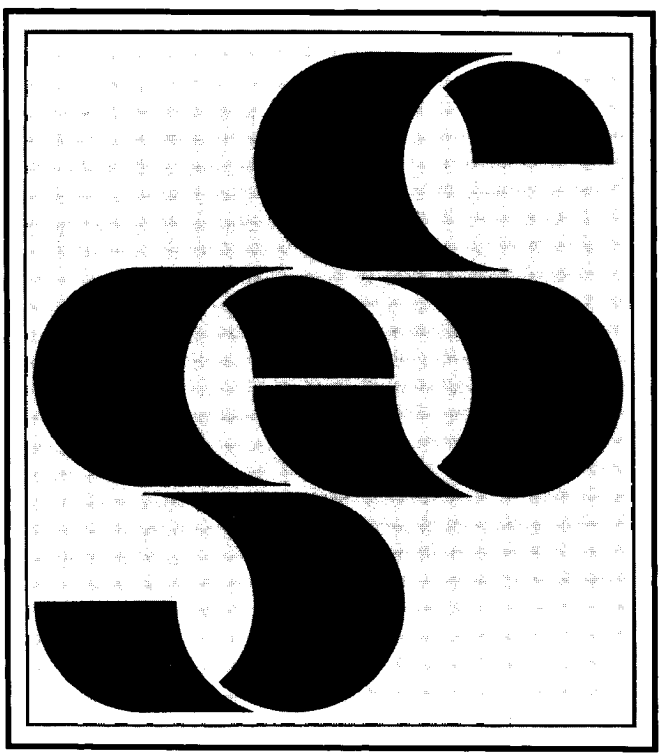
Andrews University

SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 31 Number 1 Spring 1993



Andrews University Press

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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

Editorial and Circulation Offices: AUSS, Seminary Hall, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104-1500, U.S.A.
Phone: (616) 471-6395 / (616) 471-6023.
Fax: (616) 473-4472
Electronic Mail: auss@andrews.edu

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

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Subscription Information: ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in the Spring, Summer, and Autumn. The subscription rate for 1993 is as follows:

	U.S.A.	Foreign (in U.S.A. funds)
Regular Subscriber	$16.00	$19.00
Institutions (including Libraries)	22.00	25.00
Students	13.00	16.00
Retirees	13.00	16.00

(Price for Single Copy is $8.00 in U.S.A.; $9.00 Foreign (in U.S.A. funds).

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

Please send all communications regarding subscription to: Circulation, *AUSS*, Seminary Hall, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104-1500, U.S.A.

Printing by Thomson-Shore, Inc., Dexter, MI 48130

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

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

 ISSN 003-2980

Andrews University Studies, Spring 1993, Vol. 31, No. 1, 3-16.

RECASTING THE MOMENT OF DECISION: 2 CORINTHIANS 6:14-7:1 IN ITS LITERARY CONTEXT

DAVID A. DeSILVA
Riverdale, GA 30296

The question of the literary integrity of Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians remains a topic of ongoing debate.[1] Because the conclusions drawn from literary analysis affect our understanding of the historical situation (and vice versa), and both influence our reflection on the issues involved and their implications, the discussion is important. This study concerns itself with the question of the relationship of 2 Cor 6:14-7:1 to the first full seven chapters of the letter. Many commentators agree that this passage is an interpolation of some kind.[2] However, important considerations may be cited for reading it as native to the letter, and even as climactic to the first seven chapters.

Foremost among the arguments in favor of regarding the passage as an interpolation are the observations that the passage interrupts the appeal begun in 6:11-13 and concluded in 7:2-3, that the passage contains a strikingly concentrated incidence of non-Pauline vocabulary or non-Pauline usage of Pauline vocabulary, and that the dualistic antitheses in these verses are non-Pauline. Other reasons for considering this passage non-Pauline are the use of scripture quotations and the insistence on defilement/purity. In this article I will consider these observations and then explore the implications of affirming the passage as an integral part of the letter.

The Passage as an Interruption

The argument that 6:14-7:1 interrupts Paul's appeal that the Corinthians open up their hearts to him and return to friendly

[1]See, for example, the discussion in N. H. Taylor, "The Composition and Chronology of Second Corinthians," *Journal for the Study of the NT* 44 (1991): 67-69.

[2]See V. P. Furnish, *II Corinthians*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 32-33, for an overview of such scholars and their arguments.

relations will stand if it can be shown that Paul had no cause to appeal to the Corinthians to dissociate themselves from those whose influence Paul considered unhealthy for the Corinthians' spiritual condition. While Paul makes much more abundant use of associative language to build up his ailing relationship with the congregation, there are important incidences of dissociative language in 2:14-7:3, by means of which he distances himself from other parties and urges the Corinthians to do the same.

Paul first dissociates himself from "the many who peddle the word of God" (οἱ πολλοὶ καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, 2:17) and from those who make use of "letters of commendation" (συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν, 3:1). Paul mentions these groups in connection with the issue of sufficiency (ἱκανότης, 3:5). With regard to apostolic legitimation, Paul reckons his competence as coming from God, not from any ephemeral credentials. He therefore dissociates himself from those whom he regards as profiteers in the garb of preachers, who rely on the limited credentials of the sphere of human strengths. This group from which Paul dissociates himself receives only passing mention, but the attention given them here near the proposition (2:15-16) is important.[3] Much of the argumentation of 3:7-5:10 appears to be devoted to developing a case for not regarding the things which pertain to this body and the life of this world (which is fading away) as reliable norms and guides. Paul would regard as a great danger to his churches preachers whose self-presentation and understanding of their own legitimation obscured this fact.

Similarly, in 5:12 Paul identifies a group with regard to whom he takes certain precautions in this letter. These are those who "place their ground for confidence in appearances and not in the heart" (τοὺς ἐν προσώπῳ καυχωμένους καὶ μὴ ἐν καρδίᾳ). Paul claims that the arguments which have preceded this verse do not constitute a letter of commendation written on his own behalf, but rather comprise an arsenal of arguments with which to answer those people who have not grasped this essential point of the gospel: that appearances count for nothing, as all appearances belong to the world which is passing away (cf. 4:16, 18). If Paul's

[3]2 Cor 2:15-16 may be described as the proposition of the letter because it contains the topics developed throughout the remainder of 2:17-7:3, namely the issue of what constitutes competence before God and in light of the gospel of Christ, and the motif of apocalyptic dualism.

precautions, specifically the fortification of the Corinthians against the lies of this "present, evil age," are real, then so are the spokespersons for this age,[4] whose influence Paul has been seeking to undermine (5:12) throughout the letter, even while they are scarcely mentioned.

Paul does indeed identify a group from which he dissociates himself and from which he assists the Corinthians to dissociate themselves by means of these arguments, fortifying them against "those boasting in appearances." That his concluding appeal should contain, then, both the exhortation to cleave to Paul and to cut off relations with the "unfaithful ones" should not seem out of place. This exhortation towards dissociation falls between two appeals for association.[5]

Non-Pauline Vocabulary and Usage

The matter of the high concentration of *hapax legomena* (nine in our passage) has been dealt with at some length by Hughes and Allo, among others. Three of these words appear in the citations from the Hebrew Scriptures in 6:16b-18, and so ought not to be "used in a stylistic argument against Pauline authorship."[6] Hughes comments that the highly rhetorical and repetitive character of the passage necessitates a "rich diversity of vocabulary,"[7] while Allo surmises that the parallel development of the rhetorical questions in 6:14b-16a has led Paul to use synonyms to avoid redundancy.

[4]Exactly how great a part rival preachers played in Corinth at the time of Paul's writing 2 Cor 1-7 is a matter of strong debate. Clearly, Paul does not address the issue as directly and strongly as he will in 2 Cor 10-13. Nevertheless, scholars such as Barrett, Collange, and—to a more cautious degree—Thrall, read 2 Cor 1-7 as addressing a situation in which rival preachers have gained a hearing in Corinth (see M. E. Thrall, "The Problem of II Cor. VI.14-VII.1 in Some Recent Discussion," *NTS* 24 [1978]: 142-144).

[5]Some scholars argue that these two appeals for association originally stood together and that the exhortation towards dissociation is an interruption. J. D. M. Derrett, "2 Corinthians 6,14ff. a Midrash on Dt 22,10," *Biblica* 59 (1978): 231; and J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Relating 2 Corinthians 6.14-7.1 to its Context," *NTS* 33 (1987): 273, have argued that 7:2 posesses a resumptive quality, such as would accommodate if not necessitate an intermediate appeal.

[6]Thrall, 133.

[7]P. E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962), 242.

He also points out that Paul elsewhere uses words closely related to those in 6:14-7:1, with the single exception of βελιάρ as a designation for Satan.[8] Such arguments have led scholars to consider the *hapax legomena* as indecisive in solving the enigma.

The argument thus shifts from the question of non-Pauline vocabulary to non-Pauline use of Pauline vocabulary. Many scholars have singled out the term ἄπιστοι (6:14) as signaling the incongruence of this pericope in the argument. Does Paul use this term to refer to the unbelieving population of the Greco-Roman world?[9] Such an identification has led some scholars, including most recently Taylor, to posit 6:14-7:1 as a fragment of the letter Paul wrote prior to 1 Corinthians. Canonical 1 Corinthians seeks to clarify in several places misunderstandings occasioned by the previous letter with regard to how believers were to relate to non-Christians.[10] In 1 Cor 5:9-11, however, Paul relates the content of that letter to immoral people, πόρνοι, and not to ἄπιστοι.

G. K. Beale suggests that Paul might use the term in 2 Corinthians, despite the misunderstandings occasioned by the previous letter and corrected in 1 Corinthians, to refer to non-Christians, who belong to the company of "those who are being destroyed" (2:15). He writes:

> The rejection of Paul as God's true apostle of reconciliation by some of the Corinthians was an expression of worldly impurity and demonstrated that they had begun to evaluate in the same manner as the unbelieving world (cf. 5.16). Insofar as some among the readership were identifying with an unbelieving world which needed reconciliation, they also needed reconciliation both to Paul and the God represented by Paul.[11]

Beale clearly grasps what is at issue for Paul in terms of his diagnosis of the Corinthians' misapprehension of the gospel, yet he fails to connect this insight with Paul's references to the third

[8]Ernest Bernard Allo, *Saint Paul: Seconde épître aux Corinthiens*, 2d ed. (Paris: Gabalda, 1956), 190.

[9]H. D. Betz, "2 Cor 6:14-7:1: An Anti-Pauline Fragment?" *JBL* 92 (1973): 89.

[10]Taylor, 75-78.

[11]G. K. Beale, "The Old Testament Background of Reconciliation in 2 Corinthians 5-7 and Its Bearing on the Literary Problem of 2 Corinthians 6.14-7.1," *NTS* 35 (1989): 569.

parties who come with letters of commendation and with "confidence in appearances and not in the heart" (5:12). Paul's somewhat veiled references to these figures indicate not their absence, but Paul's conviction that the Corinthians have not been completely won over by them, a conviction which is overturned by the time he writes 2 Corinthians 10 through 13.

Many scholars, however, contend that Paul would not have spoken of rival apostles in this way.[12] Furnish disallows that Paul would have used for errant Christians a term he elsewhere reserves for non-Christians.[13] If Paul speaks thus of his opponents,[14] perhaps he does mean to indict them as non-Christians or unbelievers who follow a different gospel. In the letter to the Galatians we find a striking precedent: in Gal 1:6-9, Paul speaks of a "different gospel, which is no gospel at all," being preached among the churches. Upon those who "pervert the gospel of Christ" and preach this false gospel Paul calls down the anathema of 1:8-9. Following this perverted gospel leads, in turn, to the Galatian Christians' being described as "severed from Christ" and "fallen from grace" (5:4), and thus, understood in terms of apocalyptic dualism, no longer in the sphere of grace which defines "the age which is coming." They have rejoined "this present evil age" (1:4) and the fate of all who are not ἐκ πίστεως.

Paul may address what he perceives to be a comparable situation in canonical 2 Corinthians. Paul has already been shown to dissociate himself from other preachers active in the Corinthian sphere and urge the Corinthians to do the same. For Paul, the gospel is at stake here, just as in Galatia. In 2 Corinthians 10 through 13, which appears to address a later development, Paul makes this explicit. "If someone comes and preaches another Jesus than the one we preached, . . . or if you accept a different gospel from the one you accepted, you submit to it readily enough" (11:4). What the opponents offer in Corinth is, in fact, another gospel, "which is no gospel at all." These opponents are described as "superlative apostles" (11:5) on the one hand, but also as servants of Satan in 11:14-15. Those preaching a "different gospel" do not

[12]Furnish, 382; see also Thrall, 143-4.

[13]Furnish, 382.

[14]Jean-Francois Collange, *Enigmes de la deuxième épître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, SNTSMS 18 (Cambridge: University Press, 1972), 305.

receive Paul's gospel unaltered, and show themselves to come under the indictment of 4:3-4. Paul's gospel, "the gospel of Christ," is "veiled to those who are perishing." Here again Paul uses the word ἄπιστοι to refer to those who remain outside the sphere of grace, as defined by Paul's gospel. This condemnation would include those who preach any different gospel, as in such matters for Paul there is not error or perversion without alienation from Christ and anathema.

From the level of semantics Furnish argues that Paul uses πιστός frequently to indicate one who is faithful and trustworthy, and rarely one who simply believes. Thus, the use of ἄπιστος, "unbeliever," would not be consistent with Paul's usage.[15] The limits placed here on the semantic range of these two terms is, however, far too narrow. There is more overlap than Furnish's argument allows. Much depends also on the translation of ἄπιστος as a person, as opposed to corresponding qualities which would form a dyad with Paul's use of πιστός. In the context of 2 Corinthians, ἄπιστοι might simply be translated as "unfaithful to the gospel," or "displaying an absence of faith in the gospel." This narrows the chasm lexically and preserves the sense of the dependence of a word marked by an alpha-privative upon the main word from which it is formed. Ἄπιστοι, as a substantive, may thus include those who are unfaithful to the gospel of Christ by virtue of their subscription to "a different gospel."[16]

The Dualistic Antitheses of 6:14-16

Fitzmyer has found such striking parallels in Qumran texts to these verses that he has concluded in favor of non-Pauline authorship.[17] The stark dualism, the opposition to idolatry, the

[15]Furnish, 362-363.

[16]Derrett, who reads the whole of 6:11-7:3 as a call for open and honest partnership between Paul and the Corinthians, has drawn attention to the use of ἄπιστοι in Luke 16:10-12, where the word refers to a lack of trustworthiness in business matters. He further explores 6:11-7:3 in terms of the language of business partnerships and concludes that ἄπιστοι may refer to people with whom the Corinthians should not form partnerships, e.g., preachers of a perversion of the gospel or preachers tainted by subservience to the values and standards of the world which is passing away (241).

[17]J. A. Fitzmyer, "Qumrân and the Interpolated Paragraph in 2 Cor 6,14-7,1," *CBQ* 23 (1961): 271-280, summarized in Thrall, 136-137.

designation of the community of believers as the Temple of God, and the sectarian mentality evident in the command to separate oneself from the unredeemed world all point, he says, to an Essenic origin for these verses. Thrall cites the counterclaims of Bruce and Barrett, namely that all these features have parallels in Pauline literature as well and belong to the wider milieu of first-century Judaism.[18] Furthermore, one can find parallel expressions in Paul, as in 1 Cor 3:19 and 6:18-20, where Paul refers to the community of Christians as the "Temple of God" and derives from this a mandate (similar to the one found in 2 Cor 6:16-7:1) to avoid fornication and other sorts of uncleanness.

The rationales appended to the exhortation, "Do not be unequally yoked with unbelievers" (6:14a), in the form of questions express a dualism which is very much at home in 2 Corinthians. A believer should not become a partner with an unbeliever, for "what partnership have righteousness and lawlessness, or what fellowship (κοινωνία) has light with darkness? What harmony exists between Christ and Beliar, or what portion does the faithful hold with the unfaithful? What agreement has the Temple of God with idols?" (6:14b-16a). These rationales, in the form of analogies or examples, expressed as rhetorical questions, create a dualistic environment which provides the framework for ordering the cosmos. On one side there is righteousness, light, Christ, the believer, and the Temple of God; on the other, lawlessness, darkness, Beliar, the unbeliever, and idols. The two sides constitute two associations between which there can be no association.

While it is extrinsic to 2 Corinthians, one cannot help but recall Paul's insistence with regard to participation in the idolatries of the Greco-Roman world: "I do not want you to become partners (κοινωνούς) with demons. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons; you cannot have a share at the table of the Lord and the table of demons" (1 Cor 10:20b-21). The distinction between the ages is particularly Pauline, undergirding much of his thought. As a Pharisee, well acquainted with and frequently using the concept of the two ages, Paul recognizes that these two ages divide the universe and that there is no room for dual citizenship or cross-communion.

[18]Thrall, 137. Derrett produces a pattern for the antitheses in 2 Cor 6:14b-16a and their interpretation in Sirach 13:17-18: "What does a wolf have in common with a lamb? No more has a sinner with the devout. What accord is there between a hyena and a dog? And what accord between the rich and the poor?" (249).

For this reason, one may question how Furnish can find the discussion of dining in a pagan temple in 1 Cor 10:14-22 unhelpful here.[19] While it is true that the specific concern of dining is not explicitly (and most likely not implicitly) present in 2 Corinthians, the same theological concern may well undergird Paul's exhortations in both places.[20] In 1 Corinthians, the demand that Christians abstain from idol feasts rests on the fact of their κοινωνία, their participation, fellowship, or common holdings, in the body and blood or the life of Christ. This fact is incompatible with the possibility of retaining or reinitiating other such κοινωνία, as with demons in 1 Corinthians, or with those who represent another gospel (Beliar), or simply with the wisdom of the world, in 2 Corinthians. Participation in the eschatological reality of one age precludes participation in its opposing age.

Such a dualistic view dominates 2 Corinthians. Paul opens the argument proper by describing his party as a fragrance of Christ to God "among those who are being saved and those who are perishing" (ἐν τοῖς σῳζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, 2:15), a division of humanity clearly illustrative of apocalyptic dualism. A similar division appears in the distinction between those who, "with unveiled faces gaze at the glory of the Lord" (3:18) and those whose minds "the god of this age has darkened" (4:4), who are in fact referred to as "unbelievers," ἄπιστοι. Paul distinguishes the "things which are seen" from "the things which are not seen" (τὰ βλεπόμενα and τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα, 4:18), declaring that the former belong to this temporary reality (πρόσκαιρα) while the latter are eternal (αἰώνια). Finally, there is the anthropological dualism created when Paul differentiates between this mortal body, the "earthy tent" which will be destroyed, and the "dwelling from God," an eternal body, for which the believer longs.

The dualistic antitheses found in 6:14b-16a, then, are well prepared for by Paul. As the Corinthians' standing "in grace" appears to be in jeopardy—whence the exhortations to "be reconciled to God" (5:20) and "not to receive the grace of God in vain" (6:1)—an appeal to them to make their eschatological standing secure among οἱ σωζόμενοι seems not out of place at 6:14. The

[19]Furnish, 382.

[20]In applying the pericope to the situation in 1 Corinthians, Fee may be reading too literally ("2 Cor 6.14-7.1 and Food Offered to Idols," *NTS* 23 [1977]: 143).

passage, then, supplements 5:20-6:2, which sets up, as it were, a new moment of decision for the Corinthians, a new "acceptable time" and "day of salvation" in which to separate themselves from the world which is passing away and those who are perishing through unbelief. This reconciliation with God is accomplished concurrently with their reconciliation with the apostle whose work it was, as the founder of the congregation, to call them together to be a people for God (cf. 6:16c). If the Corinthians will be persuaded that the present form of the world is passing away and that no visible thing can be held onto as grounds for confidence, but that the only ground for confidence and hope is the "God who raises the dead," they will have received God's grace in a salvific way and also have no cause for stumbling in Paul.

Scripture Quotations

Scholars have argued that the choice of Scriptural citations also casts suspicion upon the Pauline origin of 2 Cor 6:14-7:1. Betz argues that these *testimonia* reflect an understanding of the Torah as divine promise which stands opposed to Paul's view of Torah as a covenant of bondage or guardianship which, in Gal 4:21-31, he sets over and against the covenant made by promise with Abraham.[21] Betz further identifies the point of view in 6:14-7:1 with that of Paul's opponents in Galatia.[22] He identifies the "yoke" to which 6:14a refers as the yoke of Torah:

> First, it is assumed that there are two "yokes," one to be attributed to the "believers" and the other to the "non-believers". . . . It seems clear from the following that the "yoke" of the πιστοί must be identical with the Torah.[23]

The issue is not, however, which of two yokes one puts on, but with whom one is yoked together. In this regard, the yoke might be better understood as a figure for partnership or even discipleship, as in Sir 51:26 and Mt 11:29.

Several scholars have painstakingly sought out the Old Testament background for 2 Corinthians 6. Beale contends that the

[21]H. D. Betz, *Galatians*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 329-333.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Betz, "An Anti-Pauline Fragment," 89. Derrett also links "yoke" with the "yoke of Torah" (245).

citations from the Hebrew Scriptures concatenated in 6:16b-18 express, not a covenantal nomism in their original context, but rather the promise made by God to restore Israel to its land after Israel falls away and is punished in exile.[24] The death and resurrection of Christ, the servant who brings "reconciliation," inaugurates the fulfillment of these promises.[25] If Beale is correct, the passage does not speak for Judaizing Christians for whom Torah is the center, but instead in a manner at home in Pauline Christianity.

The use of Scripture serves to give added weight to the moment, casting it as soteriologically significant, as here, or as a call to fulfill what is inherent in God's salvation history from the beginning, as in Gal 4:30. This prophetic reapplication of Scripture appears, for example, in Hebrews 3 and 4, where the author cites Ps 95:7-11, referring to the κρίσις, the fateful moment of decision, recorded in Numbers 13 and 14. Just as that historical moment was understood by the psalmist as a decisive juncture in the people's salvation history, so the author of Hebrews understands the contemporary situation of his congregation. Using the citation, the author recasts their situation in an antitypical and eschatological mode calling for a similar decision, which he hopes will be affirmative this time, in favor of faithful obedience to and perseverance in God's promise of salvation in Christ.

In 2 Cor 6:2, Paul uses the same technique to call the attention of the readers/hearers to the salvific importance of the moment and to inform them what is expected of them—nothing less than μετάνοια from the path they are pursuing in fellowship with the "superlative apostles." Just as the author of Hebrews uses the psalm text to emphasize the presentness of the "today" in which God's voice is to be heard and met with an obedient response, so Paul declares, in full *pesher* style, that the day of which Isaiah spoke is present now for the Corinthians. "Behold, now is the 'acceptable time'; behold, now is 'the day of salvation.'"

[24]Beale has sought to locate the background of 2 Corinthians 5 through 7 in OT promises for Israel's restoration (569). Derrett has explored the possibility that 2 Cor 6:14-7:1 was composed as a midrash on Deut 22:10, "You shall not yoke an ox and an ass together," leading him to consider the whole of 2 Cor 6:11-7:3 in the context of forming open relationships with trustworthy apostles of God and eschewing partnerships with unreliable partners (234-247). Murphy-O'Connor, building upon the insight of Thrall (146), suggests that free association with Deut 11:13-16 in Paul's mind is at work in linking the topics in 6:11-7:1 (273-275).

