

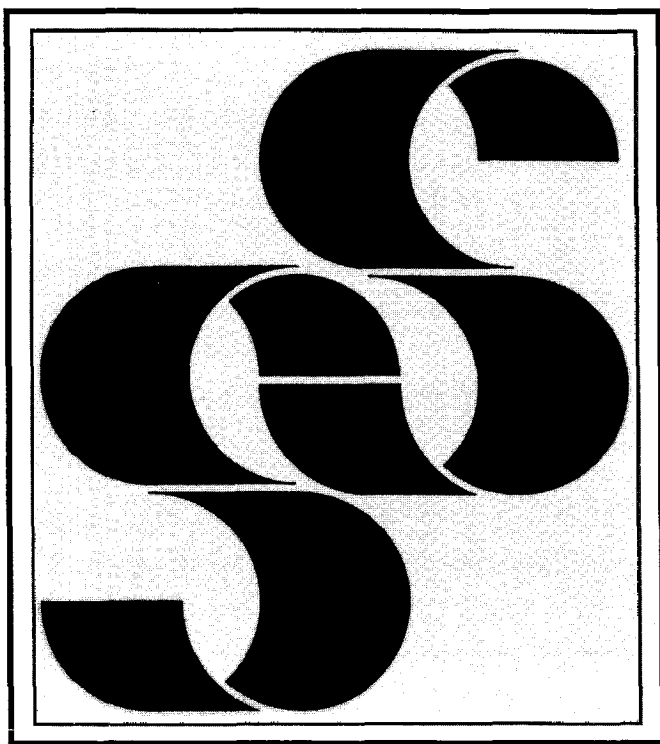
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SIEGFRIED H. HORN: 1908-1993
A TRIBUTE

On November 28, 1993, Siegfried H. Horn, first editor of *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, passed away in St. Helena, California, at the age of 85. As was discovered after his death, he had malignant lymphoma.

Horn's long and distinguished career in biblical archaeology has been documented in recent issues of *Biblical Archaeology Review*. Larry G. Herr's article "The Search for Biblical Heshbon",¹ told of Horn's

¹ *BAR* 19 (Nov.-Dec. 1993): 36-37, 68.

leadership in the Hesban project, which has been reported through the years in the pages of *AUSS*. The article ended by saying that "at the age of 85, Siegfried Horn still keeps an eye on our work and would have it no other way." Herr, currently Annual Professor at the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem, intended for his piece to be a tribute that Horn might read and enjoy in life. Whether Horn saw it, we do not know. *BAR* also carried a tribute written by Larry Geraty, in which Horn's life story is told.²

Siegfried Horn was the son of a Seventh-day Adventist Bible teacher and one of Germany's earliest aviators. He was educated in Jewish schools so he would not have to attend school on Sabbath. After theological education in Germany and England, Horn served as a missionary in the Dutch East Indies. Interned with other German nationals, first in Java and then in India, Horn spent seven years in prison camps. During those years he spent time with his cherished books, miraculously preserved through many difficulties. Not only did he read and study for himself, he taught Greek, Hebrew, and other Bible courses to fellow inmates. In 1947 Horn came to the United States, where he studied for a B.A. (Walla Walla College, WA), an M.A. (S.D.A. Theological Seminary, Washington, DC), and a Ph.D. in Egyptology, which he completed at the Oriental Institute in 1951. At that time he began teaching at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, where he remained until his retirement in 1976. While teaching and writing, Horn became more than an armchair archaeologist. He participated in excavations at Shechem (1960, 1962, and 1964) and later initiated and directed the Heshbon dig (1968, 1971, 1973). Upon retirement, Horn moved to California, near San Francisco, so he could be near good libraries and an airport, since he traveled extensively, both in the interest of archaeology and to see the world.

Horn began publishing *AUSS* almost single-handedly in 1963. One might have expected that since his field of interest was biblical archaeology, the journal would reflect his interests. Although the preliminary reports of Andrews University excavations have appeared regularly in *AUSS*, the table of contents shows careful regard for other fields of biblical, historical, and theological research. Horn continued as editor until 1974, when Kenneth Strand took over.

Horn is remembered by many as a promoter of biblical archaeology. His fascinating articles in Seventh-day Adventist periodicals bolstered faith in the Bible by throwing light on persons and events of antiquity. He wrote the introductory articles on history and archaeology for the seven-volume

² "In Memoriam: Siegfried H. Horn," *BAR* 20 (March-April 1994): 22, 24. The early part of Horn's story is also told in Joyce Rochat, *Survivor* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986) and Horn's autobiographical account, *Promise Deferred* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1987).

Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary. Later he edited (and authored many articles of) a one-volume *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Dictionary*; in 1979 he brought out a revised edition of this work. In addition, Horn published in other journals.

Many think of Horn as the biblical archaeology professor. From 1951 until 1976 he taught biblical backgrounds and archaeology at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary. His students remember him as the teacher who always started and finished his classes on time. Each class began with prayer, not as a formality, but because Horn was a man of prayer. We could count on his finishing the sentence during which the bell rang and closing his notes. Between beginning and end, Horn provided mountains of information, well organized and fitting neatly into his typewritten syllabus. One can only guess how many students used his detailed syllabus as the basis for their own teaching, often in far-flung corners of the world.

Early in his teaching career, Horn began to gather artifacts to bring biblical archaeology to life for his students. The early collection fitted easily into one cabinet of his classroom. Today the Horn Archaeological Museum on the campus of Andrews University contains a fascinating collection of objects from antiquity. Students and visitors come here from many places to learn from these mementos of the past. The museum also houses the Horn Library, inaugurated in 1991, after Horn donated his personal library for the use of future generations.

I like best to remember Horn as Siegfried my friend. In 1986, Siegfried spent a short term lecturing at the Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies in the Philippines, where my husband and I were teaching. Without the limitations imposed by administrative responsibilities and excavation schedules, Siegfried became a real person. Within one hour of his arrival on campus, he was exploring the nearby village. His curiosity about the world was as insatiable as his appetite for the Indonesian food he had learned to love in pre-World War II Java. Together we followed the revolution which paralyzed the country and brought Cory Aquino to power. Together we visited Manila. Together we studied the Bible. He told his life story, sharing his own faith journey. His students were amazed at his great knowledge; I was more impressed with his magnificent humanity.

AUSS, together with his colleagues and students at Andrews University, pays tribute to Siegfried H. Horn—archaeologist, biblical scholar, writer, professor, administrator, and friend.

Nancy J. Vyhmeister

Painted by Nathan Greene, the portrait of Horn that accompanies this tribute hangs in the foyer of the Horn Archaeological Museum. Photo by David Sherwin.

REVELATION AND INSPIRATION: THE CLASSICAL MODEL

FERNANDO L. CANALE
Andrews University

The ground and methodology on which a new approach to the doctrine of revelation and inspiration can be developed have already been explored.¹ The question now before us is whether a new theoretical interpretation of the epistemological origin of Scripture is necessary.² Would not it be more practical and effective to choose one of the many available interpretations?³ In order to answer the question

¹Fernando Canale, "Revelation and Inspiration: The Ground for a New Approach," *AUSS* 31 (1993): 91-104; id., "Revelation and Inspiration: Method for a New Approach," *AUSS* 31 (1993): 171-194.

²Dissatisfaction with available interpretations has been present among theologians, particularly during the last three centuries. For instance, William J. Abraham states that "it is no exaggeration to claim that contemporary Evangelical theology faces a crisis as regards its doctrine of inspiration. For some time it has been felt that its account has been inadequate" (*The Divine Inspiration of Holy Scripture* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1981], 1). He faces the evangelical crisis of understanding the origin of Scripture by developing what he calls a "genuine alternative" that is "intellectually viable and religiously valuable" (109; see also 9, 58-75). Still within the general parameters of the evangelical tradition (7, 109-118), Abraham's proposal attempts to make room for a consistent application of the historical-critical method of biblical interpretation, which he considers "well established as an academic discipline and too relevant to our recovery of the past to be ignored or rejected" (5). The approach that I suggest calls for the construction of a new model from the very foundations of its systematic basis. Abraham is correct in perceiving the inadequacy of existing theories, but his proposal does not go beyond either the classical evangelical or liberal models already in existence.

³For an introduction to the many theories produced throughout the history of Christian theology see Avery Robert Dulles, *Revelation Theology: A History* (Herder and Herder, NY: 1969); James Tunstead Burtchaell, *Catholic Theories of Biblical Inspiration since 1810: A Review and Critique* (Cambridge, Engl.: Cambridge University Press, 1969); James I. Packer, "Contemporary Views of Revelation," in *Revelation and the Bible: Contemporary Evangelical Thought*, ed. Carl F. H. Henry (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1958); Peter Maarten Van Bemmelen, *Issues in Biblical Inspiration: Sanday and Warfield* (Berrien

about the necessity of a new approach, an analysis of the models already in existence is required. In this article my purpose is to provide an epistemological description of the classical model of revelation-inspiration. The liberal model will be explored subsequently in another article.

1. *Theological Models*

At the outset, a word is in order regarding the nature of models considered as technical tools for the analysis and comparison of ideas. Models, says Ian Barbour, are "imagined mental constructs invented to account for observed phenomena"; they are used "to develop a theory which in some sense explains the phenomena."⁴ Avery Dulles and David Tracy not only have worked very effectively with theological models but also have clarified what these are. Models, explains Dulles, attempt to uncover "structural features of systems," and are ideal, simplified, and schematic accounts of a much more complex reality.⁵ Tracy explains that "a widely accepted dictum in contemporary theology is the need to develop certain basic models or types for understanding the specific task of the contemporary theologian."⁶ In theology, the essence of models—that which makes their usage worthwhile—consists in showing the structural articulation of the main components involved in the interpretation of any given doctrine.⁷ Thus, models are useful tools that help to identify the general characteristics of any theological position, school, or trend.

Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987); René Latourelle, *Theology of Revelation: Including a Commentary on the Constitution "Dei verbum" of Vatican II* (Staten Island, NY: Alba, 1966), 87-309; Abraham, 111-113; Avery Robert Dulles, *Models of Revelation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1992), 21; Robert Karl Gnuse, *The Authority of the Bible: Theories of Inspiration, Revelation, and the Canon of Scripture* (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), 6-62; and Bruce Vawter, *Biblical Inspiration* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1972).

⁴Ian G. Barbour, *Myths, Models, and Paradigms* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 300.

⁵Dulles, *Models*, 25, 30.

⁶David Tracy, *Blessed Rage for Order: The New Pluralism in Theology* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 22. For further literature on models, see, e.g., Frederick Ferré, *Language, Logic and God* (New York: Harper, 1961); Ian Ramsey, *Models and Mystery* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); and id., *Christian Discourse* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

⁷Tracy, 23.

Models have their limitations, however. For instance, they do not "provide an exact description of particular historical phenomena."⁸ And furthermore, their truth status cannot be proved.⁹ No particular theologian, therefore, will fit exactly the type or model that he or she represents.¹⁰ Moreover, some theologians are very difficult to classify as representing any given model; others even mix components that belong to several models.¹¹

It is extremely important to distinguish properly between "system," "paradigm," and "model" so as to give precision to the analysis and avoid unnecessary confusion. "System" refers to the undergirding presuppositional structure that I explored in my second article.¹² "Paradigm" refers to the methodology that any discipline needs in order to function properly as a science.¹³ Finally, the concept of model refers to the specific way in which a theological doctrine is articulated in its essential features. Thus, any particular model necessarily presupposes a scientific paradigm and a philosophical system.

Since there are various ways in which both the presuppositional philosophical system and the scientific methodological paradigm can be interpreted, models for theological doctrines can also be conceived in sundry ways.¹⁴ For instance, Robert Gnuse speaks about strict verbal,

⁸Ibid.

⁹Dulles, *Models*, 29.

¹⁰Ibid., 26.

¹¹Ibid., 29.

¹²Canale, "Method," 190-192.

¹³Thomas S. Kuhn has called attention to the term "paradigm" by using it as a tool to help him interpret the historical development of factual sciences. According to Kuhn, paradigm "stands for the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community" (*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2d ed. [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970], 175). Hans Küng applied Kuhn's idea of paradigm to the study of theological development (*Theology for the Third Millennium: An Ecumenical View*, trans. Peter Heinegg [New York: Doubleday, 1988], 123-226). See also Hans Küng, "Paradigm Change in Theology: A Proposal for Discussion," in *Paradigm Change in Theology: A Symposium for the Future*, ed. Hans Küng and David Tracy, trans. Margaret Köhl (New York: Crossroad, 1991), 3-33. Unfortunately, the concept of paradigm as used by both Kuhn and Küng does not properly distinguish between the philosophical foundations of the sciences and their methodological structure. In other words, no distinction is made between system and paradigm.

¹⁴Dulles, *Models*, 26-27.

limited verbal, non-textual, and social theories of inspiration,¹⁵ whereas Carl Henry refers to evangelical, liberal, and neo-orthodox approaches.¹⁶ Speaking specifically about revelation rather than inspiration, Dulles distinguishes five different models: doctrinal, historical, experiential, dialectical presence, and new awareness.¹⁷ Also speaking about revelation, Miikka Ruokanen notes three models: propositional, non-propositional, and non-propositional with new divinely originated information;¹⁸ he also discerns two models of inspiration, namely, the direct-instrumental and the integrated-content theories. As a final example, we may note that Abraham recognizes four models of inspiration: dictation, natural intuition, illumination of human natural powers, and dynamic control of the free human agent by the Holy Spirit.¹⁹

In the task of identifying the most dominant models of revelation-inspiration produced throughout the history of Christian thought and of presenting a broad description of my suggested new model, I will use as analytical tools the methodology discussed in my second article and the interpretations of the ground (the presuppositional structure or system) presented in my first article.

A model of inspiration-revelation should provide as clear an explanation as possible of the issue at hand; namely, the epistemological origin of Scripture. Specifically, it should supply an understanding of the way in which God and man interacted in the construction of meaning and information; or in other words, how they originated the total content of Scripture. It should also supply an understanding of the process of putting that content into the form of a written text. The description of a theological model, then, includes the following: first, an examination of the presuppositions of the underlying philosophical system; second, an analysis of revelation as the epistemological origin of the content of Scripture; third, an examination of the linguistic process of inscripturization; and fourth, an evaluation of the results when applied to Scripture as the source of theological data.

¹⁵Gnuse, 22-23, 34-41, 42-49, and 50-68, respectively.

¹⁶Carl Henry, "Divine Revelation and the Bible," in *Inspiration and Interpretation*, ed. John Walvoord (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1957), 256-269.

¹⁷Dulles, *Models*, 27-28.

¹⁸Miikka Ruokanen, *Doctrina Divinitus Inspirata: Martin Luther's Position in the Ecumenical Problem of Biblical Inspiration* (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola Society, 1985), 19-23.

¹⁹Abraham, 3.

2. *Presuppositional Structure of the Classical Model*

The presuppositional structure of the classical model encompasses the general metaphysical and epistemological principles of Greek philosophy as developed by Plato and Aristotle and adapted to Christianity by Augustine and Aquinas.²⁰ Concretely, it includes metaphysically the principle of realism,²¹ and epistemologically the principle of "illumination" (Augustine's terminology)²² or "intellectualism" (the Aristotelian-Thomistic expression).²³ Moreover, reality is conceived not only as independent from the cognitive subject, but also as timeless in nature.²⁴

²⁰I am aware that this is a simplification and generalization of a much more complex historical development. Such simplification and generalization is required here, however, by my purpose of outlining the main features of a model, in this case the classical model.

²¹Aquinas' position differs from idealism, transcendentalism, and materialistic realism. In it the basic characteristic of reality is changelessness, which is at the center of the reality of things in what is called the second *ousia*. Johannes Hirschberger explains that in addition to concrete reality (first *ousia*), "St. Thomas recognized second substance, which denotes that which in many individual things is found to be identical, the common nature (*natura communis*). This coincides with the species or genus. St. Thomas prefers, however, to call it essence or quiddity (*essentia, quidditas*)" (*The History of Philosophy*, 2 vols., trans. Anthony N. Fuerst [Milwaukee, WI: Bruce, 1958-1959], 1:417). Here again Aquinas "is entirely at one with Aristotle, and by this theory, he along with Aristotle makes it possible for a portion of Platonism to continue to live on" (*ibid.*).

²²Hirschberger presents three main ways in which Augustine's illumination has been understood (1:316-317). It is interesting to notice that Aquinas considered Augustine's position as compatible with his more elaborate intellectualism (*Summa Theologica*, 1.84.5). See also Armand A. Maurer, *Medieval Philosophy* (New York: Random, 1962), 10-12.

²³In Intellectualism, knowledge of reality is produced by the "agent intellect" (*intellectus agens*). The agent, which is located in the timeless soul, has the capability to abstract the timeless essence (second *ousia*) from the concrete reality in which it is given to us (first *ousia*). All human knowledge is structured this way. Sensory perception is considered to be the starting point of knowledge, but is always of the timeless essence, never the temporal historical reality. For an introduction to Aquinas' intellectualism, see Hirschberger, 1:435-439; Guillermo Fraile, *Historia de la Filosofía*, 3 vols. (Madrid: B.A.C., 1965-1966), 2:979-1005; and Norman L. Geisler, *Thomas Aquinas: An Evangelical Appraisal* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1991), 86-90. For an introduction to intellectualism as a general epistemological theory of knowledge, see Johannes Hessen, *Teoría del Conocimiento*, 9th ed. (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1969), 61-64.

²⁴In the classical system, timeless (ultimate) reality is conceived to be analogical. Consequently, the characteristic of timelessness pertains properly to God, and only in various degrees of analogy to the rest of reality. See my *A Criticism of Theological Reason: Time and Timelessness as Primordial Presuppositions* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1983), 185, n. 1. Aquinas put it in the following way: "Eternity, in the

In this model, divine activity belongs to a world of timelessness; divine and human knowledge, likewise, pertain to the same world of timelessness. Even when the intellect is "active" in abstracting or seeing the independent timeless reality that is given to it within the concrete temporal reality, it nonetheless is passive in regard to the content of the knowledge that it achieves. Intellectualism (and much more so Augustine's "illumination") conceives of knowledge as basically caused by the presupposed timeless reality or essence that determines the scientific content formed in the human mind. The classical model of the origin of Scripture, built on the basis of this philosophical structure, was already generally accepted during the patristic period,²⁵ and is shared by both conservative Roman Catholic and Protestant traditions.²⁶

3. *Revelation in the Classical Model*

As indicated above, the process of revelation has two components: divine activity and human activity. At this juncture, we must consider their function and use within the "classical model" and what constitutes their essence and content in this model.

true and proper sense, belongs to God alone, for eternity, we said, follows upon unchangeableness (*immutabilitatem*)" (*Summa theologica*, 1.10.3), and eternity is timeless (Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles*, 1.15.3; *Summa theologica*, 1.10.2 ad 3; 1.10.4; 1.10.4 ad 2 and 3; 1.10.3; 1.10.1). For a commentary on Augustine's timeless conception of God, see William Thomas Jones, *A History of Western Philosophy*, 5 vols., 2d ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1969-1975), 2:88-93.

²⁵Vawter remarks that the Fathers' view of Scripture was influenced not only by the Hellenistic culture but also by Palestinian Judaism, which had already assimilated Greek culture (35-36). He concludes that "the fact remains that it was among men with very little of the Biblical sense of historical religion that the Church's doctrine of inspiration was destined to be discussed" (36). About two centuries earlier than Augustine, Origen appears to have shared the classical view. According to Enrique Nardoni, Origen believed that revelation (he called it "divine illumination") "operates in a double way. On the one hand, it energizes the natural faculties of the prophets" ("Origen's Concept of Biblical Inspiration," *The Second Century* 4 [1984]: 14). "On the other hand, it operates by offering an apprehensible aspect of the divine mystery" (15).

²⁶*Ibid.*, 76. It is beyond the scope of this article to describe the specific views of sixteenth-century Protestant Reformers, a topic which would require a complete study in its own right. I should point out, however, that Ruokanen's volume about Luther (see n. 19, above) is instructive on the subject. In this article, the Protestant tradition will be represented by the views of certain present-day conservative Christian scholars, especially Carl F. H. Henry.

Divine Activity

The concept of revelation as the origin of biblical content developed slowly. Thomas Aquinas' synthesis brought to technical expression the basic trend of classical thought.²⁷ For him, revelation was the result of God's action on the human intellect, by which God might "disclose new ideas or species to the mind of the prophet by direct action upon the senses, the imagination, or by reordering existing ideas or species in an original way, or by direct action upon the intellect."²⁸ In other words, revelation "is normally communicated to the prophet by the supernatural gift of representations (sensible, imaginative, or intelligible), accompanied by an illumination of the judgment enabling the mind to understand and exploit them."²⁹

Thus, revelation requires two actions of God upon the prophet or writer. First, he has to generate the content; and second, he has to enable the prophet to think (judge) at higher-than-natural level of reason demanded by the supernatural content itself.³⁰ Such enabling, when given to the active intellect, does not destroy it, but rather elevates it.³¹

Degrees of revelation are recognized, however, since some of the means through which God reveals his transcendent truth are more effective and excellent than others.³² This, in turn, leads proponents of this model to the conclusion that most of the Bible's contents have originated, not from supernatural revelation, but rather from the human

²⁷*Summa theologiae*, 2a2ae, 171-174.

²⁸J. T. Forestell, "Bible, II (Inspiration)," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967-1989), 2:384. See also John Scullion, *The Theology of Inspiration* (Notre Dame, IN.: Fides, 1970), 36. For an in-depth study on Aquinas' doctrine of revelation, see Paul Synave and Pierre Benoit, *Prophecy and Inspiration: A Commentary on the Summa Theologica II-II, Questions 171-178*, trans. Avery Dulles (New York: Desclee, 1961); Pierre Benoit, *Aspects of Biblical Inspiration*, trans. J. Murphy-O'Connor and S. K. Ashe (Chicago Priory, 1965), 44-64. According to Charles Joseph Costello, Augustine conceived that truths were communicated to the prophets "either through their sense faculties, or directly through the intellect" (*St. Augustine's Doctrine on the Inspiration and Canonicity of Scripture* [Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1930], 11). See also Vawter, 40.

²⁹Benoit, 44.

³⁰Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2a-2ae, 171.1, ad 4. Scullion points out that for Aquinas, this elevation of the mind was inspiration and that consequently "Thomas did not discuss scriptural inspiration as we understand it" (36).

³¹*Ibid.*, 2a-2ae, 171.2.

³²*Ibid.*, 2a-2ae, 174.2.

writers, whose active intellects were especially enabled or illuminated to judge properly the kind of things accessible to every person.³³

Human Activity

In the formation of the actual content of revealed truth, the classical model assigns to the human participant a passive, receptive role. Aquinas, again, states this characteristic with unmistakable clarity. Since revelation is an action of God directed to the prophet's intellect, it does not destroy that intellect; rather it elevates and utilizes it, so that the human involvement in revelation actually occurs within the prophet's intellectual faculty.³⁴ It seems clear that at this point Aquinas' system or presuppositional structure takes over, for he views the intellectual activity of the human recipients as contributing nothing to the creation of the content of the revealed truths. These truths are caused only and totally by God, who in various ways and degrees impresses them on the minds of the prophets.³⁵ In order to receive these truths, the prophets' intellectual capabilities are ontologically heightened by a supernatural act of God, as we have already noted. In fact, without such heightening, the normal intellect of the prophet would be unable to receive the supernatural, timeless truths that revelation conveys.

The Essence or Nature of Revelation

By now the essence or nature of revelation according to the classical model has become apparent. Revelation is cognitive. As stated by Aquinas, "Prophecy first and chiefly consists in knowledge."³⁶ But although truth is timeless, it is given to human knowledge within concrete temporal realities that are initially processed through sensory perception. If in this life, natural truth is to be abstracted by the active intellect from the data provided by sensory perception, this process is

³³Ibid., 2a-2ae, 174, ad 3. Also see Benoit, 44.

³⁴ST, 2a-2ae, 173.2. See also n. 32, above.

³⁵Ibid., 1.79.2. The passive understanding of man's activity in revelation was already present in Origen. Nardoni remarks that the communication involved in revelation "is made by 'a spiritual impression' on the spiritual sense of the prophet's mind. This impression stimulates the spiritual sense and determines the character of whatever the prophet has perceived" (15).

³⁶*Summa theologica*, 2a-2ae, 171.1.

even more evident in the case of supernatural revelation, which is supposed to convey divine timeless truth.

It should be observed, however, that inasmuch as sensory perception works on natural data provided by concrete realities existing in space and time, the intellect in its abstractive function is supposed to eliminate the historical aspects and to concentrate only on the timeless ones. The latter are conceived to be the immutable eternal truths revealed by God in either natural or supernatural revelation.

The Content of Revelation

According to the classical model, the specific content of the supernatural knowledge generated by God in the intellect of the prophets has been interpreted in various ways. Aquinas, for instance, considered that the content of revelation includes potentially the total sum of absolute truth as it eternally exists in God. In the divine intellect, he says, "originally and virtually, all being pre-exists as in its first cause,"³⁷ and "the principle of things pertaining to supernatural knowledge, which are manifested by prophecy, is God Himself."³⁸ Prophetic knowledge, under the form of teaching, is a likeness of the eternal timeless knowledge of the divine intellect. Thomas thus specifically isolates God as the actual content of revelation.

Theology by definition, however, deals only with that part of eternal truth which is not accessible through sensory perception and the natural intellect. In other words, revelation is properly predicated of those aspects of divine knowledge that we cannot access through our natural reason (our sensory perception and active intellect), and theology deals with either natural or supernatural truths insofar as these relate to divine salvation. "It was necessary for the salvation of man, that certain truths which exceed human reason should be made known to him by divine revelation," says Aquinas, who then goes on immediately to explain that it was also indispensable that truths which are necessary for salvation should be revealed by God. This is so, even when such truths may be accessible to human reason, for reason is able to discover truth about God only "after a long time, and with the admixture of many errors."³⁹

³⁷Ibid., 1.79.2.

³⁸Ibid., 2a-2ae, 171.2.6.

³⁹Ibid., 1.1.1.

Thus, the content of revelation is knowledge about salvation, and this pertains to divine things that in their nature and in their fullest meaning are timeless. It would seem to follow, therefore, that not all parts of Scripture, having been written within a historical frame of thought, are relevant as sources for theology. And moreover, since supernature is defined as timeless by the presuppositional structure, history cannot be in itself the content of revelation. It is, at best, revelation's vehicle *in via*.

In this context, it is important to notice that history is not considered by Aquinas as being even a means of revelation. He clearly summarizes his view about the means by which God conveys supernatural knowledge to the heightened intellect of the prophet by saying that "prophetic revelation takes place in four ways, namely, by the infusion of an intelligible light, by the infusion of intelligible species, by impression or co-ordination of pictures in the imagination, and by the outward presentation of sensible images."⁴⁰ Thus, actual history is not considered by Aquinas as a vehicle of revelation, much less as a source of it.

John Henry Newman, agreeing with Aquinas' concept of theology as the supernatural science of salvation, and taking seriously the statements about the origin of Scripture made by Trent (1545-1563) and the first Vatican Council (1870), seriously maintained that the content of inspiration reached only things that pertained to "faith and moral conduct."⁴¹ This statement is broader than the more specific position by Aquinas.

A variation within the classical model is presented by the more recent theory of propositional revelation championed by the conservative wing of American Evangelicalism.⁴² Carl F. H. Henry stresses that God reveals himself verbally and historically.⁴³ However, when speaking about the verbal and historical features of revelation,

⁴⁰Ibid., 2a-2ae.173.3; 2a-2ae.174.1.

⁴¹John Henry Newman, *On the Inspiration of Scripture*, ed. J. Derek Holmes and Robert Murray (Washington D.C.: Corpus, 1967), 108-109. For an overview of Newman's thought and his influence on Catholic thought, see J. D. Holmes and R. Murray, "Introduction," in *ibid.*, 3-96.

⁴²The evangelical theory of propositional revelation belongs to the classical model because the presuppositional structure on which it stands is borrowed from classical catholic thinking.

⁴³*God, Revelation and Authority*, 6 vols. (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1976-1983), 3:268-269, 3:261-271, 480. Henry specifically agrees with the classical realism-intellectualism of Augustine and Aquinas (*ibid.*, 3:168-169).

Henry refers to means rather than to content. Like Aquinas, Henry believes that the essence of revelation is cognitive. "Revelation in the Bible," he declares, "is essentially a mental conception: God's disclosure is rational and intelligible communication. Issuing from the mind and will of God, revelation is addressed to the mind and will of human beings."⁴⁴

For Henry, the content of revelation is God himself, especially his salvific purposes for humankind.⁴⁵ This supernatural knowledge is given to human beings within human history through the means of nature, historical events, internal divine disclosure to conscience and reason (elements of general revelation), and Jesus Christ (the consummation of special revelation).

When Henry speaks of the Logos, he views the historical Jesus of Nazareth as only the vehicle through which the eternal Logos, who is equal to God, is revealed to human knowledge.

The central and unifying element in the biblical doctrine of the Logos of God is transcendent divine communication mediated by the eternal Christ. The word of God is personal and rational, and the truth of God, whether given in general or in special disclosure, including the climactic revelation of the Logos in Jesus of Nazareth, can be propositionally formulated. All divine revelation mediated to man is incarnational, inasmuch as it is given in human history, concepts and language.⁴⁶

Henry's understanding of this "incarnational" or historical nature of revelation is further clarified by his remark that "justification by faith, or any other scripturally revealed truth, is historical revelation, in the sense that it was divinely revealed at a certain place and time."⁴⁷

It seems clear from the foregoing quotations that for Henry historicity does not belong either to the essence or to the content of what is being revealed, namely, supernatural divine truths. It should be added, however, that he, like Aquinas, believes that natural reason needs

⁴⁴Ibid., 3:248; see also 1:200.

⁴⁵Ibid., 3:170, 269.

⁴⁶Ibid., 3:173.

⁴⁷Ibid., 2:321.

to be elevated in order for it to be able to receive these supernatural truths.⁴⁸

The Bible, says Henry, presents both natural and supernatural revealed truths. And once again, he sets forth his view in language that reminds us of Aquinas:

Special scriptural revelation normatively sets forth the propositional content of general revelation, and does so as the framework of God's saving revelation. Scripture confronts fallen man objectively and externally with a divinely inspired literary deposit that states the intelligible components of God's ongoing general revelation in nature and history, and conveys as well the propositional content of God's redemptive revelation."⁴⁹

Thus, for Henry, what the prophet receives from God through historical means is "cognitive truths" and these he puts into propositional form as Scripture is written. But biblical statements as a whole must not be identified with propositional revelation, for what Scripture contains is, rather, "a body of divinely given information actually expressed or capable of being expressed in propositions."⁵⁰

⁴⁸See, e.g., *ibid.*, 1:201, 3:171, and 4:119.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 3:460.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 3:457. Henry is aware that the Bible presents a God who freely and actively intervenes in human history (*ibid.*, 2:251). He is correct in affirming that Jesus' cross and resurrection must be understood as belonging to human spatio-temporal history (*ibid.*, 2:289, 321). But, one may ask, how can an eternal (timeless) transcendent being act in history and time? According to Henry "the answer given by biblical theism is that God acts by predestination" (*ibid.*, 6:48). But, one should not forget that within the content of Henry's theological tradition predestination involves "more than simply a temporal and historical election" (*ibid.*, 6:78); "what the Bible affirms is God's pretemporal, superhistorical eternal election" (*ibid.*). In other words, the existence of the universe is grounded "on the eternal plan of the unchanging God who is free to decree as he pleases and who in his 'good pleasure' decrees a space-time matrix that by his willing becomes as necessary as God himself" (*ibid.*). Moreover, since "God's decree is preceded logically by his intrinsic self knowledge, unless it be the case that his decree and his self-knowledge are identical or that the decree is part of his self-knowledge" (*ibid.*), and since "the external universe is itself God's implementation of his purpose" (*ibid.*), it follows that Henry agrees with Plato's basic ontological structure according to which historical reality is the temporal duplication of the eternal one. The order of divine causes and activities, then, are not performed from within the temporal order but rather from the timeless one.

Thus, Henry's thesis attempts to integrate the historical activity of God and the historical Jesus Christ as presented in Scripture with the theoretical structure of the classical model of revelation. As a result, Jesus Christ is called to play a central role, but only as a means of making eternal truth accessible to human cognitive limitations. Since Henry shares the classical presuppositional structure, the full force of the biblical conception of reality is still shackled in his system.

Ronald Nash holds a more moderate view of propositional revelation, since he recognizes that "*some revelation is propositional*, that some revelation conveys cognitive information." Moreover, he also points out that "*some revelation is personal and noncognitive*." Nash, then, appears as an example of a theologian who mixes views belonging to two main models, namely, the classical and the liberal (the latter of these, as will be seen in my next article, emphasizes a non-cognitive personal ground for revelation).⁵¹

4. *Inspiration in the Classical Model*

The interpretation of revelation—the way in which the contents of Scripture are epistemologically originated—is not enough to explain the origin of Scripture. The linguistic process of writing, or inscripturization, must also be addressed. Consequently, the classical model developed, besides a doctrine of revelation, an interpretation of inspiration.

An analysis of the classical model of inspiration requires at least three procedures. These are, first, the examination of the specific divine and human involvement in the process of inscripturization,⁵² second, the characterization of the essence of such a process; and finally, a brief mention of the main theoretical variations regarding the content and scope of inspiration.

The Role of Divine Activity in Inspiration

The classical model of revelation-inspiration has interpreted God's involvement in the writing of Scriptures by following one of three possible patterns, namely, dictation, primary causality, and creation-providence.

⁵¹Ronald Nash, "Southern Baptists and the Notion of Revealed Truth," *Criswell Theological Review* 2 (1988): 376-377.

⁵²See, e.g., Newman, 115, and Abraham, 2.

The dictation pattern has been advocated since early in the history of Christian theology.⁵³ According to this pattern, God is the writer of the entire Bible, which "is deposited ready-made in the mind of the human writer."⁵⁴ The latter needs "only understand the words materially and be able to write them correctly, nothing more."⁵⁵ Very few theologians, however, seem to have understood God's involvement in the writing of Scripture in this extreme form of mechanical dictation.⁵⁶

The primary-causality pattern takes inspiration to be a divine action *ad extra*, with Aquinas as its classical exponent. It views God's action of inspiration as a supernatural charismatic gift by means of which the "Holy Spirit moves and elevates the faculties of the sacred writers of the Bible."⁵⁷ As a consequence, the Bible "is ascribed to God the principal author and man the secondary or instrumental author."⁵⁸ The precise theological explanation of God as the principal author is made by way of "the philosophical principles of instrumental causality,"⁵⁹ and this primary-secondary cause pattern involves a sort of coordination between God as the primary agent and the prophet as his instrument.⁶⁰ In the writing of Scripture, the human instrument "does

⁵³For a good historical survey of advocates of the dictation pattern, see Luis Alonso Schökel, *The Inspired Work: Scripture in the Light of Language and Literature*, trans. Francis Martin (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965), 66-72.

⁵⁴John Barton, "Verbal Inspiration," *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, Philadelphia: Trinity Press International (1990), 720.

⁵⁵Schökel, 68.

⁵⁶Within the Roman Catholic tradition, notable proponents of mechanical dictation are Dominic Bañez, C. R. Billuart; within the Protestant tradition, the *Formula Consensus Helvetica*, Johann Gerhard, and Quenstedt (see Schökel, 68-69). However, according to Forestell, "no one today would hold that God dictated the words of Scripture in an audible manner to the ear of the sacred writer" (2:384).

⁵⁷Charles H. Pickar, "The Bible," in *The Summa Theologica*, 3 vols., by Thomas Aquinas, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York, NY: Benzinger, 1948), 3:3105.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Forestell explains in less technical terms the concept of instrumentality: "an instrument, such as a saw or a trumpet, cannot produce any effect unless it is used by a carpenter or a musician. When so used, it produces an effect proper to its own nature; a saw is designed to cut wood, a trumpet to make music. The effect, however, surpasses the proper causality of the instrument even though the latter receives and conditions the action of the principal agent" (2:383-384).

not act on his own, but in virtue of an action communicated to it by the principal agent."⁶¹

In this model, the prophet is God's passive instrument, not only "in regard to the internal mental conception of the writing, but in regard also to the literary form and external expression of the book."⁶² But even though this pattern emphasizes God's authorship of Scripture, the notion of human instrumentality may account for the existence of biblical imperfections. This pattern thus has room for certain imperfections, including literary defects, because they "are not ascribed to God, but to the human authors of Scripture."⁶³ The imperfections and literary defects are caused by the limits proper to the essence of the human instrument. The foregoing pattern has been officially adopted by the Roman Catholic church.⁶⁴

The providence pattern is utilized to explain God's activity in the writing of Scripture as a specific case of his sovereign providential government of the world. On the basis of this pattern, modern Evangelicalism rejects the mechanical dictation pattern of divine action in inspiration.⁶⁵ Millard Erickson states that even in what B. B. Warfield regarded as the most diluted form of Calvinism, it is possible to

⁶¹Pickar, 3:3105.

⁶²Ibid., 3:3107 and 3105. Also Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2a-2ae, 173.4; 3.62.2 ad 1.

⁶³Pickar, 3:3105.

⁶⁴In its third session (April 24, 1870), the First Vatican Council promulgated the "Dogmatic Constitution concerning the Catholic Faith," which, in its second chapter states that the Roman Catholic church holds the Bible "not because, having been put together by human industry alone, they were then approved by its authority; nor because they contain revelation without error; but because, having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they have God as their author and, as such, they have been handed down to the Church itself" (Henry Denzinger, *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari, from the 30th ed. of Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum* [St. Louis, MO: Herder, 1957], 1787). On November 18, 1965, the Second Vatican Council promulgated its "Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation," which, upholding the traditional view of Trent and other authorities, states that "in composing the sacred books, God chose men and while employed by Him they made use of their powers and abilities, so that with Him acting in them and through them, they, as true authors, consigned to writing everything and only those things which He wanted." Therefore, "since everything asserted by the inspired authors or sacred writers must be held to be asserted by the Holy Spirit, it follows that the books of Scripture must be acknowledged as teaching firmly, faithfully, and without error that truth which God wanted put into the sacred writings for the sake of our salvation" (Walter M. Abbott, ed. *The Documents of Vatican II*, trans. and ed. Joseph Gallagher [New York: Guild, 1966], *Dei Verbum*, 3:11).

⁶⁵See Abraham, 4.

maintain that God became the author of Scripture by carefully "directing the thought of the writers, so that they were precisely the thoughts that he wished expressed."⁶⁶ According to this view, which Erickson shares, God renders certain, but not necessary, the outcome of any free action by determining the external circumstances that influence them.⁶⁷ Kenneth S. Kantzer points out that Calvin's view of divine activity in inspiration does not make the prophet "an instrument which simply passes on words mechanically given to him. Rather, because of God's sovereign control of his being, he is an instrument whose whole personality expresses itself naturally to write exactly the words God wishes to speak. Only in this large and comprehensive sense are the words of Scripture dictated by God."⁶⁸

The Role of Human Activity in Inspiration

In the classical model, human contributions are kept to the minimal possible level. Not only in the origination of truth but in the very writing of Scripture, God is the main, or principal, overshadowing cause or author.⁶⁹ The activity of the Holy Spirit is experienced by the writer as a gift that heightens the natural capabilities and transforms the prophet into a suitable instrument for the specific activity of writing Scripture.⁷⁰ Most classical thinking allowed no active role or specific contribution on the part of the human element in the instrument. This human agent was conceived essentially as a passive tool, used by the Holy Spirit in the historical process of writing Scripture.⁷¹ The passivity of the human instrument refers to the total dependence of the human

⁶⁶Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1990), 216, 359.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 357-359.

⁶⁸Kenneth S. Kantzer, "Calvin and the Holy Scriptures," in *Inspiration and Interpretation*, ed. John F. Walvoord (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1957), 141.

⁶⁹For a study of human involvement in inspiration written from within the conservative Evangelical tradition, see Gordon R. Lewis, "The Human Authorship of Inspired Scripture," in *Inerrancy*, ed. Norman L. Geisler (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1980), 229-264.

⁷⁰See, e.g., Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2a-2ae, 174.2 ad 3. Cf. Eugene F. Klug, "Revelation and Inspiration in Contemporary Roman Catholic Theology," *The Springfielder* 26 (1962): 17-18.

⁷¹See Barton, 720; also Abraham, 3.

agent on the divine cause, entailing no material absence of human activity in the actual process of writing.

There is, however, a track of classical thinking that allows human activity a small amount of room in the formation of the sacred text, such as in gathering material and conceiving the literary plan of the book.⁷² Of course, even these tasks are viewed as being performed under the direct influence of the Holy Spirit, a matter that I have already explained. The passive nature of the human role in the process of inspiration is, in fact, a basic feature in all subvarieties of the classical model of revelation-inspiration.

The Essence of Inspiration

The essence of inspiration is difficult to identify. In general terms, however, I would suggest that inspiration is the connection that occurs between God's power, will, and knowledge, and man's limited cognitive, volitive, and literary capabilities in order to produce a verbal or written account of divine revelation. "Inspiration is a supernatural influence upon divinely chosen prophets and apostles," declares Henry, "whereby the Spirit of God assures the truth and trustworthiness of the oral and written proclamation."⁷³

On this ontological basis, the relationship between divine and human activities in the writing of Scripture is described, for instance, as "concurative," "simultaneous," "confluent," and/or "harmonious."⁷⁴

⁷²See Costello on Augustine's remarks on the human activity of man (220-222). Costello, however, clarifies that Augustine tended to emphasize either the divine or the human activities without providing proper ways to put both concepts together in a harmonious theological theory (18), and he portrays Augustine as affirming that God wills the order of the book. This, then, transforms the activity affirmed for the human agent into something superfluous. According to Schökel, Roman Catholic theological manuals (it seems he is speaking of late theological developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) move further away from even Augustine's most generous statements regarding man's activity. These manuals affirm, e.g., that the process of writing Scripture was "not under a special supernatural influence" but was "carried out with the aid of a certain divine assistance which guarantees that the terms are apt and that there is no error. This assistance does not consist in a physical motion acting directly on the executive faculties" (180). Though leaning somewhat towards the classical model of revelation, this relatively recent development seems to be a clear departure from the essentials of the classical model of inspiration.

⁷³Henry, *God, Revelation and Authority*, 4:129.

⁷⁴Various of these terms are used interchangeably by evangelical scholars, but "concurative" is often identified with J. I. Packer, who says, "We are to think of the Spirit's inspiring activity, and, for that matter, of all His regular operations in and upon

Defining the essence of inspiration in terms of such concepts eliminates dictation, thus allowing room for consciousness and freedom on the part of the writer. However, the classical understanding of the essence of inspiration is unable to overcome two fundamental shortcomings: first, that God as author and primary cause in the production of Scripture reduces the human contribution to its minimal possible expression; and second, that the relationship between divine and human activities occurs in a more-or-less mechanical and non-personal mode.

