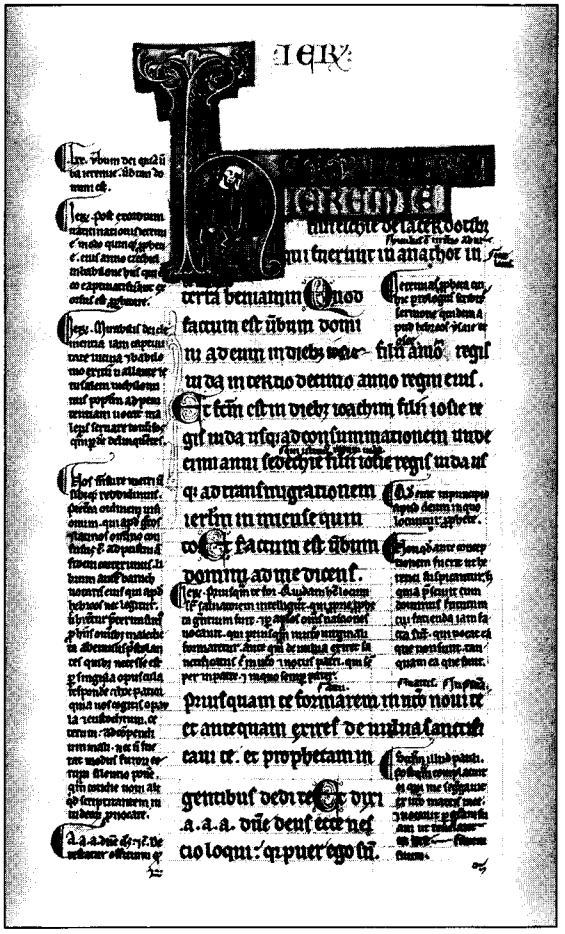
Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation

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John H. Hayes, General Editor

K–Z

Abingdon Press
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Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation

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ABBREVIATIONS

General

abr.	abridged	Heb.	Hebrew
AM	Anno Mundi	hon.	honorable
approx.	approximately	ill.	illustration
art(s).	article(s)	intro.	introduction
aug.	augmented	Ital.	Italian
b.	born	KS	*Kleine Schriften*
BCE	Before the Common Era	Lat.	Latin
Bd(e).	*Band(e)* (Ger.)	lit.	literally
bib.	biblical	LT	Latin translation
bk(s).	book(s)	LXX	Septuagint
CE	Common Era	masc.	masculine
c.	circa	MS(S)	manuscript(s)
cent(s).	century(ies)	MT	Masoretic Text
cf.	compare	n.	number
chap(s).	chapter(s)	n.d.	no date
comb.	combined	n.s.	new series
contr.	contributor	NT	New Testament
corr.	corrected	OG	Old Greek
d.	died	o.j.	*ohne Jahr*
dept.	department	OL	Old Latin
dir.	director	o.s.	old series
diss.	dissertation	OT	Old Testament
DH	deuteronomistic history	par.	paragraph
Dtr^1	first deuteronomistic redaction	pl.	plural
Dtr^2	second deuteronomistic redaction	posth.	posthumous
Dtr	deuteronomistic historian	prod.	producer
DtrG	*deuteronomistische Geschichte*	pt(s).	part(s)
DtrN	nomistic deuteronomist	pub.	published
DtrP	prophetic deuteronomist	R.	Rabbi
ed(s).	editor(s)/edition(s)	repr.	reprint
Eng.	English	repub.	republished
enl.	enlarged	rev. ed.	revised edition
esp.	especially	RGS	*Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*
est.	established	sec(s).	section(s)
ET	English translation	ser.	series
fem.	feminine	stud.	studies
fl.	flourished	supp.	supplement
frg(s).	fragment(s)	s.v.	*sub verbo*
FS	*Festschrift*	tr.	translator/translation
FT	French translation	trans.	transcribed
Ger.	German	u.a.	*unter anderem/und andere*
Gr.	Greek	v(v).	verse(s)
GS	*Gesammelte Schriften*	Vg.	Vulgate
GT	German translation	vol(s).	volume(s)
HB	Hebrew Bible		

Biblical Books (including the Apocrypha)

Gen	Nah	1–2–3–4 Kgdms	John
Exod	Hab	Add Esth	Acts
Lev	Zeph	Bar	Rom
Num	Hag	Bel	1–2 Cor
Deut	Zech	1–2 Esdr	Gal
Josh	Mal	4 Ezra	Eph
Judg	Ps(s)	Jdt	Phil
1–2 Sam	Job	Ep Jer	Col
1–2 Kgs	Prov	1–2–3–4 Macc	1–2 Thess
Isa	Ruth	Pr Azar	1–2 Tim
Jer	Cant	Pr Man	Titus
Ezek	Eccl	Sir	Phlm
Hos	Lam	Sus	Heb
Joel	Esth	Tob	Jas
Amos	Dan	Wis	1–2 Pet
Obad	Ezra	Matt	1–2–3 John
Jonah	Neh	Mark	Jude
Mic	1–2 Chr	Luke	Rev

Pseudepigraphical and Early Patristic Books

Adam and Eve	*Books of Adam and Eve*
Acts Pil.	*Acts of Pilate*
Apoc. Mos.	*Apocalypse of Moses*
Ap. Zeph.	*Apocalypse of Zephaniah*
As. Mos.	*Assumption of Moses*
Barn.	*Epistle of Barnabas*
Bib. Ant.	Ps.-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities*
1–2 Clem.	*1–2 Clement*
Did.	*Didache*
Diogn.	*Epistle to Diognets*
1–2–3 Enoch	*Ethiopic, Slavonic, Hebrew Enoch*
Ep. Arist.	*Epistle of Aristeas*
Gos. Eb.	*Gospel of the Ebionites*
Gos. Eg.	*Gospel of the Egyptians*
Gos. Heb.	*Gospel of the Hebrews*
Gos. Naass.	*Gospel of the Naassenes*
Gos. Pet.	*Gospel of Peter*
Gos. Thom.	*Gospel of Thomas*
Herm. Man.	*Hermas, Mandate(s)*
Herm. Sim.	*Hermas, Similitude(s)*
Herm. Vis.	*Hermas, Vision(s)*
Ign. *Eph.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Ephesians*
Ign. *Magn.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Magnesians*
Ign. *Phld.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Philadelphians*
Ign. *Pol.*	Ignatius, *Letter to Polycarp*
Ign. *Rom.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Romans*
Ign. *Smyrn.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Smyrnaeans*
Ign. *Trall.*	Ignatius, *Letter to the Trallians*
Jos. Asen.	*Joseph and Aseneth*
Jub	*Jubilees*
Mart. Isa.	*Martyrdom of Isaiah*
Odes Sol.	*Odes of Solomon*
Pol. *Phil.*	Polycarp, *Letter to the Philippians*
Prot. Jas.	*Protevangelium of James*
Pss. Sol.	*Psalms of Solomon*
Shep. Herm.	*The Shepherd* (Hermas)
Sib. Or.	*Sibylline Oracles*
T. 12 Patr.	*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

T. Benj.	*Testament of Benjamin*
T. Dan	*Testament of Dan*
T. Iss.	*Testament of Issachar*
T. Jos	*Testament of Joseph*
T. Jud.	*Testament of Judah*
T. Levi	*Testament of Levi*
T. Mos.	*Testament of Moses*
T. Naph.	*Testament of Naphtali*
T. Reuben	*Testament of Reuben*
T. Sim.	*Testament of Simeon*
T. Zeb.	*Testament of Zebulun*

Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Texts

Sites

Ḥev	Naḥal Ḥever
Ḥev/Se	Naḥal Ḥever documents formerly attributed to Seiyal
Mas	Masada
Mird	Khirbet Mird
Mur	Murabba'at
Q	Qumran

Caves

Different caves at each site are denoted with sequential numbers, e.g., 1Q, 2Q.

Texts

1QapGen ar	*Genesis Apocryphon*
1QH^{a}	*Hodayot*^{a} or *Thanksgiving Hymns*^{a}
1QIsa^{a}	Isaiah^{a}
1QIsa^{b}	Isaiah^{b}
1QM	*Milḥamah* or *War Scroll*
1QpHab	*Pesher on Habakkuk*
1QpMi	*Pesher on Micah*
1QS	*Serekh ha-Yaḥad,* or *Rule of the Community* (formerly *Manual of Discipline*)
4QapocrJosh^{a}	*Apocryphon of Joshua*^{a}, formerly *Psalms of Joshua*
4QBeat	*Beatitudes*
4QCommGen A	*Commentary on Genesis A* (formerly *Patriarchal Blessings* or *Pesher Genesis*)
4QDeut^{j}	Deuteronomy^{j}
4QDeut^{n}	Deuteronomy^{n}
4QDeut^{q}	Deuteronomy^{q}
4QFlor (MidrEschat^{b})	*Florilegium,* also *Midrash on Eschatology*^{a}
4QHos^{a}	Hosea^{a}
4QJer^{b}	Jeremiah^{b}
4QJosh^{a}	Joshua^{a}
4QJosh^{b}	Joshua^{b}
4QJubilees^{a}	*Jubilees*^{a}
4QMess ar	Aramaic "Messianic" text
4QMMT^{a}	*Miqṣat Ma'aseh ha-Torah*^{a}
4QNum^{b}	Numbers^{b}
4QpaleoExod	Copy of Exodus in paleo-Hebrew script
4QpaleoExod^{jm}	Copy of Exodus in paleo-Hebrew script^{jm}
4QpaleoExod^{m}	Copy of Exodus in paleo-Hebrew script^{m}
4QPhyl	Phylacteries
4QPhyl G	Phylacteries G
4QpIsa^{a}	*Pesher on Isaiah*^{a}
4QpIsa^{b}	*Pesher on Isaiah*^{b}
4QpIsa^{c}	*Pesher on Isaiah*^{c}
4QpMic	*Pesher on Micah*
4QpNah	*Pesher on Nahum*
4QpPs^{a}	*Pesher on Psalms*^{a}
4QPrNab	*Prayer of Nabonidus*

4QPsDan[a] ar	Pseudo-Daniel[a] Aramaic
4QPsDan[b] ar	Pseudo-Daniel[b] Aramaic
4QPsDan[c] ar	Pseudo-Daniel[c] Aramaic
4QPssJosh	*Psalms of Joshua*
4QRP[c]	*Reworked Pentateuch*[c]
4QSam[a]	Samuel[a]
4QShirShabb[a]	*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*[a]
4QTestim	*Testimonia*
4QtgLev	*Targum of Leviticus*
4QTLevi	*Testament of Levi*
5QDeut	Deuteronomy
5QpMal	*Pesher on Malachi*
8ḤevXiigr	Greek Scroll of the Minor Prophets from Naḥal Ḥever
11QMelch	*Melchizedek*
11QpaleoLev	Copy of Leviticus in paleo-Hebrew script
11QShirShabb	*Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*
11QT[a]	*Temple Scroll*[a]
11QT[b]	*Temple Scroll*[b]
11QtgJob	*Targum of Job*

Targumic Materials

Tg. Esth I, II	*First or Second Targum of Esther*
Frg. Tg.	*Fragmentary Targum*
Tg. Isa	*Targum of Isaiah*
Tg. Ket.	*Targum of the Writings*
Tg. Neb.	*Targum of the Prophets*
Tg. Neof.	*Targum Neofiti I*
Tg. Onq.	*Targum Onquelos*
T. Ps.-J.	*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*
Sam. Tg.	*Samaritan Targum*
Yem. Tg.	*Yemenite Targum*
Tg. Yer. I	*Targum Yerušalmi I*
Tg. Yer. II	*Targum Yerušalmi II*

Orders and Tractates in Mishnaic and Related Literature

m.	Mishnah
b.	Babylonian Talmud
y.	Jerusalem Talmud
t.	Tosefta
ʿAbod. Zar.	*ʿAboda Zara*
ʿAbot	*ʿAbot*
ʿArak.	*ʿArakin*
B. Bat.	*Baba Batra*
Bek.	*Bekorot*
Ber.	*Berakot*
Beṣa	*Beṣa* (= *Yom Ṭob*)
Bik.	*Bikkurim*
B. Meṣ.	*Baba Meṣiʿa*
B. Qam.	*Baba Qamma*
Dem.	*Demai*
ʿErub.	*ʿErubin*
ʿEd.	*ʿEduyyot*
Git.	*Giṭṭin*
Ḥag.	*Ḥagiga*
Ḥal.	*Ḥalla*
Hor.	*Horayot*
Ḥul.	*Ḥullin*
Kelim	*Kelim*

Ker.	*Keritot*
Ketub.	*Ketubot*
Kil.	*Kil'ayim*
Ma'as.	*Ma'aserot*
Mak.	*Makkot*
Makš.	*Makširin* (= *Mašqin*)
Meg.	*Megilla*
Me'il.	*Me'ila*
Menaḥ.	*Menaḥot*
Mid.	*Middot*
Miqw.	*Miqwa'*ot
Mo'ed	*Mo'ed*
Mo'ed Qaṭ.	*Mo'ed Qaṭan*
Ma'as. Š.	*Ma'aser Šeni*
Našim	*Našim*
Nazir	*Nazir*
Ned.	*Nedarim*
Neg.	*Nega'im*
Nez.	*Neziqin*
Nid.	*Niddah*
Ohol.	*Oholot*
'Or.	*'Orla*
Para	*Para*
*Pe'*a	*Pe'a*
Pesaḥ.	*Pesaḥim*
Qinnim	*Qinnim*
Qidd.	*Qiddušin*
Qod.	*Qodašin*
Roš Haš.	*Roš Haššana*
Sanh.	*Sanhedrin*
Šabb.	*Šabbat*
Šeb.	*Šebi'it*
Šebu.	*Šebu'ot*
Šeqal.	*Šeqalim*
Soṭa	*Soṭa*
Sukk.	*Sukka*
Ta'an.	*Ta'anit*
Tamid	*Tamid*
Tem.	*Temura*
Ter.	*Terumot*
Ṭohar.	*Ṭoharot*
T. Yom	*Ṭebul Yom*
'Uq.	*'Uqṣin*
Yad.	*Yadayim*
Yebam.	*Yebamot*
Yoma	*Yoma* (= *Kippurim*)
Zabim	*Zabim*
Zebaḥ.	*Zebaḥim*
Zer.	*Zera'im*

Additional Rabbinic Works

'Abot R. Nat.	*'Abot de Rabbi Nathan*
'Ag. Ber.	*'Aggadat Berešit*
Bab.	*Babylonian*
Der. Er. Rab.	*Derek Ereṣ Rabba*
Der Er Zuṭ.	*Derek Ereṣ Zuṭa*
Gem.	*Gemara*
Mek.	*Mekilta*
MHG Shem.	*Midrash HaGadol Shemot*
Midr.	*Midraš* (cited with abbreviation for biblical book)

Pal.	*Palestinian*
Pesiq. R.	*Pesiqta Rabbati*
Pesiq. Rab Kah.	*Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*
Pirqe R. El.	*Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer*
Rab.	*Rabbah (following abbreviation for biblical book)*
Ṣem.	*Ṣemaḥot*
Sipra	*Sipra*
Sipre	*Sipre*
Sop.	*Soperim*
S. ʿOlam Rab.	*Seder ʿOlam Rabbah*
Tan. Shem.	*Tanchuma Shemot*
Talm.	*Talmud*
Yal.	*Yalquṭ*

Nag Hammadi Tractates

Acts Pet. 12 Apost	*Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*
Allogenes	*Allogenes*
Ap. Jas.	*Apocryphon of James*
Ap. John	*Apocryphon of John*
Apoc. Adam	*Apocalypse of Adam*
1 Apoc. Jas.	*First Apocalypse of James*
2. Apoc. Jas.	*Second Apocalypse of James*
Apoc. Paul	*Apocalypse of Paul*
Apoc. Pet.	*Apocalypse of Peter*
Asclepius	*Asclepius 21–29*
Auth. Teach.	*Authoritative Teaching*
Dial. Sav.	*Dialogue of the Savior*
Disc. 8–9	*Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*
Ep. Pet. Phil.	*Letter of Peter to Philip*
Eugnostos	*Eugnostos the Blessed*
Exeg. Soul	*Exegesis on the Soul*
Gos. Eg.	*Gospel of the Egyptians*
Gos. Mary	*Gospel of Mary*
Gos. Phil.	*Gospel of Philip*
Gos. Thom.	*Gospel of Thomas*
Gos. Truth	*Gospel of Truth*
Great Pow.	*Concept of Our Great Power*
Hyp. Arch.	*Hypostasis of the Archons*
Hypsiph.	*Hypsiphrone*
Interp. Know.	*Interpretation of Knowledge*
Marsanes	*Marsanes*
Melch.	*Melchizedek*
Norea	*Thought of Norea*
On Bap. A	*On Baptism A*
On Bap. B	*On Baptism B*
On Bap. C	*On Baptism C*
On Euch. A	*On the Eucharist A*
On Euch. B	*On the Eucharist B*
Orig. World	*On the Origin of the World*
Paraph. Shem	*Paraphrase of Shem*
Pr. Paul	*Prayer of the Apostle Paul*
Pr. Thanks.	*Prayer of Thanksgiving*
Sent. Sextus	*Sentences of Sextus*
Soph. Jes. Chr.	*Sophia of Jesus Christ*
Steles Seth	*Three Steles of Seth*
Teach. Silv.	*Teachings of Silvanus*
Testim. Truth	*Testimony of Truth*
Thom. Cont.	*Book of Thomas the Contender*
Thund.	*Thunder, Perfect Mind*
Treat. Res.	*Treatise on Resurrection*

Treat. Seth	*Second Treatise of the Great Seth*
Tri. Trac.	*Tripartite Tractate*
Trim. Prot.	*Trimorphic Protennoia*
Val. Exp.	*A Valentinian Exposition*
Zost.	*Zostrianos*

Institutions and Organizations

AAR	American Academy of Religion
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ATLA	American Theologicial Library Association
BFBS	British Foreign Bible Society
CBA	Catholic Biblical Association of America
CMS	Church Missionary Society
HUC	Hebrew Union College
IOSCS	International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SNTS	Society for New Testament Studies
SUNY	State University of New York
UBS	United Bible Society

Periodicals, Reference Works, and Serials

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AAAbo	Acta Academiae Aboensis
AAAbo.H	Acta Academiae Aboensis. Ser. A. Humaniora
AAR.AS	AAR Academy Series
AAR.DS	AAR Dissertation Series
AAR.SR	AAR Studies in Religion
AARSBLA	American Academy of Religion/Society of Biblical Literature Abstracts
AARSBLVR	AAR/SBL Ventures in Religion
AAS	*Acta apostolicae sedis*
AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AAWB	Abhandlungen der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
AAWG.PH	Abhandlungen der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse
AAWLM.G	Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie des Wissenschaft und der Literatur
AB	Anchor Bible
ABBL	J. G. Eichhorn (ed.), *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur (10 vols., 1787–1801)*
ABD	D. N. Freedman (ed.), *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (6 vols., 1992)
ABenR	*American Benedictine Review*
ABG	*Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*
ABMA	Auctores Britannici medii aevi
ABQ	*American Baptist Quarterly*
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ABRL	*Die Arbeiterbewegung in den Rheinlanden*
AbrN	*Abr-Nahrain*
ACCS.NT	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. New Testament
ACEBT	Amsterdamse cahiers voor exegese en bijbelse theologie
ACJD	Abhandlungen zum christlich-jüdischen Dialog
ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
AcOr	*Acta orientalia*
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
ADB	*Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
Aeg	*Aegyptus*

AES	*Archives européennes de sociologie*
AEWK	J. S. Ersch et al. (eds.), *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* (167 vols., 1818–1889)
AF	R. M. Grant (ed.), *Apostolic Fathers*
AFH	*Archivum Franciscanum historicum*
AfO	*Archiv fur Orientforschung*
AFP	*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AGL	C. G. Jöcher (ed.), *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (11 vols., 1750–1819, 1897)
AGLB	Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel
AGPh	*Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie (und Soziologie)*
AGTL	Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums
AGWG	Abhandlungen der (K.) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
AGWG.PH	Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse
AHAW.PH	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse
AHDLMA	*Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*
AHW	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handworterbuch*
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*
AISIG	*Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trento*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJAS	*American Journal of Arabic Studies*
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*
AJBI	Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute
AJeA	American Jewish Archives
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AJS	*American Journal of Sociology*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
AJSR	*Association for Jewish Studies Review*
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
AJTh	*Asia Journal of Theology*
AKAWB	*Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
AKG	Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte. Berlin
AKG	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
AKML	Abhandlungen zur Kunst-, Musik- und Literaturwissenschaft
AKuG	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*
AKZ	*Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*
AJut	Acta Jutlandica
AJut.T	Acta Jutlandica: Teologisk serie
ALBO	Analecta lovaniensia biblica et orientalia
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
ALUOS	*Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*
AnBib	Analecta biblica
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
ANCL	*Ante-Nicene Christian Library*
ANEP	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near East in Pictures*
ANESTP	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near East Supplementary Texts and Pictures*
ANET	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*
ANETS	Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
AnGr	*Analecta Gregoriana*
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia*
ANQ	*Andover Newton Quarterly*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentary
ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforchung
ANTJ	Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum
Anton	*Antonianum*
ANTZ	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte

AO	*Aula orientalis*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
AOSTS	American Oriental Society Translation Series
AOT	H. F. D. Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal OT* (1984)
AOx	*Athenae Oxonienses*
AP	*American Presbyterian*
APAT	E. Kautzsch (ed.), *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (2 vols., 1900)
APG	Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte. Hg.v. B. Erdmann
APOT	R. H. Charles (ed.), *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT* (2 vols., 1913)
AR	D. D. Luckenbill (ed.), *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (2 vols., 1926–27)
ARE	J. H. Breasted (ed.), *Ancient Records of Egypt* (5 vols., 1906–7)
ARG	*Archiv fur Reformationsgeschichte*
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ArOr	*Archiv orientální*
ARSHLL	Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Ludensis
ARW	*Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft*
ARWAW	Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis
ASORSVS	American Schools of Oriental Research Special Volume Series
ASS	*Acta sanctae sedis*
ASSR	*Archives des sciences sociales des religions*
AStE	*Annuario di studi ebraici*
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*
ASV	American Standard Version
AT	Arbeiten zur Theologie
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATAT	*Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*
ATB	Auserlesene Theologische Bibliothek
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATDan	Acta theologica danica
ATLA.MS	American Theological Library Association Monograph Series
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
Aug	*Augustinianum*
AusBR	*Australian Biblical Review*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
AUU	Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis
AV	Authorized Version
AWEAT	Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments
AWR	*Aus der Welt der Religion*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAAR	*Bulletin of the American Academy of Religion*
BAC	Biblioteca de autores cristianos
BAG	Beiträge zur alten Geschichte
BAG(D)	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingerich (2nd ed, and F. W. Danker), *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*
BAH	Bibliothéque archéologique et historique
BAM	J. LeClerc (ed.), *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* (29 vols., 1714–30)
BAR	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader*
BARev	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BAT	Botschaft des Alten Testaments
BB	*Biographia Britannica* (6 vols., 1747–63; 2nd ed., 5 vols., 1778–93)
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BBGW	Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft

BBKL	*Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*
BBLAK	Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde
BC	J. LeClerc (ed.), *Bibliothèque choisie* (28 vols., 1703–13)
BC	Biblischer Commentar über das Alte Testament
BCNH.T	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi. Section textes
BCPE	*Bulletin du Centre Protestant d'Études*
BCSR	*Bulletin of the Council on the Study of Religion*
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BDBR	R. L. Greaves and R. Zaller (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century* (3 vols., 1982–84)
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the NT*
BDR	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*
Bdt	Biliothèque de théologie
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
BEHE	Biliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études
BeO	*Bibbia e oriente*
BER	*Biblisch-exegetisches Repertorium*
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BFT	Biblical Foundations in Theology
BG	W. Schneemelcher at al. (eds.), *Bonner Gelehrte. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Bonn. Evangelische Theologie* (1968–)
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BGBH	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Hermeneutik
BGLRK	Beiträge zur Geschichte und Lehre der Reformierten Kirche
BGPTM	Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie (und Theologie) des Mittelalters
BHEAT	Bulletin d'histoire et d' exegese de l'Ancien Testament
BHH	B. Reicke and L. Rost (eds.), *Biblisch-Historisches Handworterbuch* (4 vols., 1962–79)
BHK	R. Kittel, *Biblia hebraica*
BHPT	*Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico-Theologica*
BHR	*Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*
BHRTD	*Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance. Travaux et Documents*
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BHWJ	Bericht der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums
BI	J. J. Megivern (ed.), *Bible Interpretation* (Official Catholic Teachings, 1978)
Bib	*Biblica*
BibB	Biblische Beiträge
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BibLeb	*Bibel und Leben*
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BibRev	*Bible Review*
BibS	Biblische Studien
BibS(F)	Biblische Studien (Freiburg)
BibS(N)	Biblische Studien (Neukirchen)
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society* (= *Yediot*)
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BIOSCS	Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies
BIRS	*Bibliographies and Indexes in Religious Studies*
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BiSe	The Biblical Seminar
BiTr	*The Bible Translator*
BJDN	*Biographisches Jahrbuch und deutscher Nekrolog*
BJPES	*Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BJuS	Biblical and Judaic Studies
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*

BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BLE	*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*
BLit	*Bibel und Liturgie*
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BNB	British National Bibliography
BNGKT	Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte der katholischen Theologie
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BO	*Bibliotheca orientalis*
BOT	Boeken van het Oude Testament
BP	Bibliothéque de philosophie
BPCI	Biblical Perspectives on Current Issues
BPhC	Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine
BQ	*Baptist Quarterly*
BR	*Biblical Research*
BRL	*Biblisches Reallexikon*
BRQO	*Biblical Repository and Quarterly Observer*
BSac	Bibliotheca Sacra
BSLR	Beacon Series in Liberal Religion
BSMS	*Bulletin of the Society for Mesopotamian Studies*
BSNA	Biblical Scholarship in North America
BSO(A)S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
BT	*Babylonian Talmud*
BTA	Bible Through the Ages Series
BTAVO	Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BThB	Bibliotek Theologie der Befreiung
BTS	*Bible et terre sainte*
BTT	Bible de tous les temps
BTZ	*Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift*
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BU	*Biographie universelle*
BUH	*Bibliotheque universelle et historique*
BurH	*Buried History*
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne*
BVSGW	Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften
BVSGW.PH	Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
BWN	*Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland*
BWPGN	*Biografisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur *ZAW*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*
BZRGG	Beihefte zur *ZRGG*
BZSF	Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CahThéol	Cahiers Théologiques
CAR	Cahiers de l'actualité religieuse
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CATTA	V. Ferm (ed.), *Contemporary American Theology: Theological Autobiographies* (2 vols., 1932–33)
CB	Clarendon Bible
CB	*Cultura biblica*
CBA	Cronaca delle belle arti
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBE	*Catholic Biblical Encyclopedia*
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly—Monograph Series
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for School and Colleges

CBTEL	J. McClintock and J. Strong (eds.), *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature* (12 vols., 1867–87)
CBW	*Cities of the Biblical World*
CC	*Christian Century*
CC	Corpus Christianorum
CCARJ	*Central Conference of American Rabbis. Journal*
CCath	Corpus Catholicorum
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCS	*The Communicator's Commentary Series*
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
CD	*Das christliche Deutschland*
CE	P. G. Bietenholz and T. B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* (3 vols., 1985–87)
CeB	The Century Bible
CF	Cogitatio fidei
CFr	Collectanea Friburgensia
CG	Coptic Gnostic Library
CGPNT	Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum
CGTC	Cambridge Greek Testament Commentaries
CH	*Cahiers d'histoire*
CHB	P. R. Ackroyd et al. (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Bible* (3 vols., 1963–70)
ChH	*Church History*
CHR	*Catholic Historical Review*
ChW	*Christliche Welt*
CHZFBG	Calwer hefte zur Forderung biblischen Glaubens und christlichen Lebens
CIB	Centre: Informatique et Bible
CID	Comenius-Institut-Dokumentation
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*
CII	*Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
CJud	*Conservative Judaism*
CMCT	P. E. Hughes (ed.), *Creative Minds in Contemporary Theology* (1973^2)
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
COHP	Contributions to Oriental History and Philology of the Columbia University
ConB	Coniectanea biblica
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica, New Testament
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica, Old Testament
Conc(D)	Concilium. Ensiedeln
ConJ	*Concordia Journal*
ConNT	Coniectanea neotestamentica
COr	Cahiers d'Orientalisme
COT	Commentaar op het Oude Testament
CP	*Classical Philology*
CPT	Cambridge Patristic Texts
CQ	*Church Quarterly*
CQR	*Church Quarterly Review*
CQS	Catholic and Quaker Studies
CR	Corpus reformatorum
CR	*Critical Review of Books in Religion*
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CR:BS	*Currents in Research: Biblical Studies*
CRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
CRHPR	Cahiers de la Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
CrSoc	*Cristianismo y sociedad*
CRSS	Classics in Religious Studies (series)
CS	J. G. Herder, *Christliche Schriften* (4 vols., 1794–98)
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium

CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
CSRCT	Cambridge Studies in Religion and Criticial Thought
CSS	Cursus scripturae sacrae
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques*
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal*
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
CTom	*Ciencia Tomista*
CTP	Cadernos de teologia e pastoral
CTS	Contemporary Theology Series
CurTM	*Currents in Theology and Mission*
CW	*Catholic World*
CWS	Classics of Western Spirituality
DAB	*Dictionary of American Biography*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*
DARB	H. W. Bowden, *Dictionary of American Religious Biography* (1993^2)
DATDJ	R. Smend, *Deutsche Alttestamentler in drei Jahrhunderten* (1989)
DB	F. Vigouroux (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (5 vols., 1891–1912)
DBAT	*Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament*
DBF	*Dictionnaire de biographie française*
DB(H)	J. Hastings (ed.), *Dictionary of the Bible* (rev. F. C. Grant and H. H. Rowley, 1963)
DBJ	*Deutsches biographisches Jahrbuch*
DBSup	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*
DCB	W. Smith and H. Wace (eds.), *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (4 vols., 1877–87)
DCH	*Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*
DDD	K. van der Torn et al. (eds), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (1995)
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*
DISO	C.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (1965)
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DMA	J. R. Strayer (ed.), *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (13 vols., 1982–89)
DMMRS	Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies
DMOA	Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
DOTT	D.W. Thomas (ed.), *Documents from Old Testament Times* (1958)
DRu	*Deutsche Rundschau*
DS	Denzinger-Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion symbolorum*
DS	*Dictionaire de Spiritualité*
DSB	Daily Study Bible
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
DTC	A. Vacant et al. (eds.), *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
DtPfrBl	*Deutsches Pfarrerblatt* (15 vols., 1903–50)
DTT	*Dansk teologisk tidsskrift*
DUJ	*Durham University Journal*
DunRev	*Dunwoodie Review*
EAC	*Encyclopedia of the Early Church*
EAC	Études d'archéologie classique
EAJT	*East Asia Journel of Theology*
EBB	Elenchus bibliographicus biblicus
Ebib	Études bibliques
ECGNT	J. R. Kohlenberger III et al., *Exhaustive Concordance to the Greek New Testament* (1995
EDB	L.F. Hartman (ed.), *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EEC	E. Ferguson (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (1990)
EET	Einführung in die evangelische Theologie
EETS	Early English Text Society
EF	Enciclopedia filosofica
EGT	Expositor's Greek Testament
EgTh	*Église et theologie. Ottawa*
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
EHPhR	Études d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
EHS	Europäische Hochschulschriften
EHS.T	Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 23. Theologie

EiT	*Explorations in Theology*
EJ	J. Klatzkin (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (10 vols., 1928–34)
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EKL	H. Brunotte and O. Weber (eds.), *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon* (4 vols., 1956–62)
EM	*Emerita. Madrid*
EMMÖ	Erlanger Monographien aus Mission und Ökumene
EncBib	T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (4 vols., 1899–1903)
EncBrit	*Encyclopedia Britannica*
EnchBib	*Enchiridion biblicum*
EncJud	C. Roth (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (16 vols., 1971–72)
ENCPI	Edizione nazionale dei classici del pensiero italiano
EncRel	M. Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (16 vols., 1987)
EPH	Études de philologie et d'histoire
EPhM	Études de philosophie médiévale
EpRe	*Epworth Review*
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire Romain
EQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
ERE	J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (13 vols., 1908–26)
ErIsr	Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical, and Geographical Studies
ErJb	*Eranos Jahrbuch*
EstBib	*Estudios bíblicos*
EsTe	Estudos teologicos
ESW	*Ecumenical Studies in Worship*
ETH	Études de théologie historique
ETHS	Études de théologie et histoire de la spiritualité
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*
ETR	*Études théologiques et religieuses*
ETS	Erfurter theologische Studien
EvErz	*Der evangelische Erzieher*
EvK	Evangelische Kommentare
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie*
EWNT	H. Balz and G. Schneider (eds.), *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (3 vols., 1980–83)
ExpB	Expositor's Bible
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
EzAT	*Erläuterungen zum Alten Testament*
FAB	*Für Arbeit und Besinnung*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FBBS	Facet Books, Biblical Series
FC	Fathers of the Church
FFNT	Foundations and Facets: New Testament
FJCD	Forschungen zum jüdisch-christlichen Dialog
FKDG	Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte
FKGG	Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte
FMG	Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte
FOTC	T. K. Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism: Biographical, Descriptive, and Critical Studies* (1893)
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FSThR	Forschungen zur systematischen Theologie und Religionsphilosophie
FThL	Forum Theologiae Linguisti
FThSt	Freiburger Theologische Studien
FuF	Forschungen und Fortschritte
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
GAT	Grundrisse zum Alten Testament
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship
GCP	Graecitas Christianorum Primaeva
GCS	Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GCT	Gender, Culture, Theory
GDEL	*Grand Dictionnaire Encyclopedique Larousse*
GGA	Göttingische gelehrte Anzeige

GHKEAT	H.-J. Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments* (1988[4])
GKB	Gesenius-Kautzsch-Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*
GKC	Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (ed. E. Kautzsch, tr. A. E. Cowley)
GNB	Good News Bible (TEV)
GNS	Good News Studies
GNT	Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament
GOF.S	Göttinger Orientforschung. Reihe 1. Syriaca
GOTR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
Greg	*Gregorianum*
GRLH	Garland Reference Library of the Humanities
GS	*Germanische Studien*
GSWW	G. W. Meyer, *Geschichte der Schrifterklärung seit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften* (5 vols., 1802–9)
GT.S	Gesellschaft und Theologie. Systematische Beiträge
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten
GTS	Gettysburg Theological Studies
GTW	Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaft
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*
HB	*Historische Bibliothek*
HBC	J. L. Mays et al. (eds.), *Harper's Bible Commentary* (1988)
HBD	P. J. Achtemeier et al. (eds.), *Harper's Bible Dictionary*
HBI	Heritage of Biblical Israel
HBK	Herders Bibelkommentar
HB/OT	M. Saebø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* (1996–)
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
HCNT	Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
HCT	History of Christian Theology
HDB	J. Hastings (ed.), *Dictionary of the Bible* (5 vols., 1898–1904)
HDivB	*Harvard Divinity Bulletin*
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
Her	*Hermathena*
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HHMBI	D. K. McKim (ed.), *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters* (1998)
HHS	Harvard Historical Studies
HibJ	*Hibbert Journal*
HJ	*Historisches Jahrbuch*
HJPAJC	E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (3 vols., rev. G. Vermes et al., 1973–87)
HJTM	Harvard Judaic Texts and Monographs
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HKNT	Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
HMPEC	*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's New Testament Commentaries
HNTR	*History of New Testament Research*
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HR	*History of Religions*
HRWG	*Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*
HS	*Hebrew Studies*
HS	Historische Studien
HSAT	Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments (ed. H. Herkenne and F. Feldmann)
HSAT(K)	Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments (ed. E. Kautzsch)
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTC	Herder's Theological Commentary on the New Testament
HThK	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTIBS	Historic Texts and Interpreters in Biblical Scholarship
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*

HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
HUT	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
HVLÅ	K. Humanistiska vetenskapssamfundete i Lund Åraberättelse
HWP	*Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
IAHD	International Archives of the History of Ideas
IB	*Interpreter's Bible*
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
IBS	*Irish Biblical Studies*
IBT	Interpreting Biblical Texts
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	G. A. Buttrick (ed.), *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (4 vols., 1962)
IDBSup	K. Crim (ed.), *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume* (1976)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IER	*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*
IHE	Indice histórico español
IHE	*Introduction à l'histoire de l'exégèse*
IMW	*Internationale Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst, und Technik*
InnTS	Innsbrucker theologische Studien
Int	*Interpretation*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
IPAT	*Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament*
IRM	*International Review of Missions*
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology
ISBE	G. W. Bromiley et al. (eds.), *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (4 vols., 1979–88)
ISBL	Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature
ITC	International Theological Commentary
IThS	Innsbrucker theologische Studien
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly*
IUO	*Istituto Universitario Orientale*
JA	*Journal asiatique*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JAF	*Journal of American Folklore*
JAL	Jewish Apocryphal Literature
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*
JANESCU	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JAS	*Journal of Asian Studies*
JB	A. Jones (ed.), *Jerusalem Bible*
JBC	R. E. Brown, et al. (eds.), *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBLMS	Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
JBTh	*Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie*
JBW	*Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*
JCBRF	*The Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship*
JC	Jus canonicum
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JDS	Judean Desert Series
JDTh	*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*
JE	I. Singer et al. (eds.), *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (12 vols., 1901–6)
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEAT	*Jahrbuch. Evangelische Akademie Tutzingen*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht... ex oriente lux*
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*

JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JFHS	*Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*
JFSR	*Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*
JGNKG	*Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte*
JGPrÖ	*Jahrbuch für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich*
JHI	*Journal of the History of Ideas*
JHMTh	*Journal of the History of Modern Theology*
JHNES	Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JHSCW	*Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*
JIBS	*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*
JIPh	*Journal of Indian Philosophy*
JITC	*The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JLB	*Jüdisches Literaturblatt*
JLR	*Journal of Law and Religion*
JLT	*Journal of Literature and Theology*
JMES	*Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JMRS	*Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*
JMS	*Journal of Mithraic Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JP	*Journal of Philology*
JPH	*Journal of Presbyterian History*
JPh	*Journal of Philosophy*
JPOS	*Journal of Palestine Oriental Society*
JPSTC	Jewish Publication Society—The JPS Torah Commentary
JPSV	Jewish Publication Society Version
JPT	*Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JQRMS	Jewish Quarterly Review Monograph Series
JQRS	Jewish Quarterly Review Supplements
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRE	*Journal of Religious Ethics*
JRelS	*Journal of Religious Studies*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JrnlRelAfr	*Journal of Religion in Africa*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JRT	*Journal of Religious Thought*
JSHRZ	W. G. Kümmel at al. (eds.), Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit (1973–)
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period, Supplement
JSJT	*Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*
JSL	*Journal of Sacred Literature*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSR	*Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*
JSSSup	Journal of Semitic Studies. Supplement Series
JTC	*Journal for Theology and the Church*
JTL	*Journal für theologische Literatur*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
JTSA	*Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*
JudUm	Judentum und Umwelt

JuSS	Judaica Studies Series
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
JZWL	*Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*
KantSt.E	Kantian Studies
KAO	Im Kampf um den Alten Orient
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KB	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*
KBANT	Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament
KD	*Kerygma und Dogma*
KEH	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
KEHA	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu des Apokryphen des Alten Testaments
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
KHC	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*
KJV	King James Version
KK	Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes
Klio.B	Klio. Leipzig. Beiheft
KIT	Kleine Texte für (theologische und philologische) Vorlesungen und Übungen
KS	*Kirjath-Sepher*
KT	Kaiser-Traktate/Kaiser-Taschenbücher
LAPO	Littèratures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LÄS	Leipziger ägyptologische Studien
LB	*Linguistica Biblica*
LBS	Library of Biblical Studies
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LCT	Library of Constructive Theology
LD	Lectio divina
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
Leš	*Lešonénu*
LibRel	The Library of Religion
LJS	Lives of Jesus Series
LLAVT	E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti* (1971)
LLP	Library of Living Philosophers
LouvSt	*Louvain Studies*
LPGL	G. W. H. Lampe (ed.), *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (1968)
LPT	Library of Protestant Thought
LQ	*Lutheran Quarterly*
LR	*Lutherische Rundschau*
LS	*Louvain Studies*
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*
LSSk.T	Det Laerde selskabs skrifter, Teologiske skrifter
LTK	J. Höfer and K. Rahner (eds.), *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche* (2nd ed., 11 vols., 1957–67)
LTP	*Laval théologique et philosophique*
LUÅ	Lunds universitets årsskrift
LW	J. Pelikan and H. T. Lehman (eds.), *Luther's Works*
LW	*Lutheran World*
MBA	Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah. *Macmillan Bible Atlas* (1977)
MBM	Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung
MBTh	Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie
McCQ	*McCormick Quarterly*
MDOG	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
MennEnc	*Mennonite Encyclopedia*
MennQR	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
MethH	*Methodist History*
MeyerK	H. A. W. Meyer, Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar uber das Neue Testament
MFC	Message of the Fathers of the Church
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae historica*
MGH.L	*Monumenta Germaniae historica. Leges*
MGH.PL	*Monumenta Germaniae historica. Poetae Latinae medii aevi*
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
MM	J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*

MMHST	Münchner Monographien zur historischen und systematischen Theologie
MMT	The Making of Modern Theology
MNTC	Moffatt NT Commentary
MNDPV	Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
MPAIBL	*Mémoires présentés à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
MPIL	Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden
MPT	Manuels et précis de théologie
MQR	*Methodist Quarterly Review*
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra
MRTS	Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies
MScRel	*Mélanges de science religieuse*
MSHH	J. P. Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la République des Lettres, avec un catologue raisonné des leurs ouvrages* (43 vols. in 44, 1727–45)
MSME	Michigan Series on the Middle East
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
MThZ	*Münchener theologische Zeitschrift*
MTS	Marburger Theologische Studien
MUN	*Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchâtel*
Mus	*Muséon*
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph*
MVAG	Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
MW	*Muslim World*
NAB	New American Bible
NABPR.SS	National Association of Baptist Professors of Religion Special Studies Series
NAKG	*Nederlands(ch) archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NBC	Nelson's Bible Commentary
NBG	*Nouvelle biographie (universelle) générale*
NBl	*New Blackfriars*
NBW	*Nationaal biografisch woordenboek*
NCB	New Clarendon Bible
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NCCHS	R. D. Fuller et al. (eds.), *New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* (1969)
NCE	M. R. P. McGuire et al. (eds.), *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967–)
NCeB	New Century Bible
NCRTW	N. Smart at al. (eds.), *Nineteenth Century Religious Thought in the West* (3 vols., 1985)
NDB	*Neue deutsche Biographie*
NDIEC	*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*
NEB	Die Neue Echter Bibel
NEB.AT	Neue Echter Bibel. Kommentar zum AT
NedThT	*Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift*
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NFT	New Frontiers in Theology
NGWG	Nachrichten (von) der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften (zu) in Göttingen
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
NHCT	D. W. Musser and J. L Price (eds.), *A New Handbook of Christian Theologians* (1996)
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NIB	*New Interpreter's Bible*
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NJB	H. Wansbrough (ed.), *New Jerusalem Bible* (1985)
NJBC	R. E. Brown et al. (eds.), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (1990)
NKJV	New King James Version
NKZ	*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NNBW	*Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*
NND	*Neuer Nekrolog der Deutschen*
NNM	Numismatic Notes and Monographs

NorTT	*Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NRT	*La nouvelle revue théologique*
NS	Nietzsche-Studien
NSchol	*New Scholasticism*
NSHERK	S. M. Jackson (ed.), *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (12 vols., 1908–12)
NTA	*New Testament Abstracts*
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTF	Neutestamentliche Forschungen
NTG	Neue theologische Grundrisse
NTGu	New Testament Guides
NTHIP	W. G. Kümmel, *The NT: The History of the Investigation of Its Problems* (1970; ET 1972)
NThJ	*Neues theologisches Journal*
NThS	*Nieuwe theologische studien*
NTL	New Testament Literature
NTLi	New Testament Library
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTRG	New Testament Reading Guide
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTT	*Norsk teologisk tidsskrift*
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
Numen	*Numen: International Review for the History of Religions*
NUSPEP	Northwestern University Studies in Phenomenology and Existential Philosophy
NZM	*Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*
NZST	*Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*
OAI	Orient ancien illustré
OBL	Orientalia et biblica lovaniensia
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
ÖBS	Österreichische biblische Studien
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OCA	Orientalia Christiana analecta
OCD	M. Cary et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1966)
ODCC	F. L. Cross and E. A Livingstone (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1997)
OEB	J. D. Michaelis (ed.), *Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek* (24 vols. in 6, 1771–89)
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
ÖEH	Ökuminische Existenz heute
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
OLP	Orientalia lovaniensia periodica
OLZ	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
Or	*Orientalia* (Rome)
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus*
OrChr	*Oriens christianus*
OrSyr	*L'orient syrien*
OSHT	Oxford Studies in Historical Theology
OstKSt	Ostkirchliche Studien
OTA	*Old Testament Abstracts*
ÖTBK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-kommentar
ÖTBK/NT	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-kommentar, Neues Testament
OTCNC	J. W. Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* (1984)
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTGu	Old Testament Guides

OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Oxford Theological Monographs
OTP	J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols., 1983)
OTRG	Old Testament Reading Guide
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
OWS	Oxford-Warburg Studies
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*
PAPS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
PatMS	Patristic Monograph Series
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PBiS	Pamphlet Bible Series
PCB	M. Black and H. H. Rowley (eds.), *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (1962)
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PerspRelStud	*Perspectives in Religious Studies*
PerTeol	*Perspectiva theólogica*
PG	J. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*
PGM	K. Preisendanz (ed.), *Papyri graecae magicae*
PhAnt	Philosophia antiqua
PhEW	*Philosophy East and West*
PhRev	*Philosophical Review*
PIASH	*Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*
PIBA	*Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*
PIOL	Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain
PJ	*Palästina-Jahrbuch*
PL	J. Migne, *Patrologia latina*
PLO	Porta linguarum orientalium
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PMS	Publications in Mediaeval Studies
PNTC	Pelican New Testament Commentaries
PO	Patrologia orientalis
POT	Princeton Oriental Texts
PrEc	*Presencia ecuménica*
PresR	*Presbyterian Review*
PrM	*Protestantische Monatshefte*
PRU	*Le palais royal d'Ugarit*
PSB	*Princeton Seminary Bulletin*
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
PSTJ	*Perkins (School of Theology) Journal*
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
PThMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
PTMS	Princeton Theological Monograph Series
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PUM.H	Publications of the University of Manchester. Historical Series
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
PWS	Pietist and Wesleyan Studies
PWSup	Supplement to PW
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
QFAGG	Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie
QFRG	Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte
QR	*Quarterly Review: A Scholarly Journal for Reflection on Ministry*
QR	Quellen der Religionsgeschichte
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RACSup	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum Supplements
RANE	Records of the Ancient Near East
RArch	*Revue archéologique*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RBén	*Revue bénédictine*
RBMA	*Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*

RBML	*Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Literatur*
RCB	*Revista de cultura biblica*
RdQ	*Revue de Qumrán*
RE	A. Hauck (ed.), *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (24 vols., 1896–1913)
REA	*Revue des études augustiniennes*
REB	Revised English Bible
REB	*Revista eclesiástica brasileira*
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
REg	*Revue d'égyptologie*
REJ	*Revue des études juives*
RelLife	*Religion in Life*
RelS	*Religious Studies*
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RenQ	*Renaissance Quarterly*
RES	*Revue des études sémitiques*
ResQ	*Restoration Quarterly*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RevistB	*Revista biblica*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RevSém	*Revue sémitique*
RevThom	*Revue thomiste*
RG	*Religion und Geisteskultur*
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*
RGS	E. Stange (ed.), *Die Religionswissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen* (5 vols., 1925–29)
RgV	Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher
RH	*Revue historique*
RHA	*Revue hittite et asianique*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RiB	Revista interamericana de bibliografia
RICP	*Revue de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*
RIL.L	Rendiconti. Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere. Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche
RivB	*Rivista biblica*
RLA	E. Ebeling et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (1932–)
RLS	*Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*
RMM	B. Feldman and R. D. Richardson (eds.), *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680–1860* (1972)
RMT	Readings in Moral Theology
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
ROMM	*Revue de l'occident Musulman et da la mediterraneé*
RQ	*Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*
RR	*Review of Religion*
RSO	*Revista degli studi orientali*
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
RSS	*Rome and the Study of Scripture* (1962^7)
RSSH	Recherches et synthèses. Section d'Histoire
RStR	*Religious Studies Review*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RT	*Rabbinische Texte*
RTAM	*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médievale*
RTL	*Revue théologique de Louvain*
RTM	*Revista di teologia morale*
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie*
RUO	*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*
RV	Revised Version
SABS	Studies in American Biblical Scholarship

SacEr	*Sacris erudiri*
SacPag	Sacra Pagina
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SAQ	Sammlung ausgewahlter kirchen-und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften
SAT	Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl
SB	Sources bibliques
SB(J)	Sainte bible traduite en français sous la direction de l'École Biblique de Jérusalem
SBA	Studies in Biblical Archaeology
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBEC	Studies of the Bible and Early Christianity
SBFLA	*Studii biblici franciscani liber annuus*
SBJ	*La sainte bible de Jérusalem*
SBLABS	SBL Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLAS	SBL Aramaic Studies
SBLASP	SBL Abstracts and Seminar Papers
SBLBAC	SBL The Bible in American Culture
SBLBMI	SBL The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters
SBLBSNA	SBL Biblical Scholarship in North America
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLMasS	SBL Masoretic Studies
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBLNTGF	SBL The New Testament in the Greek Fathers
SBLRBS	SBL Resources for Biblical Study
SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	SBL Seminar Papers
SBLSPSS	SBL Seminar Papers Series
SBLSS	SBL Semeia Studies
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
SBLWAW	SBL Writings of the Ancient World
SBM	Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
SBONT	Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments
SBOT	Sacred Books of the Old Testament
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SbWGF	*Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*... Frankfurt a. M.
SC	Sources chrétiennes
ScEccl	*Sciences ecclésiastiques*
ScEs	*Science et esprit*
SCES	Sixteenth-century Essays and Studies
SCH	Studies in Church History
SCHNT	Studia ad corpus hellenisticum novi testamenti
SchwR	*Schweizer (1,1900–44, 1944: Schweizerische) Rundschau*
SCJ	*Sixteenth-century Journal*
SCM	Studies in the Christian Movement
SCR	*Studies in Comparative Religion*
ScrB	*Scripture Bulletin*
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
SCS	Studies of Church and State
SD	Studies and Documents
SDGSTh	Studien zur Dogmengeschichte und systematischen Theologie
SE	*Studia Evangelica I, II, III* (= TU 73 [1959]; 87 [1964]; 88 [1964]; etc.)
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk årsbok*
SEAJT	*South-east Asia Journal of Theology*
SecCent	*The Second Century*
Sef	*Sefarad*
Sem	*Semitica*
SemSup	Semeia Supplements
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism

SG	Sammlung Göschen
SGKIO	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients
SGV	Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
SHAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
SHCT	Studies in the History of Christian Thought
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SHT	Studies in Historical Theology
SHVL	Skrifter utgivna av (K.) Humanistika Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund
SIB	Studies of the Institute Pierre Bayle
SIGC	Studien zur interkulturellen Geschichte des Christentums
SJ	Studia judaica
SJCA	Studies in Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SKG.G	Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft. Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse
SKI	Studien zu Kirche und Israel
SLH	Scriptores Latini Hiberniae
SLTGNT	Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament
SMC	Studies in Medieval Culture
SMHVL	Scripta minora. K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet e Lund
SMRH	Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History
SMRT	Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought
SMSR	*Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNumen	Supplements to Numen
SO	Symbolae osloenses
SOR	Studies in Oriental Religions
SOTI	Studies in Old Testament Interpretation
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series
SP	*Studies in Philology*
SP	Studies in Philosophy
SPap	*Studia papyrologica*
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SPB	Studia postbiblica
SPCIC	*Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus* (2 vols., 1963)
SPhA	*Studia Philonica Annual*
SPIB	Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici
SPMed	Studia patristica Mediolanensia
SPSHS	Scholars Press Studies in the Humanities Series
SQAW	Schriften und Quellen der alten Welt
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses*
SRC	Studies in Religion and Culture
SSAW	Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig
SSAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SSEA	Schriften der Studiengemeinschaft der Evangelischen Akademien
SSL	Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
SSS	Semitic Study Series
SStLL	Studies in Semitic Language and Linguistics
ST	Studies in Theology
STÅ	*Svensk teologisk årsskrift*
StABH	Studies in American Biblical Hermeneutics
StB	Studia biblica
StD	Studies and Documents

StDel	Studia Delitzschiana
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StEv	*Studia Evangelica*
SThGG	Studien zur theologie und Geistesgeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts
STK	*Svensk teologisk kvartalskrift*
STL	Studia theologica Lundensia
StMed	*Studi medievali*
StPatr	*Studia patristica*
StPhilo	*Studia Philonica*
Str-B	[H.Strack and] P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*
StRos	*Studia Rosenthaliana*
STS	Sacrae theologiae summa
StTh	*Studia theologica*
STU	*Schweizerische theologische Umschau*
StudNeot	Studia neotestamentica
StudOr	Studia orientalia
StZ	*Stimmen der Zeit*
SubBi	Subsidia biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SUVK	Videnskapsselskapets skrifter
SVBL	Svenskt biografiskt lexikon
SVEC	Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century
SVRG	Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
SVTQ	*St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
SWR	Studies in Women and Religion
SymBU	Symbolae biblicae upsalienses
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TARWPV	Theologische Arbeiten aus dem Rheinischen Wissenschaftlichen Prediger-Verein
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TAzB	Texte und Arbeiten zur Bibel
TBC	Torch Bible Commentaries
TBei	*Theologische Beiträge*
TBl	*Theologische Blätter*
TBT	*The Bible Today*
TBü	Theologische Bücherei
TCGNT	B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (1975)
TD	Textus et documenta
TD	*Theology Digest*
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (10 vols., 1964–76)
TDOT	G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*
TdT	H. J. Schultz (ed.), *Tendenzen der Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert* (1966)
TEAS	Twaynes English Authors Series
TED	Translations of Early Documents
TEH	Theologische Existenz heute
TeU	Tekst en uitleg
TEV	Today's English Version
TF	*Theologische Forschung*
TG	B. Moeller (ed.), *Theologie in Göttingen: Eine Vorlesungsreihe* (1987)
TGl	*Theologie und Glaube*
TH	Theologie historique
ThA	Theologische Arbeiten
ThBer	Theologische Berichte
ThBl	*Theologische Blätter*
THBW	Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk
TheoDis	Theologische Dissertationen
THFen	Theologia Fennica
ThJb	*Theologisches Jahrbuch. Gütersloh*

ThJber	*Theologischer Jahresbericht. Leipzig*
ThJb(T)	*Theologische Jahrbücher. Tübingen*
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThL	Theologische Lehrbücher
ThÖ	Theologie der Ökumene
THR	Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance
ThStud	Theologische Studien
ThT	*Theologisch tijdschrift*
ThTh	Themen der Theologie
ThV	*Theologische Versuche*
TJT	*Toronto Journal of Theology*
TLNT	C. Spicq, *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament* (3 vols., 1994)
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TMLT	Toronto Medieval Latin Texts
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TOT	A. W. Hastings and E. Hastings (eds.), *Theologians of Our Time* (1966)
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie*
TPINTC	Trinty Press International New Testament Commentaries
TPMA	Textes philosophiques du moyen âge
TPNZJ	M. Greschat (ed.), *Theologen des Protestantismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (2 vols., 1978)
TPQ	*Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift*
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TR	*Theologická revue*
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*
TRev	*Theologische Revue*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TS	Texts and Studies
TS	*Theological Studies*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TSB	Theologische Studien. Basel
TSBA	*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
TSJTSA	Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
TSSI	J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* (3 vols., 1971–82)
TSTS	Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies
TT	*Teologisk Tidsskrift*
TTK	*Tidsskrift for teologie og kirke*
TToday	*Theology Today*
TTS	Trierer theologische Studien
TTZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testament*
TübTS	Tübinger theologische Studien
TUMSR	Trinity University Monograph Series in Religion
TW	*Theologie und Wirklichkeit*
TWAT	G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
TWNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TynNTL	Tyndale New Testament Lecture
TZ	Theologie en zielzorg
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
TZT	Texte zur Theologie
TZT	*Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*
UBL	Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur
UBSGNT	United Bible Societies *Greek New Testament*
UBS.MS	United Bible Societies. Monograph Series
UCOP	University of Cambridge. Oriental Publication
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*

UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
UPATS	University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies
USFSHJ	University of South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
UTQ	*University of Toronto Quarterly*
UUÅ	Uppsala universitets årsskrift
VC	*Vigiliae christianae*
VCaro	*Verbum caro*
VCSup	Vigiliae christianae Supplements
VD	*Verbum domini*
VE	*Vida e espiritualidad*
VF	*Verkündigung und Forschung*
VIEGM	Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz
VS	Verbum salutis
VSAT	Verbum Salutis, Ancien Testament
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTG	*Vetus Testamentum Graecum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
VVAW	Verhandelingen van de koninklijke. Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België
WA	M. Luther, Kritische Gesamtausgabe (= "Weimar" edition)
WB	Die Welt der Bibel
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WC	Westminster Commentaries
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WF	*Westfälische Zeitschrift*
WHJP	World History of the Jewish People
WiWei	*Wissenschaft und Weisheit*
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WMS	Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter Studien
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WSA	Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung
WSPL	Warwick Studies in Philosophy and Literature
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
WTS	Wijsgerige teksten en studies
WuD	*Wort und Dienst*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft
WW	*Word and World*
WZ(G)	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald*
WZ(H)	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*
WZ(H).GS	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*
WZ(J)	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
WZKSO	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie*
WZ(L)	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig*
YHP	Yale Historical Publications
YJS	Yale Judaica Series
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
YOS.MS	Yale Oriental Series. Manuscript Series
YOS.R	Yale Oriental Series. Researches
YPR	Yale Publications in Religion
YSR	Yale Studies in Religion
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für Althebraistik*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentar

ZBNT	Zürcher Bibelkommentar/Neues Testament
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Pälastina-Vereins*
ZdZ	*Die Zeichen der Zeit*
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
ZfHB	*Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*
ZGJD	*Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*
ZGSHG	*Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*
ZHT	*Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKM	*Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*
ZKWL	*Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*
ZLThK	*Zeitschrift für die (gesammte) lutherische Theologie und Kirche*
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*
ZNThG	*Zeitschrift für neuere Theologiegeschichte*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZPrTh	*Zeitschrift für praktische Theologie*
ZRG	*Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*
ZRIJ	*Zeitschrift für die religiösen Interessen des Judenthums*
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik*
ZST	*Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

K

KABBALAH

The Hebrew word *kabbalah* means "reception," connoting a teaching that is handed down by a religious authority. Long applied to the Jewish sacred tradition in general, the term was first associated with specific mystical and theosophic inquiries beginning in the late 1100s in southern France. By the early fourteenth century, the term referred exclusively to such reflections, indicating the consolidation of Kabbalah as a distinct intellectual trend in medieval Judaism alongside Jewish philosophy. Although Kabbalah flourished in the period from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, its origins and influence extended beyond these temporal boundaries.

The origins of medieval Kabbalah are still shrouded in mystery. The early masters of Kabbalah in Provence and Spain viewed themselves as recipients of an esoteric oral tradition going all the way back to Sinai. For the Kabbalists, Kabbalah was oral Torah *par excellence.* Communicated orally to Moses, this esoteric tradition constituted the inner meaning of the revealed written Torah. To guard the secrets from misinterpretation or misuse, Kabbalah was to be transmitted orally to the select few. Thus the oral nature of the tradition was intrinsically related to its content, claim for AUTHORITY, and mode of transmission.

Kabbalah's claim of divine origin is unverifiable; it makes sense only within the rabbinic myth of oral and written Torahs. Yet the claim of oral origins need not be ahistorical. It is plausible that prior to the public appearance of Kabbalah in the late twelfth century certain teachings concerning the Sinaitic theophany, the meaning of biblical verses, and specific exegetical procedures were transmitted orally from masters to worthy disciples in the privacy of certain learned families. Precisely because Kabbalah was an integral part of text-centered rabbinic Judaism, however, it was governed by textuality: Texts functioned as its reference system whether actual texts were present or not, and whether texts were transmitted orally or in writing.

The kabbalistic approach to the Bible was grounded in ancient Jewish esoterica. Extant in anonymous or pseudoepigraphic treatises (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA), the ancient esoteric tradition included descriptions of mystical journeys to the heavenly palaces (*hekhalot*), contemplations of Ezekiel's divine chariot (*Merkavah*), visionary experiences of God and other heavenly beings, and cosmological speculations about the principles of the created universe. Expressing the mystical, theurgic, magical, and mythical impulses of rabbinic Judaism, the ancient esoteric tradition flourished from the second century until the rise of Jewish rationalism in the tenth century. When Jewish intellectuals began to evaluate rabbinic Judaism in light of Greek philosophy, they found the esoteric tradition unacceptable and attempted to suppress it or explain it away. Therefore, the emergence of Kabbalah in the twelfth century signaled the resurgence of trends that medieval Jewish rationalism had rejected.

In line with ancient Jewish esoterica, medieval Kabbalah viewed the Bible as a two-tiered text: Behind the sacrosanct order of the revealed text there is a corresponding noncorporeal, transcendent, linguistic structure. This is the supernal Torah that preexists the created world, functioning as a blueprint for creation. Whereas the revealed Torah tells of mundane events in the realm of nature and history, the concealed Torah is a self-portrait of God. The anonymous Jewish mystics of the Tannaitic period developed this notion out of an allegorical reading of the Song of Songs according to which the male lover represents God and the female beloved is the personification of Israel. By allegorizing the biblical love poetry, the rabbinic mystics could legitimize the inclusion of the Song of Songs in the CANON while cultivating a highly anthropomorphic conception of God.

The esoteric tradition envisioned God as a superhuman being of fantastic magnitude. God was seen as an awesome king seated on the throne of glory (*kisse' ha-kābôd*) situated in the seventh of the heavenly palaces where the heavenly hosts sing God's praises. The *Shiur Qomah* (The Measurement of [God's] Stature), the central text of this corpus, describes God's body in great detail on the basis of the Song of Songs. The size of each limb of the divine Anthropos (e.g., forehead, beard, neck, eyes, hands, and fingers) is expressed in grandiose magnitudes. The anthropomorphic conception of God dictated that the supernal Torah itself be given structure by a human form of gigantic proportions. Mirroring God, the anthropomorphic Torah reflects the divine names on its limb, and conversely, the text of the Torah is inscribed on the stature of God.

The bold anthropomorphism of *Shiur Qomah* is less shocking once it is understood that God's body is com-

posed not of corporeal matter but of energy, i.e., light. For the ancient mystic God was not merely conceived as a powerful and mighty deity but literally as power (*kōaḥ*) and might (*gĕbûrâ*). The particles of the divine energy are the Hebrew letters (in their ideal form), and the highest velocity of divine energy is God's name. By properly computing the numerical values of the Hebrew letters that make up the exoteric biblical text the reader can decipher the measurements of both God's stature and the hidden Torah. According to some texts, these computations are said to have been revealed orally by God to Moses at Sinai; according to others, they were revealed to R. Yishmael, the mystical hero of this corpus.

The intrinsic link among God, the Hebrew alphabet, the Torah, and the created universe is spelled out in the second-century text, *Sefer Yetzirah* (The Book of Formation). According to this pseudepigraphic work, God created the universe in thirty-two paths of wisdom that include the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet and ten numbers called *Sefirot.* Analogous to Pythagorean ideal numbers, the Hebrew alphabet and the *Sefirot* constitute the foundational principles of the physical universe. Thus underlying the multiplicity of the created universe is a unity that can be expressed in numerical values. In search of this unity *Sefer Yetzirah* strings together long lists of Hebrew letters in a quasi-scientific attempt to penetrate the mysteries of creation, about which the Torah speaks exoterically at the beginning of Genesis.

The notion that the revealed Torah stores divine energy has practical ramifications: The one who knows the mysteries of the Torah can benefit from its hidden powers. In some texts of the *Hekhalot* and *Merkavah* literature, the spiritual energy of the Torah is deployed for ascent to the heavenly realms in order to envision God, the supernal Torah, the divine throne (*kisse' hakābôd*) and other heavenly beings. In other texts, the spiritual energy of the biblical text is deployed either for the sake of altering mundane reality (e.g., creating a homunculus) or for the sake of enhancing God's power. Not coincidentally, the rabbis claimed exclusive control of the secret powers of the Torah and transmitted this esoteric knowledge orally to the very few deemed worthy.

For public consumption, the ancient rabbis spelled out the myth of Torah. They specified the normative aspects of the life of holiness—*Halakhah*—and labored to endear the life of Torah to their followers by means of creative homilies. Like silkworms the rabbis spun their imaginative homiletical webs, creating the texture of Torah as an all-encompassing myth (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES). Through rich use of metaphors the rabbis personified the divine Torah as a female figure. She is the daughter of God who was given as a bride to Israel, the groom, in an everlasting marriage consummated at Sinai. By feminizing the Torah, the rabbis enabled all (male) Jews to envision the Torah as the object of their perpetual love, thereby imbuing the act of Torah study with erotic meaning. Medieval Kabbalah would go one step further by hypostatizing the female Torah as an aspect of God.

Medieval Kabbalah elaborated ancient Jewish mythologumena, mysticism magic, and theurgy. Precisely because Kabbalah was now communicated (at least partially) in a written form, it emerged as a cultural trend in medieval Jewish history. The first text associated with the public appearance of Kabbalah was *Sefer ha-Bahir* (The Book of Brightness). Attributed to R. Nehunya ben Ha-Qanah, one of the heroes of the *Hekhalot* corpus, this fragmentary, opaque text was apparently composed in a Middle Eastern setting some time between the eighth and eleventh centuries and received its final editing in Provence during the late twelfth century.

In style the *Bahir* appears to be a rabbinic MIDRASH on the Torah. But instead of the verse-centered, free-flowing, nonmetaphysical homilies of the Midrash, the *Bahir* presupposed a well-developed theology, thereby indicating the growing theological sophistication of medieval Judaism. While building upon ancient Jewish texts, the *Bahir* shifted the focus from mysticism to theosophy: Instead of calculating and contemplating God's awesome body, the *Bahir* focuses on God's soul—i.e., on divine attributes. Termed *Sefirot* along with a host of other names, the divine attributes are not only the principles through which God's power is manifested in the physical universe, but also ten dynamic stages through which the divine personality is revealed. The *Bahir* retained the anthropomorphic conception of God by arranging the ten *Sefirot* in the form of a human body, thus conceptualizing God as a full-fledged person endowed with body and soul.

Personhood entails that God possesses sexuality. On the basis of rabbinic homilies that echoed the Platonic myth of creation, the *Bahir* imaged God as an androgyne: The upper nine *Sefirot* constitute the male principle and the last ten the female. What had been suggested in ancient Jewish esoterica was made explicit in the *Bahir.* The energy that pulsates through the Godhead is sexual in nature, and the processes within the Godhead are governed by the rhythm of sexuality: penetration and withdrawal, union and separation, marriage and divorce. The constant flux of the *Sefirotic* realm reflects both the ever-changing nature of human psychic and bodily processes as well as the changes in God's relationship with the created world. In particular the supernal drama reflects both the intimacy and the vicissitudes of the eternal love between God and Israel.

Referred to primarily as *Shekhinah*—the Talmudic term (see TALMUD) for divine presence—the *Bahir* images the divine female as queen, bride, sister, daughter, wife, matron, mother, earth, sea, moon, field, orchard, and a host of related feminine symbols. The divine

female represents the relational dimension of the deity. The *Shekhinah* is the face that God shows to the created world, especially to Israel. As a liminal boundary between the Godhead and extra-deific reality, she is both the entry gate into the Godhead and the channel through which divine efflux is transmitted to the created universe. Her relationship with the masculine forces of the Godhead is unstable, affected by human deeds. Human sins empower the domain of evil (the reification of profane forces) and induce discord in the supernal world, represented by the sundering of the divine male and female. In contrast, righteous conduct—through the performance of the commandments—reunites the masculine and feminine aspects of the Godhead, restoring the bisexual Godhead to its primordial harmony. In turn, the re-pairing of the Godhead results in an abundance of the divine efflux to the created universe, the sign of redeemed reality. Thus the *Bahir* insinuated the intrinsic connection between theosophy, theurgy, and eschatology that Spanish Kabbalah would develop further.

The *Bahir* identifies the *Shekhinah* with the Torah, which God gave to Israel in an everlasting marriage. Reifying midrashic literary tropes, the *Bahir* hypostatizes the Torah as a mythological persona that has come down to earth. The connection of this motif with the biblical personification of Wisdom and the GNOSTIC myth of Sophia is quite evident, although the details of the *Bahir's* conception of Torah are not entirely clear. In some passages it links the Torah with the *Shekhinah* (i.e., the tenth *Sefirah, Malkhut*) without differentiating between the written Torah and the oral Torah. In others, the *Shekhinah* is the supernal manifestation of the oral Torah, and *Tiferet* (the *Sefirah* that symbolizes the male principle) is viewed as the symbol of the written Torah. Both the written and the oral Torah are viewed as the unfolding of the primordial Torah, which the *Bahir* identified with God's wisdom, the second *Sefirah, Hokhmah.* In the theosophy of the *Bahir,* God's self-disclosure through the ten *Sefirot* is a twofold process in which God's Word and God's world come into being.

By making revelation and creation internal processes within the Godhead, the *Bahir* articulated the central hermeneutical principle (see HERMENEUTICS) of theosophic Kabbalah. The Bible is a symbolic text that speaks exoterically of mundane things and esoterically of supernal events within the divine pleroma. Since the hidden meaning of the biblical text pertains to events within the Godhead, the Bible can be said to be God's biography. Thus God's personal life lends organic unity to the biblical text: All portions and verses of the biblical text are intrinsically linked to each other like the branches and twigs of a tree or the limbs, tissues, and blood vessels of the human body. And precisely because the revealed text makes manifest God's dynamic inner life, the Bible must be read through multiple, simultaneously correct interpretations. As kabbalistic theosophy sharpened its conception of God as the Infinite, it articulated the notion that the revealed text has infinite meanings, none of which can exhaust the infinite reality of God. Most important, kabbalistic exegesis of the multivalent text was said to enable the devotee not only to fathom what God wants one to do but also to participate in the infinite mysteries of God's life.

The circulation of the *Bahir* indicates the resurgence of myth in medieval Judaism. The scholars who edited and studied it were committed to the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic conception of God characteristic of rabbinic Judaism (both exoteric and esoteric). They wanted to curb the dissemination of Jewish rationalism, especially in its Neoplatonized-Aristotelian version articulated by MAIMONIDES (d. 1204). Maimonideanism rejected the mythic conception of God and its corollary theurgic understanding of Jewish ritual in the name of a philosophical understanding of divine transcendence and an emphasis on the intellectual approach to worship. To the opponents of Maimonides, the religion of the philosophers deviated from the rabbinic tradition.

Anti-Maimonidean sentiment was harbored within the leading rabbinic families of Provençal Judaism. Led by the prominent halachist, R. Abraham ben David of Posqueres (d. 1198), some of these traditionalists cultivated an ascetic, contemplative life, culminating in ecstatic experiences. They attributed their revelatory experiences to the prophet Elijah, the symbol of the Jewish tradition, thereby attesting to their awareness of the tension between loyalty to the tradition and mystical innovation. The Provençal mystics developed the practice of associating segments of Jewish liturgy with specific *Sefirot* during prayer, thereby manifesting the theurgic meaning of kabbalistic worship.

Writing contributed to the doctrinal consolidation of Kabbalah as a self-conscious Jewish theology. The first systematizer of Kabbalah was R. Isaac the Blind (d. 1235), the son of R. Abraham ben David. Independent of the *Bahir,* his *Commentary on Sefer Yetzirah* combined the symbolism of the *Sefirot,* the mystical impulses of his own circle, and the metaphysics and cosmology of medieval Jewish Neoplatonism. The kabbalistic tendency to reify literary tropes and abstract concepts as processes within the Godhead could be easily reconciled with the ontological premises of Neoplatonic emanationism. Yet to the chagrin of R. Isaac the Blind, as soon as Kabbalah appeared in a written form, it was impossible to prevent its dissemination beyond well-defined kinship boundaries.

In the early thirteenth century, Kabbalah spread to Christian Spain, where it experienced unprecedented creativity. In Gerona, Toledo, Burgos, Soria, and Barcelona small groups of Kabbalists steeped in Talmudic Judaism and familiar to some extent with Jewish philosophy developed their own speculative systems, each claiming to represent "The Kabbalah." Variegated reli-

gious interests manifested themselves in a plethora of kabbalistic literary genres: commentaries on the Bible, commentaries on Talmudic homilies, commentaries on *Sefer Yetzirah,* lists of symbolic codes, systematic expositions of the rationales of the commandments, speculations on the Hebrew alphabet and Torah cantillation, descriptions of the mythic domain of evil, and manuals for the attainment of ecstatic, mystical experiences. The very diversity of thirteenth-century Kabbalah attests both to the centrality of human imagination (notably denigrated by Jewish rationalists) and to the richness of Iberian Jewish culture.

During the last quarter of the thirteenth century the two major trends of Spanish Kabbalah—ecstatic Kabbalah and theosophic Kabbalah—reached their zenith. Phenomenologically, these two trends were radically different from each other: Whereas ecstatic Kabbalah concerns altering the mystic's state of consciousness, theosophic Kabbalah pertains to external reality. Whereas ecstatic Kabbalah is anthropocentric, theosophic Kabbalah is theocentric. Whereas ecstatic Kabbalah developed through close contact with philosophy (Jewish and non-Jewish), theosophic Kabbalah was more confined to inner Jewish traditions. Whereas ecstatic Kabbalah shunned symbolism, theosophic Kabbalah was intrinsically linked to symbolism. And if ecstatic Kabbalah incorporated Maimonidean philosophy, theosophic Kabbalah was essentially mythical. These contrasts can be followed more closely by looking at Abraham Abulafia (d. c. 1295) and MOSES BEN SHEM-TOB DE LEON (d. 1305), the main contributor to the final form of *Sefer ha-Zohar* (the Book of Splendor), as the major exponents of ecstatic Kabbalah and theosophic Kabbalah respectively.

The ecstatic Kabbalah of Abulafia (known also as "prophetic Kabbalah") cultivated a spiritual path leading to *unio mystica* with God. By combining ancient Jewish mystical and exegetical practices, non-Jewish mystical techniques, and Maimonidean philosophy, Abulafia devised a unique system of meditations intended to liberate the intellect from its corporeal imprisonment in the body. Transcending human corporeality was necessary for the correct understanding of the revealed text, which (like humanity) exhibited the duality of spirituality and corporeality. Abulafia's hermeneutics was designed to break through the corporeal encasing of the biblical text.

Echoing the linguistic premises of ancient Jewish mysticism, Abulafia broke down the biblical text into its atomistic components—the Hebrew letters—and recombined their numerical values according to his own philosophical code. His *ars combinatoria* (the inner wisdom of combination) was said to enable the intellectually perfected interpreter to grasp the spiritual, supernal Torah encased in the revealed text. Through deconstruction of the biblical text Abulafia claimed to have achieved a mystical union with God, which he interpreted as a prophecy from God.

Abulafia interpreted his personal mystico-prophetic experiences in messianic terms and engaged in messianic propaganda in Sicily during the early 1290s. With Maimonides, however, Abulafia interpreted redemption in radical spiritual terms: He shifted redemption from the historical to the psychological realm, minimized the catastrophic elements of popular Jewish eschatology, and did not advocate the departure of Jews from the diaspora. Although his messianism was highly individualized and spiritualized, his political activism was rebuffed by the papal authority, and his prophetic Kabbalah was rejected by the leading halakhic authority in Spain, R. Solomon ibn Adret (d. c. 1310). An adherent of theosophic Kabbalah, ibn Adret rejected Abulafia's prophetic Kabbalah as a deviation from the received esoteric tradition.

No less messianic than Abulafia, though devoid of political activism, was the theosophic Kabbalah of *Sefer ha-Zohar.* In contrast to Abulafia and Maimonides, but in continuity with the *Bahir,* the *Zohar* regarded the esoteric truths of the biblical text as biographical rather than conceptual. The hidden, divine truths cannot be reduced to abstract propositions or mathematical equations; they can only be retold in a narrative (i.e., a myth), which alone could capture, or better still, mirror, the life of God sealed and concealed in the revealed text. By telling a tale about a tale, the *Zohar* provided the key to unlocking the mysteries of the written Torah.

The ingenuity of the *Zohar* lies in its intricate literary form. It is written as a live discourse between R. Simon bar Yohai and his fellow sages (some are known historical figures, and others are figments of Moses de Leon's imagination) as they stroll through the Holy Land. In their travels, the protagonists undergo mystical experiences that enable them (or more precisely, their creator, Moses de Leon) to reveal the mysteries of Torah sealed and concealed in the biblical text. Because these "revelations" are arranged in accordance with the sequence of the Torah, the *Zohar* appears to be a Midrash on the Torah composed by the second-century Tanna, R. Simon bar Yohai.

By using a dramatic narrative the author(s) of the *Zohar* attempted to accomplish the following: First, by ascribing their own creative interpretation and mystical experiences to known rabbinic figures, Moses de Leon and his associates invested the *Zohar* with the aura of an ancient, authoritative, rabbinic text. Second, the dramatic narrative enabled the *Zohar* to reenact the actual hermeneutical situation of Spanish Kabbalists. (The study of Kabbalah was a group experience in which a master teacher instructed his disciples in the interpretation of the sacred texts.) And third, by presenting the mystical revelations of the protagonists as the hidden meaning of the written Torah, the *Zohar* claimed for itself the status of an esoteric text written in a symbolic

code that needs decoding. In other words, its structure reflects the structure of the Torah.

Interestingly, the *Zohar* parallels another medieval text written as a secret key to unlock the secrets of the Torah—Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed.* Just as the philosophic reader of the *Guide* needs to solve its intentional contradictions in order to grasp the hidden philosophic truths of the Torah, so also must the kabbalistic reader of the *Zohar* decode its symbolic language in order to reveal the mythic truths concealed in the Torah. When the biblical text and the narrative of the *Zohar* are properly aligned, like two intricate paper cutouts, the literal meaning of the *Zohar* and the esoteric meaning of the biblical text overlap. At that point, the mythic truth of the divine life emerges out of the corporeal shell of both the biblical text and the zoharic text like the empty space of the two aligned cut-outs. Free from its verbal coverings, the spiritual truth of the hidden Torah radiates in its full brightness, enlightening the interpreter as well as the entire world.

In continuity with the *Bahir* and with previous Kabbalists, the *Zohar* sexualized the act of biblical interpretation. Identifying the esoteric, supernal Torah with the female aspect of God, the *Shekhinah,* it understands biblical exegesis as a sexual act of penetration culminating in a symbolic sexual union of the male interpreter and the female Torah/*Shekhinah.* In a famous parable that betrays the influence of medieval Hebrew love poetry and perhaps even Christian courtly poetry, the *Zohar* images the Torah as a beautiful young maiden who is gradually stripped of her clothes with the progression of each exegetical act. Her linguistic veils removed, the Torah/*Shekhinah* stands denuded and decoded. Her secrets are now wide open to the interpreter, like a blooming rose whose open petals reveal its latent beauty. At that moment the interpreter stands face to face with God, who is known to men in a female form.

Kabbalistic biblical interpretation and kabbalistic performance of the commandments in general are theurgic acts. In what amounts to *hieros gamos,* successful penetration of the veiled (female) Torah brings about the re-pairing of the *Shekhinah* and her divine husband, *Tiferet.* Torn apart from each other because of human sin and the aggressiveness of demonic forces, the divine male and female are now united by virtue of kabbalistic exegesis. As a holy ritual, the act of Torah study must be performed in absolute purity: Only circumcised males who live by the Jewish purity code can penetrate the symbolic text and bring about theurgic results. Whether the Kabbalist must engage in actual sex with his lawful wife in order to accomplish the divine reunion or can merely fantasize about holy sex while engaging in Torah study with his male comrades is still an open question.

The theurgic significance of ritual is linked to the messianic import of the *Zohar,* with the literary persona of R. Simon bar Yohai serving as a mask for Moses de Leon's messianic self-perception. Even though the bulk of the *Zohar* does not discuss the Messiah, its intentionally obscure section, the *Sifra dezni'uta* (The Book of Concealment) is written as a messianic drama in which the revelations of Shimon bar Yohai usher in the coming of the Messiah. Like Abulafia, the authors of the *Zohar* minimized the catastrophic elements of Jewish eschatology and highlighted instead the messianic import of individual religious activities. However, in contrast to Abulafia, redemptive activity is theosophic-theurgic rather than mystical-cognitive. Done properly (i.e., in accordance with the *Zohar's* own guidance), kabbalistic performance of the commandments brings about a fourfold repairing (*tikkun*) of the individual, the Jewish people, the universe, and the Godhead. When the balance between the sacred and the profane is restored, redemption is at hand.

With its engaging plot, vivid dramatization, colorful imagery, hermeneutical inventiveness, highly charged eroticism, and individualized messianism the *Zohar* was an irresistible text. Although some Kabbalists criticized its departure from the transmitted tradition, most fell under its sway. By the early fourteenth century one anonymous Kabbalist (the author of *Tikkuney Zohar* and *Ra'aya Meheimna*) imitated its style in order to make explicit its spiritual, messianic message. The imitation was sufficiently close to be included in the zoharic corpus, even though there were considerable theological differences between the two authors. The spiritualizing tendencies of the anonymous Kabbalist led him to highlight the antinomian potential of kabbalistic theosophy. The revealed Torah is but a corporeal manifestation of a different spiritual Torah. While the former contains prohibitions and limitations in order to address the imperfect conditions of all levels of existence after the fall of man, the spiritual Torah will reign in the messianic, perfected age ushered in by the revelations of the *Zohar.*

As the fourteenth century came to a close, Kabbalah was exerting increasing influence on mainstream exoteric Judaism, although it remained the primary preoccupation of only a small group of scholars. Kabbalistic expositions of the commandments entered into halakhic literature while kabbalistic traditions were incorporated into ethical texts and commentaries on prayer. Kabbalistic symbolism was increasingly absorbed into Jewish Aristotelianism, the regnant mode of thought among Jewish intellectuals in Spain, Provence, and Italy. A few Jewish theologians hailed Kabbalah as a potential alternative to Jewish Aristotelianism, and some Jewish academies in Castile even included Kabbalah in their curriculum. Despite all this, Kabbalah was hardly a creative force through most of the fifteenth century. The most likely cause was the persecutions of 1391 and the mass apostasy of Spanish Jews thereafter.

Spanish Kabbalah regained its creative edge in the last two decades of the fourteenth century in an anonymous magical and theurgic text, *Sefer ha-Meshiv* (The Book of the Answering Angel), which captured the messianic impulses of Spanish Jews prior to the expulsion from Spain and outlined specific means for overcoming evil.

After the expulsion of the Jews from Iberia, Kabbalah disseminated throughout the Mediterranean basin wherever Iberian exiles settled. In Italy it attracted the interest of several Christian scholars who correctly recognized the similarity between its theosophy and the Platonic and Neoplatonic metaphysics then in vogue in the Florentine academy. Led by PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, Italian humanists viewed Kabbalah as an integral part of ancient wisdom that culminated in the spiritual truths of Christianity. Italian humanists employed Jewish and apostate scholars to teach them Hebrew and instruct them in Kabbalah and had kabbalistic texts translated into Latin. Fusing Abulafia's mystical techniques with pre-zoharic kabbalistic theosophy, the Italian humanists launched the syncretist movement of Christian Kabbalah in which kabbalistic symbolism, Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy, Christian theology, and Renaissance occultism peacefully coexisted in one system of thought.

Although the humanists' fascination with Kabbalah reflected a positive Christian attitude toward Jewish theology, it was neither devoid of missionary intent nor inclined to improve the condition of the Jews in Italy. In fact, the popularity of Kabbalah in sixteenth-century Italy stood in sharp relief to the papal condemnation of the Talmud in 1553, which figured prominently in the counteroffensive of the Roman Catholic Church against the Protestant Reformation. Shortly after the Talmud was consigned to the flames, the *Zohar* was printed in two separate editions (Mantua [1558] and Cremona [1559]) amid a fierce debate within the Jewish community. If the Talmud was perceived as the mark of Jewish perfidy, the *Zohar* was viewed as a potent text for the attainment of Christian spirituality. For Jews, of course, the primacy of the Talmud could not be challenged, although the printing of the *Zohar* did contribute to its rising canonical status. Increasingly, the *Zohar* was viewed by Jews and non-Jews as a text endowed with occult powers whose study could heal the sick, exorcise demons, work miracles, and ultimately hasten the coming of the Messiah.

In the town of Safed in Palestine, then under the control of the Ottoman Turks, medieval Kabbalah reached its final phase. A community of mystics led a rigorous life of frequent fasts, ablutions, night vigils, and intense study of Kabbalah in preparation for the coming of the Messiah. M. Cordovero (d. 1570) systematized kabbalistic theosophy and ethics, I. Luria (d. 1572) articulated the details of God's inner drama, and J. Caro (d. 1575) incorporated kabbalistic doctrines and practices into his comprehensive code of Law, *Shulhan Arukh* (Prepared Table). With the decline of Maimonideanism by the second half of the sixteenth century, Kabbalah emerged as the dominant theology of Judaism as well as an important influence on popular Jewish piety and practice.

Paradoxically, the systematization of kabbalistic theology marked the end of kabbalistic biblical hermeneutics. In particular, the mystical and visionary activity of Luria and his disciples rendered the kabbalistic interpretation of the revealed text a secondary activity. Lurianic Kabbalah spelled out the physiological processes of divine life, from the first act of internal withdrawal (*zimzum*) through the traumatic events of divine self-birth—referred to as "the breaking of the vessels" (*shevirat ha-kelim*)—to the final act of re-pairing the male and female principles of the deity (*tikkun*). It not only detailed God's inner life with scientific precision, but it also provided specific instruction for the production of theurgic results (i.e., *kavanot* and *yihudim*).

Precisely because Lurianic Kabbalah provided a manual of divine sexuality with specific instructions for the human activation of the deity, it left no room for the imagination of the interpreter. As kabbalistic symbolism lost its vitality and suggestive power, the study of the biblical text itself diminished in importance. Where the *Zohar* succeeded, Lurianic Kabbalah failed. The *Zohar* could talk openly and inspiringly about divine mysteries because it retained the presumption that the Bible is a symbolic text. In contrast, Lurianic Kabbalah explored biblical symbolism by expounding the details of divine sexual life with utmost literalism. It is no wonder that Luria's students contracted among themselves not to reveal the secrets of their master; misunderstood or misapplied, these secrets could cause great harm. Thus, while the *Zohar* became an exoteric text of canonical status, Lurianic Kabbalah resorted to actual esotericism.

Notwithstanding the self-imposed ban on the dissemination of Lurianic Kabbalah, variants were popularized during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Various (and not entirely consistent) versions of kabbalistic theology, PSYCHOLOGY, hermeneutics, ethics, and practice spread throughout the Jewish diaspora to create a worldview and life-style suffused with Kabbalah; it provided the ideational framework for diverse cultural movements in early modern Judaism, ranging from Jewish interest in the natural sciences during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Italy, through the messianic outbursts of Sabbatianism in the mid-seventeenth century, to the revivalist movement of HASIDISM in the eighteenth century.

Through Hasidism, Kabbalah entered the modern period only to encounter the hostility of modernizing forces such as the Jewish Enlightenment (*Haskalah*), the scientific study of Judaism (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*), and Reform Judaism. For these rationalist trends Kabbalah reflected the irrational, obscurantist, supersti-

tious aspect of Judaism that not only deviated from the monotheistic essence of Judaism but also prevented Jews from becoming dignified citizens in the countries of their residence. The scientific study of the Jewish past meant that the existence of Kabbalah could not be ignored; yet because it was perceived as a deviation from the essence of Judaism its centrality in Judaism was diminished and its teachings explained away. Ironically it was precisely the hostile attitude toward Kabbalah and its link to the desire for acceptance in European society that led to the revival of the scientific study of Kabbalah during the twentieth century.

In contrast to the essentialist approach to Judaism of nineteenth-century Jewish scholarship, G. Scholem—the greatest modern historian of Kabbalah—championed a pluralistic, anarchic vision of Judaism. Judaism possesses neither an essence nor a dogma, neither an overarching philosophical principle nor a core idea. Whatever Jews have thought, written, created, and done in history is Jewish and as such must be considered the raw data for the Jewish historian. This position was consistent with Scholem's Zionism, which was the only viable avenue for the modern Jewish intellectual who was too estranged from the world of halakhic Judaism to remain committed to Jewish identity.

Scholem made Kabbalah the focal point of his Zionist "counter-history." In doing so he not only rehabilitated it from its inferior status in *Wissenschaft* scholarship, but also put it on a pedestal as one of the most vital elements of Judaism, the very secret of its longevity. Rabbinic Judaism would have petrified under its own aridity without Kabbalah; and just as Kabbalah kept rabbinic Judaism alive, so too the historical study of Kabbalah would rejuvenate modern Judaism by exposing the versatility and vitality of rabbinic Judaism.

Scholem made the study of Kabbalah a respectable sub-field within the academic study of Judaism. He surveyed much of the corpus of kabbalistic texts, traced the evolution of major kabbalistic concepts and themes, and outlined the intellectual portraits of leading Kabbalists, mapping out the entire field of kabbalistic literature. Yet in order to do so he systematized Kabbalah into a form of speculative theology, thereby suppressing (consciously or unconsciously) its experiential, mystical, and theurgic dimensions.

Scholem's formidable legacy became a form of orthodoxy in the academic study of Kabbalah. Only the third generation of Scholem's students felt sufficiently confident to challenge some of his assertions, and this stirred great controversy. The revisionist studies of M. Idel, Y. Liebes, and E. Wolfson attest greater awareness of phenomenology of religion, openness to the experiential dimensions of Kabbalah, and application of contemporary LITERARY theories to the study of kabbalistic hermeneutics. Uninhibited by a preconception of Judaism, these studies have situated Kabbalah in the broader context of Jewish mystical, magical, and theurgic lore, thereby lending credence to Kabbalah's self-perception as an ancient Jewish tradition.

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H. TIROSH-SAMUELSON

KABISCH, RICHARD (1868–1914)

K. studied German and history at Greifswald and theology at Bonn. His licentiate thesis, with F. SPITTA, was on the sources of 4 Esra (2 Esdras 3-14). In 1893 he published a controversial book on the eschatology of PAUL (1893) for his habilitation, arguing that, just as eschatology was the driving motif of early Christianity, so also it was for Paul. Paul did not strive for the good for its own sake or believe only for the sake of belief, love only for the sake of love, hope only for the sake of hope. K. maintained that even more fervently than the original apostles, Paul fixed his eyes on the ends

to be attained by the moral and religious life and depicted even more gloriously the crown that awaited the conqueror. All Paul's teachings, even justification by faith, depended on his belief that the great advantage Christians attain by faith in Christ is their ability to give a good account at their resurrection. Paul inherited and used Jewish apocalyptic ideas (see APOCALYPTICISM). Only the righteous will be raised from the dead, because through union with Christ they possess in the Spirit the material basis for their resurrection.

K.'s habilitation was never granted. The book was savagely reviewed by F. WREDE (*TLZ* 19 [1894] 131-38), who, although later acknowledging that K.'s emphasis was a corrective to the usual view, never withdrew his objections. However, K.'s book greatly influenced A. SCHWEITZER. K. died of wounds while leading a company at Flanders (October 1914).

Works: *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* (1889); "Die Quellen der Apokalypse Baruchs," *JPT* 18 (1891–92) 66-107; *Die Eschatologie des Paulus in ihren Zusammenhängen mit dem Gesamtbegriff des Paulinismus* (1893); "Die erste Seligpreisung," *TSK* 69 (1896) 195-215; "Die Entstehungszeit der Apokalypse Mose," *ZNW* 6 (1905) 109-34; *Gottes Heimkehr: Die Geschichte eines Glaubens* (autobiography, 1907).

Bibliography: **G. Bockwoldt,** *R. K.: Religionspädagogik zwischen Revolution und Restauration* (1976). **A. Schweitzer,** *Paul and His Interpreters: A Critical History* (1912) 58-63.

J. C. O'NEILL

KAHLE, PAUL (1875–1964)

Born Jan. 21, 1875 in Hohenstein, East Prussia, K. received his training in oriental and biblical studies at Halle. His 1898 dissertation under F. Praetorious dealt with textual and lexigraphical matters in the TARGUM of the Samaritan Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) and established his lifelong interest in the text of the HB. After completing his licentiate in theology (1902), he served as chaplain in Rumania and then as pastor in Cairo (1903–8), where he became thoroughly familiar with Arabic language and culture. After a year in Jerusalem he was appointed *Privatdozent* for Semitic languages in Halle (1909), and in 1914 went to Giessen as *ordinarius.* His most productive period was during his tenure at the University of Bonn (1923–38), where he also directed the Bonn Oriental Institute. His protests against Nazi persecution of Jews forced his emigration at age sixty-three to England (1939), where he catalogued Arabic manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, London, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. His personal library and research materials remained in Bonn and were available to him only after the war. K. was Schweich lecturer of the British Academy in 1941; his well-known book on the Cairo Geniza was drawn from those lectures.

K. combined an extraordinary breadth of knowledge with creative insight and was remembered for his enthusiasm as a scholar and for his cordial hospitality as a teacher and colleague. A recognized authority in several areas of biblical scholarship, in every subject he entered he produced pioneering theories that have often proved fundamental for further work. His research into different systems of vowel pointing led him to identify the Ben Asher recension in Codex Leningradensis and to use it as the basis for the *Biblia Hebraica.* Since its initial edition in 1937 this standard edition of the HB has borne the inscription "*Textus masoreticum curavit* Paul E. Kahle." His study of fragments of the Pentateuch Targum from the Cairo Geniza convinced him that they were more representative of the Aramaic of first century Palestine, "the language of Jesus," than *Targum Onkelos,* whose origin, in K.'s view, was Babylonian. K.'s most controversial theory was his understanding of the origin of the Greek HB by a process similar to the development of the Targums. Contrary to the hypothesis of P. de LAGARDE, there was no *Urtext;* different geographical areas produced their own authorized translations to accompany readings from the Hebrew text. The more uniform text of the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT) was a later product of the church. K.'s volume *The Cairo Geniza,* revised in 1959, detailed the significance of manuscripts from the Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo and incorporated a number of K.'s theories; it has become a classic in studies of the history of the HB text.

Works: *Textkritische und lexikalische Bemerkungen zum samaritanischen Pentateuchtargum* (1898); *Der masoretische Text des Alten Testaments nach der Überlieferung der babylonischen Juden* (1902, 1996); *Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen* (1904); *Masoreten des Ostens* (1913); *Masoreten des Westens* (BWANT 3, 2 vols., 1927–30); *The Cairo Geniza* (1947, rev. ed. 1959); *Die hebräischen Hanschriften aus der Höhle* (1951); *Der hebräische Bibeltext seit Franz Delitzsch* (1961).

Bibliography: **M. Black,** *PBA* (1965) 485-95. **K.-H. Bernhardt,** *TRE* 17 (1988) 524-25. **O. Eissfeldt,** *KS* 4 (1968) 215-18. **H. S. Nyberg,** *In Memorian P. K.* (BZAW 103, 1968) 1-2.

S. L. MCKENZIE

KÄHLER, MARTIN (1835–1912)

Born in Neuhausen, East Prussia, K. was educated at Heidelberg, Tübingen, and Halle and from 1867 was professor of systematic theology at Halle. In biblical studies his work on the historical JESUS (*Der sogenannte historische Jesus und der geschichtliche, biblische Christus* [1892–1896²])—not mentioned in A. SCHWEITZER's famous work—criticized the life-of-Jesus movement and pointed out the more important concern:

to develop a new approach to the study of Jesus' life that would do justice to the fact that all the sources we have are testimonies of faith. These sources do not seek to portray Jesus as he was but what the authors believed about Jesus. None of them was written before Jesus died and, according to Christian faith, rose from the dead. Through K.'s work the distinction between historical and historic (*historisch* and *geschichtlich*) became a part of Jesus research. He also contributed to the theology of mission; his stress on the unfolding of ideas in the history of religions and his introduction of the term *supra-historical* have contributed to the vitality of biblical exegesis. In 1964 P. TILLICH welcomed the Kähler renaissance and credited him with making it possible for many persons to remain Christian theologians even though they doubted certain statements from the Bible or even harbored "radical doubts."

Works: *Die Wissenschaft der christlichen Lehre* (1883); *The So-Called Historical Jesus and the Historic, Biblical Christ* (1892–1896²; ET and introduction by C. E. Braaten with a foreword by P. Tillich, 1964); *Geschichte der protestantischen Dogmatik im 19. Jahrhundert* (ed. E. Kähler, 1962), bibliography, 292-307; *Aufsätze zur Bibelfrage* (ed. E. Kähler, 1967); *Theologie und Christ: Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse von M. K.* (ed. A. Kähler, 1926) 1-234 contains K.'s autobiography for the years 1835–67).

Bibliography: **C. E. Braaten,** "M. K. on the Historic, Biblical Christ," *The Historical Jesus and the Kerygmatic Christ: Essays on the Quest of the Historical Jesus* (ed. C. E. Braaten and R. A. Harrisville, 1964) 79-105. **M. Fischer,** *TPNZJ,* 130-49. **R. Hermann,** *RGG³* 3 (1959) 1081-84. **H.-J. Kraus,** *TRE* 17 (1987) 511-15.

W. KLASSEN

KAISER, GOTTLIEB PHILIPP CHRISTIAN (1781–1848)

In 1815 K. became *Privatdozent* and in 1816 professor at Erlangen. His work at the outset reflected a fairly radical approach to traditional doctrine, but between the appearance of the two parts of volume 2 (1814, 1821) of his *Biblische Theologie* he assented to Harms's Lutheran revival, which led to a notable incongruity in his work. His biblical THEOLOGY was an attempt to present Jewish and Christian religion in the context of the history of all religions. Starting from the assumption that nowhere is God without a witness, K. saw universalism as the means for overcoming both supernaturalist biblicism and rationalist moralism. In every religion there are stages of development and some truth, but no religion is yet the final religion.

K's use of bizarre terms, his sweeping use of parallels that were recognized as invalid, and the suddenly orthodox tone of the last part of his work meant that he received little attention in his day. However, his work showed solid virtues: a sense of the history of development and change within all religions along with the usefulness of comparative religion for biblical studies, the importance of the cultus for understanding the HB, a sympathetic understanding of MYTHOLOGY, and a rejection of pure moralism as an adequate basis for religion.

Works: *Die Biblische Theologie oder Judaismus und Christianismus nach der grammatisch-historischen Interpretationsmethode, und nach einer freymütigen Stellung in die kritisch-vergleichende Universalgeschichte der Religion* (vol. 1, 1813; vol. 2.1, 1814; vol. 2.2, 1821).

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J. SANDYS-WUNSCH

KAISER, OTTO (1924–)

Born Nov. 30, 1924, in Prenzlau, north of Berlin, K. was drafted into the army immediately upon completion of gymnasium. Opting for a medical education, he divided his time (1943–45) between short stays at Berlin university and the eastern front, where he served mostly in field hospitals. The horrors of war made him think deeply about life, humanity, and God. After release from an American prison camp in June 1945, he transferred from medicine to theology; the former he thought cures symptoms while neglecting greater human plights. He spent 1946–60 at the university of Tübingen as a student, a professorial assistant, and a teacher. His major teachers in theology were H. Thielicke, G. Ebeling, and H. Rüchert; in philosophy, W. Weishedel; in ancient history and languages, H. Brunner, O. Rössler, and W. Otto; and in HB, E. Würthwein, K. ELLIGER, and A. WEISER. Both his dissertation and his Habilitationschrift were published in 1959.

K. taught at the university of Marburg from 1961 until his retirement in 1993. He engaged in broad academic scholarship with both students and faculty and was energetically involved in university politics and church affairs. From 1982 to 1992, he edited *ZAW* and BZAW. He supervised over twenty doctoral and habilitation dissertations and was fondly known as "Kaiser Otto." As a LITERARY critic he has influenced research on source and REDACTION CRITICISM of all three parts of the HB. He adhered to the main lines of traditional source analysis of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), although

one of his students has dated the J source to the exilic period (C. Levin, *Der Jahwist* [FRLANT 157, 1993]). K. is known for his work on Isaiah and for his "conversion" to a late dating for Isaiah 6–9, reflected in the fifth edition of his commentary. His HB introductions have aided students and teachers in keeping abreast of scholarship. Throughout his career, K. has given special attention to ancient Near Eastern texts and religious history, an interest climaxing in his editorship of three massive volumes of ancient non-biblical texts (1982–96). Another special interest growing out of his philosophical inclinations, life experiences, and classical learning is wisdom texts and thought, both canonical and extra-canonical (see CANON OF THE BIBLE). This interest is reflected in his work on the books of Job, Qohelet, Sirach, etc. K.'s theological thinking has been liberal and open, yet anchored in Lutheran convictions about sin and atonement.

Works: *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit, und Israel* (BZAW 78, 1959, 1962²); *Die königliche Knecht: Eine traditionsgeschichtlich-exegetische Studie über die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder bei Deuterojesaja* (FRLANT 70, 1959, 1970³); *Isaiah 1–12* (ATD 17, 1960, 1981⁵; ET, OTL, 1972, 1983²); *Isaiah 13–39* (ATD 18, 1973, 1983³; ET, OTL, 1974); *Introduction to the OT* (1969, 1984⁵; ET 1973); (with W. G. Kümmel), *Exegetical Method: A Student's Handbook* (1975⁵; ET 1981²); (with E. Lohse), *Death and Life* (1977; ET 1981); (ed.) *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (3 vols., 1982–96); *Ideologie und Glaube* (1984); *Von der Gegenwartsbedeutung des Alten Testamentes: G. S. zur Hermeneutik und zur Redaktionsgeschichte* (ed. V. Fritz et al., 1984), contains K.'s bibliography, 201-11; *Der Mensch unter dem Schicksal: Studien zur Geschichte, Theologie, und Gegenwartsbedeutung der Weisheit* (BZAW 161, 1985); *Grundriss der Einleitung in die kanonischen und deuterokanonischen Schriften des Alten Testaments* (2 vols., 1992-94); *Der Gott des Alten Testaments* (1993).

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E. GERSTENBERGER

KAMPHAUSEN, ADOLF HERMANN HEINRICH (1829–1909)

Born Sept. 10, 1829 in Solingen, K. died Sept. 13, 1909 in Bonn. He studied theology in Bonn and habilitated there in 1855. Following some years as secretary to C. von BUNSEN in Heidelberg, he returned to Bonn in 1859, becoming *ausserordentlicher* professor in 1863, and in 1868 succeeded A. Köhler as full professor of OT. He retired in 1900.

K. was influenced theologically by R. Rothe, but his primary teacher was F. BLEEK. Like Bleek he was an industrious worker, surveying the entire literature of his field and evaluating it comprehensively and fairly; his own originality stood in the background. Because of his dry lectures he was not generally popular with students, but in German professorial chairs he had a series of grateful scholars: K. BUDDE, W. Rothstein, and R. SMEND.

More than some scholars of his generation, he managed to hold an impartial attitude toward the new orientation of HB scholarship, associated before and after 1870 with K. GRAF, A. KUENEN, and J. WELLHAUSEN. Although he recognized Wellhausen's greatness and followed his LITERARY criticism to a considerable extent, K. thought it was not necessary to diverge from the HB description of Israelite history as far as Wellhausen had. He believed the DECALOGUE derived from Moses and many psalms and proverbs from the monarchical period, and he had greater faith in the regnal years assigned the kings of Israel and Judah and also in the historical reliability of the chronicler than had Wellhausen. He maintained that David had been a vassal of Philistia during his reign at Hebron. Although regarding the book of Daniel as entirely unhistorical, supporting his position with the then-known cuneiform material, he assigned to the book a "truly prophetic content."

K's strongest interest lay in making the Bible popular again in relation to scholarship. To this aim he contributed to Bunsen's *Vollständiges Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde* (1858–70), including a large part of the HB translation and commentary as well as some on the NT. From 1871 to 1900 he belonged to the commission charged with revising LUTHER's translation of the Bible. He argued consistently for all changes he believed reproduced the basic text more accurately than Luther's translation but with limited success.

Works: *Das Lied Moses: Deut 32:1-43* (1862); *Das Gebet des Herrn* (1866); *Die Chronologie der hebräischen Könige: Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung* (1883); "Philister und Hebräer zur Zeit Davids," *ZAW* 6 (1866) 43-97; *Das Buch Daniel und die neuere Geschichtsforschung* (1893); *Die berichtigte Lutherbibel* (1894); *The Book of Daniel* (SBOT 18, 1896); *Das Verhältnis des Menschenopfers zur israelitischen Religion* (1896); "Das zweite Buch der Makkabäer," *APAT* 1:81-119; "Die Bücher der Könige," *HSAT(K)* 1 (1909) 458-548.

Bibliography: **K. Budde,** *RE*³ 23 (1913) 726-31. **J. Smend and E. Sachsse,** *Zur Erinnerung an Dr. A. K.* (1909). **R. Smend,** "Adolf Kamphausen," *BG*, 92-102 = *DATDJ*, 85-98.

R. SMEND

KANT, IMMANUEL (1724–1804)

Born April 22, 1724, in Königsberg, East Prussia, the son of a saddler, K. was brought up in a pietistic home (see PIETISM) and was educated at the pious Collegium Fridericianum in his hometown (1732–40). From 1740

to 1746 he studied philosophy, mathematics, and, casually, theology at the University of Königsberg; after 1746 he worked as a tutor to some East Prussian families, until he received his MA and *venia legendi* in 1755. Appointed to a professorship for logic and metaphysics at the university in 1770, he never left his native Königsberg again. A famous and popular lecturer who served twice as the university's rector, he pursued his duties there until 1796. K. died Feb. 12, 1804. His fame spread during his lifetime, and his influence continues into the present. His critical philosophy changed the intellectual scene of central Europe, stopped the influence of developing skepticism, materialism, and atheism, prepared, against K.'s own intention, the way for German idealistic philosophy, and deeply influenced Protestant theology and biblical HERMENEUTICS.

Based on a statement in the preface to the second edition of K.'s *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781, 1787[3]), he is widely thought of as the executor of a "Copernican revolution" in the field of philosophy and especially in epistemology and at the same time as the destroyer of metaphysics. Philosophically trained in the context of Leibniz-Wolffian metaphysics, he came under the influence of Newtonian mechanics and the skeptical empiricism of D. HUME, whose discussion of causality roused him from his "dogmatic slumber." His later social and religious philosophy was influenced by J.-J. Rousseau. K. was not satisfied with skepticism and tried to give convincing and rational answers to the three basic questions: What can we know? What must we do? What may we hope?

Through phenomenological reduction and logical analysis K. came to the revolutionary conclusion that the empirical object is shaped by reason and not reason by the object; the object as a thing in itself remains unknowable. Our experience pertains only to phenomena, not to things as they are in themselves. But if the structure and laws of the phenomenological realm (the world of experience) have their basis in the structure and laws of reason, knowledge is possible; there is no need for skepticism. However, transcendence of the boundary of experience through theoretical argumentation is not possible.

Although the world of experience is governed by causality and thus human freedom cannot be proved logically, there remains the binding reality of practical reason. The categorical imperative, which commits one to act in accordance with a principle that one could will for all to follow, is the moral law human beings have to obey. In order to give meaning to human existence despite the lack of correspondence between moral dignity and happiness, K. thought it necessary to postulate the existence of a God who guarantees their correspondence in a future life. God, freedom, and immortality are, therefore, postulates of practical reason. Metaphysically, God is nothing else than a transcendental ideal with a regulative function regarding theoretical reason, an ideal that guarantees the unity of reality. Humanity belongs to two realms or kingdoms, that of causality and that of freedom; the two can coexist only if there is a possibility that the law of causality and the law of freedom can cooperate. The solution of God as transcendental ideal is reached partly by reflection on the necessity of teleology to explain the element of variety in the natural world, which is not explainable on the basis of mechanistic laws alone, and partly by reflection on the presence of harmony and disharmony in the realm of aesthetic experience. Both these indications point to a supersensory, supernatural, rational, and hence supreme and transmundane being.

The means and goals of human destiny are the moral behavior not only of the individual but also of a civil society shaped by a just constitution. Reason demands a republican constitution characterized by the division of power between the legislative and the executive branches of government. National law, international law, and cosmopolitan law limit and supplement one another on the basis of the liberty of the individual as a human being and the equality of independent citizens before the law. Wars and preparations for war force individuals and peoples toward the ultimate goal of a league of nations and toward an approximation of permanent peace. K. did not believe it possible to establish an earthly kingdom of God by social contracts or by power. Rather, a just society is possible only where humanity follows the ideal of an ethical community under a divine moral legislator. Its realization on earth is a visible church, its underlying truth an invisible one.

Throughout his life, K. maintained an ambivalent attitude toward religion. He was convinced of its necessity for a happy life and remained impressed by its moral values and demands, but he was repelled by the church's ceremonies and suspicious of its dogmatic teachings. Although he had doubts about the supranatural origin of the Bible, he thought it unwise to destroy its status in society. He did not develop a comprehensive religious philosophy; he only tried to show that the essence of the Bible is in accord with his own rational, ethical theology. As a result he called for a moral interpretation of the Bible in which the fall of humanity is necessary for the realization of freedom. Job is exemplary of a religion of the heart's honesty, and JESUS is the archetype of moral perfection.

Works: *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781, 1787[2]; ET ed. and tr. P. Guyer and A. W. Wood, 1998); *Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics That Will Be Able to Come Forward as Science* (1783; ET ed. and tr. G. Hatfield, 1997); *Moral Law: Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* (1785; ET 1992); *Critique of Practical Reason* (1787; ET ed., tr. and intro., M. Gregor and A. Reath, 1997); *Critique of the Faculty of Judgment* (1790; ET 1914[2]); *Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793;

ET 1960); *Lectures on Ethics* (1797; ET ed. and tr., P. Heath and J. B. Schmeerwind, 1996).

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O. KAISER

KAPLAN, MORDECAI MENAHEM (1881–1983)

A rabbi, theologian, early pioneer in the struggle for the equality of women in Judaism, and founder of the Reconstructionist movement, K. grew up in a liberal orthodox family in New York. He was strongly influenced by E. Durkheim, J. Dewey, and M. ARNOLD, and to some extent by W. James and H. AHAD. Arnold and A. EHRLICH contributed to his approach to the HB. As a theologian, he staunchly rejected any "supernatural" understanding of God and any claim for a revealed text. Instead, he referred to God as the power or process that makes for salvation (i.e., for freedom, for personal and communal responsibility, and for fulfillment of creative potentials); he understood the Torah (including the HB) as a human, historically dependent attempt to reveal/understand God. His acceptance of biblical criticism, including PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM, stood in sharp contrast with the positions of S. SCHECHTER and others.

K. held that Judaism, an ever-evolving religious civilization, should not attempt to maintain continuity by ascribing meanings to sacred texts that could not have been contemplated by their authors (i.e., transvaluation) and certainly not by forced harmonizations of texts. He claimed that the biblical text should be first understood "in the light of the total situation of which it was a part," so that the main ideas of the original writers could be abstracted and then translated into contemporary terms. These ideas should be reevaluated on the basis of the present needs for salvation: Some should be incorporated into modern Jewish theology, some relegated to ARCHAEOLOGY or even strongly condemned. (See *The Meaning of God* [1934, 1994²], particularly the introduction.)

Works: "Isaiah 6:1-11," *JBL* 45 (1926) 251-59; *Judaism as a Civilization: Toward a Reconstruction of American-Jewish Life* (1934, 1994⁵); *The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion* (1937, 1994³); *Judaism Without Supernaturalism: The Only Alternative to Orthodoxy and Secularism* (1958); *The Greater Judaism in the Making: A Study of the Modern Evolution of Judaism* (1960); *The Religion of Ethical Nationhood: Judaism's Contribution to World Peace* (1970).

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E. BEN ZVI

KARA, JOSEPH (c. 1060–?)

Biographical facts about K. are few. He lived in northern France, where he edited commentaries on the *Piyyutim* (Jewish liturgical chants) and commented on most of the books of the HB. His surname, Kara, is probably the Hebrew equivalent of the Latin *lector*—one who studies and teaches the Bible. A colleague-pupil of RASHI, K. was a source of inspiration for the Jewish exegetical school of medieval France, which interpreted sacred texts according to a method of literal exegesis, the *peshat*.

In a text that has become famous (on 1 Sam 1:17), K. proclaimed that literal exegesis, to live and be developed, ought to be liberated from MIDRASH. Even the midrashic explications of basic texts ought not to obscure the obvious sense of the text (e.g., on Exod 30:13). The essential rule of *peshat* is *hilukh mikraot*—the progression of verses, the interpretation that gives, at the end of the process, a coherent and plausible synthesis of the text taken as a whole (on Isa 42:4). K., like his friend and colleague Rashbam (see SAMUEL BEN MEIR), defined the rule of the "prolepsis": Sometimes the text furnishes a detail that is apparently superfluous

but later proves to explain another text (e.g., on Exod 3:18). He also held that the chanting (cantillation) of a biblical text has an exegetical value (on Gen 15:13) and that miracles should be explained rationally (e.g., on Exod 17:11). More than his predecessors, K. was sensitive to form (on Ps. 92:3; Isa 34:6; Zechariah 9; 17). He participated actively in the Judeo-Christian religious controversy, sometimes explicitly (e.g., on Isa 33:13-14, according to the handwritten version; censored in the printed version) and often implicitly.

It seems that on the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) K. wrote only notes, interpolated in certain manuscripts of Rashi's commentary (published separately by A. Berliner [1892]). The commentary on Job has been published in a critical edition by M. Ahrend (1986). The printed editions of K.'s other commentaries are often faulty and sometimes censored.

Works: Commentary on the Pentateuch (ed. A. Berliner, 1872); commentary on the prophets in *Mikraot Gedolot* (1897–99); commentary on Job (ed. M. Ahrend, 1986).

Bibliography: **M. Ahrend,** *Le Commentaire sur Job de R. Yoseph Qara'* (1978). **M. Littmann,** *J. ben Simeon Kara als Schrifterklärer* (1887). **S. Japhet and J. M. Green,** "The Nature and Distribution of Medieval Compilatory Commentaries in the Light of Rabbi J. K.'s Commentary on the Book of Job," *The Midrashic Imagination* (ed. M. Fishbane, 1993) 98-130. **S. A. Poznanski,** *Kommentar zu Esechiel und den XII Kleinen Propheten von Eliezer aus Beaugency* (1913) XXIII-XXXIX. **A. Grossmann,** "The Jewish-Christian Polemic and Jewish Biblical Exegesis in the Twelfth Century (on the attitude of R. J. Qara to polemic)," *Zion* 51 (1986) 29-60 (Hebrew).

E. TOUITOU

KARAITES

This Jewish sect originated in the eighth century CE and bore the name *kara'im,* which can mean either "scripturalists" or "callers" (propagandists) but more likely the former since they were also known as *ba'alei ha-mikra* (people of the Scriptures). Their distinctive characteristics were a denial of the AUTHORITY of rabbinic tradition embodied in the oral law and of such rabbinic works as the TALMUD, a reliance on the Bible as the sole valid source of authority in determining religious law, and a rigorously ascetic life-style.

The group traced its origin back to Anan ben David (8th cent.), a rabbinic scholar in Babylonia of aristocratic background who broke with the Rabbanite probably in the 760s. His followers claimed that he was "the first to bring to light a great deal of the truth about the scriptural ordinances" (Jacob al-Kirkisani, a 10th-cent. Karaite), while his opponents argued that his schism began when he was bypassed in favor of his younger brother for the office of exilarch. Attempts to trace a direct connection between his movement and earlier Jewish sects like the Sadducees or the DEAD SEA SCROLLS community have not been very successful, although clearly parallels do exist. Anan's *Sepher ha-Mitzvoth* (Book of Precepts) became the basis of later Karaite literature and law.

Anan's movement, the Ananites, attracted other dissidents opposed to the authority of the oral law and its official administrators and tradents, many perhaps influenced by dissident non-Jewish political groups opposed to the hegemony of Arab conquerors. By the second quarter of the ninth century, the diverse groups had adopted the name *Karaite.* The Karaites, still extant but never very numerous, spread throughout the Middle East and established a flourishing community in Jerusalem that was wiped out by the success of the First Crusade in 1099. New Karaite communities were established in the Byzantine Balkans, Cyprus, Spain, the Crimea, Lithuania, and Poland.

The Karaite movement produced a number of scholars and important exegetical works. The golden age of their literary activity was the tenth century, when they not only engaged in heated debate with their opponents but also produced works on religious law, commentaries, lexicography, and translations of the Bible into Arabic. During this period David ben Abraham al-Fasi produced LEXICONS, and Japheth ben Ali translated the Bible into Arabic and commented on the whole, earning the title "the Karaite Ibn Ezra."

During the second half of the thirteenth century, Karaites again produced significant biblical commentaries. The most important was *Sepher ha-Mivḥar ve-tov ha-Mishar,* completed in 1293 (printed in 1835) by Aaron ben Joseph ha-Rofe the elder (c. 1250–1320), a scholar and physician who lived and worked in Sokhet, the Crimea, and Constantinople. Primarily a literalist, Aaron used RASHI and at times resorted to midrashic interpretations. Another noteworthy Karaite commentary, *Keter Torah,* was authored by Aaron ben Elijah (c. 1328–69), a philosopher, jurist, and scholar who lived in Nicomedia, Turkey.

Although there was considerable diversity within the Karaite communities, this "protestant" Jewish movement sought as far as possible to base its legal rulings and religious law on Scripture alone. Like Christian Protestants, however, they were forced to recognize that the principle of *sola scriptura* is difficult to follow. Ideally, each Karaite interpreter was encouraged to personally read and interpret the Bible and to determine its meaning on the basis of the literal sense. However, the consensus of the community, conclusions based on allegory, and the use of human reason were acknowledged in varying degrees. Judah Hadassi, in his *Eshkol ha-Kofer* (begun c. 1148), sought to formulate hermeneutical rules for interpretation that parallel those attributed to HILLEL and ISHMAEL in the Talmud, although he argued that Ish-

mael's rules were similar to those found in Greek rhetoric.

The literalness and austerity of the Karaite approach to the Bible can be seen in their adherence to a stringent rather than a lenient interpretation of legal material. The sabbath was not celebrated as a joyous occasion, fires and artificial lights were usually prohibited, and sexual intercourse on the day was taboo. The demands of the *lex talionis* were understood literally rather than as requiring compensation, as has been characteristic of regular Judaism, except in the case of murder. Some Karaites held that the consumption of meat was prohibited following the destruction of the Temple. The range of prohibited marriages was extended beyond that of regular Judaism to include relatives of the wife as if they were blood kin, and regulations related to purity matters, especially those concerning menstruation, were stringent. Dates and festival celebrations differed somewhat from rabbinic Judaism.

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J. H. HAYES

KARLSTADT, ANDREAS BODENSTEIN VON

(c. 1480–1541)

A student of arts at Erfurt and of theology at Cologne, K. was deeply influenced by the neo-Thomism of Capreolous. He joined the faculty of theology at Wittenberg in 1505 and was soon established as its leading member, being elected dean of the faculty in 1512. His growing association with LUTHER led to his rediscovery of AUGUSTINE's anti-Pelagian writings in 1517 (see PELAGIUS) and a new interest in the reform of theological studies at Wittenberg; however, K.'s increasing radicalism, evident from 1521 onward, led to alienation between the two Reformers.

K.'s early biblical interpretation as reflected in his theses of May 1518 stressed the priority of the literal sense of Scripture (in contrast to Luther's earlier priority on the tropological sense). K. defined the literal sense with reference to testamentary law: It is not the intention of the author that is of decisive importance (contra J. Gerson), but the text as written. This emphasis on the *sensus legibilis* can be seen as an important anticipation of the later Protestant tendency to base biblical exegesis rigidly on the written text, without regard to the *circumstantiae scribentis.* Perhaps his most celebrated biblical interpretation is his explanation of Matt 26:26, *hoc est corpus meum.* According to K., JESUS pointed to himself when speaking these words, thus "this" refers to the living earthly body of Jesus. K.'s work on the CANON constitutes the first Protestant introduction to the Bible, and in it he defended limiting the OT to the books of the HB, raised questions about Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), and defended the epistle of James against Luther's interpretation.

Works: *De canonicis scripturis libellus* (1520); *De legis litera, sive carne, et spiritu* (1521).

Bibliography: **U. Bubenheimer,** *Consonantia Theologiae et Iurisprudentiae: A. B. K. als Theologe und Jurist zwischen Scholastik und Reformation* (Jus ecclesiasticum 24, 1977); *TRE* 17 (1988) 649-57. **E. Kähler,** *K. und Augustin: Der Kommentar des A. B. K. zu Augustin's Schrift "De spiritu et litera"* (Hallische Monographien 19, 1952). **H. Lietzmann,** *A. K.: Von Abtuhung der bilder und das Keyn bedtler vrinther den Christen Seyn sollen, 1522, und die Wittenberger beutelordnung* (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen 74, 1911). **H. P. Rüger,** "K. als Hebräist an der Universität Wittenberg," *ARG* 75 (1984) 297-309. **R. J. Sider,** *A. B. v. K.: The Development of His Thought, 1517–1525* (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 1974).

A. E. MCGRATH

KÄSEMANN, ERNST (1906–1998)

Born at Dahlhausen bei Bochum, K. studied at Bonn under Petersen, at Marburg under R. BULTMANN, and at Tübingen under A. SCHLATTER before becoming a pastor in the Evangelical Church. His university dissertations concerned the concepts of body and apostleship in Pauline thought (see PAUL). In 1938, after preaching on Isa 26:13 ("O LORD our God, other lords beside you have ruled over us, but we acknowledge your name alone"), he was arrested and detained in prison for four weeks, during which he worked continuously on his book *The Wandering People of God.* His church, with brass band, sang each Sunday outside the prison, "Awake, awake, O Germany, you have slept long

enough!" This theme was to dominate later thinking about the church. During WWII he served as a soldier in France and Greece and afterward was professor at Mainz (1946), Göttingen (1951), and Tübingen (1959), retiring in 1970. His lectures were marked by evangelical passion and incisive thought. After completing his commentary on Romans (1973) he devoted himself to more popular writing and to social and political action. K. died Feb. 17, 1998.

1. History. K. followed the historical-critical method and was foremost in the so-called new quest for the historical JESUS. Against Bultmann he insisted that historical facts about Jesus prevent the church from giving central place to its own experience. The Gospels assert the lordship of Christ over his community. Historical study brings out differences within the NT CANON; therefore, only by critical investigation of historical setting can exegesis begin. There are two limitations: (1) Our limited knowledge of earliest Christianity makes many historical introductions to the NT fall within the genre of fairy tale. The pages of the NT have been finely combed by so many scholars for so long that we can hear the grass growing. (2) History can mislead. The baptism of Jesus implies that Jesus was John's disciple; the crucifixion implies that Jesus was a political activist; the resurrection stories imply that the physical survival of Jesus was central. None of these claims can be reconciled with the known teaching of Jesus and the proclamation of the earliest churches.

2. Theology. Historical criticism without theological reflection (*Sachkritik*) is merely playing with mirrors. The prime responsibility of the exegete is to think or, as LUTHER claimed, to suffer and to think. No scholar should offer merely a catalog of sources or of the conclusions of others. K.'s essays and his great Romans commentary present a profound analysis of Pauline thought, which may be briefly set out in a series of interrelated ideas and questions since conclusions are less important than the understanding of problems. The righteousness of God is described in antitheses: indicative and imperative, for believers only and for the cosmos, juridical and effective, present and future, sacramental and ethical, gift and service, subjective and objective genitive. The concept of righteousness as a power solves these contradictions and provides the key for Paul's anthropology as well. Paul's first question concerning any person is: What power does he or she serve? Against K. STENDAHL, K. insisted that saving history has a negative, not a constitutive, character. God's presence is seen in signs of the cross. In social action the righteousness of God breaks in on the world, bringing justice for the unjust. Power is always grace, and God's righteousness is effective in the charismata; all persons who believe receive the Spirit, who gives different gifts to each one so that all may find a place within the body. The gift cannot be separated from the Giver. Christian existence is worship in daily life marked by humility, which never ceases to depend on grace.

Whereas eschatology had been seen by others as redundant MYTHOLOGY, K. argued that apocalyptic (see APOCALYPTICISM) was the mother of Christian theology both for the Gospel writers and for Paul, who saw all Christian existence as determined by the crucified Lord, who was on his way to the parousia. The faith of Abraham was directed to the God of hope, a God who, in the great antitheses of Romans 4, justifies the ungodly, creates out of nothing, and raises the dead. The death of Jesus alone has saving power. The cross is not an episode in the story of the resurrection; the resurrection is an episode in the story of the cross. Sacraments, ministry, and ethics are determined by the cross.

In 1967, K. was involved in debate with fundamentalists concerning the resurrection; in *Jesus Means Freedom,* a small book written during three weeks in the hospital, he drew on the whole of the NT to elucidate the meaning of freedom under the cross. On several occasions he was drawn into ecclesiological controversy, for he found the apparent triumphalism of ecumenical theology inconsistent with the NT. His address "Unity and Variety in NT Ecclesiology" at Montreal in 1963 was taken as a criticism of this tendency, yet he saw the ecumenical movement as a necessary development from the study of the NT.

According to K., Paul's interpretation of Scripture was governed by the antithesis between letter and spirit. Letter is the divine law as the sum of its individual laws, while spirit is the energy of the eschatological new covenant or the divine power in opposition to the law of the old Mosaic covenant. It exercises a critical, discerning function toward Scripture, asking: What does this mean in the presence of Jesus Christ, who died for our sins, was raised for our justification, and is coming to judge us all? *Sachkritik* discerns the key issue in a mass of exegetical material. It cannot exist apart from logical thought and saves theology from encyclopedic pedantry. Criticism can lead to an insight into Johannine theology that makes sense of the whole: The Christian lives every day as at the first day of creation, totally dependent on the Word by which all things are made.

Major objections to K. have been directed to the historical parts of his non-Pauline work and to his finding Lutheran theology in Paul. The historical objections may be taken seriously; they belong to the enterprise that K. regarded as least secure. The theological objections often spring from the objector's concern for conclusions rather than problems and from deficiencies in the argument. The discussions of a canon within the canon and of the center of the NT have not taken seriously the endless ambiguity of these metaphors.

K.'s use of *Sachkritik* as a working principle is justified both by the historical fact that "new testament" initially referred to the gospel, not to a set of writings,

and by the outstanding exegetical results he has produced. His great influence was acknowledged on his ninetieth birthday: As M. HENGEL put it, K. has dominated NT study in the second half of the twentieth century as Bultmann dominated the field in the first half.

Works: *The Wandering People of God: An Investigation of the Letter to the Hebrews* (1938; ET 1984); *Essays on NT Themes* (1960; ET, Studies in Biblical Theology 41, 1964); *NT Questions of Today* (1966; ET 1969); *The Testament of Jesus: A Study of the Gospel of John in the Light of Chapter 17* (1966; ET, NT Library, 1968); *Jesus Means Freedom* (1968; ET 1969); *Perspectives on Paul* (1969; ET 1971); *Commentary on Romans* (1973; ET 1980); *Kirchlich Konflikte* 1 (1982[4]).

Bibliography: **B. Ehler,** *Die Herrschaft des Gekreuzigten: E. K.s Frage nach der Mitte der Schrift* (BZNW 46, 1986). **P. Gisel,** *Vérité et histoire, La théologie dans la modernité E. K.* (Theologie Historique 41, 1977). **R. P. Martin,** *HHMBI*, 500-505. **E. F. Osborn,** "Historical Critical Exegesis—Käsemann's Contribution," *AusBR* 19 (1971) 17-35. **D. Way,** *The Lordship of Christ: E. K.'s Interpretation of Paul's Theology* (OTM, 1990).

E. F. OSBORN

KAUFMANN, YEHEZKEL (1889–1963)

Born in the Podolia region of the Ukraine, K. studied at the yeshivah in Odessa and at Leningrad and received his PhD from the University of Berne (1918). Following graduation he lived in Berlin until he emigrated to Palestine in 1928. There he taught at the Re'ali School in Haifa until his appointment as professor of Bible at the Hebrew University (1949), where he served until his death.

K.'s first major work, *Golah ve-Nekhar* (Exile and Alienation), was a sociological study (see SOCIOLOGY AND HB STUDIES) of the sustaining powers of Jewish identity and religion throughout history under diaspora conditions. Convinced that religion was the motivating and shaping force of Jewish life, he devoted years of scholarly work to the origin of the Jewish religion and its manifestation in history—as the subtitle to his *magnum opus* (1937–57) indicates: "From the Days of Origin Until the Fall of the Second Temple" (although volume 4/2 on the post-Persian period was never written). This work was a conscious alternative to the conclusions reached by J. WELLHAUSEN and classical historical-literary study of the HB. Nonetheless, K. shared with classical criticism the view that the Torah (Pentateuch) must be studied along the lines of documentary source criticism: "Such of its findings as the analysis of three chief sources in the Torah (JE, P, and D) have stood the test of inquiry and may be considered established" (1960, 1).

While accepting some of the methodological approaches and conclusions of Wellhausenian criticism, K. differed radically on a number of strategic issues. (1) He held that universal monotheism was not a late phenomenon resulting from years of evolutionary development but was rather an early feature of Israelite faith without parallel in contemporary culture. (2) He argued that pagan MYTHOLOGY, in which the god or gods are subject to a meta-realm of being and law, was unknown in Israel. Not only was Israelite faith non-mythological, but also the Israelites had no real understanding of paganism, and the idolatry and foreign cults that appear in the HB are only vestigal or marginal elements. Even in the Hellenistic period Jewish assimilation to foreign religion was practically unknown. (3) While accepting the existence of three collections of laws in the Torah—the JE, P, and D codes—K. denied that these should be understood as dependent upon one another and as reflective of a linear development, arguing instead that they reflect separate and distinct literary growth. Similarly, the Torah and the prophetic literature differ radically and are independent of one another, with the Torah's being impervious to prophetic influence. Although both, like the law codes, have a common source—Mosaic monotheism—the prophets did not influence the formation of legal codes. All are varied, parallel expressions of a shared unified belief. (4) K. argued against the view that P presupposes a centralized cult limited to one locale. He denied the old formula, first expressed by J. GEORGE in 1835, that "what D advocates, P presupposes" and argued that P's wilderness tabernacle was identifable with any Israelite sanctuary and the camp with any sanctuary town. (5) He maintained that the P material in the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) is older than D, whose connection with Josiah's reform he accepted. "With Deuteronomy, the period of Torah literature came to an end, and the formation of the Torah book began" (1960, 175). (6) He believed the prophets represent a new height in Israelite religion, not as the creators of ethical monotheism but as a return to monotheism of the level of Moses and Joshua, with an emphasis on the primacy of morality. While advocating a conservative approach to the authenticity of prophetic material, K. recognized not only a deutero-Isaiah but also a proto- and deutero-Hosea. For K. classical PROPHECY does not develop into apocalyptic (see APOCALYPTICISM); the two are products of different ages and backgrounds.

Rather than completing his history of Israelite religion, K.'s final work was devoted to a renewed study of Joshua and Judges that reflected his lifelong interest in Jewish nationalism and the land. These books he considered to be pre-monarchic in origin, with some later additions and rearrangement, somewhat idealistic in outlook but generally correlating with historical reality. K. denied the existence of a DEUTERONOMISTIC

HISTORY, but he concluded that Joshua and Judges were written in an early deuteronomistic style.

Although K. overstated his theses at points, his work offers penetrating critiques of classical HB criticism as well as illuminating perspectives on many issues. Unfortunately, knowledge and use of his work have been rare among Christian interpreters.

Works: *Golah ve-Nekhar* (2 vols. in 4, 1929–30); *Toledot ha-Emunah ha-Yisre'elit* (4 books in 8 vols., 1937–57) = *The Religion of Israel from Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile* (abridgement and tr. by M. Greenberg of the first 7 vols. of 1-3, 1960) and *History of the Religion of Israel,* vol. 4, *From the Babylonian Captivity to the End of Prophecy* (1977); *The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Canaan* (1953; ET 1985²); "The Biblical Age," *Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People* (ed. L. W. Schwarz, 1956) 1-92; commentaries on Joshua (1959) and Judges (1962), Hebrew; *Mi-Kivshonah shel ha-Yezirah ha-Mikra'it* (1966).

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J. H. HAYES

KAUTZSCH, EMIL FRIEDRICH (1841–1910)

Born at Plauen, Saxony, Sept. 4, 1841, K. studied at the University of Leipzig (1859–63) with J. TUCH in OT and later taught there (1869–71). He held chairs at Basel (1872–80), Tübingen (1880–88), and Halle (1888–1910). Twice he visited the Holy Land (1876, 1904), and his interest in Palestine led him to help found the *Deutsche Verein für die Erforschung Palästinas* in 1877. He was also an editor of the *TSK* (1889–1910). K. died at Halle, May 7, 1910.

Within HB studies K.'s contributions were concentrated in two areas. As a philologist he produced six editions of H. GESENIUS's Hebrew grammar (1878–1909), for which he developed an exercise book and a volume of paradigms and indexes. He published a grammar of biblical Aramaic (1884) and a study of the Aramaisms of the OT (1902); and he authored several word studies, e.g., of the derivatives of the root *ṣdq* (1881). As a translator of biblical and related materials, K. began with a translation of Genesis that included marginal indications of the sources to which the individual passages belonged (co-authored with A. Socin in 1888). Between 1890 and 1894 he brought out a complete translation of the OT in collaboration with ten leading German-language scholars, to which he contributed Isaiah 36–39, Jonah, Nahum, Psalms, Chronicles, and portions of Genesis–Numbers and Joshua. At the time of his death in 1910, he had almost completed a third edition of this work with greatly expanded notes and introductions. To complement it he also edited a collaborative, two-volume translation of the OT apocrypha and PSEUDEPIGRAPHA (1900), for which he translated 1 and 3 Maccabees and the Hebrew *Testament of Naphtali.* As an appendix to his OT translation he wrote a compact sketch of the history of the OT writings that he subsequently issued as a separate work (1897). Beyond the two areas just cited, K. also published popular works on biblical criticism and religious education and the OT's abiding religious and ethical values. After his death his son Karl edited his history of the religion of Israel (1911), an earlier English version of which had appeared in vol. 5 of Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible* in 1904.

K. strongly aligned himself with J. WELLHAUSEN's conception of the formation of the OT writings, above all his exilic dating of the P material. His approach, like Wellhausen's, might be called literary-historical with a focus on identifying, dating, and characterizing the sources behind the present OT books. In this K., again like Wellhausen, concentrated on data internal to the OT itself, playing down, if not ignoring, the extra-biblical comparative material of which younger scholars of the history of religions school (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE) made much more sustained use. In contrast to Wellhausen, however, K., an involved church member, was actively concerned with winning a hearing for the new criticism within the wider German Protestant community.

Works: *Die Derivate des Stammes ṣdq im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch* (1881); *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäisch* (1884); (with A. Socin), *Die Genesis mit äusserer Unterscheidung der Quellenschriften* (1888; 1891²); (ed.), *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (1894; 1909–10³); *Abriss der Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Schrifftums* (1897; ET 1899); (ed.), *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (1900); *Die Aramäismen im Alten Testament untersucht* (1902); *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1911).

Bibliography: **J. de Fraine,** *DBSup* 5 (1957) 4-6. **H. Guthe,** "Zum Gedächtnis an E. K.," *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Palästina-Vereins* 33 (1910) 33-39; *RE*³ 23 (1913) 747-52. **F. Kattenbusch,** "Nekrolog für E. K.," *TSK* 83 (1910) 627-42. **K. Kautzsch,** *BJDN* 15 (1913) 133-39. **H.-J. Zoebel,** *NDB* 11 (1977) 376-77.

C. T. BEGG

KECK, LEANDER EARL (1928–)

K. was born Mar. 3, 1928, on a farm near Washburn, North Dakota, the oldest son of German Baptist immigrants from the Ukraine. A graduate of Linfield College, he attended Andover Newton Theological School (BD 1953), where he was encouraged to undertake advanced study of the NT by P. S. Minear, a major actor in the biblical THEOLOGY movement. At Yale University (PhD 1957; diss. "The Sojourn of the Savior: The Life of Jesus in Christian Gnosticism") he worked under P. Schubert, E. Dinkler, and M. BURROWS, with two semesters in Germany (1955–56), the first in Kiel, the second in Göttingen, where he studied with E. KÄSEMANN. His early formation as a scholar reflects the German influence common among young American theologians in the 1950s and 1960s (see his percipient introduction to the *NIB,* vol. 1, 1994).

After receiving his doctorate K. taught at Wellesley College, Vanderbilt Divinity School, and Candler School of Theology, where he chaired the division of religion in the graduate school before being called in 1979 to Yale as dean of the divinity school (1979–89) and Winkley Professor of Biblical Theology. Having spent influential sabbaticals in Tübingen, Cambridge, and Manila (where he taught at Union Theological Seminary), and having proved himself simultaneously as a sterling administrator, productive scholar, and dedicated churchman and pedagogue, K. retired from the Yale faculty in December 1997.

In addition to training doctoral students who now occupy chairs in leading universities and divinity schools, K.—ordained both as Baptist and as Disciple of Christ—has made enduring contributions both in technical studies of the NT (e.g., *A Future for the Historical Jesus* [1971, 1981]; "The Poor Among the Saints in the NT" [1965]; "Toward the Renewal of NT Christology" [1986]) and in books and articles that directly enrich the biblical, theological, and ethical life of the church (e.g., *Taking the Bible Seriously* [1962, 1969]; *The Bible in the Pulpit* [1978]; *The Church Confident* [the Beecher Lectures at Yale, 1993]). The broad range of his seminal publications and the influence of his widespread lecturing and preaching are appropriately reflected in his being elected to the presidency of the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE (1995) while chairing the editorial board of a major reference tool for preachers, the *NIB.* Forthcoming books include *Jesus in NT Christology* (based on the Shaffer Lectures at Yale), a commentary on Romans, and a volume of lectures on JESUS.

Works: *Taking the Bible Seriously: An Invitation to Think Theologically* (1962, 1969); *Mandate to Witness: Studies in the Book of Acts* (1964); "The Poor Among the Saints in the NT," *ZNW* 56 (1965) 100-129; "The Introduction to Mark's Gospel," *NTS* 12 (1966) 352-70; "The Poor Among the Saints in Jewish Christianity and Qumran," *ZNW* 57 (1966) 54-78; (ed. with J. L. Martyn), *Studies in Luke–Acts* (1966, 1980); "Bornkamm's *Jesus of Nazareth* Revisited," *JR* 49 (1969) 1-17; *A Future for the Historical Jesus: The Place of Jesus in Preaching and Theology* (1971, 1981); "Listening To and Listening For: From Text to Sermon," *Int* 27 (1973) 184-202; "On the Ethos of Early Christians," *JAAR* 42 (1974) 435-52; *The NT Experience of Faith* (1976); *The Bible in the Pulpit: The Renewal of Biblical Preaching* (1978); *Paul and His Letters* (1979, 1988); "Paul and Apocalyptic Theology," *Int* 38 (1984); "Toward the Renewal of NT Christology," *NTS* 32 (1986) 362-77; " 'Jesus' in Romans," *JBL* 108 (1989) 443-60; *The Church Confident* (Beecher Lectures, Yale, 1993); "Paul as Thinker: The 'How' and the 'Why' of What He Said About Jesus and Reality," *Int* 47 (1993) 27-38; "What Makes Romans Tick?" *Pauline Theology,* vol. 3, *Romans* (ed. D. M. Hay and E. E. Johnson, 1995) 3-29; "Rethinking 'NT Ethics,' " *JBL* 115 (1996) 3-16 (1995 SBL presidential address); "Searchable Judgments and Scrutable Ways: A Response to P. J. Achtemeier," *Pauline Theology* 4 (ed. D. M. Hay and E. E. Johnson, 1997); "What, Then, Is NT Christology?" *Who Do You Say That I Am?* (ed. M. A. Powell and D. R. Bauer, 1999).

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J. L. MARTYN

KEIL, CARL FRIEDRICH (1807–88)

K. was born Feb. 26, 1807, in Lauterbach (Vogtland/Saxony). He studied theology at the University of Dorpat (Tartu, Estonia, 1827–30), where he was introduced to neo-Lutheran, confessional theology centering around a personal faith in Christ and a supra-naturalistic understanding of divine revelation. He studied at the University of Berlin with E. HENGSTENBERG and A. Neander (diss., "Apologia Mosaicae, Traditionis de Mundi Hominumque Originibus Exponentis," 1838; Dr. theol., 1839). Returning to Dorpat, K. served as *Privatdozent* (1833–38) and professor of biblical exegesis (1839–59). On retiring he settled in Leipzig and worked with Franz DELITZSCH on the influential Keil-Delitzsch *Biblical Commentary.* K. died May 5, 1888.

In Dorpat, K. completed H. HÄVERNICK's *Handbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1849, 1854, 1856). His dogmatic-confessional approach (*kirchlich-konfessionell*) is particularly evident in the Pentateuch volume (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), which was to serve as a refutation of the source-hypothesis of J. ASTRUC, J. G. EICHHORN, and K. ILGEN. K. argued that traditional interpretations of the text,

especially those standing in closer historical proximity to the depicted events, should be given precedence over evidence that can only indirectly be derived from the text itself. The two names of God (Yahweh and Elohim) could be more simply explained as aspects of the deity and should therefore be viewed as a theological issue rather than a LITERARY-critical problem. K. intended his own introduction to the OT (*Manual of Historical-critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the OT,* published in 3 eds., 1853, 1859, 1873; ET 1870) as a dogmatic-confessional alternative to W. DE WETTE'S textbook and as the OT counterpart to Guericke's NT introduction.

K.'s study of Israel's social and political institutions (called "biblical archaeology" in his time) is represented in his *Manual of Biblical Archaeology* (1858/59). He argued that, contrary to pagan MYTHOLOGY based on a misguided deification of natural forces, Israel's social and religious institutions reflect a primarily ethical community, guided by rational Mosaic legislation.

The Keil-Delitzsch *Biblical Commentary* series (1861–75) was an attempt to unite academic and homiletical concerns and to serve as a "positive" alternative to Hirzel's *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch,* which dominated much of rationalist biblical scholarship at the time. Although Delitzsch is arguably the better known of the two scholars, K. produced the majority of the volumes: Genesis–Esther and Jeremiah–Malachi. The commentary used philological and historical insights gained by historical-critical exegesis, while remaining faithful to a revelation-based theology and being pragmatically oriented toward homiletical use by Lutheran pastors. K.'s dogmatic-confessional theology is evident in all of his commentaries. He strongly supported Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and rejected attempts to explain extraordinary events in the history of Israel as anything but miraculous, divine intervention. K. showed much interest in the historical development of divine revelation. Viewing the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) as persons who were able to perceive future trajectories of God's saving acts, he presented history and revelation as interdependent rather than fundamentally dissimilar. Prophetic predictions then find their fulfillment in the historical person of Christ.

The same view of history and revelation is evident in K's commentary on the books of the Maccabees (1875). He did not view 1–2 Maccabees as canonical (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) but nonetheless considered them a valuable historical bridge between the revelations of the OT and the NT.

In his last years K. wrote commentaries on the Gospels and several epistles (1877–85), but unlike his exegesis of the OT, his writings on the NT attracted little attention among scholars. His most lasting contribution to biblical studies remains his work on the Keil-Delitzsch *Biblical Commentary* series. Translated into English shortly after its publication in German, it was influential for many years in conservative German and English-speaking scholarship.

Works: *Apologetischer Versuch über die Bücher der Chronik und die Integrität des Buches Esra* (1833); *Über die Hiram-Salomonische Schiffahrt nach Ophir und Tarsis: Eine biblisch-archäologische Untersuchung* (1834); *Der Tempel Salomos: Eine archäologische Untersuchung* (1839); *Commentary on the Books of Kings* (1846; ET 1858); *Commentary on the Book of Joshua* (1847; ET 1857); *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen und apokryphen Schriften des Alten Testamentes* (1853, 1859^2, 1873^3); *Handbuch der biblischen Archaologie* (2 vols., 1858–59, 1875^2); *Commentar über das Evangelium des Matthäus* (1877); *Commentar über das Evangelium des Markus und Lukas* (1879); *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes* (1881); *Commentar über die Briefe des Petrus und des Judas* (1881); *Commentar über den Brief an die Hebräer* (1885); "Die Voraussetzungen und die Argumente der neueren Kritik des Alten Testament," *ZWL* 5 (1885) 169-81, 225-42.

Bibliography: **E. Beyreuther,** *NDB* 11 (1977) 406. **P. Siemens,** *C. F. K.: Leben und Werk* (1994).

A. SIEDLECKI

KENNICOTT, BENJAMIN (1718–83)

K.'s fame rests principally on the great collation of medieval manuscripts of the HB he achieved as a canon of Christ Church and published as the *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum* (2 vols., 1776, 1780). His powers as a Semitic scholar and his critical sharpness had earlier been demonstrated, especially in *Two Dissertations* (1747).

The annual accounts K. published gave firsthand information on how he conceived his *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum,* the stages of its progress from 1760 to 1769, and the final objectives he had in view. He set in motion an ambitious work of international cooperation, so that manuscripts were collated in such places as Rome, Florence, Turin, Milan, Paris, Berlin, Hamburg, and Madrid as well as at Oxford. In his report for the year 1763 he revealed knowledge of 460 manuscripts of the HB, 124 in England and 336 abroad. An even larger number of manuscripts and printed editions, either collated or selectively collated, is given in the second volume of *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum.* K.'s collation, like that of G. de ROSSI (*Variae Lectiones Veteris Testamenti,* 4 vols., 1784–88) was concerned only with the consonantal text, and the text he printed as the foundation for his collation was one that had been published in Amsterdam in 1705, edited by E. Van der Hooght. In omitting points and Masorah he was no doubt influenced by his strong anti-Masoretic bias. However, he was following the example of C. Houbigant's *Biblia He-*

braica of 1753 and the rationale of making the consonantal Hebrew text a point of departure, as opposed to simply accepting the Masoretic vocalization as the only possible interpretation of the consonantal text, fully stated by R. SIMON in his *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* (1678). Although K.'s method of recording variants was free of theological influence, it was critically undiscerning; and S. DAVIDSON seized on the insignificance of most of the variants in his *Lectures in Biblical Criticism* (1839). K. had unreal expectations of recovering the "original text," essentially because he did not know enough about the history of the MT. Davidson, too, was without this knowledge; but he had had leisure to consider the collations of K. and de Rossi and had discerned that instead of assisting the recovery of a text different from that of J. ben Chaiyim they showed the general conformity of all manuscripts to that text.

K.'s final objective was to recover the original, inerrant HB in the interests of the inspired truth he believed it to contain. He had a fundamentalist view of the inerrancy of the Bible, but he was regarded as a dangerous radical by those who were convinced that biblical truth was fully and finally expressed in the KJV and who viewed his proposal to recover a more perfect Hebrew text and to make an English translation of it as subverting the foundations of their Christian faith.

Works: *Two Dissertations* (1747); (ed.) *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum* (2 vols., 1776, 1780).

Bibliography: **W. P. Courtney,** *DNB* 31 (1892) 10-12. **W. McKane,** "B. K.: An Eighteenth-Century Researcher," *JTS* 28 (1977) 446-64.

W. MCKANE

KENYON, KATHLEEN MARY (1906–78)

A noted archaeologist, K. was born Jan. 5, 1906. She was educated at Somerville College, Oxford, was lecturer in Palestinian ARCHAEOLOGY at the University of London (1948–62), and principal of St. Hugh's College, Oxford (1962–1973). In addition to the BA and MA, she acquired the LittD and LHD degrees; she was a fellow of the British Academy and also of the Society of Antiquaries. K. died Aug. 24, 1978.

K.'s interest in archaeology derived from her excavation of Romano-British sites; however, she is justly famous for her archaeological excavations in Palestine. These started with excavations at Samaria (*Sebaṣṭiyeh*) from 1931 to 1934, and in this connection she was a contributor to the volumes *Samaria-Sebaste* 1 (1942) and 3 (1957).

Her most famous work was at Jericho (Tell es-Sultan), where she directed excavations from 1952 to 1958. Earlier scholars had dug at Jericho but none with K.'s thoroughness and precision. Of most relevance to biblical studies was establishing that the wall J. GARSTANG had supposed to be the Late Bronze Age wall that fell to Joshua was in fact an Early Bronze Age wall. There was very little occupation at Jericho during the Late Bronze Age, and certainly no wall. K. produced a good, popular exposition entitled *Digging Up Jericho* (1957) and two volumes of excavation reports (vols. 1–2, 1960, 1965), but much of the results of her work were to be published posthumously (vols. 3–5, 1981, 1982, 1983).

K.'s last important excavations in Palestine were in Jerusalem (1961–67), especially on the site of Ophel (the original biblical Jerusalem). Here again K. was able to further scholarly understanding. She discovered the original city wall dating from MB II (c. 1800 BCE) halfway down the eastern slope. Accordingly, the entrance to Warren's shaft, leading to the water supply at the Gihon spring, would have been inside the city, as seems natural. It had previously been supposed that the original wall had been at the crest of the hill, where Macalister's "tower of David" and "Jebusite ramp" are to be found. K. established, however, that the former is in fact Hasmonean and is built over seventh-century BCE houses destroyed in 586 BCE. The "Jebusite ramp" she supposed to be even later than the tower, but Y. Shiloh's subsequent excavations have proved that it descends below the seventh-century BCE houses and so must be earlier. K. adopted a "minimalist" view of the size of preexilic Jerusalem, envisioning the city as smaller than N. Avigad, as other Israeli scholars believed; thus, she held the pool of Siloam to be outside the city. She also excavated in the Armenian gardens and the Muristan.

Although K. lacked the philological and biblical scholarship of W. F. ALBRIGHT or R. de VAUX, she was an outstanding field archaeologist. Her precise, careful method of stratigraphical digging, involving deep trenching and balks, which she inherited from M. Wheeler (the Wheeler-Kenyon method), is justly renowned.

Works: (contr.) *Samaria-Sebaste* 1 (1942) and 3 (1958); *Beginning in Archaeology* (1952); *Digging Up Jericho* (1957); *Archaeology in the Holy Land* (1960, 1979⁴); *Excavations at Jericho* (vols. 1–2, 1960, 1965; vols. 3–5 ed. T. A. Holland, 1981, 1982, 1983); *Amorites and Canaanites* (1963 Schweich Lectures, 1966); *Jerusalem: Excavating 3,000 Years of History* (1968); *Royal Cities of the OT* (1971); *Digging Up Jerusalem* (1974); *The Bible and Recent Archaeology* (1978; rev. by P. R. S. Moorey, 1987); *Excavations in Jerusalem, 1961–67* (vol. 1 ed. A. D. Tushingham et al., 1985; vol. 2 ed. H. J. Franken and M. L. Steiner, 1990).

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J. DAY

KEPLER, JOHANNES (1571–1630)

An astronomer, mystic, and mathematician, K. was born Dec. 27, 1571, at Weil der Stadt in Württemberg. He attended the seminary at Maulbroon, where he displayed proficiency in both Latin and Greek, and was sent to Tübingen. There his intense personal piety and growing interest led him to enroll in the faculty of theology. Thus he came under the tutelage of M. Mastlin, an astronomer, mathematician, and former village pastor.

Matlin privately introduced K. to the thought of Polish astronomer N. Copernicus (1473–1543), whose heliocentric theory of the universe was beginning to draw opposition in various Christian circles. Taking the MA in August 1591, K. emerged from Tübingen convinced of the certainty and mystical perfection of the Copernican system and set out to understand and articulate its precise ramifications. Working with the greatest observational astronomer of the time, T. Brahé (1546–1601), K. the theoretician was able to establish the foundational laws of planetary motion. He died at Ratisbon Nov. 15, 1630.

K.'s deep sense of religious devotion, coupled with his growing assimilation of the Copernican system, led him to attempt the reconciliation of the demands of faith with the rational proofs and empirical evidences of the new science. Amid the controversy, he felt himself poised between the Scylla of holy Scripture and the Charybdis of scientific truth, for such matters were of vital importance to him: "Religion is for me a serious affair, which I cannot treat with levity." He worked to produce a means of demonstrating the compatibility of the Copernican worldview with the Bible. Remaining true to his Lutheran background, he undertook a careful exegesis of several biblical passages that had been used to raise questions about the Copernican theory. On Josh 10:12-15, he suggested that Joshua's situation demanded an active, immediate response from God, not an impromptu lesson in astronomy. Thus he stated that God understood Joshua's wish and stopped the movement of the earth so that to Joshua the sun seemed to stand still. K.'s exegesis of Psalm 104 demonstrated a keen awareness of the problems to be confronted by later critical methods; he moved to demarcate the spheres of the physical and the spiritual, the reasoned from the religious. Psalm 104 had been seen as proof positive of the immobility of the earth and the fixedness of the heavens. However, K. observed that "the Psalter is far removed from the contemplation of physical causes." For him the purpose of Scripture is not physical demonstration of causal relationships, but rather spiritual affirmation of the power and perfection of God the divine geometer. To see the Bible as a scientific text is grossly to miss its purpose—namely, to bring human beings into a proper relationship with God the creator.

K.'s approach was representative of Copernican apologetics for many years to come. True to his mystical sensibilities, he saw a complementary sacredness in the truth of both science and Scripture in their respective testimonies to the creative power of God. Interestingly enough, he felt that astronomy could be of benefit in defending the claims of Scripture. His 1606 work *De Jesu Christi Servatoris Nostri Vero Anno Natalino* is an excellent example of his synthesizing abilities. Reflecting on the supernova of 1604, he suggested that exactly such a phenomenon could account for the biblical stories of the magi and the star of Bethlehem. He does not seem to have explained the star as the consequence of the conjunction of Mars, Saturn, and Jupiter in the sign of Taurus, as is widely assumed.

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D. HARNDEN-WARWICK

KIERKEGAARD, SØREN AABYE (1812–55)

K. is remembered as a Danish theologian and philosopher, but his life's work is misunderstood if he is not also seen as an exegete. Interpreters have noted his identification with PAUL and JESUS in his self-description as "an exception," "the individual," and a "suffering servant." Although K. never wrote about exegesis or HERMENEUTICS, he practiced a principle of imitation through imaginative identification (see P. Minear and P. Morimoto [1953] 9-10). He read Scripture daily for the purpose of spiritual discernment. In a time when the search for a historically probable element in the Bible influenced hermeneutics, he persisted in seeking the truth in Scripture by identifying with both the writers of books of the Bible and their subjects.

K. intended his philosophical work as a response to Hegelian idealism. It is less well known that he was acutely aware of the effects of idealism on biblical

interpretation and preaching. In his early work *Fear and Trembling* (1843), he castigated the "pious and kindly exegete" who used knowledge to reduce the demand of NT discipleship to the drivel of a "tasteful explanation" (82-83). K. opposed all orators, pastors, philosophers, and theologians who claimed to go "beyond faith." The themes of his books emerged from intellectual and personal issues pursued during an extended period of study at the University of Copenhagen (1830–40) and an intensely personal investigation of the differences between philosophy and Christianity and between Judaism and Christianity.

As early as November 1835 he noted that it is the doctrine of sin that distinguishes Christianity from philosophy. Three months later the observation took on a more personal meaning with his insight that sin, manifest as doubt, is inherent in temptation. He considered it deeply ironic that the philosopher who seeks to reveal the truth about God without reference to Scripture is unaware of his or her own cognitive defects. K. came to this conclusion through an exegesis of Gal 3:19–4:8 that convinced him that Christian faith is known only by going through the motions; hence Christians cannot work out their own salvation by way of a historically prior position, the law of Judaism. Neither can they "go beyond" Christian faith.

Themes pursued in both K.'s philosophical and his biblical studies between 1835 and 1839 indicate that he was simultaneously working out the distinction between Judaism and Christianity and the exegetical relationship between the OT and the NT. The intellectual milieu in which he studied was one with a growing sense that the church and the NT were under attack by exponents of Hegel's system who were engaged in biblical studies. The quest for the historical Jesus crystallized around the 1835 publication of D. F. STRAUSS's *Life of Jesus.* K. concluded that the resolution to the theological issue posed by the quest was located in the attitude with which a reader approached Scripture. Anyone genuinely concerned with the life-and-death issue of salvation would come to the Bible ready to learn faith through imitation of the Jesus presented in the Gospels. Faithful exegesis of Scripture depended on the same attitude of personal receptivity; this perspective presupposed that Jesus is contemporary to faith in any age through the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit.

A personal experience of "indescribable joy" in May of 1838 confirmed his belief that the Spirit of the Christ is immediately available to faith (*the Journals of Kierkegaard* [1959] 59). This is the rare but real "instant" of religious experience in which God comes to those who are constant in seeking self-knowledge through immersion in Scripture. Such an experience is not the immediacy of religious intuition assumed by Hegelians to be the basis of faith. Rather, it is the immediacy of faith given to those who follow the Christ through descent into the hell of self-recognition through repentance.

K. concluded from his practice of spiritual discernment that it was not God's will for him to become a pastor. Instead, he wrote a series of books intended to awaken serious spiritual questing among persons unaware that the alienating and distorting power of sin creates a chasm between the human and the divine—i.e., among persons unaware of the truth in Scripture.

Works: *Fear and Trembling: A Dialectical Lyric* (1843; ET 1939); *The Sickness Unto Death* (1849; ET 1941); *For Self-examination and Judge for Yourselves! And Three Discourses, 1851* (ET 1941); *The Journals of K.* (ed. and tr. by A. Dru, 1958).

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J. F. FISHBURN

KIMHI, DAVID (c. 1160–c. 1235)

Known by his acronym Radak, K., the son of J. KIMHI, was one of the most outstanding Jewish grammarians, lexicographers, and biblical commentators of his day; his work has exerted important influence on many later Jewish and Christian interpreters. Born in Narbonne, Provence, into a family of significant Jewish scholars and teachers, he became a teacher and engaged in several disputes, primarily in defense of RASHI and MAIMONIDES.

K.'s contribution to biblical studies was in the areas of Hebrew grammar, philology, and biblical exegesis. His philological treatise *Mikhlol* was divided into two parts (*Ḥelek ha-Dikduk,* sometimes called *Mikhlol,* and *Ḥelek ha-Inyan,* or *Sefer ha-Shorashim*); the former treated Hebrew grammar, the latter was a LEXICON. In the grammar (first printed in 1525; see W. Comsky's translation [1952]), K. built upon the work of earlier Jewish grammarians, providing better organization of the material, and popularized the work of his father and his older brother M. KIMHI, who was his guardian after his father's death. K.'s contribution included differentiation between *waw* consecutive and *was* conjunctive and his description of Hebrew vowels *dagesh lene* and the *niphal* stem as passive of the *qal.* His lexicon (*Book of Roots,* first printed in 1479; ed. J. Biesenthal and F. Lebrecht, 1847, repr. 1966) like the grammar became the basis of most subsequent Hebrew study and was used by J. REUCHLIN, S. MÜNSTER, and S. PAGNINUS, through them influencing the KJV.

K. wrote commentaries on Chronicles, Psalms, the former prophets (Joshua–2 Kings), and the latter prophets (Isaiah–Malachi). Although K. gave the plain sense of the text (*peshat*), he also drew upon rabbinic traditions, which stressed more homiletical and theological (*derash*) interpretations, at least for added interest. Much of his exegesis offers clear and even polemical alternatives to Christian readings, for example on the Immanuel text in Isaiah 7.

K. also wrote esoteric or allegorical interpretations of Ezekiel 1 and Gen 2:7–5:1 (the latter published in an appendix to L. Finkelstein [1926] liii-lxxiv). His other commentaries have been published in various editions of the RABBINIC BIBLE; for example, J. BUXTORF the elder included all the prophets (Joshua–Malachi) and the books of Chronicles in his *Biblia Rabbinica* (4 vols., 1618–20). Since Rashi's comments on the prophets were not overly extensive, K.'s commentaries on these books were the most popular of the medieval Jewish exegetes. His interest in the Masorah and the preservation and transmission of the text is evident in his *Mikhlol,* and his remarks on this topic were assembled out of the larger work into *Et Sofer* as a handbook for copyists. He proposed that *qeri/ketib* readings represented alternative texual traditions, both of which the members of the Great Synagogue chose to retain.

Works: *Preface to the Psalms* (n.d.); *Commentar zur Genesis von Rabbi D. K.* (ed. A. Ginzburg, 1842); *K.'s Sefer ha-Shorashim* (ed. J. Biesenthal and F. Lebrecht, 1847); *The First Book of the Psalms* (ed. S. M. Schiller Szinnesy, 1883) Hebrew; *Commentary of D. K. on the Book of Psalms* (ed. A. W. Greenup, 1918); *The Longer Commentary of Rabbi D. K. on the First Book of Psalms* (tr. R. G. Finch, 1919); *The Commentary of D. K. on Isaiah* (Columbia University Oriental Studies 19, ed. L. Finkelstein, 1926) Hebrew; *Der Kommentar des D. Qimchi zum Propheten Nahum* (ed. W. Windführ, 1927); *The Commentary of Rabbi D. K. on Psalms (42–72)* (ed. S. I. Esterson, 1935) = *HUCA* 10 (1937–38) 309-443; *Rabbi D. K.'s Commentary on the Prophecies of Zechariah* (ed. A. M'Caul, 1937); "Critical Edition of the [K.'s] Book of Amos" (S. Berkowitz, diss., Cambridge, 1939); *Die Kommentar von Raschi, Ibn Ezra, Radaq, zu Joel* (ed. and tr. G. Widmer, 1945); *The Commentary of Rabbi D. K. on the Fifth Book of Psalms (107–150)* (ed. J. Bosniak, 1951); *D. K.'s Hebrew Grammar (Mikhlol) Systematically Presented and Critically Annotated* (ed. W. Chomsky, 1952); "The Commentary of Rabbi D. K. on the Book of Joshua" (N. Goldberg, diss., Columbia University, 1961) Hebrew; *The Commentary of Rabbi D. K. on Hosea* (ed. H. Cohen, 1966); *The Commentary of Rabbi D. K. on Psalms CXX–CL* (ed. J. Baker and E. W. Nicholson, 1973).

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J. H. HAYES

KIMHI, JOSEPH (c. 1105–c. 1170)

Known by the acronym Rikam, K. was a native of Spain who migrated to Narbonne in Provence. Writing for non-Arabic speaking Jews, he produced a number of works on Hebrew grammar as well as commentaries. In his *Sefer ha-Zikkaron* (published by Bacher in 1888) he proposed many informative insights into Hebrew grammar, dividing the vowels into five long and five short and demonstrating that the *piel* and *hophal* are distinct conjugations. In his exegetical work he stressed the plain meaning (*peshat*) of the text as opposed to the more homiletical interpretations characteristic of the French school. He wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch (*Sepher ha-Torah,* published by Gad), the Prophets (*Sepher ha-Miknah,* no longer extant), Proverbs (*Sepher Ḥikkah,* published in 1861), Job (partially published by I. Schwarz in *Tikvat Enosh* [1868]), and Song of Songs (unpublished). He also engaged in anti-Christian polemic in his *Sepher ha-Berit* (first published in 1710; ET *The Book of the Covenent of J. K.* [ed. and tr. F. E. Talmadge, 1972]). Many of his ideas were incorporated into the work of his sons M. KIMHI and D. KIMHI).

Works: *Sepher Sikkaron: Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache* (ed. W. Bacher, 1888); *Sepher Ha-Galui* (ed. H. J. Mathews, 1887); *The Book of the Covenant of J. K.* (ed. and tr. F. E. Talmage, 1972).

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J. H. HAYES

KIMHI, MOSES (d. c. 1190)

Known by his acronym Remak, K. was the son of J. and older brother of D. KIMHI. Influenced primarily by his father but also by A. IBN EZRA, K. published both grammatical works and commentaries. In his *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da'at* (pub. in 1508 and tr. by S. Münster [1520]) he proposed the widely used Hebrew verbal conjugations *qal, niphal, piel, pual, hiphil, hophal, poel,* and *hithpael.* In MÜNSTER's translation, the work was widely used by Christian Hebraists. His *Sekhel Tov* dealt with the classification of nouns, particles, and verbs (pub. by D. Castelli in *REJ* 28 [1894] 212-27; 29 [1894] 100-110). He wrote commentaries on the lesser exegeted books—Proverbs, Ezra, and Nehemiah (repub. in rabbinic Bibles but ascribed to Ibn Ezra) as well as a

commentary on Job (pub. by I. Schwarz in *Tikvat Enosh* [1868]).

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J. H. HAYES

KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR. (1929–68)

An African American clergyman, theologian, and social activist born in Atlanta, Georgia, K. graduated from Morehouse College in 1948 (BA) and Crozer Theological Seminary in 1951 (BD) and completed graduate work in philosophical theology at Boston University in 1955 (PhD). Although he was respected and highly praised as an effective pastor and polished intellectual, he is more widely known as the most important civil rights leader of the twentieth century. The son and grandson of Baptist preachers who pastored Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church, K. was nurtured from his earliest childhood in southern black Baptist fundamentalism. He was exposed to Sunday school teachers who read the Bible conservatively and literally, and he embraced biblical teachings uncritically until age thirteen, when he shocked his peers by denying the bodily resurrection of JESUS. Doubts sprang forth unrelentingly as he moved through college and seminary, forcing him to recognize the gap between his fundamentalist background and the biblical and theological liberalism to which he was being introduced. The shifts in his thinking became glaringly evident as he studied the history and HERMENEUTICS of biblical interpretation and as he embraced insights from Boston personalism and the social gospel of W. Rauschenbusch. Even so, continued exposure to the black church and an extended family network instilled in K. not only noble moral and ethical ideals but also the conviction that behind the legends and myths of the Bible were many profound truths that could not be ignored.

After completing the residential requirements for the PhD in 1954, K. became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. The move signaled the beginning of his career as a civil rights activist as he was catapulted to national and international fame as a leader in the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955–56. Drawing on the teachings of Jesus and the nonviolent philosophy of M. Gandhi, K. led other civil rights campaigns in Albany, Georgia, in 1961–62; in Birmingham, Alabama, and Washington, DC, in 1963; in Selma, Alabama, in 1965; in Chicago, Illinois, in 1966–67; and in Memphis, Tennessee, in early 1968. In these campaigns, he elevated the politics of civil disobedience and nonviolent confrontation to unprecedented levels, without compromising what he regarded as the essential core of biblical and traditional Christian truths.

K. combined biblical piety, theological liberalism, and sociopolitical analysis in a manner that suited the changing social and cultural climate of the 1950s and 1960s. Convinced that the ancient Hebrew prophets and Jesus preached social salvation and uplift, he employed the biblical themes of "the Exodus out of Egypt" and of "the Cross as a symbol of victory over evil and suffering" to represent the journey of African Americans from slavery and segregation to freedom, justice, and equality of opportunity. Rejecting the idea that the kingdom of God is essentially otherworldly, K. applied the biblical principles of love and justice in a sustained effort to overcome racism, poverty, economic injustice, and war and human destruction. His emphasis on the significance of social ethics in the Scriptures served as a much-needed corrective to the tendency of fundamentalists and evangelicals (see EVANGELICAL INTERPRETATION) to reduce religion essentially to matters of individual salvation and personal ethics.

Heavily influenced by historical-critical studies of the Bible, K. interpreted the Scriptures in the tradition of human liberation (see LIBERATION THEOLOGIES). For him, the Bible was a progressive account of God and humans working together to achieve liberation and wholeness. He found this evolutionary development perfectly illustrated in the SERMON ON THE MOUNT (Matthew 5–7), in the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke 10:29-37), and in the profound and timeless words of Amos: "Let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream" (Amos 5:24). However, K. did not subscribe to notions of inevitable progress, largely because his study of R. NIEBUHR's Christian realism tempered his optimism and caused him to view the biblical accounts of sin at all levels of human existence with more sobriety. What is more remarkable is that he took seriously the historical-cultural context of the Bible, even as he related it to the contemporary realities of human existence.

Works: *The Measure of a Man* (1959); *Strength to Love* (1963); "A View of the Cross Possessing Biblical and Spiritual Justification," *The Papers of M. L. K., Jr.* (ed. C. Carson, R. E. Luker, and P. A. Russell, 1992), 1:263-67; "An Autobiography of Religious Development," *Papers,* 1:359-63; "How to Use the Bible in Modern Theological Construction," *Papers,* 1:251-56; "Light on the OT from the Ancient Near East," *Papers,* 1:162-80; "The Significant Contributions of Jeremiah to Religious Thought," *Papers,* 1:181-95; "Notecards on Books of the OT," *Papers* (ed. C. Carson, R. E. Luker, P. A. Russell, and P. Holloran, 1994) 2:164-67.

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Word that Moved America (1995). **K. D. Miller,** *Voice of Deliverance: The Language of M. L. K., Jr. and Its Sources* (1992). **J. H. Smylie,** "On Jesus, Pharaoh, and the Chosen People: M. L. K. as Biblical Interpreter and Humanist," *Int* 24 (1970) 74-91.

L. V. BALDWIN

KINGS, BOOKS OF

The history of interpretation of the book(s) of Kings extends over two and a half millennia. At the beginning of that history stand what might be called "interpretative rewritings." Of these, the earliest is the book of Chronicles, more specifically 2 Chronicles, which covers the same period, from the accession of Solomon to the exile, as does 1–2 Kings. Writing sometime in the postexilic era, the chronicler retold the narrative he found in Kings so as to heighten, for example, the cultic factor and the doctrine of "immediate retribution." Subsequently, at the end of the first century CE JOSEPHUS, in his *Antiquities of the Jews,* compiled the material of both Kings and Chronicles into a composite historical account designed to elicit the interest and sympathy of a Hellenistic audience for the Jewish story. Such rewritings are notable for the freedom with which they handle the content and wording of the book they are "interpreting" for their contemporaries.

1. Patristic Period. The first five centuries of Christian history, both in the East and in the West, are not particularly rich in large-scale, systematic interpretations of Kings. From this period there are, however, two works worthy of special mention. The oldest of these, a more or less verse-by-verse commentary on Kings, is attributed to the preeminent Syrian church father EPHRAEM (d. 373), although the genuineness of the work is questioned. While it does not disregard the historical, literal dimension of the text, the commentary gives primary interest to an allegorical reading of Kings wherein the book's persons and events become symbolic foreshadowings of happenings in the life of Christ and of the church. The procedure of a second patristic author, THEODORET, bishop of Cyrene (d. 457) was quite different. His Greek work on Kings consisted of a series of some 125 mostly brief questions and answers. The questions, virtually always evoked by a literal reading of the text, concern such issues as the localization of sites mentioned, the meaning of particular expressions, and theological/moral difficulties implicit in a given passage. Allegorizing is virtually absent.

2. Medieval Period. Within the exegetical millennium extending from c. 500 to c. 1500 separate Jewish and Christian currents may be distinguished. Included in the former are the outstanding figures of RASHI (d. 1105) and D. KIMHI (d. 1235), whose concise comments evidence a profound knowledge of Hebrew and a command of the entire biblical corpus that enabled them to resolve problems in one text by adducing a parallel passage. A representative figure among the fairly numerous Christian medieval authors on Kings is RABANUS MAURUS (d. 856), whose commentary exemplifies features common to many other writers. First, his exegesis was oriented to the VULGATE; his rudimentary Hebrew is displayed in his (sometimes fanciful) explanations of the meanings of proper names. More noteworthy is his predominantly allegorical approach to the text. Finally, Rabanus's interpretation shows itself to be very much part of a school tradition; he copied out extended sections from such earlier writers as BEDE and ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, just as his own discussions would be taken over in later presentations. However, the picture of medieval Christian exegesis furnished by Hrabanus needs to be complemented by reference to other tendencies at work in the period. RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR (d. 1173), for example, offered an explicitly "literal" reading of the account of Solomon's Temple in 1 Kings 6–7; he likewise authored an attempt to resolve the many chronological problems (see CHRONOLOGY, HB) involved in correlating the reigns of the Israelite and Judean kings. Similarly, at the end of the period NICHOLAS OF LYRA (d. 1349) introduced the Hebrew erudition of Rashi and Kimhi into Christian scholarship.

3. Early Modern Period. Christian exegesis in the period c. 1500–c. 1800 was marked by a variety of developments: confessional antagonisms, greater knowledge of biblical and Semitic languages (e.g., Arabic), the ever-clearer domination of the historical-literal over the allegorical approach, and an emerging consciousness that the Hebrew *textus receptus* needed to be treated critically. All these features, to some degree, manifested themselves in the three Kings commentaries that may be cited as representative of this period. The earliest of these, dating from 1624, by the Spanish Jesuit G. Sanchez, runs to over 700 folio pages. Sanchez's (Latin) verse-by-verse commentary displays his broad familiarity with the biblical material, classical literature, and the exegetical tradition, both Christian and Jewish. Allegorizing is minimal, although moral/theological problems suggested by the text are discussed in detail.

Protestant interpretation for this period includes the treatment of Kings in the 1708 commentary on the historical books by the Dutch scholar J. LE CLERC (Clericus), who gave his own Latin translation of the original text, with accompanying notes that regularly cite the Hebrew in addition to the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT) and Vulgate renditions. Philological rather than theological questions were the primary focus of Le Clerc's attention; occasionally, however, he proposed an emendation of the received Hebrew text. A final early modern author, the French Benedictine A. CALMET, produced a multivolume commentary on the entire Bible. Calmet's work has the character of a summarizing compendium of all previous scholarship and gives a French translation of

the Vulgate, with regular reference to the Hebrew where the Vulgate fails to reproduce it accurately. The fact that Calmet's commentary is written in the vernacular rather than in Latin presages later scholarly practice. Of interest, too, is his citation of ethnographic parallels and reports by contemporary Holy Land travelers in elucidating the biblical material.

4. Contemporary Period. The overall exegetical epoch from c. 1800 until the present is designated as the critical period of biblical scholarship. During this period the tendencies of the preceding era have come still more strongly to the fore (e.g., the MT is being subjected to ever more venturesome criticism). At the same time, various more or less novel factors have made themselves felt in contemporary scholarship. Negatively, there has been a marked decline of interest in a theological reading of the text. Positively, archeological discoveries (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) and the decipherment of hitherto unknown languages (e.g., Akkadian and Ugaritic; see UGARIT AND THE BIBLE) are providing exegetes with new resources. Scholars have become intensely conscious of the problems surrounding the historical reliability of the biblical reports. Above all, however, the period is characterized by the attempt to reconstruct the history of the formation of the biblical books.

Accordingly, the following survey will concentrate on various views concerning the literary process whereby the books of Kings attained their present form. More particularly, it will focus on divergent conceptions regarding the number and nature of the overarching redactions that produced a "book of Kings" comparable in content and extent to ours. By way of background to this discussion, it may be noted that there are three points about the composition history of Kings that seem beyond dispute: (1) The book is a composite in which one must distinguish between the level of the sources (see the explicit references to these in 1 Kgs 11:41; 14:19, 29, etc.) and that of the compiler-editor. (2) Kings underwent deuteronomistic editing, as the recurring linguistic and thematic affinities with Deuteronomy indicate. (3) Given the reference to Jehoiachin's 561 BCE release in 2 Kgs 25:27-30, the book in its present form cannot be older than the middle of the Babylonian exile. These parameters, however, still allow for much scholarly variation regarding the REDACTION history of Kings, as the following attempt at classification will make clear.

a. A single exilic deuteronomistic edition. The simplest of the views to be examined holds that the book of Kings, in basically its current shape, originated during the exile as the work of a deuteronomist who compiled pre-existing materials, both annalistic compendia and prophetic narratives, and added to these various reflective comments. Naturally, this view allows for later, minor, occasional additions to the deuteronomist's work, just as it recognizes that the materials used had already undergone a process of expansion, combination, etc. The exilic deuteronomistic redactor remains all-important, however, in that previously there existed no "book of Kings" comparable to ours and subsequently the book received only minimal retouching. Today, this view is identified especially with M. NOTH (1943), for whom the exilic deuteronomistic redactor in Kings was the editor of the whole complex of Deuteronomy–Kings, the DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY (Dtr). But in fact the Nothian view of the formation of Kings is essentially that of various earlier commentators—e.g., C. KEIL (1846), O. Thenius (1849), K. Bähr (1868), H. KLOSTERMANN (1887), W. BARNES (1908), and S. Landersdorfer (1927)—even though they did not stress the "deuteronomistic" character of the exilic redactor to the degree Noth did. Since 1943 this view has had its advocates both among writers on Kings—Noth (1968), J. Montgomery and H. Gehman (1951), A. van den Born (1958), M. Rehm (1979, 1982), T. Hobbs (1985), and J. McConville (1989)—and among authors on the deuteronomistic history in general—H.-D. Hoffmann (1980) and J. Van Seters (1983). Of these, Hoffmann in particular has provided a detailed restatement of Noth's conception in response to alternative views that have emerged primarily since 1970. In doing so, however, Hoffmann "transfers" to the deuteronomist large amounts of material that for Noth pertained to the deuteronomist's sources.

b. Multiple exilic/postexilic deuteronomistic editions. The next distinct group of authors stands the closest to Noth's view. In particular, they agree with him that it was a deuteronomist, working during the exile, who first assembled a book of Kings like ours. At the same time, these scholars believe that the present book evidences such diverse focal points and perspectives that it cannot derive from a single deuteronomistic editor. Rather, it originated via a process of supplementation in which one or more later deuteronomists inserted material—whether pre-existing or composed by themselves—into the work of the first deuteronomistic editor.

Already A. Sanda (1911–12) distinguished between a first deuteronomistic editor who worked shortly after 587 BCE and a later supplementer from the period 500–400 who interpolated, e.g., 1 Kgs 8:44-51; 2 Kgs 21:7-14; 23:26-27; 25:22-30. In more recent scholarship this conception is associated above all with what might be called the "Göttingen school" of R. Smend, Jr. (1971). Smend and his students distinguish three exilic deuteronomistic redactors (in Kings and in Dtr in general), each having a distinctive interest, i.e., DtrH (the deuteronomistic historian), DtrP (the prophetic deuteronomist who inserted various pre-existing prophetic stories into Kings), and DtrN (the nomistic deuteronomist).

Three major commentators opt for this model in elucidating the redaction history of Kings: E. Würthwein (1977, 1984), G. Jones (1984), and G. Hentschel (1984,

1985). Würthwein and Hentschel further reckon with a large body of "late deuteronomistic" material, while the former likewise emphasizes that both DtrP and DtrN have to be seen as ciphers covering the activities of several related but distinct hands. With Würthwein, Noth's single exilic deuteronomistic editor becomes a whole series of exilic/postexilic deuteronomists.

c. A preexilic deuteronomistic redactor. The next group of scholars agree with Noth that the first, major, encompassing redactional activity that gave us a book of Kings was deuteronomistic. They diverge from him (as well as from the authors cited in sec. b above) on the question of whether that activity started only during the exile (with Noth they admit a deuteronomistic exilic redaction). Against such a supposition, they point to various deuteronomistically formulated passages (see e.g., 1 Kgs 8:8, 14-44; 11:39; 15:4-5; 2 Kgs 8:18-19) that seem to presuppose the continued existence of the Temple and the Davidic dynasty. The resultant theory of an initial, preexilic deuteronomistic edition has a long history and comes in several variants. Among its earlier advocates there is some discrepancy as to how early or late in the preexilic era it is to be dated. I. BENZINGER (1899) ascribed it in general terms to the period 621–597. Other commentators placed it more specifically in the reign of Josiah: R. KITTEL (1900), O. EISSFELDT (1922), N. Snaith (1954), J. ROBINSON (1972, 1976). Still others assigned the preexilic Deuteronomist to late in Jehoiakim's reign: C. BURNEY (1903), A. KAMPHAUSEN (1909), and J. Gray (1964).

However, the notion of a preexilic deuteronomistic redaction of Kings has become closely associated with the wider thesis advocated by the American scholars F. M. CROSS (1973) and R. Nelson (1981) that a first edition of Dtr as a whole was produced under Josiah to support his political and religious initiatives. Contemporary Kings commentaries reflecting the influence of the Cross-Nelson thesis include those of S. De Vries (1985) and M. Cogan and H. Tadmor (1988). The thesis is likewise adopted in the monographs of A. Mayes (1983), I. Provan (1988), M. O'Brien (1989), and S. McKenzie (1991). It must be noted, however, that Provan, unlike the other authors mentioned, holds that, while written in Josiah's time, the initial deuteronomistic redaction did not go beyond 2 Kings 18–20 and that the whole of 2 Kings 21–25 derived from the exilic deuteronomist. O'Brien, who finds the conclusion of the Josianic deuteronomist in 2 Kgs 23:25, approximates the view of the Göttingen school in his identification of a whole series of exilic/postexilic deuteronomistic redactions, the most significant of which is the third, "nomistic" one. For McKenzie, the Josianic book of Kings underwent a variety of disparate amplifications at different times.

d. Pre-deuteronomistic editions. There remains a group of scholars who diverge still more markedly from Noth in that they posit a pre-deuteronomistic "book of Kings" that was subsequently expanded by one or more deuteronomistic editors. This communality aside, however, these scholars go their own ways in their more specific conceptions of the pre-deuteronomistic editorial process. A first, older group held that there existed a "Yahwistic" book of Kings (and of Genesis–Kings as a whole) in which were combined the concluding segments of the earlier sources that begin in Genesis. This theory came to the fore in the early 1920s in Germany. Its advocates disagreed, however, regarding how many sources the Yahwistic book of Kings combined as well as where in Kings the termination points of these sources occur (and hence also the *terminus a quo* for their datings). Benzinger (1921) and G. HÖLSCHER (1923, 1952) affirmed that the pre-deuteronomistic book of Kings represented a combination of two sources: J and E. For Benzinger, J's strand continues down to Hezekiah, while E's extends to Josiah's reform. But according to Hölscher, J reaches no further than the breakup of the united monarchy, whereas E has its conclusion in 2 Kgs 25:30 and so is to be dated to the exile. R. SMEND, Sr. (1921) and Eissfeldt (1934) both thought in terms, rather, of three sources they designated respectively as J, J^2, and E; and L (the "lay source"), J, and E as the component strands in the pre-deuteronomistic historical book that encompassed Genesis–Kings. In Smend's analysis J^1's final extant occurrence is in 2 Kgs 4:8-37, J^2's in 2 Kings 9–10, and E's in 2 Kgs 6:8-23. Eissfeldt, by contrast, contented himself with arguing that the pre-deuteronomistic sources likely extended into Kings, without making any detailed attempt to partition the book's material among them. Despite its earlier popularity, the theory of Eissfeldt et al. apparently lacks any contemporary advocate.

In its more recent formulations, the theory of a pre-deuteronomistic edition of Kings conceives a redactional stage that might be called "proto-deuteronomistic." According to A. Jepsen (1953, 1956) the deuteronomistic ("Nebiistic") redaction of Kings (c. 560) was preceded by a priestly one (c. 580). This priestly redaction, in turn, incorporated and combined two preexisting works, a "synchronistic chronicle" (from Hezekiah's time) and the "Annals of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (from the reign of Manasseh). The priestly redactor anticipated later deuteronomistic concerns in, for example, his preoccupation with the problem of worship on the high places. In his edition of the commentary of J. Fichtner, K. Fricke (1964, 1972) adopts Jepsen's conception.

Other authors locate the initial deuteronomistic redaction, with its stress on the problem of the high places, in the reign of Hezekiah (H. Weippert [1985], A. Lemaire [1986], and E. Exnikel [1996]). Of these authors, Lemaire identifies a series of further textual blocks put together by still earlier editors in the material of 1 Kings, e.g., a history of the early divided monarchy assembled

around 850 with a view to generating support for the political and religious endeavors of Jehoshaphat.

From the above it is apparent that contemporary scholarship is far from having reached unanimity regarding the redaction history of the book of Kings. It is understandable, then, that in a major commentary on the book covering 1 Kings 1–7 (M. Mulder [1987]), the question of how many deuteronomistic redactions can be distinguished is left provisionally open. It is equally comprehensible that such recent works on Kings as those of Nelson (1987, 1988), Provan (1995), and J. Walsh (1996) opt for a synchronic approach in which the focus of attention is the book in its extant form.

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C. T. BEGG

KIRKPATRICK, ALEXANDER FRANCIS
(1849–1940)

Born June 25, 1849, K. read classics and took the BA at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1871. He was awarded the Tyrwhitt Hebrew scholarship in 1872 and was elected Regius Professor of Hebrew in the university in 1882 at the remarkably early age of thirty-three. K. was not only a distinguished Hebraist but also a keen advocate of the critical methodology of biblical research developed in Germany, which was still little known and strongly resisted in British ecclesiastical circles. In 1903 he transferred to the Lady Margaret's professorship of divinity and held this appointment along with the mastership of Selwyn College, Cambridge, to which he had been elected in 1898. He resigned both offices upon being appointed dean of Ely Cathedral in 1906. He retired in 1936 and died in January 1940, having held his fellowship at Trinity College for sixty-eight years.

K.'s contribution to biblical scholarship was made during the last decades of the nineteenth century through three major writings. The best known of these was a commentary on Psalms in the series *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges,* to which he had already contributed a two-volume commentary on the books of Samuel. The Psalms commentary adopted a firm critical approach but avoided the fruitless efforts at dating individual psalm compositions that had hitherto preoccupied critical interest. K. kept open the possibility that many of the individual psalms were of an early date and concentrated on the witness they made to Israelite spirituality and theological understanding.

Also of great interest and value is his work on the HB prophets, which represents the substance of the Warburton lectures of 1886–90. Here K. was able to set out a thoroughly modern critical understanding of Israelite PROPHECY along the lines advocated by A. KUENEN in Holland and B. DUHM in Germany. His work broke with the older christological and messianological approach to prophecy and introduced a very different viewpoint to English readers. Appearing shortly after the popular work of W. R. SMITH in Scotland, it was widely read and did much to show the ethical and spiritual insights that were the fruit of contemporary critical approaches. Along with S. DRIVER, he published a series of popular lectures delivered at Cambridge on the results of biblical criticism.

Works: *1 and 2 Samuel* (CBSC, 2 vols, 1880–81; rev. 1930); *The Doctrine of the Prophets* (1890, 1897, 1901); *The Divine Library of the OT* (1891); *The Psalms* (CBSC, 3 vols., 1891–1901, frequently repr. in 1 vol.); (with S. R. Driver), *The Higher Criticism* (1904, 1905, rev. 1912).

R. E. CLEMENTS

KITTEL, GERHARD (1888–1948)

K. studied at the universities of Leipzig, Tübingen, and Berlin, earning his doctorate in 1913 in Kiel. He taught in Kiel, Leipzig, Greifswald, and again in Kiel, before moving to Tübingen in 1926, where he remained until 1939, when he was sent to the University of Vienna. In 1945 he was imprisoned for about fifteen months as a result of his support of Nazi antisemitism. He did not teach again, and died July 11, 1948.

K. produced substantial contributions to biblical study. His work on Solomon, in which he argues for the unity of the odes and their most probable origin in Christian circles, is still an important treatise. In rabbinics, besides translating and editing an edition of *Sifre to Deuteronomy* and serving as the editor for a series of German publications of rabbinic texts, he also wrote several books in which he asserted that rabbinic Judaism was the proper context for viewing the origin and development of NT Christianity. K. took exception to such NT scholars as W. BOUSSET who, in K.'s judgment, underemphasized the importance of Talmudic Judaism and overstated the place of pseudepigraphical and apocryphal texts (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA; APOCRYPHA, NT) as representative of the "literature of the masses." While granting that the phenomenon of Hellenistic syncretism had made an impact on all areas of Second Temple Judaism, K. maintained that the learned circles of the rabbis represented a large segment of the Judaism of Palestine, with strong connections to the scripture traditions of preexilic Judaism, and that particularly in the earliest years of Christianity the closest parallels to the incipient Christian movement are to be found here. Thus much of K.'s work from 1914 onward was spent elucidating the various connections of Christianity with Judaism.

After 1933 and his ensuing involvement with National Socialism, he began writing articles on Judaism in the series *Forschungen zur Judenfrage,* in which he took a harsh and ideologically motivated stance against the Jewish faith. These essays and his book *Die Judenfrage* brought the sharp criticism of later scholarship.

K. is probably best known for his conceptualizing and initial editing of the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testaments* (ET, *Theological Dictionary of the NT* [1985]). Despite criticism by more recent scholars of the dictionary's aims and method (e.g., see J. Barr [1961]), it still remains one of the major reference works in the field of NT studies. For K., the work symbolized the close connection between philology and Christian theology, since he believed that the latter was revealed in part by the study of the former.

In his later years, K. wrote some significant articles on the epistle of James and planned to publish a commentary on the letter, but he died before realizing the goal. His last article, published posthumously in 1950, was probably his most important work on the epistle. In it he argued for an early dating of James based on comparison of the letter's eschatology and use of JESUS logia with the similar phenomena in the apostolic fathers.

Works: *Die Oden Salomon: Überarbeitet oder Einheitlich?* (BWANT 16, 1914); *Jesus und die Rabbinen* (1914); *Die Probleme des palästinischen Spätjudentums und das Urchristentum* (BWANT 3, 1926); "Die Stellung des Jakobus zu Judentum und Heiden-christentum," *ZNW* 30 (1931) 145-57; *Die Religionsgeschichte und das Urchristentum* (1932); *Die Judenfrage* (1933); *Lexicographia Sacra: Two Lectures on the Making of the "Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament"* (1938); "Die geschichtliche Ort des Jakobusbriefes," *ZNW* 41 (1942) 71-105; (ed.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testment* (vols. 1–4, 1933–48; ET, *Theological Dictionary of the NT* [1985]); "Der Jakobusbrief und die Apostolischen Väter," *ZNW* 43 (1950) 54-112.

