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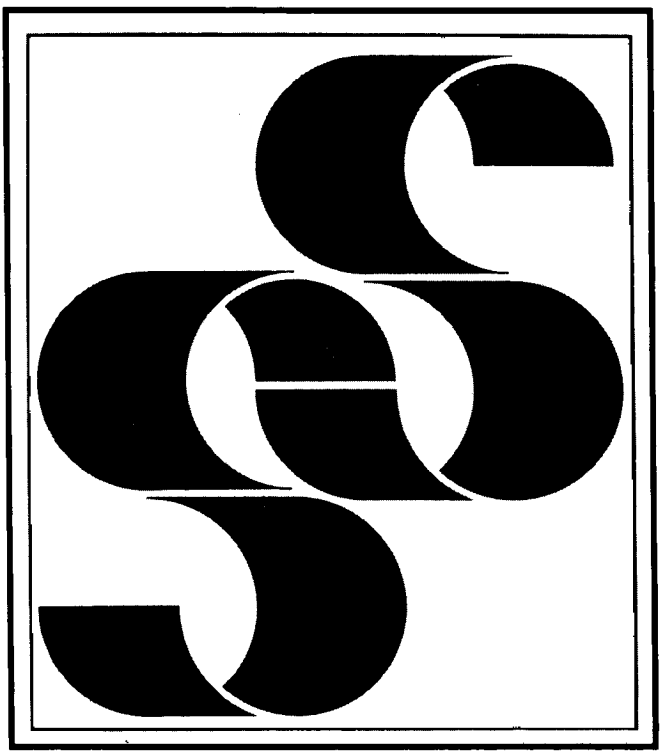

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A NEW LOOK AT THE GENESIS 5 AND 11 FLUIDITY PROBLEM[1]

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Introduction

Since the nineteenth century, OT scholars have generally expressed the opinion that the genealogies in Gen 5 and 11 contain generational and chronological gaps and thus cannot be used, as James Ussher did, for chronological purposes. Most of these scholars believe that genealogies experience fluidity over time; that is, names are often added, omitted, or changed in form. Since the earth is older than Ussher thought, they say, names must have been omitted from the Gen 5 and 11 lists as they were handed down from generation to generation. Thus, in their view, these genealogies do not contradict the generally accepted and quite old dates for the age of the earth and humankind.

Such a view, however, is troubling to some scholars, mostly young-earth creationists, who insist that Gen 5 and 11 clearly present a continuous and no-gap genealogy and chronology from Adam to Abraham. These texts, they argue, are worded in such a way as to exclude omissions and gaps. To suggest omissions and gaps is, in their view, a violation of a straightforward reading of the passages.

If compelling evidence makes it clear that fluidity has occurred in the early Genesis genealogies, then the young-earth position will be damaged. On the other hand, if no compelling evidence exists, the young-earth position will be strengthened and young-earth creationists might justifiably call for OT scholars to reevaluate the chronological value of Gen 5 and 11. Because of the continuing debate and the diffused nature of the evidence, a new look at the Gen 5 and 11 fluidity problem is in order. The new look set forth in this paper is organized in such a way as to answer the question: Did fluidity, for the purpose of compression, symmetry, or any other reason, occur during the transmission of the genealogies in Gen 5 and 11?

The word "fluidity" as used in this study refers to the practice of omitting names from or adding names to a genealogy, or to the practice of

[1]This paper was presented at the Evangelical Theological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, 2003.

changing the spelling of names. When omissions are made, fluidity results in compression; that is, a shortened list. Sometimes omissions result in symmetry; that is, an equal number of names in each section of a divided genealogy. The terms "chronological genealogy" and "nonchronological genealogy" are used to describe the genre of the genealogies.

The Nonchronological Genealogy View

A number of modern theologians think the Gen 5 genealogy is not an accurate historical record, but the result of an ancient Mesopotamian list of legendary heroes (either a king list, sage list, hero list, or a list of tribal ancestors) that has experienced so much fluidity during the long process of transmission from one generation to the next that most or all of its historical and chronological value, if it ever had any, has been lost. They express similar views concerning the Gen 11 genealogy. For these scholars, the early Genesis genealogies, if they ever were genealogies, are discontinuous; that is, they contain generational omissions or gaps.

Claus Westermann argues that the ten names listed in Gen 5 were derived from an ancient tribal oral tradition regarding primeval ancestors.[2] Early in its history this tradition was divided into different segments, which were handed down independently. Westermann locates one segment, or partial segment, in Gen 4:25-26 (Adam, Seth, Enosh) and another in 4:17-18 (Cain, Enoch, Irad, Mehujael, Methushael, Lamech) as employed by the Yahwist (J). He thinks these two segments were also used by the priestly author (P) of Gen 5; thus the names of Gen 4 and 5 were originally the same. He also believes that fluidity during transmission of the segments accounts for the differences between Gen 4 and 5 concerning the spelling of names (Cain/Kenan, Mahujael/Mahalalel, Irad/Jared, Methushael/Methuselah) and the order of names (Cain, Enoch, Irad, Mehujael/Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch). Westermann also argues that P compressed the list of names available to him to ten because this number was "typical and normal for genealogies" in the Ancient Near East.[3]

Jewish theologian Nahum M. Sarna also sees the ten names in Gen 5 as a result of compression.[4] He points to several other ten-

[2]Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-15: A Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 348-354. Westermann denies any connection between Mesopotamian king lists and the ancestor names in Gen 5.

[3]Ibid., 352. Westermann credits Abraham Malamat with demonstrating the common use of a ten-name pattern in ancient genealogies ("King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies," *JAOS* 88 (1968): 163-173).

[4]Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis*, JPS Torah Commentary (New York: Jewish Publication

name lists (Berossus's list of preflood kings, David's genealogy from Perez in Ruth 4:18-22 and 1 Chron 2:5, 9-15, and Abraham's genealogy from Seth in Gen 11:10-26) in ancient records to show that ten-generation genealogies in the biblical world were both artificial and standard. On this basis, he says the "conclusion is unmistakable: we have here [in Gen 5] a deliberate, symmetrical schematization of history."[5]

Gerhard von Rad says the two genealogies in Gen 4 and 5 "obviously [came from] one and the same list."[6] The similarity of names provides his evidence. Fluidity accounts for the different order of names and spelling of names. He thinks the list from which the biblical genealogies came probably was a descendant of the Babylonian tradition of ten mythical antediluvian kings, although the Hebrew versions cast the men as patriarchs. Thus when von Rad calls attention to the "effort of [chapter] 5 to arrange the ages of man and the world,"[7] he does not mean that this text reveals their actual ages. The mythical origin and fluid transmission of the text militate against any such literal interpretation. He simply means the Genesis author provides a fabricated linear view of history in order to challenge the cyclic view of history advocated by many ancient pagan religions.[8]

E. A. Speiser sees similarity between the list of names in Gen 4 and 5 and surmises these two lists descended from a common Mesopotamian source. He points to the Sumerian tradition of ten antediluvian kings as the probable source and suggests it was "modified" during transmission to such an extent that the original names were completely replaced by new ones.[9]

John C. Gibson, likewise, points to ancient tradition as the common source of the Gen 4 and 5 genealogies. He suggests that the number of names in Gen 5 probably reflects the number of preflood kings in the Sumerian tradition.[10] Concerning the names in Gen 4 and 5, Gibson points out that

> The ancient heroes of Hebrew legend are brought together, presented

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Society, 1989), 40-41.

[5]Ibid., 40.

[6]Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, trans. John H. Marks, Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961), 69.

[7]Ibid., 66.

[8]Ibid., 66-69.

[9]E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 41-42.

[10]John C. Gibson, *Genesis*, Daily Study Bible (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981), 1:155-156.

> as related to each other, and little notes are added to identify the fuller stories. The Hebrew lists probably serve as an aid to the memory of Israel's story-tellers or "singers-of-tales." Behind them lies an old Hebrew epic cycle which reflected the views of the early Hebrews on the beginning of the world and rise of civilization.[11]

In Gibson's view, the men of Gen 5 probably were not directly related to each other. Their names were simply added to a storyteller's list as the Hebrew epic cycle developed.

Jack Sasson also assumes a common *vorlage* behind the Cainite genealogy of Gen 4 and the Sethite genealogy of Gen 5. Sasson further maintains the Hebrews often moved an important figure to the fifth and/or seventh position in a genealogy as a way of emphasizing his importance. He notes, for example, that in the Genesis genealogies Enoch is seventh from Adam, Eber is seventh from Enoch, and Abraham seventh from Eber. For Sasson, examples like this constitute proof of fluidity and, therefore, rule out the possibility of drawing an accurate chronology from Gen 5 and 11.[12]

Robert Davidson writes that the ten-name list in Gen 5 is reminiscent of Mesopotamian king lists, thus implying the dependence of the former on the latter for its names and its ten-member form.[13] He notes further that in Babylonian tradition, Enmeduranna King of Sippar was the seventh king, just as Enoch, whose name is similar at its beginning, was seventh from Adam. Seven was considered a sacred number. Shamash had a special fondness for Enmeduranna and blessed him by revealing the secrets of heaven and earth to him, just as the Hebrew deity had a special love for Enoch and blessed him by taking him to heaven. Enoch may have passed from the earth after 365 years, a number which may have been associated with the sun-god.[14] Davidson's points are clear. First, the story of Enoch is dependent on the story of Enmeduranna. Second, the seventh position in ancient genealogies was reserved for outstanding characters, which often involved moving a name from its actual position or from a position completely outside the genealogy at hand to the seventh position. Thus fluidity played a major role in the formation of Gen 5. Omissions were made to achieve the standard ten-name form and names were moved for theological purposes.

[11]Ibid., 156.

[12]Jack Sasson, "A Genealogical Convention in Biblical Chronography?" *ZAW* 90 (1978): 171-177.

[13]Robert Davidson, *Genesis 1-11*, CBC (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 61.

[14]Ibid., 61-62.

Another group of present-day theologians (consisting mostly of evangelicals) argues that the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 are accurate historical records, but that a certain number of names have been omitted from the list. Thus they disagree with the theologians just discussed concerning the historicity of Gen 5 and 11, but agree with them concerning the presence of gaps in the genealogies due to fluidity.

Gleason Archer thinks the fact that both Gen 5 and 11 record exactly ten generations indicates names have been omitted so the list will fit a predetermined symmetrical scheme. He points to Matt 1 as an example of another genealogy in which names are omitted for the sake of symmetry, probably as a memory aid. While granting the existence of omissions in the Genesis genealogies, Archer insists there must be fewer omissions than names listed. In support of this contention, he notes that other long genealogical lists in the Bible never drop more names than they employ. Matthew, for example, lists at least eight ancestors for Jesus for each one he omits. On this same basis, Archer contends humankind could not have been anywhere near 200,000 years old, as some evangelicals propose, for such an age would mean that an unacceptably large number of Adam's ancestors had been dropped from the Genesis genealogies.[15]

K. A. Kitchen gives three reasons for doubting that Gen 5 and 11 present continuous lists of descendants.[16] First, certain archaeological evidence places literate civilization in Egypt around 3000 B.C. and quite a bit earlier in Mesopotamia,[17] dates which conflict with a "continuous" reading of Gen 5 and 11. Second, the word "begat" can refer to a descendant rather than a son. Third, the symmetry of ten names in both lists testifies to schematization.

Gordon Wenham denies the dependence of the Sethite genealogy on either the Cainite genealogy or a Sumerian king list, but embraces the idea of generational and historical gaps in Gen 5.[18] Although he says emphatically that "the Hebrew gives no hint that there were large gaps between father and son in this genealogy," "archaeological discoveries" and "historical problems" compel him to accept them, thus placing Adam in "very distant times."[19]

[15]Gleason Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction* (Chicago: Moody, 1994), 209-212.

[16]K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (Chicago: InterVarsity, 1966), 35-39.

[17]Ibid., 37. Kitchen acknowledges that archaeologists depend heavily upon carbon-14 dating methods for these dates. Radiometric dating methods have been strongly challenged in numerous recent scientific works.

[18]Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, WBC (Waco: Word, 1987), 123-134.

[19]Ibid., 133-134.

Derek Kidner suggests the names in Gen 5 and 11 are historical persons, selected as separate landmarks rather than continuous links. He finds examples of this practice in Matt 1 and in the genealogical record of modern Arab tribes. The fact that the Gen 5 and 11 author does not total his numbers or give the impression that the lives of the patriarchs greatly overlapped each other leads Kidner to doubt that the genealogies could be continuous. Archaeological evidences, which he does not spell out, which "prove" civilization dates to at least 7000 B.C., magnify his doubts.[20]

J. J. Davis thinks the differences between the genealogies of Gen 4 and 5 far outweigh the similarities, so the names in Gen 5 are real people, not creations based on the names in Gen 4.[21] He believes Gen 5 and 11 mention only key antediluvian figures, not every generation, on several grounds. First, no numerical summation appears at the end of either list. Second, Scripture nowhere totals the years of either list. Third, numbers are included which have little to do with chronology. Fourth, Luke 3:36 lists a man named Cainan as the son of Arphaxad, but Gen 11 omits him. Fifth, on a literal reading of the text of Gen 11, Shem outlives Abraham. Sixth, archaeological calculations based on stratigraphy, pottery typology, and carbon-14 readings show that postflood human cultures appeared around 12,000 B.C., thus placing the flood around 18,000 B.C. Seventh, the lists bear the marks of schematic arrangement. Davis thus suspects "considerable" gaps in Gen 5 and 11, but he suggests that these gaps cannot be nearly large enough to accommodate the "extravagant estimates" of the age of humankind and the earth proposed by evolutionist geologists.[22]

Victor P. Hamilton argues that the names of Cain's descendants vary so much from Seth's in both order and spelling that the former evidently had nothing to do with the construction of the latter; that is, they had separate sources. Neither is the Sethite line connected to any Sumerian list of preflood kings, since the genres differ. Seth's line forms a genealogy, whereas the Sumerian line forms a king list. Hamilton thus sees no reason to doubt that Gen 5 and 11 recall actual historical men who descended from Seth and later Shem.[23] He doubts, however, that Gen 5 and 11 record every generation. Expressing the thoughts of many evangelicals, he writes:

[20]Derek Kidner, *Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1967), 82.

[21]J. J. Davis, *Paradise to Prison: Studies in Genesis* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1975), 102, 151.

[22]Ibid., 28-32, 104, 151. Davis, 30, acknowledges his dependence on William H. Green's article "Primeval Chronology," *BSac* 47 (1890): 285-303.

[23]Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis, Chapters 1-17*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 249-254.

> [Recent studies have] shown that these early genealogies in Genesis stem from archetypes among West Semitic tribes from the Old Babylonian period where the ten-generation list is frequent. Applying this observation to Gen. 5 leads us to believe that the names of Gen. 5 need not be understood sequentially. Thus the figures cannot be added to arrive at the age of mankind. Instead what we have here are symmetrical genealogies: ten generations before the flood (Gen. 5) and ten generations after the flood (Gen. 11). So when Gen. 5 says that "X fathered Y" it may mean that "X fathered the line culminating in Y."[24]

Kenneth A. Mathews views the men of Gen 5 and 11 as historical descendants of Seth and Shem, respectively, but he too thinks fluidity has occurred during transmission, resulting in two compressed and symmetrical genealogies.[25] Mathews notes that traditionally these genealogies have been understood to include every generation from Adam to Abraham, and that "there is nothing explicit in the passage to indicate otherwise."[26] He cannot believe, however, that there are no omissions because "this would leave us with a very short span of time to accommodate all that we know about human history."[27] Enoch's seventh-place position in Gen 5, which parallels Boaz's position in David's genealogy as presented in Ruth 4, also indicates to Mathews that Gen 5 and 11 have been schematized, since the number seven symbolizes God's special blessing. Although Mathews fully accepts the idea of gaps in these Genesis genealogies, he insists that said gaps could not be large enough to accommodate the large ages required by evolutionary paleontology, since such huge gaps would defy the biblical convention of listing more generations than are omitted. Thus, in Mathews's view, humankind is only a few thousand years older than Ussher figured.

Ronald F. Youngblood offers another way in which fluidity might have occurred in Gen 5. He suggests the names therein might be the names of outstanding preflood dynasties rather than individuals. Presumably, other less important dynasties were omitted. In this interpretation, the numbers have something to do with the lengths of reign of the rulers. Youngblood

[24]Ibid., 254. An important study upon which Hamilton draws is Abraham Malamat, "Tribal Societies: Biblical Genealogies and African Lineage Systems," *Archives européennes de sociologie* 14 (1973): 126-136.

[25]Kenneth A. Mathews, *Genesis 1–11:26*, NAC (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1996), 295-305. Mathews, 302, acknowledges that the classic statement of his view is found in Green, 285-303. Mathews, 305, also notes his dependence on Benjamin B. Warfield, "On the Antiquity and the Unity of the Human Race," *Princeton Theology Review* 9 (1911): 1-25.

[26]Mathews, 302.

[27]Ibid.

does not say which set of numbers he is referencing, nor what the other sets of numbers might mean. He simply concludes that such an interpretation implies large gaps in the Gen 5 record.[28]

In summary, the most often mentioned arguments for gaps due to fluidity in the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 are: the genealogies in Gen 4 and 5 are so alike that they must have evolved from a common source; the symmetrical ten-generation form of the Gen 5 and 11 genealogies, with emphasis on the seventh position, indicate schematization in the tradition of ancient Mesopotamian king, sage, and ancestor lists; the lives of the patriarchs overlap too much in a no-gap reading of the text; the oft-repeated formula "X fathered Y" should be interpreted to mean that X fathered the line leading to Y; and humankind originated earlier than a no-gap reading of Gen 5 and 11 will allow according to extrabiblical evidence.

The Chronological Genealogy View

Some modern theologians believe not only that Gen 5 and 11 contain the names of actual historical figures, but that those names form a continuous (without generational omissions) and linear genealogy from Adam to Abraham. While they readily acknowledge fluidity as a fairly common occurrence in ancient genealogies, they reason that the occurrence of fluidity in some genealogies does not prove fluidity in all genealogies. They see the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 as two of the many exceptions to the fluidity rule.

In his analysis of early biblical genealogies, Samuel Kulling begins by acknowledging that many biblical genealogies, such as those in Ezra 7 and Matt 1, contain gaps. In his opinion, however, biblical genealogies come in more than one genre. One type of genealogy (e.g., Ezra 7) aims primarily at establishing someone's right to a certain office, position, or inheritance, and needs not include every generation. Another type includes sufficient details, especially numerical data, to indicate it intends to establish a chronology, although other intentions may be present as well. Kulling finds numerous examples of this genre throughout 1 and 2 Kings and 1 and 2 Chronicles in those brief passages where a king of Israel or Judah is said to have reigned a certain number of years before being succeeded by his son (or a usurper). When grouped together these passages form a twenty-generation chronology for both Israel and Judah, and are often used by theologians for establishing the dates of

[28]Ronald F. Youngblood, *The Book of Genesis: An Introductory Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 75.

important events. The passages in Genesis giving the age of Abraham at the birth of Isaac and the age of Isaac at the birth of Jacob provide examples of this genre. These patriarchal passages are also commonly used for chronological purposes.[29]

Kulling then asks to which genre the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 should be assigned. He answers that surely the many numerical notations therein, especially the fathers' ages at procreation, place these genealogies in the second category; that is, with the chronological genealogies. Thus they should be interpreted as possessing no omissions, at least as far as the biblical evidence is concerned.[30]

Brevard S. Childs also sees genre as an important factor in understanding the nature of the Genesis genealogies.[31] He finds two kinds of genealogies in Genesis: vertical (linear) and horizontal (segmented). He analyzes the nature and function of these two types in the context of the ten (*toledoth*) generations, which he says structure the entire book and unify it as a continuous history (contra Westermann). In this history, the function of the horizontal genealogies, such as those dealing with Noah's three sons, Ishmael's offspring, and Esau's descendants (Gen 10, 25, and 36, respectively), is to show the spread of humanity in general outside the special chosen line. The vertical genealogies (primarily Gen 5 and 11), on the other hand, deal with the chosen line of blessing and serve to "trace an unbroken line of descendants from Adam to Jacob, and at the same time to provide a framework in which to incorporate the narrative traditions of the patriarchs."[32] Childs does not say whether he believes the numbers included in these vertical genealogies are accurate and, therefore, suitable for constructing a pre-Abrahamic chronology, but he does indicate that he believes the author of Genesis intended to set forth a continuous, no-gap genealogy, and that there is no warrant within the biblical text itself for interpreting it otherwise.

Another scholar who emphasizes the role of genealogical genre identification in the interpretive process is David T. Rosevear.[33] Like

[29]Samuel R. Kulling, *Are the Genealogies in Genesis 5 and 11 Historical and Complete: That Is, Without Gaps?* (Reihen, Switzerland: Immanuel-Verlag, 1996), 30-31. In the case of the kings of Israel, there are actually four or more genealogies, since there were at least four new dynasties. Their chronological value is nevertheless evident.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 145-146.

[32]Ibid., 146.

[33]David T. Rosevear, "The Genealogies of Genesis," in *Concepts in Creationism*, ed. E. H. Andrews, W. Gitt, and W. J. Ouweneel (Welwyn, Eng: Evangelical Press, 1986), 68-77.

Kulling, Rosevear delineates two major types of linear genealogies in the Bible. First, there are incomplete genealogies, which omit generations, and which the ancient writers employed when the inclusion of every generation was not necessary to their task. Conversely, there are complete genealogies, which drop no generations, and which the biblical authors sometimes used to establish a chronological framework for their narratives, among other things. According to Rosevear, the Sethite and Shemite lists bear the marks of the latter type, especially as seen in the consistent record of the number of years between the birth of each generation. Again, like Kulling, Rosevear looks to the books which deal with the kings of Israel and Judah for other examples of this genealogical genre.

James Jordan agrees with Kulling, Childs, and Rosevear concerning the importance of genre identification in the process of determining whether fluidity has occurred in a genealogy, but he advances their arguments a bit further. He posits that rather than two there are actually many different genealogical forms.[34] For example, he identifies continuous and discontinuous genealogies, chronological and nonchronological genealogies, genealogies that omit only a few generations and others that omit almost every generation, genealogies that are no more than a list of names and others that come with historical and biographical notations, two-generational and twenty-generational genealogies, linear and segmented genealogies. Each has its own functions and characteristics. Jordan reasons that with this vast array of forms available to the author of Genesis, it is unlikely, to say the least, that he would have chosen the form of Gen 5 and 11 with its careful recitation of the number of years between each generation unless he believed his list of names was complete and without generational gaps. Jordan further reasons that the mere fact that detailed chronological information is included in Gen 5 and 11 demonstrates that these texts belong to a genre directly opposed to the idea of fluidity. In his view, to say there are gaps in these texts is to ignore completely their genre.[35]

Most of the theologians who deny fluidity in the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 realize their "genre argument," as reasonable as it may sound, will gain credibility only if they can offer reasonable alternative interpretations of the evidence for fluidity. How do they reply to the five main arguments for fluidity?

[34]James B. Jordan, "The Biblical Chronology Question," *Creation Social Science and Humanities Quarterly* 2 (1979): 1-6.

[35]Ibid., 6.

Argument 1: The Similarity of Names and Order of Names Indicate a Common Source

The first argument says the names and order of names in the Gen 4 and 5 genealogies are so similar that they must have come from a common source which underwent fluidity during transmission, resulting in two different but similar lists. Theologians opposed to this argument reply that the two lists are really quite different, and that any similarities probably resulted either from the tendency of extended families to use the same names repeatedly or from conflation of two originally separate genealogies.[36]

Wenham points out that, while the Cainite genealogy covers seven generations, only six of the names bear any resemblance to a name in the Sethite list. Of the six, four require the change or addition of at least one consonant to become identical. The only two exact matches, Enoch and Lamech, are distinguished by additional biographical notations. The Lamech of Gen 4 murders a young man and boasts about it, whereas the Lamech of Gen 5 acknowledges God in the naming of his son. Little is said concerning the first Enoch, but the second one walks with God for at least three hundred years before being taken away by God in a special way. Fluidity cannot account for such vast characterization differences. Thus the two Enochs and the two Lamechs are different men, and there are actually no matches at all. Wenham further points out the differing styles of the two passages, which he believes suggest distinct sources.[37]

Mathews agrees with Wenham, but sets forth additional differences which he says cannot be attributed to fluidity.[38] Genesis 4 seems ignorant of the flood, unlike Gen 5. Genesis 4 has a segmented genealogy after Lamech and mentions his daughter Naamah, unlike Gen 5. Genesis 5 follows a consistent formula in giving the patriarchs' ages at procreation and death, but the language of Gen 4 is much less formulaic and the ages are totally missing. Seth's genealogy is closely tied to creation, but Cain's is set in the context of expulsion from paradise and family. Thus, Mathews concludes, the two chapters derive from different sources.[39]

Hamilton explains the similarity of names by suggesting that it was not uncommon in ancient times for two people to have the same or similar name at the same time, especially in the same extended family. Parents

[36]Since some theologians who accept the idea of gaps in Gen 5 and 11 nevertheless believe Gen 4 and 5 came from different sources, their opinions will be included here.

[37]Wenham, 123-124.

[38]Mathews, 281-282.

[39]Mathews does not explain, nor is it clear, why these differences cannot be attributed to fluidity due to function.

throughout all ages have often named their children after uncles, cousins, and so on. Perhaps the Cainites and Sethites did likewise.[40] Hamilton seems to acknowledge the validity of Robert R. Wilson's theory that form followed function in the use of ancient genealogies; that is, genealogies were often altered to better serve their purpose as social or political tools. Hamilton also agrees with Wilson that Gen 4 functions to show the spread of sin, whereas Gen 5 emphasizes the transmission of the divine image. Hamilton complains, however, that Wilson fails to show how changing the number of generations, changing the names, and changing the order of names in either of these genealogies would better serve their functions.[41] Lacking such information, Hamilton sees no good reason to posit a common source of fluidity.

Among studies which conclude that Gen 4 and 5 descended from different sources, David T. Bryan's is the most exhaustive.[42] Bryan admits a striking similarity between the two texts as they now stand. He notes that most scholars have explained the likeness by positing one original *vorlage* as the basis for both texts. Thus the original may have been the Sumerian King List or a list of important ancestors. A few scholars have accounted for the likeness in another way. William H. Green argued in the nineteenth century that these genealogies probably experienced partial conflation or assimilation at the time they were translated into Hebrew.[43] Recently, notes Bryan, J. J. Finkelstein[44] and William W. Hallo[45] advanced a similar theory. Pointing to the Sumerian King List and the similar-sounding list of preflood sages (*apkallu*) as a case in which two distinct but closely associated lists gradually grew more alike over time, they suggest the same happened to the Cainite and Sethite genealogies.

Bryan believes one thing is obvious. Since the similarity is too remarkable to be coincidental, fluidity has occurred. Fluidity either caused one list to develop into two or caused two lists to become more like one. Bryan opts for the latter theory. He notes that in known cases of conflation

[40]Hamilton, 250-251.

[41]Ibid., 250. Robert R. Wilson's work is addressed more fully later in this study ("The Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research," *JBL* 94 [1975]: 169-189); see also idem for a thorough analysis of the forms and functions of ancient and modern genealogies (*Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977], 11-205).

[42]David T. Bryan, "A Reevaluation of Genesis 4 and 5 in Light of Recent Studies in Genealogical Fluidity," *ZAW* 99 (1987): 180-188.

[43]Green, 285-303.

[44]J. J. Finkelstein, "The Antediluvian Kings: A University of California Tablet," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 17 (1963): 50.

[45]William W. Hallo, "Antediluvian Cities," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 23 (1970): 63-64.

the two lists are usually still more dissimilar than similar. In cases where one list has evolved into two, the two lists are normally more similar than dissimilar. One might imagine then that one could simply list the similarities and dissimilarities and expect the longer list to indicate the original form. Bryan, however, says this method will not work because some characteristics of genealogies are more prone to fluidity than others. For example, the spelling of an individual's name is much more likely to change than the biographical comments about the same individual. Thus some differences, such as name changes, carry less weight than others, such as changes in description. One must consider the weight of each similarity or dissimilarity in judging the original form.[46]

Working on the basis of this principle, Bryan finds two main similarities: some similar names and a similar order of names, both of which are highly prone to fluidity and, therefore, carry diminished weight. He also finds ten dissimilarities: connection to the flood in Gen 5 is not found in Gen 4; Gen 5 records ten generations, but Gen 4 only seven, or eight if Adam is included; the segmentation after Lamech in Gen 4 appears to be part of the original list, but the segmentation after Noah in Gen 5 appears to be added to the list; the begetting formulas differ; and the functions differ, are prone to change, and carry little weight.

The other five dissimilarities tend to resist fluidity.[47] One is the absence of Noah in Gen 4. Bryan implies that even a change in function or purpose would not lead to the omission of such an important figure. A second is the inclusion of a segmented generation of three males and a female after Lamech in Gen 4, which is absent entirely in Gen 5. A third fluidity-resistant difference is the stress on the beginnings of certain aspects of culture in Gen 4, which is totally missing from Gen 5. A fourth is the numerical data given throughout Gen 5, but nowhere found in Gen 4. Bryan comments: "This is not easily explained by fluidity since even in the [Sumerian King List] the varying traditions of seven to ten kings all have the [numbers] included. The numbers are present even in texts that are fragmented."[48]

The final fluidity-resistant dissimilarity listed by Bryan is the difference in biographical information concerning the two Enochs and the two Lamechs. The Cainite Enoch is associated with the building of a city, but the Sethite Enoch walks with God. The Lamech of Cain's line commits murder and brags about it, but his counterpart fathers

[46]Bryan, 180-182.
[47]Ibid., 183-187.
[48]Ibid., 187.

righteous Noah and prophesies about it.[49] Because he judges these five dissimilarities to be resistant to fluidity, Bryan grants them great weight and determinative importance. He concludes that the two texts are so different that they must have come from separate sources which partially assimilated over time. Thus he believes that fluidity has occurred with regard to the spelling of names, but not necessarily with regard to the omission of names.

Argument 2: The Symmetrical Ten-generation Form of the Text and the Prominence of the Seventh Position Indicate Schematization

How do theologians who deny fluidity has altered the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 reply to the second main argument for fluidity, which says the symmetrical ten-generation form of these texts and the prominence of the seventh position in the texts indicate schematization in accord with a standard Ancient Near Eastern pattern? Their replies follow several lines of thought.

Jordan simply states that there is "no reason why Genesis 5 and 11 cannot reflect the actual historical state of affairs; indeed, the inclusion of the father's age at the birth of the son militates against any gaps . . . and thus favors historical accuracy."[50] Jordan does not, however, ignore the ten-generation literary convention of the Ancient Near East. On the basis of P. J. Wiseman's theory that Genesis is structured around and compiled from a number of *toledoth* (historical records), which were recorded near the time of the events and then handed down from generation to generation in ancient times,[51] Jordan suggests that the record preserved in Gen 5 predates and may be the source of the convention.[52]

Richard Niessen reasons that just because some ten-generation lists have been schematized does not necessarily mean that all have been. In his view, Gen 5 and 11 record ten generations each because there actually were ten generations before the flood and after the flood to

[49]Ibid., 187-188.

[50]Jordan, 9.

[51]P. J. Wiseman, *New Discoveries in Babylonia about Genesis* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1958), 45-89. See also Duane Garrett, *Rethinking Genesis: The Sources and Authorship of the First Book of the Pentateuch* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 91-125; and R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 63-64, 542-553. Harrison, 552, asserts: "There can be no real questions as to the immense antiquity of the source material that is to be found in Genesis."

[52]Jordan, 9.

Abraham. He notes that nothing in the texts indicates otherwise, and the numbers indicate no omissions have been made. Niessen admits that the genealogy in Matt 1 has been schematized, but since Matthew lists three sets of fourteen generations, surely this simply proves that ancient scribes were not locked into a ten-generation form. Niessen also notes that believing Gen 5 and 11 have been schematized because Matt 1 has been ignores the fact that they are different types of literature; that is, the Genesis texts have numbers, but Matt 1 does not. Thus comparing Gen 5 and 11 to Matt 1 is like comparing apples to oranges, and constitutes a basic hermeneutical error.[53]

Kulling points out a stunning reality that almost everyone seems to have overlooked; namely, that the Gen 5 and 11 genealogies are not really symmetrical. The *toledoth* of Adam contains ten names (Adam to Noah), with the tenth having three sons (Shem, Ham, and Japheth). The *toledoth* of Shem records only nine names (Shem to Terah) with the ninth fathering three sons (Abraham, Nahor, and Haran).

Adam's *toledoth* (Gen 5:1-32)	**Shem's *toledoth* (Gen 11:10-26)**
1. Adam	1. Shem
2. Seth	2. Arphaxad
3. Enosh	3. Shelah
4. Kenan	4. Eber
5. Mahalaleel	5. Peleg
6. Jared	6. Reu
7. Enoch	7. Serug
8. Methuselah	8. Nahor
9. Lamech	9. Terah (three sons)
10. Noah (three sons)	

To say that Abraham (Abram) counts as the tenth generation in Gen 11 is no help to symmetry, because consistency would then

[53]Richard Niessen, "A Biblical Approach to Dating the Earth: A Case for the Use of Genesis 5 and 11 as an Exact Chronology," *Creation Research Society Quarterly* 19 (June 1982): 63.

demand that Shem be counted in Gen 5 (cf. 11:26 with 5:32). The supposed symmetry does not really exist.[54]

To these arguments must be added the findings of several well-known and widely respected scholars who do not necessarily support a no-gap view of Gen 5 and 11, but who nevertheless maintain that these biblical genealogies have no connection to the Sumerian King List, or who conclude that there is in fact no ten-generation pattern among the ancient king, sage, or tribal ancestor lists. A few examples must suffice.

In a carefully reasoned and well-documented article, Gerhard F. Hasel analyzes all the relevant ancient texts and concludes no connection exists, either in fact or in form, between Gen 5 and the Sumerian King List (SKL).[55] He gives ten reasons.

1. SKL names are distinct from those of Genesis in terms of languages.
2. SKL gives years of reign, not life-spans, due to different function.
3. SKL links kings with cities, not fathers with sons.
4. SKL uses much larger numbers.
5. SKL argues for the continued political unity of Sumer and Akkad under one king, but Gen 5 has nothing to do with politics.
6. SKL lists kings, not ancestors.
7. SKL is local in scope, not universal as is Gen 5.
8. SKL starts with the beginning of kingship, not man.
9. SKL ends with a king named Suruppak, not a flood hero like Noah.
10. SKL does not really exist consistently in a ten-generation form.

In connection with the last reason, Hasel notes that as recently as 1965 a major study concluded that the Hebrew borrowed the ten-generation pattern of Gen 5 from the Sumerian King List.[56] Hasel, however, points out that:

> the major rescension of the Sumerian King List (WB 444) contains only eight and not ten kings. One text contains only seven kings (W)

[54]Kulling, 33-34. W. H. Gispen also acknowledges the lack of symmetry (*Genesis*, Commentaar op het Oude Testament [Kampen, Netherlands: Kok, 1974], 385-386). The LXX lists an additional generation in Gen 11, but strong evidence indicates this was a scribal addition. See the third chapter of my dissertation "The Chronological Value of Genesis 5 and 11 in Light of Recent Biblical Investigation" (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1998).

[55]Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11 and Their Alleged Babylonian Background," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 361-374. See also K. Luke, "The Genealogies in Genesis 5," *Indian Theological Studies* 18 (1981): 223-244.

[56]See W. G. Lambert, "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis," *JTS* 16 (1965): 287-300, esp. 292-293.

> and another (UCBC 9-1819) either seven or eight, whereas a bilingual fragment from Ashurbanipal's library has but nine kings. Berossos and only one ancient tablet (WB 62), i.e. only two texts (of which only one is a cuneiform document), give a total of ten antediluvian kings. On the basis of the cuneiform data it can no longer be suggested that the Sumerian King List contained originally ten antediluvian kings after which the biblical genealogies were patterned.[57]

Hasel makes two additional arresting observations. First, "the supposedly unbroken line of descent in Genesis 5 is in stark contrast to the concurrent or contemporaneous dynasties of the Sumerian King List."[58] Then he reminds his readers that the Sumerian King List lists thirty-nine postdiluvians, about four times as many as Gen 11 lists.[59]

Wenham twice makes reference to the different number of preflood kings in the various Mesopotamian versions of the Sumerian King Lists, thus showing his doubt about a ten-generation norm.[60] He does see, especially in T. Jacobsen's reconstructed Sumerian version,[61] a correspondence in the order of events between the Sumerian flood story and Gen 5–9, 11. To him, this demonstrates not dependence of one on the other, but a common, early tradition about, for instance, the beginnings of the world, humankind, civilization, and the flood. The differences in the genealogical parts of the two versions, he implies, have to do with the purpose for which they were used. A Sumerian story writer may have inverted the names of a number of early kings in a politically motivated effort to justify his city's claim to leadership in Mesopotamia. Other cities may have inserted different names of kings in different numbers to support their claims. The Hebrews meanwhile worked from the same historical framework, but did not insert a king list, since they had no political agenda. Instead, they used the names of their forefathers all the way back to the first man for religious and/or historiographic reasons. The point is that the Hebrew ancestor list of Gen 5 does not appear dependent on any Sumerian king list for its names or ten-generation form.[62]

Robert R. Wilson argues vigorously that a standard Ancient Near Eastern ten-generation genealogical form simply did not exist, or at least has not yet been demonstrated. Among theologians who think generations have been omitted to make Gen 5 and 11 fit a standard ten-

[57]Hasel, 367.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Wenham, 124.

[61]T. Jacobsen, "The Eridu Genesis," *JBL* 100 (1981): 513-529.

[62]Wenham, xxxix-xli, 123-125. M. B. Rowton also suggests a political motive behind the SKL ("The Date of the Sumerian King List," *JNES* 19 [1960]: 156-162).

generation form, the works of Abraham Malamat have been influential.[63] As already mentioned, Westermann credits him with demonstrating the common use of a ten-name pattern in ancient genealogies. Many others also show dependence on Malamat's studies in this regard. In a thorough analysis of Malamat's studies, however, Wilson concludes that while Malamat made some significant contributions to academe's understanding of ancient genealogies, his conclusion concerning the ten-generation pattern was unjustified.[64]

Malamat attempts to show similarities between OT genealogical forms and Ancient Near Eastern genealogical patterns.[65] He sometimes uses studies of modern tribal genealogies to back up his claims of a standard form. An Assyrian king list and the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty form the basis for his comparisons. Malamat says he discovered that these ancient Amorite documents had four divisions, and that these same divisions could also be found in the biblical genealogies as a rule.[66]

The first division, which he labeled "genealogical stock" in the Assyrian king list and Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty, contained twelve and eleven names, respectively, after a few adjustments, and consisted of artificial names (sometimes tribal names) arbitrarily linked together. Citing also modern tribal genealogies of nine to eleven generations, he concluded these were evidence of a standard ten-generation form as found in Genesis, since all of these lists were near ten generations.[67]

The second division, the "determinative line," was used to link the genealogical stock with the rest of the list. Here the number of names listed amounts to five in the Assyrian king list and two in the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty. In the Bible, it began with Abraham and ended with Judah—only four generations.[68]

[63]Abraham Malamat, "King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies," in *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser*, ed. William W. Hallo, American Oriental Series 53 (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1968), 163-173; idem, "Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institutions," *JAOS* 82 (1962): 143-150; idem, "Tribal Societies," 126-136.

[64]Robert R. Wilson, "The Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research," *JBL* 94 (1975): 169-189; see also idem for a thorough analysis of the forms and functions of ancient and modern genealogies (*Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977], 11-205).

[65]Malamat, "King Lists," 163-173.

[66]Ibid., 164.

[67]Ibid., 165-168.

[68]Ibid., 168-169.

The "table of ancestors" formed the third division and was used to link the determinative line to the last division. In the Assyrian king list, this division is clearly marked by the superscription "ten kings who are ancestors," and consists of the genealogy of Samsi-Adad, a well-known king. In the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty, the division is not clearly marked, but Malamat believed originally it contained ten names, although fluidity has made this unclear. He again cited some modern tribal genealogies near the ten-generation depth. The ten ancestors of David found in Ruth 4 provide a biblical example. He also suggested that the Bible meant to preserve ten ancestors of Saul, but he could find only seven.[69]

The final division, the "historical line," consists of the immediate ancestors of a king or important person who wished to validate his right to a position by linking his line with his predecessors. This division is quite long in the Assyrian king list and the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty. He found no example in the Bible, but felt their existence at one time was quite possible.[70]

From this analysis, Malamat concludes that in Amorite culture the ideal form for a table of ancestors was ten generations, just as is found in Gen 5 and 11. A short time later, T. C. Hartman added support to Malamat's conclusion.[71] Hartman argued that Speiser erred in connecting Gen 5 to the Sumerian King List since there are numerous and basic differences. He also found fault with Speiser for tracing the ten-generation form to the Sumerian King List because most versions of it have fewer than ten names. Based on his consideration of Malamat's work, Hartman concluded that the ten-name form of Gen 5 probably came from the Amorite preference for ten-name genealogies.

Wilson finds major weaknesses in the arguments and conclusions of Malamat and Hartman. First, Wilson points out that the four-division genealogical pattern supposedly found in the Assyrian king list and the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty simply does not exist in the OT. For instance, the names of Malamat's second division in Scripture, Abraham through Judah, never appear together in a linear genealogy in the OT. Furthermore, Malamat himself cannot give an example from the Bible which fits his fourth division.[72]

Second, based on his extensive study of genealogies as used by

[69]Ibid., 169-171.

[70]Ibid., 164.

[71]T. C. Hartman, "Some Thoughts on the Sumerian King List and Genesis 5 and 11B," *JBL* 91 (1972): 25-32.

[72]Wilson, "Old Testament Genealogies," 178.

modern Arab and African tribal societies, Wilson concludes that linear genealogies regularly vary in depth from about five to as many as nineteen generations. Thus, tribal societies do not favor one particular depth. He implies that Malamat selects only those tribal generations which support his ten-generation theory to use as examples, while ignoring the many genealogies of different depths. Even then the examples vary from nine to eleven generations and must be adjusted to fit exactly the ten-name form.[73]

Third, Wilson notes that of the eight sections which Malamat says make up the Assyrian king list and the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty (four each), only one actually contains ten names in its present form. The four sections of the Assyrian king list contain twelve, five, ten, and seventy-seven names, respectively. The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty contains eleven names in its first section and two in its second. The third and fourth sections are not clearly marked. Malamat resorts to arbitrary adjustments and divisions to give the general impression of a standard depth, but none actually exists, whether it be ten or any other number.[74] In an understatement, Wilson concludes: "[Malamat] has not supplied enough evidence to support his claim that those genealogies had a stereotypical ten-generation depth or a four-part structure."[75]

Fourth, Wilson points out that the Assyrian king list and the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty fall into the king-list category. Neither emphasizes kinship relationships, and often names are listed without any genealogical or biographical references. Genesis 5 and 11, on the other hand, show characteristics of a family genealogy. Wilson claims, therefore, that it is methodologically incorrect to compare the Assyrian king list and the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty with the Genesis records since they are different types of literature.[76]

Wilson agrees with Malamat and Hartman concerning the fairly

[73]Ibid., 175-179. For a thorough discussion of modern Arab and African genealogies, see Wilson, *Genealogy*, 18-55.

[74]Wilson, "Old Testament Genealogies," 182-188.

[75]Ibid., 188. Malamat's own tentative language lends support to Wilson's conclusion that Malamat failed to prove his case. For example, in his discussion of the supposed ten-generation form of ancient genealogies, Malamat, at one point, uses eight tentative words or phrases—(1) possible, (2) possibly, (3) may have been, (4) we may also assume, (5) puzzling, (6) we most likely, (7) if we assume, (8) tendency—in the space of just eight sentences ("King Lists," 165-166). Such language undermines his confident-sounding conclusion that "the ante and postdiluvian lines [of Adam and Shem, respectively], symmetrically arranged to a ten-generation depth, are undoubtedly the product of intentional harmonization and in imitation of the concrete genealogical model."

[76]Wilson, "Old Testament Genealogies," 187.

common occurrence of fluidity in ancient and modern genealogies. He cautions, however, that fluidity in some genealogies does not mean fluidity in all genealogies. Each genealogy has a different function and setting, so each must be examined individually; thus "no generalizations are possible."[77]

Bryan has challenged the idea put forth by Sasson and others that an emphasis on the seventh position in the early Genesis genealogies indicates schematization. Sasson himself acknowledges the absence of such a practice in ancient Mesopotamian genealogies and king lists.[78] He also admits that even the Hebrews failed to use it consistently.[79] Pointing beyond these basic weaknesses in Sasson's theory to a methodological weakness, Bryan writes:

> [Sasson's] methodology is inconsistent. Arguing that Eber is seventh from Enoch, he begins counting with the generations following Enoch. Then when asserting that Abraham is seventh from Eber, he starts counting with Eber. If he were consistent, Abraham would be number six from Eber.[80]

Bryan points to what he thinks is another methodological error. Sasson assumes that the Cainite and Sethite genealogies sprang from a common *vorlage* with Lamech in the seventh position. Once adopted, this assumption leads to the inevitable conclusion that Enoch was inserted into the list. According to Bryan, this kind of reasoning amounts to begging the fluidity question, since the unproved assumption is the main evidence for the conclusion.[81]

Argument 3: Overlap of the Patriarchs' Lives in a No-gap Reading Indicates Fluidity

The third main argument for fluidity is that the lives of the Gen 5 and 11 patriarchs overlap to an unbelievable extent in a no-gap reading of the text. For example, before the flood Adam lived until after the birth of Lamech (Noah's father), and all of the patriarchs from Adam to Methusealah for a brief period were contemporaries. After the flood, Shem almost outlived Abraham, and Eber did outlive Abraham by a few years. How do chronological genealogy advocates explain such an incredible scenario?

Jordan's explanation is typical. He claims there is no objective

[77]Ibid., 189.
[78]Sasson, 172.
[79]Ibid.
[80]Bryan, 181.
[81]Ibid., 182.

reason to reject the idea that these patriarchs' lives overlapped to a great extent. Such an idea seems strange to modern scholars, says Jordan, only because they have been conditioned to think that long ages passed between the time of Adam and the time of Abraham. Previous generations of scholars saw nothing incredible about overlapping patriarchal life spans at all.[82] For example, Martin Luther wrote:

> But Noah saw his descendants up to the tenth generation. He died when Abraham was about fifty-eight years old. Shem lived with Isaac about 110 years and with Esau and Jacob about fifty years. It must have been a very blessed church that was directed for so long a time by so many pious patriarchs who lived together for so many years.[83]

Jordan acknowledges that Scripture records little about contact between the men of Gen 5 and 11. He offers two possible explanations for this lack of information. First, such information was unnecessary to the author's purpose. Second, many of the men seem to have migrated to different geographical areas, thus making contact difficult and rare.[84]

According to Jordan, most theologians believe that, because a long period of time (perhaps several millennia) passed between the flood and the call of Abraham, the knowledge of God was lost, and Abraham was called to restore that knowledge. Against this scenario, Jordan notes that Melchizedek and his city seemed to have possessed a full knowledge of God before Abraham, as did Job and his culture, although Job's friends misapplied their knowledge.[85] After Abraham's day, but apparently without contact with Abraham's descendants, Balaam knew about and prophesied in the name of YHWH. Presumably other prophets did likewise. For Jordan, such widespread knowledge of God argues against the idea of a long period between the flood and Abraham and argues for greatly overlapping patriarchal life spans.[86]

[82]Jordan, 4.

[83]Martin Luther, *Commentary on Genesis*, trans. J. Theodore Mueller (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1958), 199; cited in Jordan, 1-2.

[84]Jordan, 4. Jordan suggests that the *Gilgamesh Epic* may have a historical basis and may provide an example of one of these rare visits of one patriarch to another. In the epic, Gilgamesh takes a long trip to find the old man who survived the flood, Utnapishtim, who promptly tells him about the flood.

[85]Jordan, 4, assumes a date for Job prior to the time of Abraham, at least as far as the heart of Job's story is concerned.

[86]Jordan, 4-5. In this view, Joshua's charge that Abraham's forefathers worshiped pagan gods (Josh 24:2) is taken in a general sense, just as charges of idolatry against all Israel by later prophets, such as Jeremiah and even Jesus, are commonly understood to allow for exceptions.

Argument 4: Gen 5 and 11 Genealogical Lists Present Family Lines, Not Immediate Descendants

The fourth main argument for gaps due to fluidity in the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 is that the regularly repeated formula "When X had lived Y years, he became the father of Z" should be interpreted to mean that X lived Y years and became the father of someone in the list of descent that led to Z. This interpretation leaves room for any number of generations between X and Z. Of all the arguments for gaps due to fluidity, those who deny gaps in Gen 5 and 11 respond most vociferously to this one. They seem genuinely stunned that an interpretation they consider to be in violation of a basic hermeneutical principle and contrary to the plain words of the text is seriously advocated by so many theologians, including leading conservative evangelicals. Jordan contends knowledgeable theologians would never imagine such an interpretation, let alone advocate it, were it not for their old-earth presuppositions and the resulting pressure to make the text compatible with their old-earth scale.[87]

According to the reasoning of chronological genealogy advocates, one of the most widely accepted principles of interpretation, especially among those who employ the grammatical-historical method, is that the author's intended meaning is the correct meaning of the text.[88] How does one know the author's intended meaning? His meaning is normally the most obvious sense of his statements, as determined by his target audience.[89] Throughout Jewish and church history up until the time of Lyell and Darwin, virtually all believers, the target audience, understood Gen 5 and 11 as continuous genealogies which recorded a name from every generation between Adam and Abraham and the number of years between those generations.[90] To change the wording of the formula from "When X had lived Y years, he became the father of Z" to "When X had lived Y years, he begat someone in the line of descent that led to

[87]Ibid., 6.

[88]E. D. Hirsch Jr. analyzes this principle in depth and concludes that it is undoubtedly correct since language signs cannot speak their own meaning (*Validity in Interpretation* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967], 1-23).

[89]Obvious exceptions to this rule can be found in Scripture. For example, Jesus sometimes spoke in veiled language which the unrepentant people of his day misinterpreted. Jesus, however, was by his own admission deliberately avoiding a straightforward presentation of his message. The vast majority of the time the biblical writers presumably tried to communicate their message as clearly as they could within their space limitations. Thus the rule stands.

[90]See the introduction to this study.

Z" changes the author's intended meaning and constitutes a major violation of a well-established hermeneutical principle.[91]

Did the target audience misunderstand the author's intended meaning by overlooking the fact that X fathered Y can mean that X was the ancestor of Y? Surely they did not, say the no-gap advocates, since the ambiguous nature of the word "father" has always been well known. In the case of Gen 5 and 11, the audience rejected such an interpretation, because the author took great pains to include in his text the number of years between the birth of each man listed and the birth of each man's successor. These numbers are superfluous and entirely without meaning unless the author intended to tie the names together in a continuous sequence of generations.[92]

The correctness of the audience's interpretation is confirmed, according to continuous genealogy advocates, in at least four ways. First, no other reasonable explanation for the presence of the numbers has ever been set forth. Second, ancient literature affords no example in which the formula "X lived Y years and begat Z" can be shown to mean that there were generations between X and Z. Third, the Genesis text itself establishes that no generations came between Adam and Seth (5:3), Seth and Enosh (4:26), Lamech and Noah (5:28), Noah and Shem (6:10, 7:13, 8:15, 9:18, 10:1, 11:10), Eber and Peleg (10:25), or Terah and Abraham (11:27-32), thus making the generations between the other men unlikely. Fourth, in the NT, Jude, apparently an early church leader and half-brother of Jesus, speaks of Enoch as "the seventh from Adam" (Jude 14), thus demonstrating his belief that there were no gaps from Adam to Enoch, and probably indicating the belief that both the genealogy of Adam and the genealogy of Shem are without gaps. According to the reasoning of the continuous genealogy advocates, since Jude was much closer to and presumably more familiar with ancient literature, his opinion should carry more weight than that of modern interpreters.[93]

Argument 5: Extrabiblical Evidence Demonstrates That Humankind Originated Earlier Than a No-gap Reading of Gen 5 and 11 Will Allow

The fifth and final argument for gaps due to fluidity in the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 is that, according to extrabiblical evidence (e.g., scientific evidence), humankind originated longer ago than a no-gap

[91]Kulling, 25-36; Niessen, 61-65; Rosevear, 73; Bert Thompson, *Creation Compromises* (Montgomery, AL: Apologetics Press, 1995), 175; and Jordan, 5-6.