[25]Beale, 557.

Such a usage is followed in 2 Cor 6:16-18, and the promises which were originally linked to the covenant of Sinai (and more precisely, to God's promise to restore Israel after its failure to keep its covenant) are chosen here specifically as the promises which accompany the acceptance of the gospel, the sphere of grace.[26] These involve the promise of God's dwelling near and among the people and the adoption of the people as sons and daughters of the living God. The first of these is expressed elsewhere as fulfilled in the indwelling of the Spirit of God (Rom 8:11, 14, 23; 1 Cor 3:16; 12:7; Gal 4:6) and participation in, or being made part of, the Body of Christ (Rom 12:5; 1 Cor 10:16-17; 12:12-13). The second appears as fulfilled in Christ (Rom 8:14; Gal 4:5-6; Phil 2:15).[27] As these promises are experienced only through the gospel of Christ, one must separate from any different gospel.

The citations from the Hebrew Scriptures support the theory that the double appeal of 6:11-7:2a stood originally as a whole in this letter. Woven together from Lev 26:11-12; Ezek 37:27; Isa 52:11; Exod 25:8; 2 Sam 7:14; and 2 Sam 7:8, this *catena* appears to include very intentionally both the necessity of separation from the wrong fellowship and the promises which manifest themselves through the right fellowship. The content of the *catena* supports the appeal of 6:11-13 and 7:2a as well as the injunction of 6:14, suggesting that Paul has woven these scriptures together to elevate the soteriological importance of both sides of the appeal. Restoration with Paul and the authentically Pauline gospel is only possible if a break is made with the principles on which the intruders build their mission, and so with the intruders themselves.

Purity of Body and Spirit

There remains the difficulty of the "defilement of body and spirit" (7:1), which appears to lead away from the point of the appeal. Rather, it is possible that this is Paul's way of returning

[26]With regard to 2 Cor 6:18, Derrett suggests that this is most closely based on 2 Sam 7:14 and that the expansion of the quotation to include both sons and daughters indicates that the believers are addressed as coheirs with Christ of the promise to David (246).

[27]We see from this that Paul expresses the fulfillment of the promises (for those who are in Christ) encountered in 2 Cor 6:16b-18 throughout his letters. For Paul, these are the promises which have received their "Yes" in Christ for all people (cf. 2 Cor 1:20), and which he now adduces as authoritative to support and extend his appeal.

from the *catena* to the appeal for association, for openness and reconciliation between Paul and the Corinthians, as the breach in their relationship may be interpreted by Paul in the context of the *catena* as a "defilement of body and spirit."[28]

The verse contains terms which flow easily from the Hebrew Scripture citation. The promise is a composite of Exod 29:45; Lev 26:12; and Ezek 37:27. It affirms God's design to be present among His people and to establish a particular relationship with them. This experience, however, requires a response of fidelity from the people, that they join with God and not form conflicting alliances with other powers. Paul cites Isa 52:11, which introduces also the idea of cleanness. The concept of ἀκαθαρσία, "uncleanness," stands in contrast to ἁγιωσύνη, "holiness." While the first refers to what is set apart from coming into contact with the divine, the latter refers to what is set apart specifically for the purpose of being brought into contact with the divine.

The language of cleanness is not regarded as characteristically Pauline,[29] but this view needs to be challenged in light of some passages in 1 Corinthians. Very fundamentally, an important term by which Paul characterizes the believer is ἅγιος or ἡγιασμένος (1 Cor 1:2). This concept rests on Jewish notions of being set apart for God and thus connects with purity codes as well. Being set apart for God is precisely the motive for the exhortation in 7:1. Other passages point even more specifically to Paul's use of the language of purity and cleanness. When Paul speaks of not joining one's self to a prostitute (6:15-16), the concept of pollution appears to stand behind his argument. When he speaks in 7:14 about the status of the children of an unbelieving partner as ἀκαθαρτός, Paul still speaks of one's status before God in terms of clean and unclean. These concepts stand close behind his understanding of God's purposes in salvation history to form a people for that peculiar relationship with God.[30]

[28]N. A. Dahl offers such an interpretation (*Studies in Paul* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1977], 67).

[29]Furnish, 377; Betz, *Galatians*, 329.

[30]Dahl demonstrates that 2 Cor 10-13 contains several terms which belong to the domain of purity and impurity (69). The lexical map of purity and defilement found in J. H. Neyrey ("The Symbolic Universe of Luke-Acts: 'They Turn the World Upside Down'," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*, ed. J. H. Neyrey [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991], 275-76) also demonstrates how the language of purity and impurity permeates the Pauline letters together with the rest of the New Testament.

If the paranetic goal of the argument is the separation of the Corinthian Christians from subversive preachers or from the perverting effects of the natural mind's wisdom on the gospel, both the citation and the exhortation make excellent sense. The Jewish concepts of cleansing, defilement, and the perfection of holiness revolve around the central idea of being set apart and keeping one's self set apart for God. This supports the impossibility of participation in the age which is coming and the age which is passing and turns the theological question into an ethical exhortation. Since such double participation is impossible, the hearer must move decisively towards setting himself or herself apart for participation in the age which is coming, in God, in Christ, in light.

A *peroratio* to the whole appeal begins at 7:1. Paul refers to the foregoing promises of God; the emphatic appearance of ἐπαγγελίαι in 1:20 cannot but come to mind. These very promises find their "yes" in Christ, through the message of Christ which Paul brings. In light of these promises, and to secure such benefits as these promises will bring, action is required from the Corinthians. Here the exhortation takes the form of καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτούς, "let us cleanse ourselves," which stands as an appropriate foil to the practice of ἑαυτούς συνιστάνειν (3:1), "commending ourselves." The move is thus away from commending one's self in the sight of the world towards commending one's self in the sight of God, by moving in the direction of the sincerity (εἰλικρίνεια) and holiness (ἁγιότης, 1:12) which mark Paul's presentation of the gospel in his own life.

While "perfecting holiness" is not considered a typical Pauline concept, nothing necessitates reading it as anti-Pauline, as does Betz,[31] for the text does not suggest that one perfects holiness by Torah, but rather as Paul describes in Phil 3:10-14. Paul strives after an end, the attainment of the full experience of the life of Christ, but receives it through the faithfulness of Christ. To this he may be calling the Corinthians in 7:1. The verse ends with a reference to ὁ φόβος τοῦ θεοῦ, forming an *inclusio* with 5:11, which began the *exhortatio*.

[31]Betz, *Galatians*, 329-330; "An Anti-Pauline Fragment," 98.

Implications for Interpretation

If 2 Cor 6:14-7:1 is regarded as integral to the letter, the climactic plea is an appeal for the gospel of Christ over false gospels, for dissolving ties with Paul's rivals and opening up the heart again to Paul as actions resulting from a spiritual μετάνοια. In place, the pericope brings together and elevates the concepts which have guided Paul through his argument. Primarily, the cosmological split between the age that is passing away and the age that is coming, and the way in which a person eschews participation in the one and finds participation in the other, begin the argument explicitly in 2:14 and now reappear in these clusterings of persons and figures in 6:11 through 7:2a. The "acceptable time" and "now" of 6:2 becomes a new moment of decision for the Corinthians. They must choose fellowship with Christ or remain in the communion of this age, untouched by the gospel.

While the arguments for reading 6:14-7:1 as a non-Pauline interruption to the letter have some merit, those for considering the passage as integral to the letter seem stronger. Paul has prepared for the appeal in 6:14-7:1 through several instances where he has employed forceful dissociative language, as well as through placing his arguments consistently against the framework of apocalyptic dualism. Together with 6:11-13 and 7:2-3, 6:14-7:1 constitute the climax of an appeal in which Paul urges the re-establishment of the relationship between apostle and congregation to allow the stream of God's comfort to flow uninterrupted. In order to effect this, they must dissociate themselves from every influence which blinds their minds to the truth of the gospel, namely that "the things which are visible are temporary, but the things which are unseen are eternal."

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Spring 1993, Vol. 31, No. 1, 17-28.

THE CENTER OF THE AQEDAH: A STUDY OF THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF GENESIS 22:1-19[1]

JACQUES DOUKHAN
Andrews University

The history of interpretation of the Aqedah (Gen 22:1-19)[2] reveals, as Claus Westermann puts it, "an antithesis, continuing right up to the present, which must be considered."[3] There have been two main currents of thought concerning the accentuation and meaning of this OT passage.

The religious approach (exemplified in the Talmud and the medieval Rabbis,[4] and in the Church Fathers, Protestant Reformers, and modern critics[5]) has traditionally stressed the end of the story. In this approach, the sacrifice of Isaac is important in witnessing to God's salvation, or, for those who read the story as an etiological saga, the importance is that it is supposed to explain the origin of

[1]This is a revised version of a paper read at the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Vienna (Austria), July 1990.

[2]The word "Aqedah" (binding) from the root *ʿqd* (to bind) is a late Jewish designation loaded with allusions to the Levitical sacrifices (in Gen 22:10 only the verb appears); it has become a technical expression to refer to the text of Gen 22:1-19 and to the story of the sacrifice of Isaac. On the use of this term, see S. Spiegel, *The Last Trial*, trans. J. Goldin (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), xix-xx; P. R. Davies and B. D. Chilton, "The Aqedah: A Revised Tradition History," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 514. For a survey of the history of interpretation, see S. Kreuzer, "Das Opfer des Vaters—die Gefährdung des Sohnes—Genesis 22," *Amt und Gemeinde 37* (July-August 1986): 62-70.

[3]Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12-36: A Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1985), 353-354.

[4]See *Y. Taʿanit*, 2:4 (65d); cf. Aharon Agus, *The Binding of Isaac and Messiah* [New York: State University of New York, 1983], 60; *Miqraʾot Gedolot*, ad loc.

[5]Robert Martin-Achard, *Actualité d'Abraham* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1969), 80.

animal sacrifices or the location for the temple.[6] In either case, the accent is put on the religious element of the story.

In contrast, the poetic or philosophical approach (as represented in classical poets and medieval mystics and in such philosophers as Immanuel Kant, Søren Kierkegaard, Pierre Emmanuel, and E. L. Fackenheim[7]) tends to stress the beginning of the story, doing so on the human level. In this approach the sacrifice of Isaac is important in witnessing the human condition with its anguished questions set up in a void. As R. Couffignal notes, what is emphasized here is "the tearing apart of the human heart rather than [an iteration of] God's design."[8]

This divergence of interpretations—a divergence that has varying degrees of incompatibility—calls for a new attempt at exegesis in order to seek in the text itself the location of its accent. If the meaning of the Aqedah ultimately depends on the place where the accent is put, it is important to analyze the literary structure of the text in order to determine the point of accentuation and the orientation that is thereby brought to light.

Some thirty years ago Y. T. Radday observed that Gen 22:1-19 is structured as a chiasm.[9] The essentials of this chiasm can be set forth in an abbreviated outline, as follows:

[6]See, e.g., A. George, "Le sacrifice d'Abraham," *Etudes de critique et d'histoire religieuse* 2 (1948): 99-110, and H. Gunkel, *Genesis,* Handkommentar zum Alten Testament (Göttingen: Ruprecht, 1969), ad loc.

[7]See, e.g., Robert Couffignal, *L'épreuve d'Abraham; le récit de la Genèse et sa fortune littéraire* (Toulouse: Association des Publications de l'Université de Toulouse, 1976), 35-55; Immanuel Kant, *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone,* trans. T. M. Greene and H. H. Hudson (New York: Harper, 1960), 175; Søren Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling: A Dialectical Lyric,* trans. with introduction and notes by Walter Lowrie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1941); Pierre Emmanuel, *Jacob,* 2d ed. (Paris: Le Seuil, 1970); and Emil L. Fackenheim, *Encounters between Judaism and Modern Philosophy: A Preface to Future Jewish Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). On modern Hebrew poetry, see Glenda Abramson, "The Reinterpretation of the Akedah in Modern Hebrew Poetry," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 41 (Spring 1990): 101-114, and Michael Brown, "Biblical Myth and Contemporary Experience: The Akedah in Modern Jewish Literature," *Judaism* 31 (Winter 1982): 99-111.

[8]Couffignal, 55.

[9]Yehuda T. Radday, "On the Chiasm in the Biblical Story" (in Hebrew), *Beth Mikra* 20-21 (1964): 66.

A, vv. 1-2. The word of Elohim ("here I am," "your only son," "bring him up for offering")

B, vv. 3-6. Actions ("and he took," "he split the wood," "the place which I will tell you," "and he laid," "the knife")

C, vv. 7-8. Dialogue

$\mathbf{B}_1$, vv. 9-10. Actions ("and he took," "he placed the wood," "the place which he told him," "and he laid," "the knife")

$\mathbf{A}_1$, vv. 11-19. The word of *YHWH* ("here I am," "your only son," "and he brought it up for offering")

Radday suggests that the apex of the chiasm is to be found in vv. 7-8, the section of text designated as C. The rest of the material has as parallel or corresponding sections **A** with $\mathbf{A}_1$, and **B** with $\mathbf{B}_1$. Radday's proposal appears to be fundamentally valid. His demonstration, however, remains somewhat deficient. The boundaries of and within the chiasm, which justify the shaping of the five sections, have not been fully established. In addition, Radday has justified the chiasm only on the basis of echoes of words and expressions, many of which in his table overlap other sections. For example, the words "mountain," "lads," "return," and the phrases "he arose and went," "he lifted his eyes and saw" are found in **B** as well as in $\mathbf{A}_1$.

Along the general lines indicated by Radday, this study provides a more thoroughgoing analysis of the text. In doing so, it follows the narrative in its final form[10] rather than exploring the history of sources and traditions lying behind it.[11] My intent is to determine the design and text boundaries represented in the chiasm by other evidences in addition to echoes of words and

[10]Cf. Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard Trask (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1953), 20.

[11]On this subject, see Jean-L. Duhaime, "Le sacrifice d'Isaac (Gn 22, 1-19): l'héritage de Gunkel," *Science et Esprit* 2 (1981): 139-156; Sean E. McEvenue, "The Elohist at Work," *ZAW* 96 (1984): 315-332; and Hans-Christoph Schmitt, "Die Erzählung von der Versuchung Abrahams Gen 22, 1-19 und das Problem einer Theologie der elohistischen Pentateuchtexte," *Biblische Notizen* 34 (1986): 82-109.

expressions. In investigating potential parallels between the corresponding sections **A**/$\mathbf{A_1}$, **B**/$\mathbf{B_1}$ (and even within C [*a*/a_1 and *b*/b_1]), I shall be attentive to the stylistic features of the text, such as the regularity of movement and repetition of thought. From this "synchronic" analysis, I shall suggest implications regarding not only the interpretation of the text[12] but also the "diachronic" mechanism of its deep structure.[13]

1. *The Dialogue between God and Abraham (A // A_1)*

The dialogue between God and Abraham in vv. 1-2 (**A**) and vv. 11-19 ($\mathbf{A_1}$) uses four common themes in a parallel way and in language which makes them echo each other:

1. God's call
2. Abraham's response, *hinnēnî*
3. Order concerning the son
4. Order concerning Abraham

These four themes pattern in the following manner:

1. *God's call* is described in **A** and $\mathbf{A_1}$ in the common terms *wayyō'mer 'ēlāyw: 'aḇrāhām*. However, whereas in **A** it is *'Elōhîm* speaking, in $\mathbf{A_1}$ it is the Angel of *YHWH* who addresses Abraham, doing so with a shout, *wayyiqrā'*, and a double call, *'aḇrāhām 'aḇrāhām*.

2. *Abraham's response* is the same in **A** as in $\mathbf{A_1}$: *wayyō'mer hinnēnî*.

3. *The order concerning the son* is also described with similar language, but here it is language that brings out a contrast. In both **A** and $\mathbf{A_1}$ the command relates to the sacrifice and contains two steps. In **A** the order given is to take and to sacrifice, and in $\mathbf{A_1}$ it

[12]Cf. Phyllis Trible, "The Phenomenon of Repetition Is Important for Understanding the Structure, Content and Meaning of Hebrew Narratives," in *Genesis 22: The Sacrifice of Sarah*, Gross Memorial Lecture 1989 (Valparaiso, IN: Valparaiso University, 1990), 17.

[13]On the methodology of "synchronic" to "diachronic," see especially Gérald Antoine, *Exegesis: Problems of Method and Exercises in Reading (Genesis 22 and Luke 15)*, eds. François Bovon and Grégoire Rouiller, trans. Donald G. Miller (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1978).

is to not lay the hand on the stipulated sacrifice (Isaac) and to do nothing. Thus, while in **A** the order is positive, in $\mathbf{A}_1$ the order is negative. Moreover, in both **A** and $\mathbf{A}_1$ the victim is designated as "your only son"; but while in **A** the victim is specifically called "Isaac whom you love," in $\mathbf{A}_1$ the victim is identified only as "the lad" (*hanna^{c}ar*). And still further, in both **A** and $\mathbf{A}_1$ the place of the sacrifice is described as a mountain (*har*); but whereas in A the mountain has not yet come to view and is not even named (*^{ʾ}aḥad hehārîm ^{ʾa}šer ^{ʾ}ōmar ^{ʾ}ēlêḵā*, v. 2.), in $\mathbf{A}_1$ the mountain is seen (*wayyar^{ʾ}*, v. 13), and is also named (*yē^{ʾ}āmēr*, v. 14).

4. In the order concerning Abraham the contrast is also striking. In **A** the *leḵ l^{e}ḵā* is tragic: Abraham receives the order to go, and this departure bears in itself a sacrificing of his hopes, anticipation, and prospects for the future, for it would lead (as far as he could see at that time) to the death of his sole heir, Isaac.[14] In $\mathbf{A}_1$ on the other hand, the corresponding part of the *leḵ l^{e}ḵā* has shifted into a blessing which is heard as a promise of a glorious future. Thus the *leḵ l^{e}ḵā* in **A** is put in parallel with the second statement made by the Angel of *YHWH* and which concerns Abraham's blessing. The reason for this connection is not immediately obvious since it is indirect. It depends, in fact, on a common allusion to the blessing set forth in Gen 12:1-3, and deserves, therefore, a special treatment.

The expression *leḵ l^{e}ḵā* in **A** points back to Gen 12:1, not just because this is the only other biblical text which uses the same expression,[15] but also because in both passages the expression introduces a parallel three-step thematic sequence[16]: (1) the order to leave the place (the common word is *^{ʾ}ereṣ*), followed by (2) the instruction to go to a place indicated by God (the common words are *^{ʾ}el . . . ^{ʾa}šer*), and (3) the order to sacrifice the family heir ("your son" in Gen 22, "the house of your father" in Gen 12).

[14]See Hershel Shanks, "Illuminations: Abraham Cut Off from His Past and Future by the Awkward Divine Command 'Go You!'" *BREV* 3 (1987): 8-9.

[15]Cf. R. Rendtorff, *Das Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch*, BZAW 147 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), 59.

[16]For a discussion of links between these two passages, see Jonathan Magonet, "Abraham and God," *Judaism* 33 (Spring 1984): 160-170; cf. Radday, 67, and Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, vol. 1, rev. ed., trans. John H. Marks (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), 239.

Likewise, the blessing of A_1 echoes the text of Gen 12:1-3 through the same association of three common motifs: (1) the promise to make of Abraham a great people (*rbh*, "great," in Gen 22; *gdl*, "great," in Gen 12; *zeraʿ*, "seed," in Gen 22; *goy*, "people," in Gen 12; also in both places the same second-person pronominal suffix *ḵā* referring to Abraham), followed by (2) the blessing of Abraham (the common word is *ʾabārekkā*, I will bless you), and (3) the blessing of all the peoples in him (a common term is *brḵ* [*Niphal* in Gen 12 and *Hitpael* in Gen 22]; the same formula *kol* + *b* + *ḵā* refers to Abraham and there is also correspondence of the expressions *gôyê hāʾāreṣ* [peoples of the earth] in Gen 22 and *mišpᵉḥōt hāʾᵃḏāmāh* [families of the earth] in Gen 12).

2. *Abraham's Walk (B // B_1)*

In **B** (vv. 3-6) and B_1 (vv. 9-10) of the chiasm in the Aqedah, Abraham's walk is described in similar terms and follows an identical four-step progression. Once again, however, we find a contrast between the two scenarios. The four sequential steps are as follows: (1) movement to the place indicated by God (in **B** there is departure, in B_1 there is arrival), (2) connection between the wood and Isaac (in **B** the wood is placed on Isaac, in B_1 Isaac is placed on the wood), (3) the knife held in the hand (in **B** there is fire, in B_1 there is no fire), and (4) the refrain "And the two of them went together" (in **B** this occurs in the section's Conclusion, in B_1 it appears in the section's Introduction).

3. *The Dialogue between Abraham and Isaac (C)*

The dialogue between Abraham and Isaac as contained in vv. 7-8 constitutes the central point of the chiasm—section C. This dialogue is inserted between the stylistic expressions *wayyēlᵉḵû šᵉnêhem yaḥdāw* (and they went the two of them together) and is articulated in connection with five occurrences of *ʾmr*. These occurrences, moreover, pattern in a structure of a chiastic type which may be designated ***a b c*** b_1 a_1. This structure is outlined on page 23.

a. Said Isaac to Abraham, his father—

b. And he said: father?

c. And he said: here I am, my son!

b_1. And he said: here is the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for offering?

a_1. And said Abraham: God will see to himself the lamb for offering, my son!

The correspondences may be summarized as follows: Both *a* and a_1 carry a silence. In *a* the first *ʾmr* of Isaac is, so to speak, aborted. The text says, *wayyōʾmer*—and nothing comes out. It is a pure silence. The last *ʾmr* of Abraham can also be seen as a silence since it has this sort of effect in relationship to the specific question asked by Isaac, "Here (*hinnēh*) are the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb?"[17] One expects that in Abraham's response there would be an echo to Isaac's question by use of another *hinnēh* (here), which would introduce the victim to be sacrificed. Moreover, to all the questions which are directed to Abraham, whether they come from God (vv. 1, 11) or from Isaac (v. 7), Abraham always answers *hinnēh*, except in this instance. Here, instead of *hinnēh*, Abraham puts *ʾElōhîm* (v. 8).

The syntactical construction of this phrase further substantiates this observation. The subject *ʾElōhîm* comes before the verb *yirʾeh*, contrary to the general tendency which places the subject after the verb, especially if the verb is in the imperfect form.[18] The reason for this irregularity is, of course, the intention to emphasize *ʾElōhîm*, but it evidences also a stylistic concern to relate Abraham's response in a_1 to Isaac's question in b_1:

—"He said" of Isaac (b_1) corresponds to "Abraham said" (a_1).

[17]Cf. Trible, 6: "To say that God will see to the lamb evades the choice, at least for a time."

[18]See Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 129.

—"Here the fire and the wood" (b_1) corresponds to "*ʾElōhîm*" (a_1)
—"Where is the lamb for offering" (b_1) corresponds to "He will see to himself the lamb for offering" (a_1).