The Content of Inspiration

It should not surprise us that there are many and subtle variations of opinion regarding the actual content of inspiration. In general, however, it is possible to identify interpreters as following one or the other of two main patterns. Some affirm inspiration for the totality of Scripture while others limit the scope of inspiration to some portions of Scripture. The first pattern, affirming full plenary verbal inspiration, is espoused by persons who tend to explain the epistemological origin of Scripture by way of a theory of inspiration. The second pattern, affirming limited verbal inspiration, is advocated by persons who are inclined to connect inspiration with the classical model of revelation.

It should also be noted that both the dictation and the plenary-verbal theories of inspiration affirm that inspiration reaches the totality of Scripture. They differ in the interpretation of the way in which the divine activity in inspiration is conceived. The former supports dictation, and the later adopts either the primary-cause or the sovereign-providence pattern.⁷⁵

human personality, as (to use an old but valuable technical term) *concurrent*; that is, as exercised in, through and by means of the writer's own activity, in such a way that their thinking and writing was *both* free and spontaneous on their part *and* divinely elicited and controlled, and what they wrote was not only their own work but also God's work" (*Fundamentalism and the Word of God: Some Evangelical Principles* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1958], 80); Costello, 18; and Randall Basinger and David Basinger, "Inerrancy, Dictation and the Free Will Defence," *EQ* 55 (1983): 178. Regarding the meaning and significance of the various terms, see also R. A. Finlayson, "Contemporary Ideas of Inspiration," in *Revelation and the Bible: Contemporary Evangelical Thought*, ed. by Carl F. H. Henry (Grand Rapids, MI.: Baker, 1958), 223.

⁷⁵For an introduction to the dictation theory, see Vawter, 59-61; Forestell, 385; Klug, 15; Kantzer, 137-139; Gnuse, 49; Abraham, 116; Packer, 95; Barton, 721; and Costello, 12-16. Regarding the Verbal Plenary theory, see Gnuse, 10-11, 27; Klug, 14, 16; Newman, 150; Kern R. Trembath, *Evangelical Theories of Biblical Inspiration: A Review and Proposal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 8-27; Barton, 720-722; Nash, 381;

5. *Implications for Theology*

The interpretation of revelation-inspiration is not inconsequential for the development and constitution of Christian theology. On the contrary, after it is theologically formulated, the interpretation of the revelation-inspiration doctrine plays the foundational role of being the epistemological presupposition that defines the scope and nature of Scripture as theological data. But in what way does the classical model determine the scope and nature of the biblical writings as theological data? On this question, there appear to be two views. One emphasizes the process of writing (inspiration), and the other emphasizes the process by which supernatural ideas are originated in the mind of the prophet (revelation).

When the epistemological origin of Scripture is primarily understood in reference to the writing process, the full verbal plenary theory of inspiration affirms the whole Scripture to be the word of God at face value. Consequently, all the words of the Bible are equally considered as supernatural revelation from the timeless and changeless God.⁷⁶ The entire scope of Scripture is inerrant supernatural revelation, not only in its spiritual or doctrinal-salvific content, but in every historical detail. Gnuse puts it this way:

The words of Scripture may be considered absolute truth and used without fear for the articulation of theology and Church practice. The treatment of textual statements in this fashion implies that the text is propositional revelation from God to man. For if God is truthful, and Scripture is revealed by God, then it must be true in all its parts. If God is perfect, and God is revealed in the Bible, the Bible must be perfect. Since not lying entails total and absolute accuracy, and common sense tells us that the accuracy is the same for all people

and Henry, "Divine Revelation," 257. For information on the limited verbal inspiration approach, see, e.g., Gnuse, 34-41; Scullion, 27-28; Finlayson, 223-224; Ruokanen, 9-17, 33, 35-36; 72-74; 115; Costello, 27; and Dulles, *Models*, 41.

⁷⁶See Gnuse, 23, and Forestell, 386. The latter points out that "in the 20th century, apart from some fundamentalist sects, the doctrine of Biblical inerrancy is generally abandoned because of modern Biblical criticism. Where inspiration is still mentioned, no attempt is made to explain its nature or its effects."

everywhere, then Scripture must be accurate in all its details.⁷⁷

Thus, Scripture in its entirety qualifies as a source of theological data. The nature of Scripture in this role, however, is determined by the timeless omnipotence of God, who through the Holy Spirit overshadows the human agency and overrides all human limitations, errors, and sins. Consequently, in this view of divine inspiration, Scripture is viewed as having divine objectivity, perfection, accuracy, and inerrancy. The approach is structurally flawed, of course, in that it is doubtful that a proper account of the epistemological origin of Scripture can be rendered without direct and explicit reference to the origination of ideas and information.⁷⁸

When the epistemological origin of Scripture is primarily understood in reference to the cognitive process by which supernatural ideas were originated in the minds of the biblical writers, Scripture is conceived to include both supernatural and natural contents (limited verbal inspiration).⁷⁹ Timeless truths are incarnated in temporal human words.⁸⁰ The whole of Scripture is inspired,⁸¹ but only part of it is revealed.⁸² Revelation is that intellectual timeless truth that God reveals to the charismatically empowered reason of the prophet, who, with the additional supernatural assistance of inspiration, consigns such truth into verbal or written form. In this view, only those portions of Scripture that are at the same time revealed and inspired are considered proper

⁷⁷Gnuse, 25.

⁷⁸Regarding the need to integrate the accounts of revelation and inspiration in any model that may properly set forth the epistemological origin of Scriptures, see, e.g., Finlayson, 223-224.

⁷⁹Limited verbal inspiration is the position traditionally maintained by the Roman Catholic Church: Trent (1546) (Denzinger, 783), the First Vatican Council (1870) (Denzinger, 1787), and the Second Vatican Council (1965) (Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation," 2:11, in *The Documents of Vatican II*, 118-119). See also Newman, 150-151.

⁸⁰"Historic Evangelical Christianity considers the Bible as the essential textbook because, in view of this quality [inspiration], it inscripturates divinely revealed truth in verbal form" (Henry, *God, Revelation and Authority*, 4:129). See also Schökel, 87.

⁸¹"No distinction of inspiration exists between parts of the Bible. All are inspired, although not for the same immediate purposes" (Henry, "Divine Revelation," 257).

⁸²*Summa theologica*, 2a-2ae, 173.2; Klug, 16; Scullion, 40; Schökel, 55; Forestell, 384.

sources of theology.⁸³ Unfortunately, due to the historical constitution of biblical thinking, this view, as Scullion points out, recognizes that "precious little, of what a writer records has been revealed to him, much is of purely human origin." And thus, revealed supernatural teaching "will not be expressed in every sentence the sacred author writes. Indeed, the greater part of what he writes will not be revelation in the strict sense at all." The "idea, the judgment, the doctrine, that God wishes to convey will emerge from a thousand phrases of minimal importance. And it is this that merits their being considered revelation in the broad sense."⁸⁴

One important epistemological-methodological consequence of doing theology under the second view in the classical model of revelation and inspiration, then, is that a very reduced portion of Scripture qualifies as the source for theological reflection. Thus, the *sola Scriptura* principle, if maintained, cannot be qualified by the *tota Scriptura* principle, and a "canon within the canon" is necessary to determine which specific portions of Scriptures can play the role of sources for theology. The selection will be determined, of course, by the actual content of the specific concepts that each classical-model tradition happens to choose as central for the constitution and defense of the doctrinal convictions of the community.

6. Conclusion

The question about whether the formulation of a new model for the explanation of the epistemological origin of Scripture is necessary requires, as a first step, the exploration of existing, generally accepted models. In this article I have described from an epistemological

⁸³Aquinas opens his *Summa Theologica* by clearly stating that "it was necessary for the salvation of man that certain truths which exceed human reason should be made known to him by divine revelation," and he closes his first article by concluding that "it was therefore necessary that, besides philosophical science built up by reason, there should be a sacred science learned through revelation" (1.1). Even though Augustine believed in verbal inspiration so as to state that "these sacred books, are the works of God's way in leading the believer to the understanding of eternal truths. We must study "Scriptures—explained Augustine—, which adapt themselves to the backwardness of infants, whom they nourish in the first place by humble belief in the historical deeds accomplished in the temporal order for our salvation, and subsequently strengthen in order to lift them up to the sublime understanding of things eternal" (ibid.). Consequently, "a man who is resting upon faith, hope and love, and who keeps a firm hold upon these, does not need the Scriptures except for the purpose of instructing others" (*On Christian Doctrine*, 1.39.43).

⁸⁴Scullion, 30, 39.

perspective the broad characteristics of the classical model. The epistemological description of the liberal model of revelation-inspiration and the evaluation of both the Classical and Liberal models will be treated in my next article.

THE AQEDAH AT THE "CROSSROAD": ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE JEWISH-CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM DIALOGUE*

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The memory of the *Aqedah* lies close to the heart of three religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. It is reflected in the liturgy of the Jews at Rosh-Ha-Shanah, of the Christians at the mass (Catholic) or holy communion (Orthodox and Protestant), and of the Muslims at the great sacrificial feast 'Īd al-Adhā ('Īd-al-Kabīr).

The same sacred story is remembered in these three traditions as an important element of their religious identity, yet the commemoration takes place at different times and represents variant meanings. In a sense, the *Aqedah* can be looked upon as standing at the crossroad of these three traditions as one significant sign of their common origin and also of their theological divergence.

The present study examines the genesis and nature of this "crossroad." I first examine what has generated the Jewish-Christian and Jewish-Muslim controversies on the *Aqedah*, and what the specific character of each controversy is. Then I go back to the common source of these three traditions, namely, the Bible—and also the Qur'ān for the Islamic tradition. This is in order to probe and/or enrich the lessons that can be learned from the controversies.

The purpose of this study is modest. I will not enter into all the rich nuances of texts, traditions, and debates. Rather, I will take notice of the significant trends that relate to the Jewish-Christian and Jewish-Muslim encounters, in order to discover as far as possible the mechanisms involved, and also to serve as a basis for suggesting lessons which I believe we can learn from both the historical and present-day dialogue.

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1. *The Dialogue in the Jewish-Christian Controversy*

The Jewish-Christian controversy initially revolved mainly around the theological meaning of the *Aqedah*. In early documents (Jubilees, Philo, Josephus, Maccabees, and the Mishnah¹), the accent lies mainly on Abraham as the example of faith. Then, as the controversy intensified, the accent shifted gradually from Abraham to Isaac.² In addition, the expiatory element of the *Aqedah*, which originally was only allusive, became more obvious in focusing the entire Jewish-Christian debate on the *Aqedah*.³

It is significant indeed that in Jewish sources the word *Aqedah*, which technically refers to the tying of the *tāmīd* lamb,⁴ is first attested in relation to Isaac late in the second century A.D., perhaps by the end of the Tanaïtic period. An early reference with the emphasis on Isaac is found in the *Mekilta of Rabbi Ishmael*. On Exod 12:13, this comment is made: "And when I see the blood, I will pass over you. . . . I see the blood of Isaac's *Aqedah*." The offering of Isaac is thus not only identified as a *tāmīd* lamb, which "suggests that a cultic and sacrificial theology is implicit,"⁵ but is also connected with the Passover. This connection gives evidence that the expiatory sacrifice of the Passover was understood to be a memorial of the sacrifice of Isaac.⁶ Likewise in the Amoraic period, the expression "ashes of Isaac," which refers to the offering of Isaac, alludes to the burnt offering of the *tāmīd*.⁷ According to the later rabbis, Abraham called Isaac "a burnt offering."⁸ But it is

¹Jub., 17:15-18:19; Philo, *On Abraham*, 167-204; Josephus, *Ant.* 1. 222-236; 4 *Macc* 16:18-20; m. *Tā'anith* 2:4.

²G. F. Moore has pointed out the difference: "In Genesis it is Abraham's faith and obedience to God's will even to the offering of his only son, the child of promise, that constitutes the whole significance of the story: Isaac is a purely passive figure. In the rabbinical literature, however, the voluntariness of the sacrifice on Isaac's part is strongly emphasized," *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927-1930), 1:539; cf. M. Givati, "Binder and Bound—Bible and Midrash" (in Hebrew), *Beth Mikra* 27 (1982): 144-154.

³See P. R. Davies and B. D. Chilton, "The Aqedah: A Revised Tradition History," in *The CBQ* 40 (1978): 517-529.

⁴See Shalom Spiegel, *The Last Trial*, trans. J. Goldin (New York: Pantheon, 1967), xix-xx.

⁵Davies, 515; cf. Philo, *On Abrahame*, 198.

⁶See G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 215.

⁷See b. *Tā'an.* 16a; cf. b. *Ber.* 62b, "Samuel [third century] says: 'He beheld the "ashes of Isaac," as the verse says 'God will see for Himself the lamb for a burnt offering.'"

⁸*Gen. Rab.* 56:4.

in the Targums that the expiatory interpretation of the sacrifice of Isaac finds its fullest expression. The *Palestinian Targum* comments on Gen 22:14, "And now I pray mercy before you, O Lord Elohim, when Isaac's sons shall come to the hour of distress, remember for them the binding of Isaac their father, and loose and forgive their sins."

Interestingly enough, we find a parallel picture in the Christian sources. In the NT, the accent also lies on Abraham as an example of faith (Heb 11:17-10; Jas 2:21-23); the expiatory element of the story is only implicit (Rom 8:32; John 3:16) and even debatable.⁹ Just as in Judaism, we must come to the second century to see the accent shifted from Abraham to Isaac, whose sacrifice then began to be viewed as a type of Jesus' sacrifice. The first typological interpretation of the *Aqedah* in Christianity occurs in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, in which it is clear that Barnabas is, in part, responding to the Jewish interpretation of the *Aqedah*. In this document Isaac's atonement is replaced by Jesus' atonement.

It is with Melito of Sardis, however, that the use of the *Aqedah* receives its first extensive treatment in Christian literature. Undoubtedly responding to the strong Jewish community of Sardis, Melito argued that the sacrifice of Jesus was better than the sacrifice of Isaac, for Jesus actually suffered and died, while Isaac was spared. The bishop developed his argument in the context of a discussion of the Levitical sacrifices, and he looked upon Isaac as an incomplete precursor of what was to come—as only a typological reference to Jesus, who corresponds more closely to the lamb that was slaughtered.¹⁰

This typology was more fully developed by Church fathers such as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, etc., who called attention to the parallel between Isaac's bearing the wood and Christ's bearing the cross.¹¹ Hence, in Christian literature and art the sacrifice of Isaac was traditionally depicted in connection with the crucifixion.¹²

The parallel development of the Jewish and Christian traditions concerning the *Aqedah* suggests that these two exegetical traditions moved in close relationship to each other. Moreover, just as the

⁹See R. J. Daly, "The Soteriological Significance of the Sacrifice of Isaac," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 45-75; Davies, 529-533.

¹⁰Melito in a fragment from the *Catena on Genesis* (ANF 8:759-760).

¹¹Irenaeus, *Ag. Heresies* 4.5.4; Tertullian, *Answer to the Jews* 10; and *Ag. Marcion*, 3.18; and Origen, *Homily on Gen.* 8.

¹²See Jo Milgrom, *The Binding of Isaac: The Akedah, A Primary Symbol in Jewish Thought and Art* (Berkeley, CA: BIBAL, 1988), 208-209.

Christians responded to the Jews, the Jewish texts give evidence of the Jewish reaction to the Christian apologetic. In order to show that the *Aqedah* of Isaac was at least as effective as the sacrifice of Jesus, the ancient rabbis arrogated to the *Aqedah* details borrowed from the story of the Passover. Isaac also willingly offered himself as an atonement, crying out and suffering in agony. A passage of *Gen. Rab.* (22:6) goes so far as to describe Isaac as bearing his own cross, just as a condemned man would. "This detail," comments E. R. Goodenough, "[so] strongly brings to mind the crucifixion of Jesus that it seems impossible that there was no relationship."¹³

The typological interpretation was also adopted, with Isaac being viewed as a type of Israel. In *Pirke Aboth* 5, the ten trials of Abraham (the *Aqedah* being the tenth one) anticipate the ten miracles of the Exodus. In the Palestinian Talmud (*y. Ta'an.* 2.4.65d), the salvation of Isaac is a type of the salvation of Israel, the sacrifice of Isaac is a type of the sacrifices,¹⁴ and the victim Isaac is a type of the suffering Servant and of the Messiah.¹⁵ In his commentary on Gen 22:11, Ibn Ezra quotes an opinion that Abraham actually did kill Isaac, who was later resurrected from the dead.¹⁶ The basis for this interpretation is the observation that Isaac did not return home with his father. The wide circulation of this story shows the Jewish polemical attempt "to deny that the sacrifice of Isaac" was of "less value than that of Jesus."¹⁷ The rabbis of that period were concerned about the Christian apologetic and responded with their own:

R. Abin said in R. Hilkiah's name: How foolish is the heart of the deceivers who say the Holy One, Blessed Be He, has a son. If in the case of Abraham's son, when He saw that he was ready to slay him, He could not bear to look on as He was in anguish, but on the contrary commanded "Do not lay your hand on the lad"; had He a son, would He have abandoned him? Would He not have turned the world upside down and reduced it to tohubohu?¹⁸

¹³E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 13 vols. (New York: Pantheon, 1953-1968), 4:178.

¹⁴J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature* (London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1969), 232.

¹⁵See *Tg. Jonathan* of Isa 52 and 53; cf. *Tg. Job* 3:18.

¹⁶The tradition of Isaac's resurrection is preserved in both ancient Jewish and Christian texts; see *Pirke R. El.* 31:3; Origen, *Hornily on Genesis* 8:1; and Augustine, *Exposition on Psalm 51:5*.

¹⁷*Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Encyclopedia Judaica, 1971-1972), s.v. "Akedah."

¹⁸Spiegel, *The Last Trial*, 83, n. 26.

The fact also that the *Aqedah* is at times related to the Passover and at times to Rosh-Ha-shanah may reflect the liturgical hesitations generated by the controversy. Either the Passover setting was original (hints of the Passover connection can be found as early as *Jub.* 17:15, cf. 49:1) and it was then shifted to Rosh-Ha-shanah in reaction to the Christian claims, or the Rosh-Ha-shanah setting was original (the connection is attested in the *musaf* of the New Year liturgy¹⁹) and, was changed to the Passover under Christian influence. The same observation can be made about the concept of expiation, which apparently came late in the process, but which can also be detected in earlier documents, such as Pseudo-Philo (*Bib. Ant.* 18.5).

Indeed, the dynamics of influence and reaction are difficult to trace, and the debate still rages over whether the Jewish interpretation predates Christianity or whether it is an apologetic-polemical reaction to the Christian claims.²⁰ One thing is clear, however: namely, that the *Aqedah* controversy gives witness to a mutual interaction between Christianity and Judaism during the early Christian centuries. The *Aqedah* theology in both Judaism and Christianity was built up under the influence of, and in reaction to, each other's traditions. In many respects, it is a product of the Jewish-Christian dialogue.

2. Dialogue in the Jewish-Muslim Controversy

The Jewish-Muslim controversy revolves essentially the identity of the historical victim of the *Aqedah*. Already in the Qur'an the accent on the son is more pronounced than it is in the Hebrew Scriptures, for more is said about the son and he is not the passive figure that he appears to be in the Bible. The Qur'anic *Aqedah*, then, is closer to the Jewish tradition than it is to the biblical story. The interest has already shifted from Abraham to his son, who in the Muslim tradition, in contrast with the biblical story and Jewish and Christian tradition, was not Isaac, but Ishmael.

The Muslim tradition, however, does not appear to be totally unanimous on this point.²¹ In the Qur'an, the name of the son who

¹⁹Joseph H. Hertz, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1948), 880-883.

²⁰See, e.g., C. T. R. Hayward, "The Sacrifice of Isaac and Jewish Polemic against Christianity," *CBQ* 52 (1990): 292-306.

²¹Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *Qur'an: Text, Translation and Commentary*

was intended to be sacrificed is not mentioned. And in any case, Isaac is still held in high esteem, being referred to by name seventeen times, while Ishmael is named only twelve times. Ishmael, on the other hand, is not the excluded son that he is in the Hebrew Scriptures. Like Isaac, he is identified as a prophet,²² but he is the only one to be associated with the prestigious act of building the Ka'ba.²³ In one passage, Ishmael is situated between Abraham and Isaac in the hierarchy of the fathers; possibly he is even regarded as the father of Isaac.²⁴ Both Isaac and Ishmael, then, were equally qualified to serve as the intended sacrifice.

It seems that at an earlier stage of the Muslim tradition, Isaac was the intended sacrifice; but as Ishmael began to assume importance, during the early second Islamic century (i.e., after the Muslim exegete Ṭabari [d. 923]), the view that Ishmael was the sacrifice "*al dhabīh*" prevailed, and became almost universally accepted by the end of the third Islamic century.²⁵

The Muslim explanation for this change indicates a polemic against the Jews, and it pertains to an ethnic rather than theological concern. According to Muslim apologetics, it was only an ethnic preoccupation that had led the Jews to change the original version so as to substitute Isaac for Ishmael: "because Isaac is their father while Ishmael is the father of the Arabs."²⁶ It is also noteworthy that the same ethnic argument was used in the Persian-Arabic controversy (during the period of Sh'ūbiyya). The Persians, who claimed descent from Isaac, defended the Isaac thesis, while the Arabs defended the Ishmael thesis because of their Ishmaelite origin.²⁷

The Muslim view was based on two main kinds of arguments. The first is interpretational. This involves two aspects: (1) In regard to the value of the text, the Muslim version of the *Aqedah* was judged superior to the biblical one in that the Jewish Scripture implied the possibility

(New York: Hafner, 1938), 2:1204.

²²Qur'ān 37:112 on Isaac and 19:54 on Ishmael.

²³Qur'ān 2:177.

²⁴Qur'ān 21:85.

²⁵R. Firestone, "Abraham's Son as the Intended Sacrifice (Al-Dhabīh, Qur'ān 37: 99-113): Issues in Qur'ānic Exegesis," *JSSr* 34 (1989): 117.

²⁶Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* 4.14.

²⁷See Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2 vols., trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (London: Allen & Unwin, 1967), 1:135.

of God's implementing *naskh* ("abrogation").²⁸ This observation not only undermined the entire status of Judaism but was also used to show that Islam had in fact superseded Judaism. In the Qur'ān, on the other hand, the *naskh* is not implied, inasmuch as in its account the sacrifice was intended to be only symbolical.²⁹ Since the same sura mentions the birth of Isaac a few verses after it describes the attempted sacrifice of the son, the sacrifice in question can only concern the elder son Ishmael.

The second main kind of argument is that tradition as conveyed in stories suggests the genealogical connection; in other words, it is an ethnic argument. An example is the interesting story in which Muhammad presents himself as "the son of the two intended sacrifices." Not only Ishmael but also Muhammad's father Abdallah experienced the trial of being the "intended sacrificial victim."³⁰

Both of the above arguments received attention in the Jewish camp. I will refer here to two representative reactions. The interpretational argument is treated by Saadia Gaon in his commentary on Gen 22. For Saadia, God's commandment was only a trial, and God's future plan was not to require sacrifice. "This then is not abrogation, because the ruling was not intended to be implemented in the first place."³¹ It is also significant that Saadia, who was contemporary with Ṭabarī and was often engaged in polemics,³² does not appear to have been aware of the Ishmael-Isaac controversy. This silence seems to parallel and confirm the actual situation in the Muslim tradition.

The ethnic argument can be detected also in the *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan*, a document which displays a number of points of connection with Islam (identification, for example, of the names of the wives of Muhammad as the wives of Ishmael).³³ The Targum of Gen 22:1

²⁸See John E. Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 110-112.

²⁹Ali, 2:1205.

³⁰The full tradition is found in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 23, 85; cf. Zamakhshari, 3.350; and Al-Baidawi, 37.102.

³¹Andrews Rippin, "Sa'adya Gaon and Genesis 22: Aspects of Jewish-Muslim Interaction and Polemic," in *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, ed. William M. Brinner and Stephen D. Ricks (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 40.

³²See A. S. Halkin, "Saadia's Exegesis and Polemics," in *Rab Saadia Gaon: Studies in His Honor* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 117-141.

³³See Robert Hayward, "Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Anti-Islamic Polemic," *JSS* 34

reports a discussion between Isaac and Ishmael, with each of them arguing his own right to inherit the father, Abraham.

And it was after these things when Isaac and Ishmael argued, that Ishmael said, It is right that I should inherit Father since I am his first born. But Isaac said, It is right for me to inherit Father because I am the son of Sarah his wife and you are the son of Hagar my mother's maid. Ishmael answered saying, I am more worthy than you because I was circumcized at age 13; if it had been my will to hold back I would not have risked my life to be circumcized. But you were circumcized when you were 8 days old; had you known what it was all about you would not have risked your life. Isaac replied, Today I am 36 years old. If the Holy One, blessed be He, were to ask for all my limbs I would not hold back. Immediately these words were heard before the Lord of the universe and immediately the word of the Lord tested Abraham and said to him, Abraham!³⁴

The Targum goes on to emphasize the value of Isaac—so much so, in fact, that he even surpasses Abraham: "The eyes of Abraham looked at the eyes of Isaac; but the eyes of Isaac looked at the angels on high. Isaac saw them, but Abraham did not" (v. 10). Also, the blessing of the nations is no longer based on Abraham's faith as indicated in the biblical text, but on Isaac's merits (v. 18). It is noteworthy, as well, that the Targum suggests the same kind of ethnic concern as is indicated in the Muslim apologetic. Isaac is "taken by the angels to the school of Shem the Great" (v. 19). This last reference to the father of all Semites constitutes, indeed, a powerful argument in the genealogical/ethnic discussion.

3. *Dialogue in the Sacred Texts*

A stylistic analysis of the two sacred texts, the Bible and the Qur'ān, which have laid the foundation for the Jewish-Christian-Muslim traditions and controversies, reveals the importance of dialogue. This is true concerning both of these texts.

(1989): 77-93; cf. A. Shapira, "Traces of an Anti-Moslem Polemic in Tg. Ps. J. on the Binding of Isaac" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 54 (1984/85): 293-296.

³⁴Milgrom, 91.

The biblical story of the *Aqedah* (Gen 22:1-19) is terse³⁵ and dynamic. Of the 306 words, 75 are verbs. This amounts to one verb in three to four words. Such frequency of verbs, and especially of the keyword 'mr, gives the text its dynamic character and suggests a particularly nervous dialogue.

Besides, the literary structure of the text reaches its apex in the center (vv. 7 and 8), i.e., in the pathos-filled dialogue between Abraham and Isaac. I have been able to establish this literary movement in a previous study³⁶ on the basis of four observations: (1) the chiasmic structure A B C B₁ A₁; (2) the framing of the central passage by the same stylistic wording, *wayyel'kû š'nêhem yahdāw*; (3) the symmetrical distribution of the key words 'mr and *hlk* in A B and A₁ B₁; and (4) the concentration in the center of the key word 'mr (five occurrences) This central section (C) of the chiasm consists essentially of questions and silences.

It is interesting that the Qur'ānic rendition of the *Aqedah* (Sura 37, *Saffat*, vv. 100-112) seems to convey a similar emphasis. Like the Hebrew text, it is noteworthy for its terse style³⁷ and for the fact that it consists essentially of dialogues (Abraham with his friends; Abraham with God; Abraham with his son), and places a special accent on the dialogue between Abraham and his son (this is the longest verse of the section). Here also, in the Qur'ānic version, the pathos-filled dialogue is set forth at the center of the text (v. 103) and is framed by the same stylistic expression *fa-lamma* ("and when"), the first word of both vv. 103 and 104, and by the "we" spoken by God before and after the dialogue. Thus, this text, too, is in a chiasmic structure similar to the biblical one, consisting of A B C B₁ A₁:

- A "we" (of God), v. 102
- B "and when," v. 103
- C dialogue: Abraham with the son, v. 103
- B₁ "and when," v. 104
- A₁ "we" (of God), vv. 105-112

³⁵Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1953), 19.

³⁶Jacques Doukhan, "The Center of the *Aqedah*: A Study of the Literary Structure of Gen 22:1-19," *AUSS* 31 (Spring 1993): 17-28.

³⁷Firestone, 98.

The central section (C) again consists of questions and silences, as is the case in the biblical *Aqedah*:

A question from Abraham to his son, "What do you think?"

A question from the son to God, implied by *in shā' a-Llah* ("God willing").

A silence from Abraham, who does not explain his vision.

A silence from the son, who submits himself and does not argue with his father.

A silence of both of them in the phrase, "They both submitted" (v. 103).

4. Assessment and Conclusion

History has shown the importance of the *Aqedah* in the Jewish-Christian-Muslim controversy. All the ingredients and dynamics of dialogue are found in this confrontation. The three traditions refer to the same story dealing with the common origin of the three religions (in Abraham). They describe more or less the same historical evolution. They echo each other and react to each other on specific points. To a great measure they are interrelated and even dependent on each other. The Jewish-Muslim polemics include reference to the Jewish-Christian polemics,³⁸ and the Muslim-Christian polemics show dependence on the Jewish-Christian polemics.³⁹ Only the Jewish-Christian polemics were independent, for obvious historical reasons. Indeed, the Jewish-Christian-Muslim discussions on the *Aqedah* stands at a crossroad for the three traditions.

Also, the interest in the *Aqedah* occurs at the birth of the three Abrahamic religions, serving the purpose of justifying their respective claims to absolute and exclusive truth. Conversations among the three Abrahamic religions was vital, because at this early stage of their history

³⁸See Moshe Perlmann, "The Medieval Polemics Between Islam and Judaism," in *Religion in a Religious Age*, ed. S. D. Goitein (Cambridge, MA: Assoc. for Jewish Studies, 1974), 106.

³⁹There is little evidence of Muslim-Christian dialogue on the *Aqedah*. Perhaps one can perceive a hint of it through the Muslim-Christian controversy on the crucifixion of Jesus, which seems to imply the same typological connection between Isaac and Jesus as is found in Christian sources (see T. A. Naudé, "Isaac Typology in the Koran," in *De fructu oris sui: Essays in Honour of Adrianus van Selms*, ed. I. H. Eybers et al. [Leiden: Brill, 1971]: 121-129). From that standpoint, the Muslim apology was directed to both Jews and Christians. For the Jews it meant that Jesus was the Messiah since he was not killed (see Qurʾān, Sura 4: 152, 154-156). For the Christians, it meant the denial of his divinity and of the Trinity, as well as the denial of the expiatory value of his death (see Qurʾān, Sura 4: 169; cf. Mahmoud M. Ayoub, "Towards an Islamic Christology II: The Death of Jesus, Reality or Delusion," *The Muslim World* 52 [1980]: 94).

their very existence and survival were at stake in the discussions. The Jewish-Christian dialogue concerning the *Aqedah* focused on theological meaning; the Jewish-Muslim one focused on the ethnic identity of the victim. Thus, the Jewish-Christian-Muslim dialogues concerning the *Aqedah* not only were necessary because of the differences among the three parties, but also were possible because of the connections existing among them.

In fact, the *Aqedah* is in essence a dialogue; for that matter, it contains an eloquent appeal for dialogue. This is one of the lessons we may infer from a careful reading of the two sacred texts.

Ironically, it appears that the basic texts themselves point in a completely different direction from that which is indicated in the controversies. In the texts, the accent is not at the end of the passage and does not concern the theological meaning or solution. Nor is it at the beginning, and it does not concern the identity of the son (the Qur'an does not even mention his name). Rather, it is in the center of the dialogue, which consists of the human questions and silences of the victims.

I believe that Martin Buber had the intuition of this lesson in his critique of Kierkegaard's treatment of the *Aqedah*.⁴⁰ Whereas Kierkegaard saw in the *Aqedah* the principle of "the teleological suspension of the ethical,"⁴¹ by which man reaches the religious level alone, Buber found in the *Aqedah* the existential urge for the "I and thou" encounter.⁴² It is significant that the only trait of the *Aqedah* which has survived through the controversies, even to the present day, is the memory of the victim and his eternal questions and silences that reveal a yearning for communication.

This, perhaps, is why the *Aqedah* still plays an important role in the interreligious dialogue. Today, under the shadow of the Holocaust, reference to the *Aqedah* has been refreshed in Jewish thought⁴³ as well

⁴⁰Jewish reactions to Kierkegaard are divided on the issue of to what extent Kierkegaard's view suits Jewish tradition. For Milton Steinberg, it is not compatible with Judaism, whereas for J. B. Soloveitchik it is; Ernst Simon holds a middle position (see "*Akedah*" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*).

⁴¹Søren Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941), 131.

⁴²See Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, trans. W. Kaufman (New York: Scribner, 1970), 123, and his *Eclipse of God* (New York: Harper, 1952), 149; cf. Aimee Zeltzer, "An Existential Investigation: Buber's Critique of Kierkegaard 'Teleological Suspension of the Ethical,'" in *Church Divinity*, ed. J. H. Morgan (Notre Dame, IN: 1987), 138-153.

⁴³See especially Emil Fackenheim, *God's Presence in History: Jewish Affirmations and Philosophical Reflections* (New York: New York University Press, 1970); cf. Michael Brown, "Biblical Myth and Contemporary Experience: The *Akedah* in Modern Jewish Literature," *Judaism* 31 (1982):

as in Christian theology.⁴⁴ And this has not only intensely affected the Jewish-Christian dialogue,⁴⁵ but has also to some extent influenced the Jewish-Muslim dialogue.⁴⁶ There is no doubt that the *Aqedah* has become an important part of the Jewish-Christian efforts toward reconciliation.⁴⁷ We can hope that the lesson of the *Aqedah* will at some time also find its way through the intricacy of the Jewish-Muslim dialogue, which at present is confused and disturbed by the Israeli-Arab conflicts.

99-111; Steven T. Katz, *Post-Holocaust Dialogues: Critical Studies in Modern Jewish Thought* (New York: New York University Press, 1983); Arthur A. Cohen, "Jewish Theology and the Holocaust," in *Theology* (March 1983); André Neher, *The Exile of the Word* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1981), 216-218; Harry James Cargas in *Conversation with Elie Wiesel* (New York: Paulist Press, 1976), 55-57, 85; Alvin H. Rosenfeld, "Reflections on Isaac," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 7 (1986): 241-248. The modern Israeli literature deserves special notice here since it witnesses to a domestic discussion concerning the relevancy of the *Aqedah* in regard to Israel's reality; see Edna A. Coffin, "The Binding of Isaac in Modern Israeli Literature," *Michigan Quarterly Review* (1983): 429-444; Ilan Avisar, "Evolution of Israeli Attitude Toward the Holocaust," *Hebrew Annual Review* 9 (1985): 31-52.

⁴⁴See F. Talmage, "Christian Theology and the Holocaust," *Commentary* 60 (October 1975): 72-75; R. E. Willis, "Christian Theology after Auschwitz," *JES* 12 (1975): 493-519; reply by P. Chare in *JES* 14 (1977): 105-109; A. A. Cohen, "The Holocaust and Christian Theology: An Interpretation of the Problem," in *Judaism and Christianity under the Impact of National-Socialism (1919-1945)*, ed. Y. Mais (Jerusalem: Historical Society of Israel, 1982), 415-439.

⁴⁵J. Peck, ed., *Jews and Christians after the Holocaust* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982); cf. I. Eraenberg, "Cloud of Smoke, Pillar of Fire: Judaism, Christianity, and Modernity after the Holocaust," in *Auschwitz: Beginning of a New Era*, ed. Eva Fleischner (New York: KTAV), 77.

⁴⁶See M. H. Ellis, *Toward a Jewish Theology of Liberation* (Mary Knoll, NY: Orbis, 1989), especially his afterword, "The Palestinian Uprising and the Future of the Jewish People," 123-124.

⁴⁷See Harry James Cargas, *A Christian Response to the Holocaust* (Denver: Stonehenge Books, 1981), especially 167-168.

PROGRESSIVE DISPENSATIONALISM: A REVIEW OF A RECENT PUBLICATION

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Modern Dispensationalism has experienced four dispensations of its own since its rise in Ireland and England during the early decades of the nineteenth century. These may be designated as the Pre-Scofieldian, Scofieldian, Essentialist, and Progressive. Although the first three stages manifested some differences from one another, they were basically more similar than dissimilar in virtually all of their basic tenets and in their hermeneutic. The same cannot be said when comparing Progressive Dispensationalism with the others, for it has made some remarkable breaks away from a number of concepts that hitherto had been considered as a *sine qua non* of all Dispensationalism. These new views have been set forth in a recent publication entitled *Dispensationalism, Israel and the Church: The Search for Definition*, ed. Craig A. Blaising and Darrell L. Block (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992). This is truly a landmark book; and it was considered to be precisely that by the evangelical scholars from various traditions who attended the annual Evangelical Theological Society meeting held in San Francisco, California, on November 19, 1992. Indeed, at that meeting half a day was devoted to studying and discussing it.

The volume includes a Foreword by Stanley N. Gundry (10-12), an Introduction by Blaising entitled "The Search for Definition" (13-34), followed by the main text (37-376), and a Conclusion by Blaising and Bock entitled "Dispensationalism, Israel and the Church: Assessment and Dialogue" (377-394). The volume also includes two indexes: "Select Name and Subject Index" and "Scripture Index" (395-402). It is not my purpose to treat the volume's chapters individually, but rather to provide a broad sweep of the contributions that the book as a whole makes and to present some suggestions that I believe will be helpful for any future discussions by Progressive Dispensationalists. However, in order to furnish the reader who is unacquainted with this publication

an overview of its contents, I indicate here the Dispensationalist authors and the chapter titles for its ten chapters, plus the same for three "response" sections.

The Dispensationalist chapters are as follows: Darrell L. Bock, "The Reign of the Lord Christ" (37-67); Bruce A. Ware, "The New Covenant and the People(s) of God" (68-97); Carl B. Hoch, Jr., "The New Man of Ephesians 2" (98-126); Robert L. Saucy, "The Church as the Mystery of God" (127-155); W. Edward Glenny, "The Israelite Imagery of 1 Peter 2" (156-187); J. Lanier Burns, "The Future of Ethnic Israel in Romans 11" (188-229); David K. Lowery, "Christ, the End of the Law in Romans 10:4" (230-247); John A. Martin, "Christ, the Fulfillment of the Law in the Sermon on the Mount" (248-263); David L. Turner, "The New Jerusalem in Revelation 21:1-22:5: Consummation of a Biblical Continuum" (264-292); and Kenneth L. Barker, "The Scope and Center of Old and New Testament Theology and Hope" (293-330).

The response sections designated as "Response 1," "Response 2," and "Response 3," have the following authors and titles: Willem A. VanGemeren, "A Response" (331-346), Bruce K. Waltke, "A Response" (347-359), and Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., "An Epangelical Response" (360-376).

Progressive Dispensationalism has issued out of an attempt to be "more accurate biblically" and "to re-examine biblically the distinction between Israel and the church" (15, 33). The result is a theological hermeneutic that I believe is truer to scripture than the hermeneutic found in the other three eras of Dispensationalism. This change over previous Dispensational contributions moves the possibility of dialogue with other evangelical traditions to a new level, for it (1) critiques some of the old positions that non-Dispensationalists also questioned, and (2) accepts a new christological hermeneutic that was absent in earlier Dispensationalist literature.

A key change which these Progressive Dispensationalist scholars have set forth is the concept of OT prophecies/promises being fulfilled in the church age, and thus it rejects the traditional Dispensationalist futurism (see 46-51, 224). This concept of progressive fulfillment of OT prophecies/promises during the Christian era involves, in turn, several other significant matters: (1) It includes an acceptance of the Christian church as implicit in the OT and recognition of the moral law (Exod 20) and the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5-7) as being applicable in the church age rather than simply relegated to Israel in the millennium (253-254). (2) It also includes acceptance of the concept that OT prophecy can have multiple fulfillments during the church age, such as in the case of Joel 2 at Pentecost (Acts 2) and in the future (58). (3) Progressive

fulfillment involves, as well, an acceptance of an inaugurated eschatology that includes a rejection of the idea that the church age is only a "parenthesis" between the time of Israel in the OT and Israel during the millennium (39-43). In other words, the era of the present Christian church is not merely an intermission between God's past and future dealings with Israel. (4) Progressive fulfillment entails rejection of the idea of a "postponed kingdom" and postponed rule of Christ, focusing rather on his present rule from heaven's throne over all on planet earth (46-55). (5) It rejects also the notion that there are two new covenants—one for Israel and the other for the church (91). What it does set forth is that there is one new covenant that is sequentially fulfilled—at present spiritually in the church age; and later, physically to Israel in the millennium (93-97). (6) Progressive fulfillment rejects, as well, the concept of a final differentiation or separation between the earthly people of God (Israel) and the heavenly people of God (the church), opting rather for their dwelling together in the new earth (303).

These changes are substantial, and they clearly separate Progressive Dispensationalism from the other three forms. The Progressives have taken more seriously the christological fulfillment of OT prophecies/promises, and have come a long way toward responding positively to the biblical type/antitype hermeneutic, a hermeneutic that involves escalation in the NT fulfillment of the OT types.

This new volume documents the roots of Progressive Dispensationalism to (1) a rejection of the distinction in 1959 between the "kingdom of God" (as God's overall rule in the universe) and the "kingdom of heaven" (as an Israelite millennial kingdom) and (2) Ryrie's *Dispensationalism Today*, published in 1965. But these were only "roots," with the major new thrusts coming into being during the 1970s and onward. Thus, Progressive Dispensationalism, broadly speaking, has allegedly been developing for more than thirty years.

The special contribution made now in *Dispensationalism, Israel and the Church* issues from the fact that the editors and authors of the ten chapters are for the most part NT scholars, who bring their expertise in this field to bear on traditional Dispensationalism, which overlooked the hermeneutical function of NT interpretation of the OT.

Although the three respondents are all OT scholars, they provide insightful questions and comments. VanGemeren, for instance, queries that if the older Dispensational distinction "between a new covenant for the church and another new covenant for Israel has been abandoned," how can a distinction still be maintained between Israel and the church (336-337)? But he also declares that "Covenant theologians" will

appreciate "the change in dispensational teaching regarding the church" (340). Waltke states that this new volume represents a "significant restructuring of dispensationalism within the framework of inaugurated eschatology" (347). But he points out, as well, that "no New Testament passage clearly teaches a future Jewish millennium" (353). And Kaiser feels that one of the "pleasant surprises" of this volume is that among its authors few, if any, "feel compelled to raise the topic once dear to this system; the postponed kingdom theory" (374).

However, when all is said and done, Progressive Dispensationalism still retains a significant *sine qua non* that is shared by the other three stages of Dispensational development: namely, the distinction between Israel and the church, even though this new book speaks of a "softening" of this distinction (224). The Progressive Dispensationalist authors of this volume still present the kingdom as (1) preliminary during the present inter-advent period, (2) intermediate during the millennium, and (3) eternal after the millennium. Along this progressive unfolding (or "fulfillment") of the kingdom the "parenthesis" or "intermission" (of the older Dispensationalism) is simply moved from the church age to the millennium. Although the church is given a proper place during the Christian age, there is still overly much separation between the church and Israel during the present era, rather than seeing Jews and Gentiles as together constituting the church (Eph 3:6).

