to their proper place, in the midst of the community"; God will not allow otherwise (306).

Land is a major concern of Brueggeman's (chaps. 7, 11, 12). The relation between man and land is akin to that between husband and wife. Both are hurt by domination and promiscuity, thus sexuality and economics are linked together. The ownership of major portions of land by the rich and few is domination; pollution is the result of promiscuous land use. Christians who listen to alternative biblical reality should be involved in correcting the distorted relation by working to make land an inalienable patrimony and restoring fertility to the earth. Brueggeman sees the tenth commandment as a preventive for land confiscation (245), to "protect the weak in their small land holdings against the great power of government" (150). In swearing allegiance to Yahweh, "Israel also embraced a new notion of land management" (266).

Brueggeman rightly points out the centrality of the fourth commandment. The same benefits that Sabbath observance brought to the Israelites minister to the needs of moderns in search of rest and equality. Unfortunately, Brueggeman seems to miss the possibility of Sabbath observance today as a corrective to the broken relation between God and humans, humans and the land, humans and fellow humans.

It is strange that one who admits the inadequacy of historical-critical Bible study (119) should consistently accept its conclusions. For example, "much of the Old Testament is generated in the sixth century B.C.E" (205); second Isaiah is exilic and Daniel is the "dramatic close to the Old Testament" (186); the tenth commandment articulates an "Israelite vision of social organization" (245).

Some of Brueggeman's assertions invite question. That "Israel is a social and theological experiment in alternative land management" (240) seems to limit God's purpose for the nation. Brueggeman limits the tenth commandment to "right land relations" (150); why so? One wonders what biblical basis there is for stating that Jesus "proposed to give land . . . back to those who had lost it" (253). Was the king in Israel "always the head of the priesthood" (278)? In healing on the Sabbath, was Jesus "violating the Sabbath" (154) or tradition?

Brueggeman urges critical reflection "on the church's call to obedient mission" (100). If mission includes the folly of preaching as well as caring for the land and those marginalized by society, we do well not only to reflect on it, but to obediently pursue it.

Campbell, William S. *Paul's Gospel in an Intercultural Context: Jew and Gentile in the Letter to the Romans*. Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity 69. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991. vii + 213 pp. \$40.00.

This volume represents a reaffirmation of Campbell's argument in the on-going Romans debate. Of the eleven chapters published here, five had already appeared elsewhere, and two had been accepted for publication. The earliest, containing already *in nuce* Campbell's position, came out in 1974. Unfortunately, the republication of the earlier articles has been done without any updating of the notes. Lamentably, the volume lacks both a bibliography and a scriptural index and is marred by many typographical errors.

Campbell's major argument is that Romans was written in reference to a real situation in Rome, and in order to explain a delay in travel plans due to the need of taking the collection to Jerusalem or to prepare the ground for a future trip to Spain with Roman support. More specifically the problem in Rome is that the Gentile Christians are looking down on their Jewish brethren. Paul writes Romans to affirm the significance of the Jewish roots of Christianity. For Paul the continuities between Judaism and Christianity are more significant than the discontinuities. According to Campbell, Paul argues for a Gospel that envisions a Christianity with dual memberships, one Jewish and one Gentile (150). Apparently this element in the argument allowed for the book's publication in this series.

Thirty years ago the question of Christian identity was debated in terms of the continuity and discontinuity between the historical Jesus and the Christ of faith. In that context Jesus was presented as one who belonged within Judaism, whereas the *kerygma* proclaimed a universal New Being. Today the debate has been moved to the sociologically constructed worlds of the Jesus movement and the Pauline churches: both are thoroughly Jewish. Campbell's major concern is to prove that in Romans Paul did not conceive of the church as having displaced Israel. Throughout Romans the hypothetical diatribal interlocutor is a Christian Gentile, who, however, thinks this displacement has occurred. This argument is particularly difficult to defend. Why would Gentiles be particularly worried that God's promises to Israel might have failed (Rom 9:6)? Why would they be in need of recognizing that their security in the law might be false (Rom 2:20)?

For Campbell the core text is Rom 11:29, "For the gifts and the call of God are irrevocable." He interprets this to mean that God's covenantal relationship with Israel insures a series of privileges (75, 143). For him God's impartiality means that the Gentiles shall share in the blessings of Israel (142). But for Paul (as for Philo of Alexandria), the covenant is not a central theological metaphor. God's impartiality means that God's

judgments are not limited to the Gentiles. For Paul election is to responsibility and the God who elects remains totally free. God's gifts and call may be irrevocable, but they may be spurned, and the ways of the Lord are "past finding out."

Campbell posits that the law provides the basic continuity between Judaism and Christianity (86). He refers repeatedly to Rom 10:4 and argues correctly that *telos* here means "goal." The text, however, does not say that the law is the goal of Christ. In my reading I did not find any references to Rom 3:21, 4:14, or 5:20, which certainly cannot be overlooked if the law is to fulfill such a significant role. Campbell argues that Paul was a "believing Jew" (144). I am not sure what that would entail. The question is: Was he a practicing Jew who argued for dual membership?

Even if one agrees that "Paul's strategy in writing Romans is the social reorientation of both the Jewish and Gentile Christians" (140), it does not follow that Paul wishes these two groups to retain their distinct lifestyles and learn to be tolerant of each other. Paul does not reaffirm their identities and argue for pluralism. Rather he relativizes their identities within a new aeon. Campbell repeatedly pays lip service to the apocalyptic in Paul, but his fear of sectarianism (150) and his failure to recognize that Paul argues for a dynamic election prevent him from taking seriously this element in Paul's cosmic vision.

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HEROLD WEISS

Daley, Brian E. *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. xiv + 300 pp. \$54.95.

In 1952, Jaroslav Pelikan complained that Martin Werner was the only writer who had ever discussed in any detail the problem of the development of early Christian eschatology. Brian Daley's relatively brief survey of the topic in volume 4 of the *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (Freiburg: Herder, 1986) was a welcome and much-needed addition to the literature on the subject. Even more welcome is Professor Daley's new book, *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*.

Like the Herder *Handbuch*, *The Hope of the Early Church* includes concise and accurate appraisals of the eschatological views of most of the Christian writers from the time of the Apostolic Fathers through the end of the sixth century. Daley has also added to his already excellent bibliographies and notes. Further, Daley includes in this volume far more comment on the differences in eschatological emphasis among the patristic authors, as well as the reasons for these differences.

Particularly valuable is Daley's answer to the view of Christian eschatology presented in Martin Werner's *History of Christian Dogma*. Werner's thesis was that continued disappointment in the delay of the parousia during the Ante-Nicene period led to insoluble theological difficulties and forced what he called a "de-eschatolization" of the gospel. Daley shows that this position is untenable. The extant evidence shows no general "de-eschatolization" of the gospel message. Intense persecution seems to have led to increased emphasis on the messianic kingdom. Interest in Christology appears to have led to a temporary neglect of eschatology. But throughout the period discussed by Daley, the essential elements of Christian eschatology (belief in a day of judgment, the resurrection, the final revelation of God's purpose, and the power of the indwelling Christ) remained alive.

The main weakness of this volume is that it is far too short. The text is only 220 pages. In this limited space, Daley cannot do justice to all of the more than one hundred writers discussed. Eusebius of Caesarea, for instance, one of the most prolific of all patristic writers, gets only one page. Daley rightly notes Eusebius' emphasis on "realized" eschatology, but he cites only a few passages from the *Life of Constantine* and the *History of the Church*. He leaves out all discussion of *Proof of the Gospel*, in which Eusebius works out his eschatological position in most detail.

The Ante-Nicene period in general is treated too briefly. Daley gives it only 60 pages, far too little to deal adequately with some of the complex issues he brings up. Among these is, for example, the question of whether or not "Jewish Christians" were chiliasts.