There is correspondence between b and b_1 in that both are questions asked by Isaac. The question in b is implicit in the word *ʾāḇî* (father). It is not only a call to the father and a reminder of the son-father relationship, it is also essentially a question that is not as yet spelled out nor can be comfortably articulated. The question in b_1, on the other hand, is explicit: "Where is the lamb . . . ?"

Finally, c contains Abraham's only response that is really a response: *hinnennî*.

4. *The Literary Movement in the Chiasm*

Two aspects of literary movement in the chiasm of Gen 22:1-19 deserve mention here. These relate to the dialogue in the story and to a thrice-repeated refrain.

Literary Movement of the Dialogue

It is in the center section of this chiasm (section C, vv. 7-8) that the dialogue reaches its highest intensity. Out of the seventeen occurrences of the verb *ʾmr* which articulate the dialogues, five are found here. The rest are equally distributed, six times before vv. 7-8, and six times after vv. 7-8. This distribution of *ʾmr* is significant in that it reinforces the conclusion we have already drawn, on the other grounds, to the effect that the dialogues in section C do indeed represent the apex of the narrative. As such, these dialogues take on added significance as pinpointing the paramount emphasis and message of the Aqedah.

Literary Movement of the Refrain

It is significant, as well, that the boundaries of this central section are clearly defined through use of the specific stylistic expression *wayyēlᵉḵû šᵉnêhem yaḥdāw* in Gen 22:6 and 22:8. The first of these occurrences forms the conclusion to section **B**, and the second is the introductory statement for section $\mathbf{B}_1$. Thus the expression encloses section C in an envelope or *inclusio* structure.

The essential portion of the expression also occurs in v. 19, so that the three occurrences constitute a refrain exhibiting a well-marked rhythm. In v. 19 the expression *šᵉnêhem* (the two of them) is no longer used, but this omission is not, as has sometimes been suggested, an indication of Isaac's absence.[19] Rather, it serves to indicate that Abraham had now joined the servants (there were more than two). This third departure of Abraham is the last one in the narrative and implies the presence of the servants once again.

This returning movement is also suggested through some further echoes. One set of these is *wayyāšoḇ ʾel-nᵉʿārāyw* of v. 19, echoing *wᵉnāšûḇāh ʾalêḵem* of v. 5 (the verb *šûḇ* is nowhere else mentioned in the text). Likewise the *wayyāqumû* of v. 19, which describes the servants' movements to rise in order to join Abraham (or Abraham and Isaac), is related to Abraham's order of v. 5 to remain *šᵉḇû-lāḵem pōh* (as he and Isaac were going to go on a bit further).

The expression in v. 19 *wayyelᵉḵû yaḥdāw* is, then, a replica of the two other comparable expressions in vv. 6c and 8. But while in v. 19 this refrain marks only the end of the section, in vv. 6c and 8 the expression marks the end of one section and the beginning of another, suggesting a progression in three steps.

There is another difference in the way this phrase is situated in the verse. While these first two occurrences of *wayyēlᵉḵû šᵉnêhem yaḥdāw* are still contained in the verses which they conclude and are separated from what precedes by the *Atnakh*, the third *wayyēlᵉḵû yaḥdāw*, in v. 19, is perceived in the MT cantilation right after the fall of the *Tebir* as a resumption of the beginning of v. 19, *wayyāšoḇ ʾaḇrāhām*, that is, as the introduction of the last verse. In other words, the first two refrains mark the conclusion of the respective last verses while the third one marks the introduction of the final verse of the Aqedah. These differences of function and position can be explained by the fact that the last refrain marks not only the end of a section as do the other two, but also concludes the whole text. Abraham's walk next leads to Beersheba, the very

[19]See, e.g., Norman J. Cohen, "Heeding the Angel's Cry: A Modern Midrashic Reading of Abraham's Life," *Journal of Reform Judaism* 30 (Summer 1983): 1-15; James Crenshaw, "Journey into Oblivion: A Structural Analysis of Gen 22:1-19," *Soundings* 58 (Summer 1975): 243-256.

Synthetic Table of the Literary Structure

Gen 21:31 - 22:1, Prelude: Beersheba, theme of return (*šûḇ*),

"Now it came after these things" (*wayᵉhî ʾaḥar haddᵉḇārîm hāʾēlleh*)

A, vv. 1-2. Dialogue: God (*Elōhîm*) and Abraham
- a. God's call
- b. Abraham's response, *hinnēnî*
- c. Order/Abraham
- d. Order/the son, mountain to be designated

6 *ʾmr*

B, vv. 3-6. Abraham's walk
- a. Departure
- b. Wood on Isaac
- c. Takes fire in his hand, and knife
- d. "The two of them went together"

wayyēlᵉḵû šᵉnêhem yaḥdāw

C, vv. 7-8. Dialogue: Abraham and Isaac
- a. Silence
- b. Question
- c. Response, *hinnennî*
- b¹. Question
- a¹. Silence

5 *ʾmr*

wayyēlᵉḵû šᵉnêhem yaḥdāw

B$_1$, vv. 9-10. Abraham's walk
- d. "The two of them went together"
- a. Arrival
- b. Isaac on wood
- c. Takes knife in his hand

A$_1$, vv. 11-19. Dialogue: God (Angel of *YHWH*) and Abraham
- a. God's call
- b. Abraham's response, *hinnēnî*
- d. Order/the son, mountain designated
- c. Blessing

6 *ʾmr*

wayyēlᵉḵû (šᵉnêhem) yaḥdāw

Gen 22:19-20, Postlude: Beersheba, theme of return (*šûḇ*),

"Now it came after these things" (*wayᵉhî ʾaḥār haddᵉḇārîm hāʾēlleh*)

place from which he had commenced his trip to Moriah (see Gen 21:32-34, the verses just before our text begins).[20]

We should also note again that this expression literally frames, in an *inclusio* manner, the dialogue of vv. 7-8.[21] Thus it confirms once more that this passage is indeed the heart of our text.

5. *Conclusion and Implications*

The foregoing literary analysis of the text of the Aqedah leads to the conclusion that the apex of the text, section C, is located in vv. 7-8. That this is so is demonstrated by (1) the chiastic structure **A B C B_1 A_1** in which vv. 7-8 serves as the center of the narrative; (2) the concentration of *ʾmr* in these verses; and (3) the framing of vv. 7-8 by the stylistic phrase *wayyēlᵉḵû šᵉnêhem yaḥdāw* in the form of an "envelope structure" or *inclusio*.

This structural analysis of the text of Gen 22:1-19 indicates indeed that the central idea of the story concerns the tragic dialogue between Abraham and Isaac. Now, if "the apogée of the chiasmus" is the major message, and contains, as Robert Alden puts it, a "capsule synopsis," it is possible that it has been composed from the center outward according to a concentric process.[22] This motif would then be "the primary one" for which Roland de Vaux was looking—the one from which other motifs are derived.[23] The diachronic mechanism hereby suggested, as far as there may have been such a process here, indicates that the meaning is to be inferred *a posteriori*, from the raw event[24] (which has no meaning yet), and not the reverse, as it is taught in the traditional religious, philosophical, and critical interpretations.[25] Contrary to these

[20]See Westermann, 364.

[21]See ibid., 359; also Trible, 5.

[22]R. L. Alden, "Is the High Point of a Psalm's Chiasmus the Point of the Psalm?" A paper read at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, November 1988.

[23]Roland de Vaux, *Histoire ancienne d'Israël* (Paris: Gabalda, 1971), 270.

[24]Concerning this emphasis on raw event and the action in Gen 22:1-19, see Auerbach, 19.

[25]Another implication of this literary structure is that it shows striking parallels between the respective sections A B and A_1 B_1, thereby suggesting a strong literary unity of the text. Cf. Westermann, 355: "This is the reason why I do not think that it is possible to separate the text into two layers. . . ." Cf. also John Van

interpretations, which tend to put the accent on the level of the final answer, the structure of the text suggests that the accent here is primarily on the human questions and silences at the center.[26] More important than the response or solution would in this case be the question without response and the open silence of the human being experiencing the event.

Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975).

[26]On the importance of silence in the Aqedah, see O. Rodenberg, "Der Opfergang. Gen.22,1-14," *Theologische Beitrage* 9 (1978): 138-143; cf. Trible, 22, "Silence Speaks . . . Silence Shouts," 5-6; and Bovon, 423, "The evocation of Abraham and his son is realized on the foundations of barrenness, of solitude, and of silence." Cf. E. A. Speiser, who calls this passage in the center of the text "the most poignant and eloquent silence of all literature" (*Genesis*, AB [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978], 165).

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Spring 1993, Vol. 31, No. 1, 29-51.

JOSEPHUS' PORTRAIT OF JEROBOAM

LOUIS H. FELDMAN
Yeshiva University
New York City, NY 11375

A number of studies have been published of Josephus' portraits of biblical heroes, wherein we see that Josephus systematically aggrandizes their qualities of good birth, handsomeness, and the cardinal virtues of wisdom, courage, temperance, justice, and piety.[1] But how does he depict biblical rogues?

Three Israelite kings whose wickedness is emphasized in the biblical record—namely, Jeroboam I, Ahab, and Manasseh—illustrate well the kind of treatment given by Josephus to such rogues. Our main attention in this essay is directed toward Josephus' depiction and characterization of Jeroboam, but first a survey of rabbinic thought concerning the above-mentioned three monarchs, plus an overview of Josephus' portrayal of them, will be *apropos*. Such an introduction will establish a frame of reference that is useful in describing and assessing the further details of Josephus' treatment of Jeroboam.

[1]"Abraham the Greek Philosopher in Josephus," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 99 (1968): 143-156; "Abraham the General in Josephus," *Nourished with Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel*, ed. Frederick E. Greenspahn et al. (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984), 43-49; "Josephus as a Biblical Interpreter: the 'Aqedah," *JQR* 75 (1984-85): 212-252; "Josephus' Portrait of Jacob," *JQR* 79 (1988-89): 101-151; "Josephus' Portrait of Joseph," *RB* 99 (1992): 379-417, 504-528; "Josephus' Portrait of Moses," *JQR* 82 (1991-92): 285-328; "Josephus' Portrait of Joshua," *HTR* 82 (1989): 351-376; "Josephus' Version of Samson," *JSJ* 19 (1988): 171-214; "Josephus' Portrait of Saul," *HUCA* 53 (1982): 45-99; "Josephus' Portrait of David," *HUCA* 60 (1989): 129-174; "Josephus as an Apologist to the Greco-Roman World: His Portrait of Solomon," in *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Elisabeth S. Fiorenza (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1976), 69-98; "Hellenizations in Josephus' Version of Esther," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 101 (1970): 143-170; and, for an overall survey, "Use, Authority, and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, eds. Martin J. Mulder and Harry Sysling, Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, Sect. 2, vol. 1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 455-518.

1. *Introduction: Characterization of Jeroboam, Ahab and Manasseh in Rabbinic Thought and in Josephus*

The Rabbinic Evaluation

In the Mishnah, a codification of oral rabbinic tradition that was brought together about a century after Josephus' death, Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh are depicted as apparently so wicked that even though all Israelites are to have a share in the world to come, these kings have forfeited their share (*m. Sanh.* 10:1, 2). It is fair to assume that the reader of the Bible would conclude that of these three kings, the most reprehensible by far were Ahab and Manasseh. One thinks, for example, of the declaration in 1 Kgs 16:33 that Ahab did more to provoke the Lord to anger than had all the kings of Israel that were before him, as well as the statement that Manasseh "shed very much innocent blood, till he had filled Jerusalem [with it] from one end to another" (2 Kgs 21:16).

The rabbis also have vivid traditions illustrating the wickedness of Ahab and Manasseh, as well as Jeroboam. Thus, for instance, according to Rabbi Johanan, there was no furrow where Ahab did not plant an idol and worship it. Rabbi Johanan goes on to remark that the minor transgressions committed by Ahab were equal to the gravest ones committed by Jeroboam (*b. Sanh.* 102b). As for Manasseh, this king eliminated the name of the Lord from the Torah (*b. Sanh.* 103b) and delivered public lectures whose sole purpose was to ridicule the Torah; moreover, he violated his own sister (*b. Sanh.* 103b) and condemned his own grandfather, Isaiah, to death (*b. Yebam.* 49b).

And yet, the rabbis had ambivalent feelings about both Ahab and Manasseh. Thus, the same Rabbi Johanan who condemned Ahab so sharply asserts that this Israelite monarch merited a reign of twenty-two years because he honored the Torah, which was given in the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet (*b. Sanh.* 102b). Moreover, in a society in which exegetical scholarship was highly valued, he is said to have had the acumen to expound the difficult and technical book of Leviticus in eighty-five different ways (*b. Sanh.* 103b). There is, as well, a tradition to the effect that because Ahab used his great wealth to benefit scholars, half of his sins were forgiven.

As to Manasseh, he is depicted as a great scholar who could interpret Leviticus in fifty-five different ways, corresponding to the years of his reign (*b. Sanh.* 103b). He is also said to have appeared

to Rabbi Ashi, to whom he justified his behavior as being due to the corrupt atmosphere of his times. Indeed, the second-century Rabbi Judah bar Ilai argues that Manasseh did have a share in the world to come because he repented (*m. Sanh.* 10:2).

The rabbis likewise were ambivalent concerning Jeroboam. An anonymous statement credits him with having interpreted Leviticus in no fewer than 103 ways, thus surpassing even Ahab and Manasseh (*b. Sanh.* 103b). He is depicted as a true disciple of the prophet Ahijah, with whom he was in the habit of discussing secret lore of the Torah—lore whose existence was wholly unknown to others (*b. Sanh.* 102a). On an occasion when the angels objected that it was unconscionable to reveal the secrets of the Torah to a man who was going to set up two calves to be worshiped, the Lord asked them whether Jeroboam was at that moment righteous or wicked. When they answered that he was righteous, the Lord's retort was that he deals with persons as they are, not as they will be.

Moreover, we are told in a midrash (*Midr. Ps* 5:55) that Jeroboam's doctrine was as pure as the new garment which Ahijah wore when he met the king (1 Kgs 11:29). Inasmuch as modesty was a preeminent virtue of Moses (Num 12:3), whom the Bible calls the greatest prophet who ever lived (Deut 34:10), there is a distinct compliment of Jeroboam in the rabbinic view that at first, because of his poverty, Jeroboam refused the crown offered him, accepting it only when the people (or, according to some, the prophet Ahijah) bestowed great wealth upon him (*Aggadat Shir Ha-Shirim 95*).[2]

Jeroboam is compared most favorably with King Solomon in that he rebuked Solomon, who, in order to exact tolls for the benefit of Pharaoh's daughter whom he had married, closed the breaches which David had made in the walls of Jerusalem to allow pilgrims ready access to the city on festival days; consequently Jeroboam is said to have been rewarded with kingship (*b. Sanh.* 101b). That Jeroboam had a reputation for piety may also be inferred from a scenario recorded in the name of the second-century Rabbi Judah bar Ilai, wherein Jeroboam asked his righteous counselors whether they would approve of all that he commanded; when they replied in the affirmative, he asked them whether they would execute his commands even to worship idols, whereupon

[2]Cited by Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. 6 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1928), 307, note 9.

they countered that a man like Jeroboam would certainly not serve idols and that he was merely testing them (*b. Sanh.* 101b). Another scenario shifts the blame for the sin of idolatry from Jeroboam to the people.[3] Indeed, it was they who, intoxicated at the coronation of Jeroboam, urged him to erect idols, whereas he, unsure that they would not change their minds upon becoming sober, delayed his decision until the following day.

And yet, rabbinic tradition, citing as its source the biblical passage in 1 Kgs 13:34 that the house of Jeroboam would be destroyed from off the face of the earth, also condemned Jeroboam as having lost his portion in the world to come (*m. Sanh.* 10:2), a point already noted. Indeed, he is presented as the prototype of the leader who not only sinned himself but, more importantly, caused the community to sin, so that the sin of the community was assigned to him. Thus he is the very antithesis of the true leader, Moses, who attained merit and who bestowed merit upon the community so that the merit of the community was assigned to his credit (*m.* *'Abot* 5:18).

In still another respect Jeroboam was depicted by the rabbis as an anti-Moses, so to speak, because of his conceit (*b. Sanh.* 101b). This is the very opposite of the quality of modesty that one rabbinic view (already noted above) assigned to him. In 1 Kgs 12:26-27 Jeroboam expresses fear that the people of his kingdom, if permitted to go to Jerusalem to sacrifice, may turn to his rival, Rehoboam, the king of Judah, who was ruling there. Thus we have the irony, which the rabbis are quick to point out, that Jeroboam, who had once even courageously opposed King Solomon in order to encourage pilgrimages to Jerusalem, now created barriers between the people and the Temple (*y.* *'Abod. Zar.* 1.1.39b; *b. Sanh.* 101b).

Again, the scenario depicting Jeroboam as trying to delay the construction of the idols demanded by the people declares as well that when he submitted to their demands he did so on condition that the members of the Sanhedrin be killed[4] (or, according to others, removed from office) so that worship of the idols could be accomplished without fear. He then sent emissaries throughout the land, presenting the argument that inasmuch as the Hebrew generation of the wilderness, which was the most illustrious of all,

[3]See Ginzberg, 6:306, note 9.

[4]Ibid.

had worshiped the golden calf without being punished severely, there should be no fear to implement a similar practice now. When these decrees were ignored by the people, Jeroboam is said to have posted guards at the borders with Judah, and these guards had orders to put to death any persons attempting to go to Jerusalem (*t. Ta'anit* 4.7); however, the king's own son disobeyed the order (*m. Mo'ed Qatan* 28b). Moreover, the priests whom Jeroboam appointed for his shrines were from the dregs of his people, inasmuch as others declined the appointment. Indeed, not only did Jeroboam abolish the three pilgrimage festivals but he also went so far as to make an end to the observance of the Sabbath (*y. 'Abod. Zar.* 1.39b; cf. Jerome on Hosea 7.4-7).

The third-century Rabbi Johanan, to be sure, asks why, if the minor transgressions committed by Ahab were equal to the gravest ones committed by Jeroboam, Scripture makes Jeroboam rather than Ahab the exemplar of sin (*b. Sanh.* 102b). Rabbi Johanan's answer is that Jeroboam was the first to corrupt his people.

Josephus' Evaluation

In view of such ambivalence on the part of the rabbis with regard to Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh, what stance did Josephus adopt concerning these paragons of wickedness?[5] In his

[5]That Josephus was acquainted with traditions recorded in later rabbinic tradition is evident from his remarks on his excellent education, presumably in the legal and aggadic traditions of Judaism, which he received in his native city of Jerusalem, which was then the center of Jewish learning (*Life* 8-9). Josephus says that he received a reputation for his excellent memory and understanding (μνήμη τε καὶ σύνεσις) and that when he was only fourteen years of age he already had won universal applause for his love of learning (φιλογράμματον). While it is probably true that Josephus is not averse to boasting, he had so many enemies that it seems unlikely that he would have made such broad claims unless there were some basis to them. See Bernard J. Bamberger, "The Dating of Aggadic Materials," *JBL* 68 (1949): 115-123, who has argued convincingly that the Talmud and Midrashim are compilations of traditional material which had existed orally for a considerable time before they were written down. He notes that extrarabbinic sources, notably the LXX, the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, Hellenistic Jewish writings, and the New Testament—all apparently older than rabbinic writings in their present form—contain innumerable parallels to the rabbinic aggadah. For example, inasmuch as the second-century Rabbi Meir (*Megillah* 13a) states, as does the LXX (Est 2:7), that Mordecai had married Esther, it is more likely that the translators of the LXX were acquainted with this ancient tradition than that Rabbi Meir consulted the LXX (if he consulted a Greek translation, it would surely have been Aquila's, which does not

portrait of Ahab, Josephus treads a tightrope. On the one hand, he could not deny the negative traits that were assigned to this king in the Bible and expanded upon in the rabbinic tradition. On the other hand, like the rabbis, he saw positive virtues in Ahab. In particular, Josephus shifted the blame to Ahab's role-model, Jeroboam (*Ant.* 8.317) and to his wife Jezebel (*Ant.* 8.318). Even in the incident with Naboth, Ahab is at least partly exculpated because he had used mild words with Naboth and yet had been insulted (*Ant.* 8.356). Moreover, as with his portraits of Saul and of David, Josephus' stress is on Ahab's remorse (*Ant.* 8.361).

The fact that the Jews, and Josephus in particular, had been accused of being cowards makes all the more meaningful the presentation of Ahab as a great tactician and a brave leader who was, above all, concerned for his people (*Ant.* 8.370). This we see especially in his eagerness to keep up the morale of his soldiers even after he has been gravely wounded (*Ant.* 8.415). Likewise, in his diplomatic activities Ahab is depicted more honorably by Josephus than he is portrayed in the Bible (*Ant.* 8.398). Finally, in a rare editorial comment, Josephus goes out of his way to absolve Ahab of blame for listening to a false prophet; rather it is inexorable and inevitable Fate that is blamed (*Ant.* 8.409), even as it is the culprit in determining the end of the good king Josiah (*Ant.* 10.76).

Likewise in his portrait of Manasseh, Josephus seems to go out of his way to rehabilitate this monarch. In order not to offend his idol-worshiping, non-Jewish readers, Josephus omits the specifics of Manasseh's introduction of the worship of pagan gods (*Ant.* 10.37, 42); rather, he magnifies the king's sins in killing the righteous men among the Jews and the prophets (*Ant.* 10.38). In details that go beyond the Bible account, we are told of Manasseh's major achievements in improving the city of Jerusalem (*Ant.* 10.44).

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have this tradition). Similarly, the plague of *'arob* is understood by the second-century Rabbi Nehemiah to consist of stinging insects (*Exodus Rabbah* 11:3), whereas the Hebrew is generally understood to refer to varied wild beasts; again, this is the explanation of the LXX (Exod 8:17). Moreover, one of the paintings of the third-century C.E. Dura Europos synagogue depicts Hiel (1 Kgs 16:34), a confederate of the priests of Baal, crouching beneath the altar while a snake approaches to bite him; but such a story is not mentioned in a Hebrew source until much later midrashim (*Exodus Rabbah* 15:15, *Pesiqta Rabbati* 4:13a) and not fully until the thirteenth-century *Yalqut* (on 1 Kgs 18:26). Hence that tradition must have been more ancient. For further examples see Salomo Rappaport, *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus* (Vienna: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1930).

Again, in an extrabiblical addition, we hear that the degree of Manasseh's repentance was such that he was accounted a blessed and enviable man (*Ant.* 10.45).

When it comes to Jeroboam, however, Josephus finds no redeeming features. Indeed, Josephus seems to go out of his way to stress this king's sinfulness. As is well known, despite Josephus' disavowal of adding to or subtracting from the Scripture (*Ant.* 1.17), he does so frequently.[6]

One indication of the amount of interest that a given personality has for Josephus may be seen in the sheer amount of space that he devotes to that personality. Thus Josephus has a ratio of 2.70 in his account of Saul as compared with the Hebrew text,[7] 2.00 for Joseph, 1.95 for David, 1.54 for Samson, 1.52 for Elijah, 1.32 for Daniel, 1.20 for Ezra (.72 as compared with the Greek text of 1 Esdras, which was, apparently, Josephus' source), .97 for Hezekiah, and .24 for Nehemiah. For Manasseh the ratio is only .91 (or, discounting the duplicate material in 2 Chronicles, 1.26), for Ahab the ratio is 1.98, and for Jeroboam (*Ant.* 8.205-245, 265-287 [463 lines] vs. 1 Kgs 11:26-40, 12:1-14:20, 2 Chron 13:1-20 [214 lines]) it is even greater—2.16 (1.29 as compared with the LXX text [360 lines]).[8] How can we explain this great attention and the severe, unmitigated, criticism of Jeroboam by Josephus?