Kaiser suggests that "in the next two to three years" another book should be written, perhaps "titled *Dispensationalism Tomorrow*" (373). Blasing and Bock suggest that future publications "need to carry the dialogue forward" (385). In view of the possibility of such a development, I submit here four specific suggestions that may be helpful in future discussions:

(1) It would be helpful to accept and set forth a more thoroughgoing christological hermeneutic, one which does full justice to the historical types with their biblical correspondence in Christ-centered fulfillment. For although the present Progressive Dispensationalists speak of Christ as fulfilling the covenants and promises given to Israel (38), it still clings to the older fundamental Dispensational assumption that the present fulfillment is only preliminary (84), that the church has not taken Israel's place (119, 188), that Israel did not forfeit national privileges (210-211), and that OT promises to Israel will ultimately be fulfilled in earthly terms (63-64). By contrast, a christological fulfillment is the focus of Scripture: Christ became the head (Col 1:18) of the new body (Eph 3:6, Jew and Gentile), which became the new "Israel of God" (Gal 6:16, NIV). "For no matter how

many promises God has made, they are 'Yes' in Christ" (2 Cor 1:20, NIV).

(2) Serious consideration should be given to thinking through the present reign of Christ on heaven's throne (e.g., in Hebrews and Revelation) in relation to the church as his body (Eph 5:30, Col 1:24), the one new man (Eph 2:11-15; cf. 3:6), the one olive tree (Rom 11), the one vine (John 15), the one chosen people, one holy nation, one royal priesthood (1 Pet 2:9), the one bride (Rev 19:7), and the one holy city that has names of both OT patriarchs and NT apostles on it (Rev 21:1-14). Although our Progressive Dispensationalist authors consider that there is coequality of Jews and Gentiles in Christ, Israel still remains distinct. These authors believe that Israel is to receive new-covenant political/territorial blessings which are not open to the church, for the two "remain separate in their identity" as "*differing peoples* of God" (96). By contrast, the NT presents "in Christ" as a present and future oneness of Israel with the church existentially and without distinctions. Furthermore, it should be noted that being "in Christ" is existential only, and not sequential.

(3) More thought should be given to the inaugurated-consummated eschatology of the NT, with its necessary escalation. Progressive Dispensationalists' commendable acceptance of this escalation is, in my opinion, seriously undermined by their returning to the local focus on Israel as receiving the kingdom at Christ's return. This part of their consummated eschatology ignores the fact that the new-earth escalation of the promised-land typology comes *after* the millennium (Rev 20-21), instead of being a return of Israel to Palestine during the millennium. I do not know of any example in Scripture where there is a reversal from an antitypical eschatological escalation to a local type.

(4) Finally, it would be well to give consideration to the biblical understanding of the millennium, which differs from the view given by Progressive Dispensationalism.¹ In fact, all four eras of Dispensationalism have held a view that is premillennial, but with the belief

¹Progressive Dispensationalists believe that God's kingdom comes in three stages: (1) a stage inaugurated at Christ's first advent, (2) a millennial phase to begin at Christ's second advent, and (3) the eternal reign (see 290-291). They believe in a "greater continuity between the millennium and the eternal kingdom" (383) and that at his second advent Christ "will do all that the prophets of the Old Testament promised" (66). Hence, they look for a millennium with special significance for Israel. Concerning the land of promise they ask, "If Christ reigns from *Israel* and has authority over the whole earth, does this not solve the question about the land promises to Israel?" (390). These progressive Dispensationalists read into the millennium OT passages concerning the eternal state (see, e.g., 284), and in a similar way impose onto the millennium prophecies relating to ancient Israel (see, e.g., 392).

that the millennium is on the earth and for the Israelite. Contrary to this concept, the Bible gives no indication that the thousand years of Rev 20 will be on the earth. Several lines of evidence should be considered:

The word throne (Gr., *thronos*) is used 38 times in the book of Revelation, and it always refers to God's heavenly throne, except in three instances where the throne is on earth, but occupied by an enemy of God (Rev 2:13, 13:2, 16:10).² This biblical evidence suggests that those who will reign with Christ a thousand years (Rev 20:4) will do so at his heavenly throne, not in an earthly millennium.

Further biblical evidence that supports a heavenly millennium for God's saints is the typology of the OT "Day of Atonement" in the earthly sanctuary (Lev 16). This serves as a "type" for the "antitypical" Day of Atonement in heaven's sanctuary. The judgment and removal-of-sin process takes place in the sanctuary in both the type (Lev 16) and the antitype (Rev 20:4-6, 11-15). It is only after the millennium that completion comes to the heavenly sanctuary's process in the removal of sin and sinners on earth (Rev 20:7-10, 13-14).

Additional documentation is found in William H. Shea's analysis of the literary structures of Rev 12 and 20.³ He has shown that both of these chapters follow an A-B-A' pattern, whose sequence indicates the textual flow to be earth (A) → heaven (B) → earth (A'). Since the millennium is in the B section of Rev 20, the locale is heaven.

In short, the Progressive Dispensationalists whose book I am reviewing have moved the dialogue to a new height by doing better justice to biblical inaugurated eschatology. It seems to me that the next step forward is to do justice to biblical consummated eschatology. Only thus can they come to a NT paradigm which is fully, not merely partly, christological. In doing this, they would also be more consistent in their questioning of traditional Dispensationalist hermeneutics, a task that they have nobly begun.

²See Joel Badina, "The Millennium," in *Symposium on Revelation*, book 2, ed. Frank B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblica Research Institute, 1992), 240.

³William H. Shea, "The Parallel Literary Structure of Revelation 12 and 20," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 37-54.

THE GREAT REVERSAL: THEMATIC LINKS BETWEEN GENESIS 2 AND 3

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The break between Gen 1 and 2 has been discussed at length by many scholars.¹ Umberto Cassuto, for example, has made a clear distinction between the story in Gen 1 and the one recorded in chaps. 2 and 3.² Cassuto argues that the first chapter relates "The Story of Creation" to teach us "that the whole world and all that it contains were created by the word of the One God, according to His will, which operates without restraint."³ The second section, more precisely Gen 2:4-24, is part of the "Story of the Garden of Eden," which stretches to the end of chap. 3; its purpose is "to explain how it is that in the Lord's world, the world of the good and beneficent God, evil should exist and man should endure pain and troubles and calamities."⁴

On the other hand, the unity of chaps. 2 and 3 is generally recognized, although different reasons are given in support of this conclusion. Cassuto bases his argument for the unity of this passage on

¹For example, G. von Rad notes: "The difference is in the point of departure: Whereas in ch. 1 creation moves from the chaos to the cosmos of the entire world, our account of creation [chap. 2] sketches the original state as a desert in contrast to the sown" (*Genesis: A Commentary* [London: SCM, 1972], 76). Likewise, Claus Westermann states: "The narrative of Gen 1 is characterized by its onward, irresistible and majestic flow that distinguishes it so clearly from the drama narrated in Gen 2-3" (*Genesis 1-11: A Commentary* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984], 80). David J. A. Clines posits that "while ch. 1 views reality as an ordered pattern which is confused by the flood, chs. 2-3 see reality as a network of elemental unions which become disintegrated throughout the course of the narrative from Eden to the flood" (*The Theme of the Pentateuch* [Sheffield: JSOT, 1978], 75).

²*A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1978), 1:84-94.

³Cassuto, 7. For a different view see von Rad, 46: "Faith in creation is neither the basis nor the goal of the declarations in Gen., chs. 1 and 2. Rather, the position of both the Yahwist and the Priestly document is basically faith in salvation and election."

⁴*A Commentary*, 71.

noticeable similarities between certain elements found in the beginning of chap. 2 and at the end of chap. 3.⁵ Claus Westermann holds that the idea of the two chapters as an independent and separate narrative was "one of the most important and decisive results of literary criticism."⁶ The presence of thematic links between the two chapters has been proposed also by von Rad.⁷ David J. A. Clines points to four areas of harmonious relationship in chap. 2 that are disrupted in chap. 3.⁸

In addition to being a literary unit, as seen by the structural and thematic links already noted,⁹ these two chapters also show a unity of purpose. The two come together to present the first of many reversals in the Bible.¹⁰ The purpose of this article is to explore this reversal theme in Gen 2 and 3.

⁵Ibid., 159, 169-171. Cassuto argues for linking some passages through common terms; for example, Gen 2:7, 17 to 3:19; Gen 2:25 to 3:7, 21; Gen 2:5, 7 to 3:23; Gen 2:8, 15 to 3:24. Considering the two chapters as a unit, E. A. Speiser calls them "the brief Eden interlude" (*Genesis*, AB [New York: Doubleday, 1981], 18), while G. W. Coats uses the term "Paradise Tale" (*Genesis, with an Introduction to Narrative Literature* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983], 28). In their respective studies Derek Kidner (*Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary* [Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1967], 58) and John Skinner also treat the two chapters as a single unit (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis*, ICC [Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1951], 1:51).

⁶Westermann notes that in consequence "it is but logical to use this same method as a tool for a more exact interpretation of the passage" (186).

⁷"The serpent 'which God had made' in ch. 3.1 points back to the creation of the animals in ch. 2.18. The theme of shame in ch. 3.7 ff. is taken up and attached (almost abruptly) to the narrative about the creation of man (2.25)" (von Rad, 100). Also contributing to the discussion is J. T. Walsh, "Genesis 2:46-3:24: A Synchronic Approach," *JBL* 96 (1977): 161-177.

⁸"In ch. 3 the relationship of harmony between each of these pairs [man and soil, man and animals, man and woman, man and God, all in chap. 2] is disrupted. The communion between God and the man who breathes God's breath (2:7) has become the legal relationship of accuser and defendant (3:9ff); the relationship of man and woman as "one flesh" (2:24) has soured into mutual recrimination (3:12); the bond of man (*ādām*) with the soil (*ādāmāh*) from which he was built has been supplanted by 'an alienation. . .' (3:17 ff.); the harmonious relationship of man with beast in which man is the acknowledged master (2:19 ff.) has become a perpetual struggle of intransigent foes (3:15)" (Clines, 75).

⁹On the structure of Gen 2 and 3 see the whole issue of *Semeia* 18 (1980).

¹⁰See Zdravko Stefanovic, "Daniel: A Book of Significant Reversals," *AUSS* 30 (Summer 1992): 139-150.

The Content of Genesis 1:1-2:3

According to von Rad, Gen 1:1 is the "summary statement of everything that is unfolded step by step in the following verses."¹¹ The language of the chapter is simple, yet decisive: God's powerful word created the world in such a way that "it was firm, or well established."¹² The creative activity of the first three days parallels that which ensued on the following three, while the Sabbath rest, established on the seventh day, had no counterpart. The structure of Gen 1 follows the pattern: introduction + 3 pairs + climax or conclusion. This structure is visualized in Figure 1.¹³ The seventh day, rich with God's blessings, was the climax of God's creative work. In the words of Abraham Heschel, "Last in creation, first in intention, 'the Sabbath is the end of the creation of heaven and earth.'"¹⁴ Everything was declared to be "very good" and no shade of disorder can be traced in the complete Creation Story.

¹¹He also says that the "hidden grandeur of this statement is that God is the Lord of the world" (49). For Westermann the same verse is "a heading that takes in everything in the narrative in one single sentence" (94).

¹²Cassuto derives *kēn* (1:30) from the root *kwn* and translates the phrase "and it was firm or an established thing" (34).

¹³On this idea, see Jacques B. Doukhan, *The Genesis Creation Story* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1978). See also W. H. Shea, "The Unity of the Creation Account," *Origins* 5 (1978): 9-38. A structure similar to that proposed in Figure 1 is found in other biblical passages. In Matt 1 the disputed number of 14 generations can best be explained as 7 x 2.

¹⁴*The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1951), 14. Further describing the uniqueness of the Sabbath, V. Hamilton notes: "Silence and stillness once again enter the atmosphere. The mood of the prologue now resurfaces in this epilogue. There is no activity, no noise, no speaking. All that God has willed and designed for his canvas of the universe is now in its place" (*The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1-17* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990], 141). Von Rad contends that "the declarations about a Sabbath at creation contain one of the most remarkable and daring testimonies in the entire priestly document" (61). For Westermann, "the sanctification of the Sabbath institutes an order for humankind according to which time is divided into time and holy time, time for work and time for rest. The work of creation began with three acts of separation" (171).

INTRODUCTION (Gen 1:1-2) Summary of the Story	
A. FIRST DAY (1:35) 1. Creation of light 2. Light described as good 3. Light separated from darkness	A: FOURTH DAY (1:14-19) 1. Creation of luminaries 2. Luminaries described as good 3. Times divided by luminaries
B. SECOND DAY (1:6-8) 1. The Expanse created (heaven) 2. Waters divided from waters (seas) 3. Heaven named	B: FIFTH DAY (1:20-23) 1. Creatures fly toward heaven 2. Creatures move in the seas 3. Creation blessed
C. THIRD DAY (1:9-13) 1. Dry ground appears (earth) 2. Grass, plants, and trees created 3. Vegetation yields seeds according to their kinds	C: SIXTH DAY (1:24-31) 1. Earth population created 2. Livestock, ground creatures, and animals made 3. God creates man in His image and likeness
CLIMAX: THE SEVENTH DAY (2:1-3) Unparalleled Blessing	

Figure 1. A Structural Outline of the Creation Story in Genesis 1:1-2:3.

The Content of Genesis 2:4-25

After introducing the sinless and fully blessed life on the newly created earth, the Genesis narrator describes the creation of man in retrospect. This crown of all creation was placed in the beautiful garden of Eden, whose main source of blessing was a four-branched river carrying fertility to all the earth, both inside and outside of Eden.

The privileges and responsibilities of the first human being in the garden are stated. The immediate responsibility was to make an inventory of all the animals and give to each a name. This action emphasized man's loneliness. The Creator provided a solution to this problem, and man's pleasant surprise at receiving this gift is recorded.

The first part of the story climaxes in the closing verses of chap. 2 with the description of a happy life of intimacy and innocence. Verse 24 speaks of the union between Adam and Eve which perpetuated their lineage.

The Content of Genesis 3

Gen 3 opens with a new character in the story, one not necessarily unknown to the Genesis narrator's audience. The tempter described as "serpent" deceives the humans in a subtle way.¹⁵

The lengthy persuasion to taste the forbidden fruit culminates in quick action: both Eve and Adam sin.¹⁶ The tragic outcome of the transgression was increased by Eve's expectation of becoming a divine being, according to the serpent's promise. Realizing the first results of sin, the couple tried to hide from God.

God informs the man and the woman of the terrible consequences of their fall. His pronouncement of the sentence commences with the serpent, then moves to the woman, and finally to the man. This order of the sentence is reversed from the order of the narrative, forming a small-scale reversal in the story. Then judgment is pronounced and man is expelled from the garden. Von Rad notes that "the penalties go in reverse order to the trial proceedings."¹⁷ Finally a celestial guardian is set "to keep the way" to the life-giving tree.

Relationship Between Genesis 2 and 3

A close study of Gen 2 and 3 discloses a carefully-crafted structure.¹⁸ The structure is chiasmic, since the content of chap. 3 contains a reversed order of similar elements and events found in chap. 2. For the sake of comparison, the two chapters can be divided into four logical parts, each containing distinctive themes. The parts of chap. 3 are in fact reversals of those in chap. 2. Following is a detailed analysis of the structure and meaning of both chapters, stressing the chiasmic art of the narrative and showing the great reversal in the story of the Garden of Eden. (The same information is summarized in Figure 2.) When viewed

¹⁵Hebrew, *wehannāḥās*. The subject in this sentence precedes the predicate for emphasis.

¹⁶The lengthy dialogue between the serpent and the woman (3:1-6a) is in sharp contrast with the swift action expressed by a succession of four consecutive verbs: took, ate, gave, ate (3:6b), all four preceded by *waw* consecutive.

¹⁷Von Rad, 92. The order of subjects in the beginning of chap. 3 is serpent-woman-man. Then in the trial one finds man-woman-serpent. Lastly in the sentence the order is again serpent-woman-man.

¹⁸The Hebrew root *ʿm* found in 2:25 and 3:1 is the best discernible lexical link between two chapters. Says J. T. Walsh: "On a literary level Gen 2:46-3:24 is a highly structured unit" (177).

this way, Gen 2 has no independent structure of its own. If this fact is overlooked, the plan of the chapter can be chronologically misleading.¹⁹

Gen 2:4—An Introductory Verse Alluding to the Reversal

This introductory verse reminds the reader that God is the Creator of heaven and earth. The emphasis on this fact is expressed by a double repetition. Everything which follows in the first part of the story reported in chap. 2 is traced back to the Creator who is the protagonist of the first part of the drama.

The words in Gen 2:4 are marked by the use of double chiasm. Not only is the subject/verb order reversed ("heaven/earth" and "created" is reversed to "made" and "earth/heaven"), the "heaven/earth" is reversed to "earth/heaven." One should see in these reversals, especially in the second one, an allusion to the reversal on a larger scale in the story as a whole, called in this study "the Great Reversal." The verse further matches the introductory statement of the Creation story in Gen 1:1.

Part One: A. Created and Settled (Gen 2:5-8);

A'. Judged and Expelled (Gen 3:22-24)

The very beginning of the story of Gen 2 and 3 speaks of innocent and carefree life on earth before man's creation. There was no toil, "no bush of the field," "no plant," no "rain on the earth" (2:5-6). The end of the story (Gen 3:22-24) stresses the opposite. Because of the entrance of sin the man knows both "good and evil."

Whereas before there were "streams" coming up from the earth to water the ground (2:6), after the sin, blessings do not come automatically and man's responsibility is increased (3:23). Thus the beginning of the story declares that "there was no man to work the ground" (2:5), while the end of the story ironically reveals that after the act of sin, man must work the ground (3:23).

¹⁹Westermann finds in "Gen 2-3 repetitions, lack of agreement, lack of balance, gaps in the line of thought, contradictions. One could not expect anything else." These he attributes to "the many-sided process of the formation of this text" (190).

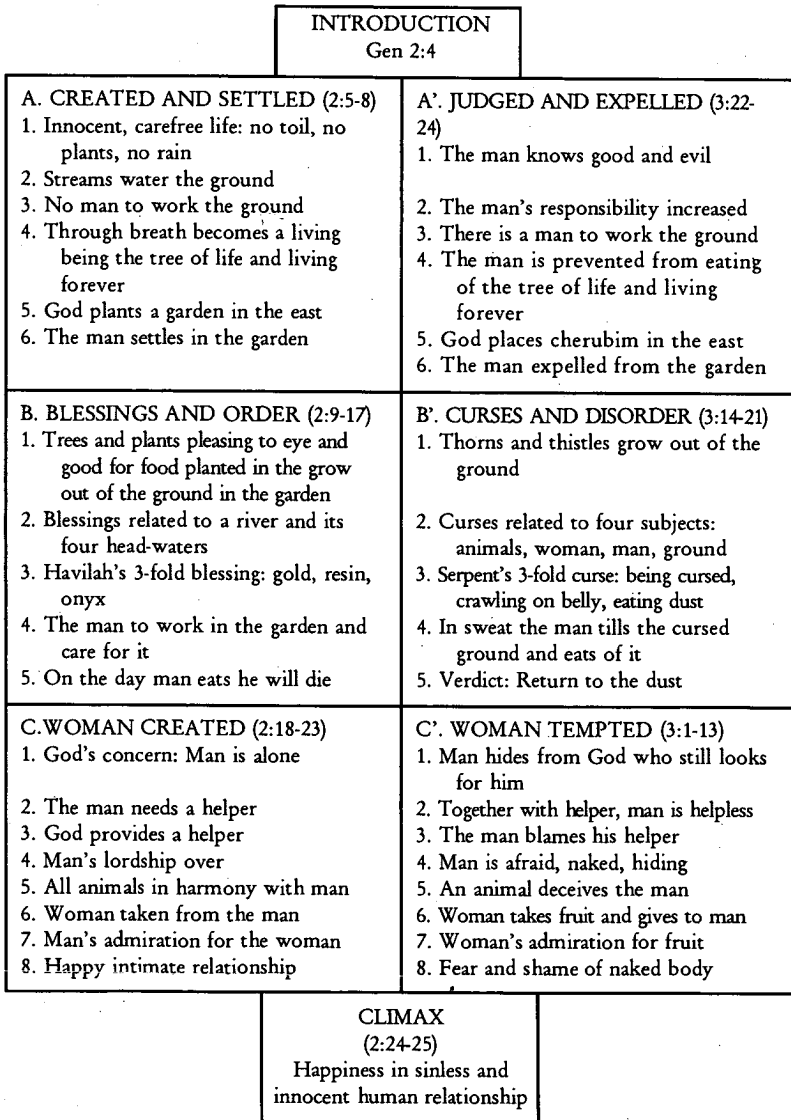


Figure 2. The Chiastic Structure of Genesis 2 and 3

The same man who through the breath of life "became a living being" (2:7) is now rendered unable "to reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life and eat, and live forever" (3:22).

Lastly, the same God who "planted a garden in the east, in Eden" (2:8) now places "on the east side of the Garden of Eden cherubim to guard the way to the tree of life" (3:24). Thus the man, who had been created by God and placed in the garden (2:8), is now judged and expelled from it by God (3:23).

Following is a list of the Hebrew words and expressions shared by both sections in the story: *yhwh* ^ʿ*lōhîm*, "the Lord God"; *hā* ^ʾ*ādām*, "the man"; *la* ^ʿ*abhōd et-hā* ^ʾ*dāmāh*, "to work the ground"; *hayyîm*, "life"; *gan-be* ^ʿ*eden miqqedem*, "a garden in the east in Eden"; *šām*, "there."

Part Two: B. Blessings and Order (Gen 2:9-17);

B'. Curses and Disorder (Gen 3:14-21)

The story continues in section B of Gen 2 (vv. 9-17) with a detailed description of the garden of Eden and its blessings. The trees that God made to grow out of the ground "were pleasing to the eye and good for food" (2:9). After the sin, in section B' of Gen 3 (vv. 14-21), the narrator reports that the ground produced "thorns and thistles" displeasing to the eye. Thus, two kinds of weed plants take the place of the two trees in the perfect garden.

The blessings of the garden are related to a river flowing from Eden, and its four "headwaters." After the sin, the curses have to do with four subjects: animals (3:14); woman (3:16); man (3:17-19); and ground (3:17).²⁰ In Gen 2 "the land of Havilah" was decorated with a threefold sign of blessings; "good gold," aromatic resin, and onyx (2:12). In contrast, Gen 3 reveals one of the animals, the serpent, carrying a threefold sign of curse: being cursed above all creatures, crawling on the belly, and eating dust (3:14).²¹ The reversal occurred because the human beings once had freedom of eating from any tree except one (2:16-17), yet they dared to eat from the single forbidden tree (3:17); they could eat from only one of these two trees at a time.

Section B closes with a prohibition against eating from that single tree lest one die (2:17), while in section B', after the sin, the verdict is pronounced: Man will return to the ground out of which he was taken

²⁰Even though the text does not explicitly state that the woman and the man were cursed, the two were deprived of many blessings.

²¹"To eat dust" is a Biblical idiom relating to an utmost humiliation and curse (see Psalm 72:9).

(3:19). The section, however, closes with a ray of hope. First, assurance is given that the line of living human beings will continue (3:20); second, God takes care of the immediate needs of the man and woman by clothing them (3:21).

The following is a list of the Hebrew words and phrases found in both sections: *smh* (hiphil imperfect), "grow out"; *ybrwh* ³*elohim*, "the Lord God"; *ha* ²*adamah*, "the ground"; *'kl* . . . *'es*, "eat . . . tree"; *ro* ³*'s*, "head"; *sem*, "name"; *hlk*, "walk"; *lqh*, "take"; *shb*, "command"; *adam* . . . *'mr*, "man . . . said"; *lo* ³*to* ³*kal mimmennu*, "you shall not eat from it."

Part Three: C. Woman Created (Gen 2:18-23)

C'. Woman Tempted (Gen 3:1-13)

Section C of Gen 2 (vv. 18-23) focuses on God's concern for man's social needs. The Creator declares that "it is not good for the man to be alone" (2:18). After the sin, however (Section C' of Gen 3:1-13), that same man wants to be alone and hides from God who still looks for him (3:9). Thus the man who had no helper suitable for him (2:20) is now helpless, in spite of having a helper (3:10). God states that he "will make a helper" (2:18), yet now the man blames that very helper whom he affirms God "put here with me" (3:12).²² Man's superiority and lordship over the livestock, birds, and the beasts (2:20) stands in sharp contrast to the man who is afraid, naked, and trying to hide (3:10). Whereas part C says that all animals were in harmony with man and subject to him (2:19-20), part C' speaks of the man and the woman deceived by an animal and in conflict with it (3:13).

Section C describes the woman as the being "taken out of the man" (2:22), while C' speaks of the same woman in an active role, taking some fruit and giving to the man (3:6). Man's admiration for the woman (2:23) is replaced by her admiration for the forbidden fruit (3:6). Whereas before the man was in an intimate relationship with the woman—bone to bone, flesh to flesh (2:23)—now man and woman are ashamed and afraid (3:7-8).

The following is a list of words and phrases common to both sections: *ybrwh* ³*elohim*, "the Lord God"; *ha* ²*adam*, "the man"; *'sh*, "make"; *qr* ³ . . . *ha* ²*adam lo*, "the man called it"; *lqh*, "take"; *'isshah*, "woman"; *'is*, "man."

²²Hebrew *'ezer k'negdo* is found twice in section C (2:18, 20).

The Climax of Sinless Life (Gen 2:24-25)

The climax of the Story of Creation was reached when God rested on the seventh day (2:2-3). The climax of the story of the Garden of Eden focuses on man's relationship to other human beings, beginning with the family unit. The climax speaks of a sinless, harmonious and happy human life in all its innocence.²³ A supernatural unity is related here in which two beings are able to become *bāšār 'ehād*, "one flesh" (2:24).

Summary

A structural study of chaps. 2 and 3 of the book of Genesis reveals the presence of a chiasm in the narrative and strongly suggests the unity of the story as argued by scholars. The theme of the story of the Garden of Eden is the Great Reversal brought about by the entrance of sin into the world created by God.²⁴ Clines affirms that the flood is only the final stage in a process of cosmic disintegration which began in Eden.²⁵

The presence of the chiasmic structure or reversed parallelism presents the literary beauty of Genesis through a story that teaches how God was the source of creation in all its perfection, while the disorder was brought about by man's act of sin. Elsewhere the Bible teaches that the last cosmic reversal in history will be God's reversal.

²³Ibid, where v. 25 is called "The climax of the creation."

²⁴Expressed more concisely, Gen. ch. 3, asserts that all sorrow comes from sin" (von Rad, 101).

²⁵Clines, 75.

SOME SIGNIFICANT AMERICANA: THE SAUR GERMAN BIBLES

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Three valuable rare Bibles have been donated to the Andrews University Seminary in recent years by Dr. Chester J. Gibson, a prominent dentist in McMinnville, Oregon. These Bibles, from Gibson's "Wurker Collection"¹ and now in the Adventist Heritage Center in the James White Library of Andrews University, are (1) a significant portion of a copy of Martin Luther's first complete German Bible of 1534, (2) a complete copy of the third edition of the King James English Bible of 1617, and (3) a complete copy of the Christopher Saur German Bible of 1763. The first of these was treated in an earlier issue of *AUSS*,² and a discussion of the second is planned for a future issue of this journal.

The present article focuses on the Saur Bible, which appeared in three editions in Germantown, Pennsylvania (1743, 1763, and 1776). Christopher Saur, Sr., published the first edition; his son, also named Christopher, published the other two.³ This series of Bibles holds a unique and significant place in the history of early Americana, for it is the first series of Bibles printed in America in any European language.

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

²Kenneth A. Strand, "Early Luther Bibles: Facsimiles from Several Significant Editions," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 117-128.

³The spelling "Saur" (a shortened form of "Sauer") is used in the present article because this is the way that the name appears in these three German Bible editions. For English-language publications, the Saur's anglicized the spelling to "Sower."

The standard bibliography of American imprints that includes the editions of the Saur Bible is Charles Evans, *A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 Down to and Including the Year 1820*. The volumes cited herein are 1, 2, 3, and 5 (New York: Peter Smith, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1909). The entry numbers are consecutive throughout this multivolume work. Citations herein are given by their Evans entry numbers, followed (in parentheses) by the Evans volume and page numbers. The specific citations for the three Saur Bibles will be indicated in connection with the first reference to them in section 3, below.

Thanks to Dr. Gibson's gift, the Adventist Heritage Center now has all three of the Saur Bibles represented in its collections. The 1763 and 1776 editions are complete, but the 1743 edition contains only the section from the NT title page through the end of the Gospel of John.

1. *The Saur Family*

As background for our discussion of these three Saur Bibles, we first take a glimpse at the careers of the two Christopher Saur's responsible for them. The father was born in 1693 in Laasphe, Germany, a town in the district of Wittgenstein, not far from the city of Marburg (see **Plate 1**). Schwarzenau and Berleburg were nearby villages where significant religious revival took place during the early eighteenth century. The entire district was a small principality to which persecuted Christians from elsewhere in Germany and from Switzerland resorted because of the religious freedom that was granted there by Count Casimir, whose rule began in 1712. Prior to this, the same cordial attitude to religious "outcasts" from other regions was exercised by his mother, Countess Hedwig Sophia, who served as his regent.

In Schwarzenau, the German Baptist Brethren Church (also known as the "Dunkers") originated as a new and distinct religious entity in 1708, when eight persons were baptized by immersion and left the Reformed and Lutheran congregations to which they had belonged.⁴ The membership of this new religious group in Schwarzenau grew rapidly, and elsewhere scattered "believers" arose. Before long, Brethren congregations were organized in Marienborn, Eystein, and Creyfelt (Krefeld), with the former two groups soon merging into the congregation at Creyfelt. It was from Creyfelt that the first wave of German Baptist Brethren came to Germantown in 1719. A few years later, these immigrants organized the first German Brethren Church in America. Other major waves of Brethren immigration to Pennsylvania took place in 1729 and 1733.⁵

⁴The names are given in four separate lists by Martin Grove Brumbaugh, *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America* (Mount Morris, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1899), 30. Three of the lists are identical, except for spellings and the use, in one list, of the term "his wife" in two cases where the other lists give the wife's name.

⁵The Schwarzenau congregation formed the nucleus of the second major emigration to America, after that congregation had moved to West Friesland because of persecution. Smaller groups of the Brethren came to Pennsylvania at other times than 1719, 1729, and 1733; and numerous Germans had already settled in that colony prior to the arrival of any German Baptist Brethren (Lutherans, e.g., had even constructed a church edifice in Philadelphia in 1686).

Berleburg, the second major center of revival in Wittgenstein, was a town that achieved fame as the place where an eight-volume German Bible translation was produced. This massive publication, which totaled some 6,100 pages, came from the press during the years 1726 to 1742 and was popularly known as the "Berleburg Bible."⁶ It radically revised the text of Luther's translation and included a commentary that manifested a mystical emphasis. Although it was never reprinted, it gained considerable popularity among the German Brethren, Mennonites, and various other "sectarians." Since the Saur family had emigrated from Wittgenstein to the American colonies in 1724, even the first volume of this Bible was not printed until after their departure; later in this essay we shall hear of the Berleburg Bible again, in connection with the production of the Saur Bible.

Relatively little is known about the life of the senior Saur during his years in Germany, though there is information that he studied at Halle and at Marburg. That he became a full-fledged doctor of medicine, as implied by M. G. Brumbaugh,⁷ is probably not the case; but it does seem certain that at Halle he gained sufficient medical expertise to be able to produce and properly dispense medications (at least proprietary herbal ones).⁸

The younger Christopher Saur was born on September 26, 1721, and thus was only about three years old when he came with his parents to America in the latter part of 1724 (see **Plate 2** for a photograph of a memorial tablet that gives basic information about both Saur). The three-month trip across the Atlantic was a difficult one, with the older Saur seasick much of the time.⁹ When the ship reached the east coast of the

⁶Briefly described in T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, comps., *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 vols. (London, Eng.: The Bible House, 1903, 1911; reprint, New York: Kraus, 1963), entry no. 4239 (2:507).

⁷Brumbaugh, 345.

⁸Julius Friedrich Sachse, who has a tendency to underrate Saur, thinks that Saur was merely a salesperson for the herbal medicines compounded in Francke's institution (*The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. [Philadelphia: Printed for the Author, 1899-1900], 2:21). Saur was surely more than this; and in any case, it cannot be denied that relatively soon after his arrival in Pennsylvania he was able to produce medications and also nurse to health many sick persons who arrived in the continuous flow of German immigrants.

⁹An account of the journey has been given in a letter of Nov. 7, 1724, from George Käsebier to Count Casimir. This has been set forth in English translation in Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America: A Source Book on the Transplantation and Development of the Church of the Brethren in the Eighteenth Century* (Elgin, IL: The Brethren Press, 1967), 24-31.

Middle colonies, the captain navigated up the Delaware River to Philadelphia,¹⁰ and from there the Saur's went to nearby Germantown.¹¹ Their first stay in Germantown was short, however, for in 1726 the family moved farther west to Mülbach (Mill Creek), in what is present-day Lancaster County.¹² There they acquired sixty acres of land, some of which they probably farmed. In both Germantown and Lancaster County, the elder Saur was in close contact with German Baptist Brethren, though it is not known with certainty that he actually joined this confessional group.¹³

In Lancaster County, the Saur family also had contact with Conrad Beissel, who, after being the leader of the Conestoga Valley Brethren congregation, broke away (in several stages) from the Brethren movement during the late 1720s, and in 1732 founded a mystical communal organization at Ephrata. Beissel believed that celibacy was the proper lifestyle for Christians, but in regard to this view and several other unique ideas he differed not only from the mainstream Brethren elsewhere but also from a number of persons in his own group. At Ephrata there was, in fact, a commune or "house" of married couples, as well as the separate communes for single men and single women.

In 1730, before Beissel officially established the Ephrata community, he convinced Saur's wife, Maria Christina, that marriage was harmful to the soul. Consequently, she left her husband that same year and joined the followers of Beissel. After the single-women's commune in Ephrata was established, she became its prioress.

In 1731, Saur and his ten-year-old son returned to Germantown, where he obtained the use of some six acres of land and built a house and workshop (see **Plate 3**).¹⁴ Meanwhile, his wife remained with Beissel's followers for more than a decade. Finally, toward the end of the year 1744,

¹⁰The ship in which the Saur's crossed the Atlantic left Rotterdam on Aug. 3 and arrived at Philadelphia on Nov. 2.

¹¹Now within the corporate limits of Philadelphia, Germantown at the time when the Saur's arrived was a small separate village located some eight miles NNW of the Philadelphia city center.

¹²Lancaster County was created in 1729 from what had earlier been the western part of Chester County.

¹³Brumbaugh presents six lines of evidence strongly suggesting that Saur did become a member of the Brethren fellowship in America, but he leaves it to the reader to draw the conclusion (349-352).

¹⁴It was nearly two decades later that he actually purchased the property; the deed to him from John and Elizabeth Gruber is dated Aug. 14, 1750. See Sachse, 1:316, for details about the deed.

she gave up her communal life; and in June of 1745 she rejoined her husband in Germantown. There she lived with him as a faithful companion until her death in 1752.

In Germantown, the senior Christopher Saur engaged in a variety of jobs to sustain himself and his family. Among the main ones were clockmaking, carpentry, manufacturing and selling cast-iron stoves, compounding and dispensing medications, selling German books (imported from Germany, the Netherlands, and/or England), operating a printing establishment, and setting up a book bindery.¹⁵ It seems that he also had skill in papermaking and ink production, though at first he obtained most, if not all, of his printshop paper from other sources, especially from Benjamin Franklin.

Saur's printing activity, the phase of his career that is of the most direct interest in this essay, came about partly because of Lutheran competition to his sale of German literature, especially German Bibles. In pecuniary terms, this competition probably hurt him very little, for he was in the habit of giving German Bibles to the poor free of charge or at substantially reduced prices. A more important consideration for him was the fact that the imported Bibles were usually printed in such a small type size that they were difficult to read, especially for some of the elderly. Therefore, when an opportunity presented itself for Saur to begin printing, with equipment earlier sent from Germany, he welcomed it and immediately inaugurated the Saur printing establishment in 1738.

Without delay, Saur began that very year to publish an annual German almanac (the first issue was for the next year), and in 1739 he printed the premier issue of a monthly German newspaper, *Der Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber* (see Plate 4). Both of these publications appeared serially during the elder Saur's lifetime. After his death in 1758, his son Christopher II continued to publish them until the Revolutionary War halted the Saur printing enterprise. These two serials thus had an uninterrupted longevity of some forty years.

Both the German almanac and monthly newspaper, which reached German-speaking people all along the Atlantic seaboard from New York to Georgia, had a strong influence in molding and unifying German thought on various issues, including some that had political overtones. Like the Quakers, the Saur family were pacifists, which led the local colonial authorities to question whether they were loyal American colonists. Shortly before his

¹⁵Various listings of Saur's competencies are given; e.g., a statement quoted by Brumbaugh indicates that Saur was proficient in at least thirty trades (345). This number is obviously an exaggeration; about half that many would be closer to reality. (Brumbaugh's source for the statement is *Acta-Historica-Ecclesiastica*, 15:213.)

death on September 25, 1758, the elder Christopher Saur was court-martialed to give account for his condemnation of a military maneuver against the English Crown. It took him but a short while, however, to convince the judges that he was not traitorous, and that his objection to military activity was based simply on a sincere and inoffensive religious conviction against warfare and the bearing of arms for war.

During the elder Saur's lifetime, some 200 works issued from his press. At his death, his son Christopher, to whom the elder Saur had earlier given charge of both the bindery and the English-language publications, fell heir to the complete printing establishment and to his father's other properties. Was he now to continue the full scope of printing which had begun under the elder Saur? He set forth in the German newspaper his dilemma and his solution to it:

I had, indeed, rather have earned my bread by continuing in the bookbinding business and so have avoided the burdens and responsibilities of a printer. This would have been much easier; but so long as there is no one, to whom I can trust the printing business, I find it laid upon me for God and for my neighbors' sake, to continue it, until it may please Providence to give me a helper. . . .

Although I am not, nor dare I hope to be so richly gifted as my father, I will nevertheless faithfully use that which is given me, and because I know that I, as well as my father (and indeed many besides him) must pass through both good and bad report, I am prepared for it, and will not allow this or that to restrain me from doing what I believe to be right and good. . . .¹⁶

Thus, to be a full-time and full-fledged printer was not the line of work the younger Saur preferred. But for the sake of the German-speaking people in the American colonies in their need of German literature, he took up, as a God-given duty, the printing task where his father had left off.

The junior Christopher joined the German Brethren Church in Germantown, being baptized in 1737 at the age of 16. In 1747 he was given the responsibility of deaconship, and in 1753 he reached the pinnacle of his ecclesiastical career by being ordained as an "overseer" or "bishop" (often referred to as "elder") (see Plate 2). This was an office he held faithfully and energetically for more than two decades, until the Revolutionary War brought difficulties that led to his exile from Germantown in 1780.

¹⁶English translation of Brumbaugh, 399-400.

In 1778 Christopher Saur II was arrested by the American colonial authorities, who considered him to be a traitor because of his attacks on warfare and his refusal to take an oath of abjuration of England and of allegiance to Pennsylvania.¹⁷ In May of 1778 he spent a few days in prison, but before long was exonerated by General George Washington. On May 29 he was set free, with a pass to go to Methacton (given as "Meduchin" in this pass). After several weeks there, he was able to return to his home in Germantown on June 23.

In spite of his exoneration, his properties and business enterprises were confiscated toward the end of July 1778. On the 30th of that month he was forced to leave his home, never to return.¹⁸ Only one of his businesses was spared: a type foundry, which he had instituted in 1772 or 1773. Since this was located at a different place from his other establishments and was under the immediate control of J. Fox, his typesetter, the authorities assumed that Fox was the owner of this foundry. Hence they did not confiscate it.

After losing his home, Saur resided until April 7, 1780, with Henry Sharpnack, the brother of his wife Catharina, who had died in January, 1777. Then he moved again to Methacton, where one of his daughters, also named Catharina, cared for him. There he occupied himself with bookbinding until his death on August 26, 1784.¹⁹

2. Bible Printing in America

The printing trade began in America very early in colonial times. The first printshop was that of Stephen Daye in Cambridge, Massachusetts, established in 1639. Daye's first publication, in what quickly became a rather voluminous output, was a broadside entitled "The Oath of a Free-man,"²⁰ printed for the government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He also began

¹⁷The Pennsylvania legislature had enacted on June 13, 1777, a statute requiring this oath. But Saur and other Brethren, as well as Quakers, refused to take the oath on purely religious grounds.

¹⁸He himself has given an account of the shamefully cruel treatment which he received, beginning with his arrest on May 3 (see Brumbaugh, 415-419, where a translation of the document is provided).

¹⁹His death occurred on a day when he overexhausted himself in his book-production work. Isaiah Thomas suggests that he did a full day's work in half a day and then drank an excess of water from a nearby spring, after which he took ill and succumbed (*The History of Printing in America, with a Biography of Printers and an Account of Newspapers*, 2 vols., 2d ed. [Albany, NY: Munsell, 1874], 1:280).

²⁰Evans, no. 1 (1:1-2).

publishing an annual almanac. And one of his other early publications was a songbook consisting of the Psalms in meter. Its first edition, printed in 1640, soon became known as the "Bay Psalm Book" because of its use in, and identification with, the Massachusetts Bay colony.²¹

In 1663, again in Cambridge, but this time from the press of Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, came the first complete Bible printed in America. This Bible, a translation made by John Eliot, was in the Algonquin Indian language of eastern New England (see **Plate 5** for facsimiles of both its Indian and English title pages).²²

It should be noted at this point that the English Crown had made it illegal to print any Bibles in America. However, since the Green and Johnson publication was an Indian version intended for missionary use, it was excepted by explicit permission. The Bay Psalm Book had also been allowed because of its nature as a songbook. But no English Bibles were printed in the American colonies until after the Revolutionary War, the first complete one being that of Robert Aitken in 1782.²³ Its publication thus

²¹Evans, no. 4 (1:3). For interesting information on this work and on virtually all Bibles or parts thereof that existed in America from colonial times to the first several decades of the twentieth century, see P. Marion Simms, *The Bible in America: Versions That Have Played Their Part in the Making of the Republic* (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1936). A title that is limited to Bibles *printed* in America, but which is very useful for collations and historical data, is Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, *A List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures and Parts Thereof Printed in America Previous to 1860* (Albany, NY: Munsell & Rowland, 1861; reprint, Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1966).