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T. C. PENNER

KITTEL, RUDOLF (1853–1929)

The father of the NT scholar G. KITTEL, K. was born at Eningen, Württemburg, Mar. 28, 1853, and studied at Tübingen (1871–76) with J. BECK, L. DIESTEL, and K. Weizsäker. From 1876 to 1888 he worked as a clergyman, a tutor in Tübingen, and a gymnasium teacher in Stuttgart. He received the OT chair at Breslau (1888) and at Leipzig (1889–1924), where as rector in the troubled years 1918–19 he displayed great courage and initiative. A study tour of Palestine in 1907 greatly influenced his subsequent work. He died Oct. 20, 1929.

K.'s voluminous output was in two major areas: the history of Israel and HB TEXTUAL CRITICISM. His first publication on Israelite history surveyed the period from the ancestors to the exile in two volumes (1888, 1892). Underlying this presentation were studies on the source criticism of the HB historical books, e.g., the continuation of J and E into Judges and Samuel (1892). In 1909 a second edition of vol. 2 of his history added a section on pre-Israelite Palestine and gave attention to the archaeological excavations he had come to know during his 1907 tour. The history eventually encompassed three volumes and went through a number of editions. To accompany his history, K. issued a number of shorter and more popular writings concerning the development of Israel's religion, Palestinian ARCHAEOLOGY, the BABEL UND BIBEL controversy, and character sketches of great HB figures.

In the realm of HB textual criticism K. edited the Hebrew text of Chronicles in the Polychrome or "Rainbow Bible" (ed. P. Haupt [1895]) and in 1902 issued a programmatic statement on the "necessity and possibility of a new edition of the HB." In collaboration with nine other scholars, he brought out his *Biblia Hebraica* in two parts (1905–6), contributing the books of Genesis, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Ruth, Lamentations, and Chronicles as well as parts of Exodus and Numbers. In 1929 he published the fascicles of Genesis and Isaiah for the third edition, which was eventually completed (1937) under the editorship of P. KAHLE and which was the first to employ the Codex Leningradensis as its printed text.

Related to his work as textual critic was his activity as translator and commentator. He provided the annotated TRANSLATION for the books of Judges and Samuel in all four editions of E. KAUTZSCH's collaborative rendition of the HB (1894, 1922[4]) as well as Ruth in the first two editions. To Kautzsch's edition of the HB Apocrypha and PSEUDEPIGRAPHA (1900) he contributed a translation of the PSALMS OF SOLOMON with introduction and notes. He likewise authored large-scale commentaries on the books of Kings (1900), Chronicles (1902), and Psalms (1914), the first two in the HKAT series edited by W. NOWACK, the third in E. SELLIN's KAT series.

As a scholar, K. was characterized by independence and openness to new data. Early on he challenged the regnant Wellhausian view (see J. WELLHAUSEN) that P as a whole derives from the exilic/postexilic period as well as the claim that hardly anything historical can be known about the ancestral period. His experiences in Palestine (1907) led him to recast his history drastically in the second and subsequent editions. In his historical publications he likewise gave increasing attention to the extra-biblical comparative material, while breaking with his onetime friend (and Akkadian teacher) Friedrich DELITZSCH over the latter's excessive claims for Babylonian influence on the HB. His emphasis on the importance of the great individual in history and religion, among other things, lay behind his reservations concerning H. GUNKEL's form-critical approach (see FORM CRITICISM) to the psalms, with its stress on the typical and the common.

Works: *Geschichte der Hebräer* (2 vols., 1888–92; ET 1895–96); "Die pentateuchischen Urkunden in den Büchern Richter und Samuel," *TSK* 65 (1892) 44-71; *Die Anfänge der hebräischen Geschichtsschreibung im Alten Testament* (1896); "Cyrus und Deutero-Jesaja," *ZAW* 17 (1898) 149-62; *Die Bücher der Könige* (1900); *Die Bücher der Chronik* (1902); *Über die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der hebräischen Bibel* (1902); *Die babylonischen Ausgrabungen und die ältere biblische Geschichte* (1903; ET *The Babylonian Excavations* [1903]); *Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1908); *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* 2 (1909[2], 1925[6-7]); *Die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft in ihrer wichtigsten Ergebnissen* (1910); *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* 1 (1912[2], 1923[5-6]); *Die Psalmen* (1914, 1923[3-4]); *Die Religion des Volkes Israel von der Urzeit bis zu Christus* (1921, 1929; ET 1925); *Die Zukunft der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft* (1921); *Die hellenistische Mysterienreligion und das Alte Testament* (1924); *RGS* 1 (1925) 113-42 (autobiography); *Gestalten und Gedanken in Israel* (1926; ET *Great Men and Movements* [1929]); *Geschichte des Volkes Israels* 3:1 (1927); 3:2 (1929).

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C. T. BEGG

KITTO, JOHN (1804–54)

K. was born into a poor family in Plymouth, England, Dec. 4, 1804. His father, a stonemason, was an abusive alcoholic. In 1817, while apprenticed to his father, K. fell from a roof and was rendered deaf. Neglect from his father and abuse from a shoemaker employer twice resulted in his being placed in a workhouse. K. had received some schooling, learned to read and write, and assiduously cultivated literacy, gaining favor in the workhouse by writing lectures that were read to the other inmates. In 1824 he became associated with an Exeter dentist, A. Groves, under whose influence he joined the Church Missionary Society in 1825 to be trained as a printer. He was posted to Malta in 1827, but his relationship with the CMS deteriorated, and in 1829 he returned to England. While accompanying Groves on a four-year mission to Persia as tutor to Groves's children, K. observed the Middle East first hand, traveling to Baghdad on a caravan from Moscow, seeing the city suffer from plague, flood, and siege, and returning via Tehran and Constantinople.

Back in England, K. supported himself by writing, initially producing pieces for popular magazines that described his travels and drew on the perspective of his deafness. His most successful work, *The Pictorial Bible* (1835–38), contains the biblical text with annotations and illustrations; it became one of the standard popular reference works of the period. The notes show the incredible breadth and depth of learning of their self-educated author, who was equally at ease discussing weaning customs in the Middle East, points from classical Greek culture, or sources as varied as AKIBA, MAIMONIDES, and H. GESENIUS.

Another comprehensive production was the *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature* (1845), which K. edited. He conceived of this work as a replacement for the venerable work of A. CALMET and its derivatives. Contributors from Britain and Europe included H. EWALD and E. HENGSTENBERG. The articles were up-to-date and the coverage broad, e.g., in the article on the Pentateuch H. HÄVERNICK reported on theories current in German criticism, like those of Ewald, J. VATER and W. DE WETTE. A long article on the TALMUD by S. DAVIDSON was omitted from the later "popular" abridged version. In 1848 K. founded *The Journal of Sacred Literature,* which he edited until 1853 (for a listing of its contents see J. Darling, *Cyclopaedia Bibliographica* 1 [1854] 1736-38). Like the *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature,* the journal covered a wide range of topics.

Driven in part by financial necessity, K. was a prolific writer, especially in the 1840s. He frequently reused material, converting articles into books or re-issuing works in expanded, extracted, or condensed form, often under similar titles. Most of his output targeted a popular audience. The introduction to another successful series, the eight-volume *Daily Bible Illustrations* (1849–54), expresses an aim common to much of K.'s writing: "To introduce into a family circle a large amount of Biblical Knowledge . . . to present the real fruits of much learned discussion and painstaking research." Theologically, K. might be described as a conservative with a sound knowledge of contemporary scholarship and a sensitivity to other religious positions. He was awarded an honorary DD by the University of Giessen in 1844, and his financial position was eased somewhat by the grant of a civil list pension in 1850.

K.'s health was never good, and as time went on his deafness affected his speech, rendering him almost unintelligible. In 1854 he traveled to Germany to rest and died in Canstadt on Nov. 25.

Works: *Essays and Letters, with a Short Memoir of the Author* (1825); *The Pictorial Bible: Being the OT and NT According to the Authorized Version Illustrated with Steel Engravings After Celebrated Pictures and Many Hundred Wood-Cuts. . . .* (4 vols., 1835–38); *Uncle Oliver's Travels in Persia* (2 vols., 1838); *The Illustrated Commentary on the OT and NT, Chiefly Explanatory of the Manners and Customs Mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures. . . .* (5 vols., 1840); *Pictorial History of Palestine and the Holy Land, Including a Complete History of the Jews* (1840); *The Christian Traveller* (1841); *Gallery of Scripture Engravings, Historical and Landscape, with Descriptions, Historical, Geographical, and Critical* (3 vols., 1841–43); *Palestine, the Bible History of the Holy Land* (2 vols., 1841); *History of Palestine from the Patriarchal Age to the Present Time* (1843); *Thoughts Among Flowers* (1843); *The Lost Senses: Deafness and Blindness* (1845); *The Pictorial Sunday Book* (1845); *Ancient Jerusalem* (c. 1846); *The Tartar Tribes* (1846–49); *The Court of Persia: Viewed in Connection with Scriptural Usages* (1849); *The Tabernacle and Its Furniture* (1849); *The Land of Promise, or a Topographical Description of the Principal Places in Palestine, and of the Country Eastward of Jordan* (1850); *Scripture Lands: Described in a Series of Historical, Geographical, and Topographical Sketches* (1850); *Popular Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature: Abridged from the Larger Work* (1851); *Eastern Habitations: Being the Outline of a Lecture on the Habitations of the Jews and of the Eastern Nations Referred to in the Holy Scriptures* (1852); *Sunday Reading for Christian Families* (1853).

Bibliography: **J. Eadie,** *The Life of J. K.* (1858). **T. Hamilton,** *DNB* 31 (1892) 233-35. **J. E. Ryland,** *Memoirs of J. K.* (1856).

P. TRUDINGER

KLOSTERMANN, ERICH (1870–1963)

Born in Kiel, Germany, Feb. 14, 1870, the son of the OT scholar H. KLOSTERMANN, K. studied classical philology and theology in Neuchâtel and Kiel. He received

his PhD in 1892 in Kiel. In 1905 he became a titular professor, in 1907 *ausserordentlicher* professor, and in 1911 full professor in Strasbourg. He took a position in Münster in 1919 and in Königsberg in 1923 and from 1928 on was professor of NT and ancient Christian literature in Halle. K. retired in 1936 for the first time and in 1954 for the third time. He died Sept. 18, 1963.

K. was a philologist and scholar of patristics. His most important work was on the Patristics Commission of the Berlin Academy's GCS, for which A. von HARNACK engaged him. K. primarily edited the exegetical works of ORIGEN, particularly the commentary to Matthew. Up until the last he worked on the homilies of Macarius-Symeon (the Great). Within biblical scholarship, his commentaries on the Synoptics (1907–19, rev. 1928–29) in the series established by H. LIETZMANN (*Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*) were influential for decades. To put the reader in a position to draw independent conclusions, K. offered in these commentaries the philological and historical material for exegesis. He discussed both LITERARY-critical topics and issues concerning the history of textual transmission. (For his view of the synoptic Gospels, see his article "Evangelien, Synoptische" in *RGG*^{2} 2 (1928) 422-33.) A genuinely thorough knowledge of the developing discipline of FORM CRITICISM is not evident beside the strong contours of his literary-critical and historical mode of inquiry (in the tradition of H. Holtzmann). The commentaries to Matthew and Luke offer a plethora of careful individual observations for REDACTION CRITICISM of the two Synoptics' dependence on Mark, but they give no comprehensive view of either book's theology.

Works: *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla, und Patristik* (1895); *Apocrypha* 1-3 (KlT 3, 8, 11, 1903–4, 1908–11^2, and subsequent eds.); *Das Markusevangelium* (HNT 2, 1, 1907; HNT 3, 1926^2, 1936^3, 1971^5); *Das Matthäusevangelium* (HNT 2, 2, 1909; HNT 4, 1927^2, 1938,^{3}, 1971^4); *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT 2, 3, 1919; HNT 5, 1929^2, 1975^3); "Die adäquate Vergeltung in Rm 1,22-31," *ZNW* 32 (1933) 1-6; "Zur Apologie des Paulus Galater 1,10–2,21," *Gottes ist der Orient* (FS O. Eissfeldt, 1959) 84-87; "Noch einmal über Paulus zum Apostelkonvent Galater 2,1-10," *WZ(H).GS* 13 (1964) 149-50. For a fuller bibliography, see W. Völker, *ZNW* 39 (1940) 230-36; H. Nitschke, *TLZ* 75 (1950) 123-24; W. Eltester, *TLZ* 86 (1960) 313-14; *WZ(H).GS* 14 (1965) 351.

Bibliography: **K. Aland** (ed.), *Glanz und Niedergang der deutschen Universität* (1979), contains many letters from K. to Lietzmann. **K. Aland,** *NDB* 12 (1980) 124-25. **G. Delling,** "Geleitwort," *Studien zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik* (FS E. K. zum 90. Geburtstag, TU 77, 1961) VII-VIII. **W. Eltester,** *TLZ* 85 (1960) 311-14. **H. Lietzmann,** *FuF* 16 (1940) 59-60. **E. Schott and W. Eltester,** "Zwei Gedenkreden auf E. K. (+ 18.9.1963)," *WZ(H).GS* 14 (1965) 345-52.

N. WALTER

KLOSTERMANN, HEINRICH AUGUST

(1837–1915).

The father of E. KLOSTERMANN, K. was born May 16, 1837, in Steinhude (Schaumburg-Lippe) and studied theology from 1855 to 1858 in Erlangen and Berlin. His most influential teacher was J. von HOFMANN, a significant representative of the so-called Erlangen school. K. taught in Bückeburg and from 1864 to 1868 was a tutor and *Dozent* in Göttingen. In 1868 he became professor of OT in Kiel. Although he initially encountered strong opposition from his colleagues, his influence became a significant factor in the expansion of Erlangen theology throughout northern Germany. He died Feb. 12, 1915, in Mölln (Lauenburg).

K. was an independent and versatile scholar. He never rejected the history-of-salvation orientation of the Erlangen school, but he was by no means an uncritical follower. Although K. recognized and affirmed the necessity of literary-critical analysis of the HB, he considered it of secondary importance. He was primarily interested in those theological textual statements that made reference to revelation. The way K. practiced LITERARY criticism also strongly differentiated him from J. WELLHAUSEN and his followers, particularly in the analysis of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM). K.'s work was oriented toward the Bible as a whole, including problems of NT texts. He modestly characterized these philological studies as the attempts of a "hobbyist" that had little to do with the work of the "professionals." Yet he claimed to have achieved a better understanding of the textual passages under question than had previous exegetical specialists.

His commentary on the books of Samuel and Kings was also quite strongly influenced by philology. In a way never practiced before and only seldom since, he pursued TEXTUAL CRITICISM and corrected the Hebrew text, particularly in the books of Samuel, on the basis of the SEPTUAGINT. He singled out 2 Samuel 10–20 and 1 Kings 1–2—currently referred to as the "throne-succession narrative"—declared it to be a special entity, and attributed its authorship to Ahimaaz, the son of the priest Zadok. His commentary was one of the best among the otherwise overly meditative contributions of the commentary series *KK* edited by H. Strack and L. Zöckler.

K. regarded research into the history of Israel as an expressly theological task and was concerned with disclosing both the natural prerequisites for divine revelation as well as the foundations of spiritual experience and Christian behavior. For this reason he consciously limited his object of investigation to the HB and disregarded the already widely known extra-biblical sources. In the religion of Abraham he saw the preliminary stage; and in the proclamation of Moses, the foundation of HB faith, thought, and life. K. made the clay tablets from Amarna, edited by H. WINCKLER, known to a wider circle through

a sketch of their contents and historical significance (*Ein diplomatischer Briefwechsel* [1892, 1902]).

K. was probably most independent in his explanation of the origin of the Pentateuch. He rejected the source hypothesis of Wellhausen as a grave error, since it failed to recognize the edifying character of the Pentateuch. Instead, he used Deuteronomy as his point of departure, more specifically Deut 4:45–28:69 as proclaimed in 622 BCE by Josiah. He argued that this writing was an addendum to an already extant work (Genesis 1–Numbers 36; Deut 31:14–34:9) and that it represented an expanded edition of a writing that existed during the time of Hezekiah. This latter writing, he maintained, had originated during an earlier period in which statistical notes were combined with the contents of other independent writings with legal stipulations. Understandably, this relatively complicated and rigid explanation did not fare well against the source hypothesis of the Wellhausen school.

K. by no means identified Deuteronomy with the legal book discovered in Josiah's reign, which, he asserted, contained various discourses concerning the contents of a lost book of law. He referred to the corpus of Icelandic communal law, *Grágás,* as a surprising parallel. This too, he alleged, was not really a book of law but, rather, a collection of legal instructions publicly or privately distributed by the acting "law administrator" (*Gesetzessprecher*). This reference to the admonishing character of the deuteronomic texts and to the function of the Icelandic "law administrator" was later taken up in different ways by G. von RAD and A. ALT.

Works: *Vindiciae Lucanae* (1866); *Das Markusevangelium nach seinem Quellenwert für die evangelische Geschichte* (1867); *Untersuchungen zur alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1868); *Die Gemütsstimmung des Christen in Röm. 5,1-11* (1881); *Korrekturen zur bisherigen Erklärung des Römerbriefes* (1881); *Probleme im Apostelteхte* (1883); *Ueber deutsche Art bei M. Luther* (1884); *Die Gottesfurcht als Hauptstück der Weisheit* (1885); *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* (KK A 3, 1887); *Zur Theorie der biblischen Weissagung und zur Charakteristik des Hebräerbriefs* (1889); *Ein diplomatischer Briefwechsel aus dem zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christo* (1892, 1902²); *Deuterojesaia: Hebräisch und deutsch* (1893); *Der Pentateuch* (1893); *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis zur Restauration unter Esra und Nehemia* (1896); *Deuteronomium und Grágás* (1900); *Der Pentateuch: Neue Folge* (1907); *Schulwesen im alten Israel* (1908).

Bibliography: **H. Gunkel,** *RGG*² 3 (1929) 1097-98. **E. Ruprecht,** "Eine vergessene Konjektur von A. K. zu 1 Reg 3:27," *ZAW* 88 (1976) 415-18. **H. L. Strack,** "Pentateuch," *RE*³ 15 (1904) 113-24, esp. 121-22.

W. THIEL

KNOBEL, AUGUST WILHELM (1807–63)

Born Feb. 7, 1807, in Tzschecheln in Niederlausitz, K. died May 25, 1863, in Giessen. He studied theology as well as oriental studies and classical philology in Breslau (1826–31). Among his teachers, he was most grateful to the rationalistic theologian D. Schulz and to the orientalist M. Habicht. In 1831 he earned the PhD, the lic. theol., and the *venia legendi,* which he exercised as *ausserordentlicher* professor at Breslau from 1835 until 1838, when he was called to Giessen as full professor. K. taught most of the theological disciplines in Breslau; in Giessen he confined himself to the HB. Never married, he was devoted to his students and enjoyed great popularity.

After demonstrating in his first writings mastery of the philological-exegetical craft, he attempted in his *Commentar über das Buch Koheleth* (1836) to achieve a theological-philosophical understanding of this controversial book on a narrow historical foundation; like W. DE WETTE, he dated Qohelet at the end of the Persian or at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. In his work on PROPHECY (1837) he gave an overview that extended from Samuel to Daniel, before the historical portion presenting an equally detailed survey of the relations, the essence, the content, and the form of expression of the prophets. He regarded the mediation between God and the people in the theocracy, especially via instruction and admonition, as a task of the prophets. In his first years in Giessen, where he wrote the Isaiah commentary for the KEH, his work focused on the prophets.

However, K.'s primary work was devoted to the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), together with the book of Joshua and his commentaries on these books in the KEH. In a detailed essay he first treated the table of the nations in Genesis 10, which he had previously thought dealt with only more or less arbitrary combinations made on the basis of the names, rather than reflecting genuine ethnography. The commentaries, which of course had to be formulated more briefly, stood as standard works for decades because of their common sense and the abundance of linguistic and technical material they offered. K.'s proposed thesis of the origin and development of the Pentateuch was a variation of the supplemental hypothesis: the *Grundschrift* (primary document) that underlies the books from Genesis to Joshua was supplemented by a Yahwist from two sources, a law book, and a war book, which extended to Joshua. Afterward, the deuteronomist inserted his material and produced the final form of the Pentateuch. K. found no support for this thesis because he could not clearly delineate the two "books."

Works: "Jeremias chaldaizans" (diss. phil., Breslau, 1831); "De evangelii Marci origine" (diss. theol., Breslau, 1831); *De carminis lobi argumento fine ac dispositione* (1835); *Commentar über das Buch Koheleth* (1836); *Der Prophetismus der*

Hebräer vollständig dargestellt (2 vols., 1837); *Der Prophet Jesaja* (KEH 5, 1843, 1861[3]); *Exegetisches Vademecum für Herrn Professor Ewald in Tübingen* (1844); *Die Völkertafel der Genesis* (1850); *Die Genesis* (KEH 11, 1852, 1860[2]; ET *Genesis* [1897]); *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus* (KEH 12, 1857); *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium, und Josua* (KEH 13, 1861).

Bibliography: **F. H. Hesse,** *ADB* 16 (1882) 300-304. **O. Zöckler,** *RE*[3] 10 (1901) 598-99.

R. SMEND

KNOX, JOHN (c. 1514–72)

The leading figure of the Scottish Reformation, K. was a man of the Bible, depending heavily on Scripture for the source of his thought and actions. He believed that the Word of God is primarily the canonical Scriptures—that is, the books found in the OT and the NT, excluding the "apocryphal" writings. For the most part, he made God's Word, as revealed in Scripture, his sole AUTHORITY; and in questions pertaining to the faith, he subordinated all other authorities to Scripture. His theological radicalism and uniqueness, however, developed from his methods of interpreting Scripture, especially from his emphasis on the OT and from his profound literalness. Although he believed that the OT foreshadowed the things revealed in the NT, he did not believe the NT superseded the OT, except, of course, in regard to such matters as the atonement or the new covenant.

K.'s religious thought had the OT as its starting point. More specifically, his major premise, drawn from Deut 12:32, dominated not only his view of Scripture but also his concept of reform. At the onset of his ministry, quoting this text, he stated, " 'All that the Lord thy God commands thee to do, that do thou to the Lord thy God: add nothing to it; diminish nothing from it.' By this rule, think I, that the Kirk of Christ will measure God's religion, and not by that which seems good in their own eyes."

Because K. made this verse the focal point of his biblical interpretation, his theology acquired its own trademark, especially an intense drive to purify religion. In regard to liturgy and ceremony, he was intolerant of anything not positively approved by Scripture. His crusade for purity in worship, drawn largely from the OT, ran the course of his career and dominated not only his ministry but also much of his religious and political thought. In contrast to LUTHER and CALVIN, K. placed the literal forms of Scripture above the substantive content, particularly in regard to purifying worship. In this respect, he largely regarded the Bible as a book of precedents, i.e., as containing instances that served as authoritative examples or patterns for subsequent cases that were similar or analogous. For this reason, he could be called a "radical" reformer who knew no middle way even in what Calvin called "indifferentia." Consequently, in his thinking there was the danger that Scripture could become a set of regulations, although in actual deed he often demonstrated flexibility.

Works: *The Works of J. K.* (6 vols., ed. D. Laing, 1846–64).

Bibliography: **R. Greaves,** "The Nature of Authority in the Writings of J. K.," *Fides et Historia* 10, 2 (1978) 30-51. **R. Kyle,** *The Mind of J. K.* (1984); "The Hermeneutical Patterns in J. K.'s Use of Scripture," *Pacific Theological Review* 17, 3 (1984) 19-32; "J. K.'s Methods of Biblical Interpretation: An Important Source of His Intellectual Radicalness," *JRelS* 12 (1985) 57-70.

R. KYLE

KNOX, JOHN (1900–1990)

Born in Frankfort, Kentucky, Dec. 30, 1900, K. was educated at Randolph Macon College (BA, 1919), Candler School of Theology (BD, 1925), and the University of Chicago (PhD, 1935). His academic work in theology began to flourish at Emory University and blossomed in the atmosphere of the University of Chicago, where the social emphasis of S. J. CASE, as interpreted by C. Morrison, a close friend, was significant for his later work in christology and ecclesiology. As a student there K. read A. Whitehead's *Religion in the Making,* and Whitehead's philosophy had an important influence on him. K. taught at Emory University (1924–27), Fisk University (1929–36), Hartford Seminary (1938–39), the University of Chicago (homiletics and NT, 1939–43), Union Seminary in New York (Baldwin Professor of Sacred Literature, 1943–66), and Episcopal Seminary Southwest. He died June 25, 1990.

In his pioneer work on Pauline CHRONOLOGY in *Chapters in a Life of Paul* (1954, rev. ed. 1987), K. helped set the future course for the historical study of Christian origins. His *Early Church and the Coming Great Church* (1955), grounded in his study of NT and patristic literature, is prophetic in its promise for ecumenical work at the beginning of the twenty-first century. *Philemon Among the Letters of Paul* (1936), an intricately sophisticated piece of successful historical reconstruction, may be singled out for the highest praise. In this book K. argued that Onesimus became the bishop of the church at Ephesus and played a prominent role in the collection of the Pauline letters.

K.'s critical interpretation of JESUS Christ and the church has greatly influenced a generation of theologians, who have appreciated the clarity of his thought, the simplicity of his writing style, and the liberal orthodoxy of his critical speculation. His best-known work may be *Jesus: Lord and Christ* (1958), a trilogy comprising three earlier works: *The Man Christ Jesus* (1941), *Christ the Lord* (1945), and *On the Meaning of Christ* (1947).

K.'s mature christological proposal, rooted in this trilogy, evolved over a number of years and came to fruition in *The Church and the Reality of Christ* (1962).

During his long teaching career at Union Seminary, he was loved by his students and highly respected by a distinguished set of colleagues including R. NIEBUHR, P. TILLICH, H. Van Dusen, and J. Bennett. A Festschrift in his honor was published by Cambridge University Press in 1967.

Works: *He Whom a Dream Hath Possessed: Some Aspects of the Art of Religious Living* (1932); *Philemon Among the Letters of Paul* (1936); *Marcion and the NT: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon* (1942, 1980); *Criticism and Faith* (1950, 1953); "The Epistle to the Romans: Introduction and Exegesis," *IB* (1954) 9:353-668; *Chapters in a Life of Paul* (1954, rev. ed. 1987); *Early Church and the Coming Great Church* (1955); *The Death of Christ: The Cross in NT History and Faith* (1956, 1959); *The Integrity of Preaching* (1957); *Jesus: Lord and Christ* (1958); *Christ and the Hope of Glory* (1960); *The Ethic of Jesus in the Teaching of the Church: Its Authority and Relevance* (1960); *Life in Christ Jesus: Reflection on Romans 5–8* (1961, 1966); *The Church and the Reality of Christ* (1962); *Myth and Truth: An Essay on the Language of Faith* (1964); "Romans 15:14-33 and Paul's Conception of His Apostolic Mission," *JBL* 83 (1964) 1-11; *The Humanity and Divinity of Christ: A Study of Pattern in Christology* (1967); *Limits of Unbelief* (1970); "The Pauline Chronology: Buck-Taylor-Hurd Revisited," *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul and John in Honor of J. L. Martyn* (ed. R. T. Fortna and B. R. Gaventa, 1990) 258-74.

Bibliography: **R. E. Cushman,** "Christology or Ecclesiology? A Critical Examination of the Christology of J. K.," *RelLife* 27 (1957–58) 512-26. **W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule, and R. R. Niebuhr** (eds.), *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to J. K.* (1967). **H. Greeven,** "Prüfung der Thesen von J. K. zum Philemonbrief," *TLZ* 79 (1954) 373-78. **P. N. Harrison,** "Onesimus and Philemon," *ATR* 32 (1950) 268-94.

W. R. FARMER

KÖHLER, LUDWIG HUGO (1880–1956)

Born Apr. 14, 1880, in the Prussian city of Neuwied am Rhein, K. enrolled at the University of Zurich in 1900. He was ordained in 1904. In 1908 he completed a doctoral dissertation on the TEXTUAL CRITICISM of Jeremiah ("Beobachtungen am hebräischen und griechischen Text von Jeremia Kap. 1–8") and commenced lecturing at the university in OT in addition to pastoral duties. He left parish work in 1916 for a full-time position at the university and became a full professor in 1923. He remained on the faculty at Zurich until his retirement in 1947, serving as *Rektor* in 1930–32. He died Nov. 25, 1956.

Although primarily involved in the study of the OT, K.'s scholarly interests also included NT studies and pastoral theology. Underlying his biblical research was a vision for providing a complete characterization of Hebrew culture and a methodology that relied heavily on the explication of essential ideas, thoughts, and concepts and their interrelations. No doubt his major and most lasting contribution to biblical studies was his work on a new Hebrew LEXICON. The first edition, appearing in 1953, included parallel German and English translations. After K.'s health began to fail, revision of the lexicon was taken over in 1956 by W. BAUMGARTNER.

Among K.'s other important works is an influential OT THEOLOGY (1936), which reflects his location in the Reformed tradition. Importing a framework from systematic theology, he collected ideas and concepts from the OT under the three heads of theology, anthropology, and soteriology. The cult is treated rather awkwardly under anthropology as an attempt at human self-salvation, with the law having a pedagogical function (Gal 3:24 is noted). The work closes with a study of the term *messiah,* climaxing in its association with vicarious suffering on the basis of the Servant Songs in Isaiah and pointing to the NT. K.'s lectures *Der hebräische Mensch* (1953) present his reconstruction of the life and outlook of the typical ancient Israelite. K. also produced form-critical studies (see FORM CRITICISM) of material from both the OT and the NT. In particular, he highlighted the role of prophet (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS) as messenger and argued that this function provided a basic *Gattung* for prophetic speech. When examining the concepts of justice and righteousness in ancient Israel, he stressed the relationship between the individual and the community, especially with regard to what he viewed as the obligation to respect and to protect the rights of others (e.g., his address as *Rektor* in 1931: "Die hebräische Rechtsgemeinde").

Works: *Amos, der älteste Schriftprophet* (1920); *Religion und Menschheit* (1922); *Deuterojesaja (Jesaja 40–55) stilkritisch untersucht* (BZAW 37, 1923); *Die Offenbarung des Johannes und ihre heutige Deutung* (1924); *Was sagen wir zu den ernsten Bibelforschen: Ein Vortrag* (1924); *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Neuen Testaments* (Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vortrage und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte 127, 1927); (with L. Glahn), *Der Prophet der Heimkehr (Jesaja 40–66)* (2 vols., 1934); *OT Theology* (1936; ET 1957); *Von Weg und Ziel: Eine Handreichung für heimliche Kinder Gottes* (1938); (pseudonym H. Ratmich), *Zwischen Himmel und Erde* (1944); *Kleine Lichter: 50 Bibelstellen erklärt* (1945); *Nöte und Pflege des inneren Lebens: Ein Versuch der Seelsorge* (1945); *Ein Schweizer wird Schweizer: Jugenderinnerungen, Protestantische Pfarrgemeinschaft* (1946), autobiographical; *Hebrew Man: With an Appendix on Justice in the Gate* (1953; ET 1956); *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (1953); *Eine Handvoll Neues Testament: Ehr-*

furcht vor dem Leben. A. Schweitzer Freundesgabe (1954); *Wahres Leben* (1954); *Markus Evangelium* (1957).

Bibliography: **K. Engelken,** *BBKL* 4 (1992) 246-55. **F. Maas,** *RGG*[3] 3 (1959) 1690.

P. TRUDINGER

KÖNIG, EDUARD (1846–1936)

Born Nov. 15, 1846, in Reichenbach (Vogtland/Saxony), K. studied philosophy and theology at Leipzig and served there as instructor and *ausserordentlicher* professor of OT from 1879 to 1888. In the latter year he accepted a full professorship in Rostock and in 1900 moved to Bonn, where he taught OT until his retirement in 1922. He died Feb. 12, 1936.

K.'s foremost contribution to biblical studies was in the field of linguistics. His earliest publications deal with the development of the Hebrew language, often in comparison with other Semitic languages. His philological and linguistic studies culminated in a three-volume work published over a period of sixteen years (1881, 1895, 1897). His Hebrew-Aramaic dictionary (1910, 1936[7]) was published in numerous editions.

Another area of K.'s work was devoted to questions of rhetoric and style. His most significant publications in this field are *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur* (1900), *Die Poesie des Alten Testaments* (Wissenschaft und Bildung 11, 1907), and *Hebräische Rhythmik* (1914). Grounding his analysis firmly on careful linguistic study and comparative Semitic philology, he examined the text of the OT in light of its argumentation and the degree of ambiguity with which the words of the biblical text covey its content. This textual ambiguity and the text's semantic open-endedness, which he saw as being grounded in human language and communication in general, underscored for him the need to engage the text on the level of its RHETORICAL and philological components within their own cultural context.

Theologically, K. maintained a strong confessional attitude toward the Bible and the supernatural origin of Yahwism. This is most evident in his books *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des Alten Testamentes* (2 vols., 1882), *Das alttestamentliche Prophetentum* (1910), and *Die Wahrheit der alttestamentlichen Religion* (1929). He criticized J. WELLHAUSEN's conception of the development of Israel's religious history for its implicit evolutionism, as well as attempts by Friedrich DELITZSCH and others to establish historical-developmental links between the biblical tradition and Babylonian religion in the BABEL UND BIBEL controversy. In addition, K. published commentaries on Deuteronomy (KAT 3, 1917), Genesis (1919), Isaiah (1926), Psalms (1927), and the book of Job (1929).

Works: *Gedanke-Laut und Accent als die drei Factoren der Sprachbildung, comparative und physiologisch am Hebräischen dargestellt* (1874); *Neue Studien über Schrift, Aussprache, und allgemeine Formenlehre des Aethiopischen: Aus den Quellen geschöpft, comparativ und physiologisch erläutert von E. K.* (1877); "De criticae sacrae argumento e linguae legibus repetito: ratione ducta maxime Geneseos Capp. 1–11, ejus historiam, naturam, vim examinavit" (diss. 1879); *Historischkritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache, mit steter Beziehung auf Qimche und die anderen Auctoritaeten* (1881, 1895, 1897); *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des Alten Testamentes* (2 vols., 1882); *The Religious History of Israel: A Discussion of the Chief Problems in OT History as Opposed to the Development Theorists* (1884; ET 1885); *Falsche Extreme in der neueren Kritik des Alten Testaments* (1885); *Alttestamentliche Kritik und Christenglaube: Ein Wort zum Frieden* (1893); *Einleitung in das Alte Testament: Mit Einschluss der Apokryphen und der Pseudepigraphen Alten Testaments* (Sammlung theologischer Handbücher, 2, 1, 1893); "The History and Method of Pentateuchal Criticism," *Expositor* 5, 3 (1896) 81-99; *The Exiles' Book of Consolation Contained in Isaiah XL–LXVI: A Critical and Exegetical Study* (1899); "The Emphatic State in Aramaic," *AJSL* 17 (1900–1901) 209-21; *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur* (1900); *Fünf neue arabische Landschaftsnamen im Alten Testament: Mit einem Exkurs über die Paradiesesfrage* (1901); *Hebräisch und Semitisch: Prolegomena und Grundlinien einer Geschichte der semitischen Sprache. Nebst einem Excurs über die vorjosuanische Sprache Israels und die Pentateuchquelle PC* (1901); *The Bible and Babylon: A Brief Study in the History of Ancient Civilization* (1902; ET 1903); *Neueste Prinzipien der alttestamentlichen Kritik* (1902); *Im Kampf um das Alte Testament* (1903); *Der ältere Prophetismus: Bis auf die Heldengestalten von Elia und Elisa* (Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen, 1, 9, 1905); "Has the Name 'Jahwe' Been Found Among the Canaanites?" *Expositor* 17 (1905) 331-33; *Die Poesie des Alten Testaments* (Wissenschaft und Bildung 11, 1907); *Talmud und Neues Testament* (Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen 3, 8, 1907); *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes bis auf Jesus Christus* (1908); *Hebräische Grammatik für den Unterricht mit Übungsstücken und Wörterverzeichnissen methodisch dargestellt* (1908); *Das alttestamentliche Prophetentum* (1910); *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament: Mit Einschaltung und Analyse aller schwer erkennbaren Formen, Deutung der Eigennamen sowie der massoretischen Randbemerkungen und einem deutsch-hebräischen Wortregister* (1910, 1936[7]); "The Significance of the Patriarchs in the History of Religion," *Expositor* 7, 10 (1910) 193-207; "A Modern Expert's Judgment on the OT Historical Writings," *Expositor* 8, 1 (1911) 308-19; *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion kritisch dargestellt* (1912, 1915[2]); "The Consummation of the OT in Jesus Christ," *Expositor* 8, 4 (1912) 1-19, 97-119; *Die Geschichtschreibung im Alten Testament* (Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen, 8, 10, 1913); *Hebräische Rhythmik: Die Gesetze des alttestamentlichen Vers- und Strophenbaues* (1914); *Die moderne Pentateuchkritik und ihre neueste Bekämpfung* (1914); *Geschichte*

der alttestamentlichen Religion, kritisch dargestellt (1915²); *Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments* (1916); *Friedrich Delitzsch's "Die grosse Täuschung" kritisch beleuchtet* (1921³); *Moderne Vergewaltigung des Alten Testaments* (1921); *Die moderne Babylonisierung der Bibel in ihrer neuesten Erscheinungsform (Delitzschs "Bibel und Bibel," 1921)* (1922); *Theologie des Alten Testaments, kritisch und vergleichend dargestellt* (1922); *Die messianischen Weissagungen des Alten Testaments vergleichend, geschichtlich und exegetisch behandelt* (1923, 1925²); "Are There Any Messianic Predictions," *Theology* 9 (1924) 6-13; *Der doppelte Wellhausenianismus im Lichte meiner Quellenforschungen: Ein Ruckblick auf meine Mitarbeit im Gebiete der Sprach- und Religionswissenschaft* (1927); *Die Wahrheit der alttestamentlichen Religion* (1929); *Zentralkultstätte und Kultuszentralisierung im Alten Testament* (BFCT 34, 3, 1931); *Ist die moderne Pentateuchkritik auf Tatsachen begründet? Zur Beleuchtung aller neuester Behauptungen* (1933).

Bibliography: **H. Bardtke,** *LTK*² 6 (1961) 446-47. **L. A. Bushinski,** *NCE* 8 (1967) 248-49. **J. Coppens,** *DBSup* 5 (1957) 189-92. **K. Engelken,** *BBKL* 4 (1992) 264-79. **H. Gunkel,** *RGG*² 3 (1929) 1126.

A. SIEDLECKI

KOPPE, JOHANN BENJAMIN (1750–91)

Born at Danzig, Aug. 19, 1750, K. studied philology and theology at the universities of Leipzig and Göttingen. He served as professor of Greek at Mittau (1774) before becoming superintendent and president of the consistory at Gotha (1784), where he directed the seminary for preachers. He died Feb. 12, 1791.

K. published a number of works and began the *Novum Testamentum Graece perpetua annotatione illustratum* (10 vols.), to which he contributed Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and Thessalonians. The volumes contain a corrected Greek text (mostly based on J. J. Griesbach), critical and philological notes, excursuses on difficult passages, and prolegomena to each book. K.'s special importance lies in synoptic Gospel study and in the interpretation of Isaiah. In 1783 he published a volume opposing the widely held view that Mark was a summary of Matthew and arguing that the Gospel writers were each dependent on older sources. In addition, he advocated the study of individual units of synoptic materials. His work helped bring the SYNOPTIC PROBLEM into discussion and anticipated later form-critical work (see FORM CRITICISM). His other influential work consisted of annotations to the German translation of R. LOWTH's book on Isaiah (1779–81). In his notes he argued not only that Isaiah 40–66 originated in the Babylonian exile but also that the material in First Isaiah has been redacted incoherently out of numerous small units and that the incoherence can be explained by appeal to the history of the growth of the material. He thus broke radically with the classical RHETORICAL approach to the book of Isaiah, associated with C. VITRINGA, and inaugurated an approach that climaxed in the commentary of B. DUHM (1892).

Works: *De critica Veteris Testamenti caute adhibenda* (1769); *Vindiciae oraculorum a daemonum aeque imperio ac sacerdotum fraudibus* (1774); *Israelitus non 215 sed 480 annos in Aegypto commoratos esse* (1777); *R. Lowths . . . Jesaias neu übersetzt nebst einer Einleitung und kritischen philologischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen* (4 pts, 1779–81); *Interpretatio Isaiae, viii, 23* (1780); *Ad Matthaeum, xii, 31, De peccato in Spiritum Sanctum* (1781); *Super Evangelio Marci* (1782); *Explicatio Moisis, iii, 14* (1783); *Marcus non epitomator Matthaei* (1783) = *Sylloge commentationum* (ed. D. J. Pott and G. A. Ruperti, 1800) 1:35-69; "On the Kingdom of God, etc." *The Investigator* 2 (1832–33) 207-17.

Bibliography: *GSWW* 5 (1809) 272-73, 712-13, 731-32. **S. Newth,** *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature* (1866³) 2:759-60. **J. A. Wagenmann,** *ADB* 16 (1882) 692-93. **B. Wiklander,** *Prophecy and Literature: A Text-Linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to Isaiah 2–4* (ConBOT 22, 1984) 8-15. **J. H. Worman,** *CBTEL* 5 (1873) 148.

J. H. HAYES

KOSTERS, WILLEM HENDRIK (1848–97)

K. was professor of OT at the University of Leiden from 1892 to his sudden death in 1897. During the period from the completion of his doctoral dissertation (1868) to his appointment as A. KUENEN's successor (1892), he served five successive pastorates while continuing to participate in biblical research. In his dissertation "De historiebeschouwing van den Deuteronomist met de berichten in Genesis–Numeri vergeleken" (1868), he argued against K. GRAF's position at that time, contending that the priestly narratives should be dated like the priestly laws to a time after the exile. He persuaded Kuenen to make the same adjustment in his two-volume work *De godsdienst van Israel* (1869–70), which for the first time spelled out in detail the theory of literary and religious development that later came to be known as the WELLHAUSEN hypothesis. K. was best known abroad for his 1893 work on Israel in the Persian period. In it he argued that the narratives of the return in Ezra and Nehemiah as well as Cyrus's edict were purely legendary and that, in fact, the Temple was rebuilt by the Jews who had remained in Jerusalem during the exile, while an actual return was deferred until the reign of Artaxerxes I, during the time of Ezra. Although creating great interest abroad (see *Century Bible* [1909]), this thesis was severely criticized by J. Wellhausen, A. van HOONACKER, and others.

Works: *Het godsdienstig karakter van Israels historiographie* (1892); *Het herstel van Israel in het Perzische tijdvak*

(1893); "De denkbeelden over Jahve's volk ten tijde der ballingschap," *ThT* 29 (1895) 353-85; "Het tijdvak van Israel's herstel," *ThT* 29 (1895) 549-75; 30 (1896) 489-504; 31 (1897) 518-54; "Deutero-en Trito-Jesaja," *ThT* 30 (1896) 577-623.

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S. J. DEVRIES

KRAELING, CARL HERMANN (1897–1966)

Born in Brooklyn, New York, K. graduated from Columbia University (AB 1918); Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia (BD 1926); and the University of Heidelberg (MST 1924 and ThD 1935). He earned a PhD from Columbia in 1927. K. was ordained to the Lutheran ministry in 1920 and from 1920 to 1929 taught NT at Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. Between 1929 and 1950 he rose from assistant professor to Buckingham Professor of NT Criticism and Interpretation at Yale Divinity School, where he chaired the department of Near Eastern languages and literatures in the graduate school (1947–50). In 1950 he was appointed director of the Oriental Institute and professor of Hellenistic oriental ARCHAEOLOGY at the University of Chicago, retiring in 1962 as professor emeritus.

K. served as annual professor of the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, Jerusalem, in 1935–36. After WWII he became resident scholar and director of research at the Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection at Harvard (1946–47), having delivered the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium lectures in 1945 and the Lowell and Haskell lectures in 1946. His abiding interests in archaeology, Mediterranean art, and the social and cultural context of the NT are reflected in his published works. Of these the most important are probably his reports of the excavations at Dura-Europos, which are noted for their thoroughness.

Works: *Ptolemais, City of the Libyan Pentapolis* (1916, 1962); (with E. R. Morey and E. K. Rand), *The Gospel Book of Landevennec* (1931); *A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron* (1935); *Anthropos and Son of Man: A Study in the Religious Syncretism of the Hellenistic Orient* (1937); (ed.), *Gerassa, City of the Decapolis* (1938); *John the Baptist* (1951, 1972); (with R. Adams), *City Invincible: A Symposium on Urbanization and Cultural Development in the Ancient Near East* (1960); *Archaeology: Excavations at Dura Europos VIII: The Synagogue* (1956, repr. 1979); (with L. Mowry), "Music in the Bible," *New Oxford History of Music* (ed E. Wellesz, 1 [1957]) 283-312; *The Christian Building* (1967).

Bibliography: *Who Was Who in America* 4 (1969) 542.

J. M. BULLARD

KRAELING, EMIL GOTTLIEB HEINRICH (1892–1956)

From an American Lutheran family noted for accomplishment in biblical scholarship, K. was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1892 and educated at New York University (BS 1915) and at Columbia (PhD 1917). For twenty-four years he taught OT at Union Theological Seminary, seven of which he was visiting professor of Semitic languages at Columbia University. In retirement he continued private biblical research until his death.

K. is perhaps best known for his deciphering and publishing the Brooklyn Museum papyri (1953), which are of considerable importance for the understanding of ancient Jewish law. K. also turned his attention to problems of the NT, producing popular portraits of PAUL, early Christianity, and the disciples of JESUS. His influence on biblical studies, particularly in America, has been considerable: His *Bible Atlas* is widely used, his commentaries on the Hebrew prophets (1966) are popular, and his *OT Since the Reformation* (1955) is an indispensible basic survey. However, his major contribution to scholarship is the Brooklyn Elephantine papyri.

Works: *Aram and Israel* (1918); *The Book of the Ways of God* (1938); *The Rand McNally Bible Atlas* (1950, 1962[2], 1966[3]); *The New Elephantine Papyrus in the Brooklyn Museum* (1953); *The OT Since the Reformation* (1955, 1969); *Rand McNally Bible Atlas* (1956, 1962[2]); *Rand McNally Historical Atlas of the Holy Land* (1959); *with M. Avi-Yonah contributed NT text to Our Living Bible* (1962); *The Four Gospels* (1964); *The Disciples* (1966); *"I Have Kept the Faith": The Life of the Apostle Paul* (1965); *Commentary on the Prophets* (2 vols., 1966); *The Prophets* (1969).

Bibliography: *Directory of American Scholars* 2 (1951) 520-21.

J. M. BULLARD

KUENEN, ABRAHAM (1828–91)

Born in Haarlem, the Netherlands, K. was both a student and a teacher at Leiden. Since the school had no chair of OT, he received his doctorate under the tutelage of J. Scholten, professor of NT and dogmatic theology, whose work inaugurated the so-called modernist movement in Dutch theology while summoning Dutch biblical study to the critical standards of German scholarship. After writing his doctoral dissertation on an Arabic Pentateuchal manuscript, K. was put in charge of the university's extensive Arabic collection. Two years later (1855) he was given a faculty position in biblical studies and after three years was promoted to full professor. Although a lecturer in NT, his interest turned to OT criticism, for which he quickly gained recognition in Holland and abroad. In 1877 in recogni-

tion of his distinction in this field, a special chair of OT was established at Leiden, which K. filled until his death in 1891.

A leader in the modernist movement, K. edited a new journal, *Theologisch Tijdschrift,* and served the intellectual needs of the progressive laity in the newly formed Protestanten Bond and of the theologically trained in an organization called the Vergadering van Moderne Theologen. The main goal of these efforts was to throw off Calvinistic orthodoxy (see CALVIN), with its doctrine of supernatural revelation, and embrace a naturalistic historicism in its place. Although a strong leader, K. occupied a moderate position compared to the radical empiricism of C. Opzoomer, A. Pierson, and their deeply skeptical Amsterdam school of NT criticism. K. continued to maintain that the Bible is "inspired" (see INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE) in the same way the sacred scriptures of all religions are "inspired." The basic principle of his biblical criticism was that human factors explain the historical emergence of a particular writing; it is not necessary to introduce the element of supernatural dictation or even of divine guidance to gain a scientific understanding of the Bible. Because he self-consciously remained true to what he understood as the spirituality of the Bible, K. was a vigorous defender of the right of modernists to remain in their pulpits despite the reaction of resurgent orthodoxy.

Although he occasionally ventured into such fields as NT and comparative religions (1882), K. was constantly engaged with OT criticism and with the history of ancient Israel. It is unfortunate that many of his LITERARY-critical studies appeared in Dutch and have never been translated, with the exception of those included in K. BUDDE's biographical volume (1894). While J. WELLHAUSEN was attracting a wide readership and laying down the principles of the Hexateuchal criticism that would guide OT criticism for the next hundred years, foreign scholars were rarely capable of following K.'s lengthy, insightful, and detailed studies of difficult passages of Scripture. Thus they had to learn his views—and the extent to which he collaborated with K. GRAF, Wellhausen, and others in establishing the so-called new documentary hypothesis—from his major books, which were translated into one or more foreign languages. Although Graf claimed credit in 1869 for first proposing that the entire priestly code (P) was of postexilic origin, K. had in fact put this view into print as early as 1868 and corresponded with Graf about J. COLENSO's work, which cast doubt on the antiquity and reliability of the narrative in P. When K.'s masterful book on the religion of Israel appeared in 1869, its espousal of this crucial point was interpreted as borrowing from Graf, whereas, in fact, K.'s advocacy of it was first carried out in private correspondence with Graf. K. continued to speak for himself, but his attachment to the Dutch language took its toll in denying him the measure of recognition he deserved.

Works: *Historisch-kritsch onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de boeken des Ouden Verbonds* (3 vols., 1861–65; 1885–93[2]; partial ET by J. W. Colenso, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* [1865] with Colenso's notes, and by P. H. Wicksteed, *An Historico-critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch [Pentateuch and Book of Joshua]* [1886], which contains K.'s informative survey of Hexateuchal studies for the years 1860–85, xi-xl); *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel: An Historical and Critical Enquiry* (1875; ET 1877); *The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State* (2 vols., 1869–70; ET 3 vols., 1874–75); "Critical Method," *Modern Review* 2 (1880) 461-88, 685-713; *National Religions and Universal Religions* (Hibbert Lectures, 1882); *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur biblischen Wissenschaft von Dr. A. K.* (ed. K. Budde, 1894), with full bibliography compiled by W. C. van Manen.

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S. J. DEVRIES

KUHN, KARL GEORG (1906–76)

Born Mar. 6, 1906, in Thaleischweiler in the Palatinate, K. dedicated himself to theology and to Near Eastern studies, along with rabbinic literature, which he pursued as a guest in the Rabbinerseminar in Breslau. His teacher in Tübingen was the orientalist E. Littmann, under whom he received his PhD in 1931 and his habilitation in Near Eastern languages and history in 1934. In 1942 K. was named *ausserordentlicher* professor in Tübingen, and in 1949 J. JEREMIAS brought him to Göttingen as professor of NT. In 1954 K. received a call to the University of Heidelberg as full professor in NT. He founded the Qumran Research Center at Heidelberg in 1957, and in 1964 he became a member of the Academy of Sciences. He retired in 1971 and died Sept. 15, 1976.

On the basis of his research on Judaism in late antiquity, K. furthered the understanding of NT writings in essential ways. His most important work on rabbinic literature is his translation of and commentary on the MIDRASH *Sipre* on Numbers (1959). His study comparing the Jewish prayer of eighteen benedictions in these texts with the Lord's prayer is of primary importance for the NT. For the preaching of JESUS, his article on the kingdom of God in rabbinic literature, which appeared in *TWNT* (1933), is indispensable. In the area of the Qumran texts (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS), K. was the leading scholar in West Germany; his Qumran Research

Center attracted many foreign scholars to Heidelberg, sometimes for months. The *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (1960), which he published, established itself as the most important international concordance of the Qumran texts. Above all, his studies on the Lord's Supper (1957), the Gospel of John (1962), the letter to the Ephesians (1960), and particularly the essay "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and the Flesh in the NT" (1958), which drew on the Qumran texts, are still influential. K. emphasized the interdependence of strict critical research and consultation of the Jewish sources of late antiquity as scarcely any other NT scholar of his day.

Works: "Basileus etc.," TWNT 1 (1933) 570-73; Die älteste Textgestalt der Psalmen Salomos (BWANT 73, 1937); Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim (WUNT 1, 1950); Phylakterien aus Höhle 4 von Qumran (AHAW.PH 1957.1, 1957); "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran" and "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the NT," The Scrolls and the NT (ed. K. Stendahl, 1957) 65-93, 94-113; Rückläufiges Hebräisches Wörterbuch/Retrograde Hebrew Lexikon (assisted by H. Stegemann and G. Klinzing, 1958); Der tannaitische Midrasch Sifre zu Numeri (Rabbinische Texte 2.3, 1959, 1975); Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten (in cooperation with A.-M. Denis, R. Deichgräber, W. Eiss, G. Jeremias, and H.-W. Kuhn, 1960); "Johannesevangelium und Qumrantexte," Neotestamentica et Patristica (FS O. Cullmann, 1962) 111-22, "Nachträge zur 'Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten' " RdQ 4, no. 14 (assisted by U. Müller, W. Schmücker, and H. Stegemann, 1963) 163-234; "Goljonim und Sifre minim," Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche (FS J. Jeremias, 19642) 24-61; "The Epistle to the Ephesians in the Light of the Qumran Texts," Paul and Qumran (ed. J. Murphy-O'Connor, 1968) 115-31 (ET of NTS 7 [1960/61] 334-46); "Jesus in Gethsemane," Redaktion und Theologie des Passionsberichtes nach den Synoptikern (Wege der Forschung 481, ed. M. Limbeck, 1981) 81-111.

Bibliography: **M. Delcor,** "Où en sont les études qumrâniennes?" *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor, BETL 46, 1978) 11-46, esp. 17-20. **G. Jeremias, H.-W. Kuhn and H. Stegemann** (eds.), *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (FS K. G. K., 1971). **H. W. Kuhn,** "K. G. K., 70 Jahre," *Ruperto Carola: Zeitschrift der Vereinigung der Freunde der Studentenschaft der Universität Heidelberg e.V.* 28, Heft 57 (1976) 106-7; 28/29, Heft 58/59 (1976–77) 117; "K. G. K., der Forscher und der Lehrer," ibid., 31, Heft 62/63 (1979) 53-58; "Antrittsrede von Herrn K. G. K.," *Jahrbuch der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1963–64* (1965) 61-63 (autobiographical); *Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon* 14 (1975[9]) 430; 26 (1984[2]) 480. **H. Stegemann and G. Jeremias,** "Die Qumranforschungsstelle Marburg und ihre Aufgabenstellung: Ein Bericht," *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor, BETL 46, 1978) 47-54, esp. 50-51.

H.-W. KUHN

KÜMMEL, WERNER GEORG (1905–95)

Born on May 16, 1905, in Heidelberg, Germany, K. was the son of a professor of medicine. After studying theology in Heidelberg, Berlin, and Marburg, he received his doctorate in 1928 at Heidelberg with a dissertation directed by M. DIBELIUS that was published in 1929 under the title *Römer 7 und die Bekehrung des Paulus* (*UNT* 17). From 1930 to 1932 he was an assistant at Marburg to H. von Soden. In 1932 he became *ausserordentlicher* professor and in 1946 full professor of NT at Zurich. He moved to Mainz in 1951 and the following year succeeded R. BULTMANN at Marburg, where he retired in 1973. He died July 9, 1995, at Mainz.

K. began his more than sixty years of research in a pioneering fashion with a dissertation that was thoroughly grounded both methodologically and exegetically. In a proposal that was widely accepted, he argued that in Romans 7 PAUL is speaking from the perspective of a Christian about persons without Christ. K. was dedicated to historical-critical work, always closely examining the TEXTUAL form and content of the NT writings "judiciously and critically" and avoiding any vague constructions. He profoundly furthered research into the persons of JESUS and Paul and into the problems of primitive Christianity, introductory scholarship, and the history of research itself by means of numerous articles and extensive reviews, above all "by means of exegesis" (*Promise and Fulfillment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus* [ET 1961[2]] 7).

In the 1930s his focus evolved beyond his research into Paul to Jesus' position and importance within the framework of his Jewish environment. Over the ensuing decades K. worked out the particularities and the essence of Jesus' activity and message through numerous studies. K. sought, existentially and exegetically-theologically, to clarify Jesus' eschatological proclamation on the one hand and the relationship of "Jesus-Paul" on the other hand, most notably in *Promise and Fulfillment.* Here, too, he remained with the fundamental questions of eschatology and the history of salvation: "One cannot choose between Jesus and Paul, one can only encounter in the witness of Paul that Jesus who is the ground and truth of that witness" (*Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte* [1965] 1:456).

The larger context is the theological understanding of God's salvation activity as a historical activity that reflects the fundamental persuasion of primitive Christianity. It is within this context that one should view the eschatological proclamation of Jesus (although K's assumption of a brief intermediary period between Jesus' death and the coming of the parousia remains controversial), a proclamation encompassing God's present and future activity in which "he who will bring in the Kingdom of God in the future has appeared in the present" and "the powers of the coming aeon are already at work" (*Promise and Fulfillment,* 153).

K.'s enduring interests are expressed in his later works. Since 1950 research into the person of Jesus, including individual investigations concerning the question of the historical Jesus and the title "Son of man" as it is traced back to Jesus specifically, has been comprehensively and critically reviewed (1985, 1994). Research into Paul has been exegetically treated in the supplements to H. LIETZMANN's *An die Korinther* 1.2 (HNT 9, 1949[4], 1969[5]), and the rest—including JOHANNINE research—has been sketched out in the status of scholarship entries on the twentieth century. One comprehensive presentation is the *Theology of the NT According to its Major Witnesses: Jesus-Paul-John* (NTD, Eränzungsreihe 3, 1969; ET 1973), a work that focuses on reconstruction and, within its own interpretation, also illuminates both the unity and the differences among the NT witnesses. A classic work of introductory scholarship is the completely revised edition of the introduction by P. Feine and J. Behm (ET 1975). Appearing justifiably under K.'s name, it was not conceived as a "literary history of primitive Christianity." Rather, it extensively treats the individual NT writings in canonical order (with Paul's letters organized chronologically).

All these works variously articulate the path of scholarship that K. offered as a commentator on textual extracts in his standard work on the history of NT scholarship (ET 1970). Two collections of his essays contain studies of individual questions (1965, 1978). In addition to his own publications, he also functioned as editor and coeditor of *Theologische Rundschau* (1957–83), *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (1973), and *Marburger Theologische Studien* (1963–85). Two Festschriften (1975, 1978[2]; 1985), with particular attention given to the important areas of his research, have been dedicated to K., who of the scholars in our century was probably the one best acquainted with NT scholarship.

Works: *Die Eschatologie der Evangelien: Ihre Geschichte und ihr Sinn* (1936); *Kirchenbegriff und Geschichtsbewusstsein in der Urgemeinde und bei Jesus* (SymBU 1, 1943, 1968[2]); *Promise and Fulfillment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus* (1945; ET 1961[2]); *Man in the NT* (ATANT 13, 1948; rev. and enl. ET 1963); *NTHIP* (*OA* 3, 3, 1958, 1970[2]; ET 1970); *Introduction to the New Testament* (P. Feine and J. Behm, 1963[12], 1983[21]; ET 1975); *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze 1933–64* (MTS 3, ed. E. Grässer, O. Merk, and A. Fritz, 1965), bibliography for 1929–64; *Theology of the NT According to Its Major Witnesses: Jesus-Paul-John* (NTD, Ergänzungsreihe 3, 1969; ET 1973=); *Das Neue Testament im 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Forschungsbericht* (SBS 50, 1970); (ed.), *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (1973–); *Jesu Antwort and den Johannes den Täufer: Ein Beispiel zum Methodenproblem in der Jesusforschung* (SbWGF 11, 4, 1974); *Römer 7 und das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament* (TBü 53, 1974) = repr. of his diss. plus *Das Bild des Menschen* in the enl. ET; *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte,* Bd. 2, *Gesammelte Aufsätze 1965–77* (MTS 16, ed. E. Grässer and O. Merk, 1978), bibliography for 1965–78; *Jesus der Menschensohn?* (SbWGF 20, 3, 1984); *Dreissig Jahre Jesusforschung (1950–80)* (BBB 60, ed. H. Merklein, 1985); "L'exégèse scientifique au XX[e] siècle: le Nouveau Testament," *BTT* 8 (1985) 473-515; *Vierzig Jahre Jesusforshung (1950–90)* (BBB 91, ed. H. Merklein, 1994).

Bibliography: **O. Böcher,** "W. G. K. zum Gedanken," *TLZ* 120 (1995) 945-46. **E. Earle Ellis and E. Grässer** (eds.), *Jesus und Paulus: Festschrift für W. G. K. zum 70. Geburtstag* (1975, 1978[2]). **E. Grässer,** *Die Naherwartung Jesu* (SBS 61, 1973) 102-24; "Verheissung und Erfüllung: W. G. K.s Verständnis der Eschatologie Jesu," *Glaube und Eschatologie: Festschrift für W. G. K. zum 80. Geburtstag* (ed. E. Grässer und O. Merk, 1985) 33-49; "W. G. K. zum 90. Geburtstag," *ZNW* 86 (1995) 3-4. **O. Merk,** "Nestor der Neutestamentler: Professor Kümmel, 90 Jahre alt," *Marburger Universitäts-Zeitung* 247 (June 1, 1995) 4.

O. MERK

L

LACHMANN, KARL KONRAD FRIEDRICH WILHELM (1793–1851)

Born Mar. 4, 1793, L. studied at Leipzig and Göttingen. He served as *Privatdozent* (Göttingen, 1815; Berlin, 1816), *ausserordentlicher* professor (Königsberg, 1818; Berlin, 1825), and professor of classical and German philology at Berlin from 1827 and director of the philological seminar's Latin section from 1829 until his death on Mar. 13, 1851.

Known for his *Nibelungenlied* scholarship, his editions of W. von Eschenbach and Lucretius, his division of Homer's *Iliad* into independent lays, and his edition of the work of G. LESSING, L. is also known for his application of rigorous philological methods to the study of the NT. Rejecting the *textus receptus*, he published two provisional editions of the NT based on the earliest manuscript traditions available. His 1831 edition lists the differences between his text and the *textus receptus*, and his 1842 edition contains a critical apparatus. L. concluded that the SYNOPTICS relied on an older source (Lessing's *Ur-Gospel*), which Mark was the first canonical writer (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) to use, and that the canonical Matthew reflected two sources, the hypothetical *Ur-Gospel* and PAPIAS's *Logia* (F. Schleiermacher's "sayings" collection). L.'s contributions to classical scholarship were numerous (see J. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* [1908] 3:127-31).

Works: "Rechenschaft über seine Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments," *TSK* 3 (1830) 817-45; *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (1831); "De Ordine Narrationum in Evangelüs Synopticis," *TSK* 8 (1835) 570-90; (with P. Buttmann), *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (2 vols., 1842–50).

Bibliography: **M. Hertz,** *K. L.: Eine Biographie* (1851). **W. R. Farmer,** *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (1976) 16-17, 66. **W. G. Kümmel,** *NTHIP,* 146-48. **J. Kuhnel,** *NDB* 13 (1982) 371-74. **B. M. Metzger,** *The Text of the NT: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (1968²) 124-26, 157. **E. Michels,** *DB* 4 (1908) 27-29. **F. X. Pölzl,** "Über K. L.," *Begründer der neuen Ära der neutestamentlichen Textkritik* (1889). **A. Rüegg,** *Die neutestamentliche Textkritik seit L.: Ein Versuch zur Orientierung* (1892). **T. Timpanaro,** *La Genesi del metodo del L.* (1963).

S. R. MANDELL

LAGARDE, PAUL ANTON DE (1827–91)

Born Paul Bötticher in Berlin, L. was adopted by his great-aunt Ernestine de Lagarde, whose name he took in 1854. Educated in Berlin and Halle, he succeeded H. EWALD as professor of oriental languages in Göttingen (1869–91). L. was a linguistic genius of incredible industry who published and edited texts and studies in Arabic, Aramaic, Armenian, Bactrian, Coptic, Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Persian, and Syriac. He produced political treatises, critiques of religion, pedagogy, finance, and economics; he also wrote poetry. However, he considered his life's mission the production of a critical edition of the SEPTUAGINT (LXX), though he edited a number of NT and non-LXX related HB textual materials as well.

His first publication, *Horae aramaicae* (1847), shows his interest in and use of the LXX, which for L. was of fundamental importance to the HB since its parent text was a thousand years older than the MT. But the dominant Sixtina of his day was of little use for recreating that parent text since it, as well as all LXX manuscripts, was an eclectic text. Before the LXX could be used a concerted effort would have to be made to rid the text of all eclecticism, i.e., the autographon must be restored insofar as that might be possible.

To that end, not only the old uncial manuscripts, but also all cursive (i.e., the younger) manuscripts would have to be exactly collated. L. traveled to libraries in London, Rome, and Paris and copied a number of these manuscripts out by hand. Furthermore, he maintained that the versions based on the LXX (Latin, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Syriac) must also be studied and carefully collated for the parent Greek text form on which they were based. Similarly the patristic evidence would have to be gathered and critical editions prepared.

L. knew this could only be done in stages, and although at times he prepared elaborate specimens of such a critical text for a few verses, he realized that he would never be able to complete the final stage of a critical text with full apparatuses of variant readings. In fact he believed that before such a critical text could be isolated the *trifaria varietas* (see Jerome's preface to Chronicles), i.e., the hexaplaric recension dominant in Palestine, the Lucianic in Syria, and the Hesychian in Egypt would have to be identified. Thus he published the first volume of what he believed to be the Lucianic

text, an unfortunate attempt since he failed to realize that the adherence of manuscripts to a text form is often inconsistent.

Although L. never accomplished his purpose, his overall plan was continued by his last disciple, A. RAHLFS, and the Septuaginta-Unternehmen of Göttingen was founded in 1908. Rahlfs completed L.'s unfinished manuscripts after L.'s death in 1891.

Works: *Horae aramaicae* (1847); *Acta apostolorum coptice* (1852); *Epistulae NT coptice* (1852); *De NT ad versionem orientalium fidem edendo* (1857); *Libri VT Apocryphi Syriace* (1861); *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung des Proverbien* (1863); *Die vier Evangelien arabisch aus der Wiener Handschrift herausgeben* (1864); *Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs* (1867); *Der Pentateuch koptisch* (1867); *Genesis graece* (1868); *Onomastica sacra* (1870); *Prophetae chaldaice* (1872); *Hagiographa chaldaice* (1873); *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi* (1874); *Psalterii versio memphitica . . . e recognitione P. L.* (1875); *Kritische Anmerkungen zum Buch Isaias* (1878); *Bruchstücke der koptischen Übersetzung des AT* (1879); *Die Pariser Blätter des Codex Sarravianus* (1879); *VT ab Origene recensiti fragmenta apud Syros servata quinque* (1880); *Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griechischen Übersetzung des AT* (1882); *Aegyptiaca* (1883); *Librorum VT canonicorum pars prior Graece* (1883); *Catenae in Evangelica Aegyptiacae quae supersunt* (1886); *Novae Psalterii graeci editionis specimen* (1887); *Septuaginta-Studien* (2 vols., 1890–92); *Bibliothecae Syriacae a P. de Lagarde collectae quae ad philologiam sacram pertinent* (1892); *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum* (1892).

Bibliography: **R. Hanhart,** "P. A. L. und seine Kritik an der Theologie," *Theologie in Göttingen: Eine Vorlesungsreihe* (1987) 271-305. **A. de Lagarde,** *P. L.: Erinnerungen aus seiner Leben zusammengestellt* (1918). **R. W. Lougee,** *P. L., 1827–91: A Study of Radical Conservatism in Germany* (1962), see 323-26 for bibliography. **A. Rahlfs,** *P. L.s wissenschaftliches Lebenswerk im Rahmen einer Geschichte seines Lebens dargestellt* (1928). **L. Schemann,** *P. L.: Ein Lebens- und Erinnerungensbild* (1919).

J. W. WEVERS

LAGRANGE, MARIE-JOSEPH (1855–1938)

Born Mar. 7, 1855, L. took a doctorate in law at Paris before deciding to become a priest. He entered the Toulouse province of the Dominicans on Oct. 6, 1879, and received the religious name Marie-Joseph. In October 1880 the students of the Toulouse province went into exile in Spain because of French anti-clerical legislation. L.'s study of Thomistic theology at Salamanca gave him a life-long passion for rigorous logic, precise expression, and fine distinctions. Ordained priest Dec. 22, 1883, he was awarded the lectorate in theology (then equivalent to a doctorate) on July 14, 1884. Already proficient in Greek and Latin, he devoted his leisure moments during these four years to Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic.

After teaching church history at Salamanca (1884–86) and Scripture and philosophy at Toulouse (1886–88), he was finally authorized to specialize in Scripture; and in 1888 he enrolled at the University of Vienna, where he concentrated on languages (Egyptian, Assyrian, Arabic) but also studied rabbinic exegesis and the Mishnah. In 1890 he arrived in Jerusalem with orders from his superiors to found a school for biblical studies. Despite immense difficulties, on Nov. 15 he inaugurated the École pratique d'études bibliques with four professors, three students, and no library, in a classroom that had been a slaughterhouse. In 1920 the school became the École biblique et archéologique française.

Not the least aspect of L.'s achievement was his genius at spotting talent in very young students. Within a few years he had recruited and trained scholars of the caliber of A. Jaussen, L.-H. VINCENT, R. Savignac, L. ABEL, and E. DHORME. While he concentrated on the biblical text, he assigned the students to specializations (topography, archaeology, epigraphy, languages) that in teamwork would fulfill his ideal of the historical method, the combination of document and monument. A stream of original research quickly demanded an outlet, so in 1892 he founded the *Revue Biblique* and in 1900 the monograph series *Études Bibliques*; both still flourish.

When one considers the amount of time he spent in the field of pioneering research, notably in Sinai and Petra, L.'s literary productivity is without parallel. He published twenty-nine books, 248 articles, and over 1,500 book reviews. In addition to full-scale commentaries on Judges (1903), Mark (1911), Romans (1916), Galatians (1918), Luke (1921), Matthew (1923), and John (1925), which retain much of their value, his research produced major works on the CANON of the NT, messianism, intertestamental Judaism, and NT TEXTUAL CRITICISM. His articles made highly original contributions in areas as diverse as the theology of INSPIRATION, patrology, and Palestinian topography.

During the modernist crisis in the Roman Catholic Church, his rigorously critical approach, crystallized in his programmatic book *La méthode historique* (1903), won him enemies among the traditionalists, but his finely tuned sense of the responsibilities of faith and the rights of reason enabled him to combine loyal submission to the church with academic freedom. Eventually his vision of authentic research prevailed, and his combination of profound theology and stringent historical criticism became the model and inspiration of all subsequent developments in Roman Catholic biblical studies. Before ill health forced him to leave Jerusalem in 1935, he had initiated a second generation of brilliant scholars, notably P. BENOIT, B. Couroyer, and R. de VAUX. He died at Saint-Maximin in France, Mar. 10, 1938.

Works: *Synopsis evangelica: textum graecum quattuor evangeliorum recensuit et iuxta ordinem chronologicum Lucae praesertim et Johannis concinnavit* (1926); *L'Evangile de Jésus-Christ* (1928); *M. Loisy et le modernisme* (1932); *Au service de la Bible: Souvenirs personnels par le Père Lagrange* (ed. P. Benoit, 1967; ET *Père Lagrange: Personal Reflections and Memoirs* [1985]); *Exégète à Jérusalem: Nouveaux mélanges d'histoire religieuse* (Cahiers de la *Revue Biblique* 29, 1991).

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J. MURPHY-O'CONNOR

LAKE, KIRSOPP (1872–1946)

Born in Southampton, Apr. 7, 1872, L. was educated at St. Paul's School and Lincoln College, Oxford (BA 1895; MA 1897), and entered the clergy. Ordained deacon (1895) and priest (1896), he served as curate at Lumley, Durham (1895–96) and St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford (1897–1904). During the latter appointment he also catalogued Greek manuscripts at the Bodleian Library. He subsequently served as professor of early Christian literature and NT exegesis at Leiden (1904–14), visiting professor at Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts (1913), professor of early Christian literature at Harvard Divinity School (1915–19, simultaneously lecturer in NT at Union Seminary in New York City), Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History (1919–32), and professor of history at Harvard (1932–38). He retired in 1938 and died Nov. 10, 1946.

L. visited libraries at Mt. Athos and throughout Europe and the Near East, photographing Greek manuscripts, many of which were eventually published in facsimile (1911, 1922, 1934–39). In addition, he organized archaeological work (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) in the Sinai to investigate the Serabit el-Khadem proto-Semitic inscriptions and to continue the Harvard excavations at Samaria. His primary contributions to biblical scholarship, which received international recognition, were in paleography, TEXTUAL CRITICISM, and the history of the early church and Christian literature. His 1902 work led to the designation "Family 1" or the "Lake group" of NT manuscripts. His magisterial five-volume work on the beginnings of Christianity, contributed to by a number of scholars, retains its usefulness. L. stressed the study of contemporary culture, especially Greco-Roman, for an understanding of the NT. In addition to his biblical studies, he translated *The Apostolic Fathers* (1912) and the first volume of EUSEBIUS's *Ecclesiastical History* (1926) in the Loeb Classical Library and founded the series Studies and Documents.

Works: *The Text of the NT* (1900; rev. by S. New, 1928[6]); *Codex 1 of the Gospels and Its Allies* (1902); *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ* (1907); *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul: Their Motive and Origin* (1911); (with his wife Helen), *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus: The NT, the Epistles of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas* (1911); (ed. with F. J. Foakes Jackson), *The Beginnings of Christianity,* pt. 1, *The Acts of the Apostles* (5 vols., 1920–33); (with his wife Helen), *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus et Friderico-Augustanus: The OT Preserved* (1922); *The Religion of Yesterday and Tomorrow* (1925); (ed. with S. New), *Six Collations of NT Manuscripts* (1932); (with his wife Silva), *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (10 fascicles, 1934–39); *Paul: His Heritage and Legacy* (1934); *An Introduction to the NT* (1937).

Bibliography: **R. P. Casey et al.** (eds.), *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to K. L. by Pupils, Colleagues, and Friends* (1937). **F. C. Grant,** *DNB, 1941–50* (1959) 466-67. **B. M. Metzger,** *DAB Sup. 4 (1946–50)* (1974) 467-69.

J. H. HAYES

LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF

One of the Five Scrolls (*Megilloth*) of the Kethubim section of the HB, Lamentations is recited in Jewish services for *Tishe'ah be-Ab*, the ninth day of the month Ab, as a memorial to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Solomonic and Herodian temples. In the Leningrad and Aleppo codices the Five Scrolls are grouped together, with Lamentations appearing fourth, while in most printed HBs Lamentations appears third among the scrolls according to its place in the annual Jewish liturgical calendar.

The book, named *'êkâ* (How?) in the Hebraic tradition for the first word of the book, is also known as *qînôtt* (Laments) and *megillath 'êkâ/qînôth* (Scroll of How?/Laments) in rabbinic writings (see Jerome's term *Cinoth* in his *Prologus Galeatus*). It is called *threnoi* (Dirges) or *threnoi Ieremíou* (Dirges of Jeremiah) in the SEPTUAGINT, *Lamentationes* in the Latin, and "The Book of Lamentations of Jeremiah the Prophet" in the Syriac PESHITTA.

The five chapters of Lamentations are five alphabetic poems, the first four of which are alphabetic acrostics. (The normal order of *'ayin/pe* is reversed in poems 2–4.) The fifth poem is considered to be alphabetic because it contains twenty-two verses, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, even though it appears not to be an acrostic. (See, however, S. Bergler, "Threni V—nur

ein alphabetisierendes Lied? Versuch einer Deutung," *VT* 27 (1977) 304-20, for a not altogether convincing attempt to read the opening letter of each verse as an acrostic sentence.)

Judging from manuscript evidence and from the versions, the text of Lamentations has not suffered significant deterioration. Moreover, there are no indications of any great difficulty with canonizing the book, in contrast to Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. The problems of interpreting Lamentations have focused on issues of authorship and date, purpose and theology, literary analysis, and interpretation of the *dramatis personae.*

1. Author and Date. Although the book of Lamentations is anonymous in the HB, Jeremiah was viewed universally as its author before the era of historical and LITERARY criticism. Its date of composition was placed either shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians (c. 586 BCE) or at the time of King Josiah's death (see 2 Chr 35:25). In addition to the Septuagint, the TARGUM also attributes Jeremiad authorship, as do *Lamentations Rabbah* (see, e.g., *Petihtoth* 12-14, 22, 26, 27, 31, 32, and *Parashah One* on Lam 1:1) and rabbinic tradition (see, e.g., Babylonian talmud, *B. Bat.* 15a). In the Septuagint, the Peshitta, and the VULGATE, Lamentations is placed immediately following the book of Jeremiah; in the Septuagint and the Vulgate, Lamentations opens with a prologue or subtitle attributing it to the prophet Jeremiah. The church fathers consistently assumed Jeremiah to be the author. In the Middle Ages RASHI began his commentary by stating that Jeremiah wrote Lamentations and that it was the scroll that King Jehoiakim burned. IBN EZRA accepted Jeremiah as author but denied on textual grounds that Lamentations was the scroll Jehoiakim burned. CALVIN (see, e.g., comments on Lam 1:1; 2:20; 3:1), along with other reform scholars, continued in this tradition.

The first to question Jeremiad authorship seems to have been H. von der HARDT, who in 1712 proposed that the five poems were composed by Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, and King Jehoiachin respectively (G. Ricciotti [1924] 35). Most scholars of the nineteenth century (e.g., J. Augusti, C. Conz, H. Ewald, E. Schrader, T. Nöldeke, A. Kuenen, C. Nägelsbach, T. Cheyne) concluded, however, that Jeremiad authorship could not be maintained on the basis of either internal or external evidence. They tended to look to some student(s) of Jeremiah as author(s), although a few continued to support Jeremiah's authorship (see C. Keil [1872] and W. Hornblower [Nägelsbach, 1871]; O. Thenius [1855] held that only chaps. 2 and 4 were from Jeremiah). Most twentieth-century writers find the evidence insufficient to establish authorship or unity of authorship for the five poems. N. GOTTWALD, for example, judged that "the writer(s) could have been a prophet, a priest, or a governmental or private lay figure" (*The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* [1985] 546).

As for the date of composition, most late twentieth-century authorities find no strong reason to date Lamentations later than the sixth century BCE. In earlier times it was thought that Jeremiah composed these five laments as elegies for King Josiah as suggested by 2 Chr 35:25; however, internal evidence militates against this view since the subject matter of Lamentations clearly deals with Jerusalem's collapse, even though the Targum refers the statement in Lam 4:20 to the death of Josiah.

2. Purpose and Theology. The question of why these five poems were composed remains far from settled. Until modern times several verses from Lamentations were viewed as prophetic and messianic, although Lamentations is never cited or paraphrased in the NT. (Some have seen Lam 3:30 reflected in Matt 5:39.) CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Paidagogos* 1:9) cited Lam 1:1-2, 8, while Lam 4:20, which mentions "the Lord's anointed," was applied to JESUS by such church fathers as JUSTIN MARTYR (*First Apology* 72), IRENAEUS (*Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* 71), TERTULLIAN (*Against Marcion* 3:6), and Clement of Alexandria (*Extracts from the Writings of Theodotus* 18:2). J. Daniélou (1966) concluded that Lam 4:20 was included from the earliest times among the *Testimonia* collections of HB texts bearing witness to Christ. Methodius quoted Lam 3:34 in several preserved references as having christological meaning, while GREGORY THE GREAT cited various Lamentation texts in his *Moralia* on Job as applying to the tribulations of Christ and the church. The Carolingian commentary of RABANUS MAURUS took the book as a continuation of Jeremiah and saw it as a warning to all kings and kingdoms and to each Christian to wage spiritual war against sin by the power of Christ and the sacraments. In about 850, during a time of great disillusionment, PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, drawing heavily on Hrabanus, chose to comment on Lamentations in order to encourage purification through suffering (E. Matter [1982]). Calvin, while seeking the meaning of specific statements in the text in historical settings known to him, saw the book as an extension of the predictive PROPHECY found in the book of Jeremiah.

Early Jewish interpretation also saw predictions of later events in some Lamentations statements. For example, Lam 1:19 ("my priests and elders perished in the city") was viewed in the Targum as a prediction of Jerusalem's destruction in 70 CE. The Targum to Lam 4:22 looks into the future when the congregation of Zion will be freed from its punishment by the Messiah King and when the persecutors, "wicked Rome built up in Italy," will be afflicted by the Persians and their territory filled with Edomites. Likewise the Targum paraphrases Lam 5:11 ("Women were ravished in Zion.") as "Women who had married husbands in Zion were raped

by Romans." By and large, the great MIDRASH on Lamentations focuses on the teachings of the Tanna'im and the Amora'im based on Lamentations; but it does not use the prophecy-fulfillment mode of interpretation evident in the Targum. It rather uses similar midrashic methodologies on Lamentations as employed on other Scripture by *Midrash Rabbah,* for example.

Modern interpreters have viewed the intention of the book from vastly different perspectives. One approach is to relate its purpose to its theology, which is usually seen to be hope in the face of tragedy (see especially Gottwald [1962]). A. Mintz ("The Rhetoric of Lamentations," *Prooftexts* 2 [1982] 1-17) argues that the theme of Lamentations is "an exploration of the traumatized relations between Israel and God in the immediate aftermath of the Destruction," in "dramatized speech and not theological statement" (4). He emphasizes the book's theological role as expressing the horror of war and its aftermath of human suffering and notes that there is no hint of an answer from God in the five poems. This marks the difference between lamentation and consolation; lamentation as a genre records the human struggle "to speak in the face of God's silence," while consolation records answers "from outside" in the form of God's word, which "breaks through" to mortals to end the silence.

Some scholars have interpreted Lamentations as a polemic against the pro-Babylonian party at the end of the Davidic monarchy (G. Brunet [1968]). A similar theological view suggests that Lamentations was developed as a paradigm for suffering in all kinds of catastrophes (M. Cohen [1988]). A slightly different theological direction was followed by those who explored the theme of hope in the face of disaster as it relates to deuteronomic theology (Gottwald [1962] and B. Albrektson [1963]).

In the 1980s various writers focused on applying literary analysis to understanding Lamentations' message. B. Johnson ("Form and Message in Lamentations," *ZAW* 97 [1985] 58-73) connected structure and message and found in the middle of the central chapter a theological answer to the question of whether Jerusalem's destruction and the accompanying human suffering had any meaning: "The distress is a punishment, but a punishment aimed at rehabilitation, not at definite rejection" (73). (See also the interpretation of W. Shea [1979], who draws attention to both the *qînâ* elegiac structure and the use of chiasmus.) Several writers with cuneiform background have examined Lamentations from the standpoint of Mesopotamian laments and have suggested that its purpose and theology were associated with liturgical use at the Temple site.

3. Literary Analysis. Numerous scholars of the past two hundred years (e.g., R. Lowth, W. de Wette, Keil, and K. Budde) have analyzed the language of Lamentations and associated it with the *qînâ*—that is, the ancient funeral dirge. Budde, in his article "Das hebräische Klagelied" (*ZAW* 2 [1882] 1-52), delineated the metrical pattern of the elegy form in which the verse consists usually of two members divided into two parts, the first of usual length, the second shorter. Later analysts have followed Budde's lead (see especially H. Jahnow [1923]). M. Alexiou describes the similiarities between laments for the dead and laments over the fall of cities in Greek culture from ancient to modern times and calls attention to the prominent role of women in performing the laments while men performed ritual acts (*The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* [1974] chaps. 4–6). Shea proposes that the book in its overarching form fits the 3:2 *qînâ* pattern—that is, that the first three chapters form a unit followed by the last two chapters as the shortened unit.

H. GUNKEL (1929) drew attention to Lamentations' similiarity to the communal lament *Gattung* in the psalms. Gottwald (1985, 542) and B. Johnson (1985) observed the mixed nature of the poetic forms appearing in Lamentations. Gottwald found elements of the individual lament, the communal lament, wisdom language, thanksgiving idiom, hymnic wording, and prophetic speech, but these patterns are not used in any consistent way. The picture is further complicated by the use of alphabetical acrostics in poems 1–4. Johnson, by reference to the *atbash* principle displayed in Jer 25:26 and 51:41, concluded that the use of the alphabetic acrostics was meant to suggest the editor's concern for chiasmus, so that the focal point of the message is to be found in the center of chapter 3.

S. Kramer (1959) made the claim that "it was the Sumerian poets who originated and developed the 'lamentation' genre." He later claimed that "there can be little doubt that the biblical *Book of Lamentations* owes no little of its form and content to its Mesopotamian forerunners." T. McDaniel (1968) raised the issue of possible connections between the Mesopotamian city lament genre and Lamentations, but he concluded that any connection is highly unlikely since the city laments were so far removed from Lamentations in spatial and temporal terms. W. Gwaltney (1983) has explored the broader range of Mesopotamian laments that cover the entire history of cuneiform literature. He concludes that, while the Mesopotamian city laments remained a part of the classical Sumerian literature largely restricted to the school curriculum, the liturgical laments were maintained as an ongoing religious pool of POETRY sung both in special rituals and in daily rituals in the cults of most Mesopotamian deities.

The Mesopotamian lament genre, its history of development, and its place in religious practice are important for the study of Lamentations, since Mesopotamia is the only clear context in which we possess both lament poetry and the details of its liturgical use. A comparison of Mesopotamian practice with the biblical book sug-

gests an alternative mode of interpretation through liturgical analysis.

Mesopotamian lament poetry may be traced over a period of about 2,000 years. The earliest stage of formal laments emerged as early as the twenty-fourth century BCE as a cultic response to the looting of Lagash by Lugalzagessi. No laments remain from the ensuing Akkadian, Gutian, or Ur III eras, but the five extant Sumerian city laments were created about 2000 BCE to memorialize the wholesale destruction brought upon Mesopotamia in this era. These city laments were preserved as canonized material to be copied by generations of student scribes but dropped out of scholastic use in the first millennium.

These classical laments were augmented by the *ershemma* and *balag* laments in the Old Babylonian era. Originating shortly after 2000 BCE and composed in the Emesal (feminine) dialect of Sumerian to be performed by *gala* priests in a high-pitched wailing mode, *ershemma* and *balag* laments came to be combined for cultic use in the first millennium BCE. These *Balag-ershemmas* were performed in at least four ritual circumstances, including rites of daily offerings and sacrifices and special ceremonies, like the ritual for covering the sacred kettle drum. They might also be chanted as a part of the *namburbi* ritual for warding off portended evil. They continued to be used in their original role—in rituals for the demolishing of damaged walls and sacred buildings—in which their main function was to appease the potentially destructive god so that the building activities could proceed without danger.

A comparison of Lamentations with first millennium Mesopotamian *balag-ershemma* laments in terms of their content and theology, poetic devices, *Sitz im Kultus,* and lament form suggests a liturgical origin for Lamentations. These poems continue to be used liturgically in Jewish tradition to mark the tragedies associated with Jerusalem's fall to the Babylonians and to the Romans and in Christian tradition to mark the tenebrae portion of Holy Week. Such an interpretation suggests that these five poems may have been composed by levitical poets/musicians for liturgical use.

4. Interpretation of dramatis personae. Commentators have noted the change in speaking voice throughout Lamentations and have debated who the characters speaking in the first person might be and what meaning is conveyed through this means. At times the "I" is feminine and at times masculine. Frequently the first-person speaker is Jerusalem personified. Reminiscent of Greek tragedy, such changes in speaker point to the dramatic quality of the poems (see Gottwald [1985] 543 and W. Lanahan [1974] 41-49). M. Biddle (1991) has explored the implications of the personification of Jerusalem by the Lamentations poets and concluded that the personification of the city as a lady with the ability to speak in the first person reflects common cultural thought patterns in which the city was viewed as the mother of its inhabitants and the central female mediary in divine/human relations.

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W. C. GWALTNEY, JR.

LANFRANC OF BEC (c. 1010–89)

Born in Pavia, Italy, c. 1010, L. was educated in an Italian town school that provided training in rhetoric with something of the classical Roman flavor. About 1030 he traveled through Burgundy and the Loire valley as a "wandering scholar," hearing masters lecture and establishing his own position as a teacher at Avranches about 1039. By 1042 he had become a monk at Bec in Normandy in the newly established abbey of Herluin and served there as prior from c. 1045 to 1063, running a school that attracted numerous pupils from the nobility. After he left Bec, and certainly while he was archbishop, L. ceased to work as a scholar; he told one correspondent that he no longer had time. His former pupil ANSELM OF CANTERBURY sent L. his first book for comment, but he had to wait a long time for L.'s response. In 1063 L. went to Caen as abbot, and in 1070 William I of England, settling his just-conquered kingdom, made him archbishop of Canterbury. He died while archbishop in 1089.

While at Bec, L. lectured on the liberal arts, especially logic and rhetoric; at the time, study of the rhetorical textbooks was relatively uncommon. In his later years there he also lectured on the Bible; he seems to have been best known for his studies of the standard books of the psalms and the Pauline epistles. Two fragments of his Psalms commentary survive in Herbert of Bosham's edition of PETER LOMBARD's *Magna Glossa*; the commentary on Paul is extant in several copies. L. helped to establish the pattern of the layout of glossed Bibles in the twelfth century, with the text copied in a larger script in the center of the page and the gloss conveniently arranged in the margins for easy access. He brought two things to bear in his exegesis: patristic authorities, especially AUGUSTINE, but also THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA and CHRYSOSTOM, all drawn from Carolingian collections; and technical points of grammar and logic, which he contributed himself. He had an exact, scholarly mind and, although he had no knowledge of Hebrew or Greek, did his best to emend where he sensed corrupt readings. His Pauline commentary was influential in the development of the GLOSSA ORDINARIA; it was used in the school at Laon, where ANSELM OF LAON taught at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, and at Paris during the Glossa's formative period. L.'s controversial exchanges with the grammarian BERENGAR OF TOURS on the nature of the change that takes place when the bread and wine are consecrated in the Eucharist led to the formation of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Works: *Beati Lanfranci Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Opera quae supersunt* (ed. J. A. Giles, 1844); *Opera Omnia* (*PL* 150, 1854).

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G. R. EVANS

LANG, ANDREW (1844–1912)

A classicist and man of letters, L. wrote on MYTHOLOGY, the origin of religion, and the paranormal. He made no direct contribution to biblical scholarship but indirectly prevented the development of comparative mythology within British HB scholarship. He was born Mar. 31, 1844, in Selkirk, Scotland. In November 1861 he entered the University of St. Andrews, moving in 1863 to Glasgow, where he successfully prepared for a scholarship examination at Balliol College, Oxford. Entering Balliol in 1864, he studied classics and philosophy and then in 1868 obtained a fellowship at Merton College. On marrying in 1875, he moved to London, where he spent the rest of his life as a writer, with frequent visits to Scotland, where he died July 20, 1912.

L.'s interest in FOLKLORE, religion, and mythology stemmed from his childhood in a secluded community that was conscious of its folklore and from his study of classical mythology while a student. In Victorian Britain there was considerable general interest in religion as a universal human phenomenon, an interest sustained by such writers as M. Müller, E. Tylor, J. FRAZER, and W. R. SMITH. L.'s most important contribution to the study of mythology was his opposition to Müller's theory that myths were stories based on incompletely understood poetic descriptions of the sun, moon, and stars. This view, which was based on the study of Sanskrit and comparative philology, began to make headway in HB criticism from about 1860 and was responsible for the view that some HB narratives were derived from solar myths. L. advanced the simpler and more convincing theory that myths arose when "primitive" peoples per-

sonified the forces of nature in terms of their own savage personality, a view that checked the spread of Müller's theories in Britain.

L. is also famous for his later views on the origin of religion. Against the view that the most primitive form of religion was animism (the worship of spirits believed to inhabit trees or springs), he pointed out that the worship of high gods could be found among Australian aborigines, with or without animism. It was wrongly claimed by the Austrian Catholic anthropologist W. Schmidt that L. was an advocate of *ur*-monotheism; rather, L.'s intent was to show that the animism theory was an oversimplification. In this he was not heeded by British HB experts, who for the first half of the twentieth century accepted that Israel's earliest worship must have been animistic and who looked for survivals of animism in the HB.

Works: *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (1887); *Custom and Myth* (1884); *The Making of Religion* (1898).

Bibliography: **A. P. L. de Cocq,** *A. L.: A Nineteenth-century Anthropologist* (1968). **G. S. Gordon,** *DNB* Supp. 3 (1927) 319-23. **R. L. Green,** *Andrew Lang* (1946). **J. W. Rogerson,** *Myth in OT Interpretation* (BZAW 134, 1974) 33-56.

J. W. ROGERSON

LANGLAND, WILLIAM (c. 1330–c. 1386)

An English poet, L. was the author of *Piers Plowman.* With his contemporaries Chaucer and the *Pearl* poet, he can be regarded as one of the three greatest poets of fourteenth-century England. Nothing is known of his life except what may be inferred from (presumably) autobiographical and topical references within the poem and from various annotations in the manuscripts. He was born and reared among the Malvern hills in Worcestershire, took minor orders, was married and had a daughter, and lived in London, saying prayers and reciting psalms for benefactors and their deceased relatives. Details of his education are unknown, although he was obviously well schooled in the Bible and in patristic exegesis. Much of his life must have been dedicated to writing and revising *Piers Plowman* in its three versions, A, B, and C, ranging from some 2,500 to over 7,500 alliterative long lines. Although it defies precise generic definition, emulating sermons, biblical commentary, penitential manuals, the *summa,* and apocalypse, it can most conveniently be called an allegorical dream vision: Characters on literal and spiritual planes, e.g., Scripture, Book, Piers the Plowman, and Will (the ostensible author/dreamer, though also *voluntas*), freely interact. There is extensive apocryphal, biblical, and theological subject matter like the harrowing of hell, episodes from the life of Christ, the search for truth, the granting of pardons, the seven deadly sins, and the antichrist. Quotations and paraphrases of Scripture appear throughout the poem, often in macaronic Latin/English form, often deriving from such secondary sources as *florilegia,* service books, and *distinctiones* rather than from the VULGATE.

L.'s literal use of images influenced his biblical exegesis, in which he associated biblical themes freely and restated theories of salvation and grace in original, often cryptic form. His theological formulations, observations on a dysfunctional society, and concern to instruct and save the common man appealed to leaders of the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, who quoted passages from the poem, and to the Lollards, who sensed a kindred reformist spirit. However, L. seems to have resisted the appropriation of his poem by these parties by editing out certain passages in the C text.

Works: *Piers Plowman* (3 vols., ed. G. Kane, E. T. Donaldson, and G. Russell, 1988–97).

Bibliography: **M. R. Adams,** "The Use of the Vulgate in *Piers Plowman,*" *SP* 24 (1927) 556-66. **J. A. Alford** (ed.), *A Companion to Piers Plowman* (1988); *Piers Plowman: A Guide to the Quotations* (1992). **M. W. Bloomfield,** *Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-century Apocalypse* (1961). **R. Hanna,** *William Langland* (1993). **D. Pearsall,** *An Annotated Critical Bibliography of L.* (1990). **D. W. Robertson, Jr. and B. F. Huppé,** *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition* (1951). **J. Wittig,** *W. L. Revisited* (1997).

J. MOREY

LANGTON, STEPHEN (c.1155–1228)

Born in England, L. taught theology at the University of Paris until made cardinal by Pope Innocent III in 1206 and archbishop of Canterbury in 1207. Due to a power struggle between the pope and King John, L. did not assume his see until June 1213. L. helped to negotiate the Magna Carta with King John (1215), promulgated the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), and organized the Council of Oxford (1222). He is perhaps best known for devising the biblical chapter divisions that replaced previous reference mechanisms and are still in use with minor modifications.

L.'s reputation as political negotiator and archbishop enhanced his reputation as a biblical scholar, established during his earlier career while lecturing at Paris. These lectures were widely studied by later exegetes, notably HUGH OF ST. CHER, though they exist as *reportationes* (student lecture notes, variously redacted; B. Smalley [1983] 200-206) and await further study and editing. L. was most influenced by the GLOSSA ORDINARIA, the Victorines, PETER LOMBARD, PETER THE CHANTER, and PETER COMESTOR. He apparently glossed the entire Bible, although some commentaries are lost and few have

been printed. His commentaries on the Octateuch, the books of Kings, the Minor Prophets, and Lombard's *Sentences* (L.'s *Summa*) were the best known.

In keeping with Victorine exegesis, L.'s lectures are marked by a literal interpretation of Scripture, with strong moralizations, allegorizations, and encyclopedic tendencies, including patristic citations, variant readings, Jewish interpretations, bestiary lore, *exempla,* and explanations of liturgical practices. The classroom atmosphere is evident first in the prologue, where L. outlined the date, authorship, and subject matter of a biblical book, and second in the use of *questio* and *disputatio* as points of Scripture are proposed and investigated. Biblical texts are concorded in schematic form—*distinctiones*—to break down the text and gloss into their constituent parts, whether grammatical, metaphorical, or tropological. L. generally observed the distinction between the *materia extrinseca*—the literal subject matter—and the *materia intrinseca*—the spiritual and allegorical significances (A. Minnis [1988] 69-71). The endpoint of the academic exercise was public preaching and curial reform.

L. used allegory, not to prove theological truth, but to confirm the divinely ordered pattern that allegory exposes in Scripture and in the world. A liberality of spirit, combined with a critical evaluation of the text and commentary on the entire Bible, not just individual books, defines his exegesis.

Works: *Der Sentenzenkommentar des Kardinals S. L.* (BGPTM 37.1, ed. A. M. Landgraf, 1952); *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi* (F. Stegmüller, 1955) 5:7704-939; (1961) 7:10728-730 (lists L.'s commentaries and manuscripts); *Councils and Synods. . . . 2: AD 1205–1313,* pt. 1 (ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 1964) 23-36, 100-125 (diocesan statutes and Oxford constitutions); *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350* 5 (J. B. Schneyer, 1974) 466-507; *Stephanus de Linguatona: Commentary on the Book of Chronicles* (ed. A. Saltman, 1978); *Selected Sermons* (TMLT 10, ed. P. B. Roberts, 1980).

Bibliography: **G. Lacombe, A. Landgraf, and A. L. Gregory,** *New Scholasticism* 3 (1929) 1-18, 113-58; 4 (1930) 97-226 (articles on L.'s *Summa* and *Questiones*). **G. Lacombe, B. Smalley, and A. L. Gregory,** "Studies on the Commentaries of Cardinal S. L.," *AHDLMA* 5 (1930) 5-266 (lists MSS and prints various excerpts). **A. J. Minnis,** *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (1988²). **F. M. Powicke,** *Stephen Langton* (1927 Ford Lectures, 1928). **R. Quinto,** "Doctor Nominatissimus," *S. L. (1228) e la tradizione delle sue opere* (BGPTM, NF 39, 1994). **P. B. Roberts,** *Stephanus de lingua-tonante: Studies in the Sermons of S. L.* (1968); (ed.), *Selected Sermons* (TMLT 10, 1980). **B. Smalley,** *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1983³), chap. 5.

J. MOREY

LAPIDE, CORNELIUS À (1567–1637)

A Flemish biblical scholar, L. (whose Dutch name was Cornelius Cornelissen van den Steen) was born at Bocholt near Liège Dec. 18, 1567. He studied humanities and philosophy at the Jesuit colleges at Maastricht and Cologne and theology at Douai and Louvain. After entering the Jesuit order in 1592 he was ordained in 1595 and taught sacred Scripture at Louvain (1596–1616) and the Jesuit college in Rome (1616–36).

L. was a very pious and popular teacher with a high reputation for learning and sanctity. Except for Job and Psalms, he published commentaries on all the biblical books, several of which appeared posthumously. All of his works were highly popular and went through numerous printings; the commentary on the Pauline epistles appeared in at least eighty printings. The complete series, with Job and Psalms by others, was reissued in various forms from 1681; the twenty-two volume Paris edition of 1859–63 was supplied with extensive updating annotations and a commentary on Job by J. de Pineda and on Psalms by R. BELLARMINE. An ET of the entire work (*The Great Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide*) was planned under the editorship of T. Mossman, but only the volumes on the Gospels, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, and the JOHANNINE EPISTLES appeared (8 vols., 1876–97).

L.'s work was written to appeal to a wide audience, including clergy and laity. It is filled with quotations from and allusions to classical thought, patristic and medieval exegesis, and digressions on interesting legends, antiquities, and so forth. On textual matters L. gave priority to the VULGATE, and his exegesis sought to elucidate various levels and senses in the text.

Works: *Epistolae divi pauli* (1614); *Commentaria in pentateuchum mosis* (1617); *Commentaria in danielem prophetam* (1621); *Commentaria in ezechielem prophetam* (1621); *Commentaria in ieremiam prophetam threnos et baruch* (1621); *Commentaria in quatuor prophetas maiores* (Isaiah plus three preceding, 1622); *Duodecim minores prophetas* (1625); *Commentaria in acta apostolorum, epistolas canonicas, et apocalypsin* (1627); *Commentarii in ecclesiasticum* (2 vols., 1633–34); *Commentaria in solomonis proverbia* (1635); *Commentarii in canticum canticortum* (1638); *Commentarii in ecclesiasten* (1638); *Liber sapientiae* (1638); *Commentarii in evangelia* (2 vols., 1639); *Commentarius in iosue, iudicum, ruth, IV libros regum, et II Paralipomenon* (1642); *Commentarius in esdram, nehemiam, tobiam, iudith, esther, et machabae* (1645). For complete bibliographical information, see C. Sommervogel (ed.), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* 4 (1893) 1511-26; 9 (1900) 573.

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Cornelii a Lapide," ibid., 146-52; "Nel Terzo Centenario della morte de Cornelii a Lapide," *CivCatt* 88 (1937) 204-14. **G. Heinrici,** *RE*[3] 4 (1898) 289-91. **J. P. van Kasteren,** *Catholic Encyclopedia* 4 (1908) 377-78. **S. Pagano,** "Analysis Notionis Inspirationis S. Scripturae apud Cornelium a Lapide," *RUO* 15 (1945) 65-85.

J. H. HAYES

LARDNER, NATHANIEL (1684–1768)

Born at Hawkhurst, Kent, June 6, 1684, L. was educated at the Presbyterian Academy, Hoxton Square, London, and at Utrecht and Leiden. He was a chaplain and tutor from 1713 to 1721 and assistant to the pastor at Crutched Friars Presbyterian Meetinghouse, London, from 1729 to 1753. Because of deafness, which began as early as 1723, L. refused the opportunity to become pastor. He died July 24, 1768.

One of the leading biblical scholars of his time, L. combined apologetic with scholarship to answer the challenge made by Deists to the Bible's AUTHORITY. In *The Credibility of the Gospel History* (1727–55) and its *Supplement* (1756–57) his aim was "to show the truth of the evangelical history, and thereby the truth of the Christian religion" (*Works* [1838] 5:174). He argued that the biblical records were consistent with information in contemporary writers, especially PHILO and JOSEPHUS. He discussed the date and authorship of NT books, presented the views of patristic writers about their canonicity and authority, and gave a lengthy account of patristic citations from the NT. In a supplement he included a history of the apostles and the evangelists.

L. also compiled a large collection of evidence for NT times from Jewish and gentile sources and endeavored to give a balanced account of the evidence. Though not a highly original writer, he made available a vast amount of important information, drawing on a variety of scholars, including H. GROTIUS, W. Cave, and D. WHITBY. He was inclined to Arianism (see ARIUS); and although opposed to DEISM, he championed toleration, maintaining friendly relations with Anglicans as well as Dissenters.

L.'s work was widely read and used for many years, serving as a mine of information for scholars. J. Priestley called him "the prince of modern divines." His scholarship was esteemed in Europe as well as in Great Britain, and some of his work was translated into Dutch, Latin (by J. Wolff), and German (with a preface by S. Baumgarten).

Works: *Works* (11 vols., 1788; 5 vols., 1838).

Bibliography: **A. Gordon,** *DNB* 32 (1892) 147-51. **J. Jennings,** *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late Rev. N. L., DD, Containing a Catalogue of His Works with . . . Eight Sermons* (1769) 1-134. **A. Kippis,** "Life of Dr. N. L." *Works* (5 vols., N. Lardner, 1838) 1:i-lviii. **J. Le Clerc,** "N. L., *The Credibility of the Gospel History*," *BAM* 27 (1727) 376-88; 28 (1727) 87-133.

A. W. WAINWRIGHT

LEAD or LEADE, JANE (1624–1704)

An English mystic, from the age of fifteen L. claimed to receive direct divine revelations. The mystics J. BÖHME and J. Pordage had a powerful influence on her, and after her husband's death in 1670, she devoted herself entirely to the group that had gathered around Pordage in London. When Pordage died in 1681 she became the group's leader and arranged for the publication of his *Theologia Mystica* (1683). She was a founder of the Philadelphian Society, whose meetings in many ways resembled those of the Quakers. The author of numerous writings, several of which were translated into German, she won a following in both Germany and Holland as well as in England. Her interpretation of the Scriptures was theosophical. It was her belief that everyone would ultimately be saved. She also expected an earthly millennium and thought that a small group like the Philadelphian Society would have to prepare the way for that event. She died August 19, 1704.

Works: *The Heavenly Cloud Now Breaking: The Lord Christ's Ascension Ladder* (1681); *The Revelation of Revelations* (1683); *Theologia mystica or the Mystic Divinitie of the Aeternal Invisibles* (1683); *The Ark of Faith* (1696); *A Fountain of Gardens* (1696–1701); *The Laws of Paradise* (1696); *A Message to the Philadelphian Society* (1696); *The Tree of Faith, or the Tree of Life* (1696); *Wonders of God's Creation* (1696); *A Revelation of the Everlasting Gospel Message* (1697); *Ascent to the Mount of Vision* (1699); *The Signs of the Time* (1699); *The Wars of David and the Peaceable Reign of Solomon* (1700); *A Living Funeral Testimony* (1702); *The First Resurrection of Christ* (1704?).

Bibliography: **C. Fell Smith,** *DNB* 32 (1892) 312-13. **N. Thune,** *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians: A Contribution to the Study of English Mysticism in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1948).

A. W. WAINWRIGHT

LE CLERC, JEAN (1657–1736)

Born at Geneva, Mar. 29, 1657, L. studied at Grenoble and Saumur and moved theologically from a strict Calvinism (see CALVIN) to Arminianism (see ARMINIUS). In 1684 he became professor of philosophy and later of church history at the Remonstrant College in Amsterdam. Early in his career he met J. LOCKE, with whom he preserved a close friendship. Before his death, Jan.

8, 1736, L. produced an extensive list of writings, which, although including some superficial material, has seldom been matched in both quantity and quality in the history of religious publishing. In addition to works on theology and Bible, he produced a five-volume collection on philosophy and a history of the early church; translated several works into French (including the NT) and Latin; prepared new annotated editions of works by Petavius, H. GROTIUS, ERASMUS, several Greek and Latin classics, and the apostolic fathers; and edited three series of ninety-three volumes of extensive reviews, excerpts, and original essays: *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* (26 vols., assisted by J. C. de Lacroze, 1686–93, repr. 1968), *Bibliothèque choisie* (28 vols., 1703–13, repr. 1968), and *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* (29 vols., assisted by J. Bernard, 1714–27, repr. 1968). (For a list of the contents of these volumes, see J. Darling, *Cyclopaedia Bibliographica* [1854] 1:1797-803.)

In biblical studies L. published a Latin translation and commentary on the HB (Genesis, 1694; Exodus–Deuteronomy, 1696; historical books, 1708; remainder, 1731). In his *Ars critica* (1698) and its sequel, *Epistolae criticae et ecclesiasticae* (1700), he laid out his general program of criticism. He was the first to formulate the text-critical rule (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM), giving priority to the more difficult reading (*lectio obscurior vers. clarior glossema*).

L. carried on a running debate with R. SIMON and P. BAYLE. In his early writings (1685, 1686) he agreed with Simon that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM). Unlike the former's theory of public scribes and documents, however, L. proposed that the Pentateuch was composed from private documents and suggested that the priest mentioned in 2 Kgs 17:27-28 rather than Ezra was the editor of the final form of the books of Moses. In his 1693 work he reverted to the theory of Mosaic authorship. L. stressed that, in order to elucidate the purpose of the authors and the events and opinions alluded to in the works, biblical documents should be traced back to the specific historical events that stimulated the authors to write.

Works: *Liberii de sancto amore epistolae theologicae: In quibus varii scholasticorum errores castigantur* (1679); *Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande: Sur l'histoire critique de Vieux Testament, composée par le P. R. Simon* (1685); *Defense des sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande, sur l'histoire critique du Vieux Testament, contra le réponse du Prieur de Bolleville* (1686); *Five Letters Concerning the Inspiration of Holy Scriptures* (1690); *Genesis sive Mosis prophetae liber primus* (1694); *Twelve Dissertations Out of M. L.'s Genesis* (1696); *Ars critica* (2 vols., 1698, 1712, 1778, 1830); *A Treatise of the Causes of Incredulity* (ET 1697); *Novum Testamentum, ex versione Vulgata, cum paraphrasi et adnotationibus Henrici Hammond* (2 vols. in 1, 1699); *Parrhasiana ou Pensées diverses sur des matières de critique, d'histoire et de politique* (2 vols., 1699–1700, 1701²; 1:341-445 of the 2nd ed. contains L.'s autobiographical "Des Ouvrages de M. L. C."); *Harmonia evangelica cui subjecta est historia Christi et quatuor Evangleiis concinnata* (1699; ET 1701); *Parrhasiana, or Thoughts on Several Subjects* (1700), contains L.'s notes on Hammond's work; commentaries on Exodus–Deuteronomy (1696), historical books (1708), and the remainder (1731).

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J. H. HAYES

LESLIE, CHARLES (1650–1722)

The son of the bishop of Clogher in Ireland, L. studied law at Trinity College, Dublin, and at the Temple in London. He decided to enter the ministry, was ordained in 1680, and became chancellor of the cathedral of Connor (1687). On losing his church post after 1688, he went to England, where he devoted himself to writing numerous defenses of the Christian religion and the church of England as well as attacks on Quakers and other dissenters, Deists (see DEISM), Jews, Socinians, and Catholics. His attack on the Deists, published in 1698 with a second edition in 1699, bore the title *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists, Wherein the Certainty of the Christian Religion Is Demonstrated by Infallible Proof from Four Rules, Which Are Incompatible to Any Imposture That Ever Yet Has Been, or That Can Possibly Be* (1699). His four rules were "First, That the matters of Fact be such, as that men's outward senses, their Eyes and Ears, may be judges of it. Secondly, That it be done Publickly, in the face of the world. Thirdly, That not only publick Monuments be kept up in memory of it, but some outward Actions to be

performed. Fourthly, That such Monuments and such Actions or Observances be instituted, and do commence from the Time that the matter of Fact was done." L. laid down the basic elements of a method to test the alleged truth of matters of fact that would become one of the major approaches to the defense of the historicity of biblical events, a method that came to dominate British biblical scholarship. Works like those of T. Sherlock, N. LARDNER, and W. PALEY illustrate this evidential-factual approach to Christian and biblical apologetics. L. himself concluded, "There is no book to be confronted with our holy Bible, which was wrote at the time when the facts therein related were done, and the institutions in memory of them were then made by the very actors in the facts—that is, by Moses and Christ."

Works: *Theological Works* (2 vols., 1721; 7 vols., 1832).

Bibliography: *BB* 5 (1760) 2917-20. **R. J. Leslie,** *Life and Writings of C. L.* (1885). **J. M. Rigg,** *DNB* 33 (1893) 77-83. **L. Stephen,** *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (1902[3]) 163-70.

J. H. HAYES

LESLIE, ELMER ARCHIBALD (1888–1965)

After receiving his formal training at Boston University (STB, PhD), L. spent his early years in various pastorates, becoming a professor at Boston University in 1921. His writings reflect his interest in both academia and pastoral education. He wrote several works for laypersons (especially Christian youth), while his scholarly pursuits resulted in works on Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Psalms, and OT religion. Conversant with and influenced by the European scholarship of his day, his analysis of prophetic pericopes (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) is noteworthy for its attempted chronological arrangement (see CHRONOLOGY, HB). His analysis of the Psalms follows H. GUNKEL and form-critical categories (see FORM CRITICISM). L.'s work manifests two central concerns: (1) a desire to communicate the insights of higher criticism to educated laypersons and (2) a concern to determine the nature and essence of OT religion.

Works: *OT Religion in the Light of its Canaanite Background* (1936); *The Prophets Tell Their Own Story* (1939); *Origins of the OT* (1945); *Poetry and Wisdom* (1945); *The Psalms: Translated and Interpreted in Light of Hebrew Life and Worship* (1949); *The Intimate Papers of Jeremiah* (1953); *Jeremiah: Chronologically Arranged, Translated, and Interpreted* (1954); *Isaiah: Chronologically Arranged, Translated, and Interpreted* (1963).

Bibliography: *Who Was Who in America* 4 (1961–68) 569.

R. R. MARRS

LESSING, GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM (1729–81)

German essayist, dramatist, and LITERARY critic, L. studied theology at Leipzig, where he came under the influence of Enlightenment rationalism. Pursuing a growing interest in the theater, he left theological studies and in 1749 moved to Berlin, where he made such friends as M. MENDELSSOHN and F. Nicolai. During the next two decades he resided in Berlin, Leipzig, Breslau, and Hamburg, earning a precarious living as writer and critic. In 1769 he accepted the post of librarian for the Duke of Brunswick in Wolfenbüttel and devoted himself to more sustained philosophical and theological pursuits, which included editing and publishing the notorious *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* (1774–78), excerpted from H. S. REIMARUS's *Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes* (Reimarus's work in its entirety was not published until 1972).

L. is important, not as a systematic or constructive figure, but as a restless and critical thinker who both grasped and gave expression to the problems posed for biblical interpretation by historical criticism. His writings on biblical and religious topics were typically elicited by specific religious controversies, and his tendency to play the role of devil's advocate often makes his own position difficult to detect. But in a lasting and highly influential metaphor, he spoke of an "ugly ditch" between the "accidental truths of history" and the "necessary truths of reason," thereby providing the terms in which much of the modern debate over faith and history would occur ("On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power" [1777]). L.'s "ditch" poses not only the problem of basing Christian faith on the increasingly dubious historical evidence provided by Scripture but also the quite separate problem of moving from a biblical report—however certain—to a dogmatic theological position, such as a christological claim. His "ditch" is not just about the obvious risks involved in tying faith to historical reconstruction; it is also about the more subtle problem of generating a theological truth out of *any* historical claim. By asking, in effect, whether "events" can ever produce "truths," L. was calling into question the very idea of Christianity as a "historical faith" based on the testimony of Scripture.

Due to the influence of SPINOZA and Leibniz, L. was personally able to escape his ugly ditch by assuming a basically rationalist posture toward religious truth. "True" religion was for him ultimately true whether or not any particular historical event occurred, a position, expressed by its approach to biblical interpretation in the comment that "the letter is not the spirit, and the Bible is not religion. . . . The religion is not true because the evangelists and apostles taught it; but they taught it because it is true" ("Editor's Counterpropositions" appended to the *Fragments* [1777]). With this principle he paved the way for countless modern hermeneutical strategies (see HERMENEUTICS) that are reductionistic

regarding the historical content of Scripture while nevertheless affirming that Scripture is in some deeper sense "true," i.e., the authentic meaning of Scripture is logically independent of its historical accuracy. L.'s reductionism regarding specific events, however, was combined with a positive, constructive attitude toward universal history. Through what he called the divine "education of the human race," he proposed that the whole of history is the locus of revelation, with particular historical events, persons, and books serving as "primers" for a wider moral and religious instruction. Correctly interpreted, Scripture thereby remains crucial but only because it points to truths beyond itself, since "every primer is only for a certain age" (*Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* [1780]). This position enabled him to suggest that diverse religious traditions could all be true, whatever their doctrinal or scriptural differences (*Nathan der Weise* [1779]).

Works: *L.s Gesammelte Werke* (10 vols., ed. P. Rilla, 1954–58), vols. 7 and 8 contain the key religious works; *L.'s Theological Writings: Selections in Translation* (ed. and tr. H. Chadwick, 1956).

Bibliography: **H. Allison,** *L. and the Enlightenment: His Philosophy of Religion and Its Relation to Eighteenth-century Thought* (1966). **K. Aner,** *Die Theologie der Lessingzeit* (1929). **G. Hornig,** *TRE* 21 (1991) 20-33. **G. E. Michalson, Jr.,** *L.'s "Ugly Ditch": A Study of Theology and History* (1985). **A. Schilson,** *Geschichte im Horizont der Vorsehung: G. E. L.s Beitrag zu einer Theologie der Geschichte* (1974). **H. Thielicke,** *Offenbarung, Vernunft, und Existenz: Studien zur Religionsphilosophie L.s* (1957). **L. Wessel,** *G. E. L.'s Theology: A Reinterpretation* (1977).

G. E. MICHALSON

LEVITA, ELIAS (1469–1549)

The greatest Jewish Hebrew language grammarian and philologist of the sixteenth century, L. was also the single most important Jewish teacher of Christian Hebraists; his students included J. REUCHLIN, S. MÜNSTER, P. FAGIUS, Campensis, G. POSTEL, and many other prominent Christian students of Hebrew. Born in Neustadt, for most of his life he lived in Italy, where he found a more open intellectual and social environment. He was in Padua until 1513, then left for Rome, where he was patronized by Cardinal Egidio de Viterbo, in whose house he lived until 1527. After the sack of Rome L. moved to Venice and remained in that city in the employ of D. BOMBERG, the most prominent Christian publisher of Hebrew books, until 1539 when he joined Fagius's press in Isny. He declined Francis I's offer of a lecturship in Hebrew at the College Royal in Paris because he did not wish to live in a country that officially banned Jewish residence.

The scope of L.'s literary production is amazing, including adaptations of secular romances in Yiddish and Hebrew, Hebrew grammars, and important theoretical studies concerning the development of Hebrew linguistics. His early grammars followed the thought of D. KIMHI and include the *Sefer ha-Bahur* (1518) and *Sefer ha-Harcava* (1518). These works were translated and published by Münster, who introduced L. to the Christian community of scholars outside Italy. His works of 1538 include *Pirkei Eliyahu, Tub-Taam, Masoretha-Masoret,* and *Sefer ha-Zichronot* and deal with difficult theoretical points of Hebrew grammar and the first modern discussions of the importance and origin of Hebrew punctuation and voweling. L. was the first major grammarian to postulate that vowel points and punctuation marks, of major importance in many exegetical systems, were not of divine origin or even from the Sinai period, but of a later date. His dictionaries concentrated on specific scholarly problems and needs. The *Meturgeman* (1541) was a complete Aramaic dictionary. His *Tishbi* and *Aruch* of the same year were alphabetical listings of extremely complex HB terms and expressions. He also produced the first Yiddish-Hebrew dictionary (1542).

Works: *Sefer ha-Bahur* (1518); *Sefer ha-Harcava* (1518); *Masoretha-Masoret* (1538); *Pirkei Eliyahu* (1538); *Sefer ha-Zichronot* (1538); *Tub-Taam* (1538); *Aruch* (1541); *Meturgeman* (1541); *Tishbi* (1541); *Shemot Devarim* (1542).

Bibliography: **J. Friedman,** *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (1983). **C. D. Ginsberg,** *The Masoreth of E. L.* (1865). **M. Peritz,** *Ein hebräischer Brief E. L. an Sebastian Münster* (1894). **B. Pick,** "The Vowel-Point Controversy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Hebraica* (= *AJSL*) 8 (1891–92) 150-73. **G. Weil,** *E. L.: Humaniste et Massorète (1469–1549)* (1963).

J. FRIEDMAN

LEVITICUS, BOOK OF

Before the modern era interpreters of Leviticus mainly sought to find relevance in its message in order to apply it within living religious traditions that were distanced to varying degrees from the ancient Israelite community originally addressed by the book. Modern critical scholarship has shifted the primary focus to reconstruction of the book's origin(s) and the ancient historical reality reflected in it.

The destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE and the rise of modern biblical criticism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries divide the interpretation history of Leviticus into three periods, which can be called Temple Period, Pre-Modern Period, and Modern Period.

1. Temple Period. As long as the Temple and the institutions connected with it remained, the ritual and

ethical prescriptions of Leviticus could be carried out within a fully functioning cultic and legal system. At this stage, which probably began before the HB had been completed, interpreters applied and adapted those laws with reference to the developing tradition of the Temple (Hag 2:11-12; cf. Lev 6:20 [Eng. 27]) and attempted to communicate them in an acceptable manner (e.g., Septuagint) to the dispersed Jewish community.

In the Second Temple period differing views regarding the manner in which the instructions of Leviticus should be carried out created disputes between Jewish groups. For example, rabbinic sources report a disagreement between the Sadducees and the Pharisees regarding the manner in which the high priest should bring incense into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:12-13; J. Lauterbach [1927] 173-205). Texts found at Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) reflect dissatisfaction with the Jerusalem priesthood and its practices, including its application of Leviticus. For example, the *Temple Scroll* (11QTemple) presents a rewritten Torah as a program for reforming the Temple and its institutions in accordance with Pentateuchal laws and extra-canonical prescriptions, which were viewed as coming from God at Mt. Sinai.

Besides literal meaning, other modes of interpretation were employed during the Second Temple period. The book of JUBILEES (2nd cent. BCE) treats the laws of Leviticus as though they were in force during the patriarchal era. The *Letter of Aristeas* includes a combination of tropology and allegory (145-48): Birds forbidden to be eaten (Lev 11:13-19) are identified as carnivorous and dominating by force, which teaches humans to avoid lording it over others by brute strength. PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA (1st cent. BCE–1st cent. CE) sought to harmonize Torah and philosophy through allegory, explaining, e.g., that the required physical perfection of priests (Lev 21:17-21; 22:4) symbolized the perfection of the soul (*The Special Laws,* 1:80). The NT found ongoing meaning in the sacrifices of Leviticus by viewing them as typological prefigurations of Christ's sacrificial death on the cross and subsequent priestly mediation in the heavenly temple (Hebrews 7–10). This typology has served as a framework for subsequent Christian interpretation of Leviticus.

2. Pre-Modern Period. After 70 CE Jewish interpretation of Leviticus turned to the question of how the Jewish community could continue to maintain its identity as God's holy people in spite of the loss of the Second Temple. In the Mishnah, *Tosefta,* and Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds, the rabbis compiled traditional legal materials explaining and supplementing biblical prescriptions, including those of Leviticus. These works sought to maintain continuity with the Temple through discussion of its form, procedures, and principles of holiness.

To provide an acceptable understanding of the biblical text, the Aramaic TARGUMIM included expansions and interpretive renderings. For example, the Targumim avoid anthropomorphic language, like the idea that Yahweh smelled sacrifices (e.g., Lev 1:9; A. Hurvitz [1982] 55).

Jewish interpretation developed midrashic literature, which relates the biblical text to rabbinic traditions. *Sipra* is a halakhic MIDRASH to Leviticus that provides legal commentary on the Hebrew text. *Leviticus Rabbah* (probably 5th cent.) is a homiletical Midrash that presents homilies on topics related to portions of Leviticus.

During late antiquity, Christians developed spiritualizing modes of interpretation. ORIGEN (3rd cent.) believed that proper exposition must go from literal sense to moral and spiritual meaning. For example, he allegorically interprets the priest who removes the animal's hide (Lev 1:6) as "one who removes the veil of the letter from the word of God and uncovers its interior parts which are members of spiritual understanding" (Origen [1990] 35). AUGUSTINE and CYRIL (5th cent.) also presented spiritual meaning along with plain sense. Other fifth- to seventh-century Christian expositors and collectors of interpretation included Hesychius, THEODORET, Procopius, and ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (see W. Yarchin in J. Hartley [1992] xlv-xlvii).

From medieval times through the dawn of the modern era, Jewish scholars working in the rabbinic tradition focused on the literal meaning of the Hebrew text of Leviticus (see J. Milgrom [1991] 63-66). To varying degrees, these exegetes also employed some other modes of interpretation, including Midrash and mysticism.

SAADIA Gaon (10th cent.) sought the plain sense even though his Arabic translation is not literal. IBN JANĀḤ (11th cent.) presented exegetical excursuses along with his DICTIONARY of biblical Hebrew. The influential verse-by-verse commentary of RASHI (11th cent.) blends literal and midrashic interpretation, consulting earlier rabbinic opinions to give multiple explanations of texts.

In the twelfth century, SAMUEL BEN MEIR (Rashbam) concentrated on literal meaning even more than did Rashi, while A. IBN EZRA stressed etymology and grammar, often arriving at original interpretations. BEKHOR SHOR emphasized the rational basis of the commandments and parried Christian allegorical interpretations. MAIMONIDES (Rambam) demonstrated the value of Pentateuchal law. D. KIMHI (Radak, 12th to 13th cents.) used philology, but also presented homiletical interpretations based on rabbinic literature.

In the thirteenth century, NACHMANIDES (Ramban) developed literal interpretation and used the TALMUD, midrashic literature, and the *Zohar* to give reasons for commandments. Hezekiah ben Manoaḥ based much of his work on that of earlier Jewish exegetes, and Baḥya ben Asher placed mystical interpretations alongside the plain sense.

In the fourteenth century, Aaron ben Joseph Ha-rofe "the elder," a KARAITE, provided strictly literal exegesis with occasional Midrash. Ralbag presented philosophical and theological discourses and hermeneutical principles (see HERMENEUTICS). Aaron ben Elijah, another Karaite, concentrated on the plain sense, but also produced some allegorical and metaphysical interpretations, while Jacob ben Asher emphasized the views of Rashi and Ramban.

ABRAVANEL (15th cent.) focused on the moral rationale for the commandments. Isaac ben Moses wrote philosophical homilies based on Leviticus, and O. SFORNO (15th–16th cents.) concentrated on literal meaning. E. Lunshitz (17th cent.) made extensive use of earlier Jewish exegesis.

In the eighteenth century, Ḥayyim ibn Attar used mystical, kabbalistic interpretation (see KABBALAH). Naphtali Herz Wessely addressed historical and philological concerns. MALBIM referred to non-Jewish modern thinkers as well as to Jewish exegetes.

Through medieval and Renaissance-Reformation times, Christian expositors regarded the literal meaning of the so-called old law, including Leviticus, as a source for various kinds of spiritual meaning in addition to typology, e.g., allegory, tropology, and anagogy. In the twelfth century, RUPERT OF DEUTZ used allegorically derived moral meaning to aid the monastic struggle against carnal temptation (see Yarchin in Hartley, xlviii). Ralph of Flaix carried spiritual interpretation to the extreme, regarding the Mosaic laws as a cryptogram in which the inner spiritual meaning was hidden from most Jewish people by the letter of the text. On the other hand, HUGH OF ST. VICTOR and ANDREW OF ST. VICTOR and an anonymous contemporary commentator concentrated on the literal meaning of the Hebrew text and utilized rabbinic sources (see B. Smalley [1974] 13-15).

In the thirteenth century, William of Auvergne reacted against allegorization, using Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* to insist that the ancient Israelites could understand and gain value from the literal meaning of the law. John of La Rochelle countered by emphasizing that the law did have a spiritual sense as a prefiguration of the new Christian law. THOMAS AQUINAS sought to clarify the relationship between literal and spiritual meaning (see Smalley, 25-68).

In the fourteenth century, NICHOLAS OF LYRA cited rabbinic exegesis and concentrated on the plain sense of the Hebrew text more than previous interpreters had. From the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries this focus on the literal meaning of the Hebrew became the trend among such Christian scholars as Dionysius de Ryckel, T. CAJETAN, CALVIN, F. Vatablus, C. Jansen, J. LE CLERC, A. CALMET, and E. ROSENMÜLLER (see Yarchin in Hartley, xlix-li).

3. Modern Period. Modern interpretation of Leviticus has abandoned midrashic and spiritualizing modes of interpretation in favor of the literal meaning of the text. However, some Christian scholars have continued to refer to the concept that the sacrifices typified Christ.

PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM, which arose in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, seeks to understand the plain sense in light of historical-critical theory, which differentiates between hypothetical literary sources on the basis of distinctive linguistic and conceptual characteristics. This approach was embraced by both Christian and Jewish scholars, and by the second half of the nineteenth century a number of scholars had come to regard Leviticus as comprising part of a priestly narrative source that was also woven through the narratives of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers along with Jahwistic (J) and Elohistic (E) sources. Deuteronomy was taken to represent another source (D).

K. GRAF, A. KUENEN, and J. WELLHAUSEN developed the idea that the priestly source (subsequently known as P) was the latest of the Pentateuchal sources and should be dated after the fall of the monarchy, thus eliminating Mosaic authorship of the final form of Leviticus. Wellhausen interpreted the fact that P does not require worship at a central sanctuary, as does D, to mean that after the exile P simply assumed centralization (1885, 34-38). The basic profile of the JEDP documentary hypothesis is still accepted by many scholars today.

Another influential theory was Graf's identification of legal material belonging to Leviticus 18–26 as a discrete literary entity (1886, 75-83). A. Kayser (1874, 64-79) included Leviticus 17 in the corpus, which A. KLOSTERMANN (1893, 385) referred to as *Heiligkeitsgesetz*, "Holiness Code," subsequently known as "H." Wellhausen argued that an originally independent H corpus was incorporated into P by a priestly revision (376-79). Subsequently, L. Paton, A. BERTHOLET, and B. BAENTSCH sought to reconstruct the redactional process by which the H chapters reached their present form.

A number of commentaries that applied a critical approach to Leviticus appeared in the late nineteenth century. M. Kalisch dealt extensively with comparative religion. A. DILLMANN wrote a revision of A. Krobel's 1857 commentary on Exodus and Leviticus and subsequently updated this work with V. RYSSEL. S. DRIVER and H. White provided brief historical and philological notes along with an English translation that differentiated between literary sources (P, H, later additions) by means of colors.

Some nineteenth-century commentaries were not controlled by the critical approach. S. LUZZATO (Shadal) pursued the plain sense of the text in the tradition of the medieval Jewish exegetes. Christian exegetes who accepted Mosaic authorship of Leviticus include C. KEIL, A. Bonar, F. GARDINER, G. Bush, and S. Kellogg. While Kellogg asserted the basic Mosaic origin of the legislation contained in Leviticus in accordance with the claims of the book, he allowed for the possibility that

later persons could have written and edited the Mosaic law (1900, 4-5).

In his OT introduction Driver gathered a number of the strongest late nineteenth-century arguments for a late dating of P (1897, 136-57). Points like these have set the agenda for much of the twentieth-century debate regarding the dating of P relative to that of other Pentateuchal sources: (a) The elaborate legislation of P was not in operation during the preexilic period; (b) Deuteronomy does not presuppose the stricter, more complex legislation of P; (c) at least in some respects, such as the prohibition of priestly officiation for Levites, P appears to be later than Ezekiel; (d) in its religious conceptions, such as emphasis on divine transcendence and focus on statistical and chronological data, P bears the marks of a later age; and (e) P incorporated H at a late date. While the laws of H preceded Ezekiel, the paraenetic framework of H cannot be much earlier than Ezekiel because Leviticus 26 has the exile in view.

Driver did not regard these conclusions as incompatible with the idea that "Moses was the ultimate founder of both the national and the religious life of Israel" (152). While Moses began the ancient traditional basis upon which Leviticus rests, the book reflects a long development leading to its final shape in the age subsequent to Ezekiel (153-57). Other critical scholars have been less ready to affirm a Mosaic origin for Leviticus, but they generally accept the view that the composition of Leviticus was a complex process of accretion involving several stages. Such interpreters have made numerous attempts to reconstruct the composition history of Leviticus in order to shed light on the development of the Israelite religion.

Critical commentaries of the first half of the twentieth century include those of A. Bertholet; B. Baentsch; A. EHRLICH, who was concerned with TEXTUAL CRITICISM and suggested many emendations of the Hebrew text; A. Kennedy; A. Chapman and A. Streane; P. HEINISCH; and A. Clamer.

Y. KAUFMANN accepted the existence of documentary sources but argued that P was older than D, thus the order JEPD. His reasons include the idea that written Torah, which includes P, is the product of the earliest phase of Israelite religion; it was not an outgrowth of literary PROPHECY, as claimed by Wellhausen (Kaufmann [1960] 157-66). The antiquity of P is shown by such factors as its anthropomorphisms, the fact that it presupposes the existence of local altars, its characterization of the prophets as civil and military leaders, and its ignorance of Jerusalem's significance (206).

B. EERDMANS and S. Küchler denied an originally independent existence of H for such reasons as the absence of clear structural and conceptual unity (Eerdmans [1912] 83-87; Küchler [1929] 61-62). Most scholars have not been persuaded by their arguments. The introduction of FORM and TRADITION-historical criticism by G. von RAD and K. Rabast has brought attention to the formation of individual units within H. Von Rad saw H as containing teaching for the community based on older laws and presented in sermonic form (1953, 35).

D. HOFFMANN's commentary is Jewish in the traditional sense. Along with original exegesis, he made extensive use of rabbinic sources; and although he was aware of critical theory, he argued for Mosaic authorship. His reasons for attributing Leviticus to Moses include the wilderness setting of the laws concerning the offering and the argument that Leviticus 8–10 could hardly come from a later priestly writer to benefit priestly interests because it has Moses, a non-priest, officiating at the consecration of the tabernacle, followed by the story of Nadab and Abihu (Hoffmann [1905–6] 1:13-14).

A. Noordtzij, a conservative Protestant, also attributed the contents of Leviticus to the Mosaic period. However, he accepted the idea that the Mosaic legislation would have been adapted and supplemented during subsequent centuries.

In the second half of the twentieth century, scholars were divided into three main groups with regard to the composition of Leviticus: those who held to the former consensus that Leviticus was produced after the fall of the First Temple in 586 BCE, whether during or soon after the exile or as late as Ezra's reform; those who followed Kaufmann in arguing for a preexilic dating of P; and those who maintained a basic Mosaic origin in accordance with the assertions of Leviticus that its laws were transmitted through Moses during the wilderness period.

Although the dates for Leviticus postulated by scholars range over a millennium, their views are not as mutually exclusive as they may appear. Those who believe that the book was completed for the benefit of the postexilic Second Temple community acknowledge the inclusion of early materials; and those who emphasize a Mosaic background allow in varying degrees for later developments in the recording, transmission, supplementation, and adaptation of the legislation.

Critical commentaries with a late date for P include those of H. Schneider; H. Cazelles; M. NOTH; K. ELLIGER (1966), who presents a detailed analysis of literary strata within Leviticus; J. Mays; N. Snaith; J. Porter; W. Kornfeld; B. Levine; E. Gerstenberger; and P. Budd (1996). According to Noth, the history of the traditions behind Leviticus begins with the story of the first great sacrifices in Leviticus 9, which belongs to the original P narrative. Later additions resulted in chaps. 8–10, to which chap. 16 was connected. Chapters 1–7, detailing sacrificial procedure, were added before chap. 8 because the sacrifices of chaps. 8–10 required knowledge of the procedure. The purity laws of chaps. 11–15 were added before chap. 16 to introduce this aspect of cleansing before the great cleansing ritual of the Day of Atone-

ment. The independent Holiness Code book was added as chaps. 17–26, and chap. 27 was appended (Noth [1965] 12-15). R. Rendtorff, however, follows F. M. Cross in viewing the priestly writer(s) as editing earlier tradition rather than producing an originally independent work to which subsequent redactors added (Rendtorff [1985] 138, 146, 162).

Scholars who have supported Kaufmann's view that Leviticus was essentially a preexilic document include J. Milgrom (1991), A. Hurvitz (1982), and M. Paran, whose philological studies have reached the conclusion that the language of P belongs to the preexilic era (see Zevit and J. Blenkinsopp [1996]). M. Weinfeld has pointed out that deuteronomic literature quotes Leviticus but not the reverse, which is understandable only if P precedes D (1972, 180-82). I. Knohl argues that a "Holiness School" (HS) was the redactor of P, which he calls "Priestly Torah" (PT), the opposite of Wellhausen's hypothesis that H was incorporated into P by a priestly redactor. "Since HS originated in the period from the rule of Ahaz to that of Hezekiah, the PT material in the Pentateuch must have been composed earlier" (1995, 220).

Scholars who argue that the basic material in Leviticus originated with Yahweh's revelation to Moses include W. Gispen, M. Segal, R. Harrison, and J. Hartley (1992). G. Wenham, who does not commit himself to a particular composition theory but has difficulty accepting a postexilic date, summarizes the main arguments for the Mosaic view (1979, 8-9): (a) Statements that Yahweh spoke these words to Moses are supported by the fact that the material assumes a setting in the wilderness; (b) comparison with non-Israelite cultic practices shows that the cultic system of Leviticus is not anachronistic for the wilderness period; (c) the laws of Leviticus do not adequately address the setting of the postexilic community, which faced such problems as intermarriage; (d) Ezekiel knew and quoted Leviticus. Investigation of the composition history of H has continued with LITERARY-critical, form-critical, and tradition-critical studies by such scholars as W. Kornfeld; L. Elliott-Binns; H. G. Reventlow, who saw the H material developing in a covenant festival setting (1961, 162-67); R. Kilian; C. Feucht; and W. Thiel (1990).

In the last half of the twentieth century, the consensus that H was an originally independent, self-contained corpus has fallen apart. K. Elliger and A. Cholewinski (1976) see H as a redactional supplement to P (Elliger, 16; Cholewinski, 138-40). H. Sun finds no evidence of a pre-P compositional layer running through the entire H corpus and thereby attesting to its unity (1990, 560-61). V. Wagner argues that H is part of the larger unit comprising Exodus 25–Leviticus 26 (1974, 307-16). I. Knohl regards H as the product of a "Holiness School," which had a distinct theological and liturgical perspective and whose work is found elsewhere in Exodus–Numbers, to the extent that this school should be regarded as the redactor of P (see above).

Other trends in Leviticus scholarship include the following: (a) Scholars are becoming more cautious in their reconstructions of the composition history of Leviticus (see Budd, 8). (b) There is renewed interest in viewing the text of Leviticus synchronically in order to deal with its theological message and relevance for modern readers; e.g., Milgrom has found fresh perspectives by viewing the cultic legislation of Leviticus as a coherent system that reflects priestly theology and values. G. Wenham, R. Harrison, and G. Knight connect commentary with relevance for Christian readers. (c) Tools and data available to exegetes are expanding. In addition to close reading of the text, textual criticism, higher critical methodologies, and comparative linguistics, scholars are making increasing use of anthropological and sociological (see SOCIOLOGY AND HB STUDIES) approaches and sources, e.g. the work of M. Douglas (1966) and D. Wright (1987). At the same time, discoveries of ancient Near Eastern material culture and texts continue to shed light on ancient religious history, language, and culture relevant to study of Leviticus.

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R. E. GANE

LEWIS, AGNES SMITH (1843–1926)

L., with her twin M. D. Gibson (1843–1920), discovered and photographed the Syriac Sinaiticus palimpsest of the Gospels (sometimes known as the Lewis Codex) at St. Catharine's monastery, Mt. Sinai (1892–93). L. wrote the introduction to the edition by R. Bensly, F. BURKITT, and R. HARRIS (1894) and after a third visit published an independent translation (1896). In the spring of 1896 the twins, while traveling in the plain of Sharon and visiting Cairo, were sold two bundles of Hebrew fragments and realized on their return to Cambridge that some of these contained what appeared to be post-biblical Hebrew items. They asked their friend S. SCHECHTER, university reader in Talmudic studies (see TALMUD), to examine them. He identified one as the lost Hebrew of Ben Sirach (Ecclesiasticus 39:15–40:8) and, with their permission, published the find. This led Schechter to Cairo, where he purchased the rest of the Ben Ezra Cairo Synagogue Geniza, which contained, among much else, the *Damascus Document.*

Works: Introduction to *Four Gospels in Syriac Transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest* (R. L. Bensly, J. Rendel Harris, F. Crawford Burkitt, 1894); *Some Pages of the Four Gospels Re-transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest, with a Translation of the Whole Text* (1896); (with M. D. Gibson and E. Nestle), *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, Containing Lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts and Epistles* (1897); (with M. D. Gibson), *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the The Gospels Re-Edited from Two Sinai MSS and from P. de Lagarde's Edition of the "Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum,"* (1899); *In the Shadow of Sinai: a Story of Travel and Research from 1895 to 1897* (1898); *John the Stylite: Select Narratives of Holy Women* (1900); *The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe; Being the Text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest, Including the Latest Additions and Emendations with the Variants of the Curetonian Text, Corroboration from Many Other MSS and a List of Quotations from Many Other MSS and a List of Quotations from Ancient Authors* (1910); *Light on the Four Gospels from the Sinai Palimpsest* (1913).

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J. C. O'NEILL

LEWY, JULIUS (1895–1963)

A professor and writer in Semitic languages and biblical history, L. was born in Berlin on Feb. 16, 1895. He began his Assyriological studies at Leipzig under H. Zimmern. After a five-year interruption for military service, L. resumed his studies at Berlin under Friedrich DELITZSCH and E. MEYER. He received the PhD *magna cum laude* in 1921, became *Privatdozent* in Semitic philology at Giessen the following year, and was made full professor and director of the oriental department at Giessen in 1927. In 1928 he became contributing editor of MVAG. He held these posts until 1933, when he was dismissed by the National Socialist government and left Germany for Paris, where he taught at the Sorbonne (1933/34). During these early years he focused his attention on the "Cappadocian Tablets" (now called the Old Assyrian texts) and edited collections of these documents in Turkey, Germany, France, and England. In 1934 he came to the United States, lecturing at Johns Hopkins in W. F. ALBRIGHT's absence. He joined the faculty of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati in 1936 and taught there until his death on June 19, 1963.

During his career L. published in three areas: the Old Assyrian corpus, ancient Semitic culture, and the HB. His chief Assyriological interest lay in reconstructing the political, military, and economic institutions of the Old Assyrian age as reflected in the documentation recovered from central Turkey. Along with his wife, Hildegard, he concentrated on ancient calendar formation and the origin of the seven-day week.

Heavily influenced by the PAN-BABYLONIANISM of Delitzsch and to some extent by the history-of-religions approach (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE), L. applied the results of Near Eastern ARCHAEOLOGY and ASSYRIOLOGY to interpreting the HB and early Israelite religion. He wrote extensively on the relation of *Habiru* and Hebrew and on the history of the Israelite monarchies.

Works: (with G. Eisser), *Die Altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe* (2 vols., 1930, 1935); *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda* (1927); "Influences Hurrites sur Israel," *RES* (1938) 49-75; "The Feast of the 14th Day of Adar," *HUCA* 14 (1939) 127-51; "Habiru and Hebrews," *HUCA* 14 (1939) 587-623; (with H. Lewy), "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," *HUCA* 17 (1943) 1-152; "Tabor, Tibar, Atabyros," *HUCA* 23 (1950/51) 357-86; "Origin and Signification of the Biblical Term 'Hebrew,' " *HUCA* 28 (1957) 1-13; "The Biblical Institution of *deror* in the Light of Akkadian Documents," *EI* 5 (1958) 21-31.

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W. C. GWALTNEY, JR.

LEXICONS, HEBREW BIBLE

The earliest reference to a lexical compilation relating to the HB is to a DICTIONARY of proper names ascribed to PHILO of Alexandria. The first major extant work of any consequence is the *Onomasticon* of EUSEBIUS of Caesarea, a gazetteer of biblical sites listed alphabetically according to the Greek text (ed. E. Klostermann [1904]). For each site Eusebius provided a geographical and historical description of the locality as well as its designation in his day. Popular in the early church, the work was rendered into Latin by JEROME and remains an indispensable source for the study of Palestinian topography. It is, of course, not a general lexicon, but only a specialized ordering and description of a limited word list.

1. Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicons. The first Hebrew lexicon of the Bible was compiled by SAADIA early in the tenth century. (Zemah ben Paltoi of Pumbedita in the late ninth cent. produced a lexicon for the Babylonian Talmud, of which only fragments have been preserved in quotations.) Written in Arabic, Saadia's work, "Agron" (from the verb *'āgar*, meaning "to collect"), was arranged according to the alphabetical sequence of the first and final letters of Hebrew words for use in poetic compositions and was not comprehensive. In an enlarged edition, in addition to giving a biblical passage in which the term occurred, he added the Arabic equivalent for each Hebrew term. He also composed a short word list of biblical terms occuring infrequently or only once (*hapax legomena*).

Saadia's older contemporary Judah ibn Koraish compiled a limited lexical work in which he, in comparative Semitic fashion, made comparisons with neo-Hebrew words in the Mishnah and with Aramaic and Arabic words (ed. J. Bargès and B. Goldberg [1857]). He began a larger lexicon, which was never carried beyond the letter *aleph*.

David ben Abraham, a tenth-century KARAITE, produced a lexicon in Arabic that has been preserved almost complete, but it is not comprehensive. A peculiar arrangement of Hebrew words occurs in the seventh part of Abu al-Faraj Haun's *Al-Mushtamil*, completed in 1026. A type of root-lexicon, the work arranges words so that those with the same letters in their triconsonantal roots are treated together regardless of the order of the letters.

The first complete lexical treatment of the words in the HB was *Maḥberet* (from Exod 26:4) produced in Spain by Menahem ben Saruk (910–c. 970) in 960 (ed. H. Filipowski [1854]). Written in Hebrew rather than Arabic, the work arranges words according to their roots, reducing these to one or two letters, and contains a lengthy grammatical introduction and occasional excursuses. Menahem's pupil Judah ben David Hayyuj (c. 940–c. 1010) determined the future shape of Hebrew lexicography. In two works on Hebrew verbs he developed the view that all Hebrew word roots were triconsonantal. These three-letter roots, however, could be modified when conjugated with a weak letter or elided or assimilated to a letter with a *dagesh*.

Hayyuj's perspectives were followed by J. IBN JANĀḤ, an early eleventh-century grammarian who, like Hayyuj, wrote in Arabic. His major work consisted of a grammar and a lexicon, the latter of which, called *Kitab al-Uṣul* in Arabic (*Sefer ha-Shorashim* in Hebrew = "Book of Roots"), marked a high point in medieval Jewish lexicography. (The Arabic version was edited by A. Neubauer [1875]; HT by W. Bacher [1896].) Ibn Janāḥ's work made numerous comparisons with Arabic, contained extensive grammatical and exegetical comments, and remained influential into the nineteenth century.

One other medieval lexicon is worthy of note—namely, the *Sefer ha-Shorashim* (Book of Roots) of D. KIMHI (first printed in Naples in 1479). Using Ibn Janāḥ's work, Kimhi produced the most widely used lexicon in the medieval period.

J. REUCHLIN, the first major Christian Hebraist, produced *De rudimentis hebraicis* in 1506. Primarily lexical material with a short section on grammar, it had enormous influence, especially the grammar portion, which eclipsed Pellicanus's *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum* (1504), the first Hebrew grammar written by a Christian.

The Complutensian POLYGLOT, printed in 1517 but not published until 1522, contained in vol. 6 a vocabulary of HB Hebrew and Chaldee (= Aramaic) prepared by A. Zamorensis (dated Mar. 17, 1515). Subsequently the production of Hebrew lexicons became rather common, the most important being those of S. MÜNSTER (1530), S. PAGNINUS (1536), E. Hutter (1586), J. BUXTORF the elder (1607), V. Schindler (1612; a pentaglotton that included Syriac, rabbinic Hebrew, and Arabic material), E. Leigh (1639; English rather than Latin), J. Hottinger (1661), J. COCCEIUS (1669), and E. CASTELL

(1669). Of these, Schindler, Hottinger, and Castell drew upon comparative Semitics. The latter's *Heptaglotton,* published as an auxiliary volume to the London Polyglot, contained lexical material for Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic (see ETHIOPIAN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION), Arabic, and Persian.

Hebrew lexicography reached a new peak in the early nineteenth century. J. Ben-Ze'eb's *Ozar ha-Shorashim* (Treasury of Roots) appeared in 1807 (1816[2], 1839–44[3], 1862–64[4]). Pride of place, however, belongs to the work of H. GESENIUS (1786–1842), whose *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des Alten Testaments* (2 vols.) first appeared in 1810–12. A shorter version was published in 1815 (ET 1824) and was expanded in subsequent editions (1823[2], 1828[3], 1834[4]). In addition, Gesenius produced a *Thesaurus philologicus-criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti* (1829–58; completed after his death by A. Rödiger). His *Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros* (1833) was translated into English by E. ROBINSON (1836; the ET was periodically revised by Robinson until 1854); the second edition (rev. by A. Hoffmann [1847]) was translated into English by S. Tregelles (1847, last ed. 1859, repr. 1947). Subsequent editions of Gesenius's lexicon were produced, the most important being those by F. BUHL; from the twelfth edition (1895, 1921[17]) the work was as much Buhl's as Gesenius's. The *Hebrew and English Lexicon* (= BDB) edited by F. BROWN, S. DRIVER, and C. BRIGGS (1907, corrected ed. 1953, with reprints coded to J. Strong's concordance) was based on Robinson's 1836 translation of Gesenius, "edited with constant reference to the Thesaurus of Gesenius as completed by E. Rödiger, and with authorized use of the latest German editions of Gesenius's *Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament.*" The first fascicles of BDB were published in 1891, so only limited consideration could be taken of the various editions of Gesenius published at the time under the editorship of Buhl (1895[12], 1899[13], 1905[14]). Like most Hebrew lexicons of the period, BDB classifies words according to their presumed roots or stems rather than alphabetically. However, BDB was the first to isolate and publish HB Aramaic words in a separate section, a practice followed by Buhl from 1895. A German lexicon similar in orientation to BDB is E. König's *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (1910, 1936[7]).

Unlike most lexicons the *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* by C. Siegfried and B. STADE (1893) excludes references to other Semitic languages and forgoes most etymological considerations and hypotheses about primary meanings. Instead, vocabulary and idioms are the primary focus.

A new Hebrew lexicon appeared in 1953, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* (= KB), under the editorship of L. Koehler and W. BAUMGARTNER, with both German and English renderings. The *Supplementum ad Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* was published in 1958, and this together with the original lexicon was called the second edition. The lexicon draws upon all recent Semitic study, including the Ugaritic texts (see UGARIT AND THE BIBLE) and is organized alphabetically. The third edition of KB, *Hebräisches und aramäischen Lexikon zum Alten Testament,* begun under the editorship of Baumgartner, has now been published and translated into English as *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT* (4 vols., 1994–98). *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT* was published in 1971 by W. Holladay based on the lexicon of Koehler-Baumgartner, utilizing the material of their first and second editions and the third edition through the letter *samek.*

A number of other Hebrew/Aramaic lexicons should be noted. F. Zorell's *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (1940–54, incomplete), in Latin, contains only the Hebrew portion but includes the vocabulary of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus (Sirach). E. Vogt's *Lexicon linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum* (1971) contains what was planned as the Aramaic portion of Zorell. It illustrates biblical Aramaic with non-biblical texts and draws extensively on secondary literature. A student's *Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary of the OT* (1971; ET 1973) has been edited by G. Fohrer. *The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldae Lexicon* was published by S. DAVIDSON as a parsing guide (1848, frequently reprinted). Indexes to BDB have been published by B. Einspahr (1976) and M. A. Robinson (1981).

Several HB lexicons are in the process of publication or have been published since the mid 1980s. The eighteenth edition of Gesenius's *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über des Alte Testament* is being edited by H. Donner and R. Meyer (1987–). D. Clines is editing *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (1990–), which is being published under the auspices of the British Society for OT Study. In addition to including all ancient Hebrew texts (the Bible, Sirach, Dead Sea Scrolls, etc.) to c. 200 CE, the *DCH* will incorporate some basic features of modern linguistics and is intended as a replacement for BDB. A new Hebrew-French lexicon (ed. P. Reymond) and a Hebrew-English lexicon (ed. J. Roberts) are in preparation (see *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 3 [1990] 73-89), while the *Diccionario Biblico Hebreo-Espanol* has been published under the general editorship of L. Alonso Schökel (1994).

The Academy of the Hebrew Language in Jerusalem is preparing a historical dictionary of the Hebrew language "based on a computer-stored lexical archive of (at least) twenty-five million quotations from thousands of literary and non-literary sources of all periods of the Hebrew language covering almost 3,000 years of recorded history." The work will be based on Hebrew roots; thus far, only a one hundred page specimen of a single root (*'rb*) has been published.

2. Greek HB Lexicons. Influenced by the Pasor's NT lexicon (see LEXICONS, NT), Z. Rosenback (1595–1638) produced the first lexicon for the Greek HB, *Moses omniscuis sive omniscientia Mosaica . . .*, which appeared in 1633. Rosenback organized the words thematically rather than alphabetically. In seventy-two sections he brought together the terms according to related fields, e.g., words relating to time, parts of the body, etc. The major standard lexicon on the Greek HB remains the work of J. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus, sive lexicon in LXX et religuos interpretes Graecos ac scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti* (3 vols., 1820–21), based on the work of J. Biel (3 vols., 1779). *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* is currently being published under the general editorship of J. Lust (1992–). A lexicon to the Greek text of the twelve prophets has been published by T. Muraoka (1993).

3. Other Hebrew/Aramaic Lexicons. A number of lexicons not directly concerned with biblical Hebrew and Aramaic are often of service to HB scholars. E. Ben-Yehuda's *Millôn hallāšôn ha'ibrît hayyēšānāh wēhaḥadāšāh: Thesaurus totius hebraitatis et veteris et recentioris* (1908– ; repr. 8 vols., 1960) is a lexicon of both ancient and modern Hebrew. Although written in Hebrew, the basic meanings of words are also given in English, French, and German.

Numerous lexicons of post-biblical Hebrew/Aramaic have been produced by both Jews and Christians over the centuries. The following works are noteworthy: G. DALMAN, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (1897, 1938[3], repr. 1967); M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1886–1900; frequently repr. in various forms); and J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targummim und einen grossen Teil des rabbinischen Schrifttums* (1867–68, 1881[3]) and *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (4 vols., 1876–89), with supplement, *Nachträge und Berichtigungen* (1924).

4. Word Books, Encyclopedias, and Theological Dictionaries. These often overlap with some of the functions of a lexicon, and a number provide valuable word studies. A detailed multivolume encyclopedia of the HB, written primarily by Israeli scholars, is *'Ensîqlôpedyah miqrā'ît: Thesaurus rerum biblicarum alphabetico ordine digestus* (ed. S. Sukenik, 1950–). More theological in nature are E. Jenni and C. WESTERMANN (eds.), *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (2 vols., 1971–76; ET *Theological Lexicon of the OT* [3 vols., tr. M. Biddle, 1997]); R. Harris, G. Archer, Jr., and B. Waltke (eds.), *Theological Wordbook of the OT* (2 vols., 1980); and J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (1970– ; ET *Theological Dictionary of the OT* [1977–]). The latter work parallels G. KITTEL's *Theological Dictionary of the NT* and provides surveys of ancient Near Eastern lexical materials relevant to Hebrew words as well as a discussion of biblical materials.

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J. H. HAYES

LEXICONS, NEW TESTAMENT

A lexicon is a DICTIONARY containing the words of a language and their definitions. Specialized lexicons treat the vocabulary of particular fields of knowledge (e.g., biblical criticism), of individual authors (e.g., Aristotle or Plutarch), or of various sets of documents (e.g., the HB and the NT).

1. Ancient and Medieval Greek Lexicography. Greek lexicography evolved out of Greek glossography, which began with the efforts of ancient rhapsodes, sophists, philosophers, and grammarians to explain rare and obsolete epic words, dialectical forms and expressions, technical terms, and various linguistic oddities. Lexical studies flourished during the Hellenistic period, especially at Alexandria, where Philetas of Cos, Zenodotus of Ephesus, Didymus of Alexandria, and Aristophanes of Byzantium were active. The latter has often been

called the founder of ancient Greek lexicography because his comprehensive and highly influential *Lexeis,* which apparently was arranged partly according to dialect and partly according to subject, set a new standard in scholarship and scientific method. During the Roman imperial period Pamphilus of Alexandria (fl. 50 CE) produced a mammoth lexicon in ninety-five books, and the Atticistic revival spawned works by numerous lexicographers, including Eirenaeus of Alexandria, Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, Phrynichus, Herodian, Moeris, and Harpocration. Some works contained numerous synonyms and rhetorical terms, e.g., the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux, which included a list of thirty-three terms of abuse to apply to tax collectors. Others focused on the works of particular authors, e.g, Timaeus's lexicon of Plato or on the distinctive vocabulary of certain subjects like mathematics, medicine, or cooking. Bilingual glossaries (Greek-Latin, Greek-Coptic, and Latin-Greek) also emerged, many on papyrus (J. Kramer [1983]) and often in the form of simple word lists to facilitate the reading of important Greek and Latin texts like those of Homer, Cicero, and Virgil (R. Gaebel [1969–70]). Of the Greek lexicons produced in later periods, the most important were those of Hesychius of Alexandria, Photius of Constantinople, and Thomas Magister as well as the *Etymologicum Magnum* and the *Suda.* The most famous bilingual lexicons were produced by Latin glossographers and included the Greek-Latin Cyrillus glossary, the Latin-Greek Philoxenus glossary, and the Greek-Latin *Pseudo-Dositheana Hermeneumata.*

2. The Earliest Greek NT Lexicons. Early Christian lexical efforts were undertaken for the purpose of studying, interpreting, and proclaiming both the HB and the NT. The results of these labors appear in a variety of documents, including commentaries, treatises, letters, homilies, liturgical texts, and bilingual biblical manuscripts (e.g., PSI 13.1306 [Seider, 1981] and Codex Claromontanus). Of purely lexical works still extant, the most interesting early lexicon to the NT is a bilingual glossary to parts of four Pauline letters (Romans, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians). Written on papyrus and dated to the fourth/fifth century, it is preserved along with a Greek grammar in Chester Beatty Codex Ac. 1499 (= P^{99}) and provides Latin translations of Pauline words and phrases (A. Wouters [1988]; K. Wachtel and K. Witte [1994]). Curiously, it does not follow the canonical sequence (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) of PAUL's letters but repeatedly jumps from one passage to another.

The first printed Greek-Latin glossary of the NT appears in volume five of the Complutensian POLYGLOT, which also contains the first printed Greek NT. The glossary, which is incomplete and somewhat inaccurate, consists of seventy-five unnumbered pages, with three columns to a page. It lists many inflectional forms in regular alphabetical order and includes the vocabulary of Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon as well as that of the NT. Printed in 1514 and published in 1522, it was designed to assist those who had only an elementary knowledge of Greek. To the same end, the Greek NT and the VULGATE were printed in parallel columns, with each Greek word or group of words coded to its Latin equivalent by means of small supralinear roman letters.

The first person to compile a separate glossary of NT Greek words was J. Lithocomus (Steenhouwer), who, like the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot, included words drawn from the SEPTUAGINT (1552). The Antwerp Polyglot printed by C. Plantin (1572), on the other hand, contained a lexicon that purported to cover the NT as well as all Greek authors. It was not until 1614, exactly one hundred years after the printing of the Complutensian Polyglot, that the first glossary devoted exclusively to the NT was published. The compiler, E. Lubin, provided brief definitions of words but no references to passages where they occur.

The first substantive NT dictionary having true scientific merit was produced by G. Pasor. His *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (1st ed., 1619) was arranged according to word roots. The simple form of the verb usually was listed first, then all the words sharing the same stem. For the words he covered Pasor gave the basic meaning as well as any special meanings or uses, provided biblical references (sometimes with citations of the Greek text accompanied by a Latin translation), discussed some of the more important exegetical questions, gave grammatical information (e.g., the gender and genitive ending of nouns), listed the tense forms of verbs, provided the Hebrew equivalents for words occurring in the Septuagint, and frequently suggested the Hebrew or Aramaic word from which he thought a Greek word derived. Unfortunately, some of his derivations were rather fanciful; for example, he attempted to derive the Greek word for "head" (*kephalē*) from the Hebrew verb "to double" (*kāpal*), because the head has two eyes, two ears, and two nostrils. Despite its limitations, the *Lexicon* was enormously successful and was reprinted or revised for more than 150 years. Pasor personally revised and expanded it three times (1621^2; 1626^3; 1632^4) and appended to it a work on etymology (*Etyma nominum propriorum* [1622]). A register of Greek words listed in alphabetical order was included in the *Lexicon* so that the group to which an individual word belonged could be easily determined. The value and utility of the work was also enhanced by an index of Latin words that referred to the pages where the Greek equivalents were discussed. In addition to the *Lexicon* Pasor also produced two popular abridgments, a medium-sized *Manuale* (1624) and a miniature *Syllabus* (1632). For both of these smaller lexicons Pasor presented the individual Greek words in simple alphabetical sequence.

3. NT Lexicography in the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries. Of the Greek-Latin lexicons published in the two centuries following Pasor's pioneering efforts, the more important were those of Ludovicus Lucius (Ludwig Lutz, [1640]); C. Stock (1725); J. Schöttgen (1746); J. Schleusner (1792); C. Wahl (1822); K. Bretschneider (1824); C. WILKE (1841). Important too were the contributions of J. Fischer, who revised Stock's lexicon (1752) and Pasor's *Manuale* (1755) and judiciously assessed the strengths and weaknesses of other lexicons in his *Prolusiones de vitiis lexicorum NT* (1791), a work that greatly influenced subsequent NT lexicography. The first Greek-English lexicon was the work of E. Leigh (1639). It was followed by the lexicons of J. Parkhurst (1769) and E. ROBINSON, who in 1825 translated Wahl's work into English and in 1836 produced his own dictionary (rev. ed., 1850).

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the best Greek-Latin lexicon was provided by C. Grimm, who, using the second edition of Wilke's lexicon (1851) as his basis, produced a vastly improved dictionary that was virtually a new work (1868). Among its many merits was the inclusion of textual readings found in the editions of J. J. GRIESBACH, K. LACHMANN, and C. TISCHENDORF. The second edition (1879) was translated into English and further improved by J. Thayer (1886; corrected ed., 1889), whose work served as the standard Greek-English lexicon until the second half of the twentieth century and is still often reprinted, sometimes with various enhancements (1981).

4. Twentieth-century NT Lexicons. At the turn of the twentieth century, A. DEISSMANN called attention to the importance of papyri, inscriptions, and colloquial Hellenistic Greek for NT lexicography. Although Deissmann never completed the lexicon on which he labored for many years, his emphasis was reflected in many early twentieth-century works on the grammar and vocabulary of the NT. For example, F. Zorell (1911, 1961^3), H. Ebeling (1913, 1929^3) and A. Souter (1916) were among the first to use the papyri in a lexicon. The major contributors in this area were J. Moulton and G. Milligan, who ably illustrated the vocabulary of the NT from both the papyri and other nonliterary sources (1930).

Of the lexicons produced in this century, the most important have been those associated with the name of W. BAUER, whose first effort appeared in 1928 as the fully revised second edition of E. Preuschen's Greek-German lexicon of 1910. The third edition of this dictionary (Bauer's second) appeared in 1937, the fourth in 1952, and the fifth in 1958 (corrected ed., 1963). Bauer shared Deissmann's conviction that the NT represents, in general, the *Koinē* of the Greco-Roman period; and to demonstrate this he cited (especially in the 4th and 5th editions) a wealth of materials from secular Greek literature. At the same time he argued that the Septuagint outweighed all other influences on early Christian literature and thus frequently cited it as well as other representatives of Hellenistic Judaism.

Bauer's fourth edition was translated into English, with adaptations and additions by W. Arndt and F. Gingrich (1957 = BAG). The fifth edition was similarly translated and significantly augmented by Gingrich and F. Danker (1979 = BAG[D]) and is now the standard Greek-English lexicon of the NT. A sixth edition of Bauer's lexicon, edited by K. ALAND and B. Aland in collaboration with V. Reichmann, was published in 1988 and, despite its considerable shortcomings (R. Borger [1989]; G. Strecker [1991]), is now the standard Greek-German NT lexicon (= BAAR). Based on the Greek text common to the twenty-sixth edition of the *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1979) and the third edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek NT* (1975; corrected ed., 1983), the sixth edition contains approximately 250 new articles not found in previous editions. Most of these stem from the increased citation of words from the apostolic fathers, the second-century apologists, the early NT APOCRYPHA, and other early Christian documents. Elegantly printed, it contains about a third more material than the fifth German edition and includes word-frequency statistics as well as many new references to textual variants, the intertestamental PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, and Hellenistic Jewish texts.

A revision of BAG(D) is in preparation by Danker, with publication planned before the year 2000. The revision will incorporate the contributions of BAAR, but it will also contain such important new features as an emphasis on definition of words, greater attention to semantic field, and the placement of terms within their various cultural contexts. Such features as well as greater attention to inscriptions and the papyri promise to make the revised BAG(D) more useful for addressing contemporary sociological and anthropological concerns.

Finally, in contrast to the standard alphabetical listing of words found in Bauer and in most lexicons, J. Louw and E. Nida in 1988 made available a Greek-English NT lexicon in which the vocabulary of the NT is analyzed according to ninety-three semantic domains, which frequently are further divided into subdomains. All words that have closely related meanings are grouped together, e.g., eighty-three different words are treated in five related groups as part of the semantic domain "know." This lexicon, which contains full descriptive definitions based on distinctive meanings of particular terms, constitutes a valuable supplement to traditional NT lexicons.

5. Theological Dictionaries of the NT. Although its initial articles are already more than sixty years old, the German theological dictionary edited by G. KITTEL and G. Friedrich (= *TWNT* [1932–1979]) and translated into English by G. Bromiley (= *TDNT* [1964–76]; abridged ed., 1985) remains the standard against which all others

are measured. Its precursors include works by M. FLACIUS ILLYRICUS (1567), W. Teller (1772), F. Oetinger (1776), and especially H. Cremer (1866, 1902[9]), whose biblical-theological dictionary was translated into English by D. Simon and W. Urwick (1872, 1892[4], repr. 1954) and underwent a thorough revision by his student J. Kögel (10th German ed., 1915, 1923[11]). The most important work since the completion of *TWNT/TDNT* is the *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum NT* (1967–71), edited by L. Coenen, E. Beyreuther, and H. Bietenhard. It has been translated into English, with additions and revisions, under the editorship of C. Brown and is entitled *The New International Dictionary of NT Theology* (1975–78).

Some preliminary discussions have been held about producing a new theological dictionary as a replacement for *TWNT/TDNT.* Such a replacement is highly desirable for a variety of reasons, many having to do with the deficiencies of *TWNT/TDNT:* (a) Its articles are not only dated but also uneven in both quality and length; (b) the philological assumptions that underlie many of the earlier (and some of the later) articles are outmoded and problematic (J. Barr [1961]); (c) the dictionary is the product of German Protestant theological scholarship of the mid-twentieth century and does not adequately represent the interests and perspectives of other traditions and continents; and (d) many of the articles represent an overreaction to the excesses of the RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE and operate with a bias against the relevance of Hellenistic texts and in favor of the pertinence of Jewish materials. Therefore, there is a pressing need for a new theological dictionary that will (a) draw on the results of modern scholarship, (b) be philologically sound, (c) reflect an awareness of and an appreciation for the diverse theological concerns of the contemporary world, and (d) exhibit balance in the use of Jewish and non-Jewish materials. Such a dictionary will necessarily be a collaborative effort and will take decades to produce, but efforts could profitably begin by securing the philological base of the endeavor through an extensive study of the semantic range of early Christian vocabulary.

6. Other Lexicons and Lexical Aids. In addition to the works mentioned in the preceding sections, the following lexicons, lexical aids, and publications are pertinent to the study of the Greek NT and other early Christian literature: (a) the indexes of J. Alsop to both BAG (1964) and BAG(D) (1981); (b) the manual lexicon of G. Abbott-Smith (1921, 1937[3]), which is often useful as a supplement to Bauer's lexicons; (c) C. Spicq's three-volume *Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire* (1978–82), also available in an English translation by J. Ernest under the title *Theological Lexicon of the NT* (= *TLNT* [1994]), which contains numerous important references to the papyri and inscriptions; (d) H. Balz and G. Schneider, *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (1978–83), also available in English as *Exegetical Dictionary of the NT* (1990–93), which often contains valuable comments on NT terminology; (e) *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity,* which is an informative series of papyrological and epigraphic studies. The first five volumes were edited by G. Horsley (1981–89) and the more recent ones by S. Llewelyn in collaboration with R. Kearsley (1992–). Horsley's volumes in the series were produced as a step toward the "New MM Project," an important endeavor (funded mainly by the Australian Research Council) that aims to produce a replacement volume for the now severely outdated one done by Moulton and Milligan in 1930. The chief investigators are Horsley and J. Lee, who are currently engaged in electronic searching (via the CD-ROM PHI6) for documentary parallels to the NT, systematic new lexical analysis of the words in the NT, and preparation of interim entries for publication. Some of their preliminary results will be exhibited in a forthcoming article entitled "A New Lexicon of Epigraphic and Papyrus Parallels to the NT Vocabulary: Some Interim Entries"; (f) G. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (1961–68), which is often useful for NT exegesis as well as the study of patristic literature; and (g) for the Syriac NT, G. Kiraz, *Lexical Tools to the Syriac NT* (1994).

Works designed especially for those with only a basic knowledge of Greek include the following: (a) S. Kubo, *A Reader's Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and a Beginner's Guide for the Translation of NT Greek* (1975), which is useful for more rapid reading of the Greek NT; (b) analytical Greek lexicons, which provide a grammatical analysis of every inflection of every word occurring in the Greek NT and include H. Moulton's 1977 revision of a work published by S. Bagster and Sons in 1852, now entitled *The Analytical Greek Lexicon Revised*; W. Perschbacher, *The New Analytical Greek Lexicon* (1990); and W. Mounce, *The Analytical Lexicon to the Greek NT* (1993); (c) parsing information and grammatical analysis is provided by A. Robertson, *Word Pictures in the NT* (1930–33); N. Han, *A Parsing Guide to the Greek NT* (1971); F. Rienecker and C. Rogers, Jr., *A Linguistic Key to the NT* (1980); P. Guillemette, *The Greek NT Analyzed* (1986); M. Zerwick and M. Grosvenor, *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek NT* (1996[5]); and some electronic programs like those produced by the GRAMCORD Institute; (d) J. Greenlee, *A NT Greek Morpheme Lexicon* (1983), which displays the words in BAG(D) according to their component parts; (e) the word studies of M. Vincent (1887), W. Vine (1900), K. Wuest (1940–55; 3 vol. ed., 1973), W. Barclay (1964) and N. Turner (1980) provide basic information but should be used with an awareness of their limitations; and (f) R. Trench, *Synonyms of the NT* (1880[9], repr., 1980; rev. ed. by J. Hughes and C. Hughes [1989]).

Of the lexicons and lexical aids not concerned spe-

cifically with the vocabulary of early Christianity, the more important are as follows: (a) H. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (rev. H. Jones, with the assistance of R. McKenzie; [1940^9] = LSJ or LSJM); the 1968 supplement edited by E. Barber has now been replaced with a new, extensively revised and expanded supplement, produced under the editorship of P. Glare and the assistance of A. Thompson (1996), that contains more than 20,000 entries and incorporates Linear B forms as well as words and forms from the papyri and inscriptions; (b) R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes* (1975 and 1982), two volumes that supplement LSJ; (c) F. Preisigke and E. Kiessling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (1925–), with its supplement (1969–); (d) E. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (1870; corrected ed., 1887; repr. 1983); (e) the Latin dictionaries of C. Lewis and C. Short (1879), A. Souter (1949), and Glare (1982); and (f) for unusual verbal forms, G. Traut, *Lexikon über die Formen der griechischen Verba* (1867; repr., 1968), and N. Marione and F. Guala, *Complete Handbook of Greek Verbs* (1961).

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J. T. FITZGERALD, JR.

LIBERATION THEOLOGIES

1. Historical Development. The type of biblical interpretation to be described here developed in Latin America in the course of the 1960s and was received and further developed in other parts of the Third World. Within this method of interpretation, one can distinguish two levels: the popular liberation movements and the more theologically oriented liberation theologies.

On the popular level there are scarcely any historical precedents in Latin America. The reading of the Bible was prohibited to the Roman Catholic people for centuries and was propagated only by individual figures (like M. da Conciação) since the 1920s. In most cases the people knew the Bible only from song texts (a method of evangelization used by the Jesuits) and from the worship service (see F. Rolim [1988]; J. Konings [1984]). An illustrative example of the traditional popular understanding of the Bible is the interpretation of Christ: Against the background of the reality of their own lives, the people see him as either the suffering, defeated, powerless one, with whom they can identify, or the heavenly ruler who is depicted with the insignia of the colonial rulers and who legitimates their rule. In the first case, Christ's resurrection plays almost no role; in the second, his saving death is scarcely present (see J. Araújo [1984]; R. Azzi [1985^2]; G. Casalis [1984]; D. Irrarazaval [1986]; S. Trinidad [1984]).

Conversely, the contemporary Latin American liberation theology and its particular form of exegesis have their precursors. The most frequently named is B. de Las Casas (1474–1566), whom E. Dussel goes so far as to designate "the greatest theologian of the sixteenth century" (1985, 72). In contrast to most theologians of his time, Las Casas argued less philosophically and juridically than biblically. For example, he condemned the dispersion, enslavement, and forced christianization of the Indians, noting that God had given the law neither to Abraham (as an individual) nor to the oppressed in Egypt, but only to Israel after the exodus because a free

people was the necessary precondition for the giving of the law (Las Casas [1957/58] 2:197). In the extermination of the Indians by the Spanish, Christ is crucified again, "not once, but thousands of times" (2:511).

Similar applications of biblical texts are found in the writings of modern liberation theologians; nevertheless, it is hardly correct when Las Casas's awareness, which is astonishingly critical for its time, is traced back to his biblical orientation (contra J. Pagalday [1988] 49; G. Gutiérrez [1985²] 57-58). His contemporary, for instance, V. de Quiroga (1470–1565; 1538–65, bishop of Michoacán, Mexico) supported his defense of the Indians more with philosophical texts and church doctrine than with biblical texts (J. Moreira [1985] 47). Brazilian clerics took part in the revolutions of 1817 and 1824 primarily because they were influenced by the enlightenment ideas of French philosophers (Azzi [1985²] 29). A. Vieira (mid 17th cent.) on the other hand, justified the enslavement of blacks biblically (see Col 3:22-24; Eph 6:5-9; 1 Pet 2:18-21; Luke 12:37), while G. Leite (1546–1603) condemned this practice philosophically (E. Hoornaert [1982] 36, 54-55, 78-79; 1985, 67).

These examples show that a biblical orientation was neither necessary nor a sufficient condition for non-imperialistic theological thought. Nevertheless, there is a line of emancipatory biblical interpretation that can only be alluded to here with a few names (for individual treatments see the collective works of Faculdade [1985²]; P. Richard [1985]): A. de Montesinos (16th century: defense of the Indians with, e.g., Luke 3:4; Ezekiel 34); P. de Córdoba (16th century: the oppression of the Indians surpasses that of the Israelites in Egypt); M. Lacunza y Diaz (1731–1801: resort to Daniel and the Apocalypse); J. Morelos y Pavón (1765–1815: the liberation of Israel from oppression in Egypt and Babylon as an inspiration for the struggle for liberation in Mexico); and A. Pallais (1884–1954: exodus motif of central significance).

The process through which a strong theological trend emerged from these individual voices who superseded the "theology of development," and within which the popular understanding of the Bible was radically transformed, still has not been completely studied (attempts by Azzi [1985²]; C. Boff [1986³] 83-84; Dussell [1985, 1985²]; [1988] 364-76; A. Garcia Rubio [1983³] 33-75; C. Mesters [1987⁴]; C. Pinto da Silva [1988]; R. Poblette [1979]; S. Silva Gotay [1985²]). One can distinguish between political-economic and ecclesial-theological factors, which stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. To the first group belong the increasing oppression and pauperization in Latin America as well as the interpretation of these processes through the theory of dependence and, further, the success of the Marxist revolution in Cuba. The ecclesial-theological factors (the influence of Vatican II and of theological developments in the First World) are in part independent of these political and economic ones, but they are also in part the answer to the altered social realities (the radicalization of the engagement of laity in the Acción Católica, meetings of theologians, and church documents like those from Medellin and Puebla).

It is true that liberation theology was from the beginning biblically oriented (J. Konings [1984] 85). Nonetheless, the interest in the Bible and its emancipatory interpretation are certainly secondary to the participation of Christians in the revolutionary process and to the adoption of modern sociological categories (see SOCIOLOGY AND NT/HB STUDIES) in theology. A particular exegesis had doubtlessly strengthened and fertilized the development of liberation theology, but this exegesis itself was a consequence. In the new social and theological context, the Bible had something new and interesting to say.

2. Popular Exegesis in Latin America: Forms, Texts, Themes. In Latin America groups of Christians who read the Bible together are formed out of a variety of motives: There may be liturgical causes (e.g., a preparation for Christmas, a campaign for fraternity), external events that concern the community (e.g., expulsions of peasants from their land), or simply the desire for more community. In addition, Bible courses are being offered more frequently (e.g., in Brazil by the Centro de Estudos Biblicos [CEBI], whose central figure is Mesters; see W. Schürger [1995]). Exegetically trained facilitators from such organizations visit the grassroots communities and motivate them to come to grips with the texts on their own, while offering exegetical assistance with restraint. Furthermore, the reading of the Bible plays a significant role at the interregional meetings of agricultural workers, unions, and the like that are organized by the church (Mesters [1988]; A. Steiner [1985]; J. Swetnam [1984]).

On this level, biblical interpretations are mainly oral. If they are documented in writing (instructions to and results of Bible meetings), it is only in duplicated pages and pamphlets of the simplest kind, which never go beyond the boundaries of the respective parish or diocese. Nevertheless, pertinent publications are also available in foreign countries. The best known is E. Cardenal's *Das Evangelium der Bauern von Solentiname* (1981; ET *The Gospel in Solentiname* [1976]); others include the anonymous publications "Parables of Today," "Amostras da hermeneûtica dos pobres," "A luta pela Reforma Agrária e a Bíblia" (further: E. Bambamarca [1983³]; M de Barros Souza [1983, 1983]; M. Garcia Gutierrez [1983]; R. McAfee Brown [1988]; Mesters, *Leben* [1983]; A. Reiser and P. Schoenborn [1981]; Rolim [1988]; C. Rowland and M. Corner [1989]; T. Schmeller [1994]).

In such documents, one discovers a preference for the HB over the NT. This emphasis may in part be due to the more concrete images of the HB, but it derives

primarily from the possibility for the people of Latin America to identify with Israel. In Israel's history there is a recognizable "project of God" (Mesters [1984[5]]) that has not yet been completed but that includes the similarly perceived Latin American reality today. It can be seen in Israel's exodus and conquest as God frees the people from oppression in Egypt, desiring equality for them rather than hierarchy, productive autonomy instead of exploitation, etc.

In the following age of the biblical story the project is often darkened, especially through the monarchy, but the prophets continue to point to it. The project is completely realized through JESUS, who as a poor man announced the reign of God to the poor and who fights for it against oppression and exploitation. His message of brother and sisterhood and solidarity with the marginalized of society is confirmed through the resurrection. It is set forth in the practice of the first churches, which presents a clear picture of the project according to the Acts of the Apostles (e.g., in the community's holding of goods in common).

Besides these indicated themes, the psalms play a great role, especially those that reflect the experience of the exile. Jeremiah 22:16 is often quoted in order to bring out the priority of liberating practice over any religious talk. The wisdom books find approval on account of their proximity to Latin American folk wisdom. From Maccabees and Ezra–Nehemiah one gains inspiration for the revolutionary situation today and for the reconstruction that needs to follow the revolution (C. Boff [1986[3]] 46-47).

In the NT, besides Jesus' work in general and the SERMON ON THE MOUNT in particular, his PARABLES are of primary importance because of their rural local color and their simplicity. Also often referred to is Mary, the mother of Jesus, who becomes a figure of identification for the oppressed, and her Magnificat, which is understood literally as a basic text of revolution. While the letters of PAUL play hardly any role, the Apocalypse of John is very important: "The Apocalypse is a writing that shows that God is in the struggle. That there will be no liberation without much suffering beforehand. The Apocalypse explains emphatically that we must be steadfast to the end. What counts is the certainty of the victory. . . . Whether it is the Roman Empire of that age, whether it is the authoritarian state today, the Apocalypse shows the state to be a wild animal. . . . The peasant can struggle from now on because he knows that this new heaven and this new earth are our hope" (Barros Souza, *Luta* [1983] 86-87).

3. The Exegesis of Liberation Theology in Latin America: Forms, Texts, Themes. Although biblical impulses were important for liberation theology from the beginning, liberation theology went a long time without developing its own academic exegesis. Either it fell back on the exegetical tradition of Europe or North America or it dealt with biblical texts only in the framework of systematic theology. Only in the last decades of the twentieth century has exegesis from the standpoint of liberation theology attained greater significance. The *Estudos Biblicos,* which previously were only an appendix to the *Revista Ecclesiastica Brasileira,* have been published independently since 1984 (e.g., "The Bible as the Remembrance of the Poor," 1 [1984]; "The Way of Liberation," 2 [1984]; "Reading the Bible from the Real Conditions of Life," 7 [1985]). Moreover, J. Comblin is publishing a commentary series (*Epistola aos Filipenses* [1985]) over the whole Bible for which seventy volumes are planned, and since 1988 the *Revista de Interpretação Bíblica Latino-Americana* has appeared in both Spanish and Portuguese editions.

What was true of popular exegesis is also, though less starkly, true for the more strictly academic exegesis of liberation theology: The HB has rather more significance than the NT. At the same time, however, there is an attempt to consider each text and each theme in the framework of the whole Bible. Two great theme-complexes are central: (a) the biblical witness to liberation in the history of the people of God and (b) the biblical obligation to carry out liberation today.

a. The biblical witness to liberation. This witness is treated, on the one hand, in studies based directly on biblical terminology and conceptions of "liberation" and "oppression" (e.g., T. Hanks [1983]; R. Ortega [1978]; E. Tamez [1982]). On the other hand, it appears in investigations of all sorts of texts and themes from the standpoint of "liberation." In this context, "liberation" can be understood in a variety of ways. Thus one differentiates between (1) "political, economic, social, and cultural liberation"; (2) "anthropological, historical, and communitarian self-discovery of humanity"; and (3) "salvation in a theological sense," all of which represent "different levels of a comprehensive historical process and which mutually condition one another" (H. Goldstein [1977] 67-68). Liberation theology does not, therefore, reduce liberation to the political and economic plane (as is frequently charged), but neither does liberation theology reduce liberation to a spiritual and otherworldly plane (with which liberation theology charges traditional theology). This more comprehensive understanding is based theologically on the denial of the separation of the order of creation from the order of salvation, of nature from the supernatural, of history from salvation history. There is only the one process of liberation, in which different aspects may be relevant depending on the situation. For Latin America today liberation is above all a liberation from hunger, injustice, and oppression.

The HB theme referred to most frequently is the exodus of Israel out of Egypt: Just as God led the chosen people in concrete historical reality, as God freed them from oppression and made them God's people, so God

also does today with the marginalized masses in Latin America. The exodus event is one of the many embodiments of the kingdom of God in the HB (G. Pixley [1983²]) that all have in common an overthrow of "social breaches," i.e., an end of marginalization and the disintegration of certain groups through "reconciliations" (covenant and covenant renewals; Konings [1975]).

In the NT the SYNOPTIC Gospels and in particular the praxis of Jesus are of special interest. The historical Jesus is especially referred to (J. Segundo [1985]; J. Sobrino [1978²]), although little attention is given to the reconstruction of his life; most scholars, in fact, do not make a primary distinction between the historical Jesus and the kerygmatic Christ (C. Bussmann [1980] 67-68). Luke 4:18-19 serves as the summation of Jesus' work and for liberation theology is one of the key texts of the NT. The kingdom of God announced by Jesus is not given a unitary explanation but can be described in relatively general terms as a utopian expression of a last, universal sense that represents a comprehensive revolution in the structures of the world (L. Boff [1974, 1979]), or as a liberation of the poor from material and social oppression (Sobrino [1979]), or even more concretely as a classless society without private property (J. Miranda [1982]). The political implications of the work and message of Jesus present themselves in a corresponding variety but are always emphasized. They are either the indirect result of his particularly religious appearance (e.g., Croatto, *Exodus* [1981]; S. Galilea [1984]), or they are seen as direct political activity after the manner of the Zealots (see Pixley [1983²]). These implications are to be grasped in the conflicts Jesus provokes—conflicts that can be determined to be primarily confrontations with the Jewish religious authorities (theologians, Temple aristocrats), with the apparatus of the Roman state (slave society, Roman totalitarianism), or more generally with the privileged rich. Even more often one finds the interpretation that Jesus' critique of the traditional legitimation of exploitation and oppression through religious ideology led to a political conflict (see Pixley [1983²]; I. Ellacuría [1984]; Croatto, *Exodus* [1981]; *Political Dimension* [1984]; see also, A. McGovern [1983]). The execution of Jesus is in any case no mere misunderstanding or blunder; rather, it is the reaction of persons in power to his direct or indirect subversive activity. Seen in this light, Jesus' death seals his life but can still be interpreted as a failure that includes him with all those who have suffered unjustly (Bussmann [1980] 136). Thus the inclusive side of the death of Jesus is stressed more than the exclusive (Sobrino [1986] 296). The resurrection of Jesus only makes the liberation he has brought complete because it guarantees a good end to the process already begun (L. Boff [1979]). It is not simply the "good news," for all people, but rather as the resurrection of the crucified one it represents first of all hope for all persons crucified in history (Sobrino [1986] 296).

Other NT texts are clearly of less interest to liberation theologians than the synoptic Gospels. The Pauline doctrine of justification is understood not only in individual and existential terms but also in political and economic terms: Sin is also (or above all) social injustice and exploitation; the law causes alienation from reality and leads to dependence and an absence of freedom; justification is a process that allows the new person to come into existence, liberating from egoism and participation in oppressive structures to love and comportment in solidarity (Croatto, *Exodus* [1981]; Miranda [1974]; E. Barreto Cesar [1983]). The Gospel of John is also sometimes read in terms of liberation theology (Miranda [1977]; see S. Phillips [1978] for the use of Scripture by Segundo).

The way in which liberation theologians attempt to answer the pressing question of a specifically Christian bearing as opposed to revolutionary violence on the basis of the NT is also revealing. Here there are essentially three positions, with the third being by far the most widely represented: (1) Jesus' practice of spilling his own blood rather than the blood of others is for Christians today obligatory and must define the particular style of a Christian liberation struggle (see Ortega [1978] 73-74); Jesus himself defended and approved the use of violence (his words on swords, cleansing of the Temple) and is a model for Christians even for a violent revolutionary engagement on behalf of the poor (see Miranda [1982]); (3) Jesus' practice and message were, to be sure, non-violent, but this attitude was tactically conditioned (Pixley [1983²]), prophetic-charismatic (Galilea [1984]), or only one biblical paradigm among many (J. Míguez Bonino [1975]) and is therefore not normative for today; it is the situation in Latin America, not the commandment or the model of Jesus, that urges a policy of nonviolence.

b. The biblical obligation to act for liberation today. This obligation is, according to liberation theology, particularly recognizable in the prophets of the HB. Such texts as Isa 42:5-7; Hos 4:1-2; 6:6; and Mic 3:9-12, but in particular the oft-cited text of Jer 22:13-16, define true knowledge of God as acts of justice and intervention on behalf of the oppressed (see McGovern [1983] 464; G. Gorgulho [1978] 293-94). Furthermore, the salvific future promised by the prophets (as in Zech 8:7-17) is tied to acts that free the poor, the orphans, and the widows (Gorgulho [1978] 294). Just as Jesus understood himself only in connection with the kingdom of God, so also Christians can understand themselves only in connection to Jesus. The Christian must therefore follow his service to the kingdom of God, which means engaging oneself for love and justice. Only this orthopraxy, which today in Latin America is especially important on a political-economic plane, allows Jesus to

be understood (Sobrino [1978²]). The kingdom of God has a present and a future aspect: It is given concrete realization in each actual act of liberation (each experience of liberation is resurrection)—however, it cannot be identified with any of these acts of liberation, but rather always remains in the future and only makes possible the construction of imperfectly and provisionally better societies through the promise that this engagement is not senseless (L. Boff [1974]; Míguez Bonino [1975]; A. Fragoso [1971]). An unbroken continuity between human society and the kingdom of God is only rarely postulated (e.g., by Miranda [1982]).

Concerning the determination of the justice brought by Jesus and to be realized by Christians, liberation theology bases its claims with particular alacrity on the Gospel of Matthew and its concept of "righteousness" (*dikaiosyne*; so Matt 5:10, 20; 6:33; Gorgulho [1978]). The most widely cited NT text in liberation theology (next to Luke 4:18-19; see above) is Matt 25:31-46, the depiction of the last judgment, focused on orthopraxy as opposed to orthodoxy. The decisive acts of mercy it portrays must today in Latin America be understood politically and collectively (G. Gutiérrez [1992¹⁰] 189).