2. *The Negative Qualities of Jeroboam*

Jeroboam's Lack of Wisdom

Of the cardinal virtues, wisdom is set forth both in Plato's *Republic* and in Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War* as the preeminent quality of a leader. Connected with this, as we perceive in Thucydides' portrait of the ideal statesman, Pericles, is the ability to persuade the masses (2.60). Even in the case of Moses, who, according to the Bible (Exod 4:10 and 6:12), had a speech impediment, Josephus is careful to omit such references and, in his

[6]See my "Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," 466-470.

[7]For Josephus I have used the Loeb Classical Library text. For the Hebrew text I have used the standard edition with the commentary of Meir Loeb Malbim (New York: Friedman, n.d.).

[8]That Josephus used the LXX text may be seen in *Ant.* 8.236, where he follows the LXX in reading "his sons" rather than the Hebrew (1 Kgs 13:11), which reads "his son."

final encomium (*Ant.* 4.328), goes out of his way to declare that Moses found favor in every way in speaking to (εἰπεῖν) and in addressing (ὁμιλῆσαι) a crowd.[9]

The perversion of speech is demagoguery, as we see particularly in Plato's vivid portraits of sophists and demagogues in his allegories of the ship (*Rep.* 6.488) and of the beast (*Rep.* 6.492) and in Thucydides' portraits of Cleon (3.36-40) and of Alcibiades (6.15-18). In Josephus, the antithesis to the proper use of speech is witnessed in Korah (*Ant.* 4.14), who is singled out as a capable speaker (ἱκανός . . . εἰπεν), a person very convincing, in a perverse way, in addressing a crowd (δήμοις ὁμιλεῖν πιθανώτατος). Likewise, whereas in 1 Kgs 12:30 there is mention of Jeroboam's action in setting up calves at Bethel and Dan, in Josephus it is by spoken words that Jeroboam misleads the people and causes them to transgress the laws (*Ant.* 8.229). Such demagoguery, according to Josephus in an editorial remark, was the beginning of the Jews' misfortunes and led to their defeat in war and their being taken captive by other peoples.

Again, like the beast in Plato's parable (*Rep.* 6.492), Jeroboam was deceived by flattery, since the false prophet's goal was merely to please the king (πρὸς ἡδονήν).

Jeroboam's Intemperate Nature

Another of the cardinal virtues, temperance, is a recurring motif in Josephus.[10] He states, for example, that shortly before Moses' death the Israelites had to be exhorted by Moses to learn moderation (σωφρονέω), and that Moses himself made mention of his own constraint in refraining from wrath at the time when he felt most aggrieved by the Israelites (*Ant.* 4.189). E. R. Goodenough has noted that Hellenistic theorists, such as Ecphantus, insisted that for a ruler to be truly so, he must begin with self-discipline, inasmuch as otherwise he would be unable to teach self-control to his subjects.[11] Indeed, in his final eulogy of Moses, Josephus

[9]On the importance of the ability to persuade, see my "Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," 490.

[10]See my "Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," 491-492; "Josephus' Portrait of Joshua," 361-362, "Josephus' Version of Samson," 190, "Josephus' Portrait of Saul," 79-82, and "Josephus' Portrait of David," 147-149.

[11]Erwin R. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," *Yale Classical Studies* 1 (1928): 95.

remarks on his thorough control or command of his passions, using here a military term (αὐτοκράτωρ) which indicates that Moses was commander-in-chief of his emotions, was able to act according to his own choice, was completely independent, and exercised absolute control (*Ant.* 4.328). The opposite of temperance is lack of control, which is akin to lack of reflection (λογισμός), as illustrated, for example, by Jephthah in failing to consider what might result from his rash vow (*Ant.* 5.266).

In Josephus' view, hot-headedness was the defining characteristic of the revolutionaries against Rome. This we can see, for instance, in his remark that one of the elements provoking the revolution was the action by some of the more hot-headed (οἱ θερμότεροι) of the Jewish youths in attacking the builders of workshops and trying to disrupt operators on a site next to the synagogue in Caesarea, where there was a large non-Jewish population living side by side with the Jews (*War* 2.286). A similar characterization of hot-bloodedness (θερμοτέρους) is made of the Zealots, who plunged boldly into the heart of the city of Jerusalem and opened the gates to their allies, the Idumaeans (*War* 4.292). The terminology is used again as Josephus, in connection with his expression of abhorrence of civil war, mentions revolutionaries who thoughtlessly rushed into arms, their hands yet hot (θερμάς) with the blood of their countrymen (*War* 6.122). The same characteristic of hot-bloodedness is also seen in the advice given by those in Titus' council of war who were more hot-headed (θερμοτέροις) and who advocated bringing up Titus' entire force to attempt to carry the wall of Jerusalem by storm (*War* 5.491)—a suggestion with which both Titus and Josephus were clearly in disagreement.

Turning to earlier occasions, we may note that Josephus attributed hot-headedness (θερμότερον) to the Egyptians who, after being saved by Moses, conceived a hatred for him and pursued with greater ardor their plots upon his life (*Ant.* 2.254). In Greek literature too one finds disparagement of rashness, such as Ismene's bitter comment to her sister Antigone in the *Antigone* (88) of Sophocles, one of Josephus' favorite authors:[12] "You have a hot heart (θερμὴν . . . καρδίαν) over chilly things."

Hence, returning to Josephus' treatment of Jeroboam, we can see that he gives clear and forceful condemnation of that monarch

[12]See Henry St. John Thackeray, *Josephus the Man and the Historian* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion, 1929), 115-117.

when he depicts him, in an extrabiblical comment, as the very opposite of temperate—a person who is "hot-headed" (θερμός, "hot-blooded," "passionate," "violent," "inconsiderate," "hasty") by nature (*Ant.* 8.209). Indeed, Jeroboam clearly lacks self-control, but he can and does nevertheless admire the self-control (ἐγκρατείας) of the prophet Iddo (*Ant.* 8.235).

Jeroboam's Impiety

Piety is another of the cardinal virtues, esteemed as such by both Greeks and Jews. One may take note of Socrates' question in Plato's *Protagoras* (349B): "Are wisdom and self-control and courage and justice and piety five names which denote the same thing?" Here, piety is listed as the fifth of the cardinal virtues. For Josephus, who was very proud of his priestly ancestry,[13] piety was connected particularly with the Temple in Jerusalem.

It is significant that when Josephus paraphrases the biblical statement in 1 Kgs 12:26-27 concerning Jeroboam's prohibition of his people to go up to offer sacrifices in Jerusalem, he makes a point of mentioning Jeroboam's fear that the people might be captivated (δελεασθέν, "ensnared," "seduced") by the Temple ceremonies, adding that Jeroboam issued this prohibition at the time when the festival of Tabernacles was to take place—that is, at the approach of the great pilgrimage festival, the most joyous in the Jewish calendar (*Ant.* 8.225). Moreover, whereas 1 Kgs 12:32 states that Jeroboam appointed a feast on the fifteenth day of the eighth month like that which was celebrated in Judah, Josephus, fully aware that the holiday of Tabernacles was on the fifteenth day of the seventh month and that there was no biblical holiday in the eighth month, indicates that Jeroboam appointed a feast in the seventh month so as to coincide with, and clearly to rival, the festival of Tabernacles (*Ant.* 8.230). Moreover, from the point of view of Josephus, the proud priest whose ancestors were high priests (*Life* 2), a major sin on the part of Jeroboam, as we can see from an extrabiblical remark, was that he named his own priests and even made himself high priest (*Ant.* 8.230 vs. 1 Kgs 12:32). This aspect of Jeroboam as false priest is especially emphasized by Josephus, for whereas the biblical text in 1 Kgs 13:1 states that Jeroboam was standing by the altar ready to burn incense,

[13]This is seen, e.g., from the very introductory paragraphs of his autobiography: *Life* 1-6.

Josephus calls greater attention to Jeroboam's impiety by describing him as ready to offer the sacrifices and the whole burnt-offerings in the sight of all the people (*Ant.* 8.231). Indeed, the greatest sin of Jeroboam is, as Josephus puts it, that he did not cease (διέλιπεν, "interrupt") nor desist (ἠρέμησεν, "keep quiet," "be still," "be at rest") from outraging the Lord (*Ant.* 8.265).

Jeroboam's decision to set up his own alternative to the Temple in Jerusalem particularly rankled Josephus. Whereas in 1 Kgs 12:28, Jeroboam's address to his countrymen gives no reasons why he is preventing them from going to the Temple in Jerusalem, in Josephus' version, where this decision is so central, no fewer than five reasons are given: (1) the Lord is everywhere and is not confined to merely one place; (2) Jerusalem is the city of the enemies; (3) a man built the Temple in Jerusalem, and Jeroboam likewise has made two golden heifers bearing the divine name; (4) the two heifers are located more conveniently, so that it will no longer be necessary to make the long trip to Jerusalem; and (5) Jeroboam, in egalitarian fashion, will appoint priests and Levites from among the people themselves (*Ant.* 8.227-228). Moreover, the centrality of Jerusalem for Josephus may be seen in Josephus' further additions to the biblical text by remarking that it was from Jerusalem that the prophet Iddo had come (*Ant.* 8.231 vs. 1 Kgs 13:11) and that it was on Iddo's journey back to Jerusalem that a lion devoured the prophet (*Ant.* 8.241 vs. 1 Kgs 13:24).

In sum, Josephus enlarges considerably upon Jeroboam's impiety (*Ant.* 8.245). Whereas the biblical text in 1 Kgs 13:34 portrays Jeroboam's making priests from among the people as a grave sin that deserved the effacement of the house of Jeroboam from the earth, Josephus amplifies the sin, doing so in terms which his Greek audience would readily understand. Josephus refers to Jeroboam as committing an outrage (ἐξύβρισεν) against the Deity (θεῖον) and transgressing the divine laws, so that daily he sought to commit some new act more heinous (μιαρώτερον, "more unclean," "defiled [with blood]," "horrible," "outrageous," "vile") than the reckless (τετολμημένων, "bold") acts of which he was already guilty.

Josephus' use of the word μιαρώτερον is significant, inasmuch as it frequently has the connotation of fraternal strife and murder, which from Josephus' point of view was also the greatest sin of the

revolutionaries in his own day.[14] In his amplifications of the biblical remark in 1 Kgs 13:33, that Jeroboam did not turn from his evil way, Josephus states that Jeroboam did not "cease (διέλιπεν) nor desist from outraging the Lord." Here again Josephus singles out as Jeroboam's greatest sin his continuing to erect altars and to appoint priests from among the common people. The same sin of ὕβρις is underlined in another statement by Josephus, the biblical counterpart of which is 2 Chron 13:4-12, in which Abijah, the king of Judah, tells Jeroboam's troops that when Jeroboam "has paid the Lord the penalty for what he has done in the past he will end his transgressions (παρανομίας) and the insults (ὕβρεων) which he has never ceased to offer Him" (*Ant.* 8.277) and will persuade his people to do like-wise. This clearly calls to mind the sequence so common in Greek tragedy of ὕβρις leading to νέμεσις. Indeed, the end result of this insolence is the total defeat of Jeroboam's army and the slaughter of 500,000 of his men (2 Chron 13:17), a massacre which, according to Josephus' addition (*Ant.* 8.284), surpasses any that occurred in any war, whether of Greeks or barbarians.[15]

It is significant that Josephus specifically ascribes this debacle to the Lord's decision to permit Abijah to win so wonderful a victory. Indeed, in summarizing the downfall of Jeroboam and of his descendants, Josephus (*Ant.* 8.289), in an extrabiblical remark, not to be found in 1 Kgs 15:29, says that they suffered fitting punish-

[14]This connection of fratricide with pollution appears in Reuben's speech to his brothers declaring that slaughtering their brother Joseph would be far fouler (μιαρώτερον) than murdering someone who was not their kin (*Ant.* 2.22). Likewise, when Amnon approaches his sister Tamar to violate her, she urges him to give up this unrighteous (ἀδίκου) and unclean (μιαρᾶς) desire (*Ant.* 7.168). Similarly, Aristobulus I confesses to committing impious (ἀσεβέσιν) and polluted (μιαροῖς) crimes and quickly adds, defining those crimes, that "swift punishment has overtaken me for the murder of my kin," alluding to his murder of his mother and his brother Antigonus (*Ant.* 13.316). Moreover, Herod accuses his sons of savage and unholy (μιαρόν) hatred, asserting that they had sought to kill him (*Ant.* 16.93). That the revolutionaries of Josephus' day were polluted by the murder of their own kinsmen is seen in several allusions. We may note Titus' addresses to the revolutionaries as most abominable (μιαρώτατοι, *War* 6.124, 347). In particular, we may cite Josephus' own editorial summary of the revolutionary groups, in which he refers to the Idumaeans as "those most abominable (μιαρώτατοι) wretches" (*War* 7.267).

[15]The phrase is reminiscent of Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War* 2.47 (Ralph Marcus, trans. and ed., *Josephus*, vol. 5, Loeb Classical Library [London: Heinemann, 1934], 724).

ment for his impiety (ἀσεβείας) and lawlessness (ἀνομημάτων). Likewise, in paraphrasing the biblical statement about the evil which King Baasha of Israel did (1 Kgs 15:34), Josephus adds that he was more wicked and impious (ἀσεβής) than Jeroboam and notes specifically that he greatly outraged (ἐξύβρισεν) the Lord (*Ant.* 8.299). Commenting further on the wickedness of Baasha, Josephus remarks in an editorial comment that he imitated Jeroboam, to whom he refers as the vilest (κάκιστον) of men (*Ant.* 8.300). Josephus clearly looked upon Jeroboam as the paradigm of wicked impiety, inasmuch as he added that although Jeroboam himself was dead, Baasha had revealed his wickedness as still living.

3. *Jeroboam and Democracy*

Like Plato, with whom he was clearly acquainted,[16] Josephus was filled with contempt for the masses. Thus, he adds a snide remark directed against the rabble (ὄχλος) of women and children, who, he says, were responsible for vitiating the nobler instincts of the Israelites in the desert (*Ant.* 3.5). Josephus has a low opinion of human beings, declaring that the race of men is by nature morose and censorious (*Ant.* 3.23). He describes the rebellious Israelite assembly, in terms familiar from Plato (*Laws* 2.671A), as a tumultuous mass with its innate delight in decrying those in authority and ready to be swayed by what anyone said (*Ant.* 4:36-37). He returns to the theme of the fickleness of the mob when he speaks sneeringly of "all that a crowd, elated by success, is wont to utter against those who were of late disparaging the authors of it" (*Ant.* 6.81). Similarly, Josephus' other idol, Thucydides, points out the truism that the way of the multitude is fickle, as seen by the fact that the Athenians, angered at the terrible losses that had befallen them during the great plague, fined their leader Pericles, only to reverse themselves shortly thereafter and to choose him again as general (*Pelop. War* 2.65.4). The ideal government, as Thucydides stresses, is a government ruled by its foremost citizen rather than a true democracy which surrenders to the majority whim (*Pelop. War* 2.65.9).

That Josephus looked upon the common people with contempt may be seen from a pejorative reference to them by Titus, who

[16]See my "Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," 483, note 113.

describes those at Tarichaeae as undisciplined, a mere rabble (ὄχλος . . . ἄλλως), rather than an army (*War* 3.475). Likewise, we hear of the mere rabble (ὄχλον ἄλλως) of Jews at Machaerus (*War* 7.191). This same negative attitude may be seen in Josephus' remark that the nobler instincts of the Israelites under Moses were vitiated by a rabble (ὄχλος) of women and children, too feeble to respond to oral premonition (*Ant.* 3.5).

In particular, Josephus connects the act of a demagogue currying favor of the crowd with rebellion, as seen, for example, in his comment that Absalom, when rebelling against his father David, curried favor (δημαγωγῶν, "acting as a demagogue") with the multitude, and when he thought that the loyalty of the populace (ὄχλων) was secured to him, proceeded to plot against the state, whereupon a great multitude (ὄχλος) streamed to him (*Ant.* 7.196). This aphoristic contempt for the mob may likewise be seen in Josephus' remark that all the people swarmed around the body of Amasa and, "as is the way of crowds (ὄχλος), pressed forward to wonder at it" (*Ant.* 7.287).[17]

Indeed, Josephus betrays his contempt for the ignorant mob in his citation of the comment of Plato, who was probably the most important single intellectual factor in the process of Hellenization in the East during the Hellenistic period, that it is hazardous to divulge the truth about the Lord to the ignorant mob (ὄχλων, Against Apion 2.224). [18] That Josephus is thinking in contemporary terms in his snide remarks about the masses may be seen in his account of King Aristobulus of Judaea disencumbering himself of his rabble (ὄχλων) of inefficient followers (*Ant.* 1.172). Again, the word's use in connection with the mob (ὄχλον) of women and children drafted by that most despised of revolutionaries, John of Gischala (*War* 4.107), is most significant.[19]

[17]Similar negative connotations of the word ὄχλος may be seen in the following statements: "Of the impious people (ὄχλου) Azaelos shall destroy some and Jehu others" (*Ant.* 8.352); "The entire multitude (ὄχλος) [during the reign of Zedekiah] had license to act as outrageously as it pleased" (*Ant.* 10.103).

[18]So Moses Hadas, "Plato in Hellenistic Fusion," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 19 (1958): 3-13; idem, *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 72-82.

[19]Similar disparaging remarks about the mob of revolutionaries are found in *War* 6.283: "the poor women and children of the populace and a mixed multitude (ὄχλος) had taken refuge [in the Temple]"; 6.384: "the rest of the multitude (ὄχλον)

It is indicative, therefore, of Josephus' negative attitude toward Jeroboam that the latter was called to power by the leaders of the rabble (τῶν ὄχλων) immediately after the death of King Solomon (*Ant.* 8.212).[20] Josephus himself shows his contempt for the masses when he remarks that the advisers of King Rehoboam of Judah were acquainted with the nature of crowds (ὄχλων), implying that such mobs were fickle and unreliable, and that they urged the king to speak to them in a friendly spirit and in a more popular style than was usual for royalty (*Ant.* 8.215).

Egalitarianism, which the aristocratically-minded Josephus despised, also comes to the fore in the extrabiblical promise, ascribed to Jeroboam, to appoint priests and Levites from among the general population (*Ant.* 8.228). To be sure, 1 Kgs 12:31 notes that Jeroboam appointed priests from among all the people, but it is much more effective to have this come as a promise from Jeroboam directly to his people. Josephus clearly opposed such egalitarianism, which smacks of the remarks made by Korah, who likewise had attacked Moses (*Ant.* 4.15-19) for bestowing the priesthood upon his brother Aaron instead of making the appointment democratically and on the basis of sheer merit (*Ant.* 4.23).

4. *Jeroboam as Ancestor of the Revolutionaries of Josephus' Day*

The underlying theme of Josephus' *Jewish War* was the emphasis on the civil strife (στάσις οἰκεία) engendered by the Jewish "tyrants" (οἱ Ἰουδαίων τύραννοι) as responsible for the ill-fated revolt (*War* 1.10). He contrasts the brutal treatment these tyrants dispensed to their fellowcountrymen (ὁμοφύλους) with the clemency which the Romans showed toward the Jews, though they were an alien race (ἀλλοφύλους, *War* 1.27).

The same theme of the dreadful consequences of civil strife pervades his paraphrase of the Bible in the *Antiquities*. In his

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[of the Jews in Jerusalem] with the women and children were sold [by the Romans]"; 7.138: "the mob (ὄχλον) of [Jewish] captives [in the triumphal procession in Rome]."

[20]Moshe Weinfeld notes that we find here the concept of the king as the servant of the people; but it is quite clear from the context that the aristocratic Josephus himself views such a relationship disparagingly ("The King as Servant of the People: The Source of the Idea," *JJS* 33 [1982]: 189-194).

prooemium, Josephus sets forth as the goal of his work that it should embrace not only the entire ancient history of the Jews but also evaluate their political constitution (διάταζιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος) (*Ant.* 1.5). He appeals to his politically-minded audience by stressing the theme of civil strife (στάσις) so familiar to readers of Thucydides' description (*Pelop. War* 3.82-84) of revolution at Corcyra. Thus he portrays the punishment inflicted by the Lord upon the builders of the Tower of Babel as discord (στάσις, a word not found in the LXX version, Gen 11:9), created by having them speak various languages (*Ant.* 1.117). Again, according to Josephus' addition, the Lord thwarted Pharaoh's unjust passion toward Sarah by bringing about an outbreak of disease and of political strife (στάσει τῶν πραγμάτων, *Ant.* 1.164). Similarly, in his treatment of the rebellion of Korah, Josephus remarks that it was a sedition (στάσις) "for which we know of no parallel, whether among Greeks or barbarians" (*Ant.* 4.12), clearly implying that information about seditions was familiar to his readers. Likewise, in discussing the consequences of the seduction of the Hebrew youth by the Midianite women, Josephus remarks that the whole army was soon permeated by a sedition far worse than that of Korah (*Ant.* 4.140). Indeed, a good portion of Book 4 (11-66, 141-155) of the *Antiquities* is devoted to accounts that illustrate the degree to which στάσις is the mortal enemy of political states, a subject particularly stressed by Josephus as a comment on the warring factions among his contemporary Jews during the war against the Romans.[21]

The case of Jeroboam becomes, for Josephus, an outstanding example of the disaster brought on by secession and civil strife. Thus, when he first introduces Jeroboam, Josephus remarks that Jeroboam, "one of his own countrymen" (ὁμοφύλων, the same word which Josephus had used with reference to the revolutionaries' treatment of their fellowcountrymen), rose up against the king, thus emphasizing the theme of fraternal strife (*Ant.* 8.205). The Bible states that Jeroboam lifted his hand against King Solomon (1 Kgs 11:26). It is significant that the rabbis, as we have noted, looked with favor upon this confrontation of Jeroboam with Solomon and justified it by stressing that Jeroboam wanted to

[21]This is particularly the case in Josephus' depiction of David and of Solomon; see *Ant.* 7.130, 338, 373-374, and the comments by Seth Schwartz, *Josephus and Judaean Politics* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 180-181.

insure free access of pilgrims to the Temple, whereas in Josephus' version Jeroboam is severely condemned.