[92]Rosevear, 72-73; Niessen, 62-63.

[93]Kulling, 25-36; Niessen, 61-65; Rosevear, 73; and Jordan, 5-6.

reading of these two genealogies will allow. Because the reply of chronological genealogy advocates to this argument is voluminous, technical, and complicated, it is beyond the scope of this study.

In summary, those who take the chronological genealogy view insist that the first step in deciding the fluidity question is genre identification. Ancient genealogies came in different forms to serve different functions. Some forms accommodated fluidity; others did not. The inclusion of the age of each patriarch at procreation marks Gen 5 and 11 as chronological genealogies, a genre which excludes the idea of fluidity.

For chronological genealogy advocates, the second step in deciding the fluidity question consists of exposing weaknesses in the arguments for fluidity. First, advocates point out that the Cainite and Sethite genealogies have more, and more significant, dissimilarities than similarities, thus indicating that they probably did not evolve from the same proposed original source. The similarities are best explained by the tendency of extended families to use the same or similar names repeatedly, or from conflation in the spelling of the names, rather than normal fluidity. Second, they maintain that there was no such thing as a standard ten-generation form for ancient genealogies (especially Wilson contra Malamat), nor was emphasis on the seventh position standard. Third, they point out, while overlapping patriarchal life spans might seem suspect to the modern mind, no one has yet shown why these ancient men could not have been contemporaries, just as earlier theologians thought. Fourth, the chronological genealogy advocates argue that no literary precedent exists for interpreting "X lived Y years and fathered Z" as "X lived Y years and fathered the line leading to Z." They further maintain that this latter interpretation would violate a basic hermeneutical principle and render meaningless all of the "Y" numbers given in the formula repeated eighteen times in Gen 5 and 11.

Critical Evaluation

The fluidity question as previously posed asks, "Did fluidity for the purpose of compression, symmetry, or any other reason occur during the transmission of the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11?" Scholarly attempts to answer this question revolve around five issues.

The first issue involves the importance of genre identification in the interpretive process. The foregoing discussion reveals a tendency among gap advocates to see all genealogies as the same genre. Although they often talk of different genealogical forms and functions, in practice they regularly draw conclusions concerning one genealogy by comparing it

to a genealogy of a different sort. Their comparison of Matt 1, which has no numbers, with Gen 5, which has three different numbers for each of the twenty generations, and then assuming gaps in Gen 5 because of known gaps in Matt 1, provides a prime example of indifference to genre. Such indifference is hermeneutically indefensible. The multitude of genealogical forms extant in the biblical world should not only provide scholars clues to different functions, but also to different rules of interpretation. Since no-gap advocates emphasize careful attention and strict conformance to such rules, the high ground on this aspect of the issue goes to them.

Simply calling for genre identification and adherence to appropriate interpretive rules, however, does not insure that one can accurately identify a genre. No-gap advocates identify Gen 5 and 11 as chronological genealogies primarily because the age at which each patriarch "fathered" the next person on the list is given. Do such procreation ages really mark a genealogy as chronological? No-gap proponents can give only a few examples of genealogical materials which use the age of a father at the birth of a son for chronological purposes. These examples come almost exclusively from the patriarchal accounts in Gen 12–50. On the other hand, gap proponents can give absolutely no evidence, ancient or modern, biblical or extrabiblical, in which a "father's" age at the birth of a certain son was clearly not meant to convey chronological information. Thus no precedent exists for understanding the procreation ages in a nonchronological way. On balance, then, these ages are best understood as marks of a chronological genealogy.

The second issue scholars debate in an attempt to decide the fluidity question concerns the similarity of the Cainite (Gen 4) and the Sethite (Gen 5) genealogies. Did one original list evolve through fluidity into two similar lists? The similarity of names is too conspicuous to be ignored and can hardly be explained as coincidence. On the other hand, there are numerous dissimilarities, some of which are not usually found in two lists which come from the same source. Only Bryan's well-documented suggestion that the similarity of names resulted from the conflation of two separate sources adequately accounts for both the similarities and dissimilarities. Conflation, of course, is a form of fluidity, but in this case it deals only with changes in the spelling of names, not the omission of names. Thus Bryan's view is consistent with the no-gap view regarding the fluidity question.

The third issue of note in the scholarly debate concerning the fluidity question concerns the possible schematization of the Gen 5 and 11 genealogies to fit a standard ten-generation form with emphasis on the

seventh position. Malamat's works on this issue led almost all scholars to believe that such a form was standard in the Ancient Near East, and that the Genesis author dropped names from his genealogical source in order to meet the accepted pattern. Wilson's subsequent work, however, has pointed out significant flaws in Malamat's methods and conclusions, and has shown that both Ancient Near Eastern king lists and modern tribal genealogies vary greatly in the number of generations included with no preference evident for any particular length. Hasel has shown that the Sumerian King List can no longer be used as an example of a standard ten-generation form since nearly all versions of the list contain between seven and nine generations. Thus if a ten-generation pattern ever existed, it has yet to be demonstrated. Scholars no longer have an evidentiary basis for assuming the schematization of Gen 5 and 11.

The fourth issue debated in relation to the fluidity question pertains to the overlapping patriarchal life spans. Gap advocates find the overlaps too large and incredible to be true, while no-gap advocates fail to see any objective reason to doubt them. Since they give no other reason, the incredulity of the gap advocates appears to stem from their commitment to a date for the flood prior to 3500 B.C. and for the creation of humans prior to 10,000 B.C. Their case then rests on historical and scientific arguments concerning human chronology. As far as the biblical literature is concerned, nothing militates against the idea that many of the Gen 5 and 11 men were contemporaries, just as Luther believed.

The fifth issue often discussed in the debate over the fluidity question concerns whether the formula "X fathered Z" should be interpreted to mean that X fathered the line leading to Z. The most telling evidence on this issue is the fact that the latter interpretation was virtually unknown by Jews or Christians prior to A.D. 1800. If the Genesis writer intended for his target audience to understand that there were names omitted from his list, then he failed miserably. There is no doubt that widespread acceptance of Lyellian geology and Darwinian biology, rather than sound hermeneutical principles, fostered the new interpretation. Green and Warfield, the source of the new interpretation, admitted their purpose was to save the credibility of the OT in the face of the new science. In attempting to do so, they ignored over two thousand years of interpretive history. Other evidences are telling as well. The presence of the fathers' ages at the birth of their sons is clearly superfluous, even misleading, if generations are missing between fathers and sons. One strains without success to even imagine why the Genesis author would include these ages unless he meant to tie the generations together in a continuous sequence. Since no one has yet pointed out

another example in all of ancient literature where omissions are known to exist in a genealogy which gives the age of X at the birth of Z, what ground exists for interpreting Gen 5 and 11 in such a way? To date, no such ground has been offered, let alone established.

In summary, the case for fluidity during transmission of the Gen 5 and 11 genealogies suffers from a lack of evidence. While all parties readily acknowledge fluidity in some ancient genealogies, scholars have yet to present sound evidence of fluidity in the Sethite and Shemite lists. Conflation adequately explains the similarity between Gen 4 and 5. Wilson has shown that the supposed ten-generation standard genealogical form was a myth based on selected evidence. Arguments against overlapping patriarchal life spans lack biblical support. No precedent exists for interpreting the formula "X lived Y years and fathered Z" to mean that "X lived Y years and fathered the line of Z." Such a meaning would in fact contradict many centuries of interpretive history.

Thus the main arguments for fluidity in this case lack a firm basis. This lack of evidence for fluidity does not mean necessarily that fluidity has not occurred, because evidence might yet come to light. At present, however, one might easily conclude, at least as far as the biblical evidence is concerned, that no omissions, additions, or alterations (other than name conflations) have been made to the Gen 5 and 11 genealogies.

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JESUS: GOD'S AGENT OF CREATION

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One aspect of the person and work of Jesus Christ that has not been explored adequately is the work of the preincarnate Logos in the creation of the earth and universe. This study is an attempt to stimulate discussion relating to a biblical understanding of the work of Jesus in creation.[1]

There are four primary passages in the NT which speak of Jesus' role in creation. These passages are 1 Cor 8:6; Col 1:16; Heb 1:2, 10; and John 1:3, 10. These passages are familiar, but seldom considered as a body which may reflect a tradition or belief within the early church. These passages will be considered for their impact on the issue; then implications derived from the passages will be presented.

The Biblical Data

The four passages will be examined from the earliest to the latest. The language and context of each passage will be especially noted. The goal of this section is not a full exegesis of each passage; instead, the purpose will be to demonstrate that in each of the four passages Christ's role in creation is declared and that the context and occasion for that declaration may be similar.

1 Corinthians 8:6

The earliest of the four passages, 1 Cor 8:6, is part of a literary unit discussing involvement with idolatry, specifically related to eating foods sacrificed to idols and then sold in the marketplace, dining in temples devoted to idols and gods, or perhaps both. Much has been written on the specific situation, and it is not necessary for the purpose of this study to define the situation more precisely.[2]

[1]"Jesus," "Christ," and "Jesus Christ" are used interchangeably in this study, with no significance as to which term is employed.

[2]For more discussion of the exact situation, consult Gordon D. Fee, "Εἰδωλόθυτα Once Again: An Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 8-10," *Bib* 61 (1980): 172-197; Ben Witherington III, "Not So Idle Thoughts About *Eidolothuton*," *TynB* 44/2 (1993): 237-254; Bruce N. Fisk, "Eating Meat Offered to Idols: Corinthian Behavior and Pauline Response in 1 Corinthians 8-10 (A Response to Gordon Fee)," *TrinJ* 10 ns (1989): 49-70; and Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids:

The religious pluralism in Corinth is well known. The ancient writer Pausanias recorded the presence of twenty-six different shrines present in Corinth.[3] There were temples dedicated to Apollo, Demeter and Kore, Aphrodite,[4] as well as a shrine for the healing cult of Asklepios.[5] Archaeologists have discovered evidence of the Egyptian cults on inscriptions on coins to Sarapis and Isis.[6] Numerous statues of gods were present in Corinth.

I have argued elsewhere[7] that in this unit, Paul follows a literary pattern demonstrated in other passages of presenting the words of those in Corinth who might hold a position contrary to his own by refuting or modifying the statement. In 1 Cor 8:4, then, Paul announced a new topic with the prepositional phrase Περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὖν τῶν εἰδολωθύτων ("So then, about eating food sacrificed to idols").[8] He then cited the saying of the Corinthians, οἴδαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς θεός εἰ μὴ εἷς ("We know that an idol is nothing at all in the world and that there is no God but one"). Apparently, the Corinthians argued from this monotheistic beginning point that they had the freedom to eat or go to temple dining areas because the idols or gods were nonexistent. Paul then refuted this false line of reasoning with the words: καὶ γὰρ εἴπερ εἰσὶν λεγόμενοι θεοὶ εἴτε ἐν οὐρανῷ εἴτε ἐπὶ γῆς, ὥσπερ εἰσὶν θεοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ κύριοι πολλοὶ ("For even if there are so-called gods, whether in heaven or earth [as indeed there are many 'gods' and many 'lords'"], 8:5).

This language refuted the Corinthians' misunderstanding of the unity of God. Paul corrected the claim that the nonexistence of other gods and of idols meant that there was no danger in involvement with elements of the Corinthians' pre-Christian religious life.

In 1 Cor 8:6, Paul continued his response to the erroneous

Eerdmans, 2001), 617-620.

[3]Cited in Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 6.

[4]H. D. Saffrey, "Aphrodite à Corinthe: Réflexions sur une Idée Reçue," *RB* 92 (1985): 359-374.

[5]Andrew E. Hill, "The Temple of Asclepius: An Alternative Source for Paul's Body Theology?" *JBL* 99 (1980): 437-438.

[6]Dennis E. Smith, "The Egyptian Cults at Corinth," *HTR* 70 (1977): 217-218.

[7]Calvin D. Redmond, "Paul and Idols: Concern for Conscience or Caution Against Compromise? 1 Corinthians 8:1-6," Evangelical Theological Society Annual Meeting, November 2002, Toronto, Canada.

[8]Unless other noted, the NIV translation is used.

thoughts of the Corinthians. He explained that God's "oneness" is in terms of relationship and worship. This relational element is emphasized by the introductory phrase ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ("but for us"). He used a sentence with two parallel members, the first showing the work of God, and the second delineating the work of Jesus Christ the Lord. The parallelism is best observed by placing the Greek in parallel columns:

8:6a	8:6b
εἷς θεὸς	εἷς κύριος
ὁ πατὴρ	Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα	δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα
καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν	καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ

The parallelism is clear. The difference appears to be that God the Father is the ultimate source out of which all things come, while the Lord Jesus Christ is the agent through which all things come. Both members of the parallelism lack a verb. Chapter 8:6 can be translated: "but for us, one God the Father, from whom all things, and we to him, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom all things, and we through him." The awkwardness of the lack of a verb is apparent in this translation.

This passage is understood by the vast majority of interpreters to be a statement of Jesus' work as the agent through whom God created the world. The careful distinction between the Father as the source of all things and the Lord Jesus Christ as the agent by whom all things were created reflects a careful, theological statement as well as a fine literary style. The phrase τὰ πάντα shows the sphere of Christ's creative work, and at the same time demonstrates that Christ is superior to all other divine beings or intermediaries.

Recently, some have argued that the verse speaks of redemption or salvation rather than creation. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor views the verse as an acclamation, which may be correct, but then writes:

> [A]n acclamation is essentially related to power as experience. . . . [I]t is most natural to understand the power of which there is question in 1 Cor. VIII.6 as being the salvific act of God in Christ. Christians were much more vividly conscious of this than of the power displayed in the creation of the universe.[9]

[9]J. Murphy-O'Connor, "1 Cor. VIII, 6: Cosmology or Soteriology?" *RB* 85 (1978): 258.

Murphy-O'Connor's argument is not self-evident. The subjective, internal experience of salvation may seem to pale for some in comparison to the objective reality of the creation of the universe. Additionally, Murphy-O'Connor's explanation of the function of acclamations is shallow; acclamations have a number of social functions, including promoting unity in a divided audience, indicating assent or approval, and enunciating group sentiments.[10] Finally, if this study has correctly understood the context of this passage, then soteriology is not at issue; rather, the issue is christological, establishing the person and work of Jesus in comparison to the lesser idols of the world.

Paul's argument was that there are many gods and idols, as a casual stroll through the streets of Corinth would have demonstrated. Paul did not ascribe legitimacy to these objects, but also did not dismiss them as meaningless. The somewhat paradoxical view of idols in Judaism is depicted well in the following short saying from the tractate Abodah Zarah: "We both know in our hearts that there is no reality in an idol, nevertheless we see men enter [the shrine of Asklepios or Serapis] crippled and come out cured."[11] While many of the pagan neighbors of the Corinthian believers might participate in the veneration of these gods and idols, Paul reminded the Corinthians that for believers there is only one God worthy of worship, and that the true God is evident in the binitarian formula of 1 Cor 8:6. The supremacy of both God the Father and the Lord Jesus is demonstrated by the act of creation, in which God the Father was the source of all creation and Jesus was the agent by whom God's creative purpose was accomplished in creation. The phrase τὰ πάντα is significant, for it demonstrates the superiority of the Christian God over even the gods and idols worshiped by the pagans.

Colossians 1:15-20

The city of Colossae, located in the Lycus River Valley, was destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 61. Its religious background is diverse. Peter T. O'Brien aptly comments that "the Colossae of Paul's day seems to have been a cosmopolitan city in which differing cultural and religious elements mingled."[12]

The important work of Clinton E. Arnold in the last decade

[10]Charlotte Roueché, "Acclamations in the Late Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 74 (1984): 181-184.

[11]Cited in Bruce W. Winter, "Theological and Ethical Responses to Religious Pluralism—1 Corinthians 8-10," *TynB* 41/2 (1990): 215-216.

[12]Peter T. O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, WBC 44 (Waco: Word, 1982), xxvii.

identified local cults in the area from inscriptions and other ancient evidence.[13] More specifically, Arnold identifies veneration and prayer to angels among both pagan cults and Jews. He identifies the worship of angels and the centrality of the hostile powers described by several different terms in Colossians, including στοιχεῖα, which he believes are hostile angelic powers. Many observers have identified the syncretistic nature of the Colossian beliefs challenged by Paul.

It is also well known that two thousand Jewish families were sent to the region in the third century B.C. by Antiochus III. Most commentators see some elements of Judaism in the controversies at Colossae. It is likely that the mention of circumcision in 2:11 and 13, the dietary restrictions, and the mention of the Sabbath in 2:16 point to practices within Judaism. The description of such things as a "shadow of the things that are coming" (2:17) fits well with practices consistent with a Jewish background, but seems strange if applied to pagan practices.

This passage displays a balanced form and parallelism that make it seem poetic or hymnic in some sense, and many scholars consider it a hymn.[14] It is not necessary to enter into the extensive debates about the form or origin of this hymn, but is more profitable to consider the passage as it stands now.

Colossians 1:15-20 is an extended description of "the Son of his love" (v. 13). Although there are many proposals about the hymn's structure, fundamentally the passage contains two stanzas or verses, with most scholars finding that the first stanza begins with the relative pronoun clause ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου ("He is the image of the invisible God"), while the second stanza begins in v. 18 with the relative pronoun clause ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχή ("who is the beginning"). There is a short bridge between the two stanzas in vv. 17 and 18a. Again, while many see the work of a redactor in v. 17 and especially 18a, the present study sees little benefit in seeking a prehistory of the passage.

There are a number of linguistic or conceptual parallels between the two verses. In both stanzas, the term πρωτότοκος immediately follows

[13]Clinton E. Arnold, *The Colossian Syncretism: The Interface Between Christianity and Folk Belief at Colossae* (Tübingen: J.C. B. Mohr, 1995), 2:77.

[14]In his survey of scholarship on the structure of the hymn, Jean Noël Aletti lists some nineteen scholars who see two stanzas (*Colossiens 1,15-20: Genre et exégèse du texte: Fonction de la thématique sapientielle*, AnBib 91 [Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981]). More recently, David E. Garland, *Colossians and Philemon* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998), 85, 86; and James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 84.

the "who is" clause, and a form of πάς is used to indicate the inclusiveness of Christ's work. Verse 20 uses the prepositional phrases δι' αὐτόν, εἰς αυτοῦ, and τὰ πάντα in a manner reminiscent of the first stanza (as well as 1 Cor 8:6). Verse 20 concludes with εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ("whether things on earth or things in heaven"), very similar to τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ("things in heaven and on earth") in v. 16. Hence, the verses have a great deal of parallelism in language. This may be demonstrated most easily in the following chart:

1:15-18a	1:18b-20
who is the image of the invisible God (15)	who is the beginning (18)
firstborn over all creation (15)	firstborn from the dead (18)
all things created in him, through him, for him (16)	to reconcile all things to him (20)
all things, the things in the heavens and upon the earth (16)	all things to him, whether the things on the earth or in the heavens (20)
he is before all things, and all things exist in him (17)	he may be first in all things, and all the fullness was pleased to dwell in him (18, 19)

The first stanza speaks of Christ's work in creation, while the second stanza describes Christ's work in redemption and pacification of the fallen created order and the enemies of God. The hymn, then, presents two reasons to praise Jesus: he is the agent of creation and the redeemer.

The structure of vv. 15 through 16 is artful.[15] Structurally, the passage appears as follows:

ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως,
ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα
ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα,
εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι·
τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται·

[15]"He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn over all creation. For by him all things were created: things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or powers or rulers or authorities; all things were created by him and for him" (1:15-16).

Verse 16 is chiastic, with the final clause similar to the first clause, affirming the creative work of Jesus, while the interior members are a delineation of some of the objects created. Even in form, all created objects are surrounded and contained by the creative work of Jesus. Functionally, this chiastic structure emphasizes that all things are part of what was created by Christ.

The more explicit statements concerning Jesus' role in creation are found in Col 1:16. The use of the verb κτίζω, which appears twice in this verse, explicitly identifies the work of Jesus as the work of creation. The objects of the creation "by him" are both in the heaven and on earth. As in 1 Cor 8:6, the term τὰ πάντα is used to describe the things created by Jesus.

The unlimited scope of the creation is then made explicit with a series of pairs, beginning with the paired opposites ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς and ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. This first pair indicates the universal scope of Christ's work in creation. The next series of paired opposites forms a chiasm with the first pair, ὁρατά is matched with "upon the earth," while ἀόρατα fits with "in the heavens."[16] These paired opposites are intended to include both physical and spiritual beings within the sphere of Christ's creative work.

As further delineation of τὰ πάντα, four additional terms are given. The first two, θρόνοι and κυριότητες, are used in Judaism as terms for angelic beings. The other two terms ἄρχαι and ἐξουσίαι are "often named as supermundane beings and powers. . . . They probably represent the highest orders of the angelic realm."[17]

Scholars in the twentieth century, following the demythologization program of Rudolf Bultmann, have argued that these titles represent human or institutional rather than demonic figures,[18] and liberation theology has identified these powers as oppressive or unjust spiritual beings. Walter Wink observes: "Unfortunately, the Powers have long been identified as an order of angelic beings in heaven or as demons flapping around in the sky. Most people have simply consigned them to the dustbin of superstition. Others . . . have identified them as institutions, structures, and systems."[19] James B. Stewart laments that "St. Paul's 'principalities and powers' and 'spirit

[16]O'Brien; Garland, 88-89.

[17]O'Brien, 46-47.

[18]This development of thought is traced in P. T. O'Brien, "Principalities and Powers: Opponents of the Church," *Evangelical Review of Theology* 16 (1992): 362-363.

[19]Walter Wink, "All Will Be Redeemed: How Can We Oppose Evil without Becoming What We Hate?" *Other Side* 28/6 (1992): 17-18.

forces of evil' are now known, we are told, to have been mere apocalyptic imagination."[20]

The significance of these unnamed forces is not in the precise identification of each angelic being or order, but instead lies in their use to demonstrate that the creative work of Jesus encompasses all divine or human beings. It does seem apparent that in the life setting of the first readers, these terms would apply to divine or spiritual beings rather than humans.

The second stanza focuses upon the role of Jesus in redemption. Verse 20 uses the preposition δι' αὐτοῦ to indicate the role of Jesus, and then uses the infinitive ἀποκαταλλάξαι ("to reconcile") to focus upon the redemptive work of Jesus. The explicit phrase εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ ("by making peace through his blood, shed on the cross") makes the redemptive theme even more explicit.

The hymn of Col 1:15-20, then, speaks very clearly about Jesus' work both as creator and as redeemer. It is important to note that these are presented as parallel, coordinate concepts. As Larry L. Helyer observes: "There can be little argument that such a [*prima facia*] reading yields a portrait of Jesus Christ as the preexistent agent of creation, the regent of creation, and the reconciler of creation—creation being understood as the universe, including spiritual beings and powers."[21]

There is a tendency among scholars of the last century to view the second stanza, which focuses on redemption, as primary, while making Jesus' work in creation subsidiary to that, and perhaps simply a logical necessity. Eduard Schweizer observed and approved this tendency:

> [I]t has been conjectured that the hymn grew precisely from the central Christian statement about the reconciliation on the cross; that is, it developed, so to speak, from the second strophe backwards, just as the Old Testament doctrine of creation was fashioned as a consequence of the creedal confession of God's historical act of redemption. It is certainly the case that allusion is made in the New Testament to the position of Christ as mediator in creation, in order to describe the dimensions of the one whom the community extols as its savior.[22]

Initially, the demythologizing program of Bultmann and his

[20]James B. Stewart, "On a Neglected Emphasis in New Testament Theology," *SJT* 4 (1954): 292. A detailed refutation of this demythologization process of demonic forces is found in Clinton E. Arnold, *Powers of Darkness: Principalities and Powers in Paul's Letters* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1992), 170-182.

[21]Larry L. Helyer, "Cosmic Christology and Col. 1:15-20," *JETS* 37 (1994): 235.

[22]Eduard Schweizer, *The Letter to the Colossians: A Commentary*, trans. Andrew Chester (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1982), 61.

followers argued against Christ's work in creation as a reality. R. G. Hammerton-Kelly took Bultmann to task for this, writing:

> Bultmann's view does not deal seriously with Christ as the mediator of creation. It seems arbitrary to assume, as he does, that the idea of pre-existence intends only to illuminate salvation, and not to say anything important about creation. It seems to be important for the theology of Paul... that the same power operative in the redemption was operative in the creation as well."[23]

An example of those who find the second stanza primary, and interpret the first stanza in light of the second, is Eduard Lohse, who writes:

> [T]he right understanding of the cosmological statements of the first part of the hymn is disclosed only by the soteriological statements of the second stanza. The great drama, wherein the principalities are stripped of their power and the reconciliation of all things has taken place, is for the sake of man alone.[24]

Lohse's statement is indicative of the Reformation emphasis on justification by faith as the dominant theme in Paul's writings. Without minimizing its significance, justification by faith is not the only major theme in Paul's thought, and should not be allowed to subsume other categories of his thought. Those who deny the reality of Jesus' work in creation need not carry the day. John G. Gibbs argued persuasively that each stanza represents a sphere of Christ's lordship. In Gibb's words:

> In spite of a strong theological presupposition by some, there is no evidence which says that strophe 1 must be interpreted by strophe 2, or that creation must be interpreted by redemption. Again in this hymn, rather, creation and redemption are both there under Christ's lordship, neither is subordinated to the other, and both are related to one another only through that lordship.[25]

Hebrews 1:2, 10

The background and occasion of Hebrews are notoriously difficult to ascertain. The book itself makes no statement of intended recipients or author. There is also no explicit textual clue that identifies the date of

[23]R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence, Wisdom, and the Son of Man*, SNTSMS 21 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 6.

[24]Eduard Lohse, *A Commentary on the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, trans. William R. Poehlmann and Robert J. Karris, ed. Helmut Koester (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 61.

[25]John G. Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption: A Study in Pauline Theology*, NovTSup 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 113.

the book beyond dispute. These issues are examined in standard works of introduction, as well as other sources.[26] The assumption of this study is that the author of Hebrews is unknown and not the author of other books in the NT, and that the recipients were Jews who had followed Jesus but were now in danger of returning to Judaism. While I hold a pre-70 date for the book, the dating is not essential for this study.

A number of features of Hebrews make it likely that the book was written to an audience composed of Jews who followed Jesus as Messiah. These features include the extensive citation of OT passages; the treatment of OT themes, including the temple, priestly, and sacrificial systems; and the use of even obscure OT characters such as Melchizedek as part of the argument of the letter.

As the initial chapters of Hebrews are read, the author's strategy seems to be to contrast Jesus as Son of God to a number of features of the Jewish religious system, e.g., the prophets (v. 1), angels (1:5–2:17), Moses (3:1-19), and Joshua (4:8). In each of these areas, Jesus is presented as superior.

It is often presumed that the purpose of the extended contrast between the Son and the angels in the first chapter of Hebrews is to influence the letter's readers to stop worshiping or venerating angels. Apparently, honor due to Jesus was being given to the angels. Arnold's research, showing Jewish prayer to angels in Asia Minor, might be pertinent to the situation in Hebrews as well, especially since Asia Minor is one of the proposed settings for the book of Hebrews.

The book of Hebrews begins with a pointed comparison between Jesus and the prophets. The author indicates that the time for revelation through prophets has ended, and "in these last days God spoke through a Son." The writer quickly continues speaking of the Son: ὃν ἔθηκεν κληρονόμον πάντων, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας ("whom he appointed heir of all things, and through whom he made the universe"). The last word, αἰῶνας, though literally meaning "the ages," is commonly understood and translated as "the world." Any dispute over the meaning of this passage is resolved by v. 10, where Ps 101:26 (LXX) is applied to the Son: σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σού εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί ("In the beginning, O

[26]Among other sources, see J. C. McCullough, "Some Recent Developments in Research on the Epistle to the Hebrews," *IBS* 2 (July 1980): 141-165; George Wesley Buchanan, "The Present State of Scholarship on Hebrews," in *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, Part One: New Testament, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 299-330; and Randall C. Gleason, "Angels and the Eschatology of Heb 1–2," *NTS* 49 (2003): 93-97.

Lord, you laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of your hands"). The writer has left no room for doubt that the Son was God's agent in creating the world, at the same time equating the Son with the God of the OT.

In a series of quotations from Psalms, the writer demonstrates the superiority of the Son, using such terms as πρωτότοκον (v. 6), τὰ πάντα (v. 3), and the paired opposites τὴν γῆν and οἱ οὐρανοί (v. 10). The reader has encountered these terms before in the brief examination of 1 Cor 8:6 and Col 1:15-20. A conceptual and partial verbal parallel with both 1 Cor 8:6 and Col 1:15-20 is apparent. Similar language, again related to the creation theme, is also found in Heb 2:10: δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ("for whom and through whom everything exists").

The centrality of Jesus' role in creation in the book of Hebrews has been noted. Craig R. Koester writes:

> Hebrews begins and ends by emphasizing that the world is dependent upon the word of God. The world came into being through divine speech in the past (1:2; 11:3), it is sustained by the word of the Son in the present (12:3), and it will be shaken by the voice of God in the future (12:25-27). God is the one "for whom all things and through whom all things exist" (2:10) and "the builder of all things" (3:4). Hebrews affirms that the world was created and that it will pass away, but God and the Son continue forever (1:10-12).[27]

The immediate effect of the application of these OT quotations to Jesus is to demonstrate his equality with God the Father. This high Christology functions as a contrast to the limited efficacy of prayer directed to the angels. The anticipated result of this comparison would be for the readers to place their faith in Jesus, the greater figure, instead of relying upon angels or other institutions of Judaism.

John 1:1-3

As with Hebrews, it is difficult to establish a precise geographical or historical context for this passage. There is no explicit identification of the target audience for this Gospel, although the history of the interpretation of the passage has vacillated between a Jewish Christian audience and a Greek audience. In contemporary scholarship, there is a recognition of the Jewish background and influence of the Fourth Gospel.

There is also a possibility of locating the context in Asia Minor. There are many early church traditions that place John in the area of

[27]Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 36 (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 97.

Ephesus.[28] If these traditions are correct, then the original audience for this Gospel may be similar to that of Colossians, and not altogether different from that of 1 Corinthians.

The last of the explicit passages involving Christ's work in creation is John 1:1-3. John 1:1-2 introduces the Logos, indicates the preexistent presence of the Logos with God, and affirms the deity of the Logos. It is in v. 3 that the first creation statement is found: πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν ("through him all things were made, and without him was not anything made that was made"). In this short statement, we again see the use of πάντα as well as the prepositional phrase δι' αὐτοῦ. The term τὰ πάντα is inclusive of everything. As Gerald L. Borchert notes:

> The Greek term must refer to the created order, and the "all things" of the NIV should probably be read to include all realities except God. Although it is not stated here, those realities could well include the angelic hosts discussed in the lofty theological comparison with Jesus in Hebrews 1.[29]

The passage speaks clearly to the role of Jesus in creation. As Raymond E. Brown writes: "From the 2nd century on, this has been taken as a reference to creation."[30]

In a similar expression, v. 10 reaffirms the work of Jesus in creation: ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω ("He was in the world, and though the world was made by him, the world did not recognize him"). This verse is similar to 1:3, yet uses ὁ κόσμος rather than πάντα as the sphere of Christ's work. The second clause emphasizes that all of the creation, not merely humans, was the object of Jesus' work in creation.[31]

In both John 1:3 and 1:10, the verb ἐγένετο is used for creation. This verb is used in the Greek of the LXX of Gen 1 for the fulfillment of God's plan for creation as different elements of the creation are

[28]Ireneus, *Adv. Haer.* 3.1.2, and Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, cited in Eusebius, *Eccl. hist.* 3.31.3.

[29]Gerald L. Borchert, *John 1–11*, NAC 25A (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1996), 107.

[30]Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John (i–xii): Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, AB 29 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), 8.

[31]Ernst Haenchen, *A Commentary on the Gospel of John: Chapters 1–6*, Hermenia, trans. Robert W. Funk (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 112. This is in opposition to Bultmann's contention that creation is only intended to apply to the human race.

formed on different days,[32] while the aorist verb ἐποίησεν is used for the summary statement of creation in Gen 1:1.

Unlike the other passages, there is no explicit comparison between Jesus as agent of creation and other objects of veneration. There are indications, however, that such an idea might be in the mind of the writer. Initially, vv. 6 through 8 are a description of John the Baptist as one who is not the Light or Word. It is possible that the readers of the Fourth Gospel were followers of John the Baptist. If so, then it is possible they gave respect and honor to John the Baptist that should have been rendered to Jesus. The mention of the disciples of John in Ephesus, the traditional location of the origin of the Gospel of John, in Acts 18:24 through 19:6 could give evidence for a group that followed John the Baptist; Brown notes the writings of Pseudo-Clementine in the third century, using second-century sources, which indicate that followers of John the Baptist believed that he, rather than Jesus, was the Messiah.[33]

There is also a running contest in the Gospel of John between Light and Dark. In this competition, Jesus is the bearer and revealer of Light, while the forces of Darkness are the enemies of God. This conflict has been observed by many commentators on the Gospel of John; the conflict first appears in 1:5, and in the Prologue Jesus is first identified as the Light in 1:4, 7, 9. The contrast and conflict between Light and Dark is also seen in 3:19-21; 8:12; 11:9-10; 12:35-36, 45. The inability of the Darkness to defeat Light is seen in 1:5, in which the controversial phrase καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν ("The light shines in the darkness, but the darkness has not overcome it") is used. If, as has been traditional, the verb κατέλαβεν is understood in the sense of "overcome" or "overtake," then the sense of conflict is evident. Brown has noted that "the opposition between light and darkness in Johannine dualistic thought seems to demand such a verb to describe their encounter."[34]

This symbolic battle between Light and Dark is similar to elements of several religious and philosophical systems, and much has been made of the Gnostic dualism of light and darkness. Basilides, a second-century Gnostic teacher, taught the following, as recounted by Hegemonius: "In the beginning there were light and darkness. . . . When each of these came to recognition of the other, and the darkness contemplated the light, the darkness, as if seized with desire of the better thing, pursued after it, and

[32]Brown, 6.

[33]Ibid., 46-47.

[34]Ibid., 8.

desired to be mingled with it and to participate in it."[35]

The conflict between Light and Dark is presented both as an explanation for the failure of "his own" to know and follow the Logos, and as an implicit challenge for the readers to avoid such a mistake and to become some of those "as many as received him" who would be granted authority to become sons of God. Such a reading fits with the perceived "missionary thrust" of the Gospel of John, as in the self-described purpose statement of 20:31.

As with the other passages, there are those who deny that the Prologue has a genuine creation focus. Bultmann's view is such a challenge, although he affirms the reality of creation—but only in a unique, anthropocentric sense. Bultmann's anthropological focus sees the action of the Logos of the Prologue upon men and the world; in his view, πάντα is used instead of κόσμος for stylistic and literary reasons,[36] and vv. 1:3-4 do not mention the cosmic powers or the Devil, while "on the other hand, it is clear that mankind belongs to the πάντα, and mankind alone is the subject of what follows."[37] The focus of creation is on the revelatory function of the Logos: "[H]e is God himself insofar as he reveals himself. The world is God's creation, and as such God's revelation; this is the sense of v. 3, and both these aspects are developed in v. 4."[38] Bultmann elsewhere demonstrates the link between creation and redemption as he sees it: "To have faith in the cross of Christ means to be prepared to let God work as the Creator. God creates out of nothing, and whoever becomes nothing before him is made alive."

Bultmann's view equates creation with redemption, blending the nothingness of noncreation with the existential nothingness by which he sees man approaching God. Creation and redemption are linked in the radical dependence upon God which underlies both. Bultmann argues that in the Prologue, the cosmology (which he sees as Gnostic in origin) has been repressed, and the soteriological aspect has become dominant.[39]

[35]As cited in C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 105. It is important to understand this teaching not as a source of John's thought, but, if related at all, as an interpretation of John's thought. It may simply be a reflection of common beliefs around the end of the first century.

[36]Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 37.

[37]Ibid., 38.

[38]Ibid.

[39]This brief critique of Bultmann's view of creation drew extensively from Robert Kysar, "Rudolf Bultmann's Interpretation of the Concept of Creation in John 1,3-4," *CBQ* 22 (1970): 77-85.

While some of Bultmann's understanding is no longer persuasive, it is common for observers to minimize Christ's work in creation in various ways, and to make it subordinate to or merely a logical necessity for Christ's redemptive work.

The Implications

Apologetic Value

The examination of the above passages has demonstrated that the role of Jesus in creation is affirmed by each of the passages. The life setting of each of the passages presents a contrast between Jesus and other beings that might be revered or worshiped, including idols in 1 Cor 8:6, angels and other deities or demons in Col 1:16, angels and significant figures from Jewish history and cult in Heb 1, and John the Baptist, and perhaps more esoteric elements of darkness opposed to the Logos, in the Prologue of John's Gospel.

Given the life settings described in the previous paragraph, it appears that Jesus' role in creation was used as an apologetic against those who might be offering prayers, veneration, or worship to other, lesser beings, whether these beings are human, angelic, or divine. The writers of these works all answered the misdirected veneration by pointing to the superiority of Christ as demonstrated by his work in creation.

Wisdom Christology

It is clear that the language of creation draws heavily upon the Wisdom traditions of Hellenistic Judaism and numerous points of contact with the language and thought of Philo and works such as the Wisdom of Solomon. The language of the Jewish Wisdom traditions was applied to Jesus, and descriptions of Wisdom seem to be applied to the preincarnate Jesus. "Wisdom" was a way of helping Jewish Christians to define and understand the life and ministry of Jesus. Attention should be given especially to the works of Ben Witherington III in developing an evangelical Wisdom Christology.[40]

Indication of Early Christology?

The passages have significant similarity in form. While I have commented upon this earlier, it is useful to see the similarities in the following table.

[40]Ben Witherington III, *Jesus the Sage: The Pilgrimage of Wisdom* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994); and idem, *Wisdom: A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster, 1995).

	1 Cor 8:6	Col 1:16	Heb 1:2-3	John 1:3	John 1:10
Preposition	δι'	ἐν, δι'	δι'	δι'	δι'
Verb	(none)	κτίζω	ποιέω	γίνομαι	γίνομαι
Pronoun	οὗ	αὐτῷ, αὐτοῦ	οὗ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ
Antecedent of the Pronoun	εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός	τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αυτοῦ	ἐν υἱῷ	ὁ λόγος	ὁ λόγος or τὸ φῶς
Subject or Object	τὰ πάντα	τὰ πάντα	τοὺς αἰῶνας	πάντα	ὁ κόσμος

In evaluating the language of creation in Hebrews, Lala Kalyan Dey has correctly recognized as a unified group the passages above (but has not identified John 1:14 separately).[41] To these, Dey has also added Rom 11:36 and Heb 2:10, passages which have been identified earlier in this study.

The verbal similarities of these passages suggest at least the possibility of a common source.[42] Several writers recognize the similarity of at least some of these passages; few recognize all four. If there is an underlying source—whether hymnic, poetic, liturgical, or catechetical—then a source antedating 1 Corinthians would be early indeed. "Agent of creation" may be an important part of the very early Christian understanding of Jesus.

Contemporary Application

The impulse to worship gods or angels is not restricted to the first century of the Christian era. In many areas outside the influence of Western rationalism, an animistic worldview honors departed ancestors, as well as spirits of rivers, fields, trees, and so on. Sometimes the interaction between these traditional religions and the imported Christianity of Western colonizers leads to a strange, syncretistic religious system, combining forms and elements of both the traditional religion and the imported Christian religion. Some of these belief systems have moved to the Western world and gained adherents.

[41]Lala Kalyan Kumar Dey, *The Intermediary World and Patterns of Perfection in Philo and Hebrews*, SBLDS 25 (Missoula, MT: SBL Press, 1975), 138-142.

[42]Dey, ibid., concludes exactly the opposite—that the differences between them rule out any possibility of a common source or origin.

Understanding the cosmic Christ might be of benefit to Christians as they seek to minister in these environments. One of my students, Z. O. Villa, recently wrote of his application of Col 1:15-20 to his Filipino context:

> If Christ is sovereign and supreme over all creation, those who truly fear Him should no longer live in fear of anything else. Because Christ Himself rules over all of creation, over all powers and authorities, over all events and circumstances, those who believe in Him can place full and confident trust in His activities and purposes. In the context of the Asian/Filipino church, I think that means that spiritism, occult practices, witchcraft, animism, demon or angel worship are incompatible with a belief in Christ.[43]

Villa correctly sees the significance of Christ's work in creation and his supremacy in the Asian context in which he lives.

Conclusion

Christ's role in creation is affirmed by the NT. Rather than being at issue, Christ's cosmic role seems to be a common ground appealed to by the NT writers in order to respond to controversial, related issues. It is used as a theological apologetic against worshiping lesser beings than Jesus Christ. A proper Christology should include not only the biblical references to Christ's work, but a development of the context and significance of Christ's work in creation. In this manner, Christ's work in creation can be seen to have contextual significance to the original audiences of these NT passages and has the potential to speak to a contemporary audience as well.

[43]Z. O. Villa, Private e-mail to the author, August 31, 2003.

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SONG OF SONGS: INCREASING APPRECIATION OF AND RESTRAINT IN MATTERS OF LOVE

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The history of interpretation regarding the Song of Songs indicates two primary perspectives: the allegorical, developed as a means of coping with the erotic content of the Song;[1] and the literal, which seeks to do justice to the Song by taking the words at face value.[2] Moderate views recognize the Song's ability to reflect but not be confined to the relationship between God and his people (cf. Ps 45; Eph 5:23-28), as well as its ability to stir the emotions related to sexual relationships between men and women (Prov 5:19; 1 Cor 7:1-5).

The stanza "I adjure you, Daughters of Jerusalem, by the does or by the gazelles, that you do not stir up nor awaken love until it pleases" (Song 2:7; 3:5; 8:4)[3] reflects the overall tone of the Song and supports the perspective that the Song of Songs is a beautiful, rich, yet compact presentation of the Bible's teaching on human sexuality.[4] The purpose of this paper is to examine the details of the stanza, view it in context with the rest of the Song, and compare it with similar language and concepts found elsewhere in Scripture.

[1]Martin Luther expressed an opinion against allegorical interpretations, yet suggested his own in the introduction to his commentary *Song of Solomon*: "[W]e take it [Song] up in order that after the absurd opinions which have so far obscured this little book have been rejected, we may demonstrate another, more suitable view, useful for life and for a right appreciation of the good gifts of God. . . . For we shall never agree with those who think it is a love song about the daughter of Pharaoh beloved by Solomon" (in *LW*, ed. Jaroslav Pelkian [St. Louis: Concordia, 1971], 15:94).

[2]See R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 259-263.

[3]Unless otherwise indicated, translations are by the author.

[4]This "compact" teaching and representation could be called "parabolic," and is described as such by T. E. Fountain: "The parabolic treatment of the Song stands approximately midway between the allegorical and the typical, and regards the various sections of the book as illustrative of spiritual truth without calling undue attention to its details" ("A Parabolic View of the Song of Solomon," *Bulletin of the ETS* 9/2 [1966]: 98). It is interesting to note that scholars who regard Song from an allegorical perspective also see the didactic purpose. For example, A. L. Newton writes: "Distinct lessons of Christian experience are in each case brought before us, divinely adapted to different stages of the Christian life" (*Song of Solomon* [New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1858], 67).

Song of Songs 2:7; 3:5; 8:4

"I Adjure You" (הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי)

The word for "adjure" or "swear" (שבע) is used five times in the Song, each time in the hiphil or causative form, meaning that someone is being called upon to take an oath. The word occurs three times in the same formula (2:7; 3:5; 8:4), although in 3:5 it is not preceded by the description of the lover's embrace, and in 8:4 the phrase "by the does or by the gazelles" is not used.

The other two occurrences of שבע ("to adjure") are found in 5:8, 9, where the daughters of Jerusalem are admonished not to stir up love, but to swear that they will carry a message to the lover that the beloved is lovesick. In the case of 2:7; 3:5; and 8:4, the admonition "to swear" comes immediately after the lovers are united. In 5:8-9, however, it falls between the invitation to pursue and the consummation (see Appendix A). The lover came to the beloved's door, but the beloved took too long to answer and the lover has gone. The beloved, who pursues her lover, is found by the city watchmen. Whereas in 3:3 she passed the watchmen and immediately found her lover, this time the watchmen abuse her. In a state of distress, the beloved asks the maidens to convey her message of lovesickness to her lover. In response, the maidens ask her to justify her request. After giving an extended description of her lover (5:10-16), the maidens indicate their willingness to help the beloved by offering to search for the lover (6:1). The only remedy for the beloved's lovesickness is the company of her lover (6:2-3).[5]

The five occurrences of שבע ("to adjure") in the Song are the same in that the maidens are involved in the life of the beloved and in her relationship with the lover. Further, the overall basis of the admonition "to adjure" is the same in all usages, cautioning the maidens in regard to the perils of love. The occurrences in chapter 5, however, are different from those found in 2:7; 3:5; and 8:4 in that in 5:8, 9, the beloved asks for the maidens' assistance in terms of sympathy and attempted resolution. That the maidens are asked to help is evident from the beloved's request, as well as from the content of their second response: "Where has your Lover gone . . . that we may look for him with you?" (6:1).

Thus there is a dual purpose in the Song. The maidens (and reader) are given reason to wonder why a lover would have such an effect on a beloved. Love is shown to be a powerful force, as the description of

[5]Here one cannot be certain whether the beloved's description is of a desired or a realized state. Either way, she has resolved the condition of her lovesickness in the company of the lover.

the lover demonstrates and as the conclusion of the Song states explicitly: "for love is as strong as death" (8:6). Thus caution and chasteness are to be observed in order to maintain love as a positive force, so that one might not have regrets.

The word שבע is used 180 times outside of the Song of Songs.[6] Only eighteen of those instances occur in the OT poetic books. In each of these instances, the word is never used in a figurative or metaphorical sense.[7] For example, Ps 89 (vv. 4, 36, 50) records God's swearing to be gracious to Abraham and making promises concerning the seed (savior) of his chosen people to David. In Pss 15:4 and 119:106, faithful, godly, enduring men are described in terms of their swearing to do right regardless of the difficulty or consequences. Thus a consistent nonfigurative, nonmetaphorical usage of שבע in the poetic books supports the thesis that the Song has a purpose beyond a merely artistic description of love; there are other aspects of a loving relationship which one must be aware of and equipped to manage.

The particular importance of the hiphil form of שבע ("to adjure") may be elucidated by comparing it with imperatives (see Appendix B). While it is obvious that some imperatives are used in a figurative sense (e.g., "come, South wind, blow on my garden," 4:16) and that others may be understood as metaphorical (e.g., "catch us the foxes," 2:15), the majority of imperatives are used in a literal sense. The Song employs imperatives to express real desires (2:10; 7:12) and real cautions (2:7; 3:5; 8:4). It may also be seen that the imperatives, along with the narrative portions of the book, form the framework and help to advance the thought of the figurative/descriptive portions not unlike a romance novel or romantic movie that requires real circumstances and issues to form a meaningful setting for the more artistic portrayals of, for example, love and emotion.[8] Thus as the reader identifies with the

[6]The LXX consistently translates שבע with ὁρκίζω, which reflects the sense of causing someone to take an oath. There are three exceptions to this translation: Gen 24:3 (ἐξορκιῶ), Josh 2:17, 20 (with the copulative verb and ὅρκος), and 1 Sam 20:17 (ὀμόσω).

[7]Pss 15:4; 24:4; 63:12; 89:4, 36, 50; 95:11; 102:9; 110:4; 119:106; 132:2, 11; Eccl 9:2; and Song.

[8]For examples of the function of the imperatives in advancing and forming a framework, see Song 1:4ff.; 1:6ff.; 2:8, 10, 14ff.; 4:8, 16ff.; 7:8ff.; 7:11, 12ff.; 8:4ff. Questions also serve this function, as at 5:9ff.; 6:1ff. Robert Alter comments on the subject of "narrative progression" in the Song: "[I]n the Song of Songs there are whole poems in which all semblance of semantic equivalence between versets is put aside for the sake of narrative concatenation from verset to verset and from line to line (*The Art of Biblical Poetry* [New York: Basic, 1985], 187).

lover/beloved or with the daughters of Jerusalem, these imperatives also have an effect on him or her. The imperatives found in 2:7; 3:5; and 8:4 are, like the others, only more striking as they issue a general command of caution rather than a specific one that would apply only if a person were actually (or even imagining oneself) in one of the situations described in the Song.

"Daughters of Jerusalem" (בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלִַם)

Before examining the function of the maidens or "daughters of Jerusalem" (בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלִַם), the occurrence and use of the phrase in the rest of the OT must be evaluated. Three important functions of בְּנוֹת ("daughters of") may be noted: the phrase may simply describe some of the inhabitants (female) of an area (Isa 49:22); it may have a negative connotation of women who are wayward and would lead others astray (Gen 6:1-2; Isa 3:16-17); and it may literally mean the young eligible maidens of an area (e.g., Judg 21:21, where the men of Benjamin are instructed to catch the young girls of Shiloh and take them as brides).

It seems that the term should be taken literally, unless the context provides a reason for understanding it as a negative representation or as meaning all the inhabitants of, for example, Jerusalem. In the Song, then, the young maidens are friends of the beloved, who participate in her desire for and pursuit of a husband and who are expected to learn from the experience. In fact, one may even see all three aspects of the term בְּנוֹת ("daughters of") in the Song. First, there are literal maidens who interact with the beloved. Second, the lessons of the Song are to keep them from becoming negative examples of womanhood. Third, every reader is to learn lessons along with the maidens.

The term בְּנוֹת ("daughters of") is used eleven times in the Song. The function of this group can be described or arranged in various ways. Two possibilities will be presented here.

The first method of arrangement considers most specifically the function of the daughters in the Song. In relation to both lover and beloved, they act as a confirming voice: for the beloved in 1:4 c, d, e, and 3:6-11 ("we rejoice and delight in you, we praise your love more than wine"); for the lover in 1:11, 6:13 ("we will make you earrings of gold with studs of silver"); and possibly in 7:1-7. The daughters also act as a point of comparison: for the beloved in 2:2 ("like a lily among the thorns is my darling among the maidens"); for the lover in 3:10 ("the interior of his coach was lovingly crafted by the daughters of Jerusalem").

Additionally, the daughters act as a sounding board ("I am dark yet lovely, O daughters of Jerusalem. . . . [D]o not look at me because I am dark," 1:5-7), counselors ("if you do not know, follow the tracks of the sheep," 1:8),[9] and are students only of the beloved (cf. 2:7; 3:5, 11; 8:4). It is with this last category, as students or objects of a certain lesson, that the reader can most easily identify. This admonition seems most appropriate for a young woman who is becoming interested in the subject of love.[10]

A second method of arrangement is according to the intention of the beloved in regard to the daughters. Headings such as "Help me find/pursue/admire my lover!" (e.g., 1:4, 7-8), "Help me manage my feelings for my lover" (e.g., 5:8-9; 6:1), or "Learn from my experiences" (e.g., 2:7; 3:5; 8:4) may be used, with the imperatives acting as a framework for the plot.

The function of the daughters is consistent with a drama, which usually includes a person or group of people who serve two functions. First, they are involved with and learn from the beloved (i.e., the leading lady).[11] Second, they represent the audience and provide a means for the author to get his point across. In other words, without the daughters and the hiphil שבע ("to adjure") issued to them, the reader would be left alone to discern the lesson that is often hidden behind ambiguous language.[12]

"By the Gazelles or by the Does of the Field" (בִּצְבָאוֹת אוֹ בְאַיְלוֹת הַשָּׂדֶה)

The term "gazelle" (צבי) occurs five times in the Song. It is used as a basis of comparison for the lover (2:9), for the beloved's breasts (4:5;

[9]It could be argued that this instruction is given by the lover since he may have been present when the words of v. 7 were addressed to him.

[10]Such an understanding of the intended and proper use of this material is entirely contrary to the thinking of ancient commentators such as Jerome, who wrote to one mother that she should keep this book away from her daughter as long as possible (cited in M. H. Pope, *Song of Songs* [New York: Doubleday, 1977], 119.

[11]The poetry of the Song provides a vehicle for the writer to explain, comment on, and generalize about various experiences, attempting to establish order and design as a stay against the confusion experienced in life (S. A. Johnson, "A Survey of the Literary Genre Designations of the Song of Songs in the Early Church Fathers and Twentieth Century" [Th.M. thesis, Northwest Baptist Theological Seminary, 1982], 117). Although J. H. Taylor interprets the Song allegorically, he still describes the "daughters of Jerusalem" as people who are *urged by the Song* to solidify their union with the groom as the beloved has done (*Union and Communion* [London: T. & T. Clark, 1926], 83-84.