4. Methodology and Hermeneutics. The exegesis of Latin American liberation theology applies about the same range of methods as does the exegesis of the First World. Next to a continuation of historical criticism, structuralist (Croatto; see STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION), psychological (Alves; see PSYCHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), feministic (Tamez; see FEMINIST INTERPRETATION), anthropological (Segundo) and, above all, sociological approaches (Anderson, Barros Souza, Gorgulho, Richard, M. Schwantes) can be recognized. What constitutes the peculiarity of liberation-theological exegesis, however, is its close connection with the reading of the Bible among the people of Latin America.

a. Popular exegesis. A basic methodological feature of Bible study groups in Latin America is to proceed, not from the text, but from one's own life. Because those taking part are not fundamentally concerned with interpretation of the Bible as such but with their own lives, questions from real life must first be formulated before they can be answered from the Bible. The first part of such a study, therefore, consists of a discussion of the actual situation, particularly with regard to the socioeconomic sphere, since the most urgent problems lie here. To this end one can present either a significant story (Mesters, *Leben* [1983]; E. Bambamarca [1983³]; Anonymous [1985]), or show a picture (Anonymous, *Parables*), which can then draw the participants into a conversation leading to the expression of their problem. As a second step a biblical text is chosen and described, allowing the given situation to be seen in light of the will of God. In some circumstances the planning of concrete measures results as a third step (so, e.g., by the eleventh national meeting of the grassroots congregations of Mexico; see Garcia Gutierrez [1983]). This schema is spread widely as "Seeing-Judging-Acting."

For the connection between life situation and the text of the Bible there are two fundamental models. The first is older and appears to arise primarily where exegetical assistance is lacking: Persons, actions, and events in the Bible and today are more or less clearly identified. Thus the story of Jesus can be told anew with a leader of *campesinos* as the protagonist; instead of the magi, a bishop, a professor, and a physician visit the newborn; instead of fleeing into Egypt, the family flees into the slums of a large city; in the place of baptism and anointing appears the free acceptance of the problems of the *campesinos* (Bambamarca [1983³] 166-71, 182-83; further examples are to be found in Reiser-Schoenborn [1981] 165, 176, 293-98). The second basic model avoids direct identification and attempts to differentiate biblical from contemporary situations through a catalogue of questions that are applied to both sides: The so-called "Readings over Four Sides" (see Anderson-Gorgulho [1987²]) investigate the economic side (Who produces? Who consumes? How is labor divided, etc.?), the political side (Who exercises power? How?), the social side (Which groups are there? What is family life like?), and the ideological side (What do people think of life? Of religion? Of society?). The "twenty-point method" examines contemporary reality and the text of the Bible respectively according to names, titles, groups, places, vocations, conflicts, economic connections, etc.

The fundamental HERMENEUTIC is established on the basis of the "co-naturality," i.e., natural affinity (Mesters [1980] 564) between the people of the Bible and the people of Latin America. The oppressive situation and the liberation process begun in the name of God are in both cases the same; therefore, the people look into the Bible, not as through a window, excited to see what is taking place on the other side, but as into a mirror that reflects one's own life (F. Betto [1988] 126). A "contemporaneity exists between the historical memory of the oppressed of biblical times and the practical memory of the poor in Latin America" (Schwantes [1986] 386). Because the Bible was written by the poor, it can only be legitimately interpreted by poor people (Richard [1987⁴] 25).

The dealing of the people of Latin America with the Bible can be characterized in terms of these categories: immediate, free, subjective, and emancipatory (Schmeller [1987] 158-62; Gorgulho [1988]; C. Gudorf [1987]). The people understand themselves as the immediate addressees of the Bible even when the necessity of translation is strongly recognized. They feel themselves free to appropriate some texts literally and some figuratively. One group of farmers at a Bible convention set forth the hermeneutic principle: "We must not understand the text of Scripture literally (1) if it does not

correspond to our reality, and (2) if the force of older texts has been set aside through the command of love given by Jesus" (cited by Mesters [1980] 564). The subjective approach shows itself in the already indicated lack of interest in an understanding of text as text or as a testimony of the past without present consequence—the text serves exclusively to understand one's own life better. "The Bible is the catalogue of the world, which the Christian receives from the Creator, in order to be able to understand the sense of the exhibitions of life . . . An exhibition without a catalogue confuses the visitors. A catalogue without an exhibition is absolute nonsense" (Mesters [1984²] 162). Finally, both the selection and the exegesis of the biblical text are determined by a strong emancipatory interest. Reading in the framework of a political-economic liberation process allows one to discover systematic features in the Bible and thus strengthens the engagement of Christians in this process.

b. Academic exegesis. As stated above, the academic pursuit of liberation theology is not fundamentally different in its exegetical interests and pronouncements from the reading of the Bible among the people. What it contributes is a hermeneutical foundation for this popular style of reading and the provision of exegetical means and knowledge that are not specifically Latin American, but that can work there in a stimulating and corrective fashion.

Concerning the hermeneutical act of Bible reading, according to C. Boff, two models are practiced: "the correspondence of terms," and "the correspondence of relations" ([1986³] 237, 241; similarly Konings [1980]; Rowland and Corner [1989] 54, 78). The first model corresponds to the described identifiable exegesis among the common people. Here such equations are set up as "the power of the Romans" = "imperialism"; "the power of the Sadducees" = "dependent bourgeoisie"; "the political comportment of Jesus" = "participation of Christians in the revolutionary process" (239), without taking into account the changed contemporary context. According to Boff, only the second model is hermeneutically responsible because it does not simply copy biblical pronouncements and solutions but sees them in their historical context and attempts to come to corresponding but not necessarily identical solutions today. Therefore, it is not enough to say merely "the political engagement of Jesus" = "the political engagement of Christians" but rather "the political engagement of Jesus"/"the historical social context at that time" = "the political engagement of Christians"/"the current social context." If the same communication is intended, the alteration of the context necessitates an alteration in the pronouncement (Konings [1980]).

Croatto (1989) takes a different path to similar results. Following Ricoeur he designs a SEMIOTIC hermeneutic. The central term here is "excess of meaning" (*Sinnüberschuss*). As with any text, the meaning of the biblical text is not determined by the conditions of its historical formation. The text leaves its original context behind with its original meaning (decontextualization) and realizes an aspect of "excess of meaning" whenever it is introduced into a new context by a reader who then "rereads" it ("recontextualization"). This process of a "creation of meaning" (*Sinnschöpfung*) is found in the Bible; however, one must be careful to read the text within its same "semantic axes" (1989, 55) because not every "creation of meaning" is legitimate.

The problem broached here—that of a criterion of truth for biblical interpretation—is answered with a reference to praxis: Where the biblical interpretation of the community supports the process of liberation on its various levels but particularly in its socioeconomic and political aspects, the interpretation is true and legitimate. A certain risk cannot be excluded in the exegesis, however, because one cannot know whether a particular exegesis was justified before one sees the results (Barreto Cesar [1983] 396; Gudorf, 16).

5. Biblical Exegesis in Liberation Theologies and Grassroots Movements Outside of Latin America. Finally, during the last thirty years of the twentieth century, a similar form of biblical interpretation has developed outside of Latin America in other oppressive situations: In form, preferred texts and themes, methodology, and hermeneutics, one can clearly observe analogies on the popular as well as the academic plane. These cannot be dealt with in detail here, however (for a selection of representative contributions, see R. Sugirtharajah [1991]). These movements go back in part to the influence of Latin American liberation theology but have their own roots in the history and situation of each land concerned. The most important appearances are the minjung theology in Korea (see J. Lee [1988]; A. Mu [1981]; K. Raiser [1988]; of particular interest is Míguez Bonino [1988]), the Black or AFROCENTRIC theology in the United States (C. Felder [1989]; C. Gilkes [1989]; V. Wimbush [1989]), and the liberation theology and liberation movement among Blacks in South Africa (C. Banana [1979]; C. Breytenbach [1989]; B. Goba [1986]; O. de Villiers [1987]; I. Mosala [1986]; W. Vorster [1984]). Of further relevance is the document that appeared in July, 1989, "The Road to Damascus: *Kairos* and Conversion," to which thousands of Christians from South Africa, Namibia, South Korea, the Philippines, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala put their signatures.

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T. SCHMELLER

LIDDELL, HENRY GEORGE (1811–98)

Student (1830), tutor (1836), professor of moral philosophy (1845), censor (1846), and reforming dean (1855–91) of Christ Church, Oxford, L. was also the father of Alice, for whom C. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll [1832–98]) wrote *Alice in Wonderland.* From about 1834 much of his scholarly life was spent working with R. Scott of Balliol (d. 1873) on the still standard (in the revisions of H. Jones and R. McKenzie) *Greek-English Lexicon.* The first edition (1843) was largely an English translation of F. Passow's (1786–1833) Greek-German LEXICON, which was itself based on the work of J. G. Schneider (1750–1822), and Passow's name appeared on the title page of the second (1845) and third (1849) editions as well. L.'s improvements and additions climaxed in the major revision of 1883 (7th ed.).

Although he never visited Rome, his *History of Ancient Rome* (2 vols., 1855) was widely used and was abridged for schools. While headmaster of Westminster School (1846–55), L. served with his friend A. STANLEY on the University Commission (1850) to modernize Oxford, and as T. Gaisford's (1779–1855) successor as dean he personally carried through the transformation of Christ Church (1858), where his statue occupies a prominent position at the northeast entrance to Tom Quad. An isolated liberal, he eschewed with Olympian detachment the ecclesiastical controversies of his day in favor of a deep interest in drains, rowing, the university press, and non-collegiate students.

Works: *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1843, 1845², 1849³, 1883⁷; new ed. rev. and aug. H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie, 1940, 1996); *History of Ancient Rome* (2 vols., 1855)

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R. MORGAN

LIDZBARSKI, MARK (ABRAHAM MORDECAI) (1868–1928)

Having received a strict Orthodox education, at the age of fourteen L. fled Russian Poland for Prussian Poland. At the University of Berlin, he converted to Protestantism. His career as lecturer in oriental languages included the universities of Kiel, Greifswald, and Göttingen (where in 1918 he became a member of the Göttingen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften).

A proficient scholar in several areas of Semitic studies, L. is regarded as the founder of Semitic epigraphy, with several foundational works. He contributed significantly to the twenty-ninth edition of H. GESENIUS's Hebrew grammar. Although his edition of Mandean texts made them accessible to scholars, his theory of a Palestinian origin of GNOSTIC Mandeans in pre-Christian times has been largely rejected. However, his publication of significant Semitic texts has been of immeasurable importance.

Works: *Geschichten und Lieder aus den neuaramaischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (1896); *Die neuaramaischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (1896); *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (1898, repr. 1962); *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik, nebst ausgewählten Inschriften* (1900–15); *Paradigmen und Register zu Gesenius' Kautzsch hebraischer Grammatik* (29th ed., 1902) 518-91; *Drasia o Iahia: Das Johannesbuch der Mandaer* (1905–15, repr. 1966); *Die Namen der Alphabetbuchstaben* (1906); *Kanaanaische Inschriften (Moabitisch, Althebraisch, Phonizisch, Punisch)* (Altsemitische Texte, 1907); *Phonizische und aramaische Krugaufschriften aus Elephantine* (1912); *Mandaische Liturgien* (AGWG, 1920, repr. 1962); *Altaramaische Urkunden aus Assur* (WVDOG, 1921); *Ginza, der Schatz, oder das grosse Buch der Mandaer übersetzt und erklärt* (1925); *Auf rauhem Wege: Jugend Erinnerungen eines deutschen Professers* (1927), autobiography.

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R. R. MARRS

LIETZMANN, HANS (1875–1942)

Born in Düsseldorf, Germany, Mar. 2, 1875, L. studied Protestant theology and classical philology in Jena and Bonn under the influence of the NT scholar E. Grafe (1855–1922) and the philologists F. Bücheler (1837–1908) and H. Usener (1834–1905). The latter also introduced him to historical-critical methodology. Joining the faculty in Jena in 1905 as a church historian, he became a full professor in 1908 and succeeded A. von HARNACK in Berlin in 1924 in church history, NT, and Christian ARCHAEOLOGY.

L.'s profile as an NT scholar was predicated on the close connection between church history and scholarly biblical work, wherein research in the history of liturgy and archaeology plays a special role. He considered the basis of all textual exegesis to be solid philological and history-of-religions interpretation, although one cannot consider him a member of the RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE. He created the series *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen* (KlT, beginning 1902) to serve as a basis for training of students using original source texts. The *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* (HNT), which he began and which contains his opening commentaries on Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians (1906–10) offers material for an exegesis striving for a philologically precise, historically vivid explanation of texts without claiming to offer "universal, timeless" or "currently relevant" interpretations. L. by no means denied the validity of such a theological task; he simply wanted the HNT restricted to explanations given in the lecture hall and in actual ecclesiastical/theological practice (which provoked controversy with K. Barth!). Hence he later added an exegetically based interpretation of church pericopes aimed at the sermon (authored by L. Fendt [1931–41] 22-23).

L.'s mastery of vivid historical portrayal manifests itself in the *Geschichte der Alten Kirche* (4 vols., 1932–44; ET 1937–51), the first volume of which portrays primitive Christianity in its historical setting. Archaeology and the history of liturgy contribute to *Petrus und Paulus in Rom* (1915, 1927^2). In *Messe und Herrenmahl* (1926; ET 1953–79) the controversial thesis of the double origin of the Eucharist—significant for the beginnings of primitive Christianity—emerges from a methodology beginning with the history of liturgy and proceeding backward. His *Kleine Schriften* (3 vols., 1958–62) contains studies on whether Mandean texts can be used in explaining the Gospel of John (1930), on legal aspects of the trial of Jesus (1931), and on the history of the CANON and TEXUTAL CRITICISM. Beginning in 1921 L. edited the *ZNW* and from 1923 on the *BZNW.* From 1926 on he helped to edit the *TLZ.*

Works: *Der Menschensohn: Ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Theologie* (1896); (ed.), *Das muratorische Fragment und die monarchianischen Prologe zu den Evangelien* (KlT 1, 1902); (ed.), *Die Didache* (KlT 6, 1903); *An die Römer* (HNT 3, 1, 1906; HNT 8, 1928^3; 1933^4; 1971^5); *An die Korinther I. II* (HNT 3, 2-3, 1907, 1909; HNT 9, 1923^2; 1931^3; 1949^4 [supplemented by W. G. Kümmel]; 1969^5); *An die Galater* (HNT 3, 4, 1910; HNT 10, 1923^2; 1932^3; 1971^4); *Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Liturgische und archäologische Studien* (1915, rev. 1927^2); *Messe und Herrenmahl: Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie* (AKG 8, 1926; 1967^4; ET, *Mass and the Lord's Supper* [tr. with appendixes by D. H. G. Reeve; intro. and "Further Inquiry" by R. D. Richardson, 1953–79]); "Autobiographie" (1926) = *KS* 3 (1962) 331-68; (with R. Knopf and H. Weinel), *Einführung in das Neue Testament: Bibelkunde des Neuen Testaments, Geschichte und Religion des Urchristentums* (1923^2; 1930^3; 1949^4); (with H. W. Beyer), *Die jüdische Katakombe der Villa Torlonia in Rom* (Jüdische Denkmäler 1, 1930); *Geschichte der Alten Kirche* (4 vols., 1932–44; 1975$^{4/5}$; ET 1937–51); *Kleine Schriften* (3 vols., ed. K. Aland and Kommission für spätantike Religionsgeschichte, TU 67, 68, 74, 1958–62); *Glanz und Niedergang der deutschen Universität: 50 Jahre deutscher Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Briefen von and an H. L. (1892–1942)* (ed. K. Aland, 1979). For full bibliography, see K. Aland, *ZNW* 41 (1942) 12-33; repr. in *KS* 3 (1962) 377-405; rev. in *Glanz und Niedergang,* 1194-222.

Bibliography: **K. Aland,** *Glanz und Niedergang der deutschen Universität* (ed. K. Aland, 1979) 1-155. **C. Andresen,** *NDB* 14 (1985) 544-46. **H. Bornkamm,** *ZNW* 41 (1942) 1-12. **W. Eltester,** *TLZ* 68 (1943) 1-10; *RGG*^{3} 4 (1960) 375-76. **L. Fendt,** *TLZ* 67 (1942) 193-200. **W. G. Kümmel,** *NTHIP,* 358-59, 367, 371, 468. **G. Kunze,** *MPT* 38 (1949) 56-59. **W. Schneemelcher,** *TRE* 21 (1991) 191-196. **D. Wyrwa,** "H. L. theologisches Verständnis der Kirchengeschichte," *450 Jahre Evangelische Theologie in Berlin* (ed. G. Besier and C. Gestrich, 1989) 387-418.

N. WALTER

LIGHTFOOT, JOHN (1602–75)

Born at Stoke-on-Trent, England, Mar. 29, 1602, and educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, L. became chaplain to R. Cotton, who knew Hebrew and encouraged him to pursue rabbinic studies. He was appointed rector of Much-Munden, Hertfordshire, in 1643, a position he held jointly with the mastership of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, to which he was appointed in 1650. In addition to assisting Walton in the preparation of the POLYGLOT Bible, especially the Samaritan Pentateuch, L. advised E. CASTELL in the compilation of his Heptaglot LEXICON and was consulted by M. POOLE in the preparation of the *Synopsis Criticorum.* He died at Ely, Dec. 6, 1675.

L.'s most important works were his *Horae Hebraicae at Talmudicae* (Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations), in which he commented on Matthew (1658), Mark (1663), 1 Corinthians (1664), John (1671), Luke (1674), and parts of Acts and Romans (date unknown) in the light of the TALMUD and other Jewish writings. He showed great facility in using rabbinic literature to elucidate the Scriptures. His other works include histories of biblical times and accounts of Jewish worship and the geography of Israel. Although he was severely critical of Judaism, he laid great emphasis on the importance of rabbinic writings for NT studies. "The Doctrine of the Gospel hath no more bitter enemies than they, and yet the Text of the Gospel hath no more plain Interpreters" (*Works* [1684] 2:92). L.'s *Horae* were pioneer works in a discipline developed further by C. Schoettgen, Franz DELITZSCH, H. Strack, and P. BILLERBECK, all of whom recognized his contribution, and remained a standard resource for many years.

In his *A Chronicle of the Times, and the Order of the Texts of the OT* (1647) and *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the NT* (1655) L. placed not only the books but also individual chapters and psalms in what he believed to be their chronological order (see CHRONOLOGY) and related them to the history of their times. He recognized that biblical writings need to be interpreted against the historical background out of which they came and that to do such work the canonical form of the Bible (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) must be superseded. In an annotated edition of the AV (OT, 1821; NT, 1825) G. Townsend arranged most of the OT and some of the NT according to L.'s ordering of the material.

Works: *Works* (2 vols., 1684); *Opera Omnia* (2 vols., 1686); *The Whole Works* (13 vols., ed. J. R. Pitman, 1822–25).

Bibliography: *BB* 5 (1760) 2931-36. **G. Bright,** "Life," *Works* (J. Lightfoot, 1684) 1:i-xxxvii. **S. C. Eliezer,** "Christian Hebraism in Seventeenth-century England as Reflected in the Works of J. L." (diss., New York University, 1977). **T. Hamilton,** *DNB* 33 (1893) 229-31. *MSHH* 6 (1728) 307. **R. A. Muller,** *HHMBI*, 208-12. **J. R. Pitman,** preface to *The Whole Works* (J. Lightfoot, 1822–25) 1:v-cvi. **J. Strype,** "Appendix to Life," *Works* (J. Lightfoot, 1684) 1:i-xxxvii. **D. M. Welton,** *J. L., the English Hebraist* (1878).

A. W. WAINWRIGHT

LIGHTFOOT, JOSEPH BARBER (1828–89)

L. graduated in classics and mathematics in 1851 at Trinity College, Cambridge, receiving the DD in 1864. After being fellow and tutor of his college, he became successively Hulsean (1861) and Lady Margaret's professor (1875) at Cambridge and then bishop of Durham from 1879 until his death in 1889. He was involved in the production of the English RV of the Bible from 1870 to 1880 and wrote a series of commentaries on some of the epistles of PAUL, which included important dissertations on the development of Christianity in the first century and its relation to both Judaism and Hellenism. In these works he broke new ground both linguistically and historically and, with regard to the question of the relation between Acts and Paul's letters, effectively demolished the views of F. C. BAUR and the Tübingen school.

L.'s most significant contribution was his work on the apostolic fathers. Following T. ZAHN, L. firmly established the authenticity and early second-century date of the seven letters of IGNATIUS according to the Vossian text as well as the authenticity of *1 Clement* and the letter of Polycarp. Together with his work on John's Gospel, this made possible the dating of most NT books within the first century. L.'s dating of these, except perhaps for the PASTORAL LETTERS, is still largely followed.

L. acknowledged both the human and divine elements of Scripture, recognizing, for example, the redactional work of the author of Acts without implying any falsification of the material. L. also recognized the independent Palestinian tradition along with the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel, dating it at the end of the first century. Although he traced the development of Gnosticism from Jewish roots, evident in Colossians, up to 1 John, he also recognized its essentially anti-Jewish nature, anticipating many results of later discoveries. His "North Galatian" hypothesis is still largely followed today.

L.'s other contributions include his use of archaeological finds, his recognition of the nature of NT Greek in the first century and of the use by Paul of Greco-Roman rhetorical techniques, his work on EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA and on the Egyptian and Coptic versions. But his earlier dating than Baur of the NT books thrust back into the first century the problems and conflicts Baur found in the literature and led to many of the issues of twentieth-century NT interpretation that are still matters of debate.

Works: *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians* (1865); *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* (1868); *The Apostolic Fathers,* pt. 1, *Clement of Rome: The Two Epistles to the Corinthians* (2 vols., 1869); pt. 2, *St Ignatius and St. Polycarp* (3 vols., 1885); *On a Fresh Revision of the English NT* (1871); *St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians and Philemon* (1875); "Eusebius of Caesarea," *DCB* 2 (1880) 308-48; *Essays on the Work Entitled Supernatural Religion* (1889); *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age* (1892); *Biblical Essays* (1893); *Notes on the Epistles of Paul* (1895); *The Christian Ministry* (1901).

Bibliography: **C. K. Barrett,** *DUJ* 64 (1972) 193-204; "Quomodo historia conscribenda sit," *NTS* 28 (1982) 303-20.

J. D. G. Dunn (ed.), *The Lightfoot Centenary Lectures* (*DUJ* special number, 1992); *HHMBI*, 336-40. **G. R. Eden and F. C. MacDonald,** *L. of Durham* (1932), with appendix C: H. E. Savage, "Dr. L.'s Literary Publications," 174-83. **M. E. Glasswell,** *TRE* 21 (1991) 196-98. **C. R. Gregory,** *RE*^{3} 11 (1902) 487-89. **F. J. A. Hort,** *DNB* 33 (1893) 232-40. **B. N. Kaye,** "L. and Baur on Early Christianity," *NovT* 26 (1984) 193-224. **S. R. Pointer,** "J. B. L. as a Christian Historian of Early Christian Literature," *Christian Scholar's Review* 23 (1994) 426-44. **J. A. T. Robinson,** *The Roots of a Radical* (1980) 155-61; "J. B. Lightfoot" (Durham Cathedral Lecture, 1981).

M. E. GLASSWELL

LIGHTFOOT, ROBERT HENRY (1883–1953)

An Anglican priest and Oxford don, L. was a proponent of FORM CRITICISM of the Gospels and a forerunner in their redaction-critical interpretation. He was born Sept. 30, 1883, at Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, and graduated from Eton and Worcester College, Oxford, where he received early encouragement in the study of theology from the OT scholar C. BURNEY. L. served in various capacities at Wells Theological College (1912–17; 1919) and in numerous chaplaincies, fellowships, and administrative positions at Oxford's Lincoln College (1919–21) and New College (1921–50), climaxed by his election as Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture (1934–49).

At the suggestion of C. H. DODD, L. visited Germany in 1931, and after working with R. BULTMANN, M. DIBELIUS, and E. LOHMEYER, returned to England dedicated to the propagation of form-critical insights. In turn, he significantly influenced a group of younger Oxford scholars, including C. EVANS, A. FARRER, and D. Nineham. In his later years L. chaired the International Greek NT Project and the Committee of Direction for the Oxford *Lexicon of Patristic Greek* as well as editing the *Journal of Theological Studies* from 1941 until his death, Nov. 24, 1953.

In his Bampton lectures (1934), published in 1935, L. defended the form critic's perception of a pervasive theological purpose in Mark's Gospel, which had been regarded as almost exclusively historical and biographical. L. argued that Mark, no less than the other evangelists, was an author of individual genius and insight whose narrative offered an interpretation of the significance of JESUS under sanction and on behalf of the early church. Although he reckoned its historical value to be considerable, he emphasized that Mark and the other Gospels were fundamentally constructions for religious edification, not plain records of historical fact.

L. explored some implications of this perspective in a second book (1938), in which he suggested that topographical details were not recorded by the evangelists for their own sake. Rather, the different venues of Jesus' ministry and resurrection appearances signify the divergent theological, and especially christological, conceptions of the Gospels' authors. For Mark and Matthew Galilee represents the sphere of salvation and of Jesus' manifestation as Son of man, while Judea and Jerusalem represent the scene of the judgment and the rejection of Jesus. For Luke, Jesus' revelation as Christ progresses from Galilee through Samaria, culminating at Jerusalem. John's complete reinterpretation of Jesus displays doctrinal affinities with Matthew and Mark. Although these deductions issued from independent research, L. acknowledged indebtedness to Lohmeyer's similar, earlier study.

L.'s penultimate book (1950) consisted of occasional papers, the first four of which examined aspects of Mark's Gospel. Also included were studies of the cleansing of the Temple in Mark and John (the former based on an article by Lohmeyer), a painstaking defense for the conclusion of Mark at 16:8, and a crisp apology for form criticism of the Gospels. In general the conclusions drawn in this composite volume are strikingly consistent with L.'s findings during the 1930s: among others, the Gospels' use of historical material for religious, not biographical, purposes; the necessity of discerning and distinguishing their authors' theological conceptions; the artistry with which primitive evangelical traditions, inherited as discrete units, have been interwoven by the evangelists.

Edited by C. Evans, L.'s posthumous commentary on the Fourth Gospel revealed his conservative tendencies: sympathy for John's traditional ascription to the son of Zebedee; dissatisfaction with theories concerning the Gospel's supposed textual dislocations; support for the position that John knew and sought to interpret the SYNOPTIC Gospels. L. evinced minimal interest in the milieu of the Fourth Gospel, the social context of Johannine Christianity or its location within the history of religions. Instead, his emphasis was "always to try to explain St. John by St. John" (1956, vi). Accordingly, his exegesis is distinguished by its minute examination of each part of the Fourth Gospel, viewed within the literary and theological context of the whole.

At its publication, L.'s commentary on John was more warmly received than his earlier works, which for several reasons were either overlooked or dismissed. First, WWII initially prevented his earlier books from becoming widely known in Europe and the United States. Second, many British theologians and clergy were inhospitable to L.'s reserve in regarding the Gospels as sources for knowledge of the historical Jesus. Moreover, unlike Bultmann, L. tended toward reticence in developing the implications of form criticism for the benefit of modern religious faith. He was not oblivious to such concerns (1950, 98-105), however; and while less conservative than those of older contemporaries like F. BURKITT, L.'s views on the historical, even apostolic

traditions underlying the Gospels were less skeptical than those of Bultmann. Finally, L.'s earliest works were judged by some reviewers as derivative popularizations of German scholarship. It is now clear, however, that L. anticipated the conceptualization and practice of REDACTION CRITICISM, thus pioneering the mode of Gospel study that would prevail in the second half of the twentieth century.

Works: *History and Interpretation in the Gospels* (1935); *Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels* (1938); *The Gospel Message of St. Mark* (1950); *St. John's Gospel: A Commentary* (ed. C. F. Evans, 1956).

Bibliography: **R. L. P. Milburn,** *PBA* 40 (1954) 253-61. **D. E. Nineham,** "R. H. L. and the Significance of Biblical Criticism," *Theology* 88 (1985) 97-105; *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. L.* (ed. D. E. Nineham, 1955) vi-xvi. **B. G. Powley,** "The Place of R. H. L. in British NT Scholarship," *ExpTim* 93 (1981–82) 72-75.

C. C. BLACK

LINDBLOM, CHRISTIAN JOHANNES

(1882–1974)

L. matriculated at the university of Uppsala in 1900, took an arts degree, which included Greek and Semitic languages, and then studied theology, taking his licentiate degree in 1908. The following year he earned appointment as *Docent* in exegesis. He worked on a new Swedish translation of the Bible (published in 1917) and was responsible for a large part of the Apocrypha (1921). In 1924 he accepted the chair of exegesis (both OT and NT) in the newly established theology faculty at Åbo Academy (Turku), Finland, the Swedish-language university of Finland. He served as chair of OT exegesis at the university of Lund from 1930 until his retirement in 1947. L. retained a full capacity for work until his death at age ninety-two, only three years earlier publishing a spirited and vigorous monograph on the origin of the Temple document of Josiah.

L.'s early studies almost exclusively concerned the NT and its religious environment, but increasingly he devoted himself to OT problems. He was influenced by the moderate Wellhausenianism (see WELLHAUSEN) of E. Stave, his OT teacher, but also applied the insights of H. GUNKEL and his followers. Wisely eclectic, L. typically did not restrict himself to a single method but used a variety of approaches.

In 1924 L. published a study of the literary genre of OT prophetic literature in which he compared the prophetic books with the apocalyptic literature of medieval mysticism, particularly the revelations of St. Birgitta. Against this background he saw revelation as the basic form of prophetic preaching. In an important excursus he discussed the expression "Thus says Yahweh" simultaneously with Köhler, but independently of him he analyzed the so-called messenger formula, its origin and function. He pursued the line of research begun in this study in two monographs, one on Hosea and one on Micah. L. continued to publish monographs on prophetic texts: an analysis of the Isaiah apocalypse (1938) labeled a "cantata"; a study of the Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah (1951), which he sensibly refused to isolate from their immediate context; and an investigation of the Immanuel section in Isaiah (1958). In 1934 he had published a long survey in Swedish, *Profetismen i Israel,* in which he summed up his own research in OT PROPHECY along with that of other scholars. The English version (1962) is in important respects a new work and became a standard textbook. In a late work on visions and revelations in early Christianity (1968), he followed his studies of OT prophecy into the NT and the early church, again focusing on psychological and LITERARY aspects.

In addition to his investigations of prophecy, L. wrote important works on the composition and interpretation of the book of Job, devoted several studies to the history of Swedish Bible translation, and also published translations of his own: Mark (1963) and Isaiah 1–39 (1965). His clarity and pedagogical skill made him a good popularizer, and he wrote first-rate textbooks in Swedish for schools and universities that are marked by a strictly historical view of the religions of the Bible. He was not one of those pioneers who break entirely new ground; but with his combination of breadth and rigor, of historical perspective and philological precision, of enthusiasm and objectivity he made an impressive contribution to biblical research.

Works: *Senjudiskt fromhetslif enligt Salomos psaltare* (1909); *Om lifvets idé hos Paulus och Johannes samt i de s.k. Salomos oden* (UUÅ 1910 Teologi 1, 1911); *Das ewige Leben: Eine Studie über die Entstehung der religiösen Lebensidee im Neuen Testament* (1914); *Studier till en ny provöversättning av Syraks bok: Med särskild hänsyn till 1500-talets svenska bibelöversättningsarbete* (1915); *Jesu missions- och dopbefallning: Matt 28:18-20. Tillika en studie över det kristna dopets ursprung* (1919); *Kanon och apokryfer: Studier till den bibliska kanons historia* (1920); *Skandalon: Eine lexikalisch-exegetische Untersuchung* (UUÅ 1921 Teologi 2, 1921); *Die literarische Gattung der prophetischen Literatur: Eine literargeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Alten Testament* (UUÅ 1924 Teologi 1, 1924); *Hosea literarisch untersucht* (AAAbo H 5:2, 1928); *Micha literarisch untersucht* (AAAbo H 6:2, 1929); *Der sogennante Bauernkalender von Gezer* (AAAbo H 7:5, 1931); *Profetismen i Israel* (1934); *Israels religion i gammaltestamentlig tid* (1936); *Die Jesaja-Apokalypse: Jes 24–27* (LUÅ NF 1:34:3, 1938); *Boken om Job och hans lidande* (1940); *La composition du livre de Job* (HVLÅ 1944–45:1, 1945); *The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah: A New Attempt to Solve an Old Problem* (LUÅ NF 1:45:5, 1951); *A Study on the Immanuel*

Section in Isaiah: Isa vii,1–ix,6 (SMHVL 1957–58:4, 1958); *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (1962); *Markusevangeliet: Ny översättning med anmärkningar* (Skrifter utgivna av nämnden för svensk språkvård 27, 1963); *Profeten Jesaja: Ny översättning med anmärkningar* (Skrifter utgivna av nämnden för svensk språkvård 31, 1965); *Gesichte und Offenbarungen: Vorstellungen von göttlichen Weisungen und übernatürlichen Erscheinungen im ältesten Christentum* (SHVL 65, 1968); *Erwägungen zur Herkunft der Josianischen Tempelurkunde* (SMHVL 1970–71:3, 1971).

Bibliography: **B. Albrektson,** *SvBL* 23 (1982) 304-8. **G. W. Anderson,** "J. L.'s Contribution to Biblical Studies," *ASTI* 6 (1968) 4-19.

B. ALBREKTSON

LITERARY THEORY, LITERARY CRITICISM, AND THE BIBLE

1. Introduction. The state of relations between literary theory, literary criticism, and biblical studies toward the end of the twentieth century may be aptly characterized by a title word from one of J. Derrida's earliest essays: *dissemination.* That is, the various approaches and theoretical discourses of the present scene often spill over into each other, overlapping and diffusing, and frustrate any strictly genealogical tracing of movements. Indeed, the notion of large-scale movements of biblical studies (e.g., form criticism, the myth and ritual school, etc.) has in many ways been replaced by smaller-scale pockets of activity, no doubt reflecting the dissemination of academic biblical training itself beyond the confines of a few dominant divinity school-related institutions. What follows, therefore, is not a comprehensive glossary or exhaustive presentation of some unified "new literary criticism" of the Bible, which would be entirely fictional anyway, even if that presentation were narrowed to focus on any one particular "movement." Rather, the purpose is to open up, albeit only slightly, several key places, or *topoi,* of convergence in order to provide an overall sense of how literary theory and literary criticism have found their way into conversations with biblical studies (and sometimes vice-versa) and to encourage reflection on the immensity of challenges and possibilities introduced by these developments. (For a fuller engagement of issues concerning relations between recent literary theory and biblical criticism, see The Bible and Culture Collective [1995], which involves the work of both NT and HB critics, and S. Moore [1989, 1992, 1994] on NT criticism; for more traditional literary approaches, see R. Alter and F. Kermode [1987]; D. Gunn [1987]; Gunn and D. Fewell [1993]; W. Kort [1988]).

Although this essay focuses on literary theory and the Bible, beginning in the 1960s and moving through the last three decades of the twentieth century, it is important to note that the Bible has been read in various ways that can be broadly defined as "literary." Indeed, until very recently scholarship focused on source criticism, and text history (e.g., in the wake of J. Wellhausen's "documentary hypothesis") was commonly called biblical "literary criticism." Also notable, and moving in very different directions, has been the well-known "Bible as literature" movement, which has roots at least as far back as the eighteenth-century scholar R. LOWTH and which gained momentum during the first half of the twentieth century (see D. Norton [1993] and D. L. Jeffrey [1992]). Although these and other earlier approaches are based on literary theory, insofar as they begin with certain assumptions about textuality, writing, and interpretation, only recently has explicit theoretical discourse or self-critical awareness of these assumptions been "exposed" by their critics.

Although the line is permeable, it is important to maintain some distinction between theory and method (see T. Beal [1992] 27-39). Literary theory is not literary-critical method, and in many cases it cannot be easily translated into one. Methodology is inherently practical, aimed at developing a clear approach to and a way through a particular text or set of texts (Greek: *meta* + *hodos* = "with way" or "road"). Such aims are not always shared by literary-theoretical discourses, especially in critical theory, which is associated with a kind of intransigent negativity, a "thinking the limits" of any particular construal of reality, textuality, literary history, meaning, etc. This kind of theoretical discourse stands in contrast to more constructive theories, which aim to develop a system of representation for understanding relations between authors, texts, and readers, among other things, and which therefore often lead to the development of an appropriate methodology. In neither critical theory nor more constructive theory, however, is there any single self-evident method to which a particular theory must be attached. Not all literary theory is practical in a methodological sense, a fact that has often been overlooked by biblical scholars. As a result, some theoretical discourses, especially those falling under the name "post-structuralism," often have been either negatively evaluated as confusing and unhelpful or forced into a practical approach aimed at saving biblical studies from its own current (perpetual?) identity crisis and/or at answering every critical question about some text or texts once and for all. Although we will be discussing both literary-critical methods and literary theory as they have pertained to biblical study, we will mostly defer from asserting any particular understanding of the relationship between the two, especially with regard to how particular theoretical discourses should or should not translate into particular literary-critical methodologies. Bibliographical references along the way will offer examples of how relations have been negotiated by par-

ticular biblical scholars. (For a more direct introduction to these relations, see S. McKenzie and S. Haynes [1993, esp. pt. 3] and A. Adam [1995].)

2. J. Muilenburg's Rhetorical Criticism. While contemporary literary methodological approaches to the Bible did not originate with MUILENBURG, he offers a convenient starting point for a survey. Muilenburg was enormously influential as a writer and teacher, and his approach—which he called RHETORICAL CRITICISM—produces the type of reading most commonly associated with recent literary criticism. The approach is set out most clearly in his 1968 SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE presidential address, "Form Criticism and Beyond" (published in 1969), although one can see it in practice in his writings from the mid-1950s on. Muilenburg argued that, while FORM CRITICISM as a methodology is certainly crucial and must not be abandoned, there is a need for a focus on the rhetorical intentionality of biblical texts in their present literary form. Modeling the approach on poetic texts in the HB (see POETRY, HB), he suggested that the critic pay close attention to rhetorical markers (like shifts in speaker and the repetition of key words), which he believed give clues to the intentionality of the text itself.

Muilenburg's approach had clear affinities with formalism or, as it came to be known in the United States, "New Criticism" (see also the "rise of English" cultural movement in Great Britain during the first half of the 20th century, discussed in T. Eagleton [1983] 17-53). One of the basic theoretical points of New Criticism is that the meaning and intentionality of a text can be found through a close analysis of the text itself, without extensive research into questions of social, historical, and literary contexts. For example, one need not have knowledge of the psychological state or social circumstance of a poet —or knowledge of, say, cognate poetic texts from UGARIT—in order to understand a poem. The poem, as a self-contained object of study, is all that is needed. Such an approach has often found greater appeal in biblical studies than in English literature studies because research into contexts of influence (political, cultural, environmental, literary, etc.) for biblical literature has been based largely on conjectures and hypotheses built from very limited and ever-changing bodies of data. In this regard, rhetorical criticism and other literary approaches have served as escape routes for many scholars and students in biblical studies who have been frustrated with the historical-critical hegemony that has characterized the field until the end of the twentieth century.

Muilenburg's influence on biblical criticism extended beyond his publications. Among his students were W. Brueggemann, E. Good, P. Trible, and F. Buechner—each of whom has taken Muilenburg's rhetorical criticism in new directions and influenced a new generation of graduate students and biblical scholars.

3. Structuralism and Beyond. Even as Muilenburg gave his SBL address in 1968, there were other conversations in the academy pertaining to literary theory and the Bible. By this time, for example, structuralist readings of biblical texts had begun to be produced, although mostly from outside the field of biblical studies and mostly by those interested in structural anthropology rather than structural linguistics (e.g., studies on family and genealogy in Genesis; Russian formalism and folklore studies earlier this century were also important precursive movements). In other intellectual circles, especially in continental Europe, literary-theoretical discourse was on the verge of a massive revolution due to major developments in Marxism, FEMINIST theory, psychoanalysis (see PSYCHOANALYTIC INTERPRETATION), and linguistics. In 1967, for example, three major works appeared in French by the philosopher J. Derrida, the most well-known theorist of post-structuralism. Indeed, Derrida gave his first address in English at Johns Hopkins University in 1966, two years before Muilenburg's SBL address. Although these developments made no initial splash in biblical studies, the seismic reverberations from their entry into academic space has been felt among biblicists with greater intensity every year since. Some background in structural linguistics, which remains an important field in biblical studies, will provide a helpful entry into these other important literary-theoretical developments of the 1960s and 1970s.

STRUCTURALISM (both within and without biblical studies) constitutes a diverse body of scholarship. The accessibility of the literature is hindered by its often arcane, thickly coded language. What characterizes all structural readings, however, is their debt to F. de Saussure's programmatic treatment of the sign in his posthumously published *Course in General Linguistics* (1959). Writing just after the turn of the century, Saussure set the grammar for much of twentieth-century scholarship in a variety of fields, including linguistics, psychoanalysis, philosophy, anthropology, and literary theory.

Saussure's fundamental insight was that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary. To put it more simply, any word can be chosen to stand for any thing or concept; e.g., a "signified" is the thing we call a "tree" and the "signifier" is the four letters t-r-e-e, there being no necessary relationship between the letters and the object. What is important, then, is not the actual sound of the words or the marks on a page when it is written but, rather, the network of interrelationships in the particular linguistic system of which the word is a part. Structuralist research (in whatever field) is concerned, not with why a particular signifier is connected with a particular signified, but with how that signifier functions within the structure of a given system. This type of research became known as synchronic (i.e., concern for the workings of a single system) as opposed

to diachronic (i.e., concern for the significance of language elements before, after, and outside the system through the history of language change and through study of cognate languages). Thus structuralists search not so much for the meaning of a text as for the structures and patterns that make meaning possible—that is, they aim to identify the "deep structures" that function like grammars to govern and determine meaning on the surface of the text and that tend to take the form of codes based on binary oppositions like inside/outside, margin/center, male/female, positive/negative, immanent/transcendent, life/death, etc. (Many structuralists have gone so far as to argue that human thought itself, and perhaps the human unconscious, is ordered by such a binary oppositional code.) Structural critics often rely on charts and diagrams that attempt to delineate the way different pieces of the text fit with one another.

Structuralist biblical criticism seeks to identify organizing codes within the deep structure of the text. The particular "surface" content of a narrative or poem is less important than whatever irreducible codes or structures one can locate beneath it. For example, a structuralist reading of the creation story in Genesis 1 identifies a number of binary oppositions reflected in the concern for division—light/dark, water/land, the human/divine, etc.—culminating in the division between life and death. A similar analysis might then be made of Job's opening curse in Job 3, and thus one might begin to see deeper connections between the two texts. M. Douglas's (1966) analysis of the dietary laws in Leviticus is one of the best examples of structuralist biblical criticism at work. She shows how the internal structuring principle of boundary maintenance (i.e., realms of water, land, and air) might be understood to establish a code for determining whether a particular creature is clean or unclean: Unclean animals are those perceived as anomalous insofar as they possess characteristics that cross over (literally trans-gress) between two or more realms (e.g., a bird with wings that cannot fly, a sea creature with legs instead of fins, etc.). In NT studies one finds prime examples of detailed structuralist readings in the work of D. Patte (1976). Structuralist exegesis experienced a flourish of popularity in the late 1970s and early 1980s (see, e.g., several of the early issues of *Semeia*) but now has few practitioners who would see themselves, strictly speaking, as structuralists.

While appropriating much of structuralism's language and many of its basic insights, the movement now known as post-structuralism nevertheless challenged some of the presuppositions of structuralist criticism. For example, while accepting Saussure's notion of the arbitrary nature of the sign, post-structuralist thought extends this insight so that meaning is not just a product of the structural relationships between signifiers but is rather endlessly deferred in the chain of signification—that is, a signifier has meaning only in relation to another signifier, but this other signifier cannot serve as an anchor for meaning since it, too, is in relation to other signifiers. (To continue the example above, t-r-e-e refers to a plant with branches, leaves, and a trunk, but each of the words in the definition also refers to other words, *ad infinitum.*) Rather than a closed system of referral that one can master and work within, there is an open network of deferral over which mastery must remain elusive. Post-structuralism recognizes that structures of meaning are almost never complete and sufficient unto themselves. Instead, they tend to be incomplete and overlapping in nature, thus making their negotiation by the interpreter necessarily tentative.

Many scholars argue that structuralism anticipates its own beyond, its own "post-." Articulation of this point of view was perhaps best provided by Derrida but also by many others writing in the same intellectual circles and at roughly the same time, especially the so-called French feminists, the three most well-known of whom are J. Kristeva, L. Irigaray, and H. Cixous. None of these writers should be considered peripheral to the phenomenon of post-structuralism typically associated with Derrida. It is worth noting in this regard that INTERTEXTUALITY, which has emerged as key in post-structuralist discourse, was first developed by Kristeva (see Beal [1992]). In fact, structuralism's apprehension of its own post-, which is especially clear in its identification of binary codes involving sexual identity and sexual politics, is best exemplified in the writings of such scholars. As Kristeva (1993) suggests, structural (or semiotic) analysis is important for identifying the "systematic constraints" within a given piece of discourse, but one should not stop there; rather, one should then look for what "falls outside" the constraints of that system as well as for the system's rupture points (1986, 26-27). In this sense one might see S. de Beauvoir's classic analysis *The Second Sex* (1952), which was highly influential on Kristeva, Irigaray, Cixous, and others, as an early structural analysis of how, in politics as in literature, "woman" has been constructed as man's "other" within a system of binary oppositional codes for sexual identity, like self/not-self, subject/object, possession/lack (of a penis), transcendent/immanent, etc. This system, then, forms a Western patriarchal structure. The post-structuralist move made by Kristeva, Irigaray, Cixous, and others is to begin reading closely (even exegetically) for the problematic weak spots, slippages, and indeterminacies within this system that suggest its non-essential character (not biological, not ontological, etc.) and, therefore, its susceptibility to breakdown. The example is also important in showing that post-structuralism is by no means politically innocuous in relation to feminism, as many critics have falsely alleged.

Kristeva and Irigaray are informed by the linguistical approaches of Derrida and Saussure but are grounded

in the psychoanalytical approach of J. Lacan, with his concept of language as the symbolic realm and as the realm of the Father (see J. Lacan [1977] and The Bible and Culture Collective [1995]). Kristeva and Irigaray's critique of psychoanalytic discourse, which focuses on the ways language and the symbolic realm are structured around male sexual identity (implied in much of Beauvoir's analysis as well), is likewise best understood as post-structuralist (see esp. the opening essay in Irigaray [1985]; in relation to biblical literature, see I. Rashkow [1993] and The Bible and Culture Collective [1995] 187–224). Although not explicitly engaged with recent literary theory, Trible's powerful and highly influential *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (1978) may be best understood as a brilliant convergence of Muilenburgian rhetorical-critical exegesis with a concern for details within biblical literature that fall outside (and even work to subvert) the literature's overall "patriarchal stamp." This in turn attests to the force and continued life of rhetorical criticism, which, primarily by its close attention to the details (including the cracks and rupture points) of texts, can often call into question conclusions reached by cursory readings across the broader contours of biblical writings.

The most widely recognized name in post-structuralism is Derrida, who was also the first to use the word "deconstruction," which, to his surprise, quickly gained a life and momentum of its own outside his writings. As noted above, three major publications of Derrida's came out in 1967 (ET *Speech and Phenomena* [1973], *Of Grammatology* [1977], and *Writing and Difference* [1978]). While Derrida was by no means solely responsible for the development of post-structuralist thought, much of its basic orientation can be found in these three books, which should perhaps be supplemented by *Dissemination* (1972; ET 1981). It is striking that these classic texts of Derrida are primarily exegetical—that is, they are close engagements with philosophical and/or literary texts—so close, in fact, that one begins to see how the dominant structuring principles of the texts begin to expose their own problematics and even backfire. It is through attention to details—and refusal to overlook the ambiguities, tensions, puns, afterthoughts, etc., therein—that one is able to challenge the structuralist assumptions about the synchronic unity of systemic wholes.

Post-structuralist engagements of biblical texts began to appear only late in the twentieth century. A particularly lucid account of Derrida's theoretical approach is combined with a creative reading of Leviticus 10 in E. Greenstein's "Deconstruction and Biblical Narrative" (1985; Beal and T. Linafelt [1996] revisit the same text in connection with Derrida's *Cinders* [1979; ET 1991]). Three issues of the journal *Semeia* have been devoted to Derrida and post-structuralism, edited by R. Detweiler (1982), G. Phillips (1990; see esp. Phillips's opening article), and D. Jobling and Moore (1992; see esp. Jobling's article, "Deconstruction and Political Analysis of Biblical Texts," 95-127). Very little book-length work by HB scholars has yet appeared. Especially noteworthy are those by M. Bal (1987, 1988a, 1988b), Jobling (1986), and Fewell and Gunn (1993). For interesting new theological directions in dialogue with post-structuralist theory, see also D. Blumenthal (1993), H. Eilberg-Schwartz (1994), and Linafelt (1996). Commentaries by P. Miscall (*Isaiah* [1993]) and Good (*In Turns of Tempest: A Reading of Job, with a Translation* [1990]) also make significant forays into post-structuralist writing. With respect to the NT, S. Moore has been most successful at putting post-structuralist writing into conversation with biblical criticism.

Especially with regard to HB studies, it is interesting to note the convergences between rabbinic traditions of MIDRASH and literary-theoretical discourse. S. Handelman (1982) makes a strong case that much of contemporary literary theory evidences an "emergence" of midrashic exegetical practices from the rabbinic period. In fact, many major figures in literary theory at the end of the twentieth century have Jewish backgrounds, and many of them have been explicitly concerned with questions of Jewish identity generally and biblical literature specifically (e.g., Derrida and Cixous). This connection is explored further in the collection of articles edited by G. Hartman and S. Budick (1986) and with a much tighter focus in D. Boyarin's (1990a) book on the relation between Midrash and post-structuralist theories of intertextuality.

4. Other Directions. E. AUERBACH contrasted the art of biblical literature with the art of Homer by the following list of characteristics: "certain parts brought into high relief, others left obscure, abruptness, suggestive influence of the unexpressed, 'background' quality, multiplicity of meanings and the need for interpretation, universal-historical claims, development of the concept of historically becoming, and preoccupation with the problematic" (1953, 23). One quickly recognizes that several characteristics—that which is left obscure, abruptness, influence of the unexpressed, background quality, multiplicity of meanings and the need for interpretation—would be shared by engagements of biblical literature broadly understood as "post-structuralist." The emphasis on "things brought into high relief" and the idea that biblical narrative makes "universal-historical claims," by which Auerbach referred to "its claim to absolute authority" as it seeks to "overcome our reality," have most often been shared by NARRATIVE CRITICISM. When these characteristics are emphasized, the interpretation of the others in Auerbach's list often takes on very different significances, turning the scholar's attention away from what falls outside the constraints, as Kristeva put it, and toward the way these details that seem (on the surface) to be points of indeterminacy,

gaps, and so forth might actually be part of the narrative's strategy to "claim" its authority over the reader (i.e., to constrain the reader from reading it wrongly).

Although generally narrative criticism covers a wide variety of approaches (nearly anything focused on the literary qualities and peculiarities of biblical narrative), here we refer to that brand of criticism that often draws its influence from early mid-twentieth-century works by Auerbach and N. Frye (1957, 1971) and from later works by H. Frei (1974) and A. Wilder (1991). Adherents of this approach read biblical narrative as artfully constructed, realistic historical fiction. To a great extent, narrative criticism came to prominence because of growing uneasiness with a prevalent historicism that tended to dissect the text. In contrast, narrative criticism focuses synchronically on the text and understands the biblical narrative as a construction of a "narrative world" to which the reader is subjected. In HB studies one may point to the narrative poetics of M. Sternberg (1985) and Alter (1981) as examples. Gunn helped to pioneer narrative criticism in his analysis of the stories of David and Saul in the books of Samuel and Kings; but like many biblical scholars interested in relations between biblical literature and literary theory, he has since moved in directions more attuned to the questions and issues of post-structuralism. Fewell and Gunn (1991) offer a much-needed critique of Sternberg's approach (see Sternberg's counterattack [1992] and D. Boyarin's comparative analysis [1990]).

In NT studies this type of approach has proliferated, especially in readings of the Gospels and Acts. NT narrative critics have relied heavily on W. Booth's *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (1961) and S. Chatman's *Story and Discourse* (1978). Both authors investigate the way in which author and reader relate to each other, using the categories of real author/real reader, implied author/implied reader, and narrator/narratee. For instance, in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* Mark Twain is the real author, Huck is the narrator, and a third person who does not consider Huck completely reliable is the implied author. A particular person is the real reader, someone who is with Huck is the narratee, and someone who takes Huck's words with a grain of salt is the implied reader. Booth's delineation of these categories with Chatman's subsequent refinement serves as the background for a vast amount of NT scholarship.

Not only does narrative criticism investigate how the text works by asking questions about these narrative levels but it also focuses on such traditional topics as character, plot, and setting. Narrative critics tend to read the Bible as literature and, unlike source or redactional critics, assume that the texts are unified rather than discontinuous. Historical questions, though not ignored, are secondary to questions about the flow and structure of the story. For a discussion of where narrative criticism has been and suggestions for how it might evolve, see Gunn's article in McKenzie and Haynes (1993).

Another important and highly productive interdisciplinary literary engagement has been between biblical studies and philosophical HERMENEUTICS. Although the term *hermeneutics* has come to connote interpretation in general, it specifically designates a philosophy of interpretation nurtured primarily in Germany during the nineteenth century that has gradually gained influence throughout Europe and the Americas during the latter half of the twentieth century. F. SCHLEIERMACHER is often considered the father of hermeneutics, and other major figures include W. DILTHEY, E. Husserl, M. Heidegger, H.-G. Gadamer, and P. RICOEUR. Each of these scholars explored the dynamics of the hermeneutical circle in which an interpreter with certain experiences and questions approaches a text. The text then addresses the reader and answers those questions, causing the reader to reformulate his or her way of framing those questions. Each time the reader reads the text, this interaction between reader and text occurs, creating a circular dynamism. This approach to and explanation of the mechanics of interpretation usually focuses on the overall meaning of texts rather than on specific details; hermeneuticians are interested in what the text *means,* not what it *says.* The most prominent NT scholar of the twentieth century, R. BULTMANN, provides one of the best examples of an exegete influenced by philosophical hermeneutics. His project of demythologizing—seeking the meaning of the text underneath the clothing of mythical language (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES)—fits within the larger stream of hermeneutics. Perhaps the most thorough engagement of philosophical hermeneutics in biblical scholarship is that of A. Thiselton (1992; see also D. Bryant [1989]).

Somewhat related to both narrative criticism and philosophical hermeneutics is READER-RESPONSE CRITICISM. Although using many of the same categories as narrative criticism, reader-response criticism, as the name implies, highlights the reader instead of the text. Reader-response has its roots in German reception theory (especially H. Jauss and W. Iser) and in American pragmatism. The leading figure of reader-response criticism in North America is S. Fish, who has most vigorously argued that the reader completely creates the meaning of a text. Few biblical critics have destabilized the independence of the text as much as he. A reader-response critic will strive to show how the reader reacts to a character rather than how that character develops in the story; the reader replaces the text as a primary locus of meaning. Of course, reader-response theorists will disagree on the extent of the reader's shaping influence (Fish [1980]). Most biblical scholars who focus on the reader still allow that the text has a certain autonomy, but they maintain that it also needs a reader to fill in the gaps. Some of J. D. Crossan's work on the

PARABLES (1980) uses insights from reader-response theory to show how the reader/hearer helps to create the meaning of parables (see also Ricoeur [1975]). R. Fowler (1991) has both employed reader-response theory and pointed out some of its shortcomings through studies of Mark. Moore provides a helpful introductory discussion of reader-response theory and biblical studies (1989, 71-130; cf. The Bible and Culture Collective [1995] 20-69), while E. Conrad's *Reading Isaiah* (1991) is an example of reader-response analysis of HB texts. J. Darr (1992) and K. Pfisterer Darr (1994) draw especially from Iser's writings and focus particularly on the intertextual field that the original author(s) would have expected readers to know. The most important contribution of this genre of literary theory has been its focus on the dynamics of reading, which encourages self-critical awareness of assumptions about relations between texts, readers, and "reading communities."

Future possibilities are innumerable and beyond prediction. More than anything it is hoped that the engagement of literary theory and criticism will enable biblical studies to find its way out of what has often been its own self-made ghetto of extreme disciplinary specialization and into larger academic and intellectual conversations, which have too often both given religious texts a central place and have caricatured them and made simplistic assumptions regarding them.

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T. K. BEAL, K. A. KEEFER, and T. LINAFELT

LOCKE, JOHN (1632–1704)

Born at Wrington, Somerset, Aug. 29, 1632, L. was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, where he became a tutor. From 1667 he was physician and adviser to A. Cooper, one of Charles II's leading ministers, who was made earl of Shaftesbury. Following Shaftesbury's fall from power and death in exile, L. fled to Holland, returning to England in 1689 after the overthrow of James II. From 1696 until 1700 he was active in government as commissioner for trade. He died at Oates, Essex, Oct. 28, 1704.

Not only were L.'s writings highly influential in the fields of epistemology, political theory, and education but they also made important contributions to theology and biblical criticism. L. read widely in the works of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century biblical scholars, including J. LIGHTFOOT, H. GROTIUS, H. HAMMOND, J. Pearson, J. CRELL, C. VITRINGA, and D. Whitby. He conducted an extensive correspondence with J. LE CLERC and P. van Limborch, whom he met in Holland. Theological themes are present in many of L.'s works, including his *Essays on the Law of Nature* (first published in 1954). His journals and correspondence provide ample evidence of his interest in the subject, and he used biblical texts to substantiate some of his arguments in his *Letters concerning Toleration* (1689–92) and *Two Treatises of Government* (1690).

L.'s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) included discussions of the relationship among revelation, reason, belief, and knowledge. It provoked controversy with E. STILLINGFLEET, bishop of Worcester, who argued that L. undermined the doctrines of the Trinity and the resurrection of the body. L.'s answers to Stillingfleet were published in 1697–99, but controversy about L.'s views continued after his death. He was variously accused of being a Socinian, a Unitarian, and a Deist (see DEISM); but although some of his views were unorthodox, he never aligned himself with any particular school of thought.

During the last ten years of his life L. paid increased attention to theological matters. In *The Reasonableness of Christianity, as Delivered in the Scriptures* (1695) he reacted against intolerance and excessive dogmatism in religion. He claimed to give an account of Christianity in accordance with reason and based on the teaching of JESUS and the apostles, arguing that faith and a sincere endeavor to obey the teaching of Jesus were all that was needed for salvation. The fundamental article of faith required of all who heard the gospel was Jesus' messiahship, together with "concomitant articles," including the resurrection of Jesus and his second advent. Nonfundamental articles were to be believed insofar as they were understood. Although *Reasonableness* is not a life of Jesus, part of it endeavors to harmonize the Gospel accounts of Jesus' teaching in chronological order, probably under the influence of Lightfoot. L. explained Jesus' reluctance to publicize his messiahship as a desire to avoid provoking the Jewish and Roman authorities and stirring up a Jewish rebellion. L. also maintained that the account of the last judgment in Matt 25:31-46 offers a way of salvation to non-Christians. *Reasonableness* was attacked by J. Edwards as rejecting the doctrine of satisfaction and of putting forward Socinian views, accusations to which L. replied in his two *Vindications* (1695, 1697).

L.'s last book, published posthumously, was his *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1705–7), which attempted to understand the epistles "by consulting St. Paul himself." Consisting of paraphrases and explanatory notes on Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, and Ephesians, it included a preface that explained L.'s principles of interpretation. He emphasized the importance of reading each epistle as a unity without regard for chapter and verse divisions and claimed he had freed himself from theological presuppositions and had looked at the epistles in the light of the situation for which teach was written. While stressing the coherent and reasoned nature of PAUL's thought, he affirmed the superiority of revelation to reason. He regarded Paul's chief opponents as Judaizers and rejected attempts to explain the epistles in terms of a Calvinist doctrine (see CALVIN) of predestination and the doctrine of penal substitution. Translated into German and partially into Dutch, the work was highly regarded by J. D. MICHAELIS but was criticized by D. Whitby, R. Jenkin, and others.

L.'s theological writings were widely read and discussed in Great Britain, North America, and Europe during the eighteenth century, and commentaries in his style were written by J. Peirce and G. Benson on the rest of the NT epistles. Living at a time when important developments were taking place in biblical criticism, L. challenged the traditional methods of biblical study with great force and clarity.

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J. Le Clerc, *BC* 6 (1705) 342-411; 13 (1707) 37-178. **J. Marshall,** *J. L.: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility* (1994). **G. G. Pahl,** "J. L. as Literary Critic and Biblical Interpreter," *Essays Critical and Historical Dedicated to L. B. Campbell* (1950) 137-57. **M. C. Pitassi,** *Le philosophe et l'Écriture: J. L. exégète de Saint Paul* (1990). **I. T. Ramsey,** introduction to *The Reasonableness of Christianity, as Delivered in the Scriptures* (1958). **H. G. Reventlow,** *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* (1985) 243-85. **P. A. Schouls,** *The Imposition of Method. A Study of Descartes and Locke* (1980). **W. M. Spellman,** *J. L. and the Problem of Depravity* (1988). **L. Stephen,** *DNB* 34 (1893) 27-36. **A. W. Wainwright,** introduction to *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (J. Locke, 2 vols., 1987) 1:1-88. **N. Wolterstorff,** *J. L. and the Ethics of Belief* (1996). **J. W. Yolton,** *J. L. and the Way of Ideas* (1956).

A. W. WAINWRIGHT

LODS, ADOLPHE (1867–1948)

A French Protestant biblical scholar and historian, L. was born at Courbevoie (Seine) and educated at Paris, Berlin, and Marburg. He served for a time as pastor of the Church of the Redemption, Paris; loved alpine climbing; and was an accomplished watercolor painter. L. became professor of OT in 1891 at the evangelical-theological faculty in Paris, and from 1906 to 1937 taught Hebrew language and literature in the faculty of letters at the Sorbonne.

Although his literary-critical and religion-historical research stands in succession from J. WELLHAUSEN, L. felt he was reclaiming a French perspective that had begun with R. SIMON in the seventeenth century and continued in the eighteenth with J. ASTRUC, but that had been stifled by the Roman Catholic Church's bitter attacks (e.g., J.-B. Bossuet against Simon). Maintaining that the historical-critical method rested on a twofold platform, analytical and synthetic, L. began his celebrated courses with a grammatical analysis of a text, the manner in which units of material came to constitute the OT "canon" (lower criticism), followed by a fresh translation and a close examination of its content (higher criticism). He dealt boldly with every problem: Who is the text's author? When was it written? How was it transmitted and edited? What is its place in the broader context of contemporary documents? What meaning did its author intend for his readers? Of course, L. recognized that subjective factors inevitably play a part; but he taught that a close analysis of texts must lead to a synthesis of all the information they furnish, drawing also on relevant data from ARCHAEOLOGY, linguistics, comparative religion, PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY, statistics, demography, and other sciences.

L.'s excellent chapter on oral tradition in his posthumous *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive* shows a remarkable breadth of spirit and an openmindedness to new perspectives in his field.

Works: *L'Ecclésiaste et la philosophie grecque* (1890); *Le Livre d'Hénoch, fragments grecs découverts à Akhmin (haute-Egypte): publies avec les variantes du texte ethiopien* (1892); *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite* (2 vols., 1906); *Le culte des ancètres dans l'antiquité hébraïque* (1906); *Jean Astruc et la critique biblique au XVIIIe siècle* (1924); *Israel from Its Beginning to the Middle of the Eighth Century* (1930; ET 1932); *The Prophets and the Rise of Judaism* (1935; ET 1937); *La Religion d'Israél* (1939); *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive, depuis les origines jusqu'à laruine de l'état juif 135 ap. J.-C.* (1950, preface by A. Parrot).

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J. M. BULLARD

LOHMEYER, ERNST (1890–1946)

In 1912 L. received his ThD under A. DEISSMANN in Berlin and in 1914 his PhD in Erlangen. He became professor of NT in Breslau in 1920 but was removed in 1935 because of his strong anti-Nazi sympathies and was reassigned to Greifswald. Arrested by the Soviet military police on Feb. 1946 for unknown reasons, he was executed Sept. 19, 1946.

L.'s works show both historical-critical exegesis and philosophical interpretation of the NT. His research focused on the SYNOPTIC Gospels, giving particular attention to the history of the primitive Christian church. In contrast to Acts, L. assumed that an original Christian community existed in Galilee as well as in Jerusalem (*Galiläa und Jerusalem* [1936]) and that one must reckon with two sources of the Eucharist (Mark 6:34-42 and 14:22-25; "Das Abendmahl in der Urgemeinde" [1937]). He considered Mark to be influenced by a positive view of Galilee and a view of Jerusalem as a locus of hostility (*Galiläa und Jerusalem*; *Das Evangelium des Markus* [1937]), whereas Luke reduces Jesus' activity in Galilee and views Jerusalem as a holy place. With this insight L. became a precursor of REDACTION CRITICISM.

In addition to his work on John the Baptist, the christological titles "Servant of God" and "Son of David," and the Lord's prayer, L.'s unfinished commentary on Matthew (1956, 1967^4) deserves particular mention. He rejected Matthew's literary dependence on Mark and assumed the correspondence to result from independent access to a similar tradition, maintaining that Matthew is often closer to the source than Mark. L.'s other studies of the NT included commentaries (Philippians, Philemon, Colossians, Revelation) and an

explanation of the Pauline *syn christo* sayings from the apocalyptic tradition. Of particular importance, his treatise *Kyrios Jesus* (1928) was the first work to show convincingly that Phil 2:6-11 contains a pre-Pauline hymn and thus smoothed the way for research on NT christological hymns.

Works: *Diatheke: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des neutestamentlichen Begriffs* (UNT 2, 1913); *Soziale Fragen im Urchristentum* (1921); *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HNT 16, 1926, 1970³); "Syn Christo," *Festgabe für A. Deissmann* (1927) 218-57; *Kyrios Jesus: Eine Untersuchung* (SHAW.PH 1927/28, 4; 1928); *Grundlagen paulinischer Theologie* (BHT 1, 1929); *Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Klosser, und an Philemon* (MeyerK 9, 1930); *Das Urchristentum,* vol. 1, *Johannes der Täufer* (1932); *Galiläa und Jerusalem* (FRLANT 52, 1936); *Das Evangelium des Markus* (MeyerK 1, 2, 1937); "Das Abendmahl in der Urgemeinde," *JBL* 56 (1937) 217-52; *Gottesknecht und Davidsohn* (FRLANT 61, 1945); *Das Vater unser* (1946); *Das Evangelium des Matthäus* (ed. W. Schmauch, MeyerK Sonderband, 1956, 1967⁴); *Urchristliche Mystik: Neutestamentliche Studien* (1956).

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B. KOLLMANN

LOISY, ALFRED FIRMIN (1857–1940)

L. was born in Ambrières (Marne), Feb. 28, 1857. In 1874 he entered the diocesan seminary at Châlons-sur-Marne. He was ordained (June 1879) and served in rural parishes for two years, but with the encouragement of the church historian L. Duchesne he resumed studies at the Institut Catholique of Paris, where he obtained his licentiate in theology (June 1882). From 1881 to 1883 he was instructor in Hebrew at the Institut and a member of the faculty from 1883 to 1893, when he was expelled from his position.

In 1882 L. attended lectures in ASSYRIOLOGY at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, and for three years attended the lectures of J. RENAN at the Collège de France. During the 1883–84 academic year the rector of the Institut Catholique rejected L.'s Latin thesis on the doctrine of INSPIRATION according to the Bible and the ecclesiastical writers from the apostolic fathers to Tertullian. The thesis claimed that the PSYCHOLOGY of the inspired authors was visibly the same as that of all who write; that the element of the divine did not change the nature of the writings to which it pertained—for example, did not transform a pseudonymous book, like the Wisdom of Solomon, into an authentic work of Solomon (1913; ET 1924, 97-98). While studying under A. Amiaud at the École Pratique L. produced a reconstruction of the annals of Sargon. In 1890 L.'s new thesis, *A History of the OT Canon,* was accepted by the Institut.

After teaching and continuing his critical studies for five years while chaplain at a convent school in Neuilly (1894–99), L. was appointed in 1900 to the École Pratique in the science of religion, where he began a series of lectures on "The Babylonian Myths and the First Chapters of Genesis" (1913; ET 1924, 209). In an article on biblical questions (1903) he included such viewpoints as these: In its present form the Pentateuch is not the work of Moses; the first chapters of Genesis are not reliable history; religious doctrine in Scripture undergoes development in all its elements (God, human destiny, moral obligation); and the biblical writings, insofar as they contain the knowledge of nature, do not advance beyond the notions common to the ancient world. These views resulted in his expulsion from the Institut (1913; ET 1924, 147-55).

Due to his problems with the Catholic hierarchy L. resigned his position at the École in 1904 and retired to a cottage in Garnay (1913; ET 1924, 258-60, 280), where he continued preparation of his work on the Synoptics (1907-8; see SYNOPTIC PROBLEM). Five of his works had been placed on the Index (Dec. 19, 1903), and he was excommunicated on Mar. 8, 1908. In 1909, however, the Collège de France appointed L. to the chair of the history of religions; he resigned from this position in 1927 and from his lectureship at the École Pratique, continuing to write until the year before his death on June 6, 1940.

L.'s work in biblical studies and early Christianity was marked by his concern for a historical investigation of religion unrestrained by ecclesiastical traditions. A. von HARNACK's *What Is Christianity?* (1900; ET 1901) prompted L. to respond with *The Gospel and the Early Church* (1902; ET 1976), which earned him instant notoriety and a continuing place in NT studies. Responding to von Harnack's argument for a Christianity based on a reconstruction of the simple teachings of the historical JESUS, L. argued that there was a valid continuity of historical development between Jesus and the early church: "We have seen that the gospel of Jesus already contained a rudiment of social organization, and that the kingdom also was announced as a society. Jesus foretold the kingdom, and it was the Church that came;

she came, enlarging the form of the gospel, which it was impossible to preserve as it was, as soon as the Passion closed the ministry of Jesus. There is no institution on the earth or in history whose status and value may not be questioned if the principle is established that nothing may exist except in its original form" (1902; ET 1976, 166).

Thirty years later L. would argue as an independent scholar no longer defending Roman Catholic doctrine that "a religious agitation started in Palestinian Judaism by a Galilean preacher, whose aim was the Kingdom of God, and his end to be crucified as a rebel, comes to its fruit in less than two centuries as a mighty institution established throughout the Roman empire, condemned by the law, but assured of its future and equally sure of victory over the empire which persecuted it. In the whole course of this remarkable evolution nothing happened which cannot be explained by the laws that govern human life" (1933; ET 1962a, 358). For example, the empty tomb story in the Gospels was told by Mark but was invented by the second or third Christian generation. For Peter the conviction that Jesus had not perished in death came first, followed by his vision of the risen Jesus, which was produced by the intense and inward workings of faith (1933; ET 1962a, 45, 103-5).

L.'s critical studies of the Gospels led him to postulate late dates for these writings. John was first composed c. 135–140 CE, with the second edition in 150–160 contemporary with the last editions of Matthew and Luke. The Gospels were foremost catechisms of Christian initiation (1933; ET 1962a, 52-53). In Mark, Jesus is no longer the predestined king of a just Israel but a savior God like Osiris, Adonis, Attis, and Mithra (for the mystery gods with their initiation rituals see Loisy, 1930). Although the "Son of man" formula comes from Daniel, the idea attached to it comes more from PAUL and the pagan mysteries than from Jewish messianism. In Mark the history of Jesus has become a mystery—a divine fact (1912, 32, 38-39). From John alone one could not resolve the problem of whether Jesus was a historical figure (1921, 71); the Gospel's first author was perhaps a pagan convert who was steeped in the mysticism of his time (1921, 66). L. was nonetheless highly critical of those who believed that Mandaean thought could account for the mystery of John's conceptual world, although he did see some common elements between the two. He traced the origins of the Mandaeans to several centuries after the birth of Christianity (1934, 7, 142, 148).

L. published several books with the NT texts in rhythmic prose in strophic form (1921, 1922, 1935; see A. Jones, [1983] 97-105). When asked at a conference by M. GOGUEL to justify his method (not based on length or syntax), L. responded that he did it orally (Jones, 102)!

L.'s commentary on Acts (1920) has been praised as one of the most significant of the twentieth century. In it he attempted to devalue Paul's role in early Christianity, which he pictured (using Acts) as developing from Peter (the first group of Christians in Jerusalem comprising former disciples of Jesus), to Stephen (the formation of the second group, comprising Hellenistic Jews in Jerusalem), to Barnabas (the foundation in Antioch of a primarily Gentile-Christian community). L. claimed that Luke was a fine historian whose work had been travestied by a redactor (1920, 89, 90, 108; see Jones, 83-96).

L. did not have much admiration for Paul. His commentary on Galatians (1916) was an attempt to "deprotestantize" Paul (see Jones, 79). In his doctrines Paul was guilty of arbitrary interpretation, phantasmagoria, and infantile thought (149-50, 154, 161, with reference to Gal 3:13-14, 18, and 29—discussed in Jones, 81), and his teaching about justification by faith in Romans advances from one absurdity to another (1936; ET 1962b, 294). In a work on the epistolary literature of the NT, L. argued that the original Pauline epistles were "skeletons" to which were added many anonymous fragments (1935, 185-89; see Jones's simplified summary, 124-25), e.g., the original Romans consisted of 1:1-7, 8-17; 3:27–4:25 (with the exception of 4:15, 25); 9–11; 15:8-13, 14-33 and was greatly supplemented to produce the present work.

The evaluation of L.'s scholarship is still under consideration. E. Trocmé gives a cautious appraisal when he notes that L. has probably been the impetus for much of twentieth-century French Catholic and Protestant exegesis (1978, 458).

Works: *Histoire du canon de l'Ancien Testament* (1890); *Histoire du canon du Nouveau Testament* (1891); *Histoire critique du texte et des versions de la Bible* (2 vols., 1892–93); *Études bibliques* (1901, 1903[3]); *Les Mythes babyloniens et les premiers chapitres de la Genèse* (1901); *Études évangéliques* (1902); *The Gospel and the Church* (1902, 1930[5]; ET 1976); *Autour d'un petit livre* (1903, 1904[2]); *Le Quatrième Évangile* (1903); *The Religion of Israel* (1906, rev. ed. 1933; ET 1910); *Les Évangeles synoptiques* (2 vols., 1907–8); *Leçon d'ouverture du cours d'histoire des religions au Collège de France* (1909); *Jésus et la tradition évangélique* (1910); *A propos d'histoire des religions* (1911); *L'Évangile selon Marc* (1912); *Les Mystères Païens et le Mystère Chrétien* (1912, rev. ed. 1930); *Choses passées* (1913; ET *My Duel with the Vatican: The Autobiography of a Catholic Modernist* [1924]); *L'Epître aux Galates* (1916); *La Religion* (1917, rev. ed. 1924); *Les Actes des Apôtres* (1920, abbreviated ed. 1925); *Essai historique sur le sacrifice* (1920); *Le Quatriéme Évangile: Les Épîtres dites de Jean* (1921); *Les livres du Nouveau Testament* (1922); *L'Apocalypse de Jean* (1923); *L'Évangile selon Luc* (1924); *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire religieuse de notre temps* (3 vols., 1930–31); *The Birth of the Christian Religion* (1933; ET 1962a); *Le Mandéisme et les origines chrétiennes* (1934); *Remarques sur*

la littérature epistolaire du Nouveau Testament (1935); *The Origins of the NT* (1936; ET 1962b); *Histoire et mythe à propos de Jésus-Christ* (1938); *Autres mythes à propos de la religion* (1938); *Un mythe apologétique* (1939). For a full bibliography of L.'s works, see A. Houtin and F. Sartiaux, *A. L.: Sa vie, son oeuvre* (ed. E. Poulat, 1960) 304-23.

Bibliography: D. Bader, *Der Weg L.s zur Erforschung der christlichen Wahrheit* (Freiburger theologische Studien 69, 1974). **J. Bonsirven,** *DBSup* 5 (1957) 530-44. **L. C. Bozak,** "The Problem of Faith and Reason in the Thought of A. L." (diss., Marquette University, 1973). **P. Guerin,** "La vie et l'oeuvre de Loisy à propos d'un ouvrage récent," *RHPR* 41 (1961) 334-43. **F. Heiler,** *Der Vater der katholischen Modernismus: A. L.* (1947). **H. Hill,** "La Science Catholique: A. L.'s Program of Historical Theology," *ZNThG/JHMTh* 3 (1996) 39-59. **J. Hulshof,** *Wahrheit und Geschichte: A. L. zwischen Tradition und Kritik* (BNGKT 16, 1973). **A. H. Jones,** *Independence and Exegesis: The Study of Early Christianity in the Work of A. L. (1857–1940), C. Guignebert (1854–1939), and M. Goguel (1880–1955)* (BGBE 26, 1983). **M.-J. Lagrange,** *M. Loisy et le modernisme* (1932). **R. Marlé,** *Au coeur de la crise modernists: Le dossier inédit d'une controverse. Lettres de M. Blondel, H. Bremond, Fr. von Hügel, A. L., F. Mourret, J. Wehrlé* (1960). **V. G. Moran,** "L.'s Theological Development," *TS* 40 (1979) 411-52. **P. Neuner,** *TRE* 21 (1991) 453-56. **M. D. Petre,** *A. L.: His Religious Significance* (1944). **N. Provencher,** "Une tentative de renouvellement de l'herméneutique biblique: le modernisme d'A. L.," *Église et Theologie* 7 (1976) 341-66. **E. Poulat,** *Histoire, Dogme, et Critique dans la Crise Moderniste* (1962). **J. Ratté,** *Three Modernists: A. L., G. Tyrell, W. L. Sullivan* (1968) 43-141. **R. J. Resch,** "Christology as a Methodological Problem: A Study of the Correspondence Between M. Blondel and A. L., 1902–1903" (diss., University of Notre Dame, 1975). **R. de Boyer de Sainte Suzanne,** *A. L. entre la foi et l'incroyance* (1968). **B. B. Scott,** "Introduction," *The Gospel and the Church* (1976) xi-lxxiii. **É. Trocmé,** "Exégèse scientifique et Idéologie: de L'École de Tubingue aux Historiens français des Origines chrétiennes," *NTS* 24 (1978) 447-62. **A. R. Vidler,** *The Modernist Movement in the Roman Church: Its Origins and Outcome* (1934) 67-139; *A Variety of Catholic Modernists* (Sarum Lectures for 1968–69, 1970).

J. G. COOK

LOWTH, ROBERT (1710–87)

Born Nov. 27, 1710, L. was the son of W. Lowth (1661–1732), an important ecclesiastical and scholarly figure of his day who had published a treatise defending the INSPIRATION and AUTHORITY of the Bible against J. LE CLERC's views as well as commentaries on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel and the Minor Prophets. L. was educated at Winchester College and at New College, Oxford (MA 1737). In 1741 he was appointed professor of poetry at Oxford only days before giving the first lecture in his series on Hebrew POETRY (1741–50). In the early 1750s he was granted various church appointments and was awarded a DD degree from Oxford (1754) and in 1765 was elected to the royal societies of London and Göttingen. He served as bishop of St. David's (1766), Oxford (1766–77), and London (1777–87), where he died Nov. 3, 1787.

The most influential English-speaking OT scholar of his day, L.'s work clearly belongs within the context of various contemporary intellectual discussions: the debate over the nature, history, and role of poetry in Neoclassical and early Romantic studies; the developing tendency in certain circles to view the Bible more in human categories than as a repository of divine revelation, thus emphasizing the Bible's aesthetic and literary qualities; the discussion of the nature and meter of biblical poetry and how the Bible's poetry should be expressed in translation; and the increasing "orientalism" of the time and its use in understanding and illustrating the Bible. His writing on Hebrew poetry and his translation of and comments on Isaiah were widely distributed and reprinted in various editions for almost a century (see the reprint of the lectures on poetry [Anglistica and Americana 43, 1969] with an introduction by V. Freimarck). The poetry lectures were initially delivered and published in Latin, although an English version of the first eighteen lectures was published in the *Christian Magazine* in 1766–67 before the whole was published in English in 1787 (a German translation appeared in 1793 and a French edition in 1812). J. D. MICHAELIS, who heard the second of the poetry lectures in October 1741, issued an annotated version at Göttingen, and J. KOPPE annotated a German translation of Isaiah published in Leipzig. L.'s lectures on poetry were a direct response to Frances Hare's *Psalmorum liber, in versiculos metricè divisus . . . cum dissertatione de antiqua Hebraeorum poesi* (2 vols., 1736; ET 1755), and his translation of Isaiah partially grew out of his long-standing concern for an English translation of the Bible based on new LITERARY-critical perspectives and TEXTUAL studies.

L. is most widely known for his theory of *parallelismus membrorum* (see F. Rehkopf [1980] on the use of terminology), in which he divided biblical parallel statements into synonymous, antithetical, and synthetic as a means for understanding Hebrew poetry (a view, as noted by J. Jebb, that was anticipated by C. Schoettgen [1687–1751] in a fifteen-page essay, "De exergasia sacra," at the end of his *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae in universum Novum Testamentum* [2 vols., 1733]). In addition, L. argued that prophetic literature was a form of poetry (a view anticipated by H. von der Hardt in his *Tres primae Joelis elegiae sacrae,* [1706]). Identifying the prophets as poets, L. argued that poetry and PROPHECY had "one common name, one common origin, one common author, the Holy Spirit," thus practically identifying prophetic inspiration with poetic genius. His

views, eloquently presented, greatly influenced the study of OT prophecy in both Germany and England.

Works: *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum praelectiones academiae Oxonii habitae a Roberto Lowth: Subjicitor metricae Harianae brevis confutatio et oratio Crewiana* (1753; 2 vols., 1758–61, with notes by J. D. Michaelis; 2 vols., 1763², rev. with Michaelis's original and additional notes in vol. 2; ed. and with notes by E. F. C. Rosenmüller, 1815, with additional notes by C. F. Richter and C. Weiss; ET *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* [2 vols., 1787], with the principal notes of Michaelis and notes by the translator, G. Gregory, and S. Henley; 1816²; rev. ed. 1829, with additional notes from the 1793 GT); *Auszug aus . . . Vorlesungen über die heilige Dichtkunst der Hebräer, mit Herders und* [Sir William] *Jones's Grundsätzen verbunden . . . Nebst einigen vemischten Anhängen entworfen von C. B. Schmidt* (1793); *Life of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester* (1758); *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762); *A Letter to the Reverend Author* [W. Warburton] *of the "Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated. . . .* (1765); *A Larger Confutation of Bishop Hare's System of Hebrew Metre* (1766); *Isaiah: A New Translation; with a Preliminary Dissertation, and Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory* (2 vols., 1778; 1779²)); *D. R. Lowths . . . Jesaias, neu übersetzt nebst einer Einleitung und critischen philologischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen aus dem Englischen: Mit Zusätzen und Anmerkungen, von J. B. Koppe* (4 vols., 1779–81); *Sermons, and Other Remains of R. L.* (ed. P. Hall, 1834, with a memoir by the editor, 1-42).

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R. R. MARRS

LUBAC, HENRI DE (1896–1991)

L. entered the Jesuit order in 1913 and was ordained in 1927 after being decisively influenced by M. Blondel and the revisionist Thomism of P. Rousselot. While teaching fundamental theology and history of religions at the Catholic faculty of Lyons (1930–50), he was in the forefront of the *ressourcement* movement, which sought to revitalize Christian intellectual and spiritual life by renewed contact with biblical, patristic, and medieval sources. Although controversy surrounding his work *Surnaturel* (1946) led to the loss of his teaching position in 1950, he was vindicated ten years later when John XXIII appointed him as a theological adviser to the Second Vatican Council. He was a co-founder of the important collections *Sources chrétiennes* and *Concilium* and the review *Communio.* Created a cardinal in 1983 by John Paul II, L. published over fifty volumes and numerous articles on subjects as diverse as HERMENEUTICS, Buddhism, Marxism, ecclesiology, and theological anthropology. He died in Paris on Sept 4, 1991.

In his writings on the history of hermeneutics, L. demonstrated that Christian allegorical interpretation of the HB was initiated not by ORIGEN, following PHILO and the pagan allegorists, as commonly supposed, but rather by the NT authors, especially PAUL. L. showed allegory to be present in the work of virtually all orthodox expositors before the Reformation, even in such habitually literal interpreters as JEROME, the ANTIOCHENES, and THOMAS AQUINAS. Dependent on a thoroughly Christian theology of history, Christian allegorism was, for L., fundamentally different from all other allegorism, regardless of superficial resemblances. Considered revolutionary when first published, these ideas overturned entrenched positions and even succeeded in some cases in engendering a new scholarly consensus.

Given that literal and spiritual interpretation coexisted for centuries without conflict, L. saw no inherent opposition between them. He advocated a contemporary reappropriation of spiritual exegesis that respects and builds on the literal sense as determined by historical-critical exegesis. For him, the scholarly attempt to determine the Bible's meaning in its original historical context is indispensible; nevertheless, it remains merely the preparation for that prayerful, existential encounter with the text that yields life-transforming and perpetually new meaning for Christians today. In this regard he approached the hermeneutical ideas of such contemporary thinkers as P. RICOEUR and H. Gadamer. In his early recognition of the limitations as well as the usefulness of the historical-critical method, L. was, like K. BARTH, a pioneer of post-critical hermeneutics.

Works: *Catholicisme* (1938); *Corpus Mysticum* (1944); *Surnaturel: Études historiques* (1946); *Histoire et Ésprit: L'intelligence de l'écriture d'apres Origene* (1950); *Exégèse Médiévale: Les quatres sens de l'ecriture* (4 vols., 1959–64;

ET 1998–); *L'Écriture dans la tradition* (1967); *Pic de la Mirandole: Études et discussions* (1974); *La Postérité spirituelle de Joachim de Flore* (2 vols., 1979); "Tu m'as trompé, Seigneur," *Recherches dans la foi: Trois études sur Origene, Saint Anselme, et la philosophie chrétienne* (1979) 9-78; *Rivelazione e senso dell'uomo* (1985); *Mémoire sur l'occasion de mes écrits* (1989); *Theological Fragments* (1989).

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M. D'AMBROSIO

LUCIAN (d. 312)

Presbyter, theologian, teacher, and martyr, L. had a deep influence on early Christianity from his base in Antioch. In biblical exegesis he stressed the literal sense of the text, determining the meaning of metaphorical passages through study of Hebrew and Greek languages and literatures. L. produced a Greek version of the Bible, both Hebrew Scriptures and NT, that, technically speaking, is a revision of earlier translations. The assumption that L. created this Greek version is based on an observation by JEROME in his preface to Chronicles that L.'s text was used in the region between Constantinople and Antioch. The exact relation of L.'s version to the earlier texts is not clear since so many new elements were introduced that the underlying text can be discovered only through meticulous research.

The Lucianic text of the Hebrew Scriptures was rediscovered in the nineteenth century when A. Ceriani, F. Field, and P. LAGARDE successfully indentified the manuscripts containing the Lucianic tradition, most clearly visible in the historical books (MSS borc2^{e} from Ruth 4:11 onward). Usually the revision elaborates on the Hexapla (e.g., in the latter prophets), but in some books it also reflects elements predating the time of the historical L. and ORIGEN's Hexapla. In other books no Lucianic revision can be detected at all.

Scholars have long shown a keen interest in the Lucianic tradition because of the translation tendencies reflected in this text and because of the presence of "proto-Lucianic" readings—that is, so-called Lucianic readings attested from a time prior to the historical L. This pertains especially to the agreements of the Lucianic text and the Hebrew DEAD SEA SCROLLS, particularly the books of Samuel. Because of the fragmentary state of preservation of the textual traditions of the Bible these agreements may be misleading, however. In the historical books the Lucianic tradition may reflect an original Greek translation (thus Barthélemy [1978, 1982–86]), but it is also possible that it is composed of a substratum containing an original translation and a second layer containing a revision by L. (thus E. Tov [1972]). In any case, in these books the Lucianic tradition reflects important Hebrew readings. The Lucianic text is noted in the Cambridge and Göttingen editions of the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT).

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E. TOV

LUKE, GOSPEL OF

1. The Interpretation of Luke in Early Christianity. The interpretation of Luke has generally followed the cultural and religious currents of the times. In the early period the context for interpretation was the church. The occasions were two: the demand for a defense against heresy within the church and the need for an apology directed toward the world outside the church. TERTULLIAN and CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA represent the former, AUGUSTINE the latter.

Luke was early on the object of GNOSTIC and Marcionite interpretation. IRENAEUS complained that Valentinians disregarded the order and connection of the Scriptures and adapted the Gospels to their own positions. For example, there are, they said, three kinds of people: material (Luke 9:57-58), animal (Luke 9:61-62), and spiritual (Luke 9:60; 19:5); Achamoth wandered beyond the pleuroma and was sought by the Savior (Luke 15:4, 8); Simeon (Luke 2:28) is a type of the Demiurge, Anna (Luke 2:36) a type of Achamoth (*Against Heresies* 1.8.3-4). Marcosians, Irenaeus claimed, also misinterpreted the Gospels, e.g., for them Luke 2:49 speaks of JESUS' announcement of the Un-

known God (*Against Heresies* 1.20.2). CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA further charged that Heracleon, a leading Valentinian, interpreted Luke 12:11-12 in a way that allowed a Gnostic to avoid martyrdom (*Miscellanies* 4.9). MARCION dispensed with the Law and the Prophets and in their place substituted an abbreviated version of the Gospel of Luke and an expurgated collection of PAUL's letters, supporting thereby his understanding of Christ as one who stood in antithesis to the creator God of the Jews.

Tertullian's *Against Marcion,* bk. 4 (1957), may be regarded as his commentary on Luke. The work's form is to take up a position of Marcion and then refute it by appeal to the Third Gospel. Its focus is that Jesus is the Christ of the Creator, with proof being derived from Luke's Gospel, since that is the narrative portion of the NT accepted, at least in part, by Marcion. At the end, Tertullian concluded: "Marcion, I pity you; your labor has been in vain. For the Jesus Christ who appears in your Gospel is mine" (4.43). The first full-scale orthodox interpretation of Luke, then, was by an early third-century anti-heretical Latin writer of North Africa who used the Third Gospel to refute Marcion's *Antitheses.*

The commentary on Luke by Cyril (1983), patriarch of Alexandria from 412 to 444 CE, is a collection of 150 extemporaneous sermons. The opening sentence of Homily Three betrays the sermonic form: "Very numerous indeed is the assembly, and earnest the hearer—for we see the church full." The focus of the commentary is Cyril's opposition to Nestorius amid the christological controversies leading up to Chalcedon (451 CE). For example, in Homily One on Luke 2:4, "because he was of the house and lineage of David," he says: "The natures, however, which combined unto this real union were different, but from the two together is one God the Son, without the diversity of the natures being destroyed by the union." Homily Twelve on Luke 5:14 reads: "Yes, verily, as both to think and say, that the Word of God the Father is one Christ separately by himself, and He who is of the seed of David is another." From the Greek church this early interpretation of Luke, like Tertullian's from the Latin church, had an anti-heretical aim.

Augustine's *The Harmony of the Gospels* (1956), written c. 400 CE, employs the form of the harmony, a literary type previously produced by TATIAN in the second century, Ammonius of Alexandria in the third, and EUSEBIUS in the fourth. The focus of his *Harmony* is to vindicate the Gospel against the critical assaults of the heathen who attacked the veracity of the Gospel writers, claiming that the Gospels contradict each other, contradict the HB, and add to Christ's teaching (1.7.10). Using a Latin translation older than the VULGATE, in book 1 Augustine denied that the Gospels go beyond what Jesus taught; in book 2 he examined Matthew, comparing it with Mark, Luke, and John and exhibiting the perfect harmony between them in the narrative down to the Last Supper; in book 3 he completed the project of book 2, dealing with the narrative from the Supper to its end; in book 4 he dealt with passages in Mark, Luke, and John that have no parallel in Matthew. One way Augustine sought to avoid difficulties was by supposing different instances of the same circumstances or repeated utterances of the same words. For example, the different versions of the voice from heaven at Jesus' baptism mean that both voices were heard from heaven (2.14.31); if Matt 20:29-34 has two blind men and Luke 18:35-43 has only one, it is explained by the fact that Luke is narrating a miracle wrought on a blind man as Jesus came near Jericho while Matthew tells of a similar miracle as he was leaving Jericho; Luke 5:4, although similar to John 21:1-11, refers to another, similar incident. Augustine's interpretation of Luke, then, had the practical, churchly aim of displaying the unity and harmony of all Scripture in order to refute the pagans' charges.

2. The Interpretation of Luke in Medieval Christianity. Early medieval exegesis, designed to move its audience, was cast in two forms: that of the sermon, if it was meant to move the hearer, and that of the commentary to be read by monks as part of their ascetic discipline, if it was meant to move the reader. The Venerable BEDE's impact is from the latter. This eighth-century monk's exegetical writings were much in demand in later centuries and were studied and copied in monastic centers all over Europe, with the result that his authority grew to be little inferior to that of the four doctors of the Latin church. His *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* is a good example of his exegetical work. In Bede's time to be a scholar meant digesting the learning of earlier thinkers and passing it down in a simpler and more intelligible form. What this meant for exegetical work was that, after the fifth century, for more than one thousand years the task of a biblical commentary was that of compiling and ordering extracts from the exegetical literature of the patristic age. This Bede did. In his commentary on Luke he initiated a system of marginal source marks to indicate which passages he borrowed from AMBROSE, Augustine, JEROME, or GREGORY THE GREAT, "lest I be accused of stealing from my elders, and of proposing their views as if they were my own." The focus of his exegetical work was eminently practical. In his *Church History,* 5.24, Bede wrote of himself: "I have spent all my life in this monastery, applying myself entirely to the study of the Scriptures. . . . From the time I became a priest until [this] the fifty ninth year of my life, I have made it my business, *for my own benefit and that of my brothers,* to make brief extracts from the works of the venerable fathers on the holy Scripture, or to add notes of my own to clarify their sense and interpretation." The same point is made in the preface to his *Commentary*

on Acts, where he wrote that the author is Luke the physician and that "all of his words are . . . medicine for the ailing soul." Bede's exegesis tended to be, like monastic exegesis in general, devotional, concerned with living the Christian life and attaining salvation.

3. The Interpretation of Luke in the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation. ERASMUS produced not only the first printed Greek NT (1516) but also paraphrases and annotations on biblical books. His paraphrase of Luke (*In Evangelium Lucae Paraphrasis* [1523]) was not a translation but a freer kind of continuous commentary that nevertheless maintained the integrity of the persons speaking. The *Annotations,* which went through five expanding editions in Erasmus's lifetime, are characterized by two principal features: TEXTUAL CRITICISM (his primary concern) and consideration of the opinions of the fathers (like the medieval exegetes but with greater freedom). Thus he reported the opinions of the fathers who agreed with him, pointed out differences among them to justify his own departures from commonly held views, and criticized their errors. The focus of his interpretation was the moral meaning of Scripture. Humanists like Erasmus used Luke, as they used other Scripture, to expose the folly and corruption of the church. Erasmus's favorite subjects were the tragedy of the institutionalization of religion, the sophistical nature of scholastic theology, and the worldly aspirations of the clergy. Beyond his specific moral interpretation of Luke and other NT documents, he gave the Protestant Reformation a Greek text and a philological method to use in its theological exegesis.

If humanists like Erasmus used Scripture to expose the church's corruption, Reformers like CALVIN employed Scripture as a theological weapon. In his *Harmony of the Gospels* (1555; ET 1972) Calvin reclaimed an ancient form. Maintaining that no one can comment intelligently or aptly on one of the three synoptic Gospels without comparing it with the other two, he treated Luke in connection with the other synoptic writers, focusing on Reformation theology. For example, when Luke 1:6 says, "They [Zachariah and Elizabeth] were both righteous before God," does it mean that they had no need of Christ? No! They were not perfect. They needed forgiveness. Their righteousness depended on the free kindness of God whereby God did not lay their unrighteousness to their charge because of the covenant God had made with them. On this point Calvin fought against both those who read justification by faith into the passage and those Roman Catholics who claimed to be justified by works. In Luke 1:46-50, did Mary say, "Henceforth all generations shall call me blessed" because she sought renown through her own virtue and efforts? No! She was celebrating God's work alone. Calvin held that this shows how completely Roman Catholics were mistaken in giving her titles like "Queen of Heaven" and in conferring on her the royalty that belongs to Christ, saying, "Ask the Father, bid the Son." The holy Virgin rejects them all, fixing her glory on the grace of God. "It follows that the praises of Mary, where the might and sheer glory of God are not entirely set forth, are perverse and counterfeit." Although Calvin, like Augustine, dealt with such difficulties as the different genealogies of Matthew and Luke, his major concern remained theological; and Luke served as a tool for his aim of the theological reformation of the church.

4. The Interpretation of Luke in the Enlightenment. H. S. REIMARUS (1694–1768), professor of oriental languages at the Hamburg academic gymnasium, worked in the context of developments in the German Enlightenment's understanding of the relation between revelation and reason. The leading German philosopher of the period, C. Wolff (1679–1754), held that (a) revelation may be above reason but not contrary to reason, and (b) reason establishes the criteria by which revelation may be judged. The Wolffian synthesis was attacked from two directions. Neology, the middle phase of the Enlightenment, contended that (a) revelation is real, but its content is not different from that of natural religion in general and that (b) reason may eliminate those doctrines of Christian revelation that are not identical with reason. Rationalism, however, (a) agreed that reason establishes the criteria to judge revelation but (b) contended that reason's criteria prove revelation to be false, leaving reason to exist alone. Publicly Reimarus followed Wolff in saying that natural religion prepares for Christianity; privately he joined rationalism in saying that natural religion replaces Christianity. Wolff held that there are certain criteria by which any alleged revelation must be tested: First, revelation must be necessary, containing knowledge available only by miraculous means. Second, it must be free from contradictions. Privately Reimarus took Wolff's criteria and applied them to Christian origins, as set forth in the four Gospels and Acts, to show that it is possible to trace the natural origins of Christianity and that the supposed revelation is filled with contradictions. Reason's criteria thereby undermine the claims of the alleged Christian revelation.

Reimarus accepted the traditional view that Matthew and John were written by eyewitnesses, while Mark and Luke were not. He claimed that the evangelists constructed their own picture of Jesus after his death, but that they left, unintentionally and through sheer carelessness, traces of the historical reality of Jesus. From these traces one can see that Jesus did not espouse the three central doctrines of Christianity: spiritual deliverance through the suffering and death of Christ (atonement), Christ's bodily resurrection from the dead, and Christ's speedy return for reward and punishment. Jesus saw himself as a worldly Messiah, but his disciples turned him into a spiritual Savior after his death for economic reasons. It requires no miracles to explain the

development of Christian origins; furthermore, the historical facts of Jesus' career contradict the claims made for him by his disciples after his death. Other contradictions are everywhere apparent, e.g., Matthew and John make no mention of the appearance on the road to Emmaus as Luke 24:13-32 does; Matthew knows nothing of the appearance in Jerusalem that is found in Luke 24:36-49; John and Matthew do not report Jesus' ascension as Luke 24:51 does; Mark 16:1 says the women buy spices when the feast day is past, whereas Luke 23:56 has them buy the spices in the evening before the feast day; Matthew and Mark report only one angel at the tomb, while Luke 24:4 says there were two. Reimarus used Luke only to illustrate contradictions in the Gospel accounts, contradictions that he believed show the falsity of the alleged Christian revelation.

Reimarus wrote as an academic, not a cleric, expressing his personal doubts in the form of an apology focused, not at the enemies of the church, but at Christianity itself. He sought to disprove its claims to have received truth through revelation. His interpretation of Luke, the other Gospels, and Acts both denied their essential historicity and exposed their creation by Jesus' disciples after his death. Reimarus is so important for biblical interpretation because on these two points his work set the stage for the subsequent interpretation of Luke and the other Gospels up to our day.

5. The Interpretation of Luke in the Modern World. Since 1800, interpretation of the Gospels, including Luke, has followed two very different lines. On the one hand, in response to Reimarus's denial of the essential historicity of the Gospel accounts (later reinforced by D. F. Strauss), there has been a drive to establish the historical basis of the tradition by means of source analysis and by appeals to authorship and ARCHAEOLOGY: the quest of the historians' Jesus. On the other hand, there has also been an attempt to interpret the meaning of the Gospels in their final form by relating the tendency of each to its historical context or occasion: the quest of the evangelists' theology. The different ways Luke has been interpreted since 1800 have depended on which of these two approaches has been applied to the Gospel at any given time.

The impetus to establish the historical basis of the tradition about Jesus was sometimes undertaken on behalf of the aims of orthodox Christianity in the belief that, if the historicity of the tradition was validated, it would confirm the picture of Jesus in the Gospels. Sometimes the impetus came from the desire to overthrow Chalcedonian christology in the belief that the historical tradition behind the Gospels would reveal a Jesus more intelligible to modern times, a Jesus of obvious moral superiority to all others and, therefore, self-validating to the modern conscience. Exponents of the latter approach to scholarship as it applies to Luke include A. von HARNACK (1907, 1908), W. RAMSAY (1905, 1915), B. STREETER (1924), and V. TAYLOR (1926, 1972).

In order to reestablish the value of the Lukan writings as historical authorities, von Harnack (1907) sought to prove that the Third Gospel and Acts were written by a fellow worker of Paul, Luke the physician. Von Harnack then (1908) reconstructed Q from Matthew and Luke, concluding that Q was a document of the apostolic epoch, more ancient than Mark and composed in Palestine. Ramsay took what is perhaps the most historically dubious passage in the NT, Luke 2:1-4, and attempted to establish its essential historicity on the basis of contemporary discoveries in Egypt that seemed to indicate a system of periodic enrollments in Syria and the East generally. Streeter, assuming the two source theory, argued for the existence of Proto-Luke, a synthesis of Q + L that was, in fact, a complete Gospel prior to the composition of the Third Gospel. Proto-Luke appears to have been a document independent of Mark and approximately of the same date—a conclusion Streeter believed to be of considerable moment to the historian. Taylor contended that behind the Third Gospel's passion narrative was a special source, an authority as old as Mark but independent of the Second Gospel. Such an independent pre-Lukan passion narrative would assist the historian in reconstructing the events of Jesus' final days.

The focus of all these efforts was to use the Third Gospel as a window through which to view something other than the Lukan text; interpretation consisted of treating Luke as a mine from which one could dig the ore of pre-Lukan historical tradition. This concern persists—in part at least—in I. Marshall (1978) and J. Nolland (1989, 1993a, 1993b), doubtless due to the authors' evangelical Christian conviction that "faith follows not feeling but fact." Since Luke was regarded as a secondary source by this line of interpretation, moreover, the Third Gospel received considerably less attention from scholars pursuing the quest of the historical Jesus than did Mark.

The attempt to interpret each of the Gospels in its final form was, initially at least, based on the assumption that the true meaning of a Gospel is determined by discerning its place in the historical development of early Christianity, as opposed to its canonical context (see CANON OF THE BIBLE). Interpretation, therefore, took the form of a history of early Christianity. F. C. BAUR, in the first half of the nineteenth century, is the epitome of this approach. Assuming J. J. GRIESBACH's order of the Gospels, with Matthew first, then Luke, and finally Mark, Baur read Luke as a reinterpretation of Matthew from a Pauline perspective. The Gospel of Luke arose in its final form after 70 CE, motivated by the party relationships of that period. Luke's universalistic tendency was a Pauline antithesis to the particularism of the Jewish Christian Matthew; it was related to an

alleged occasion in the historical development of early Christianity. Thus interpretation of Luke consists of the act of bringing tendency and occasion together. For Baur, such interpretive activity must be accompanied by indifference to result and freedom from subjectivity, the shining goal toward which every true scholar presses. It never occurred to the university-based Baur that his Hegelian presuppositions were a significant component of his own subjectivity.

R. BULTMANN's view of Luke in his *Theology of the NT* (1948–53; ET vol. 1, 1951) represents both continuity and discontinuity with the interpretive scheme of Baur. Like Baur, Bultmann was concerned to set the Third Gospel in its historical context. The tendency of Luke and its companion volume, Acts, is to substitute a history of salvation for the primitive Christian imminent eschatology. The occasion is the delay of the parousia in early Christianity at the end of the first century. Faced with disappointments arising from the delay, the Third Evangelist told the story of Jesus as part of a history of salvation in which the gift of the Holy Spirit replaces the imminent end. Unlike Baur, Bultmann then engaged in content criticism: The NT contains two strata, the first embodying the early eschatological *kerygma,* the second reflecting an early Catholic fall away from the truth. Paul and John's Gospel represent the authentic stratum; Luke, among others, belongs to the early Catholic distortion of the original Gospel and as such does not have the same normative quality for the church that Paul and the Fourth Gospel have. Interpretation for Bultmann began with discerning Luke's alleged tendency and setting it in connection with an alleged occasion; it finished with a critical appraisal of the value of Luke's tendency for Christian faith.

H. Conzelmann (1960) further developed Bultmann's view of Luke as an account of Jesus that eliminates imminent eschatology in response to the delayed parousia, although he refused to relegate Luke to early Catholicism (1969). Conzelmann's contribution lies in the methodology proposed to discern the Lukan tendency. By noting Luke's departures from his primary source, Mark, and by paying special attention to the overall narrative framework or pattern of arrangement, one can discern the Lukan tendency. This became, with some fine-tuning, the method of REDACTION CRITICISM that dominated Lukan studies for more than a generation. Even where the overall Bultmannian picture of Lukan theology is resisted, as in the commentaries by Marshall (1978), J. FITZMYER (1981, 1985), and Nolland (1989, 1993a, 1993b), the German redaction-critical method is assumed. F. Bovon (1987) summarizes the results of such redaction-critical study of Luke under the headings plan of God, the interpretation of the OT, christology, Holy Spirit, salvation, reception of salvation, and church.

At the end of the twentieth century, interpretation of Luke reflects a multiplicity of methods and approaches. In addition to those carried over from the past, five interpretive options may be mentioned in a logical, not chronological, order.

a. Interpreting Luke in light of Mediterranean parallels. From 1973 to 1983 the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE's Luke-Acts Group (1973–78) and Seminar (1979–83) broke with the construct of Conzelmann and developed an approach to Luke more akin to that of H. CADBURY (1927). Like Conzelmann, Cadbury assumed the two source theory and viewed Luke as a reinterpretation of Mark. Unlike Conzelmann, he did not believe it possible to detect a single dominating occasion for Luke's Gospel or a singular purpose formulated consciously in response to it; he was concerned to set Luke's literary techniques, no less than his theology, in relation to parallels from the Mediterranean world. The Luke-Acts working groups likewise eschewed an approach that depended on a dominant conception of the development of early Christianity and opted for a method of interpretation that depended heavily on parallels, especially literary ones, from the Mediterranean world. *Perspectives on Luke–Acts* (1978) and *Luke–Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (1983), both edited by C. Talbert, reflect an approach that sees interpretation primarily as setting what is said in Luke and how it is said by Luke in its immediate context in Mediterranean antiquity. The Mediterranean milieu allows one to determine how Luke would have been heard by an ancient auditor and, therefore, to discern what it would have meant to him or her. The focus is on what Luke meant in the context of his own time. This stream of interpretation has yielded monographs like that of S. Garrett (1989) and a commentary by Talbert (1982).

b. Interpreting Luke in light of non-biblical literary criticism. The older New Criticism has been supplanted by a NARRATIVE CRITICISM based on a communications model like that of R. Jakobson, which regards texts as mirrors rather than windows. This way of reading focuses on the final form of the text and concentrates on such matters as plot, characters, and type of narration by an implied author. Something of the method was presented to historically oriented NT scholars by N. Petersen (1978). This type of literary study is devoid of references to the Mediterranean environment just as was that of the New Criticism; thus the narrative world of the Gospel text is abstracted from its time and place. This type of reading has borne fruit in monographs like that of D. Gowler (1991), which deals with the matter of characterization, and in the commentary by R. Tannehill (1986), a combination of New Criticism and modern narrative criticism in which there is an almost total lack of references to Mediterranean sources outside the Bible. Tannehill's thesis is that the author of Luke–Acts

consciously understood the story of Jesus and his followers as unified by the controlling purpose of God.

c. Interpreting Luke in light of anthropological and sociological models. J. Neyrey's edited collection (1991) is concerned with the question, What is the social system assumed by Luke? Issues addressed include: What is the typical economic system in a peasant society? What are the features of patron/client relations? What is the relation between city and countryside? Who benefits from labeling another as deviant? How do honor and shame operate in Mediterranean society? Given these questions and their answers, where does Luke fit and how does he react?

d. Interpreting Luke in the context of ancient liturgical practices. M. Goulder (1978, 1989) contends that Luke wrote his Gospel as a cycle of liturgical/Gospel readings to be used throughout the year in Christian worship as fulfillments of the HB lections then existent in the synagogues.

e. Interpreting Luke in the context of the canon. B. CHILDS (1985) reflects what has come to be called CANONICAL CRITICISM. This approach tries to take account of the fact that as a result of the canonization process a new and larger context has been effected for originally independent material. Luke, for example, cannot be read canonically if it is interpreted in isolation from the other three Gospels. Read in connection with them, Luke can neither become part of a complete harmony of the Gospels (as with Tatian) nor be sifted to discover the real Jesus behind the levels of accretion (as with the quest of the historical Jesus). The plural form remains constitutive for the canonical critic, so the Lukan Gospel must be read as part of the canonical four. A large segment of Childs's book is given over to "A Canonical Harmony of the Gospels," in which he treats the final form of the text of Luke in its individuality but alongside the other Gospels read in the same way. Childs refuses either to harmonize or to attempt to establish the historical events behind the Lukan text.

In large measure the diversity of methods proposed for interpreting Luke today is rooted in biblical scholars' openness to currents in fields outside biblical studies. Their inability to choose among the multiplicity of methods derives largely from the confusion over which community they represent: church or academy. What may be appropriate for the one may not always be appropriate for the other, as F. Dreyfus (1975) has convincingly shown. One's community determines what questions are deemed appropriate to ask of the text; methods of interpretation are chosen and/or developed in order to answer such questions. If there is anything the history of interpretation of Luke teaches us, it is this.

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C. H. TALBERT

LUTHER, MARTIN (1483–1546)

Born in Eisleben, where he also died, L. studied the liberal arts at the University of Erfurt. In 1505, shortly after his matriculation in the faculty of law, he abandoned legal studies and entered the Observant cloister of the Hermits of St. Augustine. With the encouragement

of the vicar-general, J. von Staupitz (c. 1469–1524), L. pursued the study of theology at Erfurt and Wittenberg, inheriting in 1512 Staupitz's chair as professor *in Biblia* on the theological faculty of the University of Wittenberg.

L. later claimed that the principal influence on his earliest philosophy and theology was Ockamist. Although the evidence for such influence is ambiguous, it is clear that he read two of the chief disciples of William of Ockham (c. 1285–1347): the French theologian P. d'Ailly (1350–1420) and the German Ockamist G. BIEL. Through d'Ailly, L. also read selections from the former general of the Augustinian Hermits, the strongly Augustinian theologian Gregory of Rimini (d. 1358). More important still was the influence of von Staupitz, whose serene Augustinian piety prompted L. to rethink his views on election, temptation, grace, and penance.

Sometime during the course of his early study and teaching (scholars are sharply divided over the exact date of the shift in his theological perspective), L. came to the conclusion that the medieval church's understanding of justification was fundamentally flawed and at odds with biblical teaching, especially the teaching of PAUL. He became convinced that the justification of sinners takes place through faith alone and not through faith and good works. L. did not abandon good works; he did, however, discount them as even a partial ground for justification. The ungodly are justified before God by a righteousness entirely alien to them—that is, by the righteousness of JESUS Christ. This righteousness is reckoned or imputed to them when they abandon their own self-righteousness and put their trust in the gospel. While L.'s teaching represented a break with the Augustinian tradition of the Latin Middle Ages, he nevertheless felt that his insight was confirmed by AUGUSTINE's writings.

L.'s first major exegetical effort was a series of lectures on the psalms, the so-called *Dictata super Psalterium* (1513–15). These lectures provide early evidence of his changing perspective on the doctrine of justification as well as an unusually complete picture of his HERMENEUTIC at the beginning of his theological career. L. began with the QUADRIGA, or fourfold sense of Scripture; but although he seasoned his lectures with occasional allegorical readings, he was not particularly interested in the allegorical or anagogical senses. His primary concern was the literal and tropological meanings of the various psalms.

By L.'s time the literal sense was understood to include both the unfolding historical narrative (the literal-historical sense) and whatever typological meanings were foreshadowed in the story (the literal-prophetic sense). Since medieval interpreters agreed that David was a prophet (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), they believed that he sang, not only about his own historical circumstances, but also about the coming Christ. For L. as for many earlier exegetes the literal sense that mattered most was the literal-prophetic sense. The psalms were about Christ—unless there was some overwhelming exegetical reason to think a particular psalm was not.

Furthermore, the tropological or moral sense of the text was regarded as the meaning directed toward the individual. Traditional exegesis understood the tropological sense to be the meaning of the text concerned with the nurture and practice of the infused virtue of charity. L. suggested instead that the tropological sense was the meaning of the text concerned with faith, understood, not as correct belief, but as trust in the promises of God. By stressing the tropological sense of the text (the meaning that evokes and nurtures faith) and the literal-prophetic sense (the meaning that centers on Christ), L. concentrated his exegesis on the relationship between Christ and the believing self. While he later abandoned the Quadriga, he continued to emphasize the connection between the Bible—christologically understood—and faith. Scripture is the swaddling clothes of the Christ child, he maintained; no biblical learning is useful if this treasure is missed.

As a principal leader of the emerging Protestant movement, L. continued to lecture, to preach, and to write expositions of Scripture. One of his primary tasks was to translate the Bible into the vernacular, beginning with the NT. He worked from the original Greek and Hebrew, making use of the grammars, editions, and lexical aids provided by the humanists; however, correct TRANSLATION was never for L. a matter of grammar and philology alone. The delicate art of translation could never be safely left by the church to grammarians, who understood the form but not necessarily the substance of the text; nor was it a fit task for a clerical drudge or for translators with a tin ear for the idioms and rhythms of their native tongue. Thus L. set about to make David sing in German like a Christian because the theological meaning of the text as he understood it required him to do so.

The Bible contained for L. both law and gospel, both demand and promise. The law drives sinners toward Christ, but only the gospel can comfort their anxieties with the good news of justification by faith alone. It is not the case that the OT contains only law and the NT only gospel. Law and gospel stand in a dialectical relationship to each other throughout both testaments; in the final analysis the historical situation of sinners before God remains the same in both testaments. Abraham and Sarah stood in exactly the same relationship to God as did Paul and Silas, threatened by the same law and comforted by the same gospel.

Believing that the dialectic of law and gospel links past to present in a direct way, L. felt free to amplify the often spare biblical narratives with details drawn from his own world. One of the most striking charac-

teristics of his preaching (evident also in his magisterial commentary on Genesis) was his imaginative recreation and amplification of the biblical stories. He made the biblical text real by making it local, briefing his readers on the deep background of the stories, suggesting psychological motivations for the actions of the principal characters, and fitting the elements of the plot into the larger narrative of the unfolding purposes of God. Because he believed that the human situation before God remained the same from age to age, L. treated the biblical characters like familiar neighbors from Wittenberg, driven by the same passions, nurtured by the same hopes, and disappointed by the same illusions. By doing so he enfolded the citizens of Wittenberg who heard him preach back into the biblical narrative.

L.'s emphasis on the christological center of Scripture and on the teaching of justification by faith alone led him to reopen briefly the question of CANON. For a time he wanted to separate texts like James that did not teach justification by faith alone from the "really main books" like Romans and 1 Peter. While he soon gave up any thought of revising the canon, he always retained the notion that the biblical books are of unequal value, that the Bible should be interpreted from its christological center, and that sacred Scripture is its own best interpreter and critic.

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D. C. STEINMETZ

LUZZATTO, SAMUEL DAVID (1800–65)

Born in Trieste, Italy, to a scion of Jewish scholars, L. was a child prodigy who mastered Hebrew and Bible early and studied TALMUD, classical and modern languages, and philosophy in his teens. By 1817 he had written a Hebrew treatise arguing the then radical thesis that the Masoretic pointing of the HB was post-biblical. He developed a strong interest in the Aramaic TARGUM (rendering) of the Torah, for which he also learned Syriac, then a unique endeavor for a Jew. In 1825 he published a study of *Targum Onqelos's* method together with a short Syriac grammar. When the first modern rabbinical seminary was founded in Padua in 1829, L. was appointed to its two-man faculty. He wrote full-length commentaries on the Torah and Isaiah, and other commentaries (on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Proverbs, and Job) and grammatical works grew largely out of his class notes. Incisive Hebrew philology characterized all his studies. Although hardship prevented him from consolidating his prolific writing in Italian and Hebrew into books, much of his work was collected and printed posthumously.

L. believed in most of the Jewish traditions about the Bible, the Pentateuch in particular. Although quite modern in many respects, he harmonized the Torah's laws with classical Jewish interpretation, supporting most of his positions with critical argumentation. For example, although accepting Moses' authorship of the Torah against the claim of the Roman Catholic scholar R. SIMON that only the Torah's laws were Mosaic, L. pointed to the integration of such laws as those concerning the sabbath with the Pentateuchal narrative. On the other hand, he held that many psalms were post-Davidic and that Ecclesiastes was centuries later than Solomon. He trusted that scribes had conserved the text of the Torah accurately, although he occasionally challenged its Masoretic accentuation. He did not attribute the same surfeit of care to the transmission of the Prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) and the Writings. Alert to variants from the MT in the ancient versions, L. became the first Jewish scholar to emend the Bible. For example, to form an apt parallel to Isa 10:25*a*, he divided *tblytm* in v. 25*b* to read *"tēbēl yittōm,"* "And my anger against the earth will cease." For contextual reasons he read *brwk* in problematic Ezek 3:12 as *brwm,* "when [the Lord's aura] lifted," explaining the scribal confusion of *k* and *m* on the basis of their similarity in archaic Hebrew script. Through his influence on A. GEIGER and A. EHRLICH, many of L.'s proposals have become standard among scholars.

In the foreword to his Isaiah translation and commentary, L. delineated ten hermeneutical principles (see HERMENEUTICS) for the believing Jewish exegete. He maintained among other things that the biblicist must not only master Hebrew idiom and style but must also share in the Bible's conceptual framework, including the reality of miracles and prophetic revelation. Thus, L. contended that Isaiah 40–66 was composed prophetically by the late eighth-century Isaiah to be delivered to the sixth-century Babylonian exiles. He opposed rationalistic approaches like those of MAIMONIDES and A. IBN EZRA as contrary to the Bible's spirit. Inclining to the commentaries of RASHI and I. ABRAVANEL, he often reiterated that the Bible rests on faith, not reason.

L. formulated the Torah's theology and didactic program in *Yĕsôdê hattôrā(h)* and incorporated it in his Pentateuch commentary. The Torah purports to hallow

and humanize life through its commandments and to instill precepts and values, not science, through its narratives; Genesis, accordingly, does not teach a timeless scientific account of creation. L. adopted the ancient rabbinic tenet that "the Torah speaks in human idiom" (see on Gen 1:1); and he often drew on his anthropological understanding of the ancient mind, e.g., his teaching that God created light before the sun to remove the grounds on which pagans worshiped the sun as a source of light and warmth. The Torah, in L.'s view, capitalized on the primitive belief that the smoke rising from a sacrifice conveys the offering to heaven and superimposed upon it a ritual system for inculcating ethics and consciousness of God. The cult was centralized, not, as Maimonides contended, to control it, but to strengthen Israel's national unity. While L. saw the sabbath and the pilgrimage festivals as serving the same socioreligious goal, he also held that monotheism would promote world harmony.

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E. L. GREENSTEIN

M

MACCABEES, FIRST BOOK OF

Ta Makkabaika (The Things Maccabean) was the designation for both 1 and 2 Maccabees by the second century CE. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 195 CE) terms 1 Maccabees *to Biblion tōn Makkabaikōn* (The Book of Things Maccabean), and 2 Maccabees *hē tōn Makkabaikōn epitomē* (The Epitome of Things Maccabean). Most Greek manuscripts term the books *Makkabaiōn A'* and *Makkabaiōn B'*. These are certainly not the original titles. According to ORIGEN (quoted in Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 6.25.2), the original Hebrew title of 1 Maccabees was *Sarbethsabaniel.* This title has been interpreted as *śar bêt 'ēl* (Official of the House of God), somehow corrupted, or *sfar bet sabanai'el.* In any case, it is difficult to interpret this title (for possible translations, see E. Schürer [1986] 182).

First Maccabees presents an account of the history of Judea from 175 to 135/34 BCE. It describes the background of the Maccabean revolt against the Seleucid Greeks, the revolt itself, the exploits of Judah the Maccabee, and the efforts of his brothers Jonathan and Simon to reestablish permanently Jewish nationhood and to strengthen religious practice.

The author was clearly a believing Jew who points to the piety of the Hasmoneans (the Maccabean family) and their trust in God. Judah's piety is especially emphasized in his prayers and speeches. At the same time the author gives full credit for the Hasmoneans' success to their sagacity and tenaciousness. He sees this family as specially selected by God to bring about the deliverance of Israel from the Seleucids, and he chronicles their lives as if he were an official historian of the dynasty (called "the state historian of the Maccabean dynasty" by A. GEIGER, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* [1857] 206]). He represents the Maccabees as emulating various biblical figures, thus enabling them to provide charismatic leadership. In contrast to the heroes, the opponents of the Maccabees are "lawless men," motivated only by the basest of motives and allied against the way of God's Torah.

Numerous documents are included in this work to prove the authenticity of Hasmonean rule within the context of the Seleucid Empire and contemporary international law. In addition, the author has included various poetic extracts from contemporary compositions in circulation (see G. Neuhaus [1974]). Beyond this, the various theories regarding the sources of 1 Maccabees are speculative (for the debate, see K.-D. Shunck [1954] and Neuhaus).

The author of 1 Maccabees was certainly influenced by the style of biblical historiography, and he incorporated certain written sources into his composition. Further, he was extremely familiar with the practices of the Seleucid Empire. He regularly gives dates in accord with the Seleucid era (see L. Grabbe [1991] for issues of chronology). On the other hand, he seems to exaggerate numbers greatly and takes the opportunity, like all historians of his period, to place speeches in the mouths of his heroes. It is generally agreed that 1 Maccabees is earlier and more trustworthy than 2 Maccabees, although in certain respects the evidence and approach of 2 Maccabees must be preferred (see B. Niese [1900]).

Virtually all scholars agree that the book had to have been written before the Roman conquest of Judea in 63 BCE, since the Romans are here presented as friends and allies of the Hasmonean Empire. The author's knowledge of the period of John Hyrcanus requires that he wrote not much before John's death in 104 BCE. The most probable dating for the composition of 1 Maccabees, therefore, is the first decades of the first century BCE. J. Goldstein dates the composition to the reign of Alexander Janneus (103–76 BCE) but not later than 90 BCE (1976, 62-64). S. Zeitlin (1950, 27-33) argued that the last two chapters were late additions made after the fall of the Temple in 70 CE.

First Maccabees was apparently composed in Hebrew in a style imitating that of biblical historiography. JEROME reported seeing a Hebrew version ("Preface to the Books of Samuel and Kings" [in *NPNF* 2, 6.489]). Translated into Greek, it was known to JOSEPHUS, who used it as the basis of his account in *Antiquities.* Possibly the end of the book was not available to Josephus, since he seems to have lacked adequate sources for the reign of Simon. Knowledge of this book was widespread among the church fathers; yet, the contents of 1 Maccabees began to circulate among Jews only during the Middle Ages, indirectly through the Latin translation. The book, like 2 Maccabees, must be sharply distinguished from the medieval *Megillat Antiochus* (Scroll of Antiochus) or *Megillat Hashmonaim* (Scroll of the Hasmoneans) first mentioned by SAADIA Gaon (882–942 CE).

The books of Maccabees were preserved in the Christian tradition in Greek and were never part of the Jewish CANON. First Maccabees is missing from Codex Vati-

canus but present in the other Greek uncial codices. It appears in an OL version in VULGATE texts not produced by Jerome and in two Syriac recensions.

First and Second Maccabees, along with Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and the additions to Daniel and Esther, part of the canon in Roman Catholic and Orthodox Bibles, are not in the HB and were never considered authoritative by Jews. Differences of opinion already existed in the early church over the issue of including writings in the OT not found in the HB and reached a decisive point in the sixteenth century. In the early patristic period these works were quoted by IRENAEUS, TERTULLIAN, Cyprian, and others without distinguishing them from books found in the HB—that is, as Scripture. In the fourth century some Greek fathers (Eusebius, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, and others) raised questions about the works' status. Jerome came to distinguish the *libri canonici* (works in the HB) from the *libri ecclesiastici* (works not in the HB but found in the OL and OG Bibles). He applied the old term *Apocrypha* (hidden, secret) to the latter and indicated that these works should be read and used for edification but not for establishing doctrine (see his *Preface to Solomon's Books*).

In the Western church AUGUSTINE (see *On Christian Doctrine* 2.8.12-13) was a strong supporter of the larger OT canon that was recognized in regional councils at Hippo (393 CE) and at Carthage (397 and 419 CE). Acceptance of the inclusive canon was the dominant view throughout the Middle Ages, although a number of interpreters (W. Strabo, Hugh of St. Victor, Hugh of St. Cher, Nicholas of Lyra, J. Wyclif) had doubts about the AUTHORITY of the *libri ecclesiastici.* In spite of the confirmation of the inclusive canon by the Council of Florence in 1442, some scholars, e.g., T. CAJETAN and JIMÉNEZ DE CISNEROS, still placed the "apocryphal" writings on a secondary level. The latter wrote in the second preface (to the reader) of the Complutensian POLYGLOT that these works were received by the church "only for the edification of the people rather than for confirming the authority of the church's teaching." Catholic Bibles published in Germany (1527) and France (1530) contained only the shorter HB.

Protestants broke with the dominant tradition and declared as canonical OT only those works present in the HB (but in a different order). LUTHER, who opposed the concept of purgatory, and who was defended by J. Maier of Eck (1486–1543) in their 1519 debates using texts from 2 Maccabees (see the following article), supported the shorter OT canon. In 1520 A. von KARLSTADT wrote two works defending what came to be called the Protestant OT canon. In its fourth session (Apr. 8, 1546), the Council of Trent declared 1 and 2 Maccabees along with the other *libri ecclesiastici* to be canonical and placed under anathema those who objected. Early Protestant Bibles generally contained but separated these works from the OT and NT, often declaring them beneficial for the faithful to read but denying their authoritative status. (The 1648 Westminster Confession declared them of no more value "than any other human writings.") A Jewish convert to Christianity, Sixtus of Siena (1520–69), in his 1566 *Bibliotheca sacra,* designated these disputed books as "deuterocanonical," a term widely used in modern times.

The books of Maccabees have not received much attention throughout most of history, although the Maccabean rededication of the Temple (1 Macc 4:36-59) forms the basis of the Jewish festival of Hanukkah and Maccabean martyrs were commemorated in the Christian church. The first full commentary on Maccabees was written by RABANUS MAURUS (partially published in *PL* 109 [1851] 1125-256) and was excerpted for the GLOSSA ORDINARIA.

Luther actually held 1 Maccabees in high regard. In the preface to his 1536 translation he wrote: "This is another of those books not included in the Hebrew Scriptures, although in its discourses and description it almost equals the other sacred books of Scripture, and would not have been unworthy to be reckoned among them, because it is a very necessary and useful book for the understanding of the prophet Daniel in the eleventh chapter."

Between the Reformation and the twentieth century, the books of Maccabees (and the entire apocryphal/deuterocanonical material) received noticeably less attention than the other biblical writings. (For a bibliography of translations, commentaries, etc., see J. Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica* 2 [1861] 316-18.) During the 1740s, surprisingly, a lively debate on the historical trustworthiness of and the relationship between the two books led to a flurry of publications: E. Frölich, *Annales compendiarii regum et rerum Syriae* (1744); E. Wernsdorf, *Prolusio de fontibus historiae Syriae in libris Maccabaeorum* (1746); E. Frölich, *De fontibus historiae Syriae in libris Maccabaeorum* (1746); G. Wernsdorf, *Commentatio historico-critica de fide librorum Maccabaeorum* (1747); and anonymous (J. Khell?), *Auctoritas utriusque libri Maccabaici canonico-historica asserta* (1749).

Protestant antipathy toward the Apocrypha led to the decision (May 3, 1827) by the British and Foreign Bible Society to omit it from English-language editions. This exclusion lasted for well over a century, during which the general Protestant readership of the Bible did not have ready access to the Apocrypha and thus to the books of Maccabees.

With the development of historical-critical study of the Bible, primarily Protestant, in the late nineteenth century, the Apocrypha came more into purview. J. D. MICHAELIS published a translation and notes on 1 Maccabees in 1778; and J. G. EICHHORN published an introduction to the Apocrypha in 1795, as did W. DE WETTE.

An English translation of all the Maccabean literature was published by H. Cotton in 1835. (What he called "fifth Maccabees" is a late compilation extant in Arabic.) The standard nineteenth-century commentary on 1–2 Maccabees was that of C. Grimm in the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisebes Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments* (1851–60). C. KEIL produced a major commentary in 1875, but it did not replace Grimm.

Interest at the turn of the twentieth century in the religious background of the NT led to the production of major works on the Apocrypha and PSEUDEPIGRAPHA: *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (2 vols., ed. E. Kautzsch, 1900) and *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT* (2 vols., ed. R. H. Charles, 1912–13). These works remained standard volumes until the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The discovery of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS created a renewed interest in early Jewish life and thought and in the background to Christian origins. With this went a renewed interest in such writings as the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and their dissemination in modern translations in several languages.

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MACCABEES, SECOND BOOK OF

Second Maccabees opens with two letters (1:1-9; 1:10–2:18) and then presents a history of the Jewish community from the outbreak of the revolt against the Seleucids until the triumph of Judas over the general Nicanor in 161 BCE (3:1–15:39). The book thus presents a parallel history to the first part of 1 Maccabees (chaps. 1–7). Based on its style and ancient tradition, it was originally written in Greek. Evidence from some OL, but non-VULGATE, texts suggests translation from a text that differed from the standard LXX texts (see SEPTUAGINT).

Early use of 2 Maccabees was somewhat limited. Hebrews 11:35 seems to allude to 2 Maccabees 6–7 (especially 6:19, 28). JOSEPHUS apparently made no use of 2 Maccabees in his description of the period. Fourth Maccabees clearly builds upon the account of the martyrdoms in 2 Maccabees 7. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA cites 2 Macc 1:10 (*Strom.* 5.14.97).

Second Maccabees was used by early Christian exegetes as a mine for texts to support certain doctrines. ORIGEN appealed to 2 Macc 7:28 to support the idea of creation *ex nihilo* (*Com. Jn.* 1:17; *On First Principles* 2.1.5), and to 15:14 for the idea of the intercession of saints on behalf of the living (*Com. Jn.* 13:58; *Homilies on Canticles* 3). The death of the Jewish mother and her seven sons in 7:1-42 led to their extollment as Christian martyrs (see below on 4 Maccabees and J. van Henten [1997]).

The interpretation of 2 Maccabees in church history closely parallels that of 1 Maccabees. LUTHER and other Protestants, however, were more critical of Second than of First Maccabees. In his 1536 preface to the German translation, Luther wrote: "We tolerate it because of the beautiful history of the Maccabean seven martyrs and their mother, and other pieces. It is evident, however, that the writer was no great master, but produced a patchwork of various books; he has likewise a perplexing knot in ch. xiv, in Razis, who committed suicide, which was also troublesome to Augustine and other fathers. For such example is of no use, and is not to be commended, though it may be tolerated and charitably explained. It also describes the death of Antiochus, in ch. i, differently from 1 Macc. To sum it all up: Just as 1 Macc. deserves to be adopted in the number of sacred Scriptures, so 2 Macc. deserves to be thrown out, though there is something good in it." The idea of offering prayers and sacrifices on behalf of the dead (12:40-45) was repudiated by most Protestants.

Since the rise of historical-critical approaches to the

study of the Bible, 1 and 2 Maccabees have been the subject of extensive investigation because these two books, plus Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*, constitute the primary sources for reconstructing the nature and course of the Maccabean revolt. Differences between the books further complicate matters and indicate that they were not dependent on each other. Second Maccabees claims to be a summary or epitome of a five-volume work by a Jason of Cyrene (2:19-32). Although the vast majority of scholars take this claim seriously, it was challenged in the nineteenth century by W. KOSTERS (1878) and in the twentieth century by W. Richnow (1967, 41-42). The identity of this Jason remains uncertain, although some have proposed the Jason sent to Rome on a diplomatic mission by Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 8:17). Also uncertain is how much of chaps. 3–15 derive from Jason and how much from the epitomizer.

Although sources probably underlie both books (as well as some eyewitness evidence), they are reconstructed only hypothetically (see K-D. Schunck [1954]; J. Bunge [1971]; and J. Goldstein [1983] 37-41). Goldstein has proposed that the two works were based on a common source. The various official documents quoted in 2 Maccabees are generally assumed to be genuine, though not necessarily correctly placed chronologically (see C. Habicht [1976]).

Second Maccabees offers a fuller and different account of the origin and course of the revolt in 3:1–5:27 (see L. Grabbe [1992] 1:247-56 for a survey of theories regarding the causes and origin of the revolt). Most modern reconstructions of the times rely primarily on 1 Maccabees but recognize that 2 Maccabees, in spite of its strong supernaturalism and miraculous events, is a far better historical source than earlier commentators imagined.

The relationship of the two (or three) letters at the beginning of 2 Maccabees to each other and to the remainder of the book has been a matter of dispute (see C. C. Torrey [1940]; R. Pfeiffer [1949]; B. Wacholder [1978]). Their purpose was to encourage the observance of the festival of the rededication of the Temple (Hanukkah). The date in 1:9 (124/23 BCE) indicates that the book was written after this date if the letter was incorporated by the epitomist, or else that the letter(s) was added by a later editor. A. Momigliano (1975) has proposed that the book was prepared about 124/23 BCE and sent to Alexandria to encourage support for the Jerusalem community and Temple (see R. Doran [1981] for the work's emphasis on the Temple).

Early critical study sought to assign 1 and 2 Maccabees to particular parties in Judaism. A. GEIGER wrote that "the two books . . . are party productions; the author of the first was a Sadducee, and a friend of the Maccabean dynasty, while the author or epitomizer of the second was a Pharisee, who looked upon the Maccabees with suspicion" (*Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* [1857] 206). Modern scholars are not so convinced that one can determine party affiliation, although Goldstein argues that Jason wrote about 90 BCE in an effort to counter the pro-Hasmonean tendency of 1 Maccabees.

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MACCABEES, THIRD BOOK OF

This book relates the attempt of Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–205 BCE) to enter the holy of holies of the Jerusalem Temple on his way back from defeating Antiochus III (The Great) at Raphia (217 BCE). Unable to dissuade Ptolemy from his course, the Jews prayed to God, who paralyzed Ptolemy as he attempted to enter. (This account resembles the story of Heliodorus in 2 Macc 3:9-39.) Ptolemy returned to Egypt determined to avenge this affront and immediately enacted a series of severe anti-Jewish measures, culminating in an organ-

ized plan to exterminate the Jews. They were imprisoned in the Hippodrome, where elephants were to be intoxicated and incited to trample them to death. The book describes in detail the organization of transport and the attempt to record carefully the names of the Jews to be killed as well as the cooperation of the native population in rounding them up. After some delay, when the plan was to be put into action the prayers of the Jews ascended to heaven and God sent two angelic apparitions to intervene. They turned the animals on the king's army, leading the king to command the release of the Jews, whom he then hosted for a seven-day feast. As a result the Jews declared a permanent festival and were granted permission to put to death some 300 apostates.

Despite its name, the book, as the above summary indicates, has nothing to do with the Maccabees, who flourished several decades after Ptolemy IV. This provides some evidence that the book may have once borne the name *Ptolemaica* (matters ptolemaic), but the persecution theme led to its association with the Maccabees. The style and vocabulary indicate that the book was written in Greek. It is found in only one of the great uncial Greek manuscripts—Alexandrinus—but also appears in the important eighth-century Greek manuscript Venetus Graecus. It was early on translated into Syriac but not into Latin and thus was never part of the VULGATE. (The first Latin translation was prepared for inclusion in the Complutensian Polyglot. Both the Paris and the London polyglots reproduce the Syriac version.) The fourth-century apostolic canons (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) list it among the scriptural books (canon 85), and the 1672 Orthodox Synod of Jerusalem (actually convened in Bethlehem) declared 3 Maccabees to be canonical. The earliest ET was produced by W. Lynne in 1550; but the book, like 4 Maccabees, is not well known. Later editions of the RSV and the NRSV contain it.

The narrative presented in 3 Maccabees seems to be a fictional expansion based on certain historical information, e.g., the account of the battle of Raphia and a story known from JOSEPHUS (*Contra Apion,* 2.50-55) to the effect that Ptolemy VIII Physcon (145–116 BCE) attempted to incite intoxicated elephants against the Jews of Alexandria as punishment for their support of his enemy Cleopatra II. Instead, the elephants turned on the king's friends. The festival celebrating deliverance from this scourge probably served as the stimulus for the writing of 3 Maccabees, and credence is possibly to be given to the book's claim that full civil rights were offered to the Jews by Ptolemy IV in exchange for their abandonment of Judaism and acceptance of the Dionysian cult. In general terms the author's characterizations of Ptolemaic Egypt and of Ptolemy IV indicate a familiarity that may have been based on accurate written sources.

The book presupposes the Greek *Additions to Daniel,* which in their present form were completed in the second century BCE, and perhaps also the Greek translation and expansion of the book of Esther, completed by 77 BCE. Certainly the book of Esther had an impact on the author. Some scholars have argued that the use of the Greek *laographia* for "census" requires a Roman date, probably between 20 and 15 BCE (M. Hadas [1953]; V. Tcherikover [1961]; F. Parente [1988]). This proposal is based on the census and poll tax undertaken in Egypt in 23/22 BCE that discriminated between citizens of the Hellenistic cities and the native population. Other scholars would date the book much earlier and see its account as containing much historical material (A. Kasher [1985]). At any rate, the book seems to have been written before 70 CE since it presumes that the Temple is still standing and since it was taken over into Christianity. We cannot discount the possibility of a complex literary history, according to which different sections of the book are to be variously dated. Since the plot centers primarily around Alexandria, Egypt, it is likely that the book was composed there. Nonetheless, the Judaism of the book cannot be characterized as Hellenistic.

Jewish tradition preserves no mention of this book or direct use of its contents. Nevertheless, the style of the prayers of the Jews about to be martyred contains striking parallels to similar prayers recorded in the chronicles detailing the persecution of the European Jews during the crusades. Parallels may also be observed with Jewish penitential prayers. The reader cannot help feeling the uncanny similarities between the plan for systematic destruction of Egyptian Jewry and the Holocaust that ravaged the Jewish people in modern times.

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MACCABEES, FOURTH BOOK OF

Fourth Maccabees is essentially a philosophical tract expressing a Hellenistic approach to Judaism. It was written in the first person in the style of a discourse; its

original title was probably "On the Sovereignty of Reason," as it was designated by EUSEBIUS (*Hist. eccl.* 3.10.6), the first writer to refer to the work. It is addressed directly to the Jewish people, "children born of the seed of Abraham," and maintains that reason must be the underlying guide for piety; only through reason can the passions be controlled. This point is illustrated through Jewish history, most notably through the story of the martyrdom of the elderly priest Eleazar and seven brothers and their mother during the persecutions of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BCE) in connection with the Maccabean revolt. The author presents an expanded version of the material he found in 2 Maccabees (or in the original five-volume work of Jason of Cyrene, which is summarized in 2 Maccabees; see 2 Macc 2:23). This relationship to the Maccabees gave rise to the title 4 Maccabees.

The first section of the book (1:1–3:18) presents the basic concepts of reason and its rule over the passions, accomplished only through a life of wisdom. Several biblical examples are given: Joseph facing the advances of Potiphar's wife, Moses controlling his anger against Dathan and Abiram, etc. Then there is a description of the attempt of Apollonius to plunder the Temple treasures and of the persecutions of the Jews (3:19–4:26) that led up to the Maccabean revolt (168–164 BCE), all to set the stage for the description of the martyrs of the Maccabean period. The torture and martyrdom of Eleazar (5:1–7:23) and of the seven sons (8:1–14:10) and their mother (14:11'–17:6) are described in detail; and they are all praised for their courage, virtue, and loyalty to their faith. A discussion follows of the blessings granted to the Jewish people by God on account of the dedication of its martyrs, emphasizing the atonement provided by their deaths (17:7–18:19). A short epilogue concludes the book (18:20-23).

The book's philosophical approach combines elements of middle Platonism and Stoicism. Emphasizing the need for reason to control the passions, the book mentions the four cardinal virtues: prudence, justice, courage, and self-control. The author's concept of reason, however, is a Jewish one—namely, fear of the Word of God. This philosophical description of Judaism indicates only a surface Hellenization since the underlying concepts are Jewish. This fact also explains the eclecticism of the author, who felt free to derive his philosophical underpinnings from whatever sources were available, provided they supported the Jewish concepts he wished to teach.

The book praises the Maccabean martyrs for their adherence to the Torah. The author believed in the immortality of the soul, a view that, as in 2 Maccabees, is adduced to explain the willingness of the martyrs to give their lives. He consistently omitted any mention of bodily resurrection. Further, he saw the death of the righteous as atoning for the transgressions of the people. The author believed in the biblical concept of divine providence—namely, that God takes an interest in human beings and their lives.

Fourth Maccabees, originally written in Greek, is not part of any CANON, although it appears as an appendix in the Orthodox Bible. It is included in two of the early biblical Greek manuscripts, Sinaiticus from the fourth century and Alexandrinus from the fifth, as well as in the eighth-century Venetus Graecus. None of the books of Maccabees is included in Codex Vaticanus. The work was early translated into Syriac; a Latin paraphrase (*Passio SS. Machabaeorum*) exists but no early Latin translation.

Eusebius and JEROME (*De viris illustribus* 13) ascribed the book to JOSEPHUS; but this seems unlikely since the work is based on 2 Maccabees, which he did not use. The legend of the martyrs was well known among Christians (see J. Freudenthal [1869] 29-34); their relics were revered at Antioch (see J. Obermann [1931]), and a feast in their honor held August 1 was widely observed in the church. ORIGEN, in his *Exhortation to Martyrdom,* praised their heroic deaths, while GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS in Oratio 15 (*Im laudem Machabaeorum; PG* 35.911-54) saw their deaths as anticipating Christian martyrdom, and the mother as a forerunner of Mary. AUGUSTINE's Sermon 300 is entitled *In Solemnitate martyrum Machabaeorum* (see further Chrysostom [*PG* 50.617-28; 64.525-50] and Ambrose [*PL* 14.627-30, 662-63]). Numerous Hebrew versions of stories of the Maccabean martyrs circulated in Judaism during the Middle Ages (see G. Cohen [1953]; G. Stemberger [1992]; and Hadas, 127-35), although no literary dependence on 4 Maccabees can be demonstrated.

ERASMUS popularized the story by publishing a paraphrase of the martyr legend (1524) based on the early Latin paraphrase. The first printed version of the Greek text appeared in the Strasbourg SEPTUAGINT (1526), but scholarly study of the book did not begin until the nineteenth century. C. Grimm's (1851–60) was the first substantial commentary.

The work is most frequently dated to the first half of the first century. C. Bickermann argued for a date between 20 and 54 CE, when Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia were under one governor (see 4 Macc 4:9), although other scholars have dated the book as late as the second century CE (A. Dupont-Sommer [1939]; U. Breitenstein [1978]). Various locations have been proposed as the place of authorship: Alexandria, Antioch, somewhere in Asia Minor, etc. About all that can be said is that it was written by a Greek-speaking Jew in the diaspora. The work may have been written for some special occasion (see 1:10; 3:19; 14:9), such as the commemoration of the martyrs' death, but this too remains uncertain. The book has also been examined in terms of its narrative depiction of Jewish identity, heroic death, martyrdom, and vicarious suffering as well as the

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McCarthy, Dennis Joseph (1924–83)

M. studied Greek at St. Louis University (MA 1951), Semitics at Freie Universität and University of Paris, and Scripture at the Institut Catholique, Paris (STD 1962) and the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome (SSL 1963). He taught at St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas; at the School of Divinity of St. Louis University; and from 1969 until his death at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome.

While M.'s studies ranged broadly over the HB, his most important contributions were in the field of treaty and covenant and on Deuteronomy. His detailed studies, both linguistic and historical, of ancient Near Eastern treaties led him to modify the prevailing wisdom on many points concerning HB covenant. He demonstrated that the suzerainty treaty form, far from having been restricted to the period of the Hittite Empire (see HITTITOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), which ended in the thirteenth century BCE, is found well into the first millennium. He found that in the late treaties the characteristic features of Hittite treaties—stipulations, invocation of the gods, curses—always appear; thus the use of this form was not restricted to the early centuries of Israel's history as many had claimed. M. argued that neither the DECALOGUE nor the Exodus account of the Sinai covenant displayed the treaty form, whereas Deuteronomy manifests this influence. M. also contributed important studies in Deuteronomy and the DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY and manifested particular interest in Hebrew prose style and the nature of NARRATIVE forms.

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J. JENSEN

McCurdy, James Frederick (1847–1935)

Born in Chatham, New Brunswick, Canada, M. was educated at the University of New Brunswick (BA 1866) and Princeton Theological College (1867–71), where he studied with W. GREEN. He graduated in 1871 but remained at Princeton for eleven more years, serving as Green's assistant while supervising the school's linguistics program and teaching Hebrew and Sanskrit. In 1878 he received an honorary PhD. An early publication, *Aryo-Semitic Speech: A Study in Linguistic Archaeology* (1881), is representative of his work while at Princeton and reflects the linguistic focus that was to characterize much of his future research. He left Princeton in 1882 after being criticized by colleagues for a paper read at Johns Hopkins on evolution and the history of language that reflected an interest in Darwinism. He spent the next three years in Göttingen and Leipzig, studying with

Franz DELITZSCH and Friedrich DELITZSCH, E. Schrader, and P. de LAGARDE. While in Germany, M. also developed a strong interest in ASSYRIOLOGY. Returning to Canada in 1885, he became a tutor in oriental languages at University College in Toronto the following year and in 1889 was made professor and head of the department of oriental languages. While there he wrote his most significant work, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments* (3 vols. 1894, 1896, 1901), and capped his career by serving as annual director for the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH in Jerusalem (1911–12). He died on March 30, 1935.

M.'s work with the department of oriental languages at the University of Toronto was characterized by an insistence on thorough linguistic training, an emphasis that was to set the course for this institution's focus on linguistics and philology as the foundation for reading the biblical text. He also advocated openness to new critical methods in the field of biblical studies and was one of the first North American scholars to adopt the documentary hypothesis developed by J. WELLHAUSEN. Furthermore, his interest in Assyriology helped to broaden the discipline and to recontextualize biblical studies in the larger historical-cultural context of the ancient Near East, while his acceptance of Darwinism contributed to a critical reevaluation of biblical history and THEOLOGY. He also displayed a great interest in the developing discipline of ARCHAEOLOGY, which he believed should not be used to prove the biblical text but rather to illustrate and supplement it. Because of his own contribution to the development of these new methods and because of his work with the department of oriental languages at the University of Toronto, M. may be regarded as the founder of modern biblical studies in Canada. It should also be noted that, while his approach to the biblical text was historical-critical in its methodology and humanist in its basic orientation, he also believed that biblical studies should be an integral part of a sound liberal education. The relationship between science and humanism, on the one hand, and biblical studies, on the other hand, was fully reciprocal for him, and he taught the Bible as a "way of life" rather than as a mere "rule of faith."

Works: *The Book of Haggai* (A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, 1874); *The Book of Hosea* (tr. from the German with additions by J. F. M., 1874).

Bibliography: **M. P. Graham,** *The Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles in the Reconstruction of Israelite History in the Nineteenth Century* (SBLDS 116, 1990) 218-22. **J. S. Moir,** "J. F. M.: Christian Humanist," *Canadian Society for Presbyterian History Papers* (1981); *A History of Biblical Studies in Canada: A Sense of Proportion* (BSNA, 1982). **M. A. Taylor,** *The OT in the Old Princeton School, 1812–1929* (1992) 259-61.

A. SIEDLECKI

MACDONALD, DUNCAN BLACK (1863–1943)

Educated at Glasgow University (AB 1885; BD 1888) and the University of Berlin (1890–91), M. joined the faculty of Hartford Theological Seminary, where he taught until his retirement in 1932. In addition to teaching Hebrew and OT, he established a department of Islamics at the seminary's affiliate institution, the Kennedy School of Missions, in 1913. Indeed, M. is better known in the scholarly world as an Islamicist (see QURANIC AND ISLAMIC INTERPRETATION) than as a biblical scholar.

Although appreciative of the historical-critical scholarship regnant in his time, he approached the Bible from a perspective that remarkably foreshadows some current trends in biblical scholarship. First, he was keenly interested in reading the Bible from a LITERARY perspective. Second, particularly with respect to Genesis, he was concerned with the impact of the final redactor's shaping of the material rather than in focusing on the sources used. Third, he emphasized the significance of the wisdom material at a time when it was relegated to a secondary role. M.'s overt influence on biblical scholarship remains slight, but it may be of considerable profit to the new directions mentioned above.

Works: *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory* (1903); *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (Haskell Lectures, 1909); *Aspects of Islam* (1911); *The Hebrew Literary Genius* (1933); *The Hebrew Philosophical Genius* (1936).

Bibliography: **J. J. Bodine,** *The Romanticism of D. B. M.* (1973). **W. D. Mackenzie,** "D. B. M.: Scholar, Teacher, and Author," *The Macdonald Presentation Volume* (ed. W. G. Shellabear, 1933) 4-9 (full bibliography).

J. F. PRIEST

MACHEN, JOHN GRESHAM (1881–1937)

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, July 28, 1881, M. was educated at Johns Hopkins University (BA 1901; graduate work 1901–2), at Princeton Seminary (BD 1905), and at Marburg and Göttingen (1905–6). An NT scholar and Presbyterian clergyman, he was publicly embroiled in the modernist/fundamentalist debates in the early decades of the twentieth century. In the last decade of his life he resigned his position as professor of NT at Princeton Seminary, where he had served from 1906 to 1929, and helped to form Westminster Theological Seminary, establish the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, and begin an independent mission board. He died suddenly at the age of fifty-six, perhaps the best-known public defender of orthodox Protestantism in his day.

While studying in Europe under such scholars as A. JÜLICHER, E. SCHÜRER, and W. BOUSSET, M. was exposed to a number of theories regarding Christian origins that

he would later oppose. He was greatly influenced by two of his seminary teachers, B. B. WARFIELD and W. Armstrong (1874–1944), who helped secure a place for him first as instructor and later as assistant professor of NT. After nearly twenty years he was nominated to be professor of apologetics and Christian ethics in 1926; however, the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church refused to confirm this appointment, and in 1929 he resigned his post as NT professor.

M. wrote several important works during his abbreviated career, including works on the origin of PAUL's religion (1921) and the virgin birth (1930). The latter was the fruit of years of study, parts of which had appeared previously as articles. In it he treated the accounts of Matthew and Luke and early patristic evidence as well, concluding that JESUS' supernatural conception was not an invention of the second century; indeed, the canticles in Luke that presuppose such a belief go back to the earliest apostolic witness. His study of Paul defended a supernatural origin for the apostle's theology. While examining various theories concerned with influences on Paul, such as mysticism or APOCALYPTICISM, M. concluded that Paul held in common with the earliest apostolic witness the conviction that the Lord of glory was none other than the historical Jesus raised from the dead. In this M. denied that Paul represented a major development in early Christianity whereby a purely human Jesus was made the object of unwarranted speculation or worship.

In his book on Christianity and liberalism (1923), M. argued that the liberal theology of his day and what he called orthodox Christianity were two different and incompatible religions. In drawing the lines so sharply between differing confessional options in both academic and ecclesiastical life, his claims became the focus of much public debate. His grammar of NT Greek (1923) continues to be a widely used textbook.

Historically, M. was the last of a series of well-known scholars who, following in the footsteps of C. HODGE and Warfield, represented the Calvinism (see CALVIN) of the old Princeton school. M. once declared Warfield to be the greatest man he had ever known; and he, like Warfield, sought to defend orthodox Calvinism at a time of change in the American theological scene. His passionate and sometimes bitter defense made him widely recognized in intellectual circles as an articulate spokesperson for his cause. His legacy lives on in the life of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church and other Reformed confessions in the United States.

Works: *The Origin of Paul's Religion* (1921); *Christianity and Liberalism* (1923); *NT Greek for Beginners* (1923); *What Is Faith?* (1925); *The Virgin Birth of Christ* (1930); "Christianity in Conflict," *Contemporary American Theology* (ed. B. Ferm, 1932–33) 1:243-74 (autobiography and bibliography); *The Christian Faith in the Modern World* (1936); *The Christian View of Man* (1937).

Bibliography: **D. G. Hart,** *Defending the Faith: J. G. M. and the Crisis of Conservative Protestantism in Modern America* (1994); HHMBI, 594-98. **G. Marsden,** "Understanding J. G. M.," *PSB* 11 (1990) 46-60; WHMBI, 594-98. **C. A. Russell,** "J. G. M.: Scholarly Fundamentalist," *JPH* 51 (1973) 41-69. **N. B. Stonehouse,** *J. G. M.: A Biographical Memoir* (1954). **C. I. K. Story,** "J. G. M.: Apologist and Exegete," *PSB* 2 (1979) 91-103.

J. A. DEARMAN

McKENZIE, JOHN LAWRENCE (1910–91)

Born in Brazil, Indiana, Oct. 9, 1910, M. was one of the leading Roman Catholic biblical scholars of the twentieth century. His achievements as scholar, teacher, and writer are remarkable considering that he was able to devote just one year to doctoral studies and was largely self-taught. Joining the Society of Jesus in 1928, he received the LittB from Xavier University in 1932, studied philosophy at St. Louis University, where he completed an MA in Greek in 1935, continued preparation for ordination at St. Mary's College in Wichita, Kansas, and was ordained a priest in 1939. After ordination he was assigned to begin doctoral studies in Scripture; since WWII made European study impossible, he began graduate work at Weston College. When a professor of biblical studies was needed at West Baden College, a Jesuit seminary in southern Indiana, M. was forced to end his formal studies in Scripture after just one year to take the position. He completed his dissertation while teaching and received the STD from Weston. At West Baden (1941–60) he helped to prepare an entire generation of Jesuits for the priesthood. From 1960 to 1965 he taught at Loyola University of Chicago, and in 1966 he became the first Roman Catholic priest to be a visiting professor at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. He taught at the University of Notre Dame (1966–71) before joining the faculty of DePaul University, where he concluded his teaching career in 1979. He died Mar. 2, 1991.

M.'s most significant achievements as a biblical scholar were his efforts as a popular lecturer and writer. His contributions to the renewal of biblical studies in the Roman Catholic Church in America are hard to measure, but he was a major force in the American Catholic Church in the twentieth century. Despite his responsibilities as a teacher and his heavy schedule of lectures across the country, he produced fifteen books, dozens of scholarly and popular articles, and scores of book reviews. His most outstanding achievement as a writer was his *Dictionary of the Bible*; published in 1965, this 900,000-word volume took six years to produce and still retains its usefulness, displaying a mastery of its subject matter.

M.'s Roman Catholic colleagues recognized the quality of his achievements by electing him president of the

Catholic Biblical Association. He was the first Catholic to be elected president of the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE, and among the honors he received was the Cardinal Spellman Award in theology.

M. did much of his teaching, writing, and lecturing at a time when the work of Roman Catholic scholars was subject to careful scrutiny by ecclesiastical authorities. He helped to shape the renewal in the Roman Catholic Church in America precisely because he was able to work within the strictures that were part of the experience of Roman Catholic biblical scholars before Vatican II. A pacifist, he left the Society of Jesus, one grievance being his superiors' lack of support for Jesuits involved in the anti-war movement during the Vietnam era. However, he remained a Roman Catholic priest in good standing until his death. Even during his retirement, M. never failed to attend the annual meetings of the Catholic Biblical Association and the SBL, remaining a scholar and teacher to the end.

Works: *The Two-Edged Sword: An Interpretation of the OT* (1956); *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought* (1962); *Myths and Realities in Biblical Theology: Studies in Biblical Theology* (1963); *Dictionary of the Bible* (1965); *The Power and the Wisdom: An Interpretation of the NT* (1965); *Authority in the Church* (1966); *Mastering the Meaning of the Bible* (1966); *The World of the Judges* (1966); *Second Isaiah* (AB 20, 1968); *Vital Concepts of the Bible* (1968); (ed.), *The NT for Spiritual Reading* (25 vols., 1969–71); *The Roman Catholic Church* (History of Religion Series, 1969); *Did I Say That?* (1973); *A Theology of the OT* (1974); *Light on the Epistles* (1975).

Bibliography: **J. M. Flanagan and A. W. Robinson** (eds.), *No Famine in the Land: Studies in Honor of J. L. M.* (1975), with biographical sketch, letters, and photographs (1-34) and bibliography to 1975 (301-22).

L. J. HOPPE

MACRAE, GEORGE WINSOR, S.J. (1928–85)

Born July 27, 1928, in Lynn, Massachusetts, M. was educated at Boston College, Louvain, Johns Hopkins, Weston College, and Cambridge, where his doctoral dissertation treated the Jewish sources of the GNOSTIC myth of Sophia's fall. A member of the Society of Jesus, he was ordained to the Roman Catholic priesthood in 1960. He served on the faculty of Weston School of Theology (1966–1973) and at Harvard Divinity School from 1973 until his death, Sept. 6, 1985. There he was the first tenured Stillman Professor of Roman Catholic Theological Studies. Active in the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE, he was a leader in its efforts to expand publication opportunities. His principal scholarly contributions were in the religion-historical background of the NT, particularly to John and Hebrews. He was a member of the American team that translated and edited the Nag Hammadi Coptic Gnostic codices.

Works: "The Gospel of Thomas—*Logia Iesou?*" *CBQ* 22 (1960) 56-71; "Sleep and Awakening in Gnostic Texts," *The Origins of Gnosticism: Colloquium of Messina, 13-18 Apr. 1966* (SHR, Supplements to *Numen* 12, ed. U. Bianchi, 1967) 496-507; *Invitation to John: A Commentary on the Gospel of John with Complete Text from the Jerusalem Bible* (Doubleday NT Commentary Series, 1978); "Apocalypse of Paul," *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 and 4* (ed. D. M. Parrot, NHS 11, 1979) 47-63; "Apocalypse of Adam," *OTP* 1:707-19; *Hebrews* (CBC 10, 1983); "The Gospel of Truth," *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex): Introductions, Texts, Translations, Indices* (ed. H. W. Attridge, 2 vols., NHS 22-23; 1985) 1:56-117, 2:39-135; (ed. with G. W. E. Nickelsburg), *Christians Among Jews and Gentiles: Essays in Honor of K. Stendahl on His Sixty-fifth Birthday* (1986) = *HTR* 79 (1986); "Messiah and Gospel," *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (ed. J. Neusner et al., 1987) 169-85; *Studies in the NT and Gnosticism* (ed. D. J. Harrington and S. B. Marrow, 1987), with biographical and bibliographical notices (7-9, 264-72); (ed. with E. J. Epp), *The NT and Its Modern Interpreters* (1988).

Bibliography: **D. J. Harrington,** *CBQ* 48 (1986) 95; "Tribute to G. W. M.," *Dialogue Toward Interfaith Understanding* (1986) 39-43.

H. W. ATTRIDGE

MAIMONIDES, MOSES (c. 1135/38–1204)

Mosheh ben Maimon, whose name was Hellenized to Maimonides, is also known by the acronym Rambam. The most significant medieval Jewish theologian as well as an outstanding Talmudist (see TALMUD) and physician, he was born in Córdoba, Spain. He and his family fled the area to avoid persecution when Córdoba fell into the hands of the Islamic Almohads (1148). After a decade of movement through southern Spain and North Africa they settled in Fez in modern Morocco. In 1165 M. set out to settle in the traditional land of Israel, but the area was in upheaval due to the crusades. So after traveling from Acre to Hebron via Jerusalem, he settled in Old Cairo (Fusṭāṭ), where he became the physician to Saladin's vizier. He excelled in medical practice and became the most prominent and important member of the Jewish community in Egypt.

M. wrote many works, including *Ma'amar ha'ibbur* (on the Jewish calendar) and hundreds of *tevshuvot* (*responsa*). His four most significant writings are *Peruš ha-Mishnah* (*Commentary on the Mishnah*), *Sefer hamitsvot* (*Book of the Commandments*), *Mishneh Torah* (*Code of the Torah*), and *Moreh Nevukhim* (*Guide of the Perplexed*). The first three are fundamentally books of halakhic jurisprudence written clearly and concisely, although often intermixing philosophical and metaphysical considerations. The fourth book is more overtly theological and philosophical; it is written in a more

convoluted style, is sometimes ambiguous, and includes what appear to be deliberately introduced contradictions.

A number of factors are noteworthy about M.'s work: (1) He was committed to the Talmudic-rabbinic belief system, to the Hebrew scriptures as a source of divine revelation, and to the traditional doctrinal and historical positions on the oral law (the latter defended in the introduction to his commentary on the Mishnah). (2) He was simultaneously committed to the integration of faith and reason and of belief and philosophy, seeing both reason and revelation as sources of knowledge. According to his own account, his main philosophical sources were Greek and Muslim: Aristotle (384–322 BCE); commentaries on Aristotle by Alexander of Aphrodisias (fl. c. 200), Themistius (fl. 4th cent.), and Ibn Rushd (Averroës [1126–98]); and the Arabic philosopher al-Fārārbi (c. 870–950). Like his later Christian counterpart THOMAS AQUINAS, who was familiar with and used M.'s thought, M. argued that all truth—biblical, rabbinical, philosophical—must be compatible (although he denied some Aristotelian teachings, e.g., the eternity of the world). Such a view often led M. into rather esoteric, symbolic, and even allegorical interpretation of Scripture that denied the historicity of some biblical depictions, like prophetic narratives, and created controversy even in his own day. (3) Following al-Fārābi, who argued that in human development a philosophical phase preceded the development of religion, jurisprudence, and theology, M. argued for a lost Jewish philosophical lore embodied in Abraham and viewed Moses as something of a philosophical ruler.

(4) In his commentary on the Mishnah, at the opening of chapter 10 of the tractate *Sanhedrin,* M. formulated the basic tenets of the Torah and its fundamental principles, which he considered to be thirteen in number. These principles, he argued, represent in essence the basic teachings of the Bible or a synopsis of Jewish faith and must be accepted by those who would belong to the community of Israel. (5) He stressed the role and nature of PROPHECY, with Moses being the superior prophet without peer (the true prophet-philosopher), and understood prophecy primarily in terms of a function of the rational faculty as a revelatory overflow from God through the intermediation of the Active Intellect. (6) He frequently expounded on the rationale behind biblical commandments, sometimes describing it in terms of the contingent historical circumstances. For example, he discussed the biblical laws of sacrifice as divine accommodation to the state of Israelite faith and practice at the time. In the days of Abraham and Moses, the Israelites still shared in the polytheistic culture of the Sabeans to such an extent that a purely non-sacrificial cult was historically unachievable. Sacrifice was commanded of the Israelites as a concession but with the ultimate goal of weaning the people completely from idolatry.

Works: *The Book of Divine Commandments* (tr. and ed. C. B. Chavel, 1940); *The Guide of the Perplexed* (tr. S. Pines, 1963), with introductory essay by L. Strauss; *The Code of Maimonides* (YJS 2-5, 8-9, 11-12, 14-16, 19, 21, 1949–); *A Maimonides Reader* (Library of Jewish Studies, ed. I. Twersky, 1972).

Bibliography: **A. Altmann,** "Maimonides and Thomas Aquinas: Natural or Divine Prophecy," *AJSR* 3 (1978) 1-19. **W. Bacher,** *Die Bibelexegese M. M.s* (1897). **L. V. Berman,** "M., the Disciple of Alfārābi," *IOS* 4 (1974) 154-78. **S. D. Breslauer,** "Philosophy and Imagination: The Politics of Prophecy in the View of M. M.," *JQR* 70 (1980) 153-71. **J. I. Dienstag** (ed.), *Studies in M. and St. Thomas Aquinas* (Bibliotheca Maimonidica 1, 1975). **I. Dobbs-Weinstein,** *M. and St. Thomas on the Limits of Reason* (SUNY Series in Philosophy, 1995). **M. Fox,** *Interpreting M.: Studies in Methodology, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy* (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism, 1990). **A. Funkenstein,** *Theology and the Scientific Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century* (1986) 213-39; "Getsetz und Geschichte: Zur historisierenden Hermeneutik bei M. M. und Thomas von Aquin," *Viator* 1 (1970) 147-78. **M. Greenberg,** "Bible Interpretation as Exhibited in the First Book of M.'s *Code,*" *The Judeo-Christian Tradition and the U.S. Constitution* (Sup. to *JQR,* 1989) 29-56. **L. Kaplan,** "M. and the Miraculous Element in Prophecy," *HTR* 70 (1977) 233-56. **A. L. Katchen,** *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis: Seventeenth-century Apologetics and the Study of M.'s "Mishneh Torah"* (Harvard Judaic Texts and Studies 3, 1984). **M. Kellner,** "M. and Gersonides on Mosaic Prophecy," *Speculum* 58 (1977) 62-79. **A. J. Reines,** "M.'s Concept of Mosaic Prophecy," *HUCA* 40 (1969–70) 325-61; *M. and Abravanel on Prophecy* (1970). **S. Rosenberg,** "On Biblical Interpretation in the *Guide of the Perplexed,*" *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 1 (1981) 87-157 (Hebrew). **D. J. Silver,** *Maimonidean Criticism and the Maimonidean Controversy, 1180–1240* (1965). **C. Sirat,** *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (1985) 157-203. **I. Twersky,** *Introduction to the Code of M. (Mishneh Torah)* (YJS 22, 1980) esp. 145-50; *EncRel* 9 (1987) 131-35. **H. A. Wolfson,** "Hallevi and M. on Prophecy," *JQR* 32 (1941–42) 345-70; 33 (1942–43) 49-82.

J. H. HAYES

MALACHI, BOOK OF

The short book of Malachi, which closes the prophetic CANON, has received more attention in the last two decades of the twentieth century than in any other period of its existence. While rising interest in the Persian period and its PROPHECY has generated an increase in commentary on Malachi, for centuries only selected features of the book received significant attention.

1. Earliest Evidence. The earliest evidence for the book is its inclusion in the SEPTUAGINT and a fragmentary Minor Prophets scroll from Qumran dated c. 150 BCE (4QXII[a]). Short references appear in several early

texts: Sirach 49:10 mentions (but does not identify) twelve prophets; the Cairo Damascus document 6:11-14 cites Mal 1:10; Mal 1:13-14 appears in 5QpMal (= 5Q10); 4QarP alludes to Mal 3:23; and 2 Esdras 3:16 draws upon Mal 1:2-3.

In terms of canonical placement, which may have influenced later assessments of dating, Malachi appears consistently at the end of the Book of the Twelve in early Jewish and Christian lists, including the Murabaʿat and Nahal Ḥever scrolls as well as later Spanish manuscripts. The TALMUD differs in its ordering of the Major Prophets; but it concludes the Prophets with Malachi, as do all early Christian lists. Even Junilius, who arranges the prophetic books chronologically (see CHRONOLOGY, HB), places Malachi last. The fragment 4QXII[a] may prove to be an exception, however, since preliminary studies suggest that in it Jonah may follow Malachi.

2. Early Judaism. Intrigued that Malachi is not a proper name but a title meaning "my messenger," early Jewish commentators on the book sought to identify its author. A gloss in the TARGUM Jonathan identifies this messenger with Ezra; according to *BT Megillah* 15a, Joshua b. Karḥa also equated Malachi with Ezra, while R. Naḥman believed the messenger to be Mordecai. Further speculation is given in *The Lives of the Prophets,* which, though dated to the fourth century CE, may be an earlier composition. Here, Malachi is said to have been born in Sopha after the exile. The SEPTUAGINT translates *malachi* as "his messenger," while leaving the word untranslated in the book's title.

Although Malachi bears no chronological markers and refers to no datable event, ancient writers consistently assumed its postexilic origin. Second Esdras 14:44-47 attributes the writing of the twenty-four books of the canon to Ezra, implying Malachi's completion by this time, as does *BT Baba Bathra* 14b, which credits the men of the Great Assembly with writing the Book of the Twelve. Similarly, JOSEPHUS (*Contra Apion* 1.37-43) indicates that prophecy ended in the time of King Artaxerxes; and Tosephta *Soṭah* 13:2 explains that "when Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi died, the Holy Spirit left Israel." *BT Rosh Hashanah* 19b names Malachi as one of the three prophets on which the almanac is fixed.

Malachi 3:23-24 (Eng. 4:4-5), which tells of a coming messenger, engendered some messianic interest during this period. *M. Baba Meṣia* 1:8; 2:8; 3:4-5; and *M. Sheqalim* 2:5 describe Elijah as a forerunner of the Messiah, perhaps drawing from Malachi. The DEAD SEA SCROLLS fragment 4QarP explicitly cites the book in discussing the Messiah.

3. Early Christianity. The NT quotes Malachi to defend messianic claims for JESUS and the character of emergent Christianity, setting precedents for centuries of Christian interpretation. Combining Mal 3:23-24 with Isa 40:3, the Gospels identify John the Baptist with Elijah in his role as messianic precursor. Mark 1:2 and 9:11 echo the tradition of Elijah, coming first; Luke 1:17 also attributes to John the purification role described in Mal 3:24. Outside of the Gospels, Rom 9:13 finds proof of God's election of Gentiles in Mal 1:2's contrast of the cases of Jacob and Esau.

The church fathers followed the NT in quoting the book to defend Christian rejection of Jewish practices. JUSTIN (*Dialogue* 117.28.41) quoted 1:11 as proof that Gentiles are also people of God; the *Didache* 14:3 went further, finding in this passage justification for the Eucharist. Christian writers of the period seldom speculated on the prophet's identity, although Pseudo-Epiphanius (*De vitis proph.*) suggested that "Malachi is of the tribe of Zebulun, born after the captivity."

4. The Medieval Period. The interpretation of Malachi in the medieval period closely followed contemporary exegetical and doctrinal controversies. While generating little interest in its own right, the book was used to defend divergent positions on messianism and proper biblical interpretation.

a. Jewish. Medieval Jewish interpretation drew on all of Scripture, including Malachi, to counter christological readings of the Tanakh and Christian claims that the coming of Christ had abrogated Mosaic law. With this concern, D. KIMHI quoted Mal 3:22 to argue the eternal validity of Torah and to establish that the Messiah had not come. MAIMONIDES employed the book to defend the logic of sacrificial requirements and, with A. IBN EZRA, to argue the inadequacy of Christian interpretations.

Kimhi and Maimonides also found in Malachi support for their philosophical interpretation of Scripture. Kimhi (MS Bodl. Huntington Don. 24) identified the "fearers" of 3:16 as those who contemplate in the intellect; for Maimonides (*Guide* 3.19), 3:6 proved the changelessness of the deity, and 3:13-16 defended God's omniscience and omnipotence.

b. Christian. Judaism's scriptural interpretation responded to the fervor of medieval Christian interpretation. Stressing the predictive nature of OT prophecy and armed with inferences drawn from the four senses of Scripture, Christian scholars of the medieval period read Malachi as thoroughly christological. Following the Gospels, THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA explained 3:1 as referring to John the Baptist and 4:4-6 as predicting Elijah's return before Christ's second coming.

In addition to christological readings, medieval writers offered some historical analysis. Although cognizant of traditional Jewish identifications of Malachi with Ezra, JEROME (*Prologue to the Vulgate*) placed the prophet in the time of Haggai and Zechariah, voicing a historical principle that greatly influenced subsequent assessments of the book's dating: A book that is not explicitly dated is to be dated according to the book that immediately precedes it in the canon. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA also advanced this principle of dating, which may

be reflected in Theodore's description of Malachi as postexilic.

5. Renaissance/Reformation. Numerous forces shaped biblical study during this period. The rise of humanism and the value it granted to antiquity fostered the study of ancient languages to the extent that in 1311 the Council of Vienna called for the establishment of chairs of Greek and Hebrew. Christian scholars engaged Hebraic tutors and gained facility in Talmud and Jewish commentary, forging some ties between Jewish and Christian commentary. The continuation of anti-Jewish sentiment in Christian Europe and the zeal of the Protestant Reformers to undercut ecclesiastical authority, however, reinforced scriptural defenses of various doctrinal positions.

a. Christian. LUTHER and CALVIN demonstrated this blending of the humanistic and the doctrinal. On the one hand, they extolled the value of historical study of Scripture. Denying the canonical approach to dating books employed by Jerome, Luther argued for the necessity of searching out the historical sense of Scripture. Calvin agreed with this assessment; but, like Luther and in keeping with confessional aims, he retained Scripture's christological import by arguing that a passage can have different meanings for the past, the present, and the future. Calvin claimed, e.g., that Malachi's "sons of Levi" refers to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah as well as to the coming of Christ and to the corrupt leadership of his own time. In the case of the book's future promises, however, the meaning can only apply to the coming of Christ (*Commentary on Malachi* 3:1).

As in earlier times, the book of Malachi provided the period's interpreters a repository of passages for defending their own understandings. The humanist ERASMUS argued that the differing fates of Jacob and Esau in 1:2 refer, not to eternal salvation, but to temporal misfortunes, given the primacy of free will. In the late sixteenth century, as anti-Jewish sentiments grew, the Protestant interpreter Urbanus Rhegius sought to refute Ibn Ezra and D. Kimhi, maintaining that all prophets—including Malachi—foretold the coming of Christ.

b. Jewish. Much Jewish exegesis of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continued to challenge Christian dogmatic claims. This task grew more onerous as Christians increasingly used and denigrated Jewish tradition in their arguments. Guided by such concerns, ABRAVANEL forcefully argued that the Messiah had not come. He also offered historical commentary, claiming that all prophets except Obadiah are in chronological order and, thus, that Malachi is the latest of the postexilic prophets.

6. Enlightenment. Placing ultimate value on reason and natural religion and eschewing special revelation and particularism, the age of the Enlightenment found little value in a book that demands pure ritual and ends with an admonition to preserve Mosaic law. Such Jewish writers of the Emancipation as M. MENDELSSOHN quoted little from Scripture, instead arguing the universality of Judaism. The first major commentary on Malachi written by a Christian but without an excessive christological emphasis was produced by E. POCOCKE in 1677.

Messianic readings of the book persisted in confessional settings, however. C. Jennens's selection of scriptural passages for Handel's *Messiah* drew on long-standing messianic interpretation; by placement, the recitative-aria-chorus sequence on Mal 3:1-3 equates the coming messenger of the covenant with Jesus.

7. Early Modern. The rise of historical criticism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries directed interest in Malachi away from creedal formulations to a concern with the historical information it provided.

a. Dating. While a postexilic composition had long been assumed, turn-of-the-century interpreters offered concrete arguments for Malachi's dating. Few followed the lead of A. von Bulmerincq, who identified each oracle unit in the book by season through the years 485–445 BCE (*Einleitung* [1921–26] i, 140); most interpreters were content with a more general postexilic date based on the understanding that the book describes the religious and social failures between the tenures of Haggai–Zechariah and Ezra–Nehemiah. Specific arguments used to defend this assessment included the book's reference to Edom as fallen, its supposed criticism of the mixed marriages later outlawed by Ezra and Nehemiah, and its literary style.

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century the destruction of Edom mentioned in 1:2 was identified with a Nabatean invasion—an identification used to undergird postexilic dating. This interpretation, advanced by Grätz (1875) and adopted by J. WELLHAUSEN (1878), was echoed in numerous twentieth-century commentaries.

Much nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship found further evidence for this dating by connecting Mal 2:11-14 with Ezra–Nehemiah's annulment of marriages between Judean men and their foreign wives. In this understanding, Judah's "marrying the daughter of a foreign god" in 2:11 refers to intermarriage, and 2:14 applies covenantal terminology to the marriage relationship. During the century, however, a small number of scholars challenged this view; according to C. C. TORREY (1898) and F. HVIDBERG (1962), the passage concerns worship of a female deity in the Temple; J. Matthews (1931) further associated the "tears and weeping" of 2:13-16 with ritual mourning for Tammuz.

Only a few scholars in the early modern period denied postexilic dating completely. H. Spoer (1908) and O. Holtzmann (1931) placed Malachi in the Maccabean era; Holtzmann greatly advanced the date and identified the "fearers" of 3:16 with the Hasideans of 1 Maccabees 2.

b. Literary. The development of FORM CRITICISM in the early twentieth century encouraged study of the book's LITERARY style. Most interpreters followed H. GUNKEL and later A. Graffy (1984) in labeling the genre

of Malachi as "disputation speech." The essential unity of the book was generally assumed, although the authenticity of 1:11 and 4:4-6 was occasionally questioned.

c. Value. Negative evaluations of Malachi dominated most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Even more so than the other postexilic prophets, Malachi was deemed morally and literarily inferior to giants such as Isaiah and Jeremiah. Wellhausen, for example, argued that Malachi derives from the inferior postexilic age, during which the average person grew estranged from ritual and "Israelite" religion atrophied into "Judaism." Fed both by German scholarship's interest in source criticism and contemporary anti-Judaism, Wellhausen's analyses further traced in the book evidence of development within the Israelite priesthood. Because Malachi follows Deuteronomy in calling priests "sons of Levi" while reflecting some priestly ritual, Wellhausen claimed that it reveals a transitional stage between deuteronomic and priestly legislation.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, bolstered by rising confidence in the ideas of evolution and progressive revelation, such liberal Protestants as H. FOSDICK and such evangelicals as W. R. SMITH adapted Wellhausen's developmental views to confessional applications. They viewed the rituals in Malachi, not so much as a retreat from earlier authentic religion, but as a temporary stage in God's continuing revelation.

8. Late Twentieth Century. The developments of late twentieth-century scholarship have affected Malachi studies in several ways. First, as more has been learned of the Persian experience in the province of Yehud (Judea) after the exile and as more attention turns to the sociological dimensions (see SOCIOLOGY AND HB) of the postexilic community, Malachi has been embraced as precious evidence about the period. P. Hanson (1979²), for example, draws heavily from the book to explain the sociological tensions in the postexilic community between theocratic and hierocratic elements; and studies of the social function of the Second Temple have drawn upon Malachi's description of the priesthood and sacrificial cult.

Concomitant with this surge in information has been growing awareness of how essential the exile and its aftermath were for the formation of biblical writings. Recognizing Malachi's ties to the Haggai–Zechariah corpus (including the recurrence of *maśśā'* in Zech 9:1; 12:1; and Mal 1:1), such commentators J. Blenkinsopp (1983) have utilized the book in discussions of canonization. Studies concerning how the Book of the Twelve was fashioned into a single volume have directed much attention to Malachi's role as the conclusion to the collection.

Earlier debates about the "daughter of a foreign god" have resurfaced in current discussions. J. O'Brien (1990, 1995), for example, maintains that the marriage described in Malachi is a modification of the marriage metaphor used elsewhere in the Prophets, though G. Hugenberger (1994) devotes a monograph to arguing that the HB in general and Malachi in particular consistently portray human marriage as a covenant.

As in earlier generations, the scholarly interests of the late twentieth century have helped to shape current understandings of the book of Malachi. Carried along by the currents of modern scholarly interest in canon formation, the literary and sociological activity of the Second Temple period, and the rise of messianism, Malachi has moved significantly inward from the periphery of prophetic investigation.

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J. M. O'BRIEN

MALAMAT, ABRAHAM (1922–)

One of the leading scholars of the ancient history of the people of Israel, M. was born in Vienna and immi-

grated to Palestine with his parents in 1935. In 1941 he began his studies at the Hebrew University, receiving his PhD in 1951 with a dissertation, "The Aramaeans in Aram Naharaim and the Rise of Their States," written under the supervision of B. MAZAR. After spending two years at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (among his teachers were B. Landsberger and T. Jacobsen), he was appointed lecturer in the history of the biblical period in the department of Jewish history at the Hebrew University (1954). Appointed professor in 1964, he retired in 1991.

A captivating speaker, M. gave lectures all over the world. The most prestigious were the Schweich lectures at the British Academy in 1984 (published in expanded form). As a teacher he has awakened interest in generations of students, some of whom have been drawn to his area of inquiry and have made it the subject of their own studies (H. Reviv, B. Oded, M. Elat, S. Ahituv, A. Demsky, T. Ishida, Y. Ikeda, G. Galil, and others). In addition, M. edited *Yediot,* the bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society (1956–67), and is a member of the international editorial board of *ZAW* and *JSOT* and of the advisory board of the *IEJ.* He also edited four volumes (12, 16, 20, 25) in the Eretz Israel series and two volumes (4, 1 and 4, 2) in the series The World History of the Jewish People (*The Age of the Monarchies: Political History* and *The Age of the Monarchies: Culture and Society* [1979]).

M. has published over 250 articles, pamphlets, and books in Hebrew and English and a few in German and French. His Hebrew works include *Mari and Israel: Two West Semitic Cultures* (1991) and two main collections of essays: *Mari and the Bible: A Collection of Studies* (1974, 1981); and *Israel in Biblical Times: Historical Essays* (1983, and further eds.). Many of his writings are concerned with the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites; the period of the Judges; the age of David and Solomon; the last years of the kingdom of Judah; the Arameans; and the relations between the Mari texts and the Bible, an area in which he has made a major contribution, especially to the understanding of the formative period of Israelite history. M. has also written basic papers on the subjects of political covenants, tribal genealogies, kinship, and biblical historiography that laid the groundwork for later research by others in these fields.

Works: (with M. Avi-Jonah), *Views of the Biblical World* (3 vols., 1961); "Syrien-Palästina in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends," *Fischer Weltgeschichte* 3 (1966) 177-221, 347-52; "The Aramaeans," *Peoples of OT Times* (ed. D. J. Wiseman, 1973) 134-55; "The Twilight of Judah: In the Egyptian-Babylonian Maelstrom," *VTSup* 28 (1975) 123-45; "Origins and the Formative Period," *A History of the Jewish People* (ed. H. H. Ben-Sasson, 1976) 1-87; "The Monarchy of David and Solomon," *Recent Archaeology in the Land of Israel* (ed. H. Shanks, 1984) 161-72; *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (1984 Schweich Lectures, 1989). Full bibliography in ErIsr 24 (A. Malamet Volume, 1993) pp. y '-yḥ.

G. GALIL

MALBIM, ME'IR LOEB(USCH) BEN YEHI'EL MICHAEL (1809–79)

Born in Volochinsk (Volhynia) and educated in Warsaw, M. (whose initials formed his surname), held two rabbinical appointments before becoming chief rabbi of Romania in 1858. As an upholder of Talmudic law (see TALMUD) he found himself at loggerheads with assimilationist Jewish lay leadership in Bucharest. Denounced to the government and imprisoned, he was released on condition of his leaving Romania (1864). He later served various communities as rabbi and died in Kiev.

In his commentaries (written in Hebrew and covering the whole Bible) M. reasserted the validity of the oral law as authentic complement to the Pentateuchal text and implicitly combated *Haskalah* (19th cent. Jewish Enlightenment) as a stepping stone to Reform Judaism and the jettisoning of much institutional observance. M. rehearsed Talmudic and traditional exegesis. For him literal INSPIRATION precludes any word's being superfluous or repetitious or any metaphor's being casually chosen. His *'Ayyeleth Ha-shaḥar* (prefixed to his commentary on the early rabbinic *Sipra* to Leviticus) sets out 613 alleged axioms of biblical Hebrew. Because of his dominant interest in halakhic (i.e., jurisprudential) considerations, he disregarded categorical distinctions but evinced a fine feeling for grammar, word order, nuance, and style.

On Gen 1:6, M. rejected Ptolemaic cosmology but affirmed the four elements "compounded electrically." He acknowledged that the refraction of sunlight in droplets of water creates the rainbow (9:13) but claimed that since antediluvian rain fell at forty-year intervals a thick cloud cover had previously prevented its appearance. The allegory in the Song of Songs describes God's yearning for the soul exiled in the material world. Writing in 1868 on Daniel, M. predicted that the messianic climax would occur in 1913–28.

Works: *Ha-torah we-ha-wiṣwah* (1874–50), on the Pentateuch; *Miqra'ey Qodesh* (1874), on the remainder of the HB; *Esther* (1860); *Shirey Ha-nefesh* (1860), on Song of Songs; *Sifra* (1860), on Leviticus.

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R. LOEWE

MANASSEH, PRAYER OF

Second Chronicles 33:10-20 records that Manasseh, the most wicked of Judah's kings (see 2 Kgs 21:1-18; 2 Chr 33:1-9), repented while a prisoner in Babylon, prayed to God for mercy, and was restored to his throne in Jerusalem, where he labored to reverse his earlier abominations and promote the true worship of Yahweh. The chronicler indicates further that Manasseh's prayer is preserved in two literary records: the annals of the kings of Israel and the annals of *Ḥozai* (LXX: "the seers"). Lacking any such extra-biblical records, an unknown Jewish author of a much later time remedied the loss by composing a prayer appropriate for the occasion described in 2 Chronicles 33. The resulting composition, the pseudonymous Prayer of Manasseh, is a brief but beautiful penitential psalm of fifteen verses.

The prayer has close affinities of form, language, and imagery with both the canonical psalms (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) of penitence (especially Psalm 51 [LXX 50]) and apocryphal prayers like the *Prayer of Azariah* in the Additions to Daniel and that of Aseneth in *Joseph and Aseneth.* Following an ascription of praise to Yahweh for the divine works of creation (vv. 1-4) and God's mercy to penitent sinners (vv. 5-8), there is a personal confession of sin (vv. 9-10), a plea for mercy and forgiveness (vv. 11-13), an expression of trust in God's mercy (v. 14), and a concluding doxology (v. 15). Permeating the prayer are two emphases: God's abundant mercy and the efficacy of true repentance. Most memorable is the vivid image of contrition in v. 11: "And now I bend the knee of my heart."

Nothing specific is known of the time and place of writing. Composition during the last two centuries BCE or the first century CE seems likely. Since Manasseh's name appears only in the title and since the confession of sins is quite general, some have supposed that the prayer existed long before its attribution to Manasseh. However, several elements in it are reminiscent of the chronicler's account of Manasseh's reign, and the manuscript tradition is consistent in ascribing it to Manasseh. It is likely, therefore, that the title is original and that the work was created to supply the missing prayer mentioned in 2 Chronicles 33. Linking the prayer with the biblical tradition of the wicked but penitent Manasseh enabled the author to ensure his own generation of forgiveness and restoration where there is true repentance. The work is too brief and general to allow a more precise determination of its occasion and purpose.

The Prayer of Manasseh is extant in Syriac, Greek, Latin, Armenian, Old Church Slavonic, Ethiopic, and Arabic. Whether it was composed in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek is unknown. If the extant form of the Greek text was translated from a Semitic original, it is a very free and idiomatic rendering. On the other hand, if Greek is the original language, it is heavily influenced by biblical modes of expression.

The work is first attested in the *Didascalia,* an early third-century church manual written in Greek, but is preserved only in a Syriac translation. From the *Didascalia* the prayer was included in the fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions,* which provides our earliest Greek text. There is no evidence for the inclusion of the prayer in the early form of the SEPTUAGINT; clearly it was not in the manuscripts known to ORIGEN and JEROME. Probably from the *Apostolic Constitutions* the prayer found its way into some manuscripts of the Septuagint, where it is positioned, not after 2 Chronicles, but among the fourteen canticles or odes appended to the psalter. Although not in Jerome's VULGATE, a Latin translation appears in some medieval Latin manuscripts and on this basis is appended to 2 Chronicles in some early printed editions of the Vulgate. However, since the work was not recognized as canonical by the Council of Trent in 1546, subsequent editions of the Vulgate relegate it to an appendix following the NT. LUTHER translated the prayer into German, first publishing it separately and then as the last work in his version of the APOCRYPHA. Beginning with the Matthew Bible of 1537, most English versions have included it among the apocryphal writings, and most Protestants consider it one of the Apocrypha, although it was not part of the Septuagint. The Roman Catholic Douai Bible of 1609–10 placed it in an appendix at the end of the HB.

Evidence of liturgical or other use is far more abundant in Christianity than in Judaism. Rabbinic legends about Manasseh are numerous but show no trace of the prayer. On the other hand, the appearance of the work in the third-century *Didascalia,* the fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions,* the liturgical canticles appended to the psalter in some manuscripts of the Septuagint, and numerous versions from various times and places attests to its popularity in Christian circles. Other early Christian writers, among them JULIUS AFRICANUS (3rd cent.) and G. Hamartolos (9th cent.) made use of the prayer, but none cites it as Scripture. THOMAS AQUINAS quoted v. 8 in connection with the sacrament of penance, and Luther commended the prayer as a model plea for forgiveness. L. Andrewes (1555–1626), one of the translators of the AV of the Bible, popularized the prayer in the seventeenth century by quoting it extensively in his book of private devotions.

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R. D. CHESNUTT

MANDELKERN, SOLOMON (1846–1902)

Born in Volhynia, Russia, M. was steeped in classical Jewish texts. Continuing Talmudic study (see TALMUD) in Dubno in 1860, he associated with Hasidic scholars (see HASIDISM) in Kotsk, Poland. During his studies at the rabbinical academies in Zhitomir and Vilna (1865–68), he became enamored of the biblical commentaries of the twelfth-century Spanish exegete A. IBN EZRA and the rationalist religious philosophy of MAIMONIDES. Imbued with a newfound critical spirit, he entered the University of Petersburg, where he earned a PhD in Semitic philology.