²²Evans, no. 72 (1:15-17). Portions of the Bible were printed before the complete Bible itself appeared; see, e.g., Evans, nos. 38 (1:9), 39 (1:9), and 50 (1:11). O'Callaghan provides facsimiles of both the Indian and English title pages for the NT, which appeared in 1661, and for the complete Bible of 1663 (the former, on two facing pages preceding p. 1; and the latter, on two facing pages between pp. 8 and 9). In addition to collations for this NT and the complete Bible, he provides a wealth of historical background, and gives the text of two letters from the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England to King Charles II (1-12).

²³Simms, on the authority of Isaiah Thomas, claims that Kneeland and Green of Boston printed a Bible surreptitiously in 1752, using a London, England, imprint, and indicating Mark Baskett as the printer (Simms, 116-119). Darlow and Moule reject Thomas's report (notation under the year 1761, entry no. 853, in 1:285-286), as does also Evans (no. 6819 [3:22-28]). Most specialists doubt seriously that there was such a Bible, of which there is no known copy in evidence. Moreover, the severe penalty for printing an English Bible in America prior to the Revolution would surely have been a strong deterrent. Finally, it is certainly unrealistic to assume, as Simms seems to do, that the true publication facts would long remain secret, once the 600 or more copies of the edition were circulated. (It should also be noted that Thomas makes numerous blunders, as I have discovered in reading his volumes. Caution should be used when consulting him.)

took place some thirty-nine years subsequent to the appearance of the first Saur Bible, giving that Saur edition of 1743 the distinction of being the earliest Bible published in America in any European language. Even the Saur editions of 1663 and 1776 antedated the Aitken Bible.²⁴

3. *The Saur Bible*

The earliest published statement relating to the first edition of the Saur Bible was a two-page advertisement, or prospectus, which the elder Saur published in 1741.²⁵ This advertising piece sets forth not only Saur's intent to produce a Bible, but also conditions relating to the task:

It is partly known that upon sundry occasions, Bibles, New Testaments, etc., were sent to Germantown, which went gratis to the needy, and were partly sold; the money being distributed among the poor. This was done, so far as it might go; but in the mean time it was found that it did not go far. Many wanted Bibles and Testaments, who were very willing to pay for them, if the same were only to be had. Although frequently some were brought from Germany, so high a price was often set upon them, that many were deterred or lacked the ability to pay the price.

It has also been observed that people from Germany arrive here in the greatest poverty, and still come, who have not even a Bible, as they were not able to get one. Many are immediately bound out to service with English people, who either have no Bible, nor read one, and upon the contrary have nought but their work to talk about, to say nothing of what is still worse. . . .

After some further elaboration along this same line, Saur indicates his willingness to be of help: "Now, as we have, as we believe, the ability to partly meet this great need [for German Bibles], so we will willingly

²⁴As is often the case in Bible publication, Aitken issued the NT prior to his 1782 complete Bible; in fact, he printed four editions of it between 1777 and 1781. Thus, it is evident that the 3d ed. of Saur's complete German Bible antedated even the 1st ed. of Aitken's English NT.

²⁵The Bible itself is listed as Evans, nos. 5127 and 5128 (2:229); and the prospectus, entitled "Bekantmachung," as Evans, no. 4796 (2:190). The double entry for the Bible results from the fact that some copies have the title page originally printed (no. 5127) and other copies have a revised title page (no. 5128) which was quickly prepared as a substitute for the original one. Details concerning the situation are furnished later in the present article.

contribute our share." Then he goes on to the question of financing such an ambitious enterprise:

But as such an edition of the Bible requires a greater outlay than we have the ability to command, it has been deemed necessary to ask for advance subscriptions, or to say plainly, that every one who may desire a Bible, is to send in his name and pay half a crown. This is necessary, as, firstly, that we may know a little how many we may hope to print.

Secondly: That we may have some assistance towards the publication, as the paper for one Bible alone amounts to seven shillings, six pence.

Thirdly: As we are forced to borrow something towards the publication, we want to be sure of our release. And lastly: As this country is still yet so new, we have no precedent before us.

Next, Saur provides information as to the size of Bible that he contemplates. And finally, in his last two paragraphs, he raises again the question of financing the venture, but now adds some comments about the pricing of the projected publication:

So far as the size is concerned, we are willing to make it a large Quarto, that is of the length and width of this sheet [9.5 x 7.25 inches], and of such type as the present, which we believe will be legible to old people as well as young. The thickness of the book will be about a hand high. We are willing to use a good paper thereto. So far as the price is concerned, that we cannot say definitely.

Firstly: We cannot tell yet how many we shall print, because a small edition will make the book come high, and one of many [copies] will certainly make each piece cheaper.

Second: Because divers good friends of truth and lovers of the divine teachings, out of love to God and their needy neighbour, have already contributed something, and some others have offered to do likewise,—partly that the Bible shall be given at a low price, partly so that the frugal and stingy may have no excuse, and the poor could not complain. Now as soon as more such benefactors are found, and we are enabled to act, the price will be made accordingly. But this much we may say,—that unbound, none will be more than fourteen shillings, which it is hoped none will account dear, when it is remembered that

printing paper in this country is at least four times as costly as in Germany.²⁶

Saur's dissatisfaction with the small type size in imported Bibles extended even to the type fonts which he himself had thus far been using, and therefore he appealed to friends in Germany for assistance in getting a font of larger type. The appeal was answered by H. Ehrenfried Luther, who owned a type foundry in Frankfurt-am-Main. Luther prepared the needed font and sent it to Saur, requesting as his only payment a copy of the Bible when completed. Saur remembered his obligation, and in fact sent Luther about a dozen copies of this important publication. Luther, in turn, forwarded copies to the courts of various European rulers.²⁷

The opposition and outright hostility which Saur faced in printing his Bible edition are beyond imagination. Before the work on it commenced, there were detractors who felt that Saur did not have sufficient expertise or qualifications for the task. But more devastating were the attacks on the Bible itself—before and after it was printed, as well as while it was in press. Some Lutheran and Reformed pastors even denounced this Bible from the pulpit during the time when it was being printed, for they feared that it would turn out to be "sectarian." On the other hand, the German Baptist Brethren, Mennonites, Ephrata mystics, and various other separatists were at first unhappy that the text was going to be that of an edition of the Luther Bible.

Perhaps it was of some comfort to Saur that as early as the spring of 1742, shortly before he began printing his Bible, Benjamin Franklin and Andrew Bradford, well-established printers and booksellers in Philadelphia, published an advertisement that had been prepared in Germantown on March 26. This piece, which indicated that each of the two booksellers would be an agent for the distribution of Saur's Bible, first appeared in the March 31 issue of Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* and in the April 1 issue of Bradford's *Weekly Mercury*; there were later reprintings, as well. The wording in both publications was identical, except for the name of the sales agent (see **Plate 6**).

When Saur's Bible came from the press in August of the next year, he issued the following statement in his newspaper (see **Plate 7**):

²⁶English translation of Sachse, 2:11-12.

²⁷Sachse lists the places as "St. Petersburg, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berlin, Hanover, Dresden, Gotha, Weimar, Brunswick, Cassel and Stuttgart" (2:59). Luther kept at least one copy for himself, of course.

The Bible printed in Germantown is now finished; and as every bookbinder has not the facility for glueing (*planiren*), so we will glue them ourselves, so that no inexperienced one need attempt it. When this is done and they are dry, which will presumably be toward the end of this month, then every one can have them; and they are hereby informed that, as the majority of those who have registered demand the remaining books of Esdras and the Maccabees, so these have been printed for all Bibles, and this according to the Berleburg translation. But whosoever does not want these in his Bible, has only to give notice or send word, and they will not be bound; the same applies to the short compend (*Kurtzer Begriff*) explaining a few points upon the variations of the different translations.

To whomever we promised to bind their Bible, or to have it bound, for them will we do it; and whoever wish to attend to it for themselves will relieve us of a care. Unbound the price is twelve shillings. The remainder is according to how they are bound and studded, whether in sheepskin, calf or other leather, etc.²⁸

Saur's Foreword to the Bible itself also provides explicit information relating to Saur's reason for producing this Bible and justifying his use of a Lutheran edition as his exemplar (see Plate 11). He states:

The moving causes for printing the present Bible have chiefly been, as has been observed, firstly: that many poor Germans come into this country who do not all bring Bibles. Secondly, that so many are born and bred in this country who also do not know how to obtain them, and who have seen that the well-to-do usually only care for themselves and theirs.

We have selected Luther's translation because it is most in keeping with the usual German expression, and although divers translations differ according to the word in various parts, yet it usually amounts to the same sense. . . .²⁹

The appearance of the Bible itself did not mitigate the attacks from the leaders of the mainline churches. There were actually five points at issue:

²⁸English translation of Sachse, 2:31-32.

²⁹English translation of Sachse, 2:37. Saur goes on to point out that the 34th edition of the Halle Bible was used because of its richness in parallels and because of his belief that it contained the fewest number of misprints (he nevertheless corrected 100 of them); and he also discusses further the value of Scripture (2:39-40). For a facsimile of the Foreword itself, see Plate 11.

(1) The inclusion of the apocryphal books of 3 and 4 Ezra (1 and 2 Esdras) and 3 Maccabees from the Berleburg Bible. These were books not found in the 34th Halle edition of Luther's Bible, which had served as the basis for the rest of Saur's text.

(2) The addition of a lengthy section in 4 Ezra not commonly in Bibles of that time, but which Saur had taken from the Berleburg Bible.

(3) The appearance of the Berleburg translation in Job 19:25-27, followed by Luther's text in smaller type, the ostensible purpose being to allow readers to compare the two versions in these few verses (see **Plate 12**).

(4) The inclusion of Saur's own comments in a sort of postface or "addendum": namely, the *Kurtzer Begriff* mentioned in his newspaper announcement about the Bible's readiness and availability (see **Plate 14**).

(5) The indication, in the eleventh line of the title page, that incorporating 3 and 4 Ezra and 3 Maccabees was "according to the customary practice."

The first item in the list could be remedied, Saur felt, by offering to have the Bibles bound with or without the three apocryphal books. Apparently, however, very few customers chose to get the Bible without these three apocryphal books. The second item in the list would be automatically cared for, of course, in Bibles bound without the three apocrypha.³⁰ The third and fourth items were not remedied in this 1743 edition, but they underwent a change in the later editions. For Job 19:25-27, there was a reversal in the order of the textual comparisons, so that in the 1763 and 1776 editions, Luther's text was placed first, with the Berleburg text immediately following and in smaller type. The *Kurtzer Begriff* was simply omitted in the later editions.

The fifth item, the problem of the objectionable (and actually incorrect) line on the title page, was easy to remedy. Saur quickly printed a new title page. (See **Plates 8 and 9** for facsimile reproductions of these two title pages; also see **Plate 10** for a facsimile of the NT title page. It deserves

³⁰Although this group of verses was taken from an Arabic translation, rather than a Latin one, it was believed by the Berleburg translator(s) to be original. And, indeed, it was extant also in several other versions (Syriac, Ethiopic, and Armenian), although no Latin manuscript containing it was known. By a remarkable discovery in 1874 (131 years after Saur's Bible appeared), the genuineness of the material was validated. A Cambridge University librarian found at Amiens, France, a ninth-century Latin manuscript (Codex Sangermanensis) which contained the "extra verses" in 4 Ezra, and he published his discovery the following year. A matter of considerable importance is that this Latin manuscript was the exemplar for the later Latin ones that omitted the "lost" material, thus making obvious the fact that the copyists or other persons handling those later manuscripts were the individuals responsible for making the omission. See Simms, 123, and Sachse, 2:40-41.

mention that the title pages in **Plates 8 and 9** provide an early example of the rubrication of printed matter in America. Both of these pages have the following lines in red: 1, 4, 6, 8, 11, and 14.)

In his Almanac for 1744, Saur gave a lengthy defense of his work in response to the various attacks. Of special interest is a point that addresses the criticism of his insertion of "the third and fourth books of Ezra, and the third of Maccabees, which are not of Luther's translation." His response to this was that in "the Halle Bibles of 1708 [Luther's version], these books were printed, but not in the thirty-fourth edition. Had they been inserted we should have continued them."³¹

At first, the Bible sales went well in the city of Lancaster and in Lancaster County, as well as in other places where German Brethren and Mennonites had settled. In fact, the early surge of orders was such that neither Saur himself nor the community at Ephrata (which also helped to bind these Bibles) could keep up with the demand. But once the initial sales had been made, orders diminished so greatly that it took nearly two decades to sell out the major part of the 1,200 copies in the edition.

The printing of the 1763 edition of the Saur Bible was done with dispatch,³² even though the text was reset with new type. In this edition, Christopher II omitted his father's controversial postface, as we have already noted. He also prepared a new "Foreword" (see **Plate 16**). Although the title page does not identify this edition as the second one (see **Plate 15**), Saur has made this fact clear at the beginning of his Foreword.

Some 2,000 copies of this edition were printed, and they sold out much more quickly than had the 1,200 copies of the earlier edition. By 1775, after a span of only twelve years, the supply of the 1763 Bible was exhausted.

Saur consequently decided to publish a third edition of 3,000 copies.³³ The format and general appearance of this edition were virtually identical to those of the 1763 edition, but again a new font of type was used. The typeface, very much like that of the previous edition, was the product of Saur's own typesetting foundry that he had established in 1772 or 1773.

The printing of this edition of the Saur Bible was completed in 1776, as indicated on both its general and NT title pages. On these pages, this edition is also designated as the "third edition" (*Dritte Auflage*), a new feature

³¹The entire article is given in English translation by Sachse, 2:52-53; the excerpts here quoted appear on p. 52.

³²Evans, no. 9343 (3:345).

³³Evans, no. 14663 (5:219).

incorporated as the 14th line of the general title and the 15th line of the NT title (with a single rule above and a double rule below in both instances). (For facsimiles of these title pages, see **Plates 24 and 25**.)

This Bible had a very checkered history because of the Revolutionary War. Skirmishes and battles between the royalists and the colonists took place throughout the region from Philadelphia and Germantown to Lancaster and Ephrata, with the period from September 1777 to September 1778 being an especially difficult one for Saur and his printing enterprise. In fact, it is almost certain that no copies of the 1776 Bible were bound at the time of publication. The British cavalry used a considerable number of its sheets for bedding their horses, and both British and colonial soldiers took many further sheets for preparing ammunition for their muskets. The use for cartridges gave the Bible the nickname "Gun-wad Bible."

The destruction of virtually the whole edition has led to a scarcity of extant copies, as well as to the incompleteness of some of the copies that are presently in existence. Just how these extant copies were preserved is uncertain. The most likely scenario is that at some time subsequent to the Battle of Germantown (October 4, 1777), Saur himself, perhaps with the help of his daughter Catharina (and possibly also other of his children), salvaged enough of the four-leaf signatures from the horses' bedding to enable him to put together the major portion of a limited number of copies of this edition. It is also possible that J. Fox, or someone else with access to fonts of type, did enough reprinting of missing leaves to assure that some of the salvaged copies whose salvage had been the most successful could be bound in either complete, or nearly complete, form.³⁴

³⁴There are other accounts concerning how the extant copies got bound, but the ones that I have seen are not, in my opinion, credible. Simms, e.g., refers to a report that Saur's daughter, Catharina, salvaged ten copies, had them bound, and gave them to her children (124). In a footnote, Simms points out that John Wright had located owners of 34 copies (*ibid.*, fn. 10). Simms fails, however, to mention another major consideration—namely, that Catharina Saur did not get married until 1785 (the year after her father's death), so that this supposed salvage and printing of copies for her children would have taken place chronologically far too late.

Thomas, on the other hand, declares that almost the entire supply of sheets for the 1,000-copy edition were purchased by a Philadelphia printer, who, not recognizing the value of what he had, began to sell the sheets to the British for cartridge covers. A Germantown bookbinder and his son-in-law, upon hearing about this disposal of the sheets, went to Philadelphia and bought the remainder of the supply; they later established a printshop, and then printed the missing leaves so as to produce complete copies to sell (1:275-279). Thomas's account appears to be suspect in most, if not all, of its details, beginning with his error of identifying the edition as having 1,000 copies rather than the 3,000 copies it actually did have. And one may also ask whether it is credible to think that a *printer* in Philadelphia had such unbelievably great ignorance of the value of the printed

4. *General Description: Common Elements in the Three Editions*

The three Saur Bibles have several major commonalities. First of all, they are all large Quarto editions of approximately the same size. The page layout and the general format of the volumes are strikingly similar (especially in the 1763 and 1776 publications). In all three editions, the text is set in a typeface that is sometimes called "German-*fraktur*" or simply "German." For the biblical text, rather large type was used; but in some of the apocryphal works, smaller type sizes were utilized (see **Plate 23**, which illustrates the three type sizes used for the text of the 1763 edition).

The regular pages of text have the following features in common: The text itself is set in two columns, with a vertical dividing rule (line) between them.³⁵ The chapters in the text are set off from each other by one-column horizontal rules, and just under these rules (before the beginning of the text proper) there are "chapter summaries." Asterisks (and sometimes other printing signs, as well) are placed in the text as identifiers for cross-references when such are given, and the references themselves appear at the end of the respective verses that have the identifiers. At the top of each page, just above the text, there is a two-column rule that sets the text off from the running head (in the 1743 edition, two such rules, with the running head between them). And below the page of text is a "catchword line" that is not set off by a horizontal rule.

The running head contains the following items: (1) the page number (at the outer margin of the printed page); (2) the name of the Bible book or apocryphon whose text is on the page (centered, with a slight amount of variation to accommodate certain other materials on the same line); (3) the chapter number(s) of the Bible book or apocryphon whose material appears on the page; and (4) brief descriptors that identify the subject matter of the page. The chapter number or numbers are normally set close to the name of the book, toward the "gutter" side (thus, to left on rectos, and to the right on versos), and the descriptors may appear over either column or both columns of text (and on some pages there is no descriptor).

In the "catchword line" the catchword itself (sometimes only part of a long word, or perhaps two short words) occurs on both the page to the

sheets, that he would try to get rid of them by selling them to the British army; and that this enemy army would purchase sheets rather than simply confiscating them. (Moreover, Thomas seems to have had no knowledge of the use of sheets as bedding for horses.)

³⁵I use the common expression "rule" so as to distinguish this kind of line from lines of text.

left and the page to the right, aligned with the right-side margin of the text (the gutter margin on versos, and the outer margin on rectos). The use of catchwords on versos is somewhat anomalous and is not in keeping with the more usual practice of placing such words on only the pages to the right. Since the catchword is a "prior repetition" of what begins the text on the next page and is intended to be a help when a page has to be turned, no practical purpose is served by placing catchwords on the pages to the left.

The catchword line is also used for signature and leaf indicators. These are to the left of the catchword, from one-third to two-thirds of the distance to the center of the page. These indicators appear only on right-hand pages (rectos). The signatures are identified by letters of the alphabet, and the leaves of the signature by numerals. Usually, however, only the second and third leaves of a signature are numbered.

The first letter of the alphabet is capitalized when used as a signature indicator; if the alphabet has to be run through again because of a large number of signatures, the capital letter is followed by the same letter in lower case (and so on, after each time the alphabet has been gone through). The letters "J," "V," and "W" are not used; and thus each alphabetical sequence has only 23 signatures. The leaf numbers for the second and third leaves follow immediately after the letters, no matter how many letters are used in identifying a signature.

This pattern of these signature and leaf indicators may now be briefly illustrated as follows: The first sequence of 23 signatures begins with A, A₂, A₃, (blank); next is B, B₂, B₃, (blank); etc. After 23 signatures have been thus identified, the next sequence is Aa, Aa₂, Aa₃, (blank), etc.; and the third is Aaa, Aaa₂, Aaa₃, (blank), etc. When the series of letters goes beyond three, there is normally a space between the third occurrence of the letter and the fourth occurrence: Aaa a, Bbb b, etc.; Aaa aa, Bbb bb, etc.; Aaa aaa, Bbb bbb, etc. For illustration of the various features of the regular printed pages, see **Plates 13** (1743 ed.), **18-22** (1763 ed.), and **26-28** (1776 ed.).

The leaf indicators for the OT are in "German" type, and those for the NT are in Roman type. Roman type is used also for the first word of the title on the general title pages ("BIBLIA"), in cross-references, and occasionally elsewhere (see **Plate 8**, for instance, which reveals the exceptional use of a Roman "D" in the 8th line on the original title page of the 1743 edition). The numerals used as page numbers, and also those used in leaf identifiers and cross-references, are normally arabic.

5. *Specific Descriptions and Collations*

Having noted the main commonalities of these Bibles, we now take a closer look at several aspects of each of the Saur Bibles in the Adventist Heritage Center (AHC): (1) the size (of both the printed page and the trimmed page, and for the 1763 and 1776 editions also the thickness); (2) the binding (whether original or not, and the material or composition); and (3) collations (Evans short collations, followed by my own more detailed collations of the copies in the AHC; in the latter, the wording of title pages shown in the plates is not given here, and the same holds true for various other items, as well; also, for the 1776 edition I have either summarized or omitted some of the commonalities with the 1763 edition).

1743 Saur Bible

Size (Measurements):

Printed page: 8¾" x 6⅛" (22.3 x 15.5 cm.)

Trim: 9⅝" x 7⅞" (24.4 x 18.1 cm.)

Binding: Rebound; sturdy "soft" (composition) boards, with brown leather-like covering

Evans Short Collation: Copy of 1st impression, (2), (2), 995, (2), 277, (3), (4); Copy of 2d impression, (2), 995, (2), 277, (3), (4)

Collation of AHC incomplete copy:

P. [1] (= leaf [A] recto), NT title page (see **Plate 10**);

P. [2], list of the 27 NT books;

Pp. [3]-126 (= leaves A₂ recto, through Q₃ verso), Bible text from the NT title page to the end of the Gospel of John;

Below the text on p. 126, "*Ende des Evangelii S. Johannis.*"

1763 Saur Bible

Size (Measurements):

Printed page: 8¾" x 6⅛" (22.3 x 15.5 cm.)

Trim: 10" x 7½" (25.5 x 19 cm.)
 Thickness (without the covers): 2½" (6.4 cm.)

Binding: Original; brown leather over thick wood boards

Evans Short Collation: (4), 992, 277, (3)

Collation of AHC Copy:

(3 blank leaves);

4th leaf recto, title page (see the title as given in **Plate 15**);

4th leaf verso, blank;

5th leaf recto, "*Vorrede*." (see **Plate 16**);

5th leaf verso, "*Verzeichmiss aller Bücher | Des Alten und Neuen Testaments*." This "Contents" page provides the name of each book, the number of chapters in it, and the page number on which the book begins in this Bible (see **Plate 17**).

P. [1] (= A recto), beginning of book of Genesis (this is the 6th leaf, recto; thus in this copy the first 5 leaves are not identified by signature or by page number);

P. 2 (= A verso), first numbered page;

Pp. [1]992, text of the OT books and the OT apocrypha;

P. 805 (= Iii ii, recto): "*Ende des Propheten Maleachi*.";

P. 806 (= Iii ii, verso), beginning of the book of Judith in the regular apocrypha;

P. 949 (= Ddd ddd, recto), at the close of the text of the Prayer of Manasses (about 2 inches from the top of the page): "*Ende der Bücher des Alten Testaments*."; then a horizontal rule, below which appear the words, "*Anhang dreyer Bücher | Als: | Des dritten Buchs Esra: | Des vierten Buchs Esra: und | Des dritten Buchs der Maccabäer*." (smaller type starts);

P. 985 (= Iii iii recto), page having the last OT signature identifier;

- P. 986, very small type starts in col. 2, 11th line from bottom (in 2d line of 4 Ezra 16:44);
- P. 992, "*Ende des dritten Buchs der Maccabäer, und des Anhangs des Alten Testaments.*" (all in one line of very small print, crowded below the text).
- NT: P. [1] (= [A] recto), title page: "*Das Neue | Testament | Unsers | Herrn und Heylandes | Jesu Christi, | Verteutscht | Von | Dr. Martin Luther. Mit | Jedes Capitels kurtzen | Summarien, | Auch beygefügt vielen richtigen | Parallelen.*"; then a decorative horizontal line, beneath which are the publication facts: "*Germantown: | Gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1763.*";
- P. [2] (= [A] verso), list of the 27 NT books;
- P. [3] (= A₂ recto), beginning of Gospel of Matthew;
- P. 4 (= A₂ verso), 1st numbered page in NT;
- P. 275 (= Mm₂ recto), page having last NT signature identifier;
- P. 277 (= [Mm₃] recto), last numbered page; near middle of the page, "*Der Offenbarung S. Johannis, und | des Neuen Testaments | ENDE.*"; and below, an ornamental design of cherub head and wings (see **Plate 19**);
- P. [278], 1st unnumbered page at end of the NT; at top, "*Register der Episteln und Evangelien, welche etliche lesen an Sonntagen und | nahmhafften Festen durchs gantze Jahr.*";
- P. [280], at top, "*Episteln und Evangelien der Aposteltage, welche an einigen | Orten gefeiret werden.*" The text stops at about the middle of the page, and below the text is the word "ENDE." and an ornamental inverted pyramid (see **Plate 22**).

1776 Saur Bible

Size (Measurements):

Printed page: 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (22.5 x 15.8 cm.)

Trim: 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (25.1 x 19.7 cm.)

Thickness (without the covers): 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (6.4 cm.)

Binding: Original; brown leather over thick wood boards

Evans Short Collation: (2), (2), (2), 992, 277, (3)

Collation of AHC Copy: (2 blank leaves), then the printed pages follow as in 1763 ed. (for the title page, see **Plate 24**; and for pages of text, see **Plates 26-28**);

P. 949 (= Ddd ddd₃ recto): "*Ende des Alten Testaments.*"; then, in fairly large type set between two horizontal rules, "*Anhang dreyer Bücher, | Als | Der dritten und vierten Buchs Esra: | Und | Des dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.*"; 3 Ezra begins slightly below middle of the page;

P. 985 (= Iii iii recto), very small type starts near the bottom of col. 2, at 4 Ezra 16:1 (see **Plate 27**);

P. 992 (= [Iii iii₄] verso), end of the OT and the OT apocrypha;

NT: P. [1] (= [A] recto), title page (for this NT title page, see **Plate 25**);

P. [2] (= [A] verso), list of the 27 NT books;

P. [3] (= A₂ recto), beginning of Gospel of Matthew (see **Plate 26**);

P. 4 (= A₂ verso), 1st numbered page in NT;

P. 277 (= [Mm₃] recto), "*ENDE.*"; this is the last numbered page;

Pp. [278-280], Registers of texts in the Gospels and Epistles for the "Church Year" and for "Apostles' Days" (basically the same as in 1763 ed.). On p. [278], the heading has one phrase changed from the same heading in the 1763 ed.: "*welche gelesen werden*" now replaces "*welche etliche lesen.*"

(2 blank pages)

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECTION OF PLATES

The facsimiles shown in the following section of plates have a size range that varies from substantial reduction (e.g., **Plate 5**) to little or no reduction. However, for the title pages and full pages of biblical text from the three Saur Bibles, a standard 70% reduction has been used. **Plate 19** and the text excerpts in **Plate 23** are at 100%, so as to illustrate the actual width of columns and the type sizes used in the 1763 edition.

The majority of facsimiles are from the AHC copies of the Bibles. The remaining facsimiles, plus the three photographs (**Plates 1-3**), are from the following sources (the specific page references are indicated in connection with the captions for the plates):

Brumbaugh, Martin Grove. *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America*. Mount Morris, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1899.

O'Callaghan, Edmund Bailey. *A List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures and Parts Thereof Printed in America Previous to 1860*. Albany, NY: Munsell and Rowland, 1861.

Sachse, Julius Friedrich. *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania . . . : A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers*. Vol. 2. Philadelphia, PA: Printed for the Author, 1900.

A word of special thanks goes to John Kieler for enhancing the quality of the three photographs.

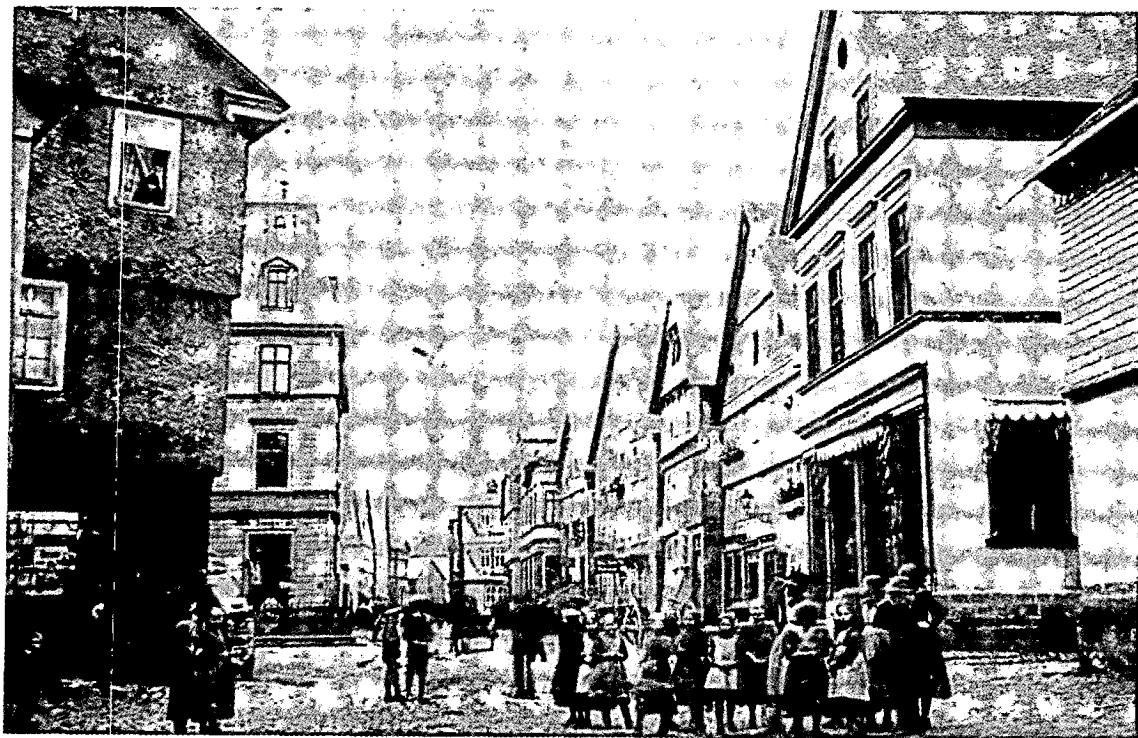


Plate 1. Laasphe, Germany, birthplace of Christopher Saur, Sr. (Brumbaugh, 339).

IN MEMORY OF
CHRISTOPHER SOWER
 BISHOP OF
 CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

Born 1721 Died 1784

Baptized 1737 Deacon 1747

Minister 1748 Bishop 1753

Published the **HOLY BIBLE**
 Second Edition 1763 Third Edition 1776

Only Son of

CHRISTOPHER SOWER

Born 1693, in Laasphe, Germany

Came to America 1724

Commenced Publishing in Germantown 1738

Published First Am Quarto Edition of the
HOLY BIBLE 1743

Died in Germantown 1758

Plate 2. Memorial Tablet mentioning both Christopher Sours
 (Brumbaugh, 405).

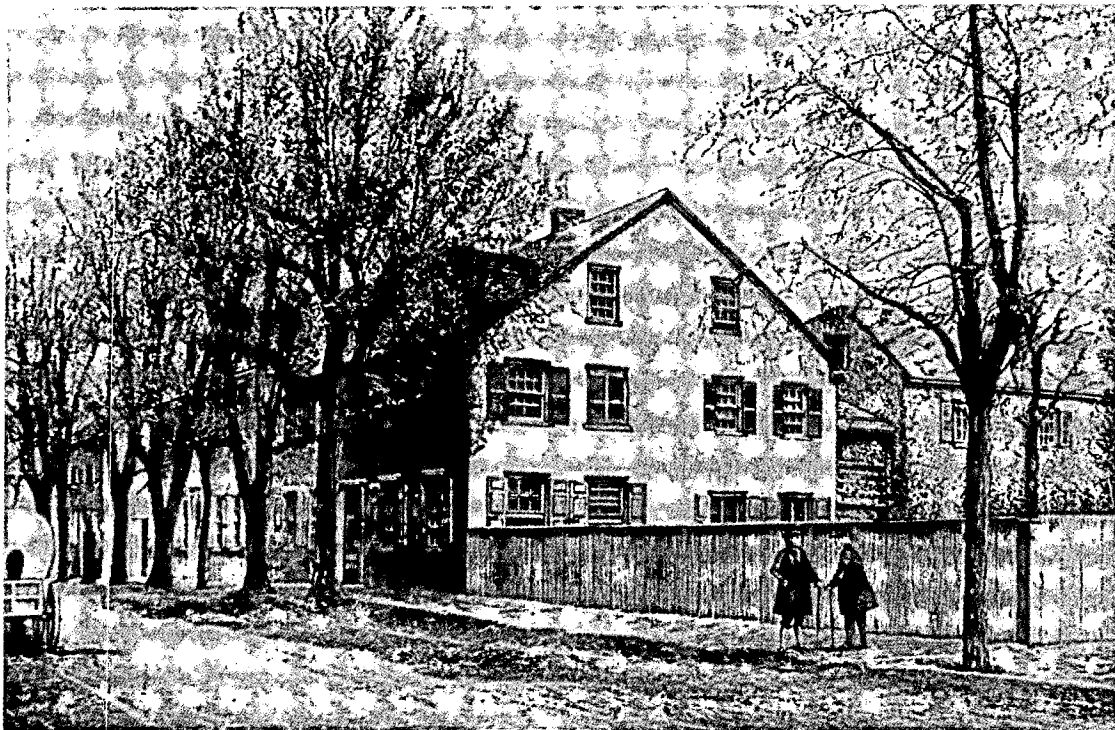


Plate 3. The Saur dwelling in Germantown, with workshop in the rear (Brumbaugh, 355).

Der
30ch = Deutsch

Pensylvanische Geschicht = Schreiber,

Oder:
Sammlung

Wichtiger Nachrichten, aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reich.
Erstes Stück August 20 / 1759.

Geneigter Leser

Nur andern Abgöttern, denen die grobe und subtile Welt der sogenannten Christen dienet, ist nicht der Herinasse der Narwitz, Curiosität und Begierde gerne offit was neues zu Schauen, zu Hören und zu Wissen, auch zu Sagen. Diesem Achemensischen Geist man ein Opfer zu bringen mit Aufgebung dieser Sammlung / ist man gänzlich nicht willens, noch weniger, sich selbst damit auszubreiten, oder Ruhm und Nutzen zu suchen, sondern weil man ehmalen versprochen, die nützlichste und wichtigste Geschichte u. Begebenheiten bekannt zu machen, und auch, weil denkwürdige Geschichte, wann sie den Menschen zu Nutzen und Gesichte kommen, öfters tiefen Eindruck und Nachdenken erregen, als Dinge die da täglich vorkommen; so wolte man dann hiermit einen Anfang machen, mit solchen Zeichen dieser Zeit so in diesem andern Bettheilen fürzlich und zuverlässig geschehen, in Ansehung es werde nicht ohne einigen Nutzen, wenigst der Aufweckung und des Ausschautens des Augens, die es lesen, schaffen. Auch möchten wohl künftige etliche Anmerkungen und der Zeit dienliche Fragenernstlichen Bemühern zum Nachsinnen, oder auch wohl einige aufrichtige Antwort darauf zu geben, in dergleichen Sammlung herausgegeben werden. Der Leser lebe wohl, und brauch es wie er soll.

Vor wenig Jahren hörte man, das der Persländer und der Türcke großen Krieg hätten; kaum hatte der Persländer mit dem Türcken Frieden, so hatte er mit dem großen Mogel wie gegenwärtig Krieg; und der Römische Kayser hatte kaum Stillstand mit dem König von Frankreich; so ging er samt Moscau gegen die Türcken. Anfangs victorisirten die Moscowiter an den Türcken; bald wendete sich das Blatt um, und siegen die Türcken, jedoch stehen sie noch beyderseits miteinander zu Felde. Also auch der Kayser mit dem Türcken /

was

Plate 4. First page of inaugural issue of Saur's German newspaper (Brumbaugh, 361).

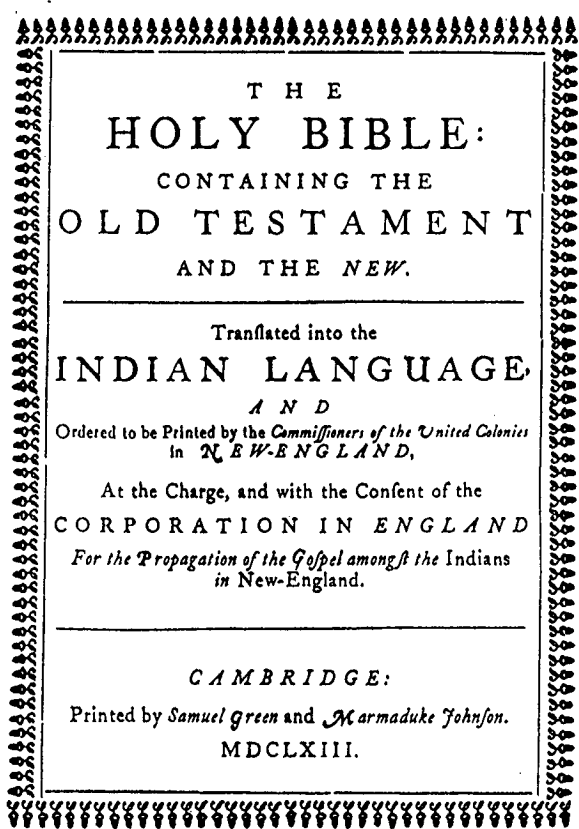
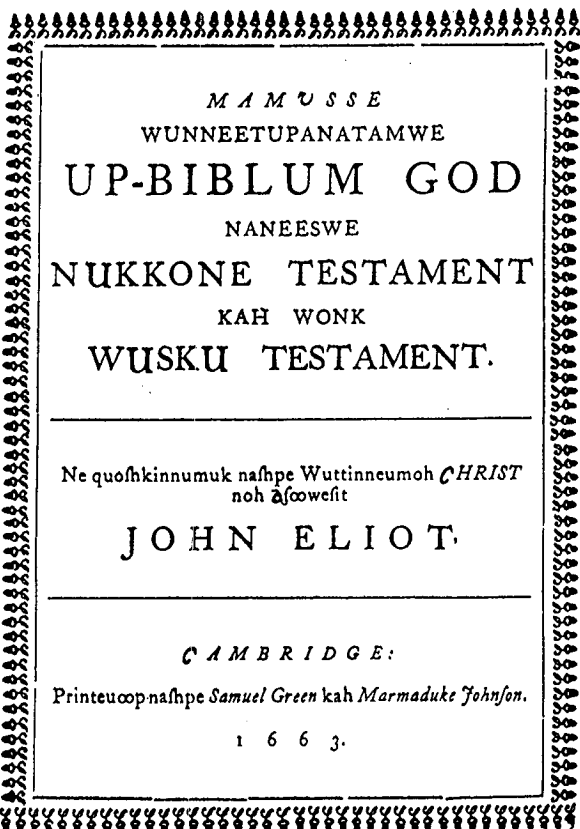


Plate 5. Facsimiles of the Indian and English title pages of the first complete Bible printed in America (O'Callaghan, a two-page spread between pp. 8 and 9).

WHereas Numbers of the Dutch People in this Province, especially of the New Comers, are thro' mere Poverty unable to furnish themselves with Bibles in their own Language, at the advanced Price those which are brought from *Germany* are usually sold at here: Therefore *Christopher Sauer* of *Germantown*, proposes to print a High-Dutch Bible in large Quarto, and in a Character that may be easily read even by old Eyes. And several well-meaning People having promised to contribute something towards the Encouragement of the Work in general, that the Books may be afforded cheaper to real poor Persons whether Servants or others; Notice is hereby given, that the said Work (God willing) will be begun about the end of this Instant *April*; and that some Judgment may be made of the Quantity necessary to be printed, all Persons who are enclined to encourage the Work, or to have one or more of the said Bibles, may subscribe before that Time with the abovesaid *Christopher Sauer* in *Germantown*, or with *Andrew Bradford* in *Philadelphia*. 2 s. and 6 d. is to be paid down towards each Bible (for which Receipts will be given) and the Remainder on Delivery of the Books, which, 'tis expected, will be in about a Twelvemonth. If no Charitable Contributions towards it are received, the Price of each Bible will not exceed 14 Shillings, and it shall be as much less as those Contributions will enable the Printer to afford; of which Contributions a fair Account shall be given the Publick.

Germantown, March 26. 1742.

Plate 6. Advertisement printed in Andrew Bradford's *Weekly Mercury*; also Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, with Franklin's name replacing Bradford's on line 18 (Sachse, 2:14).

Die Bibel in Germancon gedruckt ist nun fertig; und weil ein jeder Buchbinder nicht gelegenheit hat zu planiren so will man sie auch alle selbst planiren, (leimen) damit kein unwissender darneben komme, und wann es geschehen ist und sie trocken sind, welches vermuthlich am End dieses Monats auch gethan seyn wird, so kan ein jeder haben, und wird hirdurch berichtet: daß weil die meisten so sich haben einschreiben lassen, die übrigen Bücher Esra und der Maccabäer dabey begehrt, so sind sie zwar vor alle Bibeln mit gedruckt, und dieses nach der Berleburger übersetzung, wer aber dieselbe nicht dabey haben will, der kan es nur melden, oder sagen lassen, so werden sie nicht bey gebunden; und also ist es auch mit dem kleinen Anhang vom Unterschied etlicher übersetzungen in einigen puncten. Wem man verprochen hat seine Bibel zu binden oder binden zu lassen, dem will mans thun, und wer selbst davor sorgen will, der wird uns einer Mühe überheben. Ungebunden ist der Preß 12 Schilling, das übrige ist nach dem sie gebunden und beschlagen wird, in Schafleder, Kalb, oder ander Leder &c.

Plate 7. Text of Saur's newspaper announcement of completion of his Bible (Sachse, 2:31).

BIBLIA,

Darff:

Die

Stilige Schrift

Altes und Neues

Testaments,

Nach der Deutschen Uebersetzung

D. Martin Luthers,

Mit jedes Capitel kurzen Summarien, auch
benegugten vielen und richtigen Parallelen:

Recht dem gewöhnlichen Anhang
Des dritten und vierten Buchs Esra und des
dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.

German town:

Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1743.

BIBLIA,

Das ist:

Die

Heilige Schrift

Altes und Neues

Testaments,

Nach der Deutschen Uebersetzung

M. Martin Luthers,

Mit jedes Capitels kurzen Summarien, auch
bedeutfigten vielen und richtigen Parallelen

Nebst einem Anhang

Des dritten und vierten Buchs Esra und des
dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.

Germantown:

Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1743.

Das Neue
 Testament

Unsers
 Herrn und Heylandes
 Jesu Christi,

Verteutschet

Von

Dr. Martin Luthero.