[12]The history of interpretation of Song seems to indicate that a vital purpose made explicit in the admonition to the maidens has not often been considered.

7:3), and as a reference in the oath of the stanza of 2:7; 3:5; and 8:4. The particular significance of the gazelle cannot be determined from the Song, which may, in fact, be referring to one aspect in reference to the lover (leaping, bounding, approaching quickly) and in reference to the beloved (firm, soft, supple). Two other OT passages may aid in understanding the significance of the term: 2 Sam 2:18, which describes Asahel "as fleet of foot as a gazelle"; and Prov 6:5, which admonishes the one who has become security for another's debt to deliver himself from that obligation "like a gazelle." The particular significance of "gazelle" in the oath of 2:7; 3:5; and 8:4 is still uncertain.

The term "doe" (אילה) occurs twice in the Song: 2:7 and 3:5. Examples of other OT usage include: Gen 49:21, where Naphtali is described as "a doe let loose, he gives goodly words"; 2 Sam 22:33-34 (cf. Ps 18:33), where David confirms that "God is my strength and power, and He makes my way perfect. He makes my feet like the feet of a doe, and sets me on my high places"; and Hab 3:19, which also affirms that "the Lord is my strength and has made my feet like doe's feet and makes me walk on my high places." It is not immediately apparent what a doe let loose has to do with goodly words (Gen 49:21), but the other references to strength and high places are concepts associated with the doe.

The LXX translates הַשָּׂדֶה as ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἰσχύσεσιν τοῦ ἀγροῦ ("by the powers and forces of the field"), which seems to agree with a possible meaning in the contexts examined above and with a biblical principle of oaths.[13] Hebrews 6:13, 16 refers to the promise God swore to Abraham: "For when God made a promise to Abraham, because He could swear by no one greater, he swore by Himself. . . . For men indeed swear by the greater." This connection of oaths sworn in relation to something greater also appears in Jesus' confrontation with the Pharisees (Matt 23:16-22). On the basis of this evidence, it is sensible to suggest that a love poem, which requires an oath for the restraint of "natural" forces (i.e., love), to appeal to something strong, reproductive, and representative of both male (e.g., strength and agility) and female (e.g., shape and tone) as its basis or reference point.[14] Thus the importance of the gazelle and doe to the

[13]One should be cautious of missing the obvious biblical connections because of the evidence of cultic connections in extrabiblical literature and art (Pope, 385-386). Also note that the Ethiopic version of the Song of Songs agrees with the LXX, translating this as "by the strength and force of the plain" (translation cited from H. C. Gleave, *The Ethiopic Version of the Song of Songs* [London: Taylor's, 1951], 8).

[14]Perhaps the intended relation to men and women is revealed in the use of

oath would support the thesis that the Song, in fact, intends this admonition to be taken seriously by the reader.

"That You Do Not Stir Up Or Awaken Love" (אִם־תָּעִירוּ וְאִם־תְּעוֹרְרוּ אֶת־הָאַהֲבָה)

The phrase אִם־תָּעִירוּ וְאִם־תְּעוֹרְרוּ אֶת־הָאַהֲבָה ("that you do not stir up or awaken love") is an interesting construction, consisting of אם followed by the polel imperfect of עור. M. H. Pope describes this construction as a "regular use of oath formulae, the positive condition introduces a negative oath, the sanction or curse attendant on the violation of the condition being usually suppressed."[15] Thus, after an oath, אם becomes an emphatic negative and in connection with adjurations means "that not."[16]

"Until It Pleases" (עַד שֶׁתֶּחְפָּץ)

The phrase עַד שֶׁתֶּחְפָּץ ("until it pleases") consists of the preposition עד, followed by the relative pronoun prefixed to the qal imperfect of חפץ. There is disagreement about the subject and overall meaning of this verb, but, to take it in the simplest way, "love" would be the subject, meaning "do not stir up or awaken love until the natural course/expression of love can be a pleasing thing."[17] In this way, those heeding this message will avoid all the troublesome things described in the "frustration" motifs, such as the missed union and terrible consequences described in 5:2-8. The phrase is not repeated anywhere else in the OT. While the Targum seems to understand the Song in reference to Israel's history, it does give the sense of this clause as meaning "when the time is right or favorable," that is, so things can work out the way they should.[18]

"gazelle" in the masculine and "deer" in the feminine (hence, "doe").

[15]Pope, 386.

[16]F. Brown, *The New Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1979), 50. Also cf. Gen 21:23; 26:29; 1 Sam 24:22; 1 Kgs 1:51.

[17]For a brief look at some of the various proposals of meaning, see T. Gledhill, *The Message of the Song of Songs* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1994), 128.

[18]The Targum of the Song of Songs took the refrain at 2:7 as the words of Moses telling the children of Israel not to attempt to enter the land of Canaan until it was favorable to the Lord and all the generations who had rebelled had died (=40 years). At 3:5, the Targum offers no insight. At 8:4, it reads: "The King Messiah will say: 'I adjure you, my people, the House of Israel, why are you contending with the peoples of earth to get out of exile? . . . Hold yourselves back for a little while until the peoples who have

The phrase may find meaning in two motifs evident in the Song. First, it may be that "until it pleases" means to use restraint in indulging one's emotions until such a time when they may find proper and uninterrupted fulfillment. The motif of frustration can be observed at various places when the beloved is searching for the lover (1:7ff.; 5:2ff.; 5:8; 6:1ff.).[19] It can also be observed in the painful consequences of the lovers' game of hide and seek (5:2-7) and the emotional condition of the beloved after failing to find the lover (5:8).

Second, this phrase may be calling to mind examples of love in Scripture that were indeed "pleasing." For example, the story of Ruth is particularly appropriate as one compares the piety and behavior of a Moabitess to the less than exemplary behavior noticeable among so many and so prominent in Israel.[20] The purpose of Ruth's story is defined by the fact that most of four chapters is concerned with her interaction with Boaz and the attendant blessed results (i.e., David's predecessors). What is particularly interesting for this study is the care to protect chaste behavior. In Ruth 2:8-9, Boaz charges Ruth to enter no one else's fields and mentions that he "commanded the young men not to touch [her]." Ruth 3 is entirely concerned with Naomi's advice on how to advance the relationship between Ruth and Boaz ("Blessed are you of the Lord my daughter!") and the desired outcome of security for Ruth in her "redemption" by Boaz.

The Stanza's Place within the Song

Before commenting on the significance of the repetition of this stanza, it should be noted that the Song is replete with words and concepts that occur more than once. In fact, although there are many obscure terms in the Song, there are few terms that are used only once.[21] Nevertheless, there are at least three important features in regard to the repetition of this stanza.

First, the stanza is unique because it contains the only adjuration addressed to the daughters (and hence to the reader) that is repeated (see Appendix B).

Second, the position of the stanza places it in a climactic position

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come in to wage war against Jerusalem are obliterated! After that, the Master of the world will remember on your behalf the love of the righteous; then it shall be favorable before him to liberate you.'"

[19]Alter, 199, refers to this as a "teasing game."

[20]For example, David and Bathsheba (2 Sam 11).

[21]Cf. Armstrong, 168-174, for a list of OT words that occur only in the Song.

rather than in a developmental one.[22] If the Song is organized into segments characterized by initial terms describing pursuit and ending with terms of consummation or fulfillment of love, it is remarkable that in all three instances the stanza concludes a section, immediately following the consummation.[23] Of the nine sections observed, three end with this stanza. Two are followed by a return to descriptions of the beloved and lover (1:17ff.; 6:3ff.). Two are concluded by an imperative issued by the beloved for her lover to turn or come away and be, for example, like a gazelle (2:17ff.; 8:12ff.). The other two contain imperatives addressed to the daughters and call upon them to come out and look at Solomon or to eat and drink with the lover and his beloved (3:11ff.; 5:1ff.).

Thus five of the nine sections (or possibly of only seven if 1:17 and 6:3 are understood as high points within longer developments) conclude with admonitions for the daughters or, as this article argues, for the reader. Three times readers are admonished to practice restraint in terms of stirring up love. Twice they are invited to participate in the joy of the united lovers, and twice the reader is turned back into a further development of the Song by means of description. The Song intends to stir up or raise the reader's appreciation for and depth of thought regarding love. It also intends to be complete by describing the reality of frustration and problems associated with love. Therefore, the content of the stanza, its repetition, and its placement at the climax of the development of sections suggests that the admonition is real and intended as an integral purpose of the Song.[24] Richard M. Davidson

[22]Although Taylor's outline, 26, 36, 69, does not entirely agree with mine (see Appendix C), he does see all three instances of the stanza as climaxes to sections.

[23]For a tentative outline of Song, according to this structure, see Appendix C. In comparison of sections 5:2–6:3 with 2:7–3:5, J. C. Exum comments: "In each poem, the account of the man's call to the woman is followed by the motif of seeking-finding, which is resolved in 2:7–3:5 when the woman finds her lover. She holds him and refuses to release him, 3:4. In 5:2–6:3, the woman enlists the aid of the daughters of Jerusalem to find her lover and they engage in the process of finding-by-praise" ("A Literary and Structural Analysis of the Song of Songs," *ZAW* 85 [1973]: 57). J. W. Jastrow argues on terms of meter that the stanza is really out of place as it stands in the Song, except in the case of 3:5. He concludes that the stanza was added by the commentator to bring about a connection between the songs (*Song of Songs* [Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1921], 228).

[24]R. E. Murphy notes that the course of the dialogue indicates a change of scene, creating a sense of development. The beloved's "adjuration of the daughters is the climax of the scene, describing the union. . . . This is well brought out by accenting her desolate feelings without him and then, upon finding him, her rapture and determination not to lose him again. The adjuration of the daughters (3:5) is seen now to be also a device used by the author. The formula serves to round off and to close the scene (cf. 2:7; 8:4)" ("The Structure of the Canticle of Canticles," *CBQ* 11 [1949]: 383-387).

summarizes: "A whole book taken up with celebrating the wholesome beauty and enjoyment of human sexual love! . . . It speaks eloquently—perhaps most eloquently of all—of his [God's] love for his creation as it is enjoyed in harmony with the divine intention."[25]

The Stanza's Place in Relation to All of Scripture

The OT provides a number of examples of occasions when it would have been wise not to have stirred up or awakened love because it could not be (and was not) pleasing. Love of many foreign women was expressly the downfall of Solomon himself (1 Kgs 11:1-2).[26] As early as Gen 6:1-2, there is, at least, an occasion for inquiry on the issue of love stirred up when no good can come of it. Regardless of the interpretation of the terms "sons of God" and "daughters of men" (Gen 6:2), it is still evident that no good came of these relations.[27] Genesis 34 records the incident with Dinah, in which the inhabitants of an entire city are slaughtered because one of their young men did not wait to pursue love in an appropriate manner. As Simeon and Levi articulated it: "Should he treat our sister like a harlot?" (Gen 34:31).[28] Genesis 38 records the death of Judah's son Onan because he "spilled his seed on the ground." While some may hold that God killed him not because of sexual conduct but because he would not raise up an heir for his brother, the law that was later given in regard to this practice argues against this position. Deuteronomy 25:5-10 stipulates what should happen in case a surviving brother does not want to raise up an heir for the one who has died. The penalty is disgrace, not death. It is evident, therefore, that the offense of Onan came in indulging himself in the

[25]Richard M. Davidson, "Theology of Sexuality in the Song of Songs: Return to Eden," *AUSS* 27 (1989): 17-18.

[26]On the other hand, Solomon wrote many proverbs of warning on the subject of male and female relationships. Perhaps this is why the Song is dedicated to Solomon since he was both a wise teacher on matters of love, as well as an example of the need for restraint as the Song teaches.

[27]H. C. Leupold states: "[T]he two streams begin to commingle, and as a result moral distinctions are obliterated and the Sethites, too, become so badly contaminated that the existing world order must be definitely terminated" (*Exposition of Genesis* [Columbus: Wartburg, 1942], 249).

[28]C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch comment: "Their [Simeon's and Levi's] indignation was justifiable enough; and their seeking revenge, as Absalom avenged the violation of his sister on Amnon (2 Sam. xiii.2 sqq.), was in accordance with the habits of nomadic tribes. In this way, for example, seduction is still punished by death among the Arabs, and the punishment is generally inflicted by the brothers" (*Commentary on the Old Testament* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971], 1:315).

physical pleasure of love, while refusing to provide for the duty of love.[29] Exodus 32:6 implies that something was quite wrong with the "play" which the Israelites rose up to indulge in;[30] levitical law specifically addresses boundaries for male and female relations (Lev 18:1-30).[31] Samson provides an example of the tragic consequences of stirring up a love that cannot come to any good and of refusing to wake up to the reality of that truth (Judg 16:1-31).[32] A final, climatic example is found in 2 Sam 13, which records the incident between David's son Amnon and his daughter Tamar:

> Amnon was so distressed over his sister Tamar that he became sick. . . . Now when she had brought them [the food] to him to eat, he took hold of her and said to her, "Come lie with me, my sister." And she answered him, "No, my brother, do not force me, for no such thing should be done in Israel. Do not do this disgraceful thing! And I, where could I take my shame? And as for you, you would be like one of the fools in Israel. Now therefore, please speak to the king; for he will not withhold me from you" (2 Sam 13:2, 11-13).

Note the immediate consequence of Amnon's refusal to restrain his sexual desire: "Then Amnon hated her exceedingly, so that the hatred with which he hated her was greater than the love with which he had loved her" (2 Sam 13:15). It is also crucial to note the extended

[29]Leupold, 981, states: "[T]here was palpably involved the sin of a complete perversion of the purpose of marriage, that divine institution. What he [Onan] did is described as 'taking preventive measures.' The original says: 'he destroyed (i.e. the semen) to the ground.' From him the extreme sexual perversion called onanism has its name. The case is revolting enough. But plain speech in this case serves as a healthy warning."

[30]B. S. Childs provides a note on Exod 32:6, explaining that the verb "*leṣaḥeq* = 'to play' . . . can have a neutral sense (Gen 19.14) or a decidedly sexual connotation (Gen. 26.8; 39.14). The LXX retains a neutral sense, but most modern translations prefer the latter (NEB, NAB). This move had, of course, been long since made by the Targums (*pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti*) and midrashim" (*The Book of Exodus* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974], 556).

[31]These rules about sexual activity must be kept in balance by remembering other provisions made in the law for the proper expression of physical love, for example, Deut 24:5, where a newlywed is exempt from military service for an entire year so that he may be free to enjoy his new bride (W. Neuer, *Man and Woman in Christian Perspectives* [London: Stodder and Stoughton, 1990], 82-83). Concerning the importance of rules governing the proper expression of sexuality, G. J. Wenham wrote in regard to Lev 18: "There is a strong polemical thrust in these laws. . . . This chapter insists that certain standards of sexual morality are equally decisive marks of religious allegiance" (*The Book of Leviticus* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979], 250).

[32]A. E. Cundall evaluated the situation this way: "The man [Samson] whose great strength made him a legend in his own lifetime was completely unable to bridle his own passions and this weakness was to lead to his eventual downfall" (*Judges* [Chicago: InterVarsity, 1968], 173-174).

consequences. It is conceivable that the whole narrative up to 2 Sam 19:23, from Absalom's murder of Amnon and Absalom's exile to David's exile and Absalom's death, had its origin in this incident with Amnon and Tamar, simply because he refused to wait for a time when his desire might be fulfilled in a pleasing way.[33]

The OT also provides teaching passages that parallel the message of the Song. For example, the instruction of Proverbs on matters of love finds a positive summary in 5:15-20 (e.g., "rejoice in the wife of your youth. As a loving deer and a graceful doe, let her breasts satisfy you at all times; and always be enraptured with her love," vv. 18b-19).[34] Psalm 106:34-39 records the tragic consequences of Israel's failure to heed God's counsel regarding intermarriage. Malachi 2:10-16 provides its own interpretive difficulties, but not to the extent that a clear message concerning male-female relations is indiscernible.[35] Verse 14 observes that Israelite men are dealing "treacherously" with the wives of their youth. This treachery has to do with the covenant of marriage, which was to render godly offspring (vv. 14-15), and with violence and divorce (vv. 15-16). It is at least plausible that the actions of Onan and Amnon are illustrative of the situation rebuked by Malachi.

While the NT does not offer many examples of misconduct between males and females, it does provide one clear example and several teaching passages which relate to the Song. For example, 1 Cor 5:1ff. relates an incident in Corinth in which a man was having sexual relations with his stepmother. The urgency with which Paul responds and the nature of the action he prescribes provide clues to the

[33]For example, H. P. Smith takes 2 Sam 13:1–14:23 as one section, "The violation of Tamar and the consequences." He does not include 2 Sam 15:1–19:44 under this heading, but he does note that the source of this material is the same as the previous account, thus establishing at least a textual connection (*The Books of Samuel* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1951], 327, 339).

[34]One rabbinic source interprets the stanza as: "The maiden adjures the beautiful and noble women by invoking these graceful animals. While dallying in her Lover's arms she is seized by the fear of losing him to the charms of other women. She therefore adjures all women not to entice her Lover away from her so long as he desires to remain with her and protect her" (R. Abraham b. Isaac ha-Levi Tamakh, *Commentary on the Song of Songs* [Assen: Koniklijke Van Gorcum, 1970], 85).

[35]R. C. Smith states: "[Malachi] 2:10-16 is one of the most important yet most difficult pericopes in the book of Malachi. The debate between the cultic/figurative and the literal interpretations will probably continue for some time. The literal view has a preponderance of evidence on its side. . . . Malachi calls for faithfulness between husbands and wives because as Jews they all had one father—Yahweh; and because God intended for a man and his wife to be one flesh for the benefit of godly offspring" (*Micah—Malachi* [Waco: Word, 1984], 325).

seriousness of the matter.[36] Later, in chapter 7, Paul instructs the Corinthians at length on matters of love and sexual conduct. This instruction is particularly related to the purpose of the Song in that it centers on what is pleasing (i.e., good, helpful, and acceptable), with specific details, for example, on when to come together or stay apart, whether to marry or remain engaged. 1 Thessalonians 4:3-8 addresses, in terms parallel to the Song, issues similar to those found in the examples of Amnon and Malachi.[37] Paul admonishes the reader to "abstain from sexual immorality; that each of you should know how to possess his own vessel in sanctification and honor, not in passion of lust, like the Gentiles who do not know God" (vv. 4-5). With a similar tone, Heb 13:4 says: "Marriage is honorable among all, and the bed undefiled; but fornicators and adulterers God will judge."[38]

Conclusion

The thesis of this paper has been sustained by the meaning of the stanza found in 2:7; 3:5; and 8:4 on the basis of its own terminology, its relation to the whole of the Song, and its relation to the subject as treated generally in Scripture. The Song is undeniably a depiction of a relationship of love between a man and a woman,[39] which serves to

[36]Gordon D. Fee notes the seriousness of the matter: "[T]hey [the Corinthians] are to put this man out of the believing community—a command that is repeated no less than four times. . . . What is at stake is not simply a low view of sin; rather, it is the church itself" (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987], 197). Cf. ibid., 203, where Fee notes that Paul took "decisive action."

[37]1 Thess 4:4-5: "[E]ach of you should know how to possess his own vessel in sanctification and honor, not in *passion of lust*, like the Gentiles who do not know God; that no one should take advantage of and defraud his brother in this matter, because the Lord is the avenger of all such" (emphasis added). F. F. Bruce comments: "This injunction to holiness concentrates on the matter of sexual morality. This is not the whole of holiness, but it is an important aspect of it, and one which needed to be especially stressed when converts from Greek paganism were being instructed in the Christian way. The practice of fornication, which the Thessalonian Christians are urged to avoid, meant in the strict sense commerce with prostitutes, but covered many forms of extramarital sexual intercourse. . . . The exhortation to sexual purity, then, is probably to be recognized as the first instance of the writers' resolve to make good the deficiencies in the faith of their Thessalonian friends (*1 & 2 Thessalonians* [Waco: Word, 1982], 86, 88).

[38]Here, as in *Song*, the instruction concerning proper sexual relations is taught for the benefit of all, as S. J. Kistemaker notes in regard to this passage: "When marriage is honored in the home, love emanates to society in numerous ways. For this reason the author stresses the necessity of maintaining the sanctity of married life" (*Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1984], 409).

[39]"The truth of actual human experience as well as varieties of world views are presented for the reader's contemplation in order that through evaluation the reader

heighten the reader's appreciation of love, as well as to provide a caution about when, where, how, and with whom to pursue love.[40]

The meaning of the stanza on the basis of its own terminology reveals that the eighteen times the word שבע ("to adjure") is used in the OT poetic books demonstrates the seriousness of the oath in the stanza "I adjure you, Daughters of Jerusalem, by the does or by the gazelles, that you do not stir up nor awaken love until it pleases" (Song 2:7; 3:5; 8:4). The term "daughters of" (בְּנוֹת) should be taken literally in the Song. Thus the young maidens are friends of the beloved, who participate in her desire for and pursuit of a husband and are expected to learn from the experience. The Song may be described or arranged in various ways: according to function, where the maidens are placed in relation to both the lover and the beloved; and according to the intention of the beloved in regard to the daughters. The usage of the terms "gazelle" (צבי) and "doe" (אילה) in the OT seem to suggest that it is sensible for a love poem, which requires an oath for the restraint of "natural" forces (love) to appeal to something strong, reproductive, and representative of both male (strength, agility) and female (shape, tone) as its basis or reference point. This would seem to indicate that the oath is to be taken seriously by the reader. The usage of אם followed by the hiphil imperfect of עור, then a waw consecutive with אם followed by the polel imperfect of עור in the phrase "that you do not stir up or awaken love," indicates a negative oath. Thus, after an oath, אם becomes an emphatic negative and in connection with adjurations means "that not." The phrase "until it pleases" seems to indicate two motifs: to use restraint in indulging one's emotions until such a time when they may find proper and uninterrupted fulfillment; and the phrase may be calling to mind examples of love in Scripture that were "pleasing," such as the story of Ruth the Moabitess.

The place of the stanza within the Song has two important features in regard to its repetition: this stanza contains the only adjuration addressed to the daughters (hence to the reader) which is repeated; the position of the stanza places it in a climactic position rather than in a

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may exercise and expand his own values and world view" (Johnson, 114).

[40]H. Gollwitzer distinguished between *eros* ("physical, sexual love") and *agape* (a larger concept of "care for and proper conduct toward one another") and commented on the relationship of these two forms of love on the basis of the Song of Songs: "If we take seriously the fact that in the Bible *eros* is allowed to express itself as freely, unreservedly, and openly as it does in the Song of Songs, then we must assume that *eros* and *agape* are not to be considered as mutually exclusive" (*Song of Love* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978], 46-47).

developmental portion. Thus the Song speaks eloquently of the beauty and enjoyment of human sexual love.

The OT provides a number of examples detailing the tragic consequences of love that has been unwisely stirred up or awakened and thus was not and could not be pleasing (e.g., Gen 6:1-2; 34:31; 38; Deut 25:5-10; 1 Kgs 11:1-2). There are also a number of OT passages that parallel the message of the Song (e.g., Ps 106:34-39; Prov 5:15-20; Mal 2:10-16). The NT does not offer many examples of sexual misconduct, but it does provide one clear example (1 Cor 5:1ff.) and several teaching passages (1 Cor 7; 1 Thess 4:3-8) which relate to the Song. Hebrews 13:4 seems to capture the serious essence of the stanza's message: "Marriage is honorable among all, and the bed undefiled; but fornicators and adulterers God will judge."

Appendix A

Analysis of components of sections, each beginning with a motif of pursuit and concluding with a motif of consummation

This is only a preliminary attempt at such an analysis of the structure of Song and the components of that structure. This appendix is intended to provide a means by which sections can be compared for similarities without artificially forcing a foreign structure on the Song. Note, for example, that none of the sections are particularly equivalent in the sequence of elements, yet they all have certain components in common (e.g., the words of consummation, descriptions of the lover and the beloved, and imperatives and statements that develop the narrative).

Abbreviations in the "Element" column are as follows: "impv" indicates imperatives; "d-M" indicates descriptions of the male lover; "d-F" indicates descriptions of the female beloved; "statement" indicates statements that develop the narrative; "?" indicates interrogatives; and "csm" indicates words of consummation.

Element	Song Reference								
	1:1-13	2:1-7	2:8-17	3:1-5	3:6-11	4:1–5:1	5:2–6:3	6:4–8:4	8:5-14
statement	1								
impv	2		8						
d-M	3		9-11a						
impv			11-13						
d-F			14a, b			1-7		4	
impv	4		14c, d			8		5a, b	
d-F	5		14e, f			9-15	2-7	5c-9	
impv	6					16	8		
?	7				6		9	10	5a, b
stmnt								11-12	5c, e
impv	8				7a			13a, b	6a
?								13c, d	

impv									
impv			15						
d-F	9-10							1-7	
statement	11							8-10	6b-9
d-F	12	1-2							
d-M	13-14	3			7b-10		10-16		
d-F	15			1-4c					10
d-M	16a, b								
?							1		
csm	**16c-17**	**4**	**16-17**	**4d, e**	**11a-**	**1a-d**	**2-3**	**11-2**	**11-12**
impv		**5-7**	17c-f	**5**	-11e	1e, f		**3-4**	13-14

Appendix B
Comparison of Imperatives in The Song[41]

Type of Action (Hebrew and English)		Subject of the Verb		
Movement		**Lover**	**Beloved**	**Daughters of**
משך	take		1:4	
רוץ	run		1:4	
יצא	go down			1:8; 3:11
קום	arise	2:10, 13*		
הלך	go/come	2:10, 13, 13*	7:12	
סבב	surround	6:5	2:17	
בוא	come		4:16, 16	
שוב	return			7:1, 1, 1, 1
ברח	flee		8:14	
Subtotal		**6**	**7**	**6**
Type of Action (Hebrew and English)		Subject of the Verb		
Perception		**Lover**	**Beloved**	**Daughters of**
שזף	stare		1:6	
נגד	tell		1:7	
עור	awaken		2:7, 7; 3:5, 5; 4:16; 8:4, 4	
ראה	see	2:14*		3:11

[41]Appendix B provides a comparison of the three main types of action in Song: movement, perception, and action. The reader may compare specific types and frequency of action in each category, as well as frequency of characters (e.g., the beloved), which are subjects of the verbs. The symbol "*" indicates that the beloved is relating what the lover said in direct discourse.

שמע	hear	2:14*; 8:13		
Subtotal		**3**	**10**	**1**
Type of Action (Hebrew and English)		Subject of the Verb		
Other Types of Action		**Lover**	**Beloved**	**Daughters of**
נתצו (check)				
נשק	kiss		1:2	
רעה	shepherd			1:8
סמך	strengthen		2:5	
רפד	support		2:5	
אחז	catch		2:15	
דמה	be like		2:17; 8:14	
פוח	blow		4:16	
אכל	eat	5:1	4:16	
שתה	drink	5:1		
שכר	drink	5:1		
פתה	open	5:2		
שבע	swear		2:7; 3:5; 5:8; 8:4	
שים	put		8:6	
subtotal		**4**	**13**	**1**
Total		**13**	**30**	**8**

Appendix C
Comparison of the Language of Pursuit and Consummation in the Song

Song 1:1-17	
Pursuit	"Let him kiss me . . . take me away . . . tell me where to find him"
Consummation	"Our bed . . . beams . . . rafters"
Song 2:1-7	
Pursuit	"He has taken me to the banquet hall"
Consummation	"[H]is banner over me is love"
Song 2:8-17	
Pursuit	"[L]ook he comes"
Consummation	"[H]e browses among the lilies"
Song 3:1-5	
Pursuit	"I looked for the one my heart loves"
Consummation	"[W]ould not let him go till I . . . brought him into my . . . house"
Song 3:6-11	
Pursuit	"Who is this coming up"
Consummation	"[O]n the day of his wedding"
Song 4:1-5:1	
Pursuit	"Come with me from Lebanon"
Consummation	"I have come into my garden"
Song 5:2-6:3	
Pursuit	"Open to me, my sister"
Consummation	"[H]e browses among the lilies"
Song 6:4-8:4	
Pursuit	"Who is this that appears . . . I went down"
Consummation	"I would lead you and bring you to my mother's house"
Song 8:5-14	
Pursuit	"Who is this coming up"
Consummation	"[M]y own vineyard is mine to give . . . the thousand shekels are for you, O Solomon"

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THE OTHER INTERCESSOR: THE HOLY SPIRIT AS *FAMILIA*-PETITIONER FOR THE FATHER'S *FILIUSFAMILIA* IN ROMANS 8:26-27

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Introduction

The role of the Holy Spirit and its interaction with the Father, Jesus, and humanity within Rom 8 has been approached from a number of perspectives, and there have been a plethora of theological approaches to Rom 6-8. More recently, however, a number of scholars have focused on the social-science or historical approaches to the content and metaphor of these chapters, and, in regard to Rom 8, have concentrated on the family or household relationship established through adoption.

James M. Scott has grappled with the theology of adoption as sons of God, but places the language of slavery and adoption in Romans in a Jewish and OT context. He asserts that the usage of slave and adoption language is parallel to Gal 4 and is based upon an Exodus motif and 2 Sam 7:14. He relegates the role of the Holy Spirit in Rom 8 to that of present guarantee and means of future adoption and inheritance of believers of Christ's presence with God at the resurrection from the dead.[1]

Recent work on slavery as reality and metaphor in the NT by Jennifer Glancey has been helpful in understanding slave manumission and adoption in a Greco-Roman context.[2] However, she examines the imagery of slavery, manumission, and adoption in relation to Gal 4 and does not consider it in relation to Rom 6-8. Additionally, James C. Walters's recent article rejects Scott's conclusion on adoption and inheritance in Romans, returning its consideration to a Greco-Roman context. He notes the close association of the Spirit within the adoption and inheritance process, but does not further explore its involvement.[3]

Stanley Stowers elucidates the perspective of Greco-Roman social relations involving slavery, kinship, and family relationships. His emphasis

[1]James M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 221-266, 241-244, 244-247, 250, 259.

[2]Jennifer A. Glancey, *Slavery in Early Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 33-37, 92-96.

[3]James C. Walters, "Paul, Adoption, and Inheritance," in *Paul in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. J. Paul Sampley (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2003), 42-76.

on *familia* relations expands our understanding of Romans. However, he does not fully scrutinize what I term a "*familia*-relations" reading of Romans, particularly chapter 8, nor the role of the Holy Spirit in this context.[4]

Philip Esler rightly notes that Rom 8 celebrates a new identity, which he terms "in-Christ," and places the concepts of adoption and inheritance in a Greco-Roman context. He points to kinship and household imagery as the appropriate Greco-Roman models for interpreting Rom 8:12-17, but does not consider the implications of such a reading at that point. Additionally, he makes the role of the Spirit the avenue by which charismatic gifts are given to believers to authenticate their experience with God, seemingly echoed in the Spirit's inarticulate groans in 8:26-27, "in which God expresses solidarity with his people."[5]

On the other hand, Reidar Aasgard has taken a dim view of the family-of-God motif, arguing the link between Christ and the adopted sons of God in Rom 8 is tenuous as a formalized relationship. Yet Aasgard does not totally deny a relationship between Christ and his "siblings."[6]

Finally, Awilda Gonzalez-Tejera examines the issue of intercession in the Paulines from a perspective of Greco-Roman patron-client relations and friendship. She treats Rom 8:26-27 as a Pauline use of consolatory tradition, recognizing the Spirit's involvement in enabling humanity to endure the present age. Also, she mingles the imagery of adopted children in Rom 8 with slavery to God in Rom 6, yet concludes that the Spirit in this passage is an interior connection with God that represents present intimacy with the divine, assures full adoption, and serves as a guarantor of future glory.[7]

In my opinion, there seems to be a set of issues to be considered in Rom 6-8 in relation to a *familia*-relations reading of Rom 8, and also a need to comprehend the intercession of the Spirit in 8:26-27. I would suggest, therefore, that a *familia*-relations reading of Rom 8, especially 8:26-27, is valuable for understanding Paul's teaching regarding the role of the Holy Spirit and its intercession.

[4]Stanley Kent Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews and Gentiles* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 256-257, 280-284.

[5]Philip F. Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 243-267, 246-249, 264-265.

[6]Reidar Aasgard, *"My Beloved Brothers and Sisters!" Christian Siblingship in Paul* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), 137-150, 144-147.

[7]Awilda Gonzalez-Tejera, "Intercession in Paul's Letters in Light of Graeco-Roman Practices of Intercession" (Th.D. dissertation, Boston University School of Theology, 2002), 143-170.

In this article, I will briefly summarize aspects of Roman *familia* relationships, including slavery, manumission, adoption, father-son and brothers relationships, and inheritance. Next I will briefly scan the use of *familia*-relations language in Rom 1-7 and 8:1-25. I will then assess the unique role of the Holy Spirit in 8:26-27 in light of a *familia*-relations reading. In conclusion, I will propose how this reading may impact the theological meaning of Paul's message to the Roman Christians, especially in relation to Rom 8:24 and Christ's "intercession."

Familia *Relationships in the Greco-Roman World*

Greco-Roman *familia* relationships included interactions among all those residing within a household (*domus*), including father, immediate family, and slaves.[8] Slavery was defined by Roman law as *servus*, a condition in Roman philosophy contrary to the "natural state" of humanity, which was liberty (*libertus*). Thus enslavement was considered a living death.[9] Under *servus* law, the slave owner had absolute power (*dominium*) over the slave, who was considered part of the extended household possessions.[10] Slaves were considered not only property or objects, but tools for fulfilling their owner's desires and accomplishing household needs.[11] The owner had the power of punishment; beating, whipping, branding, and even death were methods for punishing a slave, often swiftly and severely carried out by masters for the most minor infractions.[12] Thus slaves usually lived in regular fear of punishment for offending their owners. Most Roman slaves were freed only by death and considered it a form of "divine" release.[13]

Manumissio ("manumission") was the legal process of freeing a slave. The master generally brought the deserving slave to a priest, magistrate, provincial governor, or emperor, who, with the owner, pronounced the

[8]Richard P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 74-101, esp. 85-88. For prior understandings of *familia* and *domus*, see Suzanne Dixon, *The Roman Family* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 1-17, 24-35.

[9]W. W. Buckland, *A Text-Book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian*, 3d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 72. See also R. W. Leage, *Roman Private Law*, 3d ed. (London: MacMillan, 1964), 65; Keith Hopkins, *Conquerers and Slaves: Sociological Studies in Roman History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 1:121-122.

[10]George Long, "Dominium," *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ed. William Smith (London: John Murray, 1875), 421-423.

[11]William Fitzgerald, *Slavery and the Roman Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4-8. See also Hopkins, 1:123.

[12]Hopkins, 1:119-120. See also Fitzgerald, 32-41; Dixon, *Roman Family*, 154-155.

[13]Hopkins, 1:118.

slave's freedom. The process was confirmed in a witnessed formal statement.[14]

A slave generally attained freedom by paying the purchase price for his or her own release. However, the master could also free a slave through an agent acting on the slave's behalf.[15] Finally, manumission could be gained by freeing a slave as part of the terms of a will and its acceptance by the *heres* ("inheritors"). In this case, the slave remained in the service of his or her master until the death of the owner, but in some ways was treated as free.[16] A slave could even become an inheritor, but only if freedom was attained before accepting the inheritance.[17]

Manumission not only brought freedom to the released slave, but also a form of Roman citizenship, if the former owner was a Roman citizen,[18] by establishing between them a new relationship analogous to father and son.[19] The former owner became *patronus* of the manumitted slave.[20] The slave took the name of the former owner, becoming through the name a symbolic part of the former owner's *gens* or lineage, but not part of the *familia*.[21]

Manumission was generally seen as an act of generosity, performed by a master for a slave. In return, gratitude (χάρις) was expressed by the slave for this act.[22] The *libertus* ("freed slave") owed respect, praise, and thanksgiving to his former master. This obligation of praising the patron's benefaction also extended to the freedman praising the patron's children. Refusal by the freedman to show honor and thanksgiving for

[14]Jane F. Gardner and Thomas Wiedemann, *The Roman Household* (London: Routledge, 1991), 144-145, 158-159. See also A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 327-328; Henry Thurston Peck, ed., "Manumissio," *Harpers Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (New York, Harper, 1898); Buckland, 72-73.

[15]Gardner and Wiedemann, 147.

[16]Leage, 79-83; Buckland, 74-77.

[17]Buckland, 86.

[18]Roman citizenship took a number of forms depending on a variety of factors such as the age of the slave, place of manumission, and status of the owner, resulting usually in *civitas* or *latini*. See E. G. Hardy, *Roman Laws and Charters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), 70-71. The Greeks considered the Roman idea of granting citizenship and status to a freed slave as remarkable. It is not known how often slaves were freed in Roman society; some assume it may not have been an infrequent event. See Fitzgerald, 87-88.

[19]Beryl Rawson, "The Roman Family," in *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 12-13. Also see Gardner and Wiedemann, 40-41.

[20]Gardner and Wiedemann, 166.

[21]Long, "Manumissio," 730-731.

[22]Gardner and Wiedemann, 162-163; and Hopkins, 1:117-118, 129.

the patron's benefaction left the freedman liable for being charged with ingratitude (*libertus impious*, as one being deficient in piety [*pietas*]).[23] As a result, the freedman could be banished from Rome, possibly returned to slavery,[24] or publicly prosecuted for impiety.[25]

It was expected that the patron would support his freed slave in case of necessity. If a patron failed to do so, he lost patronal rights. In turn, the freedman was obligated to the patron who manumitted him, which included providing services, such as managing his patron's affairs, tutoring his children, and extending material or financial support if the patron was in need. Thus the freed slave was to perform legal (*officiales*) expectations by publicly and privately demonstrating respect and affection toward the *patronus* as the common terms of manumission. The freedman who did not meet his obligations was seen as *ingratus*, a punishable offense under Roman law.[26]

Another form of manumission practiced predominately in Hellenistic areas of the Roman Empire, such as at Delphi and Thessaly, was *paramone*. This type of manumission involved a conditional release in which the price had been paid, but the release was not yet realized. Keith Hopkins describes *paramone* as a form of conditional manumission in which "slave[s] bought formal freedom but contractually bound themselves to stay with and to continue serving their former owners even after they were freed, just as though they were still slaves, usually until their former owner's death."[27]

Paramone manumission included a religious ceremony, complete with witnesses and guarantors, in which the master set the slave free before the god Apollo. In the transaction, the master sold the slave to Apollo. In light of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, it is of particular interest that in these agreements the slaves were termed "bodies" (σώματα). The slave paid the sale price to the god on behalf of the master. The sale carried conditions of continuing service as a slave to the former master. The slave was given a copy of the public manumission record to substantiate his or her freedom.[28] The god Apollo, seller, and guarantors

[23]Alan Watson, *Roman Slave Law* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 17. See also Hardy, 84-86 and nn. 6-9.

[24]Tranquillus C. Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, trans. Alexander Thomson, rev. ed., ed. T. Forrester (London: Bell, 1909), 316-317.

[25]Hopkins, 1:130.

[26]Gardner and Wiedemann, 152-158. See also Watson, 39-43; Long, "Patronus," 878-880.

[27]Hopkins, 1:133-171, esp. 133.

[28]Ibid., 1:138.

were witnesses that the freedom would be honored.[29]

Socially, the slaves were conditionally freed—although freedom from slavery was proclaimed, they were bound to Apollo, who in turn was to set them free at the end of their service to their master. Thus the slave continued in service while already freed, still living under the command and domination of the former master's desires and needs and receiving punishment, including beating, chaining, and, in some cases, reselling to a new master, which would void the sale to the god. For early release, a third party could pay an additional price for full freedom.[30]

Apollo affirmed and maintained the slave's future freedom. According to Hopkins, the god Apollo was believed to have ultimate power in guaranteeing the slave's freedom, thus binding the parties to honor the transaction, even in the case of a slave giving up his or her manumission document to the former master. In that particular case, Apollo punished the slave for violating the manumission agreement.[31]

Some masters made their conditionally released slaves their children and heirs, which was likely based on caring and affection for the slave.[32] In a minority of cases from Delphi, the slave's conditional freedom was purchased by a party other than the former owner, and the slave would then serve the purchaser until the conditions of release were fulfilled,[33] a somewhat similar case to Paul's example in Rom 5-8.

Adoption (*adoptio*) was a Roman legal process whereby one acquired sons and added to the *familia* through the creation of fictive kinships.[34] *Adoptio* legally bound the adoptee as fictive full flesh and blood of the father (*pater*).[35] He acquired the father's name, social status, and, most importantly, as *filiusfamilia* ("son"), became inheritor (*heres*) of the father's household, thereby keeping the family lineage from dying out.[36] It was possible for adoptive sons to be absent from the *adoptio* ceremony, according to Roman law.[37] Also, multiple sons could be adopted by the same father.[38] Slaves could be adopted by their masters, whereby the

[29]Ibid., 1:144-145, 152-154.

[30]Ibid., 1:142-143.

[31]Ibid., 1:145-146.

[32]Ibid., 1:167-168; see also Scott, 86.

[33]Ibid., 1:168-169.

[34]Saller, 85. See also Jane F. Gardner, *Family and Familia in Roman Law and Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 202-203, and Dixon, 112-113.

[35]Gardner, 117.

[36]Buckland, 122. Also see Long, "Adoptio," 15-16; and F. F. Bruce, *The Letter of Paul to the Romans*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 157. For social impact, see Saller, 83-89.

[37]Gardner, 131.

[38]Gardner, 139-140, 144-145.

master formally claimed the slave as his son, most likely involving manumission as an interim legal step.[39] Slaves who were freed without adoption were viewed as "fatherless."[40] Finally, under *adoptio* law, the adopted freedman would be granted rights that were equal to those of natural sons.[41]

The adopting father gained *patria potestas* (a father's power) over the adopted son in the familial relationship, guiding and directing the son's affairs as he would a natural son.[42] The father had the power of life and death, the sale into slavery, giving in adoption or in marriage, and of disinheriting his son.[43] The adopted or natural son had no inherent dominion or power of his own. Even in adulthood, everything the son did in business, law, or family life was considered gain for the father, adding to his possessions and household.[44] Only in inheritance did the son gain full rights.[45]

Relationships between fathers and sons as *familia* were usually based on *pietas*, the mutual affectionate devotion, love, and compassion existing between father and sons and other immediately related members.[46] *Pietas* was also exhibited by creating, displaying, and honoring the *imagines*, stone or wax busts, statues, and figures displayed in Roman households to honor the memories of brothers, sons, or fathers.[47] Thus, based upon a complex legal and a shared mutual relationship between owner and slave, it was possible for a slave to enter into sonship as a freedman.

Having assessed common social relations in Greco-Roman families, we turn to Paul's Epistle to the Romans and its language of slavery, implied manumission, and adoption in chapters 1 through 8 and the relationship of this language to the role of the Spirit in Rom 8:26-27.

[39]Buckland, 127-128. See also Leage, 119-120; and Gardner, 179, 188.

[40]Rawson, 13; and also Gardner, 180, 184-186.

[41]Gardner, 184-188.

[42]Fritz Schulz, *Classical Roman Law* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951), 143-144.

[43]Stephan Joubert, *Paul as Benefactor* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 169-170.

[44]Saller, 102-105. See also Fitzgerald, 78.

[45]James D. Hester, *Paul's Concept of Inheritance: A Contribution to the Understanding of Heilsgeschichte* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968), vii, 15-19. See also Long, "*Patria Potestas*," 873-875.

[46]Saller, 105-131. See also Gardner, 123-124; and Gardner and Wiedemann, 64-65, 98-110.

[47]Saller, 88, 90-95; Joubert, 170-171; Janette McWilliam, "Children Among the Dead," in *Childhood, Class and Kin in the Roman World*, ed. Suzanne Dixon (London: Routledge, 2001), 91; and Michele George, "A Roman Funerary Monument with a Mother and Daughter," in *Childhood, Class and Kin in the Roman World*, 178-187. See also Dixon, 171, plate 8 of statues and busts. Finally, for a full assessment, see Harriett I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

Approaching Romans 1-7: A Familia-*Relations Perspective*

While it may be argued that a social-relations context is the foundation for defining the human relationship with God in Rom 1-8, only a brief overview will be presented in this article. In Rom 1, the Gentiles refused to "acknowledge, glorify or give thanks to God" (vv. 21, 28), which, according to the terms of manumission, would have been recognized as impiety by Paul's Roman audience. In return, they are "handed over" to sin (1:24, 26, 28), implying a loss of freedom or enslavement to sin for all humanity and liability for punishment (cf. Rom 2:14-16 and 3:19-20).[48] In Rom 3:21-27, restoration of the relationship comes through God by his free gift of divine benefaction embodied in Christ. God, through Christ's faithfulness in death, buys back (ἀπολυτρώσεως) as slaves, sin-enslaved humanity into right relationship with him.[49]

In Rom 6, Paul's discourse utilizes the *familia* language of slavery as its foundation. In 6:1-11, the believer goes through baptism to symbolize death to sin, conjoining himself or herself to Christ in his death and resurrection. The believer's "death" causes sin to lose its power or dominion over the "body" of the believer. Thus it seems that the term "body," in this context, refers to an individual as a "slave" and is taken from the legal language of manumission.

In 6:12-18, believers are freed (ἐλευθερωθέντες) from enslavement to sin through "death" with Christ. Enslavement imagery is also used in 6:13, where believers are called to be instruments or tools (ὅπλα) of righteousness,[50] thus conveying the idea that slaves were often considered tools to carry on the work of their masters. In 6:14-18, the believer moves from being a slave to sin to being a slave to righteousness, implying that God now exercises dominion over the believer and thus expects obedient service on the part of the believer. In 6:19 and 22, the term ἁγιασμόν is often translated "sanctification." However, the term can also mean "holy dedication to service and loyalty

[48]Stowers, 252.

[49]William Arndt and Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (henceforth BDAG), 3d ed., rev. and ed. Frederick William Danker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 117; Douglas Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 229-230; Thomas R. Schreiner, *Romans*, Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 189-191; John Ziesler, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (London: SCM, 1989), 111.

[50]J. P. Louw, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989), 1:53.

to the deity,"[51] in this case, to God the Father.[52] Paul takes the enslavement analogy further when, in 6:22, the believer, defined as someone freed from slavery to sin but enslaved to God, receives the benefit of eternal life. Continuing Paul's theme, 6:23 presents an interesting *familia*-relations reading. The ὀψώνια[53] ("soldier's wages," as it is often translated)[54] is not payment per se, but the Greek equivalent of *peculium,* the subsistence allowance legally owned by the slave master but given to slaves, which they might save to buy their own freedom.[55] Purchasing one's freedom cost substantial sums, often requiring many years of savings.[56] In addition, a slave who died before gaining freedom had his *peculium* automatically returned to the master who gave it.[57] In 6:23, God, as the slave owner, is contrasted with sin's *peculium* by graciously giving the free divine benefaction of eternal life to believers in Christ, which could have been interpreted as an act of supreme love and affection in a Roman household.[58]

In 7:1-6, the theme of dying to the slavery of the law reemerges, seemingly reconfirming the message of 6:1-18, 22. In 7:6, the Christian, having "died" to the law, receives release (κατηργήθημεν)[59] from slavery to the passions through joining in Christ's death. This release, in a *familia* relations context, is freedom from obligation in enslavement to another party (κατειχόμεθα).[60] However, the verse also reconfirms slavery (δουλεύειν) to God, who is served in a new, superior, and extraordinary way through the Spirit.

Romans 7:7-13 reconfirms the goodness of the law, yet regresses to demonstrate how the law reveals sin. Beginning with 7:14, Paul moves to a debate occurring in contemporary Greco-Roman moral philosophy,

[51]Ibid., 1:537.

[52]E. Leigh Gibson, *The Jewish Manumission Inscriptions of the Bosporus Kingdom* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 144-152.

[53]Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* rev. and aug. Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940).

[54]Anthony J. Guerra, *Romans and the Apologetic Tradition: The Purpose, Genre and Audience of Paul's Letter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 133; James Dunn, *Romans,* WBC (Dallas: Word, 1988), 1:349.

[55]Ireneus Zeber, *A Study of the Peculium of a Slave in Pre-classical and Classical Roman Law* (Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wroclawskiego, 1981), 13-17, 24-33, 45-50, 70-71. See also Hopkins, 1:125-126; Ziesler, 171; and Rawson, 17.

[56]Hopkins, 1:118.

[57]Zeber, 84. See also Leage, 71; and Hopkins, 1:128.

[58]Hopkins, 1:127, 132.

[59]BDAG, 417; Schreiner, 350-351.

[60]J. Swanson, *Dictionary of Biblical Languages with Semantic Domains: Greek New Testament* (Oak Harbor, WA: Logos Research Systems, 1997).

as convincingly argued by Stowers, between the law of reason and the desires and passions.[61] The word "sin," in 7:17, 20, is often understood to be dwelling in the individual; but if the passage is understood from the perspective of *familia* relations, οἰκοῦσα can also be translated "the one having dominion" over the slave.[62]

Romans 7:23-25 describes sin as being at war with the law and taking the person captive, an action in Roman society which led to slavery, with the captive being legally declared "dead" at the moment of capture.[63] Slavery through capture is also suggested as the imagery in 7:24, where the person is described as the "body of death," and the cry is to be "set free."

Freedom from the law of sin, in the previously declared enslavement to God in Rom 6, is reaffirmed, in 7:25, in a declaration of praise for what God has done through Christ, a gift to be expanded and clarified in Rom 8.

Approaching Romans 8:1-25: A Familia-*Relations Perspective*

In Rom 8, Paul continues evoking *familia* imagery to express the interaction of the Father, Christ, and the Holy Spirit on behalf of believers. Romans 8:2-39 may be divided into four progressive, interrelated responses (8:2-13; 14-25; and 26-27; 28-39) to Paul's exclamatory *propositio* in 8:1: "There is therefore now no condemnation (κατάκριμα) for those in Christ Jesus," in which the Holy Spirit's apparent role is agent of the Father or the Father's heirs. In this role, the Holy Spirit operates as a *familia* member by completing a desired action in behalf of another *familia* member. In these responses, the Holy Spirit implements the *familia* relations requirements of spiritual manumission and adoption for believers to establish a *filiusfamilia* relationship with the Father. The fourth response demonstrates the role of Christ in the process of spiritual manumission as benefactor to the newly adopted children.

The Spirit as Agent of Manumission: Romans 8:2-13

Paul's exclamatory *propositio* in 8:1 anticipates his explanation in 8:2-13. While the term κατάκριμα (8:1) is often translated "condemnation," I would suggest, in the context of a *familia*-relations reading, the

[61]Stowers, 260-281.

[62]H. Liddell, *A Lexicon: Abridged from Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon* (Oak Harbor, WA: Logos Research Systems, 1996). See also Brendan Byrne, *Romans*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996), 227-228.

[63]Watson, 20-22; Leage, 73-75; Buckland, 67; and Dunn, 1:395.

translation "to judge someone as guilty and subject to punishment." In a *familia* relations reading, punishment would be the master's response to a disobedient slave, who is still trapped in the service or dominion of sin (7:23-25).[64] Paul's *propositio* is that believers in Jesus Christ are now free and clear of punishment, and thus are no longer guilty or awaiting punishment through death as a result of sin.[65] The first response in 8:2-13, in which the Spirit acts as an agent of manumission by the process of indwelling, amplifies God's work of freeing believers from slavery to the law (dominion) of sin and death and subsequent entry into Christ's death and a right relationship with God. In 8:2, Paul states that the "law (dominion) of the Spirit of life has set you free (ἠλευθέρωσέν) from the law (dominion) of sin and death." Being set free continues the imagery of gaining freedom from slavery to sin.[66] Paul argues in 8:3 that, through Christ, sin has had a sentence of destruction (κατέκρινεν) passed on it and believers have been exonerated.[67]

In 8:7, those of the flesh have no power to make themselves "subject" (ὑποτάσσεται, better translated "to be under the dominion or mastery" of God),[68] nor can they "please" (ἀρέσαι; "to please through implied obedient service," as the root ἀρεσκεία is translated[69]) God (8:8). As observed earlier, obedient service is what a master would expect from his slave.

The indwelling Spirit assures the believer of eternal life in 8:11 due to the restoration of a right relationship with the Father. To this point in Paul's discourse, the indwelling Spirit is apparently the agent through which the believer becomes enslaved[70] to God and is thus able to live out the new relationship with the Father made available through Christ's death and resurrection.[71]

Romans 6 argued only for the transfer of slave ownership from sin to God, typified through a Roman ceremony of *mancipium*, the sale and

[64]BDAG, 518.