That Josephus viewed Jeroboam as the prototype of the revolutionaries of his own day may be seen in Josephus' extra-biblical remark that Jeroboam attempted to persuade the people to turn away (ἀφίστασθαι) and to start a revolt (κινεῖν) (*Ant.* 8.209).[22] The phrase which Josephus uses to describe Jeroboam's sedition, that he was "ambitious of great things" (μεγάλων ἐπιθυμητὴς πραγμάτων, *Ant.* 8.209), is strikingly similar to that which he uses to describe the archrevolutionary, John of Gischala, that he was always ambitious of great things (ἀεὶ . . . ἐπιθυμήσας μεγάλων, *War* 2.587). Those who responded to John's invitation are similarly depicted as always ambitious for newer things (νεωτέρεων ἐπιθυμουντες αἰεὶ πραγμάτων), addicted to change and delighting in sedition (*Life* 87). We find similar language applied to those bold Jews in Jerusalem who were admonished by the procurator Cumanus to put an end to their ambition for newer things, that is revolution (νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντας πραγμάτων, *Ant.* 20.109). Josephus employs similar language in describing his archrival Justus of Tiberias as "ambitious for newer things" (νεωτέρων . . . ἐπεθύμει πραγμάτων, *Life* 36).

It is significant that this aspect of fratricidal strife is stressed when King Abijah of Judah wins a great victory over the forces of Jeroboam and slays no fewer than 500,000 (2 Chron 13:17), a slaughter which surpassed that in any war, "whether of Greeks or barbarians" (*Ant.* 8.284). This latter phrase is found also in Josephus' account of the slaying of Jesus by his brother John, the high priest, when John was carrying out his duties as priest (*Ant.* 11.299).

Indeed, when Josephus seeks to analyze the underlying cause of the demise of the Kingdom of Israel, he insists that the beginning of the nation's troubles was the rebellion which it undertook against the legitimate king, Rehoboam, when it chose Jeroboam as king (*Ant.* 9.282). It is almost as if Josephus were analyzing the demise of the Jewish state of his own day, which he likewise ascribes to the rebellion against the legitimate authority. In a word, Josephus points his finger at Jeroboam's lawlessness (παρανομίαν, *Ant.* 9.282), the very quality which he denounces in

[22]Josephus is here basing his story on the LXX addition (1 Kgs 12:24b).

the revolutionaries,[23] particularly in his bitter attack on the Sicarii (*War* 7.262), as the first to set the example of lawlessness (παρανομίας) and cruelty (ὠμότητος) to their kinsmen. In an editorial comment not found in his biblical source (1 Kgs 15:24), Josephus stresses that this lawlessness (παρανομίαν) and iniquity (ἀδικίας) brought about the destruction of the kings of Israel, one after the other, in a short space of time (*Ant.* 8.314). That Jeroboam is, for Josephus, the model of lawlessness may be discerned by comparing the Bible (1 Kgs 16:30), which speaks of the evil which Ahab did but does not mention Jeroboam, and Josephus' statement that Ahab did not invent anything in his wickedness but merely imitated the misdeeds and outrageous behavior (ὕβριν) which his predecessors showed toward the Lord (*Ant.* 8.316). Of these predecessors and their misdeeds, Josephus here singles out Jeroboam and his lawlessness (παρανομίαν). To the Romans, who had such a deep and long-standing reverence for law and who were so proud of their legal tradition, such an attack on Jeroboam for his lawlessness would be devastating.

5. *Intermarriage and Assimilation*

Just as Livy, in the preface to his history, laments the decline of morals in the Roman Empire, so Josephus, as a responsible historian, cites lessons to be learned from history. One major lesson, perhaps with a view toward what was happening to some of Josephus' contemporaries, is that Jews must avoid assimilation with Gentiles. This may be seen, as Van Unnik[24] has stressed, in Josephus' account of the Israelites' sin with the Midianite women (Num 25:1-9), which he has expanded from nine verses to twenty-five paragraphs (*Ant.* 4.131-155). It may likewise be perceived in Josephus' moral of the Samson story, that one must not debase

[23]See *War* 4.134, 144, 155, 339, 351; 5.343, 393, 442; 6.122. Likewise, in the *Antiquities* Josephus make a number of changes in his paraphrase of the biblical text to emphasize the importance of observance of the laws. See, for example, 5.185 (vs. Judg 3:12); 5.198-200 (vs. Judg 4:1), 5.255 (vs. Judg 10:6); 7.130 (no biblical parallel); 8.245 (vs. 1 Kgs 13:33); 8.251-253 (vs. 1 Kgs 14:22).

[24]Willem C. van Unnik, "Josephus' Account of the Story of Israel's Sin with Alien Women in the Country of Midian (Num. 25:1ff.)," *Travels in the World of the Old Testament: Studies Presented to Professor M. A. Beek*, ed. M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 241-261.

(παρεχάρασσεν—used of coins) one's rule of life (δίαιταν) by imitating foreign ways (*Ant.* 5.306).[25]

The same moralizing about the effects of assimilation may be seen in Josephus' discussion of Anilaeus and Asinaeus, the two Jewish brothers who established an independent state in Mesopotamia in the first century, only to lose it when, at the very peak of their success, Anilaeus had an affair with a Parthian general's wife (*Ant.* 18.340). The closely connected theme, that one must not, as did Samson, submit to one's passionate instincts, is frequent in Josephus.[26]

In connection with the secession of the Kingdom of Israel under Jeroboam, Ahijah, in prophesying the split of the kingdom in two, declares in the Bible (1 Kgs 11:33) that the Lord will do so because Solomon has worshiped foreign gods and has not kept the statutes as had David. Josephus is more explicit in stating that Solomon's sin is intermarriage, in that he has gone over wholly to his wives and to their gods (*Ant.* 8.207). Indeed, in his summary of Solomon's character, Josephus, after praising his good fortune, wealth, and wisdom, cites as the one exception to these positive qualities the fact that as Solomon approached old age he was beguiled by his foreign wives into committing unlawful acts (*Ant.* 8.211).

The very fact that Josephus compares the religious groupings of the Jews to the Greek philosophical schools, asserting that the Pharisees are a sect very similar to the Stoic school (*Life* 12), is an indication of the philosophical interests he expected his audience to have. Since much of Josephus' projected audience was sympathetic to Stoicism, which became the dominant philosophy of intellectuals during the Hellenistic period,[27] it is not surprising that there are a number of Stoic touches in his paraphrase of the Bible in the *Antiquities*. Indeed, at the very beginning of his account, Josephus employs Stoic terminology in his extrabiblical

[25]See my "Josephus' Version of Samson," 210-213.

[26]Ibid., 211-212, note 94.

[27]Cf. William W. Tarn and Guy T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, 3d ed. (London: Arnold, 1952), 325: "The philosophy of the Hellenistic world was the Stoa; all else was secondary." See also F. H. Sandbach, *The Stoics* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1975), 16; A. A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics* (London: Duckworth, 1974), 107; and Luther H. Martin, "Josephus' Use of *Heimarmene* in the *Jewish Antiquities* XIII, 171-3," *Numen* 28 (1981): 127-137.

statement that the Lord had decreed for Adam and Eve a life of happiness unmolested (ἀπαθῆ) by all ill (*Ant.* 1.46). The term ἀπαθής, as well as the corresponding noun ἀπάθεια (freeedom from emotional disturbance), is a common Stoic term referring to freedom from emotion.[28] Moses is presented as, in effect, a Stoic sage, remarkable for his contempt for toils (πόνων καταφρονήσει), a typically Stoic phrase (*Ant.* 2.229). By allegorically imputing cosmic significance to the tabernacle, the twelve loaves, the candelabrum, the tapestries, and the high priest's garments, Josephus was appealing to the Stoic view that law must have a cosmic dimension (*Ant.* 3.181-187). The Stoic term, πρόνοια, appears no fewer than seventy-four times in the first half of the *Antiquities*.[29]

And yet, Josephus seems to have realized the danger inherent in the attraction of Stoicism. Thus, although Josephus uses Stoic terminology in connection with his proof for the existence of the Lord (*Ant.* 1.156), he is actually combatting the Stoics, as we see from the reference in the section immediately after the one containing Abraham's proof (*Ant.* 1.157).[30] Likewise, Josephus

[28]That Stoic influence is at work here is indicated by the fact that Josephus does not in either of these two passages employ the synonymous word ἀβλαβής, which means "unharmed" and which he uses on six occasions in the first half of the *Antiquities*.

[29]See further Bernard Brüne, *Flavius Josephus und seine Schriften in ihrem Verhältnis zum Judentume, zur griechisch-römischen Welt, und zum Christentume* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1913), 199-210; my "Josephus as a Biblical Interpreter: the *'Aqedah*," 222-224, especially 223, note 36; and my "Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," 498-500.

On parallels between Judaism and Stoicism, see Wilhelm Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. 1 (Strassburg: Trübner, 1903); Judah Bergmann, "Die stoische Philosophie und die jüdische Frömmigkeit," *Judaica*, Festschrift Hermann Cohen (Berlin: Cassirer, 1912), 145-166; Armand Kaminka, "Les rapports entre le rabbinisme et la philosophie stoicienne," *Revue des études juives* 82 (1926): 233-252; Yitzhak Baer, *Israel among the Nations* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1955); and Henry A. Fischel, "Stoicism," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 15: 409-410. Cf. most recently Martin Hengel, "Der Alte und der Neue 'Schürer,'" *JSS* 35 (1990): 58-59, who remarks that Josephus (*Life* 12) is not wholly wrong in comparing the Pharisees to the Stoics and that the Stoic views of the creation of the world and of the fate of the soul after death must have been of interest to cultured Jews.

[30]So Harry A. Wolfson, *Philo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1947), 1:176-177, 329, and 2:78, who notes that the Chaldeans, whom Josephus describes as opposed to Abraham's views, are in Philo (*De Migratione Abrahami* 32.179) prototypes of the Stoics.

clearly disassociates himself from the extrabiblical remarks put into the mouth of Jeroboam in the latter's address to his countrymen, which are definitely Stoic in their outlook and which are intended to refute the idea that the Lord has a special place, namely the Temple in Jerusalem: "Fellow-countrymen, I think you know that every place has the Lord in it and there is no one spot set apart for His presence but everywhere He hears (ἀκούει) and watches over (ἐφορᾷ) His worshippers" (*Ant.* 8.227). Here Jeroboam is clearly repeating the words used by King Solomon when, in dedicating the Temple, he declared that the Lord was the one who watched over (ἐφορᾶν) and heard (ἀκούειν) all things, and that even though the Lord dwelt in the Temple He was very near to all men (*Ant.* 8.108). However, it is clear that when Jeroboam repeats these words Josephus no longer identifies with them. Significantly, in the biblical passage (1 Kgs 12:28) which Josephus' Jeroboam is paraphrasing, Jeroboam says nothing about the omnipresence of the Lord but merely introduces the gods which he has set up as those who had brought the Israelites out of Egypt, without any philosophic justification of such an action.[31]

6. *Dramatic Build-up*

One basic reason why Josephus wrote his *Antiquities* was that he was dissatisfied with the LXX and felt that for the Bible to make a more favorable impression upon non-Jewish readers the biblical narrative had to be presented in a more appealing fashion. Hence, he appealed to the political, military, geographic, and philosophic interests of his audience and developed dramatic and romantic motifs.

One such motif is that of the rise of the ruler from humble beginnings, as we see, for example, in the stories about the upbringing of King Cyrus of Persia (Herodotus 1.95) and of Romulus and Remus. In the case of Jeroboam, whereas the Bible (1 Kgs 11:26) declares simply that his mother's name was Zeruah,

[31]If, as Josephus remarks, the Pharisees are described as "quite similar to" (παραπλήσιος "almost the same as") the Stoic school (*Life* 12), we may have here a veiled attack upon the Pharisees. This would be in line with Josephus' other negative views of the Pharisees, as seen in *War* 1.110-114; 1.571, *Ant.* 13.288-298; 13.400-432; 17.41-45; and *Life* 191-198. This would support the thesis of Steve Mason, disputing the conventional view that Josephus desired to present himself as a Pharisee (*Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition-Critical Study* [Leiden: Brill, 1991]).

a widow, Josephus adds the information, which increases the dramatic element, that he was bereaved of his father while still a child and was brought up by his mother (*Ant.* 8.205).

There is also considerable drama in the scene (1 Kgs 13:4) in which Jeroboam, upon hearing the prophet's protest against the altar which Jeroboam had built at Bethel, stretches out his hand instructing his followers to seize the prophet. The scene is even more dramatic, however, in Josephus' version (*Ant.* 8.233), according to which Jeroboam was roused to fury (παροξυνθείς, "incited," "aroused emotionally," "provoked," "made angry") by the prophet's words, whereupon he stretched out his hand with orders to arrest the prophet. There is further increased drama in the sequence of events following this. According to the Bible (1 Kgs 13:4), Jeroboam's hand dried up, so that he was not able to draw it back. Josephus has a much more vivid scene: straightway (εὐθέως), we are told, his hand became paralyzed (παρείθη, "became exhausted," "grew weary"), and he no longer had the power to draw it back to himself but found it hanging, numb (νεναρκηκυῖαν, "grow stiff," "become paralyzed") and lifeless (νεκράν, "dead," "numb"). Likewise, the prediction of the prophet Iddo is more dramatic. In the Bible he prophesies that Jeroboam's altar will be torn down (1 Kgs 13:3); in Josephus he is much more emphatic: the altar shall be broken in an instant (παραχρῆμα, *Ant.* 8.232). Again when the prediction is fulfilled, the biblical statement (1 Kgs 13:5) is that the altar was torn down and the ashes poured out from the altar. Josephus is more dramatic: the altar was broken and everything on it was swept on the ground (*Ant.* 8.233). Similarly, there is greater emotion in Jeroboam's reaction when his hand is restored. The Bible declares simply that after his hand was restored the king told the prophet to accompany him home in order to obtain a reward (1 Kgs 13:7). In Josephus' version (*Ant.* 8.234) Jeroboam is overjoyed (χαίρων). The drama, moreover, is increased by the fact that the old false prophet was bedridden through the infirmity of old age.

7. *Summary*

Unlike the rabbis, who had ambivalent feelings about Jeroboam, praising him for his great learning and for standing up to King Solomon in insisting that pilgrimages to Jerusalem not be deterred, while at the same time attacking him for instituting the worship of golden calves, Josephus, the proud priest, who gives an

unusual amount of attention to Jeroboam as compared with his concern with other biblical figures, is unequivocally critical of him, particularly because, in words very similar to those used by Rabbi Johanan (*b. Sanh.* 102b), he was the first to transgress the laws (παρανομήσαντι) with regard to the sacrifices and because he had begun the process of leading the people astray, especially in refusing to allow his people to make the pilgrimage to the Temple in Jerusalem (*Ant.* 9.18). Jeroboam emerges as an earlier version of the revolutionaries of Josephus' own day. To Josephus, whose ancestors were high priests, the major sin on the part of Jeroboam was that he set up his own alternative to the Temple in Jerusalem, that he named his own priests instead of recognizing those who were priests by birth, and that he even made himself high priest. In terms highly reminiscent of Greek tragedy, Josephus denounces Jeroboam for his ὕβρις against the Lord in erecting altars outside of Jerusalem and in appointing priests from among the common people. It is this ὕβρις which leads to the νέμεσις of the total defeat and slaughter of Jeroboam's army.

Moreover, Josephus, who looked with contempt upon the fickle and unreliable mob, shows disdain for Jeroboam for being called to power by the leaders of the rabble. Furthermore, it is again with a view to the contemporary scene that Josephus portrays Jeroboam as an outstanding example of the disaster wrought by secession and civil strife. It is particularly striking that the language which Josephus uses in describing Jeroboam's sedition is so similar to that which he employs to describe the archrevolutionary of his own day, his great rival, John of Gischala. Likewise, in analyzing the causes of the demise of the kingdom of Israel, he insists that it all began with the rebellion against the legitimate ruler Rehoboam. Again and again he stresses Jeroboam's lawlessness, a word which must have struck a responsive chord in his Roman audience, proud as it was of the respect of the Romans for the legal tradition. Finally, another indication that Josephus' portrait is conditioned by the contemporary scene is his clear attempt, as a priest closely connected with the Temple in Jerusalem, to dissociate himself from the extrabiblical remarks put into the mouth of Jeroboam which are highly reminiscent of the language of the Stoics, the most popular philosophers among intellectuals in his day, and which attempt to refute the idea that the Lord is associated with a particular place.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Spring 1993, Vol. 31, No. 1, 53-56

THE PHOENICIAN NAME *KPR*: "YOUNG LION" OR "HE FORGIVES"? A REJOINDER

SCOTT C. LAYTON
Houston, TX 77043

In a recent note, T. K. Sanders proposes that the Phoenician personal name *kpr*, attested on two Phoenician seals, may best be analyzed as a *D*-stem verbal hypocoristicon */kippir/*, meaning "He forgives."[1] Until now, scholars have concurred in interpreting the Phoenician *kpr* as "young lion."[2] Sanders' study provides an opportunity to review the methodology employed for determining the meaning of personal names in general and to reconsider the meaning of Phoenician *kpr* in particular.

The basic difficulty in the interpretation of personal and geographical names is that, as proper nouns, these are linguistic isolates whose meaning cannot be divined from their surrounding contexts.[3] With personal names, this difficulty is palliated to the extent that often the most common and transparent lexical items are used in their construction. For example, among the Northwest Semitic languages, a personal name such as **ntnʾl* can only be interpreted as "God/El has given." Theophoric personal names, no doubt constituting the largest class, generally expressed sentiments,

[1]T. K. Sanders, "Young Lion" or "He Forgives"?: A Note on the Name *KPR*," *AUSS* 29 (1991):71-72.

[2]W. E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions*, Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies, vol. 4 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1989), 272; F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, Studia Pohl 8 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972), 334; Pierre Bordreuil, *Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1986), 35; R. Hestrin and Michal Dayagi-Mendels, *Inscribed Seals: First Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1979), 126.

[3]In general, see my *Archaic Features of Canaanite Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 47 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 22-25; note also the remarks by J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*, Harvard Semitic Studies, no. 32 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 8; idem, "Northwest Semitic Vocabulary in Akkadian Texts," *JAOS* 107 (1987): 714.

wishes, or gratitudes that were intelligible to ancient man. The modern scholar's success at recovering these meanings depends on several methodological considerations, such as observation of grammatical structure, knowledge of the language in which the name is cast (or of relevant cognate languages), and careful comparison of Northwest Semitic names with one another.

From the perspective of structure, Phoenician *kpr* may be either a one-word name, or perhaps a shortened[4] name, in which the deity name is unexpressed. To restate the question in these terms, is Phoenician *kpr* a profane ("nontheophoric") name, meaning "young lion," or a shortened name, meaning "He (i.e., the deity) forgives"? From the perspective of structure, either meaning is possible. The recognition that the personal name *kpr* is Phoenician is relevant but not decisive for determining the exact meaning of the name and thus deciding between these two interpretations. With the exception of the personal name *kpr*, neither the root **kpr*, "to cover over," nor the homonym "lion" are listed in the standard Phoenician lexica.[5] The only alternative, therefore, is to turn to cognate languages in search of the meaning of this name. Sanders has compared Phoenician *kpr* to the personal names *kfr'l* and *smkfr*, which occur in Taymanite inscriptions.[6] This comparison is unacceptable for two reasons. First, the meaning of these names is too uncertain to serve as a basis for interpreting Phoenician *kpr*.[7] The state of our knowledge of the North Arabian dialect(s?) spoken in ancient Teman is at best primitive. To be sure, the North and South Arabian languages and onomastica are important fields of study, and significant progress has been made and will continue as trained specialists devote their attention to these inscriptional remains. In the meantime, however, casual

[4]I prefer this term to Sanders' hypocoristicon, but the argument remains unaffected by this preference.

[5] Richard S. Tomback, *A Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages*, SBLDS 32 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978); Maria-José Fuentes Estañol, *Vocabulario Fenicio* (Barcelona: Biblioteca Fenicia, 1980).

[6]Sanders, 72. G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*, Near and Middle Eastern Studies, no. 8 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1971), 376, 501, who does not classify names by regional dialects, subsumes these names under Thamudic.

[7]Note, e.g., that Harding, 501, interprets the *kfr* element in personal names by Arabic *kafir* "lofty."

comparisons between Northwest Semitic personal names and poorly understood Arabian personal names should be avoided.

Second, the comparison of Phoenician *kpr* with personal names found in Taymanite inscriptions is methodologically flawed. Lexical (or in this case, onomastic) comparisons should always proceed from the nearest to the more distantly related languages, and only to the latter when comparisons with the former have been exhausted without conclusive results.[8] In the development of Ugaritic studies, the heavy reliance upon Arabic to explain the Ugaritic lexicon has long since been abandoned and replaced by more careful lexical comparisons between Ugaritic and other ancient Northwest Semitic languages. Likewise, the proposal to rely solely on South Arabian personal names to interpret Amorite names—ignoring the vast differences in space and time between these two onomastica—has been critically evaluated and found wanting.[9]

The closest and best known cognate language to Phoenician, which could serve as a point of comparison, is Hebrew. Though a biblical or epigraphic[10] Hebrew personal name formed with a root **kpr* is not attested, biblical Hebrew does possess a common noun *kᵉpîr*, "young lion," as well as a root **kpr* I, "to cover over." At first glance, it may seem that another stalemate has been reached, but additional considerations tip the balance of evidence in favor of comparing Phoenician *kpr* with biblical Hebrew *kᵉpîr*. To interpret Phoenician *kpr* as meaning "young lion" is to place this name in an already well-established category of one-word names—animal names. Examples of animal names functioning as personal names are found in many ancient cultures,[11] Phoenician being no

[8]See esp. W. Röllig, "The Phoenician Language: Remarks on the Present State of Research," *Atti del I Congresso Internationale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma, 5-10 Novembre 1979*, 3 vols. (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1983), 2.376, n. 9; for the application of this methodological principle in the interpretation of the biblical name *miryam*, see Baruch A. Levine, "Assyriology and Hebrew Philology: A Methodological Re-examination," in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, eds. Hans-Jörg Nissen and Johannes Renger (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1982), 521-530.

[9]See *Archaic Features*, 78-87.

[10]Here I refer to the numerous Hebrew personal names attested in Iron Age inscriptions (on seals, bullae, ostraca, vessels, etc.).

[11]See T. Nöldeke, "Names. B. Meaning of Names," *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1902, 3:3298-3299; idem, "Einige Gruppen semitischer Personennamen," *Beiträge zur*

exception.[12] Interpreted in this manner, the Phoenician *kpr*, "young lion," finds a semantic cognate in the Hebrew personal name *layiš*, "lion," the patronym of Palti (ʾel) (1 Sam 25:44; 2 Sam 3:15).[13] Among animal names, "lion" names are fairly common in the ancient Near East.[14] On the other hand, the derivation of Phoenician *kpr* from the root meaning "to cover over" finds no certain parallel in Semitic onomastica.[15] Though "the concept of atonement is not unimaginable as an element in Semitic personal names,"[16] imagination is not a reliable criterion for determining the meaning of a personal name. The concept of a deity atoning is not at issue here; what is at issue is whether this particular concept finds expression in personal names. What is needed are actual names that are lexically or semantically parallel; these we do not have at present. Until unambiguous evidence establishes the use of the root **kpr*, "to cover over," in personal names, it is preferable to classify the Phoenician personal name *kpr* as an animal name and to translate "young lion."

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semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1904), 73-90; M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, BWANT III/10 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1928); 229-230; B. Schaffer, "Tiernamen als Frauennamen im Altsüdarabischen und Frühnordarabischen," in *Al-Hudhud: Festschrift Maria Höfner zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. R. G. Stiegner (Graz: Karl-Franzens - Universität, 1981), 295-304; and for a summary list, R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*, OLA 28 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1988), 382.