Daley makes up somewhat for the brevity of this volume by emphasizing the most influential and representative writers. His discussions of Origen and Augustine are particularly good. In addition, even when Daley does not deal thoroughly with a subject, he at least suggests fruitful areas for investigation by future patristic scholars. Among sixth-century writings, for instance, Daley mentions Eustratius' speculations on the state of the soul prior to the resurrection, commentaries on Revelation by Andrew of Caesarea and Oecumenius, and a hymn on the Second Coming by a certain Romanos. These are interesting documents which certainly merit further study.

*The Hope of the Early Church*, then, should greatly expedite the study of Patristic eschatology. By alerting scholars to the primary and secondary sources available for the study of early Christian eschatology and by suggesting possible areas for future investigations, Daley has performed a valuable service.

Douglas, J. D., ed. *New Twentieth-Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 2d. ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1991. xv + 896 pp. \$39.95.

The *New Twentieth-Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* is in the tradition of the *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (1886) and the *Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (1955). Like its predecessors, the new work seeks to provide broad coverage in its approximately 2,100 articles. While attempting to treat most areas of twentieth-century religious knowledge, Douglas' work is especially strong in its coverage of theology, biblical studies, church history, and comparative religions.

In line with the model set by the 1955 updating of *Schaff-Herzog*, Douglas' work is limited to the twentieth century. It covers pretwentieth-century developments only where necessary to explain twentieth-century events and movements. Some of the 1955 entries, especially biographical sketches, have been repeated, but all appear to have been rewritten and updated.

While the 1991 version is similar to the 1955 work, it also differs from it. Most notably, Douglas' volume is not a supplement to *Schaff-Herzog*, as was the 1955 update. Thus the reader does not need to have access to the original thirteen-volume work in order to use the *New Twentieth-Century Encyclopedia* to full advantage. A second difference is that, as one might expect from a Baker publication, the 1991 volume is intentionally more evangelical (broadly defined) than the 1955 supplement. Beyond that, the 1991 volume claims to be less American in its orientation.

This latest addition to the *Schaff-Herzog* line of works is helpful in many ways. For one thing, because of its delimitation to "contemporary religion," it has space for topics left out of other reference works in religion. That appears to be especially true for many of the biographical sketches. Secondly, the most important articles have updated bibliographies. While those bibliographies may not be as extensive as in some reference volumes, they still give the researcher a place to begin.

Douglas' work appears to be strongest in church history, with special strength in biography. The biographical contribution appears to make up an even larger proportion of the book than in the 1955 supplement.

The greatest weakness of the work has been determined by its very nature. That is, most of the articles are extremely brief. On the other hand, that brevity is a trade-off for breadth of coverage.

All in all, the *New Twentieth-Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* is an important contribution to our understanding of recent and contemporary religion. It does not attempt to be a replacement for the 1955 volume; rather, the two form a complementary whole. As such, Douglas'



work will fill a needful place on reference shelves next to its two widely-used predecessors.

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GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Eskenazi, Tamara C., Daniel J. Harrington, and William H. Shea, eds. *The Sabbath in Jewish and Christian Traditions*. New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1991. xvi + 272 pp. \$24.50.

This volume contains the papers first presented at a symposium entitled "The Sabbath in Jewish and Christian Traditions," held at the University of Denver in 1989. The papers were organized into the following sections: Biblical Perspectives, Rabbinic and New Testament Perspectives, Historical Perspectives, Theological Perspectives, Liturgical Perspectives, and Legal and Ecumenical Perspectives. Each section, except the first and last, includes one or more responses to the main papers.

The symposium delegates included representatives from different segments of American Judaism, along with Protestant and Catholic theologians representing both Sunday and Sabbath-keeping communions. As a result the volume introduces a plethora of views regarding the Sabbath. As happens with most such symposium volumes, the book does not attempt to develop a thesis or succeed in reaching any consensus.

For example, in the biblical section Samuel A. Meier proposes that the Sabbath originally had to do with seven-day purification rites which served to resanctify Israel. Heather A. McKay, on the other hand, posits that the earliest biblical evidence regarding religious festivals allows a more important role for the new-moon day than for the Sabbath day, suggesting that the latter was merely a day of rest from physical labor. These alternatives set the stage for much of the rest of the volume.

Robert Goldberg examines the Sabbath in Rabbinic Judaism and concludes that the original and present emphasis is on the joy generated by this day. He adds that the Sabbath has done more to preserve Judaism than Judaism to preserve the Sabbath over the centuries (43). Even so, tensions emerged in early Jewish Christianity between a sense of obligation toward the Sabbath and the invitation by Jesus to emphasize good deeds on this day. According to Daniel J. Harrington, such tensions have always surrounded Sabbath observance.

The paper by Samuele Bacchiocchi, "Remembering the Sabbath: The Creation-Sabbath in Jewish and Christian History," offers the most comprehensive and programmatic contribution to the book. It traces the origin of the Sabbath to the creation of the world; follows the history of its interpretation through Scripture, Judaism, and the Christian church; and concludes that due to its promised benefits of physical, spiritual, and

mental restoration, Sabbath observance should be reinstated with reference to both its theology and its praxis. The first part of this conclusion is generally accepted in the remaining papers by both Christians and Jews, e.g., W. S. Wurzburger, J. Doukhan, M. J. Dawn. However, the proposed seventh-day Sabbath observance meets with no general support, as expressed in the response by Kenneth Hein and particularly in the papers dealing with liturgical matters (J. F. Baldwin and Lawrence A. Hoffman).

The collection includes a discussion of legal problems facing seventh-day Sabbath observers (M. A. Tyner and S. F. Rosenthal) and concludes with a question regarding the impact of Sabbath observance on Jewish-Christian relations (M. E. Lodahl). The question is this, how do Christians, who accept both a covenant and creation theology of the Sabbath, and who observe it on the seventh day or on the first day, view the non-Christian (Jewish) Sabbath observers vis-a-vis their membership in the covenant? There are indications elsewhere in the book that the question could also be turned around to ask with what attitude Jews share the extraordinary legacy of the Sabbath with Christians, both those who observe it on the seventh day and those who are convinced that they are free to do so on the first.

It can only be hoped that the original purpose of the symposium, namely to foster better understanding between Jews and Christians, will be achieved in some measure as a result of this effort, and that the Sabbath and its benefits, concerning which there is general agreement, may be shared by many more people in our contemporary society.

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NIELS-ERIK ANDREASEN

Gunton, Colin E. *The Promise of Trinitarian Theology*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991. xii + 188 pp. \$31.95.

"*The Promise of Trinitarian Theology* is neither a set of essays thinly disguised as a unified book nor a fully unified book, but a set of essays" (vii), most of which have been previously presented either as papers, articles, or lectures (viii-ix). However, Gunton claims "a unity of theme, direction and development" (vii) which centers the set of essays around a "programme of ontological exploration" (viii) on the way in which the Christian doctrine of the Trinity affects the ontology of God and, through it, the ontologies of the church, man, and the world. The emphasis of the book is on the latter rather than the former. In other words, Gunton does not attempt a full study on the doctrine of the Trinity but rather an exploration of some of its systematic consequences.

After two introductory chapters in which the current status of trinitarian theology (chap. 1) and its possibilities (chap. 2) are brought into focus, Gunton politely but firmly criticizes Augustine's classical interpretation, which he considers to be the real source of difficulties in dealing with the doctrine of the Trinity (chap. 3). Gunton correctly points out that Augustine overemphasizes the *Deo uno* to the detriment and even practical exclusion of the *Deo trino*. Moreover, we are told that Augustine seems unable to understand the "Cappadocian conceptual revolution" (40) regarding the trinitarian being of God to the point of being "unable to conceive true otherness in the Trinity" (51). The Cappadocian view, on the other hand, is considered to allow for the real otherness of persons in the one being of God (54). This brings Gunton to the discussion of the "concept of person" (chap. 5). After reviewing and rejecting both individualistic (Descartes) and collectivistic interpretations of the concept of person, Gunton settles for a relational conception taken from John Macmurray (*Persons in Relation* [London: Faber and Faber, 1961], 213, 69, 157). Macmurray's relational approach to the concept of person maintains that ". . . the self exists only in dynamic relation with the Other . . . (t)he self is constituted by its relation to the Other, . . . it has its being in its relationship" (Macmurray, 17, quoted by Gunton, 90, 91). In Gunton's view, however, we owe the relational concept of person to the Cappadocians, who, "by giving priority to the concept of person in their doctrine of God, . . . transform at once the meaning of both concepts" (96). On this basis Gunton conceives the Trinity as "ontological communion." "God is no more than what Father, Son and Spirit give to and receive from each other in the inseparable communion that is the outcome of their love. . . . There is no 'being' of God other than this dynamic of persons in relation" (10). The rest of the book explores the systematic consequences of such a view for the being of the church (chap. 4), the being of man (chaps. 6 and 7), and for the being of the world (chap. 8).