[65]D. M. Lloyd-Jones, *Romans Chapter 7.1-8.4* (London: Billing, 1981), 258-261. See Schreiner, 398-399.

[66]The verb derives from ἐλευθερία meaning "to set free from control or dominion from an owner, or living as a slave" (Louw, 487 n. 37.133-137.135).

[67]Schreiner, 400-401.

[68]Swanson, n. 57.18.

[69]See ἀρεσκεία and ἀρέσκω in Swanson, n. 742-743.

[70]See Liddell, 1:210.

[71]Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), 506-508. See also Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 275-276; Schreiner, 353-354.

transfer of goods, property, or slaves through *mancipatio.*[72] But, in 8:2-13, Paul goes further, for *mancipatio* was also the legal action for granting freedom from slavery. As suggested in 8:2, the believer is set free (ἠλευθέρωσέν) from "the law of sin and death." Thus the term "obligation of duty" (ὀφειλέται)[73] in 8:12 intimates the believer is not enslaved, but a slave given freedom. The Holy Spirit's agency of indwelling presence makes it possible for humanity to not be in obligation to the flesh, but to God the Father. The state of "being obliged" in Roman society was that of a freedman toward his former master, dramatically different than the state of submission in enslavement.

Thus Rom 8:2-13 explains the Holy Spirit's role as the agent of *manumissio* in man's redemption and freedom from slavery to law, sin, and death, granted by God through Christ. The inward presence of the Spirit confirms and empowers the manumission of the believer. This freedom is one of "obligation" for the slave-price paid for freedom from sin and death.[74]

The Spirit as Agent of Adoption: Romans 8:14-25

In 8:14-25, Paul breaks from the enslavement motif of Rom 5–8:13 by transforming the relationship of the believer toward the Father from manumitted slave to endearing *filiusfamilia* through adoption.[75] He then provides an example as the foundation of Rom 8:14-25, in which the Holy Spirit becomes the agent for adoption into the Father's *familia.*[76]

[72]Long, "Mancipium," 727-728. Also, the slave manumission imagery of Delphi typifies conditional freedom from an old master, in this case sin, and enslavement to the god, in this case the Father.

[73]BDAG, 598.

[74]As Paul has already described in Rom 5:6-11, where he described reconciliation with God by using the term καταλλάσσω ("to exchange money or items of value") as the term to define the benefits of Christ's death. See Liddell, 1: 410; Hester, 60-61, 101-102.

[75]Jane F. Gardner, "Legal Stumbling-Blocks for Lower Class Families in Rome," in *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space,* ed. Beryl Rawson and Paul Weaver (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 41-46. Also see Guerra, 140. The legal practice of manumission by adoption is referred to twice in Roman law, and while there are no examples of its performance in Roman literature, there are slave manumission inscriptions from Delphi (see Gellius, v. 19; and Justinian, *Institutes,* 1 tit. 11s12, and regarding Delphic manumission and adoption see Hopkins, 1:133-171). Also, the Bosporan manumission inscriptions provide insight into service to God in a "synagogue slave" context. See Gibson, 144-150.

[76]While Saller recognizes this progression in Galatians, he does not in Romans, but sees the son/slave motif as substitutive, not progressive ("Sons, Slaves and Christians," in *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space,* ed. Beryl Rawson and Paul Weaver

In 8:14, those being "led by the Spirit of God are sons of God." This phrase is often linked contextually to the OT.[77] However, I argue that the context of this text is derived from Greco-Roman culture, as presented by Stowers.[78] In fact, the term υἱοθεσία ("adoption") does not occur in either the LXX or Hellenistic Jewish writings, nor was the practice of adoption officially recognized among the Jews.[79]

In 8:15, Paul proclaims that believers are "sons of God" by the "Spirit of adoption." Through the Spirit, believers can cry out "Abba, Father," a term of endearment, respectfully and intimately called out by a child to a father, used even by mature men toward their fathers.[80] In the context of children of God, the term seems to be the affectionate and intimate address of a child not yet free of paternal protection or direction, living under *patria potestas* as a new son of the Father's *familia*.[81]

In 8:16, the adoption as children of God comes through the witness-bearing (συμμαρτυρεῖ) of the Spirit. The Spirit is portrayed as the agent, who acts as the confirming witness of the adoption. Thus it seems that the Spirit is serving as the *familiae emptor*, who is related to the *pater* and guarantees God's adoption of sons who are absent from the actual adoptive event.[82]

Romans 8:17 embodies the crux of Paul's argument in 8:14-25. Paul argues that if persons are God's children, then they are joint heirs with Christ. To be an heir and receive inheritance, according to Roman law, one would have to be freed from slavery.[83] The *heres* ("inheritance") —which includes all the gifts and possessions of God the Father, especially resurrection, sonship and glorification—is equally shared by Christ and the newly adopted sons of God. Joint heirship fully engages the imagery of affection, devotion, duty, and *pietas* inherent in Roman

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[Oxford: Clarendon, 1997], 105-106). I disagree.

[77]See Hos 1:10 for reference to Israel as "sons of the living God," and Deut 14:1, where they are titled "children of the Lord your God." Other NT use is found in John 1:12; 1 John 3:1; and Rev 21:7. 2 Cor 6:18 incorporates similar allusional concepts from 2 Sam 7:14 and Isa 43:6.

[78]See Stowers, 251-253. See also Schreiner, 424-425.

[79]Hester, 11-12, 59. See also F. Lyall, "Roman Law in the Writings of Paul—Adoption," *JBL* 88 (1969): 458-466; Moo, 501 n. 26, 27.

[80]See "Abba," *Harper's Bible Dictionary*, ed. Paul J. Achtemeier (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985). John Ashton, "Abba," *ABD*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1997).

[81]E. A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of the Christian Groups in the First Century* (London: Tyndale, 1960), 38. See also Hester, 17-18.

[82]Hester, 60-61, 101-102. See also *TDNT*, 569 and BDAG, 778.

[83]Watson, 26-27; see also Long, "*Heres*," 598-602.

social relations of *familia*,[84] and symbolizes the process of becoming immediate family members (*sui heredes*) of God the Father.[85]

There is, seemingly, only one stipulation in becoming a *heres:* the believer must currently share in Christ's suffering. Whether Paul means by suffering the inclusion in Christ's crucifixion in 6:6, living in a physical body and being separated from inheritance as follows in 8:18-25, or persecution, is not clear. However, if the believer joins in this suffering, he or she has already been glorified, i.e., given the Father's divine honor and praise with Christ (συνδοξασθῶμεν, v. 17). This imagery of sharing Christ's suffering corresponds with Varro's description of inheritance as part of *consortium* (sharing one's lot or fate in life, symbolizing the sharing of brothers in inheritance).[86] In turn, Paul's audience will share in inheritance—the glorification or honoring of Christ, who is portrayed as seated at the right hand of the Father in 8:34.

In 8:18-25, Paul moves to an argument that the adoption is only partially consummated and awaiting the final fulfillment. In 8:22-23, all creation suffers agony together, awaiting the revelation, i.e., the believer's appearance in the presence of the Father. Paul's linkage between humanity and creation may be similar to Pliny's idea that animals shared the earth in partnership or *consortio*, echoing the ideas of fraternal joint ownership, inheritance, and thereby suffering the same lot or fate.[87] Having obtained the "adoption or birth certificate" (ἀπαρχὴν)[88] of the Holy Spirit, the believers wait in eager anticipation for the "release from slavery" (ἀπολύτρωσιν) of their bodies.[89]

The Spirit as Agent of Benefaction: Romans 8:26-27

A number of interpretations have been suggested for Rom 8:26-27. E. A. Obeng, writing on the Spirit as intercessor, concluded the idea did not originate in "Judaistic writings." Rather it was the result of Paul's reflections on the Jewish idea that heavenly beings were effective intercessors with God. He also argued that as Jesus was an intercessor

[84]Cynthia J. Bannon, *The Brothers of Romulus: Fraternal Pietas in Roman Law, Literature and Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 9, 12-13.

[85]Ibid., 15-16. See also Varro, *On the Latin Language*, rev. ed., trans. Roland G. Kent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 5.183; Isid. *Orig.* 10.51.

[86]Bannon, 19-20, 25-29.

[87]See ibid., 23-24; and Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 9.1.1.

[88]BDAG, 81.

[89]Henry Barclay Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976), 218-220.

(8:34), so was the Spirit (8:26-27, and based upon the Spirit's advocacy in the Gospels). In discussing the meaning of the Spirit's intercession, Obeng refuted the argument that the Spirit's intercessory "sighing" or "groaning too deep for words" was glossolalic in nature, as argued by Frederic Louis Godet, Hans Lietzmann, and Ernst Käsemann. For Obeng, "groaning" refers to the intensity of prayer, denoting the Spirit's and believers' intense desire for the acceptance of their requests. He supports his understanding through OT evidence. Finally, Obeng argues that Paul presents two equal, cooperative intercessors with God the Father—Christ and the Spirit—who operate in different realms, with one interceding at the right hand of God and the other within humanity.[90]

Julie L. Wu argues that the Spirit's intercession comes so that believers can be comforted in praying according to the will of God in the midst of present sufferings. She argues that Paul draws on the image of Christ in Gethsemane as part of becoming conformed to the likeness of Christ in 8:29.[91]

Ziesler concludes that "our weakness" in 8:26 concerns the believer's "not yet" situation and the Spirit's willingness to help the believer to know "what to pray for." The Spirit is "praying on our behalf" in "unspeakable groans." In 8:27, he emphasizes that God knows his Spirit; thus his will is being fulfilled in the Spirit's prayer on behalf of those who belong to Christ.[92]

Dunn follows much of Ziesler's thought, but adds that humanity does not know how to pray "as is proper," thus supporting the idea that believers do not know what to "pray for" due to the weakness of the believer's current state. He supports the "Judaistic" and scriptural motif for the Spirit's intercession as consecutively opposed and favored by Obeng. Dunn also opposes interpreting the "inarticulate groans" as glossolalia, and supports the image of God as the searcher of hearts, who knows the Spirit's thoughts, which he understands from a Jewish perspective based on the OT. He also holds that ἐντυγχάνω should be understood as "make petition for" or "appeal to."[93]

[90]E. A. Obeng, "The Spirit Intercession Motif in Paul," *ET* 95/12 (1984): 360-363. Obeng's argument for the motif of Spirit intercession was further detailed in "The Origins of the Spirit Intercession Motif in Romans 8:26," *NTS* 32 (1986): 621-632. Other proponents of the glossolalic interpretation include K. Stendahl, *Meanings: The Bible as Document and as Guide* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 151-161.

[91]Julie L. Wu, "The Spirit's Intercession in Romans 8:26-27: An Exegetical Note," *ET* 104 (1993): 13. This perspective of intensity of prayer is expressed earlier in F. F. Bruce, *Romans* (Leicester: InterVarsity, 1989), 165.

[92]Ziesler, 223-224.

[93]Dunn, 1:476-480.

Finally, James E. Rosscup argues that in 8:26-27 the Spirit should be viewed as offering intercessory prayer for those justified by God, pleading without the use of words "in caring empathy to secure what is best before God's throne."[94] His perspective is based on the Spirit as the "divine assistant" in helping believers to overcome human weakness and to "pray as we should." Thus the Spirit is the advocate, which Rosscup interprets through the legal imagery of the Gospels of Mark and John.[95] He also argues that the Spirit's prayer is according to the will of God—meeting God's standards—and the Father is in agreement based upon his perfect perception and intimate, loving involvement. He concludes that the Spirit's work is seeking to gain advantages for believers.[96]

However, I propose that Paul's argument, in 8:14-25, that adoption through the Spirit makes Christians "sons of God" and "heirs," leads to a new avenue of approach to God the Father through a model of benefaction based on *familia* relations drawn from the Roman household. Based on believers' adoption into sonship (*filiusfamilia*) into the Father's *familia* and their becoming *sui heredes* with Christ, I propose that in 8:26-27 the Holy Spirit becomes the agent of the Father's benefaction to his adopted sons. In this role, the Spirit is traditionally termed "intercessor" or "advocate." However, as approached from a *familia* relations perspective, I would argue the idea of "intercessor/advocate" does not accurately reflect the *familia* aspects of the Spirit's role.

The Holy Spirit, as the Father's agent and member of the *familia*, fulfills the functions of a *filius*-petitioner and benefactor in 8:26-27. I propose this role is not one of forensic petition for legal relief from sin—an issue resolved in 8:1. Nor is it pleading for unworthy, sinful sons as a response to the sense of humanity's need for judicial release from divine punishment for sin. It is, rather, an intimate communication asking for mutually desired benefaction for those newly adopted.

Paul begins 8:26 with Ὡσαύτως δὲ ("and likewise" or "and in the same way"), to introduce the third rhetorical response to the *propositio* in Rom 8:1.[97] In 8:26, συναντιλαμβάνεται is often translated in the sense

[94]James E. Rosscup, "The Spirit's Intercession," in *The Master's Seminary Journal*, 10/1 (1999): 139-162.

[95]In his footnotes, Rosscup, 150-152, turns to the argument of *paraklete* (a legal advisor who assists in gaining a helpful verdict), using Mark 13:11 and the Gospel of John as his points of reference. It is questionable whether the Gospels' use of this terminology is intended to be interpreted similarly to Paul's use of "petitioner" in Rom 8.

[96]Ibid., 160-162.

[97]The first two agencies of the Spirit were identified in Rom 8:2 and 8:14-16. Also see Schreiner, 442. Some authors relate Ὡσαύτως to the immediately preceding section "the hope" or "the groaning." However, this seems an inadequate response since the

of the Spirit "helps us." This expression seems to parallel the "bearing witness" (συμμαρτυρεῖ) of 8:16. The LXX use of συναντιλαμβάνεται is in the sense of "to help in gaining something, to bear a burden with,[98] to come to the aid of or take up the cause of another."[99] Paul's choice of the term συναντιλαμβάνεται in 8:26 is significant in the context of Roman social relations. The NT synonym ἀντιλαμβάνομαι adds the concept of "being benefitted by" the action of an individual or party.[100] Given this understanding, it seems better to translate συναντιλαμβάνετι as "gains benefaction for." Thus the Spirit is gaining benefaction for believers "in our weakness (ἀσθενείᾳ)" (8:26). In context, ἀσθενείᾳ seems better translated "our incapacity, limitations, or disability."[101]

This incapacity describes the believer's inability to know what to pray or ask benefaction for.[102] Paul responds by emphasizing the Spirit's "interceding" (ὑπερεντυγχάνει) for us (8:26). Most traditional perspectives assume semantic concepts of "interceding," which deal with so-called sin issues. However, the believers are now part of the Father's *familia.* Also, intercession primarily for forgiveness of sin or acceptance by the Father violates the language and context of Paul's initial proclamation that believers are "no longer [under] any condemnation" in Rom 8:1. This leads to the conclusion that intercession to avoid judgment for sin does not fit the rationale or context of the Spirit's petitioning or approaching the Father for benefaction.

It seems in Rom 8:26 that Paul presents the adopted believers as desiring to live out the Father's will and seeking benefaction from the Father as part of his *familia.* In this context, the Holy Spirit is the agent

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Spirit in the nominative is the subject of this verse. Vv. 14-16, which refer to the Spirit in the nominative or accusative, provide a stronger link to Paul's rhetorical argument in Rom 8:26. See Fee, 576.

[98]Moo, 523.

[99]See Exod 18:22; Num 11:17; and Ps 88:21 (LXX). In Exod 18:22, Moses is incapable of judging the people on his own, so he is given assistance by additional judges. In Num 11:17, the Spirit is given to the seventy elders of Israel to provide additional leadership. In Ps 88:21 (LXX), King David is given God's sustaining (συναντιλαμβάνεται) arm as power over enemies, which he is incapable of attaining (BDAG, 784). In each LXX reference, the common element is a new resource or benefit that provides a solution to something the persons are incapable of handling or attaining on their own. Also see Swanson, n. 5269.

[100]Louw, 297 n. 25.79, and 625 n. 65.48.

[101]Swanson, nn. 819-820. Rosscup, 142-144.

[102]Moo, 523-524. Morris, 326-327. Charles Hodge, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951), 278.

who is "making petition on behalf of"[103] (ὑπερεντυγχάνει) the believers in order to ascertain the will of the Father and distribute the Father's benefaction to his "sons." The Spirit acts as the Father's agent and the believer's *filius*-petitioner, and is a fellow "family member" of both. Since the Spirit is the Spirit of God, he intimately knows the Father's will and reveals it to the believers.[104]

Paul argues in Rom 8:27 that "the one searching the hearts knows what the thought of the Spirit is." It is evident that the one searching the hearts refers to the Father.[105] However, the Father does not search "our hearts" as translated in the NIV and NET, but searches or intensely seeks the heart/thought/mind (φρόνημα) of the Spirit to receive the petitions of his "distant" yet "adopted sons."[106] The Spirit, in turn, presents requests (ἐντυγχάνει) for the believers' benefaction "according to God" (implying the Father's will or pleasure).[107] Thus the Spirit serves as the perfect *familia*-petitioner because he is intimately known by the Father, and the Father's adopted sons do not yet know him intimately. Thus this image of the Holy Spirit as agent fits within the social context of a Roman *familia*.

The concept of the Spirit as the one who works in the "inner man" is found in DSS literature and may reflect Jewish thought, as proposed by some commentators.[108] But the Romans to whom the letter is addressed were likely more familiar with Stoic philosophy; especially in this context, Seneca's idea of Zeus's divine spirit guiding humanity provides a cultural perspective for the phrase. Seneca, regarding the presence of God, writes: "What advantage is it that anything is hidden from man? Nothing is closed to God: He is present to our minds, and enters into our central thoughts."[109] Also "God comes to men: no, what is yet nearer—he comes

[103]W. Vine, *Vine's Expository Dictionary of Old and New Testament Words* (Oak Harbor, WA: Logos Research Systems, 1996), 267.

[104]See 1 Cor 2:9-12 (ISV): "But as it is written, 'No eye has seen, no ear has heard, and no mind has imagined the things that God has prepared for those who love him.' But God has revealed those things to us by his Spirit. For the Spirit searches everything, even the deep things of God. Is there anyone who can understand his own thoughts except by his own inner spirit? In the same way, no one can know the thoughts of God except God's Spirit. Now, we have not received the spirit of the world but the Spirit who comes from God, so that we can understand the things that were freely given to us by God."

[105]Rosscup, 157-159.

[106]Schreiner, 443-444, 446-447.

[107]Fee, 585-586. See also Swete, 221.

[108]See 1QS 4.2-8, 20-22; 1Q28b 2.22-25; also 4Q521 2.6 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, ed. Michael Wise, Martin Abegg Jr., and Edward Cook (San Francisco: HarperSanFransisco, 1996).

[109]Seneca, *Letters*, Epistle 83, in *Seekers After God*, ed. F. W. Farrar (London:

into men. No good mind is holy without God."[110] Seneca also calls this the spirit of God at work: "God (Zeus) is near you, is with you, is within you, a sacred spirit dwells within us, the observer and guardian of all our evil and our good. . . . [T]here is no good man without God."[111]

Benefaction was distributed by granting requests of those asking on their own behalf or on behalf of others. In the distribution of benefaction, not only was some need met, but friendship was developed and deepened between the parties. In addition, the distribution of favor or granting gifts by a *patria* ("patron") was considered "grace" (χάρις) in the Roman world. This granting of benefaction is attested in Seneca, Cicero, Pliny, and other pre- and post-Pauline sources. Benefaction was performed to bring mutual favor and goodwill, and to demonstrate generosity.[112]

However, requesting benefaction was the heart of Roman family relationships. For Paul's audience, it dominated cultural interactions from the household to imperial administration. Sons, as *filiusfamilia*, as Paul proposed Roman Christians were in God's "household," would petition their father to receive benefaction and, in return, would praise and thank him for his goodness.[113]

Thus, in Rom. 8:26-27, the divine agent appears to function as the *familia*-petitioner, who requests and grants the Father's benefaction, who extends benefaction to the Father's household, based on a Greco-Roman model of adoptive kinship and *familia* relations.

Christ's Role as Benefactor: Romans 8:28-39

The fourth response to the proposition in Rom 8:1 is contained in 8:28-39. In this passage, the social-relations context of the Father's *familia* continues to unfold. Romans 8:28-30 parallels the progression and realization of the "good" revealed as the Father's benefaction granted to his *filiusfamilia*. In the Greco-Roman context, benefaction seems best understood as generosity, advantage, or benefit. The ones whom God has intentionally "called" (κλητός) are being benefitted. This "calling" is an invitation from a *patria* ("father") to the believer to join him in relationship, which includes choosing who was to be adopted and,

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Macmillan, 1868).

[110]Ibid., Epistle 73.

[111]Ibid., Epistle 41.

[112]David A. deSilva, *Honor, Patronage, Kinship and Purity: Unlocking New Testament Culture* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2000), 96-116, (104-106, 113-116.)

[113]Ibid., 130-133.

especially, providing benefaction for the adopted children.[114]

In 8:29-30, Paul expounds on God's purpose of 8:28, beginning from before the current age and continuing to the age to come. Those whom God decided upon before time (προώρισεν),[115] he invited (ἐκάλεσεν; within a context of blessing and salvation);[116] those he invited, he set free (ἐδικαίωσεν) from slavery to sin.[117] Finally, God glorified (ἐδόξασεν),[118] praised, and honored those who were called, freed, and adopted as *filiusfamilia* with Christ.

The heart of 8:29-30 is God's conforming of those who are invited to the image (εἰκόνος) of Christ. Paul again invokes the symbolism of Roman *familia* relations with the dead to define the new sons' relationships with the firstborn of God's household. Images or statues were not only visual representations of family members, but embodied family lineage, name, and the honorable and virtuous characteristics of the person(s) being "imaged," a perspective familiar to a Roman audience.[119] God desires his adopted sons to follow in the likeness of Christ, the Father's "first" son.[120] Thus God's actions in 8:29-30 are attained through the Spirit's intimacy with the Father and his new sons as proclaimed in 8:26-28.[121]

In Rom 8:31-39, the Father is on the side of his household members, which is demonstrated by his "freely giving (χαρίσεται)[122] us all things," i.e., granting favor or benefaction (8:32). Christ is on the side of the believer through his death, resurrection, and presence at the Father's right hand, as he requests benefaction for his "siblings." Christ's action in 8:34 must be assessed in context of the Spirit's intercession in 8:26-27. Christ's petitioning is described in the same terms as the Spirit's. Thus it seems conclusive that Christ is another *filius*-petitioner for the Father's benefaction, but one who is at the

[114]Gardner, 203-204; and Louw, 423 n. 33.315-33.318.

[115]Louw, 359, n. 30.84; Moo, 532-533.

[116]BDAG, 399.

[117]In the context of Rom 6:7 and Paul's argument of Rom 8:2-13, especially 8:4, the meaning, I argue here, is not "justified," but "set free from slavery to sin, implying from the dominion of sin." See BDAG, 197.

[118]BDAG, 204.

[119]Rawson, 41-42. Also S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 191-196.

[120]Byrne, 268-270. Imitation was the highest form of compliment in the Greco-Roman world, as attested by Paul in asking his churches to imitate him and also in Pliny's *Letters*. See also Bruce, *The Letter of Paul to the Romans*, 167.

[121]See 2 Cor 3:18 for an earlier Pauline presentation than in Rom 8:26-30. The Spirit moves man from one glory to another—the eschatologically unfading one yet to come.

[122]BDAG, 876.

Father's right hand.[123] Thus Christ, in 8:34, is not John's advocate (παράκλητος) or the book of Hebrews's mediator (μεσίτης). These terms and contexts are significantly different from the agency Paul has portrayed in 8:26-27, 34.[124]

In Rom 8.34, Paul adds that Christ "*also* intercedes for us at the right hand of God," seemingly in a complementary role to that of the Holy Spirit (emphasis supplied). Given a *familia* reading, the Holy Spirit and Christ have equal access to the Father not to satisfy the sinner's need for forgiveness and redemption, but for granting benefaction to Christians recognized as "sons and daughters" in the Father's household. The Holy Spirit's benefactory role is fully equal in necessity, importance, and value to Christ's requests for benefaction, but in a different realm of operation.

This portrayal of the Holy Spirit as "intercessor" challenges the traditional interpretation of Christ as humanity's sole intercessor. Christ is often singularly portrayed as humanity's high priest, advocate, mediator, or intercessor.[125] He is often portrayed as pleading for humanity's salvation, within a legal context of eternal judgment. But in Rom 8:26-27, Paul intimates that there are two active petitioners, not just one, who function in different roles than traditionally posited.

Conclusion

In summary, the Holy Spirit is the Father's agent throughout Rom 8, operating in four particular roles: the Spirit acts as the agent of manumission, freeing believers from slavery to the law of sin and death and from slavery to God; he is the agent of adoption, the manumitted sonship to the Father and coheirship with Christ; he is the agent of guarantee that the Father will fulfill the adoption in final eschatological redemption; and finally, he is the agent of petition for benefaction for those who are newly adopted into the Father's *familia*. The Spirit functions as *familia*-petitioner for the believer and distributor of the Father's benefaction to sons not yet living in his presence, and is a present demonstration of the Father's *pietas* and χάρις. Thus the Holy Spirit's intermediary role is as internal agent for the Father and humanity in all of the Father's salvific activity. His role is complementary, contemporaneous, and ongoing with Christ's role as benefactor. Thus Paul presents believers with two intermediaries: *familia*-petitioners,

[123]Obeng, 363.
[124]Byrne, 276-277.
[125]See Heb 7:21-26; 8:1-6; and 9:11-28.

working on humanity's behalf not for legal need of right-standing in judgment, but for presenting requests for favor, benefaction, and blessing to meet the needs of the Father's petitioning sons. In conclusion, the Spirit is fulfilling the Father's purpose of distributing divine favor to his children.

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SINGING THE SONG OF MOSES AND THE LAMB: JOHN'S DIALOGICAL USE OF SCRIPTURE[1]

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Introduction

When I began my work on John's use of Scripture, it seemed to me that previous work fell largely into two camps. First, there were those who were primarily impressed by continuity, respect for context, and a proper use of typology. I think particularly of G. K. Beale's work, with his argument that certain chapters of Revelation (1, 4-5, 13, and 17) are a midrash on Dan 7 and that the presence of ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι (from Dan 2:28) in Rev 1:1, 1:19 (modified), 4:1, and 22:6 implies that the "contents of the whole book are to be conceived of ultimately within the thematic framework of Daniel 2."[2] I also think of J. Fekkes, and his argument that when John uses Isaiah, he uses visionary descriptions for visionary descriptions, oracles against the nations for descriptions of Babylon, oracles of salvation for descriptions of eschatological renewal, and visions of the restoration of Zion for his description of the New Jerusalem. Fekkes claims that there are few instances where John strays from the "obvious" meaning of Isaiah and that he fully expected his readers to "appreciate the exegetical foundation of his visions."[3]

On the other hand, there were those like L. A. Vos and G. Vogelgesang who argue for a considerable amount of discontinuity, a lack of respect for context and an improper use of typology. Thus Vos points out that John's visionary descriptions of the "one like a son of man" in Rev 1 and the great angel in Rev 18 gather up a number of evocative phrases, regardless of whether they were previously descriptions of God, angels, or human beings.[4] And Vogelgesang thinks that John follows the order of Ezekiel to a major extent, but deliberately

[1]Inaugural Lecture as Visiting Professor of Andrews University, delivered on October 27, 2003.

[2]G. K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984), 277.

[3]J. Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*, JSNTSup 93 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. 1994), 290.

[4]L. A. Vos, *The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse* (Kampen: Kok, 1965), 21-37.

changes key features in order to "democratize" its message. According to Vogelgesang, the parallelism between Rev 17-18 and 21-22 shows that John's vision of the New Jerusalem represents "Babylon redeemed," "an absolutely unthinkable possibility given the original intentions of Ezekiel 40-48."[5]

The Contribution of Intertextuality

As for my own studies, I felt the truth lay somewhere in between, that one somehow has to do justice to both continuity and discontinuity. And for this I looked to notions of intertextuality that were just entering biblical studies in 1989. Drawing on the theories of J. Kristeva,[6] J. Hollander,[7] and T. Greene,[8] I attempted to formulate a position where the meaning of John's use of Scripture lies in the *tension* between its previous contextual definition(s) and the new context supplied by John.[9] The old context does not *determine* John's meaning, because the text has been set free from its previous textual moorings and now exists in a new context. However, neither is it true that John can make texts mean whatever he likes, for the old text brings with it connotations and associations that *influence* the new setting. Thus there is a dynamic whereby the new affects the old and the old affects the new, leading to two important tasks: to find ways of describing such a dynamic interaction, and to consider the effect this has on the reader. Two examples will illustrate the point.

The Lion and the Lamb

In 1989, it was practically a consensus among Christian commentators that John reinterprets the messianic warrior *lion* with the sacrificial *lamb* of Christian tradition. G. B. Caird stated it baldly:

> Wherever the Old Testament says "Lion", read "Lamb". Wherever the Old Testament speaks of the victory of the Messiah or the overthrow of the enemies of God, we are to remember that the

[5]G. Vogelgesang, "The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Book of Revelation" (Dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1985), 113.

[6]J. Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue and Novel" in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. T. Moi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

[7]J. Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

[8]T. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

[9]S. Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*, JSNTSup 115 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 138.

> gospel recognizes no other way of achieving these ends than the way of the Cross.[10]

However, it seemed to me that not only has the warrior lion been transformed by its juxtaposition with a lamb; the lamb has also picked up many of the traits of the warrior lion. For example, in Rev 6:16, the people of the world are said to hide from the "wrath of the Lamb." In Rev 14:10, the enemies of the lamb receive double for their sins and "will be tormented with fire and sulphur in the presence of the holy angels and *in the presence of the Lamb.*" There is a battle in Rev 17, but the outcome is not in doubt, for the "Lamb will conquer them, for he is Lord of lords and King of kings" (Rev 17:14). In my reading of Revelation, the introduction of the messianic warrior lion has significantly influenced John's story of the lamb.

The New Jerusalem

Along with a succession of scholars, such as Albert Vanhoye[11] and Vogelgesang, I was impressed by the structural parallels between Ezekiel and Revelation, culminating in the extensive similarities between John's vision of the New Jerusalem and Ezekiel's vision of a restored temple. However, the climactic moment of John's vision is the declaration that there is *no* temple in the New Jerusalem because its temple is the "Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb" (21:22). It would appear that John wishes his readers to think of Ezekiel's vision of a restored temple, only to confront them with a negation; the New Jerusalem does not have a temple. Once again, I suggest that John has purposefully set up a dialogical tension for the hearer/reader to puzzle out. It would be ridiculous to argue that what Ezekiel really meant when he predicted a restored temple (and took nine chapters to describe it) was a New Jerusalem without a temple. John leaves the hearer/reader with a tension. Sverre Bøe draws on this and argues for a similar understanding of the Gog and Magog material.[12]

Revelation 15 and the Song of Moses

In the course of writing a chapter on the use of the Psalms in the book of Revelation, I came across another example which is best described

[10]G. B. Caird, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (London: A & C Black, 1984), 75.

[11]A. Vanhoye, "L'utilisation du livre d'Ezéchiel dans l'Apocalypse," *Bib* 43 (1962): 436-477.

[12]S. Bøe, *Gog and Magog: Ezekiel 38-39 as Pre-text for Revelation 19,17-21 and 20,7-10* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 367.

as dialogical tension. In Rev 15:3-4, John introduces a song sung by the saints with the words: "And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb." However, what follows has little to do with the song of Moses found in either Exod 15 or Deut 32; but, in David Aune's words, a "pastiche of stereotypical hymnic phrases gathered primarily from the Psalms."[13] It is the contention of this article that this is another example of John's dialogical use of Scripture. He leads his hearers/readers to expect a quotation or at least an allusion to the Song of Moses as recorded in the OT, and then places before them a scriptural song drawn from up to ten different locations. Indeed, when one analyzes the most likely sources of this song, namely, Pss 86, 98, 111, 139, and 145, along with Jer 10, Deut 32, a repeated phrase from the book of Amos and possibly Tob 12, one can almost say that Exod 15 is conspicuous by its absence. John seems to have gone out of his way to avoid any connection with this famous OT song, despite deliberately pointing to it by the ascription, "the song of Moses, the servant of God."

The article falls into three parts. First, I will demonstrate the most likely sources of John's song. Second, I will defend the view that John is intending to point his readers to the Song of Moses in Exod 15. And third, I will review a number of other explanations of this passage which seek to avoid the conclusion that John offers his readers a dialogical tension.

Psalm 86:8-10

The closest linguistic parallel with Rev 15:3-4 is Ps 86:8-10. Designated a "Prayer of David," the psalm strengthens the poet's faith by reminding himself (and God!) of God's incomparable attributes. In vv. 8-10, a statement about God's uniqueness ("There is none like you among the gods") and incomparable deeds ("nor are there any works like yours") is followed by the promise that the nations will come (ἥξουσιν), worship (προσκυνήσουσιν), and glorify (δοξάσουσιν) his name. This universal hope is the message of Rev 15:3-4, and with the exception of the singular δοξάσει for δοξάσουσιν, verbatim agreement extends to seventeen words. It is also possible that John's opening words (μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ) have been influenced by the ὅτι μέγας εἶ σὺ καὶ ποιῶν θαυμάσια of Ps 86:10, though other texts offer closer parallels (see below).

[13]D. Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, WBC 52A (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 874.

Ps 86:8-10	Rev 15:3-4
οὐκ ἔστιν ὅμοιός σοι ἐν θεοῖς κύριε καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ τὰ ἔργα σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὅσα ἐποίησας ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου κύριε, καὶ δοξάσουσιν τὸ ὄνομά σου ὅτι μέγας εἶ σὺ καὶ ποιῶν θαυμάσια σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος ὁ μέγας	μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ· δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοί σου, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν· τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ, κύριε καὶ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου; ὅτι μόνος ὅσιος ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν.

Jeremiah 10:7

The second text that is regarded as definite by most commentators is Jer 10:7, which combines the epithet, "King of the nations" (מֶלֶךְ הַגּוֹיִם), with the question, "who will not fear you?" (מִי לֹא יִרָאֲךָ), though in reverse order to John.[14] The text is absent from the LXX manuscripts that have come down to us, being part of a lacuna between Jer 10:5 and 10:9. This could mean that John is dependent on a Hebrew source, that he knows an alternative Greek translation such as that preserved in Theodotion,[15] or he has derived it from a liturgical source, perhaps one where phrases from Ps 86:8-10 have already been combined with Jer 10:7. It is surely no coincidence that Jer 10:6 ("There is none like you, O Lord; you are great, and your name is great in might") is very similar to Ps 86:8. John or someone before him has linked these texts through their common vocabulary and theme.

Deuteronomy 32:4/Psalm 145:17

There are two main suggestions for the "just and true are your ways" clause, both of which are interesting because they also use ὅσιος, which occurs in John's phrase ὅτι μόνος ὅσιος (not italicized by Nestle-Aland). Linguistically, Deut 32:4 is the strongest candidate, as it contains ἀληθινά, ὁδοὶ, δίκαιος and ὅσιος. Furthermore, it belongs to another

[14]There is a strong variant βασιλευς των αιωνων (p47, X*², C) that could come from 1 Tim 1:17. If original, the source could be Jer 10:10 (absent from LXX, but present in Theodotion).

[15]R. H. Charles categorizes the allusion as deriving from the Hebrew text, but showing influence from a Greek version other than the LXX (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), 1:lxxxi.

song sung by Moses (Deut 31:30), this time recounting Israel's rebellion (Deut 32:5), though not without hope (Deut 32:36). On the other hand, Ps 145:17 is closer to Rev 15:3-4 contextually, extolling God and his mighty deeds in a hymn of praise.

Rev 15:3b, 4b	Deut 32:4	Ps 145:17
δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοί σου ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν· τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ, κύριε καὶ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου; ὅτι μόνος ὅσιος	θεός ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κρίσεις θεὸς πιστός καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία δίκαιος καὶ ὅσιος κύριος	δίκαιος κύριος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσιος ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ

Tobias 12:22/Psalm 111:2/Psalm 139:14

The opening words of the Song (μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ) as a description of God's works (τὰ ἔργα) parallels Tob 12:22 (τὰ ἔργα τὰ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τοῦ θεοῦ), though Ps 111:2 (μεγάλα τὰ ἔργα κυρίου) and Ps 139:14 (θαυμάσια τὰ ἔργα σου) have also been suggested. Since the "core" of the Song appears to be Ps 86:8-10, it is possible that John was led from its μέγας and θαυμάσια to one or more of these texts.

Amos 3:13; 4:13; 5:8

The epithet κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ is a favorite of John's (Rev 4:8; 11:17; 16:7; 19:6; 21:22), and ten of its thirteen occurrences in the LXX come from the book of Amos (e.g., 3:13; 4:13; 5:8, 14, 15, 16, 27).[16] Now it is quite possible that this is John's own formulation in opposition to imperial claims, but since he alludes to the book of Amos elsewhere, it is possible, perhaps even probable, that he has been influenced by this prophet.[17]

Psalm 98:2/Jeremiah 11:20

Finally, John's song ends with the statement that God's δικαιώματά have been revealed (ἐφανερώθησαν). There is debate as to whether this should be taken as the revelation of God's judgments (so NRSV) or the revelation of God's righteous acts (which lead to the conversion of the nations). If the former, then Jer 11:20 could be in mind, especially as he alludes to this verse elsewhere (Rev 2:23). If the latter, then the positive

[16]The other three are Hos 12:6; Nah 3:5; Zech 10:13.

[17]Notably Amos 3:7 in Rev 10:7; 11:18.

message of Ps 98:2 is perhaps more likely. Either way, this would appear to be a possible rather than a probable allusion, and it is not italicized in Nestle-Aland.

Rev 15:4b	Jer 11:20	Ps 98:2
ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν.	But you, O Lord of hosts, who judge righteously (κρίνων δίκαια), who try the heart and the mind, let me see your retribution (ἐκδίκησιν) upon them, for to you I have committed my cause (ἀπεκάλυψα τὸ δικαίωμά μου).	O sing to the Lord a new song, for he has done marvelous things. His right hand and his holy arm have gotten him victory. The Lord has made known his victory (σωτήριον); he has revealed his vindication (ἀπεκάλυψεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ) in the sight of the nations.

Summary

Though there is some doubt about this last example, we conclude that Aune's judgment that the song is a "pastiche of stereotypical hymnic phrases gathered primarily from the Psalms" is essentially correct. Some may object to the word "pastiche" on the grounds that it implies a somewhat random collection, whereas it is clear that some of these texts can be linked through common words or phrases. But if we choose a more neutral word such as "collection" or "amalgam," the point remains. John does not quote or allude to Exod 15 but offers a collection of hymnic phrases drawn mostly from the Psalms.

Is John Intending to Point to Exodus 15?

There can be little doubt that the phrase "the Song of Moses, the servant of God" is intended to evoke the occasion when God rescued Israel from the Egyptians. Exodus 14:31 says that the people "believed in the Lord and in his *servant Moses*" and the following verse (Exod 15:1) introduces the song with the words: "Then Moses and the Israelites sang this song to the Lord." This is supported by the importance attached to the Song in Jewish tradition. Thus Wis 19:6-9 makes the point that Israel's rescue through the Red Sea was accompanied by praise to God. The midrash on Pss 145:1 and 149:1 links the Song of Moses with the "new song" to be sung in the age

to come (so also *b. Sanhedrin* 91b). According to R. H. Charles,[18] the Song was sung at the evening sacrifice on the Sabbath, and Philo speaks of its being sung by the Therapeutae.[19] Some commentators on Revelation also think the location of the saints beside the "sea of glass mixed with fire" (Rev 15:2) is significant. Rabbi Ishmael referred to the Red Sea as appearing like a "sea of glass" and Rabbi Nathan adds that fire was present.[20] J. Roloff concludes that John wanted to "create a typological correspondence to the exodus . . . [where] the glassy sea might be an image of the world from which those who overcome were rescued, while fire is the symbol of the wrathful judgment that will befall God's enemies in the world."[21] Others, such as R. R. Osborne, think the sea of glass is more likely a reference to the heavenly sea mentioned in Rev 4:6.[22] Nevertheless, the explicit reference to the "Song of Moses," his designation as "servant of God," and the importance of the Song in Jewish tradition, have convinced most scholars that John is deliberately pointing his hearers/readers to Exod 15.

However, this is only half the title that John gives to the song. What the saints sing in heaven is "The Song of Moses, the servant of God, and the Song of the Lamb." Though grammatically this could be referring to two songs, the majority of scholars believe that it is a single song with a dual name. My proposal is that, like the juxtaposition of lion and lamb in Revelation 5, John juxtaposes the salvation won by Moses with the salvation won by the Lamb. It is not that lamb replaces Moses any more than lamb replaces lion. John's technique is to force the hearers/readers to wrestle with the tension created by the juxtaposition. In other words, this is not simply exegesis, typology, or midrash, which assumes a unidirectional move from source text to interpretation. It is a dialogical use of Scripture, which brings two or more texts together in order that they might mutually illuminate one another. But before I expand on this suggestion, I will first demonstrate the weakness of alternative interpretations.

Alternative Explanations of Revelation 15:2-4

John Is Not Interpreting Scripture at All

Responding to Wilhelm Bousset's suggestion that the saints sing two songs, first the Song of Moses and then the Song of the Lamb, and that

[18]Charles, 2:36.

[19]Philo, *De Vita Contemplativa* 11; see also idem, *De Agricultura* 17 (trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, Loeb Classic Library [London: Heinemann, 1929-1962]).

[20]So G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 791-792.

[21]J. Roloff, *Revelation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 183.

[22]R. R. Osborne, *Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 562.

it is only the latter that John has reproduced, Charles thinks the reference to "the Song of Moses" must be an interpolation. Not only does the Song bear no literary relationship to Exod 15, it is quite different in intent. Exodus 15 is a celebration of triumph over Israel's enemies, but John's song is a "paean of thanksgiving, which the martyrs sing, when in the first perfect unclouded vision of God they wholly forget themselves and burst forth into praise."[23] According to Charles, the reference to "the Song of Moses" began as a marginal note and was mistakenly included in the text during transmission. Thus understanding John's use of Scripture in this passage does not arise, for he is not attempting to refer to the Song of Moses.

Caird accepts the reference to the Song of Moses as genuine but finds greater significance in the addition, "and the Song of the Lamb." The parallel with Exod 15 is that: "Like the Israelites after the crossing of the Red sea (Exod. xv.1), the Conquerors sing the song of God's servant Moses, celebrating the triumph of God over the enemies of his people."[24] But there the similarity ends, for "this triumph has been won by no other weapons than the cross of Christ and the martyr testimony of his followers."[25] Thus it is fitting that John composed a new song, a "jubilant anthem of Christian optimism," constructed from a "cento of quotations from many parts of the Old Testament."[26] Caird sees no need to discuss any of the underlying texts and indeed makes no mention of them. John has composed a new song that reflects his new Christian theology. However, if Caird is correct, one wonders why John mentioned "the Song of Moses" at all. Why not just call it "the Song of the Lamb"? The mention of the Song of Moses places that thought in the minds of the hearers/readers and raises certain expectations. It is the fact that these expectations are then dashed that we are trying to explain.

John Is Interpreting Deuteronomy 32, Not Exodus 15

Josephine Massyngberd Ford acknowledges that the song has been influenced by a large number of texts but thinks that Deut 32 (also called a Song of Moses) has played the key role. Thus in addition to the influence of Deut 32:4 (recognized by most commentators), she claims that Rev 15:4a ("Lord, who will not fear and glorify your name?") is akin to Deut

[23]Charles, 2:35.
[24]Caird, 198.
[25]Ibid.
[26]Ibid.

32:3 ("For I will proclaim the name of the Lord; ascribe greatness to our God!"). She also notes that the theme of the fire of God's anger is found in Deut 32:32. She concludes that "the song seems more influenced by Deut 32 than Exod 15, but this is understandable in the light of the stress on wrath and justice in the Deuteronomic writings."[27] This is puzzling for a number of reasons. First, Ford has already noted that the phrase in Rev 15:4a comes from Jer 10:6-7; Ps 86:9; and Mal 1:6. It is hard to see what Deut 32:3 adds to this. Second, her assessment that Rev 15:3-4 is primarily about wrath and judgment seems forced. Thus she claims that the question "who will not fear and glorify your name" shows that "fear" rather than "love" motivates the song. On the other hand, she plays down the universalism of Rev 15:4 by saying that it contains "an element of hope for the conversion of the nations." I conclude that the answer to John's use of Scripture in Rev 15:2-4 does not lie in taking "Song of Moses" to be a reference to Deut 32.

John Is Exegeting Exodus 15, but the Links Are All Invisible

Richard Bauckham argues that John *is* thinking of the song of Moses in Exod 15, but he has been led by verbal association from Exod 15:11 ("who is like you, O Lord, among the nations?") to three other texts, namely, Psalm 86:8-10; 98:1-2; and Jer 10:7. From these three texts, by the "skillful use of recognized exegetical methods," John has discerned the content of the song to be sung in the new age. This corresponds to the fulfillment of the Song of Moses as recorded in Exod 15.[28] The error of many commentators, Bauckham says, is that they move

> from the correct observation that none of the words of the song in Revelation 15:3-4 derive from Exodus 15:1-18, to the claim that therefore there is no literary connexion between the two passages. The literary connexion, as we shall see, is made as it were, beneath the surface of the text by John's expert and subtle use of current Jewish exegetical method.[29]

Bauckham defends this proposal in three ways. First, he shows that there are precedents for it in Jewish literature. For example, in the Biblical Antiquities of Pseudo-Philo 32, the opening words reproduce Judg 5:1, but the song that follows is not the song of Deborah as

[27]J. M. Ford, *Revelation*, AB 38 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1975), 257.

[28]R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies in the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 306.

[29]Ibid, 297.

recorded in Judg 5:2-31 but a fresh composition. More significantly, Isa 11 ends with the promise that there will be a highway for the remnant "as there was for Israel when they came up from the land of Egypt" and then records two songs which reproduce the first verse of Ps 105, a psalm that has links with Exod 15. Bauckham says:

> Therefore, the new version of the Song at the Sea in Isaiah draws on Psalm 105 as well as Exodus 15. It should be noticed that the verbal links between Exodus 15 and Psalm 105 are not visible in the text of Isaiah 12: they occur in parts of the text of Exodus 15 and Psalm 105 which are not quoted in Isaiah 12. This is a kind of implicit *gezerah šawa* which is not uncommon in Jewish and Jewish Christian literature.[30]

Second, Bauckham seeks to show how the themes of Exod 15 have been taken up in the book of Revelation. He suggests that when John read Exod 15, he would have found the following five points: God's mighty act of judgment on his enemies, God's incomparable superiority to pagan gods, the pagan nations filled with fear, God's people brought into the temple, and that the song concludes with the words, "The Lord shall reign forever and ever." He then proceeds to show how these themes are present in Revelation.

Third, Bauckham seeks to account for John's precise wording on the basis of the Hebrew text. For example, he explains the phrase "you alone are holy" by asserting that John is still following Ps 86:8-10, but found the phrase "you alone are God" puzzling, since the psalm has already asserted that there is "none like you among the gods" (v. 8). Thus John rendered אֱלֹהִים here by ὅσιος. He seeks to support this by noting that the LXX also found אֱלֹהִים puzzling but chose μέγας instead of ὅσιος. Another example is the δικαιώματά in the final clause, which Bauckham explains on the basis of Ps 98:1-2, suggesting that John would have read the consonants as צִדְקֹתָו ("righteous acts"), whereas the MT has pointed it צִדְקָתוֹ ("righteousness").

In terms of the proposal put forward in this article, Bauckham agrees that John points specifically to Exod 15 and then offers a composition that bears no visible contact with that song. However, where we differ is that Bauckham thinks the hearers/readers would have recognized that John is offering an exegesis of Exod 15, even though all the links are now hidden. This is, of course, possible, but there are at least three reasons why I think it is less likely than my proposal. First, the arguments from the Hebrew text are weak. We have already shown that John agrees with the LXX of Ps 86:8-10 in seventeen words. Why

[30]Ibid, 300.

should we accept speculative proposals about rendering אֱלֹהִים with ὅσιος when there is a perfectly good text (Deut 32:4) which contains not only ὅσιος, but also ἀληθινὰ, ὁδοὶ, and δίκαιος?

Second, Bauckham is surely guilty of special pleading when he asserts that scholars have mistakenly assumed that a lack of visible links implies that there is no literary connection. He himself dismisses the view that John has Deut 32 in mind because he says the proposed links are "too tenuous." This is somewhat ironic given the fact that there are links with Deut 32:4 and they are visible, namely, the presence of ὅσιος, ἀληθινὰ, ὁδοὶ, and δίκαιος. And even if such links did not exist, Bauckham's position ought to be that scholars should not dismiss such a suggestion on the basis of a lack of visible links.

Third, Bauckham makes the assumption that despite the lack of visible links, John's hearers/readers would have assumed that John is engaged in detailed exegesis of Hebrew texts. There are two problems with this. First, it is an assumption about the biblical competence of John's readers; he is, after all, writing them a Greek letter. What is the evidence that Christians in a late first-century church in Asia would have had the Hebrew text at their fingertips? Second, where in the book of Revelation does John indicate that he is about to engage in detailed exegesis of Scripture? His claim to authority is not based on the use of authorized exegetical methods, but on revelation. Bauckham would no doubt respond that the book is full of scriptural allusion and so it is reasonable to assume that his hearers/readers would have understood it. But that in itself does not support Bauckham's particular proposal. Indeed, I would suggest that the nature of the book of Revelation strongly suggests that detailed scribal exegesis, of the sort that Bauckham proposes, is the least likely deduction from the evidence. Thus I agree with Bauckham that John points to Exod 15 and then constructs a song that has no visible links with it, but disagree that the hearers/readers would have deduced that this is a form of exegesis.

John Is Offering an Interpretation of Exodus 15 and Deuteronomy 32

Beale agrees with Bauckham that John *is* alluding to the Song of Moses and is not merely offering a pastiche from the Psalms. He acknowledges that the "actual contents of the song itself come not from Exodus 15 but from passages throughout the OT extolling God's character,"[31] but suggests that more attention needs to be given to Deut 32. He notes the

[31]Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 794.

following: Deut 32 is specifically called a "song" in Deut 31:30, and is applied to judgment and reward in the world to come in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Taanith* 11a); the opening words of the song, "Great and amazing are your deeds," come from the LXX of Deut 28:59-60, where Israel is threatened with a judgment like God's "great and amazing plagues" (Beale calls this an allusion, whereas Ps 111:2 is called an echo); the noun phrase "just and true are your ways" echoes Deut 32:4 (most commentators agree on this, though many also mention Ps 145:17); citing the work of C. J. Labuschagne, Beale claims that the use of the "who is like?" formula in the OT, including Jer 10:7 and Ps 86:8, is always a reflection on the Exodus.

This is an important conclusion for Beale, for he wishes to challenge Bauckham's view that John has replaced the "judgment of the nations" theme from Exod 15 with the "salvation of the nations" from the three quoted texts. Despite the fact that the song, as we now find it in Rev 15:3-4, claims that all the nations will worship and glorify God, Beale suggests that we must read this both in the light of what the rest of the book says and in the light of its OT background:

> The fact that the eulogy in Rev. 15:3-4 is sandwiched between major sections narrating judgment suggests that the emphasis is on God's righteous acts in judging the ungodly nations. This emphasis is supported by the broad OT context of the song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32 and especially Exodus 15, which underscores the idea of judgment of Israel's enemies leading to Israel's redemption.[32]

I have no quibble with the view that Deut 32 is one of the texts that John has used, but I disagree with the influence that Beale wishes to claim for this. The prominent allusion in Rev 15:3-4 is Ps 86:8-10, a psalm noted for its particularly universal outlook. That John combines this with an allusion to Deut 32:4 is not to be doubted, but it hardly warrants importing the whole judgment background of Deut 32, let alone Exod 15, into what John has actually written. Had John wanted to do that, an allusion to almost any other verse in Deut 32 would have done the trick. The allusion to Deut 32:4 contributes to the portrait of God as one who is worthy of the nation's glory and praise. It is possible that the allusion might bring with it a nuance of judgment, but it is hardly the dominant thought.