[12]Benz, 239.

[13]For a possible use of Hebrew *ʾᵃrî* "lion" in personal names, compare *ʾᵃrîēl* (Ezra 8:16) and Greek 'Ari < *ʾᵃrî*? (Abraham Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968], 16).

[14]In general, see Nöldeke, "Einige Gruppen semitischer Personennamen," 77-78; on **lbʾ*, "lion," in West Semitic personal names, see R. S. Hess, "Amarna Proper Names" (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion [Cincinnati], 1984), 170-171; on **lbʾ(t)* in South Semitic personal names, see Schaffer, 361.

[15]In this statement, I include Northwest Semitic and Akkadian personal names.

[16]Sanders, 72.

HESHBON EXPEDITION 25TH-ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

On March 20-21, scholars and friends of archaeology gathered on the campus of Andrews University for a symposium, "Tell Hesban after 25 Years: Continuity and Change on the Madaba Plains of Jordan." To celebrate 25 years of archaeological excavations by Andrews University, participants presented papers summarizing the results of the five field seasons at Tell Hesban. The occasion coincided with the 85th birthday of Siegfried H. Horn, first director of the Heshbon Expedition.

The list of participants, their affiliation and their papers follow: Safwan Kh. Tell, Director General of Antiquities, Jordan, "The Contributions of American-sponsored Excavations in Jordan"; Siegfried H. Horn, Professor Emeritus, Andrews University, "How It All Began—The Early History of the Heshbon Archaeological Expedition"; Roger S. Boraas, Professor Emeritus of Religion, Upsala College, "Hesban and Field Method—How We Dug and Why"; Bert de Vries, Professor of History, Calvin College, "The Mamluk Town (Caravanserai, Bath, Mosque)"; James R. Fisher, Director, Office of Scholarly Research, Andrews University, "Hesban and the Ammonites during the Iron Age"; Lawrence T. Geraty, President, Atlantic Union College, "Tell Hesban in Context—Why We Dig"; Robert D. Ibach, Jr., Library Director, Dallas Theological Seminary, "Two Roads Lead to Esbus"; Øystein S. LaBianca, Professor of Anthropology, Andrews University, "Hesban and the Scope of Research—the Transformation of the Project Design"; John I. Lawlor, Professor of Old Testament Studies, Baptist Bible Seminary, "The Historical/Archaeological Significance of the Hesban North Church"; David Merling, Curator, Horn Archaeological Museum, Andrews University, "The Pools of Heshbon: As Discovered by the Heshbon Expedition"; Larry A. Mitchel, Director of Strategic Planning, Adventist Health System/West, "Hesban Underground: Caves and Storage Facilities of Hellenistic and Early Roman Times"; Elizabeth E. Platt, Associate Professor of Biblical Studies, University of Dubuque Theological Seminary, "What Objects Were Found at Tell Hesban?"; James A. Sauer, Curator, Harvard Semitic Museum, "The Pottery of Tell Hesban"; Bjørnar Storfjell, Professor of Archaeology and History of Antiquity, Andrews University, "The Byzantine Setting of Hesban"; Bastiaan Van Elderen,

Professor of New Testament Emeritus, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, "Tell Hesban's Contribution to the Study of Early Christianity in Transjordan"; S. Douglas Waterhouse, Professor of Religion, Andrews University, "The Roman and Byzantine Cemeteries"; Randall W. Younker, Director, Institute of Archaeology, Andrews University, "Hesban and Its Location—Broad Significance."

The symposium was in many ways a reunion for those who had had a significant role in the Heshbon Expedition. At the Saturday evening banquet held in honor of Siegfried H. Horn, Walter E. Rast, representing the American Schools of Oriental Research, brought greetings from that organization. Dr. Horn then presented his keynote address, relating his early life of research and travel, which ultimately led him to begin the excavations at Tell Hesban in 1968, when he was 60 years old. For many this banquet with Dr. Horn's lecture was the highlight of the entire symposium.

Participants were also honored to have Safwan Kh. Tell give the opening lecture for the symposium. His presence and participation were evidence of the friendship between the Department of Antiquities in Jordan and Andrews University, and the many hours spent with him revealed him to be an esteemed scholar and friend.

The lectures from the "Heshbon Expedition XXVTH Anniversary Celebration" are being edited into a book, expected to be available in the fall. This book, which will include the lectures and illustrative materials, will serve as a one-volume reference to the Tell Hesban excavations. A book signing is scheduled for the Madaba Plains Project reception to be held during the annual meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research, November 1993, Washington, D.C.

The co-directors of this symposium, James R. Fisher and David Merling, wish to thank the Michigan Humanities Council for the generous grant that, combined with Andrews University funds, made this project possible. In addition, we wish to thank the Andrews University administrators who took part in this symposium: W. Richard Lesher, President; Delmer I. Davis, Vice President for Academic Administration; Arthur O. Coetzee, Provost for Strategic Planning; and Werner K. Vyhmeister, Dean, Theological Seminary.

Andrews University DAVID MERLING

BOOK REVIEWS

Balmer, Randall. *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. xii + 246 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

What Balmer has attempted to do in this work is to give the reader a number of vignettes of the American evangelical subculture. A former evangelical, with a strong Mid-Western, Fundamentalist background, Balmer, at times, reveals the struggle of the expatriate trying to come to terms with his roots. If the book works at all, it is probably because Balmer has exercised what Mark Noll calls "believing criticism."

The serious question is whether the book works as intended. The prologue and epilogue give every indication that Balmer has attempted to unveil a cross-section of evangelicalism to give the outsider a feel for what the subculture is about. In some ways he has succeeded; in others he appears to have projected more caricature than characterization. The portraits vary from sympathetic to objective—Balmer never descends to a mean, frontal "attack."

In five of the first six chapters the "subculture" seems to find its most accurate portrayal. Chapter 1 ("California Kickback") describes Chuck Smith's Calvary Chapel. Chapter 2 ("Dallas Orthodoxy") relates a visit to Dallas Theological Seminary. Chapter 3 ("On Location") presents a rather sympathetic portrayal of Bible-believing film director Donald W. Thompson, probably best known for the apocalyptic film *A Thief in the Night* (1972). Chapter 5 ("Adirondack Fundamentalism") provides a poignant and deeply personal reaction to Jack Wyrtzen's Word of Life summer camp ministry in Schroon Lake, N.Y. Finally, chapter 6 ("Campaign Journal") takes the reader on the evangelical political campaign trail of 1988.

In these chapters one seems to really catch the pulse of what is going on in the majority of evangelical venues across the United States. When Balmer leaves these paths, the book begins to take on the aura of the caricature.

The fastest growing wing of the evangelical community is the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement, yet it is only dealt with in chap. 4 in a report on the bizarre ministry of the so-called "Phoenix Prophet," Neal Frisby, the reclusive healing and visionary prophet of the Capstone Cathedral of Phoenix, Arizona. One wonders why Balmer would pick out a Neal Frisby for the Pentecostal vignette in his book. Is he trying to give the impression to the uninitiated that all Pentecostals are "holy rollers" who give forth strange prophecies and fleece their flocks with sham healings?

One is also left to wonder about his choice of portraits for the "Holiness" community (chap. 10, "Camp Meeting"). My fellowship with "Holiness" people gives me a much broader picture than the geriatric campmeeting in sunny Florida where we are left with the impression that "Holiness" victory promises results in nothing more than the failures of a closet homosexual. Certainly campmeetings continue to play an important role in Holiness piety, but I am not convinced this one is typical.

It appears that what we have in Balmer's treatment of the Holiness-Pentecostal branches of evangelicalism is a vivid demonstration of the grounds for Donald Dayton's strong call for a "moratorium" on the use of the word "evangelical" because of its background in the "power politics of the neo-evangelicals after World War II." One is left to wonder if Balmer has fallen prey to such Princetonian-evangelical "power politics"; he would have been wise to seek wider counsel on his Holiness-Pentecostal choices. It is interesting to note that all of his expert evangelical partners in dialogue are of the Calvinistic-Princetonian variety (Mark Noll, Grant Wacker, and Harry Stout). Was there not a Donald Dayton or a Melvin E. Dieter to consult?

To sum up the negative: while the book is readable, often interpretatively insightful and informative, I fear that Balmer's somewhat idiosyncratic approach to conservative Wesleyans and Pentecostals will only continue to propagate caricature rather than helpful and accurate insights.

With the above disclaimers, the book could be used in courses on contemporary, popular American religious movements or comparative religions. The most helpful and sensitive part of the book was Balmer's portrayal of the struggles of teenagers who grow up in conservative traditions and find themselves isolated by their conscientious convictions from the larger popular culture. Further, his reactions to Schroon Lake ought to be required reading for every conservative Bible college and seminary youth ministry course.

Andrews University WOODROW WHIDDEN

Clapp, Philip S., Barbara Friberg, and Timothy Friberg, eds. *Analytical Concordance of the Greek New Testament.* 2 vols. Baker's Greek New Testament Library. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1991. 4,879 pp. $190.00.

The *Analytical Concordance of the Greek New Testament* is a massive two-volume work, most helpful for the in-depth study of New Testament Greek, second only to a computerized grammatical concordance. These two volumes constitute volumes 2 and 3 of Baker's Greek New Testament Library. They are a lexical and a grammatical concordance, respectively,

of the text of *The Greek New Testament*, 3d ed. (United Bible Societies, 1975), together with the grammatical analysis of Barbara and Timothy Friberg in the *Analytical Greek New Testament*, which was vol. 1 of Baker's Greek New Testament Library (1981).

The first volume, *Lexical Focus*, is like a regular Greek NT concordance in that its organization is alphabetical by lemmas at the highest level, but beyond that the similarity diminishes. Not only is a grammatical tag assigned to the entry word, but every word in the selection of context reproduced with it has a grammatical tag as well, thus permitting study of the grammatical role of the entry word in its literary context as compared with other uses of the same word in the Greek NT. Furthermore, every morphological variant of each lemma appears in alphabetical order beneath the entry lemma, and every grammatical variant is also noted alphabetically within morphologically identical word groups. Where there is ambiguity in the text, two or more alternative analyses are provided. Five common postpositive conjunctions (*de, men, gar, oun,* and *te*) are subgrouped alphabetically according to the grammatical analysis of the preceding word. Canonical order is followed where alphabetical order of words and grammatical tags still produce groups of like entries. Finally, the total number of entries for each lemma is given, as well as the total number of each morphological variant. Because of the unique grammatical status of questions, a special concordance of questions found in the NT is located at the end of the volume, indexed according to canonical order. An appendix provides a list of variants found in the critical apparatus of the *Greek New Testament*, given in alphabetical and canonical order. A staggering amount of information is thus available to the student of the Greek NT.

Volume 2, *Grammatical Focus*, takes a different approach to making a concordance of the Greek NT. It orders the words at the highest level by grammatical tag, beginning with the seven major analytical divisions in the following sequence: adjectives and adverbs, conjunctions, determiners (or definite articles), nouns and pronouns, prepositions, particles, and verbs. The lower levels are respectively ordered alphabetically by individual grammatical tags, alphabetically by the entry word for each grammatical tag, and by canonical order. Where there are complex grammatical tags, they may be found listed under each of the simplest tags of which they are comprised. The number of instances of each successive grammatical tag is given following the last entry of each group.

These two volumes provide the student of the NT with a virtually inexhaustible mass of data. Every serious student of the NT should have a copy of this set available for research unless a computerized grammatical concordance is readily available.

This is not a concordance for general use but for doing grammatical studies in the text of the NT. It cannot do selective textual comparisons and searches of more than one grammatical tag at a time, using Boolean

searches, as does a computerized concordance, but it is the next best thing. It does permit comparisons of either the different grammatical forms a word may take, the different words that may have similar grammatical forms, or the different grammatical contexts in which certain words or grammatical forms may appear. While syntactical considerations have, for the most part, been avoided, the grammatical concordance does assist with some syntactical studies.

Naturally, any grammatical concordance, whether in book form or computerized, is no better than the grammatical analysis on which it is based. One needs to keep this in mind as research is done, with an openness to alternative possibilities not reflected in the concordance. The grammatical analysis is to a large degree based on purely morphological considerations. Where context must guide the final decision, there may be room for alternatives; but often the context itself provides a fairly safe guide. The editors seem to have been fair in providing for alternative possibilities. Considering the options in grammatical concordances available on the market, one should be very glad to discover a resource such as this.

Adventist International
Institute of Advanced Studies
Silang, Cavite, Philippines

EDWIN E. REYNOLDS

Davies, William D., and Dale C. Allison, Jr. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew.* ICC. Edinburgh: T & T Clark. Vol. 1, 1988: 780 pp. $49.95. Vol. 2, 1991: 800 pp. $49.95.

When one is holding two volumes of a projected three-volume commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, and these two volumes alone total over 1,580 pages, the preface statement that, "We could have wished for more expansive treatments of many aspects of the text but have had to prefer leanness to fullness both in the introductory sections and in the body of the commentary" (1:x), might at first sight seem an extraordinary irony. But in fact, the preface does, indeed, state the truth of the matter. This commentary, written to supersede the 1907 ICC commentary on Matthew by Willoughby C. Allan, is a concise survey of scholarship on Matthew, supplemented by clear statements of the position taken by the commentators. After the general introduction, the commentary on each pericope is arranged in five sections: questions of structure, source criticism, exegesis, summary and comment, and bibliography. These are supplemented by not infrequent excursuses on such topics as miracles, the

form of parables, the title the Son of Man, whether Jesus had a Messianic self-consciousness, the role of Peter in Matthew, and the like.

Many of W. D. Davies' views on Matthew are well known from his earlier, widely cited work, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: University Press, 1964). Thus, it is no surprise to find that a work of which he is coauthor considers that "Jewish sources . . . put in the interpreter's hands the most important tool with which to fathom the First Gospel" (1:6). Jewish sources, though not dominating the work, are cited freely and frequently. And expectedly, Davies and Allison date Matthew between A.D. 80 and 95 and interpret it as a Christian response to the nascent Rabbinic Judaism emanating from Jamnia. Syrian Antioch is considered as the most probable provenance for the Gospel, and the author is thought of as a Jewish Christian (1:7-58, esp. 32, 53). Indeed, within the Gospel rabbinic forms of argument are used, the Sabbath is valued and observed (2:327), and the OT purity laws are retained (2:517). The commentary assumes that Matthew used Mark and Q as sources, although it does show awareness of the arguments used by proponents of alternate hypothetical source reconstructions, particularly those advocating the Griesbach hypothesis (1:97-127).

As might be expected from a commentary in the ICC series, the methodology adopted by the commentary is principally the historical-critical approach (1:3), although at several places one can detect the influence of other methodologies. For example, significant attention is given to structure. The occasional chiasm is detected (e.g., 2:162, in the missionary discourse; 2:385, in the parable of the sower); there is a tendency to notice triads; and some consideration is given to plot development (e.g., 2:294, where Matt 11:1-19 is identified as a crucial turning point of the plot). There is also a tendency to interpret the extant text, with less attention being given to the possible sources than has been common in earlier historical-critical work. But most of the commentary does fit well the historical-critical paradigm. Philological and grammatical notes, word statistics, synoptic parallels, extra-canonical parallels, and history-of-religion parallels all find their place. The question of historicity is continuously addressed, as is the question of what the text would have been in its original historical context.

The commentary, however, has a slightly more conservative tone than might be expected of one avowedly adopting the historical-critical method. The historicity of Jesus' contact with lepers (2:12), the authenticity of the Son-of-Man sayings (2:49), the early nature of pericopae with miraculous elements (2:64-65), the historicity of the Sabbath controversies (2:304), and Jesus' Messianic self-consciousness (2:594-601) are all defended. This, on the other hand, does not mean the commentary will appeal to all conservatives, as it often takes a position of agnosticism regarding the historical fact of such things as the virgin birth and miracles. Indeed, the

commentary on the account of the virgin birth concludes with a statement to the effect that many competent scholars do, in fact, believe in the virgin birth (1:221), which is identified as a response to C. E. B. Cranfield, the NT editor of the ICC series, who must have raised this specific issue.

The commentary has several notable strengths. Every verse receives comment; thus one is highly likely to find answers to questions of detail. Not only this, but most of the competing views are succinctly summarized, and their strengths and weakness analyzed. This, together with the extended bibliographies, provides an invaluable resource. The introduction has much valuable information, not least the summary charts showing the different positions taken by the large range of commentators surveyed over a number of crucial issues in the interpretation of the Gospel. The commentary is also rich in Rabbinic background material.

Some of these strengths have corresponding deficiencies. While all viewpoints are summarized, there is not sufficient space to comment adequately on the advantages and disadvantages of every position, or to fully develop the position taken by the commentary in some instances. The overall themes of the commentary can also be lost in the wealth of detail offered. But these restrictions are inevitable. What we have here is an excellent example of how useful this kind of work can be. It, as a matter of course, needs to be supplemented by other works on the Gospel which take individual themes and develop them at some length, and use other methodologies to enrich the meaning which can be found in the Gospel.

In sum, this commentary is a very welcome addition to the literature on the Gospel of Matthew, and it can be said with some certainty that it will become one of the works with which everyone working on the Gospel of Matthew will have to reckon.

Avondale College
Cooranbong, NSW 22265
Australia

ROBERT K. MCIVER

Dayton, Donald W., and Robert K. Johnston, eds. *The Variety of American Evangelicalism.* Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press and Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991. 285 pp. Hardcover, $19.95.

Featuring a distinguished set of editors and contributors (such as Timothy Weber, George Marsden, and Mark Noll—to name but a few), *The Variety of American Evangelicalism,* edited by Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston, is one of the most important contributions to evangelical historiography and comparative evangelical theology to come out in recent years.

The project which eventuated in this volume originated out of heated discussions over the meaning of the term "evangelical" in the Evangelical Theology Group of the American Academy of Religion's annual meetings in the mid-1980s. The specific issue igniting the debate was a petition submitted by a group of scholars to the Executive Committee of the AAR to form a "consultation" on "pentecostalism," which they hoped would lead to the founding of a "pentecostalism" group "parallel" to the one on "evangelicalism" (2). The petition was denied; and, under the co-chairmanship of Dayton and Johnston, the 1986 and 1987 meetings of the Evangelical Theology Group generated the papers which form the original core of this work.

All told, twelve separate Christian groups or movements (Adventists, Baptists, Black Protestants, Calvinists and Confessional Lutherans, Fundamentalists, Mennonites, Pentecostals, Pietists, Premillennial Dispensationalists, Restorationists, and Wesleyans) were identified as commonly associated under the broad rubric of "evangelical." The contributors were asked to address three issues: "(1) to offer a careful interpretation of the theological understanding of the movement in question, (2) to root that reading of the movement in its sources, and (3) to compare and contrast this 'logic' or 'self-understanding' with what the author and/or movement understood 'evangelicalism' to be" (3). In conclusion to the work, the two final chapters offer Dayton's and Johnston's responses to the various papers.

While there seems to be considerable progress in defining fundamentalism in the American conservative Protestant scene, the broader issue of what constitutes evangelicalism continues to vex. And the vexations are painfully obvious in the challenging responses of the editors.

Dayton has rhetorically raised the issue in a very acute manner: "But can one, as my co-editor will suggest in the concluding chapter, establish a set of descriptors that allows one to argue that there is a 'family resemblance' that holds together all the movements described in this book?" Dayton is quick to register a blunt dissent. He sees such "incoherence" that he pointedly calls for a "moratorium" on the use of the term "evangelical." He strongly suggests that "the label *evangelical* is inaccurate in some of its fundamental connotations and misleads our attempts to understand the phenomenon that we are observing" (246).

The overriding issue for Dayton is not just historiographical integrity, but ecumenical and theological respect for what he has sarcastically called the Holiness-Pentecostal "Riffraff" of conservative American Protestantism (explicitly evident in such articles as "Yet Another Layer of the Onion: Or Opening the Ecumenical Door to Let the Riffraff in," *The Ecumenical Review* 40 [January 1988]:87-110). In other words, Dayton wants Princeton-oriented Neoevangelicals to understand that the Bible-believing heirs of Wesley and Parham are here not only as players limited to the world of worship,

evangelism-mission, and social action, but also as people who strive to make their distinctive contribution in theology as well. Of course, Johnston is quick to argue that the contribution of the "riffraff" can be made quite readily under the broader family rubric of "evangelical." Welcome to the debate!

While all of the chapters are theologically stimulating and historically informative and insightful, some of the more important contributions come from Paul Bassett ("The Theological Identity of the North American Holiness Movement") and C. John Weborg ("Pietism: Theology in Service of Living Toward God"). Originating out of powerful soteriological and ethical perspectives, their critiques of Calvinistic Neoevangelicalism's preoccupation with Princeton-oriented issues such as the "inerrancy" of Scripture are must reading for all admirers of Warfield and others who would "battle for the Bible."

The editors have issued an invitation to the reader "to join a larger discussion that seems in no imminent danger of resolution"—to "understand the variety of American evangelicalism" (4). This reviewer urges a hearty and affirmative response from the reader.

Andrews University WOODROW WHIDDEN

Eliade, Mircea and Ioan P. Couliano, with Hillary S. Wiesner. *The Eliade Guide to World Religions: The Authoritative Compendium of the 33 Major Religious Traditions*. San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1991. xii + 301 pp. Hardcover, $22.95.

The Eliade Guide to World Religions is one of two recent references on religion published by Harper Collins and bearing the name of M. Eliade, the late pioneer in the systematic study of the history of world religions (d. 1986). The other work, *Essential Sacred Writings from around the World* (1991), is a paperback reprint of *Primitives to Zen: A Thematic Sourcebook of the History of Religions* (1967). The volume presently under review contains excerpts of religious texts and oral accounts of religious experience from non-Western traditions, areas in which Eliade has particularly distinguished himself. The title here reviewed may be seen as the culmination of the primary author's lifework on world religions—unless, of course, later editors and other publishers make further profitable use of his name and work.

The Eliade Guide begins with a short introduction, entitled "Religion as System," by Eliade's successor at the University of Chicago, the late I. P. Couliano (murdered there in 1991 while working on other remnants of works left by Eliade), and clarifies the author's voluminous phenomenological method in the study of religion.

The volume draws heavily upon Eliade's previous works, especially his three-volume *History of Religious Ideas* (1978-85) and the sixteen-volume Macmillan *Encyclopedia of Religion* (1986) of which he was the general editor. In an anonymous "Note to Readers," perhaps by the publisher, the volume is introduced in encyclopedic terms as consisting of two parts: a "Macro-Dictionary" and a "Micro-Dictionary"—though the contents bear no such mega-designations—"following the model of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*" (ix).

Part I of *The Eliade Guide* consists of brief surveys of 33 religions, alphabetically arranged, from African religions to Zoroastrianism and including Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Jainism, Judaism, Shamanism, Shinto, and Taoism, which are more like short chapters on each of the religions considered. Apart from the treatment of widespread religions, the *Guide* is particularly good in its treatment of lesser-known religions such as Australian and Oceanic religions; North, Central, and South American religions; and Slavic and Baltic religions. The religions of the past are also covered: prehistoric, Egyptian, Canaanite, Greek, Roman, etc. Unfortunately, the bibliographies provided at the end of each chapter are not exhaustive; in fact, they are insufficient in most instances and appear to have been the result of a hasty afterthought.