Following the same general line of thought explored eleven years earlier by Jürgen Moltmann in his *The Trinity and the Kingdom* (London: SCM Press, 1981), Gunton's criticism of Augustine (chap. 3) and the ensuing "single person deity of the Western tradition" (137) is well taken and to the point. Likewise, the suggestion of replacing the neo-Platonic-Augustinian ontology of man as soul-reason (106) with a personal relational one (116-120) that integrates not only man's spirituality but also his "bodiliness" (117) is to be taken seriously and pursued to its ultimate systematic consequences. The plea for going beyond Luther's and Calvin's concept of human freedom should be taken seriously by those belonging to the Protestant tradition.

Gunton's program, however, has two basic weaknesses. First, the lack of clarification about the proper way to conceive the relationship between the economic and immanent levels of the Trinity keeps Gunton's

proposal within the classical parameters of Augustinian theology. His metaphorical utilization of "personal space" (137) as the sole presupposition for the interpretation of God's being as relational does not eliminate the broader and deeper issue of the proper relationship between the immanent and economic levels, that is, between timelessness and temporality in God. Gunton seems unable to live up to his own expectation of avoiding "connotations of timelessness" (ibid.). On the contrary, his suggestion that the traditional concept of *perichoresis* should be understood as "a metaphor of spacial motion" is not only inadequate for avoiding timelessness but seems to include it by default.

Briefly, Gunton is able to successfully make a convincing case against the traditional interpretation of God's being as "simple." It is difficult to see, however, how the new relational concept of the being of God proposed by Gunton is able to ground the temporal historical ontology of the cross. Second, the "echo analogy" (79, 174) seems a rather weak methodological procedure for interpreting the ontologies of church, man, and world, on the basis of God's trinitarian being. Overall, however, Gunton's proposals regarding the ontologies of God and programmatic relation to the ontologies of church, man, and world move in the right direction. His emphasis on the systematic role of ontology in the constitution of theology is well taken. The criticism of Augustine's position should be commended. *The Promise of Trinitarian Theology* does show the systematic role and relevance of a trinitarian understanding of the Being of God for the entire enterprise of Christian Theology. Gunton's suggestions appear to be only the "tip of the iceberg." His movement away from a traditional understanding of the Trinity should be carefully explored and followed to its ultimate consequences. It may very well be that in this way Christian theology could realize both the possibility and the need for grounding its ontological principles on the Bible rather than on tradition.

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FERNANDO CANALE

Hawthorne, Gerald F. *The Presence and the Power*. Dallas: Word Publishing, 1991. 264 pp. \$14.99.

A scholarly, yet practical book on the Holy Spirit is not easy to find, making *The Presence and the Power* very welcome. The author describes himself as an incarnationalist holding to a high view of Scripture. He brings to his work the richness of twenty years of experience at Wheaton College as professor of Greek and New Testament exegesis.

Hawthorne's book focuses specifically on the significance of the Holy Spirit in the life and ministry of Jesus. The specialization permits Hawthorne to devote a separate chapter to each of the following aspects

of the life of Jesus: the place of the Holy Spirit in Jesus' birth and childhood, in his baptism and temptation, in his ministry, in his death and resurrection, and in the life of the followers of Jesus. Each chapter offers rich insights, astutely mined and impressively documented.

The following overarching question runs through all the chapters: By whose power and authority did Jesus perform his merciful acts of healing and utter his authoritative words of instruction and comfort? In other words, did the actions of Jesus flow from his original, divine, ontological essence as the second person of the Godhead? By means of careful exegesis of selected New Testament passages, Hawthorne concludes that the miracles and teachings of Jesus were accomplished by the power and the authority of the Holy Spirit (218, 230).

Hawthorne's study of the Amen Formula used by Jesus (seventy-five occurrences in the Gospels) illustrates how the author establishes the thesis of the book, that "Jesus was aided in all phases of his living (and dying) by the . . . powerful presence of the Holy Spirit . . ." (230). For example, Jesus' "Amen, I say to you," should not be understood to mean that "I alone on my own initiative say to you" (164-165). Rather, the Amen Formula is to be understood as similar in meaning to the introductory formula of the Old Testament prophets, "thus saith the Lord." John 14:10 and 7:16 explain that the words Jesus spoke were not spoken on his own authority. The Amen Formula might indicate that Jesus thought of himself as a prophet, as one acting on the power and authority of the Holy Spirit. Hawthorne's analysis of this issue raises the question whether Jesus' use of the "Amen" might indicate his agreement with words freshly spoken to him by the Holy Spirit. If so, the Amen formula would imply that the message that Jesus presented was not his own but originated with the Holy Spirit.

Before concluding the book, Hawthorne briefly digresses from the focused theme of the study by offering his own version of the kenosis. In it the Spirit is seen as the key to the earthly actions of Christ because of Jesus' own latent divine power.

Appropriately, the essay ends by considering the Spirit in the life of the followers of Christ. Hawthorne freely employs "example" language in characterizing the role of Christ for the believer. Jesus is not only Savior, but the supreme example of what is possible in a human life which depends upon the Holy Spirit as did Christ. The significant potential for the Christian in this respect is underscored by Paul's juxtaposition of two key Greek words, at times missed in translation: "Now he who establishes us with you in Christ (*Christon*) and anointed (*chrisas*) us is God" (II Cor 1:21, NASB, 237). Just as God anointed Jesus with the Holy Spirit, so Christians are described as anointed ones (contemporary "christs," 237). Thus they are to act like Christ and in his behalf. This anointing gift has

been freely and lavishly (Hawthorne notes the force of the verb in Acts 2:33, p. 242) given to humans desiring to follow Christ today.

In the essay the author displays the softening influence of a personal experience with the Holy Spirit. This fact does not diminish the scholarly depth of the book. The careful documentation and the convincingly-argued chapters rank the work with important studies on the Holy Spirit, such as Henry Barclay Swete's *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, and C. F. D. Moule's *The Holy Spirit*. Surprisingly, however, the book lacks a bibliography. This omission, an odd occurrence in an otherwise excellent academic work, should be remedied in subsequent editions.

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JOHN T. BALDWIN

Ludlow, Daniel H., ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 5 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1992. lxxxviii + 2334 pp. \$340.00.

Of all indigenous American religions, Mormonism has undoubtedly enlisted the imagination of laity and scholars more than any other. With its practice of plural marriage, its massive westward migration, its "war" against the United States in the 1850s, and its many other unique experiences and beliefs, Mormonism has perennially elicited both curiosity and interest.

Now for the first time we have a major encyclopedic reference work on Mormonism. Written with both Latter-day Saints and non-Mormons in mind, the volumes provide fairly easy access to the most important topics related to Mormonism. While none of the articles is exhaustive, the work does furnish handy summary statements of the various topics covered and generally supplies its readers with helpful bibliographies. Thus the *Encyclopedia*, as do others of its genre, provides both a quick overview for those who need information on a particular point and a starting place for those who desire to study a topic in depth.

The five volumes are divided into three main sections. The first contains the alphabetic listing of topics that one expects to find in any encyclopedia. The second section is comprised of thirteen appendices that provide various types of data about the Mormons, from a chronology of Mormon history to tables presenting church membership figures worldwide and chronological lists of Mormon periodicals in various languages. The third section makes up volume 5 and includes Mormonism's standard works: *The Book of Mormon*, *The Doctrine and Covenants*, and *The Pearl of Great Price*. These were included in the set because references to them "would be so frequent that readers who did not have ready access to those works would be at a certain disadvantage in using the *Encyclopedia*" (lxi).