Furthermore, his suggestion that the opening phrase, "Great and amazing are your deeds," comes from Deut 28:59-60 is also open to question. First, why look to a text about God's great and amazing

[32]Ibid, 799.

plagues when there are perfectly acceptable texts that speak about God's great and amazing deeds? Second, an allusion to a text that is separated from Deut 32 by more than eighty verses is hardly evidence for the importance of that text to John. And third, even if Beale were correct that John is alluding to Deut 28:59-60, then we have to note that he has changed "plagues" to "deeds," suggesting that judgment is not the theme that he wishes to evoke.

Conclusion

What these explanations have in common is their attempt to resolve the tension created by John without remainder. What I am suggesting is a literary model for texts interacting with one another that does not lead to premature closure. John points to Exod 15, both by the imagery of the sea and the mention of "the Song of Moses, the Servant of God." This raises certain expectations that are then dashed; the song that follows bears no visible links with Exod 15, as Ford, Bauckham, and Beale acknowledge. But that does not mean that the associations from Exod 15 are completely silenced. The pointers are sufficiently specific to maintain an almost subliminal presence that accompanies a reading of the text. But it is no more than that. It is certainly not loud enough to turn a universalist song into a judgment song. Nor is it loud enough to convince readers that John is offering an (invisible) exegesis of Exod 15. It remains in the background, barely affecting the interpretation of Rev 15, but ready to be reactivated when John begins the plague sequence in Rev 16. I suggest that this dialogical model does more justice to the dynamics of Rev 15 than proposals that seek resolution without remainder.

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SACRAMENTAL THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY

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Introduction

Sacramental theology developed as a corollary to Christian soteriology. While Christianity promises salvation to all who accept it, different theories have developed as to how salvation is obtained or transmitted. Understanding the problem of the sacraments as the means of salvation, therefore, is a crucial soteriological issue of considerable relevance to contemporary Christians. Furthermore, sacramental theology exerts considerable influence upon ecclesiology, particularly ecclesiastical authority.

The purpose of this paper is to present the historical development of sacramental theology, leading to the contemporary understanding of the sacraments within various Christian confessions; and to discuss the relationship between the sacraments and ecclesiastical authority, with special reference to the Roman Catholic Church and the churches of the Reformation.

The Development of Roman Catholic Sacramental Theology

The Early Church

The origin of modern Roman Catholic sacramental theology developed in the earliest history of the Christian church. While the NT does not utilize the term "sacrament," some scholars speculate that the postapostolic church felt it necessary to bring Christianity into line with other religions of the time, which utilized various "mysterious rites." The Greek equivalent for the term "sacrament," *musterion*, reinforces this view. In addition to the Lord's Supper and baptism, which had always carried special importance, the early church recognized many rites as "holy ordinances."[1] It was not until the Middle Ages that the number of sacraments was officially defined.[2]

The term "sacrament," a translation of the Latin *sacramentum* ("oath,"

[1]G. Bornkamm, "Musterion," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967), 4:824-827.

[2]Richard P. McBrien, *Catholicism* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1994), 800.

"pledge"), derives its meaning from the word *sacrare*, which, in turn, points to a person or thing set aside for public authority by divine right (*ius divinum*).[3] Its common usage refers to an act of consecration, to the one performing it, or to the person or thing being consecrated. The oath of allegiance and loyalty to the Roman Emperor, thus, was considered a *sacramentum*, as the soldiers dedicated themselves in service to the gods and their divinely instituted representative, the Emperor.[4]

In the Christian church, the most significant development of sacramental theology occurred in Roman North Africa during the third and fourth centuries, especially in the writings of Tertullian (ca. 160-ca. 225), Cyprian of Carthage (ca.200-258), and Augustine of Hippo (354-430). While some discussion regarding the nature of Christian rites occurred during the second century in writings such as the *Didache* (ca. 80-100)[5] and the work of Irenaeus (ca.130-ca.200),[6] scholars are in agreement that it was only with Tertullian that the term "sacrament" entered Christian theology.[7] Tertullian exploits the theological significance of the parallel between the sacraments and military oaths. Just as the *sacramentum* was a sign of allegiance and loyalty to the Roman Emperor, the sacraments point to commitment and loyalty within the church. Most importantly, however, Tertullian appears to be the first Christian thinker to identify the Latin *sacramentum* with the

[3]Avery R. Dulles, *A Church to Believe In* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 83.

[4]Bornkamm, 4:827. The term *sacramentum* was also used in various secular settings, i.e., with reference to oaths in legal proceedings and financial matters.

[5]See *Did.* 7.1-4; 9.1-5, in *The Apostolic Fathers: An American Translation*, ed. Edgar J. Goodspeed (London: Independent Press, 1950), 11-18. The *Didache* is an important document of Christian antiquity and has been considered the first Christian catechism. Since the discovery of the *Didache* in 1875, its authorship and date have been debated. Most scholars place it at the end of the first century. The importance of this early document lies in the fact that it gives insight into early Church ministry and, according to some, parallels much of the NT data. See Philip Carrington, *The Early Christian Church: The First Christian Century*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 1:483-501.

[6]For Ireneaus, baptism is "the seal of eternal life" and a "rebirth unto God, that we be no more children of mortal men, but of the eternal and everlasting God" (*Epid.* 3, in *Ancient Christian Writers*, 16 vols., ed. Joseph P. Smith [New York: Newman, 1952], 16:49). Participation in the Eucharist not only nourishes and supports believers, but it also transforms them in such a way that they are "no longer corruptible, having the hope of the eternal resurrection" (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.18.4-6, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969]). Unless otherwise noted, references to Ante-Nicene Fathers will be taken from the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* edition.

[7]Cf. Bornkamm, 4:826-827; and Joseph A. Komonchak, Mary Collins, and Dermot A. Lane, eds., *The New Dictionary of Theology* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987), s.v. "Sacrament," 911.

biblical *musterion*,[8] though in the NT *musterion* is used specifically with reference to the saving work of God[9] and is never applied to such rites as the Lord's Supper or baptism. As will become evident shortly, this identification proved to be a watershed in Catholic thinking. Thus Tertullian may be regarded as the father of Roman Catholic sacramental theology.

Cyprian, Tertullian's most influential pupil, contributed to the development of sacramental theology by developing the notion of sacramental efficacy—a theme later expanded in the writings of Augustine. In his writings, which are chiefly concerned with church unity,[10] Cyprian argued that no true sacraments could exist outside of the church, therefore, there cannot be salvation outside of the church.[11] Thus, Cyprian was the first influential Christian thinker to link participation in the holy rites of the church with salvation. Cyprian also applied the OT passages regarding priesthood to the ministry of Christian bishops, thereby contributing to the development of sacerdotalism.[12] This new terminology was applied especially to the Eucharist and to baptism, of which, according to Cyprian, the bishop was the *only* celebrant.[13] This innovation elevated the authority of the

[8]See Tertullian, *Praescr.* 40, *Bapt.* 13, and *Nat.*, where he appears to use these terms interchangeably, while comparing pagan "mysteries" with Christian sacraments, although he never designates pagan rituals as sacraments. For him, pagan rituals constitute a depraved imitation of the Christian sacraments.

[9]Bornkamm, 4:822. See Rom 11:25ff.; 1 Cor 15:51; Eph 1:9-10. Cf. Martin Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, in *LW*, 56 vols., ed. Abdel Ross Wentz (Saint Louis: Concordia, 1959), 36:93.

[10]See especially Cyprian's treatise *Unit. ecc.* (5:421-429). Cyprian's theology arose within a context of difficult historical circumstances. Severe persecution and schismatic movements threatened the well-being of the church.

[11]Cyprian, *Letter* 73.11; idem, *Unit. ecc.* 6.

[12]In other words, relating to priesthood. Cyprian is responsible for extending the OT passages regarding the priesthood to the ministry of Christian bishops. For him, the Bishop "truly discharges the office of Christ . . . [and] imitates that which Christ did; and he then offers a true and full sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, when he proceeds to offer it according to what he sees Christ Himself to have offered" (*Letter* 63.14). The Bishop, thus, becomes a sacrificing priest in the order of the Jewish priesthood. If Christ was the originator of the Jewish priesthood, then the Hebrew priests are the predecessors of the Christian priesthood (idem, *Letter* 67.4). This connection between the Jewish and Christian priesthood is also clearly seen in *Letter* 64. This development paved the way for the later Catholic teaching that the episcopacy was an indispensable channel of God's grace and blessing. For a more detailed description of Cyprian's views, see Edward White Benson, *Cyprian, His Life: His Times, His Work* (London: MacMillan, 1897).

[13]Cyprian, *Letter* 62. Edward Schillebeeckx notes that originally the title "priest" was bestowed only on the bishop. However, with the passage of time, as presbyters

episcopate and contributed to the rise of clericalism, a doctrine that promotes separation between the clergy and laity, as it caused the spiritual life of the faithful to be entirely dependent upon the bishop.[14] In agreement with J. B. Lightfoot, it may be said that "Cyprian took his stand on the combination of the ecclesiastical authority . . . with the sacerdotal claim which he himself endorsed and which has ever since dominated the understanding of Roman Catholic ministry."[15]

Augustine was the first Christian theologian to give serious thought to the nature of the sacraments. Without his work, the medieval teaching regarding the sacraments would have been entirely incoherent. Like his predecessors, Augustine's sacramental theology is characterized by a certain flexibility that was only exhibited during the era of Scholasticism. As a result, he was willing to ascribe the term "sacrament" to a variety of rites and practices.[16] In a more specific way, however, he applied the term to the Eucharist, to baptism, and to ordination.[17] Augustine's contribution is twofold. First, he provided a

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increasingly replaced bishops at the Eucharist, they too were finally called priests. In this way, "sacerdotalizing" enveloped all ministers of the church (*Ministry* [New York: Crossroad, 1981], 48-49).

[14]Thus Cyprian wrote: "Whence you ought to know that the bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the bishop; and if any one be not with the bishop, that he is not in the Church" (*Letter* 68.8).

[15]J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (London: MacMillan, 1869), 240. Cf. Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York: Scribner's, 1970), 67, 90-91; and Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of Doctrine: The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 159.

[16]Thus Augustine writes: "The celebration of an event becomes sacramental in its nature, only when the commemoration of the event is so ordered that it is understood to be significant of something which is to be received with reverence as sacred" (*Letter* 55.1.2 in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (*NPNF*), First Series, 14 vols., ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956; unless otherwise indicated, references to the Nicene Fathers will come from this edition). These "sacraments, which are in number very few, in observance most easy, and in significance most excellent, as baptism solemnized in the name of the Trinity, the communion of his body and blood, and such other things as are prescribed in the canonical Scriptures, with the exception of those enactments which were a yoke of bondage to God's ancient people, suited to their state of heart and to the times of the prophets, and which are found in the five books of Moses" (Augustine, *Letter* 54.1.1). It is also interesting to note that Augustine considered the ordinance of foot washing as sacramental (*Tract. Ev. Jo.* 80.3).

[17]Augustine, *Letter* 54.1.1; idem, *Letter* 61.2; idem, *Bon. conj.*, 21, 32. Augustine's sacramental theology, like that of Cyprian's, developed within doctrinal controversies. In Augustine's case, it was Donatism and Pelagianism. For a description of his involvement in these debates, see *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Faith*, s.v. "Augustine, St. of Hippo."

clear definition of the sacraments, which reads: "[S]ymbolical actions . . . pertaining to divine things, are called sacraments,"[18] or "A sacrament . . . is the visible sacrament or sacred sign of an invisible sacrifice."[19] In order to function as sacraments, however, these "signs" must bear some relation to that which is signified (e.g., wine resembles blood).[20] Second, Augustine established a clear distinction between the use of the sacraments and their efficacy.[21] His views on this matter arose during the Donatist controversy, in which he was deeply involved.[22] Donatists questioned the validity of sacraments performed by heretical/schismatic ministers or those whose personal worthiness had been compromised. Thus, they argued, the Eucharist, baptisms, and ordinations performed by such ministers were invalid. A secondary issue was that of the validity of the baptism of someone baptized within a schismatic movement and wishing to join the Catholic Church.[23] Augustine argued against the necessity of rebaptism or reordination of heretics or apostates. He based his argument on the concept that each sacrament essentially consisted of two elements: the interior seal conferred by the rite[24] and

[18]Augustine, *Letter* 138.1.7.

[19]Augustine, *Civ.* 10.5. Another definition reads: "The word is added to the element, and there results the Sacrament, as if itself also a kind of visible word" (idem, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 80.3).

[20]In *Letter* 98.9 to Boniface, Augustine writes: "For if sacraments had not some points of real resemblance to the things of which they are the sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all."

[21]Augustine writes: "[B]ut the sacrament is one thing, the virtue of the sacrament another" (*Tract. Ev. Jo.* 26.11); see also idem, *Letter* 138. The efficacy of the sacraments, according to Augustine, refers to their ability to convey God's grace, as well as, in the case of baptism and ordination, placing upon the recipient a special seal or indelible character (*character indelebilis*).

[22]The origins of Donatism can be traced to the persecution of Diocletian, A.D. 303-305. The leaders of the church were asked to turn in the Christian Scriptures and other catechetical materials to government officials. Some Christian leaders, fearing persecution, collaborated with the government and ceased religious activity. Others refused to submit and became subject to ferocious persecution. After the persecution, many of those who had surrendered to the authority of the state (designated by their contemporaries as *traditores*) returned to church office and the question arose regarding the validity of sacraments performed by such church leaders (*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Faith*, s.v. "Donatism," 499-500). For a good description of the Donatist controversy, see also Justo L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought: From Augustine to the Eve of the Reformation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1987), 26-29.

[23]*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Faith*, s.v. "Donatism."

[24]Augustine writes: "A man baptized in the Church, if he be a deserter from the Church, will lack holiness of life, but will not lack the mark of the sacrament, the kingly character" (cited in *Serm.* 71.19.32, in *Principles of Sacramental Theology*, trans. Bernard

the grace of God that the seal was to communicate.[25] When one was baptized or ordained, one could receive the seal but not necessarily the grace, which depended on the recipients' communion with the visible Catholic Church.[26] Thus, if persons turned away from heresy, they would not need to be rebaptized or reordained because the indelible seal (*character indelebilis*) would be retained and become effective, i.e., able to convey grace upon joining the true church.[27]

Augustine also argued against the Donatist tendency to place excessive emphasis upon the worthiness of the human agent, as, for the most part, it was impossible to distinguish between worthy and unworthy ministers. Moreover, undue stress upon the human agent detracted from the grace of Jesus Christ, who instituted the sacraments and upon whose merits their validity was based.[28]

From the above survey, it is clear that Augustine placed the sacraments within a soteriological framework by defining them as the means of salvation.[29] Together with Cyprian's emphasis on sacerdotalism and his notion that salvation did not exist outside of the church—which Augustine accepted[30]—the theory of the sacraments as the means of grace set the stage for the development of hierarchical institutionalism.

The Middle Ages

The death of Augustine marks the decline of the development of sacramental theology. Subsequent centuries were characterized by barbarian invasions, the collapse of the Roman Empire, and a general decline in culture and learning. During these centuries, the sacramental rituals continued to exemplify the diversity typical of the patristic period. The list of sacraments, understood within an Augustinian

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Leemings [London: Longmans, 1960], 152). Cf. Augustine, *Parm.* 2.13.29, in Leemings, 152, and Augustine, *On Baptism* 5.15.20.

[25]Augustine, *Tract. Ev. Jo.* 121.4; idem, *On Baptism* 3.13.18.

[26]Augustine, *On Baptism* 5.5.5; 3.13.18.

[27]Augustine, *Parm.* 2.13.28 in Leemings, 156-157. Cf. Leemings, 130-131.

[28]See Augustine, *The Letters of Petilian, the Donatist* 1.6.7 and 1.9.10. It is within this context that Augustine pronounced his famous dictum: "Judas may baptize, still this is He [the Holy Spirit] that baptizeth" (*Tract. Ev. Jo.* 6.7).

[29]This is clearly seen in Augustine, *Letter* 98.2.

[30]Augustine states: "The Churches of Christ maintain it to be an inherent principle, that without baptism and partaking of the supper of the Lord it is impossible for any man to attain either to the kingdom of God or to salvation and everlasting life" (*On Forgiveness of Sins, and Baptism* 1:34).

framework, continued to grow and included many rites, such as the Lord's prayer, the veneration of relics, the use of holy water, the sign of the cross, and recitation of the Christian creeds.[31]

With the onset of the Middle Ages and the increasing number of rituals classified as sacraments, it became clear that Augustine's definition of the sacraments was inadequate. Two noted medieval scholars, Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1142) and Peter Lombard (ca. 1100-1160), successfully narrowed the definition. Hugh indicated that the general Augustinian definition of a sacrament as a "sign of a sacred thing" was inadequate, because "not every sign of a sacred thing can be properly called the sacrament of the same (because the letters in sacred expressions and statues or pictures are signs of sacred things, of which, however, they cannot reasonably be called the sacraments)."[32] He, thus, clarified the concept of the sacraments by describing four essential components: first, he insisted on the presence of some physical or material element, such as the water of baptism or the bread and wine of the Eucharist; second, he agreed with Augustine that similitude to that which the sacrament signified was essential; third, the sacraments had to be instituted by Christ; and finally, the sacraments had to be capable of conferring the benefits of grace.[33] Like his predecessors, however, Hugh considered a variety of rites to have sacramental powers, thus his definition proved inadequate since some sacramental rites, such as penance or marriage, did not contain a physical element.

These problems were solved by Peter Lombard, who defined the sacraments as "such a sign of God's grace and such a form of invisible grace, as to bear its likeness and to exist as its cause."[34] This definition was a significant improvement over earlier attempts, but it appeared to be adequate for only a small number of sacraments, subsequently

[31]*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Faith*, s.v. "Sacraments"; J. R. Quinn, "Sacramental Theology," *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 10:789.

[32]Hugh of St. Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1951), 154-155.

[33]Ibid. According to Hugh, 155, a sacrament is "a corporeal or material element set before the senses without, representing by similitude and signifying by institution and containing by sanctification some invisible and spiritual grace." Cf. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of Doctrine: The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 209.

[34]Peter Lombard, *Book of the Sentences* 4, cited in Leeming, 568. An official English translation of this text is not available. Since Lombard's definition did not contain the idea of a visible element of the sacrament, he could easily designate as sacraments rites in which there is no "element," such as marriage or penance.

limited to seven rites: baptism, confirmation, communion, penance, ordination, marriage, and extreme unction. Lombard's definition and number of the sacraments, expressed in his *Book of the Sentences*, became accepted as the authoritative theological text in the Roman Catholic Church.[35] Peter's position has remained characteristic of Roman Catholic sacramental theology since his time.

Two other aspects of far-reaching importance for Roman Catholic sacramental theology were worked out during the Middle Ages. First, under the influence of Aristotelian philosophy and through the work of Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225-1274), a distinction was made between the "matter" and the "form" of the sacraments. Aristotle distinguished between the sheer potency in nature ("matter") and that which actualizes the potency and makes it what it is ("form"). This distinction was used to differentiate between the external, visible elements of the sacraments (potency), and the meaning (form) that the elements assumed through the consecratory words of the priest. In other words, the consecratory words of the priest transform the sacraments in such a way that they become effective, i.e., may convey grace.[36] Second, the problem addressed by Augustine during the Donatist controversy regarding the worthiness of the minister administering the sacraments was further refined. *Ex opere operato*—literally, "on account of the work which is done"— became the key phrase. First used in the thirteenth century and officially adopted by the Council of Trent (1545-1563), this phrase indicated that the conferral of grace depended upon the act itself, rather than on the merits of either the administering priest or the recipient.[37] Certain preconditions were required, however, so that a "mechanical" understanding of the sacraments was avoided and their

[35]Up until the time of Peter Lombard, some theologians found as many as thirty sacraments, whereas the more conservative of them counted as few as five. Pelikan notes that it is not clear where the idea of seven sacraments began. He suggests that the anonymous *Sentences of Divinity*, published in 1145, may have been the first work citing seven sacraments. This was the list, Pelikan writes, that Peter Lombard adopted, and quoting Bernhard Geyer, he states that "for the further development of the doctrinal concept the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard were decisive. . . . It is significant that . . . his doctrine of the sacraments, especially the number seven, finds universal acceptance" (*The Growth of Medieval Theology*, 210); cf. Bernhard Geyer, "Die Siebenzahl der Sakramente in ihrer historischen Entwicklung," *Theologie und Glaube* 10 (1918): 342.

[36]*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Faith*, s. v. "Sacrament." Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952), 3a.60.6.7.

[37]This is in contrast to the principle expressed by the phrase *ex opere operantis*—literally, "on account of the work of the one who works"—which simply means that the effectiveness of the sacrament depends on the qualities of the minister, as the Donatists would argue.

validity affirmed. First, the administrant had to have the intention of performing the sacramental act according to its institution by the church.[38] Second, the recipient had to be spiritually disposed, that is, to exhibit a sincere desire to receive the benefits of the sacrament. These conditions fulfilled, the sacrament would convey grace by the fact of its reception, i.e., *ex opere operato*. It was affirmed, however, that the efficacy of the sacraments depended on the virtue of Christ's sacrifice rather than on human merit.[39] Thus, according to the Roman Catholic view, the sacraments are absolutely necessary for salvation.[40]

The theological systems of high Scholasticism further underscored the theological significance of the sacraments. The sacraments, it was taught, contained grace and infused it into the believer. Thus, the presence of faith on the part of the believer was helpful but not necessary.[41]

While each of the seven sacraments conveys God's grace and is crucial to salvation, there are distinctions between them. Catholics believe that baptism, confirmation, and holy orders convey a special imprint or character (*character indelibilis*) and, thus, cannot be repeated. While the Eucharist and the remaining sacraments do not confer a special character upon the recipient, they are necessary because Christ commanded them, and they are eminently helpful because they have the power to effect spiritual change that would not otherwise occur.[42] This notion of the sacraments as the means of salvific grace was of primary importance because it gave rise to a sacramental understanding of the church and ecclesiastical authority. Thus, the Roman Catholic Church, as the only institution which can be traced back to Christ and thus being of divine origin, should also be seen as a sacrament of Christ, i.e., an exclusive channel of his grace. Submission to the church and its leadership, thus, becomes of primary importance for salvation.[43]

[38]This means, for instance, that the accidental splashing with water by the priest of someone who is present in the church would not constitute the sacrament of baptism.

[39]Quinn, 12:808-809.

[40]Joseph Pohle states that "the justification of the sinner . . . is ordinarily not a purely internal and invisible process or series of acts, but requires the instrumentality of external visible signs instituted by Jesus Christ, which either confer grace or augment it. Such visible means of grace are called Sacraments" (*The Sacraments: A Dogmatic Treatise* [Saint Louis: Herder, 1942], 1:1).

[41]Bernhard Lohse, *A Short History of Christian Doctrine* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 152.

[42]Richard P. McBrien, ed., *Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, s.v. "sacramental character" (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 1147-1148. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Faith*, s. v. "Sacrament."

[43]It must be noted, however, that in recent years and through the influence of

Sacramental Ecclesiology and Authority of the Church

In Roman Catholic ecclesiology, the church itself is understood as a primordial sacrament.[44] Sacrament, as we have already indicated, is a visible sign of an invisible grace. It is alleged, furthermore, that it contains and transmits the grace that it signifies. It is believed that Christ, who was a sacrament of God, performed certain signs through which he accomplished the salvation of human beings. The greatest of these, his sacrifice on the cross, gave birth to the church. The church, in turn, became a sacrament of Christ, "manifesting Him to the world and continuing His worship for the redemption of mankind." Through the church, "Christ saves mankind."[45] The church, thus, is Christ's representative on earth, as it effects the grace of Christ and confers it upon the world. Understanding the church as a sacrament is in agreement with its institutional nature and enhances the authority of the ecclesiastical leadership. By virtue of their episcopal ordination, the pope and bishops constitute a channel through which God continues to communicate with humanity and, as such, these leaders perform a "prophetic function" within the church. In the traditional Roman Catholic interpretation, when Jesus exclaimed in Matt 6:18, "I will build my church,"[46] it was a declaration that marked the beginning of the church's existence. This interpretation is allegedly confirmed in v. 19, where Jesus gives the disciples the "power of the keys." In Roman Catholic teaching, these statements indicate that Jesus entrusted Peter and the disciples with special status and authority, which enabled them to define official doctrine and to be guardians of the means of grace. It is believed that these functions were later delegated to the apostles' successors, the pope and the bishops, who, according to divine law, have absolute power over believers. When these leaders make doctrinal decisions or judgments, they pronounce them with the same authority as if God himself were speaking; and when they administer the sacraments, the salvific grace of

scholars such as Karl Rahner and Yves Congar, Roman Catholics have been more open to viewing salvation in broader terms, thus accepting that God's grace may be operative outside the official Roman Catholic Church. These thinkers would argue, however, that the *fullness* of God's grace can only be communicated to those who remain in communion with the visible Catholic Church.

[44]For an excellent presentation on the church as sacrament, see Avery Dulles, *Models of the Church* (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 63-75.

[45]Quinn, 12:812-813.

[46]S. E. Donlon, "Authority, Ecclesiastical," *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 1:1115; *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Liguori, MO: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1994), art. 552-553.

God is conveyed through their actions. Their decisions, thus, are binding upon all church members. The church, therefore, through its institutional structures, has control over the salvation of its members. Obviously, such an interpretation places extreme importance upon the authority of the church's leadership: the pope and the bishops. Authority, in such an environment, is derived from above and flows downward as the pope exercises his supreme leadership through the bishops.[47]

As the church is a sacrament of Christ, through which he continues to minister to the world, only bishops and priests, viewed as Christ's representatives by virtue of their ordination, are qualified to administer the sacraments.[48] This is because they share in Christ's priestly powers through the impartation of the sacramental character (*character indelibilis*). The leading document of the Second Vatican Council, *Lumen gentium*, states that the ordained priest possesses special sacred powers through which he "forms and rules the priestly people; in the person of Christ he effects the eucharistic sacrifice and offers it to God in the name of all the people."[49] A related issue concerns the gender of the Catholic minister. Traditionally, the church has only ordained *celibate men* as priests and bishops, since only such individuals could "adequately represent Christ at the Eucharist. . . . The maleness of Christ was not accidental . . . but essential to the profoundly symbolic nuptial language of Scripture, which describes God's people as the spouse of God, the divine bridegroom. Only a male priest therefore could fittingly symbolize Christ as the bridegroom come to possess in spiritual communion his bride, the Church."[50] Thus, the maleness of Christ is

[47]The Second Vatican Council attempted to somewhat temper the perception of the pope as the supreme ruler of the church from whom all authority flows downwards. Thus he was placed within a college of bishops whose authority, like his own, was derived from the apostles. In such a setting, the pope becomes "the first among equals." Cf. *Lumen gentium* 3.18-29 in Austin Flannery, ed., *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents* (New York: Costello, 1988), 369-387. In practice, however, the pope continues to exercise his authority through the bishops. While they may act independently from him, they still receive their power from him.

[48]Quinn, 812.

[49]*Lumen gentium*, 10.

[50]Thomas Bokenkotter, *Dynamic Catholicism: A Historical Catechism* (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 273. The issue of women's ordination has been hotly debated in the Roman Catholic communion since the Second Vatican Council. In 1967, the Biblical Pontifical Commission declared that opposition to women's ordination can not be sustained on biblical grounds. The Commission concluded: "It does not seem that the New Testament by itself alone will permit us to settle in a clear way and once and for all the problem of the possible accession of women to the presbyterate" (*Origins* 6:6 [July

placed within the sacramental framework and is necessary for salvific grace to operate through the person of the priest.

Eucharistic Controversies

As observance of the Eucharist is clearly rooted in the NT, special rank has been given to this sacrament since early times. Although the other sacraments, particularly baptism, have their own controversies, the Eucharistic definitions have always served as a foundation for the development of sacramental theology.[51] It seems fitting, therefore, to deal with the historical development of this particular sacrament.

With time, the Eucharist, literally "thanksgiving," lost its original informality and came to be viewed as a solemn ritual with set prayers and solemn ceremony. As early as the second century, the bread and wine were referred to as "sacrifice," a departure from the original meaning of memorial.[52] While sacrificial terminology was used by writers as diverse as Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, it was Cyprian who took a decisive step and defined the wine and the bread as the real body of Christ and the Eucharist as a sacrificial gift offered by the priests. In the Eucharist, he asserted, the propitiatory offering upon the

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1, 1976], 92-96). Even more significant is the following remark: "It must be repeated that the texts of the New Testament, even on such important points as the sacraments, do not always give all the light that one would wish to find in them" (*Commentary on the Declaration of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on the Question of the Admission of Women to the Ministerial Priesthood* [Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1977], 27). Notwithstanding such findings, both Paul VI and John Paul II defend(ed) the male priesthood. In 1994, John Paul II published an apostolic letter, *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis,* in which he authoritatively declared that the church had no authority to ordain women on traditional grounds. To substantiate this decision, John Paul II used the so-called "iconic" argument, which states that "the priest at the altar acts in the person of Christ the Bridegroom. These theological reasons . . . show why it was fitting for Christ to have freely decided to reserve priestly service to men. If the maleness of the priest is essential to enable him to act symbolically *in persona Christi* in the eucharistic sacrifice, it follows that women should not be priests" (Avery Dulles, "Infallible: Rome's Word On Women's Ordination," *National Catholic Register,* January 7, 1996, 1, 10).

[51]Jaroslav Pelikan notes that centuries of sacramental theology led to the belief that "the Eucharist was the sacrament of each of the other sacraments; for if the body of Christ were not present in the Eucharist, none of the other sacraments would count for anything and all devotion in the church would cease to exist. The institution of this venerable sacrament was supreme among all the works of Christ" (*The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of Doctrine: Reformation of Church and Dogma [1300-1700]* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984], 52).

[52]See *Did.* 14; 1 Cor 11:23-26.

cross was repeated.[53] Ambrose (ca. 339-397) likewise insisted that through the words of consecration the elements were changed into the real blood and body of Christ. Although the question of how this "transmutation" took place attracted the interest of some patristic writers, most were content to affirm that it was a mystery. While Augustine agreed with his precursors on the issue of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, he refused to affirm the real presence in favor of a more symbolical understanding of the sacrament. The bread and wine, he asserted, were only "signs" or "symbols" of the body of Christ and whoever was part of the one, true church ate and drank this body spiritually.[54]

This variety of beliefs regarding the nature of the eucharistic elements coexisted within the church and did not became controversial until the ninth century. Two obscure French monks, Radbertus (ca. 790-ca. 860) and Ratramnus (d. ca. 865), each wrote treatises of the same title, *Concerning the Body and the Blood of Christ*, which developed two opposite conclusions regarding the real presence. Radbertus promoted the view that the wine and the bread became the blood and body of Christ in reality. Namely, after the words of consecration, the elements became *nothing* but the blood and body. Ratramnus, offended by Radbertus's crude realism, defended the view that the elements were merely symbolic of the body and blood. For him, Christ was truly present in the elements, although not in a way discernible by the senses. The presence was thus spiritual and discerned only by the eyes of faith. Considerably greater controversy was caused by Berengar (ca. 1010-1088), who also argued against any material change in the elements. Instead, he proposed that something new and invisible was *added* to the elements. During the Eucharist, Christ was spiritually present. These controversies raised the need for a precise definition as to what exactly happened during the Eucharist.[55]

Thus, in 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council formally accepted the term "transubstantiation" to define what became of the elements following their consecration. According to this definition, the body of Christ is truly present at the Eucharist as soon as the words of consecration are spoken. This doctrine has its basis in the Aristotelian

[53]Cyprian wrote that "that priest truly discharges the office of Christ, who imitates that which Christ did; and he then offers a true and full sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, when he proceeds to offer it according to what he sees Christ Himself to have offered" (*Letter* 62.14).

[54]Leeming, 252; cf. N. M. Haring, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Eucharist," 5:618.

[55]Gonzalez, 11:119-123, 150-156.

dichotomy between "substance" and "accident." The "substance" is something that constitutes the essential nature of a given matter, whereas "accidents" are its qualities discernible by the senses (e.g., color, taste). The doctrine of transubstantiation, thus, affirms that, following the consecration, the "accidents" of the wine and bread remain the same and humans can still discern them as such, but the "substance" changes from that of wine and bread to the body and blood of Christ. Following the Reformation, the Council of Trent strongly affirmed the real substantial presence of Christ in the Eucharist. The doctrine of transubstantiation, thus, remains an official Roman Catholic doctrine to the present.[56]

In summary, it must be stressed that the Roman Catholic position, as it developed throughout the centuries, asserts that salvation depends on the church. This is because the church possesses and controls the sacraments, which were established and entrusted to the church by Christ and are indispensable for one's salvation.[57] The proper administration of the sacraments requires the presence of a qualified minister, i.e., someone who has been validly ordained by the church. Ordination qualifies the minister by placing upon him a seal, or character, that ensures "that it really is Christ who acts in the sacraments through the Holy Spirit for the Church."[58] The essence of this position is that salvation is effected by the sacraments. If one wants to be saved, therefore, one must be a member of the one, true church, whose leadership stands in the apostolic succession and which is the guardian of pure doctrine and ensures the proper administration of the sacraments.[59] This position leads to a pyramidal understanding of the church, or an "ecclesiology from above," where all authority in matters of doctrine comes down to believers from the pope and the bishops. The pope and the bishops are viewed as a supernaturally empowered medium through which Christ continues his mission on earth and through which the faithful have access to God. For these reasons, all Catholics are expected to submit to the authority of the episcopate and consider its decisions as the voice of God.

[56]Ibid.

[57]*Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1994), art. 1118.

[58]Ibid., art. 1120-1121.

[59]Ibid., art. 1129. In the post-Vatican II era, there have been many ecumenically motivated voices attempting to soften this position and allow for the possibility of salvation outside of the Roman Catholic Church. However, the official Roman Catholic position continues to be that "outside the Church there is no salvation" (ibid., art. 846).

The Reformation

The theology of the sacraments as the means of grace led to many abuses during the pre-Reformation era. Many Catholics believed that if they paid a regular stipend to the priest or gave money to the church they would receive special benefits from the sacraments. This encouraged major abuses, associated particularly with the eucharistic sacrifice and the sacrament of penance. People were led to expect many favors, such as healing, the release of a relative's soul from purgatory, and the avoidance of sudden death. An honest penitent would encounter a demanding penitential system with temporary, rather than permanent, relief. Unconditional forgiveness of sin and the assurance of salvation were concepts rejected by medieval theology, since they would lead to the demise of income-generating religious institutions. In many instances, only those who had money could count on forgiveness, which was mediated by the church. These abuses resulted in dissatisfaction on the part of some believers, eventually leading to a full-blown rebellion against the Catholic Church, i.e., the Reformation.[60]

Martin Luther

Martin Luther challenged the Roman Catholic understanding of the sacraments on several fronts. First, he asserted that the translation of the Greek *musterion* into the Latin *sacramentum* was largely unjustified, as the former referred only to Christ and the manner in which he effected salvation for humanity.[61] Second, Luther rejected the concept of seven sacraments. He concluded that, on the basis of Scripture, there could only be two sacraments: baptism and the Eucharist. The church had no authority to institute sacraments for which there were no explicit commands in the Scriptures.[62] Third, with specific reference to the Eucharist, he argued against the Aristotelian distinction between "substance" and "accident." Such views, Luther concluded, kept sacramental theology in the captivity of Aristotelian metaphysics and led to a mistaken notion of transubstantiation.[63] Finally, Luther attacked the notion of the mass as a sacrifice, and concomitant with it, the special

[60]Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 216.

[61]Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 36:93.

[62]Ibid., 18. Originally, Luther also viewed penance as a sacrament. In later years, he accepted only two sacraments: baptism and the Lord's Supper (Richard Marius, *Martin Luther: The Christian Between God and Death* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999], 257-259).

[63]Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 28-29.

status of the priesthood.[64] Notwithstanding this, he accepted some aspects of sacramental theology worked out during the Middle Ages; for example, he believed in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and that the validity of the sacraments did not depend upon the holiness or sinfulness of the minister, but upon their institution by Christ.[65] Furthermore, he recognized the sacraments as a means of grace, though not in the Roman Catholic sense.[66]

Luther's sacramental theology was centered on the concept of the primacy of the Word of God. The Word, he argued, was given to believers primarily through Scripture and the preaching of the gospel. Due to human weakness in accepting and responding to divine promises, however, the Word of God was supplemented with visible and tangible signs of the gracious divine favor—the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. These represented the promises of God, mediated through material objects of everyday use.[67] Ideally, human beings should be able to trust God on the basis of his Word alone. In our fallenness, however, we need sacramental signs to enhance our trust in God. Sacraments, thus, were closely related to faith, as they functioned as another form in which the Word was heard in faith. So, while Luther strongly affirmed the idea that salvation came through faith alone and did not depend on human works, the sacraments were still necessary as they formed the means by which faith was created.[68]

Luther's views on baptism and the Eucharist constituted a significant departure from Roman Catholic views. Baptism did not create a permanent seal or confer a permanent character upon the soul of a believer, but was unbreakably bound with faith, as there could be no true sacrament without faith. For Luther, however, faith did not necessarily precede baptism. Instead, baptism was the initiative of God, who bestows his faith. This is why Luther did not oppose the baptism of infants. Denial of such a baptism on the grounds that an infant did not have faith would amount to the negation of the power of baptism

[64]See Martin Luther, *The Misuse of the Mass*, in Wentz (1959), 133-230; idem, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 36:35-36.

[65]Luther, *The Adoration of the Sacrament*, in Wentz (1959), 36:275.

[66]Luther is clear on this matter when he states: "[I]t is a most pernicious error to say that the sacraments of the new law are efficacious signs of grace in such a way that they do not require any disposition in the recipient except that he should put no obstacle in the way" (*Lectures on Hebrews*, in *LW* 29:172).

[67]Luther, *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 66-67.

[68]Martin Luther, *Concerning Rebaptism*, in *LW*, ed. Conrad Bergendoff (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958), 3:252-253.

and to the affirmation that the sacrament depended on human ability to receive it, thereby implying a new form of justification by works.[69]

It was the issue of the Eucharist, however, that became a major bone of contention for Luther, not only with the Roman Catholic Church, but also with other reformers. First, Luther most emphatically rejected the concept of the Lord's Supper as sacrifice, as it made the sacraments effective on account of human merit, thereby striking at the heart of the gospel and endangering the uniqueness and inclusiveness of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross. Second, he rejected the idea of transubstantiation, which he considered an absurdity, an attempt to rationalize the mystery.[70] At the same time, however, he retained the traditional Catholic idea that Christ's body and blood are physically present in the elements. Thus, he proposed a theory of the simultaneous presence of both the bread and the wine and the body of Christ. This view became known as consubstantiation, although Luther himself never used this term.[71] He also rejected sacerdotalism—a teaching that only certain persons were qualified to administer the sacraments. He argued that the presence of Christ's body was not a result of the priest's action, but rather that it occurred by the power of Christ. While, in Catholicism, transubstantiation takes place when the priest consecrates the elements, Luther did not speculate as to when the substances were joined. Although he maintained that an ordained minister should administer the Lord's Supper, he did not attribute the presence of the body of Christ to the minister or to anything that he did.[72]

Luther's sacramental theology led to a new understanding of the nature of the church. The church was no longer viewed as a sacrament, or means of grace, but as the communion of saints—the gathering where the gospel is preached and the sacraments are administered.[73] Jaroslav Pelikan writes: "That definition, as it was formulated, was intended to . . . [distinguish the Lutheran] view from views of the church that added other institutional requirements such as liturgical uniformity or obedience to the papacy."[74] As

[69]Ibid. Cf. M. J. Erickson, *Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985), 1090-1093.

[70]Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 18-35. Cf. Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma*, 36:179.

[71]Luther used an analogy of a heated iron to illustrate the mystery of the presence of Christ at the Eucharist. When iron is placed in a fire and heated, it glows, and in the glowing iron, both the iron and heat are present (*The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 36:32, 35).

[72]Ibid., 27-28, 52-54.

[73]Martin Luther, *Sermons on the Catechism* in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Anchor, 1961), 212-213.

[74]Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma*, 173.

such, the church was below and subject to the Word of God, rather than above it. Thus, in the writings of Luther a shift occurs from a sacramental or institutional notion of the church and its ministry toward a more *functional* one.[75] Notwithstanding this shift, the importance of the sacraments for Luther's ecclesiology was that they were constitutive of the church. Through baptism, people were received into the kingdom of God and their faith was created; through the Eucharist their faith was maintained. Thus, Luther did not intend for *sola* in *sola fide* to exclude the Word of God as it comes to believers through the sacraments. "Properly understood," writes Pelikan, "the sacraments were an epitome of the very gospel; without them no one could be a Christian."[76] Salvation, thus, is in some way still dependent on the church and its sacraments.

The Reformed Tradition

In his sacramental theology, John Calvin was much in agreement with Luther. Like Luther, he rejected the Roman Catholic notion of the seven sacraments and narrowed their number to two: baptism and the Eucharist. Also he believed that the sacraments were truly efficacious, although not in the Roman Catholic sense.[77] Rather than being channels of God's grace, the sacraments strengthened or augmented the faith of the participant.[78] Finally, he agreed with Luther that where there was right preaching of the Word and proper administration of the sacraments, there Christ was present. And wherever Christ was, there his church was to be found as well.[79]

The only real disagreement between Calvin and Luther in regard to the sacraments was in the area of the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Calvin believed that Christ's body was in heaven and, therefore,

[75]"Functional" is defined here as "designed for or adapted to a particular function or use." *Functional ecclesiology* recognizes that while Scripture provides certain universal principles regarding church structure and ministry, it does not establish a fixed model for the church, thus encouraging the church to exercise responsible freedom in structuring itself.

[76]Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma*, 178.

[77]John Calvin strongly argued against "the error of a magical conception of the sacraments" (*Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967], 4.14.14).

[78]Ibid., 4.14.7-8. In the same volume, Calvin, 4.14.1, defines the term "sacrament" as an "outward sign by which the Lord seals on our consciences the promises of his good will toward us in order to sustain the weakness of our faith." Calvin, ibid., added that his definition "does not differ in meaning from that of Augustine . . . but it better and more clearly explains the thing itself."

[79]Ibid., 4.14.17.

could not simultaneously be present during the Lord's Supper. Thus Calvin spoke of a spiritual or dynamic presence of Christ during the eucharistic meal. In marked contrast to Luther's position, Calvin wrote: "The body of Christ is [not] given us under the bread or with the bread, because it is not a substantial union of corruptible food with the flesh of Christ that is denoted, but sacramental conjunction."[80] To illustrate his ideas, Calvin used the analogy of the sun. As the sun was far removed from earth and yet its warmth and light were present on earth, so Christ was influentially present at the Eucharist. The radiance of the Spirit communicated the communion of Christ's flesh and blood; thus, the partakers were spiritually nourished by the bread and wine. Through the sacrament, the Holy Spirit brought them into a closer relationship with Christ, the head of the church and the source of spiritual vitality.[81] Finally, participation in the Eucharist sealed the love of Christ to believers and assured them of the reality of salvation.[82]

In his early sacramental theology, the Swiss reformer Ulrich Zwingli agreed with Luther and Calvin that baptism and the Eucharist were signs of God's faithfulness to the church and his promise of forgiveness. Moving away from his early position, however, he began to view the sacraments as tokens of belonging to the Christian community.[83] Thus, the entire purpose of the sacraments was, above all, to show that a person belonged to the community of faith.[84] Baptism, as with circumcision in the OT, was a public declaration that an infant (or an adult) was a member of the church. Likewise, participating in the Lord's Supper symbolized a continuing loyalty to the Christian community.[85] Zwingli categorically refuted the Catholic as well as Lutheran understandings of how the sacraments worked. Against the Catholic view, he argued that the Latin *sacramentum* originally referred to an act of initiation or a pledge and that the notion of the sacraments as the means of grace was not scriptural.[86] Against Luther, he stated that there could not be any correlation between the external sign and the internal

[80]John Calvin, *Best Method of Obtaining Concord*, in *Calvin: Theological Treatises*, trans. J. K. S. Reid (London: S C M Press, 1954), 328.

[81]Calvin, *Institutes* 4.14.12.

[82]Ibid., 4.14.5 and 20.

[83]*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Faith*, s.v. "Zwingli," 1784.

[84]Thus, in the treatise *Of Baptism*, Zwingli defines the term "sacrament" as "a covenant sign or pledge" that signifies a person's belonging to the church (in *Zwingli and Bullinger: Selected Translations*, ed. G. W. Bromiley [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1953], 131).

[85]Ibid., 131-132, 148,

[86]Ibid., 131. Ulrich Zwingli, *On True and False Religion*, in *The Latin Works and the Correspondence of Ulrich Zwingli*, ed. S. M. Jackson (Philadelphia: Heidelberg, 1929), 3:181.

event caused by such a sign. Such a notion would take away the freedom of the Spirit.[87] Zwingli presented his own understanding of the sacraments with the help of a military analogy. Just as soldiers revealed their allegiance by wearing the appropriate insignia, so Christians demonstrated their commitment to the church publicly first by baptism and subsequently by participating in the Eucharist. He also rejected Luther's views regarding the real presence of Christ in the elements. For "until the last day Christ cannot be anywhere but at the right hand of God the Father."[88] For Zwingli, the Eucharist was no more than what it meant: "the remembrance of that deliverance by which he [Christ] redeemed the whole world . . . that we might never forget . . . but that we might publicly attest it with praise and thanksgiving."[89] The Eucharist, thus, was a *memorial* of the historical event leading to the establishment of the Christian church and a public declaration of membership in the church.[90] Notwithstanding his views on the sacraments as tokens of Christian allegiance, it might be argued that, in essence, Zwingli was in agreement with Luther regarding their efficacy because he believed, especially with regard to the Lord's Supper, that the physical eating might still be a means of grace through which the believer's "soul [is] being strengthened by the faith which [he] attests in the tokens." Thus, in Zwingli's theology, the sacraments "augment faith and are an aid to it. This is particularly true," he writes, "of the Supper."[91]

It was the notion of the sacrament as the means of grace that was one of the reasons for the controversy between Zwingli and the movement commonly designated as Anabaptism or "rebaptizers."[92] The sacramental theology of this Christian group represents a complete departure from the concept of the sacraments as the means of grace. The Anabaptists were critical of Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli, asserting that although these reformers had emphasized the *sola fide* principle, they had not sufficiently freed themselves from Catholic thinking by continuing to hold to the concept of sacramental efficacy, thus relying,

[87]Ibid., 3:183.

[88]Ulrich Zwingli, *On the Lord's Supper*, in *Zwingli and Bullinger: Selected Translations*, ed. G. W. Bromiley (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1953), 216.

[89]Ibid., 234.

[90]Ibid., 235.

[91]Ulrich Zwingli, *An Exposition of the Faith*, in *Zwingli and Bullinger: Selected Translations*, ed. G. W. Bromiley (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1953), 259, 263.

[92]F. H. Littell, *The Origin of Sectarian Protestantism: A Study of the Anabaptist View of the Church* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), xv. The Anabaptist movement was not uniform and consisted of many groups.

in one way or another, on "outward works." The Anabaptists, on the other hand, argued that just as good works did not secure salvation but were a result of faith, so the Lord's Supper did not constitute the means of grace, but rather, signified the grace already given.[93] Likewise, contrary to Luther's assertion that "baptism effects forgiveness of sins," the Anabaptists believed that baptism simply bore testimony to the "inward yes in the heart." This conviction was at the center of their rejection of infant baptism. According to them, therefore, the value of the sacraments lay simply in accepting by faith the benefits of Jesus' death. The sacraments were no more effective than other forms of proclamation, such as a sermon or personal witness.[94]

The Anabaptist view on the sacraments led to a primarily functional ecclesiology as they strove to restore NT Christianity in its purity. The church, in their understanding, was nothing more than a community of baptized and regenerated Christians.[95] The emphasis was upon the individual, unmediated relationship with Jesus Christ rather than on association with a visible, organized body. Membership in the church did not in any way guarantee salvation. Baptismal and eucharistic celebrations took place in the local congregation, but the church held no ecclesiastical control over the means of grace, as salvation could only be obtained through a personal relationship with Christ. Local congregations could choose their ministers, who, while not receiving any remuneration, facilitated the celebration of communion and baptism, but held no special authority other than that which was delegated to them by the congregation.[96] Anabaptist theology, thus, was

[93]Thus Conrad Grebel could write regarding the Lord's Supper: "Although it is only bread, *if faith and brotherly love precede*, it should be taken with joy. If the Lord's Supper is practiced in this way in the community, it should show us that we are truly one bread and one body, and true brothers of one another, and that we are God's" ("Letter to Thomas Müntzer," in *The Radical Reformation*, ed. Michael G. Baylor [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 39 [emphasis added]). Cf. Littell, 52, 68, 80.

[94]Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma*, 317-319. Cf. Martin Luther, *Small Catechism* (Adelaide: United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia, 1941), 13. It must also be noted that, in agreement with Zwingli, the Anabaptists strongly reacted against the real presence of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper: "For them, to worship the physical bread and wine was the most awful idolatry and materialization of the spiritual truth of the presence of Christ in the midst of believers assembled. The doctrine of the real presence was blasphemy, wherein Christ was martyred again" (Littell, 69, 100).

[95]Littell, 69, 86-87, 89, 95-98,.

[96]Ibid., 91-93, 99; Justo L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought: From the Protestant Reformation to the Twentieth Century* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), 90-91; Erickson, 1045; Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma*, 313-322.

a complete departure from an institutional or sacramental ecclesiology.

Conclusion

Modern Roman Catholic sacramental theology, with its understanding of the sacraments as the means of grace, developed over many centuries. Early in church history, the institutional church introduced a separation between common believers and the clerical caste. This gap increased during the third and fourth centuries through the elevation of the ordination rite to the level of a sacrament. From that time, the bishops, seen as the direct successors of the apostles, gained enormous power and prestige, and the church with its sacraments came to be viewed as the exclusive channel of God's grace. Thus there is a clear link between Catholic sacramental theology and the growth of ecclesiastical authority.

The Reformation emphasized the importance of personal faith in the Savior, over against the reliance on outward performances, such as church membership and participation in the sacraments. As a result, the church was no longer seen in sacramental or institutional terms, but began to be understood as a community of believers. The sacraments, reduced to baptism and the Eucharist, were still considered by the majority of reformers as a means of grace that served to increase the personal faith of a believer. The work of the sacraments, however, was no longer effected through the priestly powers of the minister. Thus the church was no longer seen as the guardian and overseer of the means of salvation. In the teachings of the reformers, therefore, there is a gradual shift from the authority of the institution, represented by the pope and the bishops, to the authority of the congregation, united in common faith.

It was only with the rise of Anabaptism that a complete reversal of sacramentalism occurred. The church, in the Anabaptist view, was a community of baptized and regenerated Christians. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were no longer the means of grace, but rather signified the grace already given through the Holy Spirit. Proper functioning of the church required leaders who, selected on the basis of their spiritual qualifications, ministered to the congregation. These leaders were seen as representatives of the congregation and had no more power than had been delegated to them by the community. All major decisions regarding the community's organization, teachings, and mission were agreed on by the entire membership, rather than by a select group of individuals.

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ULTIMATE REALITY AND MEANING IN LUTHER'S THEOLOGY OF THE CROSS: NO OTHER GOD, BUT THE INCARNATE HUMAN GOD

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Introduction

Martin Luther understood well the hubris of human reason, and its perpetual presumption to grasp God in his transcendence. To counteract this, Luther points forcibly to the incarnate Deity as the definitive revelation of God in the gospel. Whoever wants to find God must shun the Majestic God, God in his naked immediacy, and assume the way of the Divine from below, i.e., from the Incarnate Son. God is to be found where he wills to be found, that is, "through and in this humanity."[1] A true theology, which he calls "theology of the cross" (*Theologia Crucis*), must observe this rule: grasp God in the way Scripture teaches us—cling to the God at his mother's breasts, and to the God who hung on the cross and was raised from the tomb.[2] Any attempt to execute an opposite movement will either end in utter ignorance of God or dash us against the terror of the hidden and naked God's majesty.

[1]WA 10, 1, 1, 208, 24 (Postils and Sermons, 1522). See Gerhard Forde, *Where God Meets Man: Luther's Down-to-Earth Approach to the Gospel* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), 10. In this paper, the American Edition of Luther's Works (ed. J. Pelikan and H. T. Lehman [St. Louis: Concordia, 1958-]) is abbreviated as LW; the Weimar edition (Weimar: Herman Boehlau Nachfolger, 1883-) is abbreviated as WA; Studiensausgabe (hrsg. von Hans-Ulrich Delius [Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1979-]) is abbreviated as StA.