From 1873 to 1880, he served as assistant rabbi in Odessa, where he also took a degree in law. However, after being expelled for fabricating a report of a blood libel, he moved to Leipzig and later completed a PhD at the University of Jena, writing on the divergences between the books of Kings and Chronicles. He supported himself by translating and by publishing his own work; already in 1866 he had written a romantic poem, "Bathsheba," dealing with the passion, sin, repentance, and punishment of King David. From the beginning of his move to Leipzig, M. worked feverishly to compile and publish his *magnum opus,* a complete concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic of the HB. This monumental research tool of 1,532 folio pages occupied him for twenty years, five on proofreading alone; and in 1899 he traveled to the United States to promote it and an abridged edition.

M. called his concordance *Hêkal haqqōdeš,* "the Holy Temple," and compared his construction to King Solomon's building of the Temple, quoting 2 Chr 2:8[9], "for the house I am to build will be great and wonderful," in the epigraph. Faulting earlier concordances for omitting function words, pronouns, proper names, and Aramaic as well as for listing citations in their order in the VULGATE rather than in the HB, M. assembled every word of any type according to its grammatical form, introducing each word stem with a concise lexicographical discussion. He noted any Semitic cognates, "for only through them can [Hebrew] concepts and usages become illuminated and clarified." Evincing a Jewish interest in both Hebrew and the history of Jewish exegesis, he cited post-biblical usages and medieval interpretations. Keen to TEXTUAL CRITICISM, he also indicated variants in the ancient versions and responsible emendations. Most useful, he quoted words in context.

The scholarly community showed immediate appreciation of the concordance and began publishing lists of corrections in the *ZAW* and through S. Herner's monograph (1909). Now in its seventh (1967) edition, M.'s concordance continues to serve as a fundamental tool.

Works: *Ḥiṣṣîm šenûnîm* (1864); *Bat-šeba' 'ô šiqqāyôn ledawîd* (1866, 1896[2]); *Dibrê yemê rûsyâ* (3 pts., 1875); *Šîrê śepat 'ēber* (3 vols., 1882, 1889, 1901); *Diqdûq lešôn rûsyâ* (2 pts., 1884); *Hêkal haqqōdeš = Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae* (1896, 1967[7]); *Tabnît hêkal* (1897).

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E. L. GREENSTEIN

MANETTI, GIANNOZZO (1396–1459)

A leader among the Florentine humanists, M. held various positions during his lifetime, including service as apostolic secretary at the court of Pope Nicolas V (1453–55), where his contemporary L. VALLA held a similar office. He was probably the first scholar in Renaissance humanism to possess and use a thorough knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew.

M. began the study of Hebrew c. 1435 under the influence of his teacher A. Traversari (c. 1386–1439) and took into his home a young Jewish scholar whom he later converted (Gianfrancesco di Messer Giannozzo Manetti). In addition, he later studied with a certain Jewish "Manuello" (perhaps Immanuel ben Abraham da San Miniato), with whom he read the HB twice; and he became familiar with medieval Jewish interpreters, copies of whose works survive in his library at the Fondo Vaticano Ebraico. M.'s earliest important writings were *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* (c. 1452), which expounded a generally favorable and optimistic anthropology, and *Contra Iudeos et Gentes* (1454), which narrated human history from creation to the death of Christ (bks. 1–4) and presented various Christian biographies (bks. 5–10). The latter work takes a reasonably positive attitude toward pagan culture and favorably assesses the Hebrews before Moses.

In addition to translating works of Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics, Eudemian Ethics,* and *Magna Moralia*), M. produced a new Latin TRANSLATION of the entire NT from the Greek, unfortunately without notes, and began a translation of the HB, completing only Psalms. In the Psalms manuscript he placed his translation alongside what he called the two versions of JEROME—the Latin based on the SEPTUAGINT and on the *Hebraica veritate.* The translation is prefaced with an *Apologeticus* in five books ("On Different Detractors of All Authors," "On Various Translators of Holy Scrip-

ture," "On the Many and Great Differences of the Two Most Celebrated Translations of the Entire Psalter," "On Wrong Translations Together with the Different Titles of All the Psalms," and "Some Things Worth Saying on Right Translation"). M. was far more reticent than Valla to draw out the implications of his pioneering biblical work and to support his new translations with notes. Since he had no later ERASMUS to rescue his work from obscurity, his biblical study remains practically unknown and unstudied and his work in the field unpublished.

Works: *Apologeticus* (Temi e testi 29, ed. A. De Petris) 1981.

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J. H. HAYES

MANSON, THOMAS WALTER (1893–1958)

M. was born in Tynemouth, England. He studied mental and moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow, then served in WWI. After the war, he trained for the Presbyterian ministry at Westminster College, Cambridge, while simultaneously taking a BA by thesis, and sat the oriental tripos. He also held a research scholarship at Christ's College for work on the Targum to Lamentations. Following his ordination in 1925, M. took charge of the Jewish Mission Institute in Bethnal Green. While working on his classic study, *The Teachings of Jesus* (1931), he served a congregation in Falstone, Northumberland. The publication of that volume won him a professorship at Mansfield College, Oxford (1932), and then in 1936, the Rylands Professorship of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis at Manchester University. He was still in that post at his untimely death.

M's early work on JESUS' teaching has remained his most influential. It was written to defend a comprehensive thesis—namely, that "the substance of the Gospel" is Jesus' person, not a system of ideas and that "the key to the NT is the notion of the 'saving Remnant' " (1955^2, ix). Both of these themes proved to be outstanding emphases in his own career, but in his book they are developed with sobriety and restraint. Three principles governed his study of Jesus' words: (1) Only the earliest form of a saying would do. Working with B. STREETER's theory of the origin of the Gospels, M. sought to isolate the sources of sayings, allowing for the impact on meaning of the translation from Aramaic to Greek (6-11). (2) Jesus' sayings cannot be understood as a random collection. Their sense is only evident (a) within the context of his ministry and its evolution (above all, as marked by Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi) and (b) as part of a coherent expression of such leading themes as the kingdom of God and the Son of man (12-15). (3) To have the earliest words in their original context is not enough; to understand them, one must also know to whom they were addressed. The target of a saying might be as determinative of its meaning as its origin (15-21).

If these principles appear self-evident today, it is testimony to M.'s abiding influence. Time has eaten away confidence in the particulars of Streeter's documentary theory, in the Markan outline as representing the actual course of Jesus' ministry, and in the historical reliability of references to audience within the Gospels; yet the program of recovering the earlier form of a saying and relating it both to Jesus' intention and to the world of his hearers has become standard. In order to advance his own procedure, M. needed to define it in comparison to the FORM CRITICISM of W. WREDE and the eschatological interpretation of A. SCHWEITZER. Against the former, M. insisted that a historical interest characterized early Christianity from the beginning; thus material regarding Jesus was not freely invented. Against the latter, he argued that Schweitzer portrayed Jesus as a "deluded fanatic" who vainly tried to force God to hasten the Kingdom. M. maintained that "the thing that really matters in the story of Jesus is not the eschatological theory but the ministerial practice" (commemorative address at Westminster College, 1949; see 1962, 8-9).

The last assertion was for M. no mere debating point. According to the final words of *The Teaching of Jesus,* "The sense of all morality is to have the same mind which was also in Christ Jesus" (1955^2, 312). In M.'s conception, Jesus wished that he and his followers "*together* should be the Son of Man, the Remnant that saves by service and self-sacrifice" (231). It is apparent that M.'s *Teaching* is not merely a technical *tour de force,* for which it is frequently mistaken, but a profoundly felt theological argument.

M.'s distinctive understanding of Jesus' messianic ministry was more popularly conveyed in *The Servant Messiah* (1953). The manuscript was based on lectures given at Yale in 1939 and at Cambridge in 1951; the result is a potent statement of his conviction "that Christians do not inherit their task from Christ, they share it with him" (1953, 98). Some discussion has treated M.'s contribution to christology as if the only issue were whether Jesus cited Isaian Servant Songs. It should be acknowledged that M.'s synthesis rested on a comprehensive analysis of the dominical sayings and the pattern of events in Jesus' life. That is what makes M. a scholar who integrated his historical insight and his faith in a reconstruction of Jesus' ministry.

Works: *The Teachings of Jesus* (1931, 1955², repr. 1959); (with H. D. A. Major and C. J. Wright), *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, bk. 2, *The Sayings of Jesus* (1937) 298-639; *The Teaching of Jesus: Studies of Its Form and Content* (1945); *The Servant-Messiah: A Study of the Public Ministry of Jesus* (1953); *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles* (ed. M. Black, 1962).

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B. CHILTON

MANSON, WILLIAM (1882–1958)

M. was educated at the University of Glasgow (1904) and at Oriel College, Oxford (1907). He trained for the ministry at the United Free Church College, Glasgow, and was ordained in 1911. From 1919 to 1925 he served as professor of NT language and literature at Knox College, Toronto; then he became professor of NT language, literature, and theology at New College, Edinburgh, holding that position until 1946. He was professor of biblical criticism at the University of Edinburgh from 1946 until his retirement in 1952. He died on Good Friday in 1958.

Deeply influenced by his teacher J. DENNEY, M. centered his work on the importance of eschatology in the thought of the early church. He rejected J. WEISS's and A. SCHWEITZER's purely apocalyptic view (see APOCALYPTICISM) of JESUS' teaching, on the one hand, and J. WELLHAUSEN's purely realized view, on the other hand, settling for E. von DOBSCHÜTZ's—and before him, H. EWALD's—view, which M. promulgated in Britain in lectures delivered at Oxford during 1908 and 1909. He argued for the thesis that "Jesus represents the Kingdom of God as a matter no longer of purely future interest and expectation but of present experience. . . . The Divine spring has begun, and with it comes the assurance that the harvest will not long be delayed" (Bruce Lectures, 1914). M. followed C. BURNEY in holding that John's Gospel was composed or at least thought out in Aramaic by John the Presbyter, behind whom stood the authority of the beloved disciple. The translation of eschatological into spiritual values is complete, but the roots of this translation are to be found in the teaching of Jesus.

In his Moffatt commentary on Luke (1930) M. defended traditional authorship. He agreed with the form critics (see FORM CRITICISM) that the Gospel tradition was a function of the church's life and faith but insisted, particularly in his Cunningham lectures (1940), "Jesus the Messiah," that this tradition preserved Jesus' spiritual history and the view he had come to adopt concerning his death. Jesus built on Isaiah 53 in expanding the Son of man doctrine to teach that the Son of man's exaltation (Daniel 7) is from a life of suffering on earth. Transmuting the language used by Judaism, Jesus based himself, not on Jewish apocalyptic or on ethnic gnosis, but on the prophetic ideas of the HB.

In his Baird lectures on Hebrews (1949) M. argued that a straight line ran from the teaching of Stephen to the epistle to the Hebrews. Stephen's followers inaugurated the world mission of the church, and the epistle to the Hebrews represents the tradition of Stephen in arguing against Jewish Christians at Rome who were asserting counter claims akin to those of the original "Hebrew" section of the Jerusalem church.

Works: *Christ's View of the Kingdom of God: A Study in Jewish Apocalyptic and in the Mind of Jesus Christ* (1914 Bruce Lectures, 1918); *The Incarnate Glory: An Expository Study of the Gospel According to St. John* (1923); *The Gospel of Luke* (MNTC, 1930); *Jesus the Messiah: The Synoptic Tradition of the Revelation of God in Christ: With Special Reference to Form-Criticism* (1940 Cunningham Lectures, 1943); *The Epistle to the Hebrews: An Historical and Theological Reconsideration* (1949 Baird Lectures, 1951); "Principalities and Powers: The Spiritual Background of the Work of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels," (SNTS Presidential address, 1952) *Bulletin SNTS* 3; *The Way of the Cross: Five Studies Based on Holy Week Addresses on the Form and Structure of the Christian Life* (1958); *Jesus and the Christian* (ed. with an introduction by T. F. Torrance, 1967), collected essays.

Bibliography: **W. A. Elwell,** "Aspects of the Quest of the Historical Jesus in the Works of W. M. and J. M. Robinson" (diss., Edinburgh, 1970).

J. C. O'NEILL

MAPS OF THE BIBLICAL WORLD

The geographical setting attributed to Abraham in the first pages of the HB has occasioned the earliest maps known to the Western world. Further, the earliest known map of the world would be either the Babylon world map or the Ghassul fresco, which it resembles.

1. Ancient Near East. A clay tablet sketch found at Nuzi in 1931 dates to c. 2200 BCE and shows mountain ranges, rivers, and three city-states, one of which is called "Ebla." However, the area shown by the map is probably an estate near Nuzi. Also in the Old Babylonian language, but representing a stage that follows the Hammurabi dynasty (c. 1600 BCE), are two or more maps found around 1908 at Nippur in southern Iraq. One shows the Euphrates and the Ur and Uruk gates of Nippur; another shows a stream with canals subdividing a dozen cultivation areas.

a. Egypt. The earliest map surviving from Egypt (see EGYPTOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) corresponds to the

presence of the biblical people there as described in Genesis 47–Exodus 12. This Turin papyrus claims to localize the tomb of Rameses II's father, Seti I, at Luxor (c. 1300 BCE); but the claim seems to be a "disguise," because the map was quickly recognized as showing instead several gold mine sites, probably south of the road to the Red Sea gulf from Qena north of Luxor.

Palestine is the object of another type of early Egyptian cartography that survives, not as maps, but as lists of places; these lists often hint at the location of a place in relation to neighbors. With place lists may be classed the "execration texts" from around 1800 BCE, i.e., names of Canaanite cities inscribed on jars intended to be smashed and thus to magically cause harm. The famed Amarna letters from or to cities in the pharaoh's Canaanite domains date to c. 1370 BCE; important lists show the names of city-states in Canaan written on the waists of captives taken in expeditions of Thutmose III (after 1480), Seti I (after 1295), Rameses II (after 1280), and Solomon's contemporary Shoshenq I (c. 940–915), the Shishak of 1 Kgs 14:25 (see Y. Aharoni's maps [1979²]).

b. Babylon world map. The most famous early map is from c. 500 BCE, although its origins in or beyond Babylon are perhaps much earlier; dates of c. 900 or c. 2300 BCE are variously assigned to the master map it expressly claims to copy. It is called a "map of the world," but this means really a map of the entire cosmos. Babylon is shown as only slightly northwest of the center point of the earth, which floats in an outer ocean called "salt water." Beyond this are irregularly spaced triangles that point outward, one of which is named *nagu.* Since space enough for another triangle is left empty in the undeteriorated portion of the map, most reconstructions show only seven triangles; yet most experts find evidence of eight triangles in the four directions on the rear of the map tablet. E. Unger (1931) calls attention to the similarity of this map to a wall painting found at Ghassul (three miles northeast of the Dead Sea); dating to 3500 BCE, before the earliest known writing, the painting shows eight triangles pointing out from a circular band enclosing several concentric stars. Although other experts have not agreed that this fresco could have influenced the master map copied at Babylon, it might be that both were highly artistic representations of a "cosmic" outlook inherited from earliest Sumer that also surfaced in the "firmament" of Gen 1:6 and the "pillars of the earth" in Job 9:6. Babylon also contributed a conspicuous feature that survives in all modern maps: the sexagesimal number system, i.e., 360 degrees of sixty minutes of sixty seconds each.

c. Table of Nations. The Bible contains a sort of map in Genesis 10. The author clearly envisioned a diagram of the disposition of Israel's neighbors in the eastern Mediterranean. This "table of nations," like its paraphrase in apocryphal JUBILEES 8–9, has been claimed to be the prose version of a map actually in use among the Phoenicians since Sidon and the Mediterranean islands are surprisingly more prominent than is Israel (see A. Herrmann [1931]). While one would expect the seafaring Phoenicians to have had maps, none survives. Some scholars conclude that they kept their maps secret, circulating falsifications to sidetrack their competitors; others note that seafarers in general have not been outstanding mapmakers.

Genesis 10 is usually dated with the P strand after 400 BCE; but it may well contain elements from before 900, whether connected with J or not. The reliable historical data it gives does not concern the ethnic blood links that arbitrarily make Elam Semitic and Canaan and Babylon otherwise, but rather the geographic and political connections of Israel with its neighbors.

The Exodus route to Sinai and the subsequent Numbers itineraries have the appearance of map data, but they do not clarify either the site of the DECALOGUE theophany or the location of Kadesh-barnea in relation to Eilat; indeed, experts have concluded that the Bible preserves both a northern and a southern tradition of the direction of the exodus. Consequently, the maps of biblical atlases must be used with caution. Joshua 13–19 does indeed provide mapmaking data, even though it combines two disparate documents: a complete listing of cities (mostly for Judah), possibly from the late date of Josiah around 620 BCE, and an enumeration of tribal frontier posts from perhaps as early as David (around 1000 BCE). But as for the "twelve tribes," the brilliant colors in modern atlases indicating their exact location must be used with an awareness that modern experts draw these lines with notable differences, due in part to interpretation of modern excavations and in part to well-justified debate as to the date at which the twelve sons of Jacob were first regarded as separate geographical entities. Asher and Naphtali are already attested in the north during the time "Israel," or Jacob, was in Egypt, and others may have migrated into Canaan from different directions and at different times. One trend sees the tribes, not as invaders, but as elements of a peasant uprising; another notes that both *šēbeṭ* and *maṭṭeh* mean "stick" down to postexilic times, when their application to territorial groups may have been invented.

Valuable in a different way for mapmaking are the military campaigns described in 1 Maccabees, especially insofar as these reflect the wholesale Greek renaming of Palestine sites. This Greek toponymy has been made into an illuminating map of Roman Palestine by M. Avi-Yonah (1936).

2. Greco-Roman Map Techniques. From WALAFRID STRABO's *Geographica* (c. 7 BCE) we learn about his predecessors, "Homer and the philosophers [who] first concerned themselves with geography" (1.1.11).

a. Anaximander. Anaximander is claimed on the authority of Erastosthenes (3rd cent. BCE) to have first

published about 600 BCE a "geographical board," or *pinax*. Sometimes this expression seems to mean only a verbal description, while in other instances it refers to a real map. One such real map, a *pinax* depicting the whole world and all rivers, is in fact attested as having been brought to Sparta from Miletus, the homeland of Anaximander. The fact that his pioneering, though independent, efforts are roughly contemporary both with the Babylon map and with the chief cartographic formulations of the Bible is striking.

Herodotus (c. 440 BCE) "produced a lovely sketch-map of the world . . . the oldest classical map which we possess," according to B. Beitzel (1985, 199); but his sources may refer to a map later drawn from data furnished by Herodotus. About the same date Parmenides hints of the discovery that the earth is a globe, possibly suggested already by the Shield of Achilles in Homer. At any rate the spherical earth is firmly taken for granted by Eudoxus (391–338 BCE), from whom Aristotle (384–322 BCE) took his formulation that would later inspire Columbus. But the earliest and only map in the shape of a globe in antiquity was produced around 160 BCE by Crates of Pergamum.

b. Eratosthenes. Meanwhile, before 220 BCE Eratosthenes coined the term "geography" and measured the circumference of the earth by noting the angles made by the sun's rays at Alexandria and at Aswan. His 250,000 stadia circumference, depending on controversies over the equivalence of the stadium, amounts to somewhat more than the proper 25,000 miles. However, it was too drastically reduced to 180,000 stadia through subsequent observations by Posidonius c. 150 BCE, which, along with other corrections by Polybius shortly thereafter, would win acceptance by Ptolemaeus in the second century CE and prevail until 1500.

More acceptably, also around 150 BCE, Hipparchus of Samos, the leading astronomer of antiquity, added to Eratosthenes' work the observation that the round earth could be divided into a network or grid of 360 degrees for mapmaking. Alas, no one was able to apply this insight to an actual map until modern times.

c. Rome. Both Eratosthenes and Hipparchus were allegedly used at Rome by the consul Vipsanius Agrippa for a written localization of Mediterranean sites. More notably, in a wide area flanking the Pantheon (which bears his name emblazoned on the front), Vipsanius brought about the construction of a huge billboard-style world map, completed after his death in 12 BCE. This achievement had been to some extent anticipated in 36 BCE by Varro's temple wall map of Italy. No fragments or even undoubted citations of the Vipsanius map survive, although research indicates that both the commentary and the map could have been cited extensively by Pliny in the first century CE and known in part by Strabo. The map followed existing Roman itineraries more closely than it did Greek astronomical calculations; preference of milestones to stars is a clue to Roman versus Greek character (P. Schnabel [1935]).

This wall map furnished data for others that have survived. The first of several works entitled *Periplus*, "sea-route" (of the Erythrean sea, after 60 CE), included not only the prose description of which we have fragments but also real maps, according to claims not supported by any surviving materials. Later came a periplus "of the world" by Skylax around 400 and another "of the outer sea" by Marcianus. Meanwhile around 124 CE a similar title, *Periegesis*, "guidebook," was used for an easy-to-memorize geography in verse that was popular in schools for many generations.

d. Ptolemaeus. The swan song of classical mapmaking was the work of Claudius Ptolemaeus in Alexandria (127–145 CE). His *Hyphegesis* (guide to geography) often cites Martinus of Tyre, though in disagreement. It is not easy to track down the relationship between this surviving prose listing of Ptolemaeus and the two other contributions that constitute his major influence (see R. North [1979] 61-64). He originated what is called "projection," a way to indicate on the flat surface of a page the gridlines of the spherical earth. Some modern reconstructions show the earth, not so much as a globe, but as a cylinder, with an equator as its upper edge and most countries occupying the flat surface of the upper base. Palestine is literally the center of the world, though not as in the pious deformations that later became prominent.

The second enduring contribution of Ptolemaeus was the production of regional maps intended to accompany his manuscript. Some experts hold that he left only twenty-six such maps (the "Omega family," represented by the Florence "omicron" manuscript [Schnabel]). The alternative, sixty-four maps, is available in the Vatican Urbinas 82, whose editor, however, admits that this "family" does not stem from Ptolemaeus himself (see J. Fischer [1932]). We can still draw from these maps important data on such controverted issues as the location of "Modiane" (Midian = Sinai) at the *east* of the Aqaba gulf. Ptolemaeus was considered so important by medieval Arab geographers that they called his work on astronomy *Almagest* (The Most, *mégistos*). He transmitted to the busy Arabic geographical enterprises the cream of classical scholarship that was, meanwhile, being ignored in Christian Europe.

3. Earliest Surviving Palestine Maps. The next milestone, or, more literally, compilation of milestones, the "Peutinger map," depicts the Roman road system. It was discovered by C. Celtes (1459–1508), who entrusted it in 1507 to K. Peutinger (1465–1546) for publication, although it was not published until 1597; the 1618 edition was named *Tabula Peutingeriana*. From the style of lettering and vignettes, it appears that this map is a copy made about 1100 CE. The autodidact map buff K. Miller (1844–1933) claimed to show that its original was by Castorius in 365 CE (1888), but Pauly-

Wissowa advances the view that as early as 150 CE it served as a pictorialization of the known Roman itineraries (A. von Pauly [1980]). These itineraries have been transmitted in later forms called Antonine 300, Burdigalense 333, Gatitana, and *Notitia dignitatum* (425 in 16th-cent. copy).

The Peutinger map flattens the whole earth into a long, narrow band by reducing the seas to the width of rivers. Thus Rhodes appears to be no farther from Joppa than is Lydda, and Miletus seems nearer than Jerusalem. Smyrna is just opposite the Nile Delta and nearer to it than is Mt. Sinai. This flattening also plays havoc with the directions. In a general way north is up, but for Syria and Palestine it is straight right; and for the Ionian coast, straight left. Sinai and other segments suggest an awareness of biblical and Christian interest, although the map mostly continues the purely secular Vipsanius tradition. Since there is no "scale" or grid projection, place-names are inserted in every available space.

The oldest existing original map of Palestine is a mosaic on the floor of the Orthodox church in Madaba, south of Amman. It shows the Jordan mouth of the Dead Sea; Jerusalem on a scale ten times larger than the rest of the map, with some of its road stations; and for some cities legends of their biblical events (Gerizim and Gebal are located near Shechem and again near Jericho). It has been published in book and wall map form by Avi-Yonah (1954), and all of its localizations have been studied by R. O'Callaghan (1957).

The Madaba map is a concretization from c. 560 CE of the biblical sites given in EUSEBIUS's *Onomasticon* (after 300) in alphabetical order. This most important work of early Christian geography was translated and corrected by JEROME around 400. A map made to accompany the Jerome manuscript (Brit.Mus.Add.10049) is of special interest as an example of a long series of curious portrayals of the course of the Jordan River and its connections with real or imagined sources. Also of use from the early Christian era are some pilgrim travelogues, especially those of Burdigalensis and Egeria (Aetheria, c. 385), the "Christian topography" of Cosmas Indicopleustes (522), the Anonymus (not Antonine or martyr) of Piacenza (570), and Arculf (670).

4. Medieval and Renaissance. About 780 the Spanish priest Beatus wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, preserved in twenty-one magnificently illustrated manuscripts (especially Paris Nat.Lat.8878 from St. Sever, 1050 CE), including notably a map of the world to illustrate the missions of the apostles. These maps embody a widespread medieval tendency to portray Jerusalem as the center of the world (Ezek 5:5). The one in Hereford Cathedral and others have been studied by H. Fischer (1939, 1940).

In many cases the position of Jerusalem in relation to the seas resulted in a "T-O" map, so called because the outer ocean was a circle and the three continents were divided by water flattened to the shape of an inscribed T. A variant of this map is the colorful "clover-leaf" (Beitzel, 203), with Jerusalem as the center and a leaf for each continent, but with only vague subdivisions.

During the entire medieval period only Arabs preserved a widespread interest in geography, centered on the Middle East and transmitting the attainments of Ptolemaeus. The most noteworthy resulting map is by Idrisi (c. 1100–66); its brilliant colors and snakelike mountains have been successfully reproduced and republished, with names in the Latin alphabet (see Miller [1928, 1981]. In the many surviving Crusader memoirs the localizations, while mostly fanciful (e.g., Haifa named after Caiaphas), cannot be wholly ignored. More judicious is the account from 1170 by a Jewish pilgrim, Benjamin of Tudela.

Scholarly cartography was reborn in the West with G. (Kramer =) Mercator (1512–94). His first map, published at Louvain in 1537, was of Palestine; in 1538 he made a world map and in 1541 a globe of the earth. His chief fame is for the 1569 map in which he employed the latitudes and longitudes still referred to as "Mercator's Projection," although he did not invent them. During the half-century after J. Gutenberg's death in 1468, in some fifty printed books on geography, more than one-fourth of all the maps were specifically focused on the Bible lands.

5. British Survey and Since. The trend to know and describe Palestine's terrain at first hand was inaugurated by such scholarly travelers as Adrichomius (1533–85), A. RELAND (1676–1718), C. Niebuhr (1733–1815), and after 1800 U. J. Seetzen (1767—1811), J. Buckingham (1786–1855), and C. Irby (1789–1845). This trend reached a climax in the 1838 exploits of American exegete E. ROBINSON, who in a three-month walkabout with his Arabic-speaking former pupil E. Smith (1801–57), localized more biblical sites than had been known since Eusebius. He again visited Palestine in 1852, and his four resulting volumes (1841, 1856[2]; 1865) are accompanied by a map specially made by H. Kiepert (1818–99).

a. Palestine Exploration Quarterly. Nevertheless, when the British philanthropist A. Burdett-Coutts (1814–1906) convoked a meeting in London in 1864 to promote furnishing drinking water to Jerusalem, it turned out that a more urgent prior need was to map the water sources and contours of Palestine. For this purpose another meeting was called the following year, and the famed PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND and its *Quarterly Statement* were established (*PEFQS*, still published as *PEQ*). The actual toil of preparing the survey fell to British army officers, including C. Conder (1848–1910) and C. Warren (1840–1927), men who proved remarkable for their clairvoyant insights into pottery chronology and for such daredevil exploits as the deep pit dug along the Temple esplanade corner.

The British "Survey Grid" is a map subdivided into squares of one km each in sixteen sheets plus nine Negev, scale 1:100,000. The gridlines are numbered from base points in Egypt, independent of the system of degrees east of "Greenwich," i.e., London (incorporated in the margin), which in 1804 had become universal. This map, whose reference system has become official for all maps of Israel and Jordan, exists also in 125 sheets, scale 1:25,000, and in the more usable 1:250,000 (biblical Palestine almost to Beersheba on the upper sheet) and the "Motor Map," 1:1,000,000 with Dan to Eilat on a single sheet and Sinai in a corner (available chiefly in the numerous editions of Z. Vilnay's *The Guide to Israel*). The West Bank maps now entitled "Israel" include also the inhabited strip east of the Jordan as far as Amman. The "Survey of Jordan" in three sheets also adds the desert farther east and includes the more important archaeological sites, although Jordan's parallel "Archaeological Map" in three sheets adds many more.

b. Wadi toponymy. The classic *Géographie de la Palestine* (2 vols., 1933–38) by F.-M. Abel (1878–1953) gave the excavated evidence for most biblical map localizations (although this should have been considerably updated when it was reprinted in 1967). Its maps seem unworthy of so important a work; however, those especially of the first volume on the wadi system are a treasure. All the Arabic names are indicated down to the minor runlets and thus make available to exegetes this part of the Semitic source for localization of HB place names. Arabic names often are corrupted (but according to norms that can be recognized and applied) or (also in the case of town, hill, or spring names often available on the *PEQ* map) "migrate" to a site four or five miles away. Nevertheless, precisely because they are free from ideological judgments, they frequently preserve the original names more reliably than does the best available scholarship. Needless to say, Israeli research contributes notably to the improving of biblical maps, chiefly by the intense rhythm of excavation and by the synthesis-surveys of various areas. Typical of these researches are those of Aharoni's *The Land of the Bible* (1979^2), notable also for its maps based on successive Egyptian topographical lists.

c. Aerial and space photography. Already in 1918 Germany made a thirty-seven-sheet Palestine region map with the help of numerous air force photos; one hundred of these were published by G. DALMAN in 1925. At the same time in Syria, A. Poidebard (1878–1955) discovered that ancient walls unrecognizable underfoot in desert sites appear clearly in air photos, and his technique has been further applied to seacoast sites with the help of developing underwater ARCHAEOLOGY. Pinpointing features of the terrain by photos from aircraft, balloon, or even high trestle has now become an indispensable tool of earth research. Among the published sets of air views of biblical Israel and Jordan, the continuing projects of R. Cleave (1993) merit attention. In addition, the United States Topographic Center, part of the Defense Mapping Agency but involved with economic aid programs since 1959, was authorized to produce completely new and improved maps for both Israel and Jordan in some fifty sheets; but it is not clear in what form these can be made available to academic research.

Finally the greatest breakthrough of all times in mapmaking came with the space capsule photographs of the entire Palestine-Sinai area in a single view (Gemini 11 (1967, made available by NASA) or in close-ups of the respective portions (Beitzel, 205). Satellites from the United States and other countries now encircle the globe clicking away each successive square, often with several simultaneous film layers for various depths, and returning to the same spot at the same time every eighteen days (if at 900 km above surface). Reducing this crushing wealth of data to a medium as pedestrian as maps will require a wholly new science. Already it is clear that even in the space age aerial photography will remain an indispensable and more practical way of verifying middle-range details of terrain; but hardly imaginable innovations in biblical mapmaking are on the horizon.

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R. NORTH

MARCION (d. c. 154)

M. was born in Sinope in Pontus; according to Hippolytus (c. 170–236) he was the son of a bishop who was excommunicated by his father for having seduced a virgin. While such information is suspect, it is generally agreed by scholars that M. was reared a Christian and was a shipowner by occupation. He was active in Asia Minor in the third–fourth decades of the second century, maintaining a discontinuity between the teaching of PAUL and popular Christian ideas. He apparently went to Rome c. 140, became involved with orthodox Christians in the city, and was excommunicated c. 144. Thereafter, he used his organizational gifts to convey his views and to establish communities throughout much of the Roman Empire.

One of the most important biblical interpreters of the second century, M. is generally credited with having been the first interpreter to give major attention to the relation of the HB and the NT and to the formation of a CANON; he has been accused of editing the Gospels in such a way as to remove all traces of the HB. However, his expulsion from the Roman community makes it difficult to get a precise picture of his position, since his writings are not preserved and what the fathers wrote about him is not always reliable. M.'s central contention seems to have been that Paul's interpretation of Christianity posed a radical dichotomy between a gospel of love and a covenant of law. Further, he argued that this insight had been diluted in Christian teaching as the emerging church stressed the continuity of the HB and the NT, the latter being the fulfillment of the former's prophetic promises (see PROPHECY, HB). As he believed that only Paul had understood the contrast between law and grace, M. maintained that the only canonical writings were the Pauline epistles (excluding the pastorals) and an edited version of the Gospel of Luke. He encouraged his followers to study these writings closely and to reject allegorical methods of interpretation. The effectiveness and appeal of M.'s message and organization are attested by the breadth of opposition among the church fathers to his work .

The pioneering study by A. von HARNACK (1921) put together all the pieces known at that time and "attempted to prove that to reject the OT in the second century was a mistake which the Catholic church rightly avoided" (248). With the development of biblical THEOLOGY and a fuller understanding of Gnosticism (see GNOSTIC INTERPRETATION) Harnack's evaluation of M.'s role and significance is continuing to be revised. B. BAUER's stress on the fluidity between orthodoxy and heresy in the second century has also contributed to this revision. Above all, a more careful reading of the evidence and a comparative study of the texts available to M. make it far from certain that he took the liberty in transformation of the Gospels often attributed to him (D. Williams [1989]).

Ongoing research will continue to affect the assessment of M. He will, however, certainly retain his position as one of the most notable biblical interpreters of the second century, one who took seriously the differences between the old covenant and the new and the process of giving authoritative status (see AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE) to inspired writings (see INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE).

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W. KLASSEN

MARGOLIS, MAX LEOPOLD (1866–1932)

Born in a Lithuanian village on Oct. 15, 1866, M. was the son of a rabbi who provided him with a broad

secular education in addition to instructing him in traditional Jewish learning. His exposure to secular topics, in particular the classics, continued when he enrolled in a Berlin gymnasium, from which he graduated in 1889. That same year he followed the rest of his family to New York City, where he earned an MA (1890) and a PhD (1891) from Columbia University. At that time his work centered on the text-critical study (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM) of the TALMUD.

M.'s first academic employment was at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, where President I. M. Wise (1819–1900) persuaded him to move into biblical studies, a discipline to which few Jewish scholars then turned. He taught at HUC from 1892 to 1897 and again from 1905 to 1907, spending the interim at the University of California at Berkeley. His departure from HUC in 1907 was marked by controversy, and he spent the following academic year traveling in Europe. He returned to the United States in 1908 to assume the position of editor-in-chief of the Jewish Publication Society's Bible translation (which appeared in 1917). In 1909 he was hired by C. Adler (1863–1940), president of Dropsie College, as that institution's first professor, remaining there until his death in April 1932. He spent the 1924–25 academic year as the annual professor at the AMERICAN SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH in Jerusalem and as a professor at the newly founded Hebrew University. M.'s *magnum opus* was his edition of the Greek text of the book of Joshua. Parts 1–4 (up to 19:38) were published in Paris (1931–38). Part 5, found in the archives of Dropsie University, was published in 1992.

M.'s stance on almost all matters related to the Bible is best described as thoughtfully conservative. Although he devoted over two decades to a painstaking analysis of Greek textual traditions in the book of Joshua, it was the received text or MT that he judged superior in the overwhelming majority of cases where the Hebrew and his reconstructed OG differed. In his work as editor-in-chief of the Bible translation, he generally retained the language and style of the KJV, even in making the corrections he thought appropriate for a Jewish version.

While thoroughly familiar with numerous forms of criticism and sympathetic to their goal of freeing biblical studies from the constraints that tradition had imposed, M. was not pleased with the excesses of scholars he branded radical or advanced. As he saw it, they showed little or no respect for the text, which they blithely rewrote and minutely dissected, losing sight of larger issues as criticism imposed on scholarship an "orthodoxy" as stultifying as, and far less respectful than, that imposed by tradition. M. urged scholars to concentrate on the text as it had been transmitted in an effort to learn everything possible about the people and the society who composed the biblical material. Thus, for example, he rejected the prevelant notion that the books of such preexilic prophets as Micah had been heavily interpolated with additional material from the postexilic period. He saw no reason to date many psalms to a late period and was unconvinced that Josiah's book of the law was anything other than Ezra's Torah, which contained the whole Pentateuch.

In arriving at his conclusions M. made extensive use of such disciplines as linguistics and philology. At the same time, he felt that he, as a Jewish scholar, had a unique contribution to make. Exemplified by his commentary on Micah, this contribution consisted largely of extensive quotations from and recourse to Jewish tradition, with the result that modern interpreters were often shown to have their precursors in medieval and other Jewish commentators. In his principled devotion to the study of the biblical text, M. set an example that influenced a generation of scholars and, through their students, succeeding generations as well.

Works: *The Holy Scriptures with Commentary: Micah* (1908); *The Story of Bible Translations* (1917); (editor-in-chief), *The Holy Scriptures, according to the MT* (1917); *The Hebrew Scriptures in the Making* (1922); "Our Own Future: A Forecast and a Programme (SBL Presidential Address)," *JBL* 43 (1924) 1–8; "Specimen of a New Edition of the Greek Joshua," *Jewish Studies in Memory of I. Abrahams* (1927) 307–23; (with A. Marx), *A History of the Jewish People* (1927); *The Book of Joshua in Greek* (4 pts., 1931–38); *The Book of Joshua in Greek,* pt. 5 (ed. E. Tov, 1992), with preface by E. Tov.

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L. GREENSPOON

MARK, GOSPEL OF

1. Early Church. If Markan priority is assumed, the earliest interpreters of Mark were Matthew and Luke, who used it as the basis of their own work; Matthew, in particular, took Mark's account as the framework of his Gospel. The earliest comment on the Gospel, however, goes back to PAPIAS, bishop of Hierapolis, writing c. 130 CE (possibly a little earlier), whose words are quoted by EUSEBIUS (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15). Papias referred to the testimony of John the Elder to the effect that Mark was Peter's "interpreter" (*ermēneutēs*) and that he wrote down "accurately" (*akpribōs*) but "not in order" (*ou mentoi taxei*), what he remembered of the words

and deeds of the Lord as transmitted by Peter. According to Papias, Peter intended to provide instructions to meet the needs of the moment rather than a complete exposition of the Lord's ministry; thus Mark was not guilty of any blunder in writing an incomplete account. That Papias found it necessary to defend Mark against charges of recording events in the wrong order and of incompleteness indicates that he was already receiving an unfavorable comparison with the other evangelists. Unfortunately Papias's *Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord* in five books has not survived.

Nothing more is known about the author of the Gospel since he is not necessarily to be identified with the John Mark mentioned in Acts. During the next two centuries several writers mention the tradition associating him with Peter: JUSTIN MARTYR (*Dial.* 106.3); the author of the Anti-Marcionite Prologue (c. 160–180); CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 6.14.6-7); IRENAEUS (*Adv. Haer.* 3.1.1); and ORIGEN (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25.5). Undoubtedly this association preserved the Gospel for posterity, for it was somewhat neglected by commentators and appears to have been used less than the other Gospels. Yet from the beginning it was included in the CANON (although sometimes it was placed last of the four—in Codex Bezae, Codex W, and OL manuscripts) and was sufficiently established to be included by TATIAN in his *Diatessaron* (c. 170).

In 1958 M. Smith (1973) discovered a copy of a letter claiming to have been written by Clement of Alexandria. This letter refers to a second, "more spiritual gospel" composed by Mark and containing additional material, which the Carpocratians had misused and also supplemented with material. Controversy has raged about the authenticity of the letter and the origin of the additional material (which amounts to only a few sentences). If the letter is genuine, it is evidence for an early gnosticizing interpretation of the Gospel (see GNOSTIC INTERPRETATION).

Origen wrote a commentary on Mark that unfortunately has not survived, but we know that he used allegory to make the biblical message relevant while insisting that the evangelists had recorded events that had actually transpired. The earliest exposition of the text available to us is that of JEROME (c. 393), whose ten homilies on Mark consist of detailed expositions of various passages from the Gospel. Jerome distinguished between the literal sense and the spiritual message, which he extracted from the text with the help of allegory. He struggled to explain the wrong attribution to Isaiah in 1:2, expounded several passages in terms of the superiority of the Gospel to the law, and noted what Eusebius had observed earlier—that 16:9-20 is missing from many Greek manuscripts. In the late fifth century Victor of Antioch, complaining that there was no commentary on Mark, compiled incidental comments on the Gospel found in the commentaries of earlier writers on the other Gospels. Largely based on CHRYSOSTOM's exposition, Victor's commentary influenced the work of later commentators.

In *De Consensu Evangelistarum* (c. 400) AUGUSTINE dealt with the problem of inconsistences and examined in detail the question of the relationship between the Gospels. First working through Matthew, he ironed out apparent contradictions with the other Gospels, explaining divergent accounts as records of two similar events and defending the evangelists against any suggestion of error. In the same way he dealt with those few passages in Mark that have no parallel in Matthew. Augustine was well aware of the different emphases in the Gospels, although he seems to have considered Mark as little more than an abbreviation of Matthew. Strangely, he appears to have given no thought to the fact that this last notion clashed with the patristic tradition of Mark as the interpreter of Peter.

2. Middle Ages and Reformation. The close relationship between Mark and Matthew led to the comparative neglect of Mark over the next few centuries. This preference for Matthew is understandable: Its author was believed to be an apostle, while Mark's was not; it contained almost all of Mark and additional material; its arrangement made it easy to remember and comprehend. Comment on Mark at this time is often confined to those brief sections that do not have parallels in Matthew. There are, of course, exceptions, notable among which are the commentaries by BEDE (673–735), who leaned heavily on the Latin fathers, and by Theophylact of Ochryda, who made great use of the Greek fathers.

The work of ERASMUS in publishing the Greek text opened up a new era of interpretation, and he personally published a Latin paraphrase of Mark in 1524. LUTHER, although he wrote no commentary on Mark, often commented on the Gospel in his sermons; rejecting allegorical exegesis, he insisted on "one simple solid sense." CALVIN wrote a commentary on a harmony of the Gospels (1555) in which he suggested that the similarities among them were due to the work of the Holy Spirit, while J. Hoffmeister (an ardent opponent of Luther) wrote a commentary on Mark expounding the literal meaning of the text. A century later J. LIGHTFOOT (1663) made a notable contribution by looking at the Gospels in the light of contemporary Jewish literature.

3. The Ascendancy of Critical Study. Critical study of the text began a new phase when J. BENGEL (1734) and J. WETTSTEIN (1751–52) provided critical editions of the Greek NT. In 1773 J. Elsner published a critical philological commentary on the Gospel of Mark, maintaining that Mark was the companion and interpreter of Peter, not an abbreviator of Matthew. All three editors took the last twelve verses to be genuine in spite of their omission from many manuscripts.

In 1774 J. J. GRIESBACH published the first complete synopsis of the Gospels (in place of earlier harmonies),

thus initiating critical investigation of the relationship between the synoptic Gospels. In his subsequent commentary (1789–90) he argued that Mark wrote last of the three synoptic evangelists and used both the other Gospels, aiming to produce a shorter book. Although H. Owen (1764) had already put forward a similar solution, this theory is known by Griesbach's name. Griesbach also suggested that the "original ending of Mark's gospel" (presumed to have followed 16:8) had been accidentally lost. Many scholars in the early nineteenth century accepted Griesbach's theory of synoptic relationships; F. C. BAUR (1851), for example, believed that Mark was written to reconcile the differences between Jews and Gentiles reflected in the other Synoptics.

But rival theories abounded. G. LESSING (1778) argued that the agreements between the three synoptic Gospels could be explained on the assumption that the evangelists had all used a written Aramaic gospel of the Nazarenes. Lessing's theory was developed by J. G. EICHHORN (1794), who maintained that the hypothesis of a common source is the only possible explanation of the fact that none of the Gospels consistently offers the best text in comparison with the others. J. G. HERDER (1796–97) believed the primal gospel had been an oral gospel and had been best reproduced in Mark, whereas K. LACHMANN ("De ordine narrationum in evangliis synopticis," 1835) argued that Mark best preserved the order of the original source. J. KOPPE had already challenged Augustine (1782) by arguing that the shorter Gospel was probably chronologically prior to the longer, although he was still thinking in terms of the evangelists' using common sources. Then in 1786 G. Storr argued that Matthew and Luke had actually used Mark. This idea was not pursued, however, until 1838, when C. WILKE and C. WEISSE independently of each other advocated Markan priority. Both are generally credited as the originators of the Markan hypothesis—namely, that Mark is the earliest Gospel, that Matthew and Luke both used Mark, and that Mark provides a reliable historical basis for the life of JESUS.

The importance of this debate lay in its relevance to the question of the nature of the Gospels and their value as historical documents. The rationalistic interpretations of the Gospel narratives by H. S. REIMARUS (1774–78) and H. Paulus (1800, 1828) were followed by D. F. STRAUSS's (1835–36) argument that the Gospel material was primarily mythological (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES). In reaction to Strauss, B. F. WESTCOTT (1851) maintained that Mark was the earliest Gospel and a reliable historical source. Similarly H. HOLTZMANN (1863), who argued for the priority of Mark on the basis of the Gospel's primitive style and diction, and whose advocacy of the two source hypothesis (Mark and sayings source) virtually settled the matter for years, believed that Mark gave a mainly objective account of the historical Jesus, setting out the development of his messianic consciousness. After centuries of neglect Mark became the focus of attention for scholars intent on the quest of the historical Jesus. They felt that they were on firm ground with Mark and Q; the former provided a straightforward, historically reliable narrative while the latter supplemented this with early traditions of Jesus' teaching. Thus F. BURKITT (1906) described Mark as a "historical document . . . in touch with the facts." The Gospel was assumed to be an objective, unsophisticated account of events.

This approach, however, did not go unchallenged. Arguing that the Gospels did not supply sources for the life of Jesus, M. KÄHLER (1892) described them, and Mark in particular, as "passion narratives with extended introductions," while W. WREDE (1901) maintained that Mark does not present us with a "life of Jesus," since the Christ of faith has been superimposed upon the historical Jesus. Wrede was the first to suggest that Mark was a theological work comparable to John, and in many ways Wrede's work foreshadows that of the REDACTION critics half a century later. He examined the "messianic secret" in Mark's Gospel and suggested that it represents a way of handling the tension between the belief of the early church in Jesus as Messiah and the unmessianic nature of Jesus' ministry. Wrede's book was not translated into English until 1971, but his influence in Germany was enormous. Although his explanation of the messianic secret has been found unsatisfactory, his recognition that history has been subject to theology is now widespread.

J. WELLHAUSEN (1903) was the first to suggest that Mark deliberately ended his Gospel at 16:8. Meanwhile B. BACON (1909) and A. LOISY (1912) argued that PAUL influenced Mark. During this time M.-J. LAGRANGE (1910) wrote a notable commentary, the first truly scientific commentary on a Gospel written by a Roman Catholic; he believed that Mark was dependent on Peter and that Matthew used Mark. The problem of synoptic relationships led some scholars (e.g., E. Wendling [1905]) to champion the idea of an *Ur-Markus*, or earlier version of Mark used by Matthew and Luke, while W. Bussmann (1925–31) suggested that the Gospel had been compiled in three stages.

4. Form Criticism. The most significant development at this time proved to be the rise of FORM CRITICISM, which challenged the use of Mark as the basis of a "life of Jesus." W. BOUSSET (1913) had already emphasized the importance of the oral period for the development of the tradition while suggesting that the passion narrative had taken the form of a connected report from an early stage. Next, the work of K. SCHMIDT (1919), M. DIBELIUS (1919), and R. BULTMANN (1921) turned scholarly attention to the individual pericopae that made up the Gospel. The evangelists were seen as collectors of the tradition whose contribution lay in choosing the material and linking it together. Questions were raised not only about the historicity of indi-

vidual stories, which were now understood to reflect the beliefs and practices of the early Christian communities, but also concerning the historical value of the Markan outline. Whereas Bultmann and Dibelius analyzed the tradition, Schmidt examined the Markan framework and concluded that it was editorial.

The extreme skepticism of some form critics—notably Bultmann—caused many scholars to reject their views, but the value of their contribution to Markan studies was ultimately immense. It came to be recognized that the believing communities shaped (not necessarily created) the material in the oral period and that the material cannot, therefore, be used immediately as evidence for a "life of Jesus." Equally important was the recognition that the Markan framework did not represent a chronological outline (see CHRONOLOGY, NT) for a biography. Opposing this view, C. H. DODD (1932) argued that Mark's framework is also traditional and similar to the *kerygma* found in Acts. Although Dodd's view continued to be popular for many years (especially in England, where V. Taylor presented the traditional approach in his scholarly and influential commentary [1952] and where the Papias tradition linking the Gospel with Peter continued to be given great weight), it was subjected to damaging criticism a quarter of a century later. D. Nineham (1957) pointed out that even if Mark's framework were traditional rather than editorial, it would have little historical value since it was simply a summary outlining Jesus' teachings and healings.

5. Redaction Criticism. The recognition that the individual stories reflected the beliefs of the Christian communities and that they were not necessarily arranged in chronological order even when they embodied tradition that went back to Jesus meant that Mark's Gospel could no longer be appealed to as the basic outline for a "life of Jesus" or interpreted as the record of the development of his "messianic self-consciousness." A large part of the Markan hypothesis had thus collapsed. But interest in the testimony of the evangelist was about to revive in a new way. The rise of redaction criticism turned scholarly attention from the small units that comprise the Gospels to the Gospels as wholes. If the framework is editorial, not historical, then perhaps it reflects the personal interests and concerns of Mark. The form critics had compared Mark's Gospel to a haphazard collection of beads on a string; however, if the evangelist Mark had arranged the beads in a particular order, then the evangelist should be seen as an author rather than a mere collector—an author who chose and arranged his material with particular purposes in mind, thereby expressing his own theology. From being regarded as a historian, then a compiler, Mark now came to be treated as a theologian.

In addition to W. Wrede, another precursor of redaction criticism was R. H. LIGHTFOOT, whose primary concern was with the purpose of the evangelists, in particular Mark (1934, 1938, 1950). About the same time E. LOHMEYER (1936, 1937) argued that in Mark's Gospel Galilee and Jerusalem are of crucial importance as places of both redemption and opposition; however, he traced this idea back to the pre-Markan community and believed that Mark was written in Galilee. Lohmeyer suggested that the place of writing influenced the Gospel. Arguing that Mark was totally unconcerned with Jesus' life, H. Ebeling (1939) interpreted the secrecy motif as a foil to the revelation of the truth about Jesus, which is now known to readers of the Gospel. Interest had now shifted from what Mark tells us about Jesus to what he tells us about the faith of his community. Nevertheless, as J. Robinson (1957) pointed out, Mark chose to write a history of Jesus and presumably found meaning in that history. What he records is not objective history, however, but the story of the cosmic struggle between the Spirit and Satan that inaugurates the eschatological reign of God—a struggle that continues in the life of the church.

The term *redaction criticism* (*Redaktionsgeschichte*) was coined by W. Marxsen, who is regarded as the initiator of this method in his study of Mark (1956; ET 1969). Redaction criticism is based on the belief that it is possible to distinguish between tradition and redaction and to analyze the way in which an author has arranged, edited, and modified the tradition and composed new material. If we assume Markan priority, then redactional work on Mark is much more difficult than on Matthew or Luke because we have no sources with which to compare it. Redaction critics, therefore, have concentrated on Mark's vocabulary and style (e.g., in the editorial summaries of 1:32-34; 3:7-12; 6:6*b*), on his ordering of the material and compositional technique (e.g., in his use of intercalation, 5:21-43; 11:11-25, etc.), and on his dominant concerns. Investigating the evangelist and his community, the redaction critic attempts to discover the situation at the time the evangelist was writing together with the beliefs, expectations, and problems of his community. The critic's concern is thus no longer primarily with the *Sitz im Leben* of the tradition or with that of Jesus but with that of the Gospel itself.

Marxsen believed that the Gospel was written shortly before 70 CE to urge the church in Jerusalem to flee to Galilee, where the Lord was to return; the story inevitably breaks off at 16:8 because the parousia had not yet taken place. This interpretation raises countless problems, but Marxsen's importance lies in his championship of a new method and his attempt to discover the original setting of the Gospel, not in the success of his theory.

A spate of redaction-critical studies followed. Many of these concentrated on particular passages (e.g., Mark 6:52: Q. Quesnell [1969]; Mark 13: L. Hartman [1966], J. Lambrecht [1967], and R. Pesch [1968]; Mark 11: W. Telford [1980]) or themes (e.g., E. Best [1965, 1990^2]; D.-A. Koch [1975]; U. Luz [1965]; H. Räisänen [1976;

ET 1990]). E. Schweizer presented the redaction-critical approach to the Gospel to non-specialist readers in his masterly commentary (1967; ET 1970). While building on the results of form criticism, these scholars took for granted the creative role of the Evangelist. Questions were now raised concerning the *Gattung*, or genre, of the Gospel. If Mark could no longer be seen as a biography or as the memoirs of the apostle Peter, was it to be understood as an aretalogy, portraying Jesus as a hero figure? Was it an apology, as suggested by S. Brandon (1969), who argued that it was designed to cover up Jesus' political involvement, or was it an apocalyptic message (see APOCALYPTICISM)? Was it modeled on Greek drama, or was it intended for use as a lectionary? One obvious reply to all these suggestions is that in writing a Gospel, Mark created a new literary genre designed to proclaim the good news. But since nothing can ever be entirely new, attempts to discover partial antecedents in various literary models have continued. Several scholars (e.g., R. Burridge [1992]) have argued that the Gospels would, after all, have been understood in the first century as biographies. Too often it has been forgotten that the Gospel was intended to be read aloud and that a suitable model should suggest hearing rather than reading (see M. Beavis [1989]).

One issue is the nature and purpose of the "prologue." R. Lightfoot (1950) identified it as 1:1-13 and compared it with the JOHANNINE prologue; others have argued that it consists of vv. 1-15 (L. Keck [1966]; J. Drury [1985]). The Gospel as a whole has been compared with Greek tragedy (G. Bilezikian [1977] and B. Standaert [1978]), and the opening verses seem to serve as a dramatic prologue, providing the information necessary for understanding the story that follows.

6. Thematic Interpretations. In trying to discover the genre of the Gospel, critics were searching for its central theme, which for many was basically christological. J. Schreiber (1961), following Bultmann, held that Mark's story was an amalgam of the Jesus tradition with a Hellenistic myth about a divine being who comes to earth. The obvious weakness of Schreiber's interpretation is Mark's omission of any reference to Christ's preexistence. T. Weeden (1971) suggested that the Gospel was an attack on a false christology that depicted Jesus in terms of a *theios aner.* After presenting this false understanding in the miracles in the first part of the Gospel, Mark then provides his own *theologica crucis* in the concluding chapters. The disciples, who come under attack throughout the Gospel, represent those who held this false view, playing down the suffering of Jesus and hence the need to suffer themselves. Weeden's interpretation failed to take into account the fact that Mark presents the miracles in a positive light. B. Blackburn (1991) has demonstrated the irrelevance of the idea of the *theios aner* for Mark. N. PERRIN also understood Mark to be attacking a false christology, which he corrected with his own interpretation of the Son of man. Others (e.g., Schweizer) have pointed to the fact that at crucial points in the story Jesus is declared to be "Son of God" (1:11; 3:11; 9:7; 15:39).

The identity of Jesus is inextricably linked with the story of his passion; it is no accident that he is confessed as "Son of God" at the moment of his death. Mark's story is indeed a "passion narrative with an extended introduction." The question is why there should be such emphasis on the cross. Is it to combat a false christology—or simply because it was necessary for Mark to deal with the scandal of the cross by insisting that it was part of the divine plan? And why is there such emphasis on the need for the disciples to suffer? Was it because there were teachers in Mark's church who had false ideas about discipleship; or was it, as has traditionally been held, because Mark's readers were themselves undergoing persecution? Many scholars have argued that the disciples represented, not opponents of Mark, but members of his community; their reactions mirror the community's response to the call to Christian discipleship. The nature of discipleship is a dominant theme—especially in 8:22–10:52 (see Best [1981, 1986])—and throughout the Gospel the disciples are portrayed as misunderstanding both the activity and the teaching of Jesus.

Linking the themes of christology, suffering, and discipleship is the continuing puzzle of the messianic secret. If the secret is no longer seen as straightforward historical tradition, neither is it supposed, as Wrede suggested, that the ministry of Jesus was wholly "unmessianic." Many scholars stress the fact that the secret is bound up with the passion and that it is only through his suffering that Jesus' identity can be known (e.g., G. Minette de Tillesse [1968]). The secret is perhaps to be seen as a Markan device for revealing the real significance of Jesus to his readers and for explaining the failure of Jesus' contemporaries to grasp the truth about him. Increasingly, it has seemed likely that Mark's ending is not "lost" and that his enigmatic conclusion at 16:8 is deliberate; it is only by responding to the summons to follow Jesus that one learns the secret of who he is (M. Hooker [1983]).

B. Mack (1988), who has portrayed Mark's work as quite creative, has revived the idea that Mark combined two distinct types of material—the one representing memories of Jesus as a teacher of aphorisms, the other representing him as an eschatological Redeemer. Unexamined assumptions and the bypassing of important evidence make Mack's work unconvincing, however (see, e.g., L. Hurtado [1990]).

7. Date and Place of Composition. Concern to discover the original *Sitz im Leben* of the Gospel and to analyze the beliefs and situation of the Markan community led H. Kee (1977) to apply a sociological approach (see SOCIOLOGY AND NT STUDIES) to the Gospel. He suggested that it was probably written shortly before 70

CE in Syria. In contrast, W. Kelber (1974) argued that it was written in Galilee some time after 70 CE. M. Hengel (1985) has upheld the traditional belief that it was written in Rome shortly before 70 CE. This debate has largely centered on the interpretation of the eschatological discourse in Mark 13.

8. Sources. The study of Markan redaction is bound up with questions about Mark's sources. If he is the first evangelist, has he taken over previous collections of material? Following the form critics, many commentators have assumed, e.g., that Mark 2:1–3:6 represents a pre-Markan collection of conflict stories. The discovery that Mark was not simply a scissors-and-paste redactor but an author collecting material to make a particular point created the possibility that the sequence of stories might be his own, because he depicted the AUTHORITY of Jesus and the growing opposition of those in power. Because of the overlaps in 4:35–8:26 (two significant miracles on the sea, two feeding miracles, two disputes with Pharisees, extended sections dealing with uncleanness, parallel healings of deaf and blind men, etc.), it has often been suggested that Mark inherited two parallel cycles of tradition, which he incorporated into his Gospel. If he was a careful author placing his material in order, however, then he might have deliberately arranged these stories in parallel. Mark 13 has long been regarded as a clear example of a separate source that Mark incorporated into his Gospel. The theory that he used an apocalyptic fly sheet that originally circulated among Christians warning them about the horrors of the coming Jewish war goes back to T. Colani (1864) and was developed by, among others, Bultmann and Pesch. This theory of a separate eschatological discourse had its origins in the problem of reconciling these sayings with the church's understanding of Jesus. G. Beasley-Murray (1956, 1967) boldly defended the chapter's authenticity as a discourse of Jesus. More recent studies have recognized the large role played by redaction in this chapter and have thus challenged both positions. Finally, the passion narrative, long believed to have had some kind of pre-Markan existence and thus assumed to be an exception to the form-critical analysis of the Gospel as consisting of independent pericopae, has come under scrutiny and has increasingly been regarded as being subject to the same kind of redactional activity as the rest of the Gospel (e.g., L. Schenke [1971]; J. Donahue [1973]).

In deciding whether Mark was a scissors-and-paste collector or a creative author, it is necessary to consider his vocabulary, style, and compositional techniques. F. Neirynck (1972, 1988^2), for example, argued that "duality" is characteristic of Mark's style. It is essential in such discussions to establish that something is either characteristic of the Gospel as a whole or of those sections due to Mark's redaction, since otherwise it could be a feature of his sources.

But what if Mark's sources were in fact neither individual pericopae nor short collections but the other two synoptic Gospels? Even after the two document "solution" to the SYNOPTIC PROBLEM had become generally accepted, some scholars (mainly Roman Catholic) had continued to maintain the priority of Matthew. B. Butler (1951) put forward the most notable defense of this theory. Shortly afterward, the Griesbach hypothesis that Mark was dependent on both Matthew and Luke was revived. The foremost exponent of this view is W. Farmer (1964), although it has received enthusiastic support from others, notably H.-H. Stoldt (1977; ET 1980). Although the majority of scholars still think that the evidence supports Markan priority and that Matthew and Luke expanded the shorter Gospel (e.g., C. Tuckett [1983]), this view has been increasingly challenged, so that it is no longer possible to describe it as an "assured result" of Gospel criticism. The relevance of this debate to the interpretation of Mark has changed dramatically since the nineteenth century: Then, interest in the priority of Mark was linked to the quest for the historical Jesus and concern for establishing reliable information about him; now, its primary importance relates to the search for the evangelist's message and the understanding of the way in which he has handled his tradition. If Mark in fact used Matthew and Luke, then redactional-critical studies have to begin from very different premises than those accepted by the majority of critics.

9. Literary Criticism. The difficulty of ascertaining Mark's sources encouraged the next stage in Markan studies—that of LITERARY criticism, which has no interest in such questions. ("Literary criticism" is used here in the sense familiar to students of literature and not, as has been common among biblical scholars, of the historical study of the text.) Earlier studies had concentrated on the structure of the Gospel. Those by A. FARRER (1951, 1954), who changed his mind several times, illustrate the danger of subjectivity in this approach. P. Carrington had argued that the Gospel was intended as a lectionary (1952). M. Goulder (1978) has argued a similar view, while J. Bowman believed that it was a Passover Haggadah (1965). Then new methods of literary criticism were applied to the Gospel, and these methods were often indifferent to historical questions concerning the Evangelist as well as those relating to Jesus and the faith of the early communities. Interest had now shifted from the Evangelist's intentions and the situation of his community to the Gospel itself. This literary-critical approach has been especially popular in the United States. Composition criticism, RHETORICAL CRITICISM, structural analysis (see STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION)—the varieties of new approaches seem endless—all have the advantage that they handle the text as it stands and are not dependent on questions about sources and how the Evangelist

has handled them. Whereas redaction critics have investigated the ways in which Mark handled the tradition, these new literary critics see him as a creative author; they are interested only in the finished work, and there is thus no need for a painstaking separation of tradition from redaction. What is important is the logic of the narrative as it stands, not the way in which the evangelist has handled the tradition or adapted his sources. This approach is particularly attractive in the case of Mark, since it is impossible to be certain how much we owe to Mark personally.

An example of the application of literary criticism to the Gospel can be seen in the work of a secular literary critic, F. Kermode (1979). Structuralist analysis has been applied by various writers (e.g., D. Via [1975]). Typical of the new methods of literary analysis is the work of J. Dewey (1980), who explored the concentric structure of Mark 2:1–3:6; applying to this section the techniques of rhetorical criticism, she uncovers an intricate chiastic construction that she argues is due to the author's literary creativity. In concentrating on the way in which the stories are arranged and told, she has moved beyond the redaction critical approach. Similarly R. Fowler (1981), who has analyzed the two feeding narratives, maintains that the parallels between them are due to the creative activity of Mark, who used the second narrative as the model for the first. Others have explored the significance of the setting of the various stories—house, sea, desert, etc. (e.g., D. Rhoads and D. Michie [1982]). M. A. Tolbert (1989) offers a literary-critical approach to the whole Gospel. F. Belo (1981) builds his political reading on a literary analysis. C. Myers (1992) uses what he calls a "socio-literary approach" in expounding Mark as a model for nonviolent resistance in the modern world. These are also all good examples of READER-RESPONSE CRITICISM because so much depends on the response of the reader.

Some literary critics have little need to ask questions about authorial intentions; they cut the Gospel loose from its original moorings and examine it in its own right, so that its meaning now depends on its impact on the reader (e.g., S. Moore [1989]). It is easy to see how subjective such interpretations must be: The reader is acknowledged to be more important than the writer. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that all interpretation is to some extent subjective. For example, in his study of the redaction-critical method (1989), C. Black shows how the presuppositions of various redaction critics have influenced their reading of Mark. Methods that claim to be objective are the more dangerous if their true nature is not recognized.

Additional studies have also looked at the way in which Mark constructed his Gospel and at the role of women. Using NARRATIVE CRITICISM, some scholars have examined rhetorical devices (J. Camery-Hoggatt, [1992]); others have considered the way in which one section is integrated into the whole (T. Geddert [1989]); still others have evaluated the way in which Mark tells his story (C. Marshall [1989]). J. Marcus (1992), who examines Mark's christological exegesis of the HB, employs a somewhat different approach. Tolbert (1992), J. Dewey (1994), and others have examined the manner in which women function in the Gospel of Mark.

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M. D. HOOKER

MARKPECK, PILGRAM (c. 1495–1556)

Born into a prominent family in Rattenberg in the Tirol, M. joined the Protestant Reformation early but, in searching for a community in which freedom and commitment would be balanced, soon became an Anabaptist. He began publishing in 1531 in Strasbourg after being displaced from the Tirol by order of Archduke Ferdinand. Although a fugitive for much of his life, he read widely and sought to incorporate

the best of humanistic and biblical learning into his work. His writings, which attempted to distinguish the spiritualizers from the literalists/biblicists who could not see the freedom of the gospel, comprise seventeen letters, statements of his faith, an attempt to establish a biblical basis for a common creedal statement, polemical writings against spiritualizers, and most fascinating, the first attempt to arrive at a biblical THEOLOGY that takes seriously the difference between OT and NT. His *Explanation of the Testaments*, published on his own printing press in Augsburg about 1544, of which two copies are still extant, is a topical concordance of some 800 pages that treats certain themes from the Bible under the headings "promised yesterday" and "fulfilled today," in each case printing the biblical text and often citing it in full. In the debates between the Reformers and the Anabaptists such a tool had considerable value.

M. held that the sacraments should be treated from biblical and church historical points of view. He believed Christ was clearly present in the gathering of people in the church and in the correct practice of the sacrament. For him this meant mutuality, and he stressed the active participation of people in the sacrament. Above all, he found the meaning of the biblical text rarely attainable when people worked alone: An interpretation was never completed until its meaning had been confirmed by the community and transformed into life. Rejecting both the individualism of LUTHER and the role given to tradition by the Roman Catholic Church, he affirmed that the Holy Spirit could lead into all truth.

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W. KLASSEN

MARSH, HERBERT (1757–1839)

Born at Faversham, Kent, in 1757, M. was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge (1775–79; MA 1782), where he became a fellow of his college in 1779. He was appointed to the Lady Margaret's professorship in theology in 1807 and became bishop of Llandaff, Wales, in 1816 and of Peterborough three years later. From there he continued to maintain a strong, and reputedly aggressive, influence in Cambridge, showing great interest in both national and ecclesiastical politics.

M.'s importance for the development of biblical criticism in England stemmed from his studies in Leipzig, Germany, in 1785 under J. D. MICHAELIS. M. maintained close ties with Michaelis and with J. J. GRIESBACH, both of whom had spent time in England, and was a great admirer of J. SEMLER and the Neologians. M. worked strenuously in his Cambridge lectures, many of which were subsequently published, to promote the grammatical-historical approach as a basis for biblical interpretation. He advocated the newer Gospel criticism, linked to the name of Griesbach, and translated into English Michaelis's *Introduction to the NT* (4 vols., 1793–1801). The first volume, which included extensive notes and supplements by M., aroused controversy on account of its critical approach to holy Scripture. In the translation of vol. 3, M. published his "Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of the First Three Gospels" (pt. 2, 161-409), in which he discussed the problem of the relationships between the SYNOPTIC Gospels, surveyed previous research on the question, and proposed that behind the first three Gospels lay both a primitive narrative source and a primitive sayings source originally written in Hebrew. The Hebrew narrative source was supplemented to produce the original Hebrew Matthew and, translated into Greek, was used by both Mark and Luke. Both Matthew and Luke used the Hebrew sayings source. M.'s notes and essay were translated into German by E. ROSENMÜLLER (1795, 1803).

M. was an aggressive contender for his views, which aroused hostility from fellow clergy. Nevertheless, his writings and lectures mark the first major British attempt to develop a LITERARY-critical approach to the Gospels and to the Bible generally along the lines adopted in the later period of the German Enlightenment.

Works: *The Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses* (1792); (tr.), *Introduction to the NT* (J. D. Michaelis, 4 vols., 1793–1801); *The History of Sacred Criticism* (1809); *The Criticism of the Greek Testament* (1810); *A History of the Translations Which Have Been Made of the Scriptures* (1812); *The Interpretation of the Bible* (1813); *The Interpretation of Prophecy* (1816).

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R. E. CLEMENTS

MARTI, KARL (1855–1925)

Born near Basel, Apr. 22, 1855, M. studied at Basel, Göttingen, and Leipzig (1873–78). His OT teachers included E. KAUTZSCH (Basel) and Franz DELITZSCH (Leipzig). He served as a Reformed pastor of two Swiss communities (1878–95), while from 1881 also teaching at the University of Basel. In 1895 he accepted a professorship at Bern, which he held for thirty years. He did not live to see the Festschrift his friend K. BUDDE had edited for him, dying on his seventieth birthday, Apr. 22, 1925.

Much of M.'s scholarly energy was expended in editorial and collaborative enterprises. For sixteen years (1907–23) he edited the journal *ZAW,* to which he contributed a variety of mostly short exegetical pieces, necrologies, comments, and reports. His second great editorial achievement was seeing to completion in a mere seven years the twenty-volume *KHC* (1897–1904). To this series of concise commentaries he contributed the entries on Isaiah (1900), Daniel (1901), and the Minor Prophets (1904) as well as a comparative study of Israelite and ancient Near Eastern religions intended as an introduction and complement to the whole work (1906). He also edited two major Festschriften, for J. WELLHAUSEN (1914) and for Budde (1920); to the former he contributed a piece on the mission of Zechariah and to the latter, one on the Isaian core of Isa 6:1–9:6. M. likewise was a key contributor to several large collective works edited by others. To Kautzsch's annotated TRANSLATION of the OT (*HSAT*[*K*], 1894, 1924) he contributed the books of Deuteronomy, Joel, Obadiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Daniel in all four editions. For *EncBib* he provided treatments of "OT Chronology," "Hosea," "Month," and "Year" (1899–1903). He also produced a variety of free-standing works: articles and monographs on the prophets and their books (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), a grammar of biblical Aramaic (1896, 1925), and numerous popular discussions of OT questions in various Swiss church journals.

M. was one of the leading "Wellhausians" of his time, sharing Wellhausen's literary-historical focus, his situating of the law (P) after the prophets, and his conception of the movement of Israelite religion from an original polydemonism, through the prophets' ethical monotheism, to the lawbook religion of Judaism. At the same time he gave more recognition to the ancient Near Eastern context than did Wellhausen, just as he was more concerned to inform and convince a wider public about the critical view of the OT.

Works: "Die Spuren der sogenannten Grundschrift des Hexateuchs in den vorexilischen Propheten des AT," *JPT* 6 (1880) 127-61, 308-54; *Der Prophet Jeremia von Anatot* (1889); "Das erste offizielle Bekenntnis," *ZTK* 2 (1892) 29-73; *Der Prophet Sacaria der Zeitgenosse Serubabels* (1892); "Zwei Studien zu Sacharja," *TSK* 65 (1892) 207-45, 716-34; *Das Buch Jesaia erklärt* (*KHC* 10, 1900); *Das Buch Daniel erklärt* (*KHC* 18, 1901); *Das Dodekapropheton erklärt* (*KHC* 13, 1904); *Die Religion des AT unter den Religionen des vorderen Orients* (1906); *Stand und Aufgabe der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft in der Gegenwart* (1912); "Die Zweifel an der prophetischen Sendung Sacharjas," BZAW 27 (1914) 369-88; "Zur Komposition von Amos 1,3–2, 3," BZAW 33 (1918) 323-30; "Der jesianische Kern in Jes 6,1–9,6," BZAW 34 (1920) 113-21; "Zum hundersten Heft der ZAW," *ZAW* 39 (1921) 100-107.

Bibliography: **W. Baumgartner,** "Verzeichnis der Schriften K. M.'s," BZAW 41 (1925) 323-31; "Nachtrag zu dem Verzeichnis der Schriften von K. M.," *ZAW* 46 (1928) 80. **H. Haag,** *DBSup* 5 (1957) 937-37. **R. Smend,** *DATDJ* (1989) 143-47. **S. Uhlig,** *TRE* 22 (1992) 190-91.

C. T. BEGG

MARTYN, J. LOUIS (1925–)

Born in Dallas, Texas, Oct. 11, 1925, M. received the BS degree in electrical engineering from Texas A and M in 1946, the BD from Andover Newton Theological School in 1953, and the PhD from Yale University in 1957. His dissertation on salvation history in the Gospel of John was directed by P. Schubert (1900–1969). As a Fulbright fellow he spent 1957–58 in Göttingen, where he worked with J. JEREMIAS and especially with E. KÄSEMANN, whose interpretation of the Pauline letters formatively influenced M.'s thought.

Returning from Germany, M. taught in the department of biblical history, literature, and interpretation at Wellesley College (1958–59) before being called to Union Theological Seminary (New York City), where he became Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology in 1968, the post he held until his retirement in 1987. At Union M. played a significant role in the formation of parish clergy with a widely elected course in Jesus' PARABLES. In that same period he also directed the doctoral work of young scholars who now occupy university and seminary chairs in the United States and abroad, notably in Japan, the United Kingdom, and Europe.

M.'s early contributions, partly supported by the John S. Guggenheim Foundation, constitute a watershed in JOHANNINE scholarship. In striking contrast to predecessors who found in John the reflection of inner-church disputes in a Hellenistic setting, M. argued that this Gospel emerged in a crisis in which Jewish-Christian preachers were being expelled from their synagogues. Central to this analysis is the contention that the healings narratives in John 5 and 9 are dramatic expansions of miracles stories like those found in the SYNOPTIC Gospels. In John those stories have become "two-level dramas" that speak simultaneously about JESUS of Nazareth and about the risen Lord, redemptively active in the strains and stresses of the Johannine community's present life. Although details of M.'s reconstruction have been challenged, its central thrust and especially its focus on the history and theology of the Johannine community have become standard features of treatments of the Fourth Gospel.

M. has also played a major role in attempts to map the terrain of Pauline theology. In contrast to a growing tendency to emphasize salvation history in the interpretation of PAUL, in which the apostle is credited with holding to a massive and enduring continuity between Israel's history

and the gospel of Christ (see, e.g., in the nineteenth century, J. von Hofmann and, in the late twentieth, N. T. Wright), M. draws attention to the thoroughly apocalyptic (i.e., divinely invasive and disjunctive) elements in Paul's theology. Particularly in Galatians, where many interpreters have found little apocalyptic influence (see APOCALYPTICISM), M. discerns "apocalyptic antinomies" that set the new and liberating creation (Christ, the church, the Israel of God) in opposition to the old and enslaving cosmos, its religion, and its epistemology.

Both major foci of M.'s work reveal the influence of a dictum ascribed to Greek lexicographer W. BAUER: "On the way toward ascertaining the intention of an early Christian author, the interpreter is first to ask how the original readers of the author's document understood what he has said in it" (see *Galatians* [1997] 42; *Theological Issues* [1997] 209-10). M.'s contributions constitute a persuasive argument for the productive marriage of historical reconstruction and theological analysis.

Works: (Ed. with L. E. Keck), *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of P. Schubert* (1966, 1980, 1997); *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (1968, rev. 1979); *The Gospel of John in Christian History: Essays for Interpreters* (1978); *Theological Issues in the Letters of Paul* (1997); *Galatians* (AB 33A, 1997).

Bibliography: **R. E. Brown,** "A Personal Word," *Apocalyptic and the NT* (1989) 9-12. **R. T. Fortna and B. R. Gaventa** (eds.), *The Conversation Continues: Studies in Paul and John in Honor of J. L. M.* (1990). **J. Marcus and M. L. Soards** (eds.), *Apocalyptic and the NT: Essays in Honor of J. L. M.* (JSOTSup 24, 1989). **D. M. Smith,** "The Contribution of J. L. M. to the Understanding of the Gospel of John," *The Conversation Continues* (1990) 275-94. **J. K. Riches,** *A Century of NT Study* (1993) 180-87.

B. R. GAVENTA

MASIUS, ANDREAS (1514–73)

Born near Brussels, M. was a Roman Catholic lay scholar who served as secretary to the bishop of Constance. He was responsible for the Syriac (Peshitta) text of the NT that appeared in volume 5 of C. Plantin's (c. 1520–89) Royal POLYGLOT (published at Antwerp in 1571). For the same work he produced a Syriac grammar (printed in vol. 6) that served as a standard reference for several centuries.

M.'s interest in Syriac led him to an in-depth study of Paul of Tella's early seventh-century Syriac translation (the Syro-Hexaplar) of ORIGEN's important hexaplaric edition of the SEPTUAGINT. M. eventually chose to concentrate his scholarship on the book of Joshua, for which he had access to a now lost eighth-century Syriac manuscript (the second part of which survives as Codex Ambrosianus). His research on Joshua was posthumously published at Antwerp in 1574. His annotations on Deuteronomy 18–34 and Joshua were excerpted in the CRITICI SACRI, and his annotations on Joshua were published in the London Polyglot (vol. 6, sec. 12, 110-20).

In common with many linguists of his day, M. judged that his textual analyses were also exegetically significant. Thus, in addition to a Greek retroversion of the Syriac and a Latin translation of this Greek, M. included copious exegetical notes, annotations, and an elaborate commentary. Among his most far-reaching judgments was the determination that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM). As transmitted by R. SIMON, this view indirectly shaped the influential theory propounded in the eighteenth century by J. ASTRUC. Although M. was joined by a number of Protestant scholars in this questioning of traditional Mosaic authorship, such doubts were strongly opposed by the Roman Catholic Church, which placed his work on the Index.

Works: *Iosuae imperatoris historia illustrata atque explicata* (1574).

Bibliography: **B. Heurtebize,** *DB* 4 1:537. **M. Lossen,** *ADB* 20 (1884) 559-62.

L. GREENSPOON

MATHER, COTTON (1663–1728)

A Puritan clergyman, author, and commentator, M. was born in Boston, Massachusetts. He received the AB (1678) and the MA (1681) from Harvard and was ordained at the Second Church in 1685, where he served as his father's (I. Mather [1639–1723]) colleague until 1723. He published more than 450 items, including several lengthy books and numerous pamphlets.

M.'s premier work as an exegete, and in his view his finest effort, was his six-volume commentary on the whole Bible written between August 1693 and May 1706. For the next twenty-two years he sought a publisher and added material to keep the commentary updated. The manuscript, *Biblia Americana,* more than 1,000 pages per volume, was never published and is at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

M. made twelve observations about the work's contents in various advertisements: (1) the King James translation revised; (2) a rich collection of antiquities; (3) types collated with antitypes; (4) laws and history of Israel; (5) treasures from the TALMUD and Jewish writers; (6) natural philosophy called into the service of scriptural religion; (7) a correct CHRONOLOGY; (8) the geography of Palestine and Paradise; (9) a twenty-ninth chapter of Acts—that is, a short church history to the present; (10) the eradication of contradictions; (11) history from all nations showing the fulfillment of PROPH-

ECY; and (12) "some essays to illustrate the *Scriptures,* from *experimental piety,* or the observations of *Christian experience.*"

M.'s survey of the materials is impressive, but what he accomplished was an updating of medieval glosses. He utilized the text as the occasion for organizing the spectrum of contemporary knowledge but manifested little interest in how it was to be read in light of its own character and milieu. His commentary was not unlike those of the time, except that he dwelt more upon curiosities than did J. LIGHTFOOT, who stressed philology, and M. HENRY, who emphasized Christian nurture.

Works: For a list of Mather's works, see *DARB* 294-96.

Bibliography: **P. Miller,** *The New England Mind from Colony to Province* (1953). **T. H. Olbricht,** "Biblical Primitivism in American Biblical Scholarship, 1630–1870," *The American Quest for the Primitive Church* (ed. R. T. Hughes, 1988) 81-98. **J. L. Sibley,** *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard* 3 (1885).

T. H. OLBRICHT

MATHEWS, SHAILER (1863–1941)

Born in Portland, Maine, M. graduated from Colby College in 1884 and from Newton Theological Seminary in 1887. He taught at Colby as assistant professor of rhetoric, then moved to the department of history and political economy, where he also taught SOCIOLOGY. In 1890 he studied history in Berlin and on returning taught at Colby until being invited by E. BURTON, his teacher at Newton, to a position as associate professor of NT history at Chicago in 1894. In 1905 he shifted to systematic theology, and from 1908 to 1933 he served as dean of the divinity school.

M. published several books on the NT with Burton and even more by himself. In *The Social Teaching of Jesus* (1897) he set out JESUS' perspectives on humankind, society, the family, the state, wealth, social life, forces of human progress, and the process of social regeneration; such depiction is now designated biblical anthropology. He pointed out that while the Gospels contain various corruptions and editorial additions, these may be easily ascertained through criticism, leaving a sizable body of authentic Jesus material. M. argued that "divine sonship and consequent human brotherliness" comprised the core of Jesus' social doctrine. In *The Faith of Modernism* (1924) M. criticized early Protestantism because it "detached the Bible from history and declared it to be the sole and divinely given basis of revealed truth." He declared that a modernist is one who "implicitly trusts the historical method" and argued that the Bible as understood by grammatical-historical criticism "is a trustworthy record of human experience of God," which includes attitudes and convictions. He rejected the inerrancy of the Scriptures and accepted standard critical positions, but affirmed the INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE in regard to persons—rather than words—who had experienced the Spirit of God.

M. exemplified the Chicago predilection for a scientific approach—that is, the belief that the Scriptures were to be scrutinized from a philological, exegetical, historical, and developing sociological perspective. But also with the Chicago school, he became impressed with the weight of experience as equal with and, later, as more important than the witness of the Scriptures.

Works: *The Social Teaching of Jesus, an Essay in Christian Sociology* (1897); *A History of NT Times in Palestine 175 BC–70 AD* (1899); (with E. D. Burton), *Constructive Studies in the Life of Christ* (1900) and *The Life of Christ* (1900); *The Messianic Hope in the NT* (1905); (sectional ed.), *HDB* (1909); *Jesus on Social Institutions* (1928); "Theology as Group Belief," *Contemporary American Theology: Theological Autobiographies* (2 vols., ed. V. Ferm, 1932–33) 2:161-93; *New Faith for Old: An Autobiography* (1936).

Bibliography: **C. H. Arnold,** *Near the Edge of the Battle: A Short History of the Divinity School and the Chicago School of Theology, 1866–1966* (1966). **K. Cauthen,** "The Life and Thought of S. M.," *Jesus on Social Institutions* (reissue, LJS, 1971) xiii-lxxiii. **R. W. Funk,** "The Watershed of the American Biblical Tradition: The Chicago School, First Phase, 1892–1920," *JBL* 95 (1976) 4-22. **T. H. Olbricht,** "NT Studies at the University of Chicago: The First Decade 1892–1902," *ResQ* 22 (1979) 84-99. **K. L. Smith,** "S. M.: Theologian of Social Process" (diss., Duke University, 1959).

T. H. OLBRICHT

MATTHES, JAN KAREL (1836–1917)

Professor of oriental literature at the University of Amsterdam from 1877 (the date of its establishment) to 1906, M. taught OT exegesis for the theological faculty after 1890, treating this as an entirely secular subject in the spirit of the radical left-wing of Dutch modernism. He completed his doctoral dissertation under J. Scholten (1811–85) at Leiden on the subject of false PROPHECY in Israel. After the death of A. KUENEN, his father-in-law, M. was called to publish the third volume of the latter's influential *Historisch-critische onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de boeken des Ouden Verbonds* (1887–92). Strongly under the influence of the RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE, M. examined dynamism and taboo in ancient Israel in numerous essays as well as the connection of the psalms with the Temple cult, a seventh-century date for the DECALOGUE, and primitive myth (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) in Israel's literary development. He was a popularizer of biblical topics on behalf of the humanistic Vrije Gemeente in Amsterdam.

Works: *Het boek Job vertaald en verklaard* (1866, 1876²); *The False Prophets of Israel* (1884); *De israelietische wijzen* (1911); *Een bundel verzamelde opstellen* (1913).

Bibliography: *Album Academicum van het Athenaeum Illustrae en van de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1913), *in loco.* **S. J. DeVries,** *Bible and Theology in the Netherlands* (1968, 1989²) 82-86.

S. J. DEVRIES

MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF

The evangelist's purposes and the setting of his Gospel within first-century Judaism and Christianity raise numerous questions that have continued to fascinate and bemuse scholars. Was Matthew a conservative Jewish Christian whose community retained its links with contemporary Judaism? Or was he a Gentile whose readers had abandoned completely their earlier links with Judaism? Did he understand "this gospel of the kingdom" (24:14) to be "true Judaism," "fulfilled Judaism," or a "new religion"? Did he intend to counter the views of some extreme Paulists? Why is his anti-Jewish polemic even more ferocious than it is in the sources on which he drew? These questions have been debated keenly since the development of historical criticism at the end of the eighteenth century, which led to a much deeper appreciation of the distinctive features of Matthew's Gospel. Until then Matthew's theological perspective and the historical setting of his Gospel had not been sharply differentiated from those of Mark and Luke.

1. Early Interpretation. Soon after its composition the Gospel of Matthew became the dominant account of the life and teaching of JESUS. Toward the end of the second century, John's Gospel began to rival Matthew's in popularity; but by then Matthew had already created the climate of ordinary Christianity in most parts of the church. In the early centuries Matthew was cited and commented on more frequently than the other Gospels were. With a few exceptions, Matthew heads lists and manuscript copies of the four Gospels. The early widespread use of Matthew is easy to explain: In the early church there was universal acceptance of the tradition that Matthew the apostle had written it. Matthew's stylistic abilities and his full and carefully ordered collections of the sayings of Jesus in five discourses made his Gospel particularly useful for catechetical instruction. Its Jewish features encouraged Jewish Christian groups (of various kinds) to use it, and its pro-Gentile passages ensured its ready acceptance by the gentile church.

The terse comment of PAPIAS on the Gospel's origin was influential from the middle of the second century until the early decades of this century. About 130 CE Papias stated that "Matthew put together in the Hebrew language the discourses and each one translated them as best he could" (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.14). There is still no agreement on the precise meaning of these words, however. Did Papias think that Matthew was written in Hebrew or in Aramaic? Or was he referring to Matthew's "Jewish forms of expression" in his Greek Gospel? Was he referring to the composition of the five discourses, to Q, or to the whole Gospel? Did Papias mean that the discourses were translated from one language to another or simply interpreted? IRENAEUS probably knew Papias's comment; he certainly accepted this explanation of the Gospel's origin, adding that Matthew was written for "preaching among Hebrews" (*Adv. haer.* 1; *Fragments* 29). TATIAN, who composed a harmony of the four Gospels (about 170 CE), thought that Matthew provided the most reliable historical account of the ministry of Jesus before the passion.

Although the differences between the SYNOPTIC Gospels and John were widely appreciated in the early church (and accounted for in a variety of ways), most writers assumed that Matthew's Gospel contained the very words of Jesus. The comments of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA on Matthew's Beatitudes are a particularly interesting exception. In *Salvation of the Rich Man* (17) he noted that Matthew had added (presumably to an earlier source) "in spirit" to the beatitude about the poor (5:3), and "for God's righteousness" to the beatitude concerning those who hunger and thirst (5:6). Clement was probably the first to appreciate that Matthew had modified earlier traditions, so we may consider him the first REDACTION critic!

About half of ORIGEN's commentary on Matthew (written about 250 CE) has survived; it was the most extensive one written in the early church. He accepted the tradition that Matthew was written by the apostle in Hebrew "for the believers from Judaism," but he did not use this view to explain the differences between Matthew and the other Gospels. Origen readily conceded that there are major disagreements between the four Gospels and that it was difficult to accept the literal meaning of some sayings and stories. At times (esp. in his reply to the shrewd criticisms of the anti-Christian Celsus) he grappled seriously with these problems. More frequently he rejoiced in them because they forced the reader to search for the allegorical or spiritual meaning of the text, which he took to be primary.

Origen's distinction between the literal and the spiritual meanings of the text did not win the day. Later writers rarely matched his grasp of the theological and historical difficulties that confront the interpreter of the Gospels. They almost all assumed (without discussion) the traditional view that Matthew the apostle wrote the first Gospel in Hebrew and that he had provided an accurate account of the life and teaching of Jesus.

2. Reformation. LUTHER frequently quoted verses from Matthew, but in the 1522 preface to his TRANSLATION of the NT, he singled out John, 1 John, Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and 1 Peter as "the true and

noblest books of the NT." Luther was aware of some of the problems facing the reader of Matthew. For example, he knew that the infancy narratives in Matthew and Luke could not be harmonized. He also recognized that Matt 27:9 mistakenly cites Jeremiah for Zechariah but commented that "such points do not bother me particularly" (1955, 20:125). Given his distinctive theological criterion for the interpretation of Scripture, his indifference is no surprise.

CALVIN, on the other hand, parted company with the views of the origin of Matthew that were almost universal in the early church. He claimed that since Matthew cited the Greek translation of the HB, he could not have composed his Gospel in Hebrew. He firmly rejected AUGUSTINE's opinion (which he mistakenly attributed to Jerome) that Mark is an abridgement of Matthew and conjectured (cautiously) that Mark had not seen Matthew when he wrote. Calvin did not explore the relationship between Matthew, Mark, and Luke closely; but he insisted that it was impossible to expound properly any one of the evangelists without comparing him with the other two.

Calvin's commentary on his own harmony of the synoptic Gospels followed Matthew's order very closely; yet, he did not suppose that Matthew had provided a verbatim and chronologically accurate account of the life and teaching of Jesus. In several places Calvin suggested that both Matthew and Luke rearranged the traditions to suit their own purposes. In his comments on Matt 23:34, Calvin conceded that Matthew's version of the saying of Jesus is "defective: its meaning must be supplied from the words of Luke" (1956, 3:101). These anticipations of modern Gospel criticism, however, are comparatively infrequent in Calvin's crisp exposition. More often than not he simply noted but did not account for the differences between the synoptic Gospels. Like Luther, and unlike several writers in the early church, he rarely attempted to explain the differences between the synoptic Gospels and John.

3. The Rise of Modern Study of Matthew. The development of historical criticism in the eighteenth century led to a thorough investigation of the origins and distinctive features of the four canonical Gospels. Although the traditional view that Matthew was the first Gospel to be written was frequently challenged in the final decades of the eighteenth century, it was still widely supported in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1847 F. C. BAUR set out his views on the "tendencies" of the four evangelists as part of his bold reconstruction of the development of earliest Christianity. Baur accepted J. J. GRIESBACH's view (1783) that Luke used Matthew (the first Gospel) and that Mark used both Matthew and Luke. With the exception of passages that expected an imminent parousia, Baur considered Matthew's "Jewish" Gospel as historically reliable. In constrast, just a few years earlier in 1838 C. WILKE and H. WEISSE had independently defended Markan priority, but their case was accepted only slowly. In 1911 the Pontifical Biblical Commission still echoed Papias in its insistence that the apostle Matthew wrote the first Gospel—and not merely a collection of *logia.* By then (with the notable exception of T. von Zahn [1897-99]) most Protestant scholars, however, had accepted Markan priority.

Abandonment of the traditional view of Matthew's origin led to a reappraisal of its distinctive features and its setting in early Christianity. Once Markan priority was accepted, it became impossible to equate the "Jewishness" of Matthew with its early origin in Palestine and authorship by the apostle. In 1918 B. BACON argued that the evangelist had gathered together teaching material from his sources into five great discourses that correspond to the five books of the commandments of Moses. Ten years later E. von DOBSCHÜTZ (1928) claimed that since Matthew was primarily concerned with catechetical instruction, the evangelist was a converted rabbi who had probably been trained in the school of Johanan ben Zakkai immediately after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE. The Gospel's structure, its overall purpose, and its relationship to contemporary Judaism have all been high on the agenda of Matthean specialists ever since.

4. Modern Trends in Interpretation. The period immediately after 1945 is particularly important for the modern interpretation of Matthew. G. Kilpatrick, K. STENDAHL, and W. D. DAVIES each wrote influential books. Kilpatrick (1946) wrote a major study of the origins and purposes of Matthew, some parts of which anticipated the later development of redaction criticism. His exposition of Matthean style and of the Gospel's relationship to Judaism stimulated further discussion; however, his claim that Matthew was written to be read liturgically has attracted less attention, although it is a plausible explanation of many of the Gospel's distinctive features. Stendahl (1954) claimed that in Matthew's "formula" quotations of the HB, the biblical text is treated in somewhat the same manner as in the Habakkuk scroll that had recently been discovered at Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). In a lengthy and thorough study of the setting of the SERMON ON THE MOUNT in early Judaism and in early Christianity, Davies (1964) cautiously suggested that the sermon (and by implication, the whole Gospel) was a kind of Christian counterpart to aspects of the reconstruction of Judaism that occurred at Jamnia following the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE.

a. Redaction criticism. In the meantime a fresh approach to the interpretation of Matthew had developed in Germany. G. BORNKAMM's 1948 essay (G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, and H. Held [1960]) on the stilling of the storm pericope marks the beginning of the thoroughgoing redaction-critical approach that dominated Matthean scholarship for more than thirty years. Assuming that

Matthew had used Mark's account of the stilling of the storm, Bornkamm paid close attention to the additions, modificiations, and omissions the Evangelist made as well as to the different context in which the pericope had been placed. Bornkamm concluded that Matthew had not merely handed down the Markan story but had expounded its theological significance in his own way. Thus Matthew is the first exegete of the Markan pericope. Matthew's redaction of Mark (which often appears at first to involve changes to purely incidental details) shows "proof of definite theological intentions" with its references to discipleship and to "the little ship of the church."

This essay (which was not translated into English until 1963) paved the way for a number of redactional studies of Matthean themes or sections of the Gospel, all of which drew attention to Matthew's distinctive theological viewpoint. In the first phase of redaction criticism, outstanding monographs were published by W. Trilling (1959), G. Strecker (1962), and R. Hummel (1963). Although they have never been translated into English, in due course they encouraged many English-speaking scholars to use redaction-critical methods. The translation into English in 1968 of J. Rohde's thorough survey of the first phase of redaction-critical work on Matthew stimulated further research from this standpoint. Careful isolation of the evangelist's redaction of his sources has been the basis of numerous expositions of Matthew's christology, his ecclesiology, and the relationship of his community to contemporary Judaism.

In the first phase of redaction criticism, few scholars challenged the presupposition that Matthew wove together Mark, Q, and some special traditions (see, however, A. Butler [1951]). W. FARMER (1964) and C. Tuckett (1983) have also expressed doubts about Markan priority. However, Markan priority remains the basis of most Matthean scholarship in the last decades of the twentieth century. Criticism of Q has been more rigorous. M. Goulder (1974), for example, claimed that apart from a handful of oral traditions Mark was Matthew's only source. Matthew used midrashic methods (see MIDRASH) and freely expanded Mark for liturgical purposes. Goulder's exposition of Matthean style has been warmly welcomed, but his midrashic and lectionary theories have been severely criticized. Goulder (1989) also published a thorough defense of the view that Luke used Matthew and Mark but not Q. If so, then Luke becomes the very first interpreter of Matthew! In order to advance his own particular views, Luke virtually demolished Matthew's carefully constructed discourses and abandoned Matthew's finely honed phrases and distinctive vocabulary.

Many scholars acknowledge that the Q hypothesis has difficulties but consider these minimal in comparison with those faced by rival views of Matthew's and Luke's redactional methods. In their multi-volume commentaries on Matthew, U. Luz (3 vols., 1985, 1990, 1997), J. Gnilka (2 vols., 1986, 1988), and W. D. Davies and D. Allison (3 vols., 1988, 1991, 1997) all accept that Matthew used both Mark and Q and that redaction criticism remains the most fruitful way of uncovering the Evangelist's purposes.

Redaction critics of Matthew must continue to address four important issues. First, they must recognize the possibility that some of the Evangelist's modifications are stylistic rather than theological. For example, Matthew's accounts of the feeding of the five thousand and of the four thousand have been said to reflect more clearly than Mark 6:41; 8:6 the institution of the Eucharist; yet, on closer inspection Matthew's alterations of Mark turn out to be completely consistent with purely stylistic modifications he makes elsewhere. Second, they must be careful not to gloss over inconsistencies too readily and thus set aside one strand of the evidence as "pre-Matthean tradition" and accept another as the Evangelist's own contribution. In 10:5-6, for example, the disciples are forbidden to go to the Gentiles but are sent to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." How can this passage be related to the universalist, pro-Gentile and anti-Jewish sayings found throughout the Gospel? Matthew's attitude to the law is equally problematic. While most redaction critics agree that it is generally more conservative than Mark's, the evangelist included disparate or even contradictory statements. M. Suggs (1970) echoed the depair of many redaction critics when he concluded that Matthew's presentation of Jesus' attitude to the law makes jugglers of us all!

Third, redaction critics must acknowledge that Matthew frequently used his traditions with little or no modification simply because he accepted them and wished to preserve them and make them part of his portrait of Jesus and of his message to his own Christian communities. Earlier traditions reflect Matthew's theological convictions just as much as his redactional modification; Matthew used material from his tradition in the service of his own major themes and purposes. Fourth, redaction critics must become aware that Matthew is writing a Gospel, not a letter, and that it is most unlikely that he intended to counter the views of a particular group of Christians. Although several scholars have accepted G. Barth's view (Bornkamm, Barth, and Held) that Matthew opposed Christian antinomian heretics who threatened the true life of the congregation, Matthew's references to "lawlessness" and to "false prophets" in key passages are general and not limited specifically to antinomians.

b. Literary-critical approaches. LITERARY-critical and SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC insights have become prominent in interpretation of Matthew, but not as a result of a strong conviction that redaction criticism is a misguided method. Some scholars have felt that since that particular seam has, as it were, now been almost fully worked

out, methods that have been fruitful in the study of other biblical writings should be explored. Other scholars, accepting that literary criticism and social-scientific criticism are natural outgrowths of redaction criticism, have used these methods to gain insight into the Gospel of Matthew.

Literary-critical studies have taken several forms, including: STRUCTURALISM, NARRATIVE CRITICISM, and READER-RESPONSE CRITICISM. In 1987 D. Patte published a full structuralist commentary concerned with the evangelist's faith (or "system of convictions") rather than with the Gospel's first-century setting. He works with two basic premises. Since Matthew has set out not only what he wants to say but also what he does not want to say, attention must be paid to "narrative oppositions" in the text. In addition, the interpreter must look for the tensions between the readers' "old knowledge" and the "new knowledge" that the Evangelist is seeking to communicate. Patte lucidly expounds one form of structuralism and shows how it might be used in exegesis. He does not reject traditional methods—they are in fact used in his notes. However, he fails to show how a structuralist approach might be integrated with other methods to provide a fresh reading of the text.

In the mid 1980s, R. Edwards (1985) and J. Kingsbury (1986) used narrative-critical methods in order to elucidate the meaning of Matthew for readers today. Their work has been developed further by a number of younger scholars, several of whom were Kingsbury's doctoral students (D. Bauer [1988]; D. Weaver [1990]). Narrative-critical studies of Matthew have their roots in "composition criticism," a modified form of redaction criticism that set out Matthew's distinctive viewpoint without source-critical presuppositions. Attention was directed away from Matthew's redaction of his sources to his methods of composition, to the overall structure of the Gospel, to the structure of individual sections and sub-sections, and to the order in which traditions are placed. In his study of Matthew's fourth discourse in chap. 18, for example, W. Thompson (1970) insisted that Matthew must be read "in terms of Matthew," a method he dubbed "vertical analysis" in contrast to the "horizontal analysis" of redaction criticism. Narrative criticism also concentrates on the Evangelist's methods of composition, but unlike composition criticism it draws explicitly on the insights of modern literary critics.

Like scholars who use structuralist methods, narrative critics are less interested in the historical context of Matthew than in the ways the text elicits the reader's response. Matthew is understood to be a narrative comprising a story and its discourse. The story of Matthew is of the life of Jesus of Nazareth from conception and birth to death and resurrection. The discourse is the language, including the many devices of plot, characterization, rhetoric, and point of view that are the means by which the story is put across. Kingsbury's earlier redaction-critical study of Matthew (1975) concentrated on the structure, christology, and eschatology of the Gospel. In his narrative-critical study (1986) many of his conclusions are similar, but he does not integrate the two methods.

Edwards's and Kingsbury's (1986) books anticipated the use of reader-response criticism in Matthean scholarship. Howell (1990) used "selected aspects of narrative criticism and a type of reader response criticism" in order to increase appreciation of the way Matthew's narrative shapes one's experience of the story. The word *inclusive* in the title points to Howell's intention to show the ways readers are involved (i.e., "included") in the story and teaching of the Gospel. Howell's monograph has raised an issue that will almost certainly be keenly debated: the extent to which literary approaches can be combined with more traditional historical methods. Howell has insisted that the intention of the Evangelist and the historical situation in which the text was produced are not a matter of indifference for the biblical literary critic. G. N. Stanton (1992) claims that although modern literary theory is stimulating and helpful, precedence must be given both to the literary conventions that influenced the Evangelist and to the expectations of his first-century readers: Interpretation of a text cannot be carried out in isolation from consideration of the social setting of its readers (whether ancient or modern).

c. Social-scientific approaches. Many NT writings have been studied fruitfully from several social-scientific perspectives. Unfortunately, Matthew's Gospel does not lend itself as readily to a social-historical approach as do many other NT writings. Whereas many details in PAUL's correspondence with the Corinthians, for example, can be set firmly in the social setting of Corinth in the middle of the first century, we do not know for certain where Matthew wrote. Although many writers accept that Matthew was written in Antioch, the evidence is far from conclusive, even though we know a good deal about earliest Christianity in Antioch and also about the city itself. But even if we could be certain about the geographical setting of the Gospel, a further problem would remain. Whereas the social historian's eye often alights on incidental details, it is often difficult to know whether such details in Matthew reflect the social setting of the earlier traditions used by the Evangelist or his own social setting. These problems vitiate several of the essays edited by D. Balch (1991), some of which are written from a social-historical perspective, while others use sociological models (see SOCIOLOGY AND NT STUDIES).

Sociological and anthropological theory regularly make use of "models" constructed on the basis of CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES of a wide range of phenomena from different historical periods. These "distant comparisons" are based on sets of similarities in the behavior of

individuals, groups, and communities in a range of cultural settings. In spite of obvious differences, striking recurrent patterns can be observed that are not specific to a particular culture or historical setting. They offer students of first-century writings possible fresh ways of reading the text by encouraging them to keep a keen lookout for further relationships, analogies, and resemblances. This general approach is developed effectively by B. Malina and J. Neyrey (1988), who use anthropological models drawn from studies of witchcraft societies to interpret the accusations leveled against Jesus in Matthew 12. In the second part of their book they draw on labeling and deviance theory in a study of Matthew's passion narratives in chaps. 26 and 27. In a stimulating essay in the volume of cross-disciplinary essays edited by Balch (1991), A. Wire employs macro-sociological analysis to reconstruct roles characteristic of scribal communities within advanced agricultural societies.

Sociological models built on the basis of distant comparisons of cross-cultural social settings will rarely be sharply defined. "Close comparisons," however, provide a useful complement to distant comparisons. Careful consideration of communities that have similar cultural and historical settings is often instructive. Here the differences (which are rarely significant when distant comparisons are used) cry out for explanation. The similarities in the social phenomena may provide confirmation of assumptions about a particular writing or community as well as a check against the obvious dangers in transferring insights drawn from studies of modern societies into first-century settings.

J. Overman (1990) and Stanton (1992) both use close comparisons to complement distant comparisons in sociological studies of Matthew. Overman argues that social developments within the Matthean community frequently parallel and are analogous to the social and institutional developments within a range of first-century Jewish groups and sects. Stanton uses the Damascus Document from Qumran as a close comparison and suggests that both Matthew and the Damascus Document come from strikingly similar settings: They were both written for sectarian communities that were in sharp conflict with parent bodies from which they had recently parted company painfully. Both writings functioned as foundation documents for their respective communities; they used several strategies to legitimate the separation. This understanding of the relationship of Matthew's readers to Judaism is in sharp contrast to the conclusions reached by A. Saldarini (1994), who insists that Matthew's Christian-Jewish group remained a deviant community within the diverse Judaism of the day.

Literary and social-scientific approaches have undoubtedly brought new vitality to the study of Matthew's Gospel, however, their strengths and weaknesses for interpreting Matthew will need to be assessed critically, just as the usefulness of redaction criticism for Matthean studies has been reconsidered. Showing promise for the future of Matthean scholarship are studies that have used these approaches to focus on the role of women in this Gospel (J. Anderson [1983, 1987]; E. Cheney [1996, 1998]; A.-J. Levine [1992]; E. Schaberg [1987]; E. Wainwright [1991, 1994]).

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G. N. STANTON

MAZAR (MAISLER), BENJAMIN (1906–75)

Born in Russia, M. received his secondary and higher education in Germany. He completed his PhD at the University of Giessen in 1929 with a dissertation on the ancient history of Syria and Palestine (pub. 1930). After emigrating to Palestine in 1929, he joined the faculty of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1942, becoming full professor in 1951 and also serving as both rector and president from 1953 to 1961 (emeritus from 1961).

M. was trained as an ancient Near Eastern historian and biblical scholar, and in these fields he attained a status equal to that of W. F. ALBRIGHT, R. de VAUX, A. ALT, and M. NOTH. While he excelled in textual studies, M. also did extensive archaeological field work. His excavations included Beth-yeraḥ (1944, 1945), Tell Qasile (1948–50), Beth-Shearim (1953–59, with N. Avigad), 'Ein-gedi (1961–65), and his principal project, the excavations of the western wall and the Temple mount in Jerusalem (1968–77). Few of these excavations are published in final reports, yet M.'s prominent position in Palestinian and biblical ARCHAEOLOGY is assured by his many brilliant synthetic articles, a number already classics. The interests reflected in these publications include historical geography, the archaeology of Palestine in the Bronze and Iron ages, and virtually all periods in biblical history. In addition to numerous seminal articles, reviews, and books, M. was a principal editor of the *Encyclopedia Miqrait,* the multi-volume *World History of the Jewish People,* and the original edition of the *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.*

M.'s influence as a teacher may have superseded the role he had as a scholar. Virtually every Israeli archaeologist and biblical scholar for two generations sat reverently at his feet. His charismatic leadership lay in the combination of sheer intellect, bold ideas and penetrating insights, universal breadth of learning, and a dominant, almost patriarchal personality. Above all, he was innovative, always a leap ahead of even his most advanced students.

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W. G. DEVER

MEDE (or MEAD), JOSEPH (1586–1638)

An English biblical scholar, M. was born at Berden, Essex, in October 1586, and educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he became a fellow in 1613. He declined offers of advancement and remained in that position until his death on Oct. 1, 1638.

Learned in philology, history, mathematics, and physics, M. wrote numerous short discourses on biblical texts, displaying a wide knowledge of Jewish, classical, and patristic writings. His *Clavis Apocalyptica* and other writings on APOCALYPTICISM had a powerful influence

on many subsequent interpreters of Daniel and Revelation. His assertion that the millennium was yet to come contradicted the position taken by the overwhelming majority of scholars since the time of AUGUSTINE. On the assumption that a day could mean a thousand years, M. contended that the day of judgment would in fact be the millennium, beginning with the resurrection of the martyrs and ending with the last judgment. The book of Revelation could only be understood through the recognition of its "synchronisms," a term M. used to indicate the reference of different passages to the same event. His account of Revelation was antipapal, and he believed that the book prophesies (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, NT) the events of history from the time of Christ until the millennium. The visions of the seals and the trumpets deal with the fates of empires. The "little scroll" (Rev 10:8-9), whose contents were described in chaps. 10–20, covers the same period of history, but deals with the destiny of the church.

Recognizing the dramatic nature of the work, M. likened the setting of the vision in Revelation 4 to a theatrical stage, although he did not attempt to divide the book into acts. His writings were highly acclaimed, and an English translation of *Clavis Apocalyptica* was published in 1643 by authority of Parliament. M., like his German contemporary, J. Alsted, provided a scholarly basis for the millenarian speculation that proliferated during the middle years of the seventeenth century.

Works: *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627, rev. ed. 1632; ET, *The Key of The Revelation* [1643]); *In Sancti Joannis Apocalypsin Commentarius* (1632); *The Works of the Profoundly-Learned J. M.* (2 pts, 1648; enl. ed. 2 vols., 1663–64).

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A. W. WAINWRIGHT

MEEK, THEOPHILE JAMES (1881–1966)

Born on Nov. 17, 1881, on a farm near Port Stanley in southwestern Ontario, Canada, M. graduated from the University of Toronto in 1903 and proceeded to McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago. On completing his studies there with a traveling fellowship, he passed two years at Marburg and Berlin, attending the lectures of such scholars as K. BUDDE and H. GUNKEL in OT and Friedrich DELITZSCH in ASSYRIOLOGY. After a sojourn in the Holy Land he taught at Millikin University (1909–18) while pursuing further studies at the University of Chicago, obtaining the PhD in 1915 with a thesis on Old Babylonian documents. He subsequently held brief appointments at Meadville Theological School (1918–22) and Bryn Mawr College (1922–23) and in 1923 was invited to the department of oriental languages at the University of Toronto. He died Feb. 19, 1966.

M. specialized in both Assyriology and HB. For one season he served as epigrapher to the excavations at Nuzi. He published a number of cuneiform texts in two volumes (1913, 1935) and several articles on such texts (e.g., 1917, 1920a). Probably his best-known contribution in this field was the fine translation of the Mesopotamian law "codes" and legal documents in *ANET.* His researches were most productive in the biblical area; he wrote on Hebrew poetic form (1929a; see POETRY, HB). As a philologist he was a strict grammarian, always paying minute attention to details. Hebrew syntactical features particularly engaged his attention and resulted in several articles (e.g., 1929b, 1938, 1940a, 1945). As one of four scholars chosen to undertake a fresh version of the HB, he had an opportunity to demonstrate his mastery of the nuances of Hebrew syntax. His assignment was Genesis through Ruth, Song of Songs, and Lamentations. In 1927 *The Old Testament: An American Translation* appeared, and in 1935 a revised edition of the whole by M. was issued. Some years later he was requested to make an even more thorough revision, and to this task he devoted much of the rest of his life. Unfortunately the product of his labors was fated never to be printed, although the influence of this TRANSLATION on the panel responsible for the later RSV was considerable.

Early in his career M. was interested in the beginnings of the Hebrew people (1920b, 1921, 1929c), and he chose this theme when invited to deliver the Haskell lectures at Oberlin College in 1933–34. Published in 1936 as *Hebrew Origins,* they dealt in sequence with the source of the Hebrew people, their laws, deity, cult, prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), and monotheistic faith. As usual, M. plunged boldly into controversial topics, appearing to have been influenced in his views by contact with D. D. Luckenbill (1881–1927) and J. M. P. Smith (1866–1932) while studying at Chicago. The volume generated much interest, and such scholars as H. ROWLEY and W. F. ALBRIGHT took issue with some of his opinions. A second edition in 1950 was extensively revised in the light of criticisms and new evidence.

M. relished controversy and readily engaged in friendly debate, as in some of his articles challenging statements of Albright (1940b, 1942). He contributed to the *IB* commentaries on Lamentations (1956) and Song of Songs (1956), in the latter favoring the interpretation of the work as a

cultic liturgy, a view he had espoused since the discovery of an Akkadian list of incipits of hymns for the cult of Tammuz and Ishtar. In a series of articles (1922, 1924a, 1924b) he had cited similarities between Canticles and the fertility cult, an interpretation that was to have a considerable vogue. Both commentaries were characterized by close attention to syntactical points.

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R. J. WILLIAMS

MEINHOLD, JOHANNES (1861–1937)

M. was born Aug. 12, 1861, in Cammin in Pomerania and studied in Leipzig, Berlin, Greifswald, and Tübingen. His teachers in OT were Franz DELITZSCH and A. DILLMANN; in oriental languages Friedrich DELITZSCH, L. Krehl (1825–1901), and A. Socin (1844–99). In 1884 he received his doctorate at Griefswald, where he worked as a *Dozent* and after 1888 as an *ausserordentlicher* professor. In 1889 he succeded K. BUDDE as *ausserordentlicher* professor in Bonn; he was named full professor in 1903, received emeritus status in 1928, and died May 16, 1937.

As a Christian, theologian, and scholar of conservative origins and education, M. joined the liberal and critical camp very quickly. Decisive for him was reading J. WELLHAUSEN's *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels.* Sharing Wellhausen's basic positions, M. was, as a historian, sometimes more critical than Wellhausen; as a theologian he put more emphasis on the supernatural aspects of religion.

M. proposed and strengthened the critical view on certain literary and historical questions: Genesis 14 does not belong to any Pentateuchal source; it is a late product that contains no history; with respect to reports on Sennacherib's campaign, only 2 Kgs 18:13*b*-16 and the Taylor Prism are of historical value; Daniel is not a unified work, and the stories in Daniel 2–6 belong to the pre-Maccabean period. M. along with others divided the Jahwist source of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) into two independent strands: J^1 and J^2. He entertained the possibility that the Pentateuchal sources were continued beyond the Hexateuch.

M.'s thesis (deriving from W. Reichel, *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* [1897], and carried out further by M. Dibelius, *Die Lade Jahves* [FRLANT 7, 1906]), that Yahweh's ark was not actually a box but a box-shaped throne on which one could imagine Yahweh in a seated position, had its supporters and detractors. The most important opponent was M.'s friend Budde ("Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung der Lade Jahwe's," *ZAW* 21 [1901] 193-97).

In "Antwort auf J. M.s 'Zur Sabbatfrage' " (*ZAW* 48 [1930] 138-45) Budde contradicted most strongly M.'s presumption that the sabbath went back only as far as Ezekiel and only later became a firmly established institution, for "sabbath" in earlier Israel was celebration of the day of the full moon abolished by the deuteronomic reform.

M. thought knowledge of the ancient history of Israel was so uncertain that he voided a contract for the publication of a presentation of that history. He published a widely circulated textbook (1919, 1926^2, 1932^3) and an overall presentation of wisdom (1908), whose teaching of retribution he rejected along with PAUL's doctrine of justification that was erected upon it.

Works: *Beiträge zue Erklärung des Buches Daniel* 1 (1888); "Das Buch Daniel," *KK* 8 (1889) 255-339; *Wider den Kleinglauben: Ein ernstes Wort an die evangelischen Christen aller Parteien* (1895); *Jesus und das Alte Testament* (1896); *Die Jesajaerzählungen Jesaja 36–39: Ein historische-kritische Unteruschung* (1898); *Die "Lade Jahves"* (TARWPV NS 4, 1900); *Studien zur israelitschen Religionsgeschichte,* Band 1, *Der heilige Rest,* Teil 1, *Elias, Amos, Hosea, Jesaja* (1903); *Die biblische Urgeschichte 1. Mose 1–12 Gemeinverständlich dargestellt* (1904); *Sabbat und Woche im Alten Testament* (FRLANT 5, 1905); *Die Weisheit Israels in Spruch, Sage, und Dichtung* (1908); "Die Entstehung des Sabbats," *ZAW* 29 (1909) 81-112; *1. Mose 14: Eine historische-kritische Unter-*

suchung (BZAW 22, 1911); *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes von seinen Anfängen bis gegen 600 n. Chr.* (1916); *Einführung in das Alte Testment: Geschichte, Literatur, und Religion Israels* (Sammlung Töpelmann 1, 1, 1919, 1926², 1932³): "Die jahwistischen Berichte in Gen 12–50," *ZAW* 39 (1921) 42-57; *Der Dekalog,* Rektoratsrede (1927); "Zur Sabbathfrage," *ZAW* 48 (1930) 121-38; *Das Alte Testament und evangelisches Christentum* (1931).

Bibliography: **F. Haun and G. Hölscher,** "Zum Gedächtnis M.s," *ChW* 51 (1937) 537-41. **R. Smend,** *Bonner Gelehrte: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Bonn. Evangelische Theologie* (1968) 121-29 = his *DATDJ,* 148-59.

R. SMEND

MELANCHTHON, PHILIPP (1497–1560)

A grandnephew of the humanist J. REUCHLIN, M. studied at Heidelberg (from 1509) and Tübingen (from 1512). Initially a humanist with strong leanings toward ERASMUS, he became professor of Greek at Wittenberg in 1518, where he was deeply influenced by LUTHER, becoming one of the Lutheran Reformation's most important theorists and biblical exegetes. His *Loci Communes* (1st ed., 1521; ET 1944), setting forth the main elements of Christian doctrine and "stating a list of topics to which a person roaming through Scripture should be directed," soon established itself as a standard Lutheran dogmatic textbook; and its outline of doctrines formed the basis of many later biblical theologies.

M. wrote commentaries on Romans (1522; ET 1992), John (1523), Paul's letter to the Colossians (1527; ET ed. with intro. by D. Parker, 1990), and Matthew (1558). His biblical exegesis stressed the importance of the literal sense of Scripture. Although he used allegory at points (e.g., in his exposition of John's Gospel), he clearly subordinated the allegorical to the literal or historical sense of Scripture. His most important contribution to sixteenth-century biblical interpretation is the rhetorical foundation for the analysis of biblical texts put forward in his *De rhetorica libri tres* (1519) and applied particularly well in the 1522 Romans commentary—published by Luther without M.'s permission. M. identified two major modes of discourse within Scripture: historical narration and doctrinal exposition. It is the task of the biblical interpreter to identify these modes of discourse and expound their significance. Thus, in his commentary on John, M. argued that the text is centered on a single unifying topic (*locus* or *scopus*): the "benefits of Christ." The exegete is required to identify these central theological concerns and document how the text is related to them.

Works: *Corpus Reformatorum,* 1-28.

Bibliography: **P. F. Barton,** "Die exegetische Arbeit des jungen M.," *ARG* 54 (1963) 52-89. **S. Hansjörg,** *M. als Auslegerdes Alten Testaments* (BGBH 2, 1959). **S. Hausammann,** "Rhetorik im Dienst der reformatorischen Schriftauslegung," *KD* 20 (1974) 305-14. **W. Maurer,** *Der junge M. zwischen Humanismus und Reformation* (1967). **R. Schafer,** "M.s Hermeneutik im Römerbriefkommentar von 1532," *ZTK* 60 (1963) 216-35. **H. Scheible,** *CE* 2 (1986) 424-29. **A. Schirmer,** *Das Paulus-Verständnis M.s, 1518–22* (VIEGM 44, 1967). **J. R. Schneider,** *HHMBI,* 225-31. **T. J. Wengert,** *P. M.'s "Annotations in Johannem" in Relation to Its Predecessors and Contemporaries* (THR 220, 1987). **T. J. Wengert and M. P. Graham** (eds.), *P. M. (1497–1560) and the Commentary* (1997).

A. E. MCGRATH

MELITO OF SARDIS (d. c. 190)

M. was a skilled preacher and writer of the second century. EUSEBIUS records (*Hist. eccl.* 4.26) a list of his many tracts and apologies, most of which soon went into oblivion. M. wrote on theological issues of the time: the date of Easter, PROPHECY and the Montanists, the incarnation, the Marcionites (see MARCION), the church, Sunday, baptism, the Apocalypse. His excerpts from the Law and the Prophets, which provide the oldest list of HB books, sought to ground Christian doctrine in the HB.

Undoubtedly M.'s most influential work was the Passover homily, which has taken a prominent role in recent scholarly discussion. It has been used to show the skill of an interpreter who sought to develop a biblical THEOLOGY by using HB themes and history to strengthen the Christian message. At the same time his rhetorical lament, "Why, O Israel, have you done this strange wrong?" (12), and his repeated reference to the "crime" of Israel became a pernicious legacy. M.'s greatest contribution lies in taking seriously one central motif in the HB, the exodus and Passover, and relating it to the death and resurrection of Christ. In spite of rhetorical excesses he emerges as a skilled preacher who used the techniques of ancient rhetoric and spelled out a biblical theology. He stands alongside IRENAEUS in this respect.

Bibliography: **R. M. Grant,** *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (1988) 92-99. **S. G. Hall** (ed.), *Melito of Sardis "On Pascha" and Fragments: Text and Translations* (OECT, 1979). **B. Lohse,** *Die Passa-Homilie des Bischoffs Melito von Sardes* (1960). **G. Salmon,** *DCB* 3 (1882) 874-900. **M. Testuz,** *Papyrus Bodmer xiii, Méliton de Sardes Homélie sur la pâque* (1960). **S. Wilson,** "M. and Israel," *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity,* vol. 2, *Separation and Polemic* (ed. S. Wilson, 1986) 81-102.

W. KLASSEN

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL (1604–57)

M. was born in Madeira and grew up in Amsterdam, where he became a prominent leader in the Jewish community. An entrepreneur as well as a rabbi, he was the first significant Jewish printer in Amsterdam as well as a productive author and "an apostle to the Gentiles" who associated with and taught many Christian scholars in the area. He had connections with B. SPINOZA, H. GROTIUS, Rembrandt (1606–69), and possibly I. de la PEYRÈRE. M. became involved with the millenarian movement, which was seeking the readmission of Jews to England during Cromwell's reign. He went to London in 1655 to intercede on behalf of Jewish resettlement and was favorably received. After a quarrel with the local Jewish community, he left England in 1657, reaching Middleburg in Zeeland, where he died.

In addition to his *Pene Rabbah* (1628), which provides an index to the *Midrash Rabbah* for each of the verses in the Pentateuch, M.'s primary contribution to biblical scholarship was his production of a reconciler or conciliator, widely used instruments in biblical study in the seventeenth century. He sought to reconcile all the "apparent" contradictions in the Hebrew Scriptures. Drawing upon much of past scholarship, Jewish and Christian, he tried to show that all difficulties in the Bible could be overcome since "the Bible being true in the highest degree, it cannot contain any text . . . contradictory of another." For the orthodox and traditional such works as M.'s offered means for overcoming difficulties in the Bible; but for others, like M.'s younger contemporary Spinoza, they offered a storehouse of ammunition to use against the unity and cohesion of the Bible.

Works: *Pene Rabbah* (1628); *Conciliador* (1632; LT of the Spanish by D. Vossius, *Conciliator* [1633]); *De creatione problemata xxx* (1635); *De resurrectione mortuorum* (1636); *De termino vitae* (1639; ET by T. Pocock, *On the Term of Life* [1709], with an account of M.'s life); *Concilador* (pt. 2, 1641; ET of both pts. by E. H. Lindo, *The Conciliator: A Reconcilement of the Apparent Contradictions in Holy Scripture* [2 vols., 1842, repr. 1972]); *De fragilitate humana* (1642); *Esperança de Israel* (1650; ET *The Hope of Israel* [1650]; FT by H. Méchoulan and G. Nahon, *Espérance d'Israel* [1979] 35-69, with biographical sketch); *Nishmat Hayyim* (1651); *Humble Addresses* (1655); *Vindiciae Judaeorum* (1656).

Bibliography: Y. Kaplan, H. Méchloulan, and R. H. Popkin (eds.), *Menasseh ben Israel and His World* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 15, 1989). **A. L. Katchen,** *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis* (1984) 125-59. **D. Katz,** *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603–1655* (1982). **R. Popkin,** "Manasseh ben Israel and I. La Peyrère," *StRos* 8 (1974) 59-63; "Manasseh ben Israel and I. La Peyrère II," *StRos* 18 (1984) 12-20. **C. Roth,** *A Life of Manasseh ben Israel: Rabbi, Printer, and Diplomat* (1934); *EncJud* 11 (1971) 855-57. **L. Wolf** (ed.), *Manasseh ben Israel: Mission to Cromwell* (1901).

J. H. HAYES

MENDELSSOHN, MOSES (MOSHE BEN MENAHEM) (1729–1786)

M. is known as the first important rationalist Jewish philosopher of the German Enlightenment and a spiritual leader of eighteenth-century German Jewry. In midcareer (1769) after his prominence as one of the great intellectuals of his age had been established, he was attacked in print by Christian clergyman J. Lavater (1741–1801), who called on him to recognize the truth by converting to Christianity. Thereafter, M. spent a considerable portion of his writing energies defending Judaism and his personal faith against Christian critics. Although he was the author of a number of important philosophical works, he wrote biblical commentaries on Qohelet (1770); the Song of Deborah, Judges 5 (1780); the Pentateuch (1780–83; each volume published separately and subsequently bound as one); the Psalms (1783); the Song of Songs (posthumously, 1788); and another partial commentary on the Psalms (posthumous, 1845).

His introduction to the *Megillat Qohelet* (The Book of Ecclesiastes), written before the Lavater incident, should not be read as defending Jewish exegesis of Scripture against any specific Christian challenge. M. was, however, aware of Christian uses and misuses of the HB and surely wished to counter this covert influence by offering an enlightened yet more traditional understanding of the biblical text. The connection between this introductory essay and Jewish tradition is borne out by its grounding in the TALMUD, RASHI, A. IBN EZRA, D. KIMHI, MAIMONIDES, and the *Zohar* as well as on classical philosophical resources. He also exhibited a marked knowledge of the Christian writings of his contemporaries J. D. MICHAELIS and A. Desvoeux (d. 1792). M.'s lack of interest at this point in more directly refuting Christian exegesis is suggested by his writing the Qohelet commentary in Hebrew, a language not widely familiar to Christian scholars of his time, and by his publishing the commentary anonymously.

His introductory essay on Qohelet begins with discussion of the principles of biblical exegesis in which he defends the traditional quadriplex rabbinic scheme of textual interpretation: the literal or plain meaning, the homiletic, the allusive, and the secret (forming the Hebrew acronym PRD"S; see P. Culbertson, *A Word Fitly Spoken* [1995] chap. 2). Establishing a principle that would continue through the rest of his commentaries, M. argued that while the exegete's primary task is to articulate the plain meaning of the text, the other three levels carry equal validity and must not be ignored. This commentary was not immediately well received by either

the Christian or Jewish communities, due in part to his use of wide-ranging sources not familiar to his readers.

His commentary on Psalms is written with a stronger eye to the Christian world, specifically denying that the psalms prophesy Jesus as the Messiah and attacking the prevalent Jewish trend toward assimilation. It is built around a number of interesting artifices, including rhymed translations, antiphonal settings, and experimental punctuation. Particularly M. distinguished between meter (Hellenistic) and rhythm (Hebrew), proving that the popular Christian system of analyzing psalms by counting the metric syllables had nothing to do with the spirit of Hebrew POETRY. As in his commentary on Exodus he referred to God as "The Eternal," thereby avoiding the tetragrammaton and setting a pattern that would influence subsequent commentators, including M. BUBER and F. Rosenzweig (1886–1929).

The five volumes of commentary on the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) are each written in the same style: the Hebrew text, a German translation in Hebrew characters, commentary by M. and his co-editors, and reference to the more traditional Jewish commentaries. His collaborators on this project included S. Dubno (1738–1813), H. Wessely (1725–1805), and H. Homberg (1749–1841). Soon reissued as one volume under the title *Sefer Netivot HaShalom,* with a brilliant new introductory essay ("Or LeNetivah") by M. on biblical LITERARY criticism, this commentary was enormously popular and went through scores of editions during the next century.

By the turn of the twentieth century, M.'s work as a Bible commentator had generally fallen out of favor. However, his sensitivity to the nuances of biblical prose and poetry, his sophisticated fourfold exegetical system, his rationalism, and his wide-ranging use of eclectic source material commend his continuing value as an insightful exegete and literary critic.

Works: *M. M. Gesammelte Schriften Jubiläumsaussgabe* (ed. H. Borodianski [Bar-Dayan], 1938; repr. 1972), esp. vol. 14.

Bibliography: **A. Altmann,** *M. M.: A Biographical Study* (1973). **E. Breuer,** *The Limits of Enlightment: Jews, Germans, and the Eighteenth-century Study of Scripture* (1996). **P. Culbertson,** "Multiplexity in Biblical Exegesis: The Introduction to *Megillat Qohelet* by M. M.," *Cincinnati Journal of Judaica* 2 (Spring 1991) 10-18. **H. Englander,** "M. as Translator and Exegete," *HUCA* 6 (1929) 327-84. **A. Jospe and L. Yahil,** *EncJud* 11 (1971) 1328-42. **M. Kayserling,** *M. M.: Sein Leben und sein Werke* (1862). **H. M. Z. Meyer,** *M. M. Bibliographie* (1965). **T. Preston,** *The Hebrew Text, and a Latin Version of The Book of Solomon, called Ecclesiastes; with Original Notes. . . . And a Translation of the Commentary of M. from the Rabbinic Hebrew* (1845). **P. Sandler,** *M.'s Edition of the Pentateuch* (1940; repr. 1984, Hebrew). **W. Weinberg,** "Language Questions Relating to M. M.'s Pentateuch Translation," *HUCA* 55 (1984) 197-242; "Les traductions et commentaires de M.," *BTT* 7 (1986) 599-621.

P. CULBERTSON

MENDENHALL, GEORGE (1916–)

Born in Muscatine, Iowa, Aug. 13, 1916, M. received a BA from Midland College (1936), BD from Lutheran Theological Seminary (1938), and PhD from Johns Hopkins University (1947), where he studied with W. F. ALBRIGHT. M. taught at Hamma Divinity School (1947–51), the University of Michigan (1951–86), and afterward part-time at the Yarmouk University Institute of Archaeology in Jordan. Although his attention has been given to cuneiform studies, ARCHAEOLOGY, ancient inscriptions (1985), and historical linguistics pertaining to the common Bronze Age ancestry of the Hebrew and Arabic languages (1993, 1996), M. is most widely known for his work in HB historical study.

Much of M.'s research focused on the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age and the role Hebrew religion played in shaping an Israelite perspective on and response to this major reconfiguration of culture. Although he was a pioneer in the use of social sciences to elucidate biblical materials (1976), he was never content to think of "religion" merely as a symbol for established social interests. He recognized that in the formative period of a culture the ideological factors that in the first place define legitimate interests are the proper substance of "religion" (1961). Only in subsequent traditional periods does religion become symbolic, and even then not for everyone.

M. became a forceful proponent of the notion that solidarity in early Israel was not political or ethnic but ethical in nature. His study of law and covenant (1955) sought to demonstrate the parallels between the Sinai covenant traditions and Late Bronze Age suzerainty treaties. The point he emphasized repeatedly was that in the absence of political structures in the Early Iron Age, Israelite solidarity waxed and waned, as did the commitments of individual Israelites to the ethic embedded in the Sinai covenant tradition.

M.'s article on the Hebrew conquest of Palestine (1962) fundamentally reshaped the way historians now understand the sudden appearance of Israel in Palestine. He insisted that the destruction of Late Bronze Age sites was causally unrelated to the migration of Israel into the region and that the religion of Yahweh provided a tangible basis for solidarity among villages in the vacuum created by the demise of Bronze Age civilization. He later became extremely uncomfortable that his hypothesis was labeled "the peasant revolt theory" and lumped together with Marxian claims that Yahwism symbolized peasant grievances and justified their violence against Canaanite overlords (e.g., N. Gottwald [1979]).

M. maintained an interest in later biblical history when political structures revived (1975a) and in how the Israelite covenant tradition was transmogrified by later kings, priests, and scribes eager to legitimize their respective agendas. He felt that the integrity of the early covenant tradition was kept functionally intact by the Hebrew prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) as well as later by JESUS and the early Christian movement, a view that other scholars have subsequently developed (see D. Hillers [1969], esp. chap. 9; J. Bailey [1976]).

M. published a collection of essays and specialized studies (1973) that was energized by his belief that the early Israelite ethic urgently commends itself to late twentieth-century Western culture. He insisted that the West is today undergoing the same sort of retrenchment and collapse that demonstrably recurs approximately every three or four centuries in all cultures. He sensed that in such challenging times (as at the end of the Bronze Age) people become preoccupied with the exercise of power and that this preoccupation with social control—which is the antithesis of the value system embedded in the biblical tradition of covenant (1975b)—only worsens the crisis. The proper task of theology is, not to preserve traditional doctrines, but to identify this veneration of power (the modern "Baal") and to embody the alternative articulated in the covenant ethic of the Bible.

Although other scholars have written more prolifically than M., few have inspired more creative lines of research and elicited more discussion and publication from others. M.'s presence has been significant in the scholarly debates of the 1960s–1990s (see M. Weippert [1971] and E. Nicholson [1986], to cite only two representative examples). His work in developing a historical methodology for the study of Semitic languages (1990)—including biblical Hebrew—introduces possible new historical, linguistic, and lexicographic controls for scholars eager to determine the sociocultural provence and date of biblical texts.

Works: *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (1955); "Biblical History in Transition," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W. F. Albright* (ed. G. E. Wright, 1961) 32-53; "The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine," *BA* 25, 3 (1962) 66-87; *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition* (1973); "The Monarchy," *Int* 29, 2 (1975a) 155-70; "The Conflict Between Value Systems and Social Control," *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (JHNES, ed. H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts, 1975b) 169-80; "Social Organization in Early Israel," *Magnalia Dei, The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. E. Wright* (ed. F. M. Cross et al., 1976) 132-51; *The Syllabic Inscriptions from Byblos* (1985); "Toward a Method for Historical Lexicography of Semitic Languages," *Studies in Near Eastern Culture and History: In Memory of E. T. Abdel-Massih* (MSME 2, ed. J. Bellamy, 1990) 108-17; "The Northern Origins of Old South Arabic Literacy," *Yemen Update* (Summer/Fall 1993) 15-19; "Where Was Arabic During the Bronze Age?" *Jerusalem's Heritage: Essays in Memory of K. J. Asali* (ed. S. al-Hamarinah, 1996) 7-14 (Arabic).

Bibliography: **J. Bailey,** "Jesus as Reformer," *Michigan Oriental Studies in Honor of G. G. Cameron* (ed. L. Orlin et al., 1976) 311-29. **N. Gottwald,** *Tribes of Yahweh* (1979). **D. Hillers,** *Covenant: History of a Biblical Idea* (1969). **H. Huffmon et al.** (eds.), *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of G. E. M.* (1983). **E. W. Nicholson,** *God and His People: Covenant Theology in the OT* (1986). **M. Weippert,** *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine* (SBT 2, 21, 1971).

G. HERION

MENNO SIMONS (1496–1561)

A Frisian, M. was ordained priest in 1524, perhaps having been trained at a Premonstratensian monastery. He became an ANABAPTIST elder c. 1536 and in the early 1540s emerged as the most important leader of Dutch Anabaptists. It fell to him to reestablish Anabaptism on a solid basis after the failure of its apocalyptic crusade in 1535. His influence extended from Amsterdam to Danzig, and by the 1550s his followers were known as Mennists.

M.'s twenty-five major and a number of minor writings are saturated with Scripture, frequently being long series of quotations or paraphrases. He adhered passionately to the principle of *sola scriptura,* interpreting the whole of Scripture from the centrality of Christ, which meant for him that the OT stood in relation to the NT as promise to fulfillment. Only in Scripture was truth to be found, and it was God the Holy Spirit who illumined heart and mind to understand and accept its message. But once the truth of Scripture was known it could be lost again unless it was lived out in obedience. Besides the Bible, M.'s writings were the most important nourishers of faith for Mennonites to the end of the nineteenth century in both Europe and America.

Works: *Opera Omnia Theologica* (ed. H. J. Herrison, 1681); *The Complete Writings of M. S.* (tr. L. Verduin, ed. J. C. Wenger, 1956); *Dat Fundament des christelychen leers doer M. S. op dat aldercorste geschreven* (ed. H. W. Meihuizen, 1967).

Bibliography: **C. Bornhäuser,** *Leben und Lehre M. S.* (1973). **J. Horsch,** *Menno Simons* (1916). **C. Krahn,** *M. S., 1496–1561: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theologie der Taufgesinnten* (1936). **H. W. Meihuizen,** *Menno Simons* (1961).

W. KLAASSEN

METZGER, BRUCE MANNING (1914–)

Born Feb. 14, 1914, in Middletown, Pennsylvania, M. attended Lebanon Valley College (AB 1935), where he first studied Greek and TEXTUAL CRITICISM, and Princeton Theological Seminary (ThB 1938; ThM 1939), where his teachers included O. PIPER and E. Brunner (1889–1966), prior to doctoral studies in classics and patristics at Princeton University (MA 1940; PhD 1942). He was ordained in 1939 (Presbytery of New Brunswick [PCUSA]).

In forty-six years (1938–84) at Princeton Theological Seminary, capped by appointment as George L. Collord Professor of NT Language and Literature (1964–84; emeritus, 1984–), M. taught more students than anyone else in the seminary's history. He has also lectured at over one hundred institutions on six continents and delivered more than 2,500 sermons or studies in churches belonging to a wide variety of denominations.

M. may be the greatest textual specialist the United States has produced. Preeminent among his publications is his trilogy on the NT text, versions, and CANON. Probably most influential has been *The Text of the NT* (1964, 1992[3]), from which two generations of textual critics have learned their craft. It presented with balance and pedagogical concern the essentials of what would later be termed "reasoned eclecticism" (in contrast, e.g., to the "rigorous" eclecticism of G. D. Kilpatrick). This approach, to which the "local-genealogical" method of K. ALAND is similar, proposes that when evaluating variant readings one should "choose the reading which best explains the origin of the others" (*Text,* 207; his methodological influence was further extended through his frequently referenced *Textual Commentary on the Greek NT* [1971, 1994[2]]). Without rival in the field is *The Early Versions of the NT* (1977), which covers both major and lesser-known minor (e.g., Sogdian, Thracian) versions. *The Canon of the NT* (1987) combines careful and erudite attention to historical matters with a concern for theological questions and implications.

The breadth of M.'s scholarship is evident in his hundreds of articles and reviews, which cover topics including textual criticism, philology, paleography and papyrology, classical topics, Greco-Roman religions, the HB, the APOCRYPHA, the NT, patristics, early church history, and Bible translation. M. played an influential role as a member of the editorial committee responsible for *The Greek NT* and later for the text of *Novum Testamentum Graece* and in his leadership of the International Greek NT Project (1948–84).

On both academic and popular levels M. is widely known for his involvement with the RSV and especially NRSV translations (since 1952; committee chair, 1977–), an association given additional visibility by his editorship of various study Bibles and tools based on these translations. More controversial but typical of his concern to promote Bible reading was his editorship of the condensed *Reader's Digest Bible* (1982).

Academic recognitions bestowed on M. include election to the presidency of four scholarly societies, three *Festschriften,* election as a corresponding fellow of the British Academy (1978), and in 1994 reception of the academy's Burkitt Medal for Biblical Studies (only the third American so honored).

Works: *The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Luke in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (SLTGNT II:3, 1944); *Lexical Aids for Students of NT Greek* (1946; enl. ed. 1955; new ed. 1969); *Annotated Bibliography of the Textual Criticism of the NT* (SD 16, 1955); *An Introduction to the Apocrypha* (1957); (with H. G. May), *The Oxford Annotated Bible, RSV* (1962; with the Apocrypha, 1965); *Chapters in the History of NT Textual Criticism* (NTTS 4, 1963); *The NT: Its Background, Growth, and Content* (1965; 2d enl. ed., 1983); (with K. Aland, M. Black, C. M. Martini, and A. Wikgren), *The Greek NT* (1966; 4th rev. ed. with B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, and C. M. Martini, 1993); *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian* (NTTS 8, 1968); (with K. Aland, M. Black, C. M. Martini, and A. Wikgren), *Novum Testamentum Graece* (26th ed., 1979; 27th ed. with B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, and C. M. Martini, 1993); *NT Studies: Philological, Versional, and Patristic* (NTTS 10, 1980); *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Palaeography* (1981); (with R. C. Dentan and W. Harrelson), *The Making of the NRSV of the Bible* (1991); (with R. E. Murphy), *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, NRSV* (1991); *Breaking the Code: Understanding the Book of Revelation* (1993); (with M. D. Coogan), *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (1993); *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian* (1997), includes vita and bibliography.

Bibliography: **J. A. Brooks,** "B. M. as Textual Critic," *PSB* 15 (1994) 156-164 (includes bibliography). **E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee** (eds.), *NT Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis. Essays in Honour of B. M. M.* (1981) v-xxviii (includes full vita and bibliography to 1980). **M. W. Holmes,** "Reasoned Eclecticism in NT Textual Criticism," *The Text of the NT in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis. A Volume in Honor of B. M. M.* (SD 46, ed. B. D. Ehrman and M. W. Holmes, 1995) 336-60. **J. H. Petzer and P. J. Hartin** (eds.), *A South African Perspective on the NT: Essays by South African NT Scholars Presented to B. M. M.* (1986).

M. W. HOLMES

MEYER, EDUARD (1855–1930)

Born in Hamburg Jan. 25, 1855, M. was educated at the Johanneum in Hamburg, where he studied both classics and ancient Semitic languages and imbibed a strong dose of German nationalism and anti-Judaism. After a semester at Bonn he went to Leipzig (1872–75), where he received his doctorate at age twenty with a

dissertation on the Egyptian god Seth and habilitated in 1879 with a work on the Greek king Pontos. In 1875–76 he served as tutor to the family of the British counsul general in Constantinople and after the latter's death accompanied the body back to England. M. stayed in that country for a time, studying and writing, and developed strong ties with Britain. He returned to Germany, eventually serving as *Dozent* and later as *ausserordentlicher* professor of ancient history at Leipzig (1884), then as professor at Breslau (1885–89), Halle (1889–1902), and Berlin (1902–23). He made two lecture trips to the United States (March–April 1904 at the invitation of the University of Chicago, and Sept. 1909–April 1910 to teach at Harvard). However, after WWI he broke off all relationships with Americans and Britons. He served as rector of the University of Berlin in the difficult year of 1919–20 and died in Berlin Aug. 31, 1930.

M. never founded a school, although he was widely recognized as the most eminent historian of his day, a reputation still accorded him. He was at home in numerous ancient languages; wrote on modern as well as on ancient history; and saw himself as a modern Thucydides, whose works, along with those of the historian B. Niebuhr (1776–1831), exerted a strong influence on him. He also contributed articles to general publications, including some semi-popular English-language journals and the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

M. wrote several works specifically related to biblical study and ancient Judeo-Christian history. His volume on the origin of Judaism (1896; see the analysis by F. Parente in W. Calder and A. Demandt [1990] 329-43) took a conservative stance toward the decree of Cyrus and other documents and lists in Ezra–Nehemiah. J. WELLHAUSEN wrote a caustic review, leading to M.'s defensive rejoinder (1897). In 1906 M. published a work on the Israelites and their neighbors in which he dealt with the early history of Israel. He gave full recognition to the folk-legend quality (see FOLKLORE) of the stories about Moses; followed Wellhausen in his isolation of the Sinai material from the exodus and settlement traditions; and depicted Moses as a priestly functionary at the sanctuary at Kadesh (see E. Osswald [1962]), arguing that his association with other traditions in the Pentateuch was secondary. In addition, M. argued that the early Israelite tribes did not share a common history and came into being as entities in the land of Canaan; that many Israelite traditions were centered at cult places; and that Shechem played a significant role in early Israelite history, its covenant ritual and festival forming the basis for the depiction of Moses' work at Sinai. (Many of these ideas were later developed by A. Alt, M. Noth, and G. von Rad.)

In his multi-volume *Geschichte des Altertums* (1884–1902) M. touched on many matters related to biblical study. In his discussion of Israel (see vol. 2, 2, 1953[3], 285-86), he argued that the golden age of the Hebrew monarchy—the period of David and Solomon—witnessed the rise of genuinely historical writing, an achievement without parallel in any ancient culture, an idea that became central to the work of von RAD.

M.'s three-volume work on the origins of Christianity (1921–23; see the analysis by E. Plümacher in W. Calder and A. Demandt [1990] 344-67), which reconstructed the life of JESUS and the origins of the early church based primarily on rather conservative attitudes toward the NT writings, was a product of his old age. It tended to ignore much contemporary scholarship and was criticized severely, perhaps unduly.

Works: *Geschichte des Altertums* (5 vols. in 8 pts., 1884–1902, 1953[3]); *Die Entstehung des Judenthums* (1896); *J. Wellhausen und meine Schrift "Die Entstehung des Judenthums"* (1897); *Zur Theorie und Methodik der Geschichte* (1902) = *KS* (1910) 1-78; *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme: Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (1906, with contributions by B. Luther; repr. 1967); *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien* (1906); *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine* (1912, 1912[2]); *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (1914); *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (3 vols., 1921–23); *KS zur Geschichtstheorie und zur wirtschaftlichen und politischen Geschichte des Alterthums* (1910; 2 vols., 1924); *Blüte und Niedergang des Hellenismus in Asien* (1925).

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J. H. HAYES

MEYER, HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM (1800–73)

Born Jan. 10, 1800, in Gotha, Germany, M. studied Protestant theology in Jena from 1818 to 1820. After working briefly as a teacher he became a pastor in Thuringia in 1822. From 1837 onward he held positions of ecclesiastical leadership within the Hanover state church. Offered a professorship at the university in Giessen in 1841, he did not accept. The theological faculty of the university in Göttingen bestowed on him the doctor of theology *honoris causa* in 1845. He retired in 1865, dying June 21, 1873.

M. considered his life's work the composition of a multi-volume work in three sections, *Kritisch exegetischer Kommentar über das NT.* The first section was to contain the text and translation; the second, commentary on the NT writings; and the third, an introduction, history of exegesis, and similar articles. This work, begun in 1929 under the auspices of the Göttingen publisher Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, has through its numerous new editions and revisions become familiar to subsequent exegetes under the name "Meyer's Commentary" (MeyerK).

The commentaries to Matthew, Mark, and Luke appeared in 1832, John in 1834, followed by Acts (1835), Romans (1836), 1 Corinthians (1839), 2 Corinthians (1840), Galatians (1841), Ephesians (1843), Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon (1847). Work on the other sections as well as plans for a didactic summary of the results in a theology of the NT were dropped. Henceforth, M. continued to prepare new editions of the writings already treated and delegated the commentaries of the remaining outstanding volumes to three younger colleagues (J. Huther [1807–80], G. Lünemann [1819–94], F. Düsterdieck [1822–1906]).

After M.'s death the main editorial functions went to B. WEISS. Even M.'s early commentaries were translated into English. Planned as a kind of handbook for students, the commentaries are characterized by strict philological execution, by the "gramamtical-historical principle" (preface, 1832), and by brief references to exegetical history. The continual new editions allow the theological standpoint—one not far from the rationalism personified by A. RITSCHL—to come more strongly and confidently to the fore.

Works: *Kritisch exegetischer Kommentar über das NT* (1832–52; ET, 20 vols., 1873–95).

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F. W. HORN

MICAH, BOOK OF

1. Before Stade (1881). Micah 3:12 is quoted in Jer 26:18; 5:1[2]; in Matt 2:6 (cf. John 7:42); 7:6; 10:35-36; and in Luke 12:53 (cf. Matt 10:21; Mark 13:12). Some scholars think there is a relationship between Mic 5:1[2] and Isa 7:14. Two Hebrew fragments of the book of Micah were found in caves near Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) dating from the second to the first centuries BCE: from Cave 1, 1QpMi (1Q14), which cites 1:2-5 and has a sectarian commentary on 1:5-7, 1:8-9, and 6:14-16; and from Cave 4, 4QpMi (4Q168), which has a sectarian commentary on 4:8-12. A long scroll of the Minor Prophets in Hebrew was discovered at Wadi Murabba'at in the Bar Kokhba Caves (Mur 88) dating from the end of the first century CE and containing Mic 1:5–3:4. There is also a scroll of the Minor Prophets in Greek dating from the middle of the first century CE and containing Mic 1:1–5:6 (with lacunae). JEROME and CALVIN both wrote commentaries on the Minor Prophets, including Micah, that do not deal with critical issues but are concerned with theological matters.

In 1782 J. D. MICHAELIS attempted to deal with the apparent anachronisms of Micah 4–5 by arguing that Micah 1–5 embodies a chronological sweep from Micah to Christ. Micah 3:12 announces Nebuchadnezzar's overthrow of Jerusalem in 587 BCE; chap. 4 describes events after the fall of Babylon to Late Judaism; and chap. 5 announces the birth of JESUS at Bethlehem and the coming of the kingdom of Christ. The first attack against the authenticity of passages in the book came in 1800 from A. Hartmann (1774–1838), who argued that Micah preached partly during the reign of Manasseh (contrary to 1:1), that the present book of Micah came into being during the exilic period, and that an editor added 4:9-14 and 7:7-17.

Several scholars rejected Hartmann's position. However, in 1867 H. EWALD contended that whereas Micah 1–5 (except 1:1 and 2:12-13) were from Micah of Moresheth, chaps. 6–7 originated from someone living in the days of Manasseh since the language and tone of these two sections are so different. T. Roorda (1801–74) proposed several textual emendations (1869), over fifteen of which also appear in the apparatus of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (1968–). In 1871 H. OORT contended that Mic 4:1-10 and 5:1[2] originally announced the fall of the Davidic dynasty and the restoration of Saul's dynasty and that 4:11-13 is a later addition, a view he later renounced. In 1872 M. de Goeje (1836–1909) suggested that Mic 4:1-5 was a quotation from an earlier prophet that Micah's opponents had used against him. Then in 1878 J. WELLHAUSEN declared that Mic 7:7-20 had originated a century after the time of Micah of Moresheth because its language and thought are so similar to that of Deutero-Isaiah.

2. From Stade (1881) to Lindblom (1929). Beginning in 1881 B. STADE published several essays in which he argued that only Mic 1:5*b*–2:11 and chap. 3 are authentic. Micah 1:1-5*a*; 2:12-13; and chaps. 4–7 are late because they refer to events much later than the eighth century BCE (e.g., the nations coming to Jerusalem to learn of Yahweh in 4:1-5). Stade's view has had a great impact on Micah research.

The denial of the genuineness of half or more of the book of Micah raised the question of how the book came to be. Within the next half-century at least five theories arose, each championed by several scholars.

a. The literary-historical solution. A literary-historical critic, Stade contended that as the genuine Mican oracles (1:5*b*–2:11; 3) were handed down, two epigones in different periods added the other material in chaps. 1–5. Jeremiah 26:16-19 shows that the original book ended with 3:12. The first epigone, then, lived after Jeremiah; he added 4:1-4; 4:11–5:3[4]; and 5:6-8, 9-14[7-9, 10-15] to correct the message of doom in chaps. 1–3. Later, a second epigone, assuming that Micah was responsible for the additions of the first epigone, added 4:5-10 and 5:4-5[5-6] to declare that Israel's enemies would be defeated. Stade did not deal with 6:1–7:6 but dated 7:7-20 to the Greek period.

b. The chronological explanation. A. van HOONACKER (1908) argued that the book contains three sets of oracles from Micah dating from different periods in his prophetic career and arranged in chronological order. Chapters 1–3 pertain to Shalmaneser V's invasion of Palestine in 725–722 BCE, thus explaining the announcement of the fall of Samaria in 1:5-7. Jeremiah 26:18 dates Mic 3:12 to the reign of Hezekiah, who became king of Judah in 727 BCE (2 Kgs 18:9-10). Micah delivered the oracles in chaps. 4–5 to encourage Hezekiah's reform, which was inspired by the fall of Samaria and led the Jews to repent, as reported in Jeremiah 26:19. Chapters 6–7 contain a dramatic fiction, couched in the present and future but referring to the past, that is directed at northern Israelites left in the land after the fall of Samaria. "I" is Samaria, who realizes that her punishment is due to her sins. But if she repents, Yahweh will bring her back.

c. The rearrangement proposal. Some scholars thought that the incoherence of the book is due to a disarrangement of the materials during transmission. In 1891 H. Elhorst (1861–1924) proposed that the original order was chaps. 1, 2–3, 6–7, 4–5. The first copyist arranged these chaps. in double columns in certain order. A second copyist misunderstood this order and so copied chaps. 2 and 3 incorrectly. Three other copyists at different times made their own mistakes, resulting in the present form of the book. Elhorst claimed to have restored the "original order."

d. The compilation view. Several critics explained the present form of the book as a compilation of originally independent collections of oracles. For example, W. R. SMITH (1882) thought these collections were chaps. 1–5 and 6–7, while W. BAUDISSIN (1901) regarded them as 1–3; 4–5; 6:1–7:6; and 7:7-20.

e. The anthological analysis. The most widespread view was that Micah is an anthology of prophetic pieces originating at various times with different authors. K. BUDDE (1927) described Zechariah 9–14 and Micah 4–7 as "catch-alls" for late eschatological oracles. An outspoken advocate of this view was J. LINDBLOM (1929), who insisted that each pericope within the book must be interpreted in isolation because the present arrangement of the book is accidental. Thus all attempts to find coherence are doomed to failure.

3. From Lindblom (1929) to Lescow (1972). During the next four decades all five explanations just described were represented. R. Wolfe (1935) contended that thirteen redactors inserted materials into the Book of the Twelve, seven of whom contributed to the book of Micah between 540 and 225 BCE. T. ROBINSON (1936) found no coherence in the book. He maintained that various redactors at different times changed the earlier text and that three collectors pieced together disconnected fragments of originally longer prophetic oracles to produce the final form of the book.

In contrast, S. MOWINCKEL (1944) reasoned that most of 1:2–2:11; 3; and possibly 6:1–7:7 are genuine. The present form of the book was purposefully arranged coherently by combining two originally independent collections: chaps. 1–5 and 6–7, each with a section of doom followed by a section of hope. A. WEISER (1949) believed that most of the book of Micah is genuine and that it was arranged in an orderly fashion. Most of the later additions (1:1; 2:12-13; 4:1-8; 5:6-8, 14[7-9, 15]; 7:8-20) are liturgical responses of the later community to the genuine oracles of Micah.

W. Beyerlin (1959) was concerned with the cultic traditions assumed by Micah and his audiences in the authentic material in the book. He isolated five traditions: "Israel" as a term for the amphictyonic league, the theophany, the amphictyonic laws, exodus-conquest, and David-Jerusalem. Accordingly, most of the material in the book is genuine. A. Kapelrud (1961) declared that virtually all the material in the book is genuine. The structure and terminology fit the cultic drama of Israelite religion in the eighth century BCE.

R. Vuilleumier (1971) attributed most of the material to Micah (except 1:1, 5, 12*b*, 13*b*; 2:12-13; 4:10, 13; 5:4*b*-5*a*, 8, 14[5*b*-6*a*, 9, 15]; 7:8-20) and saw a purposeful structure following a doom (chaps. 1–3)—hope (e.g., 4–5)—doom (6:1–7:7)—hope (7:8-20) pattern. He detected five steps in the book's formation: (a) the authentic material in chaps. 1–5 was collected; (b) a series of later Mican oracles (6:1–7:7) was added; (c) 2:12-13 was added during the exilic period; (d) 7:8-20 was added during the Persian age; (e) brief modifications and additions were made at various times.

T. Lescow (1972) found four stages in the book's growth. Genuine material is limited to chaps. 1–3 (omitting 1:1, 5*b*-7, 13*b*, 16; 2:12-13). During the exilic period interpolations were made in chaps. 1–3, and songs and other material were added (4:6–5:14[5:15]). Between 516 and the beginning of the fourth century BCE, 1:1 and 4:1-5 were added. Finally 1:6-7 and chaps. 6–7 were added as an anti-Samaritan polemic during the Samaritan schism in the fourth century BCE.

4. From 1972 to Present. Since Lescow's study, numerous commentaries, articles, and dissertations have

been written on Micah. Several major commentaries deserve serious consideration. W. RUDOLPH (1975) maintains that most of the book is authentic (excepting 1:1; 4:1-4; 5:6-8[5:7-9]; and 7:8-20). Some of the authentic sections (2:12-13; 4:9, 11-13) are by Micah's opponents. The book falls into chaps. 1–2; 3–5; 6–7. However, the redactor(s) had no purpose in mind (theological or otherwise) by this arrangement, except perhaps to temper Micah's harsh proclamations of judgment with words of hope. L. Allen (1976) accepts most of the book as genuine (excepting 4:6-8 and 7:8-20) and analyzes its structure as chaps. 1–2; 3–5; 6–7. The book was handed down and "re-actualized" until 7:8-20 was added during the time of Haggai and Zechariah to reapply Micah's message to a new historical situation.

J. L. Mays (1976) divides the book into two parts, chaps. 1–5 and 6–7, each of which contains judgment followed by salvation. This does not reflect a historical development but the redactor's theology that Yahweh is responsible for both destruction and restoration. Only 1:3-5*a*, 8-15; 2:1-11; and chap. 3 are authentic; preserved orally by Micah himself, they were handed down through his disciples. This collection was later expanded in connection with Josiah's reform. In the exilic period a collection of salvation oracles was added in two stages: Chapters 1–5 were completed after the rebuilding of the Second Temple in 515 BCE. From the late preexilic period onward, chaps. 6–7 grew until they reached their final form and were added to chaps. 1–5 in the early fifth century BCE.

A. van der Woude (1976) argues that the entire book comes from the eighth century BCE but from two different prophets. Chapters 6–7 come from a contemporary of Hosea in northern Israel in the days of Jothan and Ahaz, "Deutero-Micah." Chapters 1–5 are from Micah of Moresheth, who delivered the first chapter before the fall of Samaria, c. 723 BCE, and chaps. 2–5 c. 714 BCE, when Hezekiah joined the Philistines in a rebellion against Sargon II of Assyria. Chapters 1–5 contain several words by Micah's opponents (2:12-13; 4:1-9, 11-13; 5:4-5, 7-14[5-6, 8-15]).

In a lengthy and meticulous treatment, B. Renaud (1977) traces a complicated history of the evolution of the book's growth from genuine material in 1:3–2:11; 3; 6:9-15 in the eighth century to its final form in the second century BCE. The first stage shows that Micah was a prophet of judgment. The second stage occurred during the exilic period when a tradent added material to produce 1:3–2:11; 3; 6:2–7:7, all judgment material. The third stage took place in the Persian period (5th–4th cents. BCE) as Jewish priests sought to encourage their suffering comrades with words of hope. They added 1:2; chaps. 4–5 (including 2:12-13); 6:1; and 7:8-20, giving the book a judgment-salvation structure: chaps. 1–3 and 4–5; 6:1–7:6 and 7:7-20. The fourth stage occurred in the second century BCE when circles related to "Deutero-Zechariah" made some minor changes in 1:5; 3:12; and 6:16 and moved 2:12-13 to its present position. H. WOLFF's approach (1980) is very similar. He sees three stages in the book's growth: The genuine material is 1:6, 7*b*-13*a*, 14-16; 2:1-4, 6-11; 3. Deuteronomists (see DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY) added a commentary consisting of 1:3-5, 7*a*, 13*b*. Then several prophets in the early postexilic period (6th cent. BCE) added additional judgment oracles in 6:1–7:7, hope oracles in 2:12-13 and chaps. 4–5, the liturgical ending in 7:8-20, and the introduction in 1:1-2.

D. Hillers (1984) despairs of any attempt to reconstruct a history of the growth of the book, contends that no meaningful structure is to be ascertained, and thinks that almost all the material is genuine. In response to oppression Micah and his associates launched a "movement of revitalization," condemning the existing order and envisioning a new age. R. L. Smith (1984) believes that most of the book is authentic, with some editing and supplementing in the time of Jeremiah and in the exilic or early postexilic period. The proper arrangement of the book is chaps. 1–2; 3–5; 6–7.

The unity, coherence, and authenticity of the material in Micah have been the subject of several disserations in the last decades of the twentieth century. D. Hagstrom (1982, pub. 1988) argued that "the book of Micah displays an overall literary coherence which renders it capable of meaningful construal as a unit." The two main subunits, chaps. 1–5 and 6–7, correspond in structure, display similar terminology, interlock through common motifs and other linking correspondences, and cohere theologically. L. Luker's dissertation (1985), with an extensive history of research (8-88), focuses on the redactional unity expressed through three pervasive themes: Divine Warrior, lament, and the personification of city/nation as female. K. Cuffey's work (1987), also with a history of interpretation (4-124), stresses the coherence of the four units in the book (1–2; 3:1–4:8; 4:9–5:14; and 6–7), focusing on the oracles of doom followed by the promises of hope. C. Shaw (1990, pub. 1993) has argued that Micah was a pro-Davidic prophet whose six oracles (1:2-16; 2:1-13; 3:1–4:8; 4:9–5:14; 6:1–7:7; 7:8-20) are arranged chronologically, derive from various strategic periods in Judean-Israelite history, and date from the years of Jotham's reign (759/58–744/43 BCE) to the time immediately after the capture of Samaria by Shalmaneser V in 722/21 BCE.

5. The Task Ahead. The research and evaluations of the book of Micah focus attention on five major areas of concern for future work. First, further work needs to be done on the text, especially on 1:10-15; 2:6-11; and 6:9-13, 16. Second, exegesis of specific passages calls for careful and extended attention. Third, the criteria used for determining the date and historical background of the various pericopes require reevaluation. Fourth, the TRADITION-historical question of how the book of Micah

came to be and the redactional question of the structure and intention of the present form of the book need further examination. Finally, the theology of the prophet Micah and of the book of Micah deserve careful consideration, along with attempts to discover how these fit into the theological analysis of the entire HB.

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J. T. WILLIS

MICHAELIS, CHRISTIAN BENEDIKT (1680–1764)

Born Jan. 26, 1680, in Elrich (Grafschaft Hohnstein), M. died Feb. 22, 1764, in Halle. He was a nephew of orientalist J. H. MICHAELIS and father of J. D. MICHAELIS. Educated in Halle, he received a master's degree in philosophy (1706), became *ausserordentlicher* professor (1713) and full professor (1914) in philosophy, and subsequently became full professor in theology (1731). An orientalist and theologian of great learning but without literary talent and influence, he participated in his uncle's biblical-philological work. M.'s main service to scholarship lay in his methodical exposition of the Syriac language, in his editorial work on the *Biblia hebraica Halensia* (1720), and in the scholarly and exacting biblical annotations carried out with his uncle.

Works: *Uberiores adnotationes philologico-exegeticae in Hagiographos VT libros* (3 vols., 1720); *Syriasmus id est grammatica linquae syriacae* (1741, 1829[2]); *Dissertatio de Ebraea et affinibus Orientis linquis. . . .* (1764).

Bibliography: *ADB* 21 (1885) 676-77. **L. Diestel,** *Geschichte des AT in der christlichen Kirche* (1869). **E. Hirsch,** *Geschichte der Neuern evangelischen Theologie* 2 (1951) 181. **R. Kittel,** *RE*[3] 13 (1903) 53-54. **J. G. Meusel,** *Lexikon der von Jahre 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen teutschen Schriftsteller* 9 (1809) 133-38 (with bibliography). **J. D. Michaelis,** "Einige Anmerkungen über die Hallische Bibel J. H. Michaelis," *OEB* 1 (1771) 207-22. **O. Podszeck,** "Die Arbeit am AT in Halle zur Zeit des Pietismus," *WZ(H)* (G-Reihe, 7, 5, 1958) 1059-78.

B. SEIDEL

MICHAELIS, JOHANN DAVID (1717–91)

Born Feb. 27, 1717, in Halle, M. died Aug. 22, 1791, in Göttingen. Son of C. B. MICHAELIS and grandnephew of J. H. MICHAELIS, M. pursued theological and oriental

studies in Halle, completing his masters in philosophy in 1739. He spent 1741–42 in England, then in 1745 moved to the new university at Göttingen, where he became a full professor in 1750. M.'s early writings followed conservative orthodox lines (his dissertation defended the antiquity of the Hebrew vowel points), but in the 1750s he assumed a much more critical stance.

M. exerted enormous influence within the young university, and his reputation as an orientalist and biblical philologist was extraordinary. Throughout his life he maintained contact with British scholars, and he introduced R. LOWTH's work into Germany. A competent Syriac and Arabic scholar, he drew upon Near Eastern literary and contemporary evidence to elucidate the Bible. He produced numerous writings on Hebrew and oriental grammar and on biblical word and cultural studies, although in these works he often digressed into trivial details. His work shows the influence of Enlightenment thought that had penetrated biblical exegetical work, which was developing into a historical science.

M.'s translations of the NT and the OT presented the concerns of critical exegesis with some facility and were apparently quite well known. His historical relativization of OT writings is apparent in his *Mosaisches Recht,* in which he maintained that the OT legal collections must be understood from the perspective of their historical origin. One of the eighteenth century's fundamental ideas of a cultural-diachronic view of history also appears in this work: The law of Moses reflects the "childhood of the human race," when culture was more primitive but also more pure and conscientious. After his death M. was praised by J. G. EICHHORN as having contributed considerably to the liberation of the OT from "Buxtorf's darkness."

Works: *Dissertatio de punctuorum Hebraicarum antiquitate* (1739); *Einleitung in die göttlichen Schriften des neuen Bundes* (1750, 1787–88[4]; ET of portions of 1st ed., *Introductory Lectures to the Sacred Books of the NT* [1761]; ET of 4th ed., *Introduction to the NT* [4 vols. in 6, 1793–1801; tr. and annotated by H. Marsh, containing his "A Dissertation on the Original Composition of Our Three Canonical Gospels" in 3, 2, 161-409]); *Compendium antiquitotum Hebraicarum* (1753); *Beurtheilung der Mittel welche man anwendet, die ausgestorbene hebräische Sprache zu verstehen* (1757); *Fragen an die Gesellschaft gelehrter Männer, die auf Befehl Ihro Majestät des Königs von Dänemark nach Arabien reisen* (1762); *Mosaisches Recht* (6 vols., 1770–75, 1776–85[2]; ET *Commentaries on the Law of Moses* [4 vols. 1814]); *Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek* (24 pts., 1771–89); *Teutsche Uebersetzung des alten Testaments, mit Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte* (13 pts., 1769–85); *The Burial and Resurrection of Christ According to the Four Evangelists* (1783; ET 1827); *Neue Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek* (9 pts., 1786–93); *Einleitung in die göttlichen Schriften des alten Bundes* (1787, uncompleted); *Uebersetzung des Neuen Testaments* (2 pts., 1790–92); *Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte* (to NT; 4 pts., 1790–92, completed by T. C. Tychsen); *Lebensbeschreibung von ihm selbt abgefasst, mit Anmerkungen von Hassencamp: Nebst Bermekungen über dessen litterarischen Charakter von Eichhorn, Schulz—und dem Eloguim von Heyne* (1793).

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B. SEIDEL

MICHAELIS, JOHANN HEINRICH (1668–1738)

M. was born July 26, 1668, in Klettenberg (Grafschaft Hohnstein). He completed his studies in Frankfurt a. O. and became *ausserordentlicher* professor of oriental studies at Halle in 1699. In 1709 he was made full professor of theology and in 1717 was awarded the ThD. He died Mar. 10, 1738, in Halle.

M.'s significance for theology in Halle lay, on the one hand, in his collaboration with the *collegium orientale theologicum* founded by A. FRANCKE and, on the other hand, in his nurture of historical criticism, without which the pietistic exegesis (see PIETISM) of his age would have degenerated into pure edification. His chief academic accomplishment consisted of the publication of the *Biblia hebraica Halensia* (1720), which was the collaborative production of the collegium. Under M.'s leadership five manuscripts and nineteen printed editions of the Hebrew text were compared over a period of eighteen years and the main variants noted. The academic worth of this work is not contested; its chief weakness is to be found in its lack of attention to detail. The portion of this work devoted to commentary (*Uberiores adnotationes* [1720]) and stemming from M.'s pen

has less value than the contribution by his nephew, C. B. MICHAELIS.

Works: *Hebraica grammatica facilior* (1702, 1723[5]); *Dissertatio philologica de textu Novi Testament: graeco* (1707); *Biblia hebraica Halensia* (1720); *Uberiores adnotationes philologico-exegeticae in Hagiographos VT libros* (3 vols., 1720); *Dissertationem philologico-criticam de codieibus mss. biblico-hebraicis maxime Erffurtensibus . . . praeside . . . placido eruditorum examini sistit Abrahamus Koll* (1706).

Bibliography: **L. Diestel,** *Geschichte des AT in der christlichen Kirche* (1869), esp. 415-18. **E. Hirsch,** *Geschichte der neuern evangelischen Theologie* 2 (1951) 181. **R. Kittel,** *RE*[3] 13 (1903) 53-54. **J. D. Michaelis,** "Einige Anmerkungen über die Hallische Bibel J. H. M.," *OEB* 1 (1771) 207-22. **O. Podczeck,** "Die Arbeit am AT in Halle zur Zeit des Pietismus," *WZ(H).GS* 7, 5 (1958) 1059-78. **K. H. Rengstorff,** "J. H. M. und seine *Biblia Hebraica* von 1720," *Zentren der Aufklärung* 1 (WSA 15, 1989) 15-64.

B. SEIDEL

MIDDLETON, CONYERS (1683–1750)

Born in Yorkshire, M. attended Trinity College, Cambridge (BA, MA), becoming a fellow in 1706, which he surrendered upon his marriage in 1710. Receiving the doctor of divinity degree (1717), he was appointed principal librarian of the University of Cambridge (1721). M. was involved in controversy throughout much of his life, first with R. BENTLEY, master of Trinity, over internal affairs of the school and the latter's proposals for a new edition of the Greek NT, and then with various writers in defense of M. TINDAL and deistic positions (although he retained ecclesiastical preferment until his death; see DEISM).

In his attack on D. Waterland (1683–1740), a staunch defendant of the historicity of everything in the Bible and an opponent of Tindal, M. challenged the traditional views of biblical INSPIRATION and AUTHORITY, argued for an allegorical, non-historical reading of much of the HB, and traced many of its ideas and practices to paganism. He believed that the inconsistencies among the Gospels call inspiration into question.

With his work on miracles (1748) M. entered the great debate on their credibility and produced a book that temporarily overshadowed D. HUME's significant study that appeared the same year. Protestants had long denied Roman Catholic claims regarding miracles in the present, while retaining belief in miracles in biblical and early church times. H. Dodwell (1641–1711) had placed the cessation of miracles in the fourth century, while W. WHISTON had associated their end with the establishment of the Athanasian-Trinitarian heresy (381 CE), although conceding that the devil had moved in to continue some miraculous activity. M. denied that miracles occurred in the developing church, raised questions even about those in the NT (Gospels excluded), and argued that accounts of miracles were based on fraud and imposture fed by the credulity of the times in which the stories developed. Diabolical possession, miracles, speaking in tongues, etc., were part of the ancient pagan world and could not be denied without simultaneously denying Christian claims.

M., like Hume, laid the bases for the claim that narratives of ancient events must be evaluated with the same criteria of authenticity as those applied to contemporary events. This meant that the division between sacred and profane history, or in later terminology *Heilsgeschichte* and *Geschichte*, could not be sustained and that the miraculous belongs to the conceptual world of the narrator rather than to the actual course of events themselves. M.'s work was influential and controversial not only in England but also in France and Germany.

Works: *A Letter from Rome, Shewing an Exact Conformity Between Popery and Paganism, or the Religion of the Present Romans, Derived from That of Their Heathen Ancestors* (1729, 1741[4]); *A Letter to Dr. Waterland, Containing Some Remarks on His "Vindication of Scripture. . . ."* (1731); *The History of the Life of M. Tullius Cicero* (2 vols., 1741, 1750[4]); *A Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers of the Christian Church* (1748); *An Examination of the Lord Bishop of London's Discourses Concerning the Use and Intent of Prophecy, with . . . a Further Inquiry into the Mosaic Account of the Fall* (1750); *Miscellaneous Works* (4 vols., 1752; 5 vols., 1755), containing a number of previously unpublished works including: "Some Cursory Reflections on the Dispute or Dissension Which Happened at Antioch Between the Apostles Peter and Paul" (2:255-96), "Reflections on the Variations or Inconsistencies Which Are Found Among the Four Evangelists, in Their Different Accounts of the Same Facts" (2:296-376), and "An Essay on the Gift of Tongues" (2:377-414).

Bibliography: *BB* 5 (1760) 3092-101. **R. M. Burns,** *The Great Debate on Miracles: From J. Glanvill to D. Hume* (1981). **N. L. Torrey,** "C. M. and the Continuation of the Historical Argument," *Voltaire and the English Deists* (Yale Romanic Studies, 1930) 154-74. **L. Stephens,** *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (2 vols., 1876, 1902[3]) 1:213-34; *DNB* 37 (1894) 343-48.

J. H. HAYES

MIDRASH

The Hebrew term *Midrash*, from *drš*, "to seek out, investigate, inquire of," refers to (1) the particular mode of scriptural interpretation practiced by the rabbis of the land of Israel and Babylonia in late antiquity, (2) any individual rabbinic interpretation ("a Midrash"), and (3)

the corpus of edited literature composed of rabbinic scriptural interpretations.

1. Midrashic Hermeneutics. As a mode of scriptural interpretation Midrash is characterized by its dense overreading of the biblical text. Every lexical element is deemed to bear syntactic meaning. Meaning also is generated associatively through the juxtaposition of superficially similar textual elements (i.e., words, phrases, verses) from throughout Scripture that are construed as indicating substantive similarities and interrelationships among their discrete contexts (intertextual reading; see INTERTEXTUALITY). Underlying these hermeneutical techniques (see HERMENEUTICS) is the conviction that the scriptural text in all its details constitutes the revealed word of God, hence every textual element is significant and conveys a meaning (frequently multiple meanings) intended by the divine Author; there are no redundancies. Moreover, Scripture is treated as a kind of oracle requiring interpretation; many of the techniques employed by the rabbis are common to ancient dream interpretation, oracle interpretation, and divination (see S. Lieberman [1950]). Thus the act of interpretation is deemed to be an encounter with the revealed mind of God.

A Midrash is simultaneously exegesis and eisegesis: The rabbinic value system and worldview are read into the text, but the textual details themselves associatively generate or trigger the reading. In this manner the ongoing religious significance of the biblical text is salvaged for its latter-day rabbinic interpreters.

2. Types of Midrash. The rabbis distinguish between legal (*midrash halakhah*) and non-legal (*midrash haggadah* or *aggadah*) Midrash. Legal Midrash extends and specifies the laws of the Torah, primarily through the hermeneutical techniques of inclusion, exclusion, and analogy. Rhetorically, it seeks to justify and find normative significance in the precise wording of Scripture (see J. Harris [1994]). The so-called *Baraita of Rabbi Ishmael* (prefaced to *Sipra,* on which see below) enumerates thirteen hermeneutical techniques for legal exegesis of Scripture. Some of the material in the legal midrashic compilations, however, is a series of *post facto* exercises artificially pegging to Scripture rabbinic rulings found in apodictic form in the Mishnah and Tosefta. (Many of these rulings, in fact, are derived from Scripture, but through logical extension of biblical law rather than through overreading of isolated lexical elements in the biblical text; see J. Neusner [1977] 63-71.)

Non-legal Midrash exhibits greater interpretive license. Its methods are primarily associative and figurative; its purposes, didactic and hortatory. For the rabbis the biblical narratives in their minutest textual details became a series of timeless paradigms displaying the underlying values and beliefs of rabbinic culture: the primacy and salvific value of Torah study (already engaged in by the patriarchs); the ubiquity of God's providence, ultimately rewarding the righteous and punishing the wicked measure for measure; the persistence of God's love and concern for the divinely chosen people, notwithstanding the destruction of the Temple and Israel's current subjugation to pagan (subsequently, Christian) Rome; and the trustworthiness of Israel's hope for ultimate vindication and redemption in the messianic future. Non-legal midrashic hermeneutical techniques include filling out of ellipses in the biblical text (some of them manufactured by the Midrashists); concretization and historical application of abstract texts, particularly in poetic passages; juxtaposition and mutual interpretation of discrete verses (intertextual readings); and wordplays. The rabbis (and rabbinic redactors) allowed the validity of multiple non-legal interpretations of any verse. As long as basic tenets of the rabbinic worldview and ethos were not violated, a lesson derived by an authorized interpreter was deemed to have been intended by the divine Author.

3. Midrashic Literature. The corpus of midrashic literature was created in the land of Israel between the third and ninth centuries CE. (Additional midrashic materials are found in the Talmuds of Palestine and Babylonia.) This literature displays a variety of styles and editorial strategies. The earliest documents, the so-called Tannaitic, or halakhic Midrashim dating from the third or fourth century CE, contain both legal and non-legal exegesis and take the form of verse-by-verse commentaries, often supplemented by expansive rhetorical constructions, on entire biblical books. These are: *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* (on Exodus, beginning with chap. 12), *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai* (on Exodus; fragmentarily preserved), *Sipra* (on Leviticus), *Sipre* (on Numbers, beginning with 5:1, and Deuteronomy), and *Sipre Zuta* (on Numbers; fragmentarily preserved). The next documents, from the fourth through sixth centuries, contain only non-legal exegesis and are linguistically and stylistically akin to the TALMUD of Palestine. These are *Bereshit Rabbah* (on Genesis), *Eikha Rabbah* (on Lamentations), *Wayiqra Rabbah* (a series of literary homilies on selected verses from Leviticus), and *Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana* (a series of literary homilies on the synagogue lections for the holidays and special sabbaths of the liturgical year). These documents characteristically make use of a literary-rhetorical structure called a *petiḥta,* which is an extended form of intertextual reading. A third group of documents, from the sixth through ninth centuries, is genuinely homiletical. These texts rework non-legal materials from the earlier documents. They are characterized by the use of halakhic *petiḥtot,* which homiletically connect well-known Mishnaic rulings with the scriptural verse to be expounded. These are *Midrash Tanhuma* (on the entire Pentateuch), *Debarim Rabbah* (on Deuteronomy), *Pesiqta Rabbati* (on synagogue lections for the holidays and special sabbaths), and the second parts of *Shemot Rabbah* (on

Exodus) and *Bemidbar Rabbah* (on Numbers). Later works include midrashic compilations on Song of Songs, Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Psalms, and Proverbs (see H. Strack and G. Stemberger [1991]).

Bibliography: **P. S. Alexander,** "Midrash," *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (ed. R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houldin, 1990) 452-59. **D. Boyarin,** *Intertextuality and the Reading of Midrash* (1990). **M. Fishbane,** *The Garments of Torah* (1989). **S. Fraade,** *From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and Its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy* (1991). **J. Harris,** *How Do We Know This? Midrash and the Fragmentation of Modern Judaism* (1995). **I. Heinemann,** *Darkhei ha'aggadah* (1954²). **M. D. Herr,** "Midrash," *EncJud,* 11:1507-14; "Midreshei Halakhah," *EncJud,* 11:1522-23. **L. Jacobs,** "Hermeneutics," *EncJud,* 8:366-72. **J. L. Kugel,** "Two Introductions to Midrash," *Prooftexts* 3 (1983) 131-55. **J. L. Kugel and R. A. Greer,** *Early Biblical Interpretation* (LEC 3, 1986). **S. Lieberman,** "Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture," *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (1950) 66-82. **J. Neusner,** *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities. XXII. The Mishnaic System of Uncleanness* (SJLA 6, 1977); *Judaism and Scripture* (1986); *What Is Midrash?* (GBS, 1987); *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature* (ABRL 8, 1994). **G. G. Porton,** "Defining Midrash," *The Study of Ancient Judaism* (ed. J. Neusner, 1981) 1:55-92; "Midrash," *ABD* 4:818-22. **D. Stern,** "Midrash," *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought* (ed. A. A. Cohen and P. Mendes-Flohr, 1987) 613-20; "Midrash and Indeterminacy," *Critical Inquiry* 15 (1988) 132-61; *Parables in Midrash: Narrative and Exegesis in Rabbinic Litarature* (1991). **H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger,** *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (1982⁷; ET 1991). **L. Zunz and H. Albeck,** *Haderashot beyisrael* (1954²).

R. S. SARASON

MILGROM, JACOB (1923–)

Born in New York City, Feb. 1, 1923, M. attended Brooklyn college (BA 1943) and the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City (BHL 1943; MHL 1946; DHL 1953). Ordained as a rabbi, he taught HB at the Graduate School of Religion at Virginia Union University (1954–65) before becoming professor of biblical studies at the University of California at Berkeley (1965–93). After retirement he emigrated to Israel.

Two of M.'s early publications were important contributions to prophetic studies (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). In a 1955 article he argued that Jeremiah 1–2 reflects historical and religious conditions prior to the Josianic reform (c. 622 BCE), thus countering a developing tendency in scholarship to date the prophet's work totally to the Babylonian period (post–609 BCE) or later. In a 1964 article he argued that Isaiah 1–5 reflects conditions during the reign of King Uzziah, thereby challenging the long-held view that Isaiah 6 is a narrative concerning the inaugural call of the prophet.

M. is, however, best known for his study of ancient Israelite religion and cult, as reflected especially in the books of Leviticus and Numbers. His work in this area has been informed by some entirely new perspectives on the issues involved, by a thorough utilization of ancient Near Eastern comparative traditions, by detailed attention to rabbinic and medieval Jewish biblical interpretation, and by insights into rituals and regulations gained from general anthropological studies. He has stressed the monotheistic holiness of the HB's priestly material, a holiness enshrined in the Temple and its sanctums, a holiness in which divine presence is threatened only by the pollution created by humankind's impurities and wrongdoings and which attaches itself to the sanctuary requiring ritual purgation. M. has shown how ethical concerns as well as remorse, repentance, and confession and restitution undergird the various rituals and sacrifices of the Temple cult and how the themes of life and death are reflected in practices relating to bodily impurity and diet. (For a synopsis of his views, see his "Priestly ("P") Source," *ABD* [1992] 5:454-61.)

M. follows the views of Y. KAUFMANN in dating the P, or Priestly source, prior to D or the book of Deuteronomy. In an 1976 article M. argued that Deuteronomy presupposes and alludes to material found in JE and P and thus postdates them. Within the priestly materials M. distinguishes P from H, the holiness material located primarily in Leviticus 17–26. He views H as part of a priestly or holiness school redaction found throughout the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), but later than the P material and redaction. He considers both P and H to be preexilic, with P's origins probably to be related to pre-monarchic Shiloh.

M.'s commentaries on Leviticus and Numbers are monumental works interspersed with numerous excursuses that are often self-contained essays. M. has also published numerous articles on issues related to the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, especially issues dealing with cultic and priestly matters arising out of the so-called *Temple Scroll.*

Works: "The Date of Jeremiah, Chapter 2," *JNES* 14 (1955) 65-69; "Did Isaiah Prophesy during the Reign of Uzziah?" *VT* 14 (1964) 164-82; *Studies in Levitical Terminology,* vol. 1, *The Encroacher and the Levite: The Term 'Aboda* (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 14, 1970); "Profane Slaughter and a Formulaic Key to the Composition of Deuteronomy," *HUCA* 47 (1976a) 1-17; *Cult and Conscience: The 'Asham and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance* (SJLA 18, 1976b); *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology* (SJLA 36, 1977); *Numbers* (JPSTC, 1990); *Leviticus* (2 vols., AB 3 and 3a; 1991–).

Bibliography: **D. P. Wright et al.** (eds.), *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of J. M.* (FS, 1995), with

preface by D. N. Freedman (ix-xi) and bibliography of M.'s publications (xiii-xxv).

J. H. HAYES

MILL (MILLS), JOHN (1645?–1707)

An English textual scholar, M. was born at Hardendale (Cumbria), probably in 1645. He was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, became a fellow in 1670, was appointed rector of Bletchington, Oxfordshire, in 1681, and was elected principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, in 1685. He died June 23, 1707.

M's *magnum opus* was his edition of the Greek NT, an undertaking encouraged by E. Bernard (1638–96) with the approval of J. FELL, bishop of Oxford, himself a textual scholar. The enterprise took thirty years, the last ten devoted to writing the prolegomenon. The prolegomenon includes a discussion of the dates and historical settings of the earliest Christian writings, an account of the formation of the NT CANON, and a history of the transmission of the text from the earliest times to M.'s own day, together with a detailed description of manuscripts, versions, and patristic evidence. It also explains his method of dealing with the material. M. reproduced the 1550 text of Stephanus, although he eventually concluded that the Complutensian POLYGLOT preserved a better text. He listed alternative readings on each page, collating the principal manuscripts then available and giving the evidence of the versions and patristic writings. His work contains an estimated 30,000 variant readings.

M's edition, published only fourteen days before his death, contained the fullest account then available of the textual evidence for the NT. It aroused vigorous theological controversy. D. WHITBY (*Examen Variantium Lectionum Johannis Millii S.T.P. in Novum Testamentum* [1710]) argued that its vast number of readings threatened the AUTHORITY of the Scriptures. A. COLLINS, in his *Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713), publicized Whitby's arguments, but R. BENTLEY defended M. in *Remarks upon a Late Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713).

A revised edition of M.'s NT by L. Küster (1670–1716), which added new variants, was published in Holland in 1710. M's large collection of variant readings raised the possibility of producing a Greek NT that was independent of the *textus receptus*. Bentley hoped to produce such an edition, but the scheme did not materialize. Such editions were brought out, however, by E. Wells (1667–1727) between 1709 and 1719 and by D. Mace (d. 1753) in 1729, both on the basis of readings M. made available.

Works: *Novum Testamentum* (1707).

Bibliography: *BB* 5 (1760) 3102-105. **A. Fox,** *J. M. and R. Bentley: A Study of the Textual Criticism of the NT, 1675–1729* (1954). **J. Le Clerc,** *Bibliothèque Choisie* 14 (1708) 350-411. **B. M. Metzger,** *The Text of the NT* (1964) 107-13. **B. Porter,** *DNB* 32 (1894) 388-90.

A. W. WAINWRIGHT

MILMAN, HENRY HART (1791–1868)

Born in Westminster, London, in 1791 and educated at Eton and Brasenose College, Oxford, M. was ordained in the Anglican Church in 1816 and appointed to serve St. Mary's Church, Reading, Berkshire, in 1818. He served as professor of poetry at Oxford from 1821 to 1831; subsequently, he was appointed rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster (1835). In 1849 he was named dean of St. Paul's, London, where he remained until his death. M. wrote poetry, drama, and history in addition to his volumes on religion.

For the development of biblical criticism M.'s one work of significance was a popularly conceived *History of the Jews* (3 vols., 1829–31). The first volume took the story to the death of Jeremiah; the second, to the end of the Roman-Jewish War of 66–70 CE; and the third outlined a sketch of Jewish history from the end of the biblical period to the Napoleonic era. The first volume, included in the Family Library, aroused a storm of controversy. It represented a first seriously conceived and popular attempt in Great Britain to set out the HB story as a connected history and to do so in terms that fully recognized that it belonged within an identifiable phase of human history. The accusation that he wrote the history "like any other history" was valid, since this was part of his intention. By an effort of imaginative reconstruction he endeavored to explain how miracles may have been thought to have occurred, even though they had in actuality taken place within the confines of the natural order.

Written in great haste, the book was not a major critical work of the kind that was beginning to appear in Germany. But by the time a third, substantially revised edition with a new preface appeared in 1863, an awareness of the writings of H. EWALD and other German scholars was current in Great Britain, together with a recognition that the new science of ARCHAEOLOGY of the biblical lands made possible a fresh approach to the subject. M.'s work prepared the way for more scholarly and critically informed work on biblical history.

Works: *History of the Jews* (3 vols., 1829–31, 1863[3]); *The History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire* (2 vols., 1840); *History of Latin Christianity* (6 vols., 1854–55).

Bibliography: **R. E. Clements,** *Biblical Studies and the Shifting of Paradigms, 1850–1914* (eds. H. G. Reventlow and W. R. Farmer, JSOTSup 192, 1995) 246-71. **R. Garnett,** *DNB* 38 (1894) 1-4. **J. S. Hawson,** *Quarterly Review* 126 (1869)

218-47. **W. E. H. Lecky,** *Historical and Political Essays* (1908) 249-74. **A. Milman** (son), *H. H. M., DD, Dean of St. Paul's: A Biographical Sketch* (1900). **C. Smyth,** *Dean Milman* (1949). **A. P. Stanley,** *Essays Chiefly on Questions of Church and State* (1870) 572-91.

R. E. CLEMENTS

MILTON, JOHN (1608–74)

Born in London, M. was educated at St. Paul's School and Christ's College, Cambridge (BA 1629; MA 1632). His earliest extant verses are paraphrases of Psalms 114 and 136, school exercises that anticipate his lifelong interest in the psalms. He translated Psalms 80–88 in 1648 and Psalms 1–8 in 1653 and frequently cites psalms in his works, referring to 126 of the 150 psalms in *De Doctrina Christiana* (1825), his major work of theology.

M. gained notoriety through vehement attacks on the episcopacy, claiming that neither Scripture nor reason authorized the role of Anglican bishops. His divorce tracts attracted so much attention that they were cited in Parliament as a reason for reviving rigid censorship laws. He cited passages from Genesis, Deuteronomy, Matthew, and 1 Corinthians to support his position for allowing divorce on the grounds of incompatibility.

In *De Doctrina Christiana* (written 1655–61), M. espoused principles of biblical interpretation that include knowledge of the original languages of Scripture, examination of the context of the passage, comparison of similar texts, and reliance on the analogy of faith. He opposed allegorical interpretations and emphasized the importance of the literal sense.

Paradise Lost (10 bks., 1667; 12 bks., 1674) amplifies the creation and fall of humankind as depicted in Genesis. In it the archangel Michael reveals to Adam and Eve that the Son of God will redeem humankind and thus allow their descendants to regain paradise within themselves. M.'s imaginative use of Scripture, designed to "assert Eternal Providence" and "justify the ways of God to men" (1:25-26), has shaped readings of Genesis since his time.

The brief epic *Paradise Regained* (1671) follows the story of Christ's temptation by Satan as presented in Luke, with details from Matthew and Mark. Christ is depicted as the perfect pattern of Christian virtue, exhibiting endurance in the face of temptation. *Samson Agonistes* (1671), a portrait of a flawed but heroic human figure, retells the drama of Samson and Delilah in the form of Greek tragedy, elaborating on biblical sources.

Works: *The Works of J. M.* (18 vols., ed. F. A. Patterson, 1931–38); *The Complete Prose Works of J. M.* (5 vols., ed. D. M. Wolfe, 1953–71).