To help readers better understand and search out topics in the content section, the *Encyclopedia* provides its readers with a glossary of Mormon terms and a seventy-four-page index. While the index is useful, a more extensive and sophisticated one would have been even more helpful in a complex work of this nature.

The work's title page indicates that the volume's focus is on "The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." That statement, as one examines the table of contents, appears to be a fairly accurate description of the volume's coverage. Surprisingly absent from a volume of this nature is an emphasis (or overemphasis) on biography. Only the foremost leaders are given separate articles. The contributions of lesser personages can, to some extent, be ferreted out through the index.

The *Encyclopedia* features about 1,500 articles. Of these, 6 major articles unfold the denomination's history; nearly 250 explain its doctrines; over 150 expound upon the details of topics of special interest to students of Mormonism; and over 100 deal with family, religious, and social relationships among Latter-day Saints.

The *Encyclopedia's* editorship and authorship are very heavily weighted toward Salt Lake City Mormonism, with—as far as one can tell—all of the editors being of that persuasion, along with most of the 738 authors. But tucked in with the long list of Mormon authors are such names as Timothy Smith, Jan Shipps, John Dillenger, Huston Smith, and Krister Stendahl. Most of the non-Mormon authors were assigned general articles relating to contextual topics.

With such a preponderance of Mormon authors one might reasonably expect a definite bias toward Mormonism. While that "softening" bias seems to be evident in many of the treatments, there is an attempt to maintain a degree of objectivity. Thus none of Mormonism's "difficult" topics are avoided. One can read forthright articles on such controversial topics as "Blood Atonement," the "Mountain Meadows Massacre" ("what may be considered the most unfortunate incident in the history of the LDS Church" [1966]), the authorship and translation of *The Book of Mormon*, "Blacks," and "Plural Marriages." The discussions of the last two of these topics nicely indicate how fresh "revelations" have helped Mormonism change its belief structure, adapt to changing culture, and avoid social disaster.

Beyond fairly open treatment of sensitive topics, readers should also note that they will find such anti-Mormon works as Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* listed in the bibliography for the article on the life of Joseph Smith.

Scholars may be surprised to find a publisher like Macmillan sponsoring a volume on Mormonism, edited and largely authored by members of that religious body. While the editor's preface notes that

Macmillan "asked" authorities at Brigham Young University whether they would be interested in developing the *Encyclopedia*, it does not mention the fact that in order to get the project underway the Latter-day Saints contracted to purchase several thousand sets, thus insuring the publisher a profit. Some may question that publishing strategy, but it seems—with scholarly checks built into the process—to have produced a helpful reference tool that would have been beyond the reach or ambitions of a team of non-Mormon scholars.

Macmillan, the Church of Latter-day Saints, and the editors are to be congratulated for working together to produce a helpful and needed reference work.

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GEORGE R. KNIGHT

McRay, John. *Archaeology and the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 432 pp. \$39.95.

*Archaeology and the New Testament* by John McRay is divided into four units. These units follow an introduction which outlines the role, limits, and methods of archaeology. The first division (Part 1) exposes the reader to the cultural background of New Testament times, with emphasis on Hellenistic and Roman architecture. In this section the plans and structures of civic, domestic, and religious life are described. The two chapters of part 2 examine the building activities of Herod the Great, with half of the discussion on Herodian Jerusalem and the other half on Herod's accomplishments outside of Jerusalem. Part 3 focuses on the archaeological discoveries that intersect the life of Jesus Christ. The discussion is geographically subdivided, examining the events of Jesus' life in Galilee and Judea. The final section returns to the broader scope of the ancient world by surveying the archaeological remains of the first few centuries of Christianity. This survey amounts to a tour of all major, and many minor, New Testament sites from Athens to Rome and Samothrace to Berea. The concluding chapter of part 4 summarizes the 19th and 20th century discoveries of New Testament and related manuscripts that contribute to a better understanding of the New Testament.

*Archaeology and the New Testament* will appeal to a broad audience, including lay-readers, students, and scholars. Readers will appreciate the 157 photographs, 8 maps, and 32 drawings that complement the text, not to mention the clear, pleasant writing style of the author. Readers will also appreciate the completeness of McRay's presentations, including discussions of more popular topics such as Gordon's Calvary (206-214) and the Shroud of Turin (217-221). The author provides a fair appraisal of the evidence on each issue. Equally helpful for those who are rusty on their



Roman building terms is the "Glossary of Technical Terms" (e.g., "suspensura. A support for the raised floor of a hypocaust").

Those who want additional information on topics not fully discussed, due to the survey nature of the book, will find help in the book's copious notes (1,525 endnotes). The index turns the book into a helpful reference work.

One hesitates to criticize a book of such substance and value, but a few improvements should be considered for the second edition. Two minor printer errors were detected (the photograph of Beth Shean, p. 25, an easily visited and photographed site, is notably out of focus; and the negative of the lamps displayed on p. 31 was probably reversed by the printer, making the text date them in reverse order). A more important improvement would be a better coordination between the text and some of the "schematic" drawings. For example, Figure 18 "Schematic of Caesarea Maritima" (141) does not clearly illustrate the text. McRay's discussion of Caesarea Maritima describes the storage vaults, the aqueducts, the layout of the city streets, and the theater. The schematic drawing does not locate the storage vaults or display the layout of the city streets, but it does locate the excavation fields (A-H), which are not discussed. This lack of coordination does not benefit the reader.

Any book on New Testament archaeology will attract attention because there are too few books written for readers interested in this subject. McRay's work, however, will not only attract attention, it will also become a classic reference because he has accomplished his task with thorough research, excellent scholarship, and obvious enthusiasm. That this project has been his life-long interest is revealed in the completeness of the book. Where else will the average reader learn about Roman toilets, including two photographs of examples (85-86)? McRay's involvement in the project is also clearly demonstrated by his personal visits to the places described (virtually every photograph was taken on-site by the author).

*Archaeology and the New Testament* is highly recommended and much needed in the field of New Testament studies. No doubt it will serve as a standard text for many years to come.

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DAVID MERLING

Powell, Barry B. *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991. xxv + 280 pp. \$80.00.

*Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* is yet another work by a classical scholar on the adoption of the Greek alphabet. The first chapter briefly summarizes the entire field with Powell's conclusions on each point. Chapter 2 discusses in detail the writing systems of Egypt, Cyprus,

and Phoenicia, contrasting the unsuitability of syllabaries and the advantages of Greek alphabetic writing for verse. Chapter 3 discusses material remains, and chaps. 4 and 5 present Powell's special arguments in detail. There are two appendices, a glossary and an index.

Powell argues that the Greek alphabet was the work of one person and was adopted primarily for the recording of verse in general, and the verse of Homer in particular (10-11).

Further, this person was a single later Ionian "reformer" (61). As the author does not allow for Phoenician influence in the reshaping of the alphabet after its adoption, the transmission must occur as late as possible to cover late Phoenician forms, while the problem of early forms is ignored. A date of 800 B.C. is chosen and the objections to a late transmission are largely ignored. In this, Powell follows in the footsteps of most Classical scholars. There is a great deal of argument from silence, and the evidence does not exclude more prosaic origins, but Powell's case is well argued.

The principal difficulty with this book is the author's fascination with Gelb's hypothesis, to which the first appendix is dedicated. Gelb argues that alphabets *must* evolve via syllabaries, therefore the Canaanite writing system was actually a syllabary. Of course, those who work closest with Northwest Semitic have been unsympathetic with Gelb, and with good reason. Such statements by Powell as, "the adapter took from a Phoenician informant an abecedarium and created from it his own system, the first true alphabet" (20) clutter both the text and the mind of the reader. More important, Gelb's hypothesis is unnecessary to the main arguments of the book. Likewise the argument against pictorial origins for Canaanite writing (25) is both simplistic and unnecessary.