The annotated index which comprises Part II or the "Micro-Dictionary" is also quite disappointing. Not all key religious figures, spiritual themes, and sacred books are annotated. For example: while the Bhagavad-Gita is annotated, the Qur'an, the Rig-Veda, and the Popol Vuh are not. There are no entries for the "Book of the Dead," the "Homeric Hymns," and a few others. Moreover, most of the annotation is commonplace. Especially noticeable are those readily available in Christian and Jewish encyclopedias and dictionaries. In fact, Part II is a failed attempt to break away from an ordinary index, and the designation "Micro-Dictionary" seems but an inflated advertisement, as is also the designation "Macro-Dictionary" for Part I.

The Eliade Guide is more an introduction to world religions, alphabetically arranged, than a veritable reference to world religions. It could be used as an excellent textbook for beginners, with reading assignments given following a geographical rearrangement of the 33 chapters. The academic community would have been better served had the volume been marketed as a textbook and, better still, had the two volumes mentioned above been combined into one—with excerpts of religious texts from the other volume, *Essential Sacred Writings*, complementing the information provided in *The Eliade Guide*.

Andrews University ABRAHAM TERIAN

Gilliland, Dean S., ed. *The Word Among Us: Contextualizing Theology for Mission Today.* Dallas: Word Publishing, 1989. vii + 344pp. Paperback, $15.99.

The Word Among Us was written by the thirteen members of the faculty of the School of World Mission of Fuller Theological Seminary and deals with the challenge of contextualizing the gospel in order that every people group may hear God's message in their own cultural setting. In his introduction Gilliland states that "the conviction behind this volume is that contextualization, biblically-based and Holy Spirit-led, is a requirement for evangelical missions today."

Part 1 deals with the more theoretical aspects of contextualization; it begins with a listing of six reasons why the church should contextualize its message for each cultural group. The next three chapters argue that the principles of contextualization are biblical and are modeled in both the Old and New Testaments. In chap. 5 Paul Hiebert shows the complexity of the contextualization process and warns of the danger of compromising the Christian message. Charles Kraft follows with a chapter on the importance of contextualizing the communication process so that the forms and methods employed may be understood and appreciated by the people in the target culture.

Part 2 looks at the practice of contextualization in Bible translation (R. Daniel), in communication (Vigo Sogaard), in leadership (J. Robert Clinton), in relief and development work (Edgar Elliston), in America's multiethnic mosaic (C. Peter Wagner), in reaction to nominality (Eddie Gibbs) and in Chinese (Tah Che-Bin) and Muslim (J. Dudley Woodberry) evangelism. The book concludes with an appendix listing seven contemporary models of contextualization, each with its differing strengths and weaknesses.

The faculty at the School of World Mission are to be applauded for their willingness to grapple with difficult issues involved in the contextualization. Some of the strengths of this book include the references to the contextualization process in Scriptures (36, 130); examples of how the western church has selectively contextualized the biblical message for its own cultural setting, but has been reluctant to allow that same freedom for the new churches in the rest of the world (232); and a strong case for presenting the gospel through the use of culturally-relevant forms rather than through slavish imitation of practices in the western church (130, 131).

Contextualization is always a dangerous undertaking, for one struggles to maintain the balance between a firm grounding in biblical principles and a desire to present a message that is culturally relevant and understandable. In this area the writers give warning after warning, pointing out the danger of not taking the whole of Scripture into consideration (Glasser, 46), of not realizing that each culture must be

judged by the gospel (Charles Van Engen, 76), of allowing the culture to capture the message (Kraft, 131) and of considering the work of contextualization as finished, when in reality it is an ongoing process for each generation and for different cultural groups (Hubert, 118).

Perhaps the most troubling aspect of the book is that, whereas Glasser talks of the "non-negotiables" (33), Hubert of the "absolutes of God" (109), Wagner of the "supracultural principles of Christianity" (231), and Gilliland of the "core" of Christianity, very little is said as to how one determines what is included in these supracultural principles. Wagner does list the following: "truth, justice, love, sin, the existence of God, faith, forgiveness, prayer, honesty, marriage, the historicity of Jesus" (231). However, little help is offered in ascertaining the guiding principles to follow in determining what constitutes a supracultural, nonnegotiable, biblical principle.

Anyone interested in the ongoing dialogue in the area of contextualization will want to read this book. The authors do not claim that this is the final word, but rather the beginning of the long and difficult process of making Christ known in the cultural contexts of all peoples.

Andrews University BRUCE L. BAUER

Gritz, Sharon Hodgin. *Paul, Women Teachers, and the Mother Goddess at Ephesus: A Study of 1 Timothy 2:9-15 in Light of The Religious and Cultural Milieu of The First Century.* London and New York: University Press of America, 1991. xii + 186 pp. Paperback, $18.75; Library bound, $37.50.

Gritz's dissertation published in paperback edition is an excellent contribution to the ongoing discussion on the significance, both then and now, of the apostle Paul's statements about women. Her six chapters form concentric circles, which gradually narrow down to a study of the text.

The two chapters of Part One, "The Historical Study of 1 Timothy 2:9-15," deal with "The Cultural Context of Ephesus" and "The Religious Context of Ephesus." The first chapter covers the city itself and the status and role of both Gentile and Jewish women in it. In the second chapter, Gritz analyzes the mystery religions and the Artemis cult in Ephesus.

Part Two consists of an "Interpretative Study of 1 Timothy 2:9-15" in its OT and NT contexts, dealing in the former with "Woman in Genesis 1-3," and in the latter with women in relation to domestic and societal contexts, Israel's cultic law, and Israel's worship. In chapter 4, entitled "The New Testament Context," the author discusses women in relation to Jesus' ministry and teaching, to Paul in his various mentions and, briefly, to "Women in the General Epistles." Chapter 5 examines the context of the

pastoral epistles, and finally, chapter 6 culminates the sequence with an exegesis of the focal text itself, in its immediate context.

Each chapter, and sometimes subsections, close with useful summary or conclusion paragraphs. Copious notes, amounting in most chapters to around 100 and in one case to over 200, follow each chapter. A Foreword, Preface, and Introduction precede the chapters; and a one-page list of abbreviations, a selected, categorized bibliography, an index of biblical references and an index of names conclude the small volume. There seem to be very few errors in this readable book.

The brief conclusion chapter restates the thesis—which the chapters amply demonstrate—that "the prohibition of women in regards to teaching and exercising authority over men as expressed in 1 Tim. 2:9-15 resulted from the particular situation in the primitive Ephesian church, a situation complicated by pagan influences from the beliefs and practices of the cult of the Mother Goddess Artemis in Ephesus which had infiltrated the church through false teachers. . . ." (157)

Gritz's work is a well-reasoned, exegetically sound exposition of the historical, cultural, and religious backgrounds, with excellent discussions of all the pertinent texts in both testaments and especially all the important Greek words involved in the NT texts. I believe it is not over the heads of informed lay readers, while it is also deserving of the scholarly attention of theologians and scholars, both men and women.

Andrews University LEONA GLIDDEN RUNNING

Guimond, John. *The Silencing of Babylon: A Spiritual Commentary on the Revelation of John.* Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1991. iv + 123 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

One of the great frustrations associated with teaching the Book of Revelation to a classroom full of pastors is the great difficulty one has in demonstrating the relevance of the book to everyday life. As a result, when I learned about *The Silencing of Babylon: A Spiritual Commentary on the Revelation of John,* I immediately asked to review the book, since it promised to address my felt need for a book on the Apocalypse that would draw out whatever implications for personal and practical Christian living could be found in John's Apocalypse.

Unfortunately, Guimond's book is not what my students and I were looking for. It is a collection of creative meditations that touch base with the Book of Revelation but are not, as a rule, drawn from a careful analysis of the text itself. Guimond asserts that his reflections on Revelation are not meant to be "an exegetical explanation" of the book. Rather, he sought to draw from the Apocalypse "a spiritual message that is applicable to myself

and to others, hopefully without violence to the original intent of the author" (7).

Sadly, it is the reviewer's impression that Guimond far too often does violence to the original meaning of Revelation in the service of his task of spiritual meditation on the issues of Christian existence. For example, he infers from The New American Bible's reading of Rev 1:19, "what you see now and will see in time to come," that Revelation is the product of a long process of revelation that has gone on in the writer's life (7). While the latter assertion may have merit in its own right, it cannot be inferred from any Greek text of Rev 1:19 referenced in Nestlé/Aland 26.

Guimond makes the startling observation that the fire which the second beast brings down from heaven in Rev 13:13 can readily be identified with "the marvel of electricity" (65). Having failed to observe such likely referents as Elijah's Mount Carmel experience in the Old Testament, Guimond may not have ascertained the author's intent for this passage.

Some of the spiritual nuggets in the book, it must be said, *are* based on a plausible reading of the text. Guimond sees, for example, John's response to the dead and risen Christ (Rev 1:17, 18) to be the appropriate response of all Christians to the death and resurrection of Christ. From this insight he helpfully draws out thoughts on self-denial and the Christian relation to the reality of death. He rightly identifies Rev 12-14 as the central core of the message of Revelation. I also find it easy to agree that "Revelation is a tool for personal discernment rather than a call to social action" (120).

The best part of Guimond's book, not surprisingly, is the portion dealing with the letters to the seven churches (Rev 2, 3), the most "normal" and least figurative part of the Apocalypse. The thoughts on chapters 4 and 5 are also fairly straightforward. On the other hand, the lack of careful exegesis produces increasing detachment from the realities of the text in the more difficult apocalyptic portions (Rev 6, 8, 9). Of interest to students of the millennium is Guimond's novel view that the thousand years of Rev 20 is prophetic of the period from the end of Roman persecution under Constantine to the shattering of Christian unity at the time of the Reformation.

Although I am not impressed with the author's exegetical skills, I must confess to having been charmed from time to time with his keen perception of human nature and its spiritual struggles. Guimond has clearly spent much time in reflection, resulting in a thoughtful and common-sense approach to spirituality. On page 45 he observes, "War never causes humanity to repent; it only makes people worse." In reaction to the account of Rev 11, he wittily observes, "Sin represents all the ways in which we mess up our life, and persecution, of course, is the way others try to mess up our life for us" (50). On page 121 he comments, "The

deepest hurts of our life are like the demon in Mark 9:17—they are mute, they cannot reveal themselves to us, we have to search them out with prayer and fasting (Matt 17:21)."

This reviewer was somewhat disappointed with Guimond's book. Nevertheless, sufficient spiritual benefit was gained to make it worth the investment of time.

Andrews University JON PAULIEN

Keener, Craig S. . . . *And Marries Another: Divorce and Remarriage in the Teaching of the New Testament* . . . Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991. 256 pages. $9.95.

The much-debated issue of divorce and remarriage has long been a source of intellectual challenge for theologians, as well as a subject of pastoral concern for ministers, since it taps directly into the suffering and despair of thousands of church members. In dealing with this issue from the New Testament perspective, Keener's contribution is thus significant.

The complexity of the subject derives from the different interpretations of passages such as Matt 5:32; 19:1-12; 1 Cor 7, etc. H. Wayne House, editor of *Divorce and Remarriage* (InterVarsity Press, 1990), clearly presents the four major views on this matter: 1) no divorce and no remarriage, 2) divorce but no remarriage, 3) divorce and remarriage for adultery or desertion, and 4) divorce and remarriage under a variety of circumstances. After discussing the major issues presented by the different views, Keener sides with those who believe that the Bible teaches divorce and remarriage for adultery, desertion, and some other limited specific circumstances.

In his handling of the topic, Keener places a heavy emphasis on the aspect of cultural background. As a result, . . . *And Marries Another* is saturated with secondary sources. Over half of the book is dedicated to endnotes, appendixes, abbreviations, as well as a very rich bibliography, all contributing to making it an excellent source of historical information on the topic.

The basic discussion of this book focuses on two sayings of Jesus: Matt 5:32, Matt 19, and two passages of Paul: 1 Cor 7 and 1 Tim 3:2. Matthew is chosen over Mark and Luke because of its much-discussed exception clause, "except in the case of immorality." After discussing the different interpretations Keener concludes that too specific an interpretation is placed on the word "immorality":

> This term implies any sort of sexual sin, except when the context designates a particular kind; and the context here fails to narrow the meaning of "immorality" down in any way. Immorality here is not just

> premarital sex, nor is it just incest; it is any kind of sexual unfaithfulness to one's current spouse. Since the kind of unfaithfulness normally perpetrated by people already married is adultery, the kind of immorality that would most often be implied here is adultery. (31)

Keener goes on to argue that Matthew employs a term broader than adultery because he wishes his exception to permit more than the word itself specifies. Therefore, sexual sin within marriage need not be limited to a spouse's having intercourse with another person (32).

For Keener, the principal point is unmistakable: divorce is an evil to be avoided at all costs, but it is valid when the salvation of the marriage is impossible. If the latter is dissolved, only the sinned-against partner is free, and consequently his or her remarriage is permissible. "If the divorce is valid, so is the remarriage" (36, 44, 47, 105, 106). And for those in invalid remarriages, the present tense of the verb in Matt 19:9 need not imply continuous adultery during the entire period of cohabitation (48).

The discussion of Paul on the issue of divorce and remarriage follows the same consistency: divorce should be avoided in all normal circumstances, and the believer that is "not under bondage" (1 Cor 7:15) is free to remarry (61). The phrase "husband of one wife" (1 Tim 3:2-7) is not directed toward divorced and remarried men (102). Keener's hermeneutical approach to the Pauline writings is "not only to ask what Paul said in his situation, but also ask what he would therefore say in ours" (103). According to Keener, the main failure of modern interpreters who quote Paul is their general ignorance of issues the apostle was specifically addressing.

The author blends his theological approach with his pastoral concern, concluding that

> Jesus' message to everyone is plain enough: to those contemplating divorce, don't; to those inclined to condemn without knowing the circumstances, don't; to those near a prospective Christian divorce, offer yourselves as humble agents of reconciliation and healing; to those who have repented and made restitution (insofar as possible) for a sinful choice, trust his forgiveness; to those upon whom dissolution of marriage forced itself without invitation, be healed by God's grace and dare to stand for your freedom in Christ, which no one has the authority to take away from you. (109)

Even though Keener's work is theological and historical in its approach to the subject, there is probably room to contemplate the scope of the problem in the Christian community through some figures and statistics, its socio-psychological dimensions, and the effects and moral implications for those who divorce and remarry. There is also need for more pastoral concern and practical applications, as Keener briefly points out in the final chapter. Indeed, the integration of some of these elements

may elevate this already excellent work to the status of a classic on the subject.

Andrews University ALFONSO VALENZUELA

Longfield, Bradley J. *The Presbyterian Controversy: Fundamentalists, Modernists, and Moderates.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. 333 pp. $34.50.

Bradley Longfield's work on the Presbyterian controversy enters into one of the most intensively studied aspects of 19th- and 20th-century American religion. Perhaps the most comprehensive study up to the present has been Lefferts A. Loetscher's *The Broadening Church: A Study of Theological Issues in the Presbyterian Church since 1869* (1954). Beyond Loetscher's contribution, however, there have been numerous books on the principal contestants and institutions related to the controversy. Beyond strictly Presbyterian concerns, the denomination's dynamic struggle has been chronicled from several perspectives in the rapidly growing literature on the rise of fundamentalism.

In spite of the crowded field on the topic, Longfield makes a major contribution to our understanding of the Presbyterian controversy. Perhaps, we should say, he made a contribution *because of* the many previous studies. Having thoroughly mastered the secondary, and a great deal of the primary literature on the topic, Longfield puts forth insights that both build upon and cut across the findings of previous research. Thus he greatly increases our understanding of a complex phenomenon.

Longfield's study is not merely a serious academic treatise, but a practical case study reinforcing Dean M. Kelley's conclusion in *Why Conservative Churches Are Growing* (1972), that one reason why mainstream churches, including Presbyterianism, have been losing large numbers of members since the 1960s is that they have lost their theological identity.

The Presbyterian Controversy validates Kelley's hypothesis from a historical perspective. Longfield points out that in its struggle to adjust to modernity, the Presbyterian Church opted for doctrinal pluralism in an effort to maintain institutional unity. That move, he postulates, has left the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. "devoid of a clear theological voice" (4). The pluralistic solution, while working for a time in encouraging unity and vitality, eventually "contributed to the current identity crisis of the church and helped to undermine the foundation of the church's mission to the world" (234).

Longfield approaches the issue through examining the views and motivations of the leadership of the Presbyterian Church in the 1920s and 1930s, on the assumption that "it is possible to see precisely what factors

encouraged the church to embrace doctrinal inclusiveness as a policy and thereby better understand how the Presbyterian Church, and perhaps other mainstream churches, have arrived at their present situation" (4).

Starting with the seemingly correct assumption that the Presbyterian controversy was largely "a conflict among generals" (5), Longfield examines the cultural backgrounds, theological positions, social viewpoints, and ecclesiological strategies of six of the key players in the conflict: J. Gresham Machen, William Jennings Bryan, Henry Shane Coffin, Clarence E. Macartney, Charles R. Erdman, and Robert E. Speer. Those six men spanned the ranks of the Presbyterian leadership of the time, with Machen, Bryan, and Macartney holding firm to the theological right, Erdman and Speer to the center, and Coffin to the liberal pole of the continuum. Ecclesiological strategy and the vision of the Presbyterian Church's role in a Christian America created a different split, with Machen as the only Southerner holding for succession as the correct move if the theological struggle could not be won. That militant attitude forced the moderates to side with the liberals and to opt for pluralism.

The decision to tolerate pluralism, as noted above, eventually spelled disaster for the Presbyterian Church. But, holds Longfield, Machen's extreme was no better. It also would have led to disaster.

Longfield argues that a moderate solution would have been best, but that moderation is often hard to come by in the heat of controversy. "Perhaps," he concludes, "the contemporary mainstream churches can, in some manner, do what the Presbyterian Church, torn by controversy in the 1920s, would not or could not do, and affirm a normative middle theological position with clear boundaries" (235). Any such recovery of identity, the author goes on to say, must be done on the basis of a biblical faith.

Longfield's sophisticated study not only provides its readers with a lesson in history, but it sets forth a vivid case study for those denominations that are currently facing some of the same issues as Presbyterianism in the 1920s and 1930s. Because of both these contributions, *The Presbyterian Controversy* deserves to be seriously studied.

Andrews University GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Marsden, George M. *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism.* Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991. 208 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism by Marsden is an edited collection of previously published essays which have appeared in

various symposia and periodicals. The volume is conveniently divided into two major sections entitled "Historical Overview" and "Interpretations."

The "Historical Overview" is a condensed digest of what has already appeared in Marsden's two best-known studies, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) and *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), and provides beginners with a grasp of the unfolding of American fundamentalism and evangelicalism.

The essays in the section "Interpretations" are thematic elaborations of the above-mentioned major monographs. Two of these essays deserve particular attention: one on evangelicalism, "Evangelical Politics: An American Tradition" and the other on politics, "Preachers of Paradox: Fundamentalist Politics in Historical Perspective." Also very striking by their insights are Marsden's essays on the evangelical relationship to science, entitled "The Evangelical Love Affair with Enlightenment Science" and "Why Creation Science?" Noteworthy, likewise, is the essay on fundamentalist Biblical scholar J. Gresham Machen, "Understanding J. Gresham Machen."

The chapters on evangelicalism and science are must reading for anyone interested in understanding the somewhat paradoxical relationship between science and fundamentalism in the 20th Century. Marsden deftly traces the tragic saga of how the metaphors of "warfare" overwhelmed an apparently growing consensus that science and religion did not have to be at loggerheads. His most outstanding contribution, however, is the lucid portrayal of the philosophical underpinnings which have contributed to the entire theological development of fundamentalism and evangelicalism. According to Marsden, it is not that fundamentalism and evangelicalism are nonmodern, reactionary, or antiscientific, but rather that they represent an interpretation of science and history based on a Baconian and Scottish Common Sense Enlightenment understanding of reality. And without these undergirding philosophical orientations, understanding what the battle between conservative Christians and modernity revolves around is practically impossible.

For those interested in matters of evangelical historiography, the last chapter is probably the most inviting. This sympathetic interpretation of the place of Machen in the history of fundamentalism (and its later neoevangelical stepchild) provides some interesting clues as to Marsden's historiographical assumptions. According to him, there is a growing recognition of the impact of the Holiness-Pentecostal contribution to twentieth-century evangelicalism. But the tone of this essay evidences his ongoing fascination with the Reformed, Princeton model which is seen as the central, definitive force in the late 20th-century evangelical intellectual formation. Such a Reformed provenance might be accurate for the hard

core of Northern fundamentalists (and their heirs in early Neoevangelicalism), but whether this model will work for the majority of post-1960s evangelicals is seriously in question.

Finally, two further features of these essays should be noted: 1) the rich bibliographical references in the footnotes read like a Who's Who of the most important edited symposia and monographs in recent evangelical historiography, providing a ready guide to the more recent Reformed, Princeton-oriented evangelical studies; 2) Eerdmans is to be commended for using footnotes rather than endnotes, thereby providing quick and easy reference.

Indeed, Marsden's *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* could be profitably employed in a survey course on American church history for undergraduates or even serve as supplementary reading in a graduate seminar on evangelicalism or 19th- and 20th-century intellectual history.

Andrews University WOODROW WHIDDEN

Meier, John P. *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, Vol. 1, *The Roots of the Problem and the Person*. New York: Doubleday, 1991. x + 484 pp. $25.00.

From the late eighteenth century onward, those who have rejected the NT picture of Jesus have struggled to come up with a "historical" Jesus, a Jesus whose persona can be confirmed through conventional historical research. The results of these "quests for the historical Jesus" have been disappointing at best. Though each new picture of the historical Jesus meets initially with enthusiastic scholarly acclaim, it is never long before the "new" historical Jesus is scornfully rejected by those with a different image to put forth. In *A Marginal Jew*, John P. Meier reexamines the quest for the historical Jesus and once again sets out to see what, if anything, can be known about Jesus through the application of the historical method—or at least through what he maintains is the historical method.

Meier devotes much of the first half of this volume to showing just how limited the sources for the historical Jesus are. Secular material, i.e., the scattered references in Tacitus, Lucian, Suetonius, and Josephus, show that Jesus lived and was executed and give a rough estimate of when these things happened, but do little more. Nor are the many recently discovered apocryphal gospels of much use in discovering the historical Jesus, since they are demonstrably dependent on the canonical gospels.

The accounts of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John are thus the only really valuable sources in reconstructing the historical Jesus. But here, too,

Meier has some reservations. He rejects, out of hand, any attempt to equate the biblical picture of Christ with the historical Jesus as "naïve."

But if one refuses to accept the entirety of the biblical account, how can one glean from these texts any reliable picture of the historical Jesus? Meier suggests five primary criteria for identifying elements of the biblical account that are properly associated with the historical Jesus, the most important of which are the principles of "embarrassment" and "discontinuity." Essentially, he maintains that we are to accept as authentic those passages on Jesus which the church might have found embarrassing or which do not fit with the doctrine of the supposed redactors of the Gospels.