Mit

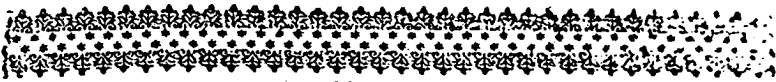
Jedes Capitels kurtzer

Sumarien,

Auch beygefüget vielen richtigen

Parallelen.

Sermantown:
 Gedruet und zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1743.



Vorrede.



Ann alle Bücher einer Vorrede bedürffen, wo durch der Nutzen und Eigenschafft des Buchs kürlich beschriben wird, so ist die Diebel an ihr selbst genug besetzt, und bringet selbst Alles mit, was man nur davon beschriben kan: überhaupt, Sie und alle Schrifft die von Gott eingegeben, ist nur zur Lobre, zur Serafe, zur Besserung, zur Trücheyung in der Gerechtigkeit, daß ein Mensch Gottes seye Vollkommen, zu allen guten Wercken geschickt. *2. Tim. 3, 16. 17.*

Die Bewege Ursachen zum Druck dieser gegenwärtigen Diebel sind hauptsächlich gewesen, da man gesehen: erstlich, daß so viel arme Teutsche in diß Land kommen, welche nicht alle Diebeln mit bringen. Zweytens, daß so viele im Land gebohren und erzogen werden, welche ebenfalls nicht alle zu bestimmen wissen, und man gesehen daß die Vermögenden gewöhnlich vor sich und die ihrtige sorgen.

Man hat Lutheri Uebersetzung erwöhlet, weil sie der gemeinen Teutschen Red-Art am ähnlichsten ist, und obgleich etliche Uebersetzungen den Worten nach, in etlichen Stücken ununterschieden sind, so laufft es doch gemeinlich auf Einen Sinn hinaus, und ist man versichert daß wer mit einem aufrichtigen Herzen diejenige Schrifft-Stellen welche klar und deutlich sind und keiner Erklärung nöthig haben, durch Christi Krafft in Uebung bringen wird, und in denselben getreu bleiben, der wird über so viele Geheimnisse Gottes gesetzt werden, als zu seinem ewigen Heil nöthig sind: Und wer ein Thäter des Wortes und nicht nur ein Hörer oder Leser seyn wird, der wird weder sich selbst ein noch andere darrigen. Wenn etwas unfaßlich im Lesen vorkommt, und der rechten Weisheit mangelt der bitte von Gott der gibst sie reichlich, dem der im Glauben bittet *Jac. 1, 5.* Und ob ihm etwas zu einer Zeit nicht gegeben würde, so wird ers zur andern Zeit Sonnenklar erkennen, wann er in denselben Stand kommt, wovon die Rede ist.

Man hat die 3^{te} Auflage Diebel und zwar die 3^{te} Edition vor sich genommen, erstlich weil sie sehr reich von Paräclen (anweisungen) ist. Zweytens, weil man geglaubt, daß sie die wenigste Druckfehler in sich halte, weil der Satz stehen bleibt. Die Beschuldigung, daß man sein eigenes drunter gemenget, und nicht bey Lutheri Uebersetzung geblieben sey, achtet man nicht werth zu widersprechen, sie ligt vor Augen, und wer unsern Druck gegen die besagte Edition hält, der wird finden daß man nicht allein dabei geblieben, sondern mehr als ein hundert Druckfehler verbessert hat, welches letzte man nicht erinert, sener Arbeit zu tadeln, sondern wann jemand finden solte, daß wieder unser Wissen, auch Druckfehler eingeschlichen sind, daß es uns ergangeth sey, wie andern Menschen.

Man hat auch keine Erklärungen darüber gemacht wozu man so wohl Freyheit gehabt hätte, als andere Menschen, erstlich darum, weil durch die Schrifft-Anweisungen vielmahl ein Spruch den andern erklärt im geistlichen Sinn. Zweytens, weil man versichert ist, daß wer die Schrifften mit einem aufrichtigen Herzen liest, bey dem erklärt der Heilige Geist um Herken seinen rechten Sinn bey dem lesen selbst und wie ein jeder glaubiger solches in sich faßt, im besondere erfährt, so glaubet man gewiß daß die Zeit nahe worin die ganze Erde wird voll Erleuchtung des Herrn werden; *EL. 1, 9* und nicht nöthig seyn daß ein Bruder den andern lehre und ermahne den Herrn zu erkennen; *Jer. 31, 34* sondern sie werden alle von Gott gelehret seyn, beyde klein und groß, wann er seinen Geist aussauffen wird über alles Fleisch, daß Söhne und Töchter massagen, Jünglinge Geschichte sehen, und die Ältesten Erdume haben, und auf seine Rechte und Mägdle sein Geist strömen wird; *Joel. 2, 28. - 32.* so wird er seinen Sinn selbst erklären, und seine Krafft beweisen, ja gar das Wort selbst seyn. Hiernum siehe mit, wer sehen kan: Komm bald Herr Jesu!



24. Mit einem eisernen griffel auf bley, und zum
zweyten gedächtniß in einen fels gehauen würden!

25. Ja ich weiß, daß mein Erlöser lebet, und
er wird der letzte über den staub sich aufmachen;
Hent. III. er wird mich hernach aus der erden anferwecken.

26. Und nachdem ich werde erwachen, so werden
diese dinge abgelegt seyn, und ich werde in meinem
fleische Gott schauen.

(Luther) Und werde darnach mit dieser meiner haut um-
geben werden, und werde in meinem fleisch Gott sehen.

27. Denselben werde ich vor mich schauen, und
meine augen werden es sehen, und nicht was frem-
des. Meine nieren sind verzehret in meinem schoos.
(Luth.) Denselben werde Ich mir sehen, und meine augen
werden ihn schauen, und kein fremder. Meine nieren sind
verzehret in meinem schoos.

28. Denn ihr sprecht: Wie wollen wir ihn ver-
folgen, und eine sache zu ihm finden?

29. Fürchtet euch vor dem schwerdt: denn das
schwerdt ist der zorn über die mißthat, auf daß ihr
wisset, daß ein gericht sey.

Jesus im schiff. Befessene. (Cap. 8.9.) S. Matthäi. Sichtebrüchiger. Matth. beruffen. 11

im meer, also, daß auch das schifflein mit wellen be-
deckt ward; und Er schlief. * Jon. 1,4,5.
Gesch. 27,41.

25. Und die jünger traten zu ihm, und * weckten
ihn auf, und sprachen: Herr hilf uns, wir verber-
den. * Pl. 35,23.

26. Da sagte er zu ihnen: * Ihr kleinglaubigen,
warum seyd ihr so furchtsam? Und stund auf, und
bedräuete den wind und das meer: da ward es ganz
stille. * Ec. 6,30.

27. Die menschen aber verwunderten sich, und
sprachen: * Was ist das für ein mann, daß ihm
wind und meer gehorsam ist! * Spr. 30,4.

28. Und * er kam jenseit des meers, in die gegend
der Gergesener. Da ließen ihm entgegen zweien be-
fessene, die kamen aus den todengräbern, und wa-
ren sehr grimmig, also, daß niemand dieselbe straf-
se wandeln konte. * Marc. 5,1. Luc. 8,26.

29. Und siehe, sie schrien und sprachen: Ach *
Jesus, du sohn Gottes, was haben wir mit dir zu
thun? Bist du herkommen uns zu quaden, ehe denn
es zeit ist? * Luc. 4,41.

30. Es war aber ferne von ihnen eine grosse herde
säue an der weide.

31. Da baten ihn die teufel, und sprachen: Willt
du uns austreiben, so erlaube uns in die heerde
säue zu fahren.

32. Und er sprach: * Gahre. hin. Da fuhren sie
aus, und fuhren in die heerde säue. Und siehe, die
ganze heerde säue stürzte sich mit einem sturm ins
meer, und ersoffen im wasser. * Luc. 8,32,33.

33. Und die hirten flohen, und gingen hin in die
stadt, und sagten das alles, und wie es mit den be-
fessenen ergangen war.

34. Und siehe, da ging die ganze stadt heraus
Jesus entgegen, und da sie ihn sahen, * baten sie
ihn, daß er von ihrer grenze weichen wolte.

* Marc. 5,17. Luc. 8,37.

Das 9 Capittel.

Wunderwerke Christi nach seiner heimkehrung

(Evang. am 19 sonnt. nach trinit.)

Da trat er in das schiff, und fuhr wieder heru-
ber, und kam in seine stadt.

2. Und siehe, da * brachten sie zu ihm einen sichte-
brüchigen, der lag auf einem bette. Da nun Je-
sus ihren glauben sah, sprach er zu dem sichtebrü-
chigen: Sey getrost, mein sohn, deine sünden sind
dir vergeben. * Marc. 2,1. seq. Luc. 5,18.

3. Und siehe, ruffte unter den schriftgelehrten
sprachen bey sich selbst: Dieser lästert Gott.

4. Da aber * Jesus ihre gedanken sah, sprach
er: Warum dencket ihr so arges in euren hertzen?
* Joh. 2,25.

5. Welches ist leichter, zu sagen: Dir sind deine
sünde vergeben; oder zu sagen: Stehe auf und
wandle?

6. Auf daß ihr aber wißset, daß des menschen sohn
macht habe auf erden die sünden zu vergeben,
sprach er zu dem sichtebrüchigen: * Stehe auf, hebe
dein bette auf, und gehe heim. * Joh. 5,8. Gesch. 9,34

7. Und er stund auf, und ging heim.
8. Da das volck das sah, verwunderte es sich,
und preisete Gott, der solche macht den menschen
gegeben hat.]

(Evang. am S. Matthäi tage.)

9. Und da Jesus von dannen ging, sahe er einen
menschen am joll sitzen: der hieß Matthäus,
und sprach zu ihm: Folge mir. Und er stund auf,
und folgte ihm.

10. Und es begab sich, da er zu tische saß im hau-
se, siehe, da kamen viel zöllner und sundter, und sa-
ßen zu tische mit Jesus, und seinen jünger.

11. Da das die Pharisäer sahen, sprachen sie zu
seinen jünger: Warum ißet euer meister mit den
zöllnern und sündern?

12. Da das Jesus hörte, sprach er zu ihnen:
Die starcken * dürfen des arbes nicht, sondern die
kranken. * Luc. 5,31.

13. Gehet aber hin, und lernet, was das sey:
Ich * habe wohlgefallen an barmherzigkeit, und
nicht am opfer. Ich bin kommen die sündter zur buße
zu ruffen, und nicht die frommen.]

* 1 Sam. 15,22. &c.

14. In des * kamen die jünger Johannis zu ihm,
und sprachen: Warum fasten wir und die Pha-
risäer so viel, und deine jünger fasten nicht?

* Marc. 2,18. Luc. 5,33.

15. Jesus sprach zu ihnen: Wie können die
hochzeitleute leide tragen so lange der bräutigam
bey ihnen ist? Es wird aber die zeit kommen, daß
der bräutigam von ihnen genommener wird, als-
dann werden sie fasten.

16. Niemand * sticket ein alt kleid mit einem lap-
pen von neuem tuch, denn der lappen reißet, doch wie-
der vom kleide, und der riß wird argter.

* Marc. 2,21. Luc. 5,36.

17. Was fasset auch nicht most in alte schläuche,
andere die schläuche zerreißen, und der most
wird verschüttet, und die schläuche kommen un-
n. Sondern man fasset most in neue schläuche, so
werden sie beyde mit einander behalten.

B 2

Evang.



Kurtzer Begriff.

Von den Heiligen Schrifften und deren Uebersetzungen Mit etlichen Anmerkungen.

Wie ist ohnstrittig das die Schrifften des Alten Testaments anfangs in Hebräischer Sprache geschrieben worden. Als aber Ptolomæus Philadelphus ein heidnischer König von den Schrifften gehört worinnen die Heiligen Willen an das Jüdische Volk zu ihrem besten bekannt gemacht ließ er LXX. Dolmetscher aus den Juden kommen, welche ihm die Schrifften samt den Historien aus der Hebräischen Sprache in seine Griechische übersetzen solten, damit es nach dem rechten Sinn und Buchstaben gehan, und nicht etwa mangelbar, oder nach ein oder des andern Gurdünnen übersezt würde. Da aber viele von der Juden Schrifften bei den Beschlüssen und sonst sind vertohren gegangen, und aus der Griechischen Sprache wieder übersezt worden sind, zumahlen sie immer abgeschriben wurden, so findet sich nun das nicht alle Hebräische Schrifften so genau mit einander überein kommen das nicht ein Bäcker zu Disputieren finden könne.

Das Neue Testament ist meistens in Griechischer, und Lateinischer Sprache geschriben; und ist gleich vor Lutheri Zeit von den Schrifften in Deutscher Sprach zu finden waren, so sind sie doch, wie ännach im Papsthum, dem gemeinen Mann nicht in die Hände gegeben, noch zu lesen erlaubt worden.

Lutherus aber hat die Schrifften in unsere Deutsche Sprache zu übersetzen gleichsam das Eis gebrochen, und hat nach dem Maas seiner Gabe ein großes Werk gehan; er schreibe von sich selbst also: Ich habe mich des geliffen im Dolmetschen, das ich rein und klar auszulegen möchte, und ist uns doch wohl esst begegnet, das wir 14 Tage, 34 Wochen haben ein einziges Wort gesucht und gefragt, habens dann noch zuweilen nicht gefunden. Im Buch Job arbeiteten wir also, M. Philippus Amrogallus und ich, das wir in 4 Tagen kaum 3 Zeilen fertig bräuen. Wieder, nun es verteuscht und bereut ist, laß ein jeder lesen und messen, laufft einwärts mit den Augen durch 3 oder 4 Blätter, und höflet nicht einmal an, wird aber nicht gemöhrt, welche Wäzen und Klöße da gelegen sind, da er jetzt abhingehet, wie wider ein geschöft

Bret, da wir haben müssen schreihen, und uns anheben etc.

Nun liest man in Hocostrid Arnolds Kirchen- und Rezer Historie und andersmo, das Lutheri eigene Arbeit doch noch hez und da einen herten Sylmus oder Hebräisch-Red-art hatte, es habe aber ein gewisser Bürger aus Leipzig ebenfalls die Schrifften aus dem Grund-Sprach übersezt, mit einer statichen und annehmlichen Redens-art, und solche dem seligen Luthero gezeigt, welcher sie vor gut angesehen und unter seinem Nahmen zu drucken erlaubet etc.

Nach diesem haben sich noch verschiedene an die Grund-Sprachen gegeben, um die Schrifften entweder in ihre Landes- und Mutter-Sprach zu übersetzen, oder den Sinn etwas faßlicher zu geben; habero sind uns in der Deutschen Sprach wenigstens 3 überseztungen bekannt. In andern Länder zu geschweigen finden sich in England wenigstens 5 Uebersetzungen, und ist nicht zu weiseln, sie seyen zum Theil nach dem Maas der Gabe; zum Theil aber haben sich manchmal ein und andere Punkte nach des übersezers Meinung, Gurdünnen und Vorurtheil bequemem müssen und lencken lassen. Dabero unter andren Gelehrten viele Uneingigkeit entstanden. Woraus dann erhellet, das noch der Heilige Geist in größtem Maas zu erwarten stehet, welcher seiner eigenen Worte Dellmetscher und Ausleger seyn wird in gänzlich Einigkeit; dann die reine pure Warheit ist in Ihm gestern wie heut, und wird so bleiben in Ewigkeit. Bis dahin thut ein jeder wohl, das er sich diesen Herren-Gast in das Innerste seiner seelen erpölet und einladet, der wird ihn in alle Warheit lehren und mit bringen, was kein Mensch geben noch aussprechen kan. Und dieser zeigt allein, wo die Verschiedenheit der Worte auf einen Sinn hinaus lauffe.

Man ist willens gewesen anderer Uebersetzungen Unterschied auf diesen Platz gegen ein ander zu setzen; man fand aber bald, wann es an allen Orten geschehen solte, es müßte dieser Rahngs nachwendig 4 mal so groß werden, als die Bibel selbst, wann man daher setzen solte, wie es andere geben, als: Trochawers/ Piscators/ Gordens/ die Berchburger. Zu geschweigen die Jüdisch-Lateinische/ Holländische/ Engliche und andere; so sie in ihres Landes und Mutter-Sprachen übersezt sind, nicht den Neuen Testaments-Verbri von Reiser/ Janker/ Bach/ Beyer/ Zinzendorf etc.

Zin

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Bermantown:

Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1763.



Vorrede.

Geneigter Leser!



Erscheinet nun zum Zweytenmal in diesem Americantzischen Welttheil die Heilige Schrift, die Bibel genant, in Hochteutscher Sprache in öffentlichen Druck: zum Ruhm der Teutschen Nation, indem keine andere Nation wird aufzeigen können, daß die Bibel in diesem Welttheil in ihrer Sprache seß gedruckt worden.

Es hat Gott sonderlich gefallen, diese Auflage, welche nur zu seiner Ehre und des nächsten Heil (und nicht um schändlichen Gewinns willen) ist unternommen worden, fast wunderbarlich und handgotteslich mit seinem Segen in der Ausfertigung zu begleiten. Er wolle es darnach an den Herzen der Leser segnen und begleiten: ja er wolle selbst in aller Herzen eine solche heilige Begierde und lautere Absicht in Durchlesung dieses heiligen Wercks erwecken; welche er mit Erkenntnis und dem Aufschluß seines Geistes begleiten könne, so würd sich niemand unterwinden, solches geschriebene und gedruckte Wort einen toden Buchstaben zu nennen, sondern er würd mit Petro sagen können Joh. 6, 68. Herr! Wohin sollen wir gehen? Du hast Worte des Ewigen Lebens. Und etliche Verse vorher zeuget Christus: Die Worte die ich rede, die sind Geist und sind Leben. So sehen wir nun, daß es dieselbige Worte waren, daran sich viele ärgerten, und forthin nicht mehr mit Jesu wandelten, von welchen Petrus sagen konnte: Du hast Worte des Ewigen Lebens. Lieset nun jemand die Heilige Schrift, und findet keinen Geschmack noch Aufschluß darinnen, der gebe nicht der Schrift, sondern seinem toden Herzen die Schuld. Er schaffe in sich selbst, und bitte Gott um Erneuerung und Veränderung seines Herzens durch den heiligen Geist, welcher der Hervordränger der Heiligen Schrift ist 2 Pet. 1, 20. 21. So wird ihm Gott denselbigen Heiligen Geist geben, der ihn in alle Wahrheit leiten wird; nach Joh. 16, 13. auch erinnern alles dessen was Christus geredet hat Joh. 14, 26. Ist demnach das Evangelium verdeckt, so ist es in demers die verlohrenen werden, verdeckt, bey welchen der Gott dieser Welt ihre Sinne verblendet hat, daß sie nicht sehen das helle Licht des Evangelii. 2 Corinth, 4, 3. 4. Und komt je von der Verblendung unserer Sinne her; wann uns die Schrift so dunkel ist, und von dem in uns wohnenden Tod, Röm 5, 12. wann uns die Schrift ein todter Buchstabe ist.

Die Heilige Schrift kan gar wohl verglichen werden mit einer guten gefunden und wohl zubereiteten Speise, welche, so man sie einem Kranken vorstellet, der einen Eckel hat vor aller Speise, und nichts davon kosten mag; so ist es ihm ein schmack, und kraftloses Gericht, wovon er nicht die geringste Kraft erlangt: Wann man sie aber einem hungrigen vorstellet, und er ist sie, so wird er durch solche zwar todtscheinende Speise nachdrücklich gestärket, und genießet die vom Schöpffer hinein gelegte Lebens-Kraft, wodurch er gestärket wird zu seinem natürlichen Geschäfte; eben so wird eine nach dem Heil ihrer Seelen verlangende Seele nachdrücklich gestärket durch ein aufmerckames Lesen der göttlichen Zeugnisse in der Heiligen Schrift.

Weil aber die Heilige Schrift Altes und Neues Testaments an sich selbst so herrlich, majestätisch, mächtig und vollkommen ist, daß sie keines menschlichen Ruhms bedarff; auch durch keines Menschen Zeugnis kräftiger wird, so bin ich nicht willens solche mit einer langen Vorrede zu beladen. Daß dann Gott selbst ein kräftiges Ephata sprechen wolle in allen Herzen und Ohren, welche diese Bibel lesen; ja (wo möglich) in allen Menschen! Solches wünschet von Herzen euer getreuer Freund und Wohlwünscher,

Chr. Saur.

Germantown, den 8ten
December, 1763.

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Das



Das erste Buch Mose.

Das I Capitel. Schöpfung der welt.



M * anfang schuff **G**ott himmel und erde. * Joh. 1, 1. 3. Ebr. 11, 3. **PL** 33, 6. **PL** 102, 26.

1. Und die erde war wüst und leer, und es war finstern auf der tieffe; und der Geist, **G**ottes schwebete auf dem wasser.

2. Und **G**ott sprach: * **E**s werde licht: Und es ward licht.

3. Und **G**ott sprach: * **E**s werde eine veste zwischen den wassern; und die sey ein unterschied zwischen den wassern.

4. Und **G**ott sprach: * **E**s werde das wasser unter der veste, von dem wasser über der veste. Und es geschah also. * **PL** 104, 3. **PL** 148, 4. Jer. 10, 12. **C** 51, 15.

5. Und **G**ott sprach: * **E**s werde das wasser unter der veste, von dem wasser über der veste. Und es geschah also. * **PL** 104, 3. **PL** 148, 4. Jer. 10, 12. **C** 51, 15.

6. Und **G**ott sprach: * **E**s werde das wasser unter der veste, von dem wasser über der veste. Und es geschah also. * **PL** 104, 3. **PL** 148, 4. Jer. 10, 12. **C** 51, 15.

7. Da machte **G**ott die veste, und scheidete das wasser unter der veste, von dem wasser über der veste. Und es geschah also. * **PL** 104, 3. **PL** 148, 4. Jer. 10, 12. **C** 51, 15.

8. Und **G**ott sprach: * **E**s werde das wasser unter der veste, von dem wasser über der veste. Und es geschah also. * **PL** 104, 3. **PL** 148, 4. Jer. 10, 12. **C** 51, 15.

9. Und **G**ott sprach: * **E**s werde das wasser unter der veste, von dem wasser über der veste. Und es geschah also. * **PL** 104, 3. **PL** 148, 4. Jer. 10, 12. **C** 51, 15.

10. Und **G**ott sprach: * **E**s werde das wasser unter der veste, von dem wasser über der veste. Und es geschah also. * **PL** 104, 3. **PL** 148, 4. Jer. 10, 12. **C** 51, 15.

11. Und **G**ott sprach: * **E**s werde das wasser unter der veste, von dem wasser über der veste. Und es geschah also. * **PL** 104, 3. **PL** 148, 4. Jer. 10, 12. **C** 51, 15.

12. Und die erde stieß aufgehen gras und kraut, das sich besamete, ein jegliches nach seiner art; und bäume, die da frucht tragen, und ihren eigenen samen den stich selbst hatten, ein jegliches nach seiner art. Und **G**ott sahe, daß es gut war.

13. Da ward aus abend und morgen der dritte tag.

14. Und **G**ott sprach: **E**s werden * lichter an der veste des himmels, die da scheiden tag und nacht; und geben zeichen, zeiten, tage und jahre.

15. Und seyen lichter an der veste des himmels, daß sie scheinen auf erden. Und es geschah also.

16. Und **G**ott machte zwey grosse lichter: ein groß licht, das * den tag regiere, und ein klein licht, das die nacht regiere; dazu auch sterne.

17. Und **G**ott setzte sie an die veste des himmels, daß sie scheinen auf die erde,

18. Und den tag und die nacht regierten, und scheideten licht und finsterniß. Und **G**ott sahe, daß es gut war.

19. Da ward aus abend und morgen der vierte tag.

20. Und **G**ott sprach: **E**s erzeuge sich das wasser mit wiewenden und lebendigen thieren, und mit * ge- vögel, das auf erden unter der veste des himmels fliege.

21. Und **G**ott schuff grosse * walfische, und als lerley gehtier, das da lebet und webet, und vom wasser erregt ward, ein jegliches nach seiner art; und allerley gehedertes gevögel, ein jegliches nach seiner art. Und **G**ott sah, daß es gut war. * **PL** 104, 26.

22. Und **G**ott segnete sie, und sprach: * **S**eyd fruchtbar und mehret euch, und erfüllet das wasser im meer; und das gevögel mehret sich auf erden.

23. Da ward aus abend und morgen der fünfte tag.

†† morgenstern. *c. 1, 1. †c. 1, 2. †Es. 11, 10. | 21. Die * gnade unsers Herrn Jesu Christi
Röm. 15, 12. Offenb. 5, 5. † 2 Pet. 1, 19. sey mit euch allen. Amen. * 2 Tim. 4, 22. Ebr. 13, 25.

Der Offenbarung S. Johannis, und
des Neuen Testaments
E N D E.



Plate 19. Portion of last page of biblical text in 1763 Saur Bible,
beginning at line 18 (in col. 1; line 17 in col. 2) (AHC copy).

gehen, und die elemente vor hitze zerschmelzen werden.

13. Wir warten aber * eines neuen himmels, und einer neuen erden nach seiner verheißung, in welchen gerechtigkeit wohnet.

* El. 65, 17. c. 66, 22. Offenb. 21, 1.

14. Darum, meine lieben, * dieneil ihr darauf warten sollet, so thut fleiß, daß ihr vor ihm unbedeckt und t unsträflich im friede erfunden werdet.

* 1 Theil. 3, 13. † 1 Cor. 1, 8.

15. Und die * gebult unsers Herrn achtet für eure seligkeit: als auch unser lieber bruder Paulus, nach der weisheit, die ihm gegeben ist, euch geschrieben hat.

* Rom. 2, 4. † 1 Pet. 3, 20.

Ende der zweyten Epistel S. Petri.

16. Wieer auch in allen briefen davon redet, in welchen sind etliche dinge schwer zu verstehen, welche verwirren die ungelehrigen und leichtfertigen, wie auch die andern schriften, zu ihrem eigenen verdammniß.

17. Ihr aber, meine lieben, weil ihr das zuvor wiisset, so * verwahret euch, daß ihr nicht durch irthumb der ruchlosen leute, samt ihnen verführt werdet, und ensallet aus eurer eigenen vestung.

* Marc. 13, 5. 9. 33.

18. Wachset aber in der gnade und erkenntniß unsers Herrn und heilandes Jesu Christi. Demselbigen sey ehre, nun und zu ewigen zeiten. Amen.

Die erste Epistel S. Johannes.

Das 1 Capitel.

Von Christi person, seinem geoffenbahren wort, und von wahrer buße.

Was da * von anfang war, das wir gehört haben, das wir t gesehen haben mit unsern augen, das wir beschauet haben, und unsere * hände betastet haben, vom wort des lebens.

* Joh. 1, 1. † Joh. 1, 14.

** Luc. 24. 39.

2. (Und das * leben ist erschienen: und wir haben es gesehen, und zeugen und verkündigen euch das leben, das ewig ist, welches t war bey dem Vater, und ist uns erschienen.)

* Joh. 1, 4. † Joh. 1, 1.

3. Was wir gesehen und gehört haben, das verkündigen wir euch, auf daß auch ihr mit uns gemeinschaft habt, und unsere gemeinschaft sey mit dem Vater, und mit seinem sohn, Jesu Christo.

4. Und solches schreiben wir euch, auf daß * eure freude völlig sey.

* Joh. 15, 11. c. 16, 22.

5. Und das ist die verkündigung, die wir von ihm gehört haben, und euch verkündigen, * daß Gott ein licht ist, und in ihm ist keine finsterniß.

Joh. 8, 12.

6. So wir sagen, daß wir gemeinschaft mit ihm haben, und wandeln im finsterniß, so lügen wir, und thun nicht die wahrheit.

7. So wir aber im lichte wandeln, wie Er im lichte ist, so haben wir gemeinschaft unter einander, und * das blut Jesu Christi, seines sohns, machet uns rein von aller sünde.

* 1 Pet. 1, 19. Ebr. 9, 14. Off. 1, 5. c. 7, 14.

8. So wir sagen, wir * haben keine sünde, so verführen wir uns selbst, und die wahrheit ist nicht in uns.

* Spr. 20, 9.

9. So wir aber * unsere sünde bekennen, so ist er t treu und gerecht, daß er uns die sünde vergibt, und reiniget uns von aller unthatung.

* Spr. 28, 13. † 1 Theil. 5, 24. &c.

10. So wir sagen, wir haben nicht gesündigt, so machen wir ihn um küniger, und sein wort ist nicht in uns.

Das 2 Capitel.

Von des Christenthums grand, kennzeichen, in dale und ende, seinden und erhaltung.

Eine kindlein, solches schreibe ich euch, auf daß ihr nicht sündigt. Und ob jemand sündigt, so haben wir einen * fürsprecher bey dem Vater, Jesum Christ, der gerecht ist.

* Rom. 8, 34. Ebr. 7, 25. c. 9, 24.

2. Und der selbige ist die * verfühnung für unsere sünde: nicht allein aber für die unsere, sondern auch für der ganzen welt.

* Col. 1, 20. &c.

3. Und an dem merken wir, daß wir ihn kennen, so wir seine gebote halten.

4. Wer da saget, ich kenne ihn, und hält seine gebote nicht, der ist ein lügner, und in solchem ist keine wahrheit.

5. Wer aber * sein wort hält, in solchem ist wahrlich die liebe Gottes vollkommen. Daran erkennen wir, daß wir in ihm sind.

* Joh. 14, 21. 23.

6. Wer da saget, daß er * in ihm bleibet, der soll auch wandeln, gleichwie Er gewandelt hat.

* Joh. 15, 4. 5.

7. Brüder, ich schreibe euch * nicht ein neu gebot, sondern das alte gebot, das ihr habt von anfang gehabt.

Plate 20. Page showing beginning of 1 John in 1763 Saur Bible (AHC copy).

(Cap. 2. 3.)

S. Johannis.

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gehabt. Das alte gebot ist das wort, das ihr von anfang gehöret habt. * 2 Joh. v. 5.

8. Wiederum ein neu gebot schreibe ich euch, das da wahrhaftig ist bey ihm und bey euch; denn die finsterniß ist vergangen, und das wahre licht scheint jetzt. * Roem. 13, 12.

9. Wer da saget, er sey im licht, und * hasset seinen bruder, der ist noch im finsterniß. * c. 3; 15. c. 4; 20.

10. Wer * seinen bruder liebet, der bleibet im licht, und ist kein ärgerniß bey ihm. * c. 3, 14.

11. Wer aber seinen bruder hasset, der ist im finsterniß, und wandelt im finsterniß, und weiß nicht, wo er hingehet, denn die finsterniß haben seine augen verblendet. * c. 3, 14. 15. c. 4, 20.

12. Lieben kindlein, ich schreibe euch, daß euch die sünden vergeben werden, durch seinen namen. * Luc. 24; 47.

13. Ich schreibe euch vätern, denn ihr kennet den, der von anfang ist. Ich schreibe euch jüngerlingen, denn ihr habt den bösewicht überwunden. Ich schreibe euch kindern, denn ihr kennet den Vater.

14. Ich habe euch vätern geschrieben, daß ihr den kennet, der von anfang ist. Ich habe euch jüngerlingen geschrieben, daß ihr nicht irret, und das wort Gottes bey euch bleibet, und den bösewicht überwinden. † Eph. 6, 10.

15. Habt nicht lieb die welt, noch was in der welt ist. So jemand die welt lieb hat, in dem ist nicht die liebe des Vaters.

16. Denn alles, was in der welt ist, (nemlich des fleisches lust, und der augen lust, und hoffartiges leben) ist nicht vom Vater, sondern von der welt.

17. Und die * welt vergehet mit ihrer lust; wer aber den willen Gottes thut, der bleibet in ewigkeit. * Pl. 90, 10.

18. Kinder, es ist die letzte stunde, und wie ihr gehöret habt, daß der * widerchrist kommt, und nun sind viel widerchristen worden; daher erkennen wir, daß die letzte stunde ist. * Marth. 24, 5. 24.

19. Sie sind * von uns ausgegangen, aber sie waren nicht von uns: Denn wo sie von uns gewesen wären, so wären sie ja bey uns blieben; aber auf daß sie offenbaret wurden, daß sie nicht alle von uns sind. * Gesch. 20, 30.

20. Und Ihr habt die * salbung von dem, der heilig ist, und wißet alles. * v. 27.

21. Ich habe euch nicht geschrieben, als wüßet ihr die wahrheit nicht, sondern ihr wißet sie, und wißet, daß keine lügen aus der wahrheit kommen.

22. Wer ist ein lügner, ohne der da leugnet, daß

Jesus der Christ sey? * Das ist der widerchrist, der den Vater und den Sohn leugnet. * c. 4, 3. 2 Joh. v. 7.

23. Wer * den Sohn leugnet, der hat auch den Vater nicht. * c. 4, 15.

24. Was Ihr nun * gehöret habt von anfang, das bleibe bey euch. So bey euch bleibet was ihr von anfang gehöret habet, so werdet Ihr auch bey dem Sohn und Vater bleiben. * v. 7.

25. Und das ist die verheißung, die Er uns verheissen hat, das ewige leben.

26. Solches habe ich euch geschrieben von denen, die euch verführen.

27. Und die salbung, die ihr von ihm empfangen habt, bleibet bey euch, und dürfet nicht, daß euch jemand lehre: sondern wie euch die * salbung allerley lehret, so ist's wahr, und ist keine lügen; und wie sie euch gelehret hat, so bleibet bey demselbigen. * v. 20. Joh. 14, 26. c. 16, 13.

28. Und nun, kindlein, bleibet bey ihm, auf daß, wenn er offenbaret wird, daß wir * freudigkeit haben, und nicht zu schanden werden vor ihm, in seiner zukunft. * c. 3, 21. c. 4, 17. c. 5, 14. Ebr. 4, 16.

29. So ihr wißet, daß er gerecht ist, so erkennet auch, daß, wer nicht recht thut, der ist von ihm geboren. † c. 3, 7. 10.

Das 3 Capitel

Von wahrer Christen herrlichkeit eigenschaften, ercuß und trost.

1. Ehet, welche eineliebe hat uns der Vater erzeiget, daß wir Gottes kinder sollen heißen. Darum kennet euch die welt nicht, † denn sie kennet ihn nicht. † Joh. 16, 3. c. 17, 25.

2. Meine lieben, wir sind nun Gottes kinder, und ist noch nicht erschienen, was wir seyn werden. Wir wissen aber, wenn es erscheinen wird, daß wir ihm gleich seyn werden: Denn wir werden ihn sehen, wie er ist. † Joh. 1, 12. † Rom. 8, 18.

3. Und ein jeglicher, der solche hoffnung hat zu ihm, der reiniget sich, gleichwie Er auch rein ist. † 2 Cor. 7, 1.

4. Wer sünde thut, der thut auch unrecht; und die sünde ist das unrecht.

5. Und ihr wißet, daß Er ist erschienen, * auf daß er unsere sünden wegnehme, und ist keine sünde in ihm. * 1 Pet. 2, 24. &c.

6. Wer * in ihm bleibet, der sündiget nicht; wer da sündiget, der hat ihn nicht gesehen noch erkant. * c. 5, 18.

7. Kindlein, laßt euch niemand verführen, daß
H h * Wer

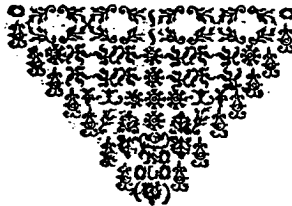
Register.

Episteln und Evangelien der Aposteltage, welche an einigen Orten gefeiert werden.

Am S. Andreas tage.
 Ep. Röml. 10 u. 8 bis 12.
 Ep. Matth. 4 u. 18 bis 22.
 Am tage Niccolai, des Bischofs.
 Ep. 1 Cor. 7 u. 1 bis 7.
 Ep. Luc. 12 u. 35 bis 40.
 Am S. Thomas tage.
 Ep. Eph. 1 u. 3 bis 6.
 Ep. Joh. 20 u. 24 bis 29.
 Am Tage S. Pauli Befchrung.
 Ep. Act. 9 u. 1 bis 22.
 Ep. Matth. 19 u. 27 bis 30.
 Am S. Matthias tage.
 Ep. Act. 11 u. 15 bis 26.
 Ep. Matth. 11 u. 25 bis 30.
 Am Tage Philippi und Jacobi.
 Ep. Eph. 2 u. 19 bis 22, oder Weiss. 5 u. 1 bis 12.
 Ep. Joh. 14 u. 1 bis 14.
 Am Tage Petri und Pauli.
 Ep. Act. 12 u. 1 bis 11.
 Ep. Matth. 16 u. 13 bis 20.
 Am Tage Mariä Magdalens.
 Ep. Spruchw. 31 u. 20 f. 31.
 Ep. Luc. 7 u. 36 bis 50.
 Am Tage S. Jacobi.
 Ep. Röm. 8 u. 28 bis 39.

Ep. Matth. 20 u. 20 bis 21.
 Am Tage S. Laurentii.
 Ep. 2 Cor. 9 u. 6 bis 11.
 Ep. Joh. 12 u. 24 bis 26.
 Am Tage S. Bartholomäi.
 Ep. 2 Cor. 4 u. 7 bis 10, oder Eph. 2 u. 19 bis 22.
 Ep. Luc. 22 u. 24 bis 30.
 Am Tage der Geburt Maria.
 Ep. Luc. 24 u. 22 bis 31.
 Ep. Matth. 1 u. 1 bis 16.
 Am Tage des h. Kreuzes
 Erhöhung.
 Ep. Phil. 2 u. 5 bis 11.
 Ep. Joh. 12 u. 31 bis 36.
 Am Tage S. Matthäi.
 Ep. 1 Cor. 12 u. 4 bis 11, oder Eph. 4 u. 7 bis 14.
 Ep. Matth. 9 u. 9 bis 13.
 Am Tage Simonis und Juda.
 Ep. 1 Pet. 1 u. 3 bis 9.
 Ep. Joh. 15 u. 17 bis 27.
 Am Tage aller Heiligen.
 Ep. Offenb. 7 u. 2 und 3.
 Ep. Matth. 5 u. 1 bis 12.
 Am Tage der Kirchweihung.
 Ep. Offenb. 21 u. 1 bis 5.
 Ep. Luc. 19 u. 1 bis 10.

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verführten mein volck Israel.

14. Aber bey den propheten zu Jerusalem sehe ich greuel, wie sie ehebrechen, und gehen mit lügen um, und * stärken die boshaftigen, auf daß sich ja niemand bekehre von seiner bosheit. Sie sind alle vor mir, gleich wie Sodoma, und ihre bürger wie Gomorra. * Ez. 13, 22.

15. Darum spricht der HERR Zebaoth von den propheten also: * Siehe, ich will sie mit wermuth speisen, und mit gallen träncken: Denn von den propheten zu Jerusalem kommt heuchelei aus ins ganze land. * c. 9, 15.

10. Und der könig Cyrus brachte heraus die heiligen gefäße des HERRN, welche Nabuchodonosor von Jerusalem weggeführt, und dieselbigen in seinen gökzentempel gesetzt hatte.

11. Als sie aber Cyrus, der könig der Persen, herausgebracht hatte, übergab er dieselben dem Mithridati, seinem schatzmeister.

12. Durch diesen aber wurden sie überliefert an den Albassar, den statthalter in Judäa.

13. Die zahl aber derselben war: Tausend güldene tranckoperschaalen, tausend silberne tranckoperschaalen, neun und zwanzig silberne rauchpfannen, dreßsig güldene

16. Haben darauf den heiligen häusern in den städten groß Einkommen gemacht, sind auch der meynung gen Jerusalem gekommen, alda den tempel der heillosen und in ihrem unverständ immer fortsahrenden leute zu ehren.

17. Sie aber haben zwar, den worten nach, unsere ankunft gern ausgenommen, aber in der that ist es eitel falsch gewesen. Denn als wir in ihrem tempel eingehen wollten, und denselben mit gedürllichen und herrlichen geschenken verehren, haben sie ihrer verführten bosheit nach, den eintritt nicht gestatten wollen, wiewol sie unserer macht viel zu gering waren, die wir allen menschen zur freundschaft gebrauchen.

18. Sie aber haben ihre feindschaft, die sie gegen uns getragen, frey an den tag gegeben, als wenn sie es unzer allen völkern allein wären; die wider die könige und ihre wohlthätet ihren kopf stoben ansetzen, und nichts blütiges noch rechtes leiden.

19. Wir aber haben ihrer thorbheit gemichen, und wiewol wir mit erhaltenem sieg wiederkamen, sind wir doch in Egypten einem jeden mit freundschaft unter augen gegangen, und haben gethan, was sich hat anführen wollen.

Plate 23. Comparison of text sizes
in 1763 Saur Bible (selected from
several pages in AHC copy).

BIBLIA,

Das ist:

Die ganze Göttliche

Heilige Schrift

Alten und Neuen

Testaments,

nach der Deutschen Uebersetzung

M. Martin Luthers;

Mit jedes Capitels kurzen Summarien, auch
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dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.

Dritte Auflage.

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Te s t a m e n t.

unser

Herrn und Heylandes

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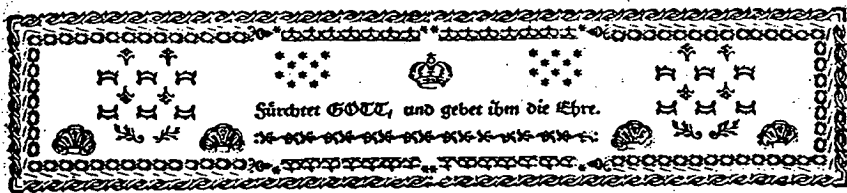
aller Sonn- und Fest-tägigen

Evangelien und Episteln.

Dritte Auflage.

G e r m a n t o w n,

Gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1776.



Evangelium St. Matthäi.

Das 1. Capittel.

Christi Geschlechterregister, Empfängniß, Name und Geburt.

(Evang. am Tage Mariä Geburt.)

Mis ist das buch von der geburt JESU Christi, der da ist ein sohn Davids, des sohns Abraham.

2. Abraham * zeugete Izaak. Izaak zeugete Jacob. Jacob * zeugete Juda, und seine brüder. * 1 Mos. 21, 2. 3. † 1 Mos. 25, 26. † 1 Mos. 29, 35.

3. Juda * zeugete Pharez und Saram, von der Thamar. Pharez † zeugete Hezron. Hezron zeugete † Ram. * 1 Mos. 38, 29. 30. † 1 Chron. 2, 5. 9. † Ruth 4, 18.

4. Ram zeugete Aminadab. Aminadab zeugete Nabasson. Nabasson zeugete Salma.

5. Salma zeugete Boas, * von der Rahab. Boas zeugete Obed, † von der Ruth. Obed zeugete † Jesse. * Jos. 2, 1. Ruth. 4, 21. † Ruth. 4, 17. † Ruth. 4, 17.

6. Jesse * zeugete den könig David. Der könig David zeugete † Salomon von dem weibe des Uriä. * 1 Ehr. 2, 15. † 2 Sam. 12, 24.