Bibliography: *BB* 5 (1760) 3106-119. **G. B. Christopher,** *M. and the Science of the Saints* (1982). **G. N. Conklin,** *Biblical Criticism and Heresy in M.* (1949). **H. F. Fletcher,** *The Use of the Bible in M.'s Prose* (1929). **A. Guibbory,** *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to M.: Literature, Religion, and Cultural Conflict in Seventeenth-century England* (1998). **J. M. Kee,** "Typology and Tradition: Refiguring the Bible in M.'s *Paradise Lost,*" *Semeia* 51 (1990) 153-74. **J. R. Knott, Jr.,** *The Sword of the Spirit: Puritan Responses to the Bible* (1980). **M. Krouse,** *M.'s "Samson" and the Christian Tradition* (1949). **R. Lejosne,** "La Bible et la droit au divorce selon J. M.," *BTT* (1989) 597-615. **C. S. Lewis,** *A Preface to "Paradise Lost"* (Ballard Matthews Lectures, 1942). **H. R. MacCallum,** "M. and Figurative Interpretation of the Bible," *UTQ* 31 (1962) 397-415. **L. L. Martz,** *The Paradise Within: Studies in Vaughan, Traherne, and M.* (1964). **T. J. O'Keeffe,** *M. and the Pauline Tradition* (1982). **C. A. Patrides,** *M. and the Christian Tradition* (1966). **M. A. Radzinowicz,** *M.'s Epics and the Book of Psalms* (1989). **J. H. Sims,** *The Bible in M.'s Epics* (1962); "Bible, M. and the," *A Milton Encyclopedia* (1978–83) 1:142-63. **J. H. Sims and L. Ryken** (ed.), *M. and Scriptural Tradition: The Bible into Poetry* (1984). **L. Stephen,** *DNB* 38 (1874) 24-41. **E. M. W. Tillyard,** *Milton* (1949²). **D. M. Wolfe,** *M. in the Puritan Revolution* (1941).

J. H. AUGUSTINE

MOFFAT, JAMES (1880–1944)

Born July 4, 1880, M. was educated in his native Glasgow (MA, MD). He held a number of posts during his life: clergy of the Free Church of Scotland, Dundonald (1896–1907) and Broughty Ferry (1907–12); Yates Professor of NT, Mansfield College, Oxford (1912–15); professor of church history, Trinity College, Glasgow (1915–27); and Washburn Professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York (1927–38). He died in New York City June 27, 1944.

M. contributed to biblical studies in several areas, but he is perhaps best known for his work in biblical TRANSLATION. In 1901 he published *The Historical NT,* a new translation, although largely traditional in wording, with the books arranged according to historical order and including explanations for his judgments and critical notes on authorship. His second and much more freshly worded translation of the Bible (NT 1913; OT 1924) received its final revision in 1935. M. wanted this translation to make the same impact on modern readers as the original had had on its readers. The OT translation was controversial in its use of "The Eternal" for the Tetragrammaton, its rearrangement and amendment of the text, and its use of various devices to indicate sources (e.g. J, E). Its language was direct, vigorous, and simple. Lacking any serious competitor, M.'s translation was widely used; and a series of commentaries (*The Moffat NT Commentary*), of which M. was the general editor, was based on it. M. also served as

executive secretary of the RSV committee from its foundation until his death.

M. also made significant contributions through biblical commentary. Five major commentaries (1 Corinthians, 1–2 Thessalonians, Hebrews, the General Epistles, and Revelation) covered most of the second half of the NT. To their exegesis he brought his vast knowledge of the ancient world and his wide reading in contemporary literature.

A third area in which M. contributed to biblical studies lay in his interpretation of biblical scholarship. His introduction to the NT (1911), through its comprehensiveness, mastery of previous literature, and clear understanding of the basic issues, reigned supreme in the English-speaking world for more than a generation and still remains a valuable source for views expressed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In his Hibbert lectures (1921) he sought to introduce the non-specialist reader to the importance of the historical-critical method and to demonstrate the light its use could shed on the NT. In his Shaffer lectures (1942) he attempted to show that use of the historical-critical method need not separate the JESUS of history from the Christ of faith. Here he spoke repeatedly of the divine humanity of Jesus and sought to approach the divine through the human. The Christ of the epistles was not, as extreme liberal thought held, a syncretistic creation of the primitive church. Although he wrote mainly on the epistles, his religion centered on the historical Jesus rather than on any theological system as such. Aware of the work of scholars like F. WREDE and R. BULTMANN, he rejected what he believed to be their overly skeptical views.

M. benefited colleagues and students with a translation of A. von HARNACK's history of the early expansion of Christianity (1904). Through his regular critical surveys of theological writing (of religion, *HibJ* 1912/13–1940/41 and of recent foreign theology, *ExpTim* 1928/29–1940/41), he drew their attention to important publications (both books and articles in learned journals).

M.'s work in a pastorate for sixteen years led to a series of publications aimed to assist those who led worship. These included collections of illustrations from literature for various biblical books and texts, surveys of material useful to the preacher, and published sermons and addresses. During his academic life he continued to preach regularly and remained faithful to the church.

Works: *The Historical NT* (1901); (tr), *The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (2 vols., A. von Harnack, 1904); *Literary Illustrations of Daniel, Mark. . . .* (1905); *G. Meredith: A Primer to the Novels* (1909); *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (1910a) 1-54; *Paul and Paulinism* (1910b); *Revelation* (1910c) 279-494; *Introduction to the Literature of the NT* (1911, 1918³); *The Theology of the Gospels* (1912); *Expositor's Dictionary of Poetical Quotations* (1913); *The Approach to the NT* (Hibbert Lectures, 1921); *Jesus on Love to God, Jesus on Love to Man* (1922); *Hebrews* (ICC, 1924); (ed.) *The Expositor's Year Book* (1925); *Handbook to the Church Hymnary* (1927); *The General Epistles* (MNTC, 1928); *Love in the NT* (1929); *Grace in the NT* (1931); *He and She: A Book of Them* (1933); *His Gifts and Promises* (1934); *A New Translation of the Bible* (1935, various sects. issued separately); *1 Corinthians* (MNTC, 1938); *The First Five Centuries of the Church* (1938); *Jesus Christ, the Same* (Shaffer Lectures, 1942); *The Thrill of Tradition* (1944).

Bibliography: *British Weekly* (Aug. 10, 1944). **A. Gammie,** *Preachers I Have Heard* (1945) 89-91. **A. J. Gossip,** *ExpTim* 56 (1944/45) 14-17.**E. F. Scott,** *DNB, 1941–50* (1959) 602-3.

E. BEST

MONTEFIORE, CLAUDE JOSEPH GOLDSMID

(1858–1938)

The classic example of liberal Jewish thought engaging Christian texts, M. studied at the Berlin Hochschule; but B. JOWETT of Balliol College, Oxford, made more of an impact on him than such great Jewish scholars as S. SCHECHTER (1847–1915), I. Abrahams (1858–1925), and H. Loewe (1882–1940), with whom he worked later. One of the founders of Liberal Judaism in Great Britain, M. brought much of the German school of biblical criticism—and German philosophy—into the shaping of a modern, progressive Judaism dominated by reason and focused on ethics. His calm faith turned his study of NT texts into a dialogue that moved outside the area of apologetics, although most Jews saw him as too much of an apologist for Christianity. They also challenged his radical religious ideas, his rejection of Zionism, and his affirmation of the British way of life, which the traditionalists, fleeing pogroms in Eastern Europe, found threatening to their inherited customs and beliefs. Yet it was M., more than most British Jews, who helped to determine the course of Anglo-Jewry through his thought and through his participation in various Anglo-Jewish organizations. His openness to British scholarship involved him with various universities (in 1892 he gave the Hibbert lectures on the religion of the ancient Hebrews); and in his biblical studies he consistently cited the current German scholars, thus using Strack-Billerbeck in preference to rabbinic commentaries. In 1888 he founded the *JQR*.

M.'s first classic work, indicating his concern for education and his desire to establish Liberal Judaism firmly on the Bible, was his *Bible for Home Reading* (1896), which went through three editions before the turn of the century. Where he found the text too corrupt for translation (as in Job), he stated so and omitted the lines. His approach was often idiosyncratic and homiletic—he placed the creation story at the end of the book because he felt the moral and religious difficulties in the account needed a gradual approach for the ignorant!

M. stressed the importance of the NT for Jewish readers who live in a Christian environment and who know that "religious truth does not come exclusively through a single channel." He perceived new insights and truths in the Gospels but stated as regards the nature and concept of God, "I see little advance in NT teaching, and least of all in the Synoptic Gospels" (1923). Yet he felt that these texts should be read by Jews, and his study of the SYNOPTIC Gospels (2 vols., 1909) is a Jewish commentary for Jewish readers that anticipated much of the work of S. SANDMEL fifty years later. M. did not want the NT to be used in Jewish devotions but felt it could instruct and enlarge Jewish religious thinking. It was, after all, part of ancient Jewish literature; and his work on rabbinic literature and Gospel teachings (1930) established similar language and thought patterns.

M.'s views on JESUS represent the acceptable non-Christian point of view today but created havoc among Jews almost a century ago. Restated in 1918 (*Liberal Judaism and Hellenism,* 125-29) it sounds tame enough: "Jesus [was] not perfect, not sinless, but a striking personality . . . not the one and only Master . . . [but] a noble and illustrious Jew . . . of great achievements . . . whose love and pity stop short of his own critics and antagonists."

The irenic personality of this scholar is perhaps best appreciated when one turns to his most enduring and still popular work, *A Rabbinic Anthology* (1938), edited jointly with the Orthodox scholar H. Loewe, where the Liberal and Orthodox approach confront each other with amiability and mutual respect. Yet M. will be best remembered for his searching examination of Christianity, of Jesus and of PAUL (whom he admired somewhat excessively), and for his openness to a Christian world that he bestrode as a gentleman and a Jew.

Works: *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* (Hibbert Lectures, 1892, repr. 1979); *The Bible for Home Reading* (1896, 1899[3]); *The Book of Psalms* (1901); *The Synoptic Gospels* (2 vols. 1909, 1927[2], repr. 1968); *The Religious Teachings of Jesus* (Jowett Lectures, 1910); *Outlines of Liberal Judaism: For the Use of Parents and Teachers* (1912); *Judaism and St. Paul: Two Essays* (1914, repr. 1973); *Liberal Judaism and Hellenism* (1918); *The OT and After* (1923, repr. 1972); *IV Ezra: A Study in the Development of Universalism* (Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, 1929); *Rabbinic Literature and Gospel Teachings* (1930); (with H. Loewe), *A Rabbinic Anthology* (1938, frequently repr.).

Bibliography: **N. Bentwich,** *C. M. and His Tutor in Rabbinics: Founders of Liberal and Conservative Judaism* (Montefiore Lecture, 1966). **F. C. Burkitt,** *Speculum Religiones* (Montefiore FS, 1929) 1-17. **L. Cohen,** *Some Recollections of C. G. M.* (1940). **W. Jacob,** *Christianity Through Jewish Eyes: The Quest for Common Ground* (1974). **E. Kessler,** *An English Jew: The Life and Writings of C. M.* (1989). **W. R. Matthews,** *C. M.: The Man and His Thought* (1956). **J. Rayner,** *Liberal Judaism: An Introduction* (Montefiore Lecture, 1990).

A. H. FRIEDLANDER

MONTGOMERY, JAMES ALAN (1866–1949)

Born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, M. graduated from the University of Pennsylvania (1887) and devoted much of his life to teaching and administration there and at the Philadelphia School of Divinity. He taught Hebrew (1888–90), then studied in Germany (1890–92). Returning to the United States, he taught at the Philadelphia School of Divinity while earning his PhD (1904) from the University of Pennsylvania, where he later (1909) became professor of Hebrew and Aramaic.

M. was a thorough scholar, best judged by the enduring value of his major works. His first book (1907), based on his dissertation, presented a synthesis of four centuries of Western scholarship on the history of the Samaritan religious community. Concluding that the Samaritans were a sect of the Jews and not a remnant of polytheistic immigrants from the time of the exile, he placed their emergence in the Hellenistic period, anticipating the consensus that emerged in the third quarter of the twentieth century. The book has remained the standard text for introduction to the field of Samaritan studies. M. also wrote commentaries on Daniel and Kings for the ICC, both of which remain standard English-language commentaries, showing mastery of philological details, appreciation of contested positions, and respect for the religious nature of Scripture. He worked with the linguist Z. Harris (b. 1909) on one of the first collections of Ugaritic texts (see UGARIT AND THE BIBLE).

Works: *The Samaritans* (Bohlen Lectures, 1907); *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (1913); *The Origin of the Gospel According to Saint John* (1923); *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ICC, 1927); *History of Yaballa III* (Record of Civilization Sources and Studies 8, 1927); *Arabia and the Bible* (1934); (with Z. S. Harris), *The Ras Shamra Mythological Texts* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society IV, 1935); *The Bible: The Book of God and of Man* (1948); *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Kings* (ICC, ed. H. S. Gehman, 1951).

Bibliography: *BASOR* 117 (1950) 8-13, bibliography. **C. H. Gordon,** "The Montgomery Years," *The Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics* (1986) 33-56. **E. A. Speiser,** *BASOR* 115 (1949) 4-8.

B. WHALEY

MOORE, GEORGE FOOT (1851–1931)

Born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, Oct. 15, 1851, M. graduated from Yale in 1872. He taught four years while studying privately, then entered the senior class at

Union Theological Seminary in New York, graduating in 1877. Ordained in 1878, he served a pastorate at Zanesville, Ohio (1878–83), before becoming professor of OT at Andover Theological Seminary (1883). He moved to Harvard in 1902, becoming professor of religion in 1904, a post he held until his retirement in 1928. He died at Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 16, 1931.

M. served scholarship in a number of ways in addition to his writings: He edited the *Andover Review* (1884–93), *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1889–95), *Harvard Theological Review* (1908–12, 1921–31), and *Harvard Theological Studies* (1916–31). He served as president of the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE (1899) and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Having spent 1895 and 1909–10 in Germany, he was instrumental in transmitting German scholarship to the United States. At Harvard M. was an imposing, influential teacher. He considered religion a universal human phenomenon, with the various religions representing particular instances, a view that paved the way for courses on religion in college curricula.

Early in his career, while he was at Andover, most of his publications were in HB study, including articles in the *Andover Review* and other journals, the *EncBib,* and a commentary on the book of Judges (1895), which is still of great value. At Harvard he branched into religious studies in general and crowned his career with his classic study of Judaism (1927–30). This three-volume work, influenced by his broad study and his friendship with many Jewish scholars, is an informed and sympathetic treatment of early Judaism. (In a famous 1921 article M. castigated Christian scholars for their misrepresentation and caricature of Judaism.) His *Judaism* has remained an authoritative work, although his view that the "normative Judaism" he described had been the culmination of a development begun in the sixth century BCE and that rabbinic Judaism was practically normative throughout the pre-Christian period have proved to be oversimplifications that ignore the diversity of early Judaism. Nonetheless, the work stands as a monument to one of the best scholars in religion ever produced in the United States.

Works: "Alttestamentliche Studien in Amerika," *ZAW* 8 (1888) 1-42; 9 (1889) 246-302; *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (ICC, 1895); *The Literature of the OT* (1913); *History of Religions* (2 vols., 1913–19); "Christian Writers on Judaism," *HTR* 14 (1921) 197-254; "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology," *HTR* 15 (1922) 41-61; *The Birth and Growth of Religion* (1923); *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (3 vols., 1927–30).

Bibliography: **J. Neusner,** " 'Judaism' After M.: A Programmatic Statement," *JSS* 31 (1980) 141-56. **F. C. Porter,** "Judaism in NT Times," *JR* 8 (1928) 30-62. **J. H. Ropes,** *DAB* 13 (1934) 124-25. **M. Smith,** "The Work of G. F. M.," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 15 (1967) 169-79; *EncJud* 12 (1971) 293-94.

J. H. HAYES

MORE, HENRY (1614–87)

One of the Cambridge Platonists, M. was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and spent his life there as a fellow, even though offered a bishopric in the Church of England. First welcoming, but eventually writing refutations of the work of R. Descartes (1596–1650), he came to feel that the Bible was the surest source of truth, even for truths of reason; and he wrote extensively on biblical interpretation and PROPHECY. In *Conjectura Cabalistica* he found that Platonism had been taught by Moses before Plato, in accordance with a tradition that went back to PHILO, many church fathers, and the Renaissance Platonists. An admirer of ORIGEN and a student of the Jewish KABBALAH, he called for a spiritual interpretation of the biblical text that would lead to deeper truths (a process he dubbed "a cabbalistical enterprise"). In expositions of Daniel and Revelation he criticized CALVIN for being too cautious and "historical" in dealing with prophecy and preferred the views of the Anglican J. MEDE. Among his apocalyptic conclusions were the belief that history could be divided into seven ages, that the papal hierarchy was the antichrist, that the millennium would be a glorious age of intimate knowledge of God following the return of Christ, and that hell was not eternal.

Works: *Conjectura Cabalistica: Or, A Conjectural Essay of Interpreting the Minde of Moses* (1653, repr. 1997); *An Exposition of the Seven Epistles to the Seven Churches* (1669); *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos: Or, The Revelation of St. John the Divine Unveiled* (1680); *A Plain and Continued Expostion of the Several Prophecies or Divine Visions of the Prophet Daniel* (1681).

Bibliography: **P. C. Almond,** "H. M. and the Apocalypse," *JHI* 54 (1993) 189-200. **S. Hutin,** *H. M.: Essai sur les doctrines théosophiques chez les Platoniciens de Cambridge* (1966). **A. Lichtenstien,** *H. M.* (1962). **J. H. Overton,** *DNB* 38 (1894) 421-23.

D. D. WALLACE, JR.

MORGAN, THOMAS (d. 1743)

A British Deist (see DEISM) of Welsh origin, for some years pastor of a dissenting congregation in Marlborough, M. was removed from office because of his unorthodox views and subsequently studied medicine. He died Jan. 14, 1743.

Although M. based his thought on natural law and reason, he also believed that God was continually active in the world. He argued that original natural religion

degenerated into polytheism because rebellious angels persuaded people to worship them. Described as a "modern MARCION," he strongly challenged the AUTHORITY of the HB and rejected typological interpretations. Drawing attention to historical inconsistencies in the HB, he rejected the traditional authorship of the Pentateuch (See PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) and Samuel, believed that Daniel was composed from several sources, and questioned the accuracy of miracle stories. He considered both the ritual and moral laws of Moses to be of human origin, and he claimed that Israelite religion was corrupted by Egyptian influence. He gave an unflattering account of Samuel's treatment of Saul, condemned the religious intolerance of prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) and kings, and maintained that David was "the most bloody Persecutor that ever had been known" (*The Moral Philosopher,* 1:334). By contrast, he praised Solomon, Jezebel, and Ahab for their tolerance of other religions.

One of M.'s distinctive theories, which anticipated J. SEMLER and F. C. BAUR, was that early Christianity was divided into two main factions, the Judaizing party led by Peter and the Gentile party led by PAUL, "the great Free-thinker of his Age" (ibid., 1:71). After Nero's persecution, M. argued, the Judaizers prevailed and became the basis for Catholicism. They were intolerant of dissenters, whom they called Gnostics (see GNOSTIC INTERPRETATION). M. dismissed the traditional doctrines of the sacraments and the atonement as the product of Judaistic influence and regarded JESUS as essentially a moral teacher and example. He was indebted to the ethical rationalism of S. Clarke (1675–1729) and W. Wollaston (1660–1724) and the empiricism of J. LOCKE. His views were attacked by several writers, including W. WARBURTON; some of his work was reviewed at length by S. BAUMGARTEN.

Works: *The Moral Philosopher* (3 vols., 1738–40, repr. 1969). *Physico-Theology* (1741).

Bibliography: **G. Gawlick,** "Einleitung," *The Moral Philosopher* (T. Morgan, 1969). **G. Lechler,** *Geschichte des englischen Deismus* (1841, repr. 1965), 370-95. **H. G. Reventlow,** *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* (1985) 396-406. **L. Stephen,** *DNB* 39 (1894) 35-36.

A. W. WAINWRIGHT

MORGENSTERN, JULIAN (1881–1976)

The son of Jewish immigrants who settled in Cincinnati, Ohio, at age thirteen, while attending public school, M. enrolled in the program leading to rabbinic ordination at Hebrew Union College. Graduating from the University of Cincinnati (BA 1901), he was ordained rabbi in the Reform Jewish tradition in 1902. He studied at the universities of Berlin and Heidelberg, earning a PhD from the latter (1904) with a dissertation on sin in Babylonian religion. From 1904 to 1907, he served as rabbi in Lafayette, Indiana, then became an instructor in Bible and Semitic languages at Hebrew Union College, where he remained until attaining emeritus status in 1949. In 1921 he became the first American-born president of his alma mater, a position he held until 1947. In addition to his administrative duties he taught and published, contributing a major article to the *HUCA* from volume 1 (1924) to volume 40-41 (1969–70). He rarely employed medieval Jewish commentaries or the earlier rabbinic sources, and during his tenure as president the school shifted from a traditional doctrinal interpretation of the Bible to a scientific approach characteristic of twentieth-century American Reform Judaism. M. died in Macon, Georgia, at age ninety-five.

M.'s scholarly work focused on the Hexateuch, the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), and the cultural history of Hebrew Scripture. The documentary hypothesis attracted him; he rejected the Mosaic authorship of the Torah in favor of "progressive revelation" and sought to uncover the strata of tradition. He went beyond the basic J, E, D, P of the GRAF-WELLHAUSEN school in at least two particulars: (1) In an article entitled "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch" (*HUCA* 4 [1927] 1-138) he proposed the addition of K, what he called the Kenite document, so named after the Kenite descendants of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses according to Num 10:29-31 (see Judg 4:11). This document was a narrative passage in the larger "Oldest Document," which included also the legal section Exod 34:14-26. (2) He sought to refine further the documentary hypothesis by proposing numerous substrata: D^2, D^3, etc. J^2, J^3, etc., including a substratum of J, represented by Genesis 12–13, as late as the time of Deutero-Isaiah. He published detailed studies of the Pentateuchal codes of law: K (for Kenite), C (for covenant), D, and H; and studies on the "Calendars of Ancient Israel" (*HUCA* 1924, 1935, 1947). He was, at times, responsible for what some might call excessive textual emendation, including the scissors-and-paste technique, as well as a theory to the effect that words were often lost at the ends of lines in manuscripts of biblical POETRY (*HUCA* 25 [1954] 41-83).

In the area of prophetic literature M.'s interest settled primarily on the book of Amos. His studies, earlier published serially in *HUCA* (1936, 1937–38, and 1940), were brought together in book form (1941). In the preface he advanced the thesis that Amos delivered "only one single address . . . that did not require more than a half hour at the very most, one of the most logically and artistically perfect and oratorically effective and inspiring addresses in all literature." With no small reconstruction of the received text he presented his version of Amos's address in "Amos Studies Part

IV: The Address of Amos—Text and Commentary," in *HUCA* 32 (1961) 295-350.

Aside from Amos, among the prophets he had a particular interest in Deutero-Isaiah and the "Oracles Against the Nations." He defended a thesis to the effect that nations bordering on Judea sacked Jerusalem under the leadership of Edom in the year 485 BCE, arousing lasting enmity (*HUCA* for 1956, 1957, and 1960).

An early essay, "Trial by Ordeal Among the Semites and in Ancient Israel" (*HUCA Jubilee Volume* [1925] 113-43), suggested one life-long interest. Although he had written a dissertation in the field of Babylonian religion, he did not further pursue his study of the languages and culture of the Mesopotamian peoples. However, he kept a card file on the rites and customs of the Semites from antiquity to modern times, part of which he drew on for later works (1945, 1966a).

Works: *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion* (1905); *A Jewish Interpretation of Genesis* (1919, 1965²); *Amos Studies I* (1941, completed as "Amos Studies Part IV," *HUCA* 32 [1961] 295-350); *The Ark, the Ephod, and the "Tent of Meeting"* (1945); *The Message of Deutero-Isaiah in Its Sequential Unfolding* (1961); *The Fire Upon the Altar* (1963); *Rites of Birth, Marriage, Death, and Kindred Occasions Among the Semites* (1966a); *Some Significant Antecedents to Christianity* (SPB 10, 1966b).

Bibliography: **B. J. Bamberger,** "The Impact of J. M. on American Jewish Life," *Central Conference of American Rabbis Journal* (April 1957) 1-4; *EncJud* 12 (1971) 318-19. **S. H. Blank,** *Central Conference of American Rabbis Yearbook* (1977) 267-68. **M. Lieberman,** "J. M., Scholar, Teacher, and Leader," *HUCA* (1961) 1-9. **M. A. Meyer and S. H. Blank,** *Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion at One Hundred Years* (1976) 68-316.

S. H. BLANK

MORIN, JEAN (1591–1659)

Born to Calvinist parents, M. converted to Roman Catholicism in 1617 through the influence of P. de Bérulle (1575–1629), the founder of the French Oratory (1611). He joined the Oratorians in 1618, wrote many works on patristics and the text of the Bible, and served as theological adviser to Pope Urban VIII (1639–40).

M. became an authority on the SEPTUAGINT, editing an edition in 1628, and on the Samaritan Pentateuch, first brought to Europe by P. della Valle (1586–1652) in 1616. M. edited the latter for G. Le Jay's (1588–1674) Paris POLYGLOT (vol. 6, pub. in 1632) from a manuscript presented to the Oratory at Paris. In his *Opuscula* he included a Samaritan grammar and LEXICON.

M. became a principal figure in the debate over the reliability of the Hebrew text (MT) of the HB and the origin of the Hebrew vowel points. He argued against the antiquity of the vowel points and for the superiority of the Samaritan, Septuagintal, and VULGATE texts over the MT, which he held had been corrupted. On many positions he was joined in his TEXTUAL CRITICISM by the Protestant L. CAPPEL. M. argued that the text and meaning of the Bible were ambiguous, thus requiring people to be subject to the judgment of the church. In speaking of the Bible, employing a common image, he described it as a wax nose that could be shaped to the form desired by the interpreter.

Works: *De patiarcharum et primatum origine* (1626); *Vetus Testamentum secundum LXX* (3 vols., 1628, 1641²); *Exercitationes ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum* (1631); *mswrt hbryt Excercitations biblicae de Hebraei Graecique textus sinceritate* (1633; enl. ed. with life of M. by the Oratorian father Constantine, 1699); *Diatribe elenchica de sinceritate Hebraei Graecique textus dignoscenda, adversus insanas quorumdam haereticorum calumnias* (1639); *Opuscula Hebraeo-Samaritana. . . .* (1703).

Bibliography: **D. C. Allen,** "Reason and the Text of the Bible," *The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science, and Letters* (1943) 41-65. **P. Aurray,** "J. M. (1591–1659)," *RB* 66 (1959) 397-414. **A. Molien,** *DTC* 10, 2 (1929) 2486-89; *MSHH* 3 (1727) 88-105; 9 (1729) 11-32. **B. Pick,** "The Vowel-Points Controversy in the XVI. and XVII. Centuries," *Hebraica* (= *AJSL*) 8 (1891–92) 150-73. **J.-P. Rothschild,** "Autour du Pentateuque samaritain: Voyageurs, enthousiastes et savants," *Le grand siècle et la Bible* (*BTT* 6, ed. J. Armogath, 1989) 61-74. **R. Simon** (ed.), *Antiquitates ecclesiae orientalis cum notis et vita I. Morini* (1682) 1-117.

J. H. HAYES

MOSES BEN SHEM-TOB DE LEON (c. 1240–1305)

Apart from his Castilian birthplace, M.'s origins are obscure. Until 1291 he resided in Guadalajara, thereafter moving around until he finally settled in Avila. In turning from philosophy to mysticism he was influenced particularly by J. Gikatilla (1248–c. 1305).

M. wrote partly in Hebrew but mainly—for pseudepigraphical reasons—in a debased Aramaic. He left commentaries on the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, but his fame rests on the *Zohar,* a discursive commentary on the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) purportedly originating in the circle of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai (2nd cent. CE); its derivation of Spanish *esnoga* (synagogue) from Hebrew *'eš nogaḥ* (brilliant fire) is one of the anachronistic gaffes it contains. The *Zohar* became the classical text of kabbalism (see KABBALAH), ranking for many Jews alongside the Bible and the TALMUD. Although M. had circulated parts of the *Zohar* piecemeal, the first prints (1558–60) fixed its form; academic proof of its late origin awaited G. Scholem's (1897–1982) work in the twentieth century.

Because of the rambling style the *Zohar's* biblical exegesis is best approached thematically through the generous selections in *Anthology* (3 vols., 1989), with 378 section headings under the following major topics: the Godhead, the "other side" (i.e., evil), creation, man, worship (including Torah), and practical life (ethics, conjugal relations, etc.). An outstanding example of the *Zohar's* kabbalistic spiritualization of practical institutions is the metaphorical play that relates the post-menstrual regulations in Leviticus to the fifty-day interval between Passover and Pentecost (Shabu'oth) that, in celebration of the Sinaitic revelation, is pictured as God's taking Israel as bride (I. Tishby and F. Lachower [1989] 3:1242).

Works: *Zohar* (Mantua, 1558–60[1]; Cremona, 1559–60; partial ET, H. Sperling and M. Simon (5 vols., 1931–34, 1984[2]).

Bibliography: **D. C. Matt,** *Zohar: The Book of Enlightenment* (1983). **G. Scholem,** *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (Hilda Shook Lectures, 1946); *EncJud* 12 (1971) 425-27; 16 (1971) 1193-216. **I. Tishby and F. Lachower,** *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts* (3 vols., tr. D. Goldstein, 1989).

R. LOEWE

MOULE, CHARLES FRANCIS DIGBY (1908–)

Born in Hangchow, China, to second-generation missionary parents of the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society, M. matriculated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1927. He read classics and became fascinated with Platonism, although during his years of theological study at Ridley Hall, Cambridge (1931–32), he began to realize the distance from Jerusalem to Athens. In 1931–32 he won prizes in patristics (the Evans) and in SEPTUAGINT studies (the Jeremie), and covered the syllabus of an honors degree in theology to win a university scholarship (the Crosse). He served as curate of St. Mark's Church, Cambridge; St. Andrew's Church, Rugby (1934–36); and as dean of Clare College, Cambridge (1944–51). In 1944 he was appointed assistant lecturer in divinity at Cambridge, lecturer in 1947, and Lady Margaret's professor in 1951, where he served for a quarter century.

Throughout his academic career M.'s passion was to show that rigorous historical investigation into the beginnings of Christianity and the NT was a necessary part of Christian devotion, and, if consistently applied, served to substantiate rather than discredit Christian claims about JESUS of Nazareth. He opposed the *Leben Jesu Forschung* of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century liberal Protestantism and the theological program of R. BULTMANN, both of which distinguished sharply, albeit in very different ways, between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith. Instead, M. claimed that the Jesus of history and the Jesus of faith must have stood to a large extent in harmony with one another. This is the only plausible way to account for such phenomena as the church, the NT, and the claim throughout the diverse documents of the NT that Jesus was a "supra-individual" person who summed up the Hebrew Scriptures, Israel itself, and the church.

M. preferred to speak, therefore, of "development" rather than "evolution" in the early Christian understanding of Jesus. Evolution implies the emergence of new species with little resemblance to the original. "Development," on the other hand, suggests that the historical Jesus possessed the qualities described by more advanced christologies but that these qualities were not within the grasp of the earliest Christians.

Although M.'s work has had its widest influence in the area of christology, he has written on numerous themes relevant to NT study. One of his most significant contributions outside christology has been his argument that the atonement is best explained using the model of "costly reconciliation" rather than that of "propitiatory sacrifice." *The Birth of the NT* provides a useful guide to his perspective and summarizes some of his more technical work.

Works: *An Idiom Book of NT Greek* (1953, 1955); *The Sacrifice of Christ* (1956); *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon: An Introduction and Commentary* (CGTC, 1957); *Worship in the NT* (ESW 9, 1961); *The Birth of the NT* (HNTC, 1962, 1966, 1981[3]); *The Gospel According to Mark* (CBC, 1965); *The Phenomenon of the NT* (SBT 1, 1967); *The Holy Spirit* (1978); *Essays in NT Interpretation* (1982).

Bibliography: **B. Lindars and S. Smalley** (eds.), *Christ and the Spirit in the NT* (FS, 1973) ix-xvi.

F. S. THIELMAN

MOULE, HANDLEY CARR GLYN (1841–1920)

Born at Fordington, M. pursued classical studies at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1859. In 1867 he wrote describing a determinative event for his future, "I was able to find and to accept pardon and peace through the satisfaction of the Redeemer" (J. Harford and F. MacDonald [1922] 48). From that time he was both pastorally and academically a formidable figure in British evangelicalism. A strong element of classical erudition and historical realism combined in his exegetical approach with a lively sense of personal obligation to JESUS Christ as the only means of access to God. The number of his works that have been reprinted gives testimony to his continuing influence, as does the persistent tendency among senior professors of NT at Cambridge to combine serious scholarly work with more explanatory efforts. During his lifetime his service as

the first principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, Norrisian Professor of Divinity at the same university, and then as bishop of Durham, succeeding B. F. WESTCOTT, provides ample evidence of the reception given his distinctive views.

Works: *Outlines of Christian Doctrine* (1889); *Veni Creator: Thoughts on the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit of Promise* (1890); *Charles Simeon* (English Leaders of Religion, 1892); *The Epistle to the Philippians* (1893); *Philippian Studies: Lessons in Faith and Love from St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* (1897, 1898²); *Colossian Studies: Lessons and Faith and Holiness from St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon* (1898); *Ephesian Studies* (1900); *Christus Consolator* (1915).

Bibliography: **J. Baird,** *The Spiritual Unfolding of Bishop H. C. G. M.* (1926). **J. B. Harford and F. C. MacDonald,** *H. C. G. M., Bishop of Durham: A Biography* (1922). **W. Lock,** *DNB, 1912–21* (1927) 390-91.

B. CHILTON

MOULTON, RICHARD GREEN (1849–1924)

A leader of the literary study of the Bible that enjoyed a wide influence in the early twentieth century, M. was born in Preston, England, and educated at the universities of London (AB), Cambridge (AB, MA, hon. LLD), and Pennsylvania (PhD). He lectured in literature both at Cambridge and London before becoming professor of English literature (1892–1901) and of LITERARY THEORY and interpretation and head of the department of general literature (1901–19) at the University of Chicago.

M. believed that the extraordinary literary merit of the Bible was in danger of being lost due to historical-critical and theological concerns. More important, he insisted that the latter interests cannot be pursued adequately unless the biblical texts are understood in terms of their exact literary form. Knowledge of literary morphology ("the inquiry into the foundation forms of literature"), therefore, is essential to historical and theological interpretation. M. believed that the need to assert the fundamental connection between literary structure and meaning was especially acute in the case of the Bible because of the arbitrary way in which rabbinical and medieval commentators had set down the received text in a series of numbered sentences for commentary, by which all traces of biblical drama, lyric, rhetoric, or story form were entirely lost.

In *The Literary Study of the Bible* (1896) M. produced a learned analysis of the literary morphology of the Bible based on the then-current science of comparative literature. He discussed the unique features of Hebrew literature, then presented a classification of biblical literary forms—e.g., lyric POETRY, epic and history, rhetoric, wisdom, and PROPHECY, with their sub-classes. In his influential *The Modern Reader's Bible*, M. arranged and printed the text of the RV so as to highlight its literary forms and bring out their connectedness, what he saw as the Bible's "unity of a dramatic plot." Working with a literary rather than a theological HERMENEUTIC, he assumed that the unity of the closed CANON reflected a unique dramatic unity. He believed that the literary study of the Bible would demonstrate that Hebraic literature was equal to the greatest literature of Greece.

Works: *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist: A Study of Inductive Literary Criticism* (1885); *The Ancient Classical Drama: A Study of Literary Evolution* (1890); (ed.), *The Modern Reader's Bible* (25 vols., 1895–1923; 1 vol. ed., 1907); *The Literary Study of the Bible* (1896); *A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Bible* (1901); *The Moral System of Shakespeare* (1903); *World Literature and Its Place in General Education* (1911); *The Modern Study of Literature* (1915); *The World Bible at a Single View* (1918).

Bibliography: **M. Buss,** "The Study of Forms," *OT Form Criticism* (TUMSR 2, ed. J. H. Hayes, 1974) 40-42. **W. Moulton,** *Richard Green Moulton* (1926).

J. C. LIVINGSTON

MOWINCKEL, SIGMUND OLAF PLYTT (1884–1965)

M. graduated from the theological faculty of the University of Oslo (1908; ThD 1916), where he was research fellow in OT (1915–17), *dosent* (1917–22), *professor extraordinarius* (1922–33), and *professor ordinarius* (from 1933 until his retirement in 1954). After graduation he studied HB subjects and ASSYRIOLOGY at Copenhagen, Marburg, and Giessen (1911–13). He explicitly acknowledged the influence of H. GUNKEL at Giessen and of H. GRESSMANN, who was professor in Berlin. Already as a student M. had become interested in the study of Norse sagas; through S. Bugge's (1833–1907) and H. Schück's (1855–1947) studies of Norse MYTHOLOGY he came to see that there was a connection between myth and cult. The works of V. Grønbech (1873–1948) opened his eyes to the unity of the cultic-liturgical and the personally experienced aspects of religion.

In the 1930s M. joined the Buchmanite Oxford Group movement. He was ordained in 1940 and remained an active member of his local (Lutheran) congregation all his life.

M.'s literary production was immense, spanning over half a century, from his first articles on the HB prophets, published in *NTT* (1909), to the posthumous publication of his last works in 1967. In 1916 he published three books, which together with his studies on the prophets

indicated his special spheres of interest. That year he gained his doctorate in theology with a dissertation on Nehemiah; in addition he published works on Ezra and on the royal psalms in the HB.

In his last years M. resumed his studies on Ezra and Nehemiah in a three-volume work (1964–65) in which he maintained and elaborated his previous positions: The memoirs (*Denkschrift*) of Nehemiah can best be explained against the background of the form and style of oriental royal inscriptions. The appropriate place for Nehemiah 8 is directly after Ezra 10. The memoirs of Ezra were not written by Ezra but by a later author prior to the chronicler. Ezra's "book of the law" is the Pentateuch as we know it.

Above all, M.'s works on the HB psalms made him a world-famous scholar. In *Kongesalmerne* (1916) he contended, in contrast to Gunkel, that kingship in Israel is to be understood as "sacral" kingship and that the kings referred to in the psalms are the actual Israelite and Judean kings. The composing of psalms was as old as Israel itself and took place in connection with the national religious feasts. M. defined a feast in the ancient Near East, and thus in Israel, as the mythical-sacramental dramatic repetition and reexperience of creation and salvation. These ideas were fully elaborated in his main work, *Psalmenstudien* (6 vols., 1921–24). In the preface to vol. 1 he emphasized two fundamental points that were revolutionary at the time: (1) the importance of cult in religion and (2) the need for sympathetic understanding of the attitudes and practices of ancient human beings.

The most discussed of M.'s *Psalmenstudien* was vol. 2, with his hypothesis of the enthronement festival of Yahweh. He contended that certain psalms, including 47, 93, 95–100, and at least twenty others, described the enthronement of Yahweh through the analogy of the enthronement of the Israelite-Judean kings. M. found the prototype for this enthronement outside Israel, notably in Babylon. The enthronement festival was not a new or special festival but functioned as one element in the traditional new year or fall festival. The enthronement of Yahweh in the ritual raised the hope for blessings and prosperity in the year to come.

The second part of *Psalmenstudien* vol. 2 discusses the origin of Israelite eschatology. M. found that the substance of eschatology originated in the cultic enthronement festival, more specifically in the day of Yahweh, on which the great salvific acts of creaton and exodus were repeated and confirmed. If the substance of eschatology, its ideas and forms, originated in the enthronement festival, then the Jewish hope for the future and eschatology as such originated in a certain historical situation—the breakdown of the national existence of the covenant people. M. later came back to the question of HB eschatology (1951a). His psalms research was summed up in *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (1951b). His *Psalmenstudien* were reprinted in 1961 with a noteworthy new preface.

M. wrote several works on the HB prophets, e.g., on Isaiah (1925) and his disciples (1926), both in Norwegian. Here he was still in line with such previous commentators as B. DUHM, K. MARTI, and G. HÖLSCHER. In his main work on PROPHECY (1946a) he discussed the traditio-historical method (see TRADITION HISTORY) of the Swedish Uppsala school. He admited the importance of oral tradition but at the same time maintained the equally important subsequent literary stage.

In a series of studies M. took up the source problems in the Hexateuch (1946b, 1964a, 1964b): The priestly source is an independent source written in Judah after the exile. E represents a continued oral tradition of material found in J, which is the oldest source and dominates the course of events. In a book on the DECALOGUE (1927), he sought to locate its historical place in Exodus 20, concluding that the oldest decalogues (like Exod 34:14-26) had their place in the cult, while the later ones, although composed according to the ancient pattern, had a more general religious and moral outlook.

M.'s many annotated translations of OT books culminated in a five-volume annotated translation of the entire HB (1929–63), for which he bore primary responsibility; this work proved very helpful to the translators of the Norwegian Church Bible (1978). M. treated more theological questions in *The OT as Word of God* (1938). In two posthumously edited books in Norwegian, he dealt with the oldest history of Canaan (1965) and of the land of Israel (1967).

Works: *Ezra den skriftlaerde* (1916a); *Kongesalmerne i det Gamle Testamente* (1916b); *Statholderen Nehemia* (1916c); *Psalmenstudien* (6 vols., 1921–24, repr. 1961); *Profeten Jesaja* (1925); *Jesaja-disiplene* (1926); *Le Décalogue* (EHPhR 16, 1927); *Det Gamle Testament som Guds ord* (1938; ET, *The OT as Word of God* [1959]); *Prophecy and Tradition* (1946a); *Zur Frage nach dokumentarischen Quellen in Josua 13–19* (1946b); *Religion og kultus* (1950; GT 1953; ET, *Religion and Cult* [1981]); *Han som kommer* (1951a; ET, *He That Cometh* [rev. ed., 1956]); *Offersang og sangoffer* (1951b; ET, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* [2 vols., 1962]); *Zum israelitischen Neujahr und zur Deutung der Thronbesteigungspsalmen* (1952); *Real and Apparent Tricola in Hebrew Psalm Poetry* (1957); *Erwägungen zur Pentateuchquellenfrage* (1964a); *Studien zu dem Buche Ezra–Nehemia* (3 vols., 1964–65); *Tetrateuch, Pentateuch, Hexateuch* (1964b); *Palestina fr Israel* (1965); *Israels opphav og eldste historie* (1967).

Bibliography: **D. R. Ap-Thomas,** "An Appreciation of S. M.'s Contribution to Biblical Studies," *JBL* 85 (1966) 315-25. **J. Barr,** "M., the OT, and the Question of Natural Theology: The Second Mowinckel Lecture—Oslo, 27 November 1987," *StTh* 42 (1988) 21-38. **H. M. Barstad and M. Ottosson** (eds.), "The Life and Work of S. M.," *SJOT* 2 (1988) 1-91 (contains

articles by various scholars on different aspects of M.'s work). **A. Bentzen,** "Om S. M.'s indsats i den gammeltestamentlige forskning," *NTT* 45 (1944) 163-75. **R. E. Clements,** *HHMBI,* 505-10. **S. Hjelde,** "S. M.'s Lehrjahre in Deutschland," *ZAW* 109 (1997). **G. Hölscher,** "S. M. som gammeltestamentlig forsker," *NTT* 24 (1923) 73-138. **A. S. Kapelrud,** "Die skandinavische Einleitungswissenschaft zu den Psalmen," *VF* 11 (1966) 62-93; "S. M. and OT Study," *ASTI* 5 (1967) 4-29. **D. Kvale and D. Rian,** *S. M.'s Life and Works* (1984; repr. in *SJOT* 2 [1988] 95-168). **D. Rian,** " 'The Insights I Have Gained': Prof. S. M. as He Saw Himself," *Text and Theology: Studies in Honour of Professor DTh Magne Saebø* (1994, ed. A. Tångberg) 228-36. **M. Saebø,** "S. M.'s siste arbeider," *TTK* 45 (1974) 161-73; "S. M. and His Relation to the Literary Critical School," *StTh* 40 (1986) 81-93; *TRE* 23 (1994) 384-88.

D. RIAN

MUILENBURG, JAMES (1896–1974)

Born in Orange City, Iowa, M. grew up in a Dutch Reformed family, majored in classics at Hope College in Holland, Michigan, and graduated *magna cum laude* in 1920. He then became an instructor in the department of English at the University of Nebraska, completing his MA in English history there in 1922. His thesis, "The Embassy of Everaar van Weede, Lord of Dykvelt, to England in 1687," reflected his European heritage. A second publication, *Specimens of Biblical Literature,* which appeared the next year, anticipated his future interest. In 1926 Yale University awarded him a PhD in the history and literature of religion. His dissertation, "The Literary Relations of the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,*" was published in Marburg, Germany, in 1929.

M. continued his teaching career in the department of history and literature of religion at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, (1926–32). On sabbatical leave he studied in Germany with K. BUDDE and attended the seminars of H. GUNKEL, who of all biblical scholars influenced M. most. Consequently, the discipline of *Gattungsforschung* informed his research before many American scholars recognized its value.

In 1932 M. became dean of the college of arts and sciences at the University of Maine. His accomplishments there during an era of depression and unemployment brought him national acclaim as an educator. After four years, however, he resigned to become Billings Professor of OT Literature and Semitic Languages at the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California. Concomitant with this change to a theological setting was his ordination in the Congregational Church.

Three emphases marked M.'s early teaching as a biblical scholar: He required students to learn the historical method; he stressed *Gattungsforschung* both as a corrective to source criticism and as an independent discipline; and he articulated theological dimensions of the Bible to disavow prevailing evolutionary and naturalistic interpretations.

Moving to Union Theological Seminary in 1945, M. occupied the chair of Davenport Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages. Over the years at Union he received international recognition for eloquent teaching and meticulous scholarship. Although his teaching embraced much of the CANON, he developed special affinity for the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). His commentary on Second Isaiah (1956) has remained a landmark in research. While employing the insights of FORM CRITICISM, the commentary altered them significantly, heralding a distinctively LITERARY approach. Another publication, *The Way of Israel* (1961), which appeared near the end of his tenure at Union, embraced the diversity of Scripture under the single rubric *derek* (way), providing a prolegomenon to biblical theology.

For many years M. was a member of the committee that produced the RSV, the OT section of which appeared in 1952. He worked on Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Obadiah, and Psalms. In 1953–54 he served as resident director of the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH in Jerusalem. During that time he studied the Qumran manuscripts, participated in excavations at Tell es-Sultan (ancient Jericho), and made soundings near Khisket el Mefjir, a site he proposed for ancient Gilgal.

Toward the close of his teaching career, M. chose the designation RHETORICAL CRITICISM to identify his literary-theological slant on Scripture. On retirement from Union in 1963 he continued to develop this approach while serving as Gray Professor of Hebrew Exegesis and OT at San Francisco Theological Seminary (1963–71). His presidential address to the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE in 1968 presented his views under the title "Form Criticism and Beyond." The syntax was carefully crafted; neither a repudiation nor a replacement of form criticism, the "beyond" of rhetorical criticism is rather a supplement. It stresses the particular in literature, whereas form criticism stresses the typical. Rhetorical criticism involves a close reading of texts that articulates structural patterns and stylistic devices for the purpose of theological discernment. M. anchored the approach in the broad context of biblical research, emphasized its lineage in the rhetorical heritage of the Western world, and urged scholars to claim its legitimacy. His challenge has provided a major impetus for current literary studies of the Bible.

The application of rhetorical criticism to the book of Jeremiah occupied M.'s last years. Living in Claremont, California (1971–74), he labored on a full-length commentary that would incorporate rhetorical insights with those of other disciplines. Portions of his research appeared in articles, but the commentary itself was never completed.

Wide-ranging interests and competency characterized M.'s career. Besides his contributions to HB studies he

published in church history, NT studies, the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, and homiletics. His pastoral gifts were evident in the churches he served, the sermons he preached, and the prayers he composed. Individuals often sought him out as counselor and confidant, and he was an inspired and inspiring mentor who directed numerous students in doctoral studies. Six honorary doctorates from colleges, universities, and seminaries attest to his stature in academe.

Works: "The History of the Religion of Israel," *IB* (1952) 1:292-348; "A Study in Hebrew Rhetoric: Repetition and Style," VTSup 1 (1953) 97-111; "The Beginning of the Gospels and the Qumran Manual of Discipline," *USQR* 10 (1955) 23-29; "Introduction and Exegesis to Isaiah, Chapters 40–66," *IB* (1956) 5:381-773; "The Form and Structure of the Covenantal Formulations," *VT* 9 (1959) 347-65; "The Gains of Form Criticism in OT Studies," *ExpTim* 71 (1960) 229-33; *The Way of Israel* (Religious Perspectives 5, 1961); "The Linguistic and Rhetorical Usage of the Particle *ki* in the OT," *HUCA* 32 (1961) 135-60; "OT Prophecy" and "Ezekiel," *PCB* 475-83, 568-90; "Jeremiah the Prophet," *IDB* (1962) 2:823-35; "The Office of the Prophet in Ancient Israel," *The Bible in Modern Research* (ed. J. P. Hyatt, 1965) 74-97; "A Liturgy on the Triumphs of Yahweh [Exod 15:1-18]," *Studia Biblica et Semitica* (ed. W. C. van Unnik and A. S. van der Woude, 1966) 233-51; "Form Criticism and Beyond," *JBL* 88 (1969) 1-18; "The Terminology of Adversity in Jeremiah," *Translating and Understanding the OT* (ed. T. Frank and W. L. Reed, 1970) 42-63; "Baruch the Scribe," *Proclamation and Presence* (ed. J. I. Durham and J. R. Porter, 1970) 215-38; *Hearing and Speaking the Word: Selections From the Works of J. M.* (Scholars Press Homage Series 7, ed. T. F. Best, 1984).

Bibliography: **B. W. Anderson,** "The New Frontier of Rhetorical Criticism: A Tribute to J. M.," *Rhetorical Criticism: Essays in Honor of J. M.* (PThMS 1, ed. J. J. Jackson and M. Kessler, 1974) ix-xviii. **F. Buechner,** *Now and Then* (1983) 15-21. **J. J. Jackson,** *HHMBI* 599-607.

P. TRIBLE

MUJERISTA BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

The actual way Latinas use the Bible provides the starting point for mujerista biblical interpretation. Mujerista (from *mujer,* meaning "woman") interpretation expresses the struggle of Latina women for liberation. Several key elements enter into mujerista considerations of biblical texts.

First, Latino Christianity has been heavily influenced by the Spanish Roman Catholicism of the sixteenth century, which had limited biblical content. African (see AFROCENTRIC INTERPRETATION) and Amerindian religious understandings and practices, added later, have also contributed to present-day Latino Christianity. Catholicism's current attention to the Bible and the centrality of Scripture in Protestant churches, especially in the evangelical and charismatic traditions (including Pentecostal churches), also influence an increasing number of Latino Christians. These factors, plus the widespread use of the Bible in the dominant American (United States) culture, are taken into account in mujerista biblical HERMENEUTICS.

Second, although Latinas' everyday use of the Bible is the starting point of mujerista hermeneutics, it must be recognized that a great number of Latinas do not consult the Bible in their daily lives. The complexity of the biblical writings, the variety of messages they contain (some of them contradictory), and the difference between the Bible's and Latinas' social-historical contexts make Scripture a difficult source to use appropriately.

Third, the critical lens of mujerista theology is LIBERATION, which for Latinas is a matter of physical and cultural survival. Indeed, in mujerista hermeneutics the Bible is accepted as divine revelation and as authoritative (see AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE) only insofar as it contributes to Latinas' liberation endeavors.

Using Latinas' liberation as the critical lens establishes the primary systematic criterion for use of the Bible: the needs of those engaging Scripture. To understand this, one has to realize that the majority of Latinas know the Bible mostly from hearing it read in their churches, i.e., through a kind of oral tradition rather than through the reading and studying of texts. Latinas listen to and employ biblical stories in their discussions and struggles, not so much because they believe Scripture is the Word of God that tells them what to do or not to do, but because it aids them in understanding what is happening and in gaining courage for their efforts. The Bible stories taken up by Latinas are those that involve characters they can understand, characters who have also struggled for survival. Thus the appropriation of stories from a book Latinas know as important and authoritative often is a highly creative process in which central elements of the stories can be changed while peripheral ones are highlighted. It is not that the integrity of the text is unimportant for Latinas; it is, rather, that the need to survive takes precedence.

Being linked to the people of biblical stories helps Latinas' communities understand that their struggle is an ancient one. The stories appropriated by Latinas put them in contact with their forebears and teach them that they must never grow weary of contesting oppression; for although they may not be able to change oppressive situations, they can provide inspiration for others and can contribute to the favorable conditions others need to become involved in the struggle for liberation. For all oppressed persons, such a struggle involves becoming subjects of their own history. This requires that women and men become strong moral agents capable of making choices, of acting, of challenging, and of creating meaning even in the midst of oppression. Lat-

inas are aware of the dangers presented by the use of the Bible as an authority when they have little or nothing to say about the way it is interpreted. Accepting as legitimate an interpretation of the Bible that is not their own—that is not determined by Latinas—can result in others controlling their lives.

A non-biblical Christianity has been a good vehicle for the inclusion of Amerindian and African beliefs and practices in Latino Christianity, an inclusion that is at the heart of popular religiosity. It is questionable whether this will continue if Latinas do not have a say in how to interpret and apply the Bible. Many Latinas who use the Bible do so under the tutelage of priests and pastors who control its interpretation and utilization in Latino churches. Exclusion from the process of interpretation is not conducive to the development of Latinas' moral agency. Moreover, the majority of Latinas who regularly use the Bible seem to do so in a predominantly individualistic and pietistic way. Although such appropriation is questionable insofar as the development and enhancement of moral agency is concerned, for Latinas it may be an appropriate starting place if they reject interpretation that limits the use of Scripture to personal consolation and salvation.

In mujerista biblical hermeneutics the Bible is intrinsic to a process of conscientization, i.e., a process of critical reflection on action that leads to an awareness of oppression. In this process the Bible should be used to learn how to learn—to involve the people in an "unending process of acquiring new pieces of information that multiply the previous store of information" (J. Segundo [1976] 97-124). The Bible is a treasury of such information: stories of valiant women, of women who found ways to survive in the midst of the worst oppression, of communities of resistance. These stories help to make obvious problems that may have existed for a long time but that Latinas have failed to recognize. Such appropriation of the biblical repository does not apply what the Bible says directly to the situation at hand; rather, it makes use of the Bible an important element in the development of moral agency. Thus, in mujerista biblical interepretation Scripture plays an important role as Latinas reflect on who they are as Christians and on what attitudes, dispositions, goals, values, norms, and decisions they value as they struggle to survive and to liberate themselves.

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A. M. ISASI-DÍAZ

MUNCK, JOHANNES (1904–65)

Born in Copenhagen Mar. 3, 1904, M. received his ThD from the University of Copenhagen, where he also taught until 1938. In that year he became professor of NT at the University of Aarhus, remaining there until his death, Feb. 22, 1965. He began his scholarly work with studies of the church fathers, especially CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, but became best known for his works on PAUL. He interpreted Paul in terms of his role in the redemptive promises of God (*Heilsgeschichte*) rather than in terms of the dialectic between Jewish and gentile Christianity (the Tübingen school).

Works: *Untersuchungen über Klemens von Alexandria* (FKGG 2, 1933); *Petrus und Paulus in der Offenbarung Johannis: Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der Apokalypse* (LSSk.T 1, 1950); *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (1954; ET 1959); *Christus und Israel: Eine Auslegung von Romans 9–11* (AJut.T 7, 1956); *Apostlenes Gerninger i Dansk Oversaettelse med Noter* (AJut.T 9, 1964); *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31, 1967).

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G. F. SNYDER

MÜNSTER, SEBASTIAN (1488–1552)

Born in Ingelheim in 1488, M. died in Basel in 1552. He joined the Franciscans in 1505 and studied with the noted Hebraist C. PELLICAN. After converting to Protestantism in 1524 he taught at the University of Heidelberg, moving to the University of Basel in 1528, where he held the position of professor of theology until his death.

Like P. FAGIUS, M. SERVETUS, and other Christian Hebraists, M. was convinced that there was great intellectual continuity between rabbinic thought and early Christian beliefs. The scope of his Hebraica interest and production was immense: By the end of the sixteenth century many thousands of copies of his almost threescore publications in virtually every aspect of Hebraica were in circulation. In addition to his own fine grammars and POLYGLOT dictionaries (see DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS) he compiled and translated the works of E. LEVITA, with whom he often collaborated and whose work he introduced to the community of Christian scholars. After compiling an Aramaic LEXICON in 1523, M. produced a complete Aramaic grammar in 1527. His publication of Hebrew texts of Malachi (1530), Amos (1531), and Isaiah (1535) was significant because of their accuracy and their inclusion of D. KIMHI's rationalist medieval commentaries.

M.'s most important contribution to scriptural studies was his translation of the entire HB from Hebrew to

Latin (1534–35). This publication included his own commentaries, a distillation of rabbinic thought and opinion that proved important to the translators of early English versions of the Bible. He also translated the Gospel of Matthew from Greek to Hebrew (1537), to which he appended his own notes in order to demonstrate the intellectual continuity between rabbinic thought and early Christian ideas. In addition, M. published the work of MAIMONIDES, A. IBN EZRA, JOSEPHUS, and Moses ben Jacob of Coucy (fl. 13th cent.) and other rabbinic works as well as missionary treatises.

Work: *Epitome hebraicae grammaticae* (1520); *Dictionarium Chaldaicum* (1523); *Dictionarium hebraicum* (1523, 1546); *Institutiones grammaticae in hebraeum linguam* (1524); *Chaldaica Grammatica* (1527); *Compendium hebraicae grammaticae* (1527);; *Dictionarium trilinguae* (1530); *Catalogus omnium praeceptorum legis Mosaicae* (1533); *Biblia* (1534–35); *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (1537); *Fides Christianorum et Judaeorum: Einfürung zum Evang. Matth.* (1537, 1582–83); *Messias of the Christians and the Jews* (1539; ET 1655).

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J. FRIEDMAN

MÜNTZER, THOMAS (c. 1489–1525)

Born in Stolberg and educated in Leipzig and Frankfurt a. O., M. was executed in May 1525 for his alleged leadership in the Mühlhausen uprising of peasants. This ex-priest and erstwhile follower of LUTHER has been labeled a radical revolutionary by historians of the period, obscuring his role as a liturgical innovator. His German office and German mass, introduced in his Allstedt congregation in 1523, were undoubtedly the earliest published attempts at providing a congregation with "evangelically reformed" liturgies in the language of the people. The free use of Scripture M. employed in his liturgical offices shows his familiarity with the VULGATE and with other versions of the Bible.

Although M. did not specifically promote biblical studies, his extensive use of Scripture in corporate worship and in his tracts exemplifies a form of existentialist biblical interpretation. His goal was to prepare the hearts of his hearers for the transforming power of the living Word of God.

In his approach to Scripture M. seems to have used at least five hermeneutical principles (see HERMENEUTICS). First, he distinguished the Word of God from Scripture as such. Second, he insisted that corrupt Christendom could not be counseled or helped unless diligent servants of God daily worked through the Scripture by singing, reading, and preaching. Third, he maintained that the HB must be read in light of the incarnation. Fourth, he claimed that Scripture is truly the Word of God when it reveals the mind of Christ, i.e., when it advances a *theologia crucis* according to which believers accept the cross of Christ in order to be raised with him to newness of life. Finally, he demanded that Christians learn to exercise themselves in the fear of God. By this *timor dei* alone can false or mere historical faith, which clings to the letter of Scripture, be overcome.

Works: *Schriften und Briefe* (QFRG 33, ed. G. Franz, 1968); *The Collected Works of T. M.* (ed. and tr. P. Matheson, 1988).

Bibliography: **S. Bräuer and H. Junghans** (eds.), *Der Theologe T. M.* (1987). **W. Elliger,** *T. M.: Leben und Werk* (1975). **D. Fauth,** *T. M. in bildungsgeschichtlicher Sicht* (1993). **H. J. Goertz,** *Innere und Äussere Ordnung in der Theologie T. M.s* (SHCT, 1967). **E. W. Gritsch,** *Reformer Without a Church* (1967). **M. M. Smirin,** *Die Volksreformation des T. M. und der grosse Bauernkrieg* (1950). **J. M. Stayer and W. Packull** (eds.), *The Anabaptists and T. M.* (1980). **M. Steinmetz,** *T. M.s Weg nach Allstedt: Eine Studie ze seiner Frühentwicklung* (1988).

E. J. FURCHA

MUSCULUS, WOLFGANG (1497–1563)

In his years of development M. never attended university, instead spending fifteen years (1512–27) as a Benedictine monk in his native Lorraine (birthplace, Dieuze), where he came under the influence of some writings of LUTHER. When he left the monastery he headed for Strasbourg, finding employment as M. BUCER's personal secretary; and he began to preach in some of the outlying villages. He continued his theological and linguistic education by attending the lectures of Bucer and W. Capito (1478–1541); after departing for Augsburg, he studied Greek under the tutelage of a school rector. M.'s extraordinary talents in Greek eventually manifested themselves in a series of translations of patristic literature.

M. played an important role in the reformations of Augsburg and Bern. His career was launched by the Strasbourg Reformers, especially Bucer, who recommended him for a preaching post in Augsburg in 1531. He worked to consolidate the Augsburg Reformation and eventually assumed the prestigious preaching post at the cathedral church. He left the city in 1548 after refusing to accept the terms of the Augsburg Interim,

eventually finding employment in Bern as a professor of theology and Bible, a position he held until his death.

Although M. authored numerous theological, polemical, and catechetical treatises, his ten biblical commentaries, produced over a twenty-year period, comprise his most important literary work. All of his commentaries were reprinted numerous times, some well into the seventeenth century, suggesting a significant audience for his exegesis and confirming his reputation as one of the premier biblical expositors of the sixteenth century. His commentaries reflect his debt to the technical scholarship of sixteenth-century biblical humanism, revealing his commitment to the study of the underlying Greek and Hebrew of the biblical texts. Although his grammatical and philological analysis often drew on the work of ERASMUS, he showed independent judgment in developing his own Latin translations of the biblical texts. His commentaries are also indebted to the patristic and medieval exegetical traditions, although he infrequently cited his sources. However, in his Isaiah commentary he included a table of sources consulted, including patristic, medieval (including rabbinic), and contemporary figures. In all his commentaries he displayed a thorough knowledge of the antecedent exegetical tradition.

M. followed a method of commenting that takes the reader through various stages of exposition. He first quoted several verses of the biblical text, offering a general summary and noting any textual difficulties. He then quoted the text again, phrase by phrase, presenting a more detailed explanation of the meaning of each phrase. Finally, he quoted selected phrases once again, enumerating various observations that deal with the theological and moral significance of the quoted material. Although he made use of allegorical exposition in his sections of "observations," his overwhelming preoccupation was with the moral (or tropological) mode of interpretation; he displayed great skill in finding moral *imitanda* in almost every word of the biblical text.

Works: *In Evangelistam Matthaeum commentarii* (1544); *Commentariorum in Evangelistam Ioannem, heptas prima* (1545); *Heptas altera, item tertia et postrema in eundem* (1548); *Commentarii in Psalmos* (1550; ET 1586); *In decalogum praeceptorum Dei explanatio* (1553); *Commentarii in Genesim Mosis* (1554); *In epistolam D. Apostoli Pauli ad Romanos Commentarii* (1555); *In Esaiam Prophetam Commentarii* (1557); *In ambas Apostoli Pauli ad Corinthios epistolas commentarii* (1559); *Loci Communes in usus sacrae theologiae candidatorum parati* (1560; new ed., 1561; ET 1563; FT 1577); *In epistolas Apostoli Pauli ad Galatas et Ephesios commentarii* (1561); *In divi epistolas ad Philippenses, Colossenses, Thessalonicences ambas, et primam ad Timotheum, commentarii* (1565).

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C. S. FARMER

MUSIC, THE BIBLE AND

1. Introduction. The role of music in the interpretation of the Bible is both substantial and significant. Just as a marble statue of Moses or David by Michelangelo or a fresco like Leonardo da Vinci's *The Last Supper* may be considered an interpretation of biblical characters or scenes, so also works of music like G. F. Handel's (1685–1759) *Messiah* or F. Mendelssohn's (1809–47) *Elijah* must be regarded as interpretations of biblical subjects. The art of music joins the arts of literature (see WESTERN LITERATURE AND THE BIBLE), painting, sculpture (see ART AND THE BIBLE), architecture, drama, and the dance in offering sensory representation of biblical motifs.

Music is the most universal and possibly the highest of the fine arts. LUTHER felt that nothing can be more intimately linked with the word of God than music. But music is the least representational of the arts; it is the only one that appeals to the ear instead of to the eye. It thus communicates moods and feelings rather than specific intellectual concepts (except by prior association). Unlike literature and drama, music alone cannot retell a biblical story; it can, however, communicate aural impressions and generate human emotional response to the varying moods and passions elicited by the stories and personages of the biblical narrative. When coupled with words, whether drawn directly from the Bible or from the literary creation of a librettist, music can play an extraordinary role in elucidating the human feelings portrayed and, by employing various modes of compositional technique, can enormously enhance the meaning of the text. Music has contributed to biblical interpretation both through vocal music and

through strictly instrumental, but wordless, music that attempts to express or interpret a biblical theme, mood, or impression or to accompany a danced or mimed representation of the text.

2. Vocal Music. Music can provide emphatic stress for key words while retiring subordinate terms and expressions to the background. Portions of the text deemed more important by the composer as biblical interpreter can be placed musically into dramatic relief against a backdrop of less important material. The process of selecting portions of the text to be thus stressed comprises in itself an act of interpretation, and myriad techniques have been used by composers for centuries to enhance the meaning of words. The process of "word-painting" in music is well known and has been extensively studied in the works of J. S. BACH, who was perhaps the greatest interpreter of the Bible in music. His concern was always to elucidate the strictly theological content of the biblical message, but he took pains also to suggest graphic pictorial description. In the Reformation hymn "In Adam's Fall Have We Sinned All," he provided a contorted passage of running sixteenth-notes beneath the stately chorale theme, as if to suggest a twisting serpent, while reminding the listener of the fall of humankind by the repetition of descending scale passages. Rhythm can be accelerated to hasten the pace of words describing the rushing of waters ("Thanks be to God" in Mendelssohn's *Elijah*) or slowed to a serene calm when accompanying words of peace ("the still, small voice" at the conclusion of the *Elijah* chorus "Behold, the Lord passeth by").

According to the Hebrew psalter, from biblical times and certainly from the postexilic period forward (after 538 BCE), in Jerusalem, Babylon, and in the diaspora, portions of the Bible were sung (Psalms 33, 40, 42, 96, 98, 144, 149), and musical instruments were clearly employed in accompaniment (1 Chr 15:16-24). There can be no doubt that the earliest Christian congregations sang the great hymns preserved in the NT (e.g., the Magnificat, Luke 1:46-55; the Benedictus, Luke 1:68-79; the Nunc Dimittis, Luke 2:29-32), most probably to Hebrew melodies used in the synagogue or to melodies drawn from other sources (Matt 26:30; Mark 14:26; 1 Cor 14:26). Although no documentation is extant that might identify the music specifically, it is clear that biblical "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs" (Eph 5:19; Col 3:16; Acts 16:25) were performed. When any group of words is set to music and performed, interpretation is taking place: Rhythm, variation of musical pitches, and accentuation all give shape and character to the words. The later use of harmony provided additional means of interpretation.

The validity of the claim that setting Scipture to music comprises biblical interpretation can be established by comparing versions of the Magnificat by such diverse composers as Bach, W. Byrd, M. Charpentier, A. Gabrieli, A. Hovhaness, C. Monteverdi, K. Penderecki, G. B. Sammartini, G. P. Telemann, M. Tippett, and A. Vivaldi. The development of Christian liturgy drew portions of Scripture into set forms for sequential use in the mass. By the first quarter of the eleventh century liturgical "tropes" (related musical and/or textual interpolations into a biblical or Gregorian chant composition) were being used, modeled on the NT use of HB texts and on the technique of patristic exegesis and commentary. The tropes literally brought the liturgical biblical readings to life by relating them directly to the choir's celebration of a service, encouraging singers to appropriate what the readings communicate by ritually enacting them. The musical tropes effectively pace the delivery and proportion of the texts and add a level of association between the linguistic tropes, the antiphon, and the texts themselves. Antiphons were used to connect HB texts to specifically Christian use according to the season of the liturgical year; thus music provided biblical texts a reading that could not be supplied by the words alone.

In the liturgy for the Divine Office the entire psalter was recited sequentially each week. Each psalm was chanted straight through to allow its own thematic development, but it was prefaced by an antiphon that created a parallel structure applicable to the season. A good example is Psalm 2 ("Why do the nations conspire?" NRSV), which was used both at Christmas and on Good Friday. The Christmas liturgy took its antiphon from v. 7 ("You are my son; / today I have begotten you," NRSV); the Good Friday liturgy, from v. 2 ("The kings of the earth set themselves, / and the rulers take counsel together, / against the LORD and against his anointed," NRSV). The antiphons have specific NT warrant that connects Psalm 2 equally well with both seasons: Ps 2:7 is quoted in Heb 1:5; Ps 2:2, in Acts 4:27-28.

a. Oratorio. Biblical texts continued to undergo enhancement in ways that became embedded in tradition. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries musical settings of HB and NT stories were frequently performed, deriving in all likelihood from the medieval mystery plays. P. Neri (1515–95), founder of the Congregation of the Oratorians, emphasized the advantages of such pieces for instructional and devotional purposes and introduced them both before and after the sermon in the oratory (place of prayer) of his own church in Rome (hence the title for the pieces, in use after 1640). The Oratorians established ceremonies apart from the regular liturgy, stressing the importance of prayer, meditation, preaching, and music (primarily devotional songs that, when cast in dialogue form, were called *laudi spirituali*). By 1600 elaborate sacred plays were being composed in the new dramatic musical style.

The Jesuits quickly recognized the power of this new music for the purpose of exciting religious passions. G.

Carissimi (1605–74), music director of the Jesuits' German College in Rome, first composed so-called sacred histories, which expanded the *laude* form (or the dialogue motet) into musical settings of HB narratives. These were in dramatic recitative style, performed during Lent in the Oratorio del Crocifisso. Most famous is *Jephte* (Judges 11–12), which, although having no part in the Lenten liturgy, stresses the serious nature of making a vow before God. *Jonas* emphasizes the importance of obedience to God's direction and will (Jonah's lengthy prayer for mercy, chap. 2, sung in the belly of the fish, contains three sections, each ending with the word *miserere*—a wail Jonah finally leads the Ninevites to echo). The narrative of the last judgment in Matthew's Gospel, read at mass on Monday of the first week in Lent, was set by Carissimi (*Judicum extremum Salomonis*) as a warning to the penitent to take seriously the responsibilities of this life before it is too late. By the 1660s the term *oratorio* had become fixed. The Italian oratorio often used a biblical story as text, either in church Latin or Italian. The work was sung but not staged and was either dramatic (the plot unfolding entirely through dialogue among the personages) or narrative-dramatic (plot revealed partially by a narrator designated *testo, historicus,* or evangelist and partially through dramatic dialogue).

Among other great Italian oratorios of the baroque period (1600–1750) are *San Giovanni Battista* by A. Stradella (1642?–82) and some 150 oratorios by A. Scarlatti (1660–1725). Prominent in the Neapolitan school, Scarlatti expanded the oratorio's structure by enlarging the roles of the singer and orchestra. In France, M. Charpentier (1636?–1704), a student of Carissimi, wrote twenty oratorios, calling them *Histoires sacrées* and *Tragédies spirituelles.* In Germany H. Schütz (1585–1672) became the most significant composer of the seventeenth century, writing oratorios for both Christmas and Easter (he termed them *Historia,* or retellings of the biblical narratives) and four passions (from each of the Gospels). He was the first composer to fuse all the essential elements of German baroque oratorio: the concerto, the chorale, the opera recitative. His "Little Spiritual Concertos" for four voices and organ are frequently performed today. His works are Protestant in as much as they use the German vernacular following Luther and set both narration and dialogue to free composition instead of to Gregorian chant. As a devout Lutheran musician, Schütz's avowed goal was to use music as a means of interpreting the biblical word. Considered the greatest treasures of Protestant church art, oratorios and cantatas are an elemental interpretation of the words of the Bible, the focus of Protestant thought.

Bach adopted some of the characteristics of the oratorio in his settings of the mass and in his passions and cantatas. Oratorio, for Bach, meant not so much a dramatic retelling of biblical events in an organically developed plot but, in the case of the *Christmas Oratorio,* a series of independent incidents narrated by a tenor soloist (evangelist) in recitative followed by a succession of reflections and thoughts embodied in arias, ariosos, chorales, and passages for chorus that take far more space than the actual narrative. The intention was to help the worshiper reflect on the theological implications of the story by means of the suggestive correlative poems and chorales; and each of the six cantatas was performed on a different day, beginning on Christmas Day and ending on Epiphany. Bach's *Easter Oratorio* is a joyous short work lacking both the evangelist and the use of chorales. The story stays in the background, taken for granted and applied figuratively to the soul of the worshiper who offers praise and thanks that Christ lives now. Instead of retelling the biblical story Bach offers a metaphorical parallel or commentary analagous to similar portions of the passion music. The *Ascension Oratorio* harks back to the passions in the use of recitatives wherein the evangelist (tenor) quotes relevant Gospel passages, solos bring the worshiper figuratively into contact with the immediate situation, and the worshiping congregation sings the theologically suggestive chorales.

The climax of the oratorio form was reached in England in the work of the German-born G. F. Handel (1685–1759), whose dramatic treatment of the oratorio's scriptural content and subject matter has never been surpassed. After the failure of his Italian operas in London he turned to the oratorio, using the English language and serious biblical texts. His contribution was primarily in giving the chorus a powerful role in the dramatic development of the plot. So successful are his oratorios (fourteen or so on strictly biblical themes) that he is justifiably known today as the "musical historian of the Bible." The list is impressive: *Esther* (1720), *Deborah* (1733), *Athalia* (1733), *Saul* (1739), *Israel in Egypt* (1739), *Messiah* (1741, first performed 1742), *Samson* (1743), *Joseph and His Brethren* (1744), *Belshazzar* (1744), *Judas Maccabaeus* (1746), *Joshua* (1747), *Solomon* (1748), *Susanna* (1749), and *Jephtha* (1751).

Athalia and *Esther* are based on retellings of the biblical stories by the French writer Racine. *Messiah* and *Israel in Egypt* are the only ones whose words are taken exclusively from the Bible. *Belshazzar* is considered the grandest of all Handel's oratorios, while *Messiah* has become the most popular oratorio ever written. (Yet in the words of C. Jennens [1700–1773], the librettist who skillfully selected and arranged the biblical texts, it remains a serious "entertainment," not an act of worship.) In *Jephtha* the huge chromatic choruses filled with despair and agony exhibit Jephtha's forced submission to inexorable fate, leaving us with a deep impression of his heroic suffering and a movingly tender portrait of his sacrificed daughter. During the baroque era M. Greene (1737) and J. Stanley (1757) composed other settings of *Jephtha.*

After Handel popularized the oratorio form, many composers joined suit: In England T. Arne (1710–78) composed *Judith* (1761); J. Worgan (1724–90), *Hannah* (1764); and J. Stanley (1712–86), *The Fall of Egypt* (1757). In Germany J. Haydn (1732–1809) produced *Return of Tobit* (1775), *The Seven Last Words of Christ* (1794), and *Creation* (1798); L. van Beethoven (1770–1827), the unusually dramatic *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (1803); J. Rolle (1718–85), *Lazarus, or the Fire of Resurrection* (1778); and C. P. E. Bach (1714–88), *Israelites in the Wilderness* (1769) and *Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus* (1780). Italy contributed the curious oratorio *David poenitans* (1775) by F. Bartoni (1725–1813), its story deriving from 2 Samuel 24 and 1 Chronicles 21, wherein David orders a census and is punished for his pride. Bartoni scored for sopranos and altos only: seven personages plus chorus, including King David; Bathsheba; David's general, Joab; the prophet Gad; Zadok the priest; Araunah the Jebusite; an angel of the Lord; and a chorus of Israelites. Only one oratorio appears to have been written in the New World during the eighteenth century: *Jonah,* by S. Felsted (1743–1802) in Kingston, Jamaica.

The nineteenth century represents a paradox: The composition and performance of oratorios multiplied as the romantic movement grew in influence and popularity, but their quality did not measure up. The British playwright and music critic G. B. Shaw (1856–1950) succinctly, if trenchantly, observed in 1889: "The only Scriptural oratorios worth listening to are those of Bach, Handel, and Haydn. After W. A. Mozart [1756–91] struck the modern secular humanitarian note in *The Magic Flute,* and Beethoven took it up in his setting of Schiller's *Ode to Joy,* oratorio degenerated into mere sentiment and claptrap. With the exception of a few cantatas of Mendelssohn, all the biblical music of this century might be burnt without leaving the world any the poorer." Shaw characterized oratorios as "sham religious works"; he even vilified Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* as "unspeakable boredom." Nonetheless, Mendelssohn's *Elijah* (1846, setting 1 Kings 17–19) remains a towering masterpiece. Its striking contrasts, use of tone painting, symbolic motific segments (presaging R. Wagner's [1813–83] use of *Leitmotif*) depicting command, curse, thirst, sorrow, prayer, and righteous indignation, make it the greatest work of its kind produced in the Romantic period.

After Arne's *Judith,* W. Crotch's (1775–1847) *Palestine* (1811) was considered the best English oratorio until W. S. Bennett's (1816–75) *Woman of Samaria* (1867). A movement from *Palestine,* "Lo, star-led chiefs," continues to be sung in English churches at Epiphany. However apt Shaw's criticism may have been, critical opinion at the end of the twentieth century may not look so harshly on the certainly dated Romantic output. In Germany L. Spohr (1784–1859) produced *The Last Judgment* in 1825, which was criticized for the appealing music's not rising to the grandeur of the subject. J. Brahms (1833–97) composed *A German* [i.e., Protestant] *Requiem* in 1868, using biblical texts he selected in order to have a more universal appeal than the traditional Roman Catholic liturgy (although some passages had previously been set by Schütz); and in 1872 Hungarian-born F. Liszt (1811–86) produced *Christus.* J. Rheinberger (1839–1901) in Liechtenstein composed the still-performed, beautiful, and intensely personal Christmas cantata *The Star of Bethlehem* (1890); in Russia A. Rubinstein (1829–94) composed four biblical pieces in a genre of his own creation, a kind of staged hybrid between opera and oratorio: *Tower of Babel, Sulamith* (Song of Songs), *Moses,* and *Christus* (all between 1870 and 1894). These works had to be performed in Germany, because such subjects were outlawed in Russia. Rubinstein's modernity is seen in his treatment of erotic love in *Sulamith* and in the orgiastic dance around the golden calf in *Moses.* In France H. Berlioz's (1803–69) sacred trilogy *The Childhood of Christ* (1850), C. Saint-Saëns's (1835–1921) *Noël* (1854), C. Gounod's (1818–93) *Redemption* (1879) and *Mors et Vita* (1885), and C. Franck's (1822–90) *Beatitudes* (1879) were frequently performed.

Another work of Saint-Saëns, *The Deluge* (1876), described as a "biblical poem," seems to straddle the boundary between oratorio/opera and symphonic poem. It uses a libretto that is a paraphrase of Genesis from the fall of humanity to the going forth of the ark. The music shows influences from Wagner with picturesque descriptions of the pouring rain and the flights of the dove announcing the flood's abatement. Part 1 is a choral fugue with an agitated string accompaniment ("I will destroy man whom I have created"). In part 2 the orchestra alone describes the waters prevailing upon the earth, building up in a long crescendo and succeeding decrescendo accompanying (almost engulfing) the choral singing, the whole depicting rising waters and the horrors of eternal night. Part 3 ("I will not again curse the ground") is calmly sung by a chorus of soloists with passages for solo violin playing the work's unifying theme. The flights of the dove and its final non-return are described in a series of gentle phrases that build up to a grandiose fugue exalting God's command that Noah's sons be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth. This work became very popular in the nineteenth century and enjoys performances today. G. Verdi's (1813–1901) monumental *Requiem* (1874), also seems to be permanently enduring. Like that of Berlioz (1837), it finds its home, not in the church, but in the concert hall. Naturally operatic and theatrical, these quasi-liturgical works stand apart from those with a strictly biblical theme.

With a new nostalgia for the Victorian era emerging in the last decades of the twentieth century, long-neglected oratorios from the late nineteenth century may

see new life: In America J. Paine's (1863–1906) *St. Peter* (1872) and H. Parker's (1863–1919) *Hora Novissima* (1892), based on Bernard of Cluny's medieval poem describing heaven in the book of Revelation, have already seen successful revivals. In Britain the biblical oratorios by E. Elgar (1857–1934), *The Apostles* (1903); *The Kingdom* (1906); and his masterpiece, *The Dream of Gerontius* (1900), based on a poem by J. H. NEWMAN and exhibiting an emotional intensity unprecedented in British music, have remained popular. While many works popular in English-speaking countries in the nineteenth century have fallen out of favor, J. Stainer's (1840–1901) oratorio *The Crucifixion* (1887) retains its appeal. Although, strictly speaking, non-liturgical, it continues to serve the church as an occasion for Christian contemplation (Stainer called it a meditation on the passion of Christ). C. Parry's (1848–1918) end-of-the-century biblical settings *Judith, De Profundis, Job,* and *King Saul* were regarded as significantly superior to the general lot, thus setting the stage for a more excellent choral future in Britain; but they are too academic and dry to have endured.

Oratorio continued to develop in the twentieth century. The Swiss composer A. Honegger's (1892–1955) *King David* (1921, 1923) used texts from Samuel and from the psalter, presented by a narrator with chorus, soloists, and orchestra. Divided into three large parts, it follows the main events in David's life: his youth as a shepherd, his fight with the giant Goliath, Saul's enmity, David's kingship, his affair with Bathsheba, Absalom's rebellion, David's death, and finally his son Solomon made king. Using such advanced compositional techniques as irregular rhythms, sharp dissonances, and polytonality (two keys at once), plus Hebraic melodic forms and the interval of the augmented second, Honegger brought the text vividly to life pictorially and programmatically. Another Swiss, F. Martin (1890–1974), also produced oratorios on biblical themes: *Golgotha* (1948), *The Mystery of the Nativity* (1959), and *Pilate* (1964). Austrian American composer A. Schoenberg (1874–1951) wrote *Jacob's Ladder* in 1917–22, an impressive, albeit unfinished, work. In England W. Walton (1902–83) astonished listeners with the grandeur and massiveness of *Belshazzar's Feast* (1931), thirty-five minutes of tautly compressed dramatic music. The libretto speeds through the biblical story, portraying the lamentations of the exiled Judahites in Babylon, the great feast with the mysterious writing on the wall, and the final exultation of the Jews, subtly mingled with sad gentile comment. There is no feeling of hurriedness; the work is structured and balanced with the beauty of a closely argued "symphony for chorus and orchestra."

An illustration of applying musical interpretation of a biblical text to a contemporary political issue is Z. Kodály's (1882–1967) *Psalmus Hungaricus* (1923). Based on a sixteenth-century Hungarian poet's version of Psalm 55, which with the poet's interpolations becomes a plea in song for liberation of the Hungarian people from Turkish domination, Kodaly's work emphasizes the unity of the Hungarian people and, in a final chorus, the unity of the one God who protects and saves.

The middle of the century saw radical new choral compositions. Russian-born I. Stravinsky (1882–1971) turned to the VULGATE for a seventeen-minute choral work commissioned to be performed in the Cathedral of St. Mark, Venice (1956). The *Canticum Sacrum* is based, though not consistently throughout, on Schoenberg's twelve-tone row (a sequential arrangement of the twelve tones of the chromatic scale in which all twelve have to be sounded before any can be repeated), a method created to abolish music's traditional dependence on tonality (the feeling of a prevailing key) and on conventional expectations of melody, which had characterized music for centuries. Stravinsky drew the text from both the HB and the NT. The first movement, "Go ye into all the world and preach," alternates huge blocks of loud sound with quiet passages for bassoon and organ, thus capitalizing on St. Mark's resonant acoustics and allowing the loud sound to decay quietly. The second movement comes from a sensuous passage in Song of Songs, "Awake, O north wind; and come, thou south." Only a tenor soloist sings, using the tone row accompanied by six instruments. The third movement, central to the whole work, celebrates the three virtues, love, faith, and hope, each introduced with a transposition of the tone row in a new key. The fourth movement, "All things are possible to him who believes," resembles the second in that a soloist (baritone) states the tone row, but here he is echoed and imitated by the choir. The fifth movement, "And they went forth and preached everywhere," is almost a literal copy of the first—but in reverse, going from finish to start! The work is thus perfectly symmetrical with the third movement a kind of keystone, itself internally symmetrical. Did Stravinsky have in mind the five symmetrical domes of St. Mark's, as some musicologists assert?

Stravinsky made the most thorough use of the tone row (dodecaphony) in a choral setting of chapters 1, 3, and 5 of the book of Lamentations, called *Threni,* "Tears" (1957–58). He used one tone row for the entire work (instead of a different one for each section) and sounded the notes of the row simultaneously as well as sequentially. Most striking, however, is his frequent use of the highly dissonant minor second interval (F and F sharp) both as melody (sequentially) and as harmony (simultaneously), giving concrete reality to the anguish and pain of Jeremiah's laments. Also of interest is the composer's understanding of the Hebrew acrostic POETRY in Lamentations, each section commencing with a consecutive letter of the Hebrew alphabet sung chorally.

Stravinsky's biblical masterpiece in music is undoubtedly the now-famous *Symphony of Psalms* (1930). Not,

in his words, a symphony that includes psalms, "it is the singing of the psalms that I am symphonizing." The work calls for mixed chorus and large orchestra including two pianos (but eliminating violins, violas, and clarinets). The three movements performed without pause set the Latin text of Pss 39:12-13; 40:1-3; and all of Psalm 150 except "Praise him with timbrel and dance." The composer's intent was to set the words in a striking alternative to the lyrical and sentimental interpretations given them by previous composers, thus forcing listeners to hear the familiar words in a completely new way and to gain a fresh understanding of their meaning. Accordingly, the opening "Alleluia" of Psalm 150 is not a joyous shout but a slow wail; the ordinarily exultant "Laudate Dominum" sounds restrained and distant. After building excitement and intensity in the middle section, Stravinsky closed the work by returning to a slower tempo with sopranos singing a quiet four-note repeated figure to the end. Stravinsky also collaborated on an oratorio, *Genesis* (1944), commissioned by composer N. Shilkret (1895–1982), for which seven different composers wrote seven separate parts. Stravinsky's contribution to the cycle was a cantata, *Babel,* which sets the words of Gen 11:1-9.

Another masterpiece of twentieth-century choral art is *Sacred Service* (1933) by E. Bloch (1880–1959), who immigrated to the United States from Switzerland hoping to satisfy a life-long desire to compose a universal work that would reflect the complex, glowing, agitated Jewish soul "that I feel vibrating throughout the Bible." Entitled *Avodath hakodesh,* the work sets Hebrew texts from Psalms, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Proverbs, and other sources used in the sabbath morning prayer services of Reform temples in the United States. It emphasizes the idea of the holy, keeping the law of God not simply in a synagogue scroll but also in the heart; the abolishing of hatred; and Israel's contribution to humanity. Admonishing the listener to accept death as one accepts life with "serenity and confidence," the service ends with the traditional three benedictions and three amens.

American-born composer L. Bernstein (1918–90) wrote a famous theater piece entitled *Mass* (1970) for the opening of the Kennedy Center in Washington, DC. Not intended for the church, it is based on the Roman Catholic mass but infuses elements of Jewish liturgy with jazz, rock, blues, and Southern folk song idioms in an attempt to explore in an ecumenical and universal way the relation of religion to problems plaguing the modern world. Portions of the text derive from the epistles of PAUL and John (see JOHANNINE EPISTLES). The piece attained international popularity but mixed critical reviews.

More distinctly biblical and musically finer is Bernstein's interpretation of portions of the Hebrew psalter, *Chichester Psalms* (1965), which eschews the avant-garde idiom and sticks to what he honestly preferred, music that is "simple and tonal and tuneful and as pure B-flat as any piece you can think of." Commissioned and premiered by the combined choirs of England's Chichester, Winchester, and Salisbury cathedrals, the work draws on short segments of Psalms 2, 102, 108, 131, 133, and on Psalm 23. It ranges from powerful, ferocious, and explosive to tender, serene, and naive. It concludes with a yearning for peace: "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." Comparison with Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms* shows a far more conservative but nevertheless fresh and appealing work.

b. Smaller choral forms. The Protestant Reformation emphasized the participation of the laity in the services of the church and on the accessibility of the Scriptures in the vernacular. Departing from the medieval concept of hymns for the choir alone, Luther wrote congregational hymns and chorales to supplement the singing of the psalms and liturgical set pieces. In England, congregational singing was restricted to vernacular settings of the psalms (T. Sternhold [d. 1549] and J. Hopkins [d. 1570]) until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when I. Watts (1674–1748) brought Luther's spirit into congregational singing by writing purely Christian hymns based largely on the NT. Watts was succeeded by C. Wesley (1707–88) and J. WESLEY, and during this period literally thousands of hymn texts were written for which new tunes had to be composed. Alongside this development lay the evolution and transformation of the medieval Latin motet (solo and choral) into the English anthem. From the sixteenth century to the present day, composers have worked hard to set texts from the Bible to music for performance by church and cathedral choirs. These works, appropriate for use at various points in the liturgy, are generally quite short, from a couple of minutes in duration to fifteen or twenty. The sheer volume of material accumulated over the past four centuries is overwhelming. Renaissance composers C. Tye (1497–1572), T. Tallis (c. 1520–85), T. Morley (1557–1603), J. Dowland (1563–1626), T. Weelkes (1575–1623), and H. Purcell (1659–95), among others, began the torrent. The eighteenth century added especially the cantatas of Bach; the Chandos and coronation anthems and odes of Handel; the anthems of his contemporaries, including W. Croft (1678–1727), who published an entire collection, *Musica Sacra* (1724); and excerpted movements from the larger works of Haydn and Mozart.

Of considerable interest is the contribution of composers in the eighteenth century belonging to the Unitas Fratrum, or Bohemian Brethren, pre-Lutheran followers of the Czech J. HUS (martyred 1415). Forced underground during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) and severely persecuted, these early Protestants emerged from Bohemia, Moravia, and elsewhere in 1727 on the protected lower-Saxon estate of a German Lutheran

Pietist (see PIETISM) and theologian, N. ZINZENDORF. Zinzendorf, like Watts and the Wesleys, provided his community of faithful with hundreds of hymn texts. As their movement grew, many members removed to England and to the United States where, known as Moravians, they established permanent settlements. Influenced by the style of the classic period, especially C. Gluck (1714–87), Haydn, Mozart, and the young Beethoven, the early Moravian composers contributed an astonishing body of instrumental and vocal service music, producing works of the highest quality between 1740 and 1850. Even in the wilderness of Pennsylvania (Bethlehem, Lititz, Nazareth) and North Carolina (Salem) they maintained a high level of education and culture, bringing from Europe the best and most recent works of Haydn and his contemporaries for local performance and for education of the young.

The simplicity of Moravian worship was complemented with anthems and instrumental chamber music not only brought from Europe but also increasingly composed by resident musicians whose compositions were characterized by homophonic simplicity. While Handel may have been loved, Bach and his baroque contemporaries were apparently considered too complex and contrapuntal in style. The Moravians were influenced by central European rather than English musical traditions; thus their anthems and arias were conceived as extended, concerted compositions encompassing all the stylistic traits of the pre-classical schools of Europe: Mannheim, Berlin, Vienna, Dresden, Prague, and Italy. Beginning with the works of J. Dencke (1725–95), who wrote the first orchestrally accompanied sacred music in North America, the Moravian tradition developed during the eighteenth century with C. Gregor (1723–1801, regarded as the father of Moravian church music), J. C. Geisler (1729–1815), J. Herbst (1735–1812), S. Peter (1743–1819), and J. F. Peter (1746–1813), D. M. Michael (1751–1827), C. I. Latrobe (1758–1836), and G. Müller (1762–1821), among others. It concluded in the nineteenth century with P. Wolle (1792–1871, founder of the Bethlehem Bach Choir), J. C. Bechler (1784–1857), and F. Hagen (1815–1907).

The aim of these composers was to use music to illuminate and enhance the text of the Bible, never to obscure that text with music that might call attention to itself. These writers were modest non-professionals whose education was mostly in the German seminaries, where they had been trained to be pastors and could develop their musical talent only provided that it did not supersede their theological training. Their musical settings were practical and intended for amateur vocalists and instrumentalists. In most of their anthems the overall framework was orchestral in nature: An instrumental introduction of some twelve measures preceding a choral section, during which the instruments would either double the vocal lines or have modest obbligato passages, then an instrumental interlude (*ritornello*), after which the chorus sang a second section followed by an orchestral conclusion. The form demonstrates that the instruments were used to place a distinctive aura around the religious message of the choristers.

The majority of texts used were taken directly from the Bible, because prose seemed to the age of the Enlightenment more "natural" than poetry (the 1611 KJV was entirely in prose!), and the music needed to be devoid of technical complications. Musicologists today find it remarkable for its orderliness, natural simplicity, and directness in setting into prominence the biblical texts. Moreover, the music seldom approaches subjective sentimentality but seeks to express a spiritual serenity born of faith in God's daily guidance and protection. In musical quality and practicality it towers above the work of most anthem composers of the next century in Great Britain and the United States. Some 10,000 anthems by the early American Moravians are preserved in their archives, many now published in performance editions.

The nineteenth century saw a veritable explosion in the production of English anthems for use in the worship of the Church of England and in all branches of Protestantism. The English historian E. Walker (1870–1949) announced that before 1880 composers had "set with almost complete indiscrimination well nigh every word of the Bible." And the British critic D. Tovey (1875–1940) felt that "had they confined themselves to the second chapter of Ezra they might have avoided the dangers of unconscious humor that lurk in the opportunities for 'naturalness' in declaiming the dialogues and illustrating the wonders of scriptural narrative!" The quality of the output is vastly uneven. The rise of the Oxford movement and the Tractarians in the 1830s brought with it a renewed interest in earlier musical and architectural forms, even going back to the Middle Ages; and this trend was reflected in the music for anthems. But the Victorian anthems in general varied between acerbic austerity and banal sentimentalism. By the end of the century reaction had set in. C. Stanford (1852–1963) and C. Parry worked hard to revive an academic interest in composition for the church, and their efforts led to genuine reform as seen in the work of E. Elgar, H. Gardiner, G. Holst, H. Howells, J. Ireland, K. Leighton, R. Vaughan Williams, W. Walton, and C. Wood.

It is instructive to take a biblical text such as Psalm 23 and compare the way various composers on both sides of the Atlantic interpreted it musically, e.g., E. Bairstow, J. Clokey, F. De Leone, W. Harris, Haydn, G. Jacob, T. Matthews, J. Rutter, F. Schubert, H. Smart, and V. Thompson. Each of these composers interpreted the psalm in a pastoral mode, suggesting pictorially the biblical scene described by the psalmist.

Having experienced the direct theatrical appeal of the Japanese Noh play, B. Britten (1913–76) interpreted biblical stories in his *Church Parables* during the 1960s. Espe-

cially interesting are *The Burning Fiery Furnace* and *The Prodigal Son.* His setting of the Chester miracle play *Noye's Fludde* combined professional with amateur forces in utter simplicity. A. Pärt (b. 1935) and J. Tavener (b. 1944), influenced by Eastern Orthodoxy, have produced almost minimalist pieces; noteworthy are Pärt's *St. John Passion* and *Psalm 51.* K. Penderecki's (b. 1933) *Lamentationes Jeremiae, St. Luke Passion, Psalms of David,* and *Canticum Canticorum* demonstrate Polish influence, combining subtle delicacy with vehement singing, speaking, and shouting. Other American and Canadian composers of the twentieth century who have contributed short biblical works for church use include V. Archer, R. Bitgood, A. Copland, H. Friedell, A. Jennings, T. Noble, L. Sowerby, R. Thompson, H. Willan, D. A. Williams, and D. H. Williams, writing in a conservative, neo-romantic vein. C. Ives (1874–1954), the United States's most innovative native-born composer, composed settings of Psalm 67, using six voices and two different keys simultaneously, and of Psalm 90, a longer work involving organ and bells that unfolds over a constant C pedal in the organ. Psalm 90 concludes with the voices continually dividing in contrary directions until on the word "wrath" a twenty-two-part tone cluster is sung fortissimo followed by a decrescendo to the softest unison middle-C. Perhaps taking their cue from Ives, N. Lockwood, D. Moe, and D. Pinkham have cleared new paths in musical interpretation. In France F. Schmitt (1870–1958) produced a brilliant choral setting of Psalm 47 that contains great crescendos and dramatic effects illustrating such texts as "God has gone up with a shout . . . with sound of a trumpet . . . clap your hands!"

Another interpretative phenomenon has been the use of biblical themes for commercial theatrical purposes divorced from use in the church. The musicals *Joseph and His Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat* (1968) and *Jesus Christ, Superstar* by A. Lloyd Webber (b. 1948) and *Godspell* (1973) by S. Schwartz (b. 1948) were commercial successes, combining rock and gospel styles. They represent the ultimate in humanization of biblical characters and offer a distinctly secular interpretation of Scripture that might have shocked Christians from the church fathers to the Victorians.

c. Spirituals, blues, gospel, bluegrass. The experience of African Americans, bringing with them African tribal traditions, led to the creation of field songs called "spirituals" (i.e., "spiritual songs"—from Eph 5:19 and Col 3:16). Hebrew Bible and NT texts stressing liberation and joy against a background of hardship became favorites: "Go down, Moses, way down in Egypt's land; tell old Pharaoh to let my people go" is an example of the some 150 such songs known to exist. They contain important images and events from the Bible, from creation, Adam and Eve, Israel's bondage, and the exodus under Moses to Ezekiel's vision and the PROPHECY of Daniel. "Who Built the Ark?" points to labor, and the wailing song "The Prodigal Son" shows links between blues and gospel song. In the twentieth century the tradition has evolved into jazz, blues, and commercial gospel.

A parallel development was the rise of the White spiritual and the attempt to teach rural frontier Christians rudimentary hymns and gospel songs according to "shape-note" theory (an early nineteenth-century invention using the fa-so-la syllables for notes, which are given four to seven different visual shapes to identify the pitch). In 1835 W. Walker (1809–75) published *Southern Harmony,* a collection of shape-note hymns, which, along with B. White's (1800–79) *The Sacred Harp* (1840), became the most popular tune book of the century. *Southern Harmony* was the first compilation to wed the lyrics of "Amazing Grace" to the now customary tune "New Britain"; it was also the first to include hymns by women, e.g. "Promised Land," the tune for "On Jordan's Stormy Banks I Stand," and many more. The melody is usually in the tenor line with the higher voices singing descant above the tune, and the singing style is modal. From this tradition came in modern times bluegrass gospel singing and composing, originating in the folk society of the American South, from the Ozark mountains to east Texas to the Atlantic coast. Working-class farmers and mill workers made the music popular. The songs conform to the British ballad style and consciously look back to a happier time. Five themes form a recurring pattern: (a) individual salvation; (b) life's rocky road; (c) maternal love and home; (d) grief for the deceased; and (e) the efficacy of works in gaining God's grace. Each theme is based on strong biblical passages from Psalms, Proverbs, Mark, John, and Revelation. The familiar biblical allusions in these ballads are the same ones used so often by British and American anthem composers.

d. The solo song. A striking number of songs composed for solo voices to express biblical texts have come from the pens of women composers, especially in the United States. In the seventeenth century the French composer E. La Guerre (1667–1729) wrote the cantata *Jephte,* which contains solos for both soprano and tenor that were acclaimed for their vital rhythm, stateliness, dignity, and strength. Many women composers were attracted to the psalms as texts for their songs, some to the book of Isaiah, or to other passages. Mrs. H. H. A. Beach (A. M. Cheney, 1867–1944) produced *Mass in E,* which contains a slow alto solo, "Gratias Agimus," noted for its "mesmerizing modulations." E. Smyth (1858–1944), who was active in suffrage causes, wrote *Mass in D,* which enjoyed acclaim. M. V. Sandresky (b. 1921) has produced a setting of the Magnificat for organ and voice.

Composers of all nationalities have set biblical texts to be sung in church or concert hall by solo voices. The ten *Biblical Songs* op. 99 (1894) of A. Dvorák (1841–

1904) and a number of songs by Brahms, notably the *Four Serious Songs* op. 121 (1896) are outstanding examples. The Dvořák songs, composed in the United States, are known for their sincerity, poignant simplicity, and reverence in setting familiar psalms (23, 121, 137, etc.). The songs of Brahms composed at the end of his life reflect his preoccupation with the meaning of death: The first three, based on Qohelet, express the futility and pessimism of life; but the final song, based on 1 Corinthians 13, celebrates Paul's exaltation of love (*agape*—not charity) that overcomes all.

e. Opera. The sixteenth-century rediscovery of monody, a style of solo singing suitable for dramatic expression, led to the combination of music, drama, and spectacle into a form known today as opera. The basic idea of monody is to intensify the natural accents of speech in a single vocal line accompanied by a few simple chords. The association of drama with music goes back to antiquity; opera's immediate forerunners before 1600, like those of oratorio, were the aristocratic masques and morality, miracle, and mystery plays, religiously or morally oriented entertainment for the general public. Opera differs from oratorio in using scenery, costumes, and stage action to illustrate the plot and make it more impressive and memorable.

Such treatment of biblical themes, however, was not thought appropriate in a theater or opera house where secular entertainment was expected, nor were singer-actors thought morally ideal for the treatment of lofty moral stories (which is why Handel turned to the oratorio for his biblical representations). However, the Jesuits saw the advantage for instructional purposes of providing dramatic musical interludes between the acts of Latin biblical drama performed without music. Thus Charpentier in 1688 produced *David et Jonathas* in which Saul consults the witch of Endor, who calls up the spirit of Samuel. The great prophet and leader predicts defeat at the hands of the Philistines; his prediction comes true, and Saul and his sons are killed in battle. The work is a static but vivid series of psychological tableaux of the principal characters, but it lacks dramatic action or recitative. In 1732 M. Montéclair (1667–1737) produced a biblical tragedy, *Jephte,* and in 1807 E. Méhul (1763–1817) staged *Joseph in Egypt,* which became his most famous work. Based mostly on the recognition scene in the biblical tale (Genesis 45), it includes Jacob cursing Simeon, who is guilt-ridden for having sold Joseph into slavery. Joseph reveals himself and pleads for Jacob's forgiveness of Simeon, and the opera ends in songs of peace and honor to God.

In 1809 another French biblical opera (the result of a post-Revolution renewal of religion), J. Le Sueur's (1760–1837) *La mort d'Adam,* depicts the struggle between Satan and God for Adam's soul. R. Kreutzer (1766–1831) wrote *Abel* in 1810, contrasting the demonic forces tempting Cain with an apotheosis sending Abel heavenward. Kreutzer's finest music accompanies the exhausted Cain's prayer for sleep at the opening of Act 3. In 1818 G. Rossini (1792–1868) produced *Moses in Egypt,* which, after enthusiastic reception, was revised as *Moses and Pharaoh, the Crossing of the Red Sea* (1827). Clearly that crossing, thrillingly portrayed, made the opera famous. Verdi's only opera interpreting a biblical story is *Nabucco* (1842), depicting Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem (586 BCE), the subsequent exile of the Jews, and intrigues at the Babylonian court during which the Jews are threatened with extermination. As they await death they intone the famous chorus "Va Pensiero" (on Psalm 137), which later became a rallying cry of the nineteenth-century Italian people in support of Victor Emmanuel. Verdi's bold use of the chorus as an active protagonist in the drama was innovative.

D. Auber (1782–1871) in France wrote an opera on the story of the prodigal son (1850) that saw moderate success but has not been revived. More enduring has been K. Goldmark's (1830–1915) *The Queen of Sheba* (1875), which uses rich timbres and oriental-style melodies to dramatize the queen's visit to Solomon. One of the most famous biblical operas is Saint-Saëns's *Samson and Delilah* (1877), which remains popular, while his *Deluge* (1876) has survived only as a choral/symphonic set piece. *Samson and Delilah* presents a distorted interpretation of the biblical episode in Judges, removing its pathos and giving the characters a melodramatic sentimentality. The central theme seems to be Delilah's irresistibly seductive nature, which becomes the psychological justification for Samson's betrayal and the explanation of how the heroic will can succumb to feminine charm.

Two operas still performed deal with the beheading of John the Baptist by Herod Antipas at the request of Herodias's daughter Salome. The first is Massenet's (1842–1912) *Hérodiade* (1881), a passionate and violent musical interpretation displaying enormous contrasts in the manner of Berlioz and Verdi. The second, R. Strauss's (1864–1949) magnificent *Salome* (1905), uses as libretto a German translation of the French original of Irishman O. Wilde's (1854–1900) "scandalous" poem. The scandal was Wilde's scene portraying the lusty Salome kissing on the mouth the head of John the Baptist, severed as her reward for entertaining Herod with an equally scandalous and lascivious "Dance of the Seven Veils," each removed in turn until she is nude. Her subsequent death as a result of being crushed by the shields of the palace guards brings the one-act opera to a close.

The Song of Deborah (Judges 5, supplemented by the prose account in chap. 4)) was given operatic treatment by the Italian I. Pizzetti (1880–1968) in *Debora e Jaele* (1922). Pizzetti developed his own libretto out of the biblical story but tried to improve it by introducing a love interest between Canaanite General Sisera and tent-

dwelling Jael, wife of Heber the Kenite, who is portrayed as a spy and a traitor. Deborah has predicted that Sisera's forces can be defeated only if they are attacked in the open. She sends Jael to Sisera to advise him to lead his men to Mt. Tabor, which is not defended. It is a trick, and when the Canaanites are defeated, Sisera flees to Jael's tent. She confesses her trickery and submits to certain punishment, but Sisera wants to make love. Deborah orders Jael to hand him over to the Israelites, but instead Jael kills him herself after hearing a mother sing a mournful lullaby over her children, murdered by Sisera's soldiers. Musically Pizzetti's score ideally balances text and music and reacts against the *verismo* of R. Leoncavallo (1858–1919) and G. Puccini (1858–1924) and post-romantic opera.

In the twentieth century the apocryphal book of Judith was treated by E. Reznicek (1860–1945), Honegger, E. Goossens (1893–1962), and J. Powell (1882–1963). Reznicek's *Holofernes* (1923) sets the famous episode in the biblical story wherein Judith cuts off Holofernes' head in his tent after submitting to his sexual desires. She returns to her people at Bethulia carrying his severed head amid shouts of rejoicing, but rather than bear Holofernes' child she kills herself. Reznicek's music is powerful and intense, bearing comparison with Strauss. Honegger's *Judith* (1926) sticks faithfully to the story: There is no suicide; after decapitating Holofernes, Judith thanks God and puts on a veil of mourning. Goossens's *Judith* appeared in 1929, Powell's in 1954.

In 1955 C. Floyd (b. 1926) produced an opera based on the apocryphal story of *Susanna,* the gem of the additions to Daniel. He adapted it as a contemporary morality play, set in the mountains of Tennessee, but faithfully interpreting the biblical themes of character assassination and hypocrisy exposed.

The story of King Saul and the young David was treated by two twentieth-century composers: C. Nielsen (1865–1931) and A. Honegger. Nielsen's *Saul and David* (1901), like Beethoven's *Fidelio,* is the single opera of a symphonist. The libretto allows Saul to emerge as a far more sympathetic character than is portrayed in Scripture. Although he curses God before his death, the carefully balanced text allows the listener to understand, through the gradual unfolding of Saul's emotions, how he comes to end his noble life with a curse. The musical challenge appears when David must sing songs that have an almost magical power to calm Saul's bouts of mental doubt and anguish. Nielsen rises to the occasion and in Saul's death scene provides music that is a far cry from the death scenes of romantic opera. The work is a triumph of biblical interpretation through music; the musical development of each character in the story is a marvel of operatic composition.

Seeing the book of Job as an epic of revolt, the Italian L. Dallapiccola (1904–75) wrote his opera *Job* (1950) using Schoenberg's twelve-tone series over a *cantus firmus* sounding the notes of the traditional Te Deum. In 1954 D. Milhaud (1892–1974) produced *David* to celebrate the King David festival in Jerusalem. His astonishing innovation was to introduce into the score a chorus of 1,954 Israelis along with the usual chorus of Hebrews who comment on the scenes being enacted; this inclusion served to stress the analogy between the present-day situation and the past and to give immediacy to the biblical story. The music contains passages of unsurpassed lyric and dramatic richness. The first performance of Schoenberg's *Moses und Aron* (*Moses and Aaron*—but Schoenberg was superstitious about a title of thirteen letters) was also given in 1954. Schoenberg had worked on the text for years, writing the first two acts between 1930 and 1932. The advent of Nazism and his emigration to the United States interrupted this *magnum opus,* which he resumed shortly before his death in 1951. The third act was never completed, many think because of the difficulty of expressing the philosophical contradiction of the theme: the problem of a visionary trying to communicate his uncompromising ideals (the oneness and sovereignty of God) to a people bent on misunderstanding and distorting them. The music is based on the twelve-note series, demanding a full symphony orchestra, a large chorus, a group of six solo voices in the orchestra, and numerous instrumental and vocal soloists. It makes wide use of "speech-song" or "notated" speech: Moses understands God's words, but as a stammerer lacking eloquence he cannot sing them and must use "speech-song." The voice of Aaron, his spokesman, sings lyrically but conventionally, thereby demonstrating the danger of distorting the lofty nature of thought through perfunctory beauty.

In 1995 the San Francisco Opera commissioned jazz singer B. McFerrin (b. 1950) to write a two-act opera to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations charter. The libretto by I. Reed (b. 1938) focuses on the story of JESUS's arrest in the garden of Gethsemane as told by Mary Magdalene.

2. Instrumental. ***a. Keyboard, organ, violin.*** Stravinsky wrote that the church knew what the psalmist knew: Music praises God. "Music is as well or better able to praise Him than the building of the church and all its decoration; it is the church's greatest ornament," true of purely instrumental music as well as musical settings of sacred words. Music has power to represent biblical images through literary association and through the evocation of feelings in response to the biblical situations the composer illustrates or interprets.

In the seventeenth century the south German virtuoso H. von Biber (1644–1704) wrote for the church *Sixteen Sonatas for Violin and Keyboard* (completed 1676). Described as abstract musical meditations on great problems of Christian life, they illustrate fifteen "joyous, painful, and glorious events" in the lives of Jesus and the Virgin Mary. Instead of titles the original edition of

these "mystery" or "rosary" sonatas contained copper engravings revealing each sonata's aim and content. The sixteenth sonata is a one-movement piece for unaccompanied violin appended to an engraving of the guardian angel. In order to procure special poignant effects, Biber tuned certain strings slightly off-pitch.

Biber's contemporary J. Kuhnau (1660–1722), Bach's immediate predecessor as cantor of St. Thomas' Church, Leipzig, wrote a curious experiment in the purely musical interpretation of HB stories in his six multimovement *Biblical History Sonatas* or *Bible-story Sonatas* (1700) for keyboard (harpsichord or organ). The subjects treated are "The Fight Between David and Goliath," "David Curing Saul of His Melancholy by Music," "The Marriage of Jacob," "Hezekiah's Sickness and Restoration," "Gideon," and "Jacob's Death and Burial." The first sonata begins with a rather pompous prelude ("Goliath's Boast"), using heavy dotted rhythms to proclaim instant bravado. A prayer of the trembling Israelites follows in the form of a chorale prelude on the sixteenth-century German hymn "In Deepest Need." In the third movement, a dance in triple time, David gains courage and puts confidence in God. Then with a grand flourish David hurls the stone in a rapid scale passage, and Goliath falls to the ground in a series of short descending chromatic figures. The "Flight of the Philistines Pursued by the Israelites" is accompanied by rapid runs in thirds and sixths. The joy of the excitedly grateful Israelites is followed by a happy *concerto musico* by the women honoring David, and the sonata ends in a final *allegro maestoso* expressing the joyful dances of the people.

In a learned preface Kuhnau emphasized that his experiment in "program music" was not new, for J. J. Froberger (1616–67) and others had attempted it earlier; but he wanted to show that keyboard music without the benefit of a text could capture the emotions associated with the action of a narrative or the descriptive characteristics of a person. His biblical sonatas are dramatically naive and melodically and harmonically simple, but they have survived because of his artistry in providing the biblical stories with a rich variety of rhythms and textures: massive chords in both hands, interplay of motives, poignant dissonances, rapid scale passages, and fugal sections. Such devices make the music illustrative of the narratives; it is in this sense that Kuhnau interprets them. The music alone, of course, cannot tell the tales. But biblical interpretation never merely tells or retells the story; it assumes the story and proceeds to build on it, to draw from it, to illustrate and enhance it in order to make its message clearer.

In the succeeding centuries Kuhnau's *Bible-story Sonatas* led to an efflorescence of composition for the organ that attempted musically descriptive interpretation of biblical subjects. The most significant and valuable are monuments of the Romantic movement in music, against which many musical purists have rebelled. However, some examples possess such power and effectiveness in stimulating the imagination of sensitive listeners familiar with the biblical material that they must serve as successful models of the type.

J. Reubke (1834–58), a German pupil of Liszt, wrote a large fantasy for organ, *Sonata on the 94th Psalm.* In three movements based on one theme (*idée fixe*) in two segments, the first a rhythmic idea, the second a chromatically descending theme, he interpreted nine important verses from Psalm 94 in music. The brooding introduction larghetto, *grave,* is based on the verses beginning "O God, to whom vengeance belongs, show thyself. . . . " and "how long shall the wicked triumph?" The restlessness and anxiety of the text are illustrated by broken chords (often the diminished seventh), sixteenth-note passages, a variety of rhythms and articulations balanced by a busy pedal part in which the *idée fixe* frequently appears. A short *grave* section returns to the mood of the opening section and diminishes in sound and action to prepare for the soft, slow *adagio* movement that abounds in key modulations and restless chromaticism to interpret v. 19, "In the multitude of my cares within me, Thy comfort delights my soul." The final movement is a brilliant fugue in C minor using the original sonata theme-motive in jagged, dotted rhythms that accelerate to triple rhythm in the *più mosso* section, racing to a ferocious climax with brisk manual chords punctuating a thrilling virtuoso pedal line to interpret the text "But the Lord is my defense . . . and he shall cut them off in their own wickedness."

Bridging the turn of the nineteenth to the twentiethth century, the great French organist M. Dupré (1886–1971), famous for his preludes, fugues, and other pieces, added two great programmatic works based on the Bible: *Symphonie-Passion,* op. 23 (1924) and *Le Chemin de la Croix* (The Way [or Stations] of the Cross), op. 23 (1932). The first deals with the life of Christ, making use of plainsong themes to call up textual associations reflecting on biblical subjects. The opening movement is turbulent, almost barbaric, illustrating its title, "The World Awaiting Its Savior." In the middle section the peaceful plainsong tune *Jesu redemptor omnium* appears, only to be followed by a third section that returns to the turbulence of the first. The second movement, "Nativity," uses the familiar chant *Adeste fideles* accompanied by shepherds' pipes and a march. "The Crucifixion" is the third movement, which begins with a persistent ostinato figure, pianissimo, then grows in volume to a huge and terrible crescendo, swiftly dying away to *Stabat mater dolorosa.* The final movement is "Resurrection"—a typical, brilliant French toccata incorporating the theme of *Adoro te devote.* The whole work lasts thirty minutes.

The Way of the Cross lasts twice as long and portrays in organ music the fourteen stations of the cross through

an appropriately descriptive melodic or rhythmic motif, or else through the creation of a basic mood. At the first station, "Jesus is condemned to death," a piercing dotted rhythmic figure creates the feeling of impending doom; at the second, "Jesus takes up his cross," one can feel its weight in a stumbling rhythm. The three times Jesus falls to the ground are musically painted with descending runs of tied notes. Such intimate scenes as "Jesus meets his mother" and "Jesus comforts the women of Jerusalem" provide sharp contrast. But when the nails are loudly pounded into the cross through his hands, one can hear the hammer blows as clearly as the earthquake, the gloom, and the terror of the people at the crucifixion. The work closes impressively with the poignant comfort motif in slow dotted rhythm in the scene of the entombment. Profoundly immersed in his subject, Dupré created a deeply moving musical interpretation of the Bible's central story.

In 1935 Dupré's pupil O. Messiaen (1908–92), one of the twentieth century's most radical, creative, and innovative composers (using birdsong and Hindu rhythmic and melodic elements) published an acknowledged masterpiece for organ, *La Nativité du Seigneur* (The Birth of the Lord) composed of nine meditations on various aspects of the nativity: (1) "Virgin and Child," quiet and intimate; (2) "Shepherds," with the characteristic shepherds' pipe tune; (3) "Eternal Purposes," displaying a solo line against a mystical background; (4) "The Word," varying from soft to loud; (5) "God's Children," a single crescendo and decrescendo climaxed by the cry of "Father, father"; (6) "The Angels," high pitched flights of notes representing the heavenly hosts; (7) "Jesus Accepts the Suffering," the premonition of the passion and crucifixion; (8) "The Wise Men," the star leads the procession of magi; (9) "God with Us"—a toccata hymn of praise to God of great brilliance and complex structure suggesting the profoundly sacred incarnational content of the text, John 1:14: "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth." The whole suite thus depicts various personages present at the nativity and several spiritually significant implications of the event.

Messiaen attempted to communicate from three points of view: theological, instrumental, and musical. He stated that the abundance of technical means he used (unusual timbres, exotic colors, oriental/Indian rhythms, eerie registrations, different modes and keys) "allows the heart to expand freely" in the theological context. He placed musico-theological interpretation far above the merely mystical, even when his writing became highly symbolic; he was concerned not with self-annihilation by ecstatic absorption into the Godhead but with the Christian truth that humankind is redeemed by the incarnation and sacrifice of Christ. For Messiaen it was the expression of God's relationship with humankind that gave his music a theological, rather than a mystical, orientation.

In 1974 J. Langlais (1907–91), another pupil of Dupré, wrote a profound five-movement organ interpretation of the book of Revelation. Following a near-fatal heart attack in 1973, he submerged himself in a sustained search for Revelation's "hidden message." He decided to write a score about death, and the result was *Cinq Méditations sur l'Apocalypse* (Five Meditations on Revelation). Langlais's complex work differs from Messiaen's nine meditations on the same subject in emphasizing the poetic and instinctive rather than the theological. Langlais titled each movement: "He that has ears, let him hear" (Rev 2:7); "He is, He was and is to come"(1:4); "Prophetic Visions" (1:10); "Even so, come, Lord Jesus" (22:20); "The Fifth Trumpet" (9:1-11). The final movement is the most fascinating: The fifth angel sounds his trumpet, calling from the "bottomless pit" locusts, which are announced by the organ with dark chords at 8' pitch. At once the trumpet enters, accompanied by tonally insistent arabesques of insect song (cf. Messiaen's birdsong) that swell in intensity and insistent stridency to the very end, punctuated by chordal interjections from the full organ thrillingly symbolizing the human race's distress at inevitable calamity. Humankind's terror is symbolized in the final four dissonant dischords, "In those days men shall seek death and shall not find it" (9:6). Langlais's vision of death is a pessimistic nightmare pierced with the infernal swirling of locusts, in contrast to Messiaen's serene birdsong of a yellow-hammer. But M.-L. Jaquet-Langlais believes that "his final shriek of horror has more to do with a sensitive reader's reaction to a terrifying text than with a Christian's revolt at the approach of death."

In a remarkably avant-garde composition, "Black Host" (1967, 1971) by the American W. Bolcom (b. 1938), written for organ, chimes, suspended cymbals, bass drum, and pre-recorded electronic tape, one is surprised to hear quotations of an old Genevan psalter tune. Thus the literature of the Bible continues to find musical expression, even if interpreted in a context of "slow, inflexible rock tempo, 'flat' sound, everything deliberate and brutal," making use of elements of rock and theater organ music performed by a virtuoso organist plus assistant.

The most convincing interpretation of biblical texts through the organ—the church's instrument, with a richer heritage and body of literature than any other—came from Bach's pen. As a working church organist serving the needs of north German Lutheran churches, he accompanied congregational hymn singing and performed chorale preludes during the worship service. The chorale prelude, a form originating long before Bach, is an independent organ piece prefacing, outlining, and explaining the hymn to the church assembly. Sometimes each stanza is interpreted by means of stock devices well known to composers of the baroque era (1600–1750): sixteenth note rhythmic patterns to express joy,

slower tied notes or chromatic scales to express sorrow, rising intervals of the fourth or fifth for the resurrection, a descending note passage for the coming down to earth, a descending interval for the fall of humanity, ascending and descending scales for the winged flight of angels—all intended to illustrate aurally and visually. Bach used every subtle technical and rhetorical means characteristic of the baroque era to illustrate or interpret the hymn text, which was nearly always a psalm paraphrase or other biblical text. He offered a musical parallel to the text's meaning, symbolizing it in some way, relating a key word that in itself was literal or symbolic (P. Williams [1984]). In all his works Bach demonstrated consummate artistry in interpreting the text either in a direct and concentrated form or by means of abstract and intimate musical figures, symbolic numbers, contrapuntal techniques, canonical variations, etc. (A. Schweitzer [1905]; C. Parry [1909]; E. Chafe [1991]). He instructed his pupils not to play hymns in an offhand manner but to express the "affect" (i.e., symbolic and emotional content) of each line of the text and each stanza of the chorale.

Since Bach's day organ composers have tried to maintain his tradition but with modern means and techniques like those employed by Dupré and Messiaen. The sheer volume of their output is staggering. Typical of early twentieth-century organ interpretations is J. Weinberger's (1896–1967) *Bible Poems* (1938) and C. Van Hulse's *Biblical Sketches* (1958). Especially noteworthy is the work of contemporary Czech composer P. Eben (b. 1929), many of whose chorale partitas and free compositions are based on biblical texts. Two large masterpieces display his genius: *Job,* an organ cycle (1987), falls into eight richly contrasted movements, each expressing a theme based on a quotation from the book of Job, which is read in Hebrew by a narrator at the commencement of each movement. The overall tone is both introverted and tragic. Eben writes that Job is like *Faust,* the story of a wager between Satan and God on the fate of a human being. Faust relies on his own human strength and fails; Job humbly accepts his misfortune and triumphs. For Eben the book of Job not only demonstrates the unimportance of personal sorrow in relation to world events but also reveals God, who does not ask Job to approve his sufferings but to accept them. Standing beside Job, God suffers the pain with him, thus helping him overcome it. The music generously quotes Reformation chorales, plainchant, and in the finale a set of chorale variations on a melody of the Bohemian Brethren, "Christ, the model of humility." According to Eben, "Christ is truly the personification of the innocent sufferer to the very end." In 1992 Eben published his second biblical cycle, *Four Biblical Dances* inspired by specific dances that appear in the Bible: "The Dance of David Before the Ark of the Covenant (2 Samuel 6)," "The Dance of the Shulamite" (Canticles), "The Dance of Jephtha's Daughter (Judges 11)," and "The Wedding in Cana" (John 2). Although a dance per se is not mentioned in the wedding story, Eben "cannot but imagine that with so much good wine there would not have been some dancing." He strives to preserve the organ's "sacred characteristics" in these brilliant pieces, which make a superb complement to the Job cycle. Among numerous others, J. David, H. Distler, M. Drischner, H. Howells, P. Manz, W. Matthias, F. Peeters, E. Pepping, P. Post, and H. Willan have interpreted biblical material for the organ in a wide range of styles.

For the piano the Canadian-born composer R. N. Dett (1882–1943) wrote *Eight Bible Vignettes,* which are still performed. And the contemporary Finnish composer E. Rautavaara (b. 1928) has written *Sonata I: Christ and the Fisherman* for the piano, using resonant parallel chords, bitonality, and modal scales. But apparently the great composers for the piano (Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Chopin, Brahms, Rachmaninoff), were not inspired to address biblical themes. Messiaen, however, as a religious ecstatic, set out in 1944 to express "in a language of mystic love, at once varied, powerful and tender, sometimes brutal, in a multi-colored ordering," a cycle of twenty contemplations on the infant Jesus, *Vingt Regards sur l'Enfant Jésus,* for solo piano. The contemplations include motives representing the cross, the Virgin, the star, the angels, and God, all viewing the infant. The complete work takes two hours to perform; many pianists play excerpts from it. It broke new ground in the evolution of piano timbre and time values, creating a new sense of form no longer based on classic Western standards, indeed, seemingly not bound by time at all. In 1963 he wrote *Couleurs de la Cité Céleste* for piano and orchestra in which bird songs from New Zealand, Brazil, and Canada are among the elements illuminating five quotations from the book of Revelation.

b. Symphony and ballet. From the time of Bach to the beginning of the twentieth century the relatively small European court orchestra expanded to the enormous 100-plus concert hall ensemble with the new, enlarged, or refined instruments called for by such Romantic composers as Wagner and R. Strauss. Except for oratorio and opera, composers did not turn to the Bible for inspiration for symphonic-orchestral composition (Mendelssohn's 1840 Symphony no. 2, *Lobegesang* [Hymn of Praise] with chorus is an exception.) In the twentieth century, however, several notable examples of concerted instrumental interpretations of biblical subjects came to life. In 1914 Strauss produced music for a one-act ballet entitled *Josefslegende,* op. 68, based on the story of Joseph in Genesis 37–50. Strauss found the text difficult because he feared the "good boy Joseph" might be too insipid a character to depict convincingly. The work focuses on Joseph in Egypt, particularly on the episode of Potiphar's wife and subsequent events.

After the opening set dances Strauss abandoned the traditional ballet design and produced what amounts to another of the symphonic poems for which he is celebrated. He used a waltz tune and striking two-part polyphony. The purity and innocence of the youthful Joseph are depicted with harp, celesta, and piano—charmingly piquant orchestral effects (cf. the rose motif in *Der Rosenkavalier*)—although overused today to the point of banality. Strauss called for the double bass clarinet to illustrate the scene where Potiphar's wife creeps in to find Joseph asleep. In addition Strauss used four harps, four pairs of castanets, a wind machine, and characteristically luxuriant orchestration. His interpretation is neither spiritual nor theological; emphasis is placed squarely on the earthly and thoroughly human, descriptive suggestion for the purpose of entertainment, which Strauss later turned into an orchestral suite.

A finer biblical work for orchestra is *Job: A Masque for Dancing* (1930) by R. Vaughan Williams (1872–1958). The work is not really a masque; it lacks the requisite speech and singing. Nor is it strictly a ballet since it contains more music than dancing and is relatively static. There are dance forms in the music, however: the ancient sarabande, minuet, galliard, and pavane. *Job* has become firmly fixed as a concert work for symphony orchestra alone. In addition to the Bible, W. Blake's (1757–1827) *Illustrations to the Book of Job*, a series of twenty-one engravings, further inspired Vaughan Williams. His scoring, like Strauss's, is for full symphony orchestra with organ and two harps, and a full percussion section to which he added the rarely heard bass flute and tenor saxophone to give an unctuous sound to the voice of Job's comforters. Some writers consider *Job* to be Vaughan Williams's finest work. *Flos Campi* (Flowers of the Field [1925]), a ballet suite celebrating the sensuous passion of the Song of Songs, is another of his contributions to biblical interpretation in music.

Two ballets on the story of the prodigal son provide interesting interpretive contrasts. At the request of impressario S. Diaghilev (1872–1929), the Russian composer S. Prokofiev (1891–1953) wrote his famous ballet music in 1929, emphasizing the younger son's journey to "a far country" where he squandered his inheritance on "loose living." Intrigued by the dramatic implications of this theme, Prokofiev divided his score into three scenes: (1) the son falls in with bad company and is introduced to a seductress; (2) he has relations with the temptress, depicted in slow rhythm followed by a "dance of drunkenness," is then robbed, and afterward awakens in great remorse; (3) he returns home to great rejoicing.

In 1957 the Swedish composer H. Alfven (1872–1960) produced his last work, *The Prodigal Son* ballet. Unlike Prokofiev's cool, transparent version, Alfven employed Swedish folk tunes, including "Swedish Polka," which attained international popularity. Alfven stressed the prodigal's journey to "rich Arabia," a fair and happy land, and his eventual return to a forgiving father. The story of the prodigal son also inspired C. Debussy's (1862–1918) cantata for three voices and orchestra, *L'Enfant Prodigue* (1884), an oratorio (1869) by A. Sullivan (1842–1900), and Britten's third "Church Parable" (1968).

In 1907 F. Schmitt (1870–1958) of France composed a ballet, subsequently performed only as an orchestral suite, *La Tragédie de Salomé*. Based on a poem by d'Humières that departs significantly from the sketchy NT story, the setting is Herod's palace overlooking the Dead Sea. Salome dances the "Dance of the Pearls," then the more lascivious "Dance of Lightning," which incites Herod to lustful pursuit, during which he tears off Salome's veils. Stepping in, John the Baptist covers her with his cloak, for which he is decapitated. Salome seizes his head, then in remorse throws it into the Dead Sea. As the sea turns red, she again begins to dance, only to have John's head reappear. The dance becomes a "Dance of Fear," and at the end "evening crashes down on the dancer, who is carried away by a hellish frenzy."

Unlike the programmatic-descriptive works of Strauss and Vaughan Williams, "emotional quality," not storytelling, is the focus of Bernstein's First Symphony, *Jeremiah* (1942), which brought him international prominence. Bernstein's work focuses on the relationship between the prophet and his wayward and rebellious people rather than on Jeremiah's life. Contemporary humanity's struggle with a crisis of faith always concerned Bernstein, and in Jeremiah he saw parallels and a compelling relevance. Bernstein did not try to solve the crisis but through music attempted to offer comfort leading to peace. Using paraphrases of Hebrew chant, liturgical synagogue sequences belonging to the commemoration of the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem, and ancient Hebrew dirges, he strove to communicate a deep emotional quality. The symphony's three movements are (1) "Prophecy," the prophet's angry sermon begging Jerusalem to repent, ending in a gradual fading away of sound as if to emphasize Jeremiah's failure to get through to the people's hearts and minds; (2) "Profanation," destruction shown as punishment for willful disobedience; and (3) "Lamentation," a mezzo-soprano soloist intoning in Hebrew, "How lonely sits the city that once was full of people! How like a widow she has become. . . . Restore us to yourself, O Lord, that we may be restored; renew our days as of old" (Lam 1:1; 5:21).

Comparable to Bernstein's *Jeremiah* is Vienna-born R. Starer's (b. 1924) *Ariel, Visions of Isaiah* for soprano, baritone, chorus, and orchestra (1959). Ariel (lit., Lion of God) is a symbol for Jerusalem (or for sinful humanity at large). The first movement represents the prophet Isaiah warning the people that their sins will bring them down so that they shall "whisper out of the dust" (Isa 29:1-4); the second has the baritone (Isaiah) advising

the people to hide themselves until the judgment passes (Isa 24:4; 26:20; 5:8); the third, a mordant *scherzo,* condemns the haughty daughters of Zion for their wantonness, their mincing steps, their tinkling ornaments (Isa 3:16-24); the fourth, the dramatic turning point "Fear, and the Pit, and the Snare" (Isa 24:17; 22:4-5, 13; 29:15; 20:6; 35:4; 12:1) contains a tender lament by the soprano, "Look away from me," after which different voices from the chorus respond to imminent destruction ("Let us eat and drink. . . ." "Who sees us? Who knows us?" and "Whither shall we flee, how shall we escape?") to which the prophet answers, "Be strong, fear not. The Lord will save you" (Isa 35:4). Two choruses sing the lyrical fifth movement *a cappella,* "The Lord shall give you rest" (Isa 14:3; 25:8); and the orchestra returns in the jubilant sixth movement finale, "Break forth into joy" (Isa 52:9; 55:12; 2:3-5).

In 1916 the Swiss American composer Bloch composed a Hebrew rhapsody for violoncello and orchestra entitled *Schelomo* (Solomon). Bloch's musical portrait of the great Israelite king takes the form of an exuberant, almost meandering concerto that depicts him as warrior and ruler; temple builder at Jerusalem; sensual lover and poet of the Song of Songs; keen prophet, sage, and wit of the book of Proverbs; and almost cynical preacher of Qohelet proclaiming that all is vanity and that human pursuits end up finally at the point of spiritual vexation. Luxury, barbarism, and brooding meditation are described with musical flourishes and cello cadenzas contrasting the full orchestra with the cello and the cello's upper register with its lower one. Against an orchestral background of lush opulence the solo cello part is characterized by oriental cantillation, wide leaps, sinewy arabesques, and supple rhythms; pageantry permeates the whole work.

An unusual short concerto for the tuba by American writer F. McBeth (b. 1933) appeared in 1991. Entitled *Daniel in the Lion's Den,* the one-movement piece is a bravura work for solo tuba and a band of wind instruments, employing contemporary compositional devices and virtuoso technique.

The State of Israel has contributed a number of noteworthy modern interpretations: M. Lavry (1903–67), *The Song of Songs* oratorio; A. N. Boskovich (1907–64), *Ruth and Boaz* suite; O. Partos (b. 1907), *Rabat Tsraruni* (Psalm 129); J. Tal (b. 1910), *Saul at Endor* opera concertante; M. Seter (b. 1916), *The Daughter of Jephthah* for orchestra; T. Avni (b. 1927), *De Profundis* for strings (Psalm 130); and many others.

Traditional literary, historical, and theological interpretations of the Bible have engaged the minds of devout interpreters for centuries. On an intellectual level such interpretations have seemed to satisfy humankind's need to know the message of Scripture. But there is another level. However indispensable these interpretations may be, there remain those who feel that they are ultimately transcended in profundity, strength, sublimity, and communicative power by the art of music.

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MYTH AND RITUAL SCHOOL

This expression is used primarily to designate the group of scholars who contributed to the two symposia *Myth and Ritual* (1933) and *The Labyrinth* (1935), under the editorship of S. HOOKE. It should be noted that Hooke always denied that a clearly defined school had ever existed; and certainly the original authors, who included W. OESTERLEY, T. ROBINSON, and E. James, did not always speak with one voice. In some respects their general outlook derived from the anthropological approach of J. FRAZER, especially his functional view of myth (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), but they differed from him in their understanding of myth as essentially the spoken part of ritual and in their questioning of his purely comparative method. Hooke noted that the roots of the approach lay in the so-called diffusionist movement associated with the British scholars G. E. Smith and W. Perry (Hooke, *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship* [1958] 1).

Most significantly, the scholars in question postulated the existence of a general myth-and-ritual pattern common to the ancient Near East, which found its fullest expression in a great annual new year celebration fundamental for the community's welfare during the ensuing year. As seen most clearly in the Babylonian new year, or *akitu*, festival, this celebration had five basic components, which also lay behind many other rites: a dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god, a recitation of the creation myth, a ritual combat in which the deity overcomes his enemies, the sacred marriage, and finally a great procession culminating in the god's enthronement. Further, the Myth and Ritual group claimed that a similar and equally significant celebration existed in ancient Israel and was represented by the autumnal complex of celebrations centering on the Feast of Ingathering, or Booths, which was to be understood as a new year festival.

Ancient Near Eastern archaeological discoveries (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) played a major part in this reconstruction, and later discoveries, notably the Ugaritic (see UGARIT AND THE BIBLE), were held to confirm it. As far as HB studies are concerned, the work of the Myth and Ritual school marked a revolution of abiding significance. Up to that time modern scholarship had tended to find the distinctive religion of Israel in the great prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), who were anti-cultic and proclaimed a spiritual faith opposed to that represented by the priesthood. By contrast, it could now be seen how central a part the cult played in the nation's religion and that full weight had to be given this aspect in any assessment of ancient Israelite society.

Another new development in HB scholarship largely initiated by the Myth and Ritual writers was the understanding of the religious role of the king. In Hooke's reconstruction of the new year festival, the king took the leading part, even to the extent of representing the deity in the ritual. Hitherto, largely as a result of the concentration on the prophets, the Israelite monarchy had generally been viewed in a negative light, with the king depicted as a secular figure. But in a seminal essay in *The Labyrinth* and more fully in a subsequent study, A. JOHNSON (1955), one of the younger Myth and Ritual scholars, argued that the king was the chief actor in the great Israelite annual celebration, undergoing a symbolic "death" and "resurrection" in the ritual. Johnson drew his evidence largely from the psalms, building on the work of H. GUNKEL, who had recognized that a number of psalms originially referred, not to a future "messiah," but to the actual Davidic monarch; however, Johnson found indications of the king's cultic role in a much wider range of psalm material, and in this he has been followed by many subsequent writers. It is, perhaps, this Myth and Ritual view of Israel's monarchy that has been most widely acknowledged, as shown by the contents of the final Myth and Ritual collection, *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship* (1958).

The theories of the school have provoked intense discussion and criticism. Near Eastern specialists have claimed that their postulate of a universal pattern was too theoretical and overlooked fundamental differences between the religious systems of, e.g., Mesopotamia and Egypt. While these differences are important—and the Myth and Ritual scholars were more aware of them than has often been recognized—the demonstration by these scholars of a basic similarity in the religious structure of the whole area over two millennia has not been seriously shaken. Certain of the more imaginative suggestions of some, though not all, of the Myth and Ritual scholars, e.g., Yahweh being a dying and rising god, the existence in Israel of the sacred marriage, or the Davidic king as being in a real sense "divine," have not found wide support among English-speaking authorities. On the other hand, considerable attention has been devoted to the traditions connected with Mount Zion and to the Canaanite elements they incorporated from the pre-Israelite Jebusite sanctuary. As a result, it has become increasingly recognized that there was a festival of the enthronement of Yahweh on the occasion of the autumn celebrations, characterized by a great procession with the ark as the symbol of the divine presence, although its precise significance is still a matter of debate. Theories of a fusion between Yahweh and El Elyon, the old Canaanite deity of Jerusalem, have emphasized Israel's God as Creator and the source of fertility, aspects prominent in the outlook of the Myth and Ritual school.

The ideas of the Myth and Ritual authors have been influential not only in Great Britain but also in other

countries; such a standard work as H.-J. Kraus's *Worship in Israel* (1954) reflects the new developments they inaugurated. But they have had their main effect above all in Scandinavia, where a group of scholars centered at the University of Uppsala enthusiastically embraced them. Indeed, to some degree the views of the Myth and Ritual school were anticipated by the Norwegian scholar S. MOWINCKEL, who in the second volume of his *Psalmenstudien* (1922) interpreted a number of psalms as the liturgy for a festival of Yahweh's enthronement in connection with the autumnal new year festival. But it was the Swedish scholar I. ENGNELL who gave the most unqualified support to the general Myth and Ritual thesis and pressed it in directions with which its original proponents might not fully have concurred.

Four aspects of Engnell's studies (1943) merit particular mention. First, central to his whole outlook is the basic Myth and Ritual concept of a fundamental religious pattern throughout the ancient Near East that centered on the new year celebration; he held that a thorough knowledge of this pattern was essential for the biblical scholar since the religion of Israel could only be understood as a variant of it. Second, he stressed the fundamental importance of the king in the pattern: He did not hesitate to call the king "divine," as being the earthly embodiment of the deity and the source of blessing and fertility for society through his enactment of the death and resurrection of the god and the sacred marriage. Israelite kingship shared all these characteristics. Other Scandinavian scholars, notably G. Widengren (1955), have more systematically developed this approach with reference to OT monarchy. Third, in a long series of articles in the biblical encylopedia *Svenskt Bibliskt Upplagsverk,* thirteen of which have been translated into English, Engnell applied his theories to the exegesis of the HB to illustrate how the myth-and-ritual pattern provides the correct understanding for many biblical narratives and concepts like Passover and exodus, of which J. PEDERSON (1940) had already given a cultic interpretation, or Messiah and Son of man. In the case of the last two concepts, the sacral monarch was the determinative factor as well as for the solution of the problem of the Suffering Servant of Second Isaiah. These insights were further worked out in an important study by the Danish scholar A. BENTZEN. Fourth, in his investigation of prophetism, Engnell strongly attacked the common assumption that the great prophets were divorced from the cult: Some of them, like Amos, were actual cultic officials; some of the prophetic books were Temple liturgies or at least close reflections of them; and much in all of them reproduced the themes and language of Israelite worship. Again, other more detailed studies have carried forward this approach, e.g., those by A. Haldar in Sweden (1945) and Johnson in England (1944). Engnell has been the clearest follower of the methods of the Myth and Ritual school and the decisive influence on the younger scholars who may be said to constitute the Uppsala school. Not even in Scandinavia have his more extreme views always won acceptance, but the basic approach of the Myth and Ritual school has been very marked on biblical scholarship there as well as in other countries, including Germany, where the general consensus has often appeared hostile to it.

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J. R. PORTER

MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES (to 1800)

"Of all the phenomena of human culture, myth and religion are the most refractory to a merely logical analysis" (E. Cassirer, *An Essay on Man* [1944] 72). This thought may help to explain differences in terminology and approaches to myth over the years.

In the early centuries of Christianity the myths most familiar were those of Greece and Rome, e.g., in the poems of Homer and Hesiod. In the form in which the myths have come down to us, the Greek gods and heroes often behave in a manner unworthy of civilized people. This posed a problem the Greek philosophers, long before the coming of Christ, solved by allegorizing the legends in terms of philosophy and science (R. Hanson, *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture* [1959] 57-59). When Christian interpreters of the Bible needed an alternative to the literal-historical sense, e.g., in Song

of Songs, not surprisingly they preferred allegory to myth, thus following a tradition of the Jews, especially that of PHILO. When CELSUS taunted the Christians with the "fables" of the Bible, ORIGEN retorted that if the Greeks knew how to find a hidden allegorical meaning in the myths, why should he object to Christians doing the same? In any case, if Celsus had understood the intention of the biblical writers he would have known that many biblical narratives were acceptable in their literal sense without allegory, unlike the Greek legends, and that there were other parts where God adapted divine speech to human ways (Origen *Con. Cel.*, 4).

With the coming of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, implicit faith began to give way to the inquiry of reason: "Man is the measure of all things." Human standards as to what is reasonable took the place of an unquestioning acceptance of a dogmatic tradition. The tide of opinion was running strongly against the use of allegory, which was seen as the vehicle of many unfounded interpretations. The Bible was now coming to be viewed as one literature among many others to which the same principles of interpretation applied; the clear signs of human fallibility in its composition involved a reassessment of its supernatural features, especially divine manifestations and miracles. Thus, for B. SPINOZA, miracles were impossible since Nature was immutable, being itself God's will; as a result the account of a miracle could be seen as a myth that expressed humanity's ignorance of natural causes (*Theologico-Political Treatise* [1670] chap. 7). On the other hand, the Reformation had brought with it an even more rigid view of the infallible Bible in its literal sense, and thus the struggle over interpretation was to continue.

The Deists (see DEISM) brought matters to a head. By ridiculing the biblical narrative as nothing but a collection of fables and by assuming a developed level of culture on the part of the authors, the Deists accused the biblical authors of deceit and imposture. It was R. LOWTH who indicated the general lines of a reply by analyzing Hebrew POETRY as any other literature, considering it aesthetically, without special reference to its truth (see *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum* [1753]). Lowth held that religious poetry, especially Hebrew, was the highest point of all poetry and was able to instill in the human soul principles of morality (see B. Feldman and R. Richardson [1972] 144-50). Though he held that image-full poetry was the earliest form of human expression, he distinguished between poetry derived from nature (like the earliest human speech) and poetry as conscious art. J. G. HERDER, in some ways not unlike Lowth, was the poet rather than the critic, concerning himself with the poetry and spirit of ancient literatures and traditions and urging the need to "live" them in order to understand them and their world. Original traditions were, he thought, poetical. Later, he opined that orally transmitted primitive sagas originated before developed poetical structures. Herder had a deep love of the HB, although he was reluctant to commit himself as to its historical content (*Vom Geist der hebräischen Poesie* [1782–83]; *Werke* [Suphan ed., 11, 324]). He regarded Genesis 1–3 as saga with a historical basis, although he considered Adam's naming the animals as something like fable. The tradition as a whole—myth, saga, and fable—expressed truths about the nature of the human species and its existence in the world (see Feldman and Richardson, 224-40).

The first scholar to abandon traditional methods of interpretation and apply critical principles of study was R. Simon (1638–1712), a French Oratorian father who insisted that the composition of the documents embodied the ideas and methods prevalent at the time they were written. The historical context was all-important and had to be taken in conjunction with a proper evaluation of religious tradition. Unfortunately, Simon was before his time, and his writings were condemned (see his *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* [1678]).

It was left to J. G. EICHHORN to work out clear principles for the interpretation of the biblical narratives. In his *Urgeschichte: Ein Versuch* (1779) he rejected the idea, once shared by Herder and still widely held today, that primitive people lived in a golden age and possessed fully developed faculties. The first age, he maintained, was rather the age of the childhood of humankind, in which faculties were undeveloped, sources for gathering knowledge limited, and experience restricted. It could, however, be regarded as a happy state, at least initially, for primitive people knew no other. They were ignorant of the cause of events and hence ascribed to the direct action of God many things modern persons would attribute to secondary causes. Genesis 2–3 relates the true history of how our first parents desired perpetual youth. Seeing the snake eating the fruit, they did likewise. Their own thoughts were attributed to a talking snake; there is nothing to suggest a devil was tempting them. They were driven out of the garden by thunder and lightning, and when they tried to return, they were always prevented. God speaking was probably thunder, which was known as the voice of Yahweh. Believing as he did in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), Eichhorn asked whether on so important a matter Moses could have purposefully inserted a mythological memoir into his first book without any guarantee that it would be interpreted correctly. He concluded that at this stage the story was basically factual, transmitted, and of course embellished along the way, from the earliest times.

The idea of the childhood of humankind and its association with myth was developed by C. Heyne, Eichhorn's former professor of classical studies (see Feldman and Richardson, 215-23). We are indebted to him for bringing order to the study of myth and especially for his distinction between the original myth, the stuff of ancient

tradition, and the later poetical form, which was usually the result of a long period of development. Thus, without resorting to allegory, a knowledge of which was out of the question in the earliest times, it was now possible to find an explanation for the unacceptable features of the biblical narrative considered to be history. These features should be seen, not as a conscious deception by the authors of the later poetical production, but as an artless and unsophisticated account in oral tradition. Myth is not fiction, but its contents are varied. Heyne distinguished (1) historical myth—about real persons or events, but with mythological additions; (2) philosophical myth—about ethical problems (e.g., evil in the world) and natural phenomena (e.g., creation accounts); and (3) poetical myth—artistic combinations of earlier myths, with the addition of new stories and poetic embellishments. Thus, myth, not poetry, was the earliest stage of human thought and expression. Homer and Hesiod did not make up their stories; they gave them poetic shape.

In 1788 Eichhorn (*ABBL* 1:984) asked: Need one be surprised if the Semitic nations, like the Greeks, also had their myths? Advances in science and historical research had shown that in Genesis 2–3 the historical link could no longer be defended. The narrative now seemed to him to be a philosophical myth about the loss of the happy days of primitive innocence. As intellect and experience developed people began to desire more than they had ("the grass next door is greener"). Envy awoke, unrest followed, and contentment had left. They desired the "food of the gods." Soon these experiences, expressed in *Bildersprache,* or metaphorical language, took the form of a saga. As Heyne had shown, primitive humans, unaccustomed to abstract thought, saw and expressed only the material and the individual. Unable to "stand back" from events and lacking the capacity to compare them with other experiences, they tended to "blow up" extraordinary events to more than life size, consequently transforming them into supernatural manifestations. But myths are not fables (fictitious stories that impart a moral); they are, rather, the oldest history and philosophy, passing on the events and experiences of primitive humanity in the sense modes of the thought and speech of those early times (*J. G. Eichhorn's "Urgeschichte"* [1790–93] 2:260).

By 1790 Eichhorn was collaborating with a former student, J. P. GABLER, then professor at Altdorf, who brought out a new edition of the *Urgeschichte* (3 vols. 1790–93) comprising "an exact and complete historical-critical review of the different modes of interpretation." Gabler criticized equally the traditional approach, especially allegory, which so often read back Christian doctrine into the text, and the Deists, who ignored historical development. In historical myth events were described, not as a modern person would do, but as the primitive authors conceived them to have happened. Moreover, the mere presence of an event in an account did not define the myth as historical. The event might be included to illustrate an idea, which would then make it a philosophical myth, e.g., the fall of humanity and the Tower of Babel. As historical myth developed through time the names of great men became more prominent in them; but at the same time recollection faded and the actual facts became cloudier. Stories became attached to the names, however, and often etymological meanings in keeping with the role of the person were added. Although fables might, at this later stage, be added to the myth, this would not justify describing the myth as fable. On the other hand, should one regard as unhistorical only those parts that must necessarily be unhistorical? Or should one not rather, in a myth that is clearly philosophical, interpret the details in harmony with the leading idea? Should one not, rather, regard Adam (man) and Eve (woman) as being just as etymological as Prometheus and Pandora?

Gabler's vigorous advocacy of mythological interpretation aroused immediate opposition on the part of traditionalists, who thought that the literal interpretation should not be questioned (even though they never suggested that Greek myths should be taken literally), and Deists, who could not accept the literal meaning. But Eichhorn and Gabler were not arguing about the literal truth of Scripture; they were concerned with the accusation of dishonesty leveled against the biblical authors. The "childhood of mankind" (G. Lessing) applied to all of them. Eichhorn could not envisage a unique Hebrew relationship with the deity. The special character of the Hebrew writings could consist only in their relatively exalted nature, i.e., by comparison with other records from the same period of primitive culture. Nor would Eichhorn and Gabler allow a mixed exposition of the contested chapters—part literal-historical, part allegorical-typological. Principles had to be applied consistently. Gabler held that some form of revelation was necessary if the human species was to progress from passion to reason, but this appeared to resemble truths of natural religion rather than the distinctive Hebrew tradition.

The interpretation of many episodes as mythological now spread, not only throughout the HB (e.g., Balaam and his donkey, Elijah in his fiery chariot) but also into the NT (e.g., the temptation of JESUS, in which the story of his withdrawal into the desert had been embellished with mythological detail to express inner decisions). The supposed lack of time for myth to develop in the NT was countered by the response that it was not the few years of Christ's public ministry that were crucial, but the age-old Jewish tradition, much of which had already been classed as myth (e.g., miracles, divine appearances, diabolical possession, angels, devils, sickness caused by malign influences). One now spoke less about "primitive humans" and more of the "oriental mind" that lay behind these ideas and expressions.

In his *Hebräische Mythologie* (1802), G. BAUER produced a comprehensive survey of the findings of the mythology school that satisfied Gabler's desire for a *Mythologia Sacra.* But where Eichhorn and Gabler would have recognized myth in the NT, Bauer suggested that Jesus was merely accommodating the current views and tradition, e.g., "I saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven" (Luke 10:18); "their angels see the face of my father" (Matt 18:10); "Be quiet, come out of him" (to the unclean spirit, Mark 1:25). This concession Bauer would not extend to the disciples, however. Unlike Eichhorn and Gabler, Bauer was preoccupied with distinguishing history from myth. He proposed other criteria for identifying myth: (1) events connected with world origins, which no one witnessed; (2) events attributed directly to the action of God or to heavenly beings; (3) actions and speech where only thought took place, e.g., the temptation of Jesus; Jacob and the angel; and (4) events that could never have occurred in the course of nature. In general, he included all unverifiable assertions, considering verifiability to be essential. One must ask not only whether something could have happened but also how it could be known. Thus the whole of Genesis and parts of the other books of Moses and of Joshua–Judges were mythical. Elohim were originally gods, but as Yahweh came to be recognized as the only God, they became angels ("Where the Hebrews speak of an angel appearing, there, Homer sees a god.") Bauer further noted that similar events produced similar myths: Noah's and Deucalion's floods; the stories of Samson and of Hercules. Bauer classified a number of NT events as myth (e.g., Christ's birth, the angel of the agony), but then went on, illogically it seems, to give "natural" explanations of some details (e.g., a phosphorous light at Christ's birth, a dove flying past at the baptism) where there was no evidence at all. On the whole, however, Bauer's concern for fact made him prefer historical to philosophical myth, even though in doing so he limited the range of meaning.

By 1800 almost all of the work on biblical criticism and mythological studies had been done by Germans. France was in the throes of revolution; and England appeared to have turned her back on all change, whether biblical or political. A. Hartmann of Rostock, writing in 1831, had this to say: "England, once Germany's guide in theological research, now, in the area of biblical higher criticism, appears to have come to a disturbing stand still on which all the illuminating insights and liberal ideas of our learned scholars make hardly any impression, let alone unsettle or overturn" (*Historisch-kritische Forschungen über die Bildung, das Zeitalter, und den Plan der fünf Bücher Moses* [1831] 58-59).

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R. C. FULLER

MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES (1800–1980)

Questions about the nature and function of myth in both the HB and the NT form an important part of biblical studies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and it is now clear that the critical enterprises of such major critics as D. F. STRAUSS and R. BULTMANN have important roots in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. From the time of J. G. EICHHORN (1752–1827) it was necessary for serious scholars to come to terms with the problem of myth in the Bible. Eichhorn's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (3 vols., 1780–82) treats the Hebrew Scriptures "not merely as the vehicle of a revelation, but as in form Oriental books, to be interpreted in accordance with the habits of mind of Semitic peoples" (T. Cheyne [1893] 14). Eichhorn found a good deal of myth and legend in the books of the HB and brought to the serious and systematic study of biblical texts certain ideas about myth that had been discussed in English and French DEISM for a hundred years. He also drew on R. LOWTH's *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum* (1753), a work translated into German and annotated by J. D. MICHAELIS. Lowth, an Englishman, regarded the HB as the incomparably sublime POETRY of a deeply religious people. His work was read in Germany by both Eichhorn and his friend J. G. HERDER, whose *Vom Geist der Ebraischen Poesie* (1782–83; ET 1833) extends Lowth's position. For Herder the Bible is the primitive poetry of the ancient Hebrews. To be understood it must be looked at through the eyes of its creators and accepted as the local, national utterance of a given people at a given time in a given place. He believed that the Bible contains myths that embody deeply important truths. Indeed, Herder was "the first important expression of the romantic affirmation of myth as creative primal wisdom and sublime spiritual power, of myth as vitally true" (B. Feldman and R. Richardson [1972] 224). Against this new affirmation of myth as the necessary formal expression of primitive spiritual life may be set the negative view of myth often associated with the Enlightenment and with such figures as F. Diderot (1713–84), J. D'Alembert (1717–83), VOL-

TAIRE (1694–1778), P. Holbach (1723–89), and T. PAINE (1737–1809), for whom myth was simply primitive superstition, unworthy and erroneous, something that would vanish when exposed to the light of reason. Eichhorn's detailed and unimpassioned analysis of biblical texts as a diverse collection of legends, oral traditions, earlier books or documents, and fabulous stories may be seen as the beginning of a modern "objective" or "detached" criticism of myth, avoiding as it does the strident denunciations of Voltaire or Paine and the enthusiastic, passionate assent and acceptance of Herder.

The modern biblical study of myth begins, then, at a time when there were in circulation two diametrically opposed evaluations of myth. One group, usually, if not quite fairly, labeled "Enlightenment" thinkers, generally regarded myths as erroneous pre-scientific, savage thought marked by superstition and credulity and of no serious modern interest or value. The other group, often thought of as Romantic or pre-Romantic, affirmed myth as high truth expressed symbolically by a primitive people at a primitive time. In understanding various modern biblical scholars' approaches to myth, it is necessary to understand not only their conception of myth but also their underlying evaluation of myth and mythological habits of mind.

Despite his tone of "objectivity," Eichhorn shared the negative view of myth. In the HB, for example, he found myth and miracle everywhere, but he did not find them valuable or significant; and he uniformly sought to recover the "naturalistic" or historical phenomena that lie behind them. From this point of view, "the appointment of Moses to be the leader of the Israelites was nothing more than the long cherished project of the patriot to emancipate his people, which when presented before his mind with more than usual vividness in his dreams, was believed by him to be a divine inspiration. The flame and smoke which ascended from Mount Sinai at the giving of the law was merely a fire which Moses kindled in order to make a deeper impression upon the imagination of the people, together with an accidental thunderstorm that arose at that particular moment. The shining of his countenance was the natural effect of being overheated; but it was supposed to be a divine manifestation, not only by the people, but by Moses himself, he being ignorant of the true cause" (Strauss [1835] 48). Eichhorn interpreted myth as a process that starts with a nucleus of historical fact; thus any given myth can be reduced to its historical core or kernel. Eichhorn was, then, in Strauss's phrase, a Christian Euhemerus.

In his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (5 vols., 1804–27) Eichhorn argued that the Gospels were also full of supernatural myths, for which he again supplied natural explanations. He also maintained that the canonical Gospels (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) were not original or eyewitness accounts but rested instead on various translations and versions of a primary Aramaic gospel. Eichhorn's work was influential. In Germany J. P. GABLER, the young Schelling, J. SEMLER, and G. BAUER carried on his ideas. In England the regius professor of Hebrew, H. Lloyd, was interested but could not get church or university patronage for a translation of Eichhorn's *Introduction to the OT.* In the United States A. Norton's *Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels* (3 vols., 1837–44) was essentially intended as a refutation of Eichhorn.

Among Eichhorn's immediate followers, H. Paulus, also a Christian Euhemerist, sought for naturalistic—that is, non-supernatural—explanations for everything in the NT in his *Commentar ueber das Neue Testament* (1800). Bauer produced a more sophisticated taxonomy of myths, starting from the position of C. Heyne (see Feldman and Richardson, 215-23) that the earliest records of all people are necessarily myths. In his 1802 volume Bauer provided various ways to identify a myth: A narrative is a myth "first, when it proceeds from an age in which no written records existed, but in which facts were transmitted through the medium of oral tradition alone; secondly, when it presents an historical account of events which are either absolutely or relatively beyond the reach of experience, such as occurrences connected with the spiritual world, and incidents to which, from the nature of the circumstances, no one could have been witness; or thirdly, when it deals in the marvelous and is couched in symbolic language" (Strauss [1835] 52). In 1817 W. DE WETTE published his *Lehrbuch der historiche-kristischen Einleitung in die Kanonische und Apocryphischen Bücher des Alten Testaments,* the fifth edition (1840) of which was translated into English and nearly doubled in size with annotations by the American T. PARKER in 1843. De Wette followed Bauer in paying especially close attention to the process by which a legend becomes a myth. "But in the popular legend, there came an idealo-poetic element, and mingled itself with the real historical elements. By this means the tradition was gradually transformed into the miraculous and the ideal. The popular songs conduced chiefly to bring about this end; for they, in the bold lyric flights of imagination, represented what was surprising and wonderful in a supernatural light, and a people credulous of miracles easily misunderstood the account. Thus the miracle in Joshua 10:14 arose from the lyric hyperbola of the two preceding verses" (Parker [1843] 2:38-29).

This effort to discriminate between historical fact, or event, on the one hand, and various kinds of myth, on the other hand, was extended and applied to NT studies most famously—indeed, notoriously—by Strauss in his *Das Leben Jesu,* a book that was said to have made the year 1835 as memorable in theology as 1848 was in politics, and for the same reason. Concentrating on the four Gospels, Strauss found myth everywhere, and he

distinguished several kinds: "We distinguish by the name *evangelical mythus* a narrative relating directly or indirectly to Jesus, which may be considered not as the expression of a fact, but as the product of an idea of his earliest followers." (Strauss, like other German writers of the time, tried to formalize a terminology for myth studies in which "mythus" meant a single mythological narrative, with "mythi" for the plural.) He divided evangelical myths into two kinds, pure and historical. The pure mythus is one "constituting the substance of the narrative" and arising either from "the Messianic ideas and expectations existing according to their several forms in the Jewish mind before Jesus" or from "that peculiar impression which was left by the personal character, actions and fate of Jesus" (86). The historical mythus is "an accidental adjunct to the actual history," having for its basis a "definite individual fact which has been seized upon by religious enthusiasm, and twined around with mythical conceptions culled from the idea of the Christ." Strauss gave as examples of the latter "a saying of Jesus such as that concerning 'fishers of men' or the barren fig tree, which now appear in the Gospels transmuted into marvelous histories" (87), applying these concepts so rigorously to the Gospel narratives that almost nothing of the historical JESUS remained unchallenged. His conclusion was bleak: "The results of this inquiry which we have now brought to a close, have apparently annihilated the greatest and most valuable part of that which the Christian has been wont to believe concerning his saviour Jesus, have uprooted all the animating motives which he has gathered from his faith, and withered all his consolations." He then asserted that it remains "to re-establish dogmatically that which has been destroyed critically" (757).

Strauss tried to do this by claiming that the true meaning of Christ is not as an individual, a god-man, but as Humanity, the human race itself; and he was able to conclude, "by faith in this Christ, especially in his death and resurrection, man is justified before God; that is, by the kindling within him of the idea of Humanity, the individual man participates in the divinely human life of the species" (780). Strauss's work was widely read and reviewed. In the United States T. Parker published a seventy-page review of it in *The Christian Examiner* (1840). In England Strauss was answered by *Voices of the Church in Reply to Dr. D. F. Strauss* (1845), and his work was translated by the novelist G. Eliot in 1846. Strauss was widely attacked in Germany, and he ultimately published another *Life of Jesus for the German People* in 1864 with a somewhat less sweeping conclusion. It has been repeatedly pointed out that he failed to preface his work with a critical discussion of the sources—that is, he failed to evaluate the historical status of each of the Gospel narratives, let alone sift their relationship to each other. Thus much of the seeming cogency of Strauss's mythological hypothesis was undercut when as early as 1838 C. WEISSE put forward the hypothesis that the earliest Gospel is that of Mark, with Matthew and Luke derived from it. At almost the same time L. Feuerbach's *The Essence of Christianity* (1841) carried Strauss's argument one step further, denying the existence of an abstract divine being and turning theology "completely and finally into anthropology" (K. Barth [1947; ET 1972] 534).

From this point forward the study of myth in the Bible is increasingly complicated because it is often carried on as part of the enterprise of anthropology or one of the newly rising fields of history of religion, comparative religions, or FOLKLORE. The philological school, typified by F. Müller's "Comparative Mythology" (1909), explained myth as a "disease of language" and saw in myths only linguistically distorted accounts of such natural events as the coming of the dawn. The fullest application of this theory to the Bible is I. Goldziher's *Mythology Among the Hebrews and Its Historical Development* (1877). An opponent of Müller's, A. LANG took up E. Tyler's animist theories about the origin of myth (1871) and found widespread evidence that the earliest religions were, against all previous opinion, both monotheistic and strongly ethical. This view, in which primitive myth establishes primitive monotheism, put forward in Lang's *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (1887) and *The Making of Religion* (1909^3), was taken up and extended to biblical studies by W. Schmidt in *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (1926^2). The so-called ritual school of mythological interpretation viewed all myth as founded solely in primitive ritual. J. Harrison's *Themis* (1912) is the major early work here, while S. HOOKE's *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship* (1958) is a late development. J. FRAZER linked biblical stories to folklore traditions in *Folklore in the OT* (1918), a view that has been revised and revived by T. GASTER in *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the OT* (1969). The claims for primitive monotheism by Lang and Schmidt had the effect of renewing the positive emphasis on myth as important early religious truth. This is also the effect of those modern writers who may loosely be called the phenomenological school, including E. Cassirer (1946), G. van der Leeuw (1967), M. Eliade, and P. RICOEUR. Van der Leeuw begins with L. Levy-Bruhl's (1922) idea that primitive thought as expressed in myth is "prelogical." Instead of criticizing the primitive mentality as non-scientific, however, van der Leeuw sees it as a valid, worthy mental process in its own right. So does Eliade, who gives the following definition: "Myth narrates a sacred history; it relates an event that took place in primordial time, the fabled time of the beginnings.... Myth, then, is always an account of a 'creation'; it relates how something was produced, began to *be*... the myth is regarded as a sacred story and hence a 'true history' because it always deals with realities" (*Myth and Reality* [1964] 5-6). Building upon earlier work of

Eliade, Riceour's *La Symbolique du Mal* (1950) undertakes a detailed study of the HB to show how myths are an attempt to explain the basic human experiences of defilement, guilt, and sin in the presence of the divine. Somewhat analogous are the fragmentary findings of structuralists (see STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION) stressing the importance of myth as a given in a culture as something that expresses itself through the human, not as something the human can manipulate at will. C. Levi-Strauss's method, as illustrated in "The Structural Study of Myth" (1958), has been taken up by E. Leach in *Genesis as Myth* (1969) and "The Legitimacy of Solomon" (1966) and by M. Douglas in "The Abominations of Leviticus" (1966).

In biblical studies as such, the later nineteenth century saw an increasingly sophisticated source criticism and a general consensus that was anti-Strauss and interested in expanding, not contracting, the historical Jesus and the historical Moses. This revived historicism reached a peak with J. WELLHAUSEN's *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1885), in which the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) is seen to consist of three strata of law and three strata of tradition coming down to us through four main sources and confirming, e.g., an essentially historical outline of a story of Moses.

Building on Wellhausen was the work of H. GUNKEL, generally regarded as the founder of modern biblical FORM CRITICISM. Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) shows how Babylonian myths about the fight between the creator god and the god of chaos provided a pattern for the authors of Genesis to describe the eschatological victory of God over the chaotic forces of evil. Since this book there have been new discoveries, notably the Canaanite texts from UGARIT in 1929, and many other writers have pursued the Mesopotamian underpinnings and antecedents of parts of the Bible (see B. Childs [1960]; F. M. Cross [1973]; T. Jacobson [1976]; H. Gese [1970]; F. McCurley [1983]).

Gunkel's celebrated taxonomy of legend or saga, the starting point for much modern form criticism, is the introduction to his 1901 commentary on Genesis. He claimed that Genesis is largely made up of *sage* (sometimes translated "legend," sometimes "saga"), which he divided into two broad classes: primitive sagas "of the origin of the world and of the progenitors of the human race" and patriarchal sagas or "legends of the patriarchs of Israel" (13). It is principally the primitive legends that have a "mythical" character and may be "faded myths." But in general, Gunkel applied a very narrow and specific definition of myth and held that there are no myths in Genesis because monotheism is hostile to myths. Following H. Ewald (1843) and, ultimately, the brothers Grimm, Gunkel defined a myth as a story of the gods. Taken literally, then, no story of just one god qualifies as a myth. There must be two gods in a story for it to be a myth (15). For this reason Gunkel used legend or saga to describe the basic constituent unit of Genesis. And when he classified the sagas according to LITERARY form rather than content into historical, etiological, ethnological, etymological, ceremonial, and mixed, it should be noted that most of what he calls legends or sagas would have been called myths using the older and larger concept of myth that was in use from Eichhorn through Strauss. If Gunkel's definition of myth is accepted, then modern form criticism can be seen as diverging from myth studies because its material is non-mythic; but if a wider conception of myth is admitted, then form criticism is a modern extension and sophistication of nineteenth-century myth criticism.

In NT studies J. WEISS demonstrated in his 1892 work that the kingdom of God of which Jesus spoke was eschatological not historical, that Jesus understood it to stand outside our time and our earth, being instead one of the four "last things." In 1901 W. WREDE called the historical value of Mark into question, and these two developments had the effect of seriously weakening the historical consensus about the life of Jesus. The historical base seemed less sure, the mythological conception stronger.

Just as Wrede's work set the stage for Bultmann's *History of the Synoptic Tradition,* so also Weiss's argument set the stage for Bultmann's project of de-mythologizing first put forward in an essay on "NT and Mythology" in *Offenbarung und Heilsgeschehen* (1941) and restated in a series of lectures in 1951 published as *Jesus Christ and Mythology* (1958). Bultmann began with Weiss's work, pointing out that the "hope of Jesus and of the early Christian community was not fulfilled. The same world still exists and history continues. The course of history has refuted mythology" (14). More broadly, he said, "The whole conception of the world which is pre-supposed in the preaching of Jesus as in the NT generally is mythological; i.e., the conception of the world as being structured in three stories, heaven, earth and hell; the conception of the intervention of supernatural powers in the course of events; and the conception of miracles" (15).

Bultmann abandoned the narrow, technical definition of myth found in Gunkel and his followers and revived and reapplied a much older and broader conception of myth that has strong affinities with the Enlightenment view, as has been noted by R. Johnson (1974). Bultmann indeed defined the world of the NT as "mythological because it is different from the conception of the world which has been formed and developed by science since its inception in ancient Greece and which has been accepted by all modern men" (15). He sounded very much like Eichhorn or Strauss when he said, "Modern men take it for granted that the course of nature and of history, like their own inner life and their practical life, is nowhere interrupted by the intervention of supernatural powers" (16).

The question, then, for Bultmann was whether Jesus' preaching of the kingdom of God has any meaning or importance for modern human beings. Like critics in the Eichhorn tradition, he regarded mythology as a step away from the truth, not, as it is for Herder and those whose work followed, a step toward truth. Bultmann thought that since myth preserves and presents the particular world of a particular people at a particular time, and since the true meaning of Jesus' message is not local but universal, not historical but existential, we must "abandon the mythological conceptions precisely because we want to retain their deeper meaning." Thus Bultmann sought to strip away mythological elements to leave an existential *kerygma,* the true Christian preaching that is "a proclamation addressed not to the theoretical reason, but to the hearer as a self" (36). He contended that the essence of Christianity is in this *kerygma,* understood existentially, and that as a result we can dispense with the worldview of the Scriptures, which is "mythological and is therefore unacceptable to modern man whose thinking has been shaped by science and is therefore no longer mythological."

This line of argument has a simplicity and clarity about it reminiscent of the Enlightenment, of Eichhorn and Strauss. Like those critics before him, Bultmann has been elaborately and repeatedly answered. The problem with his view is essentially one of limits. How far can it be carried, and what will be the result? As one of Bultmann's most careful commentators puts it, "Just how irrelevant can the factual content of the gospel become without its ceasing to be a gospel?" (J. McQuarrie [1960] 20).

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R. D. RICHARDSON, JR.

MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES

(1980 to present)

The general study of myth and MYTHOLOGY has received much popular and academic attention in the last two decades of the twentieth century. While the public

imagination was engaged by the B. Moyers interviews with J. Campbell and the resulting publication of *The Power of Myth* (1988), current scholarly analysis of myth is reflected in the introductory text by W. Doty (1986). One of the most influential and methodologically rigorous voices in myth studies since 1980 has been R. Segal, whose 1980 article remains an excellent survey of methodological approaches to the study of myth (see also A. Dundes [1984]). Current discussions of myth can also be found in T. Sienkewicz's 1997 annotated bibliography.

Since J. ROGERSON's *Myth and OT Interpretation* (1974), the most programmatic discussions of myth and the HB have been written by R. Oden (1987; 1992a; 1992b), B. Batto (1992), M. Smith (1994), and N. Wyatt (1996). Oden's articles in the *ABD* and a long chapter in his 1987 book offer a conscientiously methodological perspective for biblical scholars. Smith's article is also very helpful in surveying the issues of the identity of myth and the practice of "myth-making" in ancient Israel.

Significant book-length studies of myth and HB interpretation include works by F. McCurley (1983) and especially Batto, who attempts to demonstrate how "myth permeates virtually every level of the biblical tradition from the earliest to the latest" and that myth is "one of the chief mediums by which biblical writers did their theologizing" (1992, 1). Wyatt similarly calls for the recognition of "the pervasive mythological element in the HB" in his provocative book (1996, 423). He contrasts a mythological reading of the HB with the historicist perspective of much contemporary HB scholarship in his study's final chapter, "The Problem of a Biblical Mythology," in which he also explicitly addresses the nature of myth. B. Anderson (1994) revisits the issue of creation and mythopoeic dimensions of biblical faith from a theological perspective, and J. Levenson (1988) similarly uses mythological themes to address the theological issues of theodicy and divine omnipotence in the HB. The collected essays of H.-P. Müller (1991) should be noted for both exegetical and theological topics.

The majority of work from biblical scholars interested in myth is devoted to the relationship between ancient Near Eastern myth and the HB rather than to methodological or theological reflection. Taking a history-of-religion perspective (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE) on the religion of ancient Israel, these studies usually trace the influence of Akkadian and Ugaritic myths (see UGARIT AND THE BIBLE) on the HB (e.g., J. Bailey [1987]; W. Lambert [1988]; D. Bodi [1991]; Smith [1990]). The most prolific source of such studies has been F. M. CROSS, who has directed studies on mythological topics by E. Mullen (1980), H. Wallace (1985), R. Hendel (1987), W. Propp (1987), P. Day (1988), C. L. Seow (1989), and H. Page (1996). Mullen surveys the mythological image of the divine council in Canaanite and Israelite texts, while other authors analyze specific biblical texts. Page explores the mythological traditions found in Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28.

Much of the discussion of myth and the Bible has naturally centered on Genesis 1–11, with commentaries (C. Westermann [1974; ET 1984]), text studies (Wallace), and comparative perspectives (Dundes [1988]). The relation of these narratives to other ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies and anthropogonies has received much attention (see R. Hess and D. Tsumura [1994]; Batto). R. Clifford has written an important book (1994) and edited another with J. Collins (1992) on this topic. Mythological elements in the psalms have also received consideration (e.g., C. Petersen [1982]). The most influential of the various studies of Yahweh's conflict with primordial forces is the work by J. Day (1985; see also C. Kloos [1986]). N. Forsyth (1987) traces this theme into early Christian literature.

Other sections of the HB have also been considered by scholars interested in myth. Oden calls for the recognition of myth in Genesis beyond chapter 11. The focus of Wyatt's previously mentioned book is on Canaanite and Israelite mythological traditions of kingship (see also T. Mettinger [1987]). The discussion concerning the imagery and mythological allusions in Daniel 7 are summarized by J. Collins in his Daniel commentary (1993) and in his 1993 article, and G. Fuchs (1993) discusses mythological elements in Job. STRUCTURALISM is now a common literary tool of biblical exegesis, but few practitioners consider the mythological quality of the biblical texts. The rarer application of structuralist methods to biblical texts categorized by the authors as myth can be seen in E. Leach and D. Aycock (1983), as well as in the more recent book on Genesis by S. Kunin (1995).

Many studies of ancient Near Eastern deities have been produced since 1980. T. Frymer-Kensky (1992) traces the transformation of goddess traditions into the HB (see also U. Winter [1986]), and the goddess Asherah has received special attention as a possible consort of Yahweh in recent monographs. These and other studies are referenced in K. van der Toorn et al. (1995). Less work has been done on myth in Second Temple Jewish literature. An important exception to this tendency is the work of H. Kvanvig (1988), which explores the Mesopotamian background of both the Enoch figure and the Son of man traditions (cf. M. Barker's [1992] more daring speculations).

In comparison to HB studies, current NT research has exhibited little interest in mythological influences on the NT or the role of myth in biblical THEOLOGY. The debate over R. BULTMANN's demythologizing program has largely subsided (see B. Jaspert [1991]) and the word *myth* has become increasingly conflicted as scholars turn to discussions of narrative, metaphor, and ideol-

ogy (see IDEOLOGICAL CRITICISM) rather than mythology. B. Mack (1988) describes the Gospel of Mark as a myth since it functions as a social group's foundational document, but NT studies generally avoid using the term in reference to the Gospels (cf. Dundes [1990]). Similarly, NT scholars have largely neglected the use of myth in Revelation since J. Court's 1979 book, but attention from A. Y. Collins (1981), J. van Henten (1994), and J. Roloff (1993) should be noted. The relevance of myth to eschatology and biblical theology is most fully addressed by T. Schmidt (1996). Finally, the importance of the essays in volumes edited by H. Schmid (1988) and K. Kertelge (1990) should be recognized for their attention to exegetical and theological topics in the NT.

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N. H. WALLS

N

NACHMANIDES (MOSES BEN NACHMAN GERSONDI—RAMBAN) (1194–1270)

N. was born in Gerona in 1194 into a family of notable rabbis (his grandfather was Simeon ben Zemach Duran). N. served as the rabbi of Gerona, which at that time was the most important center of Jewish mysticism (Kabbalah). Later he became the chief rabbi of all of Catalonia. In this capacity he represented the Jewish community of Aragon against the convert Pablo Christiani in the Christian disputation of 1263, which led to his expulsion from Aragon the following year. In 1267 he settled in Acco, where he died in 1270.

N. was a noted scholar of TALMUD, medicine, and philosophy in addition to Bible. His early writings were on the Talmud and include the *Milchamot Adonai* (a defense of Alfasi's legal decisions against Zerahiah Ha-Levi of Gerona's criticisms), talmudic glosses, and numerous *responsa.*) He was noted as a conservative defender of past sages. In philosophy he was one of the major opponents of MAIMONIDES' views in *The Guide of the Perplexed* during the Maimonidean controversy (1180–1240); however, he never denied Maimonides' personal piety.

N.'s later works consisted of devotional essays and biblical commentaries. His major devotional works were the "Iggeret Ha-Kodesh" (a letter on the holiness of marriage) and the "Torat Ha-Adam" (an essay on Judaism's teaching about death and mourning). His linear commentaries on the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), composed at the end of his life in the land of Israel, are his most important contribution to Jewish culture. In them he synthesized his knowledge of classical rabbinic *aggadah,* philosophy, philology, and Jewish mysticism. In fact, he was the first major rabbinic commentator to use KABBALAH.

His commentaries exhibit the following characteristics: (1) He made frequent, usually critical, references to the commentaries of RASHI (Shelomo ben Isaac, 1040–1105, France) and A. IBN EZRA (1089–1164, Spain) and was particularly critical of the latter's opposition to Kabbalah. (2) He criticized the tendency of Maimonides and his disciples to interpret Scripture allegorically, in particular arguing that miracles are events that defy any natural explanation. At the same time he often presented allegorical interpretations, e.g., claiming that Jacob and Esau are the nations of Israel and Edom, that Edom is Rome, and that the battle of Moses and Joshua against the Amalekites points to the war that Israel would wage under the leadership of the Messiah ben Joseph when the Messiah ben David comes in 1358. (3) He argued that the three basic principles of Judaism are creation out of nothing, divine omniscience, and divine providence. He also claimed that R. Simlai's assertion that Scripture contains 613 commandments was merely a homiletic device. (4) He criticized Jewish philosophers who tended to deprecate physical pleasure, arguing that this view has its source in Greek philosophy and is totally contrary to biblical and rabbinic tradition and that revelation is a more reliable guide to truth and correct behavior than is reason. (5) He believed in both the reincarnation of the soul and the physical resurrection in the messianic age.

Representative of N.'s commentaries is his treatment of the story of Joseph's being sold into slavery by his brothers. Jacob had sent Joseph to find his brothers in Shechem and to see what they were doing. According to Gen 37:15, when Joseph was wandering about "a man found him." N. comments, "[The biblical text] says that [Joseph] had wandered away from his path and did not know where he was going. He entered a field because he was looking for [his brothers] in a pasture. Then Scripture elaborates at length on this [event] to tell us the many proper reasons that [Joseph] had to return [home]. However, he bore all [of this hardship] out of respect for his father. [The passage] also teaches us that the [Divine] decree is true and [human] industry is false, for when The Holy One, Blessed Be He, indicated the way, He did not make known to [Joseph] that He was leading him into the power of [his brothers]. This is what our rabbinic sages meant when they said that these men are angels. It was not for nothing that all of this story was told. Rather, it makes known to us that the council of the Lord is established."

Rashi and Ibn Ezra independently discussed who the "man" was. Ibn Ezra argued that the plain meaning (*peshat*) of the text is that the man is a fellow traveler in the region. Rashi provided a homiletical interpretation (*derash*) that identified the man as the angel Gabriel. Rashbam (Samuel ben Meir, Rashi's grandson, 12th cent., France) asked why this story occurs at all, answering that this tale is inserted to teach us something about Joseph's character. Aware of his brothers' dislike for him, Joseph could not have been anxious to find them, and when they failed to be in Shechem where

Jacob said they would be, he could have decided that he had fulfilled his duty and returned home. However, he was so diligent in his obedience that he went out of his way to find his brothers and even asked a stranger if he knew where they were.

N. alluded to these three comments, agreeing with both Rashbam and Rashi in opposition to Ibn Ezra and adding to Rashbam's explanation of why the story is included in the text. It is this explanation at the end of the quotation that is the distinctive part of N.'s commentary. He turned the verse into a theological affirmation of his understanding of the doctrine of divine providence: God, through the intermediacy of the angels, controls all human events. Human beings make choices, but these decisions do not alter the course of human history. No matter how diligent people are in pursuing their own ends, God's will always prevails.

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N. SAMUELSON

NAHUM, BOOK OF

Interpretation of the book of Nahum through the centuries has focused on the need to trust God in the presence of tyranny. Yahweh remains a dependable refuge for the people of Israel in the face of national injustice, whether at the hands of Assyria (see ASSYRIOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), Babylon, or Rome.

The opening verses of the book witness to the phenomenon of what N. SARNA has called "inner biblical exegesis" (see M. Fishbane [1988] vii-viii; see also INNER-BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION). Original terms of compassion from the so-called attribute formula in Exod 34:6-7 are here transformed into terms of war: "who maintains *kindness* [*nōṣēr*]" becomes *"who rages* [*nôtēr*] against his *enemies"*; *"assuages* anger" becomes *"long* of anger"; and "great in *kindness"* becomes "mighty in *power"* (Fishbane [1977] 280-81). In short, the book of Nahum is a reinterpretation of a central text from the Torah in a moment of need concerning Israel's national security. Though Yahweh is merciful and slow to anger, this time patience toward those who flout Yahweh has run out.

The Qumran *pesher* 4QpNah (4Q169) interpreted the text of Nahum as a prophecy of impending disaster against the community's enemies, in which the foes of old are identified with contemporary nations (see M. Horgan [1979] 158-59). One Greek tradition of Tobit 14:4 (Codex Sinaiticus), which has its fictional setting in ancient Nineveh, cited the prediction of the fall of Nineveh by Nahum (elsewhere Jonah) that the writer saw fulfilled at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus (both names used anachronistically). This reading of Nahum as prophecy from an earlier time that was subsequently fulfilled appears also in Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* 9.11.3). The Aramaic TARGUM of Nahum emphasizes God's faithfulness toward God's people while expecting the ultimate destruction of the nations who have devastated Israel and its Temple. Nahum is here presented as later than Jonah, which reflects the Hebrew ordering of the individual books within the Book of the Twelve (Minor Prophets).

The book of Nahum is quoted only once in the NT (Rom 10:15; cf. Nah 1:15, Isa 52:7). Among the church fathers the book is cited infrequently: TERTULLIAN (twice), CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (once), ORIGEN (four times), EUSEBIUS (eight times), Epiphanius (c. 315–403; five times), CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA (twice), Hippolytus Romanus (c. 170–c. 236; twice), MELITO OF SARDIS (once), and CHRYSOSTOM (twice). JEROME presented a spiritual interpretation in which the book predicts the certain destruction of those who reject God and remain outside the church (see J. Kelly [1975] 163-66).

The book of Nahum received relatively little attention within Jewish interpretation as well: eight references in the Babylonian TALMUD and thirty-one in MIDRASH Rabbah. The interpretation of the medieval exegetes RASHI, A. IBN EZRA, and D. KIMHI focuses on the judgment of God on Israel's national enemies.

Like the mainstream of Jewish exegesis before him, LUTHER's *Lectures on Nahum* (1525) assume a historical approach. Nahum is taken as a contemporary of Isaiah who predicted Judah's suffering under Sennacherib, the preservation of a righteous remnant, and the coming destruction of Nineveh. Thus Nahum (meaning "consolation" or "comfort") brought comfort to God's people in time of need. Few interpreters have expressed the essential message of Nahum more clearly than Luther

when he wrote: "The book teaches us to trust God and to believe, especially when we despair of all human help, human powers, and counsel, that the Lord stands by those who are His, shields His own against all attacks of the enemy, be they ever so powerful" (see W. Maier [1959] 86). Although CALVIN's commentary is more detailed, it also is theological in orientation.

The book of Nahum was singled out by R. LOWTH (*De sacra poesi Hebraeorum* [1763] 281) for its aesthetic brilliance. With the subsequent development of historical criticism in the nineteenth century, the question of the historical and geographic origin of the book began to be viewed as the key to its interpretation. Supposed reference to the invasion of Sennacherib and linguistic ties to Isaiah led some scholars to posit a date late in the reign of Hezekiah. But the discovery that Thebes fell to Assyria in 663 BCE (Nah 3:8-10) led most critical scholars to argue for a date of composition closer to the actual fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE. The discovery of what appeared to be a partial acrostic poem in 1:3-7 by a German pastor, G. Frohnmeyer, subsequently attracted attention within the scholarly community, particularly when H. GUNKEL (1893) argued that this "broken acrostic" was added to the book by a postexilic editor. Like many other texts in the HB, Nahum was now regarded as composite.

Although many interpreters continued to read the book as witnessing to God's just rule in history, others noted the non-religious character of the POETRY in chaps. 2–3 and the prophet's failure to address the sins of Judah. Some scholars began to judge Nahum as a nationalistic prophet, perhaps even allied with the "false prophets" condemned by Jeremiah. Such views continue to be held in some circles.

In 1907 P. HAUPT argued that the book was not PROPHECY at all but the festival liturgy composed for the celebration of the Day of Nikanor on the 13th of Adar, 161 BCE. Although the Maccabean date was subsequently rejected, the idea that the book was a festival liturgy had profound influence in academic circles. In 1926 P. HUMBERT argued that the book was a prophetic liturgy used at the new year festival in Jerusalem in 612 BCE to celebrate the fall of Nineveh. In 1946 A. Haldar argued that it was the work of cultic prophets who used the language of ritual combat in the new year festival as a curse on Israel's political enemies, the Assyrians. Subsequent studies placed the book within the sphere of international politics in pre-monarchic Israel, as reflected in the larger tradition of oracles against foreign nations in the prophetic literature. Perhaps the most attractive hypothesis along these lines was made in 1975 by J. Watts, who suggested that the book of Nahum, along with Habakkuk and Obadiah, was a liturgical expression of foreign prophecies that was part of the "Day of Yahweh" section of the Royal Zion Festival in ancient Jerusalem. J. Eaton has shown that no simple distinction exists between what some have called "cultic" and other modes of prophecy in ancient Israel.

Although a date close to the actual fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE is frequently assumed, an earlier date is certainly possible. If the revolt of Manasseh against Assyria cited in 2 Chronicles 33 is not to be dismissed as a figment of the author's imagination, the situation as it existed in Judah c. 652–648 BCE fits the occasion rather well. The basis for such a revolt on Manasseh's part would have been the conviction that Assyria's days were numbered. The book of Nahum presents precisely that message and may have been used to persuade the Judean king to take part in such a revolt—the assurance that Assyria's fall was certain, in fact that it was ordained of God the Divine Warrior. The book would then have taken on deeper meaning as part of the theological basis for the subsequent resurgence of Judean independence under King Josiah, especially after the death of Asshurbanipal in c. 630 BCE. The final destruction of Nineveh in 612 would have been the ultimate fulfillment of this prophecy and would thus explain the book's inclusion in the CANON.

The study of Nahum in relation to holy war in ancient Israel has raised new questions. K. Cathcart (1975) and D. Christensen (1975, 166-175) make a distinction between holy war as a military institution and the "war of Yahweh," which reflects a cultic event within the worship experience of the people of ancient Israel during the preexilic era (i.e., before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 587 BCE). This distinction points the way toward an important new impulse in the study of Nahum—namely, the shift from attempts to recover the historical setting that produced the book to a focus on the received literary text itself within the canonical process that produced the Book of the Twelve as one of the four primary sections of the latter prophets (see J. Nogalski [1993]).

The acrostic hymn in Nahum 1, which is based on at least the first half of the Hebrew alphabet, has apparently been adapted to a new purpose by the author of the book, perhaps to form a cipher (code) from the sequence of letters and/or other opening elements, as A. van der Woude has suggested (1977). This cipher contains a summary of the meaning of the book: "I am the exalted Yahweh; and [I am] in the presence of sin. In a flood [I am] bringing a full end completely" (see Christensen [1988] 51-58).

Later studies suggest that Nahum is to be read in conjunction with the foreign nation oracles of Isaiah 13–23 in particular. The first heading *maśśā' Nînĕwēh* (Nah 1:1*a*) may well be an invitation to associate the book with this Isaiah material. The book may also be interpreted in relation to the wider oral and literary traditions of HB prophecy (see R. Coggins [1982] 79-85). Moreover, as B. Childs has argued, its final form testifies to God's ultimate triumph over all foes. Traditional critical assessments miss the authoritative herme-

neutical role of this "canonical shaping" (see Childs [1979] 440-46).

In its poetic form the book of Nahum has no superior within the prophetic literature of the HB. The vivid and rapid succession of images gives it a peculiar power. It delineates the swift and unerring execution of divine fury against the merciless foes of God and of God's people. At the same time it also points rather sharply to God as the sure refuge and security for those who obey and trust God. Careful analysis of the poetry in the book reveals an elegant literary structure. The best way to explain its remarkable structural symmetry is to posit musical influence (see Christensen [1989] 159-69). The Hebrew text bears the mark of original musical composition and performance within an ancient Israelite liturgical setting; thus it is likely that Nahum was a central prophet functioning within the Temple cult in Jerusalem. The book belongs to the so-called oracles against foreign nations and as such was probably motivated by political aims. In its present canonical form it is closely related to the book of Habakkuk; in fact, the two books may be outlined as a single literary unit as follows:

A—Hymn of theophany (Nahum 1)
  B—Taunt song against Nineveh (Nahum 2–3)
    X—The problem of theodicy (Habakkuk 1)
  B′—Taunt song against the "wicked one" (Habakkuk 2)
A′—Hymn of theophany (Habakkuk 3)

Nahum is primarily a book about God's justice, not about human vengeance, hatred, and military conquest; it is best read as a complement to the book of Jonah. The book of Jonah may be read as a midrashic reflection on Exod 34:6 and God's steadfast love (*hesed*), whereas the book of Nahum reflects Exod 34:7 and God's wrath. In short, Nahum focuses on the "dark side" of God, while Jonah portrays God's mercy and compassion toward the same wicked city. Both aspects are essential for an understanding of the divine nature.