Positive contributions include Powell's argument that the "supplementary" letters phi, chi, and psi were not evolutionary additions, but rather original inventions (48-57). After discussing in detail the various early inscriptions available, Powell observes that there are no legal or accounting documents and no public inscriptions (181-82). All of the earliest inscriptions are personal, poetic, or both. Thus the alphabet's earliest widespread use was aesthetic and/or recreational.

Powell also points out that literacy is all but absent in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (198-200). Thus the poems were written on the eve of widespread literacy so that the new practice never contaminated the works. As Powell dates Homer prior to 750, and the adoption of the alphabet to 800 B.C., he argues for a close relationship between the adapter and the poet.

A standard component of this work, and indeed any work on the early alphabets, is a large number of references to the lack of attestation. This reviewer was reminded again and again of how little evidence has been recovered, and how heavily the work relies on guesswork. This is not

a criticism of Powell, who openly recognizes the silences, some of them extensive. Rather it should remind the reader of how little we actually know and how much we assume. Furthermore, discussion on pre-Greek writing is derivative and often questionable. In this area information is best sought elsewhere.

The price prohibits popular distribution of this book. However, the material on the alphabet within the Greek world recommends the volume to research libraries.

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James E. Miller

Samaan, Phillip G. *Christ's Way of Reaching People*. Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Pub. Assoc., 1990. 160 pp. \$9.95.

Because it is tempting for evangelists to be goal-oriented, i.e., focusing on achieving baptismal figures rather than on making mature Christians, or being program centered rather than people-centered, Phillip Samaan's book is must reading for the professional evangelist. Yet it is also an excellent tool for the average Christian who wants to witness simply yet effectively for Christ.

Samaan is Assoc. Prof. of Christian Ministry at the Theological Seminary of Andrews University. His book is based, to a great extent, on his own practice as a pastor-evangelist before coming to the classroom.

Although Samaan doesn't dismiss the need for programs, goals, and methods, he shows clearly that every endeavor must be Christ-centered and people-oriented. It must also follow Christ's method of witnessing in order to be successful.

Samaan bases his understanding of Christ's method on a quotation from the book "*The Ministry of Healing*," by Ellen G. White, which says that Christ achieved true success in witnessing by mingling with people in order to bless them. He showed sympathy, met their needs and won their confidence and then told them to follow Him (43). Using these six steps as the basis for his book, Samaan takes the pressure from witnessing by focusing on a witnessing which flows naturally from a relationship with Christ to an unconditional friendship with others. Using the metaphor found in II Cor 2:14, 15, "the aroma of Christ," Samaan says that this fragrance given out by Christians will naturally, yet subtly, pervade those around them so as to draw them to Christ. To Samaan this is the Christian's best strategy of infiltrating the world.

Samaan's prerequisite to witnessing as Christ did is to spend time daily with Christ so that Christ will be in us. This is the message of chap. 1.

Samaan could have made his point on following Christ's model more effectively by examining segments of Christ's life where his methods are clearly demonstrated. Although Samaan does allude at times to Christ's encounters with people, he rarely, if ever, offers any in-depth study. More often he alludes to witnessing experiences he himself has experienced. For instance, in the chapter "The Mingling Christ," he uses eight examples from his own experience while only once briefly alluding to the encounter of Jesus with the woman from Samaria. In a book entitled *Christ's Way of Reaching People*, this is a serious omission.

Also missing from the book is an analysis of the way Christ used language to reach people. As Christ mingled with people he familiarized himself with people's lives and was able to use what he had observed to illustrate the truths of the kingdom and to meet people's needs. At least one chapter on this vital aspect of Christ's outreach would have made the book more complete and more true to its title.

At times the chapter titles are deceptive. For example, the chapter entitled "Christ Can Be Trusted," is mainly about how we can win people's trust rather than about trusting Christ. The chapter, "Christ the Answer to Our Needs," is more about ministering to people's needs than Christ as the answer.

In spite of these negative comments, Samaan's sincerity cannot be doubted. Furthermore, his encouragement to witness as Christ did bears repetition.

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CARL FLETCHER

Schneemelcher, Wilhelm, ed. *New Testament Apocrypha*. Vol 1, *Gospels and Related Writings*. Rev. ed. English translation edited by R. McL. Wilson. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co.; and Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991. 544 pp. \$29.95.

To fully appreciate the contents of this volume one has to look at them alongside the previous editions. What we have is not simply a revised version of the old *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, but a completely new recasting of the third German edition begun by E. Hennecke and completed by W. Schneemelcher in 1959. Some of the recent discoveries from the Nag Hammadi Library were accounted for in that edition, yet without providing the complete texts. This was remedied in the last decade with the fifth and sixth German editions which also introduce the reader to the ever-increasing literature devoted to these apocryphal writings. It is from these last German editions that the present English translation is made by R. McL. Wilson, who had earlier translated into English the two volumes of the third German edition, published in 1963 and 1965

respectively. He is eminently qualified as the translator-editor of this revised edition. As he hastens to state in the preface, the translation of texts from German into English is not second-hand, but has been checked against the original languages of the ancient texts. Moreover, as he puts it, "Some things go more easily into English than into German!"

Obviously, the Nag Hammadi material constitutes the bulk of the improvement. A substantial part of this is the section by B. Blatz devoted to the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, which in the previous edition of the NT apocrypha was relegated to the appendix. Whereas extensive extracts were provided in the previous edition, the new edition gives complete translation of texts preceded by valuable introductions and basic bibliographies to editions, translations, and studies.

The contribution made by the inclusion of Gnostic texts, however, is not as great as it may appear, for we now possess several such translations of the Gnostic documents and those provided in this volume do not necessarily surpass the others. Moreover, the guidance provided to the literature devoted to these apocryphal writings does not always lead to the best studies cited in the more exhaustive bibliographies of scholarship dealing with the Nag Hammadi Library. Also, encountering the numerous Gnostic texts alongside non-Gnostic documents could be perplexing to those accustomed to looking at the Gnostic corpus in the particular editions. The abundant and widespread Gnostic material in this volume tends to color the rest with the same "heretical" outlook. Certainly, not all extra-canonical Gospels and related writings are to be deemed as schismatic or unorthodox works, composed in the interests of one heretical sect or another. Some works are but legendary expansions of canonical narratives. But had all the Gnostic texts in this volume been grouped together, the significance of this publication would have been reduced considerably, since these are found elsewhere and, more often than not, in better translations.

It is to be expected that the introduction to such a volume should recount the history of the NT canon. Schneemelcher is exceptionally good in providing a detailed account of the historical development. He is also responsible for updating the section on the papyrus fragments of unknown Gospels, previously done in collaboration with J. Jeremias (deceased), and revising the section on the Gospel of Bartholomew, formerly done in collaboration with F. Scheidweiler (deceased). Other previous contributions by distinguished scholars have also been updated: the work of P. Vielhauer (deceased) on Jewish-Christian Gospels has been revised by G. Strecker; that of H. C. Puech (deceased) on the bulk of the Gnostic Gospels has been revised by B. Blatz; those of A. Meyer and W. Bauer (both deceased) on works attributed to relatives of Jesus have been replaced by the contribution of W. A. Bienert. Curiously enough, in this revised edition all of Bauer's contributions have been either eliminated or replaced: his small

section on Jesus' earthly appearance and character has been left out and his much respected work on the Abgar Legend has been replaced by that of H. J. W. Drijvers. Only that by the aged O. Cullmann on the infancy Gospels is largely unchanged. Here some expansion would have been necessary, at least the inclusion of some unique and possibly early extracts from the Armenian version (e.g., the identification of the star of Bethlehem with a group of angels).

In the section entitled "Gospels under the names of holy women," one finds three Gnostic titles: *The Questions of Mary*, *The Gospel of Mary*, and the *Genna Marias*. The scant attestations to the first and the third titles do not even warrant calling these works "fragmentary." While the first two are accounted for in the Nag Hammadi corpus, the third is but a paragraph from Epiphanius' account on the Gnostics. The inclusion of such titles in the volume attests to the attempted thoroughness of its coverage. Even here, the reader is given a basic bibliography to editions, translations, and studies.