7. Salomon * zeugete Roboam. Roboam † zeugete Abia. Abia zeugete Assa. * 1 Kön. 11, 43. † 1 Chron. 3, 10. seq.

8. Assa zeugete * Josaphat. Josaphat zeugete † Joram. Joram zeugete † Osia. * 1 Kön. 15, 24. † 1 Kön. 22, 51. † 1 Chron. 3, 11. 12.

9. Osia zeugete * Jotham. Jotham zeugete † Achas. Achas zeugete † Ezechia. * 2 Kön. 15, 7. † 2 Kön. 16, 1. † 2 Kön. 16, 20.

10. Ezechia zeugete * Manasse. Manasse zeugete † Amon. Amon zeugete † Josia. * 2 Kön. 20, 21. † 2 Kön. 21, 18. † 2 Kön. 21, 24.

11. Josia * zeugete Jechonija und seine brüder, um die zeit der Babylonischen gefängniß.

* 1 Chron. 3, 15.

12. Nach der Babylonischen gefängniß zeugete

Jechonija * Sealtiel. Sealtiel zeugete Zerobabel. * 1 Chron. 3, 17.

13. Zerobabel zeugete Abiud. Abiud zeugete Eliachim. Eliachim zeugete Afor.

14. Afor zeugete Zadock. Zadock zeugete Achim. Achim zeugete Eliud.

15. Eliud zeugete Eleasar. Eleasar zeugete Matthan. Matthan zeugete Jacob.

16. Jacob zeugete Joseph, den mann Mariä, von welcher ist geboren JESUS, der da heisset * Christus.] * c. 27, 17. 22.

17. Alle glied von Abraham bis auf David sind vierzehen glied. Von David bis auf die Babylonische gefängniß sind vierzehen glied. Von der Babylonischen gefängniß bis auf Christum sind vierzehen glied.

18. Die geburt Christi war aber also gethan: Als * Maria, seine inutter, dem Joseph vertrauet war, ehe er sie heimholetete, ersand sichs, das sie schwanger war von dem heiligen Geiste.

* Luc. 1, 27. 34. c. 2, 5.

19. Joseph aber, ihr mann, war fromm, und wolte sie nicht * rügen; gedachte aber sie heimlich zu verlassen. * 4 Mos. 5, 15. † 1 Mos. 24, 1.

20. In dem er aber also gedachte, siehe, da erschien ihm der engel des HERRN im traum, und sprach: Joseph, du sohn David, fürchte dich nicht, Mariam, dein gemahl, zu dir zu nehmen: Denn * das in ihr geboren ist, das ist von dem heiligen Geiste. * Luc. 1, 35.

21. Und sie wird einen sohn gebären, des namen sollt du JESUS heißen: Dem ER † wird sein volck selig machen von ihren sünden.

* Luc. 2, 21. † Esch. 4, 12.

22. Das ist aber alles geschehen, auf das erfüllt würde, das der HERRN durch den propheten gesagt hat, der da spricht: * Es. 7, 14.

Luc. 1, 31. Mich. 5, 2.

23. Siehe, eine jungfrau wird schwanger seyn, und einen sohn gebären, und sie weis

30. Rämlich die Earmaner, welche regn in ihrem jorn: Und ſie werden ausgehen als wilde ſchweine aus dem wald, und mit großer heers-kraft antommen, und werden ſich im Streit mit ihnen einlaſſen, und ein theil des landes der Aſſyrer verwüſten.

31. Und nach dieſem werden die drachen die oberhand frigen, und ſich ihrer geburt oder natur erinnern, und werden ſich umkehren, und zuſammen ſpannen mit großer kraft, um dieſelben zu verſolgen.

32. Da werden denn dieſelben in ſchrecken geſetzt werden vor ihrer macht, und ſtille ſtehen, und werden ſich auf die flucht begeben.

33. Und ein beſiger (ein oberſter, ein auf ſie ankommender) von dem land der Aſſyrer wird ſie belagern, und einen oberſten oder fürſten aus ihnen niederhauen, und es wird ſurcht und ſchrecken ſeyn in ihrem kriegsheer, und ein jand wider ihre könige ſich erheben.

34. Siehe, wolcken kommen von anfang und von mitternacht bis zum mittag; und ihr anſehen iſt ſehr grauſam, voll jorns und ungetrübter.

35. Und ſie werden gegen einander ſtoſſen, und viel geſtirns zur erden werffen, und auch ihr eigen geſtirn, und das blut vom ſchwert vergoſſen wird im fließen reichen bis an die bäuche: Offenb. 14. 20.

36. Und der miß der menſchen wird durch ſprühen kommen bis an den gürtel der Camele: Ja es wird groſſe ſurcht und jitters ſeyn aus erden;

37. Und es werden ſich entſetzen, die denſelben jorn ſehen werden, und jittern wird ſie ergreifen.

38. Und darnach werden viele und groſſe plag-regen kommen, von mittag und mitternacht, und noch ein ander theil von abent.

39. Und die oſtwinde werden die oberhand gewinnen, und werden das offnen mit der wolcke, die ich oder es im jorn erweckt hatte: Und das geſtirn wird ſchaden leiden, das aufſtieg dem oſt- und weſt-wind oder dem land gegen auf- und niebergang einen ſchrecken zu machen.

40. Und les werden ſich groſſe und ſtarke wolcken, die voll jorns ſind, mit dem geſtirn erheben; auf das ſie den ganzen erdboden, und die darauf wohnen, erſchrecken: und ſie werden über alle hohe und erhabene örter ein erſchröcklich geſtirn ausgieſſen;

41. Feuer und hagel und ſiegender ſchwertdier, und viel waffer, ſo das alle ſelber und alle bäche mit der menge des waffers erfület ſeyn werden:

42. Und werden die ſtädte und mauren umreiſſen, und die berge und hügel, und die bäume der wälder, und das gras der ſelder und die früchte derſelben verderben.

43. Und ſie werden ſtandweſt geben bis nach Babel zu, vor ſolche ſtadt rüden, und dieſelbe verſtören.

44. Sie werden ſich verſammeln bey derſelben, und ſie umringen, und werden das geſtirn und allen jorn über dieſelbe ausgieſſen, und der ſtaub und rauch wird bis an den himmel hinaufſteigen, und alle nachbaren rund umher werden ſie betrauren.

45. Und die in ihr werden überbleiben, die werden denen dienen müſſen, die ſie in ſchrecken geſetzt und verſöhrt haben.

46. Und du Aſſa, die du eine geſellin biſt der hoffnung Babilons oder einerley hoffnung mit ihr. haſt, und die ihre biſt von ihrer perſon;

47. Wehe dir du elende, das du dich ihr haſt gleich ge-

macht, und deine ſücher zur hurerey gezieret haſt, auf das ſie möchten gefallen und ſich rühmen ihrer bülen, die allezeit begehrt haben mit dir hurerey zu treiben.

48. Du haſt der verhaſſeten ſtadt es nachgemacht in allen ihren wercken und auſchügen.

49. Darum ſpricht GOTT: Ich will allerley unguet über dich bringen, wittwenſchaft, armuth und hunger und ſchwertd, und die peſt; auf das deine häuſer verwüſtet werden, durch gewalt und tod.

50. Und die herrlichkeit deiner kraft ſoll als eine blume verdorren, wann die hige angehen wird, die über dich gebracht werden ſoll.

51. Du wirſt ſchwach werden wie eine arme diene, die von weibern geſchlagen und gezüchtigt iſt, das die mächtigen und bülen dich nicht werden können aufſuchen.

52. Würde ich wohl ſo gegen dich eiſern oder aus eiſer mit dir umgehen, ſpricht der Herr.

53. Wenn du nicht zu aller zeit meine anerdwählten getödet und deine hände aufgehoben hätteſt, ſie zu ſchlagen, und nicht, da du trunken waereſt über ihren tod, geſagt hätteſt:

54. Schmachte nun die ſchönheit deines angeſichts.

55. Der lohn deiner hurerey iſt in deinem ſchoos: Darum ſollt du vergeltung empfangen.

56. Wie du meinen anerdwählten thuſt, ſpricht der Herr, alſo wird dir GOTT auch thun, und dich dem unglück übergeben.

57. Alſo das deine kinder ſollen hungers ſterben, du aber wirſt durchs ſchwertd fallen, und deine ſtädte werden zerſöhrt werden, und alle die belagten werden in dem ſeld durchs ſchwertd fallen.

58. Und die auf den bergen ſind, werden hungers ſterben, und ihr eigen fleiſch eſſen, und blut trinken, vor hunger nach brodt und durſt nach waffer.

59. O unglückſelige, du wirſt übers meer weichen, und da wird dir wiederum viel übels begegnen!

60. Und im durch- oder ſürüber-ziehen werden ſie die zerſchlagene ſtadt in ſtücke zerſtoſſen, und ein theil deines landes verwüſten, und ein theil von deiner herrlichkeit austrotten, und alſo zu dem zerſtörten Babilon wiederkehren.

61. Und wann du darnieder geworffen biſt, ſo wirſt du thuen ſeyn wie eine ſoppel, und ſie werden dir ein feuer ſeyn.

62. Und ſie werden dich verſehren, und werden deine ſtädte, dein land und deine berge, auch alle deine wälder und fruchtbare bäume, mit feuer verbrennen.

63. Deine söhne oder kinder werden ſie gefangen weg-führen, und deine ſchätze oder einkünfte werden ſie zum raub machen, und die herrlichkeit deines angeſichts werden ſie zunicht machen.

Das 16. Capitel.

Fortſetzung der Gerichts-Verthänigung Eſra, wie ſich die Glanbs-ten darant zuverhalten.

1. Wehe dir Babilon und Aſſen! Wehe dir Egypten und Sarien?

2. Siehet ſich und härene ſteher an, beweinet rare kinder, und trauert! Denn euer antgang iſt nahe.

3. Ein ſchwertd iſt über euch geſandt: Und wer iſt, der es abwende?

4. Ein feuer iſt über euch angeſetzt: Und wer iſt, der es auslöſche?

5. Viel unglück iſt über euch geſandt: Und wer iſt, der es zurück treibe?

zergehen, und die clemente vor hiße zerschmelzen werden.

13. Wir warten aber * eines neuen himmels, und einer neuen erden nach seiner verheißung, in welchen gerechtigkeit wohnet.

*Eph. 6, 17. c. 66, 22. Offenb. 21, 1.

14. Darum, meine lieben, * dieweil ihr darauf warten sollet, so thut fleiß, daß ihr vor ihm umbesflecht und s unsträfflich im friede erkunden werdet.

* 1 Thess. 3, 13. † 1 Cor. 1, 8.

15. Und die * gedult unsers Herrn achtet für eure seligkeit; als auch unser lieber bruder Paulus, nach der weisheit, die ihm gegeben ist, euch geschrieben hat. * Röm. 2, 4. † Pet. 3, 20.

Ende der zweyten Epistel St. Petri.

16. Wie er auch in allen briefen davon redet, in welchen sind etliche dinge schwer zu verstehen, welche verwirren die ungelehrigen und leichfertigen, wie auch die andern schriften, zu ihrem eigenen verdammniß.

17. Ihr aber, meine lieben, weißt ihr das zuvor, so * verwahrt euch, daß ihr nicht durch irthumb der ruchlosen leute, samt ihnen verführet werdet, und entfallt aus eurer eigenen bestung.

* Marc. 13, 5. 9. 33.

18. Wachset aber in der gnade und erkenntniß unsers Herrn und heilandes Jesu Christi. Demselbigen sey ehre, nun und zu ewigen zeiten. Amen.

Die erste Epistel St. Johannes.

Das I. Capitel.

Von Christi Person, seinem geoffenbarten Wort und von wahrer Buße.

Das da * von anfang war, das wir gehört haben, das wir gesehen haben mit unsern augen, das wir beschauet haben, und unsere * hände betastet haben, vom wort des lebens. * Joh. 1, 1. † Joh. 1, 14.

** Luc. 24, 39.

2. (Und das * leben ist erschienen; und wir haben es gesehen, und zeugen und verkündigen euch das leben, das ewig ist, welches † war bey dem Vater, und ist uns erschienen.) * Joh. 1, 4. † Joh. 1, 1.

3. Was wir gesehen und gehört haben, das verkündigen wir euch, auf daß auch ihr mit uns gemeinschaft habt, und unsere gemeinschaft sey mit dem Vater, und mit seinem sohn, Jesu Christo.

4. Und solches schreiben wir euch, auf daß * eure freude völlig sey. * Joh. 15, 11. c. 16, 22.

5. Und das ist die verkündigung, die wir von ihm gehöret haben, und euch verkündigen, * daß Gottes ein licht ist, und in ihm ist keine finsterniß. Joh. 8, 12.

6. So wir sagen, daß wir gemeinschaft mit ihm haben, und wandeln im finsterniß, so lügen wir, und thun nicht die wahrheit.

7. So wir aber im licht wandeln, wie Er im licht ist, so haben wir gemeinschaft unter einander, und * das blut Jesu Christi, seines sohns, macht uns rein von aller sünde. * 1 Pet. 1, 19. Ebr. 9, 14. Offenb. 1, 5. c. 7, 14.

8. So wir sagen, wir * haben keine sünde, so verführen wir uns selbst, und die wahrheit ist nicht in uns. * Eph. 20, 9.

9. So wir aber * unsere sünde bekennen, so ist er † treu und gerecht, daß er uns die sünde vergibt, und reiniget uns von aller ungenug.

* Eph. 28, 13. † 1 Thess. 5, 24. x.

10. So wir sagen, wir haben nicht gesündigt, so machen wir ihn zum lügner, und sein wort ist nicht in uns.

Das 2. Capitel.

Von des Christenthams Grund, Kennzeichen, Inhalt und Ende, Feinden und Erhaltung.

Meine kindlein, solches schreibe ich euch, auf daß ihr nicht sündigt. Und ob jemand sündigt, so haben wir einen * fürsprecher bey dem Vater, Jesum Christ, der gerecht ist. * Röm. 8, 34. Ebr. 7, 25. c. 9, 24.

2. Und derselbige ist die * versöhnung für unsere sünde; nicht allein aber für die unsere, sondern auch für der ganzen welt.

* Col. 1, 20. x.

3. Und an dem merken wir, daß wir ihn kennen, so wir seine gebote halten.

4. Wer da saget, ich kenne ihn, und hält seine gebote nicht, der ist ein lügner, und in solchem ist keine wahrheit.

5. Wer aber sein wort hält, in solchem ist wahrlich die liebe Gottes vollkommen. Daran erkennen wir, daß wir in ihm sind. * Joh. 14, 21. 23.

6. Wer da saget, daß er in ihm bleibet, der soll auch wandeln, gleichwie Er gewandelt hat. * Joh. 15, 4-5.

7. Brüder, ich schreibe euch * nicht ein neu gebot, sondern das alte gebot, das ihr habt von anfang gehabt.

Plate 28. Page showing beginning of 1 John in 1776 Saur Bible (AHC copy); compare Plate 20 for the same page from the 1763 Saur Bible.

THE ADVENTIST HERITAGE CENTER, AND A TRIBUTE TO ITS FIRST CURATOR

AUSS has periodically published articles dealing with rare source materials in the Adventist Heritage Center in the James White Library of Andrews University. The immediately preceding article in this issue is the latest example, and more will be forthcoming.

The purpose of the present brief note is to describe in very general terms the history and nature of the Center and to give tribute to the person who, more than anyone else, has made the Center a true archive and depository for a substantial quantity of rare and irreplaceable materials. This is Louise Dederen, whose service as curator spanned a quarter of a century, from 1966 to 1991. The *AUSS* editorial staff owes her a debt of gratitude for the assistance she has given us on numerous occasions.



LOUISE DEDEREN

While the Seminary was located in Washington, DC (prior to its two-stage move to Berrien Springs in 1959 and 1960), various materials pertaining to Adventist history and heritage were collected and a number of other valuable items acquired. Included in the latter category are two tracts by Martin Luther dated 1520, which had been purchased for the Seminary by LeRoy Edwin Froom during the 1940s. In the early 1960s the accumulation of rare documents was significantly increased, and although such materials were placed in the James White Library (mainly in a small closet-like "heritage" room in the basement), the Library had no proper "special collections" section. Nor was there any efficient procedure for making the resources available to qualified readers and researchers. A growing concern over this situation led the University administration in 1966 to develop the small basement quarters into a "Heritage-Room" archive which would be open to the public. Mrs. Mary Jane Mitchell, the Library Director, hired Mrs. Dederen to take charge of organizing the materials and enlarging the holdings.

For more than a decade this facility was indeed a "room," for aside from a limited amount of additional space for stacks, storage, and display cabinets, all functions of the new archive were cared for in just one room. Not only did Mrs. Dederen make the operations of this room very efficient in spite of the cramped conditions, but she also exercised an extraordinary capacity for reaching out to acquire further valuable materials—so much so, in fact, that there was a phenomenal growth in the resources. Although during its first decade of existence, the archive obtained a limited amount of additional space, the need for a substantial amount of further space soon became serious, even desperate. Fortunately, when the library building was enlarged in 1978, the facility benefited by having its floor space more than doubled (from 1,639 square feet to 4,089 square feet). Modest further expansion occurred during the next several years, including the addition of a 21-by-20-foot room made available when the Institute of Archaeology and the Archaeological Museum (now the Horn Archaeological Museum) moved, in 1982, to a three-story building more appropriate for its varied functions. In 1987, the Heritage Room was appropriately renamed the "Adventist Heritage Center."

This Center currently occupies a 5,195-square-foot section on the basement floor of the James White Library's south wing. Now sufficiently spacious to accommodate a variety of operations, the Center has a reception and office area; several display areas; expanded quarters for document files, and for regular stacks that now include two units of electrically movable compact shelving; a 770-square-foot fireproof vault

containing two further units of electrically movable compact shelving; and a reading room that presently has eight carrels, five desks, and a large reading table.

The display facilities include the George B. Suhrie Bible Room, which is used for displays of various Bibles and other religious publications (from among the items in a large Bible collection donated by Suhrie himself, and from among similar materials provided by other donors or acquired by purchase). Another room houses a number of artifacts having special importance in Adventist history (such as the sextant and the two-volume log-book from the ship *Pitcairn*, a vessel used in the nineteenth century for missionary work in the South Pacific), and a collection of Adventist evangelistic advertisements, props, etc., spanning some 150 years.

Among items of considerable general interest (in addition to the materials already mentioned) are several extremely valuable Bibles or Bible sections, such as those donated by Dr. Chester J. Gibson from his Wurker Collection (see the opening paragraph of the preceding article in this issue of *AUSS*), and an excellent copy of the complete first part of the first edition of Martin Luther's German translation of the OT (the Pentateuch, 1523). The latter was received as a gift from Mr. and Mrs. James C. Trefz of Silver Spring, Maryland, who subsequently also provided most of the funds for the purchase of a collection of some forty Reformation-era tracts (more than half of them by Luther and the rest by his contemporaries). Further items of interest are a copy of the first Dutch edition of the proceedings of the Council of Dort, which I had been able to secure, and three volumes of a four-volume Latin Bible containing Nicholas de Lyra's commentary, and published in Strassburg in 1492.

Among the Center's other holdings of considerable importance are a substantial collection of books, pamphlets, magazine and newspaper clippings, etc., on "Women in Church and Society," which was provided, and is continually updated, by Leona Glidden Running, Seminary Professor Emerita of Biblical Languages; and collections of source documents, such as those accumulated by LeRoy Edwin Froom in preparing his massive four-volume *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1946-1954). In addition, the Center has issues of almost all Adventist periodicals printed in numerous printing houses throughout Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, North America, and South America. In many cases, the periodical runs are complete.

In the early 1970s, when the Theological Seminary and School of Education of Andrews University began offering doctoral programs, a

decision was reached to assemble in the Center a complete set of Ph.D., Th.D., and Ed.D. dissertations written by students in those schools. Although the James White Library has copies of such dissertations in various other locations, this is its only location where a complete set is available in the same place. Also kept in the Center are numerous lesser theses, research projects, and research papers covering a wide array of topics in religion, education, social studies, the humanities, the history of religions, and missiology.

Reference must be made here to Mrs. Dederen's valiant effort to secure collections that are as complete as possible of published works by Andrews University faculty, an endeavor in which she fared especially well with regard to teachers in the areas of special interest to *AUSS*. During her tenure she also brought together the largest extant collection of Adventist hymnals and enhanced the Center's visual-aid holdings. Among the latter is a set of more than 500 color slides of Reformation sites prepared by Jacques Frei, Mrs. Dederen's brother-in-law, who resides in Switzerland and is an especially knowledgeable and experienced guide for Reformation tours.

Since her retirement on July 1, 1991 (concurrently with that of her husband, Dr. Raoul Dederen, as Seminary Dean and Professor of Systematic Theology), Louise Dederen's successor, Jim Ford, has continued the work that she began. To him, too, we owe a debt of gratitude for his help to, and support of, *AUSS*. We thank him especially for the assistance that he has given for the current issue of *AUSS* by making readily available, on several occasions, the three Saur Bibles featured in the preceding article.

In closing, I must reiterate that Mrs. Dederen's achievements during her twenty-five years of pioneer service as curator of the Heritage Room and of its successor, the Adventist Heritage Center, are immeasurable. Ford reports that even in the year of her retirement, she spent a great deal of time in the "collecting and partial organization of personal collections and other miscellaneous series of records" (from Ford's Adventist-Heritage-Center "Annual Report" for 1991). Shortly before her retirement, her outstanding work was given special recognition when, on February 24, 1991, she received the John Nevins Andrews Medallion, the University's highest faculty award for academic excellence and noteworthy service.

We at *AUSS* are deeply indebted to Louise Dederen for the outstanding service that she has rendered to our journal. In my own behalf and in behalf of the editorial staffs, both past and present, who have so richly benefited from her quarter of a century of curatorship of the special collections of the James White Library, I say "Congratulations, Louise," and "Many, many, many THANKS."

Kenneth A. Strand

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

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THE SIGNS OF THE PAROUSIA: A DIACHRONIC AND COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE APOCALYPTIC VOCABULARY OF MATTHEW 24:27-31

Author: Ki Kon Kim, Ph.D., 1994

Adviser: Robert M. Johnston

The purpose of this study is to attempt to find continuity and discontinuity in the use of the apocalyptic vocabulary in Matt 24:27-31 with that of the apocalyptic vocabulary in Matt 24:27-31 with that of the apocalyptic literature by tracing its possible literary allusions or parallels.

Chapter 1 states the problems concerning Matt 24:27-31, as well as the purpose and limitation of the study; reviews relevant literature; describes methodology and procedures used; and surveys the ancient sources which witness to the apocalyptic traditions which may be assumed to be related to the passage.

Chapter 2 explores the term "Parousia" in order to grasp the meaning of the Matthean Parousia.

The purpose of chapter 3 is to trace the trajectory of the six apocalyptic vocabulary items of Matt 24:29-31. It attempts to find the genealogy of each apocalyptic vocabulary item of the Matthean Parousia signs, and to discover continuity and discontinuity with antecedents by tracing the trajectory. Thus, all apocalyptic terms or word groups of Matt 24:29-31 are studied in the light of the Old Testament, the Jewish Apocalyptic literature, the New Testament, the Qumran texts, and the rabbinic literature.

Chapter 4 attempts to synthesize a combined trajectory based on the outcome of chapter 3, and to find the place of Matt 24:27-31 in the apocalyptic tradition. The continuity and discontinuity of Matt 24:27-31 with possible antecedent traditions are analyzed along with the functions of the peculiar Matthean apocalyptic terms in the Matthean Parousia scene.

Chapter 5 summarizes the results and lays out the conclusions of the study. It is that the apocalyptic vocabulary of Matt 24:27-31 has a unique place and function in the apocalyptic tradition. Matthew's Christian perspective is the source of his creativity. Two main elements which are distinguished in Matt 24:27-31 are the Christocentric eschatology and Matthew's intention to make the Parousia of Jesus vivid and dramatic by inserting his peculiar apocalyptic terms into each scene of the Parousia.

THE MICROSTRUCTURE OF REVELATION 4-11

Author: Ekkehardt Müller, Ph.D., 1994

Adviser: Jon Paulien

The purpose of this dissertation is to carry out a microstructural analysis of Rev 4-11 which is one of the essential procedures in an accurate exegesis of the Apocalypse.

Chapter 1 of this study deals with the method of analysis. A brief review of literature is presented. The study of modern contributions to the macrostructure and especially to the microstructure of the Apocalypse paves the way for a description of the present investigator's methodology.

The second chapter concentrates on the syntactical display of Rev 4-11. First, a detailed description of sigla and other techniques is given to allow the reader to understand the details of the syntactical display. Then, the full syntactical display of Rev 4-11 is offered.

In spite of a strict methodology, it is here and there possible to display certain phrases in different ways. In cases like these, a decision must be taken as to which possible arrangement is the best option. In the first section of chapter 3, the proposed method is applied to Rev 4 as a test case. The reader is walked through this passage so that the process involved in creating a syntactical display can become clear. In a second section, this study wrestles with the ambiguities of Rev 5-11. The arguable choices made in the syntactical display of Rev 5-11 are justified.

Chapter 4 is designed to observe microstructural features of Rev 4-11. Surface structures of verses and small passages are presented. Verbal and structural similarities between sections are pointed out. Charts are employed. Furthermore, implications for interpretation and macrostructure are presented.

Three appendices are provided to enhance further study. Appendix A contains the syntactical display of the entire Book of Revelation. Appendix B lists the vocabulary of Revelation in a kind of concordance in order to facilitate a fast reading of the tables which contain only numbers and no references to texts. Appendix C furnishes tables which compare the vocabulary of the main parts of Revelation with each other.

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF DANIEL 9:24-27

Author: Brempong Owusu-Antwi. Ph.D., 1994

Advisor: Gerhard F. Hasel

This study attempted to investigate the chronological issues of Dan 9:24-27. Its main objective was to provide an interpretation based upon textual, linguistic, literary, grammatical-syntactical, structural, and contextual study of the major terms and expressions in Dan 9:24-27.

Chapter 1 surveys the chronological interpretations of Dan 9:24-27. Four major schools of interpretation emerged (Historical-Messianic Interpretation, Historical-Critical Interpretation, Futurist-Dispensational Interpretation, and Symbolic-Amillennialist Interpretation) under the main categories of continuous and noncontinuous interpretations. Major chronological issues emerged from these interpretations and set the stage for this study.

Chapter 2 examines major Hebrew expressions and terms that affect chronology (*šābū'im šil'im*, *nehtak*, *dābār*, *l'hāših w'libnôt*, *tāšub w'nibn' tāh*, *r'hôh w'hārûs*, *māšiah*, *nāgîd*, *brîl*). The term *dābār*, determines the *terminous a quo* of the Seventy Weeks to be computed continuously and sequentially, and is itself contextually defined by three pairs of parallel terms, namely, (1) *l'hāših w'libnôt*, "to restore and to build," which designates political "restoration" and physical "rebuilding" of Jerusalem; (2) *tāšub w'nibn' tāh*, "it shall be restored and be built," which provides comparative support for the first word pair, and (3) *r'hôh w'hārûs*, "square and decision-making," which stresses further that the "word" is about the restoration of Jerusalem as a religio-political self-governing entity with the rights to judicial decision-making. The three expressions, "Messiah, the Prince" (v. 25), "Messiah" (v. 26a), and "Prince" (v. 26b), refer contextually and structurally to the same personality.

Chapter 3 investigated the historical-chronological correlates of the events stipulated in Dan 9:24-27. The decree of Artaxerxes I given to Ezra is the only *terminus a quo* that fits the stipulations of the text of Dan 9:25 and the chronological outline of Dan 9:24-27. The events of the "seventieth week" relate to the Messiah and are properly fulfilled by Jesus Christ.

Finally, a summary and conclusions bring together the various chronological issues of Dan 9:24-27. This study has provided new evidence that shows that the Historicist-Messianic interpretation emerges from the text as the viable view for the chronology of the passage.

DEATH BEFORE THE SIN OF ADAM: A FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPT IN THEISTIC EVOLUTION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY

Author: Marco T. Terreros, Ph.D., 1994

Adviser: Miroslav Kiš

Charles Darwin establishes theoretically that evolution cannot operate without struggle and death. Therefore, evolution presupposes the presence of death on earth for aeons prior to the appearance of *homo sapiens*. This means, for theistic evolution, that a long history of death preceded the appearance of Adam, implying that death is not connected to Adam's sin. The purpose of the dissertation is to discover how this latter notion impacts evangelical theology with respect to the atonement and other areas in terms of possible theological implications.

After reviewing the literature on the topic in chapter 1, the dissertation discusses the historical background (chapter 2) showing that the problem has been pondered by thinkers throughout the Intertestamental and the Christian eras. The survey in chapter 3 shows that the concept of death before Adam's sin is currently being advocated, among others, by evangelical scholars in North America, and that in so doing, evangelical scholarship has been influenced by theistic evolution.

Chapter 4 examines the biblical data concerning the problem in the light of contemporary biblical scholarship. It surveys the relationship between human sin and death in the world of nature in the Old Testament, and offers exegetical considerations on New Testament passages, particularly in the Pauline corpus, where a cause-effect connection between sin and death seems to be prominent.

Chapter 5 critically analyzes scholarly affirmations of death prior to the Fall, which result in serious problems for evangelical theology. This is the case, above all, with the evangelical theology of the atonement because the concept of death before sin undermines the biblical cause-effect connection between sin and death thus challenging the basis for Christ's work of atonement understood in a substitutionary sense. Other important theological areas negatively impacted include the goodness of God and the goodness of the creation, the authority of Scriptures, the doctrine of humanity, and eschatology.

The dissertation concludes (chapter 6), that the theological implications in these areas are of such significance that the concept of death before sin cannot be incorporated within evangelical theology without altering the soundness and theological integrity of the system.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bierling, Neal. *Giving Goliath His Due: New Archaeological Light on the Philistines*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992. 281 pp. \$14.95.

Bierling's book is a popular, almost conversational, introduction to the archaeological study of those known to us from the Bible as "Philistines." Its value is not limited to the "armchair archaeologist"—Bierling's self-announced target readership (21)—but is also a worthwhile introduction for the Bible student, the anthropologist, or the historian. Although the writing style of the book is not "scholarly," it does, however, presuppose a basic understanding of archaeological terminology and methodology.

Following a review of Philistine history from the Bible and a detailed look at the excavation of Tel Miqne (which becomes his primary source), Bierling devotes the next six chapters of his text to a spiraling presentation of biblical history, relating the current archaeological understanding of culture at specific sites. Primarily centering on the "five" cities: Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron (Tel Miqne), Gath (Tell es-Safi), and Gaza (Tell Harube), he also includes a handful of additional sites such as Timnah (Tel Batash) and Ziklag (either Tel Sera' or Tel Halif) and Beth-Shan, as well as numerous peripheral sites. Conclusions and endnotes (which enable access to Bierling's sources) precede 13 pages of bibliography, including many 1990-1991 entries. Two indices (subject and Scripture) provide easy reference access. Errata are minimal and limited mainly to typographical errors. Graphics include 37 photos, 8 illustrations, 9 maps, 14 plans and reconstructions, and 2 tables.

Arguing that the name "Philistine" is used in a sociopolitical manner in the Bible rather than ethnically or linguistically (23), Bierling uses it sociopolitically in his analysis. With this starting point, Bierling also tips his methodological hand: *Giving Goliath His Due* is about a biblically-identified people, not an archaeologically-identified one. Bierling relies on a textual source (the Bible) for his historical framework. In fact, as Bierling repeatedly admits (109-110, 151-152, 181; cf. 69, 224), to date there is very little evidence of even a "Philistine" language. This means there are no signs saying, "Biblical Philistines lived here," nothing with Goliath's name on it, not even absolute identification of many "Philistine" sites. It is by implication and general scholarly agreement that the connection between these people on the coast of the Levant and the biblical Philistines is made.

Drawing from inscriptions at Karnak, Medinet Habu, and the Merneptah Stele, as well as excavations at Ashdod and Ashkelon, Bierling makes two basic points about the origin and dating of these people accepted as Philistines: (1) They were from the general Aegean area; (2) they were (during the reign of Egyptian Pharaoh Rameses III, ca. 1175 B.C.) part of the second of two waves of "Sea Peoples" who began entering the Levant

during the 13th century B.C. (53-58, 97-105), with the total migration occurring over about 50 years (126). However, while accepting the evidence of the Egyptian inscriptions, Bierling rightly points out that there is no absolute connection between the people mentioned in those inscriptions and the biblical five-cited empire dominated by the sociopolitical people called "Philistines," that such a relationship is only "likely" (23).

In the process of doing his archaeological analysis, Bierling remains a friend of the text. He does seek alternative interpretations where he thinks it necessary. In standard fashion, he attributes the reference to "Philistines" in the book of Genesis (10:13-14) either to "an early wave of raiders" or to "a copyist" who "added or substituted" the name (24, cf. 66, 92). Bierling defends the text in his treatment of the issue of Israel's reliance on Philistines for metal-working (1 Sam 13:19-22). He details the difficulties of producing high-quality iron weapons (higher heat, complicated technology, etc.), thus supporting the plausibility of the text's claim to Israel's lack in this area. He argues that Zech 9:5-7 (which predicts the future destruction of Ashkelon, Gaza, Ekron, and Ashdod) must predate Zechariah's ministry, since the cities of Ashdod and Ekron were destroyed well before 520 B.C. (244)—a claim for Zech 9-14, long held by higher critical scholars on other grounds. Bierling also indicates that the archaeological record does not show that the Philistines retook Timnah during Ahaz's reign, as stated in "2 Chr 29" (184; he evidently refers to Chap. 28); but there is an inherent problem in trying to archaeologically deny such an ephemeral event, especially since the site has not been comprehensively excavated.

How, then, does Bierling measure up to his stated goal of providing the "armchair archaeologist" the "archaeological evidence" for the Philistines and illuminating the "biblical world" (21)? He devotes half the body of his text to analysis of archaeological sites, including a discussion of particular discoveries from Tel Mique. Notably, these include a new pottery type (Mycenaean IIIc:1b) now verified at Ashdod; the superabundance of horned incense altars, following the analysis of Seymour Gitin (221-224); and, of course, the unexpected and extensive olive oil production installations present at the site during the period of Assyrian occupation (217-221). In spite of this, much of Bierling's text (large sections of many pages and most of pp. 205-245) is a running explanation of international conflicts that embroiled the Levant. This discussion may be desirable for thoroughness, but it is not "new archaeological light" on the Philistines, as the book's subtitle promises. His analyses of particular recurring scriptural issues are not new. His sketch of the formation of the "Sea Peoples" and their migrations is a popularization of current archaeological thought on the matter, but is not innovative. The only "new light" Bierling provides is a few archaeological fragments which provide detail, but certainly do not alter the broad strokes defining the biblical Philistine picture.

Bierling promised to "give Goliath his due" by providing "new archaeological light" which, based on his conclusion (249), the reader may expect to be the vindication of the moral character of a maligned people. The whole subject of Philistine religion is touched only briefly and tangentially when discussing the loss of the Ark and the context of Saul's disgrace at Beth-Shean. There is lacking a general treatment of Philistine city-planning/military fortifications. What of food-gathering? Domestic life? International economy? Bierling has de-emphasized major segments of Philistine life. What Bierling has provided is a pageant of current fashion, or, when advocating a 13th-century Exodus (92, 94), retention of a bit of that which is passing out of vogue.

The preceding appraisal may give the impression that this book is unsatisfactorily flawed, but such is not the case. *Giving Goliath His Due* may not be groundbreaking, but it remains an up-to-date summary and synthesis. It is a valuable, well-written contribution to the literature on the biblical Philistines, and will no doubt find significant use as a classroom text and personal study tool.

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RALPH E. HENDRIX

Bosman, H. L., I. G. P. Gous, and I. J. J. Spangenberg, eds. *Plutocrats and Paupers: Wealth and Poverty in the Old Testament*. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik, 1991. 265 pp. \$16.60.

This collection of essays is the outcome of a decision by a number of South African Hebrew Scripture scholars to engage in social dialogue focusing on poverty and wealth.

With the narrative of Naboth's vineyard (1 Kings 21) serving as base text, the volume is structured into five sections. The first is statistical in intent, focusing (in a limited form) on poverty in selected parts of the Western/Northern world and the Two-Thirds World. It also attempts to suggest a definition of faith as well as to articulate sound hermeneutical principles.

The second section takes the reader on a journey through centuries of biblical interpretation, working backwards from contemporary black theology and prosperity reading, via the historical-critical as well as the historical-grammatical methods, to the typological, allegorical, and other early methods of interpretation used in Christendom.

Section 3 lays out the historical, geographical, cultural, political, and religious background of Israelite existence, while the fourth section traces poverty and wealth from premonarchical times to the postexilic period. The final section reviews the substance of the book and presents a brief statement of the relevance of Naboth's episode to South Africa.

Bosman, Gous, and Spangenberg must be commended for their efforts to bring together this volume of essays which recognizes that if the Scriptures are to be understood properly, the existential questions of the contemporary reading community cannot be ignored. Thus, introducing the book with a demographic and statistical study is an absolutely brilliant approach, allowing us to put on South African lenses and see the text through the eyes of that world. However, the explicit intention of the editors to "start a dialogue" on wealth and poverty in South Africa from a biblical perspective is hardly accomplished. Very little is done to make that integration or to engage in extrapolation for South Africa or the rest of the Third World's poor.

One wishes that the South African situation had been the strength of the book. Instead, the volume is a description of various exegetical methods applied in regard to the issue throughout the centuries, and that may be its strongest contribution. These methods are sketched out objectively, with an evaluation of their strengths and weaknesses, each model being illustrated with the narrative of the confrontation of Naboth and the Ahab-Jezebel hierarchy. The one possible flaw of this section, however, may be its construction and, consequently, its content. The essays begin with present models and tunnel back to New Testament exegetical methods. One wonders if it would not have been more profitable to do the reverse, tunneling from the few interpretive techniques of Primitive Christianity to the numerous and diverse approaches of the late twentieth century. The structure adopted by the book allows the editors to treat the structural method of the 1970s and black theological perspective as the only new approach. It is surprising, therefore, that social science criticism is ignored in the methodological discussion. And even the excellent sociohistorical, sociopolitical, and sociojudicial descriptions at other places in the book do not compensate for the omission of this new critical approach to the biblical text and world view.

Plutocrats and Paupers, nevertheless, can be highly recommended both for personal study and as a handy resource for group study. The numbered paragraphs allow for easy reference in discussion and dialogue. It is, indeed, an excellent book by brilliant authors. What a pity there are no biographical notations of either the editors or the individual authors!

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PEDRITO U. MAYNARD-REID

Brueggemann, Walter. *Old Testament Theology: Essays on Structure, Theme, and Text*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992. xviii + 307 pp. \$16.95.

In this book, Walter Brueggemann, the well-known Old Testament commentator and theologian, has assembled fifteen of his essays (all but one of which have appeared previously in various journals and volumes) dealing with Old Testament theology. Along with other prominent scholars, such as Claus Westermann, Samuel Terrien, and Paul Hanson, the author thinks that Old Testament theology should be organized around a dialectic, two emphases that live in apparently irresolvable tension, rather than around a single theme or motif.

The first two chapters detail the primary dialectic around which Brueggemann feels an Old Testament theology should be formed. The author labels the dominant pole in his bipolar scheme common or contractual theology, a belief which was prevalent in other ancient Near Eastern societies. It assumes an ordered world under the governance of a sovereign God and is basically a theology of retribution, in which God rewards those who please Him and punishes those who don't. Expressed in the Sinai covenant, the Deuteronomic theology, the prophetic books, and the wisdom materials, this common theology legitimates current political authority because it is supportive of *status quo*.

However, according to the author, the Old Testament also contains a sustained critique of this contractual theology which constitutes the other pole in his dialectic. The main issue in this critique is the embrace of pain and is found in such places as the lament psalms and the confessions of Jeremiah. This embrace-of-pain theology protests the disorder and pain present in the world and disputes the thinking that life is essentially contractual and that all pain is punishment for disobeying God. Rather, pain is an essential part of Israel's experience, of its dialogue with God, and of God's own experience. Instead of legitimating structure and authority, this embrace-of-pain theology is capable of undermining and transforming them.

In subsequent chapters, Brueggemann demonstrates how such an approach is applied to Old Testament ethics (chaps. 3-4). He also speaks of a convergence in recent Old Testament theologies (chaps. 5-6) and elaborates on other dialectics present in the text (related to his primary dialectic), such as the tension between the aniconic and the iconic (chap. 7) and the presence and absence of God in Israel (chap. 8). Finally, in the last six chapters he demonstrates how to apply his methodology to a variety of passages.

There is much to commend about this work. The author's focus on various texts and their theological meaning is an effective reminder that the Old Testament is essentially a theological document. He makes use of

various tools, such as sociology and rhetorical criticism, but always as these serve to understand the theological message of the text.

Brueggemann is also to be applauded for his willingness to speak of the interconnectedness and theological relationship of the Old Testament with the New. Although many modern Old Testament theologians are reluctant to make such a move, Brueggemann's view that there is a close theological connection between these two portions of Scripture is consonant with that of the Christian church down through the centuries.

Also worthy of praise is the author's recognition of the Old Testament's relevance to modern life. Not content to allow the message of the Old Testament to be considered as ancient, therefore irrelevant, he gives examples of how to apply its theological message to contemporary life (148-149). According to Brueggemann, this message challenges the structure and dominant values of our time on behalf of the God who hears the cries of the oppressed and marginalized.

Notwithstanding the obvious strengths of this volume, several weaknesses are manifest. It seems that Brueggemann's understanding of contractual theology, the dominant pole in his dialectic as demanding blind, docile obedience (28), is at best an oversimplification. In light of the fact that one of the foundational commands in Deuteronomy is to love Yahweh with all the heart, soul, and might (Deut 6:5), is not this contractual theology asking for an intelligent obedience rendered because of love? Perhaps the chasm between the poles in the author's dialectic is narrower than he appears to suggest.

Further, is it really true that contractual theology always legitimates current structure and authority, thereby supporting *status quo*? What if the current powers are not abiding by the contract, as was the case with most of the kings of Israel and Judah? It seems that contractual theology could undermine secular authority and call for its overthrow in such situations.

Moreover, in the chapters treating various passages of the Old Testament, Brueggemann's interpolations seem tendentious. This is particularly apparent in his marshalling of evidence which attempts to demonstrate that 2 Sam 21-24 would be an attempt to deconstruct an exalted royal ideology (237-246). His assertion that the two poems in this section (2 Sam 22:2-51; 23:1-7) are a challenge to the royal ideology is dubious. Also, his declaration that the catalogue of warrior heroes in 2 Sam 23:8-39 shows a democratizing tendency which works against a high royal theology tends to overlook the significance of the programmatic statement that they were the warriors "whom David had" (2 Sam 23:8), a statement which clearly places them in a subordinate role and may in fact enhance David's status. While Brueggemann's overall point that 2 Sam 21-24 is an appendix of deconstruction may be true, one gains the impression that at times he adopts certain interpretations which seem to buttress his theological point, even if the interpretations are suspect.