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D. L. CHRISTENSEN

NARRATIVE CRITICISM

Narrative criticism focuses on stories in biblical literature and attempts to read these stories with insights drawn from the secular field of modern LITERARY criticism. The method is eclectic, drawing from such related fields as STRUCTURALISM and RHETORICAL CRITICISM, with the goal of determining the effects the stories are expected to have on their audiences.

Narrative critics grant that biblical stories may function referentially as records of significant history but insist that they also function poetically to fire the imagination, provoke repentance, inspire worship, and so

forth. An oft-cited metaphor suggests that historical criticism treats biblical narratives as windows that enable readers to learn something about another time and place, while narrative criticism treats these same texts as mirrors that invite audience participation in the creation of meaning. For the narrative critic, texts shape the way readers understand themselves and their present circumstances.

Narrative criticism is also viewed as compatible with READER-RESPONSE CRITICISM, although it is distinct from this discipline as well. Typically, reader-response methods focus on ways in which interpretation of a text may be shaped to fit the interests or circumstances of diverse readers. Without denying these interpretative possibilities, narrative criticism attempts to determine how various signals within a text guide readers in deciding what the text means. In practice the two approaches often appear to be in conflict, but the distinction is primarily one of degree and emphasis. Only the most extreme reader-response critic would maintain that texts offer no guidance for interpretation, and only the most extreme narrative critic would deny that individual readers make contributions to the interpretative process.

A common paradigm that clarifies these distinctions describes historical criticism as "author-oriented," reader-response criticism as "audience-oriented," and narrative criticism as "text-oriented." The latter orientation is evident in two key constructs of narrative criticism: the "implied author" (or author as known from the text) and the "implied reader" (or audience presupposed by the text).

Narrative criticism seeks to interpret texts with reference to their implied authors rather than with reference to their actual, historical authors. By "implied author," narrative critics mean the perspective from which the work appears to have been written, a perspective that must be reconstructed by readers on the basis of what they find in the narrative. In secular studies the concept of implied authors was first developed by critics who wished to interpret stories without reference to anything extrinsic to the text itself. They claimed that biographical information concerning the author's agenda or personality should not be imposed on the story. Thus modern readers may know that Jonathan Swift was concerned with the relations of Protestants and Catholics in Ireland, but since this issue is not explicitly addressed in *Gulliver's Travels* the meaning of that work should not be circumscribed by so limited an application. In fact, in literary studies a "classic" is by definition a work that continues to be meaningful in times and places that were not originally envisioned by the historical author.

The concept of implied authors is significant for interpreting works that have multiple authors or that are anonymous. Even a work that has no real author—such as a tale that developed over a period of time as it was passed down from generation to generation—can be studied according to the perspective of its implied author. Regardless of the process through which a narrative comes into being, it will always evince particular values, beliefs, and perceptions that can be described as representative of its implied author. For biblical narrative critics, then, the identification of various source documents (J, E, D, P) that were eventually woven together to form the book of Genesis is largely irrelevant. Narrative critics are not interested in discerning the historical reliability or theological agenda of source strata that lie behind the text but in determining the effect that the text as it now stands has on readers.

To be more precise, narrative criticism seeks to determine the expected effects of stories on implied readers without taking into account all of the possible effects that they may have on actual readers. The concept of implied readers parallels that of implied authors. Implied readers are those who actualize the potential for meaning in texts, who respond to texts in ways consistent with the expectations ascribed to their implied authors. This approach often defines meaning with less specificity than a historical concern for how a document was intended to affect its original audience. If the original readers of *Gulliver's Travels* were intended to draw lessons from the story regarding a specific crisis, the implied readers are expected to draw lessons appropriate to analogous crises in their own situation, to discern how the story's satirical message concerning the foolishness of war applies to them. Thus narrative criticism is generally more open to polyvalence (plurality of meaning) than is historical criticism, although the idea of implied readers places limits on this concept. An interpretation of Swift's story that failed to regard it as a satire and understood it instead as a literal historical report would lie outside the range of what would be expected for its implied readers.

A common misunderstanding of narrative criticism holds that the discipline somehow privileges the perspective of implied readers such that expected readings are "right" and unexpected readings "wrong." This is not necessarily true. Most narrative critics would grant that texts may legitimately come to affect people in unexpected ways. The reception of *Gulliver's Travels* as an entertaining children's story probably constitutes an unexpected reading, but few critics would want to say children are wrong to enjoy the story at a level other than that on which it was intended to be received. Likewise, many Christians will defend christological interpretations of OT texts as valid unexpected readings. The point in distinguishing expected and unexpected readings is to increase the self-awareness of the interpreter. The concept of implied readers is a heuristic construct that allows critics to limit the subjectivity of their analysis by distinguishing between their own responses to a narrative and those that the text appears to invite. Thus the textually constructed implied reader may serve a function analogous to that of a control group in a scientific experiment. Readers may compare their own

responses to a text with those that seem to be expected of its implied readers and then seek to explain any divergences.

In exploring the expected effects of texts on their implied readers, narrative critics make some assumptions about a normative process of reading. They assume, for instance, that the narrative is to be read sequentially and completely with all of its parts being related to the work as a whole. Thus the expected effects of the biblical story of David and Goliath (1 Samuel 17) cannot be determined by considering the passage as an isolated pericope but only by considering the role the passage plays in the entire narrative. Readers may also be assumed to desire consistency and to make connections necessary to resolve apparent tensions within a text in favor of the most consistent interpretation.

A normative process of reading also assumes that readers know certain things. To determine the effects that Matthew's Gospel is expected to have on its readers we must assume that these readers know what a Pharisee is, what a centurion does, how much a denarius is worth, and so forth. On the other hand, the determination of the expected effects of a work is often contingent upon assuming the readers do not know certain things. Readers of Mark's Gospel, for instance, are not expected to have read the Gospel of Matthew, and, therefore, the implied readers of Mark's Gospel do not think of JESUS as one who has been born of a virgin.

In the same vein, narrative criticism interprets stories from the perspective of readers who accept the beliefs and values that undergird those stories. Normative reading involves an implicit contract by which readers agree to accept the dynamics of the story world that are established by the implied author. If a story features talking animals or flying spaceships, readers are expected to suspend their disbelief and to accept that, in this story, that is the way things are. In the story world of the Bible, God speaks audibly from heaven, fantastic miracles are commonplace, and human beings interact freely with spiritual creatures like angels and demons. Narrative criticism is not interested in questioning the accuracy of such reports or in determining what historical occurrences might have inspired the tales. Rather, the expected effects of the stories can only be determined if we adopt the perspective of readers who accept these and other elements of the story as real, at least as "real" within the world of the story. Since narrative criticism demands that texts be interpreted from the faith perspective their readers are assumed to evince, narrative critics may be required to focus their imagination in the opposite direction of that required for historical critics. Whereas historical critics may be expected to suspend faith commitments temporarily in order to interpret texts from the perspective of objective, disinterested historians, narrative critics may be expected to adopt faith commitments temporarily in order to determine how texts are expected to affect their implied readers.

In practice narrative criticism is a complex process that calls for attention to numerous literary dynamics. For convenience narrative critics usually speak of stories as consisting of events, characters, and settings. They also pay a great deal of attention to what is called the "discourse" of a narrative—that is, the rhetoric through which the story is told.

"Events" are simply the incidents or happenings that occur within a story. The order in which a narrative relates events is important because readers are expected to consider each new episode in light of what has gone before. Sometimes narratives report events "out of order," by presenting flashbacks concerning what happened earlier (Mark 6:17-29) or by including predictions or allusions that foreshadow what is still to come (Luke 2:34-35). Likewise, the duration or frequency of an event as well as the amount of space given to reporting it or the number of times it is referenced in the narrative may indicate its significance. Narrative critics are particularly interested in discerning links between events, indications that one event caused another to happen or at least made the occurrence of a subsequent event possible or likely. Furthermore, the extent to which events contribute to the development or resolution of conflict may be of utmost importance. Practically all narratives contain elements of conflict that drive the plot and involve the readers in adjudication of opposing tendencies.

"Characters" are the actors in the story, and the manner in which they are presented is especially significant for determining the effect the narrative is expected to have on its readers. Characters may be flat and predictable like the Pharisees in most of our gospel stories, or they may exhibit a wide variety of traits, like Jesus' disciples, who are presented as enlightened in one instance and yet as lacking insight in another. Characters may remain pretty much the same throughout the narrative, or they may develop and change in response to what transpires as the story progresses. Readers' perceptions concerning characters may be shaped by comments from the narrator; by reports of the characters' own words, deeds, or perceptions; or by reports of the words, deeds, or perceptions of others.

"Settings" are the spatial, temporal, and social locations for events. Readers may respond differently to a story if an event occurs on a mountain or in a boat, on a sabbath or at a wedding, in private or in a crowd. In the Bible settings are often fraught with symbolic meaning. The Jordan River, for example, becomes an apt symbol for entrance into the Promised Land.

Attention to a narrative's discourse includes recognition of what is called "point of view." Narratives typically present diverse perspectives concerning what is transpiring in the story, and readers are expected to

regard some of these as more reliable than others. In biblical narratives the point of view of God is normative for truth, and the perspective of the narrators is always reliable. When God declares that Jesus is the "Beloved Son" (Luke 3:22) or when the narrator of Luke's Gospel says that Jesus is "full of the Holy Spirit" (Luke 4:1), readers are not expected to wonder whether these things are really so. Similarly, the perspectives of angels, prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS), and Jesus himself are all shown to be reliable in the Gospel of Luke because they always concur with the point of view evinced by God and by the narrator. But when the crowds proclaim that Jesus is a prophet (Luke 7:16) readers may be expected to regard this point of view with some ambiguity, for the crowds also think he is John the Baptist risen from the dead, a point of view that is clearly wrong (Luke 9:7, 19).

Narrative critics also study the use of such rhetorical devices as symbolism, irony, structural patterns, and INTERTEXTUALITY (the citation of one text within another). By paying attention to such literary cues, they believe they are able to determine with some accuracy the effects that biblical literature is expected to have on its implied readers.

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M. A. POWELL

NEBRIJA, ELIO ANTONIO DE (1441–1522)

Perhaps the most distinguished humanist of the Spanish Renaissance, N. contributed to literary scholarship on Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Spanish topics. His *Apologia* (composed c. 1504–06) argued that scholars should solve textual problems in the VULGATE by examining the original Hebrew and Greek texts. In his *Tertia quinquagena* (composed c. 1507), N. applied his principles in solving a series of textual problems drawn from both the HB and the NT. He participated on the team that prepared the Complutensian POLYGLOT Bible at the University of Alcalá in the early sixteenth century but resigned c. 1514 when the other collaborators insisted on employing editorial principles he considered antiquated and excessively conservative.

Works: *Apologia* (1516); *Tertia quinquagena* (1516); "Epistola del maestro de Librija al Cardenal," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 8 (1903) 493-96.

Bibliography: **M. Bataillon,** *Erasmo y España: Estudios Sobre la Historia Espiritual del Siglo XVI* (1966). **J. H. Bentley,** *Humanists and Holy Writ: NT Scholarship in the Renaissance* (1983). **P. Lemus y Rubio,** "El maestro Elio Antonia de *Lebrixa," Revue hispanique* 22 (1910) 459-508.

J. H. BENTLEY

NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF (see EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF)

NEWMAN, FRANCIS WILLIAM (1805–97).

N. was educated in classics and math at Oxford, receiving the BA (1826) but refusing the MA since he could no longer subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. After leaving Oxford he fell under the influence of J. Darby (1800–82), founder of the Plymouth Brethern. Later he helped with missionary activity in Baghdad and the Near East and taught classics at Bristol College, Manchester New College, and University College, London.

While his brother, J. H. NEWMAN, left Anglicanism and eventually became a Roman Catholic cardinal, N. moved in the opposite direction through the dissenting churches and rationalism to an alliance with the Unitarians and commitment to an ethical theism with a strong mystical element. Subjecting Scripture to a stringent rational and moral critique, he concluded that the Bible was flawed in matters of history, science, religion, and morality. Drawing on the research of biblical critics, he concluded that the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) was compiled from a variety of sources, that Josiah's lawbook was first produced or regarded as authoritative in the king's own day, that 1–2 Chronicles were of little value for historical reconstruction of the period they described, and that the Gospels did not accurately represent the life and teachings of JESUS. Furthermore, he thought Jesus had not achieved moral perfection (e.g., when confronted by a difficult question, he regularly gave evasive and enigmatic answers to confuse his audiences). N. also rejected as morally offensive many of the commands of God (e.g., that Abraham sacrifice Isaac) and actions of the people (e.g., Abraham's lie about Sarah to Abimelech). N.'s view of Scripture was apparent in his *History of the Hebrew Monarchy* (first published anonymously in 1847), a work distinguished from earlier English treatments of Israel's history by its author's rigorous use of the

historical-critical method and his developmental view of Israelite religion.

N. rejected religious forms and creeds and advocated a mysticism that allowed the believer complete freedom to pursue spiritual truth and the dictates of conscience without being hindered by either the Bible or Christian dogma. He believed human religion developed from a primitive pantheism through the faith of Moses, Samuel, David, and the psalms to the noble expressions of Second Isaiah. Then religion became overlaid with ceremonialism and found relief only with the coming of Jesus, who upset the Jewish conscience and called for a greater spirituality. Jesus' advocacy of a purely inward faith and communion with God was corrupted, however, by PAUL's teaching about faith in Christ, the atonement, and the Trinity.

N. was a prolific writer, publishing in the fields of oriental and classical languages, theology, history, mathematics, politics, and economics. He was also a social activist, advocating women's suffrage, abolitionism, and vegetarianism and opposing vivisection and vaccination. His challenges to traditional thinking were made at a critical period in Britain's intellectual life; although these won for him few converts, he gained renown for his combination of intellect and religious fervor.

Works: *A History of the Hebrew Monarchy* (1847); *The Soul, Her Sorrows and Her Aspirations* (1849); *Phases of Faith* (1850); *On the Defective Morality of the NT* (1867); *Hebrew Theism: The Common Basis of Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedism* (1874; rev. of *Theism, Doctrinal and Practical* [1858]); *Hebrew Jesus* (1895).

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M. P. GRAHAM

NEWMAN, JOHN HENRY, CARDINAL (1801–90)

Brought up in the Church of England in a tradition of "Bible Christianity," N. experienced an evangelical conversion in 1816. At Oxford he was influenced by both the liberalism of the Oriel "Noetics" and by the High Anglican tradition, represented most notably by J. Keble (1792–1866); from 1833 until his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1845 he was one of the recognized leaders of the Oxford movement. Although he was not always appreciated by his fellow Catholics before he was made a cardinal in 1879, his theological thinking has been influential from his death until the present day.

N.'s understanding of the Bible was shaped by both his early evangelicalism and his appreciation of the fathers. As an Anglican he argued that the church and Christian tradition were the proper context for biblical interpretation, maintaining that Scripture was never intended to teach doctrine, only to prove it. Scripture addressed the imagination. To claim that the Bible was inspired was to claim neither verbal inerrancy nor chronological or geographical infallibility. INSPIRATION related to faith and morals, not to other matters. Just as the gift of grace could coexist with sin, so also inspiration was compatible with minor errors. It was necessary, N. believed, to recognize what he called *obiter dicta* in Scripture—phrases or statements that, whether literal fact or not, were not from the circumstances binding on faith.

N. shared a common sacramental outlook with other Tractarian writers, notably Keble, I. Williams (1802–65), and E. B. PUSEY; thus typology and the patristic distinction of mystical and literal senses of Scripture play an important part in his exegesis. Although references to scriptural interpretation are to be found scattered throughout his writings, there are particularly important discussions in the *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church* (1837), *Tract 85,* and the 1884 essays on inspiration. His sermons provide notable examples of scriptural exposition and the application of his principles.

Works: *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church Viewed Relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism* (1837), chaps. 11–13; "Holy Scripture in Its Relation to the Catholic Creed" (*Tracts for the Times,* 83 and 85); *Parochial and Plain Sermons* (8 vols., 1868); *Discussion and Arguments on Various Subjects* (1872) 109-253; *On the Inspiration of Scripture* (ed. J. D. Holmes and R. Murray, 1967).

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D. G. ROWELL

NEWTON, ISAAC (1642–1727)

A preeminent mathematician, physicist, and natural philosopher, N. was elected a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (1667), where he succeeded I. Barrow as Lucasian Professor of Mathematics (1669). He represented the university in the House of Commons (1688–89, 1703–5), moving to London in 1694. He served as president of the Royal Society (1703–27), of which he had been a member since it was chartered in 1672. Both in his day and subsequently N. has been one of the most admired persons in history—"the most splendid genius that has yet adorned human nature" (J. Darling, *Cyclopaedic Bibliograhica* [1854] 2183).

N. appears to have been sincerely pious and religious with an intellectual interest in religion and the Bible. His religious views and biblical interpretation were influenced by his scientific theories, a commitment to millenarianism, a strong interest in CHRONOLOGY and history and the related topic of prophetic fulfillment, and an Arian christology (the latter led him to bypass ordination in 1675 since this would have required endorsing the theology of the Thirty-nine Articles). None of N.'s work on biblical interpretation was published during his lifetime and only portions of his writings after his death. A voluminous quantity of his notes, papers, and incomplete manuscripts was auctioned off at Sotheby's (July 13-14, 1936) and is now located in various places.

Four works were published after his death: (1) *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (1728), a shorter form of which N. had prepared in manuscript for Caroline, Princess of Wales, in 1716; (2) *Observations Upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John* (1733); (3) "A Dissertation upon the Sacred *Cubit* of the Jews and the *Cubits* of the Several Nations; in Which from the Dimensions of the Greatest Pyramid, as Taken by Mr. J. Greaves, the Antient Cubit of Memphis Is Determined" (*Miscellaneous Words of J. Greaves* [ed. T. Birch, 1737] 2:405-33); and (4) *Two Letters of Sir I. N. to Mr. Le Clerc* (1754) originally written to J. LOCKE; a third was first published in 1961 (*Correspondence* 3:83-122, 129-42). The letters raised questions about the authenticity of trinitarian statements in 1 John 5:7, 1 Tim 3:16, and twenty-five other NT texts. About 1671 N. wrote a paper on how to interpret Scripture (partially published in F. Manuel [1974] 107-25). A document extant in various forms in his unpublished papers, entitled *Theologiae Gentilis Origines Philosophicae* (see R. Westfall [1982]), offers summaries of his main thoughts on religion and religious history. His writings indicate familiarity with contemporary biblical scholarship and an intense interest in church history and theology.

N. accepted the view that much of the HB was compiled from earlier records long after the events recorded and often in a disorderly fashion and that the text had suffered many corruptions. The NT also suffered corruptions with the addition of trinitarian texts. He argued for an early date for Revelation, before the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE.

N. held that the ancients were astute in natural philosophy and that authentic religion, ritualized around a central altar fire (the prytaneum) reflecting a heliocentric worldview and based on love of God and love of neighbor, was practiced by the sons of Noah in Egypt. This religion was perverted, especially in Egypt, through the introduction of superstitions, the worship of dead ancestors/heroes, and a geocentric natural philosophy. Moses and the other prophets as well as many Gentiles called people back to the fundamentals. JESUS as a prophet belonged to this pattern of cyclical recall, although he was rewarded with a place at God's right hand. The early church and Gospels added a third element to the two basic characteristics of Noachian religion: belief that Jesus was the Messiah foretold in PROPHECY. The great apostasy of the church—the central topic of Revelation—was the acceptance of the trinitarian faith with its worship of a dead hero, an apostasy N. laid especially at the feet of the Egyptian ATHANASIUS. For N. the historical fulfillment of the prophecies in Daniel and Revelation demonstrated the special providence of God in history paralleling the general divine providence operative in the law of gravity and the order of the cosmos.

Works: *I. N. opera quae exstant omnia* (5 vols., ed. S. Horsley, 1779–85); *Sir I. N.'s Theological Manuscripts* (ed. H. McLachlan, 1950); *The Correspondence of I. N.* (7 vols., ed. H. W. Turnbull et al., 1959–77).

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J. H. HAYES

NICHOLAS OF LYRA (c. 1270–1349)

Born at Lyra near Evreux, Normandy, N. entered the Franciscan order at Verneuil c. 1300, studied at Paris, perhaps also at Florence (see F. Pelster [1951]), and is mentioned as a regent master in Paris in 1308–9. His commentary on PETER LOMBARD's *Sentences* survives in a few fragments only. In 1319 he was elected minister provincial for northern France, and in 1325 for Burgundy. In this capacity he witnessed the bitter controversies over the concept of poverty within his order, taking the side of the moderate conventuals, showing sympathy for the spiritual wing, and exhibiting great diplomatic skill. As an executor of the will of the duchess of Burgundy, he co-founded a college for Burgundian students at Paris (1330–32). In 1333, summoned by the king to deal with Pope John XXII's suspected heresy in the matter of the beatific vision, he participated in the Convocation of Vincennes. In the name of the Paris faculty he wrote a treatise on the issue in 1334, refuting the pope's position but opening the

way for a compromise. He died in Paris in 1349 and was buried in the Franciscan house there.

According to his own testimony, N.'s ambition was the completion of a commentary on the entire Bible during his lifetime, an achievement that commands lasting respect. His *Postilla litteralis* covering both testaments was begun in 1322, its final version finished in 1332/33. From 1333 to 1339 he worked on a companion volume, the *Postilla moralis,* a shorter commentary on major texts of the whole Bible intended for preachers and pastors. His *Tractatus de differentia nostrae translationis ab hebraicia littera in veteri testamanto* (1333) sums up salient points and examples from the literal *Postill* for the use of students. The greatest asset for N.'s exegetical work was his familiarity with Jewish sources. He was acquainted with MIDRASH, TALMUD, and recent Jewish exegetes, especially R. Shelomo ben Isaac (see RASHI), whom he cited frequently. As a young man he may have been in touch with the community of Jewish scholars, the "great ones" of Evreux, where he could have learned some Hebrew, mastering at least the lexicographical level; however, his knowledge of Greek was clearly minimal.

Neither his constant recourse to the "Hebrew truth" nor his exegetical principles mark N. as a radical innovator, although his balanced and comprehensive scholarship is unusual for his time. He appropriated all his sources with a sharp, critical mind and pursued his own independent accents. Rejecting the authority of the traditional prologue material, much of it ascribed to JEROME, he refused to comment on it. His own general prologues to the *Postills* (*PL* 113, 25-36; ET in J. Kiecker [1978]) spell out his hermeneutical principles (see HERMENEUTICS). While not disparaging non-literal interpretations according to the fourfold sense, he insisted on the primacy of the literal sense against arbitrary techniques of spiritual extension and mechanical subdivision of the text, echoing the position of others, especially the Victorines and THOMAS AQUINAS.

N.'s incorporation of Hebrew scholarship did not exclude a parallel insistence on the christological interpretation of the HB. Going beyond both Jewish and Christian interpreters, he pointed out scribal errors and textual corruptions but reckoned also with deliberate Jewish alterations of the original text made in order to avoid the Christian implications of messianic PROPHECY (*PL* 113, 29D-30C). Two of his treatises focus on refuting contemporary Jewish arguments: *Probatio adventus Christi,* a revision of a *quaestio* discussed in 1309, and *Responsio ad quendam Iudaeum ex verbis evangelii secundum Matthaeum contra Christum nequiter arguentem* (1334). His theory of a double literal sense of prophetic passages—one less perfect, related to the historical situation of the human author, the other perfect, related to Christ and the church (*PL* 113, 31D-32A)—may not have been new in its substance but was new in the clarity of its formulation.

N. applied these principles in his commentaries, though not in a rigid, inflexible manner. Interpreting the HB books, he concentrated on the literal sense as *sensus historicus* and showed great interest in historical details. CHRONOLOGY, geography, linguistic observations, natural science, and the realities of life in biblical times play a significant role in his exegesis. In the NT his commentary on Revelation shows that the double literal sense applied to more than HB prophecy; following A. Minorita (D. 1271) and P. Auriol (1280–1322) but avoiding their propagandistic tendencies, he combined a historical interpretation in the framework of the first-century church with an interpretation of the course of church history up to his time and beyond.

N.'s enormous impact on biblical exegesis in the later Middle Ages is evident from the large number of full and partial manuscripts of his *Postilla litteralis* in many languages, especially in Spain, where the dialogue with Jewish exegesis remained a central concern. His *Postills* were the first biblical commentaries to be printed (5 vols., 1471/72); the various printings down to the most recent edition in 1634 number close to 180. In most cases they include *Additiones,* 1,100 thoughtful, but often critical, glosses by Pablo de Santa Maria (d. 1435), a converted Jew who became bishop of Burgos in 1415, and a series of emotional *Replicae Defensivae* by the German Franciscan M. Döring (d. 1469), who tried to defend N. and to discredit Pablo. LUTHER knew the *Postills* well and used them freely, although not without reservations. The sixteenth-century aphorism *Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset* (Had Lyra not the lyre played, Luther his dance would not have made) reveals lingering suspicions but also the perceived continuity of the Reformation with the impulses N. had given to late medieval exegesis.

Works: For manuscripts and printed editions of N.'s works see *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIIIe siécle* 2 (P. Glorieux, 1934) 215-31; "Nikolaus von Lyra (d. 1349): *Quodlibeta* und *Quaestiones,*" *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck* 2 (F. Pelster, 1951) 951-73 (texts from Codex Vaticanus latinus 982); *RBMA* 4 (1954) nos. 5826-994; "A Listing of the Printed Editions of N.," *Traditio* 26 (E. A. Gosselin, 1970) 399-426; *RLS* 4 (1972) 338-57 (list of extracts); "Das Werk des Nicolaus von Lyra im mittelalterlichen Spanien," *Traditio* 43 (K. Reinhardt, 1987) 321-58; *Nicholas of Lyra's Apocalypse Commentary* (P. D. Krey, Teaching the Middle Ages Series, 1997). There is no modern edition of the *Postills*; a reprint of the Strasbourg edition of 1492 was published in 1971.

Bibliography: **W. Bunte,** *Rabbinische Traditionen bei Nicolaus von Lyra: Ein Beitrag zur Schriftauslegung des Spätmittelalters* (Judentum und Umwelt 58, 1994). **H. Hailperin,** *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (1963). **J. G. Kiecker,** "The Hermeneutical Principles and Exegetical Methods of Nicholas of Lyra OFM (c. 1270–1349)," (diss., Marquette University,

1978). **P. D. Krey,** "Nicholas of Lyra: Apocalypse Commentator, Historian, and Critic," *Franciscan Studies* 52 (1992) 53-84. **P. D. Krey and L. Smith** (eds.), *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture* (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 1998). **H. Labrosse,** *Études Franciscaines* 16 (1906) 383-404; 17 (1907) 489-505, 593-608; 18 (1908) 51-52, 153-75, 368-79; 35 (1923) 171-87, 400-432. **H. De Lubac,** *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Ecriture* 2.2 (1964) 344-367. **C. L. Patton,** *HHMBI,* 116-22. **M. S. Woodward,** "Nicholas of Lyra on Beatific Vision," (diss., University of Notre Dame, 1992); ed. and tr. *De visione divinae essentiae.*

K. FROEHLICH

NICOLL, WILLIAM ROBERTSON (1851–1923)

A religious journalist and editor who exercised wide influence especially on British nonconformity from the 1880s to the 1920s, N. took an MA from Aberdeen University, received a theological degree from the Free Church Divinity Hall, and held a pastorate until ill health forced his resignation in 1885. After moving to London he was invited by the nonconformist publisher Hodder and Stoughton to become editor of its theological monthly, *The Expositor.* For nearly forty years N. brought to its pages a broad spectrum of leading biblical scholars and theologians while steering a middle course between orthodoxy and modern critical thought. He also edited the widely used *Expositor's Greek Testament* (5 vols., 1897–1911). In 1886 N. originated and edited a second periodical, *The British Weekly,* which addressed broad issues of social and political life, theology, and biblical criticism. It won a large circulation for nearly half a century through a blend of conservative religion and liberal social philosophy.

Works: *The Incarnate Saviour: A Life of Jesus Christ* (1881); *The Lamb of God: Expositions in the Writings of St. John* (1883); *The Church's One Foundation: Christ and Recent Criticism* (1901); *Sunday Evening: Fifty-two Short Sermons for Home Reading* (1910).

Bibliography: T. H. Darlow, *W. R. N.: Life and Letters* (1925). **J. T. Stoddart,** *DNB* 25 (1937) 636-37.

D. L. PALS

NIEBUHR, HELMUT RICHARD (1894–1962)

Brother of K. P. R. NIEBUHR, N. was born Sept. 3, 1894, in Wright City, Missouri. He graduated from Elmhurst College (1912) and Eden Theological Seminary (1915), was ordained in the Evangelical and Reformed Church (1916), and held a pastorate in St. Louis (1916–18). After receiving the MA from Washington University, St. Louis (1917), N. taught at Eden (1919–22) before resuming formal study at Yale University, from which he received both the BD (1923) and the PhD (1924). He served as president of Elmhurst College (1924–27) and was a member of the faculty at Eden (1927–31). In 1931 he returned to Yale Divinity School as professor of Christian ethics and taught there until his death on July 5, 1962. Through his lectures and writings he helped to shape generations of students in theology and ethics, for whom N. represented a compelling alternative to prevailing biblicist, liberal, and neo-orthodox forms of Protestant ethics.

The Bible provided the foundation and basic structure of N.'s understanding of human life in relation to God. The latter, in turn, was the basis for his interpretation of Christian ethics as human response to the threefold pattern of God's action as Creator, Governor, and Redeemer. The Bible does not set forth either a set of ideals or a code of law; instead, it presents a story of God's action and human response to that action. N.'s ethic was neither Bible-centered nor christocentric; rather, it was strongly theocentric: God alone is absolute (*Radical Monotheism* [1960]).

In his "Introduction to Biblical Ethics" (*Christian Ethics* [1955] 1973[2]) N. called the Bible "the chief source book for the study of Christian ethics." It is the story of God's self-disclosure of God's nature and will to the community of faith. The Scriptures are thus the indispensable handbook and companion of believers in all of their encounters with God, with Christ, and with their neighbors (*Faith on Earth* [1989]) and the source of the moral identity of the Christian community. The AUTHORITY of Scripture is mediate and derived: The Bible points beyond itself to God, the ultimate source of its authority. Within the church the Bible has both educational and corroborative authority.

The Bible is also the inescapable source of the fundamental symbols essential for understanding the Christian life (*The Responsible Self* [1963]). JESUS Christ is both the mediator and the exemplar of radical faith in God. In Christ there is a double movement of humanity toward God and of God toward humanity. Jesus Christ is the primary, but not the exclusive, paradigm of an ethic of responsibility. The practical, concrete meaning of the latter is exemplified in the life of Israel in terms of the covenant.

Works: *The Kingdom of God in America* (1937); *The Meaning of Revelation* (1941); *Christ and Culture* (1951); *Christian Ethics: Sources of the Living Tradition* (ed. W. Beach and H. R. Niebuhr, 1955); *Radical Monotheism and Western Culture* (1960); *The Responsible Self: An Essay in Christian Moral Philosophy* (1963); *Faith on Earth* (ed. R. R. Niebuhr, 1989); *Theology, History, and Culture: Major Unpublished Writings* (ed. W. S. Johnson, 1996).

Bibliography: J. W. Fowler, *To See the Kingdom* (1974). **E. C. Gardner,** *Christocentrism in Christian Social Ethics: A Depth Study of Eight Modern Protestants* (1983). **J. M. Gustafson,** "Introduction," *The Responsible Self* (H. R. Niebuhr,

1963) 6-41. **L. A. Hoedemaker,** *The Theology of H. R. N.* (1970). **R. M. Keiser,** *Roots of Relational Ethics: Responsibility in Origin and Maturity in H. R. N.* (1996). **P. Ramsey** (ed.), *Faith and Ethics: The Theology of H. R. N.* (1957).

E. C. GARDNER

NIEBUHR, KARL PAUL REINHOLD (1892–1971)

Widely considered the greatest twentieth-century theologian of social Christianity, N., brother of H. R. NIEBUHR, was born June 21, 1892, in Wright City, Missouri. He graduated from Elmhurst College (1910), Eden Seminary (1913), and Yale Divinity School, from which he received the BD (1914) and the MA (1915). He was pastor (1913–28) of an Evangelical (Lutheran) church in Detroit, Michigan, and associate professor of philosophy of religion (1928–30) and professor of applied Christianity (1930–60) at Union Theological Seminary (New York). Social activist, preacher, and editor (*Radical Religion, Christianity and Crisis*), N. was the fifth American invited to deliver the renowned Gifford lectures at the University of Edinburgh (1939). He died June 1, 1971.

In *Beyond Tragedy* (1937) N. argued that the Scriptures are true but that they present truth in mythological (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), symbolic, and dialectical forms. Biblical myths and symbols cannot be taken literally because a literal reading states what is rationally absurd and distorts the storied and dialectical representation of scriptural truth. They must be taken seriously, however, because they disclose the truth of the human condition before God—especially the ambiguity of human nature and history and the temptations to idolatry and injustice—and the hope for salvation in ways that transcend the limitations of scientific rationalism and other philosophical and religious efforts to resolve the problem of meaning. These theological motifs are developed magisterially in vol. 1 of his famous Gifford lectures, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*; vol. 2 presents his reinterpretation of the biblical concepts of messianism, grace, justice, and eschatology.

N. accepted the critical scientific study of the Scriptures as a matter of honesty. In *Essays in Applied Christianity* (1959) he acknowledged that some texts have more weight than others, often because some are decidedly "time-bound," whereas others reflect perennial and universal human reality. His criterion of comparison and interpretation, especially with regard to the NT, is the "mind of Christ," defined usually as sacrificial love or the "true *kerygma,*" which for him was "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself." He argued further that the meanings of texts often are not self-evident but are brought to expression through the history of their interpretation, which includes rebellion, heresy, and secular protest as sources of insight.

Steeped in Scripture, N. wrote and spoke effortlessly with scriptural illustrations, allusions, and quotations. His use of Scripture was dialectical rather than exegetical and deductive and demonstrated the interaction of scriptural knowledge with historical and scientific knowledge and with experience in the quest for biblical truth in contemporary settings.

Works: *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (1932); *Beyond Tragedy: Essays on the Christian Interpretation of History* (1937); *The Nature and Destiny of Man: A Christian Interpretation* (2 vols., 1941, 1943); *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness* (1944); *Faith and History* (1949); *The Irony of American History* (1952); *Essays in Applied Christianity* (ed. D. B. Robertson, 1959).

Bibliography: **R. W. Fox,** *R. N.: A Biography* (1985). **G. Harland,** *The Thought of R. N.* (1960). **H. Hofmann,** *The Theology of R. N.* (1956). **C. W. Kegley** (ed.), *R. N.: His Religious, Social, and Political Thought* (rev. ed., 1984). **R. W. Lovin,** *R. N. and Christian Realism* (1995). **D. B. Robertson** (ed.), *R. N.'s Works: A Bibliography* (rev. ed., 1983). **N. A. Scott,** *R. N.: A Prophetic Voice in Our Time* (1975).

T. R. WEBER

NOCK, ARTHUR DARBY (1902–63)

Born in Portsmouth, England, N. was educated in classics and ancient history at Trinity College, Cambridge. At age twenty-four he produced an edition with translation and introduction of Sallustius's *Concerning the Gods and the Universe.* He was a fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, when he was invited to Harvard in 1929, where he became the Frothingham Professor of the History of Religion (1930–63). A period of great productivity culminated in delivery of the Gifford lectures in 1939 and 1946. Thereafter, he found it increasingly difficult to synthesize his vast learning; and he mainly wrote critical reviews and specialized articles while placing his erudition at the disposal of colleagues and correspondents. He especially valued the work of T. Mommsen (1817–1903) and M. Nilsson (1874–1967).

N. became the acknowledged master of the study of religion in the Hellenistic age and the early Roman Empire. His knowledge of Greco-Roman religion gave special force to his conclusions in *Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background* (1928) and *Hellenistic Mysteries and Christian Sacraments* (1952) that, contrary to the RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE, Christianity owed most to its Jewish background and at the beginning was little influenced by Hellenistic religion. Ranging over inscriptions, papyri, and coinage without neglecting literary sources, he reconstructed with uncanny insight the religious attitudes of the ordinary person, e.g., in *Conversion* (1933) and in studies of ruler cult, magic, and symbolism.

Possessing an enormous memory and keen linguistic skill, N. sought comprehensiveness in assembling the evidence on any topic and paid careful attention to historical context. All forms of religious expression found in him a scupulous interpreter; and he was respected for his mastery of detail, cautious generalization, resistance to speculation, and balanced judgments. Many young scholars benefited from his generous help.

In addition to his own writing N. was the editor of the *Harvard Theological Review* (1932–62) and an associate editor of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1948) and of *Vigiliae Christianae* (1947–62). His teaching at Harvard included periodic seminars on the background to PAUL and John; among his works dealing directly with the Bible is his little book *St. Paul.* His chief contribution to biblical studies, however, lay, not in interpretation of the text, but in establishing the historical context, particularly religious, of early Christianity.

Works: *Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background* (1928, repr. 1964); *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (1933); *St. Paul* (1938); (with A. J. Festugière), *Hermès Trismétiste* (4 vols., 1945–54); *Hellenistic Mysteries and Christian Sacraments* (1952); *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (2 vols., ed. Z. Stewart, 1972).

Bibliography: *HTR* 57 (1964) 65-68. **E. R. Dodds and H. Chadwick,** *JRS* 53 (1963) 168-69.

E. FERGUSON

NÖLDEKE, THEODOR (1836–1930)

N. studied oriental languages at Göttingen, completing his doctoral dissertation there in 1856, and continued his studies in Vienna, Leiden, and Berlin. He taught at Göttingen (1861–1864), Kiel (1864–1868), and Strasbourg (1872–1906).

N.'s expertise as an orientalist extended to virtually all Semitic languages as well as to Persian and Turkish. His history of the Quran (see QURANIC INTERPRETATION) was his first major work and won the prize of the French Académie de Inscriptions (1859). His 1868 work on Syriac grammar has been recognized as the first scientific presentation of a modern Semitic language, and his Mandean (1875) and Syriac (1880) handbooks also made important contributions to their respective fields. Among his host of books, articles, and reviews were major entries in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and in *Encyclopaedia Biblica.* N.'s most substantial contributions to Semitic history and philology were outside the discipline of biblical studies; but in all his work he brought to bear a thorough knowledge of comparative Semitic philology and a critical, historical spirit.

During his tenure at Kiel, N. issued two monographs important for biblical studies: a popular introduction to the OT (1868) and a scholarly work (1869) dealing with the *Grundschrift* of the Pentateuch, the landing place for Noah's ark, the unhistorical character of Genesis 14, and the CHRONOLOGY of the period of the Judges. Although both volumes appeared before J. WELLHAUSEN's *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1878), N. was aware of K. GRAF's proposal that the legal materials in the P source were the latest of the PENTATEUCHAL sources. Nevertheless, he proposed that these sources should be arranged in the order: J, E (10th or early 9th cent.), P (9th cent.), and D (shortly before Josiah's reform). He also published a study on the Mesha inscription and articles on Tobit, Daniel, and Ecclesiasticus.

Works: *De origine et compositione Surarum goranicarum ipsiusque Qorani* (1856); *Geschichte des Qurâns (1860); Das Leben Mohammads* (1863); *Grammatik der neusyrischen Sprache am Urmia-See und in Kurdistan* (1868); *Die alttestamentliche Literatur in einer Reihe von Aufsätzen dargestellt* (1868); *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments* (1869); *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab (9. Jahrhundert vor Christus) erklärt* (1870); *Mandäische Grammatik* (1875); *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (1879); *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik* (1880); *Zur Grammatik der klassischen Arabisch* (1896); *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1904); *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1910).

Bibliography: **C. Brockelmann,** "T. N. zum Gedächnis," *Litterae Orientales* 46 (1931) 14-18. **C. S. Hurgronje,** *ZDMG* 85 (1931) 238-81. **E. Kuhn,** "Versuch einer übersicht der Schriften T. N.s," *Orientalische Studien: FS für N.* (1906) 1:xiii-li. **E. Littmann,** *Archiv für Orientforschung* 7 (1931) 145-46.

M. P. GRAHAM

NORDEN, EDUARD (1868–1941)

A classical philologist, born in Emden, Germany, N. became *Privatdozent* in Strasbourg (1892) then professor in Greifswald (1898) and Berlin (1906); he emigrated to Switzerland in 1938. Although not generally considered a member of the RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE, he shared its research interests and methods. His contribution to religious research earned him an honorary doctorate in theology from the Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät of the University of Bonn (1919).

N. contributed most significantly to NT interpretation through two works, *Agnostos Theos* (1913, 1923[2]) and *Die Geburt des Kindes* (1924). As the subtitle of *Agnostos Theos* reveals, he used the term *Formengeschichte* (FORM CRITICISM) for the investigation of the forms of religious speech almost a decade before the equivalent term, *Formgeschichte,* became widely used under the

influence of M. DIBELIUS (*Formgeschichte der Evangeliums* [1919]); F. OVERBECK had already used the term in connection with patristic literature ("Über die Anfänge der patristischen Literatur," *Historiche Zeitschrift* 48 [1882] 417-72; see 423).

The incident that prompted N.'s investigation of the "unknown god" of Acts 17:23 reveals something of the collaboration between philologists and theologians at the time. He reported that in meetings of philologists and theologians in 1910–11 in which they read Acts, a heated discussion arose concerning the interpretation of chapter 17 because the philologists did not want to submit to their theological "fellow-Greeks" about a scene that took place in Athens, as they did otherwise in the reading of a text like Acts. In the end H. Diels (1848–1922), the philologist, formulated the issue with incomparable clarity: "The meaning of the *unknown god* was *unknown*; thus worthy of inquiry" (*Agnostos Theos,* VII).

The fundamental problem with Acts 17:23 was that there was no evidence of an altar to a single god in Athens, as JEROME had already noted: "An inscription such as asserted by Paul did not exist there, but of the gods of Asia, and Europe, and Africa, of unknown and foreign gods" (*Ad Tit.* 1.12). N.'s thesis that Paul's reference was an adaptation of a reference to altars for "unknown demons" from a speech by Apollonius of Tyana (*Agnostos Theos* [1923^2] 42), has been shown to be wrong, as he himself concedes (XI), but the main emphasis of his research was confirmed, "particularly the stylistic and form-critical investigations, which constituted the main concern of the work" (XI).

In the course of his research it became clear to N. that he could not pursue his investigation of the unknown god of Acts 17:23 in isolation: "Analysis of the Areopagus speech led me to inquiries concerning the history of forms (*Formgeschichte*) of religious discourse in general" (*Agnostos Theos,* VII). In the religious environment of primitive Christianity he uncovered parallels in form and in content to many other NT texts, including parallels to the so-called all-formula of Rom 11:36, "The all is from him [God], and through him, and to him," e.g., in Marcus Aurelius (121–180), "All is from you, all is in you, all is to you" (*Meditations* 4.23). N. did not claim a direct connection between PAUL and Marcus Aurelius but correctly established a relationship between the two formulas, both giving expression to the unity of everything in the deity, as does, in a different way, the following text by Seneca (c. 4 BCE–65 BCE): "Who is God? All that you see and all that you do not see. In this way thus, *if all is one,* this magnitude is attributed to one greater than whom nothing can be conceived" (*Nat. Quaest.* 1, praef. 13); in which, incidentally, the famous formula for ANSELM OF CANTERBURY's proof of God may have appeared for the first time.

In *Die Geburt des Kindes* N. uncovered the traditions concerning the dawning of a new age at the birth of a divine child that form the religious-linguistic background to the stories of Christ's birth in Matt 1:18–2:23 and Luke 1:26-38 and 2:1-20; e.g., the announcement of the birth of such a child in Virgil's (70–19 BCE) fourth *Ecologue,* "Enter, dear offspring of the gods, great descendant-to-be of Jupiter, into your splendor—the time is at hand. Behold the world bowing its heavy dome: earth, the vastness of the ocean, and the depth of the heavens. Behold how all things rejoice at the age that is coming" (48-52). As examples of a divine generation through a virgin, N. referred to, among other texts, PHILO's discussion that God, and not their husbands, fathered the sons of Sarah, Leah, Rebekah, and Zipporah (*De Cherubim* 12-15). That allegorizing may be involved in the Philo text does not alter the fact that it shows such a conception was not unfamiliar in Hellenistic Judaism.

Works: *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (1898); *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (1913, 1923^2); *Josephus und Tacitus über Jesus Christus* (1913); *Die Geburt des Kindes* (1924).

Bibliography: **C. Colpe,** *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule: Darstellung und Kritik ihres Bildes vom gnostischen Erlösermythus* (1961) 26-30.

H. BOERS

NORTH, CHRISTOPHER RICHARD (1888–1975)

Born in 1888, N. studied at Didsbury College, served as a Methodist pastor in Bangor, North Wales, obtained the MA with distinction from London University in Hebrew and Aramaic, and received the DLitt from London and the honorary DD from Aberdeen. From 1925 to 1940 he held the Victoria chair of OT languages and literature at Handsworth College, Birmingham. In 1945 he succeeded H. ROWLEY as professor of Hebrew and OT studies at the University College of North Wales (UCNW), serving as dean of the theology faculty from 1948 to 1953. Subsequently, he served for one year (1962) as acting head of the department of OT literature and theology at New College, Edinburgh.

N. was a beloved teacher, one of the great personalities of UCNW in the 1940s and 1950s, a distinguished churchman, and an active scholar. A member of the British Society for OT Study from its inception, he served as secretary (1928–48), president (1949), and treasurer (1952–57). He was a member of the OT panel for the NEB (1948–62) and is perhaps best remembered for his work on Deutero-Isaiah, especially the "Servant Songs."

Works: *The OT Interpretation of History* (Fernley-Hartley Lecture, 1946); *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah* (1948); *The Thought of the OT* (1948); *Isaiah 40–55: Introduction and Commentary* (TBC, 1952); *The Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary to Chapters XL–LV* (1964).

Bibliography: *Who Was Who* (vol. 7, 1981) 586. *Y Bangoriad: The Magazine of the Old Students' Association of the University College of North Wales* (April 1976) 55-56. *University College of North Wales, Bangor, Gazette,* vol. 15, 10-11.

S. L. MCKENZIE

NOTH, MARTIN (1902–68)

Born in Dresden Aug. 3, 1902, N. was educated at the universities of Erlangen, Rostock, and Leipzig; at the latter, he studied with R. KITTEL during his last semester and with Kittel's successor, A. ALT. His work on Israelite personal names (1928) partly served as his dissertation, partly as his Habilitationsschrift at Greifswald (1926–27) under J. HEMPEL. N. served for a time as *Dozent* at Griefswald and Leipzig before going to Königsberg (1930–44). Near the end of WWII he was drafted into military service, afterward teaching at Bonn (1945–65). He was director of the Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes in Jerusalem from 1964 until his death, May 30, 1968, at Subeita in the Negeb while on an excursion. He was buried at the evangelical Friedhof in Bethlehem.

N. was an accomplished pianist and a great lover of music, especially Mozart. A loyal churchman, he twice served as rector of the university of Bonn (1947–48, 1957–58). He was editor of *ZDPV* (1929–64) and associate editor of *WO* (1947–64), *ZTK* (1950–62), and *VT* (1951–59). A leading influence in the inauguration of the BKAT commentary series, he also served as its editor. For over three decades, he was one of the most influential HB scholars in the world.

After publishing several significant articles and numerous reviews as well as his dissertation while in his mid-twenties, N. published what would be one of his most influential works in 1930, a study of the twelve-tribe system of early Israel. In this work he investigated the texts referring to the twelve tribes and reached the conclusion that these lists come from pre-monarchical times and reflect historical reality, with Gen 49:1-27 (including the tribe of Levi) being the earliest and Num 1:5-15; 26:5-51 (without Levi and with Joseph subdivided into Manasseh and Ephraim) being somewhat later. According to N. the early tribes came into existence in the land of Canaan and developed a pre-political entity associated for military and cultic activities that paralleled the tribal amphictyonies in early Greece and Italy. N. argued for two earlier six-tribe amphictyonies, the earliest being composed of the six Leah tribes and a slightly later southern parallel group composed of Judah, Simeon, Caleb, Othniel, Jerahmeel, and Kain. The Joseph group introduced Yahwism into the region when they migrated into Canaan from the Nile delta, and a twelve-tribe confederation was formed around Shechem as the original amphictyonic cult center. The formation of this loosely organized tribal union provided the basis for the later political and religious unity under the monarchy, although N. was subsequently to argue that this early non-political entity "Israel" continued to exist even after the formation of the monarchical state of Israel. The union of the tribes and their commitment to Yahweh were annually celebrated in a covenant renewal service.

In his commentary on Joshua (1938) N. argued that the book's basic contents do not continue the PENTATEUCHAL sources but primarily consist of lists of pre-monarchical tribal boundaries, a Judean town list from the time of Josiah, and a cycle of aetiological tales concerned with Benjamite territory preserved at the Gilgal sanctuary. He followed this work with a study of the non-Pentateuchal historical complexes of the HB (1943). His most innovative conclusions were that no documentary connection existed between the material in Deuteronomy–2 Kings and that in Genesis–Numbers (except for a few sections at the end of Deuteronomy), and that Deuteronomy–2 Kings had been put together by a DEUTERONOMISTIC historian who employed various forms of source material, writing in Palestine after Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians. The opening chapters of Deuteronomy formed the introduction to this history, which incorporated the book of Deuteronomy as a lens for viewing and understanding the people's subsequent tragic history.

N.'s 1948 work investigated the traditions in Genesis–Numbers and the history of their transmission. Accepting the general source analysis of this material with its division into J, E, and P, he focused on the origin, transmission, and enrichment of the traditions behind the sources. This approach he called *Überlieferungsgeschichte* (history of traditions; see TRADITION HISTORY). He argued that those traditions developed around certain basic themes (guidance out of Egypt, guidance into the arable land, promise to the patriarchs, guidance in the wilderness, and revelation at Sinai), which were originally independent of one another and at home in separate tribal groups. These independent themes and complexes, in which Moses played no original role, were combined already in the pre-monarchical amphictyony to produce a *Grundlage* (G) and continued to be enriched by additional material, most with particular connections to places or geographical areas (their *Ortsgebundenheit*), eventually to be edited into the sources J and E.

The culmination of N.'s work was reached in his history of Israel (1950), which marked, along with the work of Alt, a new departure in the treatment of the subject comparable to that of J. WELLHAUSEN. N. drew

the full implications of his earlier studies, beginning his history with the Israelite amphictyony settled in the land of Canaan.

Even though many of N.'s positions on issues had already been hinted at by H. GUNKEL, E. MEYER, M. WEBER, G. von RAD, and above all Alt, N. developed and elaborated these in his own way and supported his positions with detailed LITERARY analysis. Criticisms of N., especially those of W. F. ALBRIGHT and his students, alleging a nihilistic attitude toward the HB materials and a failure to take archaeological work (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) into consideration (see J. Bright [1956]) are totally unfounded. Frequently his positions on historical matters and the dating of texts were quite conservative, and many of his archaeological, topographical, and geographical studies remain unexcelled.

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J. H. HAYES

NOWACK, WILHELM GUSTAV HERMANN

(1850–1928)

Born Mar. 3, 1850, in Berlin, N. died May 28, 1928, in Leipzig. He pursued theology and oriental studies beginning in 1869 in Berlin, graduating in Halle as PhD in 1872. In 1873 he became a lic. theol. and in 1875 habilitated in Berlin in OT, where he had been appointed tutor for OT studies at the theological Stift Johanneum. In 1877 he assumed the office of pastor, and in 1880 he was named *ausserordentlicher* professor in Berlin. He entered his main sphere of activity in 1881 by accepting a call to Strasbourg as full professor, succeeding W. BAUDISSIN. Gifted in administration and with an impassioned political temperament, he developed a very active and influential role in the faculty, university, church, and school. With the demise of the German University of Strasbourg he left for Leipzig in 1918, where he lectured for some years.

N.'s most important teacher was A. DILLMANN; however, he crossed over quite early to J. WELLHAUSEN's views, which he made his own and presented to such an extent that Wellhausen himself ridiculed him. His lack of original ideas, however, allowed him to become a good exegete and textbook author. The commentaries, which comprise the majority of his literary output, are solid and sensible presentations of the facts and their possible explanations, almost always along the line of Wellhausen. His independent commentary on Hosea (1880), which he wrote in response to B. DUHM's *Theologie der Propheten* (1875), marked the beginning of his exegetical work. New revisions of older works followed (Bertheau-Hitizig [1883]; Hupfeld [1888]) and finally his own volumes in the HKAT, of which he served for a time as general editor and the publication of which may have been his greatest scholarly success. His gift for skillful and instructive summaries of voluminous material also characterizes his *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie* (1894).

Works: *Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus für die alttestamentliche Textkritik* (1875); *Die assyrisch-babylonischen Keil-Inschriften und das Alte Testament* (1878); *Der Prophet Hosea* (1880); (ed.), *Die Sprüche Salomos* (E. Bertheau, 1883); (ed.), *Der Prediger Salomo's* (KEH 7, F. Hitzig, 1883²); (ed.), *Die Psalmen* (2 vols., H. Hupfeld, 1888³); *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie* (2 vols., 1894); *Die kleinen Propheten* (KEH 3, 4, 1897, 1922³); *Die Bücher Chronik* (HKAT 1, 6, 1902); *Richter, Ruth, und Bücher Samuelis* (HKAT 1, 4, 1902); *Amos und Hosea* (RgV 2, 9, 1908); *Schabbat (Sabbat) Text* (Die Mischna, ed. G. Beer, O. Holtzmann, and I. Rabin, 2, 1/2, 1924–26).

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R. SMEND

NUMBERS, BOOK OF

1. The Foundational Period. ***a. Numbers.*** The earliest interpretation of Numbers occurs within the book itself. Commentary on legal judgments clarifies, extends, and even qualifies existing law. Numbers 18:20 clarifies law concerning compensation for priests (18:8-19) and Levites (18:21-24) by stating that priests forfeit land ownership as a consequence of their office. Numbers 19:10*b*-13 extends the law of corpse contamination from native Israelites to include resident aliens. Numbers 36:1-12 qualifies the inheritance rights of daughters (27:1-11) who marry outside of their tribe. Narrative literature is also reinterpreted through commentary. The positive portrayal of Balaam as a foreign seer (Numbers 22–24), for example, is qualified by the story of his ass (22:22-35) when this donkey becomes more clairvoyant than the seer. The negative portrayal of Balaam is extended further with the addition of 31:8, when the seer is killed along with the Midianites for having led Israel into idolatry with the Baal of Peor.

b. HB. Interpretation of Numbers is scattered throughout the HB. First Chronicles 30:2-3, 25 applies the law proscribing a second Passover from Num 9:6, 9-11, 14 in order to add priestly along with lay defilement as a reason for postponing observance of the feast one month. The language of the priestly blessing (Num 6:24-27) is reinterpreted for liturgical use (Psalms 4; 67:2), and the negative interpretation of Balaam continues to be developed. Deuteronomy 23:5-6 states that Balaam wanted to curse Israel but was restrained by God. Joshua 13:22 adds that he was killed for practicing divination.

c. Translations. Interpretation continues in ancient recensions and translations (see TRANSLATION) of the Hebrew text. The Samaritan Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) interpolates passages from Deuteronomy into Numbers (e.g., the incorporation of Deut 3:1-3 into Num 21:33-35 in the account of the defeat of Og). The SEPTUAGINT often interprets the Hebrew in rendering the text into Greek. The protective role of Levites in the campsite (1:53), for example, changes from warding off divine "wrath" in the Hebrew to warding off "sin" in the Greek translation. The Greek translation also replaces all references to God as Yahweh with Elohim in the story of Balaam and his ass (22:22-35). Interpretation continues in the Aramaic TARGUMIM. Anthropomorphisms in the Hebrew are avoided in *Targum Onkelos.* Reference to "before your face" in the Hebrew version of the song of the ark (10:35-36) is changed to the phrase "before you" (*Tg. Onq.* 10:35). More extensive interpretation is also evident. Moses' allusion to himself as giving birth to Israel in Num 11:12 is replaced with a paraphrase utilizing masculine imagery: "Am I the father of this whole people. . . ?" (*Tg. Onq.* Num 11:12). *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* exhibits even more extensive interpretation. The final oracles of Balaam, for instance, provide the occasion for messianic speculation along with an apocalyptic interpretation (see APOCALYPTICISM) of world history including Rome and even Constantinople (*Tg. Ps.-J.* 24:19-25).

2. Formative Jewish and Christian Interpretation. ***a. Rabbinic interpretation.*** Rabbinic interpretation is rooted in the teaching of the dual Torah that emerged in the Second Temple period well before the common era. Moses received two forms of revelation on Mount Sinai. The written Torah was the complete revelation from God available for all to read, consisting of the biblical books Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Moses also received an oral Torah passed on only to rabbinic teachers. Oral Torah provided continuity with the fixed, written Torah, clarifying ambiguities and problems of interpretation for later generations. As such, the oral Torah provided a deeper meaning (*derash*), while also clarifying the plain sense (*peshat*) of the written Torah. The rabbinic tradition of oral Torah is codified in Mishnah, TALMUD, and other midrashic writings (see MIDRASH). Rabbinic interpretation of Numbers distinguishes between legal (*halakhic*) and non-legal (*aggadic*) texts.

i. Halakhah. The law concerning a wife suspected of adultery illustrates halakhic interpretation (Num 5:11-31). Such a woman was required to undergo an ordeal of drinking a potion to determine guilt or innocence. Numbers 5:14 notes a condition of jealousy in the husband as an essential part of the procedure, but the circumstances and process of expressing jealousy are not stated. Early rabbinic interpretation explored how the husband was to express his jealousy: "R. Josua says, 'He expresses jealousy before two witnesses' " (*m. Sota* 1:1). The topic of jealousy returns in *Sipre Numbers,* where the emphasis changes from communication to the conditions of jealousy: "The purpose of Scripture [Num 5:14] . . . is solely to teach you that under no circumstances do people impose the rite of drinking the bitter water unless there is a genuine doubt about the matter" (*Sipre Numbers* 7:14).

ii. Aggadah. Aggadic interpretation of non-legal lore was a more free-flowing and speculative reflection on Scripture, exploring allusive (*remez*) and even hidden (*sod*) meanings in the text. Already in the Mishnah details of the story of Balaam are expanded. The mouth of his donkey was one of ten acts of creation on midnight eve of sabbath (*m. ʾAbot* 5:6). Balaam and his disciples are compared to Abraham (*m. ʾAbot* 5:19): They possess a grudging spirit, arrogant demeanor, and a proud soul, which leads them to Gehenna. Reflection on Balaam is expanded further in the Babylonian Talmud. He is unable to enter the world to come, represents hatred, had a crippled foot and a blind eye (*b. Sanh.* 103b), advised Pharaoh on how to destroy Israel in Egypt, returned to Baal of Peor out of greed for payment, and was killed at age thirty-three (*b. Sanh.* 106a, b).

b. Philo. PHILO Judaeus of Alexandria introduced Greek allegorical method into the interpretation of Numbers. Ambiguities in the Torah are no longer resolved through plain meanings but in the application of non-literal, symbolic readings arising from Greek conceptions of natural law, virtue, and the centrality of the divine soul in humans as the source of wisdom. Philo's interpretation of the ashes of the red heifer (Numbers 19) provides an illustration of legal interpretation (*Spec. Leg. i.* 257-79). The purpose of the law is to purify a person's body, but more important, to purify the soul of passion and distemper. The ashes of the red heifer aid in the purification process when mixed with cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet wool, which are symbols requiring an allegorical interpretation; they purge the soul, allowing the mind to contemplate the universe. When Philo recounted Hebrew lore, he tended to rationalize the stories as is evident in his interpretation of Balaam. He continued the tradition of interpreting Balaam negatively; but the divine oracles become fictions, the donkey loses its ability to speak, and Israel's superiority arises from the fact that the people's souls spring forth from divine seed (*Mos. i.* 263-304).

c. NT. NT literature (1st cent. CE) blends rabbinic and Hellenistic methods of exegesis to interpret the teaching and life of John the Baptist and JESUS in relationship to Torah. For example, the annunciation of the birth of John the Baptist in Luke (1:15) links John with the Nazirites and conforms him to their vows (Num 6:3). Yet in Matthew (5:33-37) Jesus has authority to change Torah law on vowing (Num 30:2). The dual quest of relating the new teachings of Jesus to the Torah and the life of the church to the history of Israel gives rise to typology. "Typological exegesis is the search for linkages between events, persons or things within the historical framework of revelation" (G. Lampe and K. Woolcombe [1957] 40). It emphasizes continuity and unity between Torah, the teachings of Jesus, and the life of the church. PAUL forged the method in 1 Cor 10:1-10 in interpreting the story of water from the rock (Num 20:7-11). He identified Jesus with the rock and Christian sacraments with the water from the rock (baptism) and the manna in the wilderness (Eucharist). Typological reading allowed the church at Corinth to become the wilderness community for Paul. The method was extended in Hebrews where Jesus is not simply identified with Moses but judged to be superior (Heb 3:3; Num 12:7 [LXX]).

3. Patristic and Medieval Interpretation. ***a. Patristic interpretation.*** Debate ensued in early Christian interpretation of Numbers over the limits of typology. Two examples illustrate the difference between the ALEXANDRIAN and the ANTIOCHENE methods of interpretion.

i. Origen. ORIGEN illustrates the Alexandrian school's tendency to infuse typology with allegory. In *Homilies on Numbers* IX, he stated that some written laws should be avoided, others read literally, and still others interpreted allegorically; e.g., in his interpretation of Numbers in the *Commentary on the Gospel According to John,* he noted geographical locations from Israel's wilderness journey in Num 33:6, where names indicate "facts useful for the interpretation of passages" (*Com. Jn.* 6.216). But there is also a science (*logos*) to the study of names that is important for interpreting HB locations. The river Jordan, for example, indicates "the word of God which became flesh and dwelt among us" (*Com. Jn.* 6.220). The five animals used for sacrifice on the altar (7:77-88) are carefully described according to their type and means of mobility, but there is also a spiritual (*logos*) significance to the animals as a shadow of heavenly things revealed through Jesus Christ (*Com. Jn.* 6.263-67).

ii. J. Chrysostom. Allegory was more restricted in the Antiochene tradition of interpretation. CHRYSOSTOM favored the plain sense of Numbers as a source for moral teaching over allegorical significance. The humble character of Moses (Num 12:3) provides an example for all Christians (*Homilies on Genesis* 34) and priests (*Treatise Concerning the Christian Priesthood* 4). Moses' acceptance of prophetic activity in Eldad and Medad (11:29) teaches that ministry must not be pursued for personal gain. The suffering of Israel in the wilderness (11:5; 14:4) is part of God's larger design, teaching Christians that a laborious life is meant to encourage longing for a future life rather than satisfaction with the present age (*The Homilies on the Statues* 6).

b. Jewish medieval commentaries. Rabbinic interpretation extended throughout the patristic period. A rich tradition of Jewish interpretation continued to flourish in the medieval period, ranging geographically from communities in the Middle East to Europe.

i. Saadia Ibn Joseph. SAADIA is considered the preeminent exegete of the gaonic period. Born in Egypt, he rose to become the Gaonate of Sura (head of the academy of Sura) in Babylonia. He wrote a commentary on the Torah as well as the first systematization of Jewish belief, entitled *The Book of Belief and Opinions.* Interpretation of Numbers is scattered throughout this treatise, e.g., the book's opening words, "The Lord spoke. . . ." indicate that God created speech. Anthropomorphisms (face [6:25], divine ear [11:18], and mouth [16:32]) are interpreted non-literally. Contradictions suggesting the abrogation of law are resolved. Thus, for instance, the two commands to Balaam that he first stay and then go to Balak (Num 22:12, 20) enhance his exalted station—Baalam goes only when Balak sends higher-ranking officials.

ii. Shelomo ben Isaac. Known by his acronym, RASHI, he wrote commentaries on the HB and on the Babylonian Talmud in Provence, France, and is noted for emphasizing the plain or simple meaning of Torah (*peshat*) as opposed to a deeper or homiletical meaning

(*derash*). His commentary on the home of Balaam in Pethos (Num 22:5) illustrates his method: "The Aramaic word *pethor* means 'a table,' the same as the Hebrew word *šûlḥān,* which gives us the word *šûlḥānî,* 'a money-changer.' So "Balaam was like a money-changer. . . . The plain meaning, however, is that it is the name of a place."

4. Modern Interpretation. ***a. Reformation and Renaissance.*** *i. Calvin.* The Reformer's claim of *sola scriptura* in opposition to the Roman Catholic Church, the rebirth of classical studies during the Renaissance, and the discovery of Jewish medieval interpreters fueled a renewed quest for the literal sense of Scripture in Protestant biblical interpretation. CALVIN's interpretation of Numbers in his *Harmony of the Last Four Books of Moses* reflects the new hermeneutical situation (see HERMENEUTICS). The law is central in his interpretation of Torah, requiring knowledge of the original language and historical context for proper interpretation. He explored historical background to interpret the account of the consecration of the Levites in Numbers 8 (*Harmony* 2:214-19), and the text is further clarified through careful grammatical and linguistic study of Hebrew. He concluded that the permission granted the Levites to eat a portion of the tithe outside the Temple (Num 18:31) is clarified if the particle *kî* is read adversatively (*Harmony* 2:287). He also noted that the Hebrew word for "tabernacle" (*mô ʿēd*), translated as "assemble," "appointment," "church," and "testimony," is better translated "convention," since the verb *yāʿad* means "to contract or agree with another, or at least to meet for the transaction of mutual business" (2:297-98).

Historical study served polemical purposes, lending authority to the Protestant claim of *sola scriptura.* Study of the Aaronide priesthood and Levites, for example, refuted the claim of papal authority. According to Calvin, Christ (not the pope) represented Aaron (*Harmony* 2:221). Focus on the literal meaning of the text also brought contradictions into clearer focus (e.g., accounts of Moses' father-in-law in Exodus 18 [Jethro] and in Numbers 10 [Hobab]). Calvin resolved such literary problems through harmonizing different accounts rather than exploring the possibility of distinctive authorship; thus Hobab was actually the son of Jethro. But repetitions, differences in style, and the death report of Moses led other Reformers, like A. Bodenstein von KARLSTADT, to raise questions concerning the Mosaic authorship of the Torah (*De canonicis scripturis Libellus,* G1b-3b, G4b-H1b).

ii. B. de Spinoza. SPINOZA solidified modern historical-critical interpretation of the Pentateuch in *Tractatus theologico-politicus.* His quest to free politics from religion required a reevaluation of scriptural AUTHORITY. He wrote that "the universal rule in interpreting Scripture is to accept nothing as an authoritative Scriptural statement which we do not perceive very clearly when we examine it in the light of its history" (*Treatise* 7). History for Spinoza meant original language, analysis of the content of each book, and authorship. Such a method requires no special revelation from God, only natural reason. Building on the earlier work of A. IBN EZRA (1089–1164), Spinoza concluded that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch. Third-person references to Moses throughout Numbers constituted strong evidence for him, e.g., " 'Moses talked with God'; 'The Lord spoke with Moses face to face'; 'Moses was the meekest of men' (12:3)" (*Treatise* 8). However, he believed that portions of the Pentateuch were authored by Moses, concluding from Num 21:14, for example, that Moses wrote "The Book of the Wars of the Lord." Nevertheless, the application of a rational, historical-critical method led to the conclusion that the book of Numbers, as well as the Pentateuch as a whole, was a compilation by later writers.

b. Advocates and Opponents of Historical Criticism. The rejection of Mosaic authorship called into question the presupposition of past Christian and Jewish interpreters that there was a unity of revelation from Moses to the present time that made Scripture reliable and authoritative. Spinoza stated the new problem: "The history of the Bible is not so much imperfect as untrustworthy: the foundations are not only too scanty for building upon, but are also unsound" (*Treatise* 8). The ensuing debate over Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch changed the nature of interpretation. Thus the literal sense of Scripture was redefined to mean the historical reliability of Numbers as a book authored by Moses rather than the plain or simple meaning of the text as had been the case in past Jewish and Christian interpretation. Two commentaries, one from the late nineteenth century and the other from the early twentieth century, illustrate the impact of historical criticism of Numbers.

i. C. F. Keil. KEIL's introduction to Numbers, written in 1870, consists of polemical arguments for Mosaic authorship. The influence of Egyptian history (the building of Hebron before Zoan in Egypt [Num 13:22]) and culture (reference to food [11:5]) indicates close contact between the writing of Numbers and the Egyptian life of Moses. The literary style of Numbers and the child-like naivete of the literature, with its immediate contemplation of nature, also signify the book's early origin (11:12; 22:5, 11; 27:17). Numbers 33:2 even states that Moses wrote an account of the different wilderness campsites (repr., 1981, 17-32). The desire to confirm the historical authenticity of the literature also takes over the commentary, thus great care is given to account for the seemingly large figures in the census of Numbers 1 and the need to harmonize these figures with the number of firstborn males (1:1-15). And since the story of the fiery snakes (21:4-9) must also be anchored in history, Keil refuted interpretations that identify the copper

snakes as a symbol like the imagery of St. George and the dragon or other ancient imagery of snakes as symbols of healing. The reliability of Numbers requires a literal interpretation of the snakes, and literal means that the event really happened.

ii. G. B. Gray. GRAY's commentary on Numbers, published in 1903, represents the flowering of historical-critical research within the framework of the documentary hypothesis. Mosaic authorship no longer plays a role in interpreting the book; instead portraits of Moses and Israel in the wilderness reflect later periods of Israelite history and religious customs. Gray concluded that Numbers was composed of J, E, and P. The J (Yahwist) source is a tenth- or ninth-century BCE history reflecting the life and customs of the Davidic monarchical period. Examples of J include Israel's departure from Sinai (10:29-32), request for meat (11:4-15, 18-24*a*, 31-35), and a portion of the Balaam narrative (22:22-35). The story of the seventy elders (11:16, 17*a*, 24*b*-30), the vindication of Moses (12:1-15), the embassies to Edom and to the Amorites (20:14-21; 21:21-24*a*), and most of the Balaam narrative (chaps. 22–24) derive from E (the Elohist), an eighth-century BCE history written for the northern kingdom of Israel and advocating a more prophetic view of religion. J and E are separate histories spanning the books of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and possibly also Joshua. Gray also concluded that the greatest portion of Numbers (1:1–10:10; 15:17-21, 22-31; 16:8-11; 17:1-7; 19; 26–36) derives from P (Priestly history), which represents a body of literature from the exilic period and later consisting of law and narrative. The result of locating the book's different literary sources within their appropriate historical setting is a history of Israelite religion from the monarchical period into the late Second Temple period.

c. Twentieth-century interpretation. Two effects of historical-critical research on Numbers endure in contemporary research. The first is the conclusion that the book was not written by Moses in the late Bronze Age but instead manifests a history of composition spanning the religious development of Israel. Second, priestly tradition and theology dominate the book. Most twentieth-century interpreters build on these two foundations, although the methods of interpretation vary widely.

i. J. Milgrom. The Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary is written to reflect advances in Jewish biblical scholarship in the fields of ARCHAEOLOGY, history, language, and religion and to bring this "new world of knowledge" into conversation with "the great tradition of Jewish Bible commentary" (preface). MILGROM's commentary on Numbers (1990) reflects the best of this effort, focusing on the plain sense of the text while weaving in past rabbinic and medieval interpretations. While a history of composition is acknowledged, an early date for the priestly tradition is the central focus. The incorporation of anthropological research on holiness and religious purity is perhaps the most significant advance in contemporary research. Insight into gradations of holiness (chap. 2; 3:5-43), the rationale for biblical impurity (5:1-4), and the danger of encroachment (chaps. 3 and 18), for instance, clarify the danger of pollution and the power of purgation in priestly religion.

ii. B. Levine. The Anchor Bible commentary is a non-ecclesiastical series aimed at "reconstructing the ancient setting of the biblical story, as well as the circumstances of [the text's] transcription and the characteristics of its transcribers." Levine's commentary on Numbers reflects a growing lack of confidence by biblical scholars in source criticism while also demonstrating linguistic advances in comparative Semitic languages. Levine acknowledges the source criticism of Gray's commentary but limits his study of the transmission of Numbers primarily to nonpriestly (JE) and priestly (P) literature. JE designates a composite Torah document fashioned in the seventh century BCE. P is chronologically later. The challenge in interpreting Numbers, according to Levine, is "to explain how priestly writers recast the JE traditions and expanded upon them, thereby reconstructing the record of the wilderness period so as to focus on their central concerns" (*Numbers* [1993] 49). The morphology of Hebrew words, along with comparison to other Semitic parallels, frequently informs the interpretation of specific texts. Thus analysis of the verbal root *nqh* in the interpretation of the ritual ordeal of the wife suspected of adultery (5:11-31) leads to the conclusion that "purification is integral to the magical dimension of judicial ordeals" (192-212, esp. 207-8).

iii. Current interpretation. The close of the twentieth century has witnessed a renaissance in the interpretation of Numbers. Jewish commentaries blend traditional and modern forms of interpretation for religious and cultic use (N. Leibowitz [1980]; W. Plaut [1979]). Christian commentaries span the political, confessional, and methodological spectrum. Some are aimed specifically at evangelicals (T. Ashley [1993]), while others target broader audiences for lectionary preaching (D. Olson [1996]) or theological reflection (T. Dozeman [1998]). Methodology ranges from historical-critical (P. Budd [1984]), to theological and literary (K. Sakenfeld [1995]), to anthropological (G. Wenham [1981]; M. Douglas [1996]) forms of interpretation.

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T. B. DOZEMAN

NYBERG, HENRIK SAMUEL (1889–1974)

Reared in a clergy household, N. studied in Uppsala, receiving his doctoral degree in Semitic philology in 1919. He was appointed professor of Semitic philology at the University of Uppsala in 1931 and was elected a member of the Swedish Academy in 1948.

His first publications were concerned with Arabic texts related to the history of Islamic theology. Later he turned to the study of Iranian languages, publishing a manual of Pahlavi and a monograph on the ancient religions of Iran that broke new ground and advocated a new interpretation of Zarathustra's role in religious history.

In the biblical field he published a text-critical study of the book of Hosea (1935) in which he defended the reliability of the MT against all kinds of emendations based on the ancient versions or on mere guesses. Using comparative Semitic philology, he managed to reach a new interpretation of the text as it stands. In this respect he secured followers in Sweden (G. Gerleman, A. Haldar, and G. Rignell) and contributed to sober methods of TEXTUAL CRITICISM in general. In the same book he argued, on the basis of his observations concerning the transmission of the Avesta and early Arabic literature, that HB texts were originally transmitted orally and thus it was impossible to go behind the present texts to reach the authentic words of the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). This idea was developed first by H. BIRKELAND and later by I. ENGNELL and the so-called Uppsala school. In addition, N. took the preposition *'al* as the name of a god identical with *'Elyôn,* "the Most High," and advocated a new understanding of the history of Israelite religion (developed in an article in *ARW* in 1938–39). He argued that there was an ongoing struggle between Yahweh and *'Elyôn* in Israelite religion, which was not definitively settled by David's identification of the two gods.

N.'s insistence on oral tradition also led him to question the documentary hypothesis concerning the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), another point in which he was followed by Engnell and the Uppsala school. It should also be mentioned that he published a Hebrew grammar (in Swedish, 1952), which contains an especially good section on syntax.

Works: *Studien zum Hoseabuche: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Klarung des Problems der Alttestamentlichen Textkritik* (1935); "Studien zum Religionskampf im alten Israel" *ARW* 35 (1938) 329-87; "Deuteronomium 33, 2–3," *ZDMG* 92 (1938) 320-34); "Smärtornas man" *SEÅ* 7 (1947) 5-82 (a study of Isaiah 53); "Korahs uppror (Num 16 f.)," *SEÅ* (1947) 230-52; "Hiskias Danklied Jer 38, 9–20" *ASTI* 9 (1974) 85-97.

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H. RINGGREN

NYSTRÖM, SAMUEL (1903–)

Trained academically at the University of Lund, where he studied OT with C. LINDBLOM and the history of religion with E. Briem, N. defended and published his dissertation in 1946, then returned to his clerical profession. In his dissertation the social structure of the Arabian bedouin and semi-nomads is used in an analogy with ancient Israel. N. felt that after the immigration into Canaan the old nomadic way of life with its code of morals (the vendetta, among other things) was replaced by other ideals: faith, humility, and obedience. Several of the traditions in the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) reflect this change. On the other hand, Israelite religion deliberately accepted parts of the desert culture's sociological ideal in opposition to "new" ideas from urban culture in Mesopotamia. In this view of the struggle between different ideals N. minimized Canaanite influence. His work was influenced in particular by A. CAUSSE and J. PEDERSEN. N.'s dissertation was a fresh and stimulating approach to the history of Israel's religion and for a time was highly influential, although recent studies have challenged the bedouin origins of Israel.

Works: *Beduinentum und Jahwismus: Eine soziologisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Alten Testament* (1946).

S. HIDAL

O

OBADIAH, BOOK OF

The shortest book in the HB (twenty-one verses), this PROPHECY concerning Edom has generated discussion primarily in four areas: identity of the prophet, date and historical setting, nature of composition, and message. During the earliest period discussion centered on the identity of Obadiah (worshiper of Yahweh). In rabbinic tradition the prophet was often linked with the Obadiah of Ahab's reign (1 Kgs 18:3-4) who was held to be an Edomite proselyte (*b. Sanh.* 39b) and descendant of Eliphaz (*Yal.* ii.549). He was thus a logical choice to deliver an oracle against Edom, since he remained faithful to Yahweh even while living with two such godless persons as Ahab and Jezebel. In contrast, Esau (Edom) had learned nothing of the life of good deeds, although living with pious Isaac and Rebekah. Obadiah received the gift of prophecy for having hidden one hundred prophets of Yahweh during Ahab's purge. Although rich, he exhausted his wealth in caring for these poor prophets until he was forced to borrow money at interest from Ahab's son Jehoram (*Exod. Rab.,* xxxi.3).

Whereas the identity of the prophet was a concern of the pre-critical era, the issue of date and historical setting has been a primary concern of the modern period. Central to this discussion has been the question of the historical referent for vv. 10-14. Three periods have been most frequently suggested: mid-ninth century BCE; early to mid-sixth century BCE; and mid- to late fifth century BCE. Numerous scholars (e.g., C. Keil [1868]; E. Sellin [1929[3]]; J. Theis [1937]; F. Gaebelein [1946]) have linked this prophecy to the period of Jehoram's difficulties with Edom (2 Kgs 8:20-22; 2 Chr 21:8-10). Reasons given in support for this position include (1) the canonical placement of the book within the Twelve (assuming the canonical arrangement reflects chronological reality); (2) the relation of Obadiah to Joel (Joel 2:32 quotes Obadiah 17; Joel is dated c. 830 BCE by many of these scholars); (3) literary style (Obadiah is free of Aramaisms); and (4) the striking "silence" of Obadiah's prophecy regarding the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple (thus supposedly precluding the events of 586 BCE from consideration).

Some scholars (e.g., E. Philippe [1912]) have seen the initial fulfillment of Obadiah's prophecy in the Philistine and Arab raids against Judah (2 Chr 21:16-17); it is assumed that these marauders would also have sacked Edom at this time. Not surprisingly, the paucity of historical information regarding this period and the not infrequent speculative reconstruction of events have led most contemporary scholars to reject this early date. The era most frequently suggested in the modern period has been the time surrounding 586 BCE. Since the work of C. Caspari (1842), most scholars have dated the prophecy of Obadiah to the early years of the exile, a date proposed earlier by CALVIN. Although solid historical information is lacking concerning Edom's role and posture during the Babylonian invasion of Judah, it has been assumed from such passages as Ps 137:7; Lam 4:18-22; Ezek 25:12-14; 35:1-15 that Edom at best refused to aid Judah in its struggle against Babylon and at worst exploited the situation. Thus, vv. 2-9 of Obadiah are read as prophetic threat rather than *vaticinia ex eventu* (so A. Edelkoort [1946–47]; J. Smith [1905–6]; A. Weiser [1967[5]]). Further, the relation of Obadiah to Jer 49:7-22 has been considered significant evidence for its placement in this period.

Not surprisingly, the book of Obadiah has been considered a most valuable source for reconstructing Edom's activity during this historical period. J. WELLHAUSEN suggested a late date that often has been accepted (e.g., W. Nowack [1897]; J. Bewer [1911]). He dated the prophecy to the late fifth century, arguing that vv. 2-9 were not prophetic prediction but narrative description; thus the book reflected the Nabatean displacement of Edom during that period. These scholars also cited the eschatological character of vv. 16-21 and the supposed historical affinity with Mal 1:2-5 as further evidence for this late date. P. McCarter (1976) has suggested that vv. 6-7 provide the clue to the book's historical backdrop. He argues from archaeological data (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) that the Edomites were gradually displaced by the influx of Arabian tribes (Qedarites) during the Persian period and that Obadiah reflects this final expulsion of Edom.

In the modern era considerable energy has been focused on distinguishing between analysis of the present text and reconstruction of the events and sources underlying it. Consequently, determination of the book's date and historical setting is integrally related to the nature of its composition, a topic that has received much attention. Most frequently discussed have been the unity/integrity of the book, its relation to other HB materials (Jer 49:7-22; Joel), and its form and structure.

During the pre-critical era the unity of Obadiah was assumed. However, with the advent of the critical disciplines (especially source and form criticism), this unity was called into question. A simple reading of the text noted that in vv. 1-14 the nations were God's divine instrument of punishment, whereas in vv. 15-21 they were the object of punishment; in vv. 1-14 only Edom was threatened with punishment, whereas in vv. 15-21 all the nations were threatened (with Israel as the punishing agent); in vv. 1-14 Edom was addressed through the prophet's revelation, whereas in vv. 15-21 Israel was addressed. Although unity was argued principally on thematic and literary grounds, challenges arose from several quarters. J. G. EICHHORN (1780–83) was an early opponent to unity, arguing that vv. 17-21 constituted an appendix added during the time of Alexander Janneus (104–78 BCE). Soon thereafter H. EWALD (1841) argued that the book derived from an exilic prophet (to whom he attributed vv. 11-14 and 19-21) who had made use of material from Obadiah (vv. 1-10) and material from another earlier prophet (vv. 15-18), both of whom he dated as contemporary with Isaiah. Noteworthy is the analysis of Wellhausen (1892), who attributed vv. 1-5, 7, 10-11, 13-14, and 15*b* to Obadiah, with the remaining verses being later additions and appendixes. Since the rise of source criticism numerous variations regarding the number of sources and the development of these materials into the present book have been proffered. Although support for unity continues (e.g., A. Condamin [1900]; O. Isopescul [1914]; Theis; Edelkport; G. Aalders [1958]; M. Bic [1953]; J. Scharbert [1967]), most scholars of the modern period have considered Obadiah to be a compilation of units. Given the book's brevity, analysis often has been rather imaginative and speculative. Most frequently Obadiah is divided into two major sections: vv. 1-14 + v. 15*b* and v. 15*a* + vv. 16-21.

Central to this discussion has been the relation of Obadiah to Jer 49:7-22. Three positions have been argued: (1) Obadiah borrowed material from Jeremiah; (2) Jeremiah borrowed material from Obadiah; (3) both prophets borrowed from an earlier unknown source since the material in common appears in a different order and location in the two books. Scholars opting for the third position often have debated which prophet reflected more closely the original source, but such arguments are inconclusive. The literary relationship of Obadiah and Jeremiah has clear ramifications for the dating of Obadiah, since priority or posteriority to Jeremiah could determine historical setting. However, the issue is further complicated by the realization that the Edom oracle in Jeremiah 49 may itself be a late insertion.

With the rise of FORM CRITICISM, the nature of the book's composition was analyzed from another perspective. H. W. WOLFF (1977) has argued vigorously that Obadiah consists of an oracle of assurance delivered by a cult prophet in response to a prayer of lamentation by the worshiping people of Judah shortly after 586 BCE. For Wolff, vv. 1-14 and 15*b* comprise a single, unified discourse in which the prophet quotes earlier oracles, expanding and elaborating on them for his present situation. Conversely, vv. 15*a*, 16-21 are a collection of later additions skillfully linked through lexical and thematic ties. A liturgical setting for Obadiah was argued earlier by Bic, who considered it a liturgically expanded oracle for an annual royal enthronement festival. In another direction, many form critics have seen in Obadiah's oracle various elements of a typical foreign nation oracle (i.e., identification of the enemy to be denounced; a warning to the enemy nation of its impending doom; a description of Yahweh's decisive intervention and punishment; a prediction of Israel's/Judah's future ascendancy over this enemy nation). G. Ogden (1982) has argued in a more balanced way that such passages as Obadiah and Jeremiah 49 reflect prophetic responses to cultic laments (e.g., Psalm 137).

A historical analysis of the meaning and message of Obadiah evidences the sociocultural horizons of the various interpreters. In the patristic period its signficance appears minimal (Obadiah is the only prophet with no citation in the index of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*). AUGUSTINE cited vv. 17 and 21 of Obadiah (*City of God* chap. 31), reading both references messianically: "Mt. Esau" represents the church of the Gentiles, which the apostles "made safe" through the preaching of the gospel. Conversely, Obadiah was apparently utilized in early Jewish anti-Christian polemic. In rabbinic interpretation the Edomites represented Christians and Edom the Roman Catholic Church. Such interpretation continued in D. KIMHI and in the commentary of ABRAVANEL.

For a significant period of the modern era Obadiah, though largely neglected, was either cited by conservative scholars as an example of the fulfillment of prophecy or was considered an embarrassment by critical scholars, representing an inferior ethic of hate and punitive judgment. The former group focused on tracking the instances in which statements of Obadiah were realized negatively (e.g., Babylonian oppression; Nabatean expulsion; Maccabean punishment) and positively (e.g., the Christian church). For the latter group Obadiah reflected an ethic of vengeance and nationalism that was eclipsed and superseded in the ethic of JESUS.

In the last decades of the twentieth century, more serious attention has been given to grappling with the theological significance of prophetic threats like Obadiah's. Contrary to earlier denigrations of the book's purely vindictive and punitive nature, newer assessments suggest the theological backdrop of Yahweh's sovereign rule and passion for justice as the controlling factors in this short prophetic oracle.

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R. R. MARRS

OECOLAMPADIUS, JOHANN (1482–1531)

A student at the University of Heidelberg, O. associated with the Rhineland humanists, including P. MELANCHTHON, M. BUCER, J. Wimpfeling (1450–1528), and J. REUCHLIN. After mastering Latin, Greek, and Hebrew at Tübingen, he settled at Basel, assisting ERASMUS (1515) in his editions of JEROME and the Greek–Latin NT and actively promoting the Reformation within both city and university.

O.'s biblical interpretation, although influenced by Erasmus, owes much to Greek patristic writers. (In 1524 he had translated Theophylact's [c. 1050–1108] exposi-

tion of the Gospels.) In biblical interpretation O., like ZWINGLI, recognized the importance of original biblical languages and the need to distinguish different figures of speech within the biblical text. One important difference was in interpretation of the highly controverted text of Matt 26:26 *hoc est corpus meum* (this is my body). Zwingli argued against LUTHER that a figure of speech was employed: *est* should be understood to mean "signifies," rather than to "is." O. agreed that a figure of speech was involved but appealed to patristic writers like TERTULLIAN to argue that the figure related to *corpus,* rather than to *est.* The term should be understood as *figura corporis,* and translated as "a figure or sign of my body."

Works: *De genuina verborum Dei: 'hoc est corpus meum' . . . expositio* (1525); commentaries on Isaiah, Romans (1525), Haggai-Zechariah-Malachi (1527), Daniel (1530), Job (1532), Jeremiah and Lamentations (1533), John (1533), Ezekiel (1534), Hebrews (1534), and Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah 1:2–2:13 (1535).

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A. E. MCGRATH

OEHLER, GUSTAV FRIEDRICH VON (1812–72)

A German Lutheran theologian, O. was born at Ebingen, near Stuttgart, June 10, 1812; he died Feb. 19, 1872. He studied at Tübingen under C. Schmid (1794–1852) and J. Steudel (1779–1837) and at Berlin in the area of oriental languages.

In 1834 he began to teach at the missionary institute in Basel and in 1837 went to Tübingen, where he edited Steudel's theological lectures on the OT (1840). In 1840 he was made professor at the seminary and pastor in Württemberg, where he published his *Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1845). In 1852 he returned to Tübingen to accept the directorship of the seminary. He also lectured on OT THEOLOGY, Isaiah, Job, Psalms, messianic PROPHECY, the Minor Prophets, Hebrews, and Christian symbolics. During this period he also contributed forty articles to the first edition of J. Herzog's (1805–82) *Realencyklopadie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.* Often his work is viewed as counteracting the negative attitudes against the OT raised by F. SCHLEIERMACHER. His widely used OT theology was edited by his son.

Works: *Gesammelte Seminarreden: Gehalten während der Führung des Ephorats* (1872); *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (2 vols., 1873–74, 1888²; ET 1874–75, 1883); *Lehrbuch der Symbolik* (ed. J. Delitzsch, 1876).

Bibliography: *Worte der Erinnerung an G. F. O.* (1872). **J. H. Hayes and F. C. Prussner,** *OT Theology: Its History and Development* (1985) 114-18. **J. Knapp,** *G. F. O.: Ein Lebensbild* (1876).

W. C. KAISER, JR.

OESTERLEY, WILLIAM OSCAR EMIL (1866–1950)

Born in Calcutta, O. was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, and Wells Theological College. He served as curate and vicar in parishes in the county of Durham, in Colchester, and in London (1891–1923). In 1923 he was awarded an honorary lectureship at King's College, London, and in 1927 became professor of Hebrew and OT exegesis there, retiring in 1936.

O.'s lack of an academic post until relatively late in life—apparently by choice—permitted a prolific output of books. His two major interests were the history of religions and the Judaism of the post-biblical period. Perhaps his most significant contribution in the former is his book *The Messianic Idea* (1908). Regarding the latter, his influence remains: He produced numerous translations and studies; and together with R. CHARLES, G. Box (1869–1933), and R. Herford (1860–1950), he deserves credit for promoting in Great Britain a sympathetic interest in and study of the Judaism of the intertestamental period, especially through his commentaries on texts, including Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon. In this area he is perhaps best known now for his contributions to Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT* (1913). Nevertheless, O.'s greatest influence on at least two successive generations of OT students was through the three volumes on OT religion and history in which he collaborated with T. ROBINSON (1931–36). Articulate and learned, O. was not a very original scholar; but he played a major, and probably undervalued, role in the shaping, transmission, and promotion of current ideas.

Works: *Studies in Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos* (1902); *The OL Texts of the Minor Prophets* (1905); *Codex Taurinensis Y* (1906); (with G. H. Box), *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue: An Introduction to the Study of Judaism from the NT Period* (1907); *The Doctrine of the Last Things, Jewish and Christian* (1908); *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea: A Study in Comparative Religion* (1908); *Our Bible Text: Some Recently Discovered Biblical Documents* (1909); *The Jewish Doctrine of Mediation* (1910); *The Psalms in the Jewish Church* (1910); *Life, Death, and Immortality: Studies in the Psalms* (1911); *The First Book of Samuel* (1912); *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus in the RV* (CBSC, 1912); "1 Maccabees," and "The Book of Sirach," *APOT* 1:59-124, 268-517; *The Books of the Apocrypha: Their Origin and Teaching and Contents* (1914); *Studies in Isaiah XL–LXVI: With an Introductory Chapter on the Composite Character of Isaiah I–XXXIX* (1916); *The Wisdom*

of Ben Sirah (Ecclesiasticus) (1916); *The Wisdom of Solomon* (1917); *The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (1919); (with G. H. Box), *A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism* 1920); *Immortality and the Unseen World* (1921); *The Sacred Dance: A Study in Comparative Folklore* (1923); *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (1925); *The Tractate Shabbath Mishnah* (1927); *The Wisdom of Egypt and the OT: In the Light of the Newly Discovered Teaching of Amen-em-ope* (1927); *Proverbs* (WC, 1929); (with T. H. Robinson), *Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development* (1930, 1936[2]); (with T. H. Robinson), *A History of Israel* (1932); "Early Hebrew Festival Rituals," *Myth and Ritual* (ed. S. H. Hooke, 1933) 111-46; *II Esdras* (WC, 1933); (with T. H. Robinson), *An Introduction to the Books of the OT* (1934); "The Cult of Sabazios," *The Labyrinth: Further Studies in the Relation Between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World* (ed. S. H. Hooke, 1935) 113-58; *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* (1935); *The Gospel Parables in the Light of Their Jewish Background* (1936); *The Psalms, Books III and IV: Hebrew Text with Critical Notes* (1936); *The Song of Songs: Metrical Translation with Introduction and Notes* (1936); (ed.), *The Age of Transition (Judaism and Christianity,* vol. 1, 1937); *Ancient Hebrew Poems Metrically Translated, with Introduction and Notes* (1937).

Bibliography: *Who Was Who* (vol. 4, 1952) 862-63.

P. R. DAVIES

OETTLI, SAMUEL (1846–1911)

Born July 29, 1846, at St. Gall, Switzerland, O. studied (1866–70) at Zürich, Basel, and Göttingen, where he was strongly influenced by H. EWALD. He spent 1870–78 in pastoral work, held the OT chair at Bern from 1878 to 1895, and from 1895 held a similar position at Griefswald. O.'s final years were marred by severe depression, which ultimately necessitated his retirement from teaching. He died at a psychiatric facility in Baden, Sept. 23, 1911.

During his Basel period O. produced commentaries on ten of the HB historical and poetical books for the concise commentary series edited by H. Strack (1848–1922) and O. Zöckler (1833–1906). At Greifswald his writing revolved around the religion of Israel as recorded in the HB: its development, relation to those of neighboring peoples (e.g., in comparison with Hammurabi's code), and contemporary significance and AUTHORITY. He synthesized many shorter and popular studies in this area in 1905 with his history of Israel to the time of Alexander the Great.

Within the spectrum of German Protestant OT scholarship at the turn of the century, O. belonged to those who, like H. von ORELLI, sought a middle ground between traditionalism and the excesses of "hypercriticism." Thus O. recognized the presence of four sources in the Hexateuch and the post-Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy. On the other hand, he saw Deuteronomy as much more a unitary work than did many scholars of his time and assigned it to an earlier date, prior to Hezekiah. Similarly, he maintained that a great deal of the priestly legal material predates the deuteronomic code, and argued against J. WELLHAUSEN and others that the narratives of Genesis preserve a historical nucleus concerning the ancestors' culture and religion. While rejecting Solomon's authorship of the Song of Songs, he dated that work to the tenth century. Most of all, however, O. was concerned to uphold the transcendent element in Israel's history against the widespread tendency to dismiss its miraculous and predictive dimensions out of hand.

Works: *Das Hohelied und die Klagelieder* (1889); *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia* (1889); *Das Buch Ruth und das Buch Ester* (1889); *Das Deuteronomium und die Bücher Josua und Richter* (1893); *Amos und Hosea: Zwei Zeugen gegen die Anwendung der Evolutionstheorie auf die Religion Israels: Drei theologische Ferienkursvorträge mit einem textkritischen Anhang* (1901); *Der Kampf um Bibel und Babel* (1902); *Das Gesetz Hamurabis und die Thora Israels: Eine religions- und rechtsgeschichtliche Parallele* (1903); *Geschichte Israels bis auf Alexander den Grossen* (1905); *Das Buch Hiob: Erlautert für Bibelleser* (1908).

Bibliography: **O. Procksch,** *RE*[3] 24 (1913) 290-92. **F. Wilcke,** *BJDN* 16 (1914) 140-45.

C. T. BEGG

OLSHAUSEN, JUSTUS (1800–82)

Born May 9, 1800, at Hohenfelde in northern Germany, O. was the brother of NT exegete H. Olshausen (1796–1839). O. studied oriental languages (1816–23) at Kiel, Berlin, and Paris (with S. de Sacy) and in 1823 was appointed *ausserordentlicher* professor of oriental languages at Kiel, where he taught for three decades. His involvement in the political upheavals of 1848 led to his dismissal by the Danish government in 1852, and thereafter his sphere of activity shifted to Prussia. He served as librarian and professor of oriental languages at Königsberg (1853–58) and then as counselor in the ministry of education in Berlin (1858–74). He died in Berlin, Dec. 28, 1882.

O. was a masterful philologist whose competence extended beyond the Semitic languages to, e.g., Persian and Turkish. Only a relatively small portion of his scholarly works concerned the HB, of which two in particular may be noted. His 1853 commentary on the psalms is distinguished by its grammatical and text-critical discussions as well as by its dating of the majority of the psalms to the Maccabean period. In 1861 he brought out an extensive compendium treating the history of phonology/transcription and the forms of the Hebrew language; however, a projected coverage of the syntax never appeared. He also published various shorter

works on HB TEXTUAL CRITICISM and a revision of L. Hirzel's (1801–41) KEH commentary on Job (1852).

Works: *Emendationen zum Alten Testament: Mit grammatischen und historischen Erorterungen* (1826); *Observationes criticae ad Vetus Testamentum* (1836); *Die Psalmen* (1853); *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache* (1861); *Beiträge zur Kritik des überlieferten Textes im Buche Genesis* (1870).

Bibliography: **A. Bertholet**, *RGG*[1] 4 (1930) 696. **A. Kamphausen,** *RE*[3] 14 (1904) 368-71. **E. Schrader,** "Gedächtnisrede auf J. O.," *AKAWB* (1884) 1-21.

C. T. BEGG

OORT, HENDRIK (1836–1927)

Professor of oriental literature at the Athenaeum Illustre of Amsterdam (1873–75) and professor of oriental literature and Hebrew at the University of Leiden (1875–1907), O. received the doctorate at Leiden under the tutelage of J. Scholten (1811–85) and A. KUENEN, the two most notable biblical scholars associated with Dutch Modernism, which was just coming to prominence. While serving in two successive parishes before his appointment to the Amsterdam position, O. did much to popularize this new movement both in his own parishes and within the Dutch Reformed (*Hervormde*) Church. During this time he was already publishing significant works on the HB; and as Kuenen's colleague at Leiden he became even more active, writing on a great variety of topics. He worked, however, under a peculiar psychological and professional hazard—Kuenen's far surpassing genius. Time and again O. would enter into the discussion of one or another controverted topic only to have Kuenen write the final word. Thus O.'s most valuable writing was as a popularizer of the biblical criticism produced by Kuenen's Leiden school, although he eventually opened up a significant scholarly discussion with Dutch Jewish scholars in the field of Talmudic studies (see TALMUD). He lived to the age of ninety-one in good health and vigorously active, producing a long list of scholarly and semi-popular publications.

O.'s most notable work was his editing of the Leiden school's project, the "Leidsche Vertaling" of the Bible, a new translation with copious marginal notes, in which both the translation and the notes articulated the principles of modernist-style biblical criticism (1899–1901). The notes, although highly conjectural with respect to the original text, along with the translation based on them gave this translation a highly individualistic character. Kuenen, the original committee chairman, I. Hooykaas (1837–94), and W. KOSTERS shared in the labor, but only O. lived long enough to bring it to final publication. He published a 150-page brochure listing all the emendations (1901); a separate printing of the Psalms section (1902) and of the section on Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes (1903); an edition with abbreviated notes (1906); an edition without notes (1914); and a companion translation of the NT.

Works: *De dienst der Baalim in Israel: Naar aanleiding van het geschrift van Dr. R. Dozy "De Israelieten te Mekka"* (1864; ET 1965); *Het menschenoffer in Israel* (1865); *Jeremia in de lijst van zijn tijd* (1866); *De tegenwoordige toestand der israelietische oudheidkunde* (1873); *Oud-Israels recrwezen* (1892); (with A. Kuenen, I. Hooykaas, and W. H. Kosters). *Het Oude Testament ophieuw uit den grondtekst en van inleidingen en aanteekeningen voorzien* (2 vols. 1899–1901); *Textus Hebraici Emendationis Quibus in Vetere Testamento Neerlandice Vertendo Usi Sunt* (1901); *Inleiding op den Bijbel in de tekstuitgave der Leidsche Vertaling* (1913); *De laatste eeuwen van Israels volkbestaan* (1915).

Bibliography: **S. J. DeVries,** *Bible and Theology in the Netherlands* (1968) 49, 74-76, 80-81, 83-85. **C. E. Hooykaas,** "Levensbericht van H. O.," *Levensberichten van afgestorven medeleden van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1929).

S. J. DEVRIES

ORELLI, CONRAD VON (1846–1912)

Born in Zürich, Jan. 25, 1846, O. studied at Lausanne, Zurich, Erlangen, Tübingen, and Leipzig. Among his teachers Franz DELITZSCH was especially influential. O. served briefly (1871–73) as an orphanage chaplain and *Privatdozent* at Zurich before accepting a chair at Basel (1873), which he occupied until his death, Nov. 6, 1912.

O.'s energies were by no means limited to the HB. He was involved with the developing history-of-religions field (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE) and was a leader of the Orthodox Reformed movement. In the latter capacity he was a longtime editor of and prolific contributor to the journal *Der Kirchenfreund.* In the area of HB studies O. devoted himself especially to the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). He wrote a history of the messianic predictions (1882) and commentaries on all the major and minor prophets (1887–88), several of which were translated into English. He likewise produced several more popular works concerning the distinctiveness and religious value of the HB.

Like his compatriot S. OETTLI, O. was a leading representative of a moderately conservative tendency within German HB scholarship at the turn of the twentieth century. Thus he ascribed Joel, Obadiah, and Zechariah 9–11 (12–14) to the preexilic period, while recognizing Isaiah 40–66 as an exilic composition. He was especially concerned to uphold the revealed and distinctive character of the HB vis-à-vis other ancient religious literature.

Works: *Die hebräischen Synonyma der Zeit und Ewigkeit genetisch und sprachvergleichend dargestellt* (1871); *Die alt-*

testamentliche Weissagung von der Vollendung des Gottesreiches in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung dargestellt (1882; ET 1885); *Die Propheten Jesaia und Jeremia* (1887; ET 1889); *Das Buch Ezechiel und die zwölf kleinen Propheten* (1888); *Handbuch der allgemeinen Religionsgeschichte* (1899); *La valeur religieuse de l'Ancien Testament* (1905); *Die Eigenart der biblischen Religion* (1906); *Der Knecht Jahve's im Jesajabuche* (1908).

Bibliography: **E. Kappeler,** *C. O.: Sein Werden und Wirken aus dem Schriftlichen Nachlass dargestellt* (1916).

C. T. BEGG

ORIGEN (c. 185–c. 254)

O. was encouraged to study the Bible from an early age by his Christian father, who was martyred when O. was sixteen. O. also received a thorough training in Greek literature and philosophy, studying at Alexandria (see ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL) under the Platonist Ammonius Saccas (c. 175–242), who later taught Plotinus. O. taught Greek literature and gave catechetical instruction, at first informally during a period of persecution; he was later appointed to this task by Demetrius (d. c. 231), bishop of Alexandria. In order to devote himself completely to his Christian studies and instruction he sold his library in return for a small pension and led a strictly ascetic life.

The spread of his fame as a Christian teacher was such that he was summoned for interviews by the provincial governor of Arabia and by Julia Mammaea, the mother of the emperor Alexander Severus (d. 235). O. discussed the Christian faith with heretics (who flourished in Alexandria) and with pagans trained in philosophy, and he speculated on topics disputed by heretics and philosophers in his early writings (in particular *Stromateis, On Resurrection,* and *On First Principles*). In his *Commentary on Genesis* he embarked on the exegesis of a part of the Bible that particularly interested Gnostics (see GNOSTIC INTERPRETATION), and in his *Commentary on the Gospel According to John* he refuted the exposition of the Valentinian Heracleon (fl. c. 145–80). O. had converted from Valentinianism his friend Ambrose, who urged him on in his exegesis and supplied him with secretaries. Even before the composition of his earliest commentaries (on Psalms 1–25 and on Lamentations) O. started work on the *Hexapla,* a bilingual HB arranged in parallel columns containing the Hebrew text, the Hebrew text transliterated in Greek letters, the SEPTUAGINT, and the versions of AQUILA, SYMMACHUS, and THEODOTION, to which he later added two additional translations. Using this he was able to choose between variant readings in the Septuagint manuscripts and to identify differences between the Hebrew and the Septaugint, which he marked with critical signs.

Frictions arose at Alexandria because of his renown and the boldness of his speculations, and after being ordained presbyter at Caesarea in Palestine he was censured by Demetrius in 232. He took up residence at Caesarea and continued his work of biblical exegesis, composing lengthy commentaries on many books of the Bible and supplementing these with *scholia* (notes on selected passages). While at Caesarea he preached sermons at the meetings of the congregation for instruction and for the Eucharist, at which the books of the HB and the NT were read and expounded in regular succession. These sermons were taken down by shorthand writers during delivery. In 250 O. was imprisoned and tortured in the Decian persecution; denied the martyrdom he passionately desired, he died soon after.

O.'s literary output was enormous; a list of his works based on EUSEBIUS's catalogue of those in the library at Caesarea is given by JEROME (Epistle 33; cf. F. Nautin, 225-61). Apart from fragments, quotations, and numerous extracts, the most important of which are preserved in *catenae,* in the *Philocalia,* and in Pamphilus's *Apology,* there survive of the *Commentary on the Gospel According to John* eight books expounding parts of John 1, 2, 4, 8, 11, and 13; of the *Commentary on Matthew,* eight books on Matt 13:36–22:33 and an anonymous Latin translation on Matt 16:13–27:65; of the *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,* an abbreviated Latin version by Rufinus; of the *Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles,* a version by Rufinus as far as 2:15. Of the homilies there survive in Greek twenty on Jeremiah and one on 1 Samuel; in Latin translation by Jerome, two on the Song of Songs, eight on Isaiah, fourteen each on Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and thirty-nine on Luke; and in Latin translation by Rufinus, sixteen each on Genesis and Leviticus, thirteen on Exodus, twenty-eight on Numbers, twenty-six on Joshua, nine on Judges, and nine on Psalms 36–38. There also survive *On First Principles* (in Rufinus's Latin version), *On Prayer, Exhortation to Martyrdom, Against Celsus, Dialogue of Origen with Heraclides, On the Pasch,* and two letters.

O. was the first major Christian exegete, the first to attempt to expound the Bible as a whole and to compose both HB and NT commentaries that discussed the text verse by verse and considered general problems connected with the biblical books, their historical background, their themes, and questions of method regarding their exegesis. He applied Greek critical scholarship to the Bible and also drew on Jewish exegesis, consulting Jewish scholars and one or more converted Jews and using the writings of PHILO and a work on the interpretation of Hebrew names. He was also influenced by earlier Christian and Gnostic exegesis (he thought that of Heracleon insufficiently systematic). He knew the Bible virtually by heart.

During O.'s lifetime the main issue facing the church was the correct attitude to be taken to the HB. Mainstream Christianity was in danger of being intellectually

outclassed by Gnostics and Marcionites (see MARCION), who claimed that the creator God, depicted in the HB as vengeful, ignorant, and mutable, could not be the same as the supreme God proclaimed by Christ. O. took the view that the coming of Christ has shown the HB to be inspired and has made possible a spiritual understanding of the law (he frequently quoted from 2 Cor 3:6-18 to support this stance). The ceremonial law is obsolete according to the letter but foreshadows spiritual realities. The events of HB history may be seen as symbols that are fulfilled in Christ and in the church. The whole Bible was composed through the INSPIRATION of the Holy Spirit and contains hidden mysteries that can only be understood with aid from the same Spirit. O. distinguished three levels of meaning in Scripture (corresponding to body, soul, and spirit in humans): literal or historical; moral (particularly emphasized in his sermons); and mystical or symbolic. The central principle to be observed in the interpretation of the Bible is its unity. Problem passages are elucidated by means of parallels from elsewhere in Scripture. The Bible has its own usage, sometimes the result of underlying Hebrew idiom, sometimes the vehicle of allegory. To extract allegorical meaning O. used parallels of this kind and also symbolism of names and numbers.

O.'s systematic and scholarly exegesis, his acceptance of the utility of a philosophical training, and his attempted solution of the problems caused by a literal reading of the HB made the church he represented attractive to educated converts. His influence on subsequent exegetes was immense, regardless of whether they agreed with him; and it continued secondhand and by means of Latin translations even after the condemnations of Origenist errors at Alexandria and Rome in 400 and under the Byzantine emperor Justinian in the sixth century. In the West the view of Jerome prevailed that despite the erroneous speculations voiced, particularly in his early works, O. was to be admired as an exegete and his writings were to be used with caution.

Works: *PG* 11-17. Details of editions of Origen's works and of the extracts and fragments are given in M. Geerard, *Clavius Patrum Graecorum* 1 (1983) 141-86.

Bibliography: **H. Crouzel,** *Bibliographe critique d'O.* (1971; *Supplément* 1, 1982); *O.: The Life and Thought of the First Great Theologian* (1989). **J. Daniélou,** *Origène* (1948). **D. Dawson,** *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (1992). **R. Gögler,** *Zur Theologie des biblischen Wortes bei O.* (1963). **C. Hammond Bammel,** *Tradition and Exegesis in Early Christian Writers* (1995); *Origeniana et Rufiniana* (Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 29, 1996). **R. P. C. Hanson,** *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources of Significance of O.'s Interpretation of Scripture* (1959); *O. et la "Connaissance mystique"* (1961). **M. Harl,** *O. et la fonction révélatrice du Verbe incarné* (1958). **R. Heine,** "Reading the Bible with O.," *The Bible in Greek Christian Antiquity* (BTA 1, ed. P. M. Blowers, 1997) 131-48. **C. Jacob,** "The Reception of the Origenist Tradition in Latin Exegesis," *HB/OT* (5 vols., ed. M. Saebo, 1996–) 1, 1:682-700. **C. Kannengiesser and W. L. Peterson** (eds.), *O. of Alexandria: His World and His Legacy* (1988). **H. de Lubac,** *Histoire et Espirt: L'intelligence de l'Ecriture d'apres O.* (1950). **P. Nautin,** *Origène: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (1977). **K. J. Torjesen,** *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in O.'s Exegesis* (1986). **J. W. Trigg,** *O.: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-century Church* (1983); *Origen* (1998).

C. P. HAMMOND BAMMEL

ORLINSKY, HARRY MEYER (1908–92)

Born in Owen Sound, Ontario, Canada, on Mar. 14, 1908, O. received a traditional Hebrew and Jewish education and obtained a BA from the University of Toronto (1931) and a PhD from Dropsie College in Philadelphia (1935). His dissertation concerned the relationship of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the book of Job. Between 1931 and 1935 he was a fellow at the University of Pennsylvania and in 1935–36 at the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH and at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He served as professor of biblical literature and Jewish history at the Baltimore Hebrew College (1936–44) and as professor of Bible at the Jewish Institute of Religion-Hebrew Union College in New York City from 1943. O. died Mar. 21, 1992.

O.'s scholarly work was wide ranging and interdisciplinary, combining ARCHAEOLOGY, philology, comparative linguistics, and comparative religion but it was always based on careful study and analysis of ancient texts. His volumes on ancient Israelite history (1954, 1972) were widely used as textbooks. He was among the first to challenge the ALT-NOTH hypothesis of early Israel as an amphictyony. In his 1967 work he emphatically discarded the very notion of a "Suffering Servant" in Isaiah 53 and concluded that the idea that this passage represents vicarious atonement for the sins of others is unfounded.

O.'s most significant work was in the area of textual studies and translation. He published numerous studies on the SEPTUAGINT, especially on the book of Job, as well as important articles on the Hebrew text, some reprinted in his 1974 volume. In these, he exhaustively and critically examined all previous theories about the relationship of the preserved Hebrew text to the Greek and analyzed the character, mannerisms, and peculiarities of the rendering of Hebrew into Greek. He was also interested in the contributions of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS to the history of the HB text and published several studies in this area, especially on the Qumran Isaiah scrolls. In 1954 he was asked by the Israeli government to authenticate clandestinely (as "Mr. Green") four of the scrolls then being offered for sale in New York City; his positive identification resulted in their acquistion by

and transference to Israel. He also founded and headed two organizations focused on textual studies: the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies and the International Organization for Masoretic Studies.

O. was the only Jewish scholar on the committee that produced the Protestant-sponsored RSV translation of the OT (1952) and the more ecumenical NRSV (1989). A strong advocate of a new Jewish-English translation, he served as editor-in-chief of the *New Translation of the Torah* (1961) and as an editor for the Prophets and megilloth portions of the Tanakh, published in its entirety in 1985. He served in numerous capacities on various boards and organizations: the *IEJ,* Jewish Apocryphal Literature, *Masoretic Studies,* and KTAV Press's Library of Biblical Studies, which reprinted several classical studies in the field with modern prolegomena.

Works: (with A. Ben Isaiah and B. Sharfman), *The Pentateuch and Rashi's Commentary: A Linear Translation into English* (5 vols., 1949); *Wanted: A New Bible Translation in English for the Jewish People* (1953); *Ancient Israel* (1954); *Studies on the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah: The So-Called "Servant of the Lord" and "Suffering Servant" in Second Isaiah* (VTSup 14, 1967); (ed.), *Interpreting the Prophetic Tradition* (1955–66 Goldenson Lectures, 1969); *Notes on the Translation of the Torah* (1970); *Understanding the Bible through History and Archaeology* (1972); *Essays in Biblical Culture and Bible Translation* (1974); (ed.), *Israel Exploration Reader* (2 vols., 1981); (with R. G. Bratcher) *A History of Bible Translation and the North American Contribution* (1991).

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N. SARNA

ORR, JAMES (1844–1913)

Born Apr. 11, 1844, O. was educated at Glasgow University and United Presbyterian (UP) Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. He served as pastor at Irvine and at Hawick and was chair of church history, UP Hall, Edinburgh (1891–1901), and chair of apologetics and systematic theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow (1901–13). He died Sept. 6, 1913.

"If [O.] disliked 'heresy,' he disliked intolerance even more," wrote J. DENNEY. Thus O. promoted the union of the UP and Free Churches (1900) and participated in numerous interdenominational projects. Although his critical conclusions were almost invariably conservative (he contributed to *The Fundamentals*), he successfully defended F. Ferguson (1824–97), accused of doctrinal laxity, and G. A. SMITH, whose "advanced" biblical criticism was the subject of General Assembly debate in 1902.

O. published scholarly and popular apologetics, biblical commentaries, historical and doctrinal studies, and was ever alive to the practical implications of the gospel for the social and economic conditions of life.

Works: *The Christian View of God and the World, as Centering in the Incarnation* (1893); *The Progress of Dogma* (1897 Elliot Lectures, 1901); *The Problem of the OT* (1906); *The Bible Under Trial: Apologetic Papers in View of Present-day Assaults on Holy Scripture* (1907); *Revelation and Inspiration* (1910).

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A. P. F. SELL

ORTHODOX BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

Orthodox biblical interpretation is grounded in the historical tradition of the Orthodox Church and in the various uses of the OT and the NT in worship, preaching, teaching, pastoral guidance, spirituality, and theology. Orthodox biblical interpreters normatively hold to an integral unity between, on the one hand, the AUTHORITY of holy Scripture as the canonical record of divine revelation and, on the other hand, the hermeneutical function (see HERMENEUTICS) of tradition for the actualization of the biblical witness in the concrete ministries of the church through the grace of the Holy Spirit. The Orthodox interpretive tradition has from antiquity produced a variety of methodologies and results, a variety framed by a broad doctrinal consensus and open to incorporating new elements on the basis of the church's faith and critical reason.

1. The Heritage of the Church Fathers. The most creative period of Orthodox biblical interpretation (from the 2nd through the 5th cents.) embraces such figures as JUSTIN MARTYR, IRENAEUS, ORIGEN, ATHANASIUS, BASIL OF CAESAREA, GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, GREGORY OF NYSSA, CHRYSOSTOM, and CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, who were primarily biblical theologians and engaged the Scriptures directly according to contemporary exegetical methodologies. For the Orthodox, the works of these church fathers contain normative presuppositions, principles, and patterns of biblical interpretation that are closely bound up with the formation of the biblical CANON and that carry comparable authority to the biblical witness.

Among these normative elements are the following: (1) A christocentric approach to the OT as prophetic testimony to Christ, the new covenant, the church, and the Christian life; (2) Christ as the new criterion of salvation fulfilling and replacing the Mosaic law; (3) the

unity of the OT and the NT as opposed to the depreciation or even rejection of the OT by heretical groups; (4) the harmonious coherence and interdependence between the Scriptures and the church's developing evangelistic, liturgical, homiletical, catechetical, and creedal traditions; (5) the hermeneutical role of the church's doctrinal discernment expressed in particular creedal teachings (rule of faith) and significantly operative in the canonization of the church's Scriptures; (6) the creatively free and interrelated use of allegorical, typological, and grammatical exegesis accompanied by an emphasis on the spirit rather than the letter of Scripture; (7) holistic attention to the entire landscape of the larger biblical canon interpreted according to the central aim or unifying purpose (*skopos*) of particular books and passages; (8) the role of the living tradition as the decisive and final hermeneutical agent, especially in cases of widely disputed matters, expressed through ecumenical councils and reception by the whole church (e.g., the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed as doctrinal summary of biblical truth); (9) and the primacy and centrality of the Bible as the Word of God to be celebrated, read, and obeyed by the church and by all believers.

The patristic exegetical tradition richly drew from all the themes of Scripture, such as election, covenant, PROPHECY, law, incarnation, sacrifice, redemption, atonement, justification, sanctification, resurrection, new creation, and the coming kingdom. It developed a distinct transformative view of salvation as deliverance from the powers of sin, Satan, corruption, and death through union with Christ and the indwelling of the Spirit—that is, true participation in the divine grace and life, the basis of humanity's glorification (*theosis* or divinization). The primary aims of the church fathers were to advance the gospel of Christ and to serve the practical needs of the church. Their ideal was to achieve a synergistic harmony between the OT and the NT, grace and free will, personal faith and good works, Scripture and tradition, and the church's doctrine and the gift of reason. Confronting internal and external controversies, patristic exegesis combined fidelity to divine revelation with significant openness to the intellectual legacy of antiquity, notably philology, philosophy, and ethics. From Judaism the church fathers inherited a high view of Scripture; yet they developed an awareness of its human language, character, and limitations, thus passing down a dynamic rather than mechanistic view of INSPIRATION and revelation. Historical realism and precision in doctrinal disputes as well as wisdom in practical teaching and guidance necessitated movement toward contextual grammatical exegesis (Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom). The universality of Christian truth compelled engagement with contemporary intellectual currents, which produced erudite results. However, beyond formal methods and technical principles the church fathers never lost sight of the mystery of the living God behind the witness of Scripture and that authentic exegesis involved charismatic activity—that is, it required a spiritual vision (*theoria*) in which the Holy Spirit actualized the transformative power of biblical truth in the interpreter and in the life of the church.

2. The Traditionalist Period. The legacy of the church fathers exercised tremendous impact on subsequent Orthodox tradition. Biblical authority remained formally supreme. As a treasure of divine revelation, Scripture became a holy artifact receiving enduring veneration in liturgy and piety. The meditative reading of the Bible, especially in monasticism and through its influence, continued as a pillar of spirituality; and theological works featured generous citations of biblical texts. For the faithful the biblical witness was generally communicated through the ubiquitous use of Scripture in a flowering of liturgical services, hymnology, and iconography. Worship featured ample readings from the OT and the NT. Numerous feasts celebrating biblical events and personages, especially the life and work of Christ, generated countless hymns and prayers rehearsing biblical accounts, images, teachings, and miracles. Sacred art (see ART, THE BIBLE AND) depicted the whole biblical story from creation to final judgment, imprinting the biblical drama on the ecclesial memory.

In terms of actual exegetical work, the long traditionalist period was marked by a paucity of material as a result of a structural shift from direct, concentrated engagement with the Scriptures to overwhelming dependence on the church fathers, a shift already evident in the christological controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries. Maximus the Confessor (6th cent.) viewed the Bible as a lamp on the lampstand of the church and taught that an exegete should depend on the church fathers more than on one's very breath. Canon 19 of the Quinisext Council (691) formally enjoined church leaders and teachers to follow set teachings usually promoted through collections of patristic interpretations (*anthologia*). A few erudite interpreters who left behind whole commentaries, namely Oikoumenios (6th cent.), Theophylaktos, and Zigabenos (11th–12th cents.), as well as Nikodemos the Haghiorite (17th cent.), are largely dependent on patristic exegetical works, especially those of Chrysostom.

However, faithfulness to tradition and concern for doctrinal security did not in principle imply rigid control or total absence of creativity. In his *Amphilochia*, Photius the Great (9th cent.), one of the foremost scholars of Byzantium, took up such questions as the Bible's linguistic idiom, errors in the transmission of manuscripts, and problems of translation from Hebrew to Greek as well as obscurities in Scripture with exemplary philological and interpretive skill. Symeon the New Theologian (10th–11th cents.), in numerous works based on direct reading of Scripture and appeals to his own

mystical experiences, stirred Byzantine institutionalism with a vibrant call to charismatic renewal, including adult baptism of the Holy Spirit according to JESUS' dialogue with Nicodemus (John 3). Much later Kosmas Aitolos (18th cent.) led an evangelistic revival in northwestern Greece, preaching the gospel and exhorting the people to study the Scriptures in groups.

The Reformation and Western proselytistic activities in Orthodox lands significantly sharpened traditionalist sensibilities. The local councils of Constantinople (1638) and Jerusalem (1672) condemned the Calvinistic teaching (see CALVIN) of Patriarch Cyril Lukaris, who advocated the narrower OT canon and the authority of the Bible over the church. In an isolated instance Patriarch Jeremiah III of Constantinople formally prohibited the reading of the Bible by the faithful (1723). Under these circumstances the church fathers, as holders of the unerring key to the Bible, the infallible authority of the church, and the notion of Scripture and tradition constituting "two sources of revelation," echoing Roman Catholic theology, became hallmarks of traditionalism. Moreover, the lack of education and printed material due to various historical circumstances, the popular concentration on the lives and miracles of saints, and a tendency toward formalism in worship all reinforced traditionalism, which in various ways obscured the prophetic witness and renewing power of God's written word in the church.

3. The Modern Period. The modern period (19th–20th cents.) is marked by a creative, albeit tense, encounter between traditionalism and the "new learning" of liberal ideologies and critical methodologies derived from the West. The most vigorous interaction first occurred in Russia, where long contacts with Western traditions led to systematic theological studies on the basis of critical standards in numerous universities and academies. This course of affairs resulted in calls for and official efforts toward church renewal, but these were cut short by the Bolshevik Revolution (1917). In Greece, after political independence from four hundred years of Ottoman rule (1830) and the establishment of two universities in Athens (1837) and Thessalonike (1926), a significant tradition of theological scholarship, including biblical interpretation, was established, which has continuously matured until today. Similar developments took place in other Orthodox countries, e.g., Romania, Serbia, and Bulgaria; but political conditions and language barriers make it difficult to ascertain their contours.

In the Greek Orthodox Church the traditional use and interpretation of the Bible have been qualified by three creative, if stressful, challenges. First, the translation of the Bible into modern Greek, although not in principle objectionable according to Orthodox theology, was associated with Protestant proselytism and provoked violent traditionalist reactions. Nevertheless, the translation in periodic new editions, accompanied by the required original and officially approved text, has endured with uneasy reception by the church. Second, the establishment of the "Brotherhood of Life" (1907), a biblically oriented and moderately controversial renewal movement, has exercised widespread impact on Greek society through organized evangelical preaching, the systematic publication of catechetical material for children and adults, the establishment of ongoing Bible study groups, and other educational activities directed at parents, students, scientists, educators, and other professionals. Its greatest luminary was P. Trembelas, whose remarkable and diverse scholarly output included full commentaries on the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline epistles as well as publication of the NT with an interpretive paraphrase for the average believer. Third, the academic study of Scripture by specialists trained in critical standards, notably such older scholars as V. Vellas, P. Bratsiotis (1951), V. Ioannidis, and S. Agouridis (1976) as well as more recent scholars like D. Trakatellis, E. Oikonomou, J. Karavidopoulos (1986), J. Panagopoulos (1994), and P. Vasileiadis, has successfully established biblical scholarship as a field in its own right. Although its influence has seemed limited outside of professional circles, this tradition of scientific biblical studies has raised old and new hermeneutical questions in sharper terms.

Contemporary Orthodox hermeneutical discussion usually begins with G. Florovsky's (1960, 1972) concept of "neopatristic synthesis." According to Florovsky, the "neopatristic" task of Orthodox theology must combine inseparable aspects of doctrinal integrity and creative theological vision rooted in the life of faith (i.e., recovering the "mind" of the church fathers rather than merely quoting them). While Florovsky did not pursue the hermeneutical question in its modern context at length, his proposal helped to anchor the use of historical and critical standards in both patristic and biblical fields. Thus all Orthodox biblical scholars have in principle affirmed the value of critical LITERARY and historical methodologies according to international standards and conduct a full range of scholarship within broad doctrinal parameters.

The burning issue concerns what is peculiarly "Orthodox" about Orthodox biblical studies. For Agouridis and others the answer lies in the dynamic vision of the great church fathers working in the ecclesial context, which permits unhindered biblical research and a certain boldness in liberating the voice of Scripture toward the contemporary renewal of a patriarchal society and an institutionalized church. For J. Breck (1986), an American Orthodox biblical scholar, the distinctively Orthodox factor is the actualization of God's Word in worship, where the Holy Spirit bridges the distance between biblical and modern thought. J. Romanides (1978), a Greek Orthodox dogmatic theologian, points to the model of the charismatic saint, one who lives the trans-

figured life in continuity with the apostles and the saints of all ages, as the unerring guide to biblical interpretation and its application in new circumstances. J. Panagopoulos (1991–97) formulates an ecclesial hermeneutic, combining christological, biblical, and patristic elements, according to which Scripture and church become one in worship, with Scripture witnessing to the soteriological mystery of Christ and the church becoming "the living Bible of Christ."

These positions do not seem entirely adequate to the quest for a uniquely Orthodox approach to the Bible. Freedom of research for the liberation of Scripture's authentic witness is fundamental to international scholarship. Worship as actualization of biblical truth is important for all Christian traditions. The charismatic saint as unerring interpreter of biblical texts lacks wide support even in the patristic literature. An unqualified identity between Scripture and church has usually left little room to the Orthodox for constructive criticism of church life on the basis of Scripture's authority. The exposition of a specifically Orthodox approach to Scripture must be pursued in terms of a richer hermeneutical model that both differentiates and integrates the functions of historical exegesis, doctrinal interpretation, and spiritual appropriation of Scripture's transformative power. A holistic Orthodox hermeneutic will reflect the classic patristic interdependence between Scripture and tradition, granting particularly needed attention to Scripture's authority for the church. The ecumenical persuasiveness of Orthodox biblical interpretation will depend on the continued growth of biblical studies in the Orthodox Church and their essential evangelical impact on both the church's theology and its life.

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T. STYLIANOPOULOS

OVERBECK, FRANZ (1837–1905)

Born in St. Petersburg, O. was the son of a German father who had been brought up in England and a French Catholic mother brought up in Russia. The family moved to Dresden in 1849 so O. could prepare for a career as an academic theologian. He studied at Leipzig, Göttingen, and Berlin before moving to Jena in 1864 to qualify as a university teacher under K. Hase (1800–90). Called to Basel in 1870 by a party of reform, he became a full professor in 1872 and retired in 1897. O. lodged in the same house as F. Nietzsche (1844–1900), whom he befriended; eventually it was O. who had to place Nietzsche in an asylum when the latter lost his sanity (1889).

O. questioned the right of liberal theologians to call themselves Christians because they denied the distinctive belief of Christianity that this world would be destroyed and replaced by the kingdom of God. His *Über die Christlichkeit unserer heutigen Theologie* (1873, 1903^2) deeply influenced K. BARTH. During his life O. otherwise published only short articles and studies, mostly in patristics, keeping quiet about his belief that condemnation at the last judgment had already been passed upon Christianity by the mere fact that Christianity was now the subject of scholarly research. He left more than 15,000 handwritten sheets of brilliant short reflections on dogmatic, exegetical, and historical questions, which are now in the university library at Basel. Some were published by C. Bernoulli (1868–1937); others are cited in a stream of books about O. and in *Overbeckiana*; and an edition has appeared in the Stuttgart *Werke und Nachlass.*

O. argued in his revised and enlarged version of W. DE WETTE's Acts commentary (1870) that although F. C. BAUR and E. Zeller (1814–1908) were right to see Acts as having been written for a purpose, the book did not represent an offer of peace from the Pauline side of the

early church to the Jewish Christians that at the same time worked on the Paulinists to make concessions to Judaism (Zeller). Rather, Acts was a saga written no earlier than the time of Trajan (d. 117) that represents a gentile Christianity, strongly influenced by Judaism, that depicted its history as a steady development in which Peter and PAUL agreed in their universalism. Paul's importance in the origin of gentile Christianity is played down. The author of Acts has no understanding of Paul's actual theology. Jewish Christianity as an anti-Pauline party is no problem for him; the interdependence of Christianity on Judaism and the law is acknowledged, but the right attitude of the church to the Roman Empire is far more important an issue. Acts is "an immediate forerunner of the apologetic literature that especially flourished at the time of the Antonines." The author of Acts used his sources, whether oral or written, very freely; the only certain traces of sources that remain are the "we" passages (16:10-17; 20:4-15; 21:5-18; 27:1–28:16), left in their original form to suggest that the author was Paul's companion or to give the appearance of authenticity; the list of stopping places in chaps. 13–14 might also go back to a journey source; otherwise, sources are unknowable (*Nachlass* A 93). O.'s line on Acts has affinities with that of B. BAUER.

O. paid particular attention to the form of the works he studied: "Every work of literature is a symptom of its public." Early Christianity produced no world literature, only *Urliteratur,* which flourished for scarcely more than a century and from which the canonical books (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) of the NT were selected. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA produced the first world literature, which is "an acquisition for all ages" (Thucydides' definition).

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J. C. O'NEILL

OWEN, JOHN (1616–83)

An English Calvinist theologian (see CALVIN) of international reputation, O. was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, served parishes in Essex, advised O. Cromwell (1599–1658) on religious matters, and was appointed vice-chancellor of Oxford University in 1653. With the death of Cromwell in 1658, O. was removed as vice-chancellor and became the leader of the dissenting Congregationalists.

O. was an influential formulator of a strict doctrine of the verbal INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE, maintaining that the "sacred penmen," while exercising their own minds in the choice of the words they wrote, nonetheless wrote exactly the words the Holy Spirit intended; moreover, he thought that God preserved the transmission of the text so that no significant textual errors crept into it. However, he also emphasized the inner witness and illumination of the Holy Spirit in the acceptance and interpretation of Scripture. In *A Vindication of the Purity and Integrity of the Hebrew and Greek Texts. . . .* (1659) he attacked B. Walton's (c. 1600–1661) *Biblia Polyglota,* especially its prolegomena, for treating the Hebrew vowel points as late additions and for maintaining that the text could be improved by gathering variant readings from early translations. The accumulation of variants, most of which were insignificant, he thought falsely cast doubt on the Bible's AUTHORITY.

O.'s enormous commentary on Hebrews was published in 1668 in four folio volumes; it was frequently reprinted down to modern times and was translated into Dutch. O. argued that PAUL was the epistle's author, although acknowledging that the authority of Scripture did not depend on a knowledge of its human authors. The commentary emphasized the priestly office of Christ, refuting Socinian views (see SOCINUS) on this point.

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D. D. WALLACE, JR.

P

PAGNINUS, SANTES (1470–1536)

Born in Lucca, Tuscany, Oct. 18, 1470, P. entered the Dominican order in 1487 at Fiesole, where he studied with Savonarola (1452–98) before going to Florence, where the study of oriental languages was cultivated. By 1513 he was teaching Semitics in Rome at the request of his friend Giovanni de' Medici, who had become Pope Leo X (Mar. 11, 1513). For a time P. also served as prefect of the Vatican Library. After Leo's death (Dec. 1, 1521), P. accompanied the cardinal legate to Avignon, moving to Lyons in 1524, where he continued to work until his death, Aug. 24, 1536. P. was held in high honor in his adopted city; he worked not only against the incursion of Lutheranism and Waldensianism but also to establish a leper asylum.

P. published a new Latin translation of the Bible (1528), a project encouraged by Leo X and containing letters of approval from popes Hadrian VI (1522–23) and Clement VII (1523–34). The work is noteworthy for several reasons: It was the first translation of the entire Bible made from the original languages (and collated texts) since JEROME; the first division of all the biblical material into chapters and numbered verses (although P.'s versification did not become the standard); a literal, almost wooden, translation of the HB based on Jewish scholarship, which made it an invaluable aid for students learning Hebrew; and a translation that exerted significant influence on later English versions and that was widely respected by Jews. The translation was reprinted several times: by M. SERVETUS (1542), with his annotations; in revised form in the Antwerp POLYGLOT (1572); in later interlinear form (1599); and in various other reprints.

P. produced other valuable aids to HB study, including a Hebrew grammar (1526) and LEXICON (1529), both based on the work of D. KIMHI; an introduction to Scripture (1528); and a six-volume collection of Jewish, Greek, and Latin materials on the Pentateuch (1636).

Works: *Habes hoc in libro. . . . Hebraicas institutiones libri quatuor ex Rabbi D. Kimchi priore parte fere transcripti* (1526); *Isagoges seu introductionis ad sacras litteras liber unus* (1528); *Veteris et Novi Testamenti nova translatio* (1528); *Oṣar Leshon ha-Qodesh, hoc est Thesaurus linguae sanctae seu lexicon hebraicum* (1529); *Catena argentea in pentateuchum* (6 vols., 1636).

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J. H. HAYES

PAINE, THOMAS (1737–1809)

A political revolutionary and author born in Thetford, England, Jan. 29, 1737, P. was confirmed as an Anglican but was greatly influenced by the Quakers, of whom his father was a member. He was trained in stay-making, spent time at sea, and held minor government posts. In 1774 at the suggestion of B. Franklin (1706–90), he came to America, where he became a spokesman for various movements, including American independence. During the Revolutionary War he served in the Continental army (1776), was secretary to the Continental Congress's committee of foreign affairs (1777–79), and published the pamphlet *Common Sense* (1776) and a collection of pamplets published together as *The Crisis* (1792). After the war he returned to England (1787); but after publishing *The Rights of Man* (1791–92), in which he supported the French revolution in opposition to E. Burke (1729–97), he fled to Paris to avoid arrest. With the fall of the Girondists, he lost favor in France and was temporarily imprisoned.

P.'s work *The Age of Reason, Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous* (in two parts 1794, 1796) featured his Deist predilections (see DEISM) and dislike for ecclesiastical institutions and "priestcraft." He argued for a religion of reason, concluding that "the Christian theory is little else than the idolatry of the ancient Mythologists, accommodated to the purposes of power and revenue; and it yet remains to reason and philosophy to abolish the amphibious fraud." He denigrated Scripture for its failure to generate universal consent because of unproved authorship and incredible contents. He denied the accepted authorship of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) as well as of Joshua and the books of Samuel on the grounds that they were written in the third person, reported numerous anachronisms, and contained laws and incidents that were inhuman and brutal. He regarded the deity of JESUS as a fable and many of the reported details of his life as contradictory,

e.g., the genealogies. Numerous contemporary clergy in Britain and America published rejoinders; and after his return to the United States in 1802, P. spent the rest of his life with few supporters, dying in New York, June 8, 1809.

Works: *The Writings of T. P.* (ed. M. D. Conway, 4 vols., 1894–96; repr. 1967). Various other editions of his works have been published (ed. D. E. Wheeler, 10 vols., 1908; ed. W. M. Van der Weyde, 10 vols., 1925; ed. P. S. Foner, 2 vols., 1945, with biography, 1:ix-xlvi).

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T. H. OLBRICHT

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

The PEF was established in 1865 under the patronage of Queen Victoria and with the leadership of G. Grove (1820–1900) as secretary and the Archbishop of York as president. Its aim was to "raise a fund to be applied to the purpose of investigating the Holy Land." These investigations were to be in the areas of ARCHAEOLOGY, manners and customs, topography, geology, and natural history and were to be conducted according to scientific principles. The organization was to avoid controversy and not operate as a religious body. A variety of surveys, excavations, and explorations in Palestine were initiated by the fund, which also issued a number of important reports, maps, and studies in monographic form. It began publishing its journal, the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (now the biannual *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*) in 1869.

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M. P. GRAHAM

PALEY, WILLIAM (1743–1805)

Born at Peterborough, England, P. was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he was elected a fellow in 1766. He taught at Cambridge University and later became archdeacon of Carlisle. His biblical criticism served two purposes. First, it played a crucial role in his popular, if not always original, system of philosophical theology that included his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785) and *Natural Theology* (1802). Second, it served as a unified and elaborate response to D. HUME's arguments against miracles. P.'s *A View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1794) merged two traditions of English orthodoxy, both born of the Deist challenge (see DEISM). The one, theoretical and argumentative, sustained itself on a complicated series of interconnecting analogies between natural and revealed religion. It was this style of argument, best exemplified by J. BUTLER, that P. invoked in his opening discussion of Hume's essay on miracles. The other tradition, empirical and cumulative, which was outlined by C. Leslie (1650–1722) in *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists* (1697), relied heavily on scrutiny of ancient sources. The seminal assumption here was that consistency disproved fraud and harmony established truth. Since the disciples of JESUS witnessed miracles and recorded their experiences, the validity of Christianity turned on the authenticity of these written testaments. Thus the same standards of harmony and uniformity that led skeptics to dispute the miraculous convinced the orthodox of its existence.

Horae Paulinae (1790) antedated the *Evidences* by four years; but thematically it was the offspring, not the progenitor, of the later book. Sifting testimony culled from ancient sources, P. argued that the early converts demonstrated their sincerity by their suffering, that they lived and died for the miracles they had witnessed. Moreover, their testimony was not forged, lost, or altered during its transmission through the centuries. In its Cartesian refusal to assume anything essential and its painstaking dissection of the NT, *Horae Paulinae* anticipated the analytical methods of the Broad Church of the nineteenth century and the New Criticism of the twentieth.

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D. L. LEMAHIEU

PAN-BABYLONIANISM

This view of Babylonian cultural domination over the ancient Fertile Crescent arose around 1900 among German cuneiformists, who argued that all ancient cultures and religions with an astral MYTHOLOGY sprang from a common source: Babylon. Their justification grew out of the newfound ability to decipher the thousands of cuneiform texts unearthed throughout the Near East. Among the newly deciphered documents were numerous religio-mythological writings suggesting that the HB reflected the ancient Israelites' dependence on Babylonian culture, mythology, and religion.

The main proponents of this movement were Friedrich DELITZSCH, P. JENSEN, A. JEREMIAS, and H. WINCK-

LER. Delitzsch's three BABEL UND BIBEL lectures (1902) made the public aware of the archaeological (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) and philological work and of the conclusions reached by the scholarly world about the HB. Such conservative savants as F. König (1846–1936) challenged these conclusions, and as the controversy intensified, so did public interest. The positions of Delitzsch and his colleagues became increasingly extreme, to the point of claiming that virtually all credit for Western religious thought belonged to the Babylonians and none to the Israelites.

Eventually the theory faltered because of its extravagant and unsubstantiated claims and because it was soon overshadowed by the more modern claims of the RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE. The movement nevertheless had a significant impact on biblical studies by focusing attention on the vast religious documentation contemporary with the ancient Israelites and on the need to compare Israel's Scripture and religion with these documents.

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W. C. GWALTNEY, JR.

PAPIAS (60?–130?)

Sources of information on P. are meager. Only fragments of his work have survived, preserved as short quotations by other authors, who also give some brief biographical information. The earliest reference to P. occurs in IRENAEUS's *Adversus Haereses* (5.33.3-4), but the primary witness is provided by EUSEBIUS in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (3.39). The dates of P.'s birth and death are not known, with estimates ranging from 60 to 90 CE for his birth and from 110 to 161 CE for his death. Scant information is preserved about his career. He served as bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, Asia Minor; since the name Papias was common in that region, he may have been a native of the area. Both Eusebius and Irenaeus recorded that he wrote one work in five volumes (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1; *Adv. Haer.* 5.33.4) under the title *Exposition of the Sayings of the Lord* (*Logion Kyriakon Exegeseos*). They also asserted that he was a "hearer of John and an associate of Polycarp," although this is frequently disputed. Eusebius claimed that P. held millenarian beliefs (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.12).

So little of P.'s *Exposition* has survived that it is difficult to determine its exact nature. It may have been a collection of sayings, similar to the hypothetical Q source; or it may have been a more overtly theological interpretation of a variety of texts, perhaps along millenarian lines. A fragment of the introduction to this work survives in which P. made reference in a highly formulaic way to his sources (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.3-4). His words are sometimes interpreted as indicating that he had access to some of the apostles. On the other hand, he also included non-apostolic elders in his list in a way that has led to the suggestion that they, rather than apostles, were his primary sources. In this fragment P. also stated a preference for oral reports over written ones.

Attempts have been made to distill information on the formation of the NT from these fragments, the most tantalizing of which concern the composition of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. In two remarks preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15-16), P. is quoted as reporting that "the presbyter [John] said this: that 'Mark, being Peter's translator [or interpreter: *hērmēneutes*], accurately [*akribōs*] wrote what he remembered of the things that the Lord had said or done, but not in order [*taxei*] . . . ' since Peter 'put his teachings in *chria* form [*pros tas chreias*], but did not present the sayings of the Lord in an ordered manner [*ouch hōsper suntaxin tōn kyriakōn poioumenos logiōn*]'; and that 'Matthew preserved the sayings in order [*ta logia sunetaxato*] in the Hebrew language, and each translated [*hērmēneusen*] these as able.' " Traditionally these quotations have been taken to imply that Mark was Peter's translator and that Matthew's Gospel was initially composed in Hebrew. More recently the statement has been subjected to critical scrutiny, and ambiguities of expression have been noted. For example, the basis for the judgment on "order" is not known; the extent to which P. is using technical terms (e.g., *chreia*) is debated; the meaning of the term *translator/translate* is disputed; and the question is raised as to whether P. was referring to the Gospels as we have them or to some earlier collection. Comments from P. have also been cited as evidence in other discussions surrounding the formation of the NT, e.g., the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, the acceptance of the Revelation of John, and the popularity of the epistles of PAUL. Despite the effort expended on them, the fragments of P. are too slim a resource for substantive conclusions on the composition and formation of the NT.

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P. L. TRUDINGER

PARABLES OF JESUS

Among the literary genres of the Bible, the parables of JESUS occupy a unique place. While they have antecedents in the HB and in rabbinic literature, they are virtually a new and highly original form in reference to both purpose and content.

The parables of Jesus are confined to the SYNOPTIC Gospels, and they occur in different forms and lengths. Some are brief similes or metaphors, while others, like the parables of the good Samaritan (Luke 10:30-35) and the prodigal son (Luke 15:11-32), are expanded into larger stories. As for the number of parables found in the Gospels, the figure varies depending on how many of Jesus' short, figurative sayings are included: The count has ranged from a low of about thirty to a high of sixty or more.

Historically, allegorization has occupied a central role in parable interpretation. In distinction from the comparative or analogous form of the similitude, an allegory substitutes one thing for another and must be interpreted symbolically; single comparisons are not what they appear to be but must be probed for their deeper meaning. The allegorical method of parable interpretation largely prevailed from the patristic period to the end of the nineteenth century.

1. Ante-Nicene Period. IRENAEUS, the first of the outstanding post-NT theologians, maintained that the Bible can be easily understood by anyone with a sound mind and a devotion to piety and the love of truth. Consequently, he felt that a reasonable and unambiguous approach to the parables would enable one to come to an understanding that is both clear and obvious. Irenaeus was an apologist for the faith; and in spite of his contentions to the contrary, allegorization became his most effective exegetical and apologetic method. However, his use of the method was modest and restrained in comparison to subsequent interpreters.

Although TERTULLIAN did not refer to the parables nearly as often as did Irenaeus, he gave rather detailed attention to the parables of the lost sheep (Matt 18:12-14; Luke 15:1-7), the lost coin (Luke 15:8-10), and the prodigal son. In each instance he made use of allegorization.

The allegorical method of parable interpretation attained its most prominent development with CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and ORIGEN, who were part of the so-called ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL of theology. The Alexandrians attempted to harmonize Christian theology and the Scriptures with Hellenistic philosophy, and in so doing they were drawn to mystical and allegorical exposition.

Clement believed that the style of the Scriptures is parabolic, i.e., its mysteries are veiled and preserved for certain chosen persons endowed with knowledge and faith. Thus the parables have hidden meanings that lie behind what appears to be the principal subject and that are evident only to those who are chosen to comprehend them. In referring to Jesus' statement that he spoke in parables so that "seeing they do not see, and hearing they do not hear or understand" (e.g., Luke 8:10; cf. Isa 6:9-10), Clement wrote that Jesus did not cause the ignorance. Rather, he prophetically exposed the ignorance that existed in his hearers, intimating that they would not understand the things spoken.

Origen succeeded Clement as head of the Alexandrian school, and he proved to be the greatest and most prolific biblical interpreter among the church fathers. Origen believed that the Scriptures were an inspired (see INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE) and infallible repository of truth. However, this truth was not readily evident to the average reader, because it required spiritual discernment to understand the text's hidden and mystical import.

With Origen the allegorical method of parable interpretation attained perhaps its supreme articulation. His exposition of the parable of the good Samaritan is a classic example. The man going down from Jerusalem to Jericho represents Adam, or the doctrine of man, and the fall caused by his disobedience. Jerusalem signifies paradise or heaven; Jericho is the world. The robbers are the powerful adversaries or demons or the false prophets who lived before Christ. The wounds are disobedience and sins. The man stripped of his garments stands for humanity's loss of incorruptibility, immortality, and virtue. He is half dead because his human nature is dead, but his soul is immortal. The priest is the law; the Levite is the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). The Samaritan is Christ; the beast of burden is the body of Christ. The wine is the Word, which instructs and corrects. The oil is the doctrine of charity, of pity or mercy. The inn represents the church and the innkeeper the apostles and their successors, bishops and officials of the church, or the angels assigned to guard the church. The two denarii are the two testaments or love toward God and neighbor or belief in the Father and the Son. The return of the Samaritan is the second coming of Christ.

In addition to the Alexandrian group, there was another school of biblical interpretation, which was centered in Antioch (see ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL). Unlike the Alexandrians, the Antiochenes sought to set forth the literal sense intended by the author, concerning themselves more with the historical and grammatical than with the spiritual and mystical. The two prominent exponents of the school of Antioch were THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA and CHRYSOSTOM.

In his homilies on the Gospel of Matthew, Chrysostom dealt with a number of Jesus' parables. While he tended toward allegorization at times (especially in the parable of the ten virgins [Matt 25:1-13]), his overall emphasis was more restrained, literal, historical than that of the Alexandrians. Chrysostom appears to have been far more interested in the parables' moral emphases than in discerning their hidden spiritual or mystical significance.

It was through the influence of AMBROSE that AUGUSTINE embraced the exegetical tradition of Alexandria. Although he referred often to the parables, especially in his sermons, he seldom offered extended discussions; rather, he made brief comments or cited portions of a given parable. While Augustine believed that the literal and historical meaning was fundamental, he employed allegory when the literal sense of a passage appeared incoherent or obscure. He also drew on the symbolism of numbers in interpretation. For example, in his exposition of the parable of the ten virgins, he asked why the virgins are "five and five" and concluded that it is because the number five denotes the five senses. Augustine admitted that he enjoyed this method of biblical exegesis and that as a preacher he found that it intrigued his hearers and held their attention.

2. Medieval Period. GREGORY THE GREAT, from whose time the beginning of the Middle Ages is often dated, set forth a threefold approach to biblical interpretation. To the traditional historical-allegorical sense he added the moral. The parables are never only bearers of hidden and esoteric meanings; their intention is to call people to repentance and to a life-style becoming to citizens of the kingdom of God. In such parables as those of the laborers in the vineyard (Matt 20:1-15) and the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31), Gregory emphasized the moral virtues of discipline, charity, simplicity, poverty, and mercy.

The allegorical method, together with contemporary theological motifs, was central in medieval parable interpretation. This trend was evident in the work of such writers as the Venerable BEDE and PETER LOMBARD. The latter suggested that the good Samaritan used the bands of the sacraments against the wounds of original and actual sin.

THOMAS AQUINAS gave a new turn to biblical exegesis by minimizing the allegorical and emphasizing the literal sense of the Scriptures. With him, allegorization neared its end as a viable and meaningful method of biblical interpretation.

3. Reformation. The Reformers, particularly LUTHER and CALVIN, centered upon the historical and literal approach to the Bible. Castigating allegorization as "pure jugglery" and "tomfoolery," Luther advocated pursuing the plain and literal sense as far as possible before resorting to hidden or symbolic meanings. His exegesis was also marked by a christological centrality: Everything must be understood and evaluated in relation to Jesus Christ.

The primary emphases of the Reformation can be discerned in Luther's interpretation of the parables. Thus Abraham's words to the rich man in Luke 16 represent Christ's underscoring of the AUTHORITY of the Bible. In opposition to this "true and godly teaching," certain "learned scholars" have devised other ways to learn the truth, including innumerable laws, statutes, and articles like canon law and rules for religious orders.

In expounding the parable of the great banquet (Matt 22:2-14; Luke 14:16-24), Luther commented on the incident of the one who took a place of honor and was later demoted (Luke 14:7-11). He applied this parable to the canon of the mass, which occupied a place of honor; but "it should now get up with shame and give place to Christ, its master, and sit in the lowest place, as it should properly have done in the beginning."

The central Lutheran concept of grace and faith alone is likewise reflected in Luther's parable interpretation. The foolish virgins had "served without oil," which implied for Luther that they had done good works on their own resources and not by virtue of grace. In the parable of the good Samaritan the priest and the Levite were "ministers of the Law." The dichotomy between the actions of the priest and the Levite and those of the Samaritan shows that "the Law makes sin known, but Christ heals through faith and restores man to the grace of God."

With Calvin even more than with Luther there is an absence of allegorizing and a directness that seeks to go immediately to the central point of the parable. In the parables of the good Samaritan and the laborers in the vineyard, which were frequently allegorized, Calvin manifested a marked restraint. He maintained that Jesus' primary purpose in giving the parable of the good Samaritan was to show that neighborliness obliges us to do our duty to each other, duty that is not restricted to friends and relations but is open to the whole human race.

In his analysis of the laborers in the vineyard, Calvin criticized those who would examine the parable's details or who would find the Jews and the Gentiles in it. According to him, such efforts represent "empty curiosity" and a "cleverness that is out of place." There is no hidden symbolism in the denarius or in the various hours when the laborers were hired. Christ's one aim in this parable was to encourage perseverance. However, like Luther, Calvin found theological and doctrinal motifs in the parables. The story of the laborers in the vineyard points to divine sovereignty: God is under obligation to no one and calls whom God wills. Furthermore, God pays those who have been called the reward that seems good to God. The parable of the Pharisee and the publican (Luke 18:9-14) reflects divine sovereignty and grace and human depravity. Jesus con-

demns human pretention, pride, and a depraved self-trust in the Pharisee, who denies God's grace and places his trust in the merit of his own works.

Although Luther's and Calvin's interpretations are not entirely free of allegorization, the two nevertheless centered their attention on the historical and literal sense of the parables. Their exegesis grounded the sayings in a focused and meaningful theological and ethical framework.

4. Modern Period. The so-called modern period in biblical interpretation can be dated from the advent and development of biblical criticism, from the latter part of the eighteenth century to the present. During this period the Bible has been subjected to the same scrutiny and rigorous analysis as has any other literature. In parable interpretation a number of new methodologies appeared.

An exception to this trend must be noted first, however: R. Trench (1807–86), whose *Notes on the Parables of Our Lord* was for many years the standard English work on the parables. Published in 1841 and appearing in many subsequent editions, Trench's work set forth a number of principles or guidelines for parable interpretation: e.g., one should distinguish the parable's central truth from all cognate truths that border on it; one must pay careful attention to the introduction and the application of a parable; one should not use the parables as primary sources and bases of theological doctrine. A man of immense learning and erudition, Trench nevertheless was reluctant to employ the new critical methods being developed in his time. He looked back to the church fathers; and in spite of principles seemingly to the contrary, he found allegorization a congenial method of parable interpretation.

Perhaps the first English-language interpreter of the parables to employ higher criticism was A. BRUCE. He rejected allegorization in favor of the historical and linguistic senses of the parables, and he was among the first to propose a scheme of parable classification.

The most influential modern interpreter of the parables was A. JÜLICHER, whose two-volume *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* (2 vols., 1888, 1899^2) set a new direction in interpretation, one that had a widespread impact on subsequent scholarship. Jülicher maintained that although the parabolic speech of Jesus may vary in form, the basic unit is always the simile. Unlike metaphor and allegory, simile needs no interpretation; it is clear and self-explanatory. Because the function of simile is to teach, there is no need for questions regarding its meaning and intention. Jülicher's rejection of allegorization was nearly total. He attributed the instances of allegorization in the parables, not to Jesus, but to the early church, maintaining that the parables are characterized by literal speech and are self-explanatory. Parables are related to real life; their intention is to convey a point or moral, and their function is to compel the reader to form a judgment. Jülicher concluded that parables are intended to illuminate one point: a rule, an idea, or an experience that is as valid on the spiritual as on the secular level.

The relationship between Jesus' parables and those in rabbinical writings was explored especially by C. Bugge (1853–1928) and P. Fiebig (1876–1949). Both Bugge (1895) and Fiebig (1904) criticized Jülicher for his non-acquaintance with rabbinical literature and his bias toward Greek and particularly Aristotelian thought. Jesus was a Jew and an oriental, they argued; consequently, he thought concretely and intuitively rather than abstractly. They maintained that Jülicher should have turned to rabbinical writings because these, rather than the Greek, represent the closest approximation to Jesus' parables.

One of the central theme of the parables is the kingdom of God. Protestant liberalism tended to emphasize the imminent, evolutionary, spiritual, and moral aspects of the kingdom. Contrary to this viewpoint, J. WEISS and A. SCHWEITZER emphasized its transcendent and apocalyptic dimensions (see APOCALYPTICISM). Jesus' view of the kingdom of God was radically otherworldly, rather than evolutionary and ethical. This recovery of the eschatological understanding had a marked impact on subsequent parable scholarship.

Emphasizing the eschatological element in Jesus' teaching, C. H. DODD began a new era in parable study (1935). He set forth a twofold purpose: to explore the eschatological dimensions of the parables and to determine the original intention of a given parable in its historical setting.

Dodd followed Jülicher in rejecting allegorization. However, Dodd was not convinced that in the parables Jesus simply intended to teach great and enduring moral and religious truths. While Jülicher laid the foundation for the right understanding of the parables, his method must be supplemented by an attempt to relate them to their particular setting in the eschatological crisis created by Jesus' ministry; that setting should determine their original meaning and application. The parables were given in the context of "realized eschatology" in which the *eschaton* had moved from the future to the present, from the sphere of expectation into that of realized experience. While parables are works of art and have significance and application beyond their original occasion, one must nevertheless understand them in terms of the realized eschatology in the life and ministry of Jesus.

Acknowledging his indebtedness to Dodd and Jülicher, J. JEREMIAS (1947, 1954^2) thought that an additional approach was needed. The main task that remained was to recover the original meaning of the parables.

Jeremias noted that each of the parables was given in an actual situation of Jesus' life. They were chiefly apologetic in nature, primarily weapons of conflict, and had an existential dimension in that each of them called

for immediate response. The task of the interpreter is to recover their distinct historical settings. However, following FORM CRITICISM, Jeremias pointed out that our return to Jesus via the parables must of necessity be from the primitive church. Thus the parables have a double historical location—an original setting in some particular moment of Jesus' activity and another grounded in the life of the primitive church. Before they assumed a written form they "lived" in the early Christian community, which employed them for purposes of preaching and teaching. Jeremias maintained that as we attempt to reconstruct the original setting of the parables we meet with certain "definite principles of transformation," which he grouped under ten headings.

In addition to the ten principles of transformation, Jeremias suggested that the parables and similes fall naturally into ten groups and that the major reference of these ten themes is eschatological. Nonetheless, they also have an existential dimension because it is clear that all of Jesus' parables compel his hearers to come to a decision about his person and mission.

Later parable interpreters have acknowledged their indebtedness to Jeremias, Dodd, and Jülicher but have introduced new motifs. The eschatological setting of the parables that Dodd and Jeremias emphasized became the central focus in the so-called new HERMENEUTIC. Coupled with this has been a new understanding of the nature of language and of the existential aspect of the parables.

The new hermeneutic developed through dialogue between theologians in Germany and in the United States and centered primarily on the writings of E. FUCHS and G. Ebeling (b. 1912), who had been students of R. BULTMANN. It began with the publication of Fuchs's *Hermeneutik* in 1954. Drawing on motifs found in Bultmann and especially in Heidegger's later works, Fuchs wrote about Jesus' understanding of his own existence and situation, maintaining that the best, though not exclusive, sources for apprehending this understanding are the parables. Fuchs called the parables "language-events," for in them Jesus expressed his understanding of his situation in the world and before God, thus creating the possibility of the hearer's sharing that situation. The pictorial language of parable has the potential to change the hearer's existence and his relationship to reality, e.g., to Jesus, to God, and to the kingdom of God.

Another trend, which developed in the United States, views the parables in their literary and aesthetic dimensions. This approach was especially influenced by the writings of A. WILDER. Among those identified with this movement are N. PERRIN, R. FUNK, D. Via (b. 1928), and J. D. Crossan (b. 1934).

Perrin's (1976) basic concern was to bring to the forefront of contemporary discussion the hermeneutical interaction between author, text, and reader. The "hermeneutical moment" is realized when a text is read and interpreted by an individual and a dynamic relationship ensues between person and text.

The central theme of Funk's analysis (1966; 1982) is the distinction between simile and metaphor, particularly the literary study of the nature of metaphor. While a simile is illustrative, metaphorical language creates meaning. However, the parable or metaphor also has an existential character because it is incomplete until the hearer is drawn into it as a participant.

Perhaps the most significant study of the parables since Jeremias is Via's *The Parables: Their Literary and Existential Dimension* (1967). Via begins at the literary level and maintains that the parables must be seen as works of art, genuine aesthetic objects that are carefully organized, self-contained, and coherent literary compositions. He emphasizes the non-referential character of the parables: Their revelatory character cannot be traced to their author's biography or environment, for as works of literary art the only important consideration is their internal meaning. By approaching the parables as aesthetic objects, one gains fresh insight into their existential and theological dimensions.

Crossan, like Funk and Via, is interested in the literary and linguistic aspects of the parables. In a succinct definition he states that a parable is a metaphor of normalcy that is intended to create participation in its referent. Unlike Via, Crossan is much concerned about the relationship between the parables and the historical Jesus (1973). The parables provide an avenue to the historical Jesus: They express and contain the temporality of Jesus' experience of God, and they proclaim and establish the historicity of his response to the kingdom.

Crossan uses three terms or categories that he regards as basic for an understanding of all the parables as well as the whole message of Jesus: advent, reversal, and action. He views these categories as "three modes of the Kingdom's temporality." Its advent is a gift of God, which in turn can bring a reversal of the recipient's world; but it also empowers for life and action.

B. Scott's commentary (1989) analyzes Jesus' parables in their literary context within the Gospels (and within the *Gospel of Thomas*), in their development within the oral tradition of the early church, and in their situation within the life and ministry of Jesus. Informed by the work of several modern interpreters, Scott endeavors to reconstruct an originating structure for each parable and to determine how that structure affects the parable's meaning. He sees a "parabolic effect" in the interaction between the story told and the kingdom referred to. Of particular interest is Scott's use of methods from the social sciences (see SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC CRITICISM) to clarify the social world in which Jesus' parables arose.

It appears evident that developing trends in parable interpretation reflect a decreasing emphasis on histori-

cal, moralistic, and theological concerns and an increasing emphasis on the LITERARY-critical, existential, and social aspects of the parabolic speech of Jesus.

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W. S. KISSINGER

PARACELSUS (1493–1541)

Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus ab Hohenheim was a German alchemist, physician, and mystic; he has become an almost legendary figure who is one of the most bizarre characters in the history of science. He coined the name P. from Latin, claiming thereby to be above the famed Celsus, a first-century Roman physician and encyclopedist. Born near Einsiedeln, Switzerland, of German parentage, he studied medicine at the universities of Basel, Tübingen, Vienna, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Heidelberg, and Cologne but distrusted them all. Although he took a degree in medicine from Vienna in 1510, he always claimed that his doctoral degree had been awarded by the University of Ferrara in 1516, where the faculty was influenced by Renaissance humanism. He also studied under Trithemius, abbot of Sponheim, who instilled in him a deep devotion to both the Bible and the mystical Jewish KABBALAH.

Throughout his life P. traveled extensively, insisting that human experience was a far greater teacher than the "high colleges" that produced so many "high asses." In 1526 he was appointed town physician and (against the wishes of the faculty) university lecturer on medicine at Basel, where he was in contact with, and praised by, the printer Frobenius (c. 1460–1527) and ERASMUS. However, his revolutionary tactics, outrageous behavior, and belligerently argumentative and scathing style led to his dismissal a year later. He openly repudiated the long-accepted views of Aristotle, Galen, and Avicenna, whose textbooks he publicly burned to the delight of his students and the dismay of his colleagues. From 1527 to his death he wandered about southern Germany and Austria until invited in 1541 to settle in Salzburg under the protection of the archbishop. He lived there only a few months before dying.

C. JUNG declared P. "a pioneer not only of chemical medicine but of empirical psychology and psychotherapy." For P. these were the same. He perceived the human body as a "microcosm" corresponding to the "macrocosm" of nature and held that a proper understanding of the relations between these two could cure all disease. Intellectually he was a typically medieval thinker who boldly faced the new humanism of the Renaissance. His opinions were firmly theistic, though unorthodox; at the same time Neoplatonic views, derived from PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA and others, contributed to his thought. Traces of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and of Gnosticism (see GNOSTIC INTERPRETATION) can be found throughout his voluminous writings, and his attachment to the mystical power of the Kabbalah led him to delve into the Bible for its insights on humanity and the universe. He saw the world as a mixture of naturalism with supernaturalism and of mysticism with science. As an interpreter of Scripture he placed great reliance on "the creative power of the imagination."

P.'s commentaries on the HB include all the psalms, the Ten Commandments (see DECALOGUE), Daniel, and a portion of Isaiah. His NT commentaries include the Gospels of Matthew and John, the letters of Peter, James, Jude, and the JOHANNINE LETTERS. He also wrote many sermons and meditations on the Virgin Mary, the Trinity, the sacraments, and purgatory. He read the psalms from a Christian point of view: Thus Psalm 105 teaches the missionary enterprise of the church as the true praise of God; Psalm 138 shows where the true

church is in relation to theodicy and predestination; Psalm 144 depicts the battle of parents for their children and their future; Psalm 147 presents the new Jerusalem and its relation to prevailing Christianity; and Psalm 150 portrays the ideal image of heavenly Jerusalem as the ultimate praise of God. His exposition of the Ten Commandments found in the first the doctrine of the Trinity and of Christ's deliverance of humankind, and his commentary on Daniel presented the exegetical principle that the book's object is the battle against false Christianity. Thus Dan 3:1 treats of the end of the papacy, and Daniel 4 raises the question of whether Turks and Muscovites are to be heirs of king and pope after the present age. P. expounded the theological position of angels, the purpose of existing kingdoms and states, and the spiritual development of Christianity. In the NT P. saw considerable reference to divine magic: the star announcing the birth of Christ, the visit of the magi, stories of the miracles of Christ, Christ's encounters with the numinous, and demonic stars as signs revealing what was hidden rather than as a causative agent for what occurred on earth.

An independent biblical expositor, P. wrote from decades of practical experience, with Olympian self-confidence. The structure of his thought was conditioned by his career as a physician, and his influence has been great.

Works: *P.: Selected Writings* (ed. J. Jacobi, tr. N. Guterman, 1951), with preface on life and works; *Sämtliche Werke,* Zweite Abteilung, *Theologische und Religionsphilosophische Schriften,* Bd. 3, *Dogmatische und polemische Einzelschriften* (ed. W. Goldammer, 1986); Bd. 4–7, *Auslegung des Psalters Davids* (1955–87) 1-115; Bd. 7, *Auslegung über die zehn Gebote Gottes* (1987) 117-359.

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J. M. BULLARD

PARKER, THEODORE (1810–60)

Born in Lexington, Massachusetts, May 24, 1810, P. pursued private study, passing non-resident Harvard examinations in 1830–31, and graduated from Harvard Divinity School in 1836. He served as a private teacher in Watertown, Massachusetts (1831–33), as a Unitarian pastor in Roxbury, Massachusetts (1837–46), and at the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society in Boston (1846–59). He died in Florence, Italy, May 10, 1860.

P. was one of the foremost intellectual and social liberals during the pre–Civil War era in the United States. He lectured, wrote, and preached on a number of reformist causes and for years campaigned against slavery. He believed it possible to distinguish between the permanent and the transient aspects of Christianity, opposed creedal declarations, particularly christological ones, and worked to moderate the AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE—"this idol which men have made of the Scripture."

Amassing a private library of over 13,000 volumes, P. helped to disseminate German thought in the United States. As one of the editors of the moderate *Scriptural Interpreter* (pub. 1831–36), he acquainted its readers with European thought, providing an English summary of J. ASTRUC's 1753 work and introducing W. DE WETTE's work into New England. His translation and expansion of de Wette's OT introduction to the Bible (2 vols., 1843), which went through four English editions (1867^4), was practically a new work; P.'s annotations and additions make up about half of the English version. In his preface, P. stated that he was originally undecided over whether to call the work a translation of de Wette's introduction or an introduction on the basis of de Wette. P. corresponded with and visited de Wette, H. EWALD, and other German scholars, reporting on his meetings with them and offering a somewhat unique, sympathetic evaluation of German scholarship. The work of P. and of other American scholars made de Wette one of the best-known and appreciated foreign scholars in the United States.

Works: "D. F. Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu,*" *Christian Examiner* 38 (1840) 273-316; *A Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion* (1842); *Sermons of Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology* (1853); *Collected Works* (Centenary edition, 15 vols., 1907–13).

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J. H. HAYES

PARROT, ANDRÉ (1901–80)

An important French archaeologist, P. was born at Desandans, Doubs, in 1901 and studied at the French School of ARCHAEOLOGY at Jerusalem, remaining there

to serve the Lutheran Church as a pastor. From 1931 to 1967 he directed digs at Tello and Larsa in Iraq, then at Mari in Syria (1933–74), for which he is chiefly remembered. In 1936 he was appointed professor in the Protestant theological faculty of Paris; and in 1937, professor at the École du Louvre. He became chief conservator of oriental antiquities of the Louvre Museum in 1946, rising to the post of director in 1968. He died in Paris.

P. recovered more than 20,000 clay tablets from the excavations at Mari on the Euphrates. Principally from the royal palace archives, these tablets were composed mainly during the reign of Zimri-lin (18th cent. BCE), and their texts have significantly amplified the historical understanding of western Asia, especially regarding the social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds of the HB world. P.'s voluminous works on ancient Near Eastern literature, history, architecture, and philology are marked by clarity, humor, enthusiasm, and authority.

Works: *Mari, une ville perdue et retrouvée par l'archeologie française* (1936); *Malédictions et Violations de Tombes* (1939); *Tello, vingt campagnes de fouilles* (1948); *Les Archives Royales de Mari* (9 vols., 1950–60); *Discovering Buried Worlds* (1955); *Nineveh and the OT* (1955); *Studies in Biblical Archaeology: The Flood and Noah's Ark* (1955); *The Temple at Jerusalem* (1955); *The Tower of Babel* (1955); *Mission archéologique de Mari* (4 vols., 1956–68); *Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre* (1957); *Babylon and the OT* (1958); *Samaria, the Capital of the Kingdom of Israel* (1958); *Sumer* (1960); *The Arts of Assyria* (ET 1961); *Assur* (1961); *Abraham et son Temps* (1962); *Les Temples d'Ishtarat et de Ninnizaza* (1967); *Land of Christ: Archaeology, History, Geography* (ET 1968); *Les Phénicians: L'expansion phénicienne Carthage* (1975); *L'Aventure archéologique* (1979).

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J. M. BULLARD

PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS (c. 790–c. 860)

Little is known of P.'s early life except for the few references in Englemodus of Soissons' laudatory poem, "Ad Ratbertum Abbatem." Apparently left as an infant in the care of the nuns at St. Mary's Abbey at Soissons, where a cousin of Charlemagne, Theodrada, was abbess, he entered the abbey of Corbie while in his early twenties. Here two brothers of Theodrada served as abbots (780–835). Some scholars have hypothesized that P. was related to the royal family or that he served at the royal court for a time before entering Corbie. Never ordained a priest, he was a catechetical instructor at Corbie, where he taught Scripture and for a time served as abbot (c. 843–c. 851). Facing opposition from his monks, he withdrew to the monastery of Saint-Riquier (Centula) but later returned to Corbie, where he died.

P.'s theological writings on the Eucharist and Mariology were significant and highly influential in the medieval church. Three exegetical works survive: an exposition of Psalm 44; a commentary on Lamentations that treated the book as an independent work rather than as an integral part of the book of Jeremiah; and a massive commentary on Matthew in twelve books, initially begun as a by-product of his teaching but written over an extended period of time. In his exegesis he was heavily dependent on earlier sources; the wealth of extracts from the church fathers in the commentary on Matthew was a major source for the later GLOSSA ORDINARIA. Although P. read various levels of meaning into the text, varying between two and three spiritual senses, he nevertheless could understand the text in a very literal fashion as is evidenced by his argument for the physical presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist on the basis of Jesus' statement, "This is my body."

P.'s attraction to Lamentations was perhaps partially stimulated by the troubled times in which he lived, which he saw as analogous to the turmoil reflected in the biblical texts. His Latin text of Lamentations shows affinities to non-VULGATE Spanish texts. Taking a rhetorical approach to the book, he saw chapter 5 as the summation and climax. P.'s eucharistic and Mariological interests clearly pervade the Matthew commentary, and he also incorporated a Mariological reading into his exposition of the Song of Songs. For him, Scripture was a mystery and a sacrament whose comprehension parallels an understanding of the incarnation. Following TYCONIUS's fourth rule of "species and genus," he read events and statements in the text as allegorical pointers and embodiments of higher, especially ecclesiological, truths.

Works: *Opera* (ed. J. Sirmond, 1618); *PL* 120; *Expositio in Matheo libri XII* (CCCM 56a-c, ed. B. Paulus, 1984); *Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae libri quinque* (CCCM 85, ed. B. Paulus, 1988); *Expositio in Psalmen XLIV* (CCCM 94, ed. B. Paulus, 1991).

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J. H. HAYES

PASTORAL LETTERS

This designation for 1–2 Timothy and Titus is generally accepted as due to P. Anton (1726), although he did not restrict it to these letters alone (see P. Harrison [1921] 13-16).

1. Early Period. These three letters formed a recognized group from the beginning and as letters to individuals were usually followed by Philemon in canonical lists (in the Muratorian canon they follow Philemon) and in manuscripts. They also usually follow the order 1–2 Timothy, Titus, although in both Muratori and Ambrosiaster, Titus precedes 1–2 Timothy; in the latter, Colossians is inserted between them. Found neither in MARCION'S CANON nor in P^{46}, they are first quoted as Pauline by IRENAEUS (*Adv. Haer.* 1.16.3, 2.14.7, 3.14.1). CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA wrote that some heretics rejected 1–2 Timothy (*Strom.* 2.11). TERTULLIAN maintained that Marcion accepted Philemon but rejected the Pastorals (*Adv. Marc.* 5.21), although it may be that he was unaware of their existence. In the prologue to his commentary on Titus, JEROME alleged that TATIAN rejected 1–2 Timothy and that ORIGEN provided a commentary on Titus but none on 1–2 Timothy. Origen's commentary is not extant, but it would have been the earliest on any of these books.

From the beginning of the third century the letters were accepted as canonical. The patristic commentaries rarely went further than a simple expansion of the text, and the letters exercised little influence except in the liturgies and church orders (C. Spiq [1969] 1:11-14; W. Lock [1924] xxxviii-xli). Different views were taken among the fathers as to whom the author attacked. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 1, preface 1) and Tertullian (*Adv. Valent.* 3) took the opponents to be Gnostics (see GNOSTIC INTERPRETATION). Later, when the Gnostic peril had subsided, the letters were regarded as being directed against Jews or Judaizers (e.g., Theodore of Mopsuestia and Chrysostom on 1 Tim 1:14). CHRYSOSTOM, unable to deny their Hellenistic element, suggested that PAUL prophesied about the Gnostics. The purpose of the letters was generally seen as giving directions for church leaders (e.g., Muratori) with the subsidiary aim of defeating heretics (see G. Wohlenberg [1923] 37-41; P. Trummer [1978] 15-19). For lists and discussion of patristic commentaries see Spicq (1969, 1:11-14); Lock (xli-xlii); and C. Turner (1905, 5:489-521).

2. Reformation. During this period no doubts were expressed about the authenticity of the letters. CALVIN viewed them as useful for setting in order the many failings of the church (preface to 1 Timothy). Since many Protestant scholars had begun to regard Scripture as providing the essential basis for their own church order, the letters were examined closely, especially in relation to whether they distinguish between bishops and presbyters (elders). Most denominations used them in their ordinals, although they understood them differently.

3. Modern Period. Although J. Schmidt (1804) had earlier voiced doubts, F. SCHLEIERMACHER (1807) was the first to question directly the authenticity of the letters, though only of 1 Timothy, basing his argument on linguistic considerations. J. G. EICHHORN (1812) was the first to impugn the authenticity of all three letters; he regarded their content as Pauline, but written by a disciple. F. C. BAUR (1835, 8-39) provided the first systematic challenge, arguing that they could be understood only against the background of the second-century Gnostic movement, which they were written to rebut. Since Marcion did not know them they must have been written after his time and were probably directed against him. Many scholars supported Baur in his rejection of Pauline authorship, although they did not always date them as late as he did or accept their anti-Marcionite nature.

a. Holtzmann's interpretation and influence. The classical nineteenth-century treatment opposing Pauline authorship is that of H. HOLTZMANN (1880). He not only provided a history of earlier interpretation during that century (7-15) but set out in great detail the areas on which discussion has centered ever since. Negatively he pointed to: (1) the difficulty of finding a place for the Pastorals in Paul's known lifetime; (2) difficulties in relation to Timothy and Titus; and (3) the un-Pauline nature of their language and style. In his positive development of the thought of the letters he pointed to: (4) the heresy they attack, which fits a period later than Paul's lifetime; (5) their doctrinal teaching; (6) the ecclesiastical organization they depict; and (7) the external evidence.

i. Relation to Paul's lifetime. The letters indicate that Paul was imprisoned when writing 2 Timothy but free at the time of 1 Timothy and Titus. Since in 2 Tim 4:6 he is about to die and the three letters form a unit, all three must have been written toward the end of his life and during his final imprisonment in Rome. Since prior to that imprisonment he is envisaged as making a journey to Macedonia (1 Tim 1:3), leaving Titus in Crete and spending a winter in Nicopolis (Titus 3:12), and

since there is no place in Acts into which these and other data can be fitted, some scholars have concluded that after the imprisonment of Acts 28 Paul was set free, traveled in the East, and was imprisoned again in Rome. During this imprisonment he wrote 2 Timothy and shortly thereafter was executed. Those who defend this view differ as to the date of execution, choosing either 64 or 67 CE. The suggestion of a second Roman imprisonment can be traced back as far as EUSEBIUS (*Hist. ecc.* 2.22.2). However, all this entails a reconstruction of Paul's life for which there is no support in Acts; moreover, Acts 20:25 suggests that Paul did not travel again to the East (on possible journeys by Paul see W. Metzger [1976]). Increasing doubts as to the reliability of Acts have not served to soften this attack since those who defend the authenticity of the Pastorals usually also defend the reliability of Acts (on the question of whether all, some, or none of the historical data are fictitious see A. Hanson [1982] 14-23).

ii. Difficulties regarding Timothy. Holtzmann argued that if we assume a second imprisonment for Paul, Timothy by that time must have been no longer a youth; yet he is bidden to flee youthful lusts (2 Tim 2:22) and to allow no one to despise his youth (1 Tim 4:12). Paul advises him as a catechuman rather than as the mature Christian he must then have been. It is also surprising that Paul should write to him in such detail after just having left him.

iii. Un-Pauline language and style. Holtzmann devoted considerable space to this argument. Harrison (1921, 18-86) extended his line of approach, providing an exhaustive analysis and pointing out that (a) there is a high number of *hapax legomena*; (b) words appearing in both the Pastorals and in the genuine Paulines are often used differently; (c) the same thing is said with different words; (d) favorite Pauline particles and many words characteristic of Pauline theology are absent; (e) un-Pauline grammatical constructions are used; (f) the letters are generally less vivid, intense, and dynamic than the genuine Paulines; (g) the letters, being similar in these various points, form a distinct group; (h) the language of the letters approximates more closely that of the apostolic fathers and of the apologists than that of Paul. Since Harrison's arguments are based on statistics, statistical experts have refined them and provided a sounder basis than simple enumeration (P. Trummer [1978] 28-34; see K. Grayston and G. Herdan [1959] and the more detailed work of S. Michaelson and A. Morton [1973] with various associates). Ignoring many of the above points, Morton turned the discussion into new areas by examining features characteristic of a writer (sentence length, use of simple words like *and*, etc.), which he claims are unaffected by an author's age or subject matter. Defenders of Pauline authenticity (e.g., Spicq [1969] 1:179-200) have concentrated their attention on showing errors in Harrison's work (e.g., the fact that words are first found in the apostolic fathers apart from the Pastorals is no proof that they were unknown in Paul's day and that more evidence has turned up since Harrison wrote; see D. Guthrie [1957] 212-28). More positively, it is argued that changes in subject matter ensure the introduction of new words, that writers develop, and that increasing age (Paul would have been an old man when writing the Pastorals) affects vigor of style.

iv. Attack on heresy. The Pastorals reject false teaching, and Holtzmann indicated that scholars had taken its source to lie in one or more of four areas: Gnosticism, Judaism or Judaizers, Samaritan Gnosis (Simon), or Essenism. The last two are no longer taken seriously as direct sources for the alleged heresy, although the teachings of Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) may be seen as part of Judaism and as influencing the growth of Gnosticism. The first two views were held by various church fathers (see sec. 1 above). Some scholars have identified the heresy as that of particular Gnostic sects (Baur, 8-39; thought of Marcion). Such identifications would be difficult if the letters are dated in the earlier part of the second century and impossible if regarded as Pauline. Continuing discussion of the nature and origin of Gnosticism has not completely clarified the issues, nor have the discoveries at Nag Hammadi led to a more precise identification, although J. Sell (1982) sees a connection with *Thomas the Contender* (CG II 138.1-145.23). Meanwhile, many scholars, especially those wishing to defend Pauline authorship, have seen the heretics as Jewish Christians (e.g., Spicq, 91); this permits their placement in Paul's lifetime, although it is not claimed that the heresy is the same as that encountered by Paul in Galatia. Most scholars, however, appear to view the heresy as linked to the beginning of Gnosticism but as also including strong Jewish elements (e.g., G. Haufe [1973]; see also W. Lütgert [1909], N. Brox [1969] 31-42). It is generally agreed that the heresy was ascetic rather than christological. There is also a growing tendency to use a more neutral term than *heresy* and speak of a faction within the church that the writer opposes.

v. Doctrinal teaching. Holtzmann's conclusions on the teaching of the letters, although not directly addressing the question of authenticity, entailed an author much later than Paul. In particular he found teaching on the law, christology, justification, and faith that differed from Paul's and an un-Pauline emphasis on piety, together with a stress on good works, to be signs of a growing orthodoxy. Although Holtzmann did not use the term, later critics would describe these emphases, when allied with the stress on church order (see below), as indicating early Catholicism. Since A. DEISSMANN the absence of Christ-mysticism has been emphasized. Those who defend Pauline authorship explain these differences by arguing that genuine Pauline theology is

not entirely absent, that his theology was never stereotyped, that a changed situation would lead to new elements, and that an imitator would never omit key Pauline doctrines.

vi. Ecclesiastical organization. In his discussion of the nature of the order of the community envisaged in the Pastorals (he surveyed such matters as bishops, elders, deacons, widows, worship, church discipline), Holtzmann concluded that the form of ministry belongs to the second century rather than to the first. A hardening has taken place; there is an established church; and the spontaneity of the authentic Paulines seen in charismatic activity has almost disappeared. Defenders of Pauline authorship (see, e.g., Guthrie, 24-32) point to Paul's appointment of elders in Acts (14:23; 20:17; these references are taken as historical). As his death approached, Paul necessarily became more interested in arranging the continuance of the church; no actual position is spelled out for him in the church; and the language used of the actual offices is imprecise (Spicq, 70, 73-74). As in earlier years some writers still adopt confessional positions in discussing organization, emphasizing the distinction between laity and hierarchy or the equivalence or non-equivalence of bishops and elders. However, because of the ecumenical movement most commentators no longer attempt to draw from the Pastorals models for church organization today.

The letters themselves do not suggest that the ministerial pattern they set out was intended to be adhered to forever. In comparison with the authentic Pauline letters, the charismatic nature of ministry is minimized in the Pastorals, and its institutional nature is emphasized. This emphasis is in line with a changed view of the nature of the church. The phrases with which Paul linked the church to Christ—body of Christ, bride of Christ—have disappeared, and the church is likened instead to a great household whose head is God. Consequently, much of the instruction on behavior in the church is modeled on the household, and proper conduct is what would be appropriate in a household. This led to the use of the *haustafel* form of Eph 5:22–6:9 and Col 3:18–4:6. H. Hübner (1990, 1:378) can therefore justly characterize the Pastorals as the domestication of early Christianity.

vii. External evidence. Holtzmann (257-75) argued that CLEMENT OF ROME was not acquainted with the Pastorals but that Polycarp was. Although the letters were not expressly quoted until the last third of the second century, their content was known by its middle. Since Holtzmann's time the realization of their use of common catechetical, liturgical, and creedal material (see below) has made estimations of their dependence on others or of others on them much more difficult.

b. Following Holtzmann. Holtzmann indeed set the agenda for the succeeding discussion, although, of course, as new techniques have developed through the application of modern social theory (see M. MacDonald [1983]; D. Verner [1983]) and culture changes, e.g., the rise of the feminist movement, new questions have arisen and have been addressed. In consequence, the delay in the parousia is no longer seen as the main factor controlling the thought of the letters. Insofar as attention has been given to the place of widows in the letters, their position and evaluation appear different from that in the genuine letters of Paul (see J. Bassler [1984]; J. Dewey [1992]; L. Maloney [1994]). No consensus has yet appeared as to whether 1 Tim 3:11 refers to Roman officials or to wives of male deacons.

Closely linked to the issue of the dependence of the Pastoral letters on catechetical and liturgical material is that of date. Upholders of Pauline authorship adhere to a period just prior to his death. Others vary considerably. Baur's original claim that the Pastorals were anti-Marcionite is still upheld (e.g., W. Bauer, 226; H. von Campenhausen [1963] 205-6, 243-45), necessitating a date near the middle of the second century. Most scholars prefer to place them closer to its beginning because of their similarity of thought to that of other writings from that period, but all recognize that they are particularly difficult to date precisely. Those who do not accept as genuine their historical and geographical data generally agree that their provenance is Asia Minor.

If the letters are not by Paul, then who was their actual author? Many suggestions have been made. Luke's influence has regularly been seen, but not many scholars have gone as far as J. Quinn (1990, 19) in suggesting that Luke intended the Pastorals as a third and concluding volume to his Gospel and Acts. Since Holtzmann's time and in agreement with him, those who reject Pauline authorship customarily take the letters to have been written in the order 2 Timothy, Titus, 1 Timothy (the traditional order accords with length) on the basis of development of ministry, literary standpoint, and lessening of personal references (E. Scott [1936] 17-19).

Apart from their response to the arguments of those attacking Pauline authorship, its defenders say that it is improbable that a devout Christian would compose a forgery in Paul's name (e.g., J. Kelly [1963] 33), that there were better ways of passing on Paul's teaching than writing letters in his name, and that the multitude of personalia make the letters read like genuine letters rather than like fictions. Apart from the simple suggestion that the letters are pseudonymous because Paul did not write them, there is a kind of double pseudonymity, for the letters are not directed to the real Timothy and Titus but to the groups that support them. Their real purpose is to instruct these groups on how the church is to be continued.

The cricitism of Holtzmann and others led to Roman Catholic scholars' being forced by a decision of the Pontifical Biblical Commission of 1913 to defend the authenticity of the letters (see Trummer, 25-26). They

were, however, freed from this decision by DIVINO AFFLANTE SPIRITU (1962); and many now no longer accept Pauline authorship.

It cannot be said that since Holtzmann's time the discussion of authenticity has been much advanced. No substantially new arguments have been produced; however, fresh avenues of study have been opened up, mostly, though not entirely, pioneered by those who view the letters as coming from a time later than Paul. Rejection of Pauline authorship allows the letters to be treated as deriving from a single author who wrote for his own community and not another, and whose thinking should be studied in its own right. This has raised the question of whether the letters' author is merely a compiler of traditional material and views or a consistent theologian (see Trummer, 161-226; L. Donelson [1986] 129-54; H. von Lips [1979] for attempts to set out his thinking), even if one who is not as profound as Paul or the Fourth Evangelist. Much study of the letters in the past was dominated by the quest to show how they repeated, modified, and misunderstood the genuine Paulines. It was always, however, accepted that the Pastorals stood a stage farther away from Paul than Ephesians and Colossians. Before turning to new attempts to understand the Pastorals, it is necessary to point to two approaches that have attempted to find a middle ground for those who wish to retain a connection with Paul while accounting for evidence that suggests he did not write the letters.

First, the letters have been held to contain genuine Pauline fragments. Initially proposed by Credner (1836) and Hitzig (1843; see Harrison, 94), this became a widespread theory after Holtzmann (see J. Moffatt [1918] 402-6). Harrison (86-135), who provided the most detailed presentation of the theory, discovered clusters of Pauline terms and thought that enabled him to separate five fragments, place them in Paul's own lifetime as revealed in Acts, and account for the existence of the personalia. Different scholars identify fragments differently (Harrison later decided that there were only three); this lack of unanimity has led to skepticism about the attempt, as has also the letters' supposed nature and the way the author of the Pastorals is alleged to have dismembered them. As a variation of this theory R. Falconer (1937, 5-19; cf. P. Dornier [1965] 25) held that a disciple of Timothy worked over a number of brief genuine letters to adapt them for his own period.

Second, it is claimed that the use of a secretary would account for linguistic differences from the accepted Paulines (on secretaries in the ancient world see O. Roller [1933] 18-22 and notes 120-40; see also E. Richards [1991]). H. Schott (1830) first suggested this, proposing Luke as the secretary (Silvanus and Tychicus have also been suggested). If Paul was manacled (2 Tim 1:16; 2:9), a secretary would have been essential. (Roller suggested a secretary only for 2 Timothy, but the unitary style and thought of the three letters would necessitate the same secretary for all.) The linguistic differences from Paul, however, require some freedom on the part of the secretary; and linguistic freedom entails a degree of theological freedom. The thought of the letters cannot then be purely Pauline.

Work on the Pastorals as well as on other NT letters has led to a renewed examination of the attitude of the ancient world to pseudonymity. (For the discussion with its particular reference to the Pastorals see Brox, 60-61; Donelson, 1-66; Guthrie [1965]; D. Meade [1986] 118-60.) If the letters are pseudonymous, then the mass of personalia suggests that the writer was consciously aware of what he was doing and that the letters of Paul were well known.

If Paul was not the author, either directly or indirectly, who was? Luke has been regularly suggested (see F. Strobel [1969]), although others have also been proposed (Polycarp, by Campenhausen). Lukan authorship, argued on linguistic, theological, and historical grounds, is attractive to some scholars as preserving a link with Paul, although this attractiveness is lost if the author of Luke–Acts was not Paul's medical companion (so S. Wilson [1979]). Other scholars have followed Morton, using different parameters and methods in applying statistics (e.g., A. Kenny [1986]; K. Neumann [1990]; D. Mealand [1995]), facilitated through the use of computers, although it cannot be said that they have significantly modified his results.

Are they, however, genuine letters? They lack the personal and emotional tone one would expect if writer and recipient knew each other, although it was not uncommon in the ancient world to use letters for the purpose of instruction. The genre of Titus has thus been taken by many to be testamentary (A. Hultgren [1984] 27) rather than epistolary. Without naming an author, attempts have been made to characterize him: not a first-generation Christian, probably Jewish, the holder of a clerical office (Brox, 57); a child of Christian parents, a monarchical bishop, a conventional gentile Christian (Campenhausen, 207-10); influenced by Stoic and Cynic teaching (B. Fiore [1986]); governed by the logic of ancient rhetorical argumentation (Donelson, 67-113).