The importance of this revised edition lies simply in its bringing together most of the existing documents, however fragmentary, that fall within the established category of NT apocrypha. Surely not all known Gospels are included; the omission of certain late Gospels in addition to some of the "Infancy Gospels" is noteworthy.

The value of such an edition to serious students of the New Testament is immeasurable. The ultimate usefulness of the present volume is largely to be determined by the awaited indices. These are expected to be at the end of volume 2, as one finds them in the German edition.

Let us hope that the second volume will appear at not too great an interval after the first.

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ABRAHAM TERIAN

Shorter, Aylward. *The Church in the African City*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991. viii + 152 pp. Paperback, \$19.95.

This latest book by Aylward Shorter, written after many years of mission experience in Africa, deals with a timely subject. Shorter addresses the crisis of rapid urbanization, with its ensuing materialism and secularization, which threatens to overwhelm much of sub-Saharan Africa. His aim is to examine the challenges this urbanization process poses for the church and to develop strategies that will enable the church to meet this situation.

The content of the book does not fully justify its title. The focus is on East Africa (in particular, Nairobi, Kampala, Dar-es-Salaam, and Harare) and on the work of the Roman Catholic Church. But the author has also

travelled rather widely in other parts of Africa, and most of his observations are equally valid for the mushrooming cities of Central and West Africa (Kinshasa, Lagos, Ibadan, Abidjan, Dakar). Even though many of the strategy proposals are intended to fit the framework of the Roman Catholic Church, the book is written from an ecumenical perspective, and many of the underlying principles can be applied within other ecclesiastical traditions.

The first four chapters are devoted to a discussion of the socio-economic realities of urbanization in Africa. The author emphasizes the importance of a rapidly developing urban consciousness, even in smaller towns and rural areas, as an important facet of the urbanization process. His treatment of the history and different topologies of African towns; the main factors causing large-scale migration to the towns; and the often devastating results—cultural, social and economic, is insightful and helpful even for readers who have lived in urban Africa themselves. Shorter does not fail to call special attention to the cultural disorientation of many African city dwellers, who continue to maintain strong ties with their village of origin, and thus live in two semi-encapsulated worlds at the same time.

Chapters 5-11 deal with the response of the church to the crisis caused by the urbanization process. The anti-urbanism which has long characterized much Christian thinking is shown to be biblically unjustified. The author calls for an imaginative adaptation of existing church structures and the creation of additional, specialized ministries. Existing parish structures may need to be abandoned; interparochial and supraparochial initiatives and team ministries need to be developed on a wider scale; basic Christian communities, interfaith cooperation and industrial missions can help to connect the church with the people's concrete life.

Beyond what Shorter has presented, at least two other aspects should have been discussed. Shorter notes that the Roman Catholic Church faces more problems in urban church attendance than do other Christian churches. An analysis of the reasons for this difference might uncover factors which should be taken into account when developing new strategies for making the church relevant to the urban dweller. The second point is of much greater importance: the author mainly discusses structural renewal, but hardly touches upon the need to contextualize the Christian message in such a way that it will have a stronger appeal to the increasingly secularized urban African. Or to state it differently: Shorter's book, while, quite rightly, calling for a much needed re-thinking of organizational structures and pleading for a multi-faceted social support system for the urban population in general and the church members in particular, regrettably fails to emphasize the duty of the church to translate its message into terms and categories that more effectively communicate the gospel to the new African in the cities. Furthermore, it offers no

principles to undergird the approach to this task. In other publications (*African Christian Theology*, 1975, and *Jesus and the Witchdoctor*, 1985) Shorter has called for a dialogue between Christianity and the African traditional religions. *The Church in the African City* should have provided the opportunity to pursue this dialogue further, while focusing on the increasingly secular religious climate of the African city.

In spite of these last observations, this book is strongly recommended for all who are directly or indirectly involved with missions in modern Africa.

Andrews University

REINDER BRUINSMA

Sloyan, Gerard S. *What Are They Saying about John?* New York: Paulist Press, 1991. 125 pp. \$6.95.

Sloyan introduces his work *What Are They Saying About John?* with the disclaimer, "Surely this is a foolhardy venture" (1). Indeed, to attempt in less than 100 pages (excluding endnotes and bibliographies) to survey the scope of scholarly writing on the Gospel of John in a manner both fair and thorough would seem foolhardy. Sloyan further admits that the method he has chosen to adopt "may be even more freighted with peril. It tries to convey the essence of long and complex arguments by transmitting sizable segments of them" (2). His solution for the reader, however, apparently becomes the most perilous, since he states that "the subject-matter index thus becomes the key to using this book" (2), although no such index can be found in the book.

Nevertheless, Sloyan has done a valuable service to the reader by providing a digest of significant commentaries and scholarly articles on the Gospel of John. He arbitrarily delimits the scope of writings in his major survey to the years 1970-1990. However, his first chapter includes a survey of "landmark commentaries" prior to 1970, beginning with the church fathers, then focusing on the commentaries of Hoskyns and Davey, Bultmann, Barrett, Schnackenburg, and Brown, plus the two thematic works by Dodd.

In chap. 2, Sloyan discusses research dealing with the questions of authorship and sources in the fourth Gospel. He reviews works by R. T. Fortna, Urban C. von Wahlde, D. Moody Smith, J. Louis Martyn, Barnabas Lindars, John A. T. Robinson, Oscar Cullmann, Alan Culpepper, and Martin Hengel.

Chap. 3 consists of a summary of studies having to do with the Fourth Gospel as religious literature, beginning with the narrative criticism of Culpepper and concluding with the contextual method of Teresa Okure.



Sloyan's final chapter focuses on treatments of Johannine themes such as the Spirit, the law, christology, soteriology, and the meaning of "Son of Man." He reviews selected articles from periodical literature and some books he considers especially helpful for students, teachers, and preachers. He closes with a brief summary of current trends in Fourth-Gospel scholarship, most notable of which is the move away from a historical approach toward a literary (narrative) approach to John's Gospel.

The bibliography would have been more helpful had it covered a broader selection of Johannine studies and been briefly annotated. As it is, it consists essentially of a list of works cited in notes, whether or not they have much to do with Fourth Gospel research.

Given the comprehensive scope of the survey attempted, Sloyan has done a remarkable job of reducing the data to a very readable and comprehensible 98 pages. Clearly, he has been unable to encompass all aspects of Fourth Gospel research and has had to be selective in the works reviewed, but this is understandable in any field in which the writing is as prolific as it has been in Johannine studies. He has, however, provided the student with a single volume which gives an overview of some of the best in recent research in this field, and which attempts to represent the various authors fairly rather than critiquing their positions. Given the low price of this volume, it is a best buy for those who wish to survey the field without reading hundreds of books and articles.

It is to Sloyan's credit that he has made a serious attempt to faithfully represent the intentions of each author rather than his own views on the various issues. Whether or not he has been successful will ultimately be decided best by the authors themselves.

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EDWIN E. REYNOLDS

Van Engen, Charles Edward. *God's Missionary People: Rethinking the Purpose of the Local Church*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991. 224 pp. Paperback, \$14.95.

In *God's Missionary People*, Charles Van Engen makes an impressive contribution to the writings on ecclesiology/missiology. Arthur F. Glasser, who wrote the foreword, comments that this study "will precipitate much discussion within the churches about themselves and their mission to the world." Van Engen brings theory and praxis together in good balance. This author expands my vision, and like G. K. Chesterton's "agreeable man"—the one who agrees with me, supports my thesis of many years that the local church is "where it's at." One remembers longtime Chicago mayor

Richard Daley's dictum, "all politics is local." In ecclesiology all roads lead to the local church.

Van Engen divides his book into three parts, not necessarily equal: *Local Churches: God's Missionary People*; *Local Churches: A New Vision of God's Missionary People*; and *Local Churches: Becoming God's Missionary People*. Sixteen figures scattered through the book illumine the discourse.