[2]LW 26, 18-19; WA 101, 77-78 (Gal., 1535); LW 31, 53; WA 1, 363, 14 (Heidelberg Disputation, 1517). See also Walter von Loewenich, where he states: "The theology of the cross is a principle of Luther's entire theology, and it may not be confined to a special period in his theological development. . . . Hence, our investigation has to do not with a specific stage of development, but with the demonstration of a theological thinking" (*Luther's Theology of the Cross*, trans. Herbert J. A. Bouman [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1976], 13); Alister McGrath, *Luther's Theology of the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994),148-175; Regin Prenter, *Luther's Theology of the Cross* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 2; Charles Cousar, *A Theology of the Cross: The Death of Jesus in the Pauline Letters* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 7-8; Roland Bainton, where he observes that Luther was lecturing on the Psalms at the time when he coined the term "*theologia crucis*" (*Here I Stand* [New York: Mentor, 1950], 51); Hermann Sasse, "*Theologia Crucis*," *Lutheran Theological Journal* 11 (1968): 121-122.

Thus, Luther declares: "Outside of Christ there is no God."[3] The metaphysical mystery of Christ's personal union Luther conceives primarily in terms of redemption. It is imperative, according to Luther, not to focus on a prior doctrine of God, but rather cling to the God who hides in the humanity of Jesus, to the incarnate God, the God with whom we have to do so as to be safe and saved. He writes: "There is no more effective consolation than that Jesus is completely human."[4] Hence for him, the ultimate reality is the incarnate Deity, but the ultimate meaning lies in the redemptive work that this Deity performs for our good. Luther is more interested in Jesus Christ, not as a "private person" but as a "public person," regarding what he has achieved "for me."[5] Christology and soteriology form such a seamless garment in Luther's thought that salvation is found only in Jesus Christ. This explains why Luther stresses in his *Smalcald Articles* that the "one article on which the church stands or falls" is not the doctrine of justification, but the "dear article on Jesus Christ."[6] Driven by the soteriological relevance of the person of Jesus Christ, Luther claims that "Christology is the subject of theology."[7]

Luther and Chalcedonian Christology

Luther's Christology is not derived from ecclesiastical arguments and decisions *in se*, but rather from the biblical representation of Jesus Christ. Jesus in the Bible enacts both a divine and human life. In so speaking and acting as God and as man, Christ reveals both the divine and human nature, and yet he is one and the same person. "First he speaks as God, then as man. So I learn my article that Christ speaks as God and as man . . . as if he was a true man; but if he were always to speak as true man, we could never discover he is also God."[8] Holy Scripture, for Luther, is the prior norm for reading the creeds and councils of the church. Luther is not against church dogmas as such, but only against a theology that derives dogmas from the church, untested

[3]WA 39², 25, 17: "*Et bene notandum est et maxime observandum, quod extra Christum non est Deus alius.*"

[4]WA 9, 441, 21.

[5]LW 26, 298; WA 40¹, 448, 2ff (Gal., 1535).

[6]StA 5, 356, 9.

[7]LW 34, 208; WA 50, 267, 18 (The Three Symbols, 1538); cf. LW 24, 23; WA 45, 481-82 (Jn., 1537-38)).

[8]WA TR 2, 16: 1265. Also cited in Ian D. Siggins, *Martin Luther's Doctrine of Christ* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 209.

by the church's norm. Luther writes:

> These then are the four principal Councils and the reasons they were held. The first, in Nicaea, defended the divinity of Christ against Arius; the second, in Constantinople, defended the divinity of the Holy Spirit against Macedonius; the third, in Ephesus, defended the one person of Christ against Nestorius; the fourth, in Chalcedon, defended the two natures in Christ against Eutyches. But no new articles of faith were thereby established, for these four doctrines are formulated far more abundantly and powerfully in St. John's gospel alone, even if the other evangelists and St. Paul and St. Peter had written nothing about it, although they, together with the prophets, also teach and bear convincing witness to all of that.[9]

For Luther, the basic Christological question concerning the person of Christ is settled at Chalcedon (A.D. 451).[10] But he interprets it with strong leanings toward the Alexandrian tradition, affirming the substantial unity of the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ. He has little in common, however, with the classical monophysites; his emphasis on the humanity of Christ precludes monophysitism.[11] He accentuates the unity principle, not by an emphasis on Christ's divinity, but rather by an emphasis on his humanity. Christ's humanity is "'the holy ladder' to his divinity."[12] Paul Althaus rightly identifies a movement in Luther's Christology "from below to above": "from Christ as man to Christ as God and thereby to God."[13] Luther affirms:

> For the Scripture begins quite gently, leading us to Christ, as to a human person and then to a Lord, reigning above all things, and then to a God. Thus I came to recognize God. The philosophers and those versed in the knowledge of the world, on the contrary, have tried to begin from above, and so they have been confounded. One must begin from below and rise up.[14]

Luther stands firmly on the principle that the finite is capable of the

[9]LW 41, 121 (On the Councils and the Church, 1539).

[10]See Leslie Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London: S. P. C. K, 1952), 76; Marc Lienhard, *Luther: Witness to Jesus Christ,* trans. J. A. Bouman (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1982), 18-19; Siggins, 223, noted that Luther doubted the adequacy of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, e.g., the traditional meaning of "person" presents a difficulty for Luther since it may carry more than one sense, even in Christological statements.

[11]See LW 22, 110, n. 83; LW 24, 90-91, n. 52.

[12]LW 29, 111; WA 57, 111 (Heb., 1516); see also LW 41, 100-110.

[13]Paul Althaus, *The Theology of the Martin Luther,* trans. R. C. Schultz (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1966), 181-188.

[14]See WA 12, 585-91 (Church Postils, 1523) as cited in Lienhard, 189.

infinite. It is precisely in the finite human person that the infinite God dwells: "For God has portrayed Himself definitely and clearly enough in the Word. Therefore it is certain that he who bypasses the person of Christ never finds the true God; for . . . God is fully in Christ, where He places Himself for us."[15] This then leads to Luther's Christological affirmation: "Yet these two natures are so united that there is only one God and one Lord, that Mary suckles God with her breasts, bathes God, rocks him, and carries him; furthermore, that Pilate and Herod crucified and killed God. The two natures are so joined that the true deity and humanity are one."[16] Yet, following the Chalcedonian creed regarding the natures of Christ, Luther is obliged to distinguish between the humanity and the divinity. He asserts against Schwenckfeld that Christ is a "creature" according to his humanity, and he is a "creator" according to his divinity. Writes Luther:

> Schwenckfeld does not see this; so when he hears the Fathers say that Christ is a creature according to His humanity, he immediately attacks, distorts, and misuses the phrase for his own ends. Even if the Fathers should say: Christ is a creature according to His humanity, this can be tolerated in some way; but Schwenckfeld wickedly remarks: Therefore Christ is simply a creature. Why do you not add: Christ is a creator according to His divinity?[17]

Biblical Support: Psalms 8 and 110

Commenting on Ps 110:1 in 1532, Luther finds two natures of Christ declared in the verse. The first "lord" designates Christ as true God; the second "lord" designates Christ as true man, denoting that the Messiah, or Christ, was promised to the fathers, especially to King David, from whom he was to descend. This psalm clearly contains a powerful statement about the person of Christ—namely, he is both David's promised son according to the flesh and God's eternal Son, as well as the eternal king and priest—and about his resurrection, ascension and spiritual kingdom.[18] Christ and the apostles after him often cite this Psalm in the NT because it constitutes the core and foundation of the Christian faith. It confirms the article of faith concerning the person of Christ, his kingdom, and his righteousness. Furthermore in his

[15]LW 24, 23; WA 45, 481-82 (Jn., 1538).

[16]LW 22, 492-93 (Jn., 1537).

[17]See WA 39^2, 99, 10-15 (*Die Disputation de divinitate et humanitate Christi*, 1540). Cf. LW 26, 273; WA 40^1, 427.

[18]LW 13, 228; WA 41, 80, 13-16 (Ps 110, 1532).

comments on Ps 8:1 in 1537, Luther ascribes two different titles to Christ's two natures.[19] The first title, "Lord," is ascribed to the divine majesty, not to any creature, and it means "the right, true and eternal God." The other title, "Ruler," is attributed to Christ's human nature, for in Scripture it is a common name used for princes or heads of household. Since the King is called "Lord, our Ruler," says Luther, it follows that he must be true God and true man. The unity of the person of Christ is affirmed in that Christ is Lord and God according to his eternal and divine nature; he is Ruler according to his human nature and, indeed, became man to be our sovereign Ruler. As the second person of Godhead, the incarnate Son ascribes all things to the Father as the Originator; in his humanity he begins his kingdom in the earthly Zion through the gospel.[20]

Philosophy and Theology: Man and Personal Union

The personal union must not be conceived as supporting union, for the two natures are united personally in the unity of the person of Christ. Philosophic logic cannot express adequately the unity of two natures; in philosophy, God and humanity are two persons, but in theology they constitute one and the same person:[21]

> One is the person of humanity, the other is the person of divinity. However, both humanity and divinity are in Christ. Therefore, there are two persons in Christ. Response [Luther's]: This is the fallacy of composition and division. In the former you divide human and divine nature; in the latter you join them. This is a philosophical solution, but we express it theologically. I refute the consequence because the humanity and divinity constitute one person in Christ. But these two natures are distinct in theology according to their natures and not to the person. They are indistinct, but two distinct natures, although indistinct persons. They are not two distinct persons, but are distinct and indistinct; that is they are distinct natures but indistinct persons.[22]

For Luther, "man" signifies an existing person in philosophy; but in theology it means "a certain divinity in Christ."[23] The syllogism

[19]LW 12, 98 (Ps 8, 1537).

[20]LW 12, 50 (Ps 2, 1532).

[21]WA 39², 95, 32ff.; 98, 6ff.

[22]WA 39², 100, 6-12: "*M. Lutheri contra Schwenkfeldi Argumenta contraria. alia est persona Deus, alia homo. Christus et homo et Deus. Ergo sunt in eo duae personae. R. In Philosophia est verum.*" See also WA 39², 100, 9-23.

[23]LW 38, 253 (The Word Became Flesh, 1539).

cannot capture the mysteries of faith, especially that of Christ as both God and man—a divine subject. Luther writes:

> "Man" in philosophy according to its own nature does not signify the Son of God or a divine person. This is the very thing that we call the communication of idioms. The syllogism is not admitted into the mysteries of faith and theology. Philosophy constitutes an aberration in the realm of theology.[24]

Furthermore:

> We say that man is God, and we witness to this by the word of God without a syllogism, apart from philosophy; philosophy has nothing to do with our grammar. You should note this because "man" is and should mean something beyond what it means in the tree of Porphyry, even if it is truly said that God was made man, as they and I say. For here it means something greater and more comprehensive.[25]

The communication of properties requires that the term "Christ," when understood as meaning both God and man, carries a "new" content, designating a concrete unity. Such newness cannot be admitted into the philosophical context of meaning, for in theology, "the words used in philosophy become new."[26] As Luther says: "The same thing is not true in different professions."[27] There is "an identity of words" in both disciplines, but there is "a difference in meaning" of the same proposition. Luther clearly repudiates the equivocation of the "Sorbonne theologians" in the following passage:

> We say: God is man, which is a simple proposition, not two-fold as the Sorbonne has made it. We condemn the latter. Every man is a creature, this is a simple proposition; this is true in philosophy, but in theology it is false, which is proved in the minor premise, that is Christ is man. The Sorbonne compels us to make all words ambiguous. This is to be resisted. It is not to be allowed that in this proposition, that is, God is man, one may unite theology and philosophy because a distinction is made between man and man. The man who uses words univocally speaks consistently, but not the equivocator, and by the fact that they equivocate they destroy their argument.[28]

The term "man," when used in philosophy, indicates the person himself; but in theology, the term, when applied to Christ, designates the

[24]LW 38, 272.

[25]LW 38, 247.

[26]LW 38, 274.

[27]LW 38, 239.

[28]LW 38, 273.

divine person who assumes into himself the human nature. Theology is not directed toward the abstract humanity in itself. It is directed toward the concrete reality where human nature is assumed by the divinity.[29] Whereas in philosophy, these two terms "man" and "humanity" are one and the same, this is not so in theology.[30] "Man" signifies a person, and therefore must not be confused with humanity.[31] Humanity, for Luther, means the human nature that has been assumed by Christ the person. Consequently, one cannot say that the Son of God has assumed a man; otherwise there would have been two persons.

The hypostatic union, for Luther, means that the Logos always exists in union with the flesh. It is an event in history, but from all eternity Christ's divinity must not be conceived apart from his humanity and vice versa.[32] When Scripture speaks about the divine nature united with the human in one person, then it is speaking of Christ as "composite and incarnate, . . . his whole person."[33] Luther does not divorce Christ from God as Philip of Bethsaida did. Rather, Luther follows the rule: "Outside of Christ there is no God."[34] Luther, employing the Cappadocian image of iron and fire, explains: "Anyone who touches the heat in the heated iron touches the iron and whoever has touched the skin of Christ has actually touched God."[35] Contrary to the Enthusiasts, Luther writes:

> We cannot touch or grasp the divine majesty, any more than we would wish to touch or grasp a devouring fire. . . . That is why he has presented his flesh to us, in order that we may attach ourselves to it and to a certain extent be able to touch and comprehend it. . . . Therefore do not listen to those who say that the flesh avails nothing. Reverse this word and say that God without the flesh avails nothing. For it is on the flesh of Christ from the virgin's womb that your eyes must be fixed, so

[29]WA 39^2, 117, 33-35.

[30]WA 39^2, 116, 3.

[31]WA 39^2, 118, 3-4.

[32]See Lienhard, 342. It must be borne in mind that Luther did not use the term "hypostatic union"; rather he used the term "personal union." However, both carry the same meaning. For a study of *extra-Calvinisticum*, see David E. Willis, *Calvin's Catholic Christology. The Function of the So-called Extra-Calvinisticum in Calvin's Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 1966). The Logos, for the Calvinists, is infinite, and thus must exist *extra Carnem*, unlimited by its union with the flesh. The Lutherans counter the *extra-Calvinisticum* by coining the phrase "*totus intra carnem and numquam extra carnem.*"

[33]LW 26, 265; WA 40^1, 415, 30.

[34]WA 39^2, 25, 17.

[35]LW 26, 266; WA 40^1, 416, 10-12; cf. LW 24, 65; WA 45, 520.

> that you may take courage and say "I have known nothing of God, either in heaven nor on earth, apart from the flesh, sleeping in the Virgin's womb." . . . For otherwise God is always incomprehensible, it is only in the flesh of Christ that he can be grasped.[36]

Christ: The Person and Work

Luther develops his Christology by his soteriology, understanding Christ's person in terms of his work of redemption. This is evident in his explanation of the Second Article of his *Small Catechism*, where he quickly comes to soteriology because this is at the heart of his Christology:

> I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father from eternity, and also true man, born of the Virgin, is my Lord, who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, purchased and won me from all sins, from death, and from the power of the devil, not with gold or silver, but with his holy, precious blood and with his innocent suffering and death, that I may be his own, and live under him in his kingdom, and serve him in everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessedness, even as he is risen from the dead, lives and reigns to all eternity. This is most certainly true.[37]

Luther was not concerned with the constitution of Christ in the abstract, but rather with the "for me" aspects of his person, with the work that he performs as a whole person. The metaphysical mystery of the hypostatic union is considered solely in the act of salvation.[38] As early as 1509, Luther notes in the margin of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard: "It is not so much a physical or logical determination as a theological one. It is as if someone were to say: 'What is Christ?' to which the logician replies: 'He is a person, etc. . . ,' while the theologian says: 'He is the rock, the cornerstone, etc.'"[39] While philosophy concerns itself with God's ontology, theology concerns itself with God's acts, the end of which is our salvation. Christology and soteriology are so intertwined in Luther that salvation is only found in Jesus Christ.

[36]See WA 25, 106, 33-107 as cited in Lienhard, 342.

[37]See Luther's "The Small Catechism," 1529, in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1959), 345.

[38]Yves Congar, "Considerations and Reflections on the Christology of Luther," in *Dialogue Between Christians* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), 377. Klaas Zwanepol rightly observes in Luther an interplay between Christology and soteriology ("A Human God: Some Remarks on Luther's Christology," *Concordia Journal* 30 (2004): 42).

[39]See marginal gloss on *Sentences, Lib. III*, d. 23 in WA 9, 91, 22-24 as cited in Congar, 70-71.

> Christ has two natures. What has that to do with me? If he bears the magnificent and consoling name of Christ, it is on account of the ministry and the task which he took upon himself; it is that which gives him his name. That he should by nature be both man and God, that is for him. But that he should have dedicated his ministry and poured out his love to become my savior and my redeemer, it is in that I find my consolation and well-being. To believe in Christ does not mean that Christ is a person who is man and God, a fact that helps nobody; it means that this person is Christ, that is to say, that *for us* he came forth from God into the world; it is from this office that he takes his name.[40]

The soteriological relevance of Christ lies in what he achieves "for me" or "for us," not so much in what Christ as such has accomplished. Not until we appropriate the "for me" meaning of Christ's act of his self-humiliation do we grasp the import of Christ as our ultimate reality. In achieving our redemption, Jesus Christ as One indivisible Person, divine man as well as incarnate God, has humbled himself. His humiliation is his direct action as a whole person, an "altogether pure and innocent Person" who is constituted as "God and man."[41] This humiliation was, for Luther, credited not only to Christ's humanity, but also to his divinity. Christ himself affirms that it is an active deed of his One indivisible Person, "not by compulsion but out of His own free will."[42] "For in My own Person of humanity and divinity I am blessed, and I am in need of nothing whatever. But I shall empty Myself (Phil. 2:7); I shall assume your clothing and mask; and . . . suffer death, in order to set you free from death."[43] This condescension is the condescension of both the innocent Son of God and innocent Son of Man, becoming the Person of the sinful race, suffering and dying on the cross.

Communication of Properties

The doctrine of communication of properties is used by Luther to indicate how he conceives Christ's Person in terms of his redemptive work, his incarnate deity in terms of his salvific purpose. Although

[40]See WA 16, 217, 33ff. as quoted in Congar, 374. For the new Finnish interpretation of Luther's doctrine of salvation as *theosis*, see Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson, *Union with Christ* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); William T. Cavanaugh, "A Joint Declaration? Justification as *Theosis* in Aquinas and Luther," *Heythrop Journal* 41 (2000): 265-280.

[41]LW 26, 288; WA 40[1], 448.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

Luther affirms that the work of Christ to conquer sin and death could be done only by Christ's divinity, he further contends that Christ's divinity must not be conceived apart from his humanity so that the act of his divinity was essentially that of his whole person, both human and divine. The unity of Christ's Person is affirmed in the fact of his conquest of sin and death, even though strictly speaking, the act is of his divinity. "The humanity would not have accomplished anything by itself; but the divinity, joined with humanity, did it alone; and the humanity did it on account of the divinity."[44] When Luther speaks of Christ as a whole person, he speaks of him as the doer of the divine action, even though "abstractly" speaking, the act is performed only by the deity.[45] In this way what is communicated to Christ's humanity is not merely his divine nature but the divine saving deed, as if the deed were performed by the man Jesus: "Thus it is said: the man Jesus led Israel out of Egypt, struck down Pharaoh, and did all things that belong to God."[46] "Whatever this person, Christ, says and does, is said and done by both" natures through the doctrine of communication of properties.[47]

[44]LW 26, 267; WA 40[1], 417-418.

[45]LW 26, 265; WA 40[1], 415.

[46]Ibid.

[47]LW 41, 100-111. Cf. LW 24, 106; WA 45, 557. For a detailed study of Luther's usage of the doctrine of *communicatio idiomatum*, see Dennis Ngien, *The Suffering of God according to Martin Luther's* "Theologia Crucis" (New York: Lang, 1995), 68-86; and idem "Chalcedonian Christology and Beyond: Luther's Understanding of the *Communicatio Idiomatum*," *Heythrop Journal* 45 (2004): 54-68. Thomas G. Weinandy writes of Luther: The *communicatio* motif is "not divine and human attributes predicated of the one person of the Logos, but rather the mutual interchange and communication of the divine and human properties from the one nature to the other" (*Does God Change? The Word's Becoming in the Incarnation* [Still River: St. Bede's Publications, 1985], 105); Wolfhart Pannenberg holds the same view as Weinandy (*Jesus—God and Man*, trans. Lewis L. Wilkins and Duane A. Priebe [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977], 299-300). In regard to the question of God's suffering, see Reiner Jansen, who states: "However, Scripture witnesses now that God's Son suffers. Though this refers first of all to Christ's humanity, his divinity is meant at the same time," which is to be explained *via* the doctrine of *communicatio idiomatum* (*Studien zu Luthers Trinitätslehre* [Frankfurt: Lang, 1976], 116). Ted Peters brings Lutherans into conversation with Reformed theologians on the issue of divine passibility (*God—the World's Future* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1992], 198-200). Both Jürgen Moltmann (*The Crucified God* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1974], 205) and Eberhard Jüngel (*God as the Mystery of the World: On the Foundation of the Theology of the Crucified One in the Dispute between Theism and Atheism*, trans. Darrell L. Guder [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983], 300, 343, 379-380) endorse Luther's assertion that God's suffering has an ontological status.

Law and Gospel

If the ultimate meaning of Christ's person lies in what Christ graciously does, then the question is, What was his redemptive act on our behalf? In particular, what was required for Christ to remove our curse so as to bring to us his blessing? "He Himself is Lord of the Law; therefore the Law has no jurisdiction over Him and cannot accuse Him, because He is the Son of God. He who was not under the Law subjected Himself voluntarily to the Law."[48] To be sure, Christ "in his own person" as God's Son does not commit sins. By entering into our place, he truly takes upon himself all our sins, and therefore makes himself a sinner, "not only adjectivally but substantively."[49] In our stead, he is "not acting in his own person now; now he is not the Son of God, born of the virgin, but he is a sinner,"[50] who bears the sins of the world "in his body, in order to make satisfaction for them with His own blood."[51] Luther explains:

> When the merciful Father saw that we were being oppressed through the Law, that we were being held under a curse, and that we should not be liberated from it by anything, He sent his Son into the world, heaped all the sins of men upon him and said to him: "Be Peter the denier, Paul the persecutor, blasphemer and assaulter, David the adulterer, the sinner who ate the apple in Paradise; the thief on the cross. In short the person of all men, the one who has committed the sins of all men. And see to it that you pay and make satisfaction for them." Now the Law comes and says: "I find Him a sinner, who takes upon Himself the sins of all men. I do not see any other sins than those in Him. Therefore let Him die on the cross."[52]

In the case of Christ, the law rages even more fiercely than it does against us accursed and condemned sinners. "It accused Him of blasphemy and sedition; it found Him guilty in the sight of God of all the sins of the entire world."[53] It "frightened Him so horribly that He

[48]LW 23, 369-370; WA 40[1], 564. For a thorough study of Law and gospel, see Thomas M. McDonough, *The Law and the Gospel: A Study of Martin Luther's Confessional Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963). See also Dennis Ngien, "Theology of Preaching in Martin Luther," *Themelios* 28 (2003): 33-39.

[49]See Robert Bertram, where he cites LW 26, 288; WA 40[1], 448 ("Luther on the Unique Mediatorship of Christ," in *The One Mediator, The Saints and Mary: Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue VIII*, ed. H. G. Anderson, J. Francis, and J. A. Burgess [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1992], 256).

[50]LW 26, 277; WA 40[1], 432-434.

[51]Ibid.

[52]LW 26, 280; WA 40[1], 437-438. See also Siggins, 241.

[53]LW 26, 369-370; WA 40[1], 564.

experienced greater anguish than any man has ever experienced. This is amply demonstrated by His blood sweat, the comfort of the angel, His solemn prayer in the garden (Lk. 22:41- 44), and finally by that cry of misery on the cross (Matt. 27:46): 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?'"[54] This "remarkable duel" occurs and in it "the Law, a creature, came into conflict with the Creator, exceeding its every jurisdiction to vex the Son of God with the same tyranny with which it vexed us, the sons of wrath."[55] Consequent upon his conflict with the law, Christ

> suffered its extreme fierceness and tyranny. By performing and bearing the Law He conquered it in Himself, and then, when He rose from the dead, He condemned the Law, our most horrible enemy, and abolished it, so that it can no longer condemn or kill us. Therefore it is Christ's true and proper function to struggle with the Law, sin and death of the entire world, and to struggle in such a way He undergoes them, but, by undergoing them, conquers them and abolishes them in Himself, thus liberating us from the Law and evil.[56]

Blessing and Curse

Christ interposes himself in the path of the law and suffers it in order to bestow his blessing upon us. The secret of the victory is that it occurs "in his body and in himself." The blessing is locked in mortal combat with the curse in "this one person." Robert Bertram explains:

> Both sets of contraries are really his. If the sin had not been his, as truly as the righteousness was, the law could easily have avoided its blasphemy against him by cursing only the one and not the other. However, "he joined God and man in one person. And being joined in us who were accursed, he became a curse for us; and he concealed his blessing in our sin, death, and the curse, which condemned and killed him."[57]

When two such extremely contrary things come together in Christ, for Luther, it must be the divine powers—divine righteousness, life and blessing—which triumph over the lesser contraries— sin, death, and curse. Christ, clothed in our sin, confronts the curse through the cross in order to triumph over it. In Luther's words:

> Thus the curse, which brought divine wrath against the whole world,

[54]LW 26, 272; WA 40[1], 567-568.

[55]LW 26, 369-370; WA 40[1], 564. Cf. Philip Watson, *Let God Be God* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1947), 116.

[56]LW 26, 373; WA 40[1], 568-570.

[57]Bertram, 259-260.

> has the same conflict with the blessing, that is, with eternal grace and mercy of God in Christ. Therefore the curse clashes with the blessing and wants to damn it and annihilate it. But it cannot. For the blessing is divine and eternal, and therefore the curse must yield to it. For if the blessing in Christ could be conquered, then God Himself would be conquered. But this is impossible. Therefore Christ, who is divine power, Righteousness, Blessing, Grace, and Life, conquers and destroys these monsters—sin, death, and the curse—without weapons or battle, in His own body and in Himself as Paul enjoys saying.[58]

Community of Will Between Father and Son

What predicates humanity's sin of Christ is the same will that Christ, who "is God by nature" shares with his Father. Both the Father and the Son will that Christ become the "associate of sinners."[59] "Of his [Christ's] own free will and by the will of the Father he wanted to be the associate of sinners."[60] "[O]nly by taking hold of Christ, who, by the will of the Father, has given Himself in death for our sins," is humanity "drawn and carried directly to the Father."[61] The "majesty of God," which for Luther corresponds to the hidden God, the intolerable deity of his *The Bondage of the Will*, becomes for believers the majesty of God who lovingly conquers humanity's sin in his Son. This work is appropriate only to the Divine majesty and is not within the power of either man or angel—namely, that "Christ has abolished sin."[62] The majesty of God, before whom we face only terror and judgment, now, in Christ, encounters the sinner as the majesty of the loving and merciful God. "The indescribable and inescapable mercy and love of God" is revealed in the fact that "the Supreme Majesty cared so much for me, a condemned sinner and a child of wrath (Eph. 2:3) and of eternal death, that He did not spare His own Son, but gave Him up into a most shameful death."[63] "Our God, however, has His honour in this that for our sakes He gives himself down to His utmost depth, into flesh and bread, into our mouth, heart and bosom, and more, for our sakes He suffers himself to be dishonourably treated both upon the cross and

[58]LW 26, 281-282; WA 40[1], 440-441.

[59]LW 26, 278; WA 40[1], 434-435.

[60]Ibid.

[61]LW 26, 42; WA 40[1], 97-98.

[62]Ibid.

[63]LW 26, 292; WA 40[1], 454-455.

altar."[64] Accordingly, to know Christ aright is

> to know him as the one who died for me and took upon himself my sin. . . . There Christ is God and has put himself in my death, in my sin, and so gives me his loving favor. There I recognize how he befriends me and the utter love of the Father is too much for any heart. Thus I lay ahold of God where he is most weak, and think, "Yes, this is God, this is his will and his good pleasure, what there Christ has done for me. . . ." Therefore God is to be known alone in Christ.[65]

Hiddenness: Precise and Absolute

Luther uses a variety of terms in making this distinction. Brian Gerrish notes that his term "naked God" corresponds to Luther's "hidden God," who

> is God in himself, a strange terrifying and unapproachable abstraction. This being so, it appears that one must take into account, not only a dual relationship of God to the world, but also a concept of God as absolute God, out of relation to the world. This God, too, stands in antithetical relation to the revealed God, for the revealed God is the clothed God—the God who is not naked, but clothed with his Word.[66]

"God clothed" is set against the "naked God"; the "revealed God" against the "hidden God." In addition, Gerhard Forde mentions a third pair of terms that sets the "preached God" against "God not preached."[67]

While the three sets of terms are interchangeable, only two kinds of hiddenness are entailed. The first kind is God's hiddenness in his revelation, which may be called the *precise* hiddenness.[68] God wills to be

[64]See WA 23, 157, 30 (That These Words of Christ, 1527) as cited by Norman E. Nagel, "Martinus: Heresy, Doctor Luther, Heresy! The Person and Work of Christ," in *Seven-Headed Luther, Essays in Commemoration of a Quincentenary 1483-1983*, ed. P. N. Brooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 41. Cf. LW 27, 72.

[65]See WA 10^1, 277, 18ff. as cited in Nagel, 41. See also Timothy George, *Theology of the Reformers* (Nashville: Broadman, 1988), 59.

[66]Brian Gerrish, "'To the Unknown God': Luther and Calvin on the Hiddenness of God," *JR* 53 (1973): 267. See LW 2, 46-47; WA 42, 284-295 (Gen., 1535-1545).

[67]Gerhard Forde, *Theology is for Proclamation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 25. Cf. Bernhard Lohse, *Martin Luther's Theology: Its Historical and Systematic Development*, trans. and ed. Roy A. Harrisville (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 215-218.

[68]See Eberhard Jüngel, "*Quae supra nos, nihil ad nos*," in idem, *Entsprechung, Gott-Wahrheit-Mensch. Theologische Erörterungen* (München: Kaiser, 1980), 238ff; see also idem, where he speaks of the "human" hiddenness as the "specific hiddenness of God under His opposite" (*The Freedom of the Christian: Luther's Significance for Contemporary Theology*,

known in the precise hiddenness, that is, in the human form, Jesus Christ. Gerrish explains: "His wisdom is hidden under folly, his strength under abject weakness. He gives life through death, righteousness to the unrighteousness, he saves by judging and damning."[69] The second kind of hiddenness has to do with God hidden "behind and beyond the word." Luther finds this distinction between the hidden and revealed God in 2 Thess 2:4:

> And lest anyone should think this a distinction of my own, I am following Paul, who writes to the Thessalonians concerning the Anti-Christ that he will exalt himself above every God that is preached and worshipped (2 Thess. 2:4). This plainly shows that someone can be exalted above God as he is preached and worshipped, that is, above the word and rite through which "God is known to us and has dealings with us; but above God as he is not worshipped and not preached, but as he is in his own nature and majesty, nothing can be exalted, but all things are under his mighty hand."[70]

This hiddenness is called the *absolute* hiddenness that Luther confronts most acutely in his discussion with Erasmus on why, if there is no human freedom, some believe and others do not. The specific text in question is Ezek 18:23: "I desire not the death of the sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live." Erasmus contends that if God does not desire the death of the sinner, human free will must be the cause of it. Luther, however, saw that Erasmus's inference of free will from this text has confused law with gospel, thereby turning the marvelous delight of the gospel promise into a terrifying statement of law. For Luther, the Word "I desire not the death of the sinner" is not an abstract statement about God not preached; rather it is "the sweet voice of the gospel, that is true of the preached God."[71] Luther states: "For he is here speaking of the preached and offered mercy of God, not of the hidden and awful will of God by which he ordains by his own counsel which and what sort of persons he wills to be the recipients and partakers of his preached and offered mercy."[72] God not preached, revealed, or worshiped poses a limit for proper theological discourse. We are to leave the absolute God alone and cleave to the God clothed in his Word. "God must be left to himself in his own majesty, for in this

trans. R. A. Harrisville [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988], 33-35).

[69]Gerrish, 268.

[70]LW 33, 139.

[71]Forde, *Theology is for Proclamation*, 24.

[72]LW 33, 138-139.

regard we have nothing to do with him, nor has he willed that we should have anything to do with him. But we have something to do with him insofar as he is clothed and set forth in his Word, through which he offers himself to us and which is the beauty and glory with which the psalmist celebrates him as being clothed."[73]

The distinction between the hidden God (hidden in the second, absolute, sense) and the revealed God (hidden in the first, precise, sense) does not mean two deities, but one and the same who "works life, death and all in all." God himself is defined as "hiddenness"; divine hiddenness belongs to divine essence. As Luther puts it: "God is the one who is hidden. This is His peculiar property."[74] By indicating that hiddenness belongs to God's essence, Robert Jenson notes, Luther continues the medieval tradition of identifying God's deity by means of mere negatives such as invisibility, intangibility, and ineffability.[75] "For what God is in His nature, we cannot define. We can well determine what He is not."[76] God "cannot be comprehended in His unveiled majesty" because the true God's majesty is his hiddenness, ungrasped by any but himself. "God sees that this way of knowing God (in his naked majesty) is impossible for us; for, as Scripture states (I Tim. 6:16), He dwells in unapproachable light."[77] God affirms himself as the sovereign subject of theology, not an object of human subjectivity. But Luther breaks with the tradition by redefining God's hiddenness (in the first, precise, sense) as God's will to hide himself in the antithesis of the cross of Christ. Since God's hiddenness is the predicate of God's deity, God's self-revelation in Christ is not an abolition of his hiddenness. Rather God reveals himself by precisely hiding so that his hiddenness is also a predicate of his revelation. Jenson writes: "God reveals himself by hiding yet again, by exercising his very deity, but now hiding under the opposite of all that sheer omnipotence which hides him and is his mere deity, under weakness and forgiveness and death."[78] Luther

[73]LW 33, 139-140.

[74]LW 6, 148; WA 44, 110, 23ff. (Gen.).

[75]Robert Jenson, *The Triune Identity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), 27. See also Gerhard Ebeling, where he wrote of the speculative mystical theology of Neoplatonism which seeks to hear the uncreated Word, to seek God "in total immediacy, naked man meeting naked God" (*Luther: An Introduction to His Thought*, trans. R. A. Wilson [London: Collins, 1970], 230ff.).

[76]LW 2, 46; WA 42, 294 (Gen.): "*Nam quid Deus in natura sei, definire non possumus. Hoc bene possumus definire quid non est.*"

[77]Ibid.

[78] Jenson, 28.

has God say: "From an unrevealed God I will become a revealed God. Nevertheless I will remain the same God."[79] God, in his own life, corresponds to Christ coming and being crucified. God really is what he has shown himself to be, according to which the absolute hiddenness of God cannot be understood as a hiddenness that possibly contradicts his revelation.

The absolute hidden God is not the ultimate reality of our faith and, therefore, does not concern us. Luther keenly observes "this general rule: to avoid as much as possible any questions that carry us to the throne of the Supreme Majesty. For there is a great danger in involving one's self in the mazes of the Divine Being."[80] This understanding is furnished in his Christological interpretation of Ps 51:1, where he declares that the "absolute God" (or "naked God") and the human creatures are the "bitterest of enemies."[81]

> From this absolute God everyone should flee who does not want to perish. . . . Human weakness cannot help being crushed by such majesty. . . . We must take hold of this God, not naked but clothed and revealed in His Word; otherwise despair crushes us. . . . The absolute God is like an iron wall, against which we cannot bump without destroying ourselves. Therefore Satan is busy day and night, making us run to the naked God so that we forget His promises and blessings shown in Christ and think about God and the judgement of God. When this happens, we perish utterly and fall into despair.[82]

Not only does the majesty of the naked God destroy the creature, but also the revealed God is hostile to anyone who refuses to receive him as he is offered in the gospel. Eberhard Jüngel, in commenting on Luther's understanding of the correspondence between the hidden and the revealed God in their apparently contradictory acts, indicates how both the majesty of the hidden God and the Word of the revealed God teach the *Socratic dictum*: "What is beyond us is none of our business":

> The revealed God is hostile to that person who has become his own enemy. For whoever elevates himself above the preached God so as to rise to the God beyond us thereby rises above the (revealed) one, and elevates himself, even that of the revealed God. In this self-elevation, he fails. He makes himself God's enemy, even that of the

[79]LW 5, 45; WA 43, 459. See Jüngel: "Briefly, the differentiation between God and God can never be understood as a contradiction in God" (*God as the Mystery of the World*, 346).

[80]LW 2, 45; WA 42, 294-295.

[81]LW 12, 312.

[82]Ibid.

> revealed God. So in this lies the identity of the hidden God and the revealed God. The hidden God directs us away from himself, so that the person elevating himself to him must necessarily become God's enemy and insofar likewise directs us away from the hidden God. The revealed God points us to himself and insofar likewise directs us away from the hidden God. The revealed God directs us to his revelation in the man Jesus, where he awaits people as a friendly God. The hidden God and the revealed God correspond to each other, precisely in the center of this apparent contradiction. Both teach us to understand: "What is beyond us is no business of ours." [83]

Both as the hidden deity and as the revealed deity, the One God directs us away from himself when we seek to grasp him above his human life, toward himself as he defines himself in the incarnate Word.

The Hiddenness of Love

The distinction between hidden God and revealed God constitutes for Luther a paradox, in virtue of which even in God's human or precise hiddenness God remains the divinely unsearchable and unapproachable majesty in whose presence humanity would be annihilated unless we take refuge in God's love that has appeared in Christ. God's gracious act of hiding in the cross uncovers for faith the hiddenness of love which is painful or passible. The precise hiddenness in the cross of Christ is thus for Luther a predicate of the revelation of God's love. In Jenson's words: "[God] defines his hiddenness, and thus he makes it speakable, and speaks it, as the hiddenness of love."[84] The incarnate Christ is the happening of God's love---a love that suffers God's own wrath so as to create a people of mercy. God in the person of his Son, Jesus Christ, this flesh and blood God, the revealed God, in suffering for us overcomes the hidden God and abolishes the terror of the hidden God forever.[85] Christ has entered the

[83]Jüngel, "*Quae supra nos, nihil ad nos*," 241. Cf. John Dillenberger, *God Hidden and Revealed: The Reinterpretation of Luther's* Deus Absconditus *for Religious Thought* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1953), 55-70.

[84]Jenson, 28.

[85]Gerrish, 222. See Ronald Goetz, "The Suffering of God: The Rise of a New Orthodoxy," *ChrCen* 103 (1986): 285-286. Goetz is right to identify the hidden God as "an inscrutable impassible, divine sovereignty" who devours sinners without regret. But he fails to grasp Luther's emphasis which sets the revealed God against the hidden God. God as sheer naked and impassible abstraction is an inescapable terror for us, which can only be overcome by the revealed God. Luther's affirmation that God suffers is set in the context of the distinction between the revealed God and the hidden God. The mask of the impassible and naked God is overcome as the believer is grasped by the preached or clothed God who truly suffers. Faith lays hold of the crucified God

terrifying abyss of the absconding God as he laments in the cry of dereliction on the cross: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? (Ps 22)." The Son's true "image" is seen in his willingness to communicate the essence of God's love by being forsaken. There in Gethsemane, Christ "struggles with himself"; he struggles against the hidden God, suffers and overcomes the hidden God for us on the cross. The depth of God's love is disclosed precisely in this distinction in God wherein "God struggles against himself" for our sake.[86] Faith grasps the true essence of God's love within this distinction; it lays hold of the crucified God who has conquered the impassible, naked God for us in concrete actuality. God's "omnipotent love" suffers and conquers his own wrath when his very Son accepts the forsakenness, "thereby proving that He is the dearest Son, who gives this to all if we but believe."[87] So Luther's inquiry into the atonement is "not whether there is a blood precious enough to pay God or even to the devil, but whether God can actually give Himself in such a way to save us."[88] Reconciliation with God is made possible because the "incarnate and human God," who is "the image of the grace of God against sin,"[89] has acted to conquer the hidden God, thereby removing from us the terror and inscrutability of the hidden God (i.e., the absolute God).[90] It is God in hiding himself in Christ that overcomes his absolute hiddenness. It is only in Christ where God is revealed, that an enormous antinomy between God hidden and God revealed occurs and is finally resolved. God incarnate in Jesus has reconciled two sets of contraries—divine blessing and curse, divine mercy and wrath, eternal life and death.

Parallel, Not an Identity

The revealed God is economic and immanent: since God is known through his works, the God-at-work (economic) is the God-revealed who is none other than the immanent God. The God of the gospel corresponds to the immanent God whose essence is located in the

who has conquered the impassible God for us in concrete actuality.

[86]See WA 45, 370: "*da (Gethsemane) streydet Gott mit Gott.*"

[87]LW 42, 107; WA 2, 691, 18-19.

[88]Gerhard Forde, "Luther's Theology of the Cross," in *Christian Dogmatics*, ed. C. E. Braaten and R. W Jenson (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1984), 2: 51.

[89]LW 42, 107; WA 2, 691, 17.

[90]Forde, *Theology is For Proclamation*, 22. See also idem, where he states: "The *deus nudus, the deus absconditus*, the God of wrath, has virtually to be overcome by the 'clothed God.' ... Theological theory cannot tear the mask from the face of the hidden God. One cannot see through God's wrath" ("Reconciliation with God," in *Christian Dogmatics*, 2: 71).

incarnate Son. Because the absolute hiddenness of God causes us to flee from the hidden God's death-causing powers to the revealed God in Jesus Christ, some interpreters have understood the distinction between God hidden and God revealed to be the distinction between law and gospel.[91] However, since law and gospel belong to the work (alien and proper) of the revealed God, there is here only a parallel, not an identity. The distinction, then, between law and gospel must not be equated with the distinction between God hidden and God revealed because law and gospel both belong to the revealed God. Both law and gospel, in Luther's view, are instruments for the salvation in Christ, the law being merely the alien work of the God of the gospel. The negative aspect of the absolute God and of the law is not the same. The law condemns, truly condemns, but so that we might be saved. The paradox of God's being is that God kills in order to make alive (1 Sam 2:6). "Therefore you are being afflicted by this prison (i.e. the law), not to do you harm but to re-create you through the Blessed Offspring."[92] The law is not against God's promises, but leads to those promises. In Galatians Luther writes of God's double activity:

> This does not mean that it was the chief purpose of God in giving the Law only to cause death and damnation. . . . For the Law is a Word that shows life and drives us toward it. Therefore it was not given only for the sake of death. But this is its chief use and end: to reveal death, in order that the nature and enormity of sin might thus become apparent. It does not reveal death in a way that takes delight in it or that seeks to do nothing but kill us. No, it reveals death in order that men may be terrified and humbled and thus fear. . . . Therefore the function of the Law is only to kill, yet in such a way that God may be able to make alive. Thus the Law was not given merely for the sake of death; but because man is proud and supposes that he is wise, righteous, and holy, therefore it is necessary that he be humbled by the Law, in order that this beast, the presumption of righteousness, may be killed, since man cannot live unless it is killed.[93]

The annihilating knowledge of God revealed in the law is causally useful if and when it drives us into the arms of Christ. God corresponds to himself precisely in these two contradictory activities: the alien work and the proper work; the former leads to the latter.[94]

[91]See Bernhard Lohse, where he argues that Luther's distinction between God hidden and God revealed corresponds to his distinction between Law and gospel (*Martin Luther: An Introduction to His Life and Work*, trans. R. C. Schultz [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986], 171).

[92]LW 26, 335; WA 40[1], 516-518.

[93]LW 25, 9; WA 46, 10-11 (Rom., 1516).

[94]Althaus, 32.

Predestination

Luther is not speculating when he speaks about God's wrath or the inscrutability of God's absolute hiddenness. He insists that this God is attested by Scripture (e.g., Matt 22:14). The hiddenness of the hidden God lies not in his wrath, which is known, but rather in the basis for this wrath. Why, Luther asks, in responding to Erasmus, does God save so few and damn so many? The question of election is raised by the gospel itself. Why do some and not others receive the benefits of Christ? Luther speaks of how he has stumbled in utter despair over the problem of predestination.[95] The fact of God's election is revealed, but the why of God's nonelection is hidden. What is revealed is the basis for God's election, God's love; what is hidden is the reason why God also works nonelection. God reserves to himself his sovereign freedom to determine *who and what.* The hidden will is the divine counterpart of human inquiry: Why some and not others? To pursue this question according to unbelief, Luther avers, only runs one against the "concealed and dreadful will of God, who, by his own design, ordains whom he wills." On the other hand, faith will reverently adore this "most awesome secret of the divine majesty, reserved to himself alone and forbidden to us."[96] Luther warns against unbelief's speculation about God's justice and will, that is, to seek God's will apart from God's acts in Christ. He calls this logical casuistry a theology of glory which no longer distinguishes between God hidden and God revealed. About God himself and what he might do in his absolute majesty, we do not know. We must observe Luther's Socratic dictum: "What is above us is none of our business."

When Luther says no other God, he means the God who hides in the incarnate Son, the God with whom we have to do. What to do about the hidden will of the hidden God? Nothing, except cling to the revealed God, who is at once the hidden God. The antinomy between them cannot be resolved by theological edifice, but only by faith, fleeing from the inscrutability of the hidden God to the God of mercy in Christ. When the believer's conscience faces anxiety or terror in the face of the hidden God, God does not reach him through theological efforts, but in the flesh and blood of the crucified Christ who comes as a baby in the manger and whose life culminates on the cross. The only practically secured basis, Luther avers, is to cleave to the clothed deity, to "begin from below, from

[95]See WA 18, 684, 32, as cited in Gerrish, 272.

[96]Ibid.

the Incarnate Son," who has overcome the naked God for us if we but believe. This he stresses in the Preface to Romans:

> When you arrive at chapter 8 [of Romans], dominated by the cross and passion of Christ, you will learn the right way of understanding of divine (predestination) in chapters 9, 10, and 11 and the assurance it gives. If we do not feel the weight of the passion, the cross, and the death we cannot cope with the problem of [predestination], without either hurt to ourselves or secret anger with God.[97]

Conclusion

To seek God outside of the clothed God is to "run off to a place where there is neither Word, faith, and Spirit or knowledge of God," and eventually end up "in the midst of hell, death, and sin."[98] God's mercy has triumphed over God's wrath, and this is revealed to faith: "For all of this takes place in the heart and conscience, where there is no work and no

[97]See "Preface to the Romans, 1522," in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. and intro. J. Dillenberger (New York: Doubleday, 1961), 32. For a thorough study of Luther's doctrine of predestination, see Fredrik Brosche, *Luther on Predestination* (Sweden: University of Uppsala Press, 1978); Klaus Schwarzwaller, *Theologia Crucis: Luther Lehre von Pradestination nach* De servo arbitrio (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1970); Harry J. McSorley, *Luther: Right or Wrong* (New York: Newman, 1969); Robert Shofner, "Luther on *The Bondage of the Will*: An Analytical-Critical Essay," *SJT* 26 (1973): 24-39; Linwood Urban, "Was Luther a Thoroughgoing Determinist?" *JTS* 22 (1971): 113-139; Egil Grislis, "Martin Luther's View of the Hidden God: The Problem of the *Deus Absconditus* in Luther's Treatise *De servo arbitrio*," *McCormick Quarterly* 21 (1967): 81-94. Gerhard Forde points out the difference between Luther and Barth, in that the former keeps intact the terror of the hidden God, asserting a real doctrine of predestination, whereas the latter attempts to theologically banish the terror of such a deity. He writes: "That Barth's attempt is valiant and brilliant goes without saying. But does it succeed? Perhaps the quickest answer is the reception of Barth's theology. It has not been perceived, finally or generally, as the lifting of the burden of 'God' from human backs. Indeed, in its insistence on 'revelation alone' it seemed to most to make the burden more oppressive. Luther's contention that one cannot penetrate the mask [of the hidden God] is borne out. Instead of banishing the *deus ipse* (God himself), one succeeds only in mixing him with the *deus revelatus* (the revealed God) and making matters worse. Only the historical, concrete, suffering and dying Jesus can save us from the wrath of the *deus ipse*. Only the revealed God can save us from the hidden God. Theology cannot do it" ("Reconciliation with God," in *Christian Dogmatics*, 2:71). Timothy George, a notable Luther scholar, observes that Luther does not shrink from a doctrine of double predestination (*Theology of the Reformers* [Nashville: Broadman, 1988], 77). McGrath shares the same view with George—both affirm the notion of the hiddenness of the inscrutable God as ontologically constitutive of Luther's theology of the cross (*Luther's Theology of the Cross*, 166-172).

[98]LW 12, 322.

work enters."[99] Faith means to flee from the absolute God to God in Christ. Faith means precisely to be grasped by the clothed God in the face of the terror of the absolute God. The annihilating being of the hidden God is overcome for the believer by the loving God—the one and same God who has reached his intended goal: to create a people no longer under God's wrath. And faith follows in trust this action of God. The sinner in humility believes that sin no longer exists, and the divine wrath is placated on account of God's redeeming act. This true knowledge constitutes faith and is saving where a creature knows that this conquering action has been done for him. It is only by knowing God in Christ, that is, according to Luther, the only way God wants us to know him, that the knowledge of God—"this God, this God-man"—is saving knowledge. The saving knowledge of faith in Christ is that which constitutes the ultimate reality and meaning in Luther's theology.

[99]LW 19, 60 and 44 (Treatise on Jon., 1525).

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

A DICTIONARY OF MIDDLE EGYPTIAN FOR STUDENTS OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES

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Problem

Middle Egyptian has played an increasingly important role in Biblical Archaeology and Old Testament Studies. Much of biblical chronology is closely connected to Egyptian chronology; many biblical events record Egyptian involvement, and some of these are included on Egyptian monuments. A knowledge of Middle Egyptian has been crucial in understanding the historical background and cultural context of the biblical world, because this phase of the Egyptian language influenced the widest range of Egyptian writing, particularly as it pertains to OT history. Unfortunately, students do not have all the necessary tools for searching for unfamiliar words. There are no recent Middle Egyptian dictionaries in English for students. The purpose of this dissertation is to create a concise student dictionary of Middle Egyptian as a teaching tool for biblical archaeology students.

Method

A. Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar* was used as the base vocabulary for this dictionary because it is regarded as the standard for teaching Middle Egyptian. Additional definitions for these words were added from R. O. Faulkner's *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian.* These definitions were expanded and clarified by adding new definitions, removing unfamiliar British colloquialisms, and replacing them with American standard English definitions. The glossaries and dictionaries of J. Allen, J. Hoch, M. Collier and B. Manley, B. Ockinga, and G. Englund's Middle Egyptian grammars were included for additional nuances.

There are three parts to this Egyptian dictionary: hieroglyphic, transliteration, and English glossary. In part 1, the hieroglyphic entries, which appear first, are organized by their initial phonetic value, by their first two hieroglyphics, and, finally, by their phonetic value. In part 2, the transliterated values are organized alphabetically according to their values in a manner consistent with other standard Egyptian dictionaries. Part 3 is an alphabetical list of the English definitions of each Egyptian word, followed by its hieroglyphic and transliterated values. Each lexicographic entry includes a hieroglyphic and a transliterated form, its grammatical function, and any variations or abbreviations.

A phonetic key and a hieroglyphic index have also been included to aid students in finding Egyptian words according to their initial hieroglyph.

In addition, there are three appendixes. Appendix A is a glossary of Egyptian words that appear in the OT, including the Hebrew word and biblical references, the Egyptian word with references, and related Egyptian synonyms. Appendix B is a list of Egyptian ruler names listed by kind. Appendix C is a list of the forty-two nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt and includes the hieroglyphs, transliteration, and common name of each nome as well as their respective capital cities.

THE STAIRWAY TO HEAVEN: A CRITIQUE OF THE EVANGELICAL GOSPEL PRESENTATION IN NORTH AMERICA

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The Topic

This study focuses on the so-called "plan of salvation" or "gospel presentation" that evangelical Christians in the United States present to seekers who want to know how to be saved. There are currently three dominant presentations that are widely employed and emulated. The authors of each are well known: D. James Kennedy, Bill Bright, and Billy Graham.

The major portion of this study involves a two-stage critique of these dominant evangelical gospel presentations: first, from the perspective provided by communication theory and, second, by comparing the presentations of Kennedy, Bright, and Graham with conversion accounts from Luke-Acts. Essentially, I ask if the evangelical presentation is understood by Americans and if it is supported by conversion pericopes in Luke-Acts.

Conclusion

My research indicates that the dominant evangelical gospel presentation, developed in the 1960s, largely ignores the insights provided by communication theory in that it fails to adequately understand the contemporary American audience it attempts to reach. In short, it does not communicate with maximum effectiveness.