With the rise of FORM CRITICISM increasing attention has been paid to the traditional material (see A. Hanson [1982] 42-47 for listing) within the letters. The "faithful sayings" (G. Knight [1968]), the creed or hymn of 1 Tim 3:16 (W. Stenger [1977]; W. Metzger [1979]), the vice and virtue lists (N. McEleny [1974]), and the *Haustafeln* (Verner) have all been examined in detail, as has the genre of the letters (Spicq 34-46; Donelson 67-113). As new tools have come into use in NT criticism, they have been applied to the Pastorals, e.g., concepts of ancient rhetoric (Donelson 67-113; Fiore) and sociological techniques (Verner; see SOCIOLOGY AND NT STUDIES). The rise of feminism (see FEMINIST INTER-

PRETATION) has led to a clearer delineation of their male-dominated nature. The use of the HB in the letters has also drawn attention (Hanson [1968]). The ethical teaching of the Pastorals is now regularly distinguished from that of Paul as more bourgeois, closer to Hellenistic moral teaching, directed toward *eusebeia* (piety) and dependent on traditional material (Trummer, 227-40; R. Schwarz [1983] 99-121; Donelson, 171-97).

Freed from denominational influence and the need to make a direct connection with Paul, discussion of the nature of the church and its ministry has not lost its impetus (Lips [1979] 94-288; Schwarz, 19-98, 123-71; A. Sand [1976]; A. Lemaire [1971] 123-38). However, it is now more clearly recognized that the emphasis lies more on the selection of correct candidates than on the correctness of church order.

Those accepting Pauline authorship or authorship directly influenced by him have seen the purpose of the letters in much the same way as did the fathers. All others are forced to ask why they were written in Paul's name; thus the view taken of Paul after his death (see A. Lindemann [1979]) becomes important. If we include the quotations of and allusions to the HB among the traditional material, then there is proportionally more of this material in the Pastorals than in any other NT writings. It is generally recognized that the Pastorals represent a stage in the development of Pauline thought beyond that of Ephesians and Colossians and less faithful to the original Paul. Some of Paul's letters must have been known (opinions differ as to which, but certainly Romans and 1 Corinthians; see Lindemann, 136-47), as also his reputation as a letter writer. If different groups were claiming to be his true disciples, was the author putting in his own claim? (D. MacDonald [1983] 57, 76-77, 96, sees the letters as having been written to oppose a conception of Paul as a social radical.) Was Paul being enlisted against or rescued from the heretics (W. Bauer [1971] 228; this idea goes back as far as Baur, 57-58)? If the collection of Paul's letters was the first step in his actualization for a post-Pauline generation, are the Pastorals a further step (Trummer, 100-105)? Are they intended to guard the Pauline legacy against false interpretation (Lindemann, 147) or to ensure its continued effectiveness (E. Scott [1936] xxv)? Is Paul being presented as a paradigm either for church leaders or for all Christians (Donelson, 105-6)?

The Pastorals present a picture of Paul (see Trummer, 116-32) as he appeared to some group at a period after his death. Paul was known to have persecuted the church yet to have been in prison and died a martyr; and both his pre-Christian failures, excused as having been done in ignorance (1 Tim 1:12-16), and his Christian greatness are emphasized: He is the sole apostle; he prophesies (1 Tim 4:1-5; 2 Tim 3:15-16), is a traveling missionary, is concerned with the life of the church, and courageously faces death.

What value do the letters have? Those who adhere to Pauline authorship see them as providing some information about what happened to Paul after the events of Acts 28. Those not accepting the letters as Pauline see them as throwing light on the church at some point in the post-Pauline period. Since their author chose to issue them in Paul's name there must have been an area of the church where his memory was revered; thus the once commonly held view that with his death Paul passed for a time into oblivion must be revised. A living Pauline tradition must have continued. All in all these letters throw light on the belief, ministry, and heresies of at least one part of the church.

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E. BEST

PAUL

1. The Precritical Era. P. has never been easy to understand. From the start, his writings were open to quite different interpretations, even among those who were the most keen on preserving his legacy. In P.'s name Ephesians produced an account of divine mysteries in GNOSTIC language while the PASTORALS made P. conform to the "sound doctrine" of the incipient ecclesiastical tradition. Focusing on the radical elements in P.'s writings, MARCION produced a reading purified of anything that might suggest continuity with Judaism. P. was venerated by Gnostics and hated by Jewish Christians for the same reason: He had done away with HB law. But just that view was denied by mainstream church fathers, who tried to reduce P.'s statements to a self-consistent system that would not contradict HB revelation (M. Wiles [1967]). These very issues—P.'s relation to the legacy of Israel and his consistency—still haunt Pauline interpretation.

P.'s importance to the church was enhanced when his ideas on grace were taken up and developed by AUGUSTINE. P. became a central support for Augustine's doctrines of original sin, human beings' lack of free will, and double predestination.

The Reformation was fought in his name. Holding P.'s teaching of justification by faith to be all important, LUTHER underlined, in the Augustinian vein, that persons can be saved only by divine grace through faith—not by works of the law. "Law" was taken in a very general sense. When P. condemned "works," he had moral activity in general in mind (morality viewed as religious merit). The essence of sin consists in human self-reliance; therefore, those who keep the law are those most opposed to God's will. The purpose of the law is to teach human beings their helplessness and nothingness; it is used by God as "a large and powerful hammer" to crush human "presumption of righteousness" (F. Watson [1986] 2-4; S. Westerholm [1988] 3-12).

While not ignoring P.'s positive statements on the law (it begins to be fulfilled in the believers with the aid of the Spirit), Luther put the main emphasis on P.'s negative assertions. In contrast, CALVIN emphasized P.'s continuity with the HB. P.'s criticisms were not aimed at the biblical revelation itself but rather at a misunderstood "bare law in a narrow sense" as seen "apart from Christ"

(C. Cranfield [1975–79] 859). This inner-Protestant tension still exists in Pauline exegesis.

2. From the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries. Various Reformation commentators freely exploited P. for their own purposes. Things began to change when such scholars as H. GROTIUS and J. LOCKE emphasized the importance of the literary and historical context of each passage (Kümmel [1970; ET 1973] 33-38, 51-54).

Eighteenth-century scholars made a programmatic distinction between historical exegesis and dogmatic exposition. The result, however, was not yet disinterested historical study but rather a series of attempts to purify Christianity from elements that were temporally conditioned in order to turn it into a timeless ethical belief (J. Semler in A. Schweitzer [1911; ET 1912] 4-7). Slightly later and in the same vein, H. Paulus undertook to demonstrate "the agreement between the Gospel and a rational faith" by way of a purely moral interpretation (Schweitzer [ET 1912] 10-11).

F. C. BAUR's analysis of P.'s relation to the primitive Christian community signaled a new era. An attempt to interpret P.'s thought historically had been made shortly before by L. Usteri (1799–1833; see Kümmel [ET 1973] 75-97), who had been anticipated by J. TOLAND and T. MORGAN. However, Baur was the first to anchor P. in place and time—actually, in the midst of fierce conflict.

While Usteri had still held that P.'s ideas were in full agreement with the rest of the NT, Baur claimed that P. had developed his doctrine in complete opposition to that of the primitive community. Baur was assisted in his perception by G. W. F. Hegel's (1770–1831) dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis; but Hegel's importance to him has often been exaggerated. Baur described the conflicts in the early church somewhat schematically and was led to give too late a date to many texts that did not correspond to his idea of an early document. Nonetheless, that P. was involved in conflicts is a fact quite independent of Baur's Hegelian perspective.

In Baur's view, P. opposed Jewish exclusivism (held by the Jerusalem apostles), wishing to replace it with Christian universalism. If individuals could attain righteousness only by the works of the law, then it could only be attained by the Jews. P. alone had understood the universal significance of JESUS, and Pauline Christianity removed all that was particularist from the idea of God.

Baur's view conflicts with the standard Lutheran view. Luther and his followers made a bold generalization: P. was attacking not just Judaism but also the universal human error of trying to earn salvation. Baur, in contrast, connected P.'s theology very closely with his concrete circumstances (Watson, 12-13). One looks in vain for a critique of religious hubris in his account of P. Christianity is superior to Judaism just as the absolute and universal is superior to the particularist and local.

H. Lüdemann (1842–1933) discovered in P. two different ideas of salvation (1872). Alongside a juridical/ethical Jewish doctrine of justification by faith there is a realistic or sacramental/mystical Hellenistic doctrine of redemption associated with baptism; the latter is more important to P. With Lüdemann the questions of the unity of P.'s thought and of its rootedness in either Jewish or gentile soil entered the agenda of scholarship and have remained there ever since.

H. HOLTZMANN's textbook (1897, 1912^2) is a classic monument of liberal theology. In it, too, P.'s "doctrine" appears as a combination of several independent, often contradictory, lines of thought, some of Jewish, others of Greek origin (with a preponderance of the latter). P. was engaged in a mental struggle to combat his own past and also to come to terms with it. His thought is a secondary attempt to make sense of his conversion experience (understood as a breakdown under the burden of the law) in theoretical terms; its permanent value consists in the experience-based religious and moral insight that underlies the theory. However, in P.'s generalization of his personal experience lurks the danger of fanaticism. Liberal exegetes (Holtzmann; J. Weiss [1917; ET 1970]; W. Wrede [1904; ET 1907]) felt free to criticize those aspects of the apostle's thought that did not satisfy them intellectually or religiously.

3. The History-of-Religions Perspective. Liberal scholars recognized the existence of strange elements in P.'s thought but generally played them down, finding greater interest in those layers in which P. seemed attuned to Jesus' (supposedly) simple religion of the heart. Yet from the ranks of the liberals arose some scholars who drew attention to the very oddities that made little sense to the modern mind and even claimed that such features lay at the center of P.'s thought.

H. GUNKEL (1888) argued that P. did not conceive of the "Spirit" in a purely ethical sense but, realistically, as God's supernatural, miracle-working power. The early Christian thought world was thus made to appear strange and puzzling. O. Everling's book on angels in the same year had a similar effect, showing that P. stood in the "late Jewish" angelological and demonological tradition; thus P.'s views were not to be modernized or spiritualized. In 1893 R. KABISCH made a strong case that eschatological expectation lies at the center of P.'s thought. More problematic was his view that everything spiritual goes back to something corporeal, e.g., the Spirit is a super-earthly substance that must be found in one's body if one is to be resurrected.

Kabisch interpreted P. in an extremely anti-modern way, paying no attention to the question of the apostle's contemporary relevance. Unlike H. Lüdemann, he traced P.'s doctrine of salvation back to Jewish eschatology rather than to Hellenistic influences. Kabisch's interpretation was enthusiastically taken over by A. SCHWEITZER, who regarded P. as a thoroughly Jewish and a very

consistent thinker. However, Schweitzer was only able to publish his views in full in 1930 when Pauline scholarship already found itself in a quite new situation.

A splendid provisory synthesis was given by W. WREDE (1904), who underlined the necessity of interpreting P. in purely historical terms. Like Kabisch he recognized the importance of eschatology. He also called attention to P.'s fundamental pessimism, to his sense of relief at being released from the hostile angelic powers of this world, and to his understanding of salvation as an objective event mediated through baptism. Although Wrede was critical of Kabisch's "materialistic metaphysics," he held fast to a "physical" view of redemption. P.'s thoughts on justification by faith are, in contrast, a secondary theory arising from conflicts in which he became involved. P. was not mainly concerned with the destiny of the individual but with that of humankind, i.e., with salvation history. His theology is based on rabbinism and Gnosticism; thus contradictions and problematic assertions are quite common. But P. created a grand overall vision, so much so that he must be regarded as the second founder of Christianity. Wrede sharply posed the problem of "Jesus and P." Unlike Baur and most liberals, he denied that P. was the authentic interpreter of Jesus and suggested the necessity of choosing between the two "founders."

Soon enough the issues were redefined. W. HEITMÜLLER (1912), followed by W. BOUSSET (1921; ET 1970) and R. BULTMANN (1929, 1934), set out to uncover traces of a pre-Pauline Hellenistic Christianity that had existed between the time of the Jerusalem church and P. and whose views P. had adopted and developed further. The real problem was not "Jesus and P.," but "Jesus and Hellenistic Christianity." It became important to ask how P. had handled the inherited (Palestinian and Hellenistic) Christian traditions: What is their relation to the creative reinterpretation and new insights in P.'s letters?

Along with this reorientation went the discovery of analogies to P.'s (or the Hellenistic community's) ideas and sacramental practices from mystery religions, Gnosticism, and Mandaean texts. Taking his cue from 1 Corinthians, R. REITZENSTEIN interpreted P. consistently in terms of Hellenistic mysticism and Gnosticism. Nonetheless, because he failed to deal adequately with many crucial issues (e.g., the law and eschatology), his picture at best serves to underline the multifaceted nature of P.'s thought.

4. The Epoch of Dialectical Theology. At the beginning of the twentieth century, then, there were strong impulses toward a historical study of P.'s thought in the context of Hellenistic religion and culture. In part these leads were followed up in the next few decades. Bultmann elaborated Reitzenstein's view of a Gnostic myth supposed to underlie P.'s theology and interpreted P. against that backdrop, as did his pupils, notably E. KÄSEMANN. In 1933 the latter interpreted "flesh" and "Spirit" as kinds of Gnostic aeons but did not deny the significance of eschatological expectation for P.

Religion-historical analysis was to stay in the background, however, due to the intervention of K. BARTH and dialectial theology. Even Bultmann and Käsemann pursued their radical history-of-religions work (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE) in the theologically charged framework of Barthian neo-orthodoxy. Barth held that contemporary human problems are identical to those P. faced and that P.'s answers should be ours as well. An expositor should wrestle with the text of Romans until all but forgetting that he or she did not write it.

This approach was endorsed by Bultmann, who emphasized the importance of not remaining a detached observer. An interpreter has to clarify the significance of the texts for "me." To do so, one must distinguish between what P. said and what he really meant. Although Bultmann criticized liberal and history-of-religions exegetes for an alleged disinterest in the existential message, his method was structurally similar to theirs. The liberals had found the NT's essential message in the preaching of (a modernized) Jesus and criticized aspects of P.'s theology in its light. Bultmann, by comparison, found the true subject matter of the NT in the human self-understanding manifest in the texts, most clearly in P.'s writing. Thus Bultmann often wrote about "eschatological existence"; but he really meant "authentic existence," as described by the existentialist philosopher M. Heidegger (1889–1976). Temporal eschatological elements in P. were dismissed as mere illustrations of the real message.

For Bultmann, P. was (along with John) a central figure in NT theology; all other formulations were to be gauged by Pauline standards. Yet Bultmann modernized Paul, and his approach was more intellectualist than that of the previous generation. Dialectical theology, turning against "religion" in the name of the *kerygma,* disliked the category of "experience" that had been central to liberal interpreters. Moreover, it had become easier to deemphasize experience in Pauline interpretation since W. KÜMMEL had shown (1929) that P.'s conversion experience had been misconstrued and that P. did not break down under the burden of the law.

Bultmann presented P.'s theology as a coherent system. Its center was anthropological: human existence "prior to the revelation of faith" and then "under faith." In sound Lutheran fashion the individual's relation to God became central again.

Bultmann elaborated Luther's generalized understanding of P.'s critique of the law: P. was really attacking human self-assertion. In Judaism a specifically human striving had taken on a culturally distinct form, and Bultmann drew a desolate caricature of this Jewish legalism. Human effort to achieve salvation by keeping

the law is an expression of human sin, of the need for recognition. Faith is the renunciation of such striving, a new self-understanding in acknowledgment of one's utter dependence on God.

Bultmann was aware of elements that did not rise to the level of P.'s real intentions as Bultmann saw them, e.g., the notion of an eschatological battle with spirit powers or of a "history of salvation" in general. His approach differed from that of his teacher, J. WEISS. Weiss too had discerned different layers in P., maintaining that while the mythico-eschatological level is unimportant to us, P.'s talk of grace and love is seminal. But Weiss had made it clear that the two levels can only be separated in hindsight by modern scholars, and he did not let the separation guide his account of P.'s thought. Bultmann, on the contrary, programmatically refused to distinguish between historical reconstruction and contemporizing interpretation; many exegetes still adhere to this way of seeing the task.

Bultmann's interpretation was rejected by such scholars as O. CULLMANN (1965; ET 1967), J. MUNCK (1954), U. Wilckens (1974), and Kümmel who had a higher view of salvation history and wished to make God's act in Christ, rather than anthropology, the starting point of P.'s theology. Their historical criticism was well founded. However, they failed to see as clearly as Bultmann did how serious a problem it is to make sense of P.'s ancient message in modern times.

The fact that Bultmann's method results in historical distortion was in due course recognized by his own pupils as well. H. Conzelmann followed in Bultmann's footsteps, but he tried to do more justice to the historical component in P.'s thought. His work is beset with a formidable tension: If objectified, many of Paul's statements appear to be simply absurd; when, however, one penetrates through the salvation-historical surface to the underlying existential level, a profound revelation of the human plight emerges (Conzelmann [1967; ET 1969] 225-28).

Käsemann criticized Bultmann for concentrating one-sidedly on the individualistic aspects in P.'s writings and neglecting their communality, concern for creation, and apocalyptic eschatology (see APOCALYPTICISM). The main issue for P. is seen, not as the justification of the individual, but as the necessity that "Christ must reign." God's "righteousness" does not just denote God's gift to humans (so Bultmann); it bespeaks the Creator's right over creation (so also P. Stuhlmacher [1965, 1966^2]). An apocalyptic perspective was important for P. in his battle against enthusiasts who held that everything Christians hoped for had already been realized with the resurrection of Christ and in the baptism of the believer. Käsemann combined his apocalyptic interpretation with a Lutheran-Bultmannian understanding of P.'s attitude to the law, using P.'s attack on legalism polemically "against every form of conservatism, especially theological or ecclesiastical" (Watson, 9).

5. Paul and Judaism. Pauline research has increasingly come to focus on the problem of P.'s relation to Judaism. In 1930 Schweitzer made a powerful, if rather forced, attempt to locate P.'s thought in apocalyptic Judaism. He focused on P.'s "Christ mysticism," contending that the believer's participation in the Lord and deliverance from bondage to hostile spirit powers are to be taken in a realistic sense. Schweitzer traced P.'s mysticism back to eschatology, regarding it as an intellectual attempt to account for the anomaly that although the Messiah had come, the times had not visibly changed.

The discussion was taken further in 1948 by W. D. DAVIES, who interpreted P. as a rabbi who believed that the Messiah had come. Davies' P. is not diametrically opposed to Judaism; in fact there is great continuity, and P. regards his new faith as a fulfillment of Judaism. Since Davies' article, attention to P.'s Jewish background has dominated the scene, and the issue of Hellenistic influences has faded (yet see the work of H.-D. Betz [1979]). The discovery of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS has strengthened this trend; scholars claim to have found precedents at Qumran for some of P.'s deviations from HB or rabbinic ideas. Another source that might seem to mediate between standard Jewish ideas and P.'s has been detected in wisdom traditions.

In painting the portrait of P. in continuity with his Jewish past, Davies did not discuss the structural differences between Pauline and rabbinic religion. These were brought to light by Jewish scholars as early as 1914, when C. MONTEFIORE pointed out that P. paid no attention to the twin rabbinic ideas of repentance and forgiveness. Montefiore sought the reason for this strange omission in P.'s Hellenistic Jewish origins.

Like Davies, H.-J. Shoeps (1959) traced a number of individual Pauline concepts and notions back to rabbinic origins; but as for the essence of the two faiths, he found a crucial difference. P. had severed the law from the context of the covenant to which it belonged in Palestinian Judaism. Like Montefiore, Schoeps found the reason in P.'s rootedness in Hellenistic Judaism, in which a legalistic development had supposedly taken place.

E. P. Sanders (1977) opened up a "new perspective on P." (J. Dunn [1983]). Sanders compared the "pattern" of rabbinic religion with that of P.'s., terming the former "covenantal nomism" (to avoid the somber overtones of "legalism"). A Jew wished to conform to the law, not because of self-assertion (Bultmann), but out of gratitude to God, who had made a covenant with Israel and obliged the people to obey the covenantal order. P. displays a different pattern: "participationist eschatology." The mystical-sacramental union with Christ is the real center of his religion (in this, Schweitzer was right). P. abandoned Judaism because in Christ he had found something better (not because of the supposed inferiority of nomistic piety). Humanity prior to faith (Bult-

mann) is not P.'s starting-point. Instead, he thinks backward from the solution to the plight. God has provided for universal salvation in Christ; it follows that all persons must be in need of this salvation (Sanders [1977] 474-75).

P. abandoned Judaism because God had made salvation accessible in a new way. That is why P. showed no interest in repentance, the classical Jewish way to salvation (Montefiore's problem). P.'s point was that commands of the Torah such as circumcision and the sabbath are not to be imposed on Gentiles who join the eschatological community (cf. also K. Stendahl [1976]; H. Räisänen [1983, 1987²]). Sanders thus breaks with the standard Lutheran understanding of P.; in a sense, Baur with his emphasis on universalism might be taken as a precursor of this line of thought.

Recent studies by Jewish scholars argue along somewhat similar lines but from wider perspectives. A. Segal (1990) underlines the significance and the mystical nature of P.'s conversion experience, which he elucidates with sociological conversion studies (see SOCIOLOGY AND NT STUDIES). D. Boyarin (1994) points out that P.'s "universalizing drive" amounts, from a rabbinic perspective, to an eradication of the Jewish value system.

The view that connects P.'s break with Judaism intimately with the inclusion of gentile converts is strongly opposed by interpreters who cling to Bultmann's notion that the universal phenomenon of human pride is at stake (e.g., G. Klein [1973]; H. Hübner [1978, 1980²]). On the other hand, a number of scholars argue that P. did not at all break with Judaism (e.g., Cranfield, Dunn); rather, he only rejected a false interpretation of the law. While the former group of scholars perpetuates Luther's concern, the latter can look to Calvin as their exegetical ancestor.

It was inevitable that at some point the Holocaust would cast its sinister shadow over Pauline studies. Some scholars (notably R. Ruether [1974]) ascribe to P. a share in giving rise to the anti-Jewish sentiment that was to bear such horrendous fruit. Others (J. Gager [1983]; L. Gaston [1987]) try to whitewash P. by claiming that he has nothing negative to say of Israel's covenantal privileges, neither of the law nor of its putative misinterpretation. In their judgment P. did not even regard Jesus as the Messiah of Israel but only as the Savior of the Gentiles. These latter interpreters labor hard to do justice to Judaism, but they are forced to give many Pauline passages a twisted exegesis. In a less extreme vein, F. Mussner (1979) and others infer from Romans 11 that P. reckoned with a special way to salvation for the Jews (in the parousia) independently of the failure of the Christian mission to them. In the eyes of still others even this reading makes P. revoke most of his usual christological preaching, so they are not convinced.

U. Schnelle (1983, 1986²) takes up the concern of the history-of-religions school in his attempt to pinpoint the relation between justification and "being in Christ." P. adopted and developed a Hellenistic theology that connected justification and new life with baptism, which is the experiential background of P.'s talk of justification. Being in Christ and possessing the Spirit are more central than justification by faith.

6. Paul's Consistency. At the turn of the twentieth century, liberal exegetes did not hesitate to assert that P. is often inconsistent. With the upsurge of dialectical theology such criticisms receded, but they have begun to reappear. While some scholars are content with speaking of a dialectic in P.'s thought, others believe that they can discern genuine discrepancies.

One way to account for such discrepancies is to posit that P.'s thought developed over time. H. Hübner argues that P.'s thinking on the law underwent a marked change between Galatians and Romans. In Galatians P. distanced himself from Judaism and the law; in Romans he stressed his continuity with them. In P.'s view of Israel there is an analogous development from the negative statements in 1 Thessalonians and Galatians to the positive ones in Romans 11.

The development theory must face the problem that there are "radical" assertions also in Romans (Romans 9 is no less severe on Israel than is Galatians). Räisänen has revived the liberal approach: P. is inconsistent on many points, for he is wrestling with problems that do not allow for neat solutions. Why should Christ have abolished a law given by God for life? Why is P.'s gospel being rejected by the chosen people? Räisänen sees P.'s theology as secondary to his experience, as did the liberals; but the experience in question includes P.'s social experience of conflict.

Other related attempts to account for the differences include J. Beker's (1984) distinction between the coherent theme of P.'s gospel (God's triumph) and its contingent application according to the circumstances; D. Patte's (1983) differentiation between a convictional and a theological level in P.'s discourse; and G. Klein's (1984) sharp separation, reminiscent of Conzelmann, between basic intentions and objectifications. More radical is Watson's proposal that what is coherent in P. are his practical aims; to reach the same goal he can use quite different argumentative strategies. In all these cases the effect is the same, sometimes against the intention of the interpreter: P. can be seen as consistent only if the interpreter is in possession of a key that enables him or her to tell the kernel from the husk.

In a pioneering synthesis, J. Becker (1989) brings many of the threads in scholarship together, taking pains to trace the movement of P.'s thought from one letter to another. Becker gives special attention to P.'s Antiochian roots (cf. Räisänen [1992] 191-97; E. Rau [1994]). Pre-Pauline Hellenistic Christianity (so termed since Heitmüller) is defined by Becker more precisely as

Antiochian. In Antioch the ritual parts of the law were rejected as a consequence of charismatic experiences on the part of the uncircumcised. Baptism and new life in Christ, whose imminent return was eagerly expected, were all-important (cf. Schnelle). The legacy of Antioch is most palpable in 1 Thessalonians, but it constitutes the basis of P.'s argument in subsequent letters as well.

P.'s theology is wholly based on his experience of the gospel and of the Spirit that transforms people. In emphasizing this, Becker differs notably from Bultmann's intellectualist approach; nevertheless, Becker's P. is an eminent thinker. Maintaining that tensions often arise due to P.'s use of blocks of previously shaped material, Becker also distinguishes between P.'s coherent basic decisions and his more situation-bound (often polemical) statements; the apostle developed his arguments with an amazing capacity for variation.

7. The Present Situation. The situation today, then, is somewhat confusing. On a number of key issues a wide range of interpretations is offered. Few of the basic problems that have arisen in the course of the history of interpretation have really been solved; most of them continue to engage modern scholars.

Regarding P.'s attitude toward Israel and the law, either continuity or discontinuity may be stressed. While many scholars take P.'s talk of eschatological expectation literally and regard this expectation as the central incentive for his work (Sanders, Käsemann, Beker), others understand the apocalyptic language in a more symbolical way and deny the importance of a concrete end expectation for P. (most radically Klein).

The center of P.'s thought can be variously located, e.g., in the notion of justification (this concern tends to give the whole an individualistic flavor), in the baptismal union with Christ and the possession of the Spirit (with a preponderance of the corporate dimension in P.'s thought), or in the apocalyptic theme of God's triumph.

Such issues, furthermore, are affected by the problem of the nature of P.'s thought. Was he fundamentally consistent? Did his thought develop? Or did he just take different positions in different situations?

Still, some solutions seem to be advancing more than others. It will be difficult to maintain a thoroughly affirmative view of P.'s attitude toward Judaism and the law. It is hardly possible to explain all of P.'s critical statements in this regard in positive terms. But what is their real import? It would likewise be hard to deny any significance to the apocalyptic-eschatological expectation. But just how central was it to P.? Moreover, what exactly is the relation between eschatology and being in Christ—between the Jewish and the more Hellenistic component (*pace,* Schweitzer) in P.'s thought? And one may wonder whether the question of Greek influences really has been settled. At least the impact of rhetorical conventions and of popular philosophy (A. Malherbe [1989]) is obvious, and recently there have been efforts to reopen the question of P.'s relation to Greco-Roman religiosity but in a more nuanced way than in the time of Heitmüller and Reitzenstein (Betz; H.-J. Klauck [1986²]; A. Wedderburn [1987]).

Communication is rendered more difficult by the fact that different scholars are guided by different intentions in their interpretation of P. An increasing number of them advocate a separation between a historical and an actualizing interpretation (stressed early on by Wrede), and many would be content to concentrate on the former task alone. Other scholars, however, (in the vein of Barth and Bultmann) are strongly opposed to such a distinction and favor a self-consciously theological exegesis. Such an approach tries to avoid attributing to P. self-contradictions or theologically problematic ideas.

Finally, new methodological perspectives have entered Pauline study, as they have other areas of NT research. RHETORICAL CRITICISM (Betz; S. Stowers [1981]) is used to elucidate the communication between P. and his addressees. P.'s use of the HB can be viewed from the perspective of LITERARY THEORY (intertexuality: R. Hays [1989]). If the danger of anachronism lurks in such readings, psychological interpretations (see PSYCHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) are even more exposed to it; yet the risk can be reduced by paying close attention to the history of traditions (G. Theissen [1983]; see TRADITION HISTORY). Most promising from the point of view of historical understanding are sociological (G. Theissen [1979]; B. Holmberg [1978]; W. Meeks [1983]; Watson) and anthropological (B. Malina [1981]; J. Neyrey [1990]) approaches.

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R. J. OWENS, JR.

PEAKE, ARTHUR SAMUEL (1865–1929)

A British Primitive Methodist scholar, P. was born Nov. 24, 1865, at Leek, Staffordshire. Educated at Oxford University, he was a fellow of Merton College (1890–97), a teacher at Mansfield College, and a tutor at Hartley Primitive Methodist College, Manchester (1892–1929). The first Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism, University of Manchester (1904–29), and editor of the *Holborn Review* (1919–29), he died Aug. 19, 1929.

P.'s religious outlook was ecumenical, his academic standards high, and his biblical scholarship clear and careful, forward-looking but not extremist. Christians of many denominations found him a trustworthy guide as they endeavored to assimilate newer thought while remaining rooted in the "faith once delivered." C. H. DODD declared that P. "did much to save the Free Church of Britain from the baneful effects of 'Fundamentalist' controversies." Not the least important factor in this respect was the one-volume commentary that bears his name (1919).

Works: *Hebrews: Introduction, AV, RV with Notes and Index* (CeB, 1902); *The Problem of Suffering in the OT* (1904); *Job* (CeB, 1905); *Christianity: Its Nature and Its Truth* (1908); *Jeremiah and Lamentations* (CeB, 2 vols., 1911); *The Bible: Its Origins, Its Significance, and Its Abiding Worth* (1913); (ed.), *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (1919); *The Servant of Yahweh* (1931).

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A. P. F. SELL

PEDERSEN, JOHANNES PEDER EJLER (1883–1977)

The son of a schoolteacher, P. was born in a small rural Danish community. Strong impressions from his schooling led him to the study of theology in Copenhagen, where he won his cand. theol. degree in 1908. He also studied Semitic philology under F. BUHL and later at various European universities. In 1916 he became assistant professor of OT and in 1922 was appointed professor of Semitic philology at the University of Copenhagen.

P.'s doctoral dissertation (1912; GT 1914) dealt with "the Semitic oath" in comparative perspective (mostly Arabic and Hebrew) but also contained new ideas concerning the meaning of "covenant." Later he published several works on texts of Islamic mysticism and on topics of Arabic culture. In 1915 he published an important article on Ecclesiastes (FT 1931), interpreting the book as the result of the break up of tribal society and the loss of old ideals.

This work was followed by his epoch-making *Israel: Its Life and Culture* (Danish, vols. 1–2, 1920; vols. 3–4, 1934), in which, influenced by his compatriot V. Grønbeck (1873–1948), whose study on the culture of the Teutons had appeared in Danish between 1904 and 1912, he developed a new approach to the thought world of ancient Israel. Instead of interpreting the thinking of the HB in modern, Westernized categories, he tried to understand it from within and to describe, much in the words of the HB itself, how the Israelites felt, thought, and acted—a method of empathy deliberately opposed to the prevalent objective approach. The first volume centers around such concepts as "soul," "blessing," "peace," and "covenant." The soul is the vital force of the individual or even is the individual himself or herself. Blessing is the strengthening of the vital force and is described more or less as a counterpart of the *mana* of comparative religion. Peace is the "wholeness" of the life of the individual and the society, while covenant is what binds individuals together. The second volume is built around the idea of holiness: holy persons, holy seasons, holy places, etc. It is a history of the effects of holiness on Israel, in which P. also insisted on the holiness of the king, placing the idea of holiness in the context of the psychological and social totality of the people.

P.'s general approach is also visible in his Hebrew grammar (Danish, 1926), the strength of which lies in the psychological understanding of certain syntactical problems, e.g., tense and plural. Another consequence of this approach was his skeptical attitude toward traditional source criticism, which seemed to him to be based

on a lack of understanding of Hebrew narrative art. Several notes in *Israel* bear witness to this, as does his 1934 article on the Passover legend of Exodus 1–15, which he saw as the core around which the rest of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) crystallized. P.'s analysis of Hebrew mentality was favorably received in the Scandinavian countries and became especially important in the so-called Uppsala school.

Works: *Der Eid bei den Semiten in seinem Verhältnis zu Verwandten Erscheinungen sowie die Stellung des Eides im Islam* (SGKIO 3, 1914); *Israel: Its Life and Culture* (vols. 1–2, 1920; vols. 3–4, 1934; ET vols. 1–2, 1926; vols. 3–4, 1940); *Hebraeisk Grammatik* (1926); "Die Auffassung vom Alten Testament," *ZAW* 49 (1931) 161-81; *Scepticisme israélite* (CRHPR 22, 1931); "Passahfest und Passahlegende," *ZAW* 52 (1934) 161-75; "Die KRT-Legende," *Berytus* 6 (1939) 63-105; "Canaanite and Israelite Cultus," *AcOr* 18 (1940) 1-14; "The Fall of Man," *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum: Pertinentes S. Mowinckel* (ed. N. Dahl and A. S. Kapelrud, 1955) 162-72; "Wisdom and Immortality," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (FS H. H. Rowley, ed. M. Noth and D. Winton Thomas, VTSup 3, 1955) 238-46.

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H. RINGGREN

PELAGIUS (c. 354–c. 425)

Little is known about P.'s early life. Born in the British Isles, he went to Rome during the 380s, taught there, and advocated moral reform until the threat of Gothic invasion led him to Palestine by way of Carthage, where his associate Celestius remained and was condemned for heresy in 411. This charge began the Pelagian controversy, although P. himself was not initially involved.

In Palestine P. aroused the ire of JEROME. In defense P. wrote the treatise *On Nature,* to which AUGUSTINE replied with his own treatise, *On Nature and Grace.* Jerome also began writing against P., notably in the letter *To Ctesiphon* (Ep. 133) and *Dialogue Against the Pelagians.* P. was exonerated of heresy by synods in Jerusalem and Diospolis (415), but in 418 he was condemned and banished by Emperor Honorius and excommunicated by Pope Zosimus. Expelled from Jerusalem, P. probably went to Egypt and likely died shortly thereafter.

P.'s chief work as a biblical expositor is a commentary on the entire Pauline corpus, written in Rome. The commentary shows a strong but not slavish adherence to the earlier commentaries of Ambrosiaster, ORIGEN (through the LT of Rufinus), and Jerome as well as of CHRYSOSTOM and, somewhat ironically, the early works of Augustine.

Many scholars have seen an anti-Manichean polemic in P.'s commentary, but other heretical groups are specified as well, notably Arians (see ARIUS), Photinians, Novatians, and Jovinians. One of the purposes of the commentary was to provide an unimpeachably orthodox reading of PAUL. However, a concern with ethics is also evident, both in exhortations to moral improvement and in providing examples of good conduct, notably Paul himself. P. stressed the gratuitous character of salvation and maintained the Pauline emphasis on justification by faith alone. He understood faith as human response to the gospel; he did not presuppose the intervention of special grace to enable this response, holding the capacities given through creation to every human being as sufficient. To represent P. as denying the need for any kind of grace whatsoever for salvation is a caricature. The issue revolved around what form that grace took. For P., the natural endowments of humans are the gifts of grace. Sin is an acquired habit and not a deformation of human character. The capacity to respond to God's work is always present in everyone simply because God gave persons such a capacity in making them human.

The characteristic themes of the later controversy are present in the commentaries. P. denied any notion of original or transmitted sin and held out the possibility that some people described in Scripture had led sinless lives, notably Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. He strictly equated predestination with divine foreknowledge and interpreted Romans 9 as a dialogue with an interloper in which Paul's concern was to defend free will. P. defended the freedom and potency of the will and treated faith as belief and acceptance of forgiveness—a capacity within the power of each individual.

Evidence suggests that respect for P. survived in Great Britain well into the ninth century and was reintroduced to Europe by Irish missionaries (H. Zimmer [1901]). The major source of Pelagian influence during the Middle Ages was an interpolated form of his commentary circulating under Jerome's name, which tended to emphasize the questionable character of the work. Pseudo-Jerome, as it is called, circulated in numerous manuscripts throughout the medieval period.

Another revision of P.'s commentaries was made by CASSIODORUS in the latter part of the sixth century, this time in an Augustinian direction. This revision circulated either anonymously or under a variety of names, including that of P., throughout the Middle Ages. It became associated with Primasius (fl. 6th cent.) during the sixteenth century and is so designated in Migne's *Patrologia Latina.*

Many of the medieval glosses on the Pauline text can be ultimately traced to P., either directly or through Pseudo-Jerome or Cassiodorus. The ascription to Jerome would have heightened the authority of the commentar-

ies considerably. The actual verse-by-verse influence of P. in medieval commentation awaits further investigation.

Works: *P.'s Expositions of the Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul* (ed. A. Souter, TS 9.1-3, 1922–31; repr. in *PL Supplementum* [ed. A. Hamman, 1958] 1:1110-374, without critical apparatus); *The Letters of P. and His Followers* (ed. and tr. B. R. Rees, 1991); *P.'s Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Translated with Introduction and Notes* (T. de Bruyn, 1993).

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D. W. JOHNSON

PELLICAN, CONRAD (1478–1556)

Born in the Alsatian town of Rouffach, Jan. 8, 1478, P. later surrendered the family name of Kürschner and assumed the surname of an uncle who provided for his education at Heidelberg and Tübingen. At the latter he studied with P. Scriptoris (d. 1504), who stimulated P.'s interest in philology and his opposition to scholasticism. In about 1499 he began the study of Hebrew, for which he was probably dependent on the meager twelve pages of instruction offered by P. Schwarz (Nigri; d. 1481) at the beginning of his *Stella Meschiah* (1477). P. was aided by the Spanish Jewish convert M. Adrianus, who was to become the first professor of Hebrew at the newly founded collegium Trilingue at Louvain (1517); and P. soon made personal contract with J. REUCHLIN. By 1501 when he took holy orders, he had finished writing an elementary Hebrew grammar (printed at Strasbourg in 1504), which was the first significant manual on the subject prepared by a Renaissance Christian. (A. Manuzio [d. 1515] had printed a primer of twelve pages in 1501, perhaps written by Adrianus.) P.'s work, however, was quickly eclipsed by Reuchlin's *De rudimentis Hebraicis* (1506). In 1502 P. received the DD degree at Basel and became a lecturer at the Franciscan monastery (1502–7). After teaching at Rouffach (1508–11), spending some years as a wandering scholar, and traveling to Rome, he became warden of the Basel monastery in 1519 and shortly thereafter joined the Reformers. In 1523 he was appointed with OECOLAMPADIUS to a professorship at the university of Basel, where he taught S. MÜNSTER. In 1526 P. was invited by ZWINGLI to Zurich, where he taught Hebrew and Greek until his death, Apr. 6, 1556.

P. had deep roots in the Alsatian humanism represented by J. Wimpfeling (1450–1528) and had aided ERASMUS and the printer J. Amerbac (c. 1443–1513) in editing texts of the church fathers. P. became the first Protestant Reformer to undertake an exposition of the entire Bible, writing commentaries on all the biblical books except Jonah, Zechariah, and the Apocalypse. He incorporated some kabbalistic (see KABBALAH) Christian material with which he was very familiar. He also assisted T. Bibliander (1504–64) in completing L. Judd's (c. 1482–1542) Latin Zurich Bible translation (1543). P. had begun collecting Hebrew volumes in the 1490s and translated several, including *Genesis Rabbah* and commentaries on the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) by A. IBN EZRA and Bahya ben Asher ben Hlava (d. 1340).

Works: *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum* (written in 1501; printed as an appendix to G. Reisch, *Aepitoma omnis phijlosophiae, Alias Margarita Phylosophica. . . .* 1504); *Psalterium Davidis ad Hebraicum veritatem interpretatum cum scholiis brevissimis* (1527, 1532[2]); *Commentaria Bibliorum in libros Veteris ac Novi Testamenti* (7 vols., 1532–39); *Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan* (autobiography written in 1544, ed. B. Riggenbach, 1877).

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J. H. HAYES

PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM

1. Moses Is the Author of the Pentateuch. For centuries the leading belief in Judaism and Christianity, Mosaic authorship was not based on historical and LITERARY investigation of how the Pentateuch arose. Instead, its object was to emphasize the Pentateuch's divine origin and AUTHORITY. During the first centuries CE and the Middle Ages this authority was disputed. In Jewish (see Ḥiwi Al-Balkhi, 9th cent.) and Christian (e.g., Ptolemaeus *Letter to Flora*; *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*) heretical circles and among adversaries of Judaism and Christianity (e.g., Ibn Hazm, 11th cent.) dogmatic and ethical objections to the content of the Pentateuch were formulated, sometimes with the conclusion that it could not be (entirely and throughout) the work of Moses. Partially to answer the question of how the Pentateuch could be dependable despite its long and tumultuous history, the idea that Ezra had taken responsibility for an inspired "new edition" of the Pentateuch (see Photius *Amphilochia* 101, 816), based on 2 Esdr 14:19-48, found adherents among the church fathers. Already in ancient times the authorship of certain passages was considered to be problematical, for instance Deut 34:5-12 (in *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*), a passage that throughout the ages has played a part in this discussion. In the Middle Ages and thereafter others (e.g., Isaac ibn Jasos; A. Ibn Ezra) added additional passages (post- and amosaica; Gen 12:6; 36:31-39; Exod 16:35; Num 12:3; Deut 1:1; 2:12; 3:11, 14; etc.), although these initially did not lead to doubts about Mosaic authorship. Until the eighteenth century some scholars pointed out Moses' prophetic gifts (e.g., Philo of Alexandria [*de Vita Mosis* 2.291] and Flavius Josephus [*Ant. Jud.* 4.326]) regarding Deut 34:5-12 (*b. Baba Bathra* otherwise: Joshua is the author of this passage). Others meddled just as little with Mosaic authorship but were of the opinion that Ezra, whose name continues throughout the centuries to play a part in theories about how the Pentateuch arose (see C. Houtman [1981] 91-115), and/or Joshua and Eleazar or others were responsible for a number of additions.

2. Moses Is Not the Author of the Pentateuch: The Emergence of Historical and Literary Criticism. During the seventeenth century, under the influence of powerful currents of rationalism, several great intellects (e.g., T. Hobbes, I. de la Peyrère, B. Spinoza, R. Simon, J. Le Clerc) placed question marks next to the traditional representation of Mosaic authorship. They not only pointed out items that could not have stemmed from Moses (see sec. 1) but also drew attention to historical errors, inconsistencies, the presence of remarkable repetitions, differences in style, and deficiencies in the arrangement of material. In answering the question of the age and authorship of the Pentateuch, they wanted to rely on the facts of the writings themselves without prejudice. This path did not lead them to a denial of all Mosaic contribution to the Pentateuch—they attached much value to such texts as Exod 17:14; 24:4; Num 33:2; Deut 31:9—but to the position that the Pentateuch arose in a much more complex manner than tradition represented. This position evoked vehement opposition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and had little influence as far as the more official literature is concerned. It did, however, exert influence among French (e.g., J. Meslier [1664–1729]) and English (e.g., T. Morgan [d. 1743]) free thinkers, whose criticism of the HB was much more far-reaching than simply the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Under such influence H. S. REIMARUS formulated his criticism of the Bible in the second half of the eighteenth century in Germany, including the issue of Mosaic authorship, while in France VOLTAIRE expressed critical sentiments about this matter. From this time onward, within biblical scholarship itself more detailed and initially more conservative theories than those of the seventeenth century were developed with respect to how the Pentateuch arose.

3. The Older Documentary Hypothesis, the Fragmentary Hypothesis, the Supplementary Hypothesis, and the Newer Documentary Hypothesis. How could Moses have written what is recounted in Genesis? Among other possibilities, opponents and proponents of Mosaic authorship, e.g., J. ASTRUC (1753), have taken the position that Moses utilized written documents. Astruc set himself the objective of refuting the criticism of HOBBES and others (see sec. 2), maintaining that the unevenness ascertained in Genesis need not lead to a denial of Mosaic authorship. An acceptable explanation could be that Moses had written the history from before his time in a kind of tetrapla; later transcribers made this into a continuous story and are responsible for the chaos of the current version. Astruc made it his goal to provide a reconstruction of Moses' work, basing his theory on repetitions and alterations of the divine names *YHWH* and *Elohim* in Genesis and Exodus 1–2; from Exodus 3 onward Moses drew on his own experience. Known as the older documentary hypothesis, this theory gained adherents because of J. G. EICHHORN's refinements (1780–83). While also giving attention to the terminology used, Eichhorn demanded as criteria for distinguishing the documents variations in style and characteristic elements in the content, and he had little difficulty in ascribing important portions of the Pentateuch to Moses.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the theory known as the fragmentary hypothesis (the Pentateuch was compiled from larger and smaller fragments that are not interdependent and are often irreconcilable), presented by A. GEDDES (1792, 1800) and developed and expanded by J. VATER (1802–5), captured great interest. With the appearance of Vater's work, a period of intensive reflection on the origins of the Pentateuch began in Germany and resulted in a diversity of posi-

tions. Characteristic of this period is that there is no easy way to label individual scholars as adherents of a particular theory with respect to their views on the origin of the Pentateuch. Furthermore, besides defenders of Mosaic authorship (F. Ranke, E. Hengstenberg, C. Keil, H. Hävernick) and scholars who accept the presence of extended Mosaic sections in the Pentateuch (e.g., Franz Delitzsch), a number of writers whose reflections are characterized by radical historical criticism drew attention to themselves (W. de Wette, C. Gramberg, A. Hartmann, P. von Bohlen, J. Vatke, J. George). DE WETTE (1806–7) disputed, among other things, that Moses was the author of the laws in the Pentateuch. Other scholars denied Moses the ability to write and posited that the Pentateuch received its present form only after the exile.

Also characteristic of the first half of the nineteenth century is that a number of scholars (e.g., H. Ewald) considerably modified their positions. De Wette, for instance, who initially defended a form of the fragmentary theory, later accepted the supplementary theory developed by J. STÄHELIN and EWALD and advanced by F. BLEEK and J. TUCH. According to this theory, an elohistic *Grundschrift* runs from Genesis to Joshua, supplemented by a Jehovist (who utilized not only *YHWH,* but also *Elohim*). To a large extent, letting go of the conception that the Pentateuch is the work of Moses and/or contemporaries opened up the possibility of posing questions about whether the literary sources of Genesis reach farther into the Pentateuch. Critical scrutiny of the presumed coherence of Genesis and the following books on the part of adherents of the supplementary hypothesis led H. HUPFELD (1853) to the theory, later known as the newer documentary hypothesis, that the Hexateuch was constructed from a later priestly (P) and an earlier elohistic (E) document, which an editor combined with an even later jehovistic (J) document; and in this work Deuteronomy was given a place. The theory that the Pentateuch was compiled from four sources had now taken shape.

4. The Newer Documentary Hypothesis Defended in a New Form. In the second half of the nineteenth century a growing number of biblical scholars in Germany and beyond (e.g., A. Kuenen and J. Wellhausen) accepted the theory that the Pentateuch was constructed from four documents/sources. They were able to combine and forge into an imposing conception the insights achieved during the nineteenth century in divergent areas of history and historical criticism and in the history of the religion of Israel by such scholars as de Wette, GEORGE, VATKE, Ewald, Hupfeld, J. COLENSO, E. REUSS, and K. GRAF. According to this conception the esteemed ideas of how the HB arose furnished a convincing literary basis for an impressive picture of the religion of Israel, which was described by WELLHAUSEN (1878): The history of Israel was the result of a process characterized by centralization, ritualization, and denaturalization/historicization of the cult; the nomadic and agricultural religion of early Israel developed via the emergence of the law in Josiah's time, in which the religion of the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) exerted great influence, into the priestly legal religion of Judaism. This picture was based on the newer documentary hypothesis in a new guise: P is not the oldest, but the latest source of the Hexateuch, and the literary sources arose in the sequence J, E, D, P. This theory offered a good basis for the idea, voiced previously, that the legal portion of the Pentateuch (P) was vastly later than the prophets and had only been formed during the exile and thereafter. The Archimedian point of the picture sketched of Israel's religion is the idea, advanced by de Wette (1805), who himself shared the conception, that Deuteronomy was not only the law book of Josiah found in 622/621 BCE but was also conceived in order to initiate Josiah's reformation (2 Kings 22–23).

5. Developments After Kuenen/Wellhausen, Ongoing Reflection on the Origins of the Pentateuch, and Divergent Ideas. After 1900 acquaintance with ancient Near Eastern literature uncovered by archaeologists (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) made its impact on Pentateuchal research. Under this influence and that of Germanic studies, H. GUNKEL, and following in his foosteps H. GRESSMANN, intensely examined the preliterary transmission of especially the narrative material in the Pentateuch (see FORM CRITICISM). The result was that J and E were no longer regarded as authors but as schools that gathered orally transmitted folk narratives (see FOLKLORE). The documentary theory obtained features of a fragmentary theory. More generally, acquaintance with the literature of the ancient Near East led to the recognition that later literary texts (P) could contain ancient material. It has even been asserted that archaeological results demonstrate the unsoundness of the documentary theory (e.g., K. Kitchen [1966]).

The new version of the documentary hypothesis was regarded in conservative Protestant circles as undermining the reliability of the Bible (e.g., the W. R. Smith case). Either Mosaic authorship (e.g., W. Green, E. Young, W. Möller) or the thesis that the Pentateuch is a compilation of Mosaic material (e.g., G. Aalders, R. Harrison) was clung to resolutely. This was especially true in Roman Catholic circles until a more liberal climate was created by the encyclical DIVINO AFFLANTE SPIRITU (1943) and the letter of the Pontifical Biblical Commission to Cardinal Suhard (1948). Before that time there was no room for moderate critical positions (M. Lagrante, F. von Hügel, A. van Hoonacker, H. Poels) because of the decree *De Mosaica Authentica Pentateuchi* (1906). Although Jewish circles showed some sympathy (e.g., E. Auerbach) for the documentary theory (Wellhausen was preceded by Jewish pioneers L. Zunz and A. Geiger), most Jewish scholars continued to

defend Mosaic authorship (e.g., H. Wiener, M. Segal) or accent the unity of the present text while recognizing the diversity of the material contained therein (e.g., B. Jacob, M. Buber, U. Cassuto) and presented a modified version of the documentary theory: P is earlier than D; the Pentateuch is preexilic (Y. Kaufmann; cf. M. Weinfeld, M. Haran).

Certain scholars defended a completely new theory in combating the documentary hypothesis. B. EERDMANS, for example, while fully recognizing the necessity of literary criticism, in conjunction with his concept that Israel's religion had been polytheistic until late times, advocated a kind of crystallization hypothesis. E. Robertson and R. Brinker defended the antiquity of the material in the Pentateuch: It was passed on in the various sanctuaries of ancient Israel after the entry into Canaan; Deuteronomy is the work of Samuel, etc. The new theories obtained little assent, however.

In the school of KUENEN/Wellhausen, the documentary theory was modified on the basis of continuing literary-critical investigation. Taking their cue from remarks in the work of the masters, they investigated the composition of the literary sources in minute detail, resulting in an atomistic analysis reminiscent of the fragmentary hypothesis and undermining the classical picture of the Pentateuch as the work of a limited number of authors, and with it the documentary hypothesis itself. This development evoked different reactions, including the development of a streamlined form of the documentary theory known as the newest documentary hypothesis, in which a fifth ancient source was reconstructed in addition to J, E, D, and P (R. Smend [son], O. Eissfeldt, G. Fohrer; cf. also J. Morgenstern, R. Pfeiffer, C. Simpson; different again J. Hempel); the tendency to limit the number of sources; the characterization of E as revising and supplementing (P. Volz, W. Rudolph, T. Vriezen, S. Mowinckel); and even the allotment to P. of such a status (Volz, Vriezen, I. Engnell; cf. M. Löhr). In this way the supplementary hypothesis was given a new lease on life after a fashion. The presence of the older strata outside the Hexateuch was defended by some authors (O. Eissfeldt, G. Hölscher, H. Schulte).

Gunkel and Gressmann directed their attention especially to the earliest stages of transmission. Inspired by them and by A. ALT, both G. von RAD and M. NOTH have, each with his own emphasis, directed attention to the various stages of the process by which the Pentateuch came into being (*Überlieferungsgeschichte* [tradition history]). They held to the literary sources theory but gave this new content. Von Rad (1938) assigned J an important place in the Hexateuch's origin: Living at the time of David/Solomon, J expanded the canonical scheme of salvation history (which is rooted in the archaic cultic creed of Deut 25:5-9, itself a Hexateuch in a nutshell) with material from a very different provenance and is responsible for the *Einbau* of the initially independent Sinai tradition, for the *Ausbau* of the history of the patriarchs, and for the *Vorbau* of the pre-history. He made the variety of material serviceable to the theme dominating the scheme of salvation history, that of *Landnahme*. The addition of the E and P sources has not altered the picture drawn by J. In this fashion von Rad gave the supplementary hypothesis a new form.

Noth (1943; ET 1981) labeled Deuteronomy–Kings as a connected work and limited the presence of J, E, and P to the Tetrateuch. He postulated (1948; ET 1972) a communal substratum (*gemeinsame Grundlage* [G]) for J and E comprising the five main themes of the Pentateuch that had arisen in his proposed amphictony (1930) as a result of a growing mutual entanglement of the material transmitted by the unified tribes with the crystallization of the exodus tradition. These themes attracted much material from divergent provenance and probably received a settled form in the pre-literary phase of the transmission. J, E, and P were individual authors who each rendered the material with his own emphasis. Their work underlies the Pentateuch, which thus takes on the character of a collection.

Scandinavian scholars (J. Pedersen, I. Engnell) have also emphasized that the Pentateuch is the result of a complicated process of transmission. However, they opposed sharply the *interpretatio europeica moderna* of literary criticism, asserting that the material in the Pentateuch was transmitted between simultaneously coexisting circles and that in the transmission process archaic and later material congealed together. In connection with this they criticized Wellhausen's evolutionistic concept of Israel's religion. PEDERSEN initially regarded JE, D, and P as collections that obtained their present form in postexilic times but that are of pre- and postexilic date in terms of content. ENGNELL shared H. S. NYBERG's theory that the written HB was the creation of the postexilic Jewish community and that previously the oral transmission had been normative. His tradition-historical approach (see TRADITION HISTORY) resulted in a new sources theory incorporating elements of the supplementary hypothesis: Genesis–Kings is composed of (a) a P work, the Tetrateuch, which has adopted JE material among other things, and (b) a D work, Deuteronomy–Kings, each of which received its definitive form in postexilic times. His views led some people to take into account not only written transmission in the origins of the Pentateuch but oral transmission as well (e.g., S. Mowinckel), and induced others to characterize the sources of the documentary hypothesis as streams of tradition (e.g., A. Bentzen, R. de Vaux).

In view of the fundamental place of Deuteronomy in Wellhausen's conception, it is understandable that much study has been made of this book. Points of investigation have been the problem of the extent of *Urdeuteronomium* and the relation of Deuteronomy to the Book of

the Covenant, the Holiness Code, and the prophetic books (e.g., Jeremiah). The rejection of the identification of Deuteronomy with Josiah's law book already before Wellhausen (e.g., Reimarus, Gramberg, Vatke) was again brought up for discussion. A postexilic origin was defended (e.g., G. Berry, G. Hölscher, S. Mowinckel; O. Kaiser); and the idea that Deuteronomy imposed the centralization of the cult, an all-important point in Wellhausen's conception (T. Oestreicher, A. Welch, W. Stärk), was disputed. De Wette's notion regarding how Deuteronomy came into existence was mitigated before as well as after Wellhausen by the thesis that Deuteronomy had been assuming form since the time of Hezekiah or Manasseh. Ongoing literary-critical examination led to the explanation of Deuteronomy's origin by means of documentary and supplementary hypotheses, while form criticism and tradition criticism led to the conclusion that the book contains archaic material and is the result of a complicated process of transmission. Thus von Rad (1947) asserted that Deuteronomy is the product of a north Israelite restoration movement on the part of Levites, harking back to the traditions of the amphictyony. Other scholars as well abandoned the "classic" position that the book was the work of Jerusalemite priests and prophets in favor of a north Israelite origin. This theory has receded into the background, and M. Weinfeld's (1972) defense of authorship by scribes and wise men from Jerusalem court circles has received support from various quarters.

6. Continuing Developments: Increasing Diversity of Opinion; Established Positions Subjected to Criticism. Many scholars are now distancing themselves from representations initially accepted by those following in the footsteps of Noth and von Rad—e.g., the antiquity of the cultic creed, the institution of the amphictyony, and the independence of the Sinai tradition. Old problems like the character of E and P continue to be points of discussion, with the existence of E sometimes being doubted or denied (J. Van Seters; H. Schmid [1976]; M. Rose [1981]). The conception of P as a *Bearbeitungsschicht* (redactional layer; see sec. 5) has met with approval from various quarters, but it is also criticized (e.g., by J. Emerton [1988] and K. Koch [1987]); it even has been claimed that P continues as a source right into Kings (W. Resenhöfft [1977]).

The documentary theory is being presented again in new forms. P. Weimar and E. Zenger assign the Jehovist (JE) a prominent place in otherwise divergent conceptions. The suggestion (F. Winnett; cf. D. Redford, N. Wagner) that with regard to the Pentateuch's origin one should consider not merely the possible redactional combination of various sources but also the possibility of consecutive expansions/revisions of the material has found some approval (Van Seters, H. Schmitt, Kaiser). The existence of archaic layers is being denied. Even though there was never a full consensus on the dating of J and E, unanimity existed at least in the twentieth century as to their preexilic origin. This opinion is being surrendered. Van Seters (1975) and H. Schmid (1976), traveling different routes, have come to the conclusion that J ought to be dated in the exilic period. According to Van Seters (1992, 1994), the DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY (DtrH) is prior to J, who wrote his work in reaction to DtrH. (In comparison M. Rose [1981] maintains that the deuteronomistic history in older form is earlier than J, while C. Levin [1993] argues that Deuteronomy is while J and that J is earlier than or contemporary with the deuteronomistic history; Levin's J, however, differs from Van Seter's J in many respects). H. Vorländer (1978) advocates a dating in the exilic or postexilic period for the origin of JE.

These positions do not imply a radical break with the documentary theory, however. This is championed by R. Rendtorff (1977), who is of the opinion that consistent application of tradition criticism leads to the conclusion that there are no continuous layers in the Pentateuch and that the material is joined by priestly and deuteronomistic redactional notes (cf. E. Blum [1984]), thereby returning, in fact, to the fragmentary theory. S. Tengström (1976, 1982), in contrast, maintains that a coherent epic underlies the Hexateuch. In his case the supplementary theory returns in a new form: A *Grunderzählung* (original narrative) from the eleventh century BCE has been supplemented by deuteronomistic and priestly authors (L. Brisman [1990]; B. Renaud [1991]).

The documentary theory is being criticized, often in a fragmentary way. The argumentation on which the source theory rests is often dealt with to a limited degree or only partially, and questions are being left open. The newer positions have not yet crystallized; e.g., the consequences for the picture of Israel's religion are hardly dealt with. A comprehensive new conception has not been presented or has merely been given vague contours. Many elements in the approach and in the conclusions of the new studies are not new; instead, old ideas that were unable to achieve much recognition earlier are being defended in a new context and in sometimes varied forms. It is thus understandable that the documentary theory in its classic form continues to enjoy support as well, at least as far as the main issues are concerned (e.g., A. Gunneweg [1983, 1985]; E. Nicholson [1991]; L. Schmidt; W. Schmidt), since it continues to provide the most satisfactory answer to questions about the manner in which the Pentateuch came to be. Modified versions like the Jewish variant (see sec. 5) also still have their supporters (e.g., A. Hurvitz [1982]; J. Milgrom [1991]).

Next to the methods of textual investigation elicited by questioning the process of how the Pentateuch came into being (diachronic approach), there is a growing interest in new forms of textual analysis in reaction to the atomistic approach, which has played the leading role in HB studies. This shift has taken place under the

influence of Jewish biblical interpretation (see sec. 5), literature studies, and linguistics, and as a result of the focus on Scripture as CANON. An important common feature of these new forms of textual analysis, whose great diversity is indicated by the names under which they are presented (rhetorical criticism, canonical criticism, stylistic and structural analysis, the logotechnical method [C. Schedl; C. J. Labuschagne, 1985], etc.), is the extensive consideration of problems of textual form and function in the present form of the Pentateuch, especially in its narrative sections. Sometimes this focus on the Pentateuch in its present form is accompanied by criticism of traditional methods and/or deliberately leaving the results of traditional methods outside of consideration (e.g., K. Deurloo and other members of the Amsterdam School; J. Fokkelman [1975]; R. Alter [1981]; R. Alter and F. Kermode [1988]). Sometimes the intention is to do justice to a neglected aspect of Pentateuch studies, and the idea is (formulated in terms of literary criticism) to draw attention to the redactional activity to which the Pentateuch owes its definitive form (e.g., B. Anderson [1978]; D. Clines [1978]; B. Childs [1974]; G. Coats; I. Kikawada and A. Quinn [1985]; R. Moberly [1983]; G. Rendsburg [1986]). Not only the narrative sections but also Pentateuchal law is made the object of stylistic, structural (see STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION), and redactional (see REDACTION CRITICISM, HB) analysis (e.g., by E. Otto [1989]; Y. Osumi; L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger [1990]), in combination with a renewed interest in the relation of the Pentateuchal legal collections to each other and to the ancient Near Eastern law traditions (e.g., R. Westbrook [1988]) and with special attention to OT law history (e.g., F. Crüsemann [1992]).

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C. HOUTMAN

PERKINS, WILLIAM (1558–1602)

One of the foremost biblical expositors of his time, P. was educated in the Reformed tradition at Christ's College, Cambridge (BA 1580 or 1581; MA 1584), and joined Christ's College as a fellow at the age of twenty-four. After his ordination he was appointed lecturer at

Great St. Andrews Church, Cambridge. An extremely popular preacher, he also served as the public catechist at Corpus Christi College, where he lectured weekly, and was dean of Christ's College (1590–91). Upon his marriage in 1595 he left his Cambridge post; however, he continued to lecture, preach, and write until his death at the age of forty-four.

P. is best known to students of Renaissance literature as the author of the first comprehensive English Protestant manual of casuistry, *The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience, Distinguished into Three Bookes* (1606). Published after his death, the work provided a practical application of Christian moral ideals to the daily lives of laypersons by appealing to principles derived from Scripture. P. also wrote *A Golden Chaine, or the Description of Theologie, Containing the Order of the Causes of Salvation and Damnation, According to God's Word* (1590; ET 1591), which places Reformed THEOLOGY and the concept of a step-by-step order of salvation in the context of contemporary English culture. Offering practical and realistic counsel, the *Golden Chain* is grounded in Scripture and is documented throughout with specific scriptural passages to support its contentions. Although P. regarded the Reformers highly, he relied more on other sources, especially the Bible, as well as on the writings of AUGUSTINE and other church fathers, like JEROME, Polycarp, and Cyprian. His widely circulated biblical commentaries relied on detailed expositions of biblical passages that moved from "doctrine" to "use"; these readings endorsed explicitly the literal sense of interpretation.

Since respect for Scripture stood at the center of P.'s works and because he was a prolific spokesperson for Reformed Protestantism in England, biblical commentary has an important place among his works. He wrote expositions of the Lord's Prayer (1592), *A Digest or Harmonie of the Bookes of the Old and NT* (1613), and discussions of specific biblical texts: Phil 3:7 (1601), Galatians (1604), Revelation 1–3 (1606), Jude (1606), Heb 11:1–12:1 (1607), and the SERMON ON THE MOUNT (1608). His last work was the *Commentary or Exposition upon the First Five Chapters of the Epistles to the Galatians* (1604). A mark of his importance to seventeenth-century biblical studies was that his followers edited his sermons and published them as biblical commentary. These works included his commentary on Hebrews 11, *A Cloud of Faithful Witnesses* (1607), a work considered, with his well-known *Treatise on Vocations, or Callings of Men* (1603), as particularly influential in extolling and developing the virtues of diligence and thrift in colonial America. P.'s works were once so popular that they appeared in English, Latin, Dutch, Spanish, Welsh, and Irish; their presence in prominent libraries from England to New England testified to their influence.

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J. H. AUGUSTINE

PEROWNE, JOHN JAMES STEWART (1823–1904)

British ecclesiastic and HB scholar, P. was born in Burdwan, Bengal, on Mar. 13, 1823, into a family of Huguenot origin, the oldest son of missionaries working on behalf of the Church Missionary Society. He was educated at Norwich Grammar School and at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he was a scholar and gained various university awards, including the Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship in 1848. Afterward he became a fellow of Corpus Christi College and a lecturer at King's College, London. From 1862 to 1872 he was vice-principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, in Wales, and during this period also held various ecclesiastical positions. Returning to Cambridge in 1872, he was fellow of Trinity College (1873–75), Hulsean Professor of Divinity, succeeding J. B. LIGHTFOOT (1875–78), dean of Peterborough (1878–79), and finally bishop of Worcester (1891–1901).

P. belonged to the evangelical party in the Church of England but took an independent line. Thus, though not as fully critical in his approach to Scripture as S. DRIVER, he rejected fundamentalism and also took an independent stance on certain other ecclesiastical matters, e.g., his moderate views with regard to ritualism. His most sustained piece of work was a two-volume commentary on the psalms (1864–68, 1886[6]), which is stronger in its philological comments than in its criticism. His philological ability gained him a place on the committee that produced the RV. Other contributions included a noteworthy discussion of E. B. PUSEY's *Book of Daniel* in the *Contemporary Review* (January 1866), in which he rebuked Pusey for the tone of his work, even though in the end he accepted Pusey's traditional dating of the work. P. also accepted that there was a variety of sources in the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) and that not everything in it could be as early as Moses, although he regarded it as Mosaic in essence. He was the first general editor of the *Cambridge Bible for Schools* (from 1872) and also published many sermons and a noteworthy study of N. C. THIRLWALL.

Works: "Pentateuch," and "Zechariah," *A Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. W. Smith, 1863) 514-16, 765-67; *The Book of Psalms: A New Translation* (2 vols., 1864–68, 1886[6]); *Immortality: Four Sermons Preached Before the University of Cambridge* (1869); *The Remains, Literary and Theological, of Bishop C. Thirlwall* (3 vols., 1877–78); "Dr. Pusey on Daniel the Prophet," *Contemporary Review* 1 (1886) 96-112.

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J. DAY

PERRIN, NORMAN (1920–76)

Born Nov. 29, 1920, in Wellingborough, Northants, England, P. served in the Royal Air Force (1940–45) and later studied theology at Manchester University (BA, 1949), Greek NT and apocryphal studies at London University (BD, 1952; MTh, 1956), and received his DTh at the University of Göttingen (1959). Ordained in 1949 in the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, he served pastorates in London (1949–52) and Swansea, South Wales (1952–56). From 1959 to 1964 he was assistant (later associate) professor of NT at the Candler School of Theology, Emory University, and from 1964 to 1976 he was associate (later full) professor of NT at the Divinity School, University of Chicago. He was president of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research (1971–72) and the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE (1972–73). He died at Park Forest, Illinois, on Nov. 25, 1976.

At the time of his death P. was a major influence in NT studies, especially in North America; his relatively short career embodied the major trends and methods of postwar scholarship. Under the early influence of T. MANSON and with J. JEREMIAS as *Doktorvater,* his early work centered on the historical JESUS, eschatology, and the kingdom sayings. While his first work, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus* (1963; a revision of his 1959 disseration), chiefly surveyed the discussion since F. SCHLEIERMACHER, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (1967) combined a delineation of criteria for authentic Jesus material with form-critical examination of the SYNOPTIC Jesus tradition and theological engagement in the quest for the historical Jesus. R. BULTMANN and the post-Bultmannians now shaped his theology. With Bultmann he made faith independent of historical knowledge, but with E. KÄSEMANN he affirmed material continuity between the historical Jesus and the "faith image" offered in the Gospels. During this early period he also produced important studies on the title "Son of man" (collected in *A Modern Pilgrimage*). From examination of the literary context and use of Son of man from Dan 7:13 through *1 Enoch* and *4 Ezra,* he became one of the first scholars to deny its pre-Christian titular or messianic use.

Spelling out the implications of REDACTION CRITICISM and its importance for understanding the Gospel of Mark occupied the second phase of his career. He consistently urged that Mark was not, as generally thought, an artless collector of tradition but a skillful author and creator of the literary form "gospel." In moving away from FORM CRITICISM and concern for the historical Jesus to redaction criticism and the theological differences between the Gospels, he also turned to general LITERARY criticism and HERMENEUTICS; as early as 1965 he urged joining the two (*Criterion* 4 [1965] 34) and later commented that "it was necessary for redaction criticism to mutate into a genuine literary criticism, which it has done here in America" (*Int* 30 [1976] 120).

Influenced strongly by A. WILDER and by colleagues at the University of Chicago, especially P. RICOEUR, D. Tracy, and M. Eliade, his later writings (esp. his final major work, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom* [1976]) explore the nature of symbolic language, the relation of myth and PARABLE, and the relationship between text and interpreter.

P. described his life as a pilgrimage, and although he moved quickly between way stations, patterns emerge. His unrealized hope was to do a major study of "the function of the Jesus figure, the Jesus material, the Jesus story in the theological systems developed within the NT" (*JR* 64 [1984] 431). Careful attention to method and lucid exposition of the history of scholarship are hallmarks of his writings. He was trained as a historian but never minimized the historical specificity of NT texts; and although theologically a Bultmannian, he constantly probed how ancient texts could address modern men and women. Intellectually open, he explored the riches other disciplines offered to the study of the NT.

Works: *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus* (1963); *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (1967); *The Promise of Bultmann* (1969); *What Is Redaction Criticism?* (1969); *A Modern Pilgrimage in NT Christology* (1974); *The NT: An Introduction; Proclamation and Parenesis, Myth and History* (1974; 2nd rev. ed with D. Duling, 1982); *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom: Symbol and Metaphor in NT Interpretation* (1976); *The Resurrection According to Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (1977). For a complete bibliography of P.'s writings along with reviews see *JR* 64 (1984) 548-57.

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J. R. DONAHUE

PESHITTA

The Peshitta is the ancient Syriac TRANSLATION of the Bible used by all branches of the Syriac-speaking church; therefore it must have received acceptance before the fifth century CE schism between the Nestorians and the Monophysites. Although the Peshitta is the original Syriac translation of the HB, it is no longer regarded as the oldest Syriac version of the NT. The NT books 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, and Revelation were not part of the early Syriac CANON solidified at Edessa and thus were not included in the Peshitta.

1. Introduction of the Peshitta into Western Europe. The first printed Syriac NT, that of J. Widmanstadt, appeared in 1555 (Venice), followed by that of Tremellius in 1569 (Geneva). The Paris POLYGLOT of 1645 used MS 17a5, an inferior manuscript related to 12a1, the "Buchanan" Bible. (In the list for the Leiden edition the first number indicates the century; the letter, the contents.) In 1630 E. POCOCKE included the books omitted from the Peshitta NT for the first time (using the Philoxenian version). The text of the Paris Polyglot was basically recopied for the London Polyglot of 1657. While the NT was printed thirty or more times by the end of the nineteenth century, the principal editions of the OT were those of Lee (1823, using the text of the London Polyglot), Urmia (1852, made for the Presbyterian mission there), and Mosul (1887, made by Dominicans). The two latter editions used manuscripts as well as Lee's edition.

Western interest in the Syrian liturgy and language commenced after Maronite clergy attended the Fifth Lateran council (1512–17). Some scholars believed that Mark wrote his Gospel in Latin and then translated it and various other NT books into Syriac. With the printing of the Peshitta, Protestants thought they might have the original of Matthew and Hebrews, indeed the language of JESUS himself; however, in response to their claims that it preceded the VULGATE, Roman Catholics minimized its antiquity. As late as 1851 the English translation of the Peshitta by J. Murdock claimed that the text probably preserved the very words of Jesus and his apostles. Ironically, in 1858 W. Cureton made similar claims for the Old Syriac Gospels when he published an Old Syriac manuscript. Supporters of the priority of the Peshitta were forced to give way to claims for the Old Syriac, although the case was not completely settled until past the end of the century.

Although Elias and J. Assemani brought manuscripts to Rome and Florence from the Wadi Natrun in the early 1700s, the great period of oriental manuscript acquisition was the nineteenth century. C. Rich collected manuscripts around Mosul, and in the early 1840s H. Tattam obtained others at the Wadi Natrun that went to the British Museum. Tattam's collection was not used much until W. Wright's three-volume catalog (1870–72) of the British Museum holdings. Paris acquired manuscripts from Siirt; still others went to Berlin.

2. The OT. One or more monographs, dissertations, or studies have been written on every book of the OT from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. These have typically examined the translation technique, raised the question of the *Vorlage* and the relations to the TARGUMIM and the SEPTUAGINT, and speculated on the date (e.g. 1st or 2nd cent. CE or even later), location (e.g., Edessa or Adiabene), and authorship (e.g., Jewish, Christian, Jewish-Christian, community changing from Judaism to Christianity) of the translation.

These studies made it clear that a number of translators must have been responsible for different books of the OT Peshitta. The translations range from very free, as in Chronicles, to literal, as with Judges or Kings, but generally have a tendency to make the obvious explicit and to harmonize passages with surrounding verses or occasionally with passages in other books. Where the meaning of a Hebrew word was uncertain, the context usually guided the translator. Storytelling characteristics prevailed over literal renderings.

Beginning with J. Perles in 1859 many studies have explored the relations of the Peshitta with Jewish traditions, including the Targumim, and the related issues of the date and religion of the translators. The strongest illustrations of Jewish exegesis are found in the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), but the case for a targumic origin remains unproved (see P. Dirksen [1984] 258-96; and M. Weitzman [1994] 60-83).

There are certainly readings in various Peshitta books (e.g., frequently in Proverbs, Ezekiel, and the Twelve, and minimally in Samuel and Kings) that have come from the Septuagint, sometimes specifically the Lucianic recension. Yet apart from the revision of Jacob of Edessa, there is no evidence of any revision to conform to the Greek or reason to claim that in difficult passages the Peshitta systematically consulted any other translations. It was generally assumed that manuscripts could be classified as either Nestorian or Monophysite, with distinct textual traditions.

Starting at the end of the nineteenth century, W. BARNES provided critical apparatuses and editions of several OT books (e.g., Chronicles [1897]; Psalms [1904]; 2 Kings [1904/5, 1910]); his pupil Pinkerton (d. 1916) completed the edition of the Gospels printed by the British Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) in 1901. It had come to be recognized that MSS 5b1 and 9a1 often had readings closer to the MT than to the rest of the manuscripts and often differing from the Hebrew and

from the rest of the tradition. While Barnes appreciated the value of 7a1, he regarded 9a1 as a peculiar scholar's work sporadically adjusted to the MT and of little critical value. Pinkerton took the opposite position, regarding these manuscripts as preserving the original Peshitta where they agreed with the MT.

A new era in OT Peshitta research began with the creation of the Peshitta Institute in Leiden and the publication of a seventeen-volume critical edition (collated against 7a1, with an extensive apparatus of variants from manuscripts through the 12th cent., and regularly provided with significant introductions), a concordance project (6 vols., with Hebrew equivalents and some grammatical information), symposia, a monograph series, etc. Several studies as well as the introductions to the Leiden edition show that a significant number of ancient manuscripts have texts much closer to the Hebrew than does that of MS 7a1 (specifically 5b1, 6b1, 6k5, 6pj1, 6pk9, 7j3, 7pj2, 8b1, 8h5, 9a1, 10f1). M. Koster (1977) has presented the case for 5b1 in massive detail, and M. Weitzman (in P. Dirksen and M. Mulder [1988] 225-58) and D. Walter (in P. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij [1995] 8, 187-204) have argued for 9a1. These writers differ on how to treat the standard text found in most manuscripts. For Koster a text collateral with 5b1 gradually and unintentionally developed into the *textus receptus,* while for Weitzman a "virtual edition" evolved. In contrast, after demonstrating that the older text of the Peshitta of Kings made use of the Peshitta of Isaiah, that the revision made further use of it as well as of the Peshitta of Jeremiah, and that by the sixth century the manuscripts of the revision of Kings already differed extensively, Walter postulates an intentional revision for some books made no later than the sixth century.

Weitzman (1995, 217-46) has tentatively identified at least twelve translation units on the basis of vocabulary usage (e.g., changes in vocabulary usage suggests a change in translator with 2 Sam 6:16). The more conservative translators (on the basis of equivalents used) sometimes show a positive attitude toward the Jewish people; the more "modern" translators make more use of LXX readings.

For many of the volumes of the Leiden edition, an older group of manuscripts (pre-9th cent. and 9a1) was identified, along with a younger group of manuscripts found as early as the ninth century that have a very uniform text and, according to D. Lane, typically have a Mosul provenance. Also included are 12a1 and related manuscripts, which are often classified as a separate group. (Psalms presents a different situation, with a distinct Nestorian text tradition dating from the twelfth century.) Lane and K. Jenner (1998) have each offered somewhat different explanations for the uniformity of the younger group of manuscripts in terms of the changed status of Christians under contemporary Muslim rulers. For the older manuscripts in 5b1 the character and handwriting for Genesis and Exodus differ from that of Numbers and Deuteronomy. MSS 8a1 and 9a1 have received detailed studies by Jenner.

With critical texts increasingly available, studies of the Syriac syntax of the Peshitta began in the 1970s. To the ongoing contributions of T. Muraoka and S. Brock (1992) must be added the work of P. Williams (1997) and J. Joosten (1966). Studies of translation style and syntax show that the citations of the Peshitta in BHK and *BHS* must be used with hesitation, although it is clear that the Peshitta is an important early witness to a Hebrew text very similar to that of the MT. Considerable interest has been shown in the edition of Jacob of Edessa, which is now seen as a revision of the Peshitta rather than of the Syro-Hexapla; several publications and a bibliography (*Journal of Syriac Studies* [1998]) are in process.

3. The NT. The Syriac texts of the NT, including that of the Peshitta, are invaluable witnesses to the original text of the NT and its development. Attention has focused on the relations among the Syriac versions and on determining the text type of the various Greek manuscripts used in each new revision of the Syriac as the Syriac became increasingly conformed to some Greek text.

Manuscripts preserving the text of the Old Syriac Gospels were discovered in the nineteenth century: the Curetonian (obtained by the British Museum in 1842, and first published in 1858) and the Sinaitic palimpsest (found in 1892 by A. S. Lewis; the standard edition dates from 1910). These somewhat different texts contain significant numbers of *Diatessaron* readings, however explained. An Old Syriac version of Acts and of Pauline literature (see PAUL) is generally assumed on the basis of the texts quoted by early fathers, although no manuscripts of it exist.

The Peshitta is generally regarded as a revision of an Old Syriac text type, using a Greek text of an Antiochian form but with many readings agreeing with older Greek text types that include Western readings. It may have used Greek manuscripts whose readings nowhere else survive. Joosten (17-21) argues instead that the Peshitta is not based on the Old Syriac at all but on the form of the *Diatessaron* that had evolved by the fourth century. Early in the twentieth century F. BURKITT attributed the edition to Rabbula, bishop of Edessa (411–35), a position that since the work of A. Vööbus is no longer in favor. Vööbus argues that the Peshitta text was already in existence by the late fourth century, although the Old Syriac remained in circulation for centuries.

Although the language of the Peshitta is less free than that of the Old Syriac, the extent varies from book to book, with the Peshitta occasionally preserving Diatessaronic readings. Studies of mannerisms, style, and vocabulary equivalents for the Greek suggest a number of translators. The Peshitta NT manuscripts are generally

in close agreement with each other. Forty-two manuscripts were collated for the 1901 BFBS edition of the Gospels, but only the text of the Gospels was reprinted, with the text of the other NT books, in 1920 (often reprinted).

The Philoxenian version (507–8), used only by Monophysites, revised the Peshitta on the basis of Greek manuscripts, producing a work closer to the Greek and adding NT passages and books not found in the Peshitta. It survives because of those additions and in quotations. The Harclean version with its marginal readings, an important witness to the Western text, was prepared in Egypt by 616, revising the Philoxenian NT to more slavishly follow the Greek.

A number of dissertations (several by students of Vööbus) have studied the relationship among the ancient Syriac versions, translations made from the Syriac, and quotations in the fathers for specific books or the translation equivalents for specific terms. Critical editions important for NT Peshitta work have finally become available. G. Kiraz (1996) has published an edition of the Gospels that provides the Curetonian, Sinaitic, Peshitta, and the Harclean texts in parallel and, separately, a six-volume concordance to the Peshitta. B. Aland and Juckel (1986–95) have provided critical editions with introductions and appendixes for the general epistles and most of the Pauline letters, giving variant readings from the Peshitta manuscripts and, in parallel, citations from the fathers and the Harclean version.

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D. M. WALTER

PETER, FIRST LETTER OF

1. Early Interpretations. The history of the interpretation of 1 Peter probably begins within the NT CANON. The author of 2 Peter, writing as the apostle Peter, claims, "This is now, beloved, the second letter I am writing to you; in them I am trying to arouse your sincere intention by reminding you that you should remember the words spoken in the past by the holy prophets, and the commandment of the Lord and Savior spoken through your apostles" (2 Pet 3:1-2, NRSV). "Second letter" implies a first, and there is wide agreement that the letter now known as 1 Peter is in the writer's mind. Yet the reference shows little awareness of the actual content of 1 Peter. Second Peter is more interested in describing its own intentions than those of its predecessor (the same is true of the brief reference to the letters of PAUL in 2 Pet 3:15-16). At most it is possible that "the words spoken in the past by the holy prophets" may refer vaguely to 1 Pet 1:10-12. Yet the slender link forged by the reference in 2 Pet 3:1, strengthened by the pairing of the two letters under Peter's name in the NT canon, inevitably affected the interpretation of this letter in the church. In the eighteenth century J. BENGEL outlined 1 Peter and entitled the body of the letter (1 Pet 1:3–5:11), "The stirring up of a pure feeling," on the ground that this is the purpose of both letters according to 2 Pet 3:1 (1877, 5:43).

More extensive allusions to 1 Peter can be found in the early second-century letter of Polycarp of Smyrna to the Philippians. Without referring explicitly to Peter or to any specific source, Polycarp alluded to passages from the letter, especially chapter 1, freely combining elements from different texts to create a new text of his own. His work can hardly be called a commentary even in the most rudimentary sense; yet he provided the earliest known example of what we would call today a "reading" of 1 Peter. He was conscious, for example, of 1:8-12 as a unit, drawing phrases from its beginning and end to make his own new statement (see *Phil.* 1.3, "in

whom, though you did not see him, you believe with inexpressible and glorious joy—into which [joy] many desire to enter"). He then does the same thing with 1:13-21 (*Phil.* 2.1), in both instances interweaving words from the letter with language drawn from a variety of other early Christian texts and traditions (for other possible allusions, see *Phil.* 6.3, 8.1-2, 10.1-2).

Much the same thing seems to have taken place in the *Hypotyposeis,* or "Outlines," of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, mentioned by EUSEBIUS (*Hist. eccl.* 6.14.1), fragments of which survive in Greek citations by later fathers and in a sixth-century Latin translation by CASSIODORUS entitled *Adumbrationes,* or "Comments of Clement of Alexandria on the Canonical Epistles" (see *GCS* 17.195-202; *ANF* 2.571-73). Most of Clement's comments are not allegorical. Often he contented himself with a sporadic summary of the flow of thought in 1 Peter, illuminated with comments drawn from other texts or traditions (e.g., the first petition of the Lord's Prayer in connection with "sanctify the Lord Christ" in 1 Pet 3:15 and the Johannine "Paraclete" or Counselor of John 14:16 in connection with "the Holy Spirit sent from heaven" in 1 Pet 1:12).

Commentaries on 1 Peter or even on the catholic epistles as a collection are rare in the patristic period (see, e.g., Didymus the Blind in the 4th cent. *PG* 39.1749-1818; Pseudo-Oecumenius, 6th cent. or later, *PG* 119.509-78; and the catenae preserved by Theophylact in the 11th cent., *PG* 125.1189-1252). Citations, however, are abundant, starting in the late second century with IRENAEUS, who was the first to refer explicitly to Peter and to "his epistle" in connection with such passages as 1:8 (*Adv. Haer.* 4.9.2; 5.7.2) and 2:16 (*Adv. Haer.* 4.16.5). Eusebius cited an even earlier (mid-2nd cent.) source, PAPIAS of Hierapolis, in support of a close relationship between Peter and Mark on the basis of 5:13 and a metaphorical interpretation of Babylon as Rome in the same verse (*Hist. eccl.* 2.15.2; cf. 3.39.17). First Peter is freely cited by TERTULLIAN, Clement, ORIGEN, Cyprian, JEROME, and many others.

2. Author and Audience. Eusebius in the fourth century, taking 1 Pet 1:1 at face value, concluded that the epistle is "indisputably Peter's, in which he writes to those of the Hebrews in the Dispersion of Pontus and Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia" because he had preached "the Gospel of Christ to those of the circumcision" in those provinces (*Hist. eccl.* 3.4.2; this is in contrast to "Paul, in his preaching to the Gentiles," 3.4.1; cf. 3.1). This characterization of 1 Peter as a letter to Jewish Christians (probably based as much on Gal 2:7-8 as on 1 Peter) was enormously influential in later centuries—e.g., on 1 Pet 1:1: CALVIN ("This can apply only to the Jews" [1948] 26) and J. WESLEY ("Christians, chiefly those of Jewish extraction" [1755] 872). J. BENGEL's comment was more nuanced ("He addresses the dispersed Jews . . . although he afterwards addresses believers of the Gentiles, who are mixed with them, ch. ii.10, note, iv.3" [1877] 5:45). LUTHER took a different, also nuanced, approach: "It is surprising that while St. Peter was an apostle to the Jews, he is nevertheless writing to the heathen. . . . Accordingly, he is writing to those who had formerly been heathen but had now been converted to the faith and had joined the believing Jews" (LW 30 [1967] 6; cf. W. Tyndale's comment in his *Prologue upon the First Epistle of St. Peter* that Peter wrote "to the heathen that were converted" [1965] 163).

For the most part the judgment of Eusebius prevailed well into the nineteenth century. A stark contrast between the "Gentile-oriented" Paul and the "Jewish-oriented" Peter is evident in Christian history at least back to the third-century Pseudo-Clementine literature. The historical reconstructions of F. C. BAUR and the Tübingen school in the nineteenth century were built on that assumption; yet at the same time Baur found in 1 Peter "striking points of agreement in language and ideas with the Pauline letters." Consequently he gave up apostolic authorship of the letter, proposing that both 1 and 2 Peter were second-century documents mediating and harmonizing the conflicting views of Peter and Paul (cited in W. Kümmel [1972] 130-31).

Whatever one may think of Baur's reconstruction, it is true that Christian intepreters, both critical and precritical, have seen a considerable measure of agreement between Paul's letters and 1 Peter. Luther stated that Peter in this letter "does the same thing that St. Paul and all the evangelists do; he teaches the true faith and tells us that Christ was given to us to take away our sins and to save us" (30 [1967] 4). Because thirteen canonical letters are attributed to Paul and only two to Peter and because the self-designation in 1 Pet 1:1 seems to echo those of Paul, it seems that 1 Peter was assimilated to Paul and not the other way around.

The full history of the interpretation of 1 Peter up to the nineteenth century remains to be written. In the bibliography to his commentary (1996, 359-61), P. Achtemeier provides some tools for such an undertaking, and T. Martin (1992, 3-39, 277-84) has made a beginning with respect to the compositional analysis of the letter's structure. For the most part, however, scholars have concentrated instead on tracing the interpretation of specific passages, above all passages that became the focus of doctrinal controversies in or between Christian churches.

3. Christ and the Disobedient Spirits. The classic case study by which to illustrate the latter point is the reference in 1 Pet 3:19 to Christ's journey to preach to imprisoned spirits from the time of Noah (see W. Dalton's thorough summary [1989] 27-50). The notion of Christ's "descent into hell" for the redemption of lost souls was a topic of interest in early Christianity almost from the beginning, but not until Clement of Alexandria

(*Strom.* 6.6.38-39) was this teaching linked in any way to 3:19. This line of interpretation was followed in the Greek church by Origen, CYRIL, and others; and in the Syriac tradition, by the PESHITTA version ("And he preached to those souls detained in Sheol who had once been disobedient in the days of Noah," J. Murdock [1858] 424). AUGUSTINE, by contrast, saw in the passage a reference to the preexistent Christ preaching through Noah to the wicked of his generation (*PL* 33.708-16). Because it avoided the doctrinal problem of conversion after death, Augustine's view became popular in the West among both Catholics and Protestants. Although it had little basis in the text or context, this view could appeal to 1:11 for a preexisting "spirit of Christ" and to 2 Pet 2:5 for Noah as a "preacher of righteousness." More influential among Roman Catholics since the Counter Reformation was the view of R. BELLARMINE, who linked the passage with Christ's descent but argued that Christ preached to souls from Noah's time who had already repented and, in effect, delivered them from purgatory. He did this by identifying the "spirits" of 3:19 with "the dead" to whom "the gospel was preached" according to 4:6 (see Dalton, 40, 44).

With modern historical criticism came a new awareness of Jewish apocalyptic literature (see APOCALYPTICISM), especially 1 ENOCH, and consequently new interpretations of 3:19. Christ was seen, not as offering salvation to lost souls, but as pronouncing judgment either on the fallen angels of the flood story and their offspring (Gen 6:1-4), or on the wicked who died in the flood, or both. This judicial act was linked either to Christ's "descent into hell" between death and resurrection (E. Selwyn [1946]; B. Reicke [1946]) or, more recently, to his ascension after the resurrection (K. Gschwind [1911]; Dalton; J. Kelly [1969]; N. Brox [1979]; J. Michaels [1988]; Achtemeier). The latter interpretation afforded a link between this controversial passage and the letter's general theme of the vindication of Christians against their "disobedient" oppressors in the Roman Empire (2:8; 3:1; 4:17). Other modern scholars, however, still view the passage as some kind of an offer of salvation, whether to humans or to angels (see K. Schelkle [1970]; F. Beare [1970³]; L. Goppelt [1978; ET 1993]).

4. Modern Interpretations of 1 Peter. The rise of historical criticism affected the interpretation of 1 Peter in other ways as well. Doubts about the Petrine authorship of 2 Peter (and to a lesser extent of 1 Peter) severed the traditional connection between the two canonical letters. First Peter was seen as a self-contained early Christian document in its own right and not as the first of two reminders of "the words spoken in the past by the holy prophets, and the commandment of the Lord and Savior spoken through your apostles" (2 Pet 3:2). Yet this did not exclude the recognition that the letter does contain traditional material. For decades the modern discussion centered on assessing the relationship between 2 Peter and the traditions of 1 Peter. On the matter of authorship, an increasing number of scholars suggested that the work was pseudonymous (that is, written by someone other than Peter in the apostle's name). Still, the traditional view continued to find defenders, at least in the sense of a connection (direct or indirect) with the historical Peter. So far as the letter's readers were concerned, however, the older view that they were Jewish Christians gave way to the theory that they were largely or even exclusively gentile Christians (as Luther and Tyndale had thought and as the language of 1:14, 18, and 4:3-4 suggests).

The years 1946–47 marked a turning point in the study of the letter. In 1946 B. REICKE made extensive use of comparative Jewish and Hellenistic material to shed light on 3:18-22 and 4:6 and at the same time to call attention to the significance of Christian baptism in the letter as a whole. In the same year Selwyn (in an appendix to his commentary, 314-64) independently reached some of the same conclusions about the same two texts. More important, he applied the methods of FORM CRITICISM (previously used only in the study of the Gospels) to argue for 1 Peter's dependence on a common early Christian catechism known to Paul and to other Christian writers and based on the Holiness Code of Leviticus 17–26 (365-466). In 1947 F. W. BEARE (in the first edition of his commentary) raised acutely in the English-speaking world the doubts already current in Germany (going back to Baur, A. von Harnack, and others) about the letter's traditional Petrine authorship and first-century date.

In the decade or so that followed, more attention was given to the traditions behind 1 Peter than to the letter in its present form. First Peter 1:3–4:11 was seen as originally not a letter at all but as a baptismal homily or liturgy. Beare regarded this section as a homily on baptism later placed in an epistolary framework consisting of 1:1-2 and 4:12–5:14. H. Preisker, in his revision of H. WINDISCH's commentary (1951), constructed an elaborate liturgy in which the baptism of candidates was said to have taken place between 1:21 and 1:22. Even 4:12–5:11 was no longer viewed as a letter but as a concluding liturgy for the whole congregation. F. Cross (1954) proposed on the basis of second-century sources (Melito's *On the Passover* and the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus) a wordplay between the Greek verb *paschein* (to suffer) in 1 Peter (twelve occurrences) and the Hebrew noun *pascha* (Passover). Consequently he interpreted the letter in its entirety as a Passover/Easter liturgy centering on baptism (again with the baptism of candidates taking place after 1:21). In contrast, E. Lohse in 1954 maintained the epistolary character of 1 Peter and saw it as an example of early Christian *parenesis*—that is, as an actual letter using traditional forms of expression in order to encourage its readers in the face

of impending persecution (1986). C. F. D. MOULE (1956–57), impressed by the change of tone and apparent break between 4:11 and 4:12, proposed two forms of the letter sent to two different audiences: one (consisting of 1:1–4:11 and 5:12-14) for churches not yet suffering actual persecution, and the other (1:1–2:10 and 4:12–5:14) for those already facing the "fiery trial" signaled in 4:12.

Since the early 1960s the unity and epistolary character of 1 Peter have been strongly reasserted (e.g., in the commentaries of Schelkle; Kelly; E. Best [1971]; Goppelt; Brox; Michaels; and Achtemeier), even though its use of traditional materials continued to be recognized and ever more carefully charted (see, e.g., D. Balch [1981] on the "household code" of 2:13–3:9). This trend followed in the wake of a corresponding shift in the study of the Gospels from form to REDACTION CRITICISM. Just as the Gospel writers had come to be regarded not as mere compilers of tradition but as authors and theologians in their own right, so also 1 Peter (whether written by the apostle Peter or not) was being more and more appreciated for its distinctive contributions to early Christian theology and ethics. It was no longer possible to view the letter as just another "Deutero-Pauline" writing, as if its author were trying to imitate Paul but was not quite succeeding.

In one area at least—the sociological intepretation of NT texts (see SOCIOLOGY AND NT STUDIES)—studies in 1 Peter showed the way, beginning with W. van Unnik's 1954 article on good works and civic virtue and coming to fruition in L. GOPPELT's commentary and the monographs of J. Elliott (1981) and Balch. In the 1980s the letter's accent on "honor" and "shame" and the contrast between the two captured the attention of those who advocated a sociological approach. Elliott's emphasis was on "boundary maintenance" (that is, on the attempt to preserve Christian distinctives in a hostile Roman culture), while Balch found more significant the interest in "acculturation" (i.e., in conforming as far as possible to dominant Roman values so as to minimize social conflict). Their debate is concisely documented in a volume edited by C. Talbert, who in conclusion recognizes both social goals in the letter: "(1) the social cohesion of the Christian groups, and (2) the social adaptation of the Christian groups to their cultural setting. Without the first, Christian identity would have been lost. Without the second, Christians would have had no social acceptability, which is also necessary for survival and outreach" (1986, 148).

Another factor introduced into the discussion (see Michaels; T. Martin [1992]) is the analogy between the social self-consciousness of these early gentile Christians and that of the Jews in the diaspora. The evidence that misled Eusebius long ago into supposing a Jewish Christian audience (e.g., the language of 1:1) could suggest that 1 Peter, like James, was intended as a Christian "diaspora letter" based on just such an analogy. Comparative studies are needed on the place of Judaism and of gentile Christianity respectively in the Roman Empire of the late first century. Such studies could enrich and be enriched by the continuing investigation of 1 Peter in its historical and social setting.

At least two other tasks remain in connection with the letter. The first task is theological. Despite an ever-widening recognition of 1 Peter's significant place in early Christianity, no major work of NT theology has yet tried to do justice to its distinctive witness to Christ and to the Christian life. The second task has to do with LITERARY and/or RHETORICAL CRITICISM. Aside from questions of genre (i.e., liturgy, homily, or genuine letter), the only major foray into these areas has been the SEMIOTIC analysis of J. Calloud and F. Genuyt (1982). Part of the reason is that the newer methodologies in literary criticism have been applied more frequently to NT narratives than to NT letters; yet rhetorical criticism has been applied to the letters of Paul, James, 2 Peter, Jude, and Hebrews. At this writing, 1 Peter needs more attention from this perspective. Still, a growing number of commentaries and monographs testify that the letter, if never quite "the storm centre of NT studies" that S. Neill claimed it was (1964, 343), is no longer the "exegetical step-child" that Elliott (with some justification) called it in 1976 (see Talbert, 3-16). Slowly but surely this "minor" NT voice distinct from Paul and distinct from the Gospels is making itself heard both in the academy and in the church.

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PETER, SECOND LETTER OF

This epistle embodies many typical features of a formal letter: introduction (1:1-2); epistolary thanksgiving (1:3-11); letter occasion (1:12-15); first defense: PROPHECY of the parousia (1:16-21); polemic against heretics (2:1-22); second defense: end of the world (3:1-7); third defense: delay of judgment (3:8-16); conclusion (3:17-18). Simultaneously, it is also cast in the genre of a farewell address of a dying leader/patriarch in which references to the writer's past are drawn upon and exhortations are made about the future (see Genesis 49; Deuteronomy 33; John 13–17; Acts 20; and numerous non-biblical texts; see also A. Kolenkow [1975]). As the leader is about to die the texts generally mention (a) a prediction of death (1:12-15); (b) appointment of a successor (the possessor of this very document); (c) prediction of future troubles and trials (heretics attacking the group, 2:1-22; 3:3-10); and (d) exhortation to virtue (faithfulness to the tradition). The letter is addressed from "Simon Peter, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ" (1:1); refers to his eyewitness presence at Jesus' transfiguration (1:16-18); and mentions a previous letter written to the same audience (3:1).

No NT writing is less attested to in the early church than 2 Peter. Specific references to the work or use of it do not appear in the first two centuries. The third-century papyrus Bodmer P^{72} shows that the work was being copied in Egypt at the time, although the Syriac PESHITTA contains only three of the catholic epistles (James, 1 Peter, and 1 John) but not 2 Peter. According to EUSEBIUS (*Hist. eccl.* 6.25.11), ORIGEN was familiar with the work and was also aware of doubts about its genuineness. Eusebius placed it among the antilegomena or works that were "disputed" (*Hist. eccl.* 3.25.3-4) although "generally recognized." JEROME noted that Peter "wrote two epistles which are called Catholic, the second of which, on account of its difference from the first in style, is considered by many not to be by him" (*Lives of Illustrious Men* 1). Jerome also suggested that the difference in style between 1 and 2 Peter might have been due to Peter's use of two different secretaries. AUGUSTINE apparently had no problem with the work and lists two epistles of Peter as canonical (*On Christian Doctrine* 1.8.13). Second Peter appears in ATHANASIUS's list of biblical books in his Easter letter of 367 CE.

In the medieval period acknowledgment of seven catholic epistles became standard. A basic commentary on these works was that by BEDE, *In epistolas VII catholicas* (1983).

During the Renaissance and the Reformation the old suspicions about 2 Peter resurfaced, as they did with all the antilegomena. D. ERASMUS, A. von KARLSTADT, and T. CAJETAN all raised doubts about the book. Interestingly, LUTHER was complimentary of this work, "written against those who think that Christian faith can be without works" (35 [1960] 391). H. GROTIUS in his *Annotationes* (1650) gave widespread circulation to the objections against the book and to the issues of relating 1 and 2 Peter to each other and 2 Peter to Jude. He argued that 2 Peter was probably written by Simeon, who succeeded James as the head of the church in Jerusalem, and that the opponents mentioned in the book were the second-century heretical group called the Carpocratians. Material like the name "Peter" and 1:16-18 he considered interpolations added to the text.

Defenses of the apostolic origin and authenticity of the epistle were published throughout the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. The renowned anti-Deist T. Sherlock (1678–1761; see DEISM) argued (1) that Jude and 2 Peter were based on the use of a no longer extant ancient Jewish writing (not *1 Enoch*) and (2) that both epistles were based on an earlier communiqué circulated in the church (see 2 Pet. 3:2; Jude 5) warning about false teachers (1725). Their similar depiction of heretics was not based on mutual dependence but on the warning circulated to various churches. Similar arguments were made by others defending the authenticity of the work (see *CBTEL* 8 [1879] 21-27 for a survey of publications in the 18th–19th cents.).

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, two views on the book came to dominate (see E. Abbot [1882]; F. Chase [1900]; and J. Mayer [1907]): (1) Jude and 2 Peter are literarily related, with 2 Peter dependent on Jude, which is not an apostolic work. Second Peter thus came to be considered the

latest book of the NT to have been written. (Few followed F. C. Baur and the Tübingen school, who placed 2 Peter along with the Pastoral Epistles and the Gospel of John in the middle of the 2nd cent.) (2) Second Peter is a pseudonymous work written in Peter's name and reflective of conditions in the early post-apostolic church. (For arguments against both views see B. B. Warfield [1882]; E. Green [1962].)

The lateness of the epistle is indicated by concern with the delay of the parousia (3:3-10), awareness of a collection of PAUL's letters (3:16), and utilization of a rich collection of biblical and Christian traditions (e.g., 1:16-19). The work has affinities with *1* and *2 Clement* and the *Shepherd of Hermas* (R. Bauckham [1983] 145-51, 158-62); it shares in the fascination with Peter reflected in the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Peter, Gospel of Peter, Preaching of Peter,* and *Acts of Peter* (see APOCRYPHA, NT), which some scholars have seen as indicative of a Petrine group or school in the early church (see F. Chase [1900]; M. Soards [1987]); and it reflects some of the characteristics of a pluralistic Hellenistic-Jewish context (see T. Fornberg [1977]) in which Epicureanism was a significant factor (see J. Elliott [1992]).

A major impetus to discussion of 2 Peter was a 1952 article by the Lutheran E. KÄSEMANN arguing that the epistle is representative of "early Catholicism" in which the church is "so concerned to defend herself against heretics, that she no longer distinguishes between Spirit and letter; that she identifies the Gospel with her own tradition and further, with a particular world-view; that she regulates exegesis according to her system of teaching authority and makes faith into a mere assent to the dogmas of orthodoxy" (1964, 195). Clearly, Käsemann's views reflect a Protestant/Lutheran approach informed by Reformation perspectives opposed to identifying faith with believing truths, to placing confidence in authoritative tradition, and to playing down private interpretation. Many of these issues, however, are reflected in other NT writings. Reactions to Käsemann have called into question whether he has properly understood the epistle (see Bauckham [1983] 151-54; C. Talbert [1966]), nonetheless, his article renewed interest in the writing.

M. Rosenblatt (1994), examining female imagery and the absence of women in the letter, has attempted to reconstruct the role of women in the congregation of 2 Peter. According to Rosenblatt, reconstruction of women's roles in 2 Peter indicates that women taught and interpreted the Scriptures in the Christian churches in the first century and that ecclesial authority attempted to suppress women's leadership.

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J. NEYREY

PETER THE CHANTER (d. 1197)

A lecturer on the Sacred Page in late twelfth-century Paris, P. commented on the whole Bible in a style that combined the methods of earlier twelfth-century masters (notably the Victorines and the compilers of the *Glossa Ordinaria*) and the technically refined methods of logical and grammatical analysis developed in the course of the century. In this regard his major contribution is the *De Tropis Loquendi,* an attempt to apply Aristotle's teaching on fallacies to the resolution of apparent contradictions in Scripture, which takes AUGUSTINE and BEDE technically much further. His *Verbum Abbreviatum* is a manual of material for use in preaching, prefaced by a discussion of the manner in which the Bible should be approached. He thus provided textbooks both for the art of preaching and for schoolroom Bible study that were current and, in some respects, original works. In these fields he holds a place among the principal scholars of his day.

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G. R. EVANS

PETER COMESTOR (d. 1178/79)

After studying in the schools of Paris and Tours, P. was dean of Troyes from 1147. He began to teach in Paris before 1158/59 and was chancellor of Paris from 1168 until his death, spending his last years in the abbey of St. Victor. His wide reading earned him the nickname *Comestor* or *Manducator*—"the eater of books." He was a disciple and colleague of PETER LOMBARD (d. 1160), whose oral teaching he reported in his own theological *quaestiones.* He pioneered the practice of basing the teaching of theology on Lombard's *Sentences,* which he glossed, as well as on the Gospels and perhaps on Lombard's commentary on the psalter. His *School History* (*Historia Scholastica* [1169/73]) became very widely known and read during the Middle Ages; a comprehensive biblical history, it owes much to the continuous GLOSSA ORDINARIA that came into being in the schools of Laon and Paris during his lifetime and to the Victorine emphasis on the literal study of Scripture in the light of Hebraic understanding. For the HB P. used JOSEPHUS and connected Jewish history to general ancient history. The Gospels are surveyed together, not individually; and P. included information drawn from liturgy, pictures, and relics, paying special attention to the history, topography, and antiquities of Palestine. The *Genealogy of Christ,* which sometimes introduces copies of the *History,* was provided by Peter of Poitiers (d. 1205).

Works: *Historia Scholastica, PL* 198, 1053-644; *Sermons, PL* 171, 339-964 (printed under the name of Hildebert) and *PL* 198, 1721-844; *Quaestiones* = questions 228-334 in *Quaestiones Magistri Odonis Suessionis* (Analecta novissima Spicilegii Solesmensis, Continuatio altera 2, ed. J. B. Pitra, 1888); *Sententiae de Sacramentis* (ed. R. M. Martin, SSL 17, 1937).

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D. E. LUSCOMBE

PETER LOMBARD (c. 1095/1100–1161)

Born in the Novara region, P. entered the historical record in the mid-1130s when BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX met him and advised him to study theology in France. P. did so, first at Reims under Alberic, Lotulph of Novara, and Walter of Mortagne. In 1136 he moved to Paris, where he was probably an extern pupil of HUGH OF ST. VICTOR; in any case P. was thoroughly familiar with Victorine theology and with the work of other recent and contemporary schools and masters. He began teaching c. 1142 and had become a canon of Notre Dame by 1145, subdeacon in 1148, deacon after 1150, and archdeacon by 1156. He taught until 1159, when he became bishop of Paris, an office he held until his death, July 21/22, 1161.

P.'s surviving exegetical works are his commentaries on Psalms (before 1138) and on the Pauline epistles or *Collectanea* (1139–41, with a second redaction 1155–58). His pupil, Herbert of Bosham put the finishing touches on both glosses. Not extant but attested indirectly are commentaries on most of the other biblical books. Exegetical material, derived especially from the *Collectanea,* plays a very prominent role in Peter's systematic theology, the *Sentences,* where he placed it under the appropriate subject-matter headings, and is found also in his sermons.

Although influenced by the GLOSSA ORDINARIA and in particular by GILBERT DE LA PORRÉE's Psalms commentary, P. did more than any other twelfth-century exegete to develop a scholastic, as distinct from a monastic, approach to the Bible. He agreed that the psalms should be read morally, christologically, and ecclesiologically, but his Psalms exegesis had far wider aims. He considered the psalter as a composite text containing different types of psalms whose connection with those in the same subcategory needed to be flagged. He provided an *accessus* to each psalm and to the book as a whole and noted and tried to resolve textual discrepancies arising from the transmission of the psalms through regional psalters that sometimes predate and differ from the VULGATE. He saw a need to weigh conflicting authoritative readings, although he sometimes found them reconcilable. When this was not the case, he analyzed the authorities and provided principled reasons for preferring one to another. Rather than glossing the psalms to incite devotion, he sought to extract doctrine from them, mainly ethical and sacramental.

These traits also mark the *Collectanea*; but in glossing PAUL, P. went much farther, viewing the apostle not only as a rich source of authoritative doctrine on many subjects but also as the first working Christian theologian, whose teaching is subject to the same historical and logical criticism as scholastics apply to post-biblical authorities. P. read Paul literally, except for Paul's identification of antichrist with Nero in 2 Thessalonians. P. opposed this interpretation and offered his own moral and allegorical understanding of Antichrist. Other areas in which he thought Paul's authority could be relativized or rejected in the light of the transitory or circumstantial situation in which he preached are the subjection of women in 1 Cor 14:34-36 and 1 Tim 2:11-15 and the preference for celibacy over marriage in 1 Cor 7:1-28.

P.'s medieval reputation as an exegete resulted from the forging of his scholastic method and many substantive positions in his glosses; from his organic connection between exegesis and systematic theology; and from his commentaries' user-friendly format, which supplied the full biblical text, verbatim quotations or extensive paraphrases of authorities cited, and a balance between running commentary and *quaestiones* derived from the text.

Works: *Collectanea in omnes d. Pauli apostoli Epistolae, PL* 191-92; *Commentarium in Psalmos Davidicos, PL* 191; *Sermones* 4, 7-8, 12-3, 21, 23-5, 32, 35-6, 43, 45, 67-8, 72, 78, 80, 99, 111-2, 115, *PL* 171, misattributed to Hildebert of Lavardin; "Deux sermons inédits de P. L.," *Miscellanea Lombardiana* (ed. D. Van den Eynde, 1957) 75-87; *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae* (ed. I. C. Brady, 1971–81).

Bibliography: **E. Bertola,** "I commentari paolini di P. L. e la loro duplice redazione," *Pier Lombardo* 3:2-3 (1959) 75-90. **E. M. Buytaert,** "St. John Damascene, P. L., and Gerhoh of Reichersberg," *Franciscan Studies* 10 (1950) 323-43. **J. Châtillon,** "La Bible dans les écoles du XIIe siècle," *Le moyen âge et la Bible* (*BTT*, ed. P. Riché and G. Lobrichon, 1984) 163-97. **M. L. Colish,** *Peter Lombard* (1994) 1:15-32, 156-225. **M. T. Gibson,** "The Glossed Bible" (facsimile reprt. of editio princeps [1480/81] of *Biblia latina cum Glossa ordinaria* [1992]) 1:vii-xi; "The Place of the *Glossa ordinaria* in Medieval Exegesis," *Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers* (ed. M. D. Jordan and K. Emery, Jr., 1992) 5-27. **H. H. Glunz,** *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to R. Bacon: Being an Inquiry into the Text of Some English Manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels* (1933) 214-15, 219-24, 232-58. **T. Gross-Diaz,** *The Psalms Commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers: From lectio divina to the Lecture Room* (1996). **J. Le Clerc,** "Les deux rédactions du prologue de P. L. sur les Épîtres de S. Paul," *Miscellanea Lombardiana* (1957) 109-12. **G. Lobrichon,** "Une nouveauté: Les gloses de la Bible," *Le moyen âge et la Bible,* 93-114. **B. Smalley,** "Some Gospel Commentaries of the Early Twelfth Century," *RTAM* 45 (1978) 153-56, 175; "Peter Comestor on the Gospels and His Sources," *RTAM* 46 (1979) 113. **B. Smalley and G. Lacombe,** "The Lombard's Commentary on Isaias and Other Fragments," *New Scholasticism* 5 (1931) 123-62.

M. L. COLISH

PETERS, JOHN PUNNETT (1852–1921)

An American HB scholar, archaeologist, and Episcopal priest, P. completed his PhD in Sanskrit and comparative philology at Yale (1876) and after ordination as priest (1877) studied Semitics in Berlin (1879–81) and Leipzig (1882–83). He taught HB at the Philadelphia Divinity School (1884–91) and Hebrew at the University of Pennsylvania (1885–93). He led two American expeditions to excavate Nippur (1888–89 and 1890), the first such American excavation. He traveled in Palestine in 1890 and 1902 and served as lecturer for the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH in 1919–20. In 1919 he accepted a position in NT at the University of the South.

As an archaeologist, P. distinguished himself early on by his work at Nippur; for the rest of his career he promoted the exploration of the Near East and wrote about the relevance of ARCHAEOLOGY for the interpretation of Scripture. However, his primary interest was

HB studies. He wrote about the origins and religion of ancient Israel, the psalter, and JESUS' use of the HB. His approach was critical but not radical. In his study of Psalms he was most creative. Scholars of his day interpreted the psalms by the following principles: (1) most psalms are postexilic; (2) each psalm should be interpreted against the most likely historical background scholarship can posit; (3) the original text for a psalm can be recovered only by radical emendation on the basis of metrical considerations; and (4) most psalms are expressions of individual piety. P. rejected these principles, arguing that few psalms may be confidently assigned a precise date or historical circumstance, psalms never conformed to modern ideas of meter, and they are best understood as cultic liturgies. Although these arguments persuaded few scholars, subsequent research has vindicated a number of P.'s positions; and it appears that in many ways he anticipated S. MOWINCKEL's cultic interpretation of the psalms.

Works: *Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates: The Narrative of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia in the Years 1888–90* (1898); *The OT and the New Scholarship* (1902); *Early Hebrew Story: Its Historical Background* (1904); *The Religion of the Hebrews* (1914); *The Psalms as Liturgies* (1920 Paddock Lectures, 1922).

Bibliography: **C. H. Gordon,** *The Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics: A Century of Near Eastern and Biblical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania* (1986) 29-32. **J. P. Peters, Jr.,** "Personalia," *AJSL* 38 (1921/22) 150; "Proceedings" and "Selected Bibliography of J. P. P.," *JBL* 41 (1922) v-vii, 246-48.

M. P. GRAHAM

PETRIE, WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS (1853–1942)

Young P. was often sickly and thus was self-taught at home, with virtually no formal education. He began archaeological walks in England at an early age and became a talented surveyor. His lifelong fascination with Egypt and involvement with the British Egypt Exploration Fund began in 1880–82 with a survey of the pyramids that extended through 1929, resulting in more than fifty excavated sites and nearly a hundred published volumes. Beginning in 1892 and continuing for many years he held the Amelia Edwards Chair for EGYPTOLOGY at University College London. Because of his pioneering fieldwork; his insistence on improved methods of recording and prompt publication, in contrast to the treasure-hunters of his time; and his tireless promotional efforts, he has justly been called the father of modern Egyptology.

P. was also the father of Palestinian ARCHAEOLOGY, for it was he who directed the first systematic excavations in that country at Tell el-Hesy on the Wadi Gaza (Lachish) in 1890. It was there that he demonstrated for the first time the twofold principles of stratigraphy and pottery dating that were to become the fundamental techniques of the emerging discipline. After this brief interlude P. returned to Egypt and did not work again in Palestine for more than thirty-five years. His later excavations included Tell Jemmeh (Gerar, 1926–27); Tell el-Far'ah south (Beth-pelet, 1928–30); Tell el-'Ajjûl (ancient Gaza, 1930–34, 1937–38); Sheikh Zowayd in the Sinai (1935–37); and a survey of Transjordan (1938). From 1938 until his death, July 29, 1942, P. resided at the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH in Jerusalem.

In his publications on Palestine we see P.'s characteristic habits: intuition, enormous energy, systematic recording (although scant by later, and even some current, standards), amazingly prompt publication, and reliance on a corpus of ceramic types. He prided himself on what he considered to be empirical methods, and his scorn for less "scientific" excavations was well known. He was an authentic pioneer, one of the few true geniuses of Near Eastern archaeology. W. F. ALBRIGHT called him the "beloved Nestor" of Palestinian archaeology, and few would disagree. He was a man of heroic mold.

Works: *Tell el-Hesy (Lachish)* (1891); *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (1906); *Beth-Pelet (Tell Farah)* (1930); *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (1931); *Ancient Gaza I-IV: Tell el Ajjûl* (1931–34); *City of Shepherd Kings and Ancient Gaza V* (1952).

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W. G. DEVER

PEYRÈRE, ISAAC DE LA (c. 1596–1676)

P. was born in Bordeaux, France. Trained as a lawyer, in 1626 he was accused of and tried for "atheism and impiety" but was acquitted. In 1640 he became secretary to the prince of Condé in Paris, where he came into contact with a circle of writers and philosophers that included such notables as B. Pascal (1623–62), H. GROTIUS, T. HOBBES, M. Mersenne (1588–1648), P. Gassendi (1592–1655), and G. Naudé (1600–1653). Within a year of his arrival in Paris, P. began circulating a rough manuscript version of what was to become his *magnum opus* on pre-adamic humans. This early version contained at least his pre-adamite theory and his messianic views. The manuscript circulated privately in Paris, and in 1643 Grotius published a refutation of its pre-adamite theory. The same year P. published anonymously only

his messianic scheme under the title *Du Rappel des Iuifs.*

In 1655 P. finally published his *Prae-Adamitae* in Amsterdam. It went through five editions that year; in 1656 it was published in English, and in Dutch in 1661. P. was arrested in February 1656 and persuaded to apologize, officially to retract his heretical views, and to become a Roman Catholic. In 1665 he retired from public life to the seminary of the Oratorians at Aubervilliers outside Paris, where he remained until his death.

At the center of P.'s theological system was his contention that the history recorded in the HB was only the history of the Jews and not universal history. Adam was not the first human but only the first Jew; there were innumerable humans before Adam. Genesis 1 was a description of the first creation, Genesis 2–3 the description of the creation of the Jewish race. He used Rom 5:12-14 to defend this thesis. Based on information from other ancient civilizations (e.g., Chinese, Babylonian, Egyptian, Aztec) he argued that universal history had been going on for an indefinite period of time.

A crucial element in the formation of P.'s pre-adamite theory was the burgeoning evidence from reports by travelers that other peoples existed who did not easily fit into biblical genealogy (e.g., Eskimos, Native Americans) and who he argued had existed since the first creation. They were not destroyed in the Genesis deluge since it affected only Palestine. Thus, not all races need be accounted for in the genealogy of Noah's family.

Partly as a means of breaking through the historical literalism that fit all of history into the biblical framework, P. attacked the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. He pointed out various anomalies, like the record of Moses' death; the phrase "beyond the Jordan," which indicates a geographical perspective Moses never enjoyed; and various anachronisms showing that some of the writing in the Pentateuch must have come from a later hand. He did not doubt that some genuine words of Moses were contained there; he only asserted that they had sometimes been misplaced or garbled by a later copyist responsible for the Pentateuch's final form, which consisted of ancient sources from Jewish antiquity, the "diaries" of Moses, and some of the copyist's own words. The whole P. referred to as "a heap of Copie confusedly taken." He envisioned a rudimentary form of source criticism but never undertook such a program. However, on the basis of content and style, he stated that it is probable that Moses wrote Genesis 2–3 concerning the creation of Adam and Eve but that a copyist included the material in Genesis 1 and 4–5 from another source.

P. addressed *Prae-Adamitae* "to all the Synagogues to the Jews, dispersed over the face of the earth," indicating his primary goal of converting the Jews to Christianity in preparation for the millennial reign of the messiah. By reducing the HB exclusively to the record of Jewish history he gave the Jews the central role in the plan of redemption. He believed that when the Jews finally accepted a simplified version of Christianity and were accepted into the Christian church, the Messiah (Jesus Christ in his second appearance) would come and lead the united Jewish nation to Jerusalem, where together they would rule the world.

P.'s most influential ideas were his pre-adamite theory and his biblical criticism. B. SPINOZA was very likely influenced by P. during the latter's stay in Amsterdam in 1655. One of Spinoza's teachers, MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL, had read both *Du Rappel des Iuifs* and *Prae-Adamitae.* It is also known that Spinoza had a copy of *Prae-Adamitae* in his library, and parts of *Tractatus* seem to be dependent on P.'s work. R. SIMON disagreed with P.'s millenarian and pre-adamic views but made use of many of his remarks on the internal inconsistencies in the Bible. P.'s views were anathematized through much of the eighteenth century; however, when J. ASTRUC listed the three great influences of the previous century on PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM, he named P., Hobbes, and Spinoza.

Works: *Du Rappel des Iuifs* (1643); *Relation du Groenland* (1647); *A Theological Systeme upon That Presuppostion That Men Were Before Adam* (1655); *Men Before Adam, or a Discourse upon the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Verses of the Fifth Chapter of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Romans. By Which Are Prov'd That the First Men Were Created Before Adam* (1656; usually bound together with *Theological Systeme*); *Relation de l'Islande* (1663).

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B. C. JONES

PFEIFFER, ROBERT HENRY (1892–1958)

A renowned HB scholar and Assyriologist (see ASSYRIOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), P. was born in Italy in 1892 to American parents, grew up in Italian public schools, and studied in Geneva (1911–13), Berlin, and Tübingen (1913–14). He received a theological degree in 1915 from the Faculté Autonome de Théologie of Geneva and the University of Geneva. Emigrating to the United States, he was granted the AM by Harvard in 1912, the PhD in 1922, and the STM in 1923. P. was an accomplished linguist, fluent in Italian, English, French, and German and well versed in Latin, Greek,

Hebrew, and the languages of the ancient Near East. Joining the Harvard faculty as instructor of Semitic languages and history in 1922, he was Hancock Professor of Hebrew and Other Oriental Languages from 1953 to his death. As curator of the Semitic Museum from 1931, he directed the growth of its collections to its present status as a major center of research. For many years he taught concurrently at Boston University. Editor of the *JBL* from 1943 to 1947, he was elected president of the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE in 1950.

P. is best known for his two major handbooks: *Introduction to the OT* (1941) and *History of NT Times* (1949), an introduction to the APOCRYPHA. These displayed an extraordinary knowledge of secondary literature in many languages and quickly became standard manuals for students and scholars in the field. Strongly influenced by his mentors, G. MOORE and W. Arnold, P. was a skillful practitioner of the historical-LITERARY method of analyzing texts. His studies led him to identify the biographer of David as "the father of history" and to regard 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2 as the earliest Hebrew source, a Semitic *Iliad.* His theory of a non-Israelite source in Genesis, symbolized as S, has not been widely accepted; and modern HB research would question his assignment of much HB literature to the postexilic period. Although he was keenly interested in the historical development of Israelite religion, on which he left an incomplete manuscript (published posthumously by his student C. Forman), he was strongly averse to attempts to extract a THEOLOGY of the HB, insisting on the separation of theology from biblical science.

In 1928, while serving as annual professor of the Baghdad School of the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH (1928–29), he directed the school's excavations at Nuzi and published the first two volumes of reports on ancient Assyrian records.

Works: *Excavations at Nuzi,* vol. 2, *The Archives of Shilwateshub, Son of the King* (HSS, 1932); *State Letters of Assyria* (1935); *One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts* (ASOR, 1937); *Introduction to the OT* (1941, 1952[2]); *History of NT Times with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (1949, 1955[2]); "Facts and Faith in Biblical History," *JBL* 70 (1951) 1-14; "The Literature and Religion of the Apocrypha" and "The Literature and Religion of the Pseudepigrapha," *IB* (1952) 1:391-436; (tr.), "Akkadian Oracles and Prophecies," *ANET* (1955[2]) 449-552; (with W. G. Pollard), *The Hebrew Iliad: The History of the Rise of Israel Under Saul and David* (1957); (with C. C. Forman), *Religion in the OT: The History of a Spiritual Triumph* (1961), with bibliography, 233-56.

Bibliography: **M. V. Anastos et al.,** "R. H. P.," *Harvard University Gazette* (Jan. 31, 1959).

E. W. SAUNDERS

PFLEIDERER, OTTO (1839–1908)

One of F. C. BAUR's (d. 1860) last and most devoted students in Tübingen, P. became a *Repetent* there in 1864. After a period in Jena, where he was appointed professor of practical theology and university preacher in 1871, the liberal minister P. L. A. Falk made him professor of systematic theology in Berlin, against the wishes of that faculty (1875).

P. remained a follower of Baur while denying that the Jewish-Gentile controversy persisted beyond the apostolic period. Setting his historical construction in a right-wing Hegelian framework, he saw in the development of primitive Christianity into the Roman Catholic Church a natural evolution of PAUL's Christian Hellenism as the church left behind the apostle's residual Pharisaism and moved in more speculative (John) and practical (James, *1 Clement*) directions. P. maintained this philosophical and theological interpretation of Christian history against the more popular anti-metaphysical theologies of A. RITSCHL and A. von HARNACK.

Although P. is often considered a precursor of the history-of-religion approach (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE), his significance lies more in his development of that approach within theology than in biblical studies. In an age that had lost the vision of the great German idealists, he set Christianity in the wider context of non-Christian religions without abandoning the quest for normative religious truth. His 1869 and 1878 works (discussed in detail by R. Leuze [1908]) brought a knowledge of other religions to bear on the understanding of Christianity but suffer from neglect of JESUS' eschatology. Because of his philosophical theology, P. was more admired in England than in Germany; three of his books were widely read in ET.

Works: *Die Religion: Ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte* (2 vols., 1869); *Paulinism: A Contribution to the History of Primitive Christian Theology* (2 vols., 1873; ET 1877); *Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtliche Grundlage* (1878; 2 vols., 1883–84[2], 1896[3]); *Grundriss der christlichen Glaubens- und Sittenlehre* (1880); *Primitive Christianity* (1885 Hibbert Lectures, 2 vols., 1887; rev. ET, 4 vols., 1906–10); *The Development of Theology in Germany Since Kant, and Its Progress in Great Britain Since 1825* (1891, 1893[2]), with appendix; *Geschichte der Religionsphilosophie von Spinoza bis auf die Gegenwart* (1893[3]); *Die Entstehung des Christentums* (1905); *Religion und Religionen* (1906, 1911[2]); *Die Entwicklung des Christentums* (1907).

Bibliography: **E. Hirsch,** *Geschichte der neuern evangelischen Theologie im Zusammenhang mit den allgemeinen Bewegungen des europaischen Denkens* (1964[3]) 5:562-71. **R. Leuze,** *Theologie und Religionsgeschichte: Der Weg O. P.s* (1980).

R. MORGAN

PHILEMON, LETTER TO

1. The Fathers. The epistle of Philemon is the shortest of the letters attributed to PAUL. The first Christian author to cite Philemon appears to have been ORIGEN (*Hom. in Jer.* 19; *Comm. in Mt.* tract 33,34), but some scholars believe that there are references to the epistle in IGNATIUS (*Eph.* 2; *Magn.* 12; *Pol.* 6).

On three occasions (*Eph.* 1.3, *PG* 5.645; 2.1; 6.2) Ignatius cited a tradition identifying Onesimus as a bishop of Ephesus (see also Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.36.5; *PG* 20.288), but it is not altogether certain that the bishop is the same person as the runaway slave. If Bishop Onesimus were indeed the same person as the former slave, this would explain why the letter was so readily accepted into the Pauline corpus. Ignatius also indicated that Christians had to defend themselves against the accusation that conversion to Christianity required that slaves be freed (*Pol.* 4.3), but Philemon is of dubious utility in the discussion because it does not indicate what happened to Onesimus after the the letter was sent.

Philemon does not appear to have been widely read during patristic times. Hippolytus, for example, cited all of the works in the canonical collection of Pauline writings with the exception of Philemon. TERTULLIAN was apparently the first of the Latin fathers to have drawn specific attention to the epistle, noting that it escaped rejection from MARCION's *Apostolikon* because of its brevity (*Adv. Mar.* 5.42). When used by the Latin and Greek fathers, it was most valued for the elements of wisdom and virtue it contained.

Philemon was universally attributed to Paul during the patristic era. The letter apparently belonged to the earliest collections of Pauline writings, perhaps dating back to the end of the first century. According to Epiphanius, it appeared in Marcion's list immediately after Colossians (*Contra Haer.* 1.41). In the Muratorian CANON it appears alongside the PASTORAL LETTERS, a placement apparently due to the fact that all four epistles were considered to have been addressed to individuals.

During the fourth century problems arose because of the paucity of edifying material contained in the letter. As a result some doubted its INSPIRATION or even its Pauline authorship, even to the point of making a claim that it had been rejected by ancient authorities. JEROME replied that Paul treats of similarly mundane matters in all of his epistles and that Philemon would not have been received by all the churches in the world had it not been by Paul (*PL* 26.599-601). In the East similar defenses of the epistle were made by CHRYSOSTOM (*Argum. in Phil.*) and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (*Spicil. Solesm.* 1).

2. The Medieval Period and the Reformation. The contents of Philemon did not easily lend themselves to allegorical interpretation. Moreover, the brevity of the text as well as its subject matter were such that Philemon was not widely read in medieval times. THOMAS AQUINAS, for example, does not cite Philemon at all in his *Summa Theologica,* not even in those passages that treat slavery (II-II, q.104, a.5, ad 2; II-II, q.122, a.4, ad 3). The early Reformers, however, valued the brief text. LUTHER saw reflected in the letter "a masterful and tender example of Christian love," noting that all of us are Onesimus in some way. CALVIN praised Paul's willingness to treat a mean subject and extolled the compassion of the apostle who pleaded for one of the lowest of men.

3. Critical Scholarship. The first real attack against the authenticity of Philemon was launched by F. C. BAUR in *Paulus,* his 1845 classic. Baur had to admit that no serious questions as to the Pauline origin of the letter had been previously raised; nonetheless, its linguistic peculiarities prompted him to reject it, just as he had rejected Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians. Baur believed that the tale of Onesimus's flight and his meeting with the venerable Paul (v. 9) smacked of a romance. "The letter," he wrote, "is the embryo of a Christian romance like the *Clementine Recognitions,* intended to illustrate the idea that what man loses in time in this world he regains forever in Christianity."

A few other nineteenth-century critics also rejected Philemon as a genuine Pauline writing. K. von Weizsäcker and O. PFLEIDERER believed that a pun on the name "Onesimus" (v. 11) indicated that the epistle was an allegorical composition. According to R. Steck (1888), the basis of the letter is to be found in a letter addressed by the younger Pliny to his friend Sabinianus in a similar set of circumstances (*Ep.* 9.21). H. HOLTZMANN accepted the letter's basic authenticity but held that the present text is the work of a redactor who added vv. 4-6 to the original Pauline work. On the other hand, such nineteenth-century critics as J. BENGEL, J. RENAN, and Sabatier praised the work despite its brevity. It was, said Renan, a *"chef d'oeuvre* of the art of letter-writing," words echoed some years later by M. GOGUEL, who extolled Philemon as "a *chef d'oeuvre* of tact and cordiality."

The major critical issues in the study of Philemon have focused on its place and date of composition and on its destination. The similarities between Philemon and Colossians have led most scholars (e.g., J. B. Lightfoot [1890]; K. Staab [1959]; C. F. D. Moule [1957]; and H. Gülzow [1969]) to consider that Paul wrote the letter from Rome during his imprisonment there; supporting arguments could be found in Luke's description of Paul's circumstances in Acts 28. Other scholars (e.g., Holtzmann [1873] and H. Meyer [1855–61]; in the twentieth century E. Lohmeyer [1953] and H. Greeven [1954]) have opted for Caesarea as the locale of the letter's composition. Arguments for this position are to be found in Caesarea's geographical proximity to Colossae (facilitating Onesimus's access to the city [v. 10]

and making it feasible for Paul to realize his desire to visit [v. 22]) and the letter's silence about the earthquake that probably occurred in Colossae in 60–61 CE. Many commentators (e.g., E. Lohse [1971]; G. Friedrich (1981); L. Jang [1964]; P. Stulhmacher [1975]) have opted for Ephesus (see 1 Cor 15:32; 2 Cor 1:8-9; 11:23-24) as the most likely site. Paul's long stay in Ephesus (Acts 19) and the relative proximity of Ephesus to Colossae are the principal reasons cited in favor of this option.

The location of the recipients of the letter is not explicitly identified in the salutation. The view that the letter was sent to a Colossian household is based on the similarities between Philemon and Colossians and the apparent identification of Colossae as the city of Onesimus (Col 4:9) and Archippus (Col 4:17). Some scholars (e.g., K. Wieseler [1813–83]; E. Goodspeed [1871–1962]; J. Knox [1935]), however, believed that the letter was directed to a community at Laodicea.

KNOX proposed that Philemon was the letter from Laodicea mentioned in Col 4:16 and argued that it was written at approximately the same time as Colossians; that it was really directed to a church community (v. 1) and was intended to be read aloud within the community; that two distinct letters are involved; and that it is highly unlikely that the letter from Laodicea would have been lost. Knox added the suggestion that one of the reasons why Philemon was preserved was that Onesimus was the compiler of the early Pauline corpus. He also held that the letter was addressed to Philemon at Laodicea, urging him to bring the moral weight of his authority to bear upon Archippus, a resident of Colossae, to free his slave Onesimus.

Knox's theory has been strongly criticized, e.g., by Greeven, Moule (1957) and H.-M. Schenke (1978), who attacked its shaky grounds (e.g., Marcion cites both a letter to the Laodiceans [= Ephesians] and a letter to Philemon); but its principal features have been reiterated by L. Cope (1985), who proposed that Archippus was Onesimus's master and that Paul used the entire weight of his moral authority on Onesimus's behalf, not only sending Philemon along with Colossians but also intending that it be read to church leaders in Laodicea.

In 1961 U. Wickert suggested that despite its brevity Philemon should not be considered to be merely a personal letter; it is an apostolic writing of the same genus as that of the other genuine Pauline letters. As an apostolic text, the letter offers an illustration of apostolic freedom (see 1 Cor 9:19-23). Paul pleads for Onesimus, not on the basis of friendship, but on the basis of the gospel. In 1978 Schenke argued that Philemon, an authentic letter of the apostle, was published as a witness to the authenticity of Colossians (which is considered by many scholars to be inauthentic).

4. Late Twentieth Century Trends. Of specific interest in exegesis in the last decades of the twentieth century, with its emphasis on sociological factors (see SOCIOLOGY AND NT STUDIES), is Onesimus's situation as a runaway slave. Under Roman law, escape from slavery was forbidden and recaptured slaves were severely punished (e.g., by branding, fetters, etc.). Runaway slaves were returned to their masters, while those who harbored runaways were subject to fines. If, however, a slave had run away to avoid maltreatment (legal appeals involved a time-consuming process), he or she was not considered a fugitive. In 1985 P. Lampe argued that the legal category of *fugitivus* did not apply to Onesimus. Whether Roman law was applicable to the case depends on Philemon's citizenship (Roman or not). On this matter the letter offers insufficient evidence.

Another sociological factor to be considered is the role of the household. Philemon appears to be a leader and patron of the assembly that gathered in his house. Apphia is also a church leader and perhaps the wife of Philemon as well. Philemon's social and ecclesial status are such that Onesimus's situation involves the life as well as the moral and social standards of the entire community (i.e., Philemon's household and the church that gathers in his house).

Following on J. White's earlier work (1971), F. Church's RHETORICAL analysis of Philemon (1978) led him to conclude that the letter was much more than a private plea by Paul on behalf of Onesimus. Onesimus may have been the subject of Paul's plea, but the object of his public letter is love and brotherhood.

An important step forward in research on Philemon was taken by N. Petersen (1985), who used a variety of LITERARY-critical and sociological methods, including the sociology of knowledge, to examine the symbolic forms and social arrangements of the letter's narrative world. For Petersen, the way in which Paul wrote (as an ambassador, v. 9) placed Philemon under an apostolic mandate to receive Onesimus as the brother he had become. Their relationship in the Lord governed their relationship in the secular world, thereby requiring Philemon to release his former slave. Were he not to do so, the church that met in his house would have had no available course of action other than to reject him as a leader and member of the church.

In a doctoral dissertation and related articles, S. Winter argues that Philemon is a letter to a church rather than a private letter and holds that Onesimus is not a runaway. She opines that the contents of the letter are primarily a matter of concern for Archippus insofar as he had sent Onesimus to Paul on behalf of the church at Colossae. The letter to the church meeting in Philemon's house, delivered by a person other than Onesimus, requests that Onesimus be allowed to stay and work with Paul, thereby implying that he is no longer to be considered a slave, a situation that would require his manumission by Archippus. From quite a different vantage point, J. Burtchaell argues that Philemon

constitutes a radical demand for the Christian to revolutionize institutions from within.

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PHILIPPIANS, LETTER TO THE

The Thrasian town of Krenides was brought under Macedonian control and renamed Philippi in 356 BCE by Philip II of Macedon. The city's importance grew after the Roman conquest of Macedonia in 168–167 BCE. Strategically located on the Roman Via Egnatia and approximately nine miles from the seaport town of Neapolis, Philippi was an important gateway to Europe from Asia. Nearby, Mark Antony decisively defeated Cassius and Brutus in 42 BCE, and later Octavian defeated Mark Antony at Actium in 31 BCE. Populated by significant numbers of Macedonians, Greeks, and a Jewish minority as well as by Roman settlers, Philippi became a truly cosmopolitan city. Although it was "a leading city of the district of Macedonia and a Roman colony" (Acts 16:12 NRSV), it was the tiny Pauline church established there that secured Philippi's place in Western history. That church played an important role in the apostle's mission to Greece and perhaps to Ephesus, and the association with PAUL later gave Philippi a certain status and even authority in the Western world. Crossing over from Asia Minor via Neapolis to Philippi sometime between 49 and 52 CE (if one follows Acts 16:6-40), Paul launched a mission to Europe whose horizon ultimately was to embrace Spain.

Certainly the letter Paul later wrote to the church he founded at Philippi helped to shape the theological language of the post-apostolic church. An early example of the letter's role appears in the work of CLEMENT OF ROME (c. 96). In *1 Clement* 21 the words "if we walk not worthily of him" clearly echo Phil 1:27; the phrase "in the beginning of the Gospel" (47) resembles Phil 4:15; and elsewhere *1 Clement* 16 seems to draw on Phil 2:6-11. Other early instances appear in the writings of IGNATIUS. Anticipating his martyrdom (c. 107), Ignatius wrote to the Roman church of his desire to be "poured out as a libation to God" (Ign. *Rom* 2, from Phil 2:17); and in his letter to the Philadelphians he urged them to "do nothing of party-spirit," echoing Phil 2:3. Similarly, Polycarp's (c. 69–c. 155) anticipation of the subjection of all things to God, noted in his own letter to the Philippians (2:16), takes its wording from the hymn in Paul's letter (Phil 2:6-11). To these examples one could add citations from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (*Levi* 14, "the luminaries of heaven"), from the *Apocryphal Acts of Thomas* (the "name of Christ which is above every name"), and from the works of IRENAEUS, TERTULLIAN, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, and MARCION. *Laodiceans,* the mid–second-century pseudepigraph attributed to Paul, contains a string of sentences and phrases taken from Philippians (J. B. Lightfoot [1896])

For centuries theologians regularly appealed to Phil 2:6-11 to support the two natures christology of the Nicene Creed (see Calvin [1948] 56-58). But the nineteenth century witnessed a change with the genesis of kenotic christology. Drawing on Phil 2:7, German theologians were joined by English scholars in arguing that the preexistent Christ surrendered his divinity to become completely human. The only way to affirm the full

humanity of JESUS, it was believed, was to insist on the abandonment of the Christ's divine nature during his earthly sojourn. However, kenotic christology was widely assailed, if not refuted, and its influence waned (D. Dawe [1962] 337-49). That issue left behind, modern Philippian research focused on four related issues: (1) the place and date of composition, (2) the occasion and purpose of the letter, (3) the unity of the letter, and (4) the provenance of the Christ hymn in 2:6-11.

1. Place and Date of Composition. Although the Acts account (16:6–17:14) of Paul's crossing over from Asia Minor to Europe, thence to Philippi, and thence south to Thessalonica and Beroea is reliable, the question of the place from which Paul wrote to the Philippian church is much disputed. From the second to the eighteenth centuries, the view that Paul wrote Philippians from Rome went unchallenged. In Paul's own words he wrote the letter during an imprisonment known to the whole praetorium (1:13); and he concluded the letter with greetings from "those of Caesar's household" (4:22). These passages convinced Marcion that the apostle was "writing to them from Rome in prison" (see J. Knox [1942] 170). The praetorium of 1:13 was taken to mean the praetorian guard in Rome, and "those of Caesar's household" was believed to refer to believers from within the imperial household. Paul anticipated a trial, with death as a possible outcome (1:20-26), which fits well into the Roman context.

Since 1799, however, when H. Paulus (1761–1851) first argued against the prevailing position, the Roman hypothesis has lost the support of the majority of Pauline scholars. The difficulties with the Roman hypothesis are manifold. The distance between Rome and Philippi (some 730 miles by land) rules out the frequent exchanges the letter assumes have already taken place (five) or are anticipated (four). Even as Paul writes, Timothy has come to join him (1:1), word of his imprisonment has reached Philippi (4:14), Epaphroditus has been dispatched by the church to offer assistance to Paul (2:25; 4:18), news of Epaphroditus's critical illness has filtered back to Philippi (2:26), and word of the church's grave concern for Epaphroditus has now reached Paul (2:26). In the imminent future Paul plans to dispatch Epaphroditus to Philippi with a letter (2:25, 28); he expects soon after to send Timothy to Philippi (2:19); he looks forward to Timothy's return with news from the congregation (2:19); and he hopes to journey to Philippi himself for a reunion (2:24). Such a number of exchanges over a distance requiring two months to traverse makes a Roman provenance for the letter highly improbable.

Moreover, the references to the praetorium (1:13) and to "Caesar's household" (4:22) do not require a Roman setting. The praetorian guard was present in many provincial capitals throughout the empire, including Ephesus and Caesarea; and imperial servants in the Roman bureaucracy qualify as members of Caesar's household. With the weight of probability against Roman authorship, what conceivable provenance for the letter is left? Although a location at Corinth or Caesarea Maritima would overcome some of the objections, other reservations arise. Paul nowhere mentions a Corinthian imprisonment, and Acts reports no such physical danger as Paul faces in the prison from which he writes. Furthermore, the great distance between Caesarea and Philippi weighs almost as heavily against that location as against Rome. In the absence of any other compelling alternative, most scholars prefer Ephesus as the locus of the imprisonment from which Paul wrote Philippians. Inscriptional evidence supports Ephesus as the location for a proconsular headquarters with a praetorium. "Caesar's household" then could refer to imperial bureaucrats of some type associated with the Roman administration. Moreover, a round trip from Ephesus to Philippi could be covered in less than ten days, allowing for the frequent exchanges anticipated in the letter.

The primary weakness of the Ephesian hypothesis is that neither Paul's letters nor Acts refers to an imprisonment there. Paul himself tells us, however, that he was in prison many times (2 Cor 11:23); he emphasizes that he was the victim of great "affliction . . . in Asia," being so "unbearably crushed" that he despaired of life (2 Cor 1:8 NRSV). Clement of Rome reported that Paul "wore chains seven times" (*1 Clement*), and the *Acts of Paul* refers to an Ephesian imprisonment (see E. Hennecke [1963] 2:338). Although these late traditions cannot bear the weight of primary proof, they do offer cumulative evidence that an Ephesian imprisonment is not pure conjecture.

In support of the Ephesian over the Roman provenance one might appeal to Acts and Romans as well. Paul expresses his hopes to return to Philippi for a second visit, which would be possible from Ephesus. However, a visit from Rome does not seem a possibility; for if the Acts CHRONOLOGY is correct, by the time Paul was incarcerated in Rome he had already been in Philippi twice and could only anticipate a third visit. Moreover, as Romans tells us, even before he reached Rome his attention had already turned westward toward Spain. In light of that preoccupation, the hope to visit the Philippians would be strange if he wrote from Rome; such a visit would have required Paul to backtrack to Philippi before launching the Spanish mission. Thus, while the Ephesian provenance of the letter is conjectural, for good reason most Pauline scholars prefer it to the alternatives.

The decision on this question inevitably influences the dating of the letter. A Roman origin would require a date late in the decade (58–60), whereas an Ephesian origin would argue for a date in the mid-fifties (55–56). The decision on the provenance of the letter affects where one places it in relation to Paul's other epistles

and has importance for any discussion of development in Paul's theology.

2. The Unity of the Letter. Since J. WEISS noticed the dramatic eruption "Look out for the dogs . . . " in Phil 3:2 in the early part of this century, scholars have disputed the letter's unity. Weiss concluded from his study that 3:2–4:1 "suits the context so badly . . . that one is again led to the hypothesis that this part did not originally belong with the rest of the letter" (1917; ET 1959, 387). E. GOODENOUGH later argued that the break between the first part of the letter and 3:2–4:1 is so jarring that it defies explanation on hypothetical grounds ([1990] 90). The disjuncture is made more severe by the conclusion begun in 3:1: "Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord." The explicitly final admonition appears to cross over from the body of the letter to its termination, yet its genial admonition is interrupted with an acrimonious warning beginning in 3:2 and extending through 4:1. This warning is so at odds with the rest of the letter that in the view of many scholars it indicates an originally separate letter.

Several proposals have arisen to account for the disjuncture. Among the more common reconstructions are those found in W. Schmithals (1972; A: 4:10-23 [a letter of thanksgiving]; B: 1:1–3:1, 4:4-7 [a prison letter]; C: 3:2–4:3, 4:8-9 [a warning letter]); G. BORNKAMM (1962; A: 1:1–3:1, 4:4-7, 4:21-23; B: 3:2–4:3; C: 4:10-20); B. Rahtjen (1959–60; A: 4:10-20; B: 1:1–2:30, 4:21-23; C: 3:1–4:9); and W. Marxsen (1964; A: 4:10-20; B: 1:1–3:1, 4:4-7, 4:21-23; C: 3:2–4:3, 4:8-9). J. Gnilka (1968), H. Koester (1962), and J. Müller-Bardorf (1957–58) have suggested other variations. Because of the widespread disagreement over how chapter 4 is to be divided, the multiple-letter hypothesis has enjoyed less acceptance for Philippians than it has for 2 Corinthians. Moreover, the "finally" in 3:1 followed by a chapter of warning and admonition, is not without parallel; e.g., the "Finally. . . . " of 1 Thess 4:1 is followed by a lengthy exhortation before the letter crosses over irrevocably into its ending.

V. Furnish (1963–64), R. Jewett (1970), and T. Pollard (1966–67), all on different grounds, have accepted the letter as a unity. Furnish argues that 3:1 is a crucial link verse—3:1*a* reaches back to chap. 2, and 3:1*b* stretches forward to chap. 3 and the special warning carried by Epaphroditus and Timothy to the church at Philippi. Pollard and Jewett find sufficient verbal correspondence between chapter 3 and the remainder of the letter to convince them that Philippians was written and delivered as a single unit. But if the letter is a unity, then one must explain the rupture between 3:1 and 3:2. Had Paul suddenly received the unwelcome report of trouble in Philippi? And what caused him to wait until the end of the letter to express his thanksgiving for the help Epaphroditus brought from the church in Philippi?

The pseudepigraph *Laodiceans* may offer external evidence for the resolution of this dilemma. Although the author of *Laodiceans* closely follows Philippians in his compilation, he shows no knowledge of Phil 3:2–4:3, suggesting that he was working from a copy of Philippians different from our canonical version (P. Sellew [1994] 20-28). That multiple letters of Paul to the Philippians were known in antiquity is proven by Polycarp's statement in his letter to the Philippians that when Paul was absent, he wrote "letters (*epistolas*) to you. . . . " (3:2; A. Lindemann, [1990] 41). Philippians 3:2–4:3 may have been one of those letters; perhaps 4:10-20 was another. In the second century these letters probably were combined to form our canonical version of Philippians.

3. The Identity of Paul's Opposition. Some scholars have sought to resolve the question of the letter's unity by identifying Paul's opposition. In 1:28 Paul warns his readers not to fear their "opponents." But who were these "opponents"? What was their quarrel with Paul? And what were they doing? In 1:17 we learn that they were preaching a partisan gospel intended to nettle the apostle. They urged gentile Christians to accept circumcision (3:2); they rejected the importance of the cross in favor of the glory of the resurrected life (3:18); and they made a fetish of self-indulgence: "their god is their belly" (3:19). In the absence of any sustained discussion of the law, it is unlikely that the opponents were Judaizers like those in Galatians; and in light of their proclamation of Christ (1:17), they could hardly have been from the synagogue. If the opposition was unified, then it may well have been a form of Jewish-Christian syncretism. Circumcision was retained as a sign of the covenant, and certain Hellenistic enthusiastic tendencies were embraced, allowing the initiates to pass over directly from death to the glory of the resurrected life. To these were added the emphasis of the gospel on grace and freedom, which allowed a form of indulgence that sounds proto-Gnostic in character. Schmithals has argued that Paul was slow to recognize the character of the opposition and that this tardiness accounts for his confused response. But given the range of Paul's opposition elsewhere it is unlikely that he would have been confused about its nature in Philippi.

An alternative to this view is that Paul faced different groups of opponents in Philippi: Jews intent on reclaiming gentile god-fearers attracted to the church, pagan converts who had relapsed into their morally lax ways, and Hellenistic enthusiasts who were critical of Paul's gospel. R. Martin (1980) argues that the attempt to avoid persecution may best explain the dual emphases in Philippians, i.e., Jewish and Hellenistic. Jewish Christian missionaries, he claims, encouraged Philippian Christians to accept circumcision to avert persecution from Jewish revolutionaries inspired by a surging Jewish nationalism in Palestine. A Christian eschatology of glory sparked by Hellenistic enthusiasm provided the impulse

for eluding persecution and suffering. While religious enthusiasm did exist in some of Paul's churches and would explain the libertine tendencies in Philippi, we have no evidence that a feverish "nationalism" penetrated the diaspora in the way Martin suggests. And if Paul faced different groups, why are the lines between them so indistinct?

It would be a mistake to allow the competing claims, internal strife, and external threats to eclipse the genuine warmth and human tenderness in Philippians, especially when these are compared to the acrimonious exchanges in Galatians and Corinthians. We see here that Paul was not always the divine warrior. He was a pastoral figure so confident of the truth of his apocalyptic gospel (see APOCALYPTICISM) that he could look past the immediate disturbances with confidence.

4. The Provenance of 2:6-11. Since the late nineteenth century, scholars have recognized the poetic or hymnic form of Phil 2:6-11 (Weiss, 263); but both the character and the provenance of the hymn have been disputed (Martin [1983] and J. T. Sanders [1971]). The rhythm, parallelism, clearly defined strophes, poetic expression, and non-Pauline language confirm the pre-Pauline quality of this hymn; but whether its provenance was Jewish or Hellenistic has been vigorously debated. The opening verses of the hymn usher the worshiper into the celestial abode to witness Jesus' humble descent and glorious ascent to assume his cosmic lordship as the glorified Christ to whom all powers "in heaven and on earth and under the earth" (2:10) will do obeisance. These opening verses display unmistakable Hellenistic features. The closing doxology, however, echoes Isa 45:23: "To me every knee shall bow,/every tongue shall swear" (NRSV). Possibly the hymn's allusion to Jesus as a slave also draws on Isaiah. With these two emphases established, the hymn's origin cannot be found in either the Jewish or the Hellenistic milieu alone. What the hymn displays instead is a synthesis of both Jewish and Hellenistic elements. Traces of a Jewish background remain, but they have coalesced with a Hellenistic cosmology and soteriology (Sanders). Therefore, the hymn most likely came from a Hellenistic Jewish Christian mission of which we catch a glimpse in Stephen's vision of Christ's cosmic victory at his martyrdom (Martin [1983] 113).

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C. J. ROETZEL

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 20 BCE–50 CE)

A profoundly Hellenized Jewish thinker who sought to reconcile biblical thought with Greek philosophy, P. was the scion of a wealthy priestly family. He played an important public role by heading a Jewish embassy to Gaius Caligula in 39–40 CE. Although passionately devoted to the pursuit of philosophy and fully open to secular Greek culture, P. was equally fascinated by traditional Jewish wisdom and dedicated to its promulgation and defense.

At home in both the Greek and the Hellenistic Jewish exegetical traditions, P. chose to present his interpretation of Judaism within the framework of an extensive series of commentaries on the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM). Considerable evidence suggests, however, that his knowledge of Hebrew was virtually nonexistent. He invariably cited the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT), his work showing no awareness of the Hebrew original; and he occasionally offered interpretations of the Greek that the Hebrew would have precluded. Although P. probably possessed some knowledge of Palestinian traditions, this knowledge was likely channeled to him either orally or through Hellenistic Jewish writings no longer extant. His knowledge of Greek literature, science, and philosophy, on the other hand, was vast and

unmediated. He employed a wide variety of Greek rhetorical figures and styles and was especially fond of the diatribe.

P.'s philosophical allegiance was clearly to the Middle Platonic tradition, which was characterized by Stoic and Pythagorean tendencies. He was firmly convinced, however, that this Platonism could be readily assimilated to traditional Jewish thought; he successfully retained in his commentaries biblical terminology and idiom in the very process of transposing its religious worldview into a philosophical framework. The many ambivalences and apparent incoherencies that mark these commentaries are an essential trait of any large-scale attempt to bridge divergent realms of thought rooted in the distinctive genius of two great but very different peoples. P.'s exegetical method, attempting to project philosophical conceptions into Scripture, was preceded by lesser efforts of other Alexandrian Jewish exegetes in the second century BCE. P.'s indebtedness is attested by over seventy references to them, although none by name.

P.'s exegetical works may be subdivided into three Pentateuchal commentaries: (a) a series of treatises that proceed through a verse-by-verse commentary on biblical texts taken from Gen 2:1–41:24, but which constantly incorporate related texts that are in turn investigated at length; (b) an exposition of the Pentateuch as a legal code, constituted by treatises showing the integration of the laws of the Pentateuch with the laws of nature, generally following the CHRONOLOGY of the Pentateuch and referring to its historical and legislative parts, e.g., *De opificio mundi, De vita Mosis,* and *De Decalogo*; and (c) *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin et Exodum* (extant only in Armenian and Greek fragments), which begins with a brief literal answer to a scriptural problem, followed by a lengthy allegorical explanation. If R. Marcus's (*Supplement I,* 1953) hypothesis is correct that in the *Quaestiones* P. is following a division of the Pentateuch into sections almost identical with those eventually determined to be the readings of the Babylonian annual cycle, then it would seem that P. consciously produced each book of *Quaestiones* to explicate the difficulties arising in one sabbath lection. In general, one has the impression that the *Quaestiones* is less sophisticated than the former two groups of commentaries, and it may have served as a rough compilation of material to aid the author in the composition of his more elaborate treatises. In any case, whereas the *Legum allegoriae* is clearly written from a definite perspective, P.'s aim in the *Quaestiones* appears to be the presentation of all the options. While there is still no consensus on the chronology of P.'s works, there is a growing tendency to regard the *Quaestiones* as the earliest of his exegetical writings.

P. was fully aware of the attempts of some of his Middle Platonist contemporaries to foist the Pythagorean doctrines of later thinkers onto Pythagoras (6th cent. BCE); he was quick to follow them in similarly putting Moses forward as the greatest authority of all, as being the teacher of Pythagoras and indeed of all Greek philosophers and lawgivers. P.'s depiction of Moses as the "theologian" *par excellence* is also analogous to the Stoic and Middle Platonic depiction of Homer as the source of all philosophy and of many other human skills as well. Pseudo-Plutarch, for example, in his *Life and Poetry of Homer* (2nd cent. CE), often indicated that Homer "hints at" (*ainittetai,* a term frequently employed by Philo) various doctrines of later thinkers and made it clear that the poems are a vast encyclopedia with a complex structure of meaning.

The chief exegetical tool that allowed P. to find philosophical teaching lurking behind the Mosaic Scriptures and allowed the Greeks to do the same for Homer's poems was the allegorical method of interpretation. The grammarian Theagenes of Rhegium (fl. 525 BCE) is attested by a Porphyrian *scholium* as having applied physical and moral allegory to the interpretation of the *Iliad.* The Stoics employed allegory in the interests of a philosophical system and were also prone to etymologize the names of the gods. Some scholars perceive a Pythagorean influence behind the etymologizing adopted ironically by Socrates in Plato's *Cratylus* (cf. Cicero *Tusc.* 1.62). The Neoplatonist Proclus (c. 410–85) observed that Pythagoras shared the opinion, expressed by Cratylus in the dialogue, that names are established by an infallible "nomothete" and thus correspond to the nature of things. P. too was very fond of etymologizing but believed that it was Adam who established names (*De opificio mundi,* 148-49; *Legum allegoriae* 2.14-15; *Quaestiones in Genesin* 1.20). This allowed P. to explain Hebrew names according to Greek elements (*Legum Allegoriae* 1.74; *De Cherubim* 41; the rabbis sometimes did the same), the assumption no doubt being that Hebrew was the language of Adam and hence the source of all subsequent languages. Although P.'s Hebrew was inadequate for this purpose, he could readily resort to *onomastica,* or lists of etymologies of Hebrew names.

P.'s preoccupation with the "allegory of the soul," which sees in the biblical heroes prototypes of souls that have abandoned the sensible world for the intelligible realities, is analogous to the Middle and Neoplatonic allegorization of Odysseus, which detected in his adventures the mystical history of the soul on its way to its true homeland. Scholars have noted the essential unity in the tradition of commentary exemplified by P.'s exegetical works and by the Neoplatonic commentaries and have concluded that their common source was the Stoic exegesis of the previous two centuries BCE, especially that of Crates of Mallos and Herodicus of Babylon, although J. Porter (1992) has questioned Crates' Stoic affiliation.

It has also been pointed out that Stoic and Middle

Platonic allegory did not include recognition of different levels of interpretation, and P. appears to be the first to have employed what J. Pépin (1958, 1976[2]) has called "polyvalence des symboles"—that is, the interpretation of a text by multiple levels. This approach, used extensively by Neoplatonists, received a detailed analysis in the fourth century by Iamblichus, who pointed out that all levels of reality are interconnected and whatever exists on one level has its analogical counterpart on all others. Finally, it should be noted that P. transferred Greek mythical allegories into his biblical commentary by very skillfully Judaizing them.

Another exegetical device P. used frequently was arithmology, or number symbolism, the discovery of which he ascribed to Moses (*De specialibus legibus* 4.105). According to Nicomachus (fl. 2nd cent. CE), in the second half of his work *On Pythagorean Numbers,* Speusippus (fl. c. 350 BCE) showed the decad to be the most perfect number, which had served God as the all-perfect pattern for creation. The purely arithmetical excellences of the number ten are described in detail. The surviving passage from Speusippus's work (frag. 28, Tarán) is the oldest example of the type of number-play so characteristic of P., whose main concern in the use of this device was to demonstrate the mathematical structure and harmony of the cosmos. Arithmology allowed him to lend a scientific aura of universal validity to the Mosaic law and rituals.

Scholars have puzzled over the method of organization behind P.'s apparently rambling interpretations of Scripture. Attempts to discern his method have focused on the fact that the exegetical form of question and answer basic to the *Quaestiones* can also be observed in P.'s *Legum allegoriae.* V. Nikiprowetzky (1977) has endeavored to demonstrate this in detail. Within this basically coherent structure, however, there is still room for considerable discontinuity. Other scholars have approached the problem from antithetical extremes, some emphasizing the inherent looseness and repetitiveness of P.'s commentary style, others employing the insights of STRUCTURALISM, insisting on its precise logical structure. The truth is undoubtedly somewhere in the middle. P. is invariably quite clear about where he thinks the biblical text is going; behind the many digressions, repetitions, and occasional exegetical playfulness, which is similar to that often encountered in rabbinic MIDRASH, one can always find a coherent treatment of the text under consideration.

P. deeply influenced the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL of Christian biblical interpretation. Both CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and ORIGEN drew on him; and through them and such later Latin commentators as AMBROSE, allegorical interpretation became a prominent method of interpreting Scripture among Christian exegetes.

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D. WINSTON

PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, GIOVANNI (1463–94)

P. was born Feb. 24, 1463, youngest son of the prince of the independent principality of Mirandola. His family's status provided him with educational opportunity; his brilliance and devotion to truth and intellectual freedom combined to produce a stimulating, innovative, and influential genius. Intended for an ecclesiastical career, P. began study of canon law at Bologna; but he withdrew upon the death of a brother and subsequently studied at Ferrara (1479) and Padua (1480–82), with stays in Pavia (1482–83), Florence (1484), and Paris (1485). Among his friends, teachers, and associates were a number of humanists: B. Guarini (d. 1513), G. Savonarola (1452–98), A. Poliziano (1454–94), M. Ficino (1433–99), and Lorenzo (II) de'Medici (1449–92). His teachers and associates included three Jewish scholars: E. Delmedigo (1460–97), an Averroist; F. Mithridates (fl. 1470–83), with whom he studied KABBALAH; and J. ben Isaac Alemanno (c. 1435–c. 1504), a student of J. M. Leon (c. 1470–c. 1526). P. was probably the first Christian scholar in the Renaissance to master Hebrew, which provided him access to kabbalistic texts, of which he was the first Christian student. The Christian kabbalist and Hebrew grammarian J. REUCHLIN apparently met P. in Florence in 1490 and was influenced by him.

In 1486, at twenty-three years of age, P. challenged the church with 900 theses (published Dec. 7, 1486) and an offer to debate them with any challengers. Thirteen of these theses were found objectionable; one stated, "There is no science which can more firmly convince us of the divinity of Christ than magic [natural science] and Kabbalah." P.'s *Apologia* (pub. May 31, 1487) did not convince the church. He was condemned by Pope Innocent VIII (Aug. 5, 1487), although the verdict was later reversed by Pope Alexander VI (June 18, 1493). After his censure, P. became less assertive and spent most of his time after 1488 in Florence, where he died Nov. 17, 1494.

P.'s thought was a creative and innovative synthesis of philosophy and theology, Platonism and Aristotelianism, Christianity and paganism, and Hebraism and Hellenism in an effort to grasp the unity contained in all human intellectual and religious aspirations. On biblical studies per se, P. began writing a commentary on the Psalms (only published fragmentarily) and in 1489 published his *Heptaplus,* a commentary on Gen 1:1-27.

Works: *Joannis Pici Mirandulae omnia opera (vita per Ioannem Franciscum)* (1517); *De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente et uno e scritti vari* (ENCPI 1, ed. E. Garin, 1942); *Ioannis Pici Mirandulae Expositiones in Psalmos* (ed. A. Raspanti, 1997), Italian.

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J. H. HAYES

PIEPENBRING, CHARLES (1840–1928)

An Alsatian biblical scholar and Reformed pastor, P. studied under E. REUSS at Strasbourg, where he received his Bacc. theol. degree in 1871, and served Reformed congregations at Fonday (1871–80) and Strasbourg (1880–1914). Although he never held an academic post, he published five major works and wrote a number of articles and reviews for the *Revue de l'historie des religions* that mediated the results of German biblical criticism to France.

P.'s first book (1886) was essentially a history of religion that followed the main outlines of Reuss's and J. WELLHAUSEN's views of the development of Israelite religion. The work championed the historical-critical method and attempted to show that the scientific study of the Bible enhanced its religious value. Received favorably, the French and English editions established P.'s reputation as a competent HB scholar; he was consequently invited to contribute reviews and articles to the *Revue.*

His history of Israel (1898) reflected the same developmental understanding of Israelite religion, beginning with primitive Hebrew religion and Moses and extend-

ing to the time of the Maccabees and the book of Daniel. Although thoroughly critical, it concluded with "reflections on criticism and faith," reiterating P.'s conviction that biblical criticism could be an asset to Christian faith.

P.'s work on the historical JESUS (1909), printed in the series Bibliothèque de critique religieuse, responded to A. LOISY's commentary on the Gospel of Luke. Accepting most of Loisy's critical conclusions, P. supplemented his reconstruction of Jesus' teaching. P. regarded the HB prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) as Jesus' "chief teachers" and believed Jesus' aim was to recover certain immutable religious values and teachings. He believed that Jesus did not regard himself as Messiah during his own lifetime but predicted that he would be Messiah in the future kingdom of God. P. also wrote on the differences among the genuine teachings of Jesus, Jewish Christianity, and Pauline Christianity (1911); and in *La christologie biblique et ses origines,* printed first in *RHR,* he set forth his christology and issued a call to the churches for religious reform.

Works: *Théologie de l'Ancien Testament* (1886; ET, *Theology of the OT* [1893]); *Histoire du peuple d'Israël* (1898); *Jésus historique* (1909, 1922²; ET, *The Historical Jesus* [1924]); *Jésus et les Apôtres* (1911); *La christologie biblique et ses origines* (1919).

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M. P. GRAHAM

PIETISM

The most significant religious awakening within Protestantism following the Reformation era, Pietism was influenced by English Puritanism and by a number of early seventeenth-century Lutheran and Reformed authors concerned with the practical aspects of Christianity. The Pietist movement proper began in 1675 with the publication of P. J. SPENER's introduction to the postils of J. Arndt (1555–1621), entitled *Pia desideria, or Heartfelt Desire for a God-pleasing Reform of the True Evangelical Church.* The work went through a number of editions during the next several years. At the center of the Pietist program was a concern for the renewal of Christian life in individuals. People were called to repent of their evil past (*Busse*); experience a new birth in conversion (*Wiedergeburt*); and thereafter lead a practical Christian life of "heartfelt" daily devotion, meditation, Bible study, and social action directed toward holiness (*Gottseeligkeit*). The Pietist program at large was concerned with experiential and practical piety and thus opposed the reigning scholastic theology, which the Pietists believed overemphasized "correct" doctrine and a sterile orthodoxy in its interpretation of Scripture.

1. Pietist Beginnings. In the *Pia desideria* Spener outlined what he saw as the corrupt conditions of the church in his day and set forth proposals for improvement. First among these was the need for "a more extensive use of the Word of God." Bible reading should be carried out in every Christian family under the direction of the father (reading through the Bible from beginning to end) and in the church. In addition, small groups of reborn Christians (conventicles, or *ecclesiolae in ecclesia*) were to be organized, and within these groups Bible study was to be a primary concern. Such practices, Spener hoped, would help the growth of practical Christianity, overcome the polemically directed religious controversies of the time, and thus redirect what he saw as the primarily academic direction of pastoral education.

Like LUTHER, Spener insisted on a close relationship between the Holy Spirit and the Word and on the role of Scripture as its own interpreter; but Pietist interest in the new birth and in the life of the Spirit in the believer resulted in an emphasis on the enlightening action of the Spirit. This emphasis gave preeminence to the NT over the OT, and it found in the NT both directives for Christian life and historical examples against which individuals and Christian institutions were to be judged and on which they could be modeled. The directives and examples were often considered within the framework of the virtues of love and simplicity, and the resulting perfectionistic strain within Pietism implied to its enemies that it was Pelagian (see PELAGIUS) or at least synergistic.

2. The Growth of Pietism. By the close of the seventeenth century, Pietist principles had spread throughout almost all Protestant denominations in Germany, Switzerland, and the Lowlands and were carried to the Germanic and Dutch-speaking areas of North America (to which persecuted Pietists fled throughout the eighteenth century) as well as into Scandinavia. Following Spener's death in 1705, the central thrust of the movement was shaped by his colleague A. FRANCKE. At the University of Halle, Francke established numerous institutions for training pastors; for organizing missions, welfare concerns, and Bible study; and for publishing and disseminating Bibles and religious literature. He was aided in his work by a wealthy Brandenburg official, C. Hildebrand, who established a *Bibelanstalt* that published inexpensive copies of the NT and of the entire Bible. It is estimated that in the eighteenth century some three million copies were printed at Halle alone.

Francke was well known for his theoretical writings on HERMENEUTICS; his expositions of biblical books and passages; and his work on the biblical text, particularly

on the revision of the Luther translation. Among his hermeneutical compositions the most important are the *Manuductio ad lectionem Scripturae Sacrae* (1693), in which he considered approaches to the "husk" of the text (historical, philological, and logical) and to the "seed" (exegetical, dogmatic, and practical); the *Einleitung zur Lesung der Heiligen Schrift, insonderheit des Neuen Testaments* (1694), in which he pointed out that the objective of reading the text and using external aids should be personal holiness (*Seeligkeit*); and a number of lectures and introductions, including a dissertation on Hebrew grammar and the *Commentatio de scopo librorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (1724), in which he developed his theory on Christ as the universal "scope" of the Scriptures and on the relationship between the literal and the "mystical" meanings of texts. He also attended closely to the problem of the text of the Bible both in the original languages and in German translation: He proposed an emendation of Luther's version in 1712, ten years after the new edition of the Greek NT (based on over one hundred manuscripts) appeared at Leipzig with Francke's foreword.

3. Radical Pietism. For a number of individuals the Spener-Francke group did not offer an extreme enough approach. These radical Pietists were often influenced by earlier ANABAPTIST, mystical Spiritualist, or Böhmist (see J. BÖHME) groups and/or broke off from established Lutheran and Reformed churches to establish independent bodies. Among them were highly learned individuals like G. ARNOLD, J. Dippel (1673–1734), and the mystically oriented G. Tersteegen (1697–1769). Tersteegen, in typical Pietist style, understood the Scriptures in a practical sense as expressing the laws of God, which provide the means for knowing Christ and living according to his way. Perhaps the most significant biblical work done by radicals was the eight-volume folio edition of the Berleberg Bible (1726–42), edited by J. Haug (d. 1753). Influential in radical circles in Europe and North America throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, this edition included an elaborate mystical and prophetic commentary (often comprising 80 percent of a page) that introduced Böhmist and Philadelphian interpretations.

4. Pietists in Württemberg and Saxony. Although Pietists in Württemberg were also attracted to mystical and millenarian interpretation, the most influential of these, J. BENGEL, took a much more critical approach to the text. A pioneer in TEXTUAL CRITICISM, Bengel provided in his massive *Gnomon of the NT* (1742; rev. ET 1857–58) a remarkably good historical and textual introduction to the NT while maintaining a typical Pietist interest in his readers' edification. Bengel's work reflected well his adage *Te totum applica ad textum, textum totum applica ad te* ("Apply yourself totally to the text; apply the text totally to yourself").

In Saxony yet another form of Pietism developed under the direction of N. Ludwig, Count ZINZENDORF, who had been strongly influenced by Halle Pietism both in his home and during his education at that university. In 1722 he gave protection to the persecuted remnant of the Bohemian Brethren on his estates, and throughout the rest of his life he played an influential role in the group's renewal. In 1734 Zinzendorf summed up his position on the Scriptures, designating them as the canon of faith, "completed by God for all matters relating to belief, and the rule and norm for all action, that is, whatever is necessary for us to gain salvation in knowledge and faith, and whatever pertains to living a life pleasing to God, leading a pious and holy life, or to the internal and external practice of Christians." Rejecting all suggestions that the Spirit speaks directly to believers on matters of faith and life through new revelations or illuminations aside from the Scriptures, he went on to emphasize that "the true interpretation of Scripture is a gift of the Holy Spirit" whose aid is needed "in every way beyond" hermeneutical rules.

The Pietist movement was highly influential from its inception, touching almost all Protestant traditions in its original form, in late eighteenth-century Neo-Pietist developments, and in the nineteenth-century renewal of the Great Awakening. Through Zinzendorf and the Moravians it had an impact on J. WESLEY and the Methodist movement; and it and can be seen as a forerunner of the revivalist, fundamentalist, and EVANGELICAL movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the United States.

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P. C. ERB

PIPER, OTTO ALFRED (1891–1982)

Born in Lichte, Germany, Nov. 29, 1891, P. studied at Jena, Marburg, Paris, and Göttingen, where he first began lecturing in 1920. In 1930 he was called to the chair of theology at the University of Münster as successor to K. BARTH. His opposition to Nazism eventually

led to his imprisonment and exile from Germany. After three years at the University of Wales, he began teaching at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1937, a position he held until his retirement in 1962. He died in Princeton Feb. 12, 1982.

P. first wrote in the area of theology and ethics. However, his sense of God's action in history (*Heilsgeschichte*) led him to develop a biblical realism that held that biblical thought-forms and attitudes directly influence present Christian life (politics, sexuality, stewardship, and war and peace).

Works: *Das religiöse Erlebnis: Eine kritische Analyse der Schleiermacherschen Reden über die Religion* (1920); *Weltliches Christentum: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Bedeutung der ausserkirchlichen Frömmigkeit der Gegenwart* (1924); *Theologie und Reine Lehre: Eine dogmatische Grundlegung von Wesen und Aufgabe protestantischer Theologie* (1926); *Die Grundlagen der evangelischen Ethik* (2 vols., 1928–30); *Gottes Wahrheit und die Wahrheit der Kirche* (1934); *Recent Developments in German Protestantism* (1934); *Sinn und Geheimnis der Geschlechter: Grundzuge einer evangelischen Sexualethik* (1935); *God in History* (1939); *The Christian Interpretation of Sex* (1941); *The Biblical View of Sex and Marriage* (1960); *The Christian Meaning of Money* (1965); *Protestantism in an Ecumenical Age: Its Root, Its Right, Its Task* (1965).

Bibliography: **W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder** (eds.), *Current Issues in NT Interpretation: Essays in Honor of O. A. P.* (1962), bibliography of P.'s works, 247-60; *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 4 NS (1983) 52-55.

G. F. SNYDER

PLUMMER, ALFRED (1841–1926)

Born at Heworth, England, Feb. 17, 1841, P. studied for the Anglican ministry, taking degrees from Lancing and Exeter colleges, Oxford. In 1865 he was elected fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, where he was tutor and later dean until 1874, when he became master of University College, Durham, a post he held until 1902.

As a biblical interpreter P.'s style was harmonistic rather than critical. In his Cambridge Greek Testament volume on Mark, for example, he accepted traditional material on John Mark at face value and assumed that every mention of the name Mark in the NT referred to the author of the Second Gospel. Thus Mark's sources included Peter's preaching and Mark's own memories of JESUS' last week.

P.'s ICC volume on Luke takes the same approach, smoothing out differences between Luke, the other Synoptics, and John. His major critical concerns were the various multiple-document solutions to the SYNOPTIC PROBLEM popular during the period. He disagreed with most of these and held to a slightly modified version of B. STREETER's two source theory: Luke used a Proto-Mark almost equivalent to canonical Mark; Q was a set of documents held in common by Matthew and Luke, some of which were similar, but not identical to each other. Despite all this, P.'s commentaries, particularly Luke, are still cited because of the careful philological data they provide.

Works: *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke* (ICC, 1902[5]); (with A. Robertson), *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (ICC, 1911); *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (ICC, 1915); Cambridge Greek Testament volumes on the Johannine epistles (1886), the Gospel of John (1877), Second Corinthians (1912), and the Gospel of Mark (1926).

R. B. VINSON

POCOCKE (POCOCK), EDWARD (1604–91)

Regius professor at Oxford, canon of Christ Church, and one of the most eminent orientalists of his day, P. was born Nov. 8, 1604, in Oxford. At age fourteen he entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford (1619), but transferred to Corpus Christi College (1620), graduating BA (1622) and MA (1626), and was elected a fellow (1628). He developed an interest in Semitic languages and studied with M. Pasor of Heidelberg, who had settled in Oxford, and with W. Bedwell, who is described as the only person in England at the time fluent in Arabic, the father of Arabic studies in England. Upon learning that L. DE DIEU (1590–1642) of Holland, with the assistance of D. HEINSIUS (1580–1655), had published a Syriac version of Revelation, P. prepared the Syriac text of 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude from a Bodleian Library manuscript (providing a transliteration into Hebrew, the Greek text, a Latin translation, and notes), completing what had remained unpublished of a Syriac version of the NT. Through the mediation of G. VOSSIUS (1577–1649), P.'s manuscript was carried to Leiden and published in 1629 by de Dieu.

Ordained in 1629, P. was appointed chaplain at an English factory in Aleppo (1630), which gave him opportunity to improve his Arabic and continue study of other Semitic languages (Hebrew, Syriac, Samaritan, and Ethiopic). He procured manuscripts through friendships with learned Jews and Muslims and translated several Arabic works and Meydani's collection of 6,013 proverbs (unpublished). Appointed by Bishop Laud to a new professorship of Arabic at Oxford (1636), P. returned with Arabic, Hebrew, Ethiopic, and Armenian manuscripts as well as a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

In 1648 after being made professor of Hebrew at Oxford, P. was temporarily suspended because of his royalist sympathies but held the position with the help of learned independents. The following year he publish-

ed his *Specimen historiae Arabum,* which contained a translation of an excerpt from the universal history of Bar Hebraeus and studies on Arabic history, literature, science, and religion based on numerous Arabic manuscripts. The work marked a new stage in Arabic studies. He also worked on and contributed manuscripts for the London POLYGLOT. With the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, he was able to carry on his career uninhibited by political crossfire. He died Sept. 10, 1691.

Throughout his career P. was held in high honor as an orientalist and was consulted by numerous scholars. His work established Arabic studies as an academic discipline in England, and students from several countries came to Oxford to study under him. He wrote commentaries on Micah and Malachi (1677), Hosea (1685), and Joel (1691) for a commentary on the HB planned by J. FELL, dean of Christ Church. In these works he took a rather conservative posture toward the text, offered new translations, and utilized Syriac, Arabic, and other Semitic languages in elucidating the text. His commentary on Hosea is one of the finest ever produced and is a mine of philological comments and of the history of the interpretation of the various passages.

Works: *The Theological Works of the Learned Dr. P.* (2 vols., ed. L. Twells, 1740), contains several works including his commentaries on Micah (1:i-xi, 1-100), Malachi (1:101-206), Joel (1:207-364), and Hosea (2:1-721), as well as his work *Porta Mosis: Sive, Dissertationes aliquot* (1655) on the first six discourses on the Mishnah by Maimonides. *Variae lectiones Arabicae Veteris Testamenti* on Arabic translations of the HB appears in vol. 6 of the London Polyglot (80 pp.).

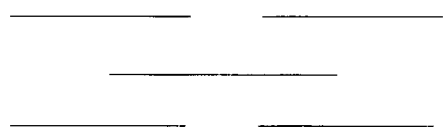
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J. H. HAYES

POETRY, HEBREW BIBLE

Poetry is notoriously difficult to define; and so it is not surprising that it has not always been clear—nor is it now—what constitutes biblical poetry. The Bible sometimes employes terms like *šîr, mizmôr,* and *qînâ* in reference to songs, hymns, and laments, respectively; but these terms are lacking in many passages that have been deemed poetry by later interpreters. That is to say, the Bible seems to recognize some forms of poetry; but its terminology, and therefore presumably its literary concepts, does not correlate exactly with the modern literary genre of poetry. This article will offer a sketch of the major trends in the identification and analysis of biblical poetry from the post-biblical period to the present.

1. The Graphic Presentation of Poems. There is a scribal tradition, witnessed in manuscripts from Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS), in medieval Masoretic manuscripts, and in Talmudic references, of setting off certain poems from the discourse surrounding them. Two visual patterns were used. One is, in rabbinic terminology, "small brick over large brick, large brick over small"—that is, an interlocking construction diagrammed either as:



or as:



The other is "small brick over small, large over large," producing two columns with space between them:



The poems most often presented in one or the other of these graphic forms are Exod 15:1-18; Deuteronomy 32; Judges 5; and 2 Samuel 22. In some manuscripts many more texts are written stichographically, including the books of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and occasionally Lamentations. Although the writing appears to be stichometric, a line of writing does not always correspond to a poetic line, so that while this scribal tradition may be helpful in adducing what the ancients considered to be poetry, it does not necessarily preserve structural or metrical features of the poems. It is even questionable whether the scribes intended to indicate poetry per se by the use of these patterns, for they also used the second pattern for lists like the kings of Canaan (Josh 12:9-24) and the sons of Haman (Esth 9:7-9). Perhaps these patterns were intended to set off through visual means texts that were in some way felt to be different from what surrounded them, but it is not clear why only certain poems and lists were marked in this manner.

With the advent of printing, the convention changed. Most printed Masoretic Bibles abandoned the stichographic presentation of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job and preserved only those passages the TALMUD required to be written stichographically: the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1-18), the Song of Deborah (Judges 5), and the lists in Joshua 12 and Esther 9.

Modern scholarly editions of the Bible have reversed this trend. In *Biblia Hebraica* and *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia,* not only are the traditionally stichographic sections so printed but in addition everything considered poetic by modern standards, including the speeches of the classical prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) and small "poems" within narratives, like 1 Sam 15:22-23, is printed stichographically.

2. The Masoretic Accents. In the Tiberian Masorah the books of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job are accented differently from the other twenty-one books of the HB. It is not clear whether this is a generic distinction or whether the accents have to do only with cantillation. Some scholars feel that some information about poetic meter may be recoverable from the accentual system.

The evidence from ancient times, as preserved in manuscripts and in the Masorah, is inconsistent and inconclusive regarding the recognition of poetry. Yet there arose early in the history of biblical interpretation the notion that the Bible contains poetry. Its definition and description varied from time to time and place to place depending on the investigator's own cultural milieu and stance vis-à-vis the Bible.

3. The Influence of Classical Poetry and Rhetoric. The spread of Greek culture into the Jewish world (and the spread of Jews into the Greek world) inevitably brought readers of the Bible into contact with the Greek idea of *poiesis,* which was then superimposed onto the Bible. Themes and subjects considered proper to Greek poetry were found to be poetic in the Bible as well; and meter, well defined and developed by the Greeks, was ascribed to biblical poems. The leading exponents of this approach were PHILO and JOSEPHUS, who sought to interpret the Bible as a whole in a way meaningful to a Hellenistic audience.

The early church, which adopted the allegorical method of interpretation prevalent in the Greek period, also adopted much of the appreciation of Greek poetic forms. Church fathers (Origen, Eusebius, and others) spoke of poetic meter and tropes in connection with the psalms and with pericopes like Deuteronomy 32. JEROME, who was schooled in and admired Latin poetry, found its features, especially meter, to be present in, indeed surpassed by, the poetry of the Bible. THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA noted the rhetorical use of certain types of repetition or parallelism, and AUGUSTINE spoke of meter and poetic figures in the Bible. To be sure, much of the church fathers' discussions of biblical poetry was designed to neutralize the tension between the attraction to and the rejection of secular (i.e., pagan) literature and to overcome the perceived lack of aesthetic appeal of the Bible (as judged by classical standards). Nevertheless, this early focus on meter and certain tropes that were later subsumed under parallelism represents a sustained effort at poetic analysis.

4. Medieval Jewish Commentaries. Although early Christian interpreters had no difficulty in seeing rhetorical tropes and figures in the Bible, their rabbinic contemporaries largely ignored these stylistic aspects. This silence regarding biblical poetry continued, for the most part, in the medieval Jewish commentaries, not so much due to literary ignorance as to different HERMENEUTIC principles. For Jewish exegetes every word of Scripture had its own significance; words and phrases were never just "decorative" stylistic devices but always bore some specific meaning. This interpretive approach had the effect of limiting the recognition and analysis of poetry. Medieval Jewish commentators did not seek to distinguish literary genres, let alone to define the essential features of poetry. Nevertheless, one does find among some commentators, especially those from the Sephardic communities, an awareness of stylistic and poetic matters. A. IBN EZRA and Rashbam (see SAMUEL BEN MEIR), the grandson of RASHI and a leading Ashkenazic authority, noted that a certain amount of repetition and/or parallelism was stylistic and did not necessarily add new information. ABRAVANEL, in his commentary on Exodus 15 and Isaiah 5, discussed at some length the types of biblical poems.

5. The Influence of Arabic and Medieval Hebrew Poetry. It is not so much in exegetical works as in separate philosophical and rhetorical treatises that one finds the medieval and Renaissance Jewish perceptions of biblical poetry. These treatises, written by Jews living in the Arab world, reflect the influence of the flourishing tradition of Arabic and medieval Hebrew poetry. Among them are the works of SAADIA Gaon, JUDAH HALEVI, and Moses ibn Habib. The only major work devoted entirely to Hebrew poetics is Moses ibn Ezra's *Kitab al-Muḥādarâ wa al-Mudhākarâ,* which is concerned mostly with the poetry of his day; but it was only natural that the features valued in Arabic rhetoric and also in medieval Hebrew poetry should be sought in the Bible. They were not always found, however. Ibn Ezra stated that the only poetry in the Bible is Psalms, Job, and Proverbs (the books with a special system of Masoretic accents) and that even these lack meter and rhyme, the two basic characteristics of Arabic poetry. As for stylistic repetition in the Bible, he apologetically noted that it is not bad style in the Bible, even though it was not acceptable in Arabic rhetoric. Jewish writers like ibn Ezra did not feel the same conflict between secular poetry and holy Scripture as the church fathers did, but they strove to prove the superiority of Hebrew poetry to Arabic poetry and of biblical style to the style of the Quran (see QURANIC AND ISLAMIC INTERPRETATION).

It was not only the existence of vibrant contemporary poetic activity that impelled the search for poetry in the Bible. There was also the existence of the biblical term *šîr,* "song," which was equated with Arabic *shi'r,* "poetry"; the stichographic writing of certain biblical passages; and the Talmudic references to ten biblical songs. This meant that there must be poetry in the Bible. The problem was to identify it and to explain what made it poetic. Several types of answers were given: Poetry consisted of figurative language; biblical poetry originally had meter, but it was lost; *šîr* means something sung and does not imply meter; biblical poems do have meter in the sense that the lines are divided into two parts (like Arabic poems), even though the parts do not correspond in terms of long and short syllables (see J. Kugel [1981] 187-200).

These conclusions sound remarkably modern; indeed, they are still being put forth by some contemporary scholars. However, an important part of the modern definition of biblical poetry was yet to come. It was heralded by the work of Azariah dei Rossi.

6. Azariah dei Rossi. An Italian rabbi, dei Rossi exemplifies Renaissance scholarship. The citations in his *Meor Enayim* (1573) reflect his wide-ranging knowledge of religious and secular literature, including classical and early Christian authors as well as rabbinic texts and the works of the Jewish scholars of medieval Spain. He agreed that the Bible contained poetry and that the poetry was metrical; according to his innovative definition of *metrical,* however, the meter of biblical poems was not based on the number of syllabic feet, but rather on the number of "ideas" or thought-units in each sentence or clause. Exempting certain words (like the introductory "he said" in Deut 32:20) from the metrical count, he found a general regularity in the number of ideas in the two halves of a verse and also saw that this number could change throughout the poem. Although he did not make extraordinary claims for his system—he admitted that it failed to fit numerous verses—it became one of the forerunners to studies of parallelism (it was known to R. Lowth through J. Buxtorf's translation, appended to his *Liber Cosri*) and also anticipated systems of thought-unit meter.

7. Christian Schoettgen. Another of LOWTH's precursors was Schoettgen, who in his *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* (1733) laid down a series of rules relating to *exergasia,* the trope in which sentences with the same meaning are joined together (later known as parallelism). The prominence given to parallelism as opposed to meter and the categories corresponding to "synonymous" and "antithetic" are harbingers of Lowth, while the analysis of forms with ellipses and/or additions anticipates G. GRAY's "complete," "incomplete," and "with/without compensation" forms of parallelism (1915, repr. 1972). But although Schoettgen's view of parallelism was extremely sophisticated, he considered parallelism to be a trope of Hebrew rhetoric, not a basic structural feature of poetry.

8. Robert Lowth. The work of Lowth is generally taken as the starting point in the modern study of biblical poetry. His main contribution was his definition and analysis of *parallelismus membrorum* in his *De sacra poesi hebraeorum* (*Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* [1753]) and *Isaiah: A New Translation with a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical* (1778). The introductory chapter of the latter work contains his definition of *parallelism,* which has become classic: "The correspondence of one Verse, or Line, with another I call Parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contrasted with it in Sense; or similar to it in the form of Grammatical Construction; these I call Parallel Lines; and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding Lines Parallel Terms" (see Lecture 19 of *Lectures*).

Lowth subdivided parallelism into three types: synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic. In synonymous parallelism the same sense is expressed in different, but equivalent, terms as in Ps 114:1:

> When Israel went out from Egypt,
> the house of Jacob from a strange people.

In antithetic parallelism "a thing is illustrated by its contrary being opposed to it" as in Prov 27:6:

> The blows of a friend are faithful;
> But the kisses of an enemy are treacherous.

Synthetic parallelism consists of similar constructions or a general correspondence of the lines but not a correspondence between all of the terms. Ecclesiastes 11:2 illustrates:

> Give a portion to seven, and also to eight;
> For you do not know what evil shall be upon the earth.

As a result of Lowth's lectures, the study of poetry shifted from the search for meter to the analysis of parallelism. This is not to say that meter was forgotten (Lowth thought that Hebrew poetry had meter but that it was irretrievable), but just that the analysis of parallelism proved more rewarding. Another important contribution by Lowth, which grew out of his concentration on parallelistic expression, was his inclusion of prophetic speech in the genre of poetry.

9. Modern Influences on the Study of Poetry. The study of biblical poetry has usually meant the study of its formal features. But first should be mentioned, however briefly, some of the trends in biblical studies and in LITERARY criticism that have shaped the general stance on poetry and determined which of its aspects were to be examined.

Lowth is included among the Romantics—those whose historical research and critical examination did

not prevent them from elevating the imaginative and emotional side of literary expression. For them Hebrew poetry was "sublime"—a term Lowth used repeatedly and defined as "that force of composition . . . which strikes and overpowers the mind, which excites the passions and which expresses ideas at once with perspicuity and elevation" (Lecture 14). The authors of this poetry led a simple pastoral life unencumbered by the "studies and pursuits" of later civilizations (Lecture 7) and thus epitomized the "natural man" idealized in the Romantic period. As for the place of biblical poetry in the study of the history of literature, "the sacred Poetry is undoubtedly entitled to the first rank in this school since from it we are to learn both the origin of the art and how to estimate its excellence" (Lecture 2). Similar thoughts were expressed by Lowth's more influential German contemporary J. G. HERDER in his *Vom Geist der ebraischen Poesie* (1782). Lowth's lectures, which had inspired Herder, were published in a German translation together with Herder's book in 1793. This attitude toward Hebrew poetry continued in the work of early nineteenth-century scholars and is witnessed in numerous commentaries on Psalms produced during this period.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, a new emphasis can be discerned. The interest in evolutionary development quickened in this post-Darwinian age, and earlier stages were viewed as more "primitive" than later ones. Since most biblicists were also orientalists—i.e., knowledgeable in Arabic and often travelers to the Middle East—and, in addition, were influenced by the newly emerging disciplines of linguistics and FOLKLORE, they could not resist comparisons between "primitive Hebrews" and the Arab culture they witnessed. The comparisons pertained to philology as well as to what T. CHEYNE called "comparative ethnic-psychology." As J. WELLHAUSEN put it: "I have no doubt that the original gifts and ideas of the Primitive Hebrews can most readily be understood by comparing Arabian antiquity" (quoted in Cheyne [1893] 73). The late Victorian view of Hebrew poetry is perhaps best summed up by G. A. SMITH in the 1910 Schweich lectures (pub. 1912): "All these facts of the language and syntax warn us not to expect in Hebrew poetry the regular, intricate and delicate metres of the Aryan styles. We are dealing with a people originally nomadic and to the end unskilled in architecture or any elaborate art. The essential looseness of their life, visible in their language, was bound to affect the highest achievements of their literature. When they did concentrate their minds on utterance, their earnestness would appear less in a passion for beauty than in a sense of urgency and responsibility. Israel was a people of prophets rather than poets" (10). Gone here is the celebration of the simple life and the Hebrew poetic genius.