The author has a good grasp of the literature, contemporary and past, and a good overview of the church's history. His bibliographies and lists of suggestions for further study are a rich resource.

Van Engen's first burden is that congregations come to see themselves as "God's missionary people in a local context." He approvingly quotes John R. W. Stott: "The Church cannot be understood rightly except in a perspective which is at once missionary and eschatological" (29).

In his historical overview, Van Engen describes a medieval church placed on a sacramental and mystical pedestal—sacerdotal, becoming more self-justifying than self-examining. The Reformers revived the discussion in their day describing the church in terms of its unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity, restoring the New Testament concept of the priesthood of the believers. But again the Reformed Churches lost sight of the true nature and missionary purpose of the church and the four attributes lost their potency. In the twentieth century there is great interest in ecclesiology with emphasis on the missionary character of the church. The four attributes need recasting. A new paradigm is called for; the new situation must be described in "lucid verbal photographs."

God's call to Israel and to the church always has the world in mind. The church, as the new Israel, is the interpreter of the gospel. So we may think of this community in terms of its: (1) being for the world, (2) identification with the oppressed, (3) mission, (4) proclamation witness, and (5) yearning for numerical growth.

A solid theological/biblical undergirding is absolutely necessary to a correct understanding of what the church is all about. But the movement from theology to *praxis* is most difficult. Leadership is needed to assist the people in thinking through and understanding their responsibility for ministry, creating ways to translate what the church *is* into what the church *does*.

Van Engen's word on *laos* is to the point: "with distinctions in gift, function, and ministration—but not in holiness, prestige, power, commitment, or activity. . . . The rise of a clergy-laity distinction from the 3rd century on continues in the Protestant denominations since the Reformation as one of the main sources of decline, secularization, and sinfulness of the church" (151). In this view of the church the word layman conjures up images of one who "dabbles, muddles, tries hard,—little elves in Santa's

toy shop, busy doing and making goodies that Santa (the minister) will give out" (153).

I could take issue with Engen in a few instances, but I agree with the main thrust of the argument (which I will put in my own words), "the local church is not everything; it's the only thing"!

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CHARLES E. BRADFORD

Weinfeld, Moshe. *Deuteronomy 1-11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Bible vol. 5. New York: Doubleday, 1991. xiv + 458 pp. \$34.00.

Professor Moshe Weinfeld of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem deserves commendation for having prepared a fine commentary on Deut 1-11. As a principal expositor of Deuteronomy, Weinfeld is highly competent to assess the present state of research on this important book of the Pentateuch. The bibliography in this volume (85-122) includes no fewer than fifty-six different entries of the author's scholarly publications.

In the preface to the book, Weinfeld explains the rationale behind the division of his work into two volumes (chaps. 1-11 and 12-26). Three reasons justify the division: (1) the chapters covered in this first volume are of historical and homiletic character while the rest of Deuteronomy is legal; (2) the presence of the Decalogue deserves an in-depth treatment; (3) the introductory articles are included in this volume.

There is an innovative feature in the organization of this volume. The usual way of presenting the material in the Anchor Bible series is Text-Notes-Comment, but the author of this volume divided the Notes into "Textual Notes" and "Notes." I hope that this new feature will find place in subsequent volumes.

Regarding the origin of Deuteronomy, Weinfeld differentiates between two layers of tradition in the present form of the book. Chapters 4-30 are said to come from the Deuteronomic historiographer, while 1-3 and 31:1-8 belong to the Deuteronomistic framework. The overall genre of the book is Moses' "farewell speech," coupled with covenantal and testamentary implications. Even though, according to the author, the present editorial shape of the book dates to the seventh century B.C.E., Deuteronomy is dependent upon previous tradition which was revised after "the principles of Hezekianic-Josianic reforms" (1). It was customary in the ancient world to ascribe speeches to national leaders and heroes; this point Weinfeld reinforces by examples from extrabiblical texts. There is no doubt in the author's mind that the book discovered during Josiah's reform in Judah is that of Deuteronomy (65), so the *Sitz im Leben* of the book is firmly set in the seventh century B.C.E.

Much of this argumentation fits into the framework of the Deuteronomistic school. Yet Weinfeld suggests a number of fresh and constructive ways to approach various issues in Deuteronomy. For example, the second-person singular and plural shifts in Deuteronomy, he says, should not be explained on literary-critical ground only. A likely purpose behind these changes may be either didactic in order to impress the listener, purely literary for the sake of stylistic variation, or else they could be parts of the quotations.

The lengthy comparison between the text of Deuteronomy and "the priestly material of the Tetrateuch" (19-37) may be of some value and use, even to those readers who do not follow the author's methodological presuppositions. Furthermore, Weinfeld's clear distinction between the Decalogue and the other laws of the Pentateuch (249) is valuable, as is his rejection of the idea that the Deuteronomic version of the Decalogue is older than that of Exodus (243). The author's remark that the liturgical proclamation of the *shema* (Deut 6:4) is not inherently monotheistic, but is made so by its setting within the Decalogue and Deuteronomy is correct.

The Decalogue is divided into two pentads; the first is characterized by the formula "YHWH your God," while the second contains no occurrence of the Tetragrammaton at all. The subtitle, "First Pentad," is missing on p. 284 (cf. 313), while the treatment of the individual "words" (commandments) of the second pentad is regrettably too short (314). Other works on Deuteronomy treat this subject more comprehensively, especially "the sixth word" which prohibits the acts of murder, whose object Weinfeld briefly describes as "any possible object, [or] any human being (including suicide)" (314).

The reader might wish to find a little more explanation of the statement that Deuteronomy is dependent on Hittite and Assyrian models of covenant (9). The similarity with these first-millennium documents cannot be taken for granted and needs substantial evidence. Likewise, substantiation is needed for the statement that "ancient authors were collectors and compilers of traditions rather than creators (83)." This phrase should have been more tentative and accompanied by appropriate examples. Regarding the presence of different sources, one wonders if the method which fragments the text based on the use of different words in close proximity (Deut 1:3; 125) has not become outdated. Lastly, on p. 15 the author illustrates his point by quoting from the Aramaic texts of Sefire. Since the reference in the main text directs the reader to J. A. Fitzmyer's classic study of these texts, one would expect the author to follow the standard numbering system of the Sefire texts, found in Fitzmyer's work. Also, Fitzmyer's translation of the Aramaic phrase in question, "you will have been false," is to me preferable to "you will trespass (15).

These minor remarks and suggestions can in no way diminish the excellent quality of Weinfeld's work, which contains a number of strong points. The book is, therefore, heartily recommended to anyone interested in the study of Deuteronomy.

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ZDRAVKO STEFANOVIĆ

Yorke, Gosnell L. O. R. *The Church as the Body of Christ in the Pauline Corpus*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991. 176 pp. Cloth, \$42.50; paperback, \$23.50.

Gosnell L. O. R. Yorke, formerly from Atlantic Union College and now chairman of the Theology Department of Eastern Africa University in Kenya, gives us in this book a revision of his doctoral thesis submitted in 1987 to the Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University in Montreal, Canada.

The issue of concern in this book is whether the body of Jesus Christ or the human body was the metaphorical referent for the Pauline definition of the church as the "body of Christ." Pauline scholars are divided on the subject. Most of them say the referent is the "once broken and now divine" body of Christ. On the other hand, R. Gundry, H. Ridderbos and a few others seem to show "a more excellent way": the human *sōma* is used by Paul as the term of comparison to define the church as the body of Christ.

Gosnell Yorke seeks to solve this undefined situation. To accomplish it he takes a new "systematic grammatico-historical and exegetical" look at the related data. This kind of study has not been done in the past. Yorke's conclusion is that the human *sōma*, not Christ's personal body, is used consistently "as the *tertium comparationis* for the church as *sōma*." This conclusion rules out any mystical or physiological understanding of the church as Christ's *sōma* and Christ as the *kephalē* of the church.