I also demonstrate that the conversion accounts in Luke-Acts present a way of salvation that is quite different from, and in some cases contradictory to, the evangelical plan of salvation in America. I then use these Lukan conversion accounts as a basis for suggesting how evangelicals might better present the way of salvation to North Americans today.

Bailey, E. K., and Warren W. Wiersbe. *Preaching in Black and White: What We Can Learn from Each Other.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003. 182 pp. Paper, $19.00.

Stereotypes about Anglo-American and African-American preaching have been around for years. One of the most virulent and stubborn is that black preachers have more heat than light, whereas white preachers have much light but no heat. In *Preaching in Black and White*, two of America's well-known preachers, one black, the other white, seek to offer an accurate portrait of how their respective communities conceive of and practice preaching. The book is the outgrowth of a conversation that E. K. Bailey, one of America's top African-American preachers and sponsor of the annual International Conference of Expository Preaching, had one day in Dallas, Texas with Warren W. Wiersbe, a former pastor of the Moody Church and author of more than 150 books. The men have been friends for years and have preached in each other's pulpits, demonstrating an intentionality to be open to cultural distinctiveness when it comes to preaching.

Preaching in Black and White is divided into three sections: "We Talk Together," "We Preach Together," and "We Learn Together." In "We Talk Together," the authors identify and expand on the historical and contemporary factors that have shaped their cultural heritage, analyzing in turn how their preaching traditions have been impacted. According to Wiersbe, "every preacher is part of a preaching tradition that goes back for centuries" (26). Affirming that the best of both traditions is unambiguously biblical, the authors conclude that the two racial groups have much in common, even if they are different.

Before exploring how they prepare their sermons, Bailey and Wiersbe delve into the crucial element of the heart preparation of the preacher. For Wiersbe, "the most important part of our lives is the part only God sees," a thought echoed by Bailey, who adds that "you have to give the Lord a rested body and a prepared mind as well as a prepared message" (62, 63). The dynamics involved in preparing Christ-centered, Spirit-filled messages, the content of the sermons themselves, and how to deliver sermons for maximum impact round out part 1 of the book.

Not content to be mere theoreticians, the authors, in "We Preach Together," demonstrate their exegetical and homiletical skills with a manuscript of one of their sermons. Theirs is a manuscript of the same pericope, Luke 19:1-10, the well-known story of the encounter of Jesus with Zacchaeus. The section concludes with a conversation about the sermons, as the preachers place their presentations on the examining table, dissecting them in the presence of the reader. They are refreshingly honest and self-effacing, with Wiersbe concluding that even though he exegeted the passage safely, he lacked the cultural context that makes a participant out of a listener. "I would not pass in delivery, . . . it's a little too left-brained. It's a little bit too organized," he asserts (161). Wiersbe admits that were he to preach the same sermon to a black congregation, he would

have to add life, pictures, and imagination to it (165).

Bailey, whose sermon "The Testimony of a Tax Collector" is decidedly more narrative, believes that left-brained thinkers would not resonate with his sermon as readily as right-brained ones, who he believes would "rejoice over the creativity, (and) the excellence, with which . . . the sermon was communicated" (160). Bailey admits that he likes to pitch his messages toward the heart rather than the intellect, because, as he succinctly puts it, "it's the heart that really captures the will" (165). He bemoans the fact that a lot of folk leave the church with informed heads but cold hearts (165).

Part 3, "We Learn Together," deals with what preachers may learn from other preachers and, more importantly, how they should go about acquiring and using that knowledge. Both Wiersbe and Bailey admit that there are mixed blessings in being exposed to the sermons of others, stressing that while listening to and reading the sermons of others may lead to growth, doing so may also trigger imitation or plagiarism. Worse, the practice may lead to intimidation, the feeling that what one has to offer is not good enough. To counter all of the aforementioned, Bailey counsels that "there's no substitute for a biblical sermon from the heart of God through the heart of a preacher who loves his people" (173). Part 3 ends with a brief biographical sketch of several black preachers and a short list of some Anglo homileticians and practitioners.

A strength of this valuable volume is the honesty of its authors. Unafraid to speak the truth, Bailey and Wiersbe tackle head-on some of the myths surrounding black and white preaching. Wiersbe admits that during his seminary training he and his colleagues "weren't introduced to black preaching," and Bailey contends that "White America never allowed black preachers to affect their theology or their sociology" (25). The result of both men's openness is a glimpse into their respective cultures that yields valuable information both for curiosity seekers and those genuinely interested in cross-cultural dialogue and understanding, not to mention the sacred art of preaching.

Another strength of this book is that it offers insights from two skilled preaching practitioners. Both Bailey and Wiersbe are adept at integrating theory and practice, and their sermons, notwithstanding their disclaimers, reflect exegetical soundness and contextual relevance. The valuable gems relating to sermon construction and delivery that are sprinkled throughout the book help to make it a must-read for all interested in improving their preaching competencies.

Andrews University R. CLIFFORD JONES

Bauer, David R. *An Annotated Guide to Biblical Resources for Ministry.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003. 327 pp. Paper, $16.95.

The *Annotated Guide* will save hours of research time not only for students and pastors, but also for scholars seeking to find an overview of the best of what is available in the areas of biblical studies outside their own fields of expertise. With a font and layout that is welcoming and an organization that is clear and

straightforward, this volume is both easy and pleasant to use.

The book is divided into four main sections, which include a listing of books and periodicals dealing with the Bible as a whole, the OT, early Judaism (very briefly), and the NT. Within each section, there are further divisions dealing with history, geography, background literature, archaeology, methodology, theology, ethics, languages, a variety of reference tools, and of course each book of the biblical canon. Within each of these further divisions, Bauer presents materials either under the heading *Highly Recommended*, in which he provides an analysis and evaluation of their contents (slanted toward the needs of evangelical ministers but still very useful for others), or under the heading *Also Significant*, which contains only the basic bibliographic information for each book or periodical.

Bauer's categories are well titled and generally well chosen. Important lacunae, such as the serious lack of materials dealing with Greco-Roman culture and literature, might be partially explained by his focus on providing materials mainly for the use of ministers in the classroom and in the parish who may be less interested in such information. The number of books listed is, generally, neither so large as to be overwhelming nor so small as to be inadequate. With such a breadth of coverage, it is inevitable that some of one's favorite books, such as E. P. Sanders's and Margaret Davies's *Studying the Synoptic Gospels*, will be left out or slighted, but Bauer has done a remarkable job of surveying and providing a selection of materials that will be most useful to ministers and others.

One unfortunate, though understandable, lacuna is the lack of any reference to the many software and CD reference materials now available in the area of biblical studies. While it is true that including CDs and software opens up a whole other rapidly growing array of materials to be surveyed, software and CDs do represent such a saving of time and space and such a wealth of information that their value and importance at times eclipses the value of the traditional hardcopy text. Knowing what is available in print form is no longer enough for the Bible student and scholar seeking to get the most out of the text.

The volume, in general, provides a useful overview of currently available print-version materials in the area of biblical studies, and is sure to be used frequently as ministers and scholars seek to expand their understanding into new areas for research and ministry.

Andrews University TERESA L. REEVE

Catherwood, Fred. *The Creation of Wealth: Recovering a Christian Understanding of Money, Work, and Ethics.* Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2002. 208 pp. Paper, $14.99.

The Creation of Wealth, written by Fred Catherwood, a man of faith with extensive experience in the private and public sectors, seeks to recapture the essence of the Christian message for the contemporary world by tracing the impact that it has had on the economic development and the democratic principles of the West. He identifies two events that transformed the culture of Europe before the pilgrims'

voyage to the New World: the invention of the printing press and the translation of the Bible into European languages. The ability of common people to have access to the teachings of the Scriptures led to new views about the created world, money, government, and human relations.

The prosperity that ensued is believed to be the result of a new conception of work as a God-given duty and privilege. The parable of the talents (Matt 25:14-28) describes the rewards and consequences of humanity's use of the abilities given to it by its Maker. In addition to the importance of hard work, the new outlook included scientific experimentation in order to understand how best to have dominion over God's handiwork. One of the by-products of this belief system is "professionalism," which protects the public by its standards of conduct, and through which old knowledge is preserved and new knowledge is created. Another by-product involves "personal discipline," which enables economic agents to develop trusting relationships and receive fulfillment for their achievements.

The author warns of a new phenomenon in the West that he calls "the new paganism," which forsakes the foundation of the virtues that account for the progress made over the past few centuries: "Today, we take the work ethic, democracy, and the scientific method for granted, forgetting their origin. But because we have turned our backs on the beliefs that undergird them, all three are very much at risk" (24). He questions Westerners' hurried lives, which lack the balance needed for a quality life. He also deplores the seemingly growing rates of unemployment that marginalize the less fortunate in society. He proposes that "Christians, at least, ought to insist that government's first priority in the management of the economy should be full employment" (35).

On the topic of wealth, the author cites a number of biblical texts on how to earn and spend money and the inherent dangers of seeking money as an end in itself. He suggests that Christians have a responsibility to support and advocate an economic system that seeks to protect workers. He contrasts the "Anglo-Saxon model," adopted by England and the United States, with the "Rhine model" of Continental Europe, which grants greater protection to workers. He advises that "Christians should not object to regulations that make management consult the workers beforehand and compensate them for their loss afterwards" (43). Another Christian duty is to insure that personal wealth is used to alleviate the needs of the less fortunate among us. He quotes Matt 25:40, 45 to emphasize the importance that God attaches to the responsibility given to Christians, and how Christians are rewarded accordingly to their fulfillment of this responsibility.

On the relationship between Christians and the state, the author points out a number of policies that Christians should support: nuclear disarmament, protection of the environment, narrowing the gap between the rich and poor, religious liberty, promotion of morality, and racial equality. The author notes that "America's greatness sprang from its Bible-reading founders" (70). The current challenge, as he sees it, is how "belief can help provide a healthy moral

order to underpin the nation's social order" (71). He does not believe that secular humanism can help society to distinguish right from wrong; it will, in the end, lead to the decay of the West.

The author claims that democracy has a Christian origin, suggesting that the death of the Son of God gave a new dignity to all men; thus "if they were so important to God that his Son died for them, then they are important as citizens of their country too" (77). The birth of the English Parliament and the American Revolution are used as examples of how democratic principles were influenced by the biblical concept of human equality. The role of Christians in a democracy is to "explain our views in public, . . . change [the] views of their neighbors, . . . [and win] hearts and minds" (85-86). Democracy promotes the rule of law that protects suppliers and customers and prevents abuses of the powerful over the weak. Without such laws, the economic system, which has brought such unprecedented wealth, will collapse. As the author points out, "truth breeds trust in the capital markets, and trust breeds business, allowing millions of transactions, worth billions of dollars, every hour. As confidence plunges, so does business" (90).

One of the essential ingredients of wealth creation is "fair trading," which benefits both parties. Without honesty and trust, little trade would take place and, as the author states, "Mutual mistrust is probably the greatest single cause of poverty throughout the world" (103). Corruption is often rampant in poor countries; but, as recent events have shown, Western societies are not immune from corrupt businessmen or even corrupt government officials. The author blames the rejection of the "Judeo-Christian moral order" for the current conditions that have led to an increase in litigation.

In "Playing the Markets," the author turns his attention to the current obsession with the stock market. He deplores greed and reckless speculation that surrounds the stock market, claiming that "nowhere in Christian Scriptures, Old Testament or New, is there any support for an open-ended capitalist system in which the rich get richer and the poor get poorer" (114). Greed is, thus, the major contributor to the boom and bust of the stock market.

In the chapter "The Global Economy," the author mentions some of the benefits and costs of globalization, as well as the role of the World Trade Organization. Some countries, such as China, have experienced high growth rates, while the United States has had a persistent trade deficit. More free trade is needed by poor countries. A prosperity gospel based on greed is condemned, while the author sees some hope in the rise of Christianity in poorer countries due to the professional ethic that it promotes. Globalization is also viewed as a source of instability in the financial markets of various countries, which can only be mitigated by the intervention of the International Monetary Fund. Multinational corporations, which are the major players in globalization, can be a force for good, but they are also able to abuse their powers and destabilize communities. They often shun the poorer countries that are most in need of investment.

"The Electronic Economy" focuses on the advances that the electronic

revolution has made and how it has facilitated production. In some industries, such as health care, electronization has increased costs, while in others it has led to downsizing and unemployment. Another side effect of readily available communication is the increased promotion of pornography and pedophilia. On a positive note, Christians have also found another global means of sharing their messages.

Finally, the author analyzes the essential role of "the good leader." These are individuals who "had a vision of what they had to do and why" (175). He points out essential skills and attributes that leaders need to possess: ability to delegate, patience and perseverance, and courage. A good leader is fair and provides a good environment for his or her workers. Jesus is held up as "the greatest leader," who chose twelve unlikely people, taught them for a period of three years, and sent them to teach others about his kingdom. Now his teachings have developed into "the leading religion in the world today" (195). Christian leaders are faced with unique challenges in the secular societies of today and are under great pressure to compromise their beliefs. It is the love of neighbors that disarmed opposition in the past and the same principle holds true for the future.

Catherwood persuasively argues that the Christian faith has contributed to economic development in the West, and that access to the Bible by common individuals led to another worldview that promoted personal responsibility toward God and others. One question that remains unanswered in the book is how Japan and other newly industrialized nations of the Far East were able to make such progress toward industrialization without adopting Christianity on a large scale. Are the virtues that made economic development possible in the West also found in the religions or social mores of the East? This question is worth investigating.

Andrews University LEONARD GASHUGI

Collins, John J., and Peter W. Flint, eds. *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, assist. Cameron VanEpps. Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*, 83. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, 2. Leiden: Brill, 2001. Vol. 1: xx, 1-290 pp.; vol. 2: xxii + 291-769 pp. Hardcover, $85.00 + $133.00.

Recent years have seen a new impetus in Daniel studies. Among the subjects discussed more intensely are the apocalyptic genre of the book, its historical and social setting, and its relationship to Qumran literature and other intertestamental writings. The essays in the two volumes of *The Book of Daniel*, written by an international array of 32 scholars, delve into the center of these discussions and examine the composition and reception of Daniel. They are organized in eight parts: "General Topics," "Daniel in Its Near Eastern Milieu," "Issues in Interpretation of Specific Passages," "Social Setting," "Literary Context, including Qumran," "Reception in Judaism and Christianity," "Textual History," and "The Theology of Daniel." Each essay has its own up-to-date bibliography, and there is a twenty-five-page cumulative bibliography

at the end of volume 2. Five indices covering 55 pages (Scripture, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, Other Ancient Writings, and Modern Authors) make the information in the volumes easily accessible.

In this review, I focus specifically on volume 1, summarizing the main contributions of each essay and assessing briefly a few selected points that seem particularly relevant, while the individual essays in volume 2 are only listed briefly. For a more detailed discussion of them, see my review in *RBL* [http://www.bookreviews.org] (2003).

The first two essays are more general in focus. J. J. Collins ("Current Issues in the Study of Daniel") sketches the present state of Daniel scholarship with emphasis on the textual variety (Old Greek of Dan 4–6, Greek additions, and pseudo-Danielic literature from Qumran), composition and genre, social setting, ethics of the book, and a few remarks on the history of interpretation. Collins outlines the issues in a brief and balanced way, without failing to provide his own input. For example, he strongly argues that Dan 7 belongs with the visions and not with the tales, and that the social setting of Daniel has to be found around the politically disillusioned מַשְׂכִּילִים, who set their hopes in the world-to-come and are therefore willing to sacrifice their lives (Dan 11:35). In both cases, Collins differs markedly from Albertz's interpretation found in one of the other essays.

Exploring the literary context of the book of Daniel, M. A. Knibb ("The Book of Daniel in Its Context") studies its relationship to the Danielic texts from Qumran and the additions to the Greek book of Daniel. 4Q243-246 "presuppose[s] the existence of a well-developed Daniel tradition and apparently of the book of Daniel itself" (19), as do the Greek additions, even though *Susanna* and *Bel and the Dragon* portray Daniel differently than Dan 2–6. Knibb also suggests enlarging the wider literary context of Daniel, to which stories of court officials (e.g., Esther) and apparently similar apocalyptic writings are usually reckoned (e.g., *Enoch*), by sapiential texts from Qumran, in particular by *4QInstruction* and *4QMysteries*. A number of connections between Daniel and these writings seem to underline that Daniel exhibits traits of wisdom tradition. One can only agree with Knibb that the entire literary context of Daniel testifies that the book "is in the end *sui generis*" (34).

The next three essays argue more or less convincingly that the author of Daniel is familiar with Mesopotamian literature tradition. K. van der Toorn ("Scholars at the Oriental Court: The Figure of Daniel against Its Mesopotamian Background") suggests that letters from Assyrian and Babylonian scholars, which provide insight into the scholars' situation at the court, offer a background to the tales about Daniel (very similar to his article in *CBQ* 60 [1998]: 626-640). He claims that the author of Daniel reflects in general the Oriental court situation, but also reveals his "imperfect knowledge of the Babylonian court" (42). He bases this assumption on two reasons: First, the Danielic list of different groups at the court is schematic only and does not include the important physicians and lamentation priests and, second, the profession of dream interpreters mentioned in Daniel was unfamiliar, even unwelcome, at the Assyrian

court. However, it appears to me that the nature of the challenge in Dan 2 and 5, that is, to provide an interpretation of a dream, would be reason enough to explain why physicians and lamentation priests are not mentioned. Further, the position of the dream interpreters at the Babylonian court is still an open question, as van der Toorn himself admits (42).

Van der Toorn's main thesis is that the "lions' pit" used in Dan 6 is a literary *topos* known from Mesopotamian literature. That *topos* is used in narratives of the type *Tale of the Vindicated Courtier* to describe metaphorically the hostility of colleagues, sages, and scholars at the Assyrian court. In other words, lions are human adversaries. The exemplary type of this literature is the story of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* (twelfth century B.C.E.) and the letters of the forlorn scholar Urad-Gula (ca. 664 B.C.E.). The author of Dan 6 supposedly followed such a court-tale genre and used the Mesopotamian literary *topos* of the lions' pit, taking the metaphor literally. The miracle described in Dan 6 is then nothing more than a misunderstanding of metaphoric language.

Although van der Toorn's ingenious suggestion is an interesting one, two questions in particular remain and pose a challenge to his hypothesis. First, how is it possible that the *topos* of the lions' pit could be separated from the immediate metaphorical context so that the author of Dan 6 could misunderstand it as a real description? In *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, the immediate context before and after the line "Marduk put a muzzle on the mouth of the lion that was devouring me" refers to Marduk's obstructing the enemy by using metaphors of military terminology (attack with a smiting weapon and with a sling). The metaphoric nature of the language here is obvious. If the author of Daniel was acquainted with the literary *topos* of the lions' pit, it is difficult to see why its metaphoric nature should not have been transmitted together with the *topos*. The reference to the local Palestinian setting of the author (52) is not really convincing in this regard. In any case, van der Toorn has to some degree substantiated the knowledge of the Mesopotamian literary culture on the part of the author of Daniel, whether he followed or contrasted it, knowingly or ignorant of the original context. And second, how is it possible that the author, who certainly had a knowledge of the metaphor of being rescued from lions' mouths in the Hebrew Bible (Pss 7:3; 22:22; 35:17; 91:13)—a fact referred to but not commented on by van der Toorn in his *CBQ* article (638-639) nor mentioned at all in his present essay—could misunderstand a very similar metaphor from the Mesopotamian literary tradition and take it literally? It seems that even if for some reason the *topos* of the lions' pit was detached from its original metaphoric setting, the author probably could still have understood it as a metaphor because of the similar metaphor used in the Hebrew Scriptures. In addition to the texts above, the persecuted one refers to the wicked or the enemy with the metaphor of a lion (Pss 22:13, 22; 34:11; 35:17; 58:7; 91:13; cf. Nah 2:11-13; and with the preposition כ ["like"] in Pss 7:3; 10:9; 17:12); even God, as enemy, is referred to as a lion (Joel 1:6; Lam 3:10; cf. Hos 5:14; 13:7).

S. M. Paul ("The Mesopotamian Background of Daniel 1–6") proposes a

Mesopotamian linguistic and philological background of words and phrases that occur in Dan 3:29; 5:6, 16; 6:5; 6:8; 9:27, and finds a correlation of Dan 1 with a letter from Mari. The discussions on five of the six texts that Paul has chosen to comment on are each a summary of a previous article or essay that he has written. A new proposal is to interpret the Aramaic שלו in Dan 6:5 as "negligence" in light of Akkadian *šelû* ("to be negligent"; noun *šilûtu* "negligence") or to regard וּשְׁחִיתָה שָׁלוּ as equivalent to *arnu u šillatu* ("crime and/or improper speech"). Paul explains these remarkable connections by the continuing influence of Babylonian literature in the Hellenistic era. On the other hand, if the respective material of Daniel originated in Babylon itself, such influence should be expected to some degree.

J. H. Walton ("The *Anzu* Myth as Relevant Background for Daniel 7?") analyzes the possible extent of the literary interrelationship between Dan 7 and the ancient chaos-combat myth pattern as exemplified in the Ugaritic myth of *Baal and Yamm*, the Akkadian *Enuma Elish*, and the *Anzu* myth. He notes the similarities, but also points out those elements that are unique in Dan 7. Walton quite convincingly concludes that the author of Dan 7 must have been knowledgeable of these mythic materials and used motifs and elements thereof in an eclectic manner . The author creatively arranged and adapted them, adding his own unique features, to produce a new literary piece that serves his own theological purpose: "Daniel's own theologically unique chaos combat myth" (87). Walton's specific contribution to the discussion on the religion-historical and tradition-historical background of the vision of Dan 7 is the addition of the *Anzu* myth to the proposed Babylonian influences on Dan 7. At the same time, he is careful to emphasize that "Daniel 7 is not just a recension of some other ancient work" but needs to "be treated as an independent exemplar" (86).

The four essays in Part 3 deal with the interpretation of specific passages. R. G. Kratz ("The Visions of Daniel," a translation of his essay in the Steck *Festschrift: Schriftauslegung in der Schrift*, BZAW 300 [2000], 219-236) undertakes a sophisticated redaction-critical study of the visions of Daniel. He suggests that Dan 7 was composed with the context of the narratives Dan 1–6 in mind, introducing, as the major focal point, the eschatological dimension (kingdom of God). Passages in Dan 2–6 that contain an eschatological outlook he regards as additions by the author of Dan 7. Later additions in Dan 7 are the ten horns and the little horn. The next stage in the compositional development according to Kratz is the addition of chapter 8, a "Hebrew targum to the first vision" (100). There are so many points of contact between chapters 7 and 8 that, for Kratz, chapter 8 "translates the Aramaic vision of chapter 7 into Hebrew and updates it" (111). Daniel 8 receives the longest analysis by Kratz. In short, the original layer of chapter 8 consists of vv. 1, (2,) 3-8, 15, 17, 20-22, 26b, 27a. Secondary are the additions to the vision reception (vv. 16, 18-19, 27b) and the addition of the little horn (vv. 9-12, 23-25 with vv. 11-12a as still later insertion), together with the calculation of the end (vv. 13-14, 26a). Next comes the addition of chapters 10–12 in the second century B.C.E. which constitutes

a continuation of and pesher to chapter 8. Here, too, there are interpolations (mainly in chap. 10) and supplements (12:5-12). Finally, chapter 9 intrudes into the context of chapters 8–12 and is a pesher to Jeremiah's seventy-years prophecy, but also a continuation of the vision in chapter 8.

It is evident that Kratz stays within the line of the German tradition, which divides Daniel into quite a number of redactional stages, emphasizing seemingly disjunctive elements over against possible features that create unity, although that tradition is not unified (cf. the redactional analysis by R. Stahl, *Von Weltengagement zu Weltüberwindung*, CBET 4 [Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994], 61-127). Kratz's analysis is at times laborious and always remains hypothetical. One gets the impression that he follows a preconceived redaction history when he excises all eschatological elements in Dan 2–6 and attributes them to the specific theological focus of the author of Dan 7. Particularly in the difficult question of the redactional stages of the visions, it might have been advisable to also include in this volume other positions, according to which the visions of Daniel went through redactional stages, or basically form a coherent unit without any or only a few interpolations.

The main thesis of A. LaCocque ("Allusions to Creation in Daniel 7") is that Dan 7 is a historicization of the Canaanite (but not so much Mesopotamian) cosmological-myth pattern—the battle between Baal and Yam/Mot/Chaos—and describes Antiochus IV as the last embodiment of the chaotic monsters over which the Ancient of Days and the Son of Man are victorious through re-creation, which implies divine judgment and the enthronement of the Son of Man. In support for his thesis, LaCocque identifies elements in the vision of Dan 7 that by synecdoche point to the different themes of kingship, temple and cult, conflict, and ordering of chaos (e.g., the celestial throne as synecdoche for the palace-sanctuary), themes that all center in the overarching theme of creation, as well as elements that are also found in Canaanite myths. The roles of El and Baal in the Ugaritic myth are taken over by the "Ancient of Days" (El) and the "Son of Man" (Baal). The difference in Dan 7 from the mythological pattern is that the Ancient of Days and the Son of Man are not in rivalry. Here, the creation element is seen in the title "Son of Man," which is not so much Messianic—though this aspect is in the background (cf. Pss 2, 110)—but Adamic (cf. Ps 8). The kingship of the Son of Man, who for LaCocque designates both Israel's guardian angel Michael (122) and the saints (128), presents the victory over Chaos and thus a "new" creation.

E. Haag ("Daniel 12 und die Auferstehung der Toten") undertakes an exegesis of Dan 12:1-4. Both מַשְׂכִּילִים and הָרַבִּים (in contrast to רַבִּים in v. 2a) are interpreted as words of apocalyptic motif, מַשְׂכִּילִים referring to those with understanding among the religious leadership of Israel, and הָרַבִּים designating the faithful remnant who is inspired by the dedication and martyrdom of the מַשְׂכִּילִים. Following the divine-servant motif in Isa 53 (vv. 11b and 13), the מַשְׂכִּילִים led "the many" to righteousness and will be exalted from death to attain resurrection glory. Of particular interest is that, contrary to most

commentators, Haag (following Alfrink, Hartman and Di Lella, Lacocque) regards 12:2b as a nominal sentence that does not contrast two subdivisions of the "many" (a double resurrection), but contrasts those who awake (the "many" in v. 2a) with others who do not (the transgressors in 11:32, 40-45): "these . . . the others." Consequently, the resurrection in 12:2 refers only to God's chosen ones, who, for Haag, are the martyrs of the religious conflict in the Maccabean era. Although Haag's reading is grammatically possible, it seems more likely that the contrasting אֵלֶּה . . . וְאֵלֶּה both refer to the "many" which immediately precedes and should be translated "some . . . some." In a theological synthesis, Haag traces the roots of the resurrection motif in Dan 12:2-3 back to Ezek 37:1-14 and Isa 26:19, which show signs of a restitution of the individual pious one in the hereafter, a motif that is continued and expanded in a theology of resurrection in 2 Macc 7 and 12. In light of a double resurrection that includes the shame of the wicked, one may also add Isa 66:24 as possible allusion.

J. W. Van Henten ("Daniel 3 and 6 in Early Christian Literature") throws light on the question of how early Christian literature has used the wisdom tales of Dan 3 and 6 (Van Henten does not regard them as court tales). Most of the references that he surveys interpret the fate and deliverance of early Christians in analogy to the stories in Dan 3 and 6 (Acts 12:11; Rev 13:7, 14-15; 2 Tim 4:17; *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* 14-15). Some portray Daniel and his companions as examples of faithful loyalty and endurance (Heb 11:33-38; *1 Clem.* 45-46), while Matthew uses the fiery furnace as an instrument of punishment (13:42) and parallels the sealing of Jesus' grave with the sealing of the lions' den (27:62-66). In sum, Van Henten demonstrates successfully that Daniel and his friends have become models of Christian martyrs and that the heroes' deliverance has become a source of hope for the Christian's deliverance, even for the resurrection after death.

The last five essays in volume 1 attempt to illuminate the social setting of the book of Daniel. It is in this section that one finds the most diverging views in the two volumes, testifying to the still-vexing question of the social setting of Daniel and the never-ending dispute over it, as well as to the hypothetical character of the different proposals. R. Albertz ("The Social Setting of the Aramaic and Hebrew Book of Daniel") rejects the usual theory of a collection of nonapocalyptic Aramaic stories (Dan 2–6) and argues in favor of Dan 2–7 as a literary unit. He then proposes the *Tendenz*, social background, and date of the Greek narrative collection (Dan 4–6), the Aramaic apocalypse (Dan 2–7), and the Hebrew apocalypse (Dan 1, 8–12). The Greek Dan 4–6 has an optimistic tendency regarding the diaspora and the heathen powers, and originated in the upper-class of the Alexandrian diaspora in the early third century B.C.E. The Aramaic Daniel apocalypse has a new central theme—praise and establishment of God's kingdom against the Gentile powers—and stems from an intellectual psalmic poet, who stands in opposition to the official Jerusalem temple cult, and supposedly dates to the time of Antiochus III (late third century B.C.E.). Finally, during the Maccabean crisis a quietistic Hebrew author added the Hebrew Daniel apocalypse (Dan 1, 8–12), with the *Tendenz*

of salvation solely by divine activity, and corrected the topical interest of the Aramaic apocalypse to prevent any militant use. Albertz perceives two different groups of apocalyptic teachers that were the result of a split when the military resistance during the Maccabean crisis began (167 B.C.E.): those who supported a nonmilitant, purely religious resistance, to which the author of the Hebrew Daniel apocalypse belonged—these were the מַשְׂכִּילִים in Dan 11:34-35, identifiable with the Ḥasidim in 1 Macc 2:42—and those who favored aggressive resistance (the outlook of the Animal Apocalypse in *1 Enoch* 85-90), which the Hebrew author of Daniel identified as false מַשְׂכִּילִים, who "will stumble" because of their coalition with the militant Maccabees (Dan 11:35a; for Albertz, כשל ["fall"] denotes failure of action, not martyrdom). These two split groups of Ḥasidim were learned scribes and teachers.

S. Beyerle ("The Book of Daniel and Its Social Setting") identifies the Danielic apocalypticists not with the Ḥasidim but with the מַשְׂכִּילִים, which he describes as a group of highly educated intellectuals, "upper class" people who used traditional motifs and forms to create a new genre and composition and rearranged traditional symbols, giving them a new understanding. Based on his sociological analysis of Dan 12:1-3 (and to some extent of 11:33-35), Beyerle reconstructs the distinct belief system of the Danielic מַשְׂכִּילִים that centers on the eschatological hope for salvation (resurrection) within an otherworldly reality and includes a radical replacement of social organization. The Torah-abiding group of Danielic מַשְׂכִּילִים was isolated and under intense oppression by Hellenizing Jews, and finally disappeared.

L. Grabbe ("A Dan[iel] for All Seasons: For Whom Was Daniel Important?") takes the view that a single author of high status in the Jewish community of Jerusalem used the legendary tales (Dan 1–6) and added the visions in Dan 7–12 during the Maccabean crisis. Thoroughly acquainted with Jewish historical and religious tradition and showing extensive knowledge of Hellenistic history (as seen in Dan 11) and a fair knowledge of the Neo-Babylonian and Persian history, the author belonged to the Jerusalem aristocracy, was maybe even a priest (Grabbe rejects the idea that priests could not write apocalypses), possibly Eupolemus (1 Macc 8:17; 2 Macc 4:11), who was first part of the Hellenistic reform of Jason but later joined the Maccabees.

For P. R. Davies ("The Scribal School of Daniel") the authors of the final form of Daniel are the מַשְׂכִּילִים, an unknown scribal group of non-Palestinian origin, probably Mesopotamia or Syria (inferred from the tales from a foreign court in Dan 2–6), who moved to Jerusalem (inferred from the interest in temple and cult in Dan 8–11) and were employed at the Seleucid court in the administration of political affairs. He further proposes that those who wrote some or all the texts of Qumran might be the successors of the Danielic מַשְׂכִּילִים, for he perceives similarities in the use of the terms משכיל and רבים in the *Community Rule* and Daniel, and the common emphasis on esoteric wisdom as key to eschatological salvation. Following Boccaccini's hypothesis of two traditions of Judaism present in Qumran—apocalyptic Enochic and priestly

Zadokite—Davies suggests that Daniel belongs to the Zadokite theology, making the מַשְׂכִּילִים possible allies of the Zadokite priests.

D. L. Smith-Christopher ("Prayers and Dreams: Power and Diaspora Identities in the Social Setting of the Daniel Tales") reads Dan 1–6 as folklore of resistance that addresses the need for negotiating Jewish identity in cross-cultural contacts of uneven distribution of power. Against the majority view that Dan 1–6 exhibits an optimistic outlook toward the conditions of the exile, he suggests assessing the exile more negatively, when worldly powers claim imperial control and subordinate minority groups. The dreams in Dan 1–6 should be read as "a literary form of 'spiritual' warfare" (282), pointing to a greater power than the divine-like political rulers. To that greater power, Daniel and the reader can connect by knowledge and wisdom. Here then is the real message of the politicized dreams and prayers: the survival of the exilic Jews depends on the redefined identity of being a group with superior knowledge and wisdom.

The second volume of *The Book of Daniel* contains parts 5 to 8. Six essays are found in the section on the "Literary Context, including Qumran." J.-W. Wesselius ("The Writing of Daniel") proposes an intertextual parallel of structural framework between the books of Ezra and Daniel that should explain discontinuities in Daniel. G. Boccaccini ("The Solar Calendars of Daniel and Enoch") argues that Daniel follows the Zadokite solar calendar—a 360+4-day sabbatical calendar—which helps to explain the different times of the end in Daniel. He particularly proposes a new calculation of the 2,300 "evenings-mornings" in Dan 8:14. P. W. Flint ("The Daniel Tradition at Qumran") presents nine nonbiblical manuscripts from Qumran that are relevant to Daniel. L. T. Stuckenbruck ("Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls") examines the tradition-historical relationship between Daniel and Enochic apocalyptic traditions in the Qumran manuscripts *Pseudo-Daniel* (4Q243-245) and the *Book of Giants* (4Q530) and infers that there was a period of fluid traditions between the Danielic and the Enochic apocalyptic traditions in the second century B.C.E., so that the book of Daniel supposedly could adapt Enochic material to its own interests. E. Eshel ("Possible Sources of the Book of Daniel") identifies as sources of Daniel the following: 4Q242 (*Prayer of Nabonidus*) for Dan 4, 4Q248 (Historical Text A) for Dan 11:21-45 and 12:7, and 4Q530 (*Book of Giants*) for Dan 7. In a comparative study, J. F. Hobbins ("Resurrection in the Daniel Tradition and Other Writings at Qumran") surveys the common and distinguishable features of the expectations about life after death and the concept of resurrection in early Enochic literature, *Jubilees*, the Words of Ezekiel (or Pseudo-Ezekiel), and Dan 12.

Another six essays are listed under the section "Reception of Daniel in Judaism and Christianity." In this section, one learns about the influence of Daniel upon literature from the second-century B.C.E. until early Jewish and Christian sources during Roman times (K. Koch, "Stages in the Canonization of the Book of Daniel"), Targumic literature (U. Gleßmer, "Die 'vier Reiche' aus Daniel in der targumischen Literatur") or upon such persons as Aphrahat

and Ephrem the Syrian (M. Henze, "Nebuchadnezzar's Madness [Daniel 4] in Syriac Literature") or Thomas Müntzer (Charles Rowland, "The Book of Daniel and the Radical Critique of Empire: An Essay in Apocalyptic Hermeneutics"). Two essays on the NT leave no doubt that Daniel did influence the NT writings: Jesus' concept of the kingdom of God (C. A. Evans, "Daniel in the New Testament: Visions of God's Kingdom"), as well as the "son of man" motif in the Gospel tradition are rooted in the book of Daniel (J. D. G. Dunn, "The Danielic Son of Man in the New Testament").

The "Textual History" section comprises three essays: E. Ulrich ("The Text of Daniel in the Qumran Scrolls") lists all the textual variants in the Daniel manuscripts from Qumran and evaluates their significance in regard to the textual history of Daniel; A. A. Di Lella ("The Textual History of Septuagint-Daniel and Theodotion-Daniel") gives an overview of the issues in the study of the Greek texts of Daniel, with reference to the major scholarly contributions; and K. D. Jenner ("Syriac Daniel") surveys the available sources of the Syriac Daniel, summarizes the results of scholarly research, and identifies the important areas in the discipline.

The final three essays deal with "The Theology of Daniel": J. Goldingay ("Daniel in the Context of Old Testament Theology") explores the concept of God's sovereignty and the portrayal of Gentile and Jewish leaders in Daniel; J. Barton ("Theological Ethics in Daniel") underlines that the ethical concerns in Daniel are in complete harmony with other mainstream Jewish literature and cannot be regarded in any way as sectarian; and J. Lust ("Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel: The Tamid and the Abomination of Desolation," originally published in 1993) investigates one aspect of the cultic motif in Daniel and suggests that the expression שקוץ משמם (Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11) is best understood as the "abomination of the desolator" and constitutes a pagan sacrifice in replacement of the Tamid.

In summary, Collins and Flint have ensured that the two volumes of *The Book of Daniel* cover a breadth of topics and stand at the cutting edge of Daniel scholarship. The individual essays offer at times refreshingly different opinions. For example, whereas Hobbins interprets Dan 12:2 as a resurrection of the spirit in comparison with the Qumran material (1 *En.* 22 and *Jub.* 23), Haag argues that the resurrection theme in Dan 12 follows the OT tradition and thus expresses a physical resurrection. Striking are the different opinions of who is responsible for the final form of the book of Daniel, as presented by Albertz, Beyerle, Grabbe, and Davies. The editors have to be congratulated for resisting to smooth away such differences, for they reflect adequately the present state of discussion. I believe this is the optimal way to stimulate further thinking and research: bringing together a variety of scholars who present their views in the best way possible, even, or especially, if they differ significantly from each other. It is friction that generates new sparks of thought.

A few shortcomings need to be noticed, too. Substantial parts of some essays simply present either an adaptation, a slightly modified version, or

sometimes even a reproduction, of previously published material (e.g., Van der Toorn, Paul, Kratz, Flint, Stuckenbruck, Henze, and Lust). What is missing, strangely enough, regarding the reception history is an essay on the influence of Daniel on the only apocalyptic book of the NT, Revelation. Finally, the editorial finesse leaves much to be desired. Without including repetitive errors, I counted thirty typos or slips in the first volume and sixty-four in the second, with the first two lines of p. 674 taking the cake by garbling subtitle and text in the first line followed by two slips in the second line.

These minor drawbacks do not detract from the fact that these volumes present without question a standard work on recent Daniel scholarship. No student of the book of Daniel can afford to bypass them. While their main emphasis is on the composition and reception of the book of Daniel, including a special focus on the relation of Daniel to the Qumran literature, they go far beyond and deal with a wide range of interpretational issues. Thus I trust that anyone interested in Daniel will benefit tremendously from carefully perusing these volumes.

Seminar Schloss Bogenhofen MARTIN PRÖBSTLE
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Ervin, Howard. *Healing: Sign of the Kingdom.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002. 116 pp. Paper, $12.95.

Given his two books on Tongue-Speech, his book on the baptism of the Holy Spirit, his position as Professor of Pneumatology at Oral Roberts University, and his practice of the healing ministry in the contemporary charismatic world, Howard Ervin is well suited to expound on the spiritual gift of healing. His conclusions are based upon biblical exposition, yet his style is anything but heavy-handed theology. Even his chapter on "The Gift," in which he presents an exegesis of a small portion of 1 Cor 12, is written in a light-weight prose that lay persons can easily digest.

Ervin's primary thesis is that there is a nearly seamless gift of healing that has pervaded the Christian church from Christ's time to ours, even though the function and purpose of that healing gift has changed. Jesus' miracles of healing were signs to unbelievers that the messianic kingdom had come. Today, a miracle of healing is simply a gift of the Spirit to believers. Accordingly, Jesus' threefold ministry was comprised of preaching the advent of the kingdom of God, teaching the nature of that kingdom and healing as a sign that the kingdom had indeed come. In fact, Ervin is quite unequivocal in stating that healing by Jesus or his disciples was "*the* sign that the kingdom of God has drawn near" (2, emphasis supplied). That statement seems a bit strong until you read his balancing statement a few pages later: "Healing is not an end in itself, nor is it self-validating. It is the message that distinguishes the divine from the counterfeit." However, that qualification is so broad that one could conclude that any healing not directly connected with the "message," which he defines

as Christ's announcement that the kingdom has now come, could fall into his "counterfeit" category. Essentially, however, Ervin presents a balanced approach, for while he puts much emphasis on healing as the prime messianic sign for unbelievers, he makes clear that a genuine faith response must be to the good news of the kingdom, not to the spectacular nature of healing.

Ervin spends considerable time distinguishing between the healing by Jesus and his disciples as a *sign* of the in-breaking of the messianic kingdom and more contemporary healing as a *gift* of the Spirit for the contemporary Christian church. He supports this *gift* aspect of contemporary healing by an exegesis of a few verses in 1 Cor 12. His exegesis is weakened by his assertion that the gift of healing is to be differentiated from all the other *pneumatika* ("spirituals"). The point he wants to make is that the term *charismata* ("gifts") applies quite uniquely to healing and is the prerogative of the Holy Spirit. Thus it is "not bestowed upon 'gifted' individuals to be exercised at their discretion." (29). But this statement makes unclear the role of humans in the process and how they serve as agents through whom the Spirit often works.

The book is comprised of fourteen chapters, not all of which bear directly on healing. For example, chapter 12 is an excursus on the importance of the tongues phenomenon in Luke-Acts. One is hard-pressed to see just how it is related to the larger issue of healing. Also, chapter 13 deals with the nature of Jesus' baptism by the Spirit and seems to have only the most tenuous connection to the issue of healing. In his final chapter, Ervin makes clear his burden for contemporary healing. He asserts that, at Pentecost, the disciples were baptized/anointed to preach the gospel and to heal the sick. Healing was the sign that authenticated the message they preached. He then adds that the preaching and the healing "were and still are an indivisible unity" (105). Overall, *Healing* is a helpful book that emphasizes a gift of the Spirit that, in recent times, has received little attention.

Andrews University WILLIAM E. RICHARDSON

Friedmann, Daniel. *To Kill and Take Possession: Law, Morality, and Society in Biblical Stories.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002. 342 pp. Hardcover, $29.95.

Originally published in Hebrew as *To Kill and Inherit* (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 2000), this volume was on the bestseller list of the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* for ten weeks. Author Daniel Friedmann, a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, is Danielle Rubinstein Professor of Comparative Private Law and former Dean of the Law School of Tel-Aviv University. He has been Visiting Professor at Harvard University Law School, the University of Pennsylvania Law School, Queen Mary College, and the University of London. In addition to extensive publications in the legal field in Israel, England, and the United States, he has received a number of prizes in law, including the prestigious Israel Prize.

The purpose of this book is to explore the legal, moral, and political aspects of the best-known stories of Scripture, particularly those of the Hebrew

Bible. The author does not discuss the philological aspects of the text or its various literary genres. Instead, he draws analogies between biblical chronicles and later historical events or legal cases, comparing these stories with illustrations from mythology and literature.

The book is divided into three major sections. Part 1 deals with concepts of legal and moral responsibility. The author analyzes stories such as Adam and Eve, David and Goliath, and Samson, in order to observe the methods of investigation utilized and the judgments meted out to wrong-doers. Friedmann concludes that there has been a progressive movement from primitive concepts of "(in)justice" in biblical times to the more just principles of modern jurisprudence.

Part 2 deals primarily with the legitimacy of David's kingship. In discussing the legal rule of succession, Friedmann proposes that Saul was appointed king by God, while David was actually a usurper of the kingdom.

The third section deals with family and matrimonial concerns, including polygamy, surrogacy, incest, adultery, rape, divorce, and interfaith marriages. Again, the author argues that the biblical concepts of morality were less than ideal, while subsequent postbiblical views moved toward an enlightened and improved morality.

Throughout the volume, Friedmann compares and contrasts his understanding of biblical narratives with ancient Jewish interpretations (as in the Babylonian Talmud and the Mishnah), Herodotus, Josephus, Philo, Tacitus, and perspectives from ancient and modern literature (such as Sophocles and Shakespeare), as well as English and American law. These comparisons are clearly footnoted and are helpful to the reader desiring to do further research in this area.

To Kill and Take Possession is an easy-to-read volume that provides fascinating and unique perspectives on many well-known Bible chronicles. The numerous reference and explanatory footnotes make for interesting further reading, as they supply the reader with the context for some of the author's conclusions.

Friedmann demonstrates a sweeping knowledge of biblical stories, observing similarities and differences and demonstrating an ability to astutely integrate various pericopes.

At times, the author does admit that there are other ways to understand the Bible stories, taking into account several modern works related to the issues he addresses. Unfortunately, he has not considered the doctoral dissertation by O. Horn Prouser, "The Phenomenology of the Lie in Biblical Narrative" (Ph.D. dissertation, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1991), which challenges certain critical conclusions of his study in relation to truth-telling. Likewise, while he does reference many sources, he fails to take into account significant studies related to biblical marital concerns, such as Raphael Patai, *Sex and Family in the Bible and the Middle East* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959), and Donald M. Leggett, *The Levirate and Goel Institutions in the Old Testament* (Cherry Hill, NJ: Mack, 1974).

From the perspective of ethical theory, it is clear that Friedmann reads Bible stories prescriptively rather than descriptively. He, thus, proposes

perspectives on morality that stand in sharp contrast with those whose moral beliefs are based on propositional scriptural commands. He also misapplies the natural results of certain actions as being supposedly divinely authorized activities. Furthermore, adopting an evolutionary perspective on biblical morality, his work promotes a somewhat relativistic view of morality.

Moreover, a failure to carefully consider the context, language, and grammar of the Hebrew text has resulted in certain unwarranted assumptions with concomitant deductions. For example, Friedmann alleges that Jephthah vowed that "he would sacrifice the first person to emerge from his house" (135), and thus claims that human sacrifice was an acceptable practice in ancient Israel. However, the substantival masculine singular participle *hayyôṣē* is used elsewhere of inanimate objects (e.g., desert [Num 21:13], tower [Neh 3:25], word [Num 32:24]), or of living objects such as seed [Deut 14:22] or son [2 Chron 6:9]). In every case, the context must determine the meaning. The great majority of English Bible translations (e.g., ASV, ESV, KJV, NASB, NCV, NEB, NIV, as well as Jewish versions such as CJB, JPS, TNK) render this participle as essentially "whatever comes out," and thus do not support Friedmann's conclusion that "the language of the vow already indicated readiness to commit human sacrifice" (135). Then, too, in his discussion on the penalty for adultery, the author alleges that the levirate law "requires a man to marry his deceased brother's widow, if he died childless" (214). A careful reading of the entire stipulation in Deut 25:5-10 reveals that while the first part of the law does call upon the brother-in-law to marry the widow, the last part explains the formal steps to be taken in case he declines to marry his deceased brother's wife. Interestingly, after categorically declaring that, "if a man died childless, his brother had to marry the widow" (253), Friedmann reluctantly acknowledges that "the law, as it appears in the Torah, is not absolute" (253). Such wobbling between possible interpretations further weakens the appeal of this book for the serious student of Scripture.

In addition, there are times when Friedmann's interpretation of the Bible stands in direct tension with the specifically stated facts of the narratives themselves, as for example his referring to the prophets of Baal as "prophets of the true God" (42), that in Eden "the serpent did not lie" (122), and that "punishment was meted out not only to Korah but to all his household" (130).

Besides directly challenging the veracity of the biblical accounts (e.g., 151, 154, 160, 260), perhaps one of the strongest deficiencies of this work is the author's extensive dependence upon unwarranted assumptions and unfounded speculations, from which he then draws conclusions critical to the central thrust of his basic arguments (e.g., 77-79, 131-132, 149-156, 201-206). The author's method leads him to deduce that there are "contrary instructions in the Bible" (132).

This volume, while filled with many novel interpretations of traditional biblical narratives, provides interesting insights on controversial contemporary issues. Using a plethora of resources—both ancient and modern—from various

parts of the world, Friedmann's study reveals intriguing parallels and contrasts regarding several biblical stories.

However, due to the lack of careful linguistic and grammatical research, a somewhat biased selection of Bible stories, a repeated negating of the actual scriptural narratives, interpretations directly contrary to clearly stated pericopes, a rather speculative application of the moral lessons to be learned from biblical chronicles, and an inordinate amount of unsupported assumptions, this book will be found somewhat deficient by the serious biblical scholar who believes in the divine inspiration of these Scriptures.

Berrien Center, Michigan RON DU PREEZ

Green, Gene L. *The Letters to the Thessalonians.* Pillar New Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002. xl + 400 pp. Hardcover, $42.00.

The Pillar commentary series aspires to bring together "rigorous exegesis and exposition, with an eye alert both to biblical theology and the contemporary relevance of the Bible" (xi). Gene L. Green's exegetical and theological analysis of the Thessalonian correspondence admirably succeeds in living up to such an aim. The author is particularly concerned with the Greco-Roman background of the city of Thessalonica, desiring to read 1 and 2 Thessalonians "in light of relevant materials from the city and world of that era in order to help us better understand the impact of the gospel of Christ on its first readers" (xiii). There is, thus, a lengthy introductory section, which gives excellent sketches of the physical and social world of Thessalonica. These "background" sections are followed by the more traditional sections of commentaries: the manner in which the gospel was received by the Thessalonians, the authorship, order, and structure of the letters.

Green begins by noting the importance of the geographic location of the city of Thessalonica. Having the best Aegean port along the great military road "via Egnatia," Thessalonica was a strategically important city. Its great success "was due in grand part to the union of land and sea, road and port, which facilitated commerce between Macedonia and the entire Roman Empire" (6). Paul's decision to evangelize Thessalonica was doubtless influenced by its strategic advantages. A historical outline of Macedonian history—from the Macedonian kingdom of Alexander the Great to the province's incorporation into the Roman Empire in the first century A.D.—gives one a picture of how Macedonia's history left a deep imprint upon the political, economic, and religious life of the Thessalonica of the early church.

Thessalonica was governed by a college of five or six "city authorities" (politarchs), who were "the chief executive and administrative officials of the city, and as such they had the power to convoke the assembly of citizens and to put their seal on decrees and assure that they were executed" (22). As a result of Thessalonica's loyalty to the interests of the Roman people, the city

was declared a "free city," which granted it a significant degree of autonomy and financial freedom from Rome. Entrusted with protecting Roman interests and the privileges of a "free city," the politarchs would have been deeply concerned with the accusation that a group of people were no longer giving allegiance to the imperial and civic cults of the city.

The social world of the Greco-Roman era was characterized by a system of patronage. Given the social and economic inequities of Roman society, clients were forced to establish relationships with wealthy patrons in order to obtain goods and services. At Thessalonica, a wealthy group of resident Roman benefactors mediated access to the goods and services proffered by the emperor. This network of patron-client relationships ensured the economic well-being of the city. Green argues that the convention of patronage at Thessalonica elucidates two features of the church's life. The first is the proclamation that there is "another king named Jesus." This proclamation, which essentially challenged the rule of the emperor, "would have been viewed not only as seditious but also as a grave violation of the delicate and privileged relationship of this client city with her patron the emperor" (28). The second was occasioned by a number of believers, who wanted to maintain their client status with patrons (1 Thess 4:11-12; 2 Thess 3:6-13). Paul unequivocally opposes the institution of patronage and enjoins them to labor: "If a man will not work, he shall not eat" (2 Thess 3:10).

Like any city in the ancient world, the religious environment of Thessalonica was multifaceted; the city was host to numerous deities who were objects of adulation and worship. Deities such as Zeus, Artemis, Apollo, Aphrodite, Dionysus, and the Egyptian gods Serapis, Isis, and Anubis, along with many others, were venerated with the thanksgivings, prayers, and sacrifices of devout people. Particularly important was the imperial cult; an imperial temple was erected in the city so that its citizens could honor and worship the emperor, the supreme Roman benefactor. Significantly, imperial worship was a unifying force for the citizens of Thessalonica, bringing together their religions, political well-being, and economic benefits. Once again, Green makes use of "background" material to interpret several passages. For example, given that the debauched behavior of ancient deities was frequently emulated by its devotees (e.g., Dionysius was the god of wine and drunkenness; Aphrodite, the symbol of sexual license and the patroness of prostitutes), Paul's strong exhortation for believers to live lives of sexual purity (1 Thess 4:3-8) was a necessary admonition for those who had "turned to God from idols" (1 Thess 1:9). Similarly, the persecution experienced by the Christian community (Acts 17:6-9; 1 Thess 1:6; 2:14; 3:3-4) should be understood in light of Thessalonica's strong and loyal connection with Rome. The church's claims and beliefs threatened this beneficial relationship, which necessitated a forceful response by the residents of Thessalonica. Green also points to the imperial cult as the "hermeneutical key," which solves the perplexing passage of 2 Thess 2. The man of lawlessness, who "opposes and exalts himself above every so-called god

or object of worship, so that he takes his seat in the temple of God, declaring himself to be God" (2 Thess 2:4, NRSV), is none other than the emperor himself. Not surprisingly, "in such an environment, the Christians who would take no part in this cult, would undoubtedly have suffered for their lack of loyalty and civic commitment" (313).