But overall, the author has produced a lucid, well-reasoned presentation of his thinking on the enterprise of Old Testament theology and has effectively reminded us of the centrality of the text in this enterprise. This book is recommended for all who are interested in the current status and future directions of the field.

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Clouser, Roy A. *The Myth of Religious Neutrality: An Essay on the Hidden Role of Religious Beliefs in Theories*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991. 330pp. \$39.95.

In his book, *The Myth of Religious Neutrality*, Roy A. Clouser (Associate Professor of Philosophy and Religion, Trenton State College, Trenton, NJ) presents a "radical reinterpretation of the general relations of religion, science and philosophy" (xi). Such a correlation will be hereafter referred to as a religion-science-philosophy (RSP) correlation. In the four sections of his book Clouser gives definitions of religion, theory, supporting case studies, and finally, his "biblical" theory of reality.

Section One presents Clouser's definition of religion as belief in the divine category of self-existence. Religious belief perceives the divine either as part of one continuous reality or as discontinuous with creation. This definition encompasses unconsciously believing scientists, nonworshipping ancient Egyptians, amoral Epicureans, and Hindus without belief in a Supreme Being. All persons trust in the reliability of, and in some theoretical truth about, what is held as self-existent.

Section Two defines theories as explanations subject to justification. Clouser does not separate faith and reason; rather, he distinguishes justifiable theory from religious belief. While science explains aspects of experience, and philosophy explains their relation, religious belief regulates philosophy and science. There can be no justification of self-existence. Even the denial of a self-existent ground for the universe affirms the self-existence of the universe itself. *Faith* in the self-existent is essential to knowledge.

In *Section Three*, Clouser supports his definitions by case studies on the influence of belief in mathematics, physics, and psychology.

In *Section Four* Clouser discusses four concerns as he completes his proposal for RSP correlation: 1) On the basis of his understanding of religious language, Clouser critiques the reductionist identification of the nature of reality with some aspect(s) of reality, as incoherent and pantheistic or pagan. 2) He suggests that God is self-existent Creator and Sustainer, so that all created aspects are equally real, divinely caused, subject to a cosmic framework of laws, and understood only in connectedness. 3) He gives brief

suggestions for a theory of society and the state. 4) He outlines challenges involved in developing a biblical RSP correlation. Clouser expects mixed success because of the tenacity of pagan and scholastic theories, sinful inclination, and self-deception. He also regards "fundamentalistic" assumptions as counterproductive, and denies that Scripture can provide truths for theory-making; that God acts in His providence, by intervention, as he does in His covenant; and that science and philosophy can confirm religion. Instead, Clouser seeks RSP correlation based on presuppositions which regulate theories but do not explain experience (94-107).

Clouser's biblical critique of the myth of religious neutrality in theory-making is an important contribution to the scholarly literature on RSP correlation. His broad working definitions, supported by case studies; his understanding of religious language; his critique of reductionism; and his theories about nature, society, and the state, are grounded in the biblical teaching of creation *ex nihilo*. Furthermore, Clouser's proposal of biblical RSP correlation demonstrates the real difficulties one must overcome if committed to doing thoroughly biblical theology in the contemporary theological atmosphere.

Although this reviewer has no inclination to defend the *extreme* positions usually associated with the term "fundamentalism," which, as Clouser points out, "is used in a variety of ways and is applied to many different doctrines and attitudes" (94), Clouser's distinction between the regulatory function of belief and the explanatory function of theory seems also to be *extreme*. For example, biblical teachings may provide more than "a distinct perspective which delimits a range of acceptable hypotheses" (173). In what he affirms, Clouser stands in radical contrast with those who articulate theology internally, according to a tradition, or externally, in terms of scientific theory or philosophy (see Phillip Hefner, "Theology's Truth and Scientific Formulation," *Paradigms and Progress in Theology*; Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The God Question and Modern Man*). However, in what he denies, Clouser stops short of a *thoroughly* biblical theory.

Clouser's work also leaves some questions unanswered. Can biblical Christianity be more useful for RSP correlation than other "biblical" religions? Can presupposition research be supplemented by research which uses biblical data in theory-making? Can God's creative, covenantal, and providential action provide data for scientific and philosophical theorizing?

Unless the questions above are answered negatively, Clouser's conclusion seems premature—that "it is simply a colossal error to suppose that because an event is religiously important, such as the importance of the flood to the covenant with Noah, that it must therefore be also of key importance to geology or any other science" (98). If the questions are answered affirmatively, then it may be simply a significant theoretical breakthrough to suppose that religiously important events may be of key importance to scientists and philosophers.

However, the positive contribution Clouser makes in answering objections to biblical RSP correlation need not be overshadowed by the questions raised above, and this clearly written book remains a helpful introduction to the issues involved.

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MARTIN FREDERICK HANNA

Coggins, James B. *John Smyth's Congregation: English Separatism, Mennonite Influence and the Elect Nation*. Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History. Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 1991. 232 pp. \$29.95.

In this well-documented study, James Coggins, the associate editor of the *Mennonite Brethren Herald*, provides a fascinating image not only of John Smyth's congregation but also of other Separatist groups in the Netherlands, as well as a clear description of the many strands of Anabaptism in that country at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the process he dispels many common incorrect assumptions concerning the origins of the Baptist movement.

He shows, for instance, that the members of the Gainsborough Separatists, far from being an assortment of poor and uneducated people, had a solid core of members who could read and write. Almost all of them were literate enough to sign their names to the covenant, something which was not common in those days. Furthermore, the assembly included a significant number of ministers who had left their livings because of royal repression, which explains their insistence on the use of the original biblical languages in the pulpit.

A careful study of J. Smyth's theological development, the author also reveals, proves that he had accepted believers' baptism before he came in contact with the Dutch Anabaptists. Coggins also makes a strong point to support the belief that the division between the Leiden and the Amsterdam Separatist congregations occurred in the Netherlands, as a result of theological disagreements, rather than in England because of geographical separation.

The author gives careful attention to the break between J. Smyth and T. Helwys, which was due primarily to a heated dispute on the former's compliance to a "principle of baptismal succession," which had led him to seek rebaptism by the Mennonites, after he had already rebaptized himself. Helwys, on the other hand, stressed the importance of a "spiritual succession" and rejected anything that echoed of the apostolic succession of the Catholics and the Anglicans.

For many readers, the most significant element of this book is the better understanding of the Separatist "covenant church" concept which it sets forth. At the heart of that idea is the radical commitment to follow truth

wherever it might lead. New truth, it was taught, was not "thought up" but "made known," as the author says, which led to the very important concept of the "spiritual worship," a distinctive charismatic assembly during which God could open one's eyes to new truth.

This gave a new dimension to the opposition to the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*. In order to be fully open to new light, one had to be totally freed from preconceived understandings of Scripture. The worship with the *Book of Common Prayer*, however, made it totally impossible for the preacher to convey any message from the Holy Spirit. The same negative attitude also applied to the *Geneva Bible* with its many human footnotes. In fact, spiritual worship was much more likely to happen in a small rather than a large congregation, which, to some degree, explains why Smyth's congregation never sought fellowship with the English Ancient Church in Amsterdam. It was size that caused the downfall of churches, for it made true discipline impossible.

The revelation of new truth created a testing crisis for the believers. The Separatists believed that a sincere person was certain to grasp it. To turn away from it was a willful apostasy and moral evil. They had an unshakable assurance of possessing "the truth," as far as God had revealed it so far, but the belief in progressive revelation kept them humble in the expectancy of further light.

The book also provides interesting information on the many branches of Anabaptism in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century and their beliefs. It confirms the opinion that the movement was everything but the monolithic group still painted by some church historians. While there were serious differences in theology, it is important to note that, at that time, a Mennonite consciousness was developing, which led the Frisian Anabaptists to demand that their German brethren be consulted before admitting Smyth and his followers into their ranks.

Without question this book should be required reading for all who are interested in the development of the free churches. In light of the heated battle between Calvinists and Mennonites over Smyth's dependence upon or independence from his Anabaptist contacts, which is described in the first chapter, the willingness of the Mennonite Coggins to admit that a great deal of Smyth's theological development took place in England before he left for the Netherlands is especially remarkable.

Comfort, Philip Wesley. *The Quest for the Original Text of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1992. 200 pp. \$11.95.

The Quest for the Original Text of the New Testament follows up on Comfort's earlier book concerning the impact of the earliest manuscripts on recent translations of the New Testament, a spin-off of his doctoral dissertation. The present book is a logical sequel examining the impact of the early manuscripts on the critical text of the New Testament.

Comfort's basic assertion is that modern textual criticism has moved too far in the direction of subjectivism and internal evidence in the making of text-critical decisions. He argues for a return to the principles of Westcott and Hort, giving priority to the external evidence of the best available manuscripts: the early papyri and uncial fragments where available, and B and Aleph for the rest of the NT.

Underlying Comfort's position are certain assumptions about the history of the text. He argues, first of all, that Christian scribes inherited the first-century Jewish concern for textual fidelity. The authoritative nature of NT writings would have earned them the same kind of respect accorded the LXX in Christian circles. Second, the universal presence of *nomina sacra* and the codex style indicates to him that strong controls were placed on textual transmission from the very beginning. Third, Comfort argues that the Alexandrian scriptorial heritage would have made it the prime city in all of Christendom to preserve and transmit the original text. Fourth, it is likely that the manuscripts of Egypt were typical of the text found throughout the entire Church over the first two centuries. Commerce and communication flourished in the world of the second century. The fact that second- and third-century fathers and manuscripts generally follow the "Alexandrian" form of the text is taken to support the assertion.

The pivotal event, according to Comfort, was the great persecution under Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth century. This was the first Roman persecution designed not only to destroy Christians but to eradicate their sacred text. Comfort suggests that Alexandria was hit first and hardest by the persecution. It is reasonable to assume, in that case, that faithful Christians of Alexandria fled from the persecution with copies of the sacred texts in their possession. They sought refuge in rural Egypt, in places like Oxyrhynchus, Panopolis, and the Fayum. Though the persecution followed them and many manuscripts were destroyed, some were preserved in the dry climate.

After the persecution, these manuscripts would have been used by the Alexandrians to create archetypes for fresh copies of the text. Among these fresh copies, no doubt, are the great uncials B and Aleph. The close affinity between the two great uncials and the most rigorously copied of the papyri

suggests the essential faithfulness of these early manuscripts to the original text.

Comfort further points out that, for most of the books of the NT, genuine manuscript trajectories are possible only for the Alexandrian text. The "D text" and the "western text" survive in only a few early examples and only for parts of the NT such as Luke-Acts. The Byzantine text exists not at all in the earliest period. Thus the Alexandrian text of the earliest manuscripts provides the best window onto the original text.

This unabashed call for a revival of Westcott and Hort is stimulating reading whether or not one buys into Comfort's thesis. Obviously, the ongoing debate is somewhat reminiscent of the chicken and egg controversy. Internal and external evidence for textual readings both support and challenge each other. Any solution to the problems of text criticism, therefore, inevitably comes up against the obstacle of contradictory evidence. Certitude in the face of contradictory evidence can only come by overplaying some evidence and ignoring some, a reality which Comfort cannot entirely escape.

The book is as readable as Metzger and quite up-to-date: it therefore offers an excellent overview of the text-critical field for beginning students as long as it is balanced with other sources like the Alands' book or Epp's chapter in the MacRae volume. In addition to the above discussions, Comfort offers a survey of the major papyri finds over the last hundred years, suggests manuscript "trajectories" for each book or group of books in the NT, offers specific suggestions for further amending the 26th edition of Nestle-Aland in light of the early papyri, and argues that two early papyri contain a 20-chapter first edition of the Fourth Gospel.

On the negative side, Comfort tends to make assertions, often without footnotes or evidence. He offers surprisingly early dates for a number of papyri without a great deal of supporting evidence. He is honest about certain evangelical assumptions that many readers will not hold. Nevertheless, the book is readable enough and stimulating enough to recommend it to anyone who is interested in the latest developments in the text-criticism of the New Testament.

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JON PAULIEN

Dothan, Trude and Moshe Dothan. *People of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992. 276 pp. Cloth, \$25.00.

People of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines by Trude and Moshe Dothan is a popular account of the pursuit to identify the Philistines and their material culture. Beyond this, it is the personal account of two Israeli

scholars who excavated several of the more important Philistine sites. The book is not so much a history of the Philistines as a history of the *rediscovery* of the Philistines. Its six sections contain 21 chapters which are organized into a chronological outline centering primarily on the authors' personal experiences. The text is well illustrated with 32 full-color plates, numerous line drawings, and b/w photographs.

This book is a joint work of the authors although all of its sections (except Part I) are independently authored (T. Dothan, Parts II, V, and VI; M. Dothan, Parts III and IV). Part I relates the search for an understanding of the Philistines prior to the Dothans. The remainder of the book, Parts II-VI, is written as a family account of the Dothans. Personal reflections are sprinkled throughout the book and convey details about the Dothans' life: where they met (78), their graduate degree struggles (77-78, 89), and brief synopses of their archaeological careers (88, 102, 107). The intimate tone woven in and around the Dothans' archaeological activities makes for interesting reading. In addition, in the singly authored sections the writers frequently refer to each other's ideas and work.

The individual chapters of Parts II-VI chronologically follow the archaeological careers of the Dothans: Chapter 6 records their participation at Tell Qasile; chapter 7 tells the story of Trude's dissertation; chapter 8 recalls Moshe's survey of the Sorek Valley and excavations at Afula; in chapter 9 Moshe reports of his digging of the Philistine tombs at Azor; chapter 10 records the archaeological rescue project at Tel Mor directed by Moshe; chapters 11-16 relates Moshe's excavations at Tel Ashdod; chapter 17 describes Trude's two seasons work at Athienou, Cyprus; chapter 18 tells of Trude's excavation of the tombs near Deir el-Balah; in chapter 19 Trude outlines Moshe's work at ancient Akko as it relates to the mix of Sea Peoples; chapter 20 is about the renewed excavations at Tell Qasile by Amihai Mazar and the beginnings of Trude's work on the Tel Miqne project; chapter 21 summarizes the Tel Miqne project's four seasons of excavations.

Those not yet initiated in archaeological materials will be greatly helped by the authors' clarity, the almost conversational tone of their writing, the quality of the pictures and drawings, and the limited use of technical terms. In those instances where technical jargon is used, definitions are also given (e.g., "great beehive-shaped monuments, called *tholoi*," 111; "cultic libation vessels called *kernoi*," 137; "open bowls called *kalathoi*," 201). Although these definitions are not exhaustive, they are informative and provide a sense of the "science" of archaeology.

A confusing aspect of *People of the Sea* is how it relates to other scholars who have also been involved in Philistine research. The popular audience, to whom this book is directed, may assume that, beginning in the 1940s, the Dothans were the only searchers for the Philistines. Even when other archaeologists are mentioned, the reader is left somewhat confused as to

their precise role in the specified project. For example, "Jim Swauger" is said to agree with Moshe about cancelling the proposed 1967 excavation season at Tel Ashdod (160). But who is "Jim Swauger"? The reader is required to remember that 35 pages previously (125-126), Swauger was obliquely introduced as one of the joint sponsors (along with David Noel Freedman). Their names rarely appear after their introduction, but never as joint leaders of the project. In one reference to Swauger it is even implied that he was only an area supervisor (143).

Additionally, one wonders whether others who have worked on Philistine sites (e.g., Stager at Ashkelon, Dever at Gezer) or those who have excavated other Sea Peoples sites like Trude's student Amihai Mazar, discussed in chapter 20 (e.g., Stern at Tel Dor) could have been incorporated into the text, instead of being "lost" in the "Suggestions for Further Reading" section. A possible explanation for this omission may be that *People of the Sea* is written as a personal account by the Dothans and is therefore limited to their personal experience. For clarity, one simple solution would be to change the subtitle in future editions to: "Our Search for the Philistines." Even then, I do not think a few additional pages of text summarizing the work of others would take away from the justly-deserved credit of the authors.

Despite this, *People of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines* is a well-written book with good summaries of the Dothans' archaeological work which lead the reader to an informed understanding of the Philistines. Those interested in ancient peoples, archaeology, and particularly the Dothans' contribution to the rediscovery of the Philistines, should not be without it.

Andrews University

DAVID MERLING

Dyck, Cornelius, William Keeney, and Alvin Beacy, trans. and ed. *The Writings of Dirk Philips, 1504-1568*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1992. 701 pages. \$44.95

Scholars particularly interested in Anabaptist and Mennonite studies will welcome this compendium of the works of Dirk Philips, Menno Simons' right-hand man in the Low Countries, Denmark, and Prussia. Like the previous five volumes of the Classics of the Radical Reformation series, this collection of sermons, tracts, hymns, and letters, all translated from Dutch, is a significant attempt to increase the availability of Anabaptist sources in the English language.

The editors, all Mennonites fluent in both Dutch and English, are well qualified for their task: Dyck (Ph.D., University of Chicago) taught church history at the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary in Elkhart, IN, and

directed the Institute of Mennonite Studies for 21 years; Keeney (Ph.D., Hartford Theological Seminary), who wrote his thesis on Dirk Philips and his dissertation on Dutch Anabaptist thought, served on the editorial boards of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* and *Mennonite Life*; and Beacy (Th.D., Harvard Divinity School) taught at several Mennonite colleges and published many articles, as well as two books on Anabaptist issues, before his death in 1986.

The Writings of Dirk Philips is a translation rather than a paraphrase. However, the editors have modified Philips' long sentences and divided his lengthy paragraphs for smoother reading. Philips' frequent use of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and German phrases, and his penchant for quoting Scripture in every paragraph (apart from Ruth, Jonah, Nahum, Haggai, Titus, and Philemon, every other biblical book is cited) supports the editors' claim that he was probably more erudite, though perhaps less polemical, than Simons.

Born in Leeuwarden, the Netherlands, Dirk and his brother Obbe, like Erasmus and Agricola, were the sons of a priest and his concubine. In spite of his solid Franciscan education, Dirk was converted to Anabaptism in 1533 and became a bishop in Appingdam; Obbe defected to Lutheranism. Dirk's travels took him to Cleve, Danzig, Utrecht, and Prussia, where he died in 1568 while attempting to arbitrate a quarrel between Frisian and Flemish Anabaptists. During his 35-year ministry, he baptized believers, ordained elders, healed quarrels, and banned heretics; he also wrote numerous letters, tracts, sermons, and a handbook entitled *Enchiridion*.

The present collection, which includes 26 pieces, shows that Philips was a more systematic theologian than Simons (though less warm or outgoing), and less vitriolic than Luther or Calvin. Though sometimes brittle and inflexible in controversy, Philips addresses issues rather than personalities, in a pastoral tone not unlike that of the Pauline epistles.

His Christocentric theology is best expressed in the *Enchiridion* (1564), a handbook on faith and practice. Philips believed in the Trinity, in a divine-human Christ (with "celestial flesh"), in salvation by faith in Jesus (by which humans partake of the divine nature), in footwashing and communion in both kinds as a memorial of the Lord's death, and in Christ's mediation in heaven as the fulfillment of the Old Testament Melchizedek priesthood. Like other Anabaptists, he opposed infant baptism, the sacraments, church hierarchy, religious coercion, and mixed marriages.

Perhaps Philips was most atypical in his advocacy of shunning, which he termed "evangelical separation." In order to protect his congregations from "scabby sheep," to shame the guilty into repentance, and to save the reputation of the movement (increasingly identified with the Munsterite radicals), he indeed banned many schismatics. Ironically, Philips himself died under a ban imposed in 1568 by Frisian believers who opposed his mediation efforts with Flemish dissidents.

Reading Philips' works raises several questions: In the face of external persecution, why did Anabaptists experience a tendency toward internal fission rather than fusion around their doctrinal core? Did their ethnic (Frisian/Flemish/Dutch) differences and their penchant for banning outweigh their commitment to truth? And why did persecution not make them less judgmental and more tolerant of others, as in the case of Roger Williams and the Quakers, for instance?

In closing, one notes that *The Writings of Dirk Philips* has been superbly edited; only two misspelled words and a hyphen escaped the copyreader's scrutiny. The book includes two indexes, three maps, explanatory endnotes, and an outstanding bibliography of 110 sources on Anabaptism. Perhaps wrapping its drab gray cover and black Gothic letters in a colorful dust jacket would have made this to me more appealing. But maybe this exterior plainness, like the drab Frisian dress and the simplicity of Dirk Philips' prose, best reflects the Mennonite image of a people apart from the world.

Andrews University

BRIAN E. STRAYER

Edwards, James P. *Romans*. New International Biblical Commentary. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1992. Paperback 320 pp. \$9.95.

The New International Biblical Commentary Series, edited by Ward Gasque, represents "the best of contemporary scholarship presented in a form that does not require formal theological education to understand" (ix). James Edwards, Professor of Religion at Jamestown College in North Dakota, has done a superb job to bring this goal into reality. He has a knack for summarizing succinctly and clearly different views on an issue and also for clearly setting forth where he stands. While he is obviously indebted to previous commentaries and shows a thorough grasp of current scholarship on the book of Romans, Edwards clearly has his own understanding of the meaning of the book. His readers, though laypersons, will have as good an understanding of the book of Romans as seminary graduates, except that they will not have the background in the original language to check for themselves the original wording and meaning.

Throughout the commentary Edwards writes with clarity, providing apt illustrations and striking epigrams. Note the following examples in the first chapter: Rom 1:2, "Previously he had been a Pharisee separated *from* Gentiles; now he is separated *for* them!" (28). "For Paul the gospel was not something a person possesses, but rather something which possesses him." "Jesus Christ was the goal in a long history of salvation, the anchor runner, so to speak, in the divine relay from Abraham to the day of salvation" (29). On 1:18, "God's wrath is different. It is not an arbitrary nightmare of raw power" (49).

Throughout the commentary the setting Edwards envisages for the writing of the letter is the time after the death of Claudius (A.D. 41 to 54), when the Jews were returning to Rome. This is the context for the explanation of Roman 14-15, which he sees as a conflict between Jew (the weak) and Gentile (the strong).

Most commentators on Romans project on Paul a strong negative orientation toward the law. While Edwards recognizes that righteousness does not come through works, he does not take this to mean that Paul establishes "an antithesis, or worse, hostility, between righteousness and law as he does, for example, between spirit and flesh" (99). On the other hand Paul argues "that righteousness by faith is the necessary prerequisite to fulfil the intent of the law (e.g., 8:4)" (ibid.).

While the reviewer applauds Edwards for his lively style, clarity, and ability to set forth his own and others' positions without verbiage, obviously no commentator will find complete agreement with all scholars in his interpretation. At Rom 5:12 Edwards translates "because (of death) all sinned" rather than simply "because all sinned." The context seems to indicate that the reason "all men sinned" is that one man sinned. The point of vs. 13-14, therefore, seems to be simply that even though people did not sin as consciously as Adam did, they still died. They died simply because of Adam's sin.

Rom 7 has always occasioned differences of interpretation. Edwards sets up the usual options, pre-Christian or Christian experience. He opts for the Christian-experience view. One of the problems in the interpretation of this passage seems to be the limitation to only these two positions. Paul seems to indicate three stages. The first stage is indicated in 7:8, a life apart from the law; the second stage in 7:9-10, a life in which sin comes alive, awakened by the law, and Paul dies; the third stage in 7:25-26 and 8:1-4, a life in which the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus operates "so that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us" (Rom 8:4). Rom 7:14-25 describes this second stage, technically still pre-Christian but not the pre-Christian of stage 1.

Differences in interpretation as shown above are expected and therefore do not in any way affect the quality of the book.

Other features enhance the book. There are additional notes for each chapter, which give more technical material and refer to other sources for further study, and a subject and scriptural index.

Fujita, Neil S. *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan*. New York:Paulist Press, 1991. viii + 294 pp. \$13.95.

Neil S. Fujita's *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan* is a thorough historical review of the Catholic Church's encounter with Japan. Fujita traces this encounter from 1543, when the Portuguese arrived in Kyushu, to the end of the Tokugawa shogunate and the establishment of the Meiji Era in 1867.

In the early years of the Catholic mission to Japan, Francis Xavier and the other padres were misled to believe that Japanese religious beliefs dealing with the one creator God (Dainichi), the Trinity, paradise, hell, last judgment, devils, infant water purification, and last rites were similar to Catholic beliefs. Because of these supposed similarities, missionaries optimistically began to preach that the Japanese should worship Dainichi. However, as their language skills improved, and as they began to better understand the deeper values and meanings of Japanese religious words, the missionaries were forced to switch from saying, "Worship Dainichi" to "Don't worship Dainichi."

The early optimism gave way to a deepening sense that very little was retrievable for Christian purposes in the Japanese religions. Eventually, missionaries decided that the Japanese language would not adequately communicate God's message and therefore introduced over 50 Latin terms to convey Christian concepts and meanings. In spite of these early difficulties, by the time Xavier left Japan after ministering for only two-and-a-half years, there were already 1,000 baptized believers.

Fujita's book does an excellent job of detailing the struggles the Catholic Church went through as Francisco Cabral and others promoted a mission policy and practice reflecting a strong Eurocentric approach characterized by the absolute supremacy of Western Christianity, in which European cultural forms were slavishly followed, little regard was given to local situations and traditions, and it was even suggested that the study of the Japanese language was a waste of time. Fortunately, Cabral's confrontational approach to the Japanese was replaced by a policy of adaptation as promoted by Visitor-General Alessandro Valignano, who oversaw the Japanese mission from 1574 until his death in 1606. Under Valignano, the learning of Japanese was zealously stressed, padres were encouraged to live as the Japanese did, schools were established to train Japanese Christian workers, catechisms were prepared, and the promise was held out that the leadership of the Catholic Church in Japan would eventually be turned over to the Japanese Christians. As a result, the number of believers increased, so that by 1583 there were 200 congregations and 150,000 Christians.

Then came the persecutions. Fujita again provides a comprehensive look at the factors and circumstances which caused the fierce persecutions under

the Tokugawa Bakufu, leading to a quasi-total elimination of most vestiges of Christianity from Japanese culture.

The Epilogue alone is worth the price of the book, for in it Fujita insightfully sums up the reasons for the initial success, as well as later rejection and uprooting, of Christianity from Japanese culture. Fujita suggests that the reason Christianity has been unable to take root in the swamp of Japan is that throughout the history of the Catholic mission to Japan the missionaries were either exclusivists or inclusivists. The exclusivists saw no redeeming value in the Japanese religions and felt that "the Catholic Church was the only vehicle which the true God would use to teach the absolute truth to the world" (271). On the other hand, the inclusivists felt that there was partial truth in the Japanese religions but that Christianity held the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Fujita suggests that these two approaches failed and suggests a dialogical approach in which missionaries would interact with people of other religions from a perspective that "does not uncritically presuppose one particular religious persuasion to be superior to other religious traditions" (272). Fujita feels that such neutrality is needed to enter into meaningful and sincere dialogue and would also enrich the faith and beliefs of the missionaries as they gain new insights from their encounter with other religious traditions.

That missionaries should shed their ethnocentrism, learn the language and culture of the target people, and adopt their cultural ways is commendable. Some Japanese traditions and practices may, indeed, better illustrate Biblical principles than do Western ones. However, Fujita seems to suggest a dialogical approach to missions apart from a commitment to the importance of revelation and the universality of Biblical principles. Although dialogical approach would be very acceptable to the Japanese, who have long believed that all paths lead to God, would not giving up our belief that Christianity is a revealed religion undermine the whole mission enterprise?

Andrews University

BRUCE L. BAUER

Garrett, Duane. *Rethinking Genesis: The Sources and Authorship of the First Book of the Pentateuch*. Baker Book House, MI: Grand Rapids, 1991. 273 pp. \$11.95.

In his book *Rethinking Genesis: The Sources and Authorship of the First Book of the Pentateuch*, Duane Garrett follows the trend of many other evangelical scholars engaged in active dialogue with the proponents of the historical-critical method.

But, unlike some, Garrett's tone is not polemical and proposes quite convincingly to offer a more viable alternative to the documentary hypothesis. Garrett also evaluates form-criticism and tradition-criticism, which have dominated the scholarly arena of Pentateuchal studies, and pinpoints the hypothetical inadequacies of the procedures therein used. Nevertheless, he rightly asserts that while, on the one hand, tradition-criticism, as a method, is unreliable and hence useless (36), on the other, form-criticism, *as a tool*, should not be rejected (50).

In a chapter devoted to the problems of the authorship and historical reliability of the Pentateuch, Garrett provides convincing evidence reinforcing the historicity of the Genesis stories he chooses to deal with. As for the Mosaic authorship, Garrett departs from extreme conservatives who consider that every single word of the present text is from Moses (83-84). By the same token, he rejects the dismantling of the Pentateuch by liberal scholars. Garrett presents not only a balanced view but also a valid proposal in asserting that there is no reason to reject a Mosaic authorship, without, for that matter, denying the fact that the present text "has undergone post-Mosaic redaction" (85; see also 240-241). This understanding of the redaction of Genesis is the central pivot of Garrett's book and constitutes the paradigm from which he operates.

The second part of the book is an analysis of the structure and sources of Genesis. Garrett proposes an alternative analysis of the formation of the Pentateuch which he cautiously presents as a "reasonable and workable hypothesis" (92). He suggests that the development of the text had four stages: (1) the oral transmission from one generation to another (without a prolonged oral tradition-history), (2) the preservation of the stories into complex narrative structures in written form, (3) the Mosaic redaction that gave the book its present *form*, and (4) the post-Mosaic redaction(s) which gave the book its present *shape* (91-93). Based on this hypothesis, Garrett differentiates the *toledoth* sources from the narrative sources—the latter containing independent and discrete units (100). Most of the structures—mainly thematic—presented in this section are quite convincing and corroborate Garrett's theory. Less persuasive is what the author calls the "Abraham source" because of its missing, asymmetric, and irregular correspondences (161).

The last part of the book deals primarily with the composition of Genesis. Garrett makes an attempt to reconstitute what might have been the sources behind the primeval history, emphasizing a crucial point in the debates on sources, namely, that the present text may not necessarily represent the original sources, but their witnesses (188, 197). After an overview of the different positions and interpretations of the Israelite priesthood (199-231), Garrett suggests that the history of the Levites is best understood if one views the Levites as "clerics by the people prior to the exodus" (232). This, with many other reasons, leads the author to conclude

that the exodus period is the best possible time for the redaction of the book (237).

Some of Garrett's theories remain hypothetical. For example, there is no evidence that during the sojourn in Egypt, the Levites cumulated the functions of scribe and teacher while performing at the same time some priestly duties (208)—the text of 1 Sam 2:27-28 has no conclusive element to prove this assertion (222, 227). However, one needs to say that Garrett's proposals and alternatives have, in many ways, shaken some of the very foundations of the documentary hypothesis. But, most importantly, the author has shown that there are other valid and more satisfying parameters within which one can operate.

In summary, one could say that Garrett's bold attempt to deal with the thorny problems related to the book of Genesis can be qualified as successful and deserves to be praised. Throughout his book, Garrett's ability to review and analyze opinions from scholars of different tendencies is remarkable. The compelling alternative proposals presented in this book deserve the attention of all who are interested in the study of the book of Genesis.

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MIARY ANDRIAMIARISOA

Greenleaf, Floyd. *The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Vol. 1: *Let the Earth Hear His Voice* (iv + 470 pp.); vol. 2: *Bear the News to Every Land* (ii + 542 pp.). Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1992. \$39.95.

Floyd Greenleaf's *The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean* is the most comprehensive history ever published about a specific section of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The author earned his Ph.D. in Latin-American history from the University of Tennessee.

The study is primarily an "official" history, based, to a large extent, on leading sources and "information of regional origin available in the United States" (1:iii). The justification for this approach stems from the assumption that as the Seventh-day Adventist community in Latin America and the Caribbean grew, it depended upon the United States for theological and administrative leadership. Theologically, the Latin Americans and the Caribbeans are seen as more successful "propagators of the message" than "producers of theology." Administratively, the Latin-American and the Caribbean churches are part of the global church that "has always been administered from the United States" (1:iii).

The book is divided into two volumes, which cover respectively the periods from 1890 to the 1930s and from the 1920s to 1980. *Volume 1*, consisting of 18 chapters, begins with a short overview of the social,

political, and economic situation of Latin America and the Caribbean during the 1890s. After describing the arrival of the first Seventh-day Adventist missionaries and the emergence of some of the early groups of Seventh-day Adventists, the author takes the reader through such topics as the establishment of the first institutions, the development of the basic organizational structure, the expansion of the work into new fields, and the challenges imposed by World War I and the depression of the 1930s.

Volume 2, with 19 chapters, starts reviewing some of the major developments in the institutional area. Careful attention is given to the expansion of educational and medical-missionary programs. The volume deals also with such matters as the establishment of new church services and programs, the problems caused by World War II, the emergence of indigenous leadership, and major accomplishments in the area of evangelism and church growth.

Extensive bibliographical notes appear at the end of each chapter. A classified bibliography and a useful index are provided at the end of each volume. But no biographical information about the author is supplied.

The study follows a chronological-topical approach, with strong emphasis on the comparative element. Sometimes the attempt to compare and contrast the reality in different places might stop for a while the flow of the chronological sequence. But such instances are perfectly understandable if the reader keeps in mind that the author deals with the history of each region not as a single unity, but as part of a large and complex spectrum.

The broad scope in which the research was done can be seen through the impressive amount of published and unpublished primary sources quoted throughout the study. Correspondence between church workers, board minutes, reports, and other materials are extensively used to bring new insights to the discussion. The use of primary sources is limited, however, almost exclusively to those written in the English language, with very little attention to Spanish, Portuguese, and French materials. Although the author limited his study primarily to official sources and local information "available in the United States" (1:iii), there is no convincing reason for not including in his bibliography such non-English periodicals as the different editions of *Revista Adventista* in Spanish (Argentina and Inter-America) and in Portuguese (Brazil), which can be found in some archives and libraries in the United States.

Despite omitting many details "about local fields and personalities" (1:iii), Greenleaf's work is a remarkable contribution to the study of Seventh-day Adventist history. To cover new ground, with such a vast scope in time and space, and without losing the balance between all the components of the study, is something meritorious in itself. Not being a native of Latin America or the Caribbean did not weaken the author's sensitivity to local, delicate, political issues. On the contrary, it helped him

to deal with them as an outsider, from a more objective, impartial, and unbiased perspective.

Greenleaf's book is helpful in understanding not only Seventh-day Adventism in Latin America and the Caribbean, but also the development of Protestant missions and indigenous leadership. The study is, in reality, a masterpiece which will continue to provide, for many years, the basic structural foundation for the historiography of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Andrews University

ALBERTO R. TIMM

Hasel, Gerhard F. *Speaking in Tongues: Biblical Speaking in Tongues and Contemporary Glossolalia*. Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Theological Society Publications, 1991. 176 pp. \$11.95.

Professor Hasel's volume is the result of serious reflection and research on the topic of glossolalia and the biblical understanding of "speaking in tongues." His main concern is to show that the New Testament phenomenon of "speaking in tongues" is unrelated to the modern manifestation of glossolalia. According to Hasel, recent research has shown that modern glossolalia represents a learned but unintelligible form of speaking identical with that used by witch doctors, shamans, and priests of non-Christian religions. If this is indeed the case, the author's question as to how God could employ such means of communication popular in seances and sorcerous meetings by spiritualists is legitimate.

To prove his point that the crucial chapter 1 Cor 14 cannot be considered equivalent to the modern occurrence of glossolalia, Hasel examines all key references in the New Testament (Mark 16:17; Acts 2, 10, and 19; as well as 1 Cor 14). His hermeneutical presuppositions are determined by his concept of the authority of Scripture. Thus, he engages in a careful historical-grammatical rather than a historical-critical analysis of the text.

In the light of his linguistic and contextual study of pertinent New Testament passages, Hasel states "it is most reasonable to conclude that tongues-speaking throughout the New Testament is the same gift of miraculously speaking unlearned foreign languages" (150).

In this conclusion Hasel is at odds with most exegetes of 1 Cor 14, who consider that the speaking of tongues was not the speaking of a foreign language but some form of ecstatic, unintelligible sound.

We respect Hasel's plea for a holistic approach to the problem in 1 Cor 14 and concur that from a methodological perspective it is necessary to analyze carefully all references to the phenomenon of "speaking in tongues" found in the New Testament. At the same time, the idea that cultic

influences could have made an impact on the attitudes and practices of the Corinthian Christians should not be dismissed.

The phenomenon of "speaking in tongues" in 1 Cor 14, may in fact be a modification of the occurrence in Mark and Acts. That "no one understands" (v.2) does not necessarily prove that the problem is with the hearer and not the speaker, as Hasel suggests (126-129). If, as Hasel contends, this gift was bestowed upon believers in order to enable them to proclaim miraculously the Good News in unlearned foreign languages, then why does Paul minimize this gift as compared to the gift of prophecy?

Hasel's observation of the same terms in both Acts and 1 Cor 14 does not warrant the conclusion that the manifestation of the gift of tongues in 1 Cor 14 and Acts 2 is identical, because the phenomenon in 1 Cor appears to be uniquely different from that in the rest of the New Testament.

The serious student of the modern phenomenon of glossolalia will find in this book a wealth of pertinent source material for further research. He will also gain meaningful insights as to the universality of modern glossolalia, for it is the author's contention that both Christians and non-Christians use the same language. Unfortunately, the reader will encounter some distractions caused by numerous typos, misspellings and literary inaccuracies.

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HERBERT KIESLER

Kroeger, Richard Clark, and Catherine Clark Kroeger. *I Suffer Not a Woman: Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11-15 in Light of Ancient Evidence*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 253 pp. \$12.95.

During the last few decades 1 Timothy 2:11-15 has become a battleground on which traditionalists and feminists have struggled. Several extreme positions have been taken, with variations in between. First is the literalist view that woman, on account of the order of creation and her part in the Fall, is forever forbidden to teach or exercise authority and is limited to domestic duties such as child-rearing (e.g., *Pulpit Commentary*). At the opposite pole are the radical feminists who believe the Bible was produced by a patristic, sexist church to keep women in a subordinate position (e.g., Elizabeth Fiorenza, Rosemary Reuther).

Between these extremes are several moderating views held by what might be called "biblical feminists." Both groups recognize two strands of thought in Scripture, some empowering women and some restricting them. Both try to harmonize the two positions, with a concern for truth. One restricts authoritative teaching, headship of the churches, and ordination to men (e.g., Patrick Hurley, Wayne Grudem, and Samuele Bacchiocchi). The other

believes in the full participation of women in all ministries of the church, based upon the gifts given them by the Holy Spirit (e.g., Paul Jewett, Aida Spencer, and Patricia Gundry). Richard and Catherine Kroeger belong to the latter group.

Richard Kroeger speaks as a Presbyterian minister with broad theological training. Catherine approaches the problem as a classicist with a doctorate on the role of women in ancient religion. She has done extensive study of the religion practised in Ephesus to determine the beliefs that called forth the restrictions placed upon women by Paul in Timothy.

From 1 Timothy, the Kroegers identify the following problems: False teachers were promulgating doctrines of demons (4:1) and godless myths (v. 7). Women were especially deceived and active in propagating the false doctrines (5:11-12) because of the high position given to females. From the cultural background, they show that Ephesus, with its worship of Artemis, stood as a bastion of feminine supremacy in religion. Gnostic beliefs also exalted women. The creation story was turned upside down to say that the creator god (Ialdabaoth) had made the material world, imprisoned humanity in it, and had blocked access to the higher knowledge of the Supreme Spirit Being. The serpent and Eve were benefactors of the human race because they gave Adam access to the higher world through the tree of knowledge. Gnostics believed in many intermediaries including feminine mediators. Women were thus regarded as essential to communicate hidden knowledge.

To women who aspired to mediate a higher form of religion than found in Scripture, Paul says, in v. 11, "Let a woman learn in silence with all submission." Women were to be well taught in the Word. The phrase *silence and submission* is a Near-Eastern formula implying willingness to heed and obey instruction. This contrasts with the foolish women who are "ever learning and never able to arrive at a knowledge of the truth" (2 Tim 3:6-7).

The Kroegers retranslate verse 12 to say, "I do not allow a woman to teach that she is the author of man" (191). They offer the following supports for their translation:

1. In every other usage of *teach* in 1 Timothy, the *content* of the teaching is indicated (1:3-4; 4:11; 6:2). The second infinitive, *authenthein*, may describe the content of the teaching that is prohibited.

2. The verb *authenthein*, usually translated *exercise authority*, is used only once in the NT, and its meaning is debated. The Kroegers' extensive study shows that it can also mean to be the perpetrator or author of something.

3. It was a common Gnostic heresy that woman was the originator of man. Gnostic myths ("godless myths," 1 Tim 4:7) variously stated that Eve was the mother of Yahweh, that she was a virgin who gave birth, that Eve pre-existed Adam, that Adam was created from Eve, and that Eve breathed life into Adam.

The Gnostics had turned the Genesis story upside down. In v. 13 Paul reaffirms the truth: In no way did Eve give life to Adam.

V. 14 counteracts the "doctrines of demons" that were circulated in Ephesus. Gnostic tractates stated that since Eve breathed breath into Adam, she was the spiritual principle that rested in Adam to enlighten him. Adam was deceived into believing that he was created first and that God, not the woman or the serpent, was the source of his spirituality. The Gnostics maintained that the beneficent serpent, through the instrumentality of Eve, undid the deceit perpetrated on Adam, bringing visions of a spiritual world far higher than the material one provided him by Ialdabaoth (Yahweh) (123). In this context, the words of Paul stand out with new clarity: Adam was not deceived, but the woman was. The woman was not a benefactress but a sinner. Eve did not bring gnosis but transgression. Vv. 13 and 14 of our text, then, are not intended to explain why women are prohibited from teaching. They are intended to refute the Gnostic heresy which glorifies Eve as the author of man and the benefactress of the race (117).

V. 15, "Nevertheless she shall be saved through the childbearing if they continue in faith and love and holiness and good sense," can best be understood in the context of Gnostic heresies. While Gnostics exalted the feminine principle as divine, many denigrated actual womanhood, sexuality, and childbearing. Gnostics regarded the human body as the prison-house of the spirit which escapes from it at death. Each human body contained particles of spirit which must be released and allowed to unite with the Spirit above. Procreating children scattered the divine particles still further and entombed human spirits in the flesh. Some Gnostic texts indicated that a woman, in order to be saved, must renounce sexuality, or even become a male (173). Because of this belief, Gnostics forbade marriage (1 Tim 4:3) and childbearing. Paul, by contrast, calls upon women of childbearing age to marry and have children (5:14). The Kroegers suggest that v. 15 should be understood as a refutation of the Gnostic ideas against childbearing. Women bearing children *can* be saved, provided, of course, that they have faith and love. In this statement Paul affirms the feminine function of childbearing.