The book contains seven chapters: the state of the question, the somatic ecclesiology of the New Testament, the somatic ecclesiology of I Corinthians, the somatic ecclesiology of Romans, the somatic ecclesiology of Colossians, the somatic ecclesiology of Ephesians, and the summary and conclusion.

Each one of the four central chapters has an introduction, in which the author relates his thesis with the references of *sōma* in that particular epistle, along with considerations on its integrity chronology, authorship, and authenticity. Then, as a second section, there is a description of the church to which the epistle is addressed. The third section is an exegetical study of the references to *sōma* in the letter. Finally, there is a summary statement. In a clear, straightforward style one argument flows from the

other, taken from 1 Corinthians, Romans, Colossians and Ephesians to convincingly reach a final conclusion: the referent of the church as *sōma* is the human body, not Christ's body.

Although G. Yorke does not develop an ecclesiology, the consequences of this study for ecclesiology are very important. The work destroys all possibility of defining the church as "the mystic body of Christ," with emphasis on the church's divine aspect rather than human reality. There is no mystical unity of Christ and his church, no mysterious metaphorical identity, no dogmatic manipulation. The church is not "the corporate Christ," always perfect, never sinful, never in need of reform and renewal.

On the contrary the church as *sōma* of Christ must be understood in spiritual terms in which relationships between Christians and between them and Christ are vital. This spiritual unity with Christ, not corporate unity, endows the church with spiritual gifts, making it the property of Christ and operated by him through the Spirit, the place where "love, unity, equality, purity, peace and truth are ever to abound" (121). Christ as *kephalē* stands as one to whom supreme headship and lordship have been accorded over the church and the cosmos in general. The growth of the church is made possible when all limbs, ligaments, and linkages of the body function properly and Christ is the direction of growth and the bestower of charisma and the Spirit.

Silver Spring, MD 20904

MARIO VELOSO

## A NOTE ON TWO RARE BIBLES

KENNETH A. STRAND  
Andrews University

Two rare Bibles have recently been added to the holdings of the Adventist Heritage Center of the James White Library of Andrews University: (1) a copy of the King James English Bible edition of 1617, and (2) a copy of the Christoph Saur German Bible of 1763. These valuable Bibles were donated to the Theological Seminary of Andrews University in 1991 by Dr. Chester J. Gibson, a prominent dentist in McMinnville, Oregon. These Bibles, along with a copy of a significant portion of Martin Luther's first complete Bible of 1534 (donated to Andrews University earlier by Dr. Gibson), were a part of the Wurker Collection of Bibles owned by Gibson, who provided information about this collection in an earlier issue of *AUSS*.<sup>1</sup> Andrews University is fortunate indeed to have received the gift of these three rare Bibles from Dr. Gibson.

Several years ago I provided brief information in *AUSS* concerning both the 1534 Luther edition and Luther's "September Bible" of 1522, his first German Bible, and included therewith some pages from these two Bibles in facsimile reproduction.<sup>2</sup> (The Adventist Heritage Center possesses a full-size facsimile copy of the "September Bible," as well as the copy of the 1534 publication.)

In future issues of *AUSS* I plan to provide descriptive details, historical information, and facsimile reproductions from the newly acquired King James Bible of 1617 and Saur Bible of 1763. In the present preliminary note it is appropriate, however, to include a broad general description of the physical dimensions of the two volumes. The following description has been furnished by Jim Ford, curator of the Adventist Heritage Center:

<sup>1</sup>Chester J. Gibson, "A Note about the Wurker Bible Collection," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 119.

<sup>2</sup>Kenneth A. Strand, "Early Luther Bibles: Facsimiles from Several Significant Editions," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 117-128. In addition to the facsimiles of pages in these two Bibles, this article provides three pages in facsimile from the Saur Bible of 1763.

**King James Bible of 1617:**

Text Block:

41.5 cm high

26.5 cm wide

12.5 cm thick at the outside edge

10.25 cm thick at the spine edge

Weight: 16 pounds, 8 ounces

**Saur Bible of 1763:**

Text Block:

26 cm high

20 cm wide

8.5 cm thick at the outside edge

8 cm thick at the spine edge

Weight: 6 pounds, 8 ounces

In this preliminary report, a passing mention may also be made concerning the historical context for the two Bible editions (an aspect that I plan to treat in more detail at a later time). The 1617 King James Bible, printed in London by Robert Barker, is the third edition of this version and is particularly valuable in that it exceeds in rarity both the *editio princeps* of 1611 and the second edition of 1613. The 1763 Saur Bible is the second edition in a series of three German Bibles that were printed in Germantown, Pennsylvania, by Christoph Saur and by his son, also named Christoph Saur.<sup>3</sup> The first edition appeared in 1743 and holds the distinction of being the earliest complete Bible to be printed in America in a European language. The third edition was published in 1776, and has received the nickname "gunwad Bible" because of its use in musketry during the Revolutionary War.

<sup>3</sup>Christoph Saur the elder printed a considerable number of works. In his German publications he preferred to have his name spelled as "Saur," whereas in English works he spelled his name "Sower."



The Adventist Heritage Center is fortunate to have all three of these Saur Bibles represented in its collection—a section of the NT of the 1743 edition and complete copies of the 1763 and 1776 editions. Much of the credit for this achievement and numerous other significant accomplishments goes to Mrs. Louise Dederen, the previous Heritage-Center curator, who retired in 1991. In fact, the *AUSS* staff owes her a debt of gratitude for the repeated help she has given with respect to the use and photocopying of rare materials which from time to time have been highlighted in issues of this journal.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, Mrs. Dederen is also to be thanked and congratulated for her 25 years of dedicated service, which brought into being a "Heritage Room" and then expanded it to the place where this archive is now truly a "Heritage Center" containing a sizable complex of rooms.

<sup>4</sup>E.g., "A Catalog of Reformation Tracts in the Heritage Room of the James White Library," *AUSS* 24 (1986): 81-112; "Two Notes Concerning Pamphlet Literature of the Reformation Era: 1. A Message from 'Hellish Prince Lucifer' to Martin Luther," *AUSS* 24 (1986): 173-177; "Luther's First Edition of the Pentateuch," *AUSS* 27 (1989): 39-52; and the article cited in n. 2, above.

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## A CORRECTION

During the editorial and/or proofing stages for the *AUSS* Spring issue of this year (vol. 30, no. 1), a serious error crept into Leslie McFall's article on "Some Missing Coregencies in Thiele's Chronology." On pages 54-55 the statement appears (with reference to Jehu's dynasty): "This was a dynasty guaranteed to last for four generations and thus to terminate with Jeroboam II." McFall's original statement concluded after the word "generations," with no mention here of Jeroboam II. As McFall has correctly pointed out, Jehu's dynasty terminated, not with Jeroboam II, but with Jeroboam's son, Zechariah.

As editor, I should have caught this obvious error in my final checking of page proofs, and I apologize to Dr. McFall and to our readership for whatever confusion and distress the incorrect statement may have created. In order to be certain that the statement is now clear in its context, I supply here the complete paragraph as it reads in the original edited version of McFall's manuscript.

If, in contrast to Thiele's reconstruction, the scribe understood the 37th year of Joash as a regnal year under the nonaccession-year system, then we have in 2 Kings 13:10 the first recorded instance of a coregency in the Northern Kingdom. This is not surprising, given the fact that it occurs in Jehu's dynasty. This was a dynasty guaranteed to last for four generations. Jehoash had made his son Jeroboam II coregent with himself in 793 B.C.

Kenneth A. Strand



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# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

## CONSONANTS

א = 'a	ד = d	י = y	ס = s	ך = r
ב = b	ה = h	כ = k	ע = 'e	ש = s
בּ = b	ו = w	כּ = k	פּ = p	שׁ = s
ג = g	ז = z	ל = l	פּ = p	שׂ = s
גּ = g	ח = h	מ = m	צ = s	ת = t
דּ = d	ט = t	נ = n	ק = q	

## MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

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

(Dāgēs Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

## ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

## Abbreviations (cont.)

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