Incorporating the Acts narrative, as well as the Thessalonian correspondence, Green delineates a clear and evenhanded historical sketch of the congregation's foundation and the subsequent issues it faced. The church was established in the midst of hardship and persecution. In response to the success of the apostolic mission in their synagogue, the Jews incited a civil disturbance in the marketplace, forcing Paul to abruptly leave the city. The church was left in a precarious position, continuing to suffer persecution without leadership. Having sent Timothy to Thessalonica, the apostle anxiously awaited his return with news from the church. On the whole, Timothy's report was encouraging. From Corinth, Paul then wrote 1 Thessalonians in order to thank God for the Thessalonians' steadfast faith, as well as to encourage them to continue to endure sufferings and persecutions. The apostle also addressed a number of other issues: his apostolic integrity (2:1-12), sexual immorality (4:1-8), work (4:11-12; 5:14), and certain eschatological concerns (4:13–5:11). After receiving additional news about the church, Paul penned 2 Thessalonians. In this second letter, the apostle reminded the congregation of the ultimate destiny of persecutors and Christians (1:6-10) responded to the fallacious eschatological teaching that the day of the Lord had "already come," which was destabilizing the church (2:1-12). He concluded this letter by strongly exhorting those who had failed to heed his earlier teaching on work (1 Thess 4:11-12; 5:14), warning them that it was imperative for believers to earn their own food (3:6-15).

Concerning the authorship of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Green sets forth sound reasons for Pauline authorship of both letters. The earlier challenges to the authenticity of 1 Thessalonians in the nineteenth century by Karl Schrader and F. C. Bauer, along with the scholarly responses to this challenge are briefly described. While not an issue in contemporary scholarship, the rejoinders to the objections are informative, for they prefigure a number of important issues that are debated in current Pauline scholarship. A more detailed response is delineated to the objections for the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians, especially those of Wolfgang Trilling and John Bailey. Lucid and cogent arguments, which are based on vocabulary, style, form, and theological perspective, are given to objections. Green's perspective on the presence of the names of Silvanus and Timothy in the salutations of both letters is instructive. He argues that the two letters were written in a collaborative group process—a kind of "authorial community," wherein Silas, Timothy, and Paul all contributed to the process. However, the distinct Pauline style and vocabulary suggests that Paul "gave the group's thoughts their final form" (59). Green believes the traditional order of the Thessalonian letters best explains the historical phenomena found in Acts and the two letters. He marshals strong arguments that fittingly rebut the

scholarly renditions, which seek to demonstrate the priority of 2 Thessalonians.

In regard to the structure of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Green first considers the usefulness of a literary analysis that employs the "canons of rhetoric." He argues that it is inappropriate to analyze NT letters by using the rhetorical genres of classical oratory (e.g., forensic, deliberative, and epideictic). One should not "blend" the different genres of oral discourse with letters nor "mix" the theory of ancient rhetoric with epistolary theory, for "the norms for the elaboration of these two genres were distinct" (72). A more constructive analysis of these two letters can be found in ancient epistolary theory. Of the various types of letters delineated in the epistolary handbooks of ancient authors, Green believes the Thessalonian correspondence is characterized by the "mixed type." Since the letters are distinguished by diverse thematic elements—thanksgiving, commendation, apology, exhortation—the mixed type, which combines a number of letter types, aptly describes Paul's approach.

Green's commentary could have been strengthened in a number of areas. First, given his enthusiasm for interpreting the Thessalonian letters against the background of the Greco-Roman world, it is puzzling to see him unwilling to appropriate the interpretive benefits of classical oratory. As with many scholars who depreciate the usefulness of classical rhetoric, Green draws far too sharp a distinction between ancient rhetorical and epistolary practices. Contrary to his characterization of ancient letters as "letters of conversation" (72), many such letters show marked rhetorical concerns, which suggests a considerable overlap between letters and speeches. The ancient world was a thoroughgoing *oral culture*; all written materials were composed with the understanding that they were going to be "heard" and not "read" (Paul Achtemeier, "*Omne Verbum Sonat*: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," *JBL* 109 [1990]: 3-27). Moreover, while Paul's letters contain epistolary elements, particularly in the opening and closing sections, the central section of his letters (i.e., the body) is characterized by vigorous *argumentation* (Margaret Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1991]). A rhetorically informed analysis of the letters would have highlighted Paul's masterful use of the rhetorical conventions of his day and disclosed more fully his fundamental rhetorical purposes for the letters. It would also give one pause to "mirror read" passages such as 1 Thess 2:1-12 as Paul's response to his critics. Quite possibly, the autobiographical remarks may be a form of *ethos* refurbishment, wherein the apostle established his character as an "incarnation" of the gospel of Christ (George Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography: Toward a New Understanding* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985]).

Second, Green employs the Acts narrative in his reconstruction of the sociohistorical setting of Thessalonica, as well as in his analysis of the letters themselves, without substantiating such an approach. Since the scholarly guild considers Acts to be a later, secondhand source for the life and theology of Paul, and the "Lukan presentation of Paul" is at certain points strikingly different than that of the "Paul of the letters," a cogent rationale for using Acts

in an exegetical and theological analysis of the apostle's letters is imperative.

The foregoing criticisms do not detract from the overall usefulness and quality of Green's commentary. Conspicuous interpretive benefits are derived for modern readers by his social-scientific readings of the Thessalonian letters. Indeed, when one situates the letters of Paul within the context of the ancient world's social values, economy, political structures, demography, and religion, new horizons and understandings of the letters and early Christian communities are opened up. Green's evangelically oriented commentary is an excellent contribution to Thessalonian scholarship.

Pacific Union College LEO RANZOLIN
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Hagner, Donald A. *Encountering the Book of Hebrews: An Exposition.* Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002. 213 pp. Paper, $21.99.

Donald A. Hagner is George Eldon Ladd Professor of New Testament at Fuller Theological Seminary. His writings include: *Hebrews,* NIBC (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995); *Matthew,* WBC, 2 vols. (Dallas: Word, 1993); and *The Jewish Reclamation of Jesus: An Analysis and Critique of Modern Jewish Study of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Academie Books, 1984). He is also the coeditor of the New International Greek Commentary.

Encountering the Book of Hebrews is a section-by-section assessment of the arguments and issues of Hebrews. The central and unique theological emphasis in Hebrews, according to Hagner, "is the presentation of Christ as high priest" (180). This high priesthood leads to the "atoning work of Christ" (180), which stands in dramatic contrast to the work of the high priest in the earthly tabernacle because "what Christ offers as priest is his own blood" (182). Christ's atoning work, then, is intentionally connected with the subject of the old and new covenants (182). Another important emphasis for Hagner is the practical treatment of faith in chapter 11 (182).

The commentary consists of four parts: an introduction, which treats issues such as authorship, readers, date, purpose, structure, and genre; thirteen chapters, which parallel the chapters in the book of Hebrews; a conclusion; and a glossary and Scripture and subject indices. At the beginning of each chapter, there is a succinct outline, a statement of objectives, and suggestions for supplemental reading. Each chapter ends with a bibliography of the topics addressed. There are also sidebars and charts that address some of the questions that a modern reader might ask in regard to the text. Charts are included that provide excellent summaries of otherwise long excursuses. What impressed me most was Hagner's excursus on the entry of Hebrews into the NT canon (191-195). It is a short, but well researched and documented, piece of work.

Hagner distinguishes himself especially in his attention to the context and background of the letter, the interpretation of the OT in Hebrews, and the letter's distinctive contributions to Christian theology and life. He also remains

thoroughly conversant with recent scholarship.

Concerning the addressees of Hebrews, Hagner discusses the pros and cons regarding Gentile or Jewish readers, but fails to mention the possibility of a mixed ethnic background. He simply states: "Assuming that the readers were Jewish Christians who seem to have been attracted back to their Judaism, we cannot conclude much more about them" (23). With this assumption in mind, he interprets the reader's need to learn the "elementary teachings about Christ" (86), mentioned in Heb 6:1-2, as "basic beliefs that Christianity shares with Judaism" (86). While I agree with Hagner that Christianity shares many basic beliefs with Judaism, I question his assumption that the original readers were necessarily attracted back to Judaism. The six "doctrines" mentioned in Heb 6:1-2, I believe, are better understood in the context of the book of Hebrews within Christianity rather than Judaism. Hebrews 6:1 literally speaks of "the beginning of the word of Christ," which gives this elementary teaching a specifically Christian initiation.

The six "doctrines" in the context of the whole epistle seem to support Christian beliefs more than Jewish ones. First, "repentance from dead works" is reviewed in Heb 9:14, where Christ purifies the reader's conscience from dead works through his redemptive accomplishment. Christ is the actor. Second, "faith toward God" has God as its object in Heb 6:1, but in Heb 12:2 Christ enables the faith of Christians as the "pioneer and perfecter of faith." Christ is the focus of faith. Third, βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆς does not refer to "washings" or "purifications" (86) as Hagner insists–baptism in the plural demands a plurality of baptisms–but rather to teachings about the distinction between Christian baptism and the baptism of John (P. Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NIGTC [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 315). Connecting the "teaching of baptisms" with the fact that the readers "have once been enlightened" (Heb 6:4) presents a clear reference to Christian initiation (Ellingworth, 316). Fourth, "laying on of hands" seems to be associated with the confirmation of the gift of the spirit that followed baptism, as in Acts 8:17. This is supported by Heb 6:4, where the readers have tasted the heavenly gift and "have shared in the Holy Spirit" (NRSV). Fifth, "resurrection of the dead" is a phrase that appears again in Heb 11:35, where it is connected with the "better resurrection" that seems to be broader than the Jewish understanding. It is the climax of Christian hope. Sixth, "eternal judgment" (κρίματος αἰωνίου) is not used elsewhere in the NT; however, the same concept is expressed in Heb 10:27-29, for those who sin willfully by spurning the Son of God, profane the blood of the covenant and outrage the Spirit of grace. Christ is again the focus.

In spite of my criticisms, I do not deny that all these "doctrines" have forerunners in Judaism; but I do not agree with Hagner's statement that there is "nothing in the items mentioned in Heb 6:1-2 to which a non-Christian Jew could not subscribe" (86). Consequently, I doubt Hagner's assumption that the intended audience is Jewish Christians in danger of falling back into Judaism. I would argue instead that the intended audience is Christians of unidentified cultural or ethnic backgrounds, who are in danger of falling into indifference toward faith.

In spite of this critique, the book is a solid commentary on Hebrews, with an inviting presentation and format. It is ideal for college students, whom the author targets for readership.

Berrien Springs, Michigan ERHARD GALLOS

Lee, John A. L. *A History of New Testament Lexicography.* Studies in Biblical Greek, vol. 8. New York: Peter Lang, 2003. xiv + 414 pp. Paper, $39.95.

One of the few certainties of life is that a lexicon or dictionary of the language under consideration will furnish the meaning of any word in question. This is especially true in the case of a modern lexicon covering a discrete corpus of literature such as the Greek NT where the words have been studied for centuries. Such volumes are the rock of Gibraltar, the north star to guide scholars as they navigate the biblical text. Until now, no one has systematically traced the history of lexicons for the Greek NT, and the results are surprising. For instance, the author notes that "when Tyndale was preparing his English Translation of the New Testament in 1525, there was no Greek-English lexicon to assist him. A century later when the revisers of 1611 did their work, there was still no such lexicon" (83) in the traditional sense. However, a work lay readily at hand to assist the translator in the form of the Latin Vulgate.

John Lee is well-qualified for the task of narrating the history of NT lexicography. In 1966, he graduated from Cambridge University, and his dissertation was published in 1983 as *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (SCS 14). He taught classical and Koine Greek at Sydney University for 30 years, and is presently associated with Macquarie University in the same city. He has been working for some time now with Greg Horsley on a replacement volume for Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament.*

The book is divided into two parts. Part 1 traces the history of Greek NT lexicons from earliest times to the present. In ancient Greece, lists of words are known to have been compiled (15), perhaps to assist in learning vocabulary. However, credit for the first known, printed Greek lexicon goes to Joannes Crastonus, whose Greek-Latin *Dictionarium graecum* was published in 1478. The first Greek-Latin NT lexicon was printed in 1514 in volume 5 of the *Complutensian Polyglot.* Those who subsequently contributed to the field include Stephanus, Pasor, Leigh, Cockayne, Reyher, Parkhurst, Schleusner, Wilke, Preuschen, Abbot-Smith, Lampe, Bauer, Danker, and Louw and Nida.

In the five centuries since the first lexicon was created, much has been learned about the Greek language—this is especially true during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; however, lexicographers have not kept pace with developments. In chapter 2, Lee suggests that the source of the problem is the failure of lexicographers, except in a few instances, to move beyond the use of simple glosses to definitions (in this context "glosses" are the words in a foreign-language dictionary/lexicon that explain the meaning of the headwords as opposed to providing actual definitions; a "glossary" is a collection of "glosses").

The reason glosses have persisted is not difficult to understand. Most people who use lexicons do so because they want to understand what words in the Greek NT mean. What they expect to find are lists of glosses in the target language that can substitute for the original Greek words. The problem, Lee points out, is while the lexicon user may obtain a translation of NT words, a clear understanding of the underlying Greek language is not attained.

To portray how interrelated most lexicons are, Lee selects a few uncommon words such as δεξιολάβος and αὐχμηρός and shows how frequently a gloss provided in one lexicon is repeated uncritically from one lexicon to another, even when the information is demonstrably false. In some instances, he is unable to cite the original source for an incorrect definition. For example, ἕξις (cf. Heb 5:14) is usually glossed as "practice," a definition that Tyndale and Luther brought from the Vulgate. In fact, the word means "mature state," something quite different from the earlier definition, and which materially affects the meaning of the verse (8, 36, 125, 129, 159).

In Lee's estimation, the Louw and Nida NT lexicon is representative of a significant move forward toward what a lexicon should be. Louw and Nida regrouped William Barclay's lexicon semantically into ninety-three domains, according to geographical objects and features; natural substances; and possess, transfer, exchange. Along with these groupings, most words have a definition. As many can testify, simply learning lists of glosses, such as ποιέω ("do," "make"), does not lead to an understanding of the word in all its nuances.

It is interesting to note that the major English lexicons were based on German originals. This is the case both for NT and for classical (i.e., Attic) Greek, for Hebrew and Aramaic, and for the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, edited by Lewis and Short (but not the later *Oxford Latin Dictionary* that was edited by Peter Glare).

From the outset, NT lexicons have consisted of alphabetical lists of the base forms of all the words in the Greek NT, excluding proper nouns in varying degrees. Since most Hebrew words are based on a triconsonantal root, words in a Hebrew lexicon are usually listed alphabetically by root. No such schema is utilized in the standard NT lexicons, though some have experimented with similar arrangements over the centuries.

The second part of the book is a series of twelve word studies, which illustrate the principles called for in the first part of the book. My personal favorite is πλήν. In no less an authority than Frederick Danker's *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, it is stated, on the authority of Schmid, that "πλήν rather than ἀλλά is the real colloq. word for this idea, so in Mt and Lk but not in Ac" (311). Lee traces the notion first to Bauer's earliest revision and then to Preuschen; but, as seen, Schmid is quoted as the source. However, Schmid, in turn, quotes Mullach. But, as it turns out, the latter is actually commenting on Modern Greek, not Koine Greek (312–315). Nor is reference to Schmid confined to the Preuschen-Bauer-Danker family of lexicons. My first Greek lexicon was that of Abbott-Smith, and Schmid is quoted there as well. As Lee observes: "The likelihood

is that πλήν for ἀλλά . . . was actually a mark of a *more* pretentious style, the opposite of what our present-day authorities and their predecessors for more than a century have been saying" (315).

Lee also provides lists of NT lexicons, works not included as lexicons, and older lexicons; a general bibliography; four appendices; and three indices including Greek words, ancient sources, and modern names.

This book addresses what, at first, might appear to be an issue of little moment. After all, scholars and students have been able to use existing lexicons to read and understand the Greek NT. The problem is that the process of substituting English glosses for Greek words is not really translating. What is needed is a feel for the language. Definitions are a significant advance in facilitating this process.

If the volume were simply to have chronicled the history of NT lexicon making, it would have been helpful. In fact, the book is much more than this. It lays out an agenda for the twenty-first century by one who is intimately involved in a similar work of updating Moulton and Milligan. Thus it is required reading for the whole gambit of NT scholars: first, those working in any direct way with the Greek text and using any sort of lexicon to understand it; second, for those using a translation. Third—and perhaps the most importantly—the book provides guidelines for any scholar contemplating creating or updating a lexicon for the Greek NT. Should that not be sufficient motivation to read the book, be aware that NT lexicons have inherent limitations, and are to be used with caution for the reasons indicated in this book.

Loma Linda, California BERNARD A. TAYLOR

Lucas, Ernest. *Daniel.* Apollos Old Testament Commentary, 20. Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2002. 359 pp. Hardcover, $34.95.

The purpose of the newly launched Apollos Old Testament Commentary series is to provide a combination of excellent exegetical analysis and insightful elucidation of the contemporary significance of the text. The volume on Daniel by Ernest Lucas, vice-principal and tutor in biblical studies at Bristol Baptist College in England, is the second in the series and fulfills this task description extremely well.

The commentary is divided into introduction, text and commentary, and epilogue. In the introduction, Lucas provides, first, a brief overview of the text, the different versions, and the major guidelines for the text-critical study of Daniel. The main section of the introduction deals with the methodology of interpretation of the stories in Dan 1–6 and of the visions in Dan 7–12. Lucas stresses the importance of genre awareness in understanding both. While in line with the usually held position (Lucas accepts the stories as court tales, distinguishing between tales of court contest [Dan 2; 4; 5] and tales of court conflict [Dan 3; 6]), he does not exclude the possibility of their historical character: "fiction and truth are not mutually exclusive" (27). The story in Dan 1,

which does not fit the court-tale genre, functions as an introduction to both the stories in Dan 2–6 and the whole book. Regarding the visions, he distinguishes the symbolic visions of Dan 7 and 8 from the epiphany visions of Dan 9 and 10–12. A well-taken point is that the symbols should not be regarded as simple ciphers, a "this is that" reference (34). Rather, they carry a wider meaning that could be identified by the original audience. For example, the symbol "horn" not only represents a particular king, but also conveys the idea of strength with all its associations. Lucas concludes the introduction with an overview of the historical context of Daniel (plus a chart with relevant dates), covering the major events from the end of Assyrian dominion through Babylonian, Median, and Macedonian rule to the Seleucid kingdom and the Maccabean revolt.

In the main part of the commentary, Lucas deals with each chapter—Dan 10–12 is naturally taken as one unit—in five sections (similar to the WBC series): a fresh translation of the text in "readable, idiomatic, modern English" that tries to preserve features of the original text where necessary; notes on the text, which mainly discuss lexical (etymological, comparative Semitic languages), grammatical, and text-critical issues and regularly refer to the Greek versions and the Qumran texts of Daniel; form and structure; comment; and explanation.

In the sections on "form and structure," Lucas covers literary matters and includes a number of informative discussions on specific topics: the introductory role of Dan 1; the unity of several chapters which Lucas convincingly affirms (Dan 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10–12); the role of individual chapters in the context of Dan 2–7; the Greek versions in Dan 4, 5, 6; the use of imagery in Dan 8; allusions to earlier Hebrew prophets in Dan 10–12; the literary form of 8:23-25 and 11:3-45; and the literary genre of Dan 10–12. An additional note under Dan 7 deals with the background to the imagery (167-176), and a section under Dan 9 gives a brief survey of the interpretations of the "seventy weeks" (245-248).

In the "comment" section, Lucas explicates the text verse by verse. The comments are well balanced. If there is a special focus in this commentary, it is on Dan 7, for the commentary on this chapter is about double the length (44 pages) of the other chapters, with the exception of the commentary on Dan 10–12 (49 pages), which of course has more than double the amount of text material.

Finally, in the "explanations," Lucas elaborates on (major) theological issues as they evolve from the text and includes practical insights for application. For example, on Dan 1 he introduces Niebuhr's concept of how faith relates to culture (58); on Dan 6 he discusses "the rule of law" as it could be misused by earthly powers (governments, employers, social groups, families) or Darius's surprising use of the epithet "the living God," a unique expression in Daniel; and on Dan 12 he traces the various beliefs about resurrection and life after death in the Hebrew Bible, Jewish literature, and the NT (302-305). Lucas identifies the sovereignty of God as the central theological theme in Daniel.

The distinction between "notes" and "comments" and between "comments" and "explanations" is somewhat fluid. At times, the material under the sections "notes" and "comments" overlaps to some degree, e.g., on 3:15 both mention

that this is an incomplete conditional phrase (cf. 84 with 90); the comment and the note on 3:2 both list loan words for professions and their use in the context from where they originated (cf. 83 with 89). Similarly, the material under "comments" and "explanations" can be similar, e.g., when discussing the (deuteronomic) theology of the prayer in 9:3-19 (cf. 236-240 with 250-252) or the alleged deterministic view of history (cf. 241 with 252). However, such repetitions seem inevitable if later sections in the commentary build on earlier ones.

Quite unorthodox in the commentary genre is the inclusion of an epilogue discussing the date, composition, and authorship of the book. The reason for this is that Lucas would like the reader to be open-minded about these issues until the commentary provides evidence from the text to decide upon them (18). He thus tries to point out that these "introductory questions" in actual research are the final questions to be answered. Many scholars may find such an arrangement questionable since commentaries are usually used for reference and are not read cover-to-cover. I suspect that Lucas's intention is to avoid any distraction on the part of his conservative Christian readers. However, putting his view on date and composition at the end of the book seems to give it even more prominence. In any case, for Lucas, alleged historical inaccuracies, the linguistic character of Daniel's Aramaic and Hebrew, and Greek and Persian loan words do not provide decisive evidence for dating, whereas the apocalyptic genre of Daniel—particularly Dan 10–12, which exemplifies an historical apocalypse—is a pointer to a later date for the final book.

An appendix presents a translation of the additions to Daniel headed by brief introductory remarks. The commentary concludes with a bibliography and three indices: scriptural and other references, authors, and subjects. Strangely, the index of Dead Sea Scrolls is found under the subject index and not under the "Index of References to Scripture and Related Literature," where the Apocrypha and intertestamental literature are referenced.

In comparison with earlier commentaries on Daniel, it is refreshing that Lucas focuses and comments primarily on the text in its final form. His comments provide a wealth of details, especially in regard to the Mesopotamian background of the language and imagery in Daniel. He generally substantiates his views, argues cautiously when the text or meaning is difficult, and is not shy about admitting that an issue has to be left undecided for lack of conclusive evidence. For example, Lucas judges the literary relationship between Dan 4 and other stories of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus as "unclear, and no doubt complex" (107), and he finds none of the proposals to explain the representation of Belshazzar as Nebuchadnezzar's son satisfactory, so that one can only state that it enhances the contrast between Dan 4 and 5 (127-128). Concerning Darius the Mede, he lists the pros and cons of four major suggestions before he concludes that Wiseman's proposal that Darius the Mede is Cyrus provides the best answer and should be rated as "probable" (135-137). A final example is Lucas's treatment of the meaning of the opening clause in Dan 8:12, in which he presents four proposals and concludes cautiously that a change of meaning for "host," now

referring to the horn's host, "seems the least unsatisfactory solution" (216-217). Quite correctly, Lucas takes the verb forms in 8:12 as future in tense (206), although he does not explain the sudden shift in tense from v. 11 to v. 12.

In the following, I summarize selected noteworthy points of Lucas's interpretation: Not only Dan 2–7 shows a chiastic structure (so Lenglet), but also the individual units of Dan 3, 5, and 6 are structured chiastically (for Dan 6, following Goldingay); the expression "third in the kingdom" (5:16, 29) refers probably to a high official title (130; so Montgomery); the handwriting on the wall refers originally to weights and can be translated with "counted, a mina, a shekel and two halves" (119, 132-134); the different judgment of the fourth beast in Dan 7:11-12 is due to its different nature, while the prolonging of life of the other beasts may indicate that Israel will rule over them, serving as mediator of God's blessings (183, 200-201).

Lucas believes that the literary origin of the imagery of four ages as symbolized by the specific four metals in Dan 2 is the eastern Mediterranean world (73-74) and concludes that these represent Babylon, Media, Persia, and Macedonia. That the fourth empire is Rome is a later reinterpretation from 2 Esd 12:11-12 (76-77). Lucas, therefore, interprets the four beasts of Dan 7 accordingly. However, it is not entirely convincing to regard Media and Persia as separate kingdoms on the basis of eastern Mediterranean evidence alone. The book of Daniel itself rather presents Media and Persia together (5:28; 6:9, 12, 16) and in Dan 8 the two are explicitly represented by one animal with two horns (8:20). The only evidence from Daniel that Lucas puts forth for separating them is the distinct use of Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian (188). However, he observed previously that these names refer to the same person (136-137), which again would indicate a connection of Media and Persia.

In contrast to recent commentators, Lucas opts to explain the lion's metamorphosis as an act of judgment, regarding the possible link to Dan 4 merely as indications of Nebuchadnezzar's experience of judgment (178-179). He fails to notice that the metamorphosis in Dan 7 is from a hybrid creature to a human-like being and therefore corresponds in Dan 4 more closely to the king's positive restoration from an animal-like being to a human being with full mental capacities at the end of the seven periods.

Lucas proposes several sources of the animal imagery of Dan 7. He finds the background of the bizarre animal shapes in Babylonian birth omens; the imagery of the beasts rising out of a turbulent sea alludes to the Babylonian creation myth *Enūma Eliš*, and the four types of beasts stem from Hos 13:7-8. He refutes the theory of an astral background to the animal imagery of Dan 7 and also of Dan 8, demonstrating that there is no unified scheme of astrological geography that could explain the animal imagery (168, 213-214). The origin of the imagery of the throne scene is supposedly found in Canaanite mythology and has been transmitted via earlier biblical texts (167-176). The primary significance of the "one like a son of man" is to point to the establishment of God's rule over the cosmos, with Ps 8 and Gen 1:26-28 in the background, representing as symbolic

figure the "(people of) the holy ones of the Most High" (185-187). Lucas considers the phrase "holy ones of the Most High" (7:18, 22) to be ambiguous in reference, designating either angels (which he seems to prefer) or humans, while the phrase "people of the holy ones of the Most High" has possessive function and refers to the Jewish people (191-192, 194).

Since it is a faith-oriented commentary in an overtly evangelical commentary series, three major interrelated points come more or less as a surprise. First, Lucas follows in his exegesis and understanding of the prophetic visions the modern, historical-critical interpretation that regards Antiochus IV Epiphanes as the climax and focus of the vision's attention. In regard to Dan 2 and 7, Lucas favors a four-empire scheme that ends with the Macedonian, respectively Seleucid kingdom. In regard to Dan 9:24-27, Lucas expounds a combination of an Antiochene and chronographic interpretation, understanding the numbers as being primarily symbolic in nature (241-248). In contrast to the more widely held chronological interpretation, a chronographic reading refers to "the writing of a symbolic scheme of history which is intended to interpret major events in it, not to provide a means of predicting when they will happen" (248). He specifically rejects a messianic interpretation since, among other reasons, he cannot detect any clear messianic interest in Daniel (243, 246). In his interpretation of Dan 11, he refers 11:5-20 to the conflict between Ptolemaic and Seleucid rulers, and 11:21-45 to Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Whereas 11:2-39 are quasi-prophecy, 11:40-45 are genuine prophecy—more a promise of the ultimate downfall of Antiochus than a prediction of specific events. Almost as a concession, Lucas mentions that it is theologically, though not exegetically, legitimate to apply the theme of certain fall after blasphemous hubris in vv. 40-45 to other rulers (e.g., Antichrist).

Second, Lucas is clearly inclined to the view that the final form of the book dates possibly to the second century (312)—a conclusion which he bases primarily on his understanding that the literary form of Dan 8:23-25 and 11:3-45 resembles that of the Akkadian Prophecies and has to be regarded as pseudonymous quasi-prophecy (269-272, 308-309). That an evangelical scholar can argue that the visions of Daniel are "for the most part" pseudonymous quasi-prophecy has already been exemplified by Goldingay, who bases his conclusion on the concept of theological relevancy, which for him rules out that detailed prophecies for the second century could have been given centuries earlier (J. Goldingay, *Daniel* [Dallas: Word, 1989], 321). Lucas does not find Goldingay's theological argument conclusive (309). Instead he insists that the literary-critical argument of similarities between the texts in the so-called Akkadian Prophecies, which were obviously written after most of the events they describe and after Dan 8:23-25; 11:2-12:4, is a far better reason to regard the Daniel texts as "prophetic surveys of history" or *vaticinia ex eventu*. He holds that the Akkadian Prophecies illuminate the purpose of the two Daniel texts, which is to show "how past history bears on the situation dealt with at the end of the survey of history" and "not to *predict* the course of history but to *interpret* it" (272; cf. 309). In this regard, Lucas accepts Goldingay's position that the prophecy in Dan 11 is a revelation of

significance and not a revelation of future factuality (*Models of Scripture* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994], 295). However, the argument based on genre comparison is not completely persuasive. Although the Akkadian Prophecies are close in affinity to Jewish historical apocalypses and there are a number of similarities between the Akkadian Prophecies and Dan 8:23-25; 11:2-12:4, one should be careful to note that the Akkadian Prophecies lack elements of eschatology (particularly an eschatological divine intervention), mediation, and symbolism and thus may be considered to constitute a different genre (so, e.g., T. Longman, *Fictional Accadian Autobiography* [Winona Lake: Eisenbauns, 1991]). If Dan 11 belongs to a different genre, *ex eventu* prophecy, which occurs in all Akkadian Prophecies, does not need to be one of its characteristics. The similarities could indicate an influence, but they are not sufficient to assign to the texts in Daniel the nature of pseudonymous quasi-prophecy.

Third, Lucas suggests that "the whole book originated in the eastern Diaspora" (314). Not only the stories in Dan 1–6 originated there in the Persian period to command "a lifestyle of Diaspora" (Humphreys, *JBL* 92 [1973]: 211-223), which seemingly is a scholarly consensus, but also the animal imagery of Dan 7–8 and the quasi-prophecy in Dan 11 exhibit close links to Mesopotamian literature. He is convinced that the author(s) of Daniel's prophecies knew the Akkadian Prophecies and lived in Babylonia. Consequently, he rejects the different views of the identity of the *maskilim*, who supposedly are responsible for the final form of Daniel: they are neither the Hasidim, nor those "seeking righteousness and justice" (1 Macc 2:29-38), nor later wisdom teachers originating from ben Sirach, nor the forerunners of the Qumran community. Instead, Lucas believes they are "a group of upper-class, well-educated Jews . . . working as administrators and advisors in the service of pagan rulers in the eastern Diaspora" (289). From a conservative perspective, it is commendable that Lucas finds the origin of Daniel in Babylonia rather than in Palestine. However, he dates the final step in the formation of the book and most of its prophecies in the second century B.C. The connection of a late date for Daniel and a Mesopotamian provenance is Lucas's original contribution. One is, however, faced with the question, Why should a group of well-educated Jews in Mesopotamia change their positive outlook on Diaspora life because of the crisis of the Antiochene persecution in Palestine, as Lucas argues (314)? The presumed focus on Antiochus, as Lucas suggests it, does not seem to fit too well with a Mesopotamian setting of the final form of Daniel.

These three issues—the interpretation and the nature of prophecy in Daniel, the date of redaction, and the authorship of the book—illustrate how demanding it can be for a conservative exegete to interpret the book of Daniel while at the same time respecting the results of critical scholarship. It is not difficult to predict that many conservative scholars will not be persuaded by Lucas's approach. Although Lucas assures that "acceptance of both a late sixth-century date and a second-century date are consonant with belief in divine inspiration and authority of the book" (312; cf. 309; Goldingay, *Daniel*, xxxix-

xl), it is precisely the question whether a second-century date is compatible with divine inspiration that will be at the forefront of criticism.

So what is the place of this commentary in comparison with others? Lucas's *Daniel* cannot and does not replace the major commentaries by Goldingay (WBC, 1989) and Collins (Hermeneia, 1993) which have more detailed introductions and comments and more extensive bibliographic references; but it certainly complements them. The strengths of Lucas's commentary are the more holistic approach to the text, the careful attention to literary features and the Mesopotamian background of Daniel, and the faith-based explorations of the text's broader biblical and historical context, including possible implications for today. It should be considered as a possible choice for classroom adoption as long as one is aware of Lucas's idiosyncratic suggestions regarding the composition of Daniel.

Seminar Schloss Bogenhofen MARTIN PRÖBSTLE
St. Peter am Hart, Austria

McLay, R. Timothy. *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. xiv + 207 pp. Paper, $30.00.

At the time of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, LXX studies were clearly in decline. It was commonly believed that the latter was, for the most part, a poor paraphrase of the Hebrew Bible, and had little to offer in the study of the MT. The Scrolls have had wide impact on both Hebrew and Greek textual studies, attracting bright young students trained in modern linguistics and related fields. McLay is part of this new wave of LXX scholars. His dissertation from Durham University was published as *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel* (SCS 43), and he has written several articles in this field of study.

Unfortunately, the implications of the renewed interest in the LXX have generally not been adequately recognized in NT studies, and it is to this issue that McLay gives his attention in this volume. Since at least Reformation times, the scriptural background for the NT has normally been sought in the Hebrew Bible/MT—or in translation, in the OT. Recourse to the LXX is had only when the reference is not found in any of those places, such as the reference to Deut 32:43 (LXX) found in Heb 1:6. McLay argues—and demonstrates—that precisely the converse is the approach that should be adopted. By NT times, apart from the Scribes into whose care the Hebrew Scriptures were committed, few could read Hebrew. The Bible of the Christian church was the Greek LXX.

In the Introduction, McLay lays important groundwork, carefully explaining the interrelationship between concepts such as "Scripture" and "canon" and defining terminology. To some, this may seem like splitting hairs, but the distinctions are important. To follow McLay's reasoning, one must be able to distinguish clearly, for instance, between "Septuagint" and "Old Greek," and "Masoretic Text" and "Hebrew Bible." From the outset, some will be tempted to skip or pass quickly over the more technical discussions found as

early as in the introduction, but it is important to follow through and understand the basic concepts.

Chapter 1 begins the study in earnest, with an example from Acts 15:16-18. In his summation at the Jerusalem Council, James quotes Amos 9:11-12. The question is, what source is he quoting, since the words do not match exactly either the MT or the Old Greek? While McLay does not hesitate to use the original languages, English translations are also provided. The argument can be followed in English alone, if necessary.

Acts 15:16-18 is an excellent starting point, and McLay discusses the different possible scenarios under which the differences from the MT and Old Greek may have arisen, such as: text corruption, *Tendenz*, different *Vorlage*, reinterpretation, and quoting from memory.

Chapters 2 and 3 are the heart of the book, centering on the discussion of translation technique. McLay's stated purpose is "to describe the way in which individual translators engaged in the process of translating a unit of Scripture for a community" (45). Since it is the LXX that is the translation of the Hebrew Bible, this portion relates to that text. For the last two decades, translation technique has been an important topic among LXX scholars. McLay carefully lays out the issues, citing the relevant sources, and even taking them to task when he believes this is necessary.

Chapter 3, "A Model for Translation Technique," highlights just how difficult translation is. Even within two Indo-European languages such as Greek and English, the process of translation is difficult enough; when a third element consisting of a Semitic language is added, the results are very complex; finally, add to that the changes over time in the various textual traditions and one can appreciate why translating has been called an act of hubris. It is not that meaning cannot be conveyed, but rather that something is lost in translation and elements are added in the translation to meet the balancing demands of the source language and the target language.

A note of caution is due. Chapters 2 and 3 will easily seem like dry theory if one is not familiar with the field and language of textual criticism; however to skip them—and the temptation will be real—will render the rest of the book basically pointless. After all, it is the failure of NT scholarship in general to wrestle with the issues that necessitated the writing of the book in the first place. Since McLay has dialogued with the key sources, the footnotes provide the major references needed to understand translation technique. Anyone who attempts to work in NT textual criticism with the hope of establishing the earliest readings must understand these issues when working with quotations from the Hebrew Bible, OT, Old Greek, and LXX.

Chapter 4, "The Origin of the Septuagint and Its History," which is more practical in nature than the previous two chapters, is replete with examples. However, there is a great deal of theory. The reason for this is that the translations and recensions subsequent to the original Old Greek translation have in turn impacted the Greek NT at various points. This is much like finding that a modern

author has consistently quoted the NRSV, except for references to the NIV, and attempts to quote the KJV from memory. McLay observes:

> The fact that there was no standardized text [of the Hebrew Bible] prior to the second century [A.D.] helps us to understand better the nature of the Old Greek translation of a particular book in the Hebrew Bible. Since there was no standardized text, the Old Greek translation of a particular book provides a snapshot of a particular text form of the Hebrew book that existed at that time" (121).

Finally, in chapter 5, "The Impact of the Septuagint on the New Testament," we come to what many will have expected the whole book to have been about. The problem is that translation technique has never had such a thoroughgoing, consistent approach before, and it takes time and space to do so. Again, this chapter addresses the deeper issue of the canon. At the time the NT was written, what the writers considered authoritative will, for some, seem a surprisingly wide range of sources outside of the (later, traditional) Jewish canon. Thus McLay, in his own way, is close to the point of Martin Hengel (see my review of Hengel, *The Septuagint As Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*, *AUSS* 41 [2003]: 315–317) in arguing for—and demonstrating the lack of—any clear canon for any corpus into the Christian era. However, the two differ in that Hengel accepts that the Hebrew canon was settled by a Jewish Council at Jamnia/Jabneh. McLay—in contradistinction to Hengel, and in agreement with the consensus position for the current generation of scholars—correctly understands that this putative Jewish Council in fact never took place, but was a construct of Christian authors to provide a point parallel to the later Christian councils that determined the extent of the NT canon.

There is no question that Judaism centered in the Jewish Scriptures, and that the NT church, under divine inspiration, reinterpreted the Hebrew Bible in the light of the work and ministry of Jesus Christ. McLay's book opens to the reader the nature and complexity of that process. Since so much in the book will be new to many readers, the issue is not whether McLay is correct, but whether he is headed in the right direction; the answer is in the affirmative. McLay has made a significant contribution. He and others will refine the process, but the way ahead is now clear.

Loma Linda, California BERNARD TAYLOR

Osborne, Grant R. *Revelation.* Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002. xx + 869 pp. Hardcover, $49.99.

Grant R. Osborne is Professor of New Testament at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, and editor and one of the authors of the Life Application Bible Commentary and the InterVarsity Press New Testament Commentary Series.

The present volume is a section-by-section commentary on the book of Revelation, which is based on an exegesis of the text. It is written from the evangelical perspective in accordance with the objectives of the whole commentary

series, which are to blend "scholarly depth with readability, exegetical detail with sensibility to the whole, attention to critical problems with theological awareness" (ix). Osborne stresses that the Apocalypse is not a result of John's fertile imagination; its origin is in God himself. He views the book as symbolic, but depicting literal events. The images in the book are exclusively drawn from the OT, of which the interpretive key is typology. Bible-believing readers will certainly appreciate the faith-based Osborne approach.

Osborne follows a standard commentary format. A lengthy introduction discusses the authorship, date, social setting and purpose of the writing, and the genre of the book. It explores topics such as the interpretation of symbols, methods of interpretation, text, canonicity, the language/grammar of the book, use of the OT, and the structure of the book. The introduction concludes with an extensive theological section. Apart from the prologue (1:1-8) and the epilogue (22:6-21), Osborne divides the book into four parts: "Churches Addressed," "God in Majesty and Judgment," "Final Judgment and the Arrival of the Eschaton," and "New Heaven and New Earth." However, he considers this outline to be only one level of a very complex literary structure of the Apocalypse. Each literary unit that is treated begins with introductory comments and a structural outline, followed by the author's translation of the text and an exegetical discussion of the biblical passages. The section concludes with "Summary and Contextualization," which provides both a brief summary of the section and practical application to the modern reader's setting. "Additional Notes" at the end of each exegetical unit provide a discussion of the textual problems. Also included at the end of the book are a bibliography and helpful indices.

The book is remarkable for blending scholarship with exposition. It is user-friendly and easy to read. Its more-than-800 pages render excellent reference material. It is obviously written with general readers in mind: the Greek original alphabet is emended with transliteration into the Latin alphabet and translation into English. At times, however, the comments lack clarity, thereby creating ambiguity. For instance, although he argues that Rev 4–5 portrays the enthronement of Christ in heaven (214, 218), he later dismisses the notion that the vision of Rev 5 portrays the enthronement ceremony. The reader will also wonder if Osborne sees the altar in 6:9 and 8:3a as the altar of burnt offering or as the altar which combines the aspects of both the altar of burnt offering and the altar of incense of the Israelite temple (343-346). In addition, the commentary obviously lacks the scholarly originality and fresh insights that characterize, for instance, G. K. Beale's and D. Aune's commentaries. A serious interaction with the text within its context is substantiated by references to the views of other commentators. By this remark, I am not trying to diminish the commentary's contribution. Osborne has an astonishing control of both periodical literature and commentaries on Revelation.

Although Osborne sees his commentary as both preterist and futurist in orientation—similar to Ladd, Beasley-Murray, Michaels, and Mounce—he

makes it clear that his primary approach to the Apocalypse is futurist. The idealist approach has, in his view, both strengths and weaknesses, while historicism has no value at all (21-22). Here I see the main and most serious problem with Osborne's commentary. A scholarly work on the Apocalypse should not let a particular method of interpretation govern the way in which the text is to be interpreted; the text itself should govern the method of interpretation. Osborne himself admits that the method of interpretation an author chooses normally governs the way he or she reads and interprets the text (18). This usually results in forcing the interpretation into the framework of the predetermined idea, regardless of whether or not it fits the context. An example of how Osborne's exegesis is controlled by the futurist presuppositions is the section on Rev 4–5. He first argues that Christ's statement in 3:21—"just as I overcame and sat with my Father on his throne"—is further elaborated on in chapters 4 and 5, which describe "Christ's own conquest and subsequent enthronement with his Father in heaven" (214, 218). However, he argues later that Christ's enthronement in Rev 5 is an event that takes place at the eschatological denouement (245). Such a view is untenable in light of the fact that the NT is replete with texts stating that Christ's sitting on the throne at the right hand of the Father took place after his ascension (cf. Acts 2:32-36; 13:33-34; Rom 8:34; Eph 1:20-22; Heb 1:3; 10:12; 12:2; 3:21-22). His interpretation of the seven seals, the seven trumpets, and the seven bowl plagues is also given from the futurist perspective.

While the introduction provides a lengthy discussion on the use of the OT in the Apocalypse, no mention is made of the Jewish apocalyptic and pagan sources that color its language. This comes as a surprise since Aune's commentary—characterized by the treatment of the Greco-Roman motifs in the Apocalypse—is a primary source for his citations. Thus, for instance, the parallels that Aune draws between the description of the glorified Christ in Rev 1:13-18 and Hekate (a Hellenistic goddess popular in Asia Minor, who was thought to possess the keys to the gates of heaven and hades and was referred to as the beginning and the end) are ignored by Osborne.

At times, it appears that the commentary lacks interaction with the text in its literary context. For instance, in his discussion of the aforementioned text of 3:21, Osborne correctly observes that the first part of the text, which states that the overcomers *will* sit with Christ on his throne, refers to the future event to be fulfilled at the eschatological denouement (213-215). However, he fails to note that the second part ("just as I overcame and sat with my Father on his throne") is expressed in the aorist tense referring to the event that took place in the past from John's perspective (rather than in the future as Osborne holds).

Furthermore, in his translation of Rev 6:11, Osborne inserts the phrase "the number of," which does not appear in the Greek text (274); but he does not indicate that the phrase is his interpretive addition in order to explain what is to

be "completed." As a result, his exegetical analysis and exposition of the text are made to fit a "taken-for-granted" reading, without exploring all the exegetical possibilities of the text as it reads.

Despite the weaknesses pointed out above, Osborne's work is an excellent resource of recent scholarship on the Apocalypse. It will no doubt find its place on the shelves of serious students of the Apocalypse, on one hand; on the other, it is also suitable for use as a textbook in both college and seminary courses.

Andrews University RANKO STEFANOVIC

Ramírez-Johnson, Johnny, and Edwin I. Hernández. *AVANCE: A Vision for a New Mañana.* Loma Linda, CA: Loma Linda University Press, 2003. 296 pp. Paper, $24.95.

AVANCE is a project of the Hispanic Education Advisory Committee and the Education and Multilingual Ministries Departments of the North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists. The primary purpose of the project was to gather information to strengthen the Hispanic ministry in the Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America.

A team composed of eight members, called the AVANCE research team, was responsible for the research. Two of the team members, Johnny Ramírez-Johnson and Edwin I. Hernández, undertook the task of reporting the study. Hernández is the Director of the Center for the Study of Latino Religion and the Institute for Latino Studies at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. Ramírez is Professor of Theology, Psychology, and Culture at Loma Linda University, California.

A total of 3,306 church members from a sampling of seventy-seven churches participated in the research. The study concentrated on three major areas: the family, the school, and the church. The result is the most comprehensive study of the Hispanic Seventh-day Adventist Church in the United States, the fifth-largest Spanish-speaking country in the world.

The research unveiled excellent information about how Spanish-speaking Seventh-day Adventists view religion, salvation, education, acculturation, and other sociological issues. This wealth of information offers valuable cognitive and practical insights to pastors, administrators, and educators who work with Latinos in this part of the world.

The report is complemented with relevant information from various sources and with practical suggestions to promote the richness and growth of Hispanics in North America. It is written in terse prose, well organized under appropriate headings and subheadings, and offers revealing tables and sidebars that clarify information and make the book easier to read.

The title is, in my opinion, the only weakness of the book. It is not clear and does not do justice to the caliber of the content. When the authors of a book must explain the meaning of its title, it is an indication that they also had doubts about the title's clarity. The title was chosen by the research team that

conducted the study, who decided to include the survey name, AVANCE, which means "advance" in Spanish, in the title. They also opted to include the Spanish word *Mañana* ("tomorrow"), to point out the Adventist belief in the coming of the Lord. There are books with extraordinary titles and poor content. This book has extraordinary content, but a poor title.

Andrews University RICARDO NORTON

Wiley, Tatha. *Original Sin: Origins, Developments, and Contemporary Meanings.* New York: Paulist Press, 2002. viii + 276 pp. Paper, $19.95.

Original Sin is a historical-theological study of the origin, development, and contemporary meanings of one of the most fundamental doctrines of Christianity. In this book, Tatha Wiley, who currently teaches at Metropolitan State University and United Theological Seminary in Minneapolis, Minnesota, traces "the emergence of the idea of original sin, the questions the idea answered," "the development of original sin as a Christian doctrine in the early centuries of Christianity" (9) and in contemporary reinterpretations of the doctrine. The book is divided into two parts. The first part examines the origin and development of the doctrine from apostolic times to the Council of Trent. In this section, the author discusses the Christian origin of the doctrine in the early patristic tradition, along with the role played by Augustine and medieval and Reformation theologians in formulating the classical doctrine of original sin. In the second half of the book, Wiley traces the modern scientific, historical, and philosophical challenges posed to the doctrine. Here, she explains the significance of the Enlightenment and how modernity had a significant impact upon the doctrine.

Wiley agrees that "human alienation from God is a fact" and that "evil is a fact" (9), but argues that "the *concept* of original sin and the *reality* to which the concept refers are different" (8). While she presents a valuable study of the historical and theological development of the doctrine of original sin, Wiley prefers the contemporary meanings of the doctrine that do not rely upon the historicity of the biblical story of Adam and Eve.

In her first chapters, Wiley argues commendably that the doctrine of original sin was not accepted without some resistance in the church's theological tradition. Early Christianity did not have a doctrine of original sin. According to the author, the doctrine first arose as an attempt to find support for the practice of infant baptism. It was only after the church began this liturgical practice that theologians sought to identify the sin for which infants ought to be baptized. Original sin was the answer and pointed to the inheritance by all humanity of the guilt of Adam and Eve's wrong decision. In his fuller development of the doctrine, Augustine found support for the doctrine in Gen 3 and Rom 5. He argued for the solidarity of humankind with Adam: when Adam sinned, all sinned. Although Reformation and Catholic

theologians varied in the finer points of the doctrine, the essential points remained the same.

The Enlightenment, however, inaugurated a resistance to the cultural dominance of the church and its beliefs in Western society, with the result that "the doctrine of original sin suffered the brunt of modern hostility to Christian belief" (108). Wiley argues that modern thinkers were closer to the intellectual orientation of Pelagius than to that of Augustine and "felt the idea that human beings were born already guilty of sin was morally reprehensible" (111). As modern thinkers also rejected the authority of the church over human knowledge, the reliability of the Bible as a historical source of knowledge of the past was also rejected. Since the church had emphasized the historical solidarity of humankind with Adam and Eve, modern evolutionary challenges to the historicity of Gen 1–3 undermined the classical view of the doctrine of original sin.

> Original sin was the pivotal element in a Christian theology of redemption. It answered the question why Christ came. And especially for Catholics, original sin was an equally pivotal element in the church's self-understanding, in its ecclesiology (120).

In her book, Wiley introduces contemporary reinterpretations of the meaning of original sin, arrived at by looking at the Genesis story as a symbolic narrative rather than history. As valid reinterpretations of this complex and crucial doctrine, she proposes the views of Piet Schoonenberg, Reinhold Niebuhr, and feminist theologians Rosemary Radford Ruether and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza. While the author could have presented the views of other contemporary theologians, such as Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, or Karl Rahner, these theologians nonetheless reflect the modern subjective and existential interpretations of the doctrine and offer valuable insights into the concept of sin and human depravity. Wiley also lengthily expounds Bernard J. F. Lonergan's complex concept of original sin as sustained inauthenticity as a contemporary, meaningful understanding of this doctrine "with a theological anthropology congruent with modern insights into the human person" (203).

Wiley's overall discussion of original sin is well done and helps the reader achieve a better understanding of the complexity of the doctrine of original sin, its origins, and its various contemporary meanings. Above all, her work attempts to answer the important question, "What does the doctrine of original sin have to say to us today?" She certainly succeeds in raising the theological awareness of her readers to the importance of this doctrine. Absent from her study are biblical-theological interpretations of original sin that differ from the Augustinian theological approach.

Scholars who still adhere to a literal reading of Scripture and believe in the historicity of the Genesis creation story will nonetheless benefit from reading this book in their search for a deeper understanding of contemporary human existence.

Wiley's linkage of the origin of the doctrine of original sin to infant baptism is enlightening, demonstrating that some traditional beliefs did not arise by necessity from biblical theology. Wiley's study begins a needed reflection into this crucial doctrine.

Andrews University DENIS FORTIN

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS AND REVIEWERS

"Guidelines for Authors and Reviewers" and frequently used abbreviations may be found on our website at www.auss.info, or in *AUSS* 40 (Autumn 2002): 303-306 and back covers, or copies may be requested from the *AUSS* office.

For general English style, see Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6th ed., rev. John Grossman and Alice Bennett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

For exhaustive abbreviation lists, see Patrick H. Alexander and others, eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999), 68-152, 176-233. For capitalization and spelling examples, see ibid., 153-164.

Articles may be submitted by email, attached document. Queries to the editors in advance of writing are encouraged. See "Guidelines for Authors and Reviewers" for further details.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

◌ַ	=	a				◌ֶ	=	e	◌ֵי	=	ê	◌ֹ	=	ō	◌ֺו	=	ô
◌ָ	=	ā				◌ֵ	=	ē	◌ִ	=	i	◌ֺ	=	o	◌ֻו	=	û
◌ַ	=	a	◌ְ	=	(vocal shewa)	◌ֱ	=	e	◌ִי	=	î	◌ֳ	=	ŏ	◌ֻ	=	u

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters; dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

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