The Kroegers have shed immense light upon this difficult passage by setting it against the background of the heresies that were doubtless plaguing the congregation in Ephesus. Seen in this light, the passage no longer constitutes a universal prohibition of women from the gospel ministry, grounded in the status of woman in creation and the Fall. Instead, it is a refutation of Gnostic error.

So—"Suffer the Women . . . and forbid them not!"

Luhrmann, Dieter. *Galatians*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992. 168 pp. \$25.00.

Dieter Luhrmann is New Testament Professor at Marburg University in Germany. The first German edition of his commentary on Galatians was published in 1978, just a little earlier than the Fortress publication of Hans Dieter Betz's great commentary on the same epistle in the Hermeneia series (1979). The book is divided into two parts—an introduction and the commentary—with 27 short chapters covering the two main divisions he proposes for the epistle and every section into which he divides them. There is an appendix about the two gospels as the Galatians' alternative, a chronology of Paul's career, and a select English bibliography about Paul's writings. Luhrmann and Betz take different approaches. Betz considers Galatians to be an apologetic letter. Luhrmann departs from traditional rhetorical genres, denying that Galatians is a "letter of friendship" (viii). On the contrary, he believes that it is intended to clarify issues and relationships in a confessional context (5).

In this way, Luhrmann undertakes a new interpretation of Galatians but stays with the old concept that its main point of contention is "the question of adopting circumcision" (2). He refers to 5:1-12 as the focal point of this contention, circumcision being the most important element in the "other gospel" of the new teachers. However, he fails to see in the same text the focal point of freedom, which he only takes as "the heading for the actual conclusion of the letter" (2) and "the last of the great antitheses that Paul arranges under the fundamental alternative of faith and law" (95).

In his interpretation, Luhrmann works under six presuppositions: (1) The letter was written for another time; (2) its crucial element is the gospel; (3) Paul founds his gospel on the law, (4) it is necessary to know how the readers understood the letter; (5) consideration should be given to key words such as "faith", "law", "righteousness", and "freedom"; and (6) the letter is divided into two main parts—faith or law (1:11-5:12) and ethical consequences (5:13-6:10).

His two-part division—gospel (doctrine) and standards (ethic)—departs from the traditional three parts—history, doctrine, and ethics—by eliminating the historical part, which he assimilates to the doctrinal one. The conclusion is obvious. The subject of Galatians is the gospel. Immediately, what comes to mind is the unavoidable question: What is the gospel? Taking Luhrmann's insistent claim that faith is the antithesis of the law (66), and the circumcision law is the "other gospel," one might expect him to respond: The gospel is justification by faith. But this is not the case. Justification by faith is only "the consequence" that Paul draws from the gospel (19). The basic question remains without a direct answer. One would expect him to say: The gospel is Christ. Or, the gospel is freedom in Christ. But the closest he comes to this is a rather cold theological declaration:

"Against this 'other gospel' Paul placed his interpretation of Christology, which is the content of the gospel as well as the faith that comes from the gospel" (128).

Nevertheless, Professor Luhrmann has produced a very stimulating, short, and rich commentary on Galatians. To my understanding, he has fully reached his objective of producing a book to introduce New Testament scholarship "to readers familiar neither with the technical terms of exegesis nor with Greek as the language of the New Testament writings" (vii).

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MARIO VELOSO

McComiskey, Thomas Edward, ed. *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*. Vol. 1, *Hosea, Joel, Amos*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 640 pp. \$39.99.

Edited by Thomas McComiskey, this book was written by three authors. McComiskey wrote on Hosea, Raymond Dillard on Joel, and Jeffrey Nichaus on Amos. The full commentary is projected to have three volumes.

The subtitle specifies this as an "exegetical and expository" commentary. These terms are now familiar, perhaps best known from their use in the *Interpreter's Bible*. In the current volume, though, while "expository" implies "contemporary," unlike *IB* it does not have overtones of "homiletical."

Each of the three biblical books has a short but comprehensive introduction covering the typical topics of historical background, a select bibliography, and an outline.

Each section begins with two translations, the author's own on the left, and the *NRSV* on the right. Then follows the bisectonal commentary: the exegesis at the top of the page, and the exposition below it. With the page divided into two columns, a smaller typeface is possible without a sense of crowding.

Even when leafing through the volume, the reader is struck by the Hebrew: both by the fact that it is in Hebrew script and by how much of it there is. This series is dedicated to wrestling with the text, and ample opportunity is provided from the outset, since the Hebrew text of Hosea is notoriously difficult.

Rather than appearing as notes to the translation, as in *Hermeneia*, (philological, lexical, syntactical, and textual material) is part of the exegesis. Although it includes extensive reference to the Greek Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate, regrettably, the authors nowhere cite what texts they used. This is unfortunate, since the quotations are too numerous to be based solely on the apparatus of BHK or BHS (both of which *are* cited by name

in the list of abbreviations). It is to be hoped that this matter can be remedied for the subsequent two volumes. No other versions receive comparable levels of reference, although the Targum and Peshitta are referred to from time to time, but at times no indication is given of just what one may expect to find. Rabbinic material such as the Mishnah, Tosefta, Commentaries, Midrash, and Talmud are not primary sources.

The exegetical section is the strength of the commentary, principally because it is comprehensive and detailed. The analysis is firmly based in the historico-grammatical context. Particularly prominent in its absence is avoidance of the all-too-common futurist reinterpretation of these books.

While the commentary is written from a conservative perspective, the conclusions are not thereby preordained. A good case in point is the dating of the book of Joel. After careful evaluation of the evidence, Dillard acknowledges that no definitive conclusion is possible, but indicates that he leans toward a date significantly later than that implied by its position between Hosea and Amos, the traditional conservative position.

The second section, the exposition, seems at first glance to be an accommodation to the non-academic, since the Hebrew and Greek are in transliteration. Reading only the exposition proved frustrating, since often there is insufficient detail for one to be able to grasp the issues under discussion. Rather, it is necessary to read the expository section in connection with the exegetical, as daunting as that can be.

To sample the volume, three well-known perennial problems are selected, one from each book. First is the question in Hosea of whether Gomer was a prostitute when Hosea married her. One of the more extended analyses, the drama is played out in the expository section, since the problem is not the meaning of the individual Hebrew words so much as their interpretation in the context. Conclusion: McComiskey argues in the affirmative.

The passage from Joel is 2:28-30 (3:1, 2 Heb.). Though he recognizes the apocalyptic nature of the book and the application in Acts 2, Dillard is deaf to the siren of modern eschatology. Rather his primary interpretation is in the context of Num 11:1-12:8.

The third passage is Amos 6:12 בְּסֹלֶעַ סוּסִים אִם יִחְרוֹשׁ בְּבִקְרִים הֲיִרְצֹן which was translated in the KJV as: "Shall horses run upon the rock? will one plow there with oxen?" Driver proposed dividing the last word as בְּבִקְרִים יִם to yield the sense " ... (does one plow) the sea with an ox?" and several translations have accepted this. Niehaus sidesteps the issue by translating "Would horses run on a crag, or would one plow a crag with oxen?" with סֹלֶעַ serving both clauses, thus preserving the Hebrew text unamended.

In the final analysis, what recommends this volume is not the scholarship, *per se*, or the facility with the ancient languages, as helpful as

they are. Ironically, it is the determination to be true to the text in its religious, political, and social context. Today, nothing is more relevant.

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BERNARD TAYLOR

Newsome, James D. *Greeks, Romans, Jews: Currents of Culture and Belief in the New Testament World*. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992. 496 pp. \$29.95

Newsome wrote this book for the benefit of his students. He hoped that his work "would not only deepen their perspectives on both Old and New Testaments," but also entice them to become well acquainted with the fascinating times and culture of the intertestamental period. He also intended his work to benefit "interested lay people who want to know more about the 'world of the Bible'" (xiii).

The book is divided into two parts, "The Hellenistic Period" and "The Roman Period." Of the 377 pages of text, 108 are devoted to history and 269 to cultural developments of the intertestamental period. This distribution shows quite clearly where the emphasis of the book lies. The notes contain both additional information about and bibliographical sources for the main events of the period, stretching from the times of Alexander the Great to those of Hadrian and the last Jewish attempt for independence under Bar Kokhba.

Newsome's main thrust seems to be that the historical milieu provides the reason for works written under those circumstances. In other words, the literary expression of thoughts and feelings is no more than reflection on the circumstances. Although this approach is reasonable, it might not necessarily hold when concepts of divine providence, revelation/inspiration, and prophecy, all deeply embedded in the "world of the Bible" and in the Jewish conception and interpretation of history, are taken into consideration.

For the author, there is no basic difference between the authority of the books of the Old Testament and those written during the intertestamental period. Moreover, in describing each of these, which Newsome does in a scholarly manner, he attempts to show how each of them could have influenced the New Testament writers—in his view, to a rather significant degree.

Newsome appears to work under the more or less outdated shadow of Julius Wellhausen and the historical-critical hermeneutical methodology, which is regrettable. Thus the victories of Alexander the Great were depicted by "some anonymous Jewish poet . . . in Zech 9:1-10"—vs. 9 being the description of the Macedonian conqueror "as a peacemaker sent from

God" (6). The book of Daniel was written during the Maccabean upheaval against the Seleucid rulers "for the purpose of giving encouragement to the traditionalist Jews in their fight against Antiochus and those members of the Jewish community" who were in favor of the Hellenization (77), the golden image of Daniel 3 was that of Zeus "that Antiochus ordered erected in the Jerusalem Temple," and "Antiochus himself is symbolized by Nebuchadnezzar in chapter 4" (78). Further examples could be cited.

Evidencing Newsome's rather dim view of NT inspiration and the great indebtedness to the intertestament literature he believes to have been able to identify, some revealing comments are interspersed in the book. The biography of Jesus in the Gospels reflects Greek aretology (21). The account of Paul's shipwreck and subsequent adventures on Malta "is a biblical equivalent of the Hellenistic romance or travel tale" (17, 18). Plato's view of immortality is "a more satisfactory description of life after death than Paul's doctrine of the resurrection of the body (1 Cor 15:1-58)" for many Christians (24). "Jewish literature of the Hellenistic period" was the "rich mixture" from which the "early Christians drew the vocabulary and thought forms which they used to express their understanding of the nature of Jesus of Nazareth and the significance of his life and work" (240). "Much of the New Testament's language concerning Jesus the Messiah was drawn from the Similitudes [of Enoch]" (243).

In future editions, numerous misspellings or typographical errors should be corrected. While it is true that several books on the same subject have been written recently, which in itself shows a renewed interest in the events of the intertestamental period and the apostolic century, Newsome's *Greeks, Romans, Jews* stands among the best. The sections on the history of both the Hellenistic and the Roman Periods are second to none; his descriptions of Greek, Roman and Jew authors and their works is excellent. Newsome's problem, in my understanding, is in his interpretation of those writings and his insistence in attempting to show how much of the New Testament is derived. For those with a high view of the inspiration of the Bible, such a position is hard to accept. In summary, Newsome's *Greek, Romans, Jews* is an indispensable tool for the study of the intertestamental history and literature, and the backgrounds to the New Testament.

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Pannenberg, Wolfhart. *Systematic Theology*. Volume I. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991. xiii + 473 pp. \$39.95.

Systematic Theology, volume I, introduces us to the discussion of epistemological and ontological prolegomena of what promises to be a broad and explicit formulation of Pannenberg's postmodern version of Christian theology. Epistemological loci such as truth (chap. 1), natural theology (chap. 2), religious experience (chap. 4), and revelation (chap. 5), are examined first. In the final chapter (6), where the Trinity, divine essence, and attributes are discussed, Pannenberg explains the ontological foundations of his system.

The concept of special revelation is replaced by natural theology, which, under the "revelation as history" designation, has been broadened to include not only nature but also general human history. General human history becomes salvation history (59). "The world, humanity, and history," which Pannenberg sees as expressions "of the deity of God" (59), are, then, the sources of theology. The sources of theology (revelation), however, cannot a priori guarantee the truth of theology (48). Achievement of theological truth requires an a posteriori process of scientific verification (50).

Pannenberg tries to overcome Barth's and Schleiermacher's limitations by suggesting that the truth in religious experience requires the metaphysical idea of God as infinite being (175). As Pannenberg argues for a metaphysical ground of religious experience, the postmodernity of his approach becomes apparent. Briefly put, according to Pannenberg, the truth of religious experience assumes divine revelation understood as "self-demonstration of God in the process of historical experience" (171), and God's revelation requires an understanding of God's being.

Pannenberg's doctrine of God as Trinity becomes both the structure of his *Systematic Theology* and the climax of his theological prolegomena (59). Theology as a whole coincides with the actual development of the doctrine of the Trinity (335) in "creation, christology, soteriology, ecclesiology, and eschatology" (335). Only the completion of Pannenberg's *Systematic Theology*, then, will bring his conception of God and the Trinity into full expression and vice versa.

The persons of the eternal, immanent Trinity are "concretions" (430) of the divine essence (Spirit), which Pannenberg understands in analogy to "Michael Faraday's idea of universal force field" (383). Pannenberg's systematical construction reaches its decisive point as the relationship between the immanent and economic trinity is formulated in connection to two pivotal axes, namely, God's eternity and His activity. Departing from Plato's eternity-time antithesis, Pannenberg follows Plotinus' suggestion that God's eternity should be understood as "the presence of the totality of life" in a simultaneous, undivided, perfect whole (403). God's action is to be

understood as His "self-actualization" in creation (386)—that is to say, as "a repetition or reiteration of his eternal deity in his relation to the world" (389). Through the Son the deity comes forth from His Godhead (430) as the basis of creation (421), revelation, and consummation, in encounter with its Creator (389).

The reiteration of the eternal trinitarian God, Who in Himself possesses the totality of life in the simultaneity of His eternity, provides the ontological ground for Pannenberg's concept of revelation as history. World and history are direct revelations of God because they are temporal duplications of His eternal life in time. By the same concept Pannenberg can bridge the Kantian epistemological gap. Since God reiterates Himself in time, humans can grasp God's revelation directly, albeit incompletely and under the category of anticipation.

Pannenberg's system rests on his concept of revelation as history which, in turn, depends on his conception of God's eternity and its trinitarian reiteration in historical time. The latter, however, is a hypothetical interpretation produced by Pannenberg's theological imagination without adequate scientific basis in historical revelation itself. Moreover, the hypothetical nature of his ontological basis determines the hypothetical nature of his concept of revelation as history, as well as that of his entire *Systematic Theology*. Failure to overcome both classical ontological ideas on ultimate reality and the Kantian interpretation of reason's limits prevents Pannenberg from discovering the way in which biblical epistemology and ontology are able not only to overcome classicism and kantism but also to uncover a complete system of theology. Pannenberg's system is built on the uncritical assumption that a biblical approach to systematic theology is irrelevant and outmoded.

Technical evaluation of Pannenberg's theological project and whether it involves trinitarian panentheism, however, will become possible only as his interpretation of creation, salvation, and consummation is unfolded. Meanwhile, volume I of Pannenberg's *Systematic Theology* seems to anticipate a consistent neoclassical theological program, which, by way of remarkable scholarship and a trinitarian structure, is able to integrate the historical and transcendent levels of reality as a whole, thus providing a convincing alternative to Process Theology.

Sailhamer, John H. *The Pentateuch as Narrative*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992. 700 pp. \$34.99.

The Pentateuch as Narrative by John H. Sailhamer is a narrative commentary on the Pentateuch. Other works by Sailhamer include the commentary on Genesis in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary* and *The Translation Technique of the Greek Septuagint for the Hebrew Verbs and Participles in Psalms 3-41*.

The Pentateuch as Narrative represents an ambitious attempt "to trace the narrative strategy of the Pentateuch" (xix) by analyzing and describing its structure from Genesis to Deuteronomy. Emphasizing the narrative and literary continuity of the complete Pentateuch, the work differs from conventional commentaries, which interpret the Pentateuchal books as discrete entities.

Following a detailed outline of the Pentateuch, the main part of Sailhamer's book begins with an introduction to the narrative interpretation of the Pentateuch. This section deals with topics such as the unity, historical background, authorship, structure, purpose, and theology of the Pentateuch. Following the introduction, five long chapters present detailed analyses of the Pentateuchal books. An appendix summarizes Maimonides' list of laws in the Torah. Following the appendix is a bibliography.

The work is replete with clear diagrams and outlines of structural phenomena, including parallels between passages. The citation of Maimonides' laws at relevant points in the discussion (in addition to the list in the appendix) is interesting, but does not seem particularly relevant to a primary interpretation of biblical texts.

As a working hypothesis, Sailhamer assumes divinely inspired Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as a whole, excluding, of course, the account of Moses' death (Deut 34). He recognizes the possibility that the author may have used sources of information, but does not attempt to investigate possible pre-Pentateuchal documents.

Although it is doubtful that a Pentateuchal scholar exists who would not take issue with the author on at least some points, Sailhamer presents an impressive array of relationships between units of text on various hierarchical levels. Connections which he finds between the largest units, namely, the five books of the Pentateuch, are taken to support his argument that the Pentateuch owes its unity to original composition as a single book rather than to late redactional activity. For example: "At three macrostructural junctures in the Pentateuch, the author has spliced a major poetic discourse onto the end of a large unit of narrative (Ge. 49; Nu. 24; Dt. 31). A close look at the material lying between and connecting the narrative and poetic sections reveals the presence of a homogeneous compositional stratum. It is most noticeably marked by the recurrence of the same terminology and narrative motifs" (36).

Sailhamer finds in the overall theology of the Pentateuch a contrast between Abraham, who kept the Law before it was given at Sinai by living a life of faith, and Moses, who failed after the giving the Law because of lack of faith. Thus, he concludes that the Pentateuch's attitude toward the Mosaic Law is essentially the same as that of the prophetic new covenant passages (Jer 31:33; Ezek 36:26).

The chapter on Genesis is especially rich. See, e.g. his comment on Gen 19:27, 28, to the effect that the narrative of Sodom's destruction returns to the perspective of Abraham because he was the central figure in the narrative, due to the fact that his intercession had resulted in Lot's rescue (p. 173).

Chapters on Exodus to Deuteronomy are shorter, partly because these books include extensive blocks of ritual and nonritual laws embedded in the narrative framework which is Sailhamer's primary concern. Rather than engaging in detailed analyses of legal materials, he evaluates the purpose of these materials within the narrative. Particularly interesting is the idea that the lapses of the Israelites, which are described in the narrative, necessitated the giving of more and more laws to regulate their behavior.

It goes without saying that narrative interpretation involves many exegetical decisions. Much of Sailhamer's exegesis is convincing, but I would take issue with a number of points. For example:

1. He interprets Gen 1:1 as a description of God's first act of creation: creation of "the heavens and the earth," rather than a summary of the rest of Gen 1. Since he includes the sun, moon and stars in the expression "the heavens," he regards v. 16 as drawing attention to the significance of what had already been created in v. 1 rather than describing the creation of the sun, moon and stars on the fourth day. Sailhamer has harmonized verses 1 and 16 in a particular direction, only to create a significant problem: What is created on the fourth day? Nothing. So God rested on the fourth day? No, he did not take a day off until the Sabbath (Gen 2:2, 3). Therefore, he must have created something on the fourth day. We are back to square one.
2. On Lev 1:1-6:7, Sailhamer states that "this section lacks any instructions regarding when and under what circumstances the sacrifices were to be offered" (324). This is not true. Lev 1-3 concerns voluntary sacrifices, of which the so-called "peace offering" could be offered for motivations such as thanksgiving or fulfillment of a vow (Lev 7:12, 16). Lev 4-5 deals with sacrifices which were mandatory when certain kinds of sins, e.g., inadvertent violations of divine commands (Lev 4:2, 13, 22, 27), were committed.
3. He places Lev 7:8 under the rubric of the "guilt offering" (328), but the verse concerns the "burnt offering," of which the officiating priest receives the hide.

Sailhamer has challenged scholars to view the Pentateuchal books from a wider perspective. Criticisms of some details by no means neutralize his overall achievement. This valuable work deserves to be read and reread.

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ROY GANE

Scherer, James A. and Stephen B. Bevans, eds. *New Directions in Mission & Evangelization: Basic Statements 1974-1991*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1992. xx + 324 pp. \$18.95.

Basic Statements 1974-1991 is the first volume in a major new Orbis publishing project with the general title "New Directions in Mission & Evangelization." Future volumes in this set will offer annotated collections of articles and documents on themes such as theological foundations of mission, evangelism, social responsibility, contextualization of theology, mission spirituality, and theology of religions. It is the intention of the series' editors to collect the best work of Catholic, Orthodox, Ecumenical, Protestant, Evangelical, and Pentecostal. If subsequent volumes are comparable to *Basic Statements*, scholars will be provided with an impressive series of compendia of basic documents and studies on the major contemporary issues of mission.

Basic Statements fills a long-felt need for a collection in a single volume of major official statements on mission by church organizations and associations. At the outset Scherer and Bevans give the reader a ten-page introduction to the four sets of documents in the collection—Conciliar Ecumenical, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Evangelical. The introduction is both succinct and complete. It is followed by a select bibliography for the reader who wishes to know more about the documents and the circumstances of their composition.

Materials in the volume are organized into the four major sections listed above. Each document and statement is preceded by an introduction which locates it in time and place and in the development of thought and relationships. The first section is comprised of 12 Conciliar Ecumenical (World Council of Churches) statements, commencing with the 1975 Nairobi statement, "Confessing Christ Today," and ending with the 1991 Canberra statement, "Come Holy Spirit."

In similar fashion, and with the same kinds of introductions and referencing, Part 2 presents 14 Roman Catholic statements. The first is Pope Paul VI's Apostolic Exhortation on "Evangelization in the Modern World," 1975; the last is "Dialogue and Proclamation," issued jointly by the Pontifical Council for Inter-religious Dialogue and the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples in 1991.

Part 3 is composed of three Eastern Orthodox and Oriental church statements. Part 4 presents ten evangelical Protestant statements commencing with the "Lausanne Covenant," 1974, followed by a series of evangelical "Consultations" and the "Manila Manifesto," 1989. It concludes with the Willowbank and Zeist statements on Jewish evangelism.

This volume can hardly be praised highly enough. It is essential for those involved in mission studies, whether students, professors, practitioners, or mission administrators. Most of those who teach mission classes have built up collections of documents by dint of constant vigilance and clipping; notwithstanding they have had to drag volumes containing documents to class. This has left students somewhat bewildered and without the will to run down the many sources and read the documents for themselves. Now all of that is at an end. The major documents are now under one, and the copious notes and references facilitate location of the original and further commentary.

The volume was assembled by two editors: James A. Scherer, Professor Emeritus of Mission at Lutheran School of Theology in Chicago, a mainline ecumenist with strong evangelical sympathies; and Stephen B. Bevans, S.V.D., Associate Professor of Historical and Doctrinal Studies at Catholic Theological Union, Chicago. Each has brought his own special expertise and understanding to the selection of statements and the introductions and commentaries. The introductions are objectively written, without bias or special pleading. The table of contents is adequately detailed and gives locations and dates of the documents. There is an index of titles, key statements, and subjects which greatly facilitates location of selected issues within the documents themselves. Finally, the paperback is well assembled and sturdy and does not appear likely to fall apart, as have many paperbacks in my possession.

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RUSSELL STAPLES

Stein, Stephen J. *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992. xx + 554 pp. \$40.00.

Comprehensiveness and revisionism are the key terms for understanding Stephen Stein's *The Shaker Experience in America*. This book is the first general history of the Shakers. While the sect has not lacked historical treatment, the earlier works dealt with limited time periods and/or local Shaker communities. Even the standard work in the field, Edward Deming Andrews' *The People Called Shakers* (1953, 1963), basically focused on the antebellum period.

By way of contrast, Stein's volume seeks to cover not only the entire chronological history of the movement, but also its entire geographical history in North America. Thus, he not only covers the twentieth century,

but places much more emphasis on "western" Shakerism than previous treatments have.

The organizing scheme of *The Shaker Experience in America* is provided by the assumption that "sects commonly move through a series of identifiable stages in their evolution" (106), from vibrant movements to a form of old age. Stein developed the history of the United Society within that framework.

The volume is divided into five parts. The first extends from 1747 through 1787 and covers the age of the founders. The second stage covers the crucial period of institutionalization extending from 1787 through 1826. During that stage the focus is on the establishment of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. Stage three (1827-1875) deals with the maturation and revitalization of the society, while the fourth (1876-1947) covers the society's secular transformation. The final section treats the movement from 1948 to the present. Its theme is rebirth not so much as a vital religious movement, but as a mother of quaint furniture and customs for a public external to Shakerism.

In a manner scarcely equaled in scholarly historic literature, Andrews' interpretation in *The People Called Shakers* virtually had held a monopoly in the field for nearly 40 years. Stein, to put it mildly, finds Andrews' scope and interpretations less than adequate. His "sentimentalized image of the society," in the opinion of Stein, led to a "loss of critical perspective" on Shakerism (380). Thus, the misleading impression set forth by Andrews and those who followed his lead provides the foil against which Stein's revisionism must of necessity react.

That revisionism focuses on at least three areas of understanding. The first of those areas is a downgrading of the relative importance of Ann Lee and the other first-generation founders in favor of the second generation of Shaker leaders. Stein seeks to demonstrate that not only did those who led out in the institutionalization of Shakerism, have the predominating influence in the history of the movement, but their mythification of the lives and teachings of Ann Lee and her colleagues was the real source of the first-generation's impact on later Shakerism rather than the actual history of the founders.

A second major revisionist interpretation set forth by Stein is the influence of the western believers in the success of the movement. Traditional Shaker historiography has focused on the dominance of New Lebanon and the other eastern colonies, but Stein makes a forceful case for the western believers' repeatedly goading the central ministry in the East into action.

The third important reinterpretation set forth by Stein is that of Shaker pluralism. Whereas previous treatments of the movement have harmony, Stein has shown that the movement housed many divergent tendencies and strongly individualistic personalities.

The Shaker Experience in America is a major contribution to the study of America's religious outsiders. While many of Stein's positions will be challenged, and while there are undoubtedly gaps in his treatment, he has made the most significant contribution to our understanding of the United Society to date. His work has virtually set a new agenda for the future study of Shakerism.

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Trenchard, Warren C. *The Student's Complete Vocabulary Guide to the Greek New Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992. 352 pp. \$12.99.

In the not-too-distant past, reference works, helpful for learning and teaching biblical Greek were relatively few. Into a now well-supplied field Warren Trenchard, academic dean of Canadian Union College and Greek teacher for many years, has brought his own contribution. What Bruce Metzger's *Lexical Aids for Students of New Testament Greek* started, Trenchard's *The Student's Complete Vocabulary Guide to the Greek New Testament* has finished. Metzger's little book included an incomplete section that listed "Words Classified According to their Root." Believing that studying words in cognate groups is the most efficient way to learn vocabulary, Trenchard has meticulously gathered all NT words into such groups. Every common noun that has a cognate relationship with at least one other word is included.

But other lists are also presented. Thus, Section One (the book is divided into five sections), "Cognate Word Groups," begins with lists of all the prefixes and suffixes. With some variations, Trenchard follows the basic word categories found in J. Harold Greenlee's *A New Testament Greek Morpheme Lexicon*. The key words are, of course, listed alphabetically; but each set of cognates is organized with simple forms listed before compounds, with verbs listed first, followed by nouns, then adjectives, then adverbs and then "other words." This is the largest section of the book, comprising the first 126 pages, and proves helpful to the teacher and researcher. However, within the groups there is such a wide fluctuation of usage (e.g., the key word *poieō* is used 568 times, while many of its cognates are hapax legomena) that it is not clear how this part of the book could be used as a teaching tool for students learning basic vocabulary.

Section Two of the book is a 110-page "Frequency List of Words." Trenchard begins with the three forms of the article, which occur 19,870 times in the NT, and meticulously works his way down to words that occur only once. The thoroughness of the work is seen in the 39 pages of hapax legomena. Trenchard greatly aids usage by listing the words in groups of ten. Words with the same number of frequency are alphabetized. This is helpful since some of the less-frequently occurring words are numerous (e.g., six pages of words that occur four times). This section of the book is a helpful corollary to Sakae

Kubo's *A Reader's Greek-English Lexicon of the Greek New Testament*. There, Kubo did a very similar work with word frequency, then listed the words and their frequency as found in each NT book. In fact, it is somewhat mystifying that Trenchard's bibliography on pp. ix and x makes no reference whatsoever to Kubo's well-known and widely used book. This section of Trenchard's book would be the most useful for student vocabulary drill.

Section Three is an alphabetical list of all the NT verbs with their principal parts. It is a helpful chapter inasmuch as few such lists are really complete. As is well known, few verbs use all six principal parts; but Trenchard's rule is to be complete, so his list includes all the verbs, even a very large number of forms that do not occur in the NT.

Section four is a short list of all the proper nouns in the NT. These are organized under Persons, Places and Other Proper Words. The last section, entitled "Other Lists," includes such "nonstandard" words as those resulting from crasis or elision, the proclitics, enclitics, prepositions, masculine nouns of the first declension, feminine nouns of the second declension, Aramaic, Hebrew, Persian, Semitic, and Latin words. It is hard to imagine a category of NT vocabulary that Trenchard has overlooked. A complete index of words concludes the book.

Clearly, not all these lists are of equal value; but it is helpful for the teacher, researcher, or serious Greek student to have a source book where everything related to vocabulary is in one place. For beginning or even intermediate Greek students, several of the sections will be of only mild interest, and the large number of hapax legomena could be a bit intimidating. But if most sections are used for reference and not for memorization, even inexperienced learners will profit from the book.

Andrews University

WILLIAM RICHARDSON

Van Rhee, Gailyn. *Communicating Christ in Animistic Contexts*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1991. 342 pp. Paperback, \$14.99.

As the first two words of the title, "Communicating Christ," suggest, this book, from start to finish, is written with Christian missionaries in mind. The author's reason for writing stems from the experience and conviction that missionaries whose world view has been formed in the Western secular world are simply unable to understand the world view and religious experience of people in animistic contexts without serious study and preparation. And, as a corollary of this, they fail to adequately communicate the gospel, or function as helpful partners, in aiding new Christian communities working out solutions to the many problems they encounter.

At first blush, the term "animistic" in the title comes as a bit of a shock—the term has fallen from general use. It derives from the Latin *anima*, meaning spirit or soul. And inasmuch as it seemed to observers, a century ago, that primal peoples conceived of the world as thickly populated by spirits, with

each object or force in nature inhabited or controlled by a spirit or spirits, "animism" seemed to be the most appropriate term to describe their religions. However, as knowledge of these religions increased and scholars became aware that many primitives have developed concepts of deities transcending the spirits, it was recognized that the term was too narrow and restricting and it fell into disfavor. A variety of other terms have subsequently been employed, e.g., primitive, tribal, traditional, and more recently primal, e.g., "African traditional religions" or, where greater specificity is required, "the religion of the Navajo."

Van Rheezen rehabilitates the term, but he utilizes it in a way which is both more restricted and yet broader than the earlier usage. He uses it, not to describe the totality of any one religion, but as descriptive of a volatile element of almost every religion. Underlying the classically pure forms of the world religions, which are the preoccupation of social scientists and historians of religion, are the popular religions of the masses, in which spirits of all kinds flourish and receive homage and tendance. It is upon this "animistic" dimension of the religious experience of humankind that Van Rheezen focuses attention.

He sets about this task by describing the amazing world in which animistic peoples live and, in doing so, provides the missionary with the most helpful tools of research, both in the literature and in practical method. And inasmuch as the missionary is an agent of change, he reviews the patterns and mechanisms of change that have been observed to take place in primal society. This broad introductory section of the study is followed by a more focused theoretical section in which the respective theologies of Christian and animistic world views are compared and contrasted. This quite naturally leads to a discussion of ways to introduce animists to Christian patterns of thought. The third section of the book is still more narrowly focused in that specific animistic religious functionaries and spiritual beings, forces and concepts are described. Although not written that way, this might be thought of as a series of case studies of issues a missionary might encounter. The study, which thus moves from the general to the particular, is brought to a cumulative focal point with a chapter on "Sin and Salvation in Christianity and Animism."

This study is distinctive in several ways. I know of no study which deals as thoroughly with the animistic dimensions of religion from either an academic or a theological/missionary point of view. Second, the necessity of a bifurcated missionary approach which deals with the intellectual dimensions of animism as "truth encounter" and with the experiential as "power encounter" runs like a *leitmotif* throughout the study. And third, major parts of the study are based upon an analysis of scriptural examples of both dimensions of this approach. The work combines the qualities of academic carefulness, missionary practicality, and evangelical enthusiasm and is essential reading for every missionary.

This book lends itself very well to classroom use at the college/seminary level. The impulse to write this book was stimulated by Van Rheezen's missionary experience among the Kipsigis people of Kenya. The basic ideas were further developed as a D. Miss. thesis at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. The author now teaches missions at Abilene (Texas) Christian University. The

work is well documented and contains an extensive bibliography and indices of subjects, names, and Scripture references—all of which enhance its usefulness as a seminar and class text.

Andrews University

RUSSELL STAPLES

Watts, Dorothy. *Christians and Pagans in Roman Britain*. London: Routledge, 1991. xiii + 302 pp. \$55.00.

It will probably be many years before a really satisfactory interpretation of the history of Christianity in Roman Britain is achieved. But the archaeology of the past twenty years or so has more than doubled our knowledge. Dorothy Watts, who is a lecturer in the Department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, has done an exhaustive appraisal of information currently available. Her bibliography of archaeological and secondary sources is sixteen pages long.

Previous authors have treated Christianity as a minority eastern religion in Romano-British history, and very few attempts have been made to distinguish any pagan elements in it. This was the author's reason for pursuing research in this area. Her investigation is enriched by the cooperation of those currently involved in archaeological projects completed but not yet in press and others still in progress.

The majority of the book deals with identifying evidence for Christianity in Roman Britain. In many ways it is like trying to imagine a picture when you have only a handful of the pieces of a puzzle and cannot know for sure that the pieces you hold even go to this puzzle!

Watts gives what little literary evidence there is about Christianity in Roman Britain and then spends the majority of her time describing archaeological evidence. She begins with the identification of Christian cemeteries. Up to now no certain Christian cemeteries have been identified from the Roman era. Watts establishes two very convincing sets of criteria, using internal and external evidence, which, when applied give us at least thirteen reasonably certain sites. Two of the criteria discussed were of special human interest. Infant or neo-natal burials in the cemeteries of Roman Britain are not encountered before the rise of Christianity, following the conversion of Constantine. (Roman law was strict in prohibiting burial inside the city walls, so, if the babies were not in the cemeteries, where were they? They were the only ones permitted to be buried within the city bounds, usually under the eaves of buildings.) Finding careful infant burials in a cemetery is not then a Roman custom, but a Christian one since it reflects Christ's care for the young. At this same period, graves began a west-east orientation, that is, with the heads towards the west. It is believed that this was so they would arise facing east, the direction from which Christ was to come again.

Watts next prepares a set of ranked criteria for identifying Christian churches. These, again, are divided into internal and external evidence, and twenty-six highly-possible sites are identified using these criteria.

The chapter on Christian symbols and inscriptions was fascinating. Watts discusses not only commonly accepted symbols, but presents rare ones, the recognition of which increases the recognition of Christian sites. Some of this may belong only to the realm of speculation.

At this point, eleven links between pagan religions and practices and Christianity are discussed, from the shape of churches to adopted and adapted symbols. Watts suggests that there are so many similarities that it is likely this had the effect of making Christianity fairly inconspicuous and therefore more acceptable to pagans. Christianity came to Britain as a Roman religion, and it seems to have been stronger in the more romanised areas. The latent paganism in the rural areas seems to have contributed to the disappearance of Christianity there during the Saxon period which followed Rome's withdrawal from Britain. The author states that the withdrawal of Rome from Britain precluded missionary effort since that was dependent on the patronage of the emperor and the protection of the Roman army, and, without these, success would have been impossible. I am unable to agree with her in this assumption.

Watts concludes her book by indicating areas for possible future research, including re-examination of material held in museums. Using her criteria for identification, she feels that many more Christian sites can be recognized. She is probably right.

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BETTY JO BAERG

Winger, Michael. *By What Law? The Meaning of nomos in the Letters of Paul*. SBLDS, 128. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992. xiv + 236 pp. \$44.95.

What is the meaning of "law" in Paul? of the Mosaic Law? of the Old Testament? of the whole of Israel's sacred tradition? of law in general? Since none of the classical answers apply to all passages (for instance, where do you fit Rom 7:25, *nomos hamartias*?), Winger has explored in his doctoral thesis (Columbia University) a new way of determining the sense of this key term. His methodology (chap. 1) works on the basis of a "lexical-semantic" approach to terminology. His procedures for the analysis of meaning—dealing mainly with the differences between meaning, reference and assertion, and the problem of multiple meanings—are inspired on the models of C. K. Ogden, I. A. Richards, and particularly C. S. Pierce, departing slightly from J. Lyons' semantic distinctions, despite the fact that they would seem more useful.

In chaps. 2-4, Winger examines the components of meaning in *nomos* as used by Paul, through quite a comprehensive survey of lexicons, dictionaries, and scholars. His own investigation is based on key patterns of usage, namely paratactic and syntagmatic patterns, the use of *nomos* with genitive and with the article, compared with usage elsewhere in the NT and other literature.

On the basis of this analysis, the author infers that the meaning of "law" in Paul has seven different semantic components: 1) is verbal; 2) is a standard for judgment; 3) is a guide to conduct; 4) controls; 5) is tied to a particular people; 6) has a source; 7) people put themselves under it (35, 51-52, 197).

He concludes that *nomos* in Paul usually refers to Jewish law, although it never loses its Greek meaning of law in general (197), as it appears in Rom 2:14d; 4:15b; 5:13b and 7:2a, 3, 21.

The conclusions reached are tested in chaps. 5 and 6 through a detailed examination of two passages in which *nomos* is prominent: Gal 2:18-21 and Rom 7:14-25. According to Winger, the law in Galatians would refer to Jewish law seen as a human institution, directly associated with the people of Israel. It is "the way of life of the Jewish people rather than the *command* of God" (158). In Rom 7:14-25, where Paul discusses the condition of Christians, "law" would refer also to the Jewish law in this sense (196). Thus "*nomos* is what Jews do. To be a Jew is to do *nomos*, and to do *nomos* is to be a Jew" (109).

Departing from those who explain Paul's abandonment of the law on the ground that its peculiar requirements (circumcision, food laws, the Sabbath, etc.) were a practical hindrance to Gentile conversion (and particularly against F. Watson, *Paul, Judaism and Gentiles*, Cambridge: University Press, 1976, 28-38), Winger dares his own theological conclusion: "In setting Jewish *nomos* against the background of the many *nomoi* which are to be found in the world Paul makes Jewish *nomos*—like every *nomos*, like *nomos* as such—one of those things *tou kosmou* against which, according to 1 Corinthians 1, things *tou theou* are to be contrasted" (201).

Since the author does not deal with the implications of this interpretation of the law in Paul's theology—which departs very slightly from the results of other antinomian interpretation—many questions remain unanswered, among them: What is the relation of *nomos* to God? Therefore, despite the valuable insights of this thesis, the controversy on Paul and the law is far from being settled.

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BOOK NOTICES
NANCY VYHMEISTER

Barker, Margaret. *The Great Angel: A Study of Israel's Other God*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992. xxvi + 253 pp. Paperback, \$21.99.

Barker explores Jewish, early Christian, and gnostic writings to indicate that the NT Son of God, Messiah, and Lord was part of an OT pattern of belief. She finds that Trinitarianism has pre-Christian Jewish roots.

Burge, Gary M. *Interpreting the Gospel of John*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992. 185 pp. Paperback, \$10.99.

In a simple, concise, and readable style, Burge leads beginners through a maze of background literature and presents five steps of exegesis (with appropriate tools) on which to base effective teaching and preaching.

Clarke, Andrew D., and Bruce W. Winter, eds. *One God, One Lord*. 2d ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1992. 256 pp. \$12.99.

Papers presented in the 1991 Tyndale Fellowship Conference on Religious Pluralism seek a common understanding with which evangelicals can approach pluralism.

Dockery, David S., ed. *Holman Bible Handbook*. Nashville: Holman Bible Publishers, 1992. 894 pp. \$29.95.

Illustrated in color, this book-by-book exposition of the main themes of the Bible also contains short articles on theological issues, questions for reflection, and sources for additional study.

Duduit, Michael. *Handbook of Contemporary Preaching*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1992. 607 pp. \$34.99.

Duduit includes writings of fifty authors on the history, theology, preparation, and presentation of sermons. The last chapter contains an excellent bibliography on preaching.

Gaddy, C. Welton. *The Gift of Worship*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1992. 240 pp. \$16.95.

A study of the purpose, manner, and consequences of congregational worship, Welton's book gives practical insights based on biblical theology.

Hamilton, Donald L. *Homiletical Handbook*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1992. 207 pp. \$14.99.

This primer explains the theology and techniques of preaching with many examples; footnotes and bibliography show careful scholarship.

Henry, Carl F. H. *The Identity of Jesus of Nazareth*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1992. 150 pp. \$15.99.

A leading theologian reflects on crucial concerns of Christology; 22 pages of bibliography.

Horton, Michael, ed. *Christ the Lord: The Reformation and Lordship Salvation*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1992. 240 pp. \$11.99.

Evangelical leaders draw on Scripture, theology, and church history to address the Lordship salvation issue.

Howard, David M., Jr. *An Introduction to the Old Testament Historical Books*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1993. 394 pp. \$21.99.

Howard provides a conservative introduction appropriate for college-level classes., "Revised and expanded" on the title page is a printer's error.

Kohlenberger, III, John R. *The NRSV Concordance Unabridged*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991. xiv + 1483 + 76 + 53 + 76 pp. \$34.99.

To make the NRSV usable, this "exhaustive index" (including deuterocanonical books) consists of the main concordance, a 76-page index of articles, conjunctions, particles, prepositions, and pronouns; an index to NRSV footnotes, and a topical index.

O'Collins, Gerald, and Gilberto Marconi, eds. *Luke and Acts*. New York: Paulist Press, 1993. 295 pp. \$10.95.

A collection of articles written on Luke-Acts as a *festschrift* for Emilio Rasco and published in Italian in 1991, this book explores issues and problems in these NT books.

Polhill, John B. *Acts*. The New American Commentary, vol. 26. Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1992. 574 pp. \$24.99.

With the NIV printed in it, this commentary shows scholarly methodology tied to interpretation for teaching and preaching in the church.

Scholer, David M., ed. *Women in Early Christianity*. Studies in Early Christianity, vol. 14. New York: Garland Publishing, 1993. xii + 339 pp. \$59.00.

This book reprints sixteen 20th-century essays on Christian women from the early centuries. Among topics covered: Mary, martyrs, ordination, and sex.

Stulac, George M. *James*. The IVP New Testament Commentary Series. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1993. 206 pp. \$14.99.

Simple yet profound, this commentary examines the implications of issues in James for today's church.