The criteria Meier chooses mirror the central fallacy of most redaction criticism, namely the assumption that incidents used to illustrate a particular theological point most probably stem from the redactor. For example, to argue against the historicity of these narratives, Meier uses the fact that the infancy narratives of Luke and Matthew each emphasize the author's christology. But is it valid to question the historicity of information simply because it happens to support an idea the writer is trying to convey? All ancient historians select from the available evidence those incidents that will best illustrate whatever point they are trying to make. Herodotus, for instance, is especially likely to include material that shows men punished for their pride. Suetonius records in detail unusual events surrounding the births of each of his 12 caesars in an attempt to show that there were portents of future prominence in every case. Both writers are making "theological" points, but few contemporary historians would automatically reject the evidence they present on this basis. Indeed, if they were to adopt such a standard, it would become next to impossible to write history at all. The actual standard generally used by historians with nonbiblical material is to accept (at least tentatively) the evidence presented by the sources unless there is a fairly strong reason for doing otherwise. Thus, the historical method which Meier applies to the Bible—rejecting its evidence unless there is compelling reason for not doing so—is really the reverse of what historians most commonly do in evaluating their sources.

Nevertheless, Meier's hyperskepticism would be valuable if applied consistently. Unfortunately, his argument is somehat less than rigorous. For instance, his uncritical acceptance of the evidence of the Talmud for events of the first century is particularly troubling. Even worse is his failure to treat seriously the very strong objections to Marcan priority and the two-document hypothesis made in the past two decades. He dismisses the arguments of William Farmer, John Rist, and Hans-Herbert Stoldt against Marcan priority with a single glib footnote and blithely ignores Bishop Butler's arguments for Matthean priority altogether.

Meier's attempt to reconstruct the historical Jesus thus rests on no very firm foundation and produces no assured results. Those who want solid information on the historical Jesus are far better off turning to Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John, no matter how "naïve" it might be to do so.

Northern State University
Aberdeen, SD 57401

ARTHUR MARMORSTEIN

Primus, John H. *Holy Time: Moderate Puritanism and the Sabbath.* Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1989. viii + 184 pp. Hardcover, $24.95; paperback, $16.95.

Since the 1960s there has been a flurry of new interest in the phenomenon of English Sabbatarianism. Articles by Patrick Collinson, Herbert Richardson, Winton Solberg, Richard Greaves, and books by James T. Dennison, Kenneth L. Parker, witness to this. John H. Primus describes his contribution to this discussion as "a re-examination of the relationship between the emerging Puritan movement and the phenomenon of Sabbatarianism" in order to shed "additional light on the complex dynamics of the sixteenth-century Church of England" (vii). In his research he responds to current discussions and especially to Parker, who has "reopened the fundamental question of the origin of Sabbatarianism and its relationship to Puritanism" (2, 3).

Holy Time is not intended exclusively for specialists in Tudor Puritanism. For this reason, Primus includes very helpful contextual and explanatory paragraphs on events already known to experts (vii).

Part 1 is a brief historical sketch that highlights certain emphases which Parker tends to overlook. Chap. 1 describes the high Sabbath views in England already evident in the early Reformation. By the end of the sixteenth century "Sabbatarianism had become the linchpin in the Puritan program for more complete reform in England" (17), with one of its distinguishing characteristics being "the divine appointment of Sunday as the new day of rest" (20).

Primus makes a unique contribution in chap. 2 by discussing the unpublished papers of the important Dedham debate in the 1580s which demonstrate a lively controversy on the Sabbath. Central to the debate was a serious conflict about whether Sunday became the New Testament Sabbath by divine authority or by tradition.

The author then shifts in chap. 3 to a discussion of a "Cambridge circle" of theologians who advocated Sunday absolutism during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Primus describes them as "moderate Puritans" who appealed to the authority of the apostles or of Christ for the change of the day of worship from the seventh to the first, accepted the

fourth commandment as morally binding, insisted that Sunday was the Christian Sabbath of the New Testament, and that the church had no authority to change the day of worship.

In chap. 4 Primus describes the anti-Sabbatarian reaction. Sabbatarians insisted that the change of the Sabbath from the seventh day to the first came about by divine authority. Anti-Sabbatarians, on the other hand, pointed out that the change was solely a matter of church tradition, involving the freedom of the church to establish ceremonies, holy days, and other worship practices (94).

Part 2 consists of four topical essays about various facets of English Sabbatarianism. The first analyzes how Sabbatarianism functioned within its theological context. The second examines the legitimacy of the Sabbatarian claim that the continental reformers supported their views. The third, which investigates Sabbatarian theology itself, focuses on creation, resurrection, and sanctification as providing answers to the most hotly disputed aspects of Sabbatarianism: the institution, alteration, and celebration of the Sabbath. The final essay focuses on the central role of the Sabbath in the Puritan vision of a more fully reformed church, "a church purified of all Roman Catholic vestiges, one modeled after the early New Testament Church" (166). This vision for further reform was seen especially through the preaching of the Word, with the Sabbath as a way to bring people into the churches where the Word was proclaimed.

Primus uses the term "Sabbatarianism" as it was usually employed in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not referring to worship on Saturday. He favors Greaves's definition as the most balanced and comprehensive. Sabbatarianism includes "the moral nature of the fourth commandment, Sunday absolutism, and strict Sabbath observance" (11).

Primus agrees with Parker that Sabbatarianism was not an exclusively Puritan innovation. However, he disagrees that "Puritan Sabbatarianism" was essentially the fraudulent invention of later Anglican propaganda. He argues that Sabbatarianism was a well-developed position in its own right and that by the seventeenth century it was intimately related to the Puritan movement (13).

Primus gives a persuasive presentation of the Sabbatarians' selective use of the writings of continental reformers. In spite of their attempts to rid the Church of England from every unscriptural Roman Catholic doctrine and practice, moderate Puritans had no objections to using their opponents' arguments on Sunday sacredness. Nicholas Bound, for example, would refer to the decrees of the Roman Catholic councils of Turin and Paris for support of Sunday absolutism.

Perhaps Primus's attitude to religious minorities could have been less biased. For example, he associates those advocating worshiping on the seventh-day Sabbath with "extreme Sabbatarianism" (94) and describes

them as a "radical fringe of Saturday Sabbatarians," who "carried fourth commandment literalism to the extreme" (8).

Holy Time is a defense of the Sabbatarianism of "moderate Puritanism." This "was not a radical movement with a hidden revolutionary agenda spawned by frustrated Presbyterians but was an honest, well-meaning effort on the part of moderates basically loyal to church and state to bring about spiritual and moral improvement in the lives of the people and hence to the nation." On the other hand, Primus criticizes anti-Sabbatarianism as "an unnecessarily harsh response to this moderate movement. It was a reactionary move to the right, a deeper and more conservative retrenchment into conformity rather than reformation" (98). Anti-Sabbatarianism, he feels, drove Sabbatarianism into the Puritan camp and was equally responsible for the increasing polarization of English Protestantism in the seventeenth century" (99).

Primus gives the Sabbatarians' arguments in favor of Sunday worship: Sunday was the Resurrection day, the apostles' day of worship, the Lord's day, the first day of creation, the first day of manna, the day of Jesus' baptism, the day the five thousand were fed, and the day of Pentecost. However, clear NT support for these arguments is lacking and one looks in vain for a NT command that supports the Sunday absolutism of English Sabbatarianism. Therefore, one should not be surprised if readers would concur with the judgment of anti-Sabbatarian Thomas Rogers, that "the Lord's day is not enjoined by God's commandment but by an human civil and ecclesiastical constitution" (86, 87). In the absence of any New Testament injunction it seems that Primus is unduly harsh in his criticism of the opposition against Sunday absolutism.

In spite of its weaknesses, the book makes an important contribution to the understanding of the Puritan experience. It is required reading for anyone with an interest in the Sabbath-Sunday question.

Andrews University P. GERARD DAMSTEEGT

Prioreschi, P. *Primitive and Ancient Medicine.* A History of Medicine, 1. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991. xix + 642 pp. n.p.

One can only admire the breadth of coverage which P. Prioreschi has attempted in his book entitled *Primitive and Ancient Medicine.* The indefatigable author has, indeed, canvassed what is known about the elements and practice of medicine in the ancient world of China, India, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Israel, and the pre-Columbian Americas. Inevitably, the endeavor turns out to be too vast for one author to encompass. Thus, the strength of this work, i.e., its nature as a broad survey, also leads to its weakness in omissions, generalizations, and lack

of depth and detail. The value of the work depends, therefore, upon the use to which it is put: As a survey of the field it is excellent, but as a series of in-depth technical treatises it falls short.

Each chapter of the book opens with a historical survey of the country involved, followed by a study of the development of medicine there. Such a skeletal introduction is helpful to the amateur. The specialist, however, may see these reviews as extremely abbreviated and even occasionally inaccurate. For example, Prioreschi somewhat exaggerates the pessimistic overtone of Egyptian literature (314). While such pessimistic pieces were written, they came out of times of chaos and political disruption far from typical of Egyptian society, since only three such major recorded disruptions occurred in more than two millennia of history. In fact, specialists like John A. Wilson consider the Egyptian psyche to have had, on the contrary, a very optimistic view of life and existence (*The Culture of Ancient Egypt*, 145-146).

Prioreschi places considerable emphasis upon distinguishing between naturalistic and supernaturalistic types of medicine, although he admits interaction between the two. He holds that these two streams of medicine ran contemporary with each other throughout Egyptian history (341). However, it has recently been argued that Egyptian medicine began in a naturalistic fashion and was mythologized only later, by New Kingdom times in the second millennium. As for Prioreschi, he sees this New Kingdom period only as a rigid and closed attempt to preserve the past. But, surprisingly, his own listing of papyri suggests that, indeed, such a transition did take place: The four papyri which he lists as dating from 1900 to 1550 B.C. are naturalistic in content, whereas the four papyri listed as dating from 1550 to 1250 B.C. are liberally laced with incantations and charms!

Furthermore, Prioreschi spends 10 pages on mummification, followed by a four-page discussion of mummy (*mumia*), the resin used for the embalmed in Egypt, as also in medieval and postmedieval Europe. All of this seems somewhat irrelevant to the topic at hand. Since the ancient Egyptians learned next to nothing about anatomy and pathology from the process of mummification, this belongs more in a discussion of funerary customs than in a treatise on the practice of medicine. Far more pertinent would have been a discussion of paleopathology from the modern medical study of mummies, but the only mention of this subject, at the beginning of the book (14-20), does not include the Egyptian evidence.

In his study of the subject of biblical or Israelite medicine (chap. 7), Prioreschi correctly highlights Israel's distinctive practices as compared with those of her neighbors in the ancient world. "The supernaturalistic medical paradigm of the Bible is entirely religious, as incantations and exorcisms, the basis for magic paradigms, were strictly forbidden: those

who consulted exorcists were cut off from the community, and the exorcists themselves were to be stoned to death" (512).

The author's humanistic approach to ancient Israel's health laws is evident in his treatment of the dietary legislation. For instance, Prioreschi holds that the laws of clean and unclean meats were not given for health reasons because the Israelites could not have associated the eating of pork with the symptoms of trichinosis, since these appeared only several weeks after ingesting the pork (519). And this is, according to Prioreschi, too late for a cause-and-effect association. Prioreschi's argumentation, however, seems to overlook another more important cause-and-effect association: that of a God who would have revealed these laws for the good of His people.

Also, Prioreschi's discussion of motives for these laws is foreshortened in terms of the literature on this subject. At least nine different reasons for these laws have been suggested, but only two are addressed. His ultimate reason for rejecting the health motivation of dietary laws borders somewhat on the bizarre theologically. "The strongest argument, however, against the interpretation of those laws as public health measures is a theological one: if God was responsible for health and disease, if he alone decided who was sick and who was not, what would have been the sense of taking measures that would have interfered with his will? To a certain extent it would even have been blasphemous." (520) Prioreschi's perspective here sounds more like a caricature than a characterization of the relationship between health and disease in the Bible and resembles more the fatalism of Hinduism or Buddhism.

A final point about the book has to do with its concluding chapter. The latter does attempt to sum up the accomplishments of ancient medicine; but the following exaltation of the Greeks as the scientific pioneers who led to better medicine, although true to facts, is somewhat distracting. This type of evaluation really belongs as the introduction to volume 2 of the series, rather than as a conclusion to volume one. Indeed, the ancient world should have been allowed to stand on its own merits in its own terms.

Biblical Research Institute
Silver Spring, MD 20904

WILLIAM H. SHEA

Richey, Russell E. *Early American Methodism.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991. xix + 137 pp. $25.00.

In line with its title, *Early American Methodism* treats the denomination's history between 1770 and 1810 in what Richey admits "is self-consciously a revisionist endeavor" (xi). The volume's six essays center

on issues of continuity and change throughout the period. In particular, Richey rejects the common belief that Methodism underwent its single and most important change in 1784 at the time of organization.

The highpoint of the book, and in many ways the justification for its publication, lies in its analysis of Methodism's use of language. Richey identifies a taxonomy of four Methodist languages. The first was the evangelical vernacular of religious experience that the denomination shared with other pietistic groups. This language was richly biblical and highly evocative. Thus a preacher who had "found great freedom" might preach in such a way as to "melt" hearts and "knit" believers together in "love." This idiom was the language of pulpit, journal, and publication, yet it never became part of the Methodist canon.

Methodism's second language spoke of such things as "classes," "societies," "circuits," and "holiness." This language derived from the Wesleys, and did much to shape early Methodism. The Wesleyan idiom was generally highly compatible with the evangelical vernacular, even though at times there were tensions between them.

Methodism's third language was that of the episcopacy, which came from the Church of England via John Wesley. Such terms as "deacon," "elder," and "bishop" are included. The episcopal language was the language of formal church organization and sacraments. While it found natural use in official documents, Richey points out, it proved difficult to integrate with the first two languages.

American Methodism's fourth language came into prominence somewhat later as the language of republicanism. It uplifted such terminology as "liberty" and "free citizens." As such, it found more use among those schismatic Methodists who fought the episcopal system than it did among the Methodist leadership, even though by the mid-nineteenth century it was being used increasingly by mainline Methodism.

Richey demonstrates how these four languages both enriched Methodism and created difficulties. Those difficulties arose when church leaders or members misunderstood each other because they were speaking in different idioms.

On the whole, *Early American Methodism* best illustrates the use of Methodist idioms in terms of the evangelical vernacular and Wesleyan languages. Of special value and insight in that usage are chapters 1, 2, and 5, which explore the multifaceted implications of such terms as "community," "fraternity," "order," "quarterly meeting," "camp meeting," and "conference" as a means of grace. Running across those verbal explorations are the strands of continuity that forms a second aspect of the book's organizational format.

Early American Methodism's most serious weakness is that it reads more like a series of related but somewhat disconnected essays than a carefully-constructed book. As such, it suffers from more than minimal

redundancy and what appear to be discontinuities and unevenness in both thought and style. A reader gets the impression that its various chapters form preliminary investigations of its several topics.

If that is the case, I look forward to a better-integrated and more fully developed treatment of earliest American Methodism that widens the beachhead established in this volume. In his four-fold linguistic taxonomy, Richey has developed the tools for such an undertaking. Meanwhile, that taxonomy should prove helpful to historical investigators in other traditions who can use similar methods to enrich our understanding of other denominations.

Andrews University GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Windham, Neal. *New Testament Greek for Preachers and Teachers: Five Areas of Application.* Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1991. 247 pp. Cloth, $39.50; paperback, $19.50.

Windham calls his work "a book about exegesis and, to a lesser degree, exposition" (2). He intends for this book to be used as a reference manual—in addition to other books—by those who have already studied basic Greek. The work assumes some proficiency in translation and "at least a casual acquaintance with general hermeneutical principles" (2).

New Testament Greek for Preachers and Teachers covers five areas or building blocks, as Windham calls them: textual criticism, morphology, word study, syntax, and discourse. To the first, he dedicates two chapters; to each of the others, one. Each chapter ends with a conclusion, practical problems, and a short but well-chosen bibliography.

The first three appendices contain textual criticism information: lists of manuscripts, versions, and church fathers, with their locations. Two brief appendices deal with roots and affixes. The final appendix contains a list of writers and writings frequently cited in the lexica. Author, subject, and Scripture index complete the book.

In the first chapter on textual criticism, Windham presents the basics of the discipline: why it is needed, what the sources are, the kinds of errors found. In the second chapter he explains the procedures of textual criticism, giving three examples from 1 John. He concludes that pastors need to use textual criticism responsibly and present it in an interesting, informative fashion in their sermons.

Windham maintains that "exegesis begins with morphology" (65). Roots, prefixes, and suffixes are explored by means of examples. The reader is instructed to pay attention to different kinds of nouns: those that suggest process, result, type of person, or abstraction. The information

gained is to be used in preaching, without making the congregation aware of the pastor's Greek expertise.

The most extensive chapter of the book explains Greek word studies. Sources and tools for the task are described in detail. Step-by-step instruction for completing the study of important words are given, with examples to show the methodology. In the advice for using word studies in sermons, Windham warns against etymologyzing and getting too technical, while urging that the word study be allowed to help write the sermon (138, 141).

The chapter on syntax begins with six reasons for studying syntax. Windham then shows how an understanding of Greek verb tenses clarifies meaning. He also reviews the cases, showing how they shape meaning. "A critical step in the exegetical process is the asking and answering of the basic interrogatives of a text" (184). A list of the questions and the way the Greek answers them is presented to guide exegesis (185-187). An example of its application follows.

Windham uses the term "discourse" to describe "any coherent stretch of language" (198). He urges the recognition of markers and repetitions to determine the structure of the biblical passage. He admits that this chapter can only give "a *feel* for elements of discourse." The ideal is to "rise above simple parsing and see the interrelatedness" of the whole (214).

As a textbook for Greek courses in New Testament exegesis and exposition, *New Testament Greek for Preachers and Teachers* offers solid material. Perhaps, however, it may be more useful to the professor than to the students, given the notoriously poor study habits of many Greek students.

Other than the somewhat less-than-perfect typestyle of the book, no major flaws mar Windham's contribution to the study and teaching of New Testament exposition and exegesis. In any case, the richness and diversity of the information Windham presents in a clear and organized manner makes the book a welcome addition to the literature available to the Greek professor.

Andrews University NANCY J. VYHMEISTER

BOOK NOTICES

NANCY VYHMEISTER

Ball, John. *Chronicling the Soul's Windings: Thomas Hooker and His Morphology of Conversion.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1992. viii + 272 pp. $37.50.

Based on his dissertation at Westminster, Ball considers Hooker's biography, the context of his writing, and the writings on conversion themselves.

Boyd, Gregory A. *Oneness Pentecostals and the Trinity.* Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992. 234 pp. Paperback, $11.95.

Boyd writes from firsthand knowledge to repudiate the antiTrinitarian views of a group of more than 5 million Pentecostals.

Bregman, Lucy. *Death in the Midst of Life: Perspectives on Death from Christianity and Depth Psychology.* Christian Explorations in Psychology. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992. 248 pp. $12.95.

An exploration of Christian and psychological perspectives on death and dying, this book traces the teachings of Scripture and compares view of Christians with those of their secular counterparts. Index and bibliography.

Carson, Donald A. *A Call to Spiritual Reformation: Priorities from Paul and His Prayers.* Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992. 230 pp. $11.99

Carson discusses Paul's lessons on prayer for today's church with the conviction that prayer is the basis of reformation.

Conzelmann, Hans, and Andreas Lindemann. *Interpreting the New Testament: An Introduction to the Principles and Methods of N.T. Exegesis.* Trans. Siegfried S. Schatzmann. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988. xix + 389 pp. $19.95.

An instructive guide of tools and methods of NT exegesis, this translation from the German offers acquaints the reader with the central issues and questions of NT exegesis. Bibliographies include English works. Each section suggests readings and exercises.

Day, A. Colin. *Roget's Thesaurus of the Bible.* San Francisco: Harper, 1992. 927 pp. Indexed, $30.00.

Bible passages are divided into the nearly 1,000 categories of Roget's well-known work. A Scripture index and topical index complete the volume, most useful to lay Bible students.

Eliade, Mircea, ed. *Essential Sacred Writings around the*

World. San Francisco: Harper, 1991. xxv + 645 pp. Paperback, $17.00.

Published in 1967 as *From Primitives to Zen*, this anthology of religious texts was originally intended to benefit Eliade's students. The work is arranged thematically and includes bibliographies for further study.

Holbrook, Frank B., ed. *Symposium on Revelation*. 2 vols. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series. Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1992. xiv + 399 pp. and xiv + 465 pp. Paperback, $12.95 each.

Introductory, general, and exegetical (chaps. 12-22) studies on the book of Revelation from a Seventh-day Adventist perspective. Authors include Kenneth A. Strand, co-editor of *AUSS*.

Kelly, Joseph F. *The Concise Dictionary of Early Christianity*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992. 203 pp. $24.95.

Very brief articles make this a handy reference tool for the one needing minimal information on a topic.

Lapsley, James N. *Renewal In Late Life through Pastoral Counseling*. Studies in Pastoral Psychology, Theology, and Spirituality. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist, 1992. viii + 118 pp. Paperback, $9.95.

In his theology of and practical guide to counseling for the elderly, Lapsley applies recentre-search to this specialized ministry.

Miller, Elliot, and Kenneth R. Samples. *The Cult of the Virgin: Catholic Mariology and the Apparitions of Mary*. Grand Rapids, Baker, 1992. 188 pp. $9.99

A Protestant study of the theology of Mary and her apparitions, especially those of Medjugorje.

Numbers, Ronald L. *Prophetess of Health: Ellen G. White and the Origins of the Seventh-day Adventist Health Reform*. Revised and enlarged edition. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992. lxvii + 335 pp. $49.95.

The revisions include an updated historiography of the topic and a new psychological analysis of Ellen White.

Owens, John Joseph. *Analytical Key to the Old Testament*. Vol. 2, *Judges-Chronicles*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992. xii + 937 pp. $39.99.

A handy tool for students of the Hebrew Scripture, Owens' work needs little explanation.

Ziefle, Helmut. *Dictionary of Modern Theological German*. 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992. 354 pp. Paperback, $24.95.

Twice as many theological terms are defined in this new edition as in the first one.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = ʾ	ד = *d̲*	י = *y*	ס = *s*	ר = *r*
ב = *b*	ה = *h*	כ = *k*	ע = ʿ	שׁ = *ś*
בּ = *b̲*	ו = *w*	כּ = *k̲*	פ = *p*	שׂ = *š*
ג = *g*	ז = *z*	ל = *l*	פּ = *p̲*	ת = *t*
גּ = *g̲*	ח = *ḥ*	מ = *m*	צ = *ṣ*	תּ = *t̲*
ד = *d*	ט = *ṭ*	נ = *n*	ק = *q*	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ = *a*	ְ, ֱ (vocal shewa) = *e*	ֹ = *ō*
ָ = *ā*	ֵ, ֵי = *ê*	וֹ = *o*
ַ = *a*	ִ = *i*	וֹ = *ô*
ֶ = *e*	ִי = *î*	וּ = *u*
ֵ = *ē*	ָ = *o*	וּ = *û*

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

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