One cannot discuss the history of the study of biblical poetry without mentioning the work of H. GUNKEL on Psalms (1926, 1933). Gunkel, the father of FORM CRITICISM, was sensitive to the Bible's literary aspects. He proposed a new classification system for the psalms that was to replace the Greek types (lyric, didactic, elegiac, etc.) widely used until then. Based on their content and to some extent on formulaic phrases, five main types of psalms plus a number of subtypes and mixed types were isolated. The main types were hymn, community lament, individual lament, individual thanksgiving song, and royal psalm. Form criticism aims to understand a work in relation to its original life setting, and so this approach stimulated studies of the place of the psalms in Israel's worship, along with a continued interest in the dating of the psalms and other poetry. In addition, because it was intent on finding generic patterns and formulas, it promoted the discovery of recurring phrases and usages and the analysis of the structure of poems.

While form criticism sought the common elements in various poems, RHETORICAL CRITICISM shifted the emphasis to the distinctive usages in each poem. In a separate but similar move, those more familiar with literary criticism applied the approaches of New Criticism and *Werkinterpretation,* especially the technique of close reading. This produced a number of significant studies of biblical poetry and literary analyses of poetic texts. Notable are those by M. Weiss (1962), L. Alonso-Schökel (1963), and R. Alter (1985). These works not only advanced the interpretation of biblical poetry but also were important landmarks in the rise of literary approaches to the entire Bible. Concurrently, the following theories of oral composition and structural linguistics influenced the study of biblical poetry.

10. Post-Lowthian Descriptions of the Formal Features of Biblical Poetry. The recognition of poetry implies distinguishing it from other forms of literary discourse on the basis of formal criteria. Biblical poetry, at least since the time of Lowth, has been perceived as consisting of two formal features: meter and parallelism. Various descriptions give prominance to one or the other, but both are usually present to some degree. Both require the identification of the poetic line or set of lines (cola). Meter measures units within a line; parallelism describes the relationship between lines.

a. Meter. It has been difficult, if not impossible, for many scholars to conceive of poetry (or, more properly, verse) without meter; but what exactly was to be metered, or measured, in biblical poetry has rarely met with scholarly consensus. Numerous systems have been proposed, each differing from the others in some manner; in general they fall into one of three groups: accentual meter, syllabic meter, or word/thought-unit meter.

Accentual meter is the system advocated by J. Ley, E. Sievers (1901), and K. BUDDE (1882). This system counts only accented syllables, ignoring unaccented ones. Budde's contribution was the identification of *qînâ*

meter, a line of three accented syllables followed by a line of two accented syllables, which is characteristic of laments.

The system in which all syllables are counted regardless of their length is syllabic meter. Associated with W. F. ALBRIGHT and his students F. M. CROSS and D. N. FREEDMAN (1975), this system often involves the reconstruction of the original (pre-Masoretic) pronunciation. A combination of accentual and syllabic meter is alternating meter, proposed by S. Segert (1953, 1957), in which all syllables are counted and the stress is placed on the primary and secondary natural tones. The meter is then found to be one of alternating off/on stresses. None of these metric systems produced a scansion that was consistent throughout a poem or body of poems.

Another group of scholars subordinated meter to parallelism. They found that such meter as existed was really the rhythmic effect created by virtue of the fact that each set of lines (usually forming a parallelism) contained roughly the same number of thought-units or word-units. Thus a system of phonologic regularities, i.e., meter, was seen as deriving from semantic factors rather than from purely phonological ones. This is reminiscent of dei Rossi.

Two newer approaches to the question of meter deserve mention. Both introduce syntax into the search for meter and are thereby witnesses to the growing influence of linguistics on the study of biblical poetry. J. Kurylowicz has suggested that each word-complex, as defined by grammatical criteria, has one metrically significant accent. This is called the *accentus dominus.* Other accented syllables, called *accenti servi,* are subordinate. Kurylowicz's system replaces the semantic criteria of thought-unit meter with grammatical criteria. It also differentiates between accented syllables that are metrically significant and those that are not, thereby distinguishing meter, which constitutes a special use of phonology, from the general phonological workings of Hebrew.

In a step even farther removed from the measuring of phonological features, M. O'Connor (1980) has replaced the notion of meter with a system of syntactic constraints by which he defines a line of poetry. He finds that no line contains more than three clause predicators; no line contains fewer than one or more than four consitutents (verb or nominal phrase plus dependent particles); and no line contains fewer than two or more than five units (individual verb or noun plus dependent particles). This description views syntactic regularity as primary and phonologic regularity as secondary. If Kurylowicz can be said to have replaced thought-units with grammatical units, O'Connor can be said to have replaced phonologic measurement with syntactic measurement.

b. Parallelism. Parallelism is often drawn into the search for meter, but it can and should be divorced from it, although not from the description of poetry as a whole. Since Lowth, it has been recognized as the dominant characteristic of biblical poetry; and the analysis of it, until the last decades of the twentieth century, derived directly from Lowth's definition and typology. The correspondence of line with line and word with word of which Lowth spoke was generally understood as sameness or identity by most of Lowth's successors, so the emphasis was put on the synonymity or redundancy in parallelism. At the same time closer inspection showed that within, or in addition to, Lowth's three major categories other categories could be found. Gray introduced the terms "complete" and "incomplete" parallelism "with or without compensation" to describe the lack of exact identity in some parallel terms. Others noted various structural types, e.g., chiastic parallelism, staircase parallelism, emblematic parallelism, janus parallelism. The typologies describing the relationship between parallel lines became more and more refined.

Emphasis turned from the lines to the terms in the wake of the discovery of Ugaritic poetry (see UGARIT AND THE BIBLE) and the ascendency of the Parry-Lord theory of oral composition. It was noticed that Ugaritic poetry used many of the same sets of parallel terms that were found in the Bible, e.g., day/night, gold/silver, heaven/earth. Those sets of recurring words came to be known as "fixed word pairs" and were thought to be the functional equivalents of the formulas in Homeric and Yugoslavian poetry as discovered by Parry and Lord, i.e., the device that made oral composition possible. Lists of these pairs were collected, their frequency and the order of their members tabulated, and the semantic relationships between them analyzed. (Noteworthy is the "break-up of stereotyped phrases," first identified by E. Melamed [1961], in which a conventional phrase is divided over two parallel lines.) The bibliography on word pairs is extensive, with the names of M. DAHOOD and several Israeli scholars prominent (see Dahood's lists in *Ras Shamra Parallels* [1972–81] and Y. Avishur [1984]). In fact, most standard descriptions of biblical poetry from 1950 to 1980 include some discussion of word pairs.

The analyses of parallel lines and parallel word pairs represent increasingly complex typologies to categorize surface variations of underlying synonymity. A shift in perception began to be noticeable around 1980: Emphasis was put on the difference in parallel lines rather than on their sameness. J. Kugel (1981) rejected the notion of the synonymity of parallel lines, replacing it with the notion of continuity, which he expressed as "A, what's more, B." Alter, in a similar vein, spoke of the "consequentiality" of parallel lines. Parallel lines now came to be seen as adding new information containing an intensification or a progression rather than just repeating the same thought in different words. To be sure, the idea of difference or lack of redundancy in parallelism has

ancient (especially Jewish) antecedents and is not altogether absent from Lowth's and Gray's discussions; but scholars had by and large lost sight of it.

Contemporaneous with but independent of the shift away from Lowthian approaches by Kugel and Alter came the introduction of linguistic models for the study of biblical parallelism (analogous to those of Kurylowicz and O'Connor for meter). A number of scholars offered grammatical analyses of parallelism (A. Berlin [1985]; T. Collins [1978]; S. Geller [1979]; E. Greenstein [1982]; M. O'Connor, D. Pardee [1988]; W. Watson) in which the relationship between parallel lines is described in terms of syntax instead of semantics. The influence of structural linguistics and especially of R. Jakobson is evident.

The most comprehensive of these studies is Berlin's since it involves not only grammar but also other linguistic aspects. Berlin views parallelism as a linguistic phenomenon involving equivalences and/or contrasts on the level of the word and/or the line. The linguistic aspects that are activated are the grammatical, the lexical, the semantic, and the phonological. In the grammatical aspect the syntax of the lines is equivalent (but not necessarily identical), i.e., the deep structures are the same. On the level of the word the grammatical aspect involves the use of terms that are from different morphological classes but fill the same syntactic function, or terms from the same morphological class that may manifest a constrast in gender, number, verbal form, etc. The lexical aspect is concerned with word pairs, which are seen here as the products of normal word association and are analyzable according to linguistic rules derived from word association games and experiments. The semantic aspect relates to the relationship between the meaning of the parallel lines, which Berlin analyzes as being either paradigmatic or syntagmatic. She finds tension or balance between the synonymity and the difference in the meaning of the lines—both being present to some degree. (This mediates between the position of the Lowth school on the one hand, and Kugel and Alter, on the other hand.) The phonologic aspect is activated in cases where terms with similar sounds or consonants are paired. Berlin's study is an attempt to present a unified linguistic explanation for all the phenomena subsumed under parallelism.

c. The absence of "prose particles." Although parallelism is an important dimension of biblical poetry, it cannot in and of itself serve to identify a poem since non-poetic discourse also contains parallelism. In addition, the existence of a metrical system or systems, sought for centuries, has proved to be a will-o'-the-wisp. In other words, the two generally acknowledged formal features of biblical poetry have not yielded sufficiently objective criteria for the identification of poetry. For this reason a few scholars have tried a different approach. It has been known at least since 1910 (see G. A. Smith, 11) that certain words and particles (the definite article, the relative pronoun *'ašer*, the particle *'ēt*) appear less frequently in poetry. Modern computer technology now makes the actual counting of these particles relatively easy, and their occurrence in the Bible has been tabulated (see F. Andersen and A. Forbes [1983]). This tabulation often confirms our intuition about what is to be labeled a poem and may indeed provide an objective basis for defining poetry. Unfortunately, it has as yet little to say about the nature of poetry or how it is to be analyzed.

d. Other rhetorical features. Much of the world's poetry utilizes an array of tropes and figures, and the Bible is no exception. Biblical poetry employs imagery, repetition, chiasm, inclusio, assonance, and so forth. Some of these, like chiasm, have been studied extensively; others, like metaphor, could benefit from more sophisticated treatment. There have also been efforts to analyze poetic structures and patterning above the level of the line or bicolon. A summary of poetic structures and figures, including an extensive bibliography, is found in Watson (1983).

In large measure, the study of biblical poetry is conditioned by the time and place of those who study it; yet certain observations seem to recur in almost every period, albeit couched in different frames of reference. The long-standing interest in biblical poetry has produced a fascinating chapter in the history of biblical interpretation.

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A. BERLIN

POLYGLOTS

Polyglot Bibles printed the text of the Bible in three or more languages, usually in parallel columns for the purpose of comparison. Most included the text in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin for the HB and Greek and Latin for the NT, and occasionally a modern language. The scope of these works varied from the complete Bible, including the deuterocanonicals, to a single testament or book (usually Psalms); and their usefulness for exegesis was frequently enhanced by the inclusion of a variety of study aids, like maps, genealogical charts, diagrams, introductions to biblical books, dictionaries, grammars, and critical apparatuses. The predecessors of polyglot Bibles were editions of the Hebrew scripture with a TRANSLATION in Aramaic, Greek, Arabic, Persian, or some European language alongside the Hebrew text. In Christian circles, editions of the Bible had been published with the text in both Greek and Latin or, during the Middle Ages, the VULGATE with a vernacular interlinear.

The four great polyglots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Complutensian, Antwerp, Paris, and London) eclipsed all others. The Complutensian Polyglot (6 vols., 1522) printed the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts of the HB in parallel columns with the TARGUM of the Pentateuch and its Latin translation at the foot of the page. The Greek column included a Latin interlinear, and a system of letters keyed the Vulgate to the Hebrew text. The NT, which was already printed in 1514, two years before ERASMUS's edition of the Greek NT, was presented in parallel columns of Greek and Latin keyed to one another. F. JIMÉNEZ of Spain conceived and funded the project, and D. de ZÚÑIGA (Stunica) supervised a staff of several additional scholars. The work was intended to make the texts in their original languages accessible to theologians so that the latter could "drink of that water which springs up to eternal life at the fountain-head itself" (prologue, v. 1). Received enthusiastically, it served as the textual basis for several later polyglots.

The printer C. Plantin resolved to issue a corrected edition of the Complutensian Polyglot and enlisted the support of Philip II of Spain, who appointed B. Arias Montanus and a group of Spanish, Belgian, and French scholars for the task. The product of their work, the Antwerp Polyglot (8 vols., 1572), moved beyond the Complutensian Polyglot by adding the Targum for the rest of the books in the HB (except Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1–2 Chronicles) and by supplying the Syriac text—printed once in Syriac and once in Hebrew characters—for the NT. The editors relied heavily on the Complutensian Polyglot for text and format. Unfortunately, many copies of the work were lost at sea in transit to Spain.

The Paris Polyglot (9 vols., 1645) was begun by Cardinal du Perron (d. 1617) and financed by G. le Jay. Its editors included G. Sionita, J. Hesronita, P. d'Aquin, J. MORIN, and others. This was the largest and most elegantly printed of the great polyglots, but it was unfortunately the most costly and cumbersome to use. Moreover, it was plagued with errors and lacked the apparatus of the Antwerp Polyglot, on which it relied generally for text and format. Consequently, it sold so poorly and was so overshadowed by the London Polyglot (1657) that many copies were sold eventually as scrap paper. The Paris Polyglot added HB text in Samaritan, Syriac, and Arabic and NT text in Arabic and Syriac—the latter for 2 Peter, 2–3 John, Jude, and Revelation, which was lacking in the Antwerp Polyglot—but deleted the Syriac version in Hebrew characters from the NT. In spite of its magnificent appearance, the Paris Polyglot exerted little influence on scholarship.

The London Polyglot (6 vols., 1657) was the most scholarly and complete and circulated most widely of the four polyglots. The project was directed by B. Walton, who directed the work of E. CASTELL, S. Clarke, T. Greaves, T. Hyde, E. POCOCKE, D. Loftus, A. Weelocke, and other English scholars. It alone of the great polyglots was not issued under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church. The work was distinguished by the extensive collection of scholarly materials in its prologue that dealt with biblical CHRONOLOGY, weights and measures, Hebrew and Greek idioms, geography, and TEXTUAL CRITICISM. The HB included a Hebrew text (based on the Antwerp and Paris polyglots) with a Latin interlinear and the Vulgate, as well as the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT), Targum (for most HB books), Samaritan Pentateuch, Syriac, and Arabic with Latin translations. In addition, an Ethiopic version (see ETHIOPIAN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION) of Psalms and the Song of Solomon was included. The NT volume reproduced the Greek text of R. Stephanus with Latin interlinear, the Vulgate, and the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions, each with Latin translation. A Persian version of the Gospels with Latin translation was also attached, and the last volume contained an extensive critical apparatus. Similar to earlier practices of printing HBs with commentary by KIMHI or RASHI, the nine-volume CRITICI SACRI (1660), a collection of commentaries on the Bible from various sources, was issued as a supplement, as was Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglottum* (1669).

In addition to these four major polyglots, there was the Heidelberg Polyglot (1587), which printed the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts of the HB. Probably edited by B. Bertram, it appears to follow the Complutensian Polyglot, although the Greek text may reprint the Aldine Bible (1518). The Vulgate text is accompanied by the Latin version of S. PAGNINUS and notes from the lectures of F. Vatablus. The Hamburg Polyglot (3 vols., 1596), prepared by D. Wolter, printed the Greek, two Latin versions (Vulgate and Pagninus [HB]/Beza [NT]), and a German text. The Nuremberg Polyglot (1599) was the work of E. Hutter, whose intention to produce a polyglot for the entire Bible never moved beyond Ruth. It was issued in four editions, printing the text in six languages: Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, German, and either Slovak, Italian, Low German, or French, depending on the edition. Hutter also issued an NT (1599/1600) in twelve languages: Syriac in Hebrew characters, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Bohemian, Italian, Spanish, French, English, Danish, and Polish. The Hebrew of Hutter's HB hexaglot is distinctive in that the root of the Hebrew word is printed in a different style of type from the prefix or suffix attached to the stem. In the case of his NT, Hutter created text that was missing in some versions. Other polyglots worthy of note are the Leipzig Polyglot of C. Reineccius (NT, 1713; OT, 1750–51), the Bielefeld Polyglot of R. Stier and C. Theile (1846–55), the hexaglot of E. de Levante (1874–76), and S. Bagster's *Biblia sacra polyglotta* (1831).

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M. P. GRAHAM

POOLE (or POLE, [Latin, POLUS]), MATTHEW (1624–79)

Born in York in 1624, P. was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In 1649 he was appointed rector of St. Michael-le-Querne, London, but resigned his living in 1662 because of his Presbyterian beliefs. Fearing for his life after the supposed "popish plot" (1678), he moved to Amsterdam, where he died on Oct. 12, 1679.

P.'s major writing was the *Synopsis Criticorum,* on which he labored from 1666 until 1676. In this compendious Latin work he summarized and compared the interpretations of a wide selection of commentators on every book of the Bible. His intention was to provide information about critical rather than practical commentaries. He took note of rabbis and Roman Catholics as well as Protestants but made few references to CALVIN and none to LUTHER. The work, which had five editions within forty years, is an invaluable source for the study of biblical interpretation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. P.'s enterprise was supported by several Anglican bishops, including S. Patrick, J. TILLOTSON, and E. STILLINGFLEET. Although C. Bee, the publisher of CRITICI SACRI, protested that P. was encroaching on his patent, he eventually withdrew his objections. P. also began a shorter and less technical commentary in English, going as far as Isaiah 48. It was finished by other scholars after his death.

Works: *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae Interpretum* (5 vols., 1669–76); *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (2 vols., 1683–85).

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A. W. WAINWRIGHT

PORPHYRY (c. 232–c. 303)

Although given the name Malcha, son of Malcha, he is generally known by his nickname "Porphyry" (Greek for the famous Tyrian purple rather than for the Syriac king). Brought up in Tyre, P., whose native tongue was Syriac, knew a great deal about Semitic culture; yet he received a Greek education and became a Neoplatonic philosopher. After studying under Longinus and others at Athens, he became a disciple of Plotinus in Rome. His many published works were written in Greek, the most famous, *Against the Christians,* a work so threatening that all copies of it were destroyed.

P's outstanding exegetical achievement was his assertion that the book of Daniel is a Maccabean pseudepigraph (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA). Published as part of *Against the Christians,* his work on Daniel was possible because he relied on the Syrian exegetical tradition, which preserved many details of the author's original interpretation. Syrian exegetes assumed that the book of Daniel was written in the sixth century BCE, but they knew that the fourth kingdom of Daniel 2 and 7 is the Greek, that the little horn of Daniel 7 is Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and that the saints of the Most High are Maccabean Jews. P.'s profound knowledge of contemporary religion, including the custom of pseudepigraphy, allowed him to infer that the book was not a sixth-century PROPHECY but a work written to encourage Maccabean Jews under persecution. This also led him to accept a number of mistakes whose *Sitz im Leben* is in a tradition that accepted the canonical AUTHORITY of Daniel, e.g., he accepted Dan 11:40-45 as a true account of Antiochus's end.

We owe our knowledge of P.'s work to JEROME, who in his commentary on Daniel quoted P. extensively in the effort to refute him. The few other surviving fragments of P.'s exegesis, scattered in the works of various authors, show the same knowledge of Jewish and Christian Scriptures, sometimes with their exegetical traditions, and demonstrate fierce polemic against them. For example, he criticized the incorrect citation of Scripture at Mark 1:2 (cited by Jerome) and objected to allegorical interpretations of Jewish Scriptures that were meant to be taken literally (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 6.19.4-8).

Works: *Against the Christians* (15 bks.); *Commentary on the Chaldean Oracles*; *Commentary on the Timaeus*; *Introduction (Isagoge)*; *On the Book of Zoroaster*; *On the Categories of Aristotle* (7 bks.); *On the Cave of the Nymphs*; *On the Life of Plotinus and the Order of His Books*; *On the Philosophy of Homer*; *To Marcella.* For an extensive list of works, see J. Bidez, 65-73.

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P. M. CASEY

PORTER, FRANK CHAMBERLAIN (1859–1946)

P. was born in Beloit, Wisconsin, Jan. 5, 1859. Prior to undergraduate and graduate theological study at Yale, he earned bachelor's and master's degrees at Beloit College and attended Chicago Theological Seminary and the theological school in Hartford, Connecticut. In 1889 he became an instructor on the Yale divinity faculty and in 1891 was appointed Winckley Professor of Biblical Theology, a post he held until his retirement in 1927.

P. was the first scholar of his generation in the United States to address major modern hermeneutical questions (see HERMENEUTICS). Contending that historical criticism was not the "highest and fittest use" to which the Bible could be put, he strove to mediate between the opposing concerns of history and religion, science and faith, a contest signaled in the conflict between the Ritschlian (see A. RITSCHL) and liberal theological schools. P. wrote that the initial step toward mediation lay in recognition of the literature of the Bible as "poetic." Stimulated by M. ARNOLD's question ("Shall We Enjoy the Bible?"), he turned for his answer to Aristotle, W. Wordsworth (1770–1850), S. T. COLERIDGE, and the ancient rhetorician Longinus, concluding that a synthesis of the two opposing worlds could be achieved through what he called an "appreciative" approach to the Bible.

P. found justification for this aesthetic approach in the theology of PAUL, the subject of his best known and only full-length volume, *The Mind of Christ in Paul.* According to P., two criteria determined Paul's "Christian thinking": First, it had to be according to the historical JESUS; and second, it had to be "natural," true to, and one with the "mind" of Jesus. P. wrote that the apostle was not the author of the lofty christological utterances found in the NT. Rather, Paul traced the inherited christological categories to the historical Jesus, conforming them to his character. Further, Paul was not concerned with Christ's place in the universe but with the love of Christ in the Christian. The Pauline concept of "oneness with Christ" was thus to be interpreted as moral or ethical, a oneness of imitation. Whatever residue remained after the two Pauline criteria had been applied P. relegated to the sphere of "poetry."

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R. A. HARRISVILLE

POST-COLONIAL BIBLICAL INTERPRETATIONS

1. Introduction. Post-colonial literary theory is an umbrella term that covers a multitude of literary practices and concerns of diverse races, empires, colonies, geographical centers, times, and genres. One of its defining characteristics is that it emphasizes the pervasiveness of imperialism and relates imperial expansion, impact, and response to certain literary practices and practitioners. To that end, post-colonial theories situate almost all reading and writing of the past three to four hundred years within the parameters of imperial and colonial currents of dominance and resistance, challenging all readers and writers to examine their practices for imperial and colonial currents of domination and suppression.

In literary practice the term *post-colonial* is used to "cover all the culture affected by imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day" (B. Ashcroft et al. [1989] 20). This extended meaning recognizes that not all countries have achieved liberation and that various forms of colonialism exist, e.g., military, IDEOLOGICAL, economical, and ecological. The extension of its meaning in a largely post-independence era comes with the shocking realization of continuing domination by the former colonizers and dependence of previously colonized nations. But as H. Bhabha underscores, the "post" in post-colonial gestures to the beyond and embodies an energy that transforms "the present into an expanded and ex-centric site of experience and empowerment" (1994, 4). In short, post-colonial discourse involves both critique and construction.

2. Post-colonial Biblical Readers. The categories of colonizer and colonized can be subdivided into some of the following reading and writing communities: colonizers, settler colonizers, indigenous or natives of settler colonies, oppositional decolonizers, and immigrants who live in former colonizing centers. Many of these groups can be identified with particular geographical areas consistent with the history of imperialism. A strict dividing line between their literary practices is often impossible, given that colonialism is largely about cultural contact and exchange; yet one can outline some of their methods of biblical interpretation.

3. The Colonizers' Reading Practices. Colonizers are historically described as imperial readers from Britain, France, Portugal, Germany, or from any former colonizing country. Their use of literature, especially the Bible, as a colonizing instrument entails imposing foreign literary canons on the colonized; interpreting all foreign places and cultures through the colonizers' texts; and denigrating the colonized peoples and their lands through texts that serve to uplift the colonizer.

First, a foreign literary canon, including the Bible, is transported by the colonizer from its specific cultural context and is marketed to the colonized as a universal standard for all cultures. A post-colonial biblical reader asks: How has the Bible been transported to non-biblical worlds, and how has it been applied to other cultures? When white Western biblical readers maintain a hierarchical and exclusive place for biblical texts and other Western classics above the texts of the colonized, or when they resist developing multi-cultural readings of the Bible, then they participate in colonialism. Furthermore, when schools either ignore or teach the religions of the colonized in such a way as to undermine these dominated cultures, they serve as instruments of oppression.

Second, colonizers interpret foreign lands and claim authority over them through both biblical and Western texts. These texts' ideology inspired their colonial readers and validated their action as just; e.g., the reading of "the great commission" led many readers to regard the colonizing projects of their country as synonymous with the biblical text. Thus missionary D. Livingstone could "beg" his people to move to Africa and spread Christianity.

Third, colonial biblical interpretation involves readers of various backgrounds. Livingstone, for example, was a missionary, a doctor, a geographer, an explorer, an ethnographer, a natural scientist and a writer of travel narratives. Many other readers never traveled abroad, but they were ardent supporters who read and perpetuated the constructions of traveling colonial agents.

Fourth, colonial interpretations of the Bible were often the result of exegetical methods or interpretations hewn from imperial contexts and serving the interest of these empires. One can cite archaeological (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) and anthropological paradigms of reading that often bolstered the colonizers' claims of racial superiority by claiming to understand the colonized peoples better than they understood themselves. F. Segovia (1995) exposed the colonizing ideology of historical-critical methods: Assuming that all readers were neutral and objective, this approach insisted on one univocal and universal interpretation of the Bible. Variant interpretations from readers of different social backgrounds were labeled eisegesis. Segovia suggests that the explosion of other methods of interpretation that consider the author, the text, and the reader should be seen within the global struggles of decolonization and liberation.

4. Settler Colonizers' Reading Practices. Settler colonies include white readers from Canada, the United States, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand who assumed power over the natives of the land and turned the land into their permanent homes. The earliest white settler colonizers of the United States and South Africa claimed that they were the chosen race, that the native lands were their promised lands, and that the native populations were Canaanites who could either be enslaved or be annihilated. The Exodus text was used to claim these lands and to dispossess the natives. G. Tinker (1995, 175) holds that "nineteenth-century German imperialism, along with the prominence of German exegetical research continuing into the twentieth century, gave rise to conquest exegesis that has influenced most if not all Euro-American scholarship." The theoretical reading of such scholars as A. SCHWEITZER who were active colonial agents was widely accepted in biblical interpretation. Not surprisingly, the voice of biblical scholars of former imperial centers and settler colonies remained largely silent during the perpetration of international crimes of colonialism and holocaust.

Because settler colonies are also thoroughly multicultural contexts, it is notable that late twentieth century methods of biblical readings, which move away from colonizing ideologies, are being championed in North America rather than in European biblical schools. The North American context consists of Native Americans, settler colonists, descendants of African slaves, Hispanics (see HISPANIC AMERICAN INTERPRETATION), Holocaust survivors (see HOLOCAUST, BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION AND THE), Asian Americans (see ASIAN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION), political refugees, professional workers who immigrate, and many others who constantly make problematic power relations proposed in methods of reading and writing. It is this diversity that creates a context in which methods of reading for liberation are more acceptable than in former colonizing centers.

5. Indigenous Reading Practices. Native populations living under the rule of settler colonizers do not have the option of political independence. These populations include the Native Americans of North America, the Aborigines in Australia, and the Maori in New Zealand. Since most native populations are still recovering from severe colonization, their voices are just beginning to be heard; yet their nativist and hybrid interpretations of resistance and collaboration were there in every stage of their colonization. The history of their various biblical interpretations still needs to be researched, documented, and analyzed.

R. Warrior (1991, 291), who reads the stories of Israel's wilderness wanderings through Canaanite eyes, notes Yahweh's command to annihilate the indigenous population. That "Canaanites have status only as the people Yahweh removes from the land in order to bring the chosen people in" is a characterization that expounds values authorizing imperialism. Further, since the Canaanites are annihilated for having worshiped different gods, interreligious praxis is equated to betrayal in the Joshua narrative. In short, the narrative not only provides for imperialism but also fails to provide for a multi-cultural reading of the Bible.

6. Decolonizing Reading Practices. Decolonizing readers are oppositional post-colonial readers from Af-

rica, Asia, and Latin America who were colonized but fought and regained their political independence by assuming biblical interpretations of resistance, collaboration, nativism, nationalism, and hybridity. Decolonizing biblical readers of these diverse backgrounds have influenced one another not only at individual levels but also as a deliberate strategy of networking (M. Oduyoye [1993]; R. Sugirtharajah [1991]).

Latin American post-colonial biblical interpretations were perhaps the earliest to make their mark in biblical studies. Unlike Africans and Asians, Latin Americans were subjected to an earlier colonialism that established Christianity as the dominant religion and the languages of the colonizers as the means of communication; yet they fully employed the masters' tools to pull down the masters' houses. Latin Americans apply biblical texts and Western theories of Marxism to articulate interpretations of LIBERATION. First, their biblical interpretations resist dwelling on the ancient context of the text as the normative reference for the "correct" interpretation of the Bible. Latin Americans claim a better understanding of the meaning of biblical texts because of their experiences of poverty and the struggle they share with the exploited masses of JESUS' times. Their biblical interpretations critique oppressive neo-colonial and local structures that continue to exploit them. Further, their readings challenge mainstream biblical interpreters to examine who benefits from their interpretations.

Most Asian and African biblical readers, on the other hand, were subjected to modern imperial and colonial currents that elevated Western cultures, claimed racial superiority, and discounted native cultures, races, and languages. Many, indeed, were Christianized and learned to use the languages of their colonizers. Their religions and languages, however, remained a contending force in their contexts and became unavoidable factors in their post-colonial biblical interpretations.

Examples of these readings include the following: (a) The role of Egypt (see EGYPTOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), Ethiopia (see ETHIOPIAN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION), and Asian nations regarding the birth of the Christian church is emphasized (Oduyoye [1993]; Sugirtharajah [1993]). (b) Biblical stories are read in the context of other local religious texts or cultures. African culture is compared with those described in the HB; Jesus is compared with other sages and religious leaders. Inculturation and contextualization tended to preserve the superiority of Christian faith, but the colonized peoples insisted on the validity of their own cultures (E. Martey [1993] 65-70). The current scene reflects the bold refusal to designate any superiority to biblical religious claims (P. Kwok [1995]; Sugirtharajah [1993]). (c) Decolonizing readers embark on hybrid biblical interpretations from the early days of colonial contact. Many Asian and African intellectuals read biblical stories and legends with their own folktales (see FOLKLORE), myths (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), and songs. Hybrid post-colonial biblical discourse resists the colonizing use of the Bible and seeks liberation by reading the Bible with, and not above, other world cultures. (d) Decolonizing post-colonial biblical readings include the interpretations of subalterns, or the base communities of the poor. This is evident with Asian and African readers as non-academic readers are included in academic anthologies (see *Semeia* 73). (e) Like Latin American readers, African and Asian readers emphasize their own socioeconomic contexts as they interpret the Bible rather than dwelling on the ancient origins of biblical texts. To this end their methods are largely theological. (f) Oppositional decolonizing biblical readers also question the ideology of biblical texts by asking: How are gender representations used in imperial and colonizing texts of the Bible? Why have the Bible and its readers functioned compatibly with the colonizing powers of their countries? Does the Bible encourage expansion into other nations? Does it authorize Christians to assume power over other cultures and lands? If so, how can we arrest the colonizing perspectives of the Bible and its readers? (See M. Dube Shomanah [1997].) (g) Decolonizing readers engage in a comparative or synoptic reading of secular Western classics with biblical texts. These largely ideological readings interrogate the representations of different cultures, people, and their lands in the Bible and in other Western canons to examine how these constructions legitimate the colonizers' assumption of power over foreign nations.

7. Migrant Reading Practices. These include readings of African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Jewish Holocaust survivors, Asian Americans, refugees, migrant workers, and many other Two-Thirds World peoples who live in Western countries. Biblical readings of migrants differ, reflecting the different types of colonial oppression undergone, different stages of resistance, different methods, and different group interests. African Americans experienced colonization that severed them from their lands, cultures, and languages. To rely on the languages and cultures of their colonizers, therefore, is not optional in their struggles for liberation. For example, D. Walker (see Walker and H. Garnet [1829]) argued for the abolition of slavery by rereading the stories in Genesis and Exodus and in the ancient texts of Rome and Greece. Walker appealed to the biblical attestation that as a slave in Egypt Joseph was given a leadership role (Gen 41:37-45), that the house of Jacob was given the best land in Egypt and leadership (Gen 47:1-6), and that enslaved Israelites owned property (Exod 12:31-32, 37-39). Walker's strategy of using the masters' tools against them helped illustrate how the institution of chattel slavery could not be supported by their canon.

O. Hendricks (1995) has delivered one of the boldest post-colonial biblical readings ever to be published in a Western scholarly journal. The title, "Guerilla Exegesis,"

alludes to the struggles and strategies of the colonized against the colonizer. It suggests a context where the colonizer is still very much in power but where the colonized peoples refuse to give up the struggle for liberation, instead adopting a persistent undercover strategy of resistance that allows them to hit and run. His essay exemplifies the abrogation of the masters' language, or the use of "english," not English (see Ashcroft et al.). This post-colonial strategy is used by many former victims of colonialism who are now stuck with learning, writing, and reading in the languages of the colonizer. Countering centuries of colonizing art that depicted Jesus, Mary, and all biblical characters as blue-eyed blonds, Bibles produced by and for African Americans feature Black biblical characters. This attempt to recuperate Black presence in the Bible is one of the major steps toward its decolonization.

Biblical interpretations by Hispanic Americans also reflect an engagement with the imperialist currents of the past and present that have alienated them from their countries and cultures. Segovia, who describes himself as "a subject of a number of layers of colonialism" (1995, 3), presents a reading strategy of intercultural criticism framed within the global colonial and post-colonial struggles for power. Although it is a method informed by a bicultural experience of having "no home, no voice, and no face . . . following the dynamics of colonial discourse and practice," it "embraces biculturalism as its very home, voice, and face . . . following in the dynamics of decolonization and liberation" (Segovia [1996] 212). In short, intercultural criticism is a diaspora reading strategy born in the struggle with continuing colonial domination that continues to read texts for decolonization and liberation.

J. González's book (1996) is also an exposition of a Hispanic diaspora reading strategy from a Protestant perspective. A. Isasi-Díaz's works expound on MUJERISTA, or Hispanic American women's reading strategies.

Many Jewish readers of the NT are among the immigrants who have entered the academic and church schools of the West. They challenge Christians to acknowledge that Jesus was a Jew and that biblical texts are Jewish texts. This reclaiming of Jewish heritage in biblical interpretation is a post-colonial response to the claims of racial superiority that characterized white Christian colonizing powers and that contributed to the Holocaust.

8. Problems with Post-colonial Interpretations in Biblical Studies. Turning to biblical studies (and to other sacred canons), there is a lack of comprehensive research on colonial biblical interpretations based on the study of travel narratives, letters, missionary reports, newspapers, novels, etc. The *Semeia* issue on "Postcolonialism and Scriptural Reading" (ed. L. Donaldson), should go a long way toward introducing a number of post-colonial methods of biblical interpretation. Similarly, the *Semeia* issue on "Women's Interpretations of the Bible in the Third World" (ed. K. Sakenfeld and S. Ringe) will also provide post-colonial feminist readings (see FEMINIST INTERPRETATION) of the Bible.

The biblical readings of the formerly colonized groups, however, are quite vibrant. African, South African, Asian, Indian, Latin American, Hispanic American, African American, Asian American, Native American, Pacific, or Two-Thirds World readers are actively generating biblical readings that take account of their experiences of colonial domination and seek liberating international relations. Nevertheless, problems still persist. Given the domination of Europeans and Americans in biblical studies, the interpretations of the formerly colonized have by and large occupied a peripheral place. These new interpretations are not always regarded as serious rigorous methods of biblical reading, nor have they been classified as systematic readings that demand engagement. For example, anthologies of biblical reading methods, written mostly by younger generations dedicated to liberation, remain surprisingly silent about post-colonial methods of biblical reading.

To a degree the apathetic response of metropolitan scholars to most post-colonial biblical readings is methodologically related to the traditional separation of biblical studies from theology and church history. Many biblical scholars would rather regard post-colonial readings of Two-Thirds World masses as theological and belonging to church history, not biblical studies. Moreover, the silence of mainstream biblical studies toward post-colonial interpretations reflects the continuing dominance of the so-called developed over the underdeveloped, the First World over the Two-Thirds World masses.

What if mainstream academic and church biblical practitioners allowed themselves to view their interpretative practices under the categories of colonial and post-colonial literary practices? This would greatly enhance the mission of the academy and the church. Readers might assume ethical responsibility for international relations of the past and the present, since interpreters would begin to place themselves within the dynamics of colonizing and decolonizing communities. Readers might examine their biblical expositions to see if they build, maintain, or dismantle imperialism, seeking interpretations that promote international relations of liberating interdependence.

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M. W. DUBE SHOMANAH

POSTEL, GUILLAUME (1510?–81)

Born in Barenton, Normandy, P. was orphaned at age eight. He later labored as a farmworker to finance study at Sainte-Barbe in Paris, where he plunged into the study of languages. From Jews living near the college he secured a Hebrew grammar and a Hebrew-Latin copy of the psalms, with which he taught himself Hebrew. He quickly mastered Greek, Latin, and the vernacular languages of Europe, obtaining a reputation for his linguistic brilliance. At Sainte-Barbe he earned an MA and Bachelor of Medicine and shared in the academic milieu at the University of Paris, with its important scholars and students, including Ignatius Loyola (c. 1491–1556) and the members of his spiritual army, who sought to effect a universal reformation of the world.

P. made two journeys to the Middle East. On the first (1536–37) he improved his knowledge of Arabic and acquired books: the KABBALAH, written in Aramaic, as well as Arabic works on medicine and mathematics and the commentaries of Aristotle. On the second (1549) he traveled widely, visiting Cairo and Damascus; he met with members of various sects, including the Samaritans, and secured copies of the NT in Arabic and Syriac. One of the Syriac texts later formed the basis for the Syriac NT printed in the Antwerp POLYGLOT. He obtained ancient shekels in Acre and Jerusalem and became the first to publish their inscriptions. He acquired Samaritan texts and was the first to publish extracts (in his *De Cognitione dei*) as well as a Samaritan Hebrew grammar. P. can thus be rightly called the father of Samaritan studies (see J. Fraser [1988]).

P. developed a close friendship with the printer D. BOMBERG in Venice (from 1537), among whose circle he made the acquaintance of E. LEVITA. P. taught A. MASIUS Arabic and assisted J. Widmanstadt in preparing his edition of the Syriac NT (1554). In 1563 P. met the young J. SCALIGER and encouraged him to study ancient Semitic languages. The latter later spoke of P. as "this apparition, a compound of the prophet and the servant, who had been all over the East . . . and who knew more tongues than any man living."

P. had a very checkered career. He was appointed "royal reader" in Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic in Paris by Francis I. In this post (1537–43) his lectures became so popular it became necessary to hold them outdoors.

During this period he published widely on various languages, including a comparative study of twelve languages; he was a great advocate of instruction in Arabic and Hebrew. His manuscript *De Orbis terrae concordia,* advocating the need for universal harmony under Christ and intended as a guide for missionaries, encountered opposition at the Sorbonne and was not published until 1545 (by Oporinus in Basel). P.'s zeal and demands for reform led to his departure from the king's circle in 1543.

For a few months in 1544–45 P. joined Loyola and his movement in Rome but was given license to leave (Dec. 12, 1545). P., however, remained favorably disposed to the Jesuits, one of whom was present at his death. P. spoke out against the intransigent positions of the Council of Trent and against papal authority over the councils. His tirades against Pope Paul III and the views expressed in his intercepted book, *De Restitutione humanae naturae,* led to his flight from Rome.

In 1546 P. assumed duties as a priest at the Ospedaletto of Saints John and Paul in Venice. Here he met a mysterious nun named Giovanna, whom he eulogized as the Mother of the World and the Venetian Virgin for her charitable endeavors and for feeding the poor. Giovanna had enormous influence on P., and under her influence he began more serious work on the *Zohar,* which he twice translated into Latin. Under the impulse of her prophecies P. wrote frantically a number of works proclaiming the restitution of all things (1547), in addition to translating the *Bahir* and part of *Genesis Rabbah* into Latin. In 1548 he published a volume in Hebrew and a subsequent Latin translation.

After returning from the Middle East and learning of the death of Giovanna, P. returned to Paris, where he was received at the court of Henry II. He wrote fifteen books in 1551–52 but fell into disfavor after claiming that he had undergone (on Jan. 6, 1552) an "immutation" in which his body was purged and the presence of Mother Giovanna was infused into him, producing a new spiritual person restored to the original perfection before the fall.

Appointed to a chair at the University of Vienna by Emperor Ferdinand, P. left after six months to defend himself in Venice, unsuccessfully, against the Inquisition. He was imprisoned in Ripetta (1555–59), and his works were placed on the index. Accused of founding a new sect, the Postellani, which he denied, P. finally was confined in 1564 to the Monastery of Saint Martin des Champs in Paris since the royal authorities considered his call for universal restitution tantamount to revolution. He also envisioned a universal religion in which no one would be punished for religious beliefs and in which devisive dogma would be eliminated. He believed that each person must be restored to an original unity with God, an earthly state he called restitution.

Because he proclaimed himself to be the "prophet of the restitution of all things," P. was both reviled and revered in his own time. Although he was called the "greatest genius of his age" and was the friend of leading clergy, kings, and scholars throughout Europe (F. Bacon even visited the aging P. while he was in the monastery), his influence and contributions have often been ignored. P. gave us the first comparative grammar of twelve ancient languages. He was a cosmographer and a cartographer, making perhaps the first polar map. He was a printer, a geographer, and author of more than one hundred works on a variety of subjects, many still in manuscript. In addition to his translation of the *Zohar,* his publication of the *Protevangelion* of James, his translations of the Gospels into Arabic, his Syriac NT, and his contributions to Samaritan studies, P. wrote commentaries on Genesis, Ruth, and the Apocalypse. His one-world view and his proto-feminism, in which he allocated to the feminine an essential role in the restitution of all things, have a decidedly modern appeal.

Works: *Grammatica arabica* (1538); *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum introductio* (1538); *De originibus seu de hebraicae linguae et gentis antiquitate* (1538); *Syriae descriptio* (1540); *Alcorani seu Legis Mahometi, et Evangelistarum concordia liber* (1543); *De rationibus Spiritus sancti* (1543); *Quatuor librorum de Orbis terrae concordia primus* (1545); *Absconditorum a constitutione mundi clavis* (1547); *De nativitate Mediatoris ultima* (1547); *Panthenosia: compositio omnium dissidiorum circa aeternam veritatem* (1547); *Candelabri typici in Mosis tabernaculo iusso divino* (1548); *Or nerot ha-Menorah* (1548); *Abrahami Patriarchae liber Iezirah* (1552); *Compendiaria Grammatices Hebraicae introdvctio* (1552); *L'historie memorable des expeditions depuys le Deluge* (1552); *Liber de causis seu de principiis et originibus naturae utriusque* (1552); *De foenicum literis* (1552); *Protevangelion sive de natalibus Jesu Christi, et ipsius matris Virginis Mariae, sermo historicus divi Iacobi minoris* (1552); *Resolution eternele destinée au Roy et peuple treschrestien pour obtenir la vraye et finale victoire qui est celle des coeurs de tout le monde* (1552); *Restitutio rerum omnium conditarum, per manum Eliae prophetae terribilis* (1552); *Tabula aeternae ordinationis quaternario* (1552); *Tabula restitutionis omnium constitutionum naturalium et supernaturalium rerum* (1552); *De universitate liber* (1552); *Vinculum mundi* (1552); *Description et charte de la Terre saincte* (1553); *La doctrine du siecle doré* (1553); *Des merveilles du monde* (1553); *De originibus seu . . . maxime Tartarorum, Persaru, Turcarum et omium Abrahami et Noachi alumnorum origines* (1553); *Signorum coelestium vera configuratio* (1553); *Les très merveilleuses victories des femmes du nouveau monde* (1553); *G. Postelli. . . . De linguae phoenicis sive hebraicae excellentia* (1554); *Il libro della divina ordinatione* (1555); *Le prime nove del altro mondo* (1555); *Epistola G. Postelli ad C. Schwenckfeldium* (1556); *De la république des Turcs* (1560); *La concordance des quatre Évangiles* (1561); *Cosmographicae disciplinae compendium* (1561); *De universitate liber* (1563); *L'athéoma-*

chie et discours de l'immortalité de l'âme et résurrection des corps (1564); *De . . . miraculo victoriae corporis Christi* (1566); *Divinationis sive divinae summaeque veritatis discussio.* (1571); *De nova stella* (1573); *De peregrina stella* (s.l., s. d); *Histoires orientales et principalement des Turkes* (1575); *Quaternariae rei compendium ad disciplinas omnes scientiasve. . . . Tabula aeternae ordinationis* (1578); *Les premiers éléments d'Euclide chrestien* (1579); *Polo aptata nova charta universi* (1581)

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M. L. KUNTZ

POST-MODERN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

There is no singular method that can be called "post-modern biblical interpretation," no singular approach, no singular paradigm. Indeed, the impulse to provide a definition for this nonentity introduces a problematic asymmetry in a dictionary that does not also define and delimit "modern biblical interpretation." If, under duress, one were obliged to approximate a definition for "post-modern biblical criticism," one would have to characterize it as the practice of resisting and recentering the assumptions and norms of modern biblical interpretation.

For instance, modern biblical interpretation has typically assumed that time is of the essence in biblical criticism. Time marks the biblical text as ancient, foreign, past, and thereby obliges interpreters (marked in time as "modern" or "contemporary") to adopt academically approved methods to bridge the chronological gulf that separates interpreters from their biblical text. Time also marks specific interpretations in a way that favors the most recent efforts at bridging the abyss. The first of these assumptions rests on the premise that the passage of years generates a gap in understanding between past and present that only academic interpreters can address.

This gap, however, does not exist of itself (otherwise, introductory courses would not have to work hard to inculcate historical-critical sensibilities in students); on the contrary, the succession of commentators, interpreters, and communities of worship establishes broad avenues of continuity between past and present. The existence of a chronological "gap" or a continuous "treasury" depends on the assumptions one brings to bear on interpretation—not on a supposedly natural or necessary condition of temporality. The second assumption is persuasive to the extent that one is already committed to its truth, but it rings hollow to interpreters who hold a different repertoire of interpretive assumptions. How would one prove that contemporary interpretations (various as they are) of Genesis 2–3 are truer than earlier efforts or that they mark a clear progress beyond previous interpretations, especially to someone who does not share modern assumptions about progress?

The myth of progress figures among the "metanarratives" of which post-modern interpreters are dubious. Under the banner of progress (whether that progress aims toward the triumph of liberal democracy and the free market, that of the industrial proletariat, or that of the chosen people of God), dominant social groups have ridden roughshod over reticent dissenters. The modern claim that casualties are necessary in the cause of progress, in the name of the greater good that modernity promises, sounds unconvincing to post-modern ears. Modern critics see no reason to attend to indigenous, "primitive," or simply naive interpretive priorities, except as quaint illustrations of inferior hermeneutical understandings (see HERMENEUTICS). One could even read the later history of biblical criticism as a struggle for hegemony between the theological metanarratives and the metanarrative of Enlightenment rationality's commitment to scientific inquiry. Representatives of each camp anathematize their opponents as "heretics" or "fundamentalists"; in contrast the post-modern observer, who can opt out of such sterile conflicts by noting that the opposing parties derive their legitimation from their respective metanarratives. Rather than living out the dictates of an imperious metanarrative (and excoriating anyone who presumes to live by another metanarrative), the post-modern biblical interpreter may follow a particular line of interpretation because it displays hitherto unnoticed aspects of the biblical text, because it would be useful for one purpose or another, or simply because it is interesting.

A further way that time defines modern biblical criticism is by tempting interpreters to parse the history of interpretation into constituent periods. The "post-" in post-modern sometimes incites scholars to assume that post-modern interpretation has to take place after modern interpretation, consigning modern criticism to a rubble heap of obsolete worldviews much as modernity relegates ancient perspectives to its own closet of intellectual bad dreams. Post-modern biblical interpretation does not surpass, improve, perfect, contravene, or undermine modern biblical interpretation—except when modern interpreters claim the exclusive prerogative to determine interpretive legitimacy on their own modern terms. The impulse to regard post-modernity as a period among others, as an innovation that improves the endeavor of biblical interpretation, partakes of the modern

attraction to everything novel and the modern inclination to characterize projects as a succession of phases, each refining its predecessors. Likewise, the advent of post-modern criticism need not represent a new, improved stage in the history of biblical interpretation; modernity thrives on novelty and supersession, whereas a post-modern sensibility can coexist with its alternatives. Debates over whether the post-modern era has begun (or is over or will never start) occlude the extent to which a particular body of critics is actually practicing post-modern interpretation and others are comfortably working out pre-modern interpretations.

Modern biblical critics likewise typically assume that highly trained biblical scholars possess a unique authority for propounding legitimate interpretations. "Don't try this at home," they warn would-be Bible readers, "lest you fall prey to the inevitable pitfalls that await insufficiently trained readers." This interpretive elitism fits the broader modern inclination to define proper fields of expertise by distinguishing them from other fields and limiting the expert's attention to matters pertinent to the proper field. (Even when modern biblical interpreters devise "new" or "interdisciplinary" approaches they deploy these supposed novelties in the interest of familiar modern ends: the quest for sources, the identities of the historical actors, the authors' attitudes, and so on).

Modern biblical interpretation thus fosters a cult of expertise that demands interpretive authority far out of proportion to plausible justification of that authority; while we may see an overwhelming basis for advanced training in (for instance) brain surgery, the necessity of doctoral training in biblical interpretation is less clear. Although the traditional curriculum for expertise in biblical studies is undeniably helpful, its narrow focus has constricted the discourse of biblical interpretation in noteworthy ways. Perhaps most obviously, modern conventions have restricted the genres of biblical interpretation that critics deem legitimate. "Legitimate" biblical interpretation is exclusively discursive and is limited to very few varieties of discourse (preeminently, the commentary and the monograph). Whereas one might once have promulgated academically respectable interpretation in a sermon, now this relatively conventional genre is vulnerable to the suspicion of theological ideology; more unusual media for biblical interpretation—poetry, sculpture, video, graphical representation—need not even hope for an academic *nihil obstat.* Modern biblical experts simply have not been trained to evaluate such interpretations and consider such efforts at best as "soft" or "unscientific," if they consider them at all.

One further characteristic of modern biblical experts is the adherence to norms—usually unstated—of univocity, objectivity, and universality. Though the number of scholars who adhere publicly to the notion that biblical interpretations can be objective or universally true has probably diminished, there remains a strongly committed core of interpreters who promote the notion that there is one legitimate meaning to each textual unit, that the single legitimate meaning is encoded in the text, and that this meaning remains the same in all circumstances. Modern interpreters' commitment to this goal provides one reason why they so bitterly oppose anything that smacks of the allegorical interpretation by which other interpreters have found many legitimate meanings for each text.

By contrast, post-modern interpreters who have learned their lessons in deconstruction (see STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION) suspect that any univocity is the product of an interpretive violence that suppresses ambiguity by a will to unity. Such modern assumptions ground the lingering sense that politically active interpreters (say, proponents of lesbian/gay interests) propound interpretations that impose an alien context on the true meaning of the text. Yet post-modern interpreters can comfortably remind their modern colleagues that all interpreters are ideologically entangled (see IDEOLOGICAL CRITICISM); the principal difference is that the dominant ideology has the privilege of making a pretense of objectivity. Whenever social groups change, the standards of objectivity change with them. When modern interpreters profess to seek, not an illusory objectivity, but a more attainable approximation thereof, they run the danger of aggravating the very problem they are trying to avoid. With this gesture they congratulate themselves both for avoiding a discredited positivism and for avoiding partisan advocacy.

In sum, modern biblical criticism reflects the tacit knowledge by which generations of critics have progressed from naivete to the sophistication that enables them to distinguish exegesis (which allegedly "leads out" the meaning from the text) from eisegesis (which "reads in" the meaning an interpreter is already looking for). Post-modern biblical interpretation, on the other hand, flouts the received wisdom of the discipline in the interest of learning those things that modern criticism will not reveal. Post-modern biblical critics operate with a different tacit knowledge. They may know that time is not an absolute horizon for interpretation or that biblical interpretations vary from place to place and time to time without necessarily progressing or that expertise in interpretation may come from imaginative faculties that have not been certified at the bar of higher education. In all these cases modern biblical critics typically respond by claiming that if one disregards the modern criteria for interpretation, no criteria at all will remain—the result will be hermeneutical anarchy. Modern critics disregard the fact that criteria are always inescapably immanent to the audiences, institutions, and social formations within which non-modern interpreters propose their readings.

Post-modern interpreters may enact their freedom from the tyranny of time in any number of ways. They may sit loose to the modern imperative that distinguishes

ancient past from hypermodern present, treating PAUL as a contemporary to M. Foucault, characterizing the Gospels in terms translucent to today's concerns, or articulating the persistent traces of the past that live on in present aspects of the Bible. In doing so they do not so much ignore the differences between past and present as they mark those chronological differences as bearing less importance than the lines of continuity they can draw or the urgency of identifying the relevance of a biblical text or the intriguing conclusions they can weave out of discursive threads from many times.

Post-modern interpreters who have been freed from the tyranny of time and the obligation to ascertain single, universal meanings may find that these related amnesties permit them to understand the history of interpretation differently. Since interpretation involves the task of explaining that which is less well-known in terms that are better-known, post-modern interpreters may view each chapter in the history of interpretation as a species of allegorical interpretation whereby Christians have brought the Bible into engagement with the particular concerns of their cultures. At times those concerns have involved the legitimacy of early Christianity as a movement (which elicited an emphasis on topological connections between the OT and the NT); the resolution of doctrinal disputes (which encouraged allegorical exegeses to enlist the Bible as a witness on behalf of dogmatic concerns); the historical accuracy of the biblical accounts (which stimulated interpretations that identify particular figures and sayings in the Bible with particular figures and interests in the histories of Israel and of the first Christian generation); or the individual's growth toward moral and spiritual integrity (which interpreted the Bible as a sourcebook for legal or ethical reasoning). If the formal quality of interpretation is thus always allegorical, a post-modern interpreter is in a much stronger position to appreciate and learn from earlier interpreters than would be a critic who participates in the modern critics' resolute resistance to and defamation of allegory.

Further, post-modern interpreters may productively disregard the modern norms that restrict interpretation to discursive genres. Although such interpretations might not readily be judged by strictly modern criteria, reviewers could draw on the critical wisdom relative to the genre in question to supply what is lacking in the modern repertoire. A film representation of the Davidic monarchy would not be answerable simply to the customary questions relative to historicity, anachronism, verisimilitude, and scholarly integrity but would also be answerable for the quality of lighting, staging, direction, acting, and soundtrack. A modern critic might wince at the thought that exquisite casting and a compelling soundtrack could redeem a filmed interpretation that fell short of a perfectly accurate historical interpretation, but a post-modern critic could articulate a judgment that took account of more dimensions than only the historical foundations.

The work of S. Moore stands as a prominent example of post-modern criticism in practice. (No single practitioner of post-modern OT criticism has emerged as prominently as Moore, though M. Bal, T. Beal, J. C. Exum, and T. Linafelt all have made significant contributions.) Moore's interpretations cross the disciplinary divisions that define the limits of critical-biblical inquiry; reverse relations of temporal priority to illuminate the writing of the NT authors; and set biblical rhetoric in the frame of various contemporary discourses, from deconstruction to post-Freudian psychoanalysis (see PSYCHOANALYTIC INTERPRETATION) to bodybuilding. His work moves comfortably from the judgments of modern exegetes to quotations from tabloid papers back to the biblical text. In *Mark and Luke in Poststructualist Perspectives: Jesus Begins to Write* (1992), Moore conducts a seminar among the two evangelists, modern biblical scholars, J. Lacan, J. Derrida, Plato, and James Joyce—with cameo appearances by countless other noteworthies. *Poststructuralism and the NT* (1994) sketches a Derridean perspective on John and a Foucauldian exploration of the theology of the cross. *God's Gym* (1996) interweaves the biblical discussions of God's body and of the body of Christ with bodybuilders' observations on their own field. Although Moore's contributions do little or nothing to advance the cause of modern biblical scholarship—as modern scholars' consternation at his work shows—he has shown the ballroom dancers of the biblical guild that "there's a whole lot of shakin' goin' on" in other venues. Where the modern judges of biblical scholarship may thunder, "There are no new steps!" Moore's extravagant *pasa doble* demonstrates that biblical interpretation cannot be constricted to modernity's mannered rumba.

Biblical scholars will not all adopt a markedly post-modern perspective, nor will most "post-modern" interpreters restrict their interpretive practice to obviously post-modern efforts. In this sense post-modernism will not take hold in biblical criticism—at least not in the foreseeable future. More important, however, the field has already registered the impact of post-modern biblical criticism as claims about determinancy, universality, univocity, and legitimacy sound increasingly muted and defensive. As generations of scholars who are accustomed to post-modern sensibilities enter the field of biblical criticism, the field should change from a hegemony of modern authority to a networked, post-modern polyphony of interpreters whose interests and works emphasize different interpretive practices—an appropriately post-modern development.

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A. K. M. ADAM

PRIDEAUX, HUMPHREY (1648–1724)

Born at Padstow, Cornwall, May 3, 1648, P. studied at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford (BA 1672; MA 1675; BD 1682; DD 1686), where he was distinguished for his scholarship and appointed a lecturer in Hebrew (1679). P. subsequently followed an ecclesiastical career, holding church assignments and eventually becoming dean of Norwich (1702) after declining to become E. POCOCKE's successor as professor of Hebrew at Oxford (1691). P. died Nov. 1, 1724.

While still a student P. was involved in editing and writing projects at Oxford with J. FELL—annotating an edition of Florus and publishing an account of the Arundelian marbles. In 1679 he published sections from MAIMONIDES' writings in Hebrew and Latin as an aid for students learning rabbinic Hebrew and reading without vowel points. His work on Mohammed (1697), originally planned as part of a history of the Saracen Empire and Islam, sold vigorously, with three printings the first year, but was not much of a work of scholarship. His scholarly reputation is based on his history of the period between the end of the states of Israel and Judah and the origin of the church. His "connection" (1716–18), as it was called, was a widely used volume—the E. SCHÜRER of the eighteenth century—that was frequently reprinted (the 11th ed. came out in 1749) and was translated into French (1722) and German (1726).

Works: *De jure Pauperis et Peregrini apud Judaeos* (1679); *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Display'd in the Life of Mahomet* (1697); *The Original Right of Tythes for the Maintenance of the Ministry*(1709); *The Old and NT Connected in the History of Jews and Neighbouring Nations from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ* (2 vols., 1716–18; also pub. in other forms).

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J. H. HAYES

PROCKSCH, OTTO (1874–1947)

Born Aug. 9, 1874, at Eisenberg, Thuringia, P. studied at Tübigen, Leipzig, Erlangen, and Göttingen (1893–97); his teachers included F. BUHL, A. Socin, J. WELLHAUSEN, and E. SCHÜRER. He taught at Königsberg as *Privatdozent* (1901–6) and at Griefswald (1906–25), becoming full professor in 1909 and spending 1907–8 as a fellow of the German Jerusalem Archaeological Institute, and at Erlangen (1925–39). He devoted his retirement to working on his THEOLOGY of the OT and died Apr. 7, 1947, at Alterschrofen, Germany.

P.'s scholarly production was not limited to the OT. He wrote studies on John the Baptist, Peter, and John and collaborated on G. KITTEL's *Theological Dictionary of the NT,* writing portions of the entries *hagios, logos, luō* and *orgē*. In OT studies, P. produced monographs and articles on the prophetic writings, the conception of history, and the historical traditions of the preexilic prophets (1902); the literary stratification and historical content of the prophetic source E (1906); Ezekiel's vision of his call (1920); the prophetic notion of the state (1933); and the prince and the priests in Ezekiel (1940–41). P. also wrote extensively on text-critical matters (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM), editing the Minor Prophets in the third edition of R. KITTEL's *Biblia Hebraica* (1933). He produced two major commentaries, both in the KAT series edited by E. SELLIN: Genesis, in which he treated the material of the three sources separately (1913), and Proto-Isaiah (1930). His compendious theology of the OT (1950) was published posthumously.

In contrast to many scholars of his day P. put great emphasis on both historical and theological questions in his approach to the OT. He attempted to work out a historically reliable picture of the patriarchs and their religion from the Genesis material rather than treating it as simply the reflection of much later conditions. He likewise insisted on the need for both penetrating the depths of the OT word through faith and reading the OT in conjunction with the NT.

Works: *Geschichtbetrachtung und geschichtliche Überlieferung bei den vorexilischen Propheten* (1902); *Das nordhebräische Sagenbuch, die Elohimquelle* (1906); *Studien zur Geschichte der Septuaginta: Die Propheten* (1910); *Die Genesis* (1913; 1924[2-3]); *Die Septuaginta Hieronymi in Dodekapropheton* (1914); "Die Berufsvision Hesekiels," BZAW 34 (1920) 141-48; *RGS* 2 (1926) 161-94 (autobiography with bibliography); *Jesaja* 1 (1930); *Der Staatsgedanke in der Prophetie* (1933); "Fürst und Priester bei Hesekiel," *ZAW* 58 (1940–41) 99-133; *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1950).

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C. T. BEGG

PROFIAT DURAN (14th–15th cent.)

An astronomer, physician, polemicist, and Hebrew grammarian whose full Hebrew name was Isaac ben Mosheh Halevi, P. lived in Catalonia during the latter

half of the fourteenth century. He was born either in Melgeuil or in Perpignan, where his family had lived for several generations, and studied TALMUD briefly in Germany. Whether various events reported about him actually occurred is not certain. He is said to have been forcibly converted to Christianity during the anti-Jewish riots of 1391. Financial records show that P. was living in Perpignan under the Christian name Honoratus de Bonafide as late as 1415.

P. wrote two anti-Christian polemics that mock such dogmas as the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and the concept of original sin. The sarcastic tone of the first, entitled *Al Tehi Ka'avotekha* (Do Not Be Like Your Fathers), was well enough disguised that it was cited approvingly by Christians under a garbled version of the Hebrew name (*Alteca Boteca*). His second polemical work, *Kelimat Haggoyim* (The Gentiles' Disgrace) is dedicated to the prominent and powerful Jew Ḥasdai Crescas.

P.'s works cover a wide range of topics; their titles often include the word *Ephod* as an acronym for the Hebrew phrase *'ani Profiat Duran* (I am Profiat Duran). He wrote a commentary on MAIMONIDES' *Guide of the Perplexed* as well as works on astronomy (*Ḥeshev Ha'efod*) and the history of Jewish persecution (*Zikkaron Hashemadot*).

Like many medieval Jewish Hebraists and biblicists, P. lamented the poor state of biblical studies among his contemporaries, ascribing partial responsibility to overemphasis on the Talmud and arguing that the Talmudic rabbis themselves would have supported biblical and Hebrew study. His grammar of biblical Hebrew, entitled *Ma'aseh* Efod, is arranged scientifically and attempts to provide a philosophical rationale for its grammatical principles. One of P.'s few contributions to the understanding of biblical Hebrew is his recognition that the *nifal* conjugation is fundamentally reflexive rather than passive. The grammar, which S. PAGNINUS translated into Latin, was widely cited by both Jews and non-Jews, and its fifteen pedagogic rules were frequently quoted.

Bibliography: **J. Cohen,** "P. D.'s *The Reproach of the Gentiles* and the Development of Jewish Anti-Christian Polemic," *S. Simonsohn Jubilee Volume* (ed. D. Carpi et al., 1993) 71-84. **R. W. Emery,** "New Light on P. D., 'the Efodi,' " *JQR* 58 (1967–68) 328-37. **J. Friedländer and J. Kohn,** *Masse Efod . . . von P. D.* (1865).

F. GREENSPAHN

PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HEBREW BIBLE

No general statements or discussions of the nature and function of prophecy appear in the HB. Nonetheless, there do appear some hints regarding how prophecy was understood. (1) The prophets were viewed as "warners" to alert the people to their infidelity, to make them aware of coming judgment, and to call them back to their traditional religion (2 Kgs 17:13-14). (2) The prophets were conceived of as preachers of repentance calling for a return to God (Zech 1:4). (3) The prophets were predictors of the future, and the authenticity of their office and message was to be judged by the fulfillment of their predictions (Deut 18:20-22). (4) The prophets were authors of historiographical works (2 Chr 12:15; 13:22). (5) The prophets were proclaimers of mysteries and messages that they themselves perhaps did not completely understand (see the interpretation in Daniel 9 of the seventy years in Jer 25:1-14; 29:10 as seventy sabbatical, or 490, years).

In Num 12:6-8 and Deut 34:10-12, Moses is declared to be the archetypal prophet, exceeding all others, in spite of Deut 18:18 with its promise of a prophet like him. Thus he is depicted as the prophet by whom all other prophets must be judged; and, with all other prophets in a subordinate position to Moses, the prophetic CANON (Joshua–Malachi) is placed in a secondary position to the Torah. (Note how the conclusions of two divisions of the canon subordinate other prophecy to Mosaic prophecy and Torah: Deut 34:10-12; Mal 4:4.)

In early Judaism and Christianity new directions and additional emphases may be seen in the understanding and interpretation of the prophets. PHILO emphasized the origin, nature, and mode of prophetic revelation and knowledge (an issue already noted in Jer 23:18-22; for the main Philonic texts, see D. Winston, *Philo of Alexandria* [1981] 153-56). H. Wolfson (1947, 2:3-72) summarized Philo's teaching on the four functions of prophecy as "prediction, propitiation, legislation, vision of things incorporeal" and the three types of prophecy (or revelation) as "prophecy through the Divine Spirit, by the Divine Voice, and through angels." Philo's employment of Plato's conception of inspiration, ecstasy, or frenzy is significant. In the *Timaeus* Plato had associated the mantic faculty with that part of the soul located in the liver and concluded that true divination occurs only when the power of thought is shackled by sleep or illness or some paroxysm of frenzy. In a similar vein Philo declared: "The prophet utters nothing that is his own, but all his utterances are of alien derivation, the prompting of another." The prompter is God, by whom the prophet's "chords are invisibly plucked and smitten" (*Who Is the Heir?* 259; Winston's tr. 153). Philo confined such experiences to the just and upright, to those of moral perfection. In his *Life of Moses* he explored the prophetic role of Moses in detail (2.187-291).

In the Hebrew canon the designation *nebiim* (prophets) for the books Joshua–Malachi (excluding Daniel) indicates that prophetical works were conceived more broadly than in the Christian (Greek) canon, where only the books Isaiah–Malachi (including Daniel) were designated prophetic. This would suggest that a prophetic

book was one written by an inspired person and combined narrative, prediction, moral teaching, and denunciation of sin. This view of prophets and of prophetical books is also suggested by JOSEPHUS, who, in discussing the twenty-two works he called "our books" or "our scriptures," wrote: "Five are the books of Moses, comprising the laws and the traditional history. . . . From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes, who succeeded Xerxes as king of Persia, the prophets subsequent to Moses wrote the history of the events of their own times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life" (*Cont. Ap.* 1.39-41). For Josephus, who emphasized the role of prophets in his history, the exact succession of prophets had failed following Artaxerxes; but prophecy per se had not totally ceased since Josephus even understood himself as performing an aspect of the prophetic role—namely, prediction of the future (see L. Feldman [1990]).

In the early church and at Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS), the Prophets and other prophetic literature—in fact, practically all the literature that became the HB—were read through two perspectives: (1) as if it were apocalyptic literature (see APOCALYPTICISM)—that is, as if it were all written as prediction of the last days whose true meaning would be disclosed in the final events of the end time (note Daniel's reading of Jeremiah, already mentioned); and (2) as if the life, history, and destiny of the two respective communities were the objects of the prophetic predictions and descriptions. Such a reading presupposed (1) that the biblical materials or prophecies contain hidden or secondary meanings and frames of reference (something like what has come to be called the *sensus plenior* in Roman Catholic interpretation) that transcend the simple and commonsense reading, and (2) that this secondary dimension of the text had become evident through its subsequent fulfillment or manifestation. NT and Qumran authors did not discuss whether the original hearers/readers understood this secondary or true referent.

In Mishnaic and Talmudic Judaism (see TALMUD) one finds the following emphases and perspectives on the prophets (see N. Glatzer [1946] and the collection of texts in H. Bialik and Y. Rannitzky [1992]). (1) The prophets are subordinate to Moses, and thus prophetic preaching is subordinate to the law (*b. Šabb.* 104a). (2) The prophets were a link in the chain of tradition from Moses to later generations: "Moses received the law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets committed it to the men of the Great Synagogue [a legendary group of 120 exiles who returned with Ezra]" (*m. ʾAbot* 1:1). (3) The prophets made no innovations not covered in the law: "They neither took away from nor added aught to what is written in the Torah save only the reading of the Megillah" (*m. Meg.* 14a). This perspective is somewhat modified in other traditions, where the prophet is viewed as a rabbi who brings new insights out of old treasures (Glatzer, 129). These first three features mean that prophets were considered more as witnesses to previous revelation than as sources of new revelation; they were fundamentally proclaimers and interpreters of the law. (4) The age of prophecy ended with the fall of the first Temple, or with the age of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, although revelation continued through the *Bath Qol,* with the wise men being replacements for the prophets (*b. B. Bat.* 12a; *b. Sanh.* 11a). (5) Worthiness and moral uprightness were required of the prophet: "The Holy One, blessed be He, causes His Divine presence to rest only on him who is strong, wealthy, wise, and meek" (*b. Ned.* 38a). (6) Many prophets arose in Israel; according to one tradition, twice the number of people leaving Egypt. More specifically, it was argued that there were forty-eight prophets (including seven female prophets—Sarah, Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, Abigail, Huldah, and Esther) representing all the tribes (*b. Meg.* 14a; *b. Sukk.* 27b). (7) The notion of the prophets as representatives of the "merit of Israel" before God appears in many early medieval Jewish writers as an apologetic against the view that the prophets had proclaimed the end of Israel (see Glatzer, 130-36).

An anonymous work, probably Palestinian in origin (1st cent. CE?), the so-called *Lives of the Prophets* (for an ET see *OTP* 2:379-99; for a major study, see A. Schwemer [1995]) contains material about the prophets that supplements the biblical text: "The names of the prophets, and where they are from, and where they died and how, and where they lie." Surviving in ARMENIAN, Ethiopic (see ETHIOPIAN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION), Greek, Latin, and Syriac versions, the work treats the Major and Minor prophets, Daniel, and the seven nonliterary prophets noted in the HB, giving evidence of an interest in filling out the biographies of the prophets. Hebrews 11:37 may indicate some knowledge of this material.

Within the developing church the ideas of a progressive revelation of the divine will through history, of JESUS and the church as the culmination of OT law and prophecy, and of the fulfillment of prophecy as proof of the authenticity and correctness of the Christian faith became staples in the church's exposition of its theology. The tendencies present in INNER-BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION in the NT became more overt during the patristic period. The entire HB was widely read as prophecy, in the sense of promise and fulfillment, type and anti-type. The author of the *Epistle of* BARNABAS interpreted ceremonial and cultic regulations and actions as hidden prefigurations and predictions of Christ and the church. JUSTIN MARTYR, especially in his *Dialogue with Trypho,* argued that the fulfillment of OT prophecies by Jesus and the church proved the truthfulness of Christianity,

the transitory nature of the old covenant, and the church's replacement of Israel. In his *On First Principles,* especially in 4.1, ORIGEN argued that the fulfillment of prophecy confirmed the divinity of Christ and the INSPIRATION of Scripture. The church fathers, like the NT authors, found Psalms to be a storehouse of predictions.

In their debates with Judaism many of the church fathers tended to read texts understood by both Jews and Christians as messianic in a metaphorical sense to make them more applicable to new claims. The debate between church and synagogue over prophecies and their fulfillment often centered around whether the events that gave rise to the church really fulfilled OT prophecies, Jews arguing negatively and Christians arguing affirmatively (see R. Wilken [1993]). The main issue was primarily the question of the reference of the texts—that is, whether the messianic age had begun with Jesus or whether it still lay in the future.

Members of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, especially THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, were more cautious in their finding of prophecies in the HB than were most of the fathers. Theodore tended to limit the texts to those so read in the NT. Thus he considered only a handful of psalms to be predictions about Christ, whereas AUGUSTINE read practically all the psalms prophetically and typologically. (For Augustine's theory of revelation and prophecy, see his *The Literal Interpretation of Genesis* bk. 12.)

A paradigm shift in the approach to prophecy can be seen among medieval Jewish philosophers, who sought to combine Torah and rational philosophy along the lines of the Muslims who studied Plato and Aristotle (the *falasifa*). Foremost in this regard were SAADIA, JUDAH HALEVI, and MAIMONIDES (see Wolfson; A. Reines [1969–70, 1970]; A. Altmann [1978]; J. Macy [1986]).

Islamic philosophers had made several deductions about prophecy: (1) Prophecy (revelation) was a natural process; (2) prophecy was effected by God indirectly through an intermediary, the Active Intellect; and (3) certain qualifications were required of the recipient of prophetic revelation, including natural endowments, training in moral and practical virtues, and intellectual virtues and knowledge acquired through instruction in the arts and sciences. Prophetic revelation took place when the soul developed to a state of independence from the body and could reunite with the Active Intellect (sometimes referred to as the Holy Spirit or Gabriel). Jewish philosophers objected to the principle that prophecy was the result of natural causation consequent on one's congenital, moral, and intellectual perfection. For them, God's will was involved, although for Maimonides only indirectly (see Altmann). Maimonides wrote: "The quiddity of prophecy, in truth, is an emanation that flows forth from God through the medium of the Active Intellect, first upon the rational faculty, and then upon the imaginative faculty" (tr. from Reines [1969–70] 327). As in the Bible, Jewish tradition and philosophy assigned Moses a superior status as prophet. Reines has described the differences Maimonides perceived between Mosaic and usual prophecy as follows: "In a well-known passage, Maimonides enumerates four differences between ordinary and Mosaic prophecy. Ordinary prophecy is apprehended in dreams or visions; Mosaic prophecy in full consciousness. Ordinary prophecy comes by means of an angel; Mosaic prophecy without an angel. The apprehension of ordinary prophecy is accompanied by fear and terror; Mosaic prophecy comes peacefully. Ordinary prophecy arrives involuntarily and unexpectedly; Moses' prophecy comes at will. These four differences are derivative, however, and they do not in themselves constitute the fundamental distinction between ordinary prophets and Moses. This distinction is that the ordinary prophets prophesied through the medium of imagination and Moses did not" (1969–70, 328-29). Although Moses received the law through nonimaginative means, he wrote the law in a subprophetic form—that is, as imaginative literature.

The goals of prophecy for Maimonides were the promulgation of divine law, the popular instruction in the law, and the urging of persons to adhere to the law. Like Philo, Maimonides read two senses into scriptural texts: an exoteric sense for the common populace, which could actually be deceptive if interpreted consistently in a literal reading, and an esoteric sense for the learned. For him, some of the "events" associated with the prophets, e.g., Hosea's marriage, were not historical.

Maimonides' synthesis, attempting a harmony between faith and reason, Scripture and philosophy, tradition and Aristotelian thought, had a counterpart in the work of THOMAS AQUINAS, who was familiar with Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* in Latin translation. However, since Thomas freed "the cognitive act from any link with the transcendent," he argued that prophecy was a divine gift, a supernatural experience (Altmann, 9; his article provides references to the main passages in the writings of Maimonides and Thomas).

Major discussions of the nature of prophecy and how prophetic knowledge and revelation were received and related to the divine and to the philosophy of knowledge appear in the writings of many medieval Christian theologians. J.-P. Torrell (1977, 1992) has collected and commented on much of this material. For example, in the prologue to his commentary on Psalms (*PL* 191.55-62; ET in A. Minnis and A. Scott, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c. 1375: The Commentary Tradition* [1988, 1991^2] 105-12), PETER LOMBARD described the various forms in which prophecy occurred: "Prophecy, then, is divine inspiration or revelation which proclaims the future outcome of events with immutable truth. Hence, a prophecy is called 'a vision' [*visio*] and the prophet is 'a seer' [*videns*]. Prophecy happens in

four ways: through actual events or words, and through that which only seems to be said or to happen, that is, through dreams [*sommia*] and visions [*visiones*]. . . . There is yet another kind of prophecy over and above these, which has a more honorable status than they have. This happens when prophecy takes place as a result of the pure, unaided inspiration of the Holy Spirit, without any outside help in the form of an event, words, vision, or dream. This was how David prophesied, solely through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit" (108-9).

Jewish rabbis, who were more exegetes than philosophers, e.g., RASHI and A. IBN EZRA, carried out more traditional interpretation. Although Rashi read some of the HB prophecies as being related to the yet unrealized messianic age, he associated many of these with events in the course of Israelite history. The child spoken of in Isa 7:14 was thus interpreted as Isaiah's or as King Ahaz's son (Hezekiah) but was not understood messianically. In this Rashi was followed by ANDREW OF ST. VICTOR.

Later biblical interpreters like NICHOLAS OF LYRA argued that prophetical promises could have a double literal sense, one fulfilled in ancient times and another fulfilled in Jesus or to be realized in the end time. Sometimes HB (and NT) promises/prophecies were combined with non-biblical "prophetic" material like the Hermetic literature (see EGYPTOLOGY) and the SIBYLLINE ORACLES, e.g., by JOACHIM OF FIORE (see R. Southern [1972]). HB prophecies were occasionally read by Jews as indicating a very near dawning of the final age, as in some of the writings of ABRAVANEL, who was more philosopher than exegete (see J. Malherbe [1993]).

The Protestant Reformation witnessed radical readjustments in the overall interpretation of Scripture and in Scripture's role in theology. There was little break, however, in the understanding of the HB prophets. LUTHER's refusal to return to the ordering of the Hebrew canon even when adopting the contents of that canon typifies Christianity's veneration of the Prophets over other portions of the HB. In the Christian canon the ordering of the books ("the canonical intentionality") highlighted the prophetic division so that it became the key for reading the whole. In spite of Luther's emphasis on a literal reading of the text and his break with the use of the QUADRIGA, Christian and christological interest dominated his reading of the HB and especially of the prophetical books. Nonetheless, Luther often made suggestions about interpretation that sound quite modern. In his preface to the book of Isaiah, he wrote: "Two things are necessary to explain the prophet. The first is a knowledge of grammar, and this may be regarded as having the greatest weight. The second is more necessary, namely, a knowledge of the historical background, not only as an understanding of the events themselves as expressed in letters and syllables but as at the same time embracing rhetoric and dialectic, so that the figures of speech and the circumstances may be carefully heeded."

Commenting on Zech 1:7 in his 1526 commentary, Luther declared that "the books of the prophets are . . . to be divided into many discourses"; but he offered no detailed discourse analysis. In his Habakkuk commentary (1525), he stressed the role of the prophet as a preacher of judgment, which is intended to bring some to conversion. In the preface to the same book, Luther noted that the prophets pronounced "many prophecies that pertained only to their own time and served only their time." The futuristic and traditional messianic orientation, however, received the basic emphasis in Luther, as illustrated in his introduction to Joel: "All the prophets have one and the same message, for this is their one aim: they are all looking toward the coming of Christ or to the coming Kingdom of Christ."

CALVIN's view of the prophets and his exposition of their works (see T. Parker [1986] 176-223) was not radically different from Luther's but did focus more on the prophets as preachers of the law. In the preface to his Isaiah commentary, Calvin wrote: "On the office of the Prophets it is usual for commentators to write long essays. But I prefer to summarize and say that we should relate the Prophets to the Law, from which they drew their teaching like streams from a spring. They made it their rule and so may justly be called and declared its interpreters; in nothing were they independent." Calvin's exposition of the prophetical books incorporated detailed analysis of the historical background to the prophets' activity; and he was less prone than other reformers to find predictions of Jesus in some texts, instead seeing many prophecies related to the course of ancient Israelite history.

Many second-generation Protestants compared the great Reformers to the Hebrew prophets and saw them, like Elijah against the Baal worshipers, as fighting the infidelity of the day (for them, the Roman Catholic Church). This drawing of analogies also resulted in the HB prophet's being viewed as if they were ancient Luthers and Calvins.

In his succinct but highly influential *Annotationes* on the OT, H. GROTIUS related prophetic texts usually understood as christological predictions to events in the normal course of ancient Israelite history. He did acknowledge that these could be applied to NT events and beliefs if given a spiritual or secondary meaning.

While Grotius was providing a detached interpretation of the Bible, other scholars were involved in an impassioned exposition of the prophetical material (especially the books of Daniel and Revelation) to locate the keys and clues to the course and culmination of history (see R. Popkin [1984]). Numerous persons claimed to be modern-day prophets. (M. Nostradamus [1503–66] was already a legend in his own day.) C. Hill (1993) has chronicled the diversity of popular biblical interpretation

during the tumultuous period of the English Civil War, which overlapped the Thirty Years War (1618–48). For the first time in history biblical interpretation became truly democratic, and the temporary freedom of publication allowed for a free flow of ideas.

The Cambridge Platonist J. Smith (1618–52), combating the enthusiasts of his day, produced a major work entitled *Of Prophesie* (published in his *Select Discourses* [1660]), which drew on a host of medieval Jewish interpreters. He emphasized the rational dimension of the prophetic experience, although recognizing a mantic or ecstatic element, and argued that prophecy ceased in the days of the early church. His work was later translated into Latin and widely circulated by J. LE CLERC.

B. SPINOZA, who along with T. HOBBES was considered one of the main arch-heretics of the seventeenth century, provided extensive discussion of prophecy in his *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* (1670; ET, R. Elwes [1883]). Spinoza set out to argue against the association of philosophy and theology/religion and for the independence of the two. In the process he, like E. HERBERT, reduced religion and the fundamental dogmas of Scripture to a set of simple doctrines accessible to all, which he summarized as follows: "There exists a God, that is, a Supreme Being, who loves justice and charity, and who must be obeyed by whosoever would be saved; that the worship of this being consists in the practice of justice and love towards one's neighbour" (186-87). In turn, he reduced the prophets and the Bible to the level of the human, concluding that: (a) "The prophets only perceived God's revelation by the aid of imagination . . . by words and figures either real or imaginary" (24-25). "The power of prophecy implies not a peculiarly perfect mind, but a peculiarly vivid imagination" (19). Here he set himself against the view developed by Maimonides and others that prophetic knowledge came through the rational faculty. (b) "Prophecies varied, not only according to the imagination and physical temperament of the prophet, but also according to his particular opinions; and further, that prophecy never rendered the prophet wiser than he was before" (27). A cheerful prophet's words were cheerful; one who was melancholy spoke of wars and massacres. The educated and cultivated prophets perceived the mind of God in a cultivated way, and so forth. (c) "The prophets could be, and in fact were, ignorant" (39). (d) Prophets frequently "held conflicting opinions" (39). (e) The goal of prophetic activity was not knowledge but piety and obedience. (f) Since Spinoza did not believe in miracles—those in the Bible were events whose causes were not known at the time—predictions of the future were not based on supernatural revelation. (For a defense of the rationality of prophecy against Spinoza by E. Stillingfleet [1635–99], see G. Reedy, *The Bible and Reason* [1985] 145-55.) Spinoza emphasized the necessity of understanding the original context in which Scripture was produced and prophecies were delivered: "who was the speaker, what was the occasion, and to whom were the words addressed" (105).

Throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century, many British scientists and mathematicians—some associated with the Royal Society (founded in 1662) and most millenarians—worked to produce an analysis of biblical prophecy that would place the subject on a firm scientific basis (see Popkin [1984]). Foremost among this group were J. Napier (1550–1617), H. MORE, R. BOYLE, I. NEWTON, and W. WHISTON. A major catalyst for this approach was J. MEDE's *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627); primarily concerned with the interpretation of the book of Revelation, the work had widespread influence. Newton worked on biblical prophecy and CHRONOLOGY throughout much of his adult life and left many unpublished manuscripts on the topic. His successor at Cambridge, Whiston, delivered the 1707 Boyle lectures (established under Newton's influence for the purpose of defending Christianity) on *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* (1708), which represents a classical, if somewhat overdrawn, statement of this approach.

In opposition, Deists (see DEISM) called into question the two foundational blocks of traditional Christian apologetics—namely, NT fulfillment of HB prophecies, and miracles as authenticating the truthfulness of the Bible and Christian origins. In *A Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1724) and *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered* (1726), A. COLLINS challenged Whiston and the argument from prophecy and denied the possibility of predicting future events. Collins's basic arguments were twofold: (a) The parallels between HB prophecies (predictions) and their supposed fulfillment in Christ and in the early church are arrived at only when the HB texts are understood and applied in secondary, typical, mystical, allegorical, or enigmatic ways—that is, in a sense different from the obvious and literal sense they bear in the HB. (b) Prophecies should be understood in terms that would have made sense in the context of their original employment. Isaiah 7:14, for example, must be understood in terms that would have been comprehensible to King Ahaz, the Judean ruler at the time.

At the same time that Deists and others were attacking traditional Christian apologetic, biblical scholars began focusing more on the ancient referents of the prophecies and playing down the idea that the prophets predicted events far into the future. This new emphasis can be seen in P. Pezron's (1639–1706) *Essai d'un commentaire litéral et historique sur les prophétes* (1693) and in S. White's (1677/8–1716) *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah* (1709).

A further development in the early eighteenth century concerns the order and arrangement of material in the prophetical books. Near the end of the seventeenth

century, scholars began to treat the sixth chapter of Isaiah as an account of the prophet's inaugural call, a rather novel idea at the time. This reading meant that the opening chapters (1–5) must belong to some period after the call; thus the order of the materials in the book could not be chronological. There followed attempts at determining the placement of these chapters and the principles around which the books were structured, what today is known as REDACTION CRITICISM. These issues were especially explored by J. KOPPE in his notes to the German edition of R. LOWTH's translation of Isaiah (1780–81), which laid the foundations for the theory of a Deutero-Isaiah and for the division of the book of Isaiah into a multiplicity of independent oracles. The issues were also explored by T. Howes (1783), who was the first to examine how the prophetical books may have been redacted. Howes explored various options: The speeches were ordered chronologically in terms of their original delivery, in terms of when they were fulfilled, or poetically/rhetorically in an order "best suited to the purpose of *persuasion and argumentation*" (139).

The eighteenth century also witnessed the development of the theory that the prophets were poets and that the prophetical books are generally poetic in form (see POETRY, HB). Lowth gave widespread popularity to this view in his *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (1753; ET 1787), especially in lectures 18-21, and in his translation of Isaiah (1778). He translated most of Isaiah in poetic form and was followed by others who applied his approach to different prophetical books. Nonetheless, the idea of prophetic speech as primarily poetic was not generally accepted by translators until the second half of the twentieth century. The translators of the RV (1885) considered but declined to accept the idea.

Four factors dominated nineteenth-century research on the prophets and led to the development of approaches and methods already present in earlier discussions. In many respects these developments were a modified form of Spinoza's view of the biblical writings as reflections on poetics, morals, and religion produced by particular people, under particular circumstances, to meet particular needs.

First, source or historical-literary criticism of the prophetic books paralleled that of PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM, seeking to divide authentic from inauthentic material—that is, material deriving from the prophet whose name the book bore from material deriving from secondary additions, accretions, and editorial activity. Efforts were made to place the various components making up a prophetic book within particular historical and theological contexts. Typical and exemplary of this effort was B. DUHM's Isaiah commentary (1892).

A second factor was a consequence of Pentatuchal research. The theories of K. GRAF, A. KUENEN, and J. WELLHAUSEN led to the conclusion that the prophets preceded the law in the course of Israelite history. The prophets were, therefore, more likely to have been catalysts for the production of law rather than interpreters of preexisting codes. This view was expounded by Duhm (1875), Kuenen (1877), and Wellhausen (1878, 1883^2; ET 1885).

Third, nineteenth-century studies tended to reduce the essence of religion to morality. The prophets thus came to be viewed as the founders and advocates of ethical religion as opposed to cult and priesthood, which propounded a ritualized religion. Kuenen expressed this widely held view when he wrote: "*Ethical monotheism* is their [the prophets'] creation. They . . . ascended to the belief in one only, holy, and righteous God, who realizes his will, or moral good, in the world, and they have, by preaching and writing, made that belief the inalienable property of our race" (1877, 585).

A fourth and perhaps overarching factor was an emphasis on the prophets as spokespersons to their own times and thus not as predictors of events to come in some indeterminate future. Although the expression became common later, nineteenth-century scholars stressed the prophets as "forthtellers not foretellers." This demanded that the prophet and the prophetic materials must be understood in light of their historical contexts since their messages were intended for a contemporary audience and not for readers centuries later.

In the twentieth century issues in prophetical research have become more variegated and complex. Good surveys of this research, however, have been provided by H. Rowley (1945), O. Eissfeldt (1951), and G. Tucker (1985) and with selected readings, by P. Neumann (1979), D. Petersen (1986), R. Gordon (1995), and Y. Gitay (1997). Seven primary areas have received the greatest amount of attention.

The issue of prophetic speech forms was raised in a significant way by H. GUNKEL in his form-critical studies (see J. Hayes [1973]; see also FORM CRITICISM). He argued that prophets delivered their messages orally and that the original oracles were short, metrical, and sometimes enigmatic and that they were presented in passionate, ecstatic speech. Such speech might be either a promise or a threat. Gunkel also argued that the prophets borrowed speech forms from various areas of Israelite life—the cult, warfare, law courts, popular wisdom, and so forth. C. WESTERMANN (1960; ET 1967) and others have sought to further Gunkel's work in this area but without arriving at any specific and absolute criteria to determine an original prophetic genre. A survey of the variety of prophetic speech materials has been given by M. Sweeney (1996, 1-30).

A second major area of investigation has focused on the PSYCHOLOGY of prophetic experience or what earlier researchers referred to as ecstatic experience. Although this matter had been a long-standing concern, G. HÖLSCHER's 1914 work took transnormal experiences as char-

acteristic of prophetic behavior and activity. For several decades scholars pursued this dimension of prophecy vigorously, but subsequent investigations and studies have tended to minimize this area as a helpful key to understanding the prophets (see Gordon [1995] 5-9, 21).

A third field of investigation has been the relationship of prophets to the cult or to general worship in ancient Israel. Although earlier scholars like W. R. SMITH and Hölscher had given consideration to this area of research (see W. Bellinger [1984]), it was S. MOWINCKEL (1923) who presented a case for placing prophets into the worship life of ancient Israel. A. JOHNSON (1979) was a most consistent defender of a close relationship between the prophets, cult, and psalmody. For a time in the 1960s and 1970s, prophets were understood as mediators in covenant renewal services and/or as guardians of the covenant relationship (see W. Zimmerli [1965]). This position reasserted the old idea that the prophets were preachers of the law.

Fourth, G. von RAD and many of his students drew on the perspectives of TRADITION HISTORY to enlighten prophetic preaching. In the second volume of his *OT Theology* (1960; ET 1965), von Rad interpreted the prophets in terms of which ancient historical traditions (exodus, wilderness, David, Zion, etc.) they used in their preaching and how they employed these in speaking about both the past and the future.

Fifth, discovery and use of numerous ancient Near Eastern texts have produced what many scholars consider to be numerous parallels to the HB prophets and prophecy. These texts are in Egyptian, Akkadian, and Aramaic; they indicate that biblical prophecy should be studied in light of the ancient Near Eastern background. Assessment of the relevance and content of this material is offered by M. Ellis (1989) and N. Shupak (1989–90; see also the discussions in Gordon [1995] 29-73 and in H. Huffmon, *ABD,* 5:477-82).

Sixth, one of the blossoming fields of prophetic research has to do with sociocultural and anthropological aspects of prophecy (see J. Kselman [1985]; M. Buss [1980, 1981]; R. Wilson [1980]; R. Culley and T. Overholt [1982]; Gordon [1995] 275-412). Issues in this area focus on the social role of the prophets, their relationships to the contemporary culture and institutions, conflicts with other prophets, and the function of prophetic literature in a culture.

Finally, the origin and editing of the prophetical books has long been a concern of scholarship. In the last decades of the twentieth century, redaction criticism and an interest in the final form of the texts have produced an explosion of study in this area (see T. Collins [1993]; Gordon [1995] 415-522).

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J. H. HAYES

PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, NEW TESTAMENT

Many of the references to early Christian prophets and prophecy in the NT have been interpreted in a variety of apologetic, exegetical, homiletical and theological contexts throughout the history of Christian thought, although they are often overshadowed by more numerous and substantive references to HB prophets and prophecy, including commentaries on many of the prophetic books. The NT passages that deal most extensively with early Christian prophetic phenomena include 1 Corinthians 12–14 on the gifts of the Spirit and their place in worship, the early Christian prophetic work called the Revelation of John, the extensive warning against false prophets in Matt 7:15-23, and the prophetic gift of glossolalia on the day of Pentecost narrated in Acts 2. There are also many shorter passages in which prophets are mentioned, including references to JESUS as a prophet (Matt 21:10-11, 46; Mark 6:14-15; 8:28; Luke 7:16; 24:19; John 6:14; 7:40, 52; Acts 3:22; 7:37); early Christian prophets and their oracles (Acts 11:28; 15:32; 21:9-10); prophecy and glossolalia as gifts of the Spirit (Rom 12:6; 1 Cor 12:10; 14:6; Eph 4:11; 1 Pet 4:10-11); and the problem of discerning the spirits (1 John 4:1-3).

The problem of evaluating prophets and their oracles and discerning true from false prophets and prophecies was a subject that continued to exercise Christian churches during the second century and later (*Did.* 11; Hermas *Mand.* 11; *Acts of Thomas* 79). The primary criterion for recognizing false prophecy according to Matt 7:15-23, an important passage referred to frequently in attempts to deal with heresy, was moral rather than doctrinal: False prophets are "wolves in sheep's clothing" (i.e., they are charlatans who say one thing and do another), and they are known by their "fruit" (i.e., by behavior inconsistent with their teaching). Like Matthew, the *Didache,* which originated early in the second century in northern Syria, also used the criterion of behavior to determine whether itinerant apostles, teachers, and prophets were true or false (*Did.* 11-13); but it also added other criteria, e.g., staying more than two or three days and asking for food and money (*Did.* 11:5). The criteria of "wolves in sheep's clothing" and "fruit" of Matt 7:15-23, vague as they are, continued to be important in identifying false prophets. For Roman Catholic theological writers before and after the Reformation, "fruit" was generally understood as immoral

behavior. With CALVIN and post-Reformation Protestant interpretation generally, however, the "fruit" was primarily interpreted as doctrine, although later Pietistic writers (see PIETISM) reverted to interpreting it as works (e.g., J. Bengel, H. Grotius).

Through the middle of the second century, Christian writers reflected an awareness that the gifts of the Spirit, including glossolalia and prophecy, continued to be exercised in the church. According to JUSTIN MARYTR the prophetic gifts had been transferred from the Jews to the Christians (*Dial.* 82.1), and he mentioned men and women in his own day who possessed the Holy Spirit (*Dial.* 88.1). IRENAEUS regarded the gift of prophecy as valid yet knew of false prophets like Marcus who were possessed by demons (*Adv. Haer.* 1.13.3-4). In the early second century ORIGEN expressed the belief that the signs of the Spirit, including prophecy and speaking in tongues, so frequent in the time of Jesus and the apostles, had become comparatively rare (*Con. Cel.* 7.8). The restriction of gifts of the Spirit, including prophecy, to the apostolic period became a common criterion for concluding that all such activity in later periods was a manifestation of heretical teaching and behavior. For many ecclesiastical critics of prophetic tendencies within the Christian church, it was the definition of the biblical CANONS of the HB and the NT, a process completed by the late fourth century, that led to the belief that prophecy was a thing of the past that had ceased with the apostles.

One of the earliest apocalyptic revitalization movements in early Christianity was the "new prophecy" (disparagingly called Montanism and Cataphrygianism by critics), which began in Asia Minor in 156 or 172 and survived until the sixth century. Montanus, the founder, together with two prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla were early leaders of the movement and were thought to have received prophetic revelations while in a state of ecstasy, acting as spokespersons for Christ and the Holy Spirit (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 5.16–6-9; 6.20.3; Hippolytus *Pan.* 7.19.1). Some of their oracles have been preserved (see R. Heine [1989]).

Montanist prophets and prophetesses led a restoration movement inspired in part by the Revelation of John. After 200 CE in North Africa the Gospel of John, particularly the Paraclete passages in chapters 14–16, came to exert a strong influence on the movement, known through TERTULLIAN, one of the most influential converts to Montanism in the Western church. In response to what they perceived as widespread moral laxity within an institutionalized and secularized Christian church, Montanism espoused a rigorist, ascetic ethic; emphasized the value of martyrdom; expected the imminent outpouring of the Paraclete, or Spirit of God, on the church; and lived in expectation of the imminent arrival of the great tribulation and the descent of the heavenly Jerusalem at Pepuza or Timione in Phrygia, some seventy miles east of Philadelphia in the Roman province of Asia. An anonymous critic of the ecstatic, frenzied pronouncements of Montanist prophets argued that no HB or NT prophet ever prophesied in such a manner (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 5.17.3) and predicted the coming of false prophets based on Matt 7:15 (ibid., 5.16.8). One of the oracles attributed to Maximilla reflects a defense against the charge of false prophecy based on Matt 7:15: "I am pursued like a wolf from the sheep. I am not a wolf. I am word, and spirit, and power" (ibid., 5.16.17; Heine [1989] 3). From the end of the second to the beginning of the third centuries, the Asian church argued that the Montanists were false prophets (the Anonymous in Eusebius, the source of Epiphanius, Apollonius), while the Roman church denied the possibility of any prophecy after the apostles (Hippolytus, Muratorian Canon, Gaius).

One aspect of the influence of HB and NT prophecy was the phenomenon of predictive APOCALYPTICISM with its periodization of history. Both *Barnabas* 15 and Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 5.28-29) predicted the coming of Christ in the year 6000. Their calculations were based on an interpretation of the six days of creation as symbolizing the entire course of world history, and since "a day with the LORD is as a thousand years" (Ps 90:4), history would last six thousand years. Irenaeus and the author of *Barnabas* were followed by Hippolytus (c. 170–236), who calculated that Christ's first coming occurred in the year 5500 and predicted the arrival of the millennium in the year 6000 (*On Daniel* 2.4-5). Eusebius revised the prediction to the year 5228, i.e., c. 800 CE, a time that was far in the future for him. Lactantius (c. 250–325) continued to expect the coming of an earthly messianic kingdom. Predictive apocalypticism is also reflected in the views of Martin of Tours (d. 397), who believed that the antichrist had already been born. AUGUSTINE's refutation of millenarianism was extremely influential, for predictions of the end of the world were generally avoided through the long period from 400 to 1000. The prophecy of the end of the world in seventy weeks of years according to Daniel 9 (based on Jeremiah's prophecy that Jerusalem would lie desolate for seventy years in Jer 25:11-12; 29:10) was adopted in the Revelation of JOACHIM OF FIORE (c. 1132–1202), a Cistercian monk who founded his own order in 1196 and wrote several books imposing a trinitarian pattern on history. According to him, during the Age of the Father (also called the *ordo conjugatorum*), humanity lived under the law until the end of the HB period. The Age of the Son (also called the *ordo clericorum*) was the period of grace that began with the NT period and would end c. 1260. The Age of the Spirit (also called the *ordo monachorum*) would inaugurate the millennium c. 1260, when new religious orders would convert the whole world, including Jews, Muslims, and other "heathen," who would unite in prayer, mystical contemplation, and voluntary poverty.

From the late Middle Ages to the rise of biblical criticism in the early eighteenth century, the subject of NT prophets and prophecy continued to be eclipsed by the study of HB prophets and prophecy and by the continued influence of the exegesis of the Revelation of John. New impetus was given to the subject by the discovery of the ancient church order called the *Didache,* or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,* by Archbishop Bryennios in 1873 and its subsequent publication in 1883. The final form of the compilation of this work probably occurred by the mid-second century CE, suggesting that its constituent traditions reach back into the late first century. Since it is an early non-canonical document, the ensuing discussion exhibited a historical rather than a theological character, extending the interest in early Christian prophetic phenomena beyond the NT into the late first and early second centuries. *Didache* 11–13 contains instructions regarding itinerant apostles, teachers, and prophets, which encouraged a variety of hypotheses regarding the relationship between those who claimed to possess gifts of the Spirit, particularly Christian prophets, and the regular non-charismatic offices like bishop and presbyter. The rediscovery of the *Didache* was a major factor that provoked the inner-Lutheran Sohm-Harnack debate before and after the turn of the twentieth century on the essential nature of the church, in which the alternatives were spirit or law. R. Sohm (1841–1917), author of *The Nature and Origin of Catholicism* (1909), argued that the later development of ecclesiastical law stood in contradiction to the earlier, essentially spiritual and charismatic nature of the church. A. von HARNACK (1910), on the other hand, argued that complementary spiritual and institutional tendencies existed in the church from the very beginning since the church is both the invisible, spiritual people of God and an actual visible, empirical institution.

During the late nineteenth century a renewed interest in the gifts of the Spirit began to permeate some of the more conservative wings of Protestant denominations in the United States and Great Britain, completely uninfluenced by the interest in early Christian prophecy sparked by the *Didache.* Pentecostalism, a Protestant renewal movement that began in the United States in the late nineteenth century, emphasizes the possibility of experiencing the baptism of the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:5) and receiving the same spiritual gifts as those described in Acts 2 and 1 Corinthians 12–14, including glossolalia or speaking in tongues, the interpretation of tongues, prophecy, healing, and exorcism. Spirit baptism, distinguished from conversion or from sacramental baptism, is a postconversion experience signaled by speaking in unknown languages, or glossolalia. The charismatic movement, related to Pentecostalism, is a transdenominational movement that gained significance in the 1960s and has found general acceptance in mainline Protestant denominations, Roman Catholicism, and Orthodoxy.

With the development of FORM CRITICISM by German NT scholars early in the twentieth century came the recognition on the part of many critics that not all of the sayings attributed to Jesus in the Gospel tradition could in fact be traced back to the historical Jesus. R. BULTMANN (1963, 163) and others proposed that many of the "I" sayings originated as oracles of early Christian prophets who spoke in the name of the risen Lord. "I" sayings of the risen Jesus found in Revelation provided examples of this phenomenon (Rev 1:17-20; 3:20; 16:15). This view has been defended in great detail by M. E. Boring (1991), although others have not been convinced (D. Hill [1974]; D. Aune [1983] 233-45). NT prophets and prophecy were assigned a significant role in the creation of sayings of Jesus, which were then thought to have become assimilated to existing collections of such sayings.

Bultmann was not only a leading form critic but also one of a circle of German biblical scholars (including H. Gunkel, W. Bousset, W. Heitmüller, R. Reitzenstein, and J. Weiss, among others) called the RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE (history-of-religions school), who were interested in the influences the Hellenistic environment exerted on early Christianity. H. GUNKEL, in a short book on the Holy Spirit (1979) originally published in 1888, demonstrated that the "Spirit" is not simply the principle of the moral-religious life but that which is irrational and inexplicable, i.e., supernatural; and he related the Pauline concept of the Spirit to that of late Judaism. Influenced by Gunkel, M. DIBELIUS combined an interest in Hellenistic ideas with those of early Judaism as the background for examining the world of spirits in the faith of PAUL (1909). R. REITZENSTEIN focused almost exclusively on the Hellenistic world in his attempt to illuminate the phenomenon of early Christian prophecy and Paul's role as a pneumatic (1978). A renewed interest in the phenomenon of early Christian prophecy, influenced in part by the rise of form criticism, began to manifest itself in E. Fascher's influential book *Prophêtês* (1927), in which the author (who had already written a critique of form criticism) focused on a philological investigation of the Greek word *prophêtês* (prophet) and its history-of-religions background.

Following WWII a renewed interest in NT prophets and prophecy arose within the context of the biblical THEOLOGY movement, which tended to focus on the legitimacy of influences from the OT and early Judaism. The first detailed study of NT prophecy was produced by H. Guy in 1947, in which the prophecy of Jesus is presented as the culmination of biblical prophecy. This was followed in 1959 by the influential article by G. Friedrich on early Christian prophecy in the *Theological Dictionary of the NT,* which was the standard treatment on the subject for several years. Friedrich emphasized the similarities between the HB prophets and John the

apocalyptist but regarded the type of prophecy practiced by the Corinthian prophets as inferior to that of John. Friedrich was later followed in this view by W. Grudem (1982). By the 1970s and 1980s a number of important studies treated all aspects of early Christian prophetic phenomena, many recognizing the importance and influence of Hellenistic prophetic phenomena alongside that of Judaism. Studies surveying the subject include works by É. Cothenet (1972), T. Crone (1973), Hill (1979), and Aune (1983), while several studies focus more exclusively on one of the central NT passages on the subject, 1 Corinthians 12–14, including G. Dautzenberg (1975), Grudem (1982), and C. Forbes (1995). An important and neglected feminist perspective is brought to bear in A. Wire's work on the Corinthian women prophets (1990). An attempt to provide a form-critical analysis of the relatively scarce example of early Christian prophetic speech was proposed by B. Müller (1975) and Aune (1983, 317-38).

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D. E. AUNE

PROVERBS, BOOK OF

The Masoretic title *Proverbs of Solomon* (*mišlê šelōmōh,* subsequently abbreviated to *mišlê,* as in modern printed editions of the HB), which is already found in Greek translation in the SEPTUAGINT (Codex Alexandrinus), probably indicates that the heading in 1:1 ("The proverbs of Solomon, son of David, king of Israel") was understood quite early to be an attribution of the entire book to Solomon, despite the contrary indications of the sectional headings in 10:1 and 25:1, which might seem to indicate that he wrote only some parts of it, and the statements in 30:1 and 31:1, which appear to deny Solomonic authorship altogether for the final sections. However, this view was not universally accepted by early Jewish scholars, who took seriously the statement in 25:1 that "these also are proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah copied" (or "edited"). Indeed, in the famous statement about the authorship of the biblical books in the TALMUD (*B. Bat.* 14b-15a) the Solomonic claim to authorship is ignored: It is there unequivocally stated that it was Hezekiah and his "college" who wrote Proverbs (*mišlê*) as well as certain other books. Evidently, then, the phrase "proverbs of Solomon" was not always taken at face value—an anticipation of the modern view that, like the phrase "a psalm of David" attached to some of the psalms, it is intended merely to indicate that the book belongs to a particular class of literature, in this case one to which Solomon was traditionally supposed to have contributed (1 Kgs 4:32; Heb 5:12). In later Judaism too the Solomonic attribution was not taken as necessarily foreclosing discussion about authorship: D. KIMHI, for example, in the eleventh century CE suggested that Isaiah might be the author of the book.

According to the Talmud (*Šabb.* 30b) and *'Abot R. Nat.* (chap. 1) some objections were initially raised about the worthiness of Proverbs to be included in the CANON—not, however, on doctrinal grounds, but rather because it contained contradictions (e.g., between 26:4 and 26:5) and also included unduly vivid descriptions (e.g., the seduction scene in 7:7-20) that might be morally harmful to its readers. After the first century CE its canonical status within the Kethubim was not questioned; it was translated, like the other canonical books, into a number of languages. Of these translations the Greek text (see SEPTUAGINT) is noteworthy for a number of additions to the Hebrew, some of which appear to represent deliberate attempts to modify the character of the original by moralistic and pietistic comment and by toning down some of its supposed sensuality.

In the classical and medieval periods Proverbs was frequently cited in both Jewish and Christian literature, especially in the Talmud, the NT, and the early Christian fathers. Passages like Prov 22:20-21 (LXX) provided ORIGEN legitimation for reading multiple meanings into biblical texts. In general, however, the book was prized

by both Jews and Christians as a source of simple moral and religious truths and practical advice rather than being used to establish or confirm particular religious doctrines.

In the late Middle Ages, the Reformation period, and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, various critical theories were proposed by scholars that in many ways anticipated later critical work. Among others, NICHOLAS OF LYRA, whose *Postillae* (1326) long remained influential, interpreted 25:1 as meaning that Hezekiah's men made a second collection of Solomon's unpublished proverbs and added it to those previously made in Solomon's own time; P. MELANCHTHON (1497–1560) understood the proverb form as specifically designed to function as a teaching device and also compared the book with the works of the Greek authors Theognis and Phocylides; and T. HOBBES (1651) sketched a history of the composition of the book in several stages, of which the latest was to be dated in the postexilic period or in the reign of Josiah at the earliest. But the modern critical interpretation of Proverbs really began with J. G. EICHHORN's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1783, 1824[4]), in which he employed stylistic criteria to assign the various sections of the book to different preexilic periods. He also put forward a theory of the development of the proverb form from its origins as domestic regulations laid down by heads of families to its formation into collections of pious admonitions for general use.

Throughout the nineteenth century opinion remained divided on the question of whether Proverbs was substantially preexilic or postexilic in date. A. Hartmann's (1774–1838) argument—based partly on the presence of Aramaisms in the book and partly on its supposed identification of wisdom with the law—that the book is an example of late Jewish piety was particularly influential. The pendulum began to swing in the opposite direction with the discovery of texts from Egypt (see EGYPTOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) and Mesopotamia that were remarkably similar both in form and theme to the biblical book of Proverbs and of great antiquity. The Egyptian *Instruction of Ptahhotep,* first published in 1847, was described by the French Egyptologist F. Chabas in 1858 as "the oldest book in the world." But it was not until A. Erman and H. Gressmann argued (in 1924) that the recently discovered *Instruction of Amenemope* had actually been used as a model by the author of an entire section of Proverbs (22:17–24:22) that it began to be recognized that Israel's wisdom literature, and in particular the book of Proverbs, was not the product of the unaided Israelite genius but rather a late flowering of a much older literary tradition common to the peoples of the ancient Near East. Further studies (e.g., that of P. Humbert [1929]) made this abundantly clear.

The implications of these discoveries for the study of Proverbs soon became apparent. There was no doubt that the Egyptian "instructions" were textbooks composed for use in schools connected with the royal court to educate young men of the upper class destined for high civil service. In view of the now-proven dependence of at least part of Proverbs on this type of literature, together with the references in the book to kings and to the royal entourage and the didactic tone of much of the book, it was concluded that its origins were to be looked for in similar circles in preexilic Israel. This remained the prevailing opinion for more than a generation. It was further strengthened by G. von RAD's hypothesis that in the reign of Solomon Israel had passed through a period of rapid cultural change (the so-called Solomonic enlightenment) brought about by contacts with Egypt as a result of Solomon's organization of the new national state of Israel on Egyptian models. Some parts of the book, however, especially chaps. 1–9, were universally believed to be postexilic additions (see sec. 5).

The following topics have been particularly prominent in discussion of the book in the last half of the twentieth century.

1. Provenance. The view that the milieu from which the book emerged was the royal court with its "wisdom school" was challenged, especially by E. Gerstenberger (1965). He argued that the instructional material in the book originated, not in schools, but in rules of conduct that had governed tribal life in pre-monarchical Israel (*Sippenweisheit*). However, this view was rejected by H.-J. Hermisson (1968) and others on the grounds that the short proverbs in the book are of a highly artistic character quite unlike the "popular" wisdom sayings embedded in the historical and prophetical books of the HB and also that the organization and customs of early Israelite tribal society are extremely obscure. A third view is that the collections of proverbs may have been intended for the edification of a class of educated farmers whose interests were wider than those of the professional scribe or teacher (U. Skladny [1962]; R. Whybray [1974]). It has been pointed out that the "royal" and "court" sayings in the book are far less numerous than those concerned with more general topics. No consensus has been reached on the question of the provenance of the book, but it may be said that these three views are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In this connection there has been a lengthy but also inconclusive discussion about the evidence for the existence of schools in preexilic Israel (Whybray [1974]; B. Lang [1979]; A. Lemaire [1981]; J. Crenshaw [1985]).

2. The Nature and Function of the Proverb. Much of the earlier discussion was impeded by a failure to achieve agreement about the nature and function of the short proverbs that make up most of the book. In retrospect it is arguable that this failure was due to an excessive reliance on form-critical analysis (see FORM CRITICISM) as an interpretative tool. Amid the many different forms capable of classification it was stressed

that there is a fundamental distinction between the "sentence" (*Aussagewort*), which makes a statement about some aspect of life based on observation or experience without drawing an explicit moral (e.g., 14:4; 16:8), and the "admonition" (*Mahnwort*), which is couched in the form of advice, either positive or negative (warning), often accompanied by a statement of the reason for that advice (e.g., 19:20; 27:1). This difference of form was taken to be an indication of a fundamental difference of origin and function, the admonition being strictly educational in purpose while the sentence was simply a general observation whose purpose was difficult to determine precisely and whose origin was much more problematical (the discussion about its "popular" provenance, already stimulated by O. EISSFELDT in 1913, still continues and seems unlikely to lead to a general consensus of opinion).

In the last decades of the twentieth century, the significance of the formal difference between these two types of proverbs has been questioned. It was observed long ago but not always taken into account by the form critics that the great majority of the sentences are not simply neutral observations about a particular aspect of reality but imply, no less than the direct admonitions, the desirability of adopting specific modes of behavior. It is only their form (indicative rather than imperative) that is different. This is true of popular sayings in every age, including our own: No distinction is perceived between the functions of sentences like "A stitch in time saves nine" and admonitions like "Don't count your chickens before they are hatched."

This observation has led a number of writers (e.g., J. Williams [1981]; C. Fontaine [1985]) to suggest that progress toward understanding the nature and function of the short proverbs in the book can best be made by asking more general questions, in light of the worldwide use of proverbs, about the proverb form as a whole. In other words, why has this brief, encapsulated form of speech been chosen as a vehicle for comment about the world and society? These writers imply that the distinctions usually made between "folk sayings," "rules of conduct," "teaching Proverbs," and the like are too rigid and conceal the fact that the proverb is a natural and universal form of speech not confined to any particular class or situation. It is not a primitive form later superseded by more elaborate philosophical discourse but one that continues to exist side by side with other forms of speech.

Williams, citing a comment made by Paschal about the reason for the brevity and fragmentary character of his *Pensées,* suggested that the unsystematic form of proverb literature, with its fragmentary commentary on particular, very limited aspects of the world and society, is especially appropriate to a fragmented world—a reply to those scholars who have understood Proverbs as expressing the notion of an all-embracing, divinely established order, of which either Yahweh or Wisdom is the guardian (see sec. 4). Fontaine went further, seeing the proverb as not only springing from a perception of a lack of order but also as having a positive function: It is used to create pockets of order in the world or to restore order where it has broken down. In such a view the admonitions and sentences in Proverbs, although they may have originated in different circumstances, have a common function and are not to be fundamentally distinguished from one another. The real distinction is to be made between proverb literature as a whole and longer poems like those in chaps. 1–9 that do indeed attempt to subsume experience of the world in a systematic theology in which divine wisdom guards and controls a coherent world order.

3. Developments in the Concepts of Wisdom in Proverbs. A somewhat different attempt to distinguish between types of material that make up the mass of proverb literature in the book was made by a number of scholars, including von Rad (1957; ET 1962) and W. McKane (1970), who claimed that in these chapters are to be found two different concepts of wisdom, the one superimposed on the other. In their earliest form these chapters taught a purely pragmatic, amoral kind of wisdom based wholly on human reason and similar to the kind underlying the policies of the politicians in the early Israelite monarchy portrayed in 1 Samuel (McKane called this "old wisdom"). In the course of time this was transformed under the influence of the preexilic prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) into an exposition of a highly moral Yahwism by the addition of new, more religious sayings to the original collections. This estimate of Israel's "old wisdom," however, runs counter to what has long been known about the character of ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature in general, in which all human conduct was regarded as subject to the scrutiny of the gods, who judged it by distinctly moral standards. In the last decades of the twentieth century, most scholars reject the idea of a non-religious and amoral wisdom in early Israel since this would have been a unique phenomenon. It is true that there are contradictory or incompatible statements in these chapters on the moral level, but artibitrarily to classify these as though each were a complete expression of a religious or moral standpoint is to ignore the complexity of the currents of thought present in any given society.

4. The Theology of Proverbs. The theology of the book and its place in the theological world of the OT have been variously assessed. Some scholars (H. Gese [1958]; H. Schmid [1966]) see it as expressing a view of the world as a divinely ordered system within which all things work for the best but which it is folly to transgress. This was believed by C. Kayatz (1966) to be akin to the concept of *Maat* in Egypt. It must be recognized, however, that chaps. 1–9 (see sec. 5) are on

a quite different plane from the rest of the book. As has already been pointed out (sec. 2), it is questionable whether any systematic theological point of view is to be found in chaps. 10–31.

On the whole these chapters take the optimistic position that righteous conduct, which is frequently equated with wisdom and is generally attainable by those who pursue it, reaps its own reward, while the wicked and foolish will perish miserably. This belief is not peculiar to Proverbs but is found elsewhere in the OT and appears to have been generally accepted in Israel, at least during the preexilic period. In these chapters Yahweh is seen as the guarantor of this principle. Whether in this role Yahweh is also regarded as a judge who dispenses retribution personally in the form of rewards and punishments is disputed. K. Koch (1955) maintained that this is not so: These proverbs reflect a belief that human actions contain within themselves the seeds of their own consequences, which ensue by a kind of automatic process. No agreement has been reached on this question, which lies beyond the study of Proverbs per se.

5. Chapters 1–9. The distinctive character of these chapters was recognized from very early times. Instead of the short proverbs predominant in the rest of the book, they consist almost entirely of longer poems. Three of these—1:20-33; 8; 9:1-6 + 13-18—are entirely unique in that they personify wisdom as a woman who claims to have been associated with Yahweh from before the creation of the world, builds a house, and offers life and happiness to men. Biblical feminists (see FEMINIST INTERPRETATION; see also C. Newsom [1989]; C. Camp [1985, 1988]; Fontaine [1992]) have noticed that folly is also personified as a woman. Both Wisdom and Folly cry out in the streets, hoping to lead young men on opposite journeys, one wise, another foolish. Since it is difficult to distinguish between the two women, women in general are suspect.

For a long time modern scholarship was virtually unanimous in regarding these chapters as postexilic and as the latest addition to the book based on considerations of both form and content. In the last half of the twentieth century, it has been recognized that they do not constitute a single block of material. Although the poems in which wisdom is personified represent a relatively late wisdom theology anticipating still later developments in which "the entire theological thinking of later Judaism came more or less under the sway of wisdom" (von Rad), it has not been demonstrated that the remainder of the material consists of a series of instructions from a teacher to a pupil on the pattern of the earlier Egyptian instructions (Whybray [1965]; Kayatz).

In 1986 Lang offered a new explanation of the figure of personified Wisdom that speaks for a preexilic origin of chaps. 1, 8, and 9. These chapters, he argues, have been adapted from poems composed in praise of an Israelite goddess who was worshiped independently of Yahweh as the patroness of scribal education. This thesis, only one of a succession of attempts to derive the figure of personified Wisdom from Near Eastern female divinities, was to some extent anticipated in 1955 by W. F. ALBRIGHT, who proposed a Canaanite goddess of wisdom as the prototype of this figure.

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R. N. WHYBRAY

PROVIDENTISSIMUS DEUS

This encyclical letter of Pope Leo XIII on the study of sacred Scripture was issued on Nov. 18, 1893. It was occasioned mainly by a rationalistic exposition of the Bible stemming from the Enlightenment and by many historical and archaeological discoveries (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) in the nineteenth century that affected biblical interpretation, but partly also by the progress in TEXTUAL CRITICISM and the comparative study of ancient religions. In the encyclical Leo XIII sought to offset interpretations that neglected the Bible as the inspired written Word of God (see INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE). He wanted "to give an impulse to the noble science of Holy Scripture and to impart to Scripture study a direction suitable to the needs of the present day" (Prologue, par. 2). After the prologue the encyclical falls into two parts: (a) motives for the study and use of Scripture and (b) a plan for the study of Scripture. A two-paragraph conclusion follows.

The motives proposed include the inspired nature of the Bible (2 Tim 3:16-17); the example of the use of Scripture by JESUS in the Gospels and by the apostles in Acts and in the epistles; Scripture's usefulness in preaching and teaching (as exemplified by the church fathers); and the centuries-long practice of biblical study in both the Eastern and the Western churches.

To offset the rationalistic exposition of the Bible, Leo's plan sets forth directives for the proper training of teachers of Scripture in seminaries and academies; for the use of the "authentic" VULGATE; for advanced study of the biblical text and its languages; for a proper understanding of Scripture according to "the unanimous agreement of the Fathers," the analogy of faith, and the authority of the church; but also for the proper use of natural sciences, history, physics, and philosophy in their relation to the Bible. The directives end with a reminder about biblical inspiration and inerrancy and the need for scholars, both theologians and exegetes, to join in a common defense of the Scriptures. Though Leo's directives were generally sound, their conservative nature was later often exploited in high ecclesiastical circles during the modernistic crisis.

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J. A. FITZMYER

PSALMS, BOOK OF

1. Early Jewish Interpretation. Some of the headings of the psalms reflect a work of exegesis already in HB times. In thirteen of the headings connections are made with episodes in David's life; other examples include the application of an individual's thanksgiving to a communal celebration (Psalm 30). The Greek and Syriac versions attest the fluidity of such headings as interpretation developed, with the Greek showing a marked tendency to tone down the Hebrew's bold depiction of God. The DEAD SEA SCROLLS from both before and during NT times include numerous portions of psalm texts as well as compositions where phrases from the psalms are echoed or applied. David is strongly presented as the author of the psalms in general. Correspondence is assumed between the experiences of the psalmists and those of the Qumran community, and the leader who prays in the *Hodayot* (hymns) uses phrases from Psalms 22, 41, and 69, as does the NT.

Lines of exegesis can also be followed in the TARGUM, which gives the sense in Aramaic with many turns of interpretation. "You are my son" in Ps 2:7*b*, for example, is rendered as "Beloved as a son to a father are you to me, pure as if this day I had created you." The Targum also subdues the Hebrew's bold portrayals of God and God's activity. Interpretation can further be traced in references to the psalms in the Mishnah and in the TALMUD, where the prophetic aspect is maintained (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). The old Jewish exegesis, however, is most richly represented by the *Midrash Tehillim,* which has preserved much ancient Palestinian teaching.

Sometimes the MIDRASH comments on every phrase of a psalm; in other cases, only on the opening and on the end. While there are comments on plain matters like the meanings of rare words, most interest is shown in spiritual truths, parables, and hidden meanings. For "I will rejoice in thee" (Ps 9:2), it is noted that the Hebrew spelling of "in thee" has the numerical value of twenty-two, the number of letters of the alphabet in which the Torah is written. Thus a hidden meaning refers to the joy of knowing God through Scripture. By a combination of 1:3 and 119:99 we are led to the case of a rabbi who was forever "transplanting" himself to different circles of Torah sages. Thus he found numerous "channels of water" to nourish his inner life and so "gained understanding from [so *min* is taken!] the abundance of teachers."

2. Early Christian Interpretation. The NT provided a massive foundation for subsequent exegesis, citing the psalms some seventy times (mostly from the Greek version) as prophetic of the messianic events. As in Jewish tradition, David is taken to be the chief author, by INSPIRATION referring beyond his own life to Christ and his people. In the same tradition the NT writers were usually content to seize on meanings suggested by isolated phrases or verses, though there may be some cases where a larger context was taken into account. The vivid imagery of the psalms provided a potent expression of the vocation, suffering, and exaltation of

JESUS as divine Son and Messiah.

Teachers of the second century continued this understanding, citing the psalms in letters and homilies for doctrinal and ethical purposes. ORIGEN, the dominant commentator in the third century, explained the psalms with glosses, homilies, and commentaries. Although most of these have not survived, important examples of his expositions were used by other writers and appear in the popular "chains" compiled from the works of various writers. In such a chain on Psalm 119 (Greek 118), Origen was given pride of place, though no doubt his copious style of commenting on every essential word has been abbreviated. He took this psalm's alphabetic scheme as pointing to the elementary practice of the way of God and (because of the eightfold strophic patterns) to the attainment of contemplative fulfillment; beginning and end go together. Here David speaks for the one who follows the way of union with Christ the eternal Word, who is also named in the psalm's references to God's law, mouth, salvation, mercy, justice, face, hand, and name. Very seldom did Origen refer to the circumstances of David, who became, rather, the prototype of the monk, the spiritual warrior who endures humiliation in his ascetic struggle with Satan. Many commentators were to follow Origen in the exegesis developed by the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL from PHILO's approach: Like the body and the soul, Scripture had both a plain and a mystical sense; and the latter was given the most attention.

The opposing tendency of stressing the plain meaning, which characterized the tradition of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, produced an exegesis more congenial to modern critics, with emphasis on the text, grammatical sense, and historical setting. The best example is the commentary of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA; an early work, it boldly takes David to be anticipating future Jewish history down to Maccabean times. Also in the Antiochene tradition was CHRYSOSTOM, who wrote enthusiastically of the psalms as coming "first, last and midst" in the life and worship of his day and left fifty-eight eloquent homilies on them. Although BASIL OF CAESAREA later adhered to literal interpretation, his homilies on the psalms are closer to Origen. In Psalm 45 he took the prophet to be addressing Christ, with the myrrh (45:8) alluding to Christ's burial. The queen (45:9) is the church, also the soul joined to the Word. "Hearken O daughter and see" (45:10) enjoins the church to contemplation.

JEROME was a great translator of the psalms, but his contribution to their exegesis is disputed. His collection of brief learned notes (*commentarioli*) is drawn from Origen's works, as he says himself. The many commentaries on the psalms confidently attributed to him until the last half of the twentieth century were thought to be extempore addresses to his monks in Bethlehem, which a hearer wrote down. It now seems more likely that Jerome translated Origen's homilies, occasionally interposing his own comments (see M.-J.Rondeau [1982–85] 155-61). If so, these commentaries provide samples of the wealth of exposition, vibrant with the love of Christ, that Origen addressed to a daily gathering in the Basilica of Caesarea.

AUGUSTINE was decidedly inclined to go beneath and beyond the mundane sense. His ample and varied discourses on the psalms hardly rank as scientific exegesis, but as spiritual dialogue with the texts they are of towering importance. His conversion had been greatly aided by listening to the singing of the psalms. Just as the antiphons and doxologies constantly oriented them in the Christian service, so also Augustine read them in constant recollection of Christ, while David receded from view. He took "Blessed is the man" of Ps 1:1 to refer to Christ "the Lord Man" (*Homine Dominico*); "in the LORD's Law" (1:2) means that Christ is not subject to the law and does not need its outer letter; "in his season" (1:3) means after he has been glorified; "the LORD knows his way"—such knowing is true being.

3. The Middle Ages. For much of this period, in East and West, the church was content with compilations from earlier commentators, Augustine being especially influential. "Practice hurried far ahead of theory," commented Franz DELITZSCH, for church and community lived deeply in the constantly recited psalms. J. Neale and R. Littledale, who made a remarkable chain (1860–74) from the works of this period, wrote more warmly, "There is . . . a perfect treasure of mythology locked up in medieval commentaries and breviaries . . . the beauty of which grows upon the student."

Following the achievements of the Masoretes in textual and grammatical work and stimulated by controversy with the "heretical" KARAITES and by Arab civilization, a new era of Jewish exegesis began. SAADIA included the psalms in the commentary with his translation of the HB into Arabic. His was a sober, reasoned approach, respecting context. This line of exegesis continued with RASHI, A. IBN EZRA, and D. KIMHI; later ages would profit from their philological knowledge, their recording of older Jewish lore, and their engagement with the plain sense of the text. Kimhi often took issue with christological interpretations and on Psalm 2 advised his students on how to answer Christians regarding the "Son" in this psalm.

4. The Reformation. LUTHER's first lectures at Wittemberg were expositions of the psalms. His style shows some continuity with tradition, although the standard four levels of sense (literal, symbolic, moral, and mystical) tend to flow into the principal sense of Christ the Word. Luther provided specially printed Latin texts for the students and from his own prepared copy dictated explanatory glosses to be written around and between the lines. According to custom, he supplemented these brief notes with "scholia," more extensive remarks on

selected points that connected with issues of theology and garnered scriptural support. Both the glossed texts and the separate manuscript of scholia have been preserved in Luther's hand.

Luther often expounded psalms in later years; and various expositions, given in lectures, sermons, or in the family circle, were published from notes made by his followers. These reveal a great exegete who truly lived both in the psalm and in the struggles of his time. On Psalm 2, the raging of the nations, the apparent weakness of God's cause, and its ultimate triumph all illuminate the suffering and the hopes of the Lutheran movement. On Psalm 51, Luther followed the title, taking good account of David's situation with Bathsheba; yet he was more concerned with the psalm's lessons about "the whole of sin," "the root and tree of sin," and the gospel of forgiveness.

CALVIN's commentary (tr. 1845–49) is of outstanding competence. Marked by orderly and sober argument, it is more akin to modern historical-critical works in its sense of history than with the interpretations of his contemporaries. Calvin was determined to find, not just any truth, but the truth of the passage at hand. To that end the plain sense, indispensable where Scripture is treated as sole AUTHORITY, is applied effectively in ethical and religious teaching, as when he expounded from Psalm 1 the subtle process of moral degeneration. Yet he did not neglect the correspondence of the old and new kingdoms of God. Beyond an immediate circumstance of battle, David through Psalm 20 was understood to be calling for continual prayer for the kingdom of Christ.

Both Luther and Calvin tended to depict the psalms as doctrine and admonition, and their successors were increasingly inclined to make sound doctrine the overriding concern. The flood of Protestant exegesis had its counterpart in Roman Catholic circles; knowledge of Semitic languages flourished, but the detailed expositions of the time tended to be pedantic.

5. Critical Foundations in the Eighteenth Century. With a revival in humanist learning some scholars approached the HB in a more detached spirit, discarding the "papistical" grip of the Protestant churches. The foundations of modern criticism were laid in the advancement of comparative philology, TEXTUAL and LITERARY criticism, and the study of antiquity. R. LOWTH's (1753) analysis of Hebrew poetry was directly important for psalm study, and B. KENNICOTT's (1776–80) collations of Hebrew manuscripts and his notes on the psalms all fed into the work of subsequent commentators.

If the passionate voice of the psalms was somewhat muted during this period of classical elegance, a corrective arose in the work of J. G. HERDER, whose *Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie* (1782–83) treats many psalms with understanding and sympathy. With "simplicity of heart" (*Einfalt des Herzens*) one enters the world of the ancient poet, breathing the good air of primitive origins. Herder greatly influenced the following centuries and not least the key commentators W. DE WETTE and H. GUNKEL.

6. The Nineteenth Century. During this period great strides were made in textual and philological study and in the knowledge of the ancient world and of the development of HB literature. An era of influential German commentaries opened with that of de Wette (1811), and its second edition (1823) was improved philologically by use of H. GESENIUS's new Hebrew dictionary. Unlike most scholars of the century, de Wette thought that few psalms revealed historical circumstances and that it was better to propose nothing of the kind than to overrun the evidence. Instead, he offered an aesthetic criticism, appraising each psalm as a lyrical expression of feeling and intuition, which led him to develop the classification of the poems by placing them in six categories similar to those Gunkel would more thoroughly work out a century later.

Nevertheless, the trend toward supposed historical precision continued. Suggested datings became ever later, and any connection with David seemed increasingly unlikely. Most of the psalms were associated with postexilic, frequently Maccabean, times. The themes of ungodly oppressors, kingship, and love of God's law were taken as sure signs of postexilic conflicts and were placed near the end of the era. Resemblances to the prophets and to other Scriptures indicated the dependence of late writers on hallowed texts. Such views were given incisive expression in the commentary of B. DUHM (1899, 1922); admirable in its scientific clarity, it is marred by its low estimate of the psalms and by scathing remarks about Jewish piety.

E. HENGSTENBERG, "father of the reactionaries" (according to C. Briggs), produced a dogmatic commentary in four volumes (1842–47). Franz Delitzsch only gradually came to terms with modern ideas of the HB's development; his reasoned conservatism and rabbinical learning have given his commentary on Psalms (1859–60; ET 1894) enduring value. F. BAETHGEN's commentary (1892) represents the typical moderate work of the century: Emending the text through comparison of the versions, he took account of the metrical structure, related the texts to history down to Maccabean times, and gave little room to spiritual appreciation.

7. Form Criticism. Characteristic twentieth-century study of the psalms has been based on a method of systematic sorting. The approach is variously referred to as the history or study of forms, classes, or types (*Gattungen,* genres), and its champion was Gunkel (1862–1932). He explained that the primary law for all science is that an object cannot be understood in isolation but must be seen in its context. In relation to the psalms, this is accomplished by gathering comparable material from the ancient world and by identifying and

analyzing the main types of psalms through thorough INNER-BIBLICAL comparisons. Gunkel conceived of each type as having arisen from a recurring situation in worship that determined the type's elements of thought ("motifs") and forms of speech. He believed it possible to trace the history of the types, their development, and in some cases their rebirth in mixed forms, which would give broad guidance for dating a psalm. In cases where the types had grown away from the original ceremonies, they still preserved this fixed wording and patterns of thought.

Gunkel's outline of the types in his commentary (1929, 1X) begins with the hymns used to glorify God during the ceremonies in the sanctuary before the assembly and sung by the choir or expert soloist. A variation of the hymns praising the sanctuary itself he called elsewhere "songs of Zion." Additional types include "songs rendered on the feast-day when they celebrated Yahweh's throne-ascension"; the people's songs of lament (or complaint, *Klage*), sung with rites at the sanctuary in times of national need to express grief and implore mercy; the king's songs, of various kinds that have in common rendition by a court singer in the festivities for the king and his house; the individual's songs of lament/complaint, sung by an individual (not the corporate figure Israel) in personal need and originally including rites performed in the sanctuary. Corresponding to these are the individual's song of thanks, in which a saved person pours out thanks and praise in the sanctuary while presenting offerings. Smaller types include blessings, curses, songs of pilgrimage, Israel's songs of victory, Israel's songs of thanks, and holy legends (parts of Psalms 78, 105, and 106).

To these Gunkel added some that were not originally from the tradition of psalmody but came to be combined with it: prophetic poems and wisdom poetry. Finally he listed "mixtures," in which later writers freely drew on various types, and "liturgies," in which different types were set side by side because of the alternation of voices in worship.

Gunkel's heartfelt wish that the "dam" holding his fellow scholars from recognizing the forms and their importance would burst was amply granted. In time FORM CRITICISM became fundamental for most commentators, and many works were devoted to revision or refinement of the classes he set out. The very conception of "thanksgiving" was deprecated by C. WESTERMANN (1953; ET 1965), who preferred to see Gunkel's hymns as "descriptive praise" and his song of thanks as "narrative/declarative praise." F. Crüsemann's (1969) thorough study of hymnic forms concluded that although Gunkel's communal thanksgivings should be considered as hymns, the class of individual thanksgivings should be retained. Distinctions among the individual's songs of lament have been proposed: pleas (which praise God), complaints (where God is blamed), protective psalms (anticipating danger), etc. Gunkel's songs from Yahweh's throne-ascension have been differentiated and distributed through a wide range of periods.

The greatness of Gunkel's exposition did not arise solely from this approach. He was above all a passionate and sensitive interpreter. His ambition was to be the mouth of ancients, expressing for our age what the Hebrew poets had felt in the depths of their hearts.

8. The Study of Function. Form criticism took account not only of patterns of expression but also of the functions in society that had molded them. It was especially in regard to these functions that S. MOWINCKEL contributed much to interpretation.

a. Enthronement psalms. Especially fruitful was Mowinckel's view of the songs for Yahweh's throne-ascension, in which he saw, not songs based on prophecies of Second Isaiah, but the expression of an ancient ingredient in worship, the climax of the festal days. Action in worship was first and foremost that of God. As Yahweh had asserted power in the beginning, so now on the festal day these psalms proclaimed that Yahweh was manifested as sovereign over all—Yahweh and no other has "become king." The beginning and the festal day were one, and divine light shone forward on days to come. Renewal touched all aspects of life founded in the classic past: creation, covenant, liberation, settlement. From many other psalms, HB texts, and rabbinic sources, Mowinckel filled out his picture of the annual observances that covered the transition to the agricultural new year in September-October, antecedents of the Jewish festivals of New Year, Atonement, and Booths.

All this offered vivid insights into the HB world. The public religion focused in the festivals was viewed sympathetically at last in its age-long work of nurturing, inspiring, and creating; and the psalmody that expressed it appeared with new importance, no longer as a mere late echo of the prophets. Mowinckel's work, however, met with some hostility. He was said to be reading the HB too mythologically, after the pattern of the Babylonian new year festival through which the creator, Marduk, subjugated chaos and was honored as king of the gods. But Mowinckel's reconstruction has a wide basis in the HB. Striking analogies from surrounding peoples serve to give us a proper perspective of the ancient world.

b. The king's psalms. The function of another type of psalm—the king's songs—now seemed due for reconsideration. Gunkel had strongly argued that nine complete psalms and parts of others were included in this category and had been used in ceremonies of the preexilic kings; they were not later compositions concerning the people (as a royal figure), the Messiah, or Maccabean high priests and kings. Within the framework of the reconstructed autumn festival it seemed that the function of these psalms could be further pursued.

In 1927 H. Schmidt envisaged how, along with Yahweh, the Davidic ruler also symbolically defeated his enemies and entered his kingdom anew. Mowinckel was notably restrained in the use of these psalms for reconstructing the autumn festival; however, he granted the likelihood that the ruler's installation was celebrated and then annually commemorated in the festival through the use of these psalms.

The matter was followed up by A. JOHNSON (1955, 1967). A true interpreter, his method was to present his view through a chain of psalms that he translated and expounded. In this way he traced the lines of sacred drama within the festival, maintaining that it represented Yahweh's defeat of the forces of darkness and death that through the kings of the nations had attacked his city and throne-center, Zion. The Davidic king served Yahweh by leading the defenders but triumphed only after coming near defeat. At first Johnson found the purpose of the drama especially in the annual revitalizing of society. Subsequently he emphasized that it signaled an ultimate reality, the great day to come, which already challenged the contemporary ruler and people.

c. Psalms of lament. Discussion has continued on the function of the individual's songs of lament (see J. Croft [1987]). Whereas Gunkel had thought that the extant examples represented a development away from the original cultic setting, Mowinckel in his early work saw them as still set in rites of cleansing and healing at the Temple, in which their imprecations were a defense against the injurious wishes or spells of the enemies. Schmidt (1928), and later W. Beyerlin (1977), found the cultic situation of some of these psalms in the trials held at the Temple: They were prayers for vindication. L. Delekat (1967) saw the supplicants rather as seekers of asylum at the Temple. E. Gerstenberger (1980) thinks of rites in the sufferer's own locality, amid his primary group but led by a local seer.

Another line of interpretation for these psalms was advocated by H. BIRKELAND in 1933 and soon came to have the weighty support of Mowinckel. The worshiper is generally taken to be Israel's leader, usually a king; prayer is being offered in the Temple or at a field sanctuary in time of crisis—invasion, plotting, and so forth. J. Eaton (1976, 1986) has worked over the materials with more emphasis on the ideas and language of royal traditions and found much that favors the royal interpretation, explaining the interplay of individual and community, of regular cult and sudden crisis, of harsh warfare and tender piety. Others who have favored passing beyond the limits of Gunkel's royal class include A. BENTZEN, M. DAHOOD, J. Gray, Johnson, J. Day, P. CRAIGIE (1983), and M. Goulder (1990).

d. Wisdom psalms. The situations behind the later stages of psalmody have also received attention. The currents of both wisdom schooling and Torah piety seem to run stronger in the psalms during the postexilic era. Mowinckel saw the bulk of psalmody as passing into the care of collectors who were learned sages and scribes, forerunners of Ben Sirah; a few of their own compositions then entered the collection, pieces they had composed in their schools to edify their disciples or to bring to the Temple in thanksgiving. They employed the old proverb forms but also exalted Yahweh's Torah. One school of thought, especially in France and in Catholic Germany, has given the greatest weight to the activity of the scribes in the Persian and Greek periods, seeing most of the psalms as their reuse of older elements.

9. Current Concerns. Progress continues in the publication of such comparable materials as hymns and prayers from Babylonia and Egypt (see EGYPTOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), poetry from UGARIT, and evidence of temples and musicians. Dahood's commentary (1966–70) is remarkable for its exploitation of comparisons with Ugaritic, though many of its novel proposals on text and translation must be regarded as only experimental. From Ugaritic studies also, O. Loretz has developed the method of colometry: He divides a psalm into its cola, examines the total number of letters in each colon, and so hopes to identify secondary expansions. The structuralist approach (see STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION) has produced some minute analyses of psalms; repetitions and parallelisms are taken to mark alternating or concentric patterns. Structure is found also in the interplay of persons; analysis of images and figures contributes to the disclosure of the psalm's shape and movement as well. Interest thus shifts from a psalm's origin to its rhetoric and symbolic world.

The structure of the psalter as a whole has also received close attention. With a fresh respect for the final shape of Scripture, scholars have pondered anew the links of wording and ideas between adjacent psalms, moods characterizing groups of psalms, and the strategic positions of psalms with decisive themes.

H.-J. Kraus (1960, 1979) demonstrated how, after all, a theological appreciation of the psalms could be achieved in harmony with modern study; after an interval of centuries it seemed that the exegetical fullness of the great Reformers was reviving. Several studies have further evaluated the psalms' theology of Temple and royal house, and there are signs of renewed appreciation of the ancient interpreters. Not just the anticipations of modern research are to be valued but also those imaginative encounters where the Origens, Augustines, and Midrashists were prompted by the psalms to see deep into the divine world.

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PSALMS OF SOLOMON

The so-called *Psalms of Solomon,* of which eighteen survive, exist in Greek and Syriac. The origin of these writings is obscure. First noted in Codex Alexandrinus (5th cent. CE) under the title the "Eighteen Psalms of Solomon," they are listed sequentially after the HB, NT, and Clementine epistles; however, the actual text is missing from the codex. For instance, Codex Sinaiticus is missing twelve pages that might have contained these psalms (*OTP* 2.639). Pseudo-Athanasius's *Synopsis Sanctae Scripturae* listed them with the *Odes of Solomon* after Maccabees and before Susanna as antilegomena of the HB (6th cent CE). A similar account is offered in the *List of Sixty Books.* Anastasius Sinaita's (d. c. 700) *Quaestiones et Responsiones* lists this text among the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA between the *Assumption of Moses* and the *Apocalypse of Elijah* in the list of sixty books found at the end of that work. *The Stichometry of Nicephorus* (9th cent. CE) lists the *Psalms of Solomon* with the Apocrypha between Esther and Ecclesiastes. According to G. Gray (*APOT* 2.625-52), the fifty-ninth CANON of the Council of Laodicea and AMBROSE (*Praef. in Lib. Psalmorum*) appear to argue against the use of these psalms by the church (*APOT* 2.627); however, this text is not mentioned in the Gelasian Decree. S. Brock notes (*AOT* 649) that the two surviving Syriac manuscripts begin with the *Odes of Solomon* and then proceed with the *Psalms*—under the name *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*—as though the *Odes* and the *Psalms* are two parts of one work. In these manuscripts, *PsSol* 1 is Psalm 43.

The first edition of the *Psalms,* published c. 1626 by J. de la Cerda, was marred by the fact that it was based on a faulty copy of one of the principal Greek manuscripts. By the time Gray did his translation, eight Greek manuscripts were known to exist; ten manuscripts and

one fragment are now known. Gray regarded Codex (Romanus) Vaticanus Gr. 336 as the oldest and noted that some of the Greek manuscripts appear to be copies of other extant manuscripts (*APOT* 2.626). Two manuscripts and two fragments are extant in Syriac. It is generally believed that the Syriac is based on the Greek, and Gray held that the Syriac manuscripts are an incomplete version of the Greek (*APOT* 2.626). Brock agrees, while R. Wright argues that the Syriac is closest to Greek MS 253, although the Syriac also shows close ties to Greek MSS 769 and 336 (*OTP* 2.640). J. Trafton (1981) argues that the Syriac may descend from the Hebrew.

Likewise, on the basis of the Syriac text, Gray proposed that Hebrew and not Greek was the original language because (1) the Greek shows a number of "strange expressions" that characterize Greek versions of existing Hebrew texts; (2) some of these strange expressions can be explained as blunders in translation from Hebrew to Greek; and (3) in some places the rhythm of the Hebrew can still be heard in the Greek (*APOT* 2.627 and 625). In varying forms this analysis has been supported by Trafton, H. Ryle and M. James (1891), and R. Hann (1982). D. Flusser, following S. Holm-Nielsen (1977), also argued for a Hebrew original. Only A. HILGENFELD, on the basis of apparent quotes from the SEPTUAGINT in this text, argued for a Greek original.

Ryle and James, citing apparent parallels between *3* BARUCH and *PssSol,* maintained that this text was translated into Greek before 70 CE (*APOT* 2.628). According to them, the author was an Essene. Gray dated the *Psalms* to the first century BCE and is followed by D. Russell (1987), who cites apparent historical allusions in the text (2:3031 = death of Pompey); Flusser; G. Nickelsburg (1981); and Brock. Flusser and Holm-Nielsen, argue that this text was authored in Jerusalem by a latter-day member of the Hasidim (see HASIDISM); Flusser submits that the critique of the Hasmoneans and Pharisees in the text supports this. Nickelsburg holds that the author was a Pharisee (203), and Brock suggests that the text was written in Palestine by an unknown author (*AOT* 651-52).

Following Russell, Wright points to allusions in the text to the death of Pompey in 48 BCE. Accordingly, he limits the date of authorship to between 125 BCE and the first century CE in broad terms, in more narrow terms to between 70 and 45 BCE (*OTP* 2.641). These psalms have been so edited that it is not possible to tell if they were originally written by one or many authors; thus Wright considers them the product of a community and concludes that the author was either an Essene or a Pharisee. His analysis is amended by J. Charlesworth, who argues that it is impossible to determine the special socioreligious group to which the author belonged—if the author belonged to one at all (*OTP* 2.642).

Because of strong similarities between *PssSol* and the biblical psalter Wright holds that the *Psalms of Solomon* are a "conscious imitation" of the Davidic psalter (*OTP* 2.646). There are certain stylistic and formal parallels. For example the "patina" that is the mark of liturgical use is missing; instead a thin veneer covers historical allusions. Furthermore, parallels to Psalms 28 and 72, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Lamentations, Proverbs, and perhaps Luke have been noted. Following O. EISSFELDT (1887–1973) and A. Dupont-Sommer (1987), Wright maintains that there are strong parallels to Qumran (*OTP* 2.642; see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) and points out that *1* BARUCH quotes these psalms. Gray has noted parallels to *Pistis Sophia.*

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G. T. MILAZZO

PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

The history of biblical interpretation includes an examination of a large body of ancient apocryphal writings. The authors of these works frequently claimed them to be equal in AUTHORITY to any book now canonized within the Bible. Understood in broad categories, the OT Pseudepigrapha (OTP) comprises about sixty-five quasi-biblical documents. Many of these developed out of interpretations by Jews or Jewish Christians of earlier biblical books and were exegetical or expository expansions of biblical narratives or psalms. The most important of them were written between 250 BCE and 200 CE in Palestine.

The interpretation of the OTP has been markedly diverse during the last 2,250 years. In essence, a large body of literature cherished in antiquity fell from favor for centuries but has been recovered by modern scholarship and restored to a position of significance.

1. Early Period. From approximately 250 BCE to 200 CE Jewish and Christian scholars, many of whom were erudite and skilled scribes, composed apocalypses, testaments, psalms, odes, histories, and ethical tracts, attributing them to ancient biblical heroes or sages like Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon, and Ezra. This literature was born out of biblical interpretation.

Reflection on Scripture demanded not only adoration but also creative dialogue with the text. Questions abounded. For example, the famous account of Jephthah's sacrifice of his beloved and only daughter raised numerous issues. Why did he kill her? What was her name? Did she resist? PSEUDO-PHILO, a Jewish Palestinian writing probably dating from the first century CE, presents an expanded account of the incident. Her name is Seila, probably because in Hebrew the meaning would be "she who was requested." She accepts her father's vow obediently, requesting permission only to retreat to the mountains and vent her laments. For the author and his commentary these were prized and apparently authentic stories. For modern critics they are an example of first-century exegesis of Judg 11:30-40.

During the early period of interpretation many Jewish and Christian groups highly revered the documents in the OTP as authentically inspired writings equal in every way to other biblical works. Even some documents in the Christian CANON reflect a high evaluation of some of the OTP. The classic example is Jude, which alludes to more than one of these writings and quotes from so-called *1* ENOCH, prefacing the quotation by saying that Enoch "prophesied" these words. Later, perhaps under the influence of the developing orthodoxy, the author of 2 Peter quoted Jude but felt compelled to remove all allusions to, and the quotation from, the OTP.

2. Medieval Period. As in the early period, in the Middle Ages there was no collection of the OTP. Instead the documents were treated individually. Jews no longer were characteristically interested in reading or interpreting it, and although a few works, like *3* ENOCH show that in some Jewish circles the interest in Pseudepigrapha continued, the widespread fascination by Jews with the documents in the OTP ended before this period. Three main reasons for this paradigm shift in biblical interpretation seem obvious: The documents in the MISHNAH had been codified by Judah the Prince around 200 CE, and it then came to dominate the life of the religious Jew. Second, the disastrous Jewish revolts against the Romans in 66–70 CE and 132–135 CE were judged to be caused in part by the apocalyptic fervor seen to be typical of many documents in the OTP. Third, this APOCALYPTICISM had given rise to rabbinic Judaism's rival, Christianity.

Many of the greatest thinkers in early Christianity—e.g., TERTULLIAN, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, ORIGEN, EUSEBIUS—highly valued many of the OTP. The administrators of the church, however, were less interested in ancient writings than in the current social, political, ideological, and theological crises. They saw the need to combat heresy; to clarify, defend, and strengthen orthodox faith; and to define a closed canon of Scripture. During the early centuries of the common era, works like Hebrews and Revelation, eventually included in the canon, and apocryphal works (see APOCRYPHA, NT), like the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Birth of Mary,* were intermittently shunted aside or away from the shelter of the canon's umbrella. During the same period the documents in the OTP were falling out of favor or had ceased to circulate.

The relegation of the OTP to a very subordinate status was, not the consequence of deliberate and overt action, but resulted from a preoccupation with the survival of what was perceived to be the purity of the holy apostolic faith. This orthodox faith was clarified through an exegesis and exposition of those works that slowly, and initially without any vote of the great councils, emerged as canonical. It is imperative to correct the fallacious notion that the synagogue and the church examined and then discarded the OTP.

The works in the OTP thus gradually were ignored in the major centers of rabbinic Judaism and Western Christianity. Fortunately, scribes in monastic centers throughout the world devoted years to copying ancient manuscripts that contained one or more of the OTP. For these scribes worship and interpretation of holy Scripture involved preserving sacred writings; interpretation was repetition, and God's Word was often defined in terms of a *prime facie* acceptance of the claims in the document lying open on the desk. No other description

can explain the presence of the thousands of manuscripts in Greek, Latin, Ethiopic (see ETHIOPIAN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION), ARMENIAN, Syriac, Slavonic, and Coptic that now can be read in the major monasteries and European and American libraries. Copying one of the OTP, as we learn from the colophons at the end of manuscripts, was an act of devotion to God. The art and adoration poured into preserving God's sacred Word, the canon, ebbed over into other related words.

3. Renaissance and Reformation. The Renaissance opened the eyes of Western European scholars and leaders to the world of antiquity and to the cultures of the Near East. It might be expected that a renewed interest in the OTP would result from this reawakening to antiquity and Eastern cultures, but this did not occur.

In spite of the emphasis on the Bible by the Protestant Reformers, the para-biblical books, the APOCRYPHA and the Pseudepigrapha, were not rediscovered. Perhaps the emphasis on interpreting the NT, especially PAUL's letters, in terms of the concept of righteousness by faith alone may explain this fact. This explanation may also clarify LUTHER's desire to cast 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) into the Elba River, but it does not explain why he was so attracted to the *Prayer of Manasseh*. Both documents are in the OTP.

4. Enlightenment. The OTP writings were rediscovered during the European Enlightenment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some OTP were included in the famous POLYGLOTS, especially the nine-volume Paris Polyglot (1629–42) and the six-volume London Polyglot (1655–57). For the first time in history a collection of the OTP was prepared and published: J. FABRICIUS's edition of the OTP in Latin translation, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (1713–14), rendered the OTP available to scholars and to the learned.

The interpretation of the OTP during this period was certainly pre-critical. No recognition of the composite natures of many Jewish Pseudepigrapha or of the Christian expansions of earlier Jewish documents accompanied attempts to understand such writings. No perception of the complex world of early Judaism supported interpretations, which were essentially literal. No clear distinction was drawn between the medieval pseudepigraphical titles and the pseudepigraphical intent of the authors. The tendency was to assume that if a document was attributed to Enoch, it had been written by him.

5. Modern Period. The modern study of the OTP occupies the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Five periods can be isolated for examination.

a. Nineteenth century. The first phase began in the early nineteenth century. In 1812 F. Muenter discovered quotations from the lost *Odes of Solomon* in the *Pistis Sophia*. From 1819 to 1838 R. Laurence published translations or editions of the *Ascension of Isaiah* (the *editio princeps*), 4 Ezra (the *editio princeps* of the Ethopic), and *1 Enoch* (first an ET and then the *editio princeps* of the Ethiopic).

The perception arose that the documents in the OTP were composed by early Jews or Christians and do not predate 500 BCE. Laurence, for example, argued that Enoch did not write the *Book of Enoch* (= *1 Enoch*): "Its allusions to the Lord, or rather to the Son of man exalted on his throne of glory and of judgment by the Ancient of days, may demonstrate, that it was written *after the book of Daniel*; but not, surely, that it was the production of Enoch *before the flood*" (Laurence, xviii).

The rest of the nineteenth century witnessed an unprecedented preoccupation with the OTP. Vast advances were made from 1850 to 1900, especially in terms of the production of texts, LEXICONS, CONCORDANCES, and grammars. In the middle of the nineteenth century J. Migne, who was greatly indebted to Laurence, published the first modern collection of the OTP, *Dictionnaire des apocryphes, ou collection de tous les livres apocryphes relatifs a l'ancien et au nouveau testament* (Paris, 1856–58). Since the work reflected the Roman Catholic view of the canon, which incorporates as deuterocanonical the Protestant Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha were labeled "apocryphes."

With editions, translations, and at least one collection of the OTP, scholars could now—virtually for the first time—focus on this amorphous corpus and attempt to interpret the documents in it. Gradually recognition of the vast differences between the modern European and ancient Near Eastern cultures began to surface, undoubtedly inspired by the knowledge of the East that resulted from French and British conquests of Egypt (see EGYPTOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) and Palestine. The interpreters of the biblical and apocryphal books, however, continued to attribute European norms to the ancient authors. As JESUS was habitually portrayed as a teacher uninfluenced by the eschatological and apocalyptic movements in early Judaism, so also the authors of the Pseudepigrapha were assumed to think logically and systematically like Europeans influenced by the Enlightenment.

When the OTP were interpreted they were considered inferior to the canonical works, important only because of the knowledge they provided of the intertestamental period and for an understanding of the sacred canon. This limited appreciation of the OTP was due to the fact that Christian scholars were interested in Christian Scriptures. An ignorance of Christian origins, therefore, impeded fruitful interpretation. Scholars did not take seriously the insights that Jesus was a Jew, that his earliest followers were Jews, and that for decades Christianity was only one of many groups within pre-70 CE Palestinian Judaism, an understanding that was widely shared only after 1970. Even more serious, there was a tendency to deny that Jesus was a Jew. Christianity was

considered distinct from and far superior to Judaism; thus it is no wonder that such beautiful Jewish Pseudepigrapha as *Joseph and Aseneth* and the *Prayer of Manasseh* were singled out and elevated as Christian and that the profound wisdom of early Judaism was minimized. Unfortunately, but understandably in such a *Zeitgeist,* E. SCHÜRER in his voluminous *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (ET, 5 vols., 1890–91) cast aspersions on early Jewish prayer and piety. Interpretation of the OTP was often warped by such polemics.

b. Early twentieth century. The twentieth century began on a very promising note with the first German collection of the OTP, published under the editorshop of E. KAUTZSCH in 1900. This valuable work was followed in 1913 by the first English collection, under the editorship of R. CHARLES. Now it was possible, or much easier, to read the great Jewish apocalypses like 4 Ezra, *1 Enoch, 2* ENOCH, and related apocalyptic writings like the TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS. The presence of the OTP in individual translations, editions, or collections produced an awareness of—if not an appreciation of—Jewish apocalypticism. It is understandable that during this period numerous NT scholars, most notably A. SCHWEITZER, stressed the importance of apocalypticism and eschatology in the life of Jesus and of his earliest followers.

The best interpreters of the documents in the OTP saw that they witnessed to a complex yet not chaotic or disoriented group of theologies. Charles tended to see two main types of early Jewish theology: apocalyptic Judaism and legalistic Judaism. One of his significant contributions is the insight that "to all Jewish apocalyptic writers the Law was of eternal validity, but they also clung fast to the validity of the prophetic teaching as the source of new truth and the right of apocalyptic as its successor in this respect" (1913, 2:vii).

c. Post WWI. After 1913 the feverish study of the OTP came to a temporary halt. World War I wracked Western culture, which since the time of the Reformation had supported biblical studies, draining it of energy and resources. Crises degenerated into chaos as world depression and the rise of Communism rocked the West, shattering the dream of achieving peace on earth through progress in industry and technology.

Biblical interpretation, too, was deeply affected by the resulting disorientation and disillusionment. One result was the demise of the study of the OTP. Another was a denigration of the importance of history in biblical interpretation and the correlative stress on existentialism. Jewish documents were no longer considered important. Antisemitism seeped into biblical interpretation, and an aversion to anything Jewish gripped many sectors in Europe.

The most influential and perhaps greatest NT scholar of the period, R. BULTMANN, stressed the need to remove Jewish myth (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) from the NT and to interpret the message of the gospel in existential terms since the gospel was primarily a call to decision in the present. Bultmann was indeed preoccupied with history, but his interests were theological, not historical. Examples of his interpretation of the OTP and his theological reconstruction of Jewish history may be found in the following excerpts from his *Primitive Christianity in Its Contemporary Setting* (1949; ET 1956): "Israel (apart from Hellenistic Judaism) cut herself off from the outside world and lived in extraordinary isolation" (60). In early Judaism God "was a superior cosmic power, spatially distant and ontologically distinct from all worldly phenomena. The apocalypses provide fantastic pictures of his cosmic rule, with his hosts of angels and blinding glory of heaven" (61). The scribes' "method of exegesis was primitive, and, despite certain variations, stereotype" (64). For Bultmann, pre-70 Palestinian Judaism was intolerably burdened by a rigid legalism, yet he was far more sensitive to early Judaism than was Schürer, who influenced him. Contrary to the popular sentiment in Germany, Bultmann placed Jesus squarely within Palestinian Judaism as a Jew. However, even though Bultmann was far more aware than his colleagues of the need for historical research in the study of earliest Christianity, he nevertheless devoted years to the Greek NT but little time to the Semitic OTP.

d. Post WWII. After WWII interest in history and the OTP once again rose in biblical circles, partly due to the discovery of the Qumran manuscripts (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). Among these scrolls were found fragments of several documents of the OTP, notably early versions of at least two of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,* fragments from more than a dozen manuscripts of JUBILEES, and numerous manuscripts of the *Book of Enoch.* At least these documents from the OTP clearly predate the destruction of the Qumran monastery in 68 CE.

New sensitivities to the traditions and complexities of the NT Gospels, the refinement of NT FORM CRITICISM, and the development of REDACTION CRITICISM cumulatively led to a "new quest of the historical Jesus." The call for research in this area was heard in France and Israel (P. Benoit), in Norway (N. Dahl), and especially in Germany among Bultmann's students (esp. E. Käsemann). A renewed interest in history and in ancient texts was in the air.

The study and interpretation of the OTP lagged behind as attention initially focused on the documents unique to and supposedly produced by the Qumran community. However, the interpretation of these scrolls eventually revolutionized the understanding of pre-70 Palestinian Judaism and paved the way for an unprecedented devotion to the study of the OTP.

e. 1970 to present. Beginning around 1970 the OTP was restored to a place of honor in biblical research. Groups were organized in the United States, Germany,

Holland, and elsewhere for an intensive examination of these writings; and in the 1980s new collections appeared in English, German, French, Dutch, Danish, Spanish, Italian, modern Greek, and Japanese.

For the first time in over 1,500 years, the OTP is now recognized as a major witness to the origins of modern Judaism and Christianity. No longer are these documents interpreted only in terms of a closed Jewish or Christian canon. Pre-70 Palestinian Judaism is no longer denigrated as "Late Judaism" or "Intertestamental Judaism"; it is correctly labeled "Early Judaism." Moreover, it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between Jewish and Christian thought; and discussions turn on what makes an ethical tract like the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* Jewish or Christian. *First Enoch* 37–71, which J. Milik and some scholars interpreted to be Christian, perhaps from the third century CE, is now acknowledged to be clearly Jewish and probably earlier than 70 CE. Other documents are being similarly reinterpreted and redated.

Hence early Judaism is interpreted differently. It is no longer seen as orthodox, closed, and monolithic but is recognized to be diverse and creatively alive, open to the scientific, linguistic, and philosophical advances of other cultures. It is not seen as simply divided into four clearly defined sects but is characterized by more than a dozen groups and by many more subgroups, one of them the Palestinian Jesus movement. The documents in the OTP are no longer interpreted as if they were insignificant compositions by insignificant groups on the fringes of a dominant normative Judaism.

Formerly the origins of Christianity were often seen to be tied to the pagan mystery religions and perhaps in some ways to some forms of Judaism. Now the tide has turned. Both rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity are seen to have developed out of the same religion—actually religions—namely, early Judaism. It is now recognized that while rabbinic Judaism tended to reject the apocalyptic elements in its forerunner (pre-70 Palestinian Judaism), it nevertheless preserved some elements from earlier Jewish apocalypticism, which profoundly affected the origins of earliest Christianity. The renewed appreciation and interpretation of the OTP has been the main catalyst for this paradigm shift.

Obviously the interpretation of the OTP is just beginning. No systematic presentation of the materials is possible at present. The documents are diverse, often composite, even self-contradictory; however, their interpretation opens our eyes to the vast range of meanings of biblical interpretation and ushers us into the brilliant, informed, and creative reflections of early Jews and Christians.

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PSEUDO-PHILO

The *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of Pseudo-Philo is a retelling of the biblical narrative from Adam to Saul's death, focusing particularly on Israel's leaders. It is extant only in Latin; but its original language was Hebrew, which was translated into Greek and then into Latin (D. Harrington [1970]). The text survives in eighteen full and three fragmentary copies dating from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. Harrington supplies a critical text and apparatus (1976), and this text has been translated into English (Harrington [1985]) and French (J. Cazeaux [1976]). Earlier translations were by M. James (Eng., 1971) and C. Dietzfelbinger (Ger., 1975). H. Jacobson (1996) presents a translation based on his reconstruction of the Hebrew original.

Scholars disagree over whether the extant text is complete. Since the narrative breaks off abruptly in the middle of a dialogue between Saul and the son of the Amalekite king in chapter 65, some scholars think that the original ending, perhaps including David's accession to the throne, has been lost; others disagree. There are other places where text may be missing as well.

There is general consensus that Pseudo-Philo was written in the first or early second century CE, with debate centering on whether it was written before or after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. In 1996 Jacobson argued that it was written after the destruction, while Harrington has consistently maintained that it was written before. It is most likely that Pseudo-Philo was written in Palestine, given its use of a Palestinian text-type (Harrington [1971]), the similarities of some of its ideas to those of *2* BARUCH and 4 Ezra (both originating in Palestine at a time just after the destruction), and its knowledge of Palestinian geography.

The term *Pseudo-Philo* is due to the fact that the text was transmitted in a Latin translation of the works of

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA. Philo is not the author, however, since this document's approach to the Bible is very unlike his allegorical interpretation, it conflicts with him on specific points, and it seems to have been written in Palestine in Hebrew. The specific identity of the author is unknown, but it is clear that he was learned in biblical and extra-biblical traditions. There have been many attempts to assign Pseudo-Philo to a particular group within first-century Judaism, but such studies have not won acceptance. Thus Pseudo-Philo's importance is as a witness to the thought and methods of biblical interpretation of mainstream Palestinian Judaism, perhaps as found in Palestinian synagogues of the first century.

Pseudo-Philo's genre is a rewriting of the biblical story (see G. Vermes [1961]) similar to that of JOSEPHUS's *Antiquities* (see also *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon*). It was perhaps because of this similarity that the work was called *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum,* a title that is not original. Pseudo-Philo does not pursue later midrashic methodology (see MIDRASH) of providing verse-by-verse commentary on the biblical text; rather, it freely adapts the biblical story to its own purposes. In the process of retelling it liberally adds, subtracts, condenses, and rewrites, sometimes using existing traditions and at other times apparently exercising some creativity. The degree to which details of the retelling depend on the Bible is debated, with Jacobson and R. Bauckham (1983) seeing a maximum of such use. Pseudo-Philo is important as a source of extra-biblical Jewish traditions, some unique to this work, and as an example of how the Bible was interpreted by Palestinian Jews of the first century.

Modern interest in Pseudo-Philo was sparked in 1898 with the publication of L. Cohn's article. Important commentaries include L. Feldman's prolegomenon to James's 1917 work (1971), C. Perrot and P.-M. Bogaert (1976), and Jacobson. Literary and theological issues are treated by F. Murphy (1993) and E. Reinmuth (1994), who provides an extensive comparison with Luke–Acts.

Pseudo-Philo's main themes and concerns are assurance that God is faithful to Israel despite its sins and despite Israel's sufferings; moral causality, where good is consistently rewarded and evil punished; condemnation of idolatry and of mixed marriages; repentance; leadership in Israel (see G. Nickelsburg [1980]); and eschatology, particularly as it bears on moral causality. There is no messianic interest.

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F. J. MURPHY

PSYCHOANALYTIC INTERPRETATION

S. FREUD once acknowledged that most of his discoveries about the unconscious mind had been anticipated by the poets of the past. Thus it should not be surprising that PSYCHOLOGY has been used in an effort to explain the origins, character, and effects of literature.

What makes a reading of a literary work "psychoanalytic"? To call a reading "psychoanalytic" or "Freudian" immediately introduces ambiguity because such an expression can refer to the use either of Freudian themes or of Freudian methods—that is, an interpretation of a literary work can be called "Freudian" or "psychoanalytic" with respect either to the substance of the text (what it reads) or to the interpretive procedures and techniques a reader uses (how it reads).

Generally speaking, there are three points at which psychoanalysis can enter the study of a literary work: examining the mind of the author, examining the minds of the author's characters, or examining the minds of the readers. There is a long tradition of Freudian criticism that examines the text for buried motives and hidden neurotic conflicts that generated the writer's art: In writing *Hamlet,* for example, it is claimed that Shakespeare was working through the death of his son (E. Jones [1949]), or that in writing *The Gambler* Dostoevski was drawing on the prohibitions placed upon masturbation in his childhood (S. Freud [1928b]). Because the hazards of examing an author's mind are inversely proportional to the amount of material available on the writer's life and private thoughts, it is never completely safe to guess at the psychoanalytic signifi-

cance of a work of art, even that of a candid living author. For some major writers (like Chaucer, Shakespeare, and the biblical writers) we have only the most minimal sense of what their private lives may have been—often, none at all. Thus this form of psychoanalytic LITERARY criticism is generally viewed as speculative.

Most of Freud's own ventures into literature involved the analyses of literary characters. His initial remarks on the Oedipus complex were literary, involving both Hamlet and Oedipus. Hamlet, according to Freud, is "the hysteric" who delays action because he is paralyzed by guilt over Claudius's enactment of his own unconscious desires (1916–17, 335). A stream of essays by other analysts followed, mostly on other figures in fiction. They wrote what might be described as case studies of literature, works dealing with characters they categorized as neurotic. Most of these analysts emphasized Freudian themes like the Oedipus complex, anality, schizoid tendencies, latent or expressed homosexuality, guilt, etc. and the roles they played in literary characterizations.

Psychoanalytic fictional character analysis has not fallen into as deep a disrepute as concentration on the writer, in great part because fictional characters are viewed as representatives of life and as such can be understood only if we assume that they are "telling a truth." This assumption allows readers to find unconscious motivations, albeit in literary characters. For example, Abraham's actions and language reveal a great deal about him despite the fact that all we will ever know is contained in the 1,534 verses of Genesis.

On the other hand, literary characters are both more and less than human. This presents a problem. While one aspect of narrative characterization is to provide a mimetic function (to represent human action and motivation), another aspect is primarily textual (to reveal information to a reader or to conceal it). This situation has no precise parallel in life (although it can be argued that people often resemble literary characters in the masks they present to the world). As a result, examining a narrative character is not risk free either. For instance, contradictions in Abraham's character may result from the psychic complexities the biblical writer imagined or from the fact that Abraham is an agent in a literary narrative that has a highly developed system of conventions—i.e., his traits may be more a function of the requirements of the story line than of his personality.

Since authors may not provide much material for the theorists and since characters are not people, many scholars have shifted their focus from the interpretation of meanings embedded within a text to the processes of writing and reading. Rather than attempting to determine objective meanings hidden within a text (meanings a reader needs to extricate), these scholars concentrate on the subjective experience of the reader (interactions between reader/text/author) and the values and premises with which a reader approaches interpretation of a text (see READER-RESPONSE CRITICISM). As within psychoanalysis, their foci are problems of indeterminacy, uncertainty, perspective, HERMENEUTICS, and subjective (and communal) assumptions and agreements.

Until the twentieth century, reading the Bible was thought to be a rather straightforward procedure. The goal was to respond "properly" by trying to understand the text and grasp the meaning. This changed once literary theory in general and psychoanalytic literary theory in particular gained acceptance within biblical studies.

Of course, psychoanalytic literary theory is no more a conceptually unified critical position among biblical scholars than among other literary theorists. The term is associated with those who examine the writer (D. Halperin [1993]), the biblical characters (D. Clines [1990]; Y. Feldman [1994]; I. Rashkow [1993]; D. Zeligs [1988]), or the reader (Clines et al.). Further, the approaches are neither monolithic nor mutually exclusive. But biblical exegetes who use psychoanalytic literary theory seem to agree that meaning does not inhere completely and exclusively in the text and that the "effects" of reading Scripture, psychological and otherwise, are essential to its meaning. Ultimately, this type of literary criticism yields a way of looking at biblical narratives and readers that reorganizes both their interrelationships and the distinctions between them. As a result, recognizing the relationship of a reader to a text leads to a more profound awareness that no one biblical interpretation is intrinsically "true"—that is, the meaning of biblical narratives does not wait to be uncovered but evolves, actualized by readers (and interpreters).

The primary objection to psychoanalytic literary theory by biblical scholars and others seems to be among feminists (see FEMINIST INTERPRETATION), who critique the Freudian idea of penis envy. (For a number of different perspectives on the current state of the debate between feminists and various kinds of psychoanalysis see E. Wright [1992].) M. Torok (1964), for example, argues that a common phallic phase does not characterize the infantile development of both sexes; therefore, "penis envy" is not based on biological fact but is a misconception. Similarly, many feminist theorists read J. Lacan (who shifted from Freud's biological penis to the phallus as signifier) as more productive for feminist thinking. In addition, a number of French feminists have reevaluated the experience of the female body. In general, a major question for dissenting scholars is how to read various texts of psychoanalyses—simply "take the best and leave the rest" or "argue back" (J. Still and M. Worton [1993]).

Clines has observed that "what has happened . . . in the last three decades can be represented . . . as a shift in focus that has moved from author to text to reader" (1990, 9-10); and E. McKnight notes that readers "use

the Bible today . . . in terms of their values, attitudes, and responses" (1988, 14-15). Thus, whether wittingly or otherwise, more biblical scholars seem to be using some form of psychoanalytic literary theory in their reading, dissenters notwithstanding.

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I. N. RASHKOW

PSYCHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES

The history of the application of psychological inquiry and insight to the Bible and to biblical studies unfolds in four phases: (1) the early church to 1700: the study of the psyche as a branch of biblical anthropology and Christian apologetics; (2) 1700 to 1915: biblical psychology as a critical theological discipline; (3) 1900 to 1970: the depth psychologist and the Bible; and (4) 1970 to the present: psychological criticism as a tool of biblical scholarship.

1. The Early Church to 1700: The Study of the Psyche as a Branch of Biblical Anthropology and Christian Apologetics. Franz DELITZSCH opened the second edition of his classic study *A System of Biblical Psychology* (1861; ET 1867) with the statement "Biblical Psychology is no science of yesterday. It is one of the oldest sciences of the church." He was correct in observing that the nature and destiny of the human *psyche* (soul) as delineated in scriptural tradition constitute a continuing area of theological inquiry within Christian theology from the early church to the nineteenth century, even though it was not labeled as *psichologia* until 1530 (P. Melanchthon), and even though it was informed as much, if not more, by the Greek philosophical schools than by the Bible up to the time of the Reformation.

Before the Reformation the study of the *psyche* was marked by a twofold interest: (a) the need to elaborate a doctrine of the origin, life, purpose, and destiny of the self as a construct of soul (*psyché*), spirit (*pneuma*), and body (*sōma*) expressive of the Christian revelation set forth in Scripture and elaborated in tradition and (b) the need to relate this doctrine to the prevailing Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic "psychologies." It is no accident that the third-century tractate of TERTULLIAN, the sixth-century treatise of CASSIODORUS, and the sixteenth-century commentary of MELANCHTHON should all adopt the title of Aristotle's *De Anima* for their works.

AUGUSTINE in the fourth century continued this tradition with numerous "psychological" works (e.g., *De anima et eius origine* [Concerning the Soul and Its Origin], *De Quantitate Animae* [Concerning the Greatness of the Soul], and *De Duabus Animabus* [Concerning the Two Souls]) in which he defended a Platonic trichotomous view of the soul (soul, spirit, body) over the dichotomous view of the Stoics (body, soul). However, at the same time he introduced an introspective dimension that anticipated modern psychological analysis with an emphasis on the self as the starting point of all knowledge and with a searching analysis of the inner person, human motives, and the threefold faculties of the soul: memory, understanding, and will.

By the late medieval period a doctrine of soul (*anima, psyche*) had come to be regarded as essential to any *summa* (complete doctrine), as evidenced in the work of John Scottus ERIUGENA, HUGH OF ST. VICTOR, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Duns Scotus, BONAVENTURE, and the "angelic doctor" THOMAS AQUINAS. Aquinas patterned his analysis of the soul on a model developed by the Muslim scholar Avicenna, who in turn was informed by

the rediscovery of Aristotle's *De Anima.* The soul for Aquinas is tripartite, consisting of a vegetative soul (governing bodily growth and reproduction), a sensitive soul (governing perception, appetites, emotions, and "common sense"), and a rational soul (governing reason and faith).

With the advent of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, subscription to the authority of Greek philosophy waned in favor of the AUTHORITY of Scripture, as evidenced in *Manuductio ad veram psychologiam e sacris literis* (Guide to a True Psychology from Sacred Scriptures), the 1619 treatise of C. Bartholinus, teacher of medicine and theology at the University of Copenhagen, which anticipated the biblical psychologies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

2. 1700 to 1915: Biblical Psychology as a Critical Theological Discipline. The eighteenth century marks the beginning of a new era of scriptural interpretation that expanded the general work of biblical studies to include historical-critical concerns. Contemporary with the new "scientific" approach to the Bible was the burgeoning acceptance of psychology as a bona fide field of study. The combination of these two elements resulted in four major works on biblical psychology: M. Roos, *Fundamenta psychologiae ex sacra Scriptura sic collecta* (1769); J. BECK, *Outlines of Biblical Psychology* (1843; ET 1877); J. Haussmann, *Die biblische Lehre vom Menschen als Grundlage wahrer Menschenkenntnis* (1848), which subsumed psychology under the broader category of biblical anthropology; and the landmark work of Franz Delitzsch, *A System of Biblical Psychology* (1861^2; ET 1869), a work that warrants special elaboration.

The table of contents in Delitzsch's work provides a paradigm of topics typical of biblical or Christian psychologies of the period: (a) the question of the preexistence of the soul; (b) creation and the trichotomous constitution of persons as a unity of spirit, soul, and body; (c) the fall and the emergence of sin, shame, and conscience; (d) the "natural condition" of the "I" (*ego*) as characterized by freedom, reason, spirit, the "seven powers of the soul," sleeping, waking, dreaming, health, and sickness; (e) the regeneration of the self and the phenomena of conscious and unconscious processes of grace, new life in the spirit, ecstacy, and *theopneustia;* (f) death; and (g) resurrection, as opposed to the extrabiblical doctrine of metempsychosis.

Four features of Delitzsch's approach merit special attention for their relevance to issues and terms that characterize subsequent work on psychology and biblical studies. (1) He insisted on "biblical psychology" as an "independent science" discrete from (though closely related to) biblical theology and dogmatics. (2) He differentiated "general psychology" from "biblical psychology," the former proceeding analytically from "psychical phenomena" to their causes, and the latter proceeding synthetically from the "psychology" in the biblical text to its application to the human condition. (3) He risked the use of "newly-coined words and daring ideas" that surprisingly proved to be harbingers of twentieth-century issues and terminology, e.g., his references to dreams, archetypes (*Urbild*), the "I" (*ego*), and to conscious and unconscious (*bewusste, unbewusste*) dimensions of experience. (4) With an eye to his profession as theologian, scholar, and clergy, he defended the inclusion of psychology within the ranks of critical biblical research as a God-given capacity "granted to the human soul . . . of raising itself above itself by self-investigation."

One of the last of the biblical psychologies prior to the emergence of depth psychology is M. Fletcher's *The Psychology of the NT* (1912). Fletcher cited the need to update the earlier work of Beck and Delitzsch, noting that "psychology [as well as historical criticism] is a science 'still in the making.' " Turning to the research of W. James (1902), J. Leuba (1912), and E. Starbuck (1914^4), he praised the "new modern scientific psychology" for having "furnished the biblical student with a new instrument," first, to "analyze . . . the scriptural terms which describe the mental and moral nature of man"; second, to identify "the psychological conceptions of the NT writers"; and third, to enumerate, describe, classify, and if possible explain "all conscious states and processes" and to "seek to determine the conditions . . . under which they arise."

3. 1900 to 1970: Depth Psychological Approaches to the Bible. The development of depth psychology in the first half of the twentieth century (S. Freud, C. Jung), with its exploration of the "unconscious," gave birth to a rich spectrum of psychological theories and methods that have been applied to biblical studies—first by psychologists, therapists, clinically trained pastors, and theologians; and second, beginning around 1970, by biblical scholars. (The countervailing appearance of behaviorism, with its empiricist aversion to acknowledging an "inner life," made little impact on biblical HERMENEUTICS, with the exception of works like R. Bufford's *The Human Reflex: Behavioral Psychology in Biblical Perspective* (1982).

a. S. Freud. Freud's last work, *Moses and Monotheism* (1938), was the only work he dedicated exclusively to a biblical topic, although he had planned it as part of a vast undertaking that would apply psychological theory to the entire Bible. His influence on biblical hermeneutics, however, stems only in part from this work, which was a PSYCHOANALYTIC study of the hidden (i.e., repressed) meanings behind the religious symbols, stories, and rituals that originated with the exodus.

Of equal, if not greater, significance for later applications to biblical studies is Freud's general theory of unconscious factors operative in human behavior and expression (e.g., obsessive-compulsive behavior, para-

noia, infantile wish-fulfillment, repression, projection, neurosis, psychosis, super-ego-oriented behavior informed by the conformity principle vs. ego-oriented behavior informed by the reality principle) and the psychological insight it might provide into biblical narratives, personalities, theological concepts, religious phenomena, stories, symbols, and rituals. Freud's hermeneutical goal was to enable humanity to achieve psychic health as exemplified for him in the figure of Michelangelo's *Moses,* which for Freud "becomes the bodily expression of the highest psychic achievement that is possible for a human being, the overpowering of one's own passions in favor of and in fulfillment of a destiny to which one has committed oneself."

From the 1920s to the present, beginning with the correspondence of Swiss theologian O. Pfister with Freud, an array of pastoral counselors, analysts, LITERARY critics, and theologians have turned to Freudian theory and method for psychological insight into biblical personalities, narratives, rituals, doctrine, and religious phenomena (F. Dolto and G. Sévérin [1979]; C. Healer [1972]; T. Reik [1960]; R. Rubenstein [1972]; D. Zeligs [1974]; cf. bibliographic essays in M. Sales [1979] and A. Vergote [1979]).

b. C. Jung. The Bible plays a comprehensive role in JUNG's life and thought. The twenty volumes of his *Collected Works* contain allusions to dozens of biblical figures and to all but thirteen of the canonical writings (see CANON OF THE BIBLE). In addition, his writings demonstrate broad familiarity with the HB and NT APOCRYPHA, second-century GNOSTIC literature, and critical biblical methods.

Although Jung nowhere sets forth a systematic psychological hermeneutic, he does demonstrate the presuppositions and approach of such a hermeneutic in "Answer to Job" (1952), his sole essay on a biblical text, in which he proposes that the biblical text is, among other things, an "utterance of the psyche." That is to say, the text is to be seen not only as part of a historical or literary process (as biblical criticism has pointed out) but also as part of a psychic process in which unconscious as well as conscious factors are at work. The function of such a text as the voice of the unconscious is to complement or correct the one-sidedness of conscious life either for the individual reader or for the entire culture. The mode in which these "truths anchored deep in the psyche" are expressed is the language of symbol and archetypal image like those found not only in Scripture but also in dreams, myths, fairy tales, MUSIC, ART, and literature from around the world.

The hermeneutical task for a psychological approach to the text involves a two stage process: (1) an objective recognition of the unconscious as well as the conscious origin, nature, and function of the language and symbolism of the text and (2) a method of bringing the "complementary" message of the text to consciousness, which for Jung involves the twofold work of "amplification" and "active imagination." Amplification is the process of identifying, exploring, and "amplifying" the meanings the text evokes in hearers, past or present. Within the context of the church or synagogue this hermeneutical process is seen at work in sermons, Bible study groups, pastoral counseling, and private Bible meditation. Active imagination is the process of "translating" the text into a new medium, much in the same way traditional religious communities have sought to "ex-press" the text in painting, sculpture, stained-glass windows, liturgy, poetry, drama, or song. The goal of a psychological hermeneutic is not to displace but to complement the work of historical-literary criticism by going beyond the literal-historical content of the text to focus on the value the text actually or potentially evokes in the conscious or unconscious life of individual readers or communities and to examine the significance of these values for human development.

From the mid-twentieth century to the present a succession of Jungian-trained analysts, theologians, and counselors (E. Drewermann [1984]; E. Edinger [1986]; E. Howes and S. Moon [1973]; M. Kelsey [1968]; F. Kunkel [1947; ET 1988]; J. Sanford [1970, 1985]; and H. Westman [1961]) have amply demonstrated the application of a Jungian hermeneutic to a variety of biblical texts.

c. Post-Freudian and post-Jungian developments. On the basis of the pioneering work of Freud and Jung, combined with subsequent analytical and clinical approaches developed by such figures as A. Boisen, V. Frankl, K. Horney, C. Rogers, K. Menninger, and H. Sullivan, a body of literature has emerged relating psychology to the Bible in a variety of ways: (i) the psychological analysis of biblical phenomena, e.g., demon possession (S. McCasland [1951]), miracles (E. Micklem [1922]), PROPHECY, audition, ecstacy, vision, INSPIRATION (G. Joyce [1910]; J. Kaplan [1908]; W. Klein [1956]; J. Povah [1925]), conscience (J. Rozell [1974]), atonement (D. Browning [1966]), and revelation (R. Frayn [1940]); (ii) psychological studies of key biblical figures, e.g., JESUS (G. Berguer [1923]; G. Hall [1917]; cf. A. Schweitzer [1913; ET 1938]), PAUL (J. Bishop [1975]; D. Cox [1959]; Healer; Pfister [1920]; Rubenstein), Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Saul, David, Solomon (Zeligs, Sanford), Satan (R. Kluger [1967]), Judas (A. Nicole [1924]), and the Holy Spirit (L. Dewar 1960]); (iii) analysis of biblical symbols (e.g., E. Goodenough [1953–68]; Diel; P. Henry [1979]); (iv) research on parapsychological phenomena reported in the Bible (L. Heron [1974]); (v) the psychology of biblical interpretation (C. Johnson [1983]); (vi) biblical approaches to pastoral counseling (e.g., D. Capps [1981]; W. Oates [1950]); (vii) psychological analyses of biblical literature (J. Bruns [1959]; Doloto and Sévérin; Drewermann;

I. Gerber [1951]; H. Harsch [1977]; J. Henderson and M. Oakes [1963]; R. Leslie [1965]; Reik; P. Riceour [1980]; Y. Spiegel [1972]; E. Wellisch [1954]; Westman; W. Wolff [1951]).

4. 1970 to the Present: Psychological Criticism as a Discipline Within Biblical Studies. In his 1968 Festschrift article in honor of E. GOODENOUGH, "The Psychological Study of the Bible," F. GRANT broke ranks with a long-standing suspicion of psychology among twentieth-century biblical scholars and issued a call for "a new kind of Biblical criticism," one that would heed Goodenough's suggestions concerning "the value and importance, even the necessity, of the psychological interpretation of the Bible." The "earlier disciplines are all necessary and important," Grant insisted, but "beyond the historical and exegetical interpretation of the Bible lies the whole new field of depth psychology and psychoanalysis."

Grant was not the first biblical scholar to consider the possibility of and need for applying the insights of psychology to biblical texts. W. BOUSSET, H. CADBURY, A. DEISSMANN, H. GUNKEL, V. TAYLOR (1959), and W. SANDAY can all be cited in varying degrees to similar effect. Bousset, for example, suggested that the source of the NT concept of preexistence is ultimately to be found not only in history-of-religions processes (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE) but also "in the unconscious, in the uncontrollable depth of the overall psyche of the human community." Taylor, in his 1959 classic, *The Person of Christ in NT Teaching,* included a seldom-noted chapter on christology and psychology in which he directed attention to Freud's and Jung's research into the nature of the unconscious. More recently the writings of S. Brown (1995), M. Buss (1980), A. Y. Collins (1984), D. Halperin (1993), D. Kille (1995), D. Miller (1995), J. Miller (1983), R. Moore (1978), W. Rollins (1983, 1985), R. Scroggs (1977, 1982), G. Theissen (1987), M. A. Tolbert (1978), M. Willett-Newheart (1995), W. Wink (1978), and W. Wuellner and R. Leslie (1984) represent attempts by biblical scholars (as opposed to psychologists or psychoanalysts) to apply psychological insight to biblical interpretation.

Theissen's *Psychological Aspects of Pauline Theology* (1987) merits special elaboration as a landmark volume in this tradition by virtue of its being the first "methodically disciplined" attempt by a biblical scholar to integrate and apply the insights of three major psychological schools (learning theory, psychodynamic theory, and cognitive psychology) to the exegesis of five sets of Pauline texts. Learning theory examines the new images in the symbolic world of early Christianity that lead to new experience and behavior; psychodynamic theory focuses on the unconscious archetypes awakened by the Christian *kerygma* (Jung) or the unconscious conflicts it helps bring to light (Freud); and cognitive psychology is concerned with the cognitive restructuring of reality occasioned by the Christ event.

Theissen identifies his agenda as "psychological exegesis" (or alternatively, "a hermeneutically oriented psychology of religion"). He sees the goal of psychological exegesis coterminous with that of historical-critical exegesis—namely, "to make texts intelligible on the basis of their context in life." The special objective of psychological exegesis is to clarify the "psychic factors and aspects" involved, focusing specifically on the "new patterns of experience and behavior that appeared with ancient Christianity" as evidenced and expressed in the NT text.

Theissen concludes with the following *apologia* for the extended application of psychology to biblical studies: "We do not yet grasp what historical forces brought forth and determined early Christianity. . . . But beside and within this external history there is an inner history of humanity. . . . This internal history is no less important than the external. . . . Anyone who thinks that this religion can be illumined historically and factually without psychological reflection is just as much in error as one who pretends that everything about this religion can be said in this fashion."

5. Summary. The contribution of psychology and psychological criticism to biblical studies lies in two areas: (a) in the research undertaken from the early church through the twentieth century in the biblical understanding of the human psyche, its origin, nature, purpose, and destiny and the religious and moral implications of such an understanding and (b) in the new research undertaken in the twentieth century in response to depth psychology and its developments, leading to the development of a psychologically informed exegetical and hermeneutic theory and method still in the making that can cast new light from a psychological perspective on the nature and relationship of the biblical text and its interpreters in the context of a broader humanity characterized by unconscious as well as conscious factors.

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W. G. ROLLINS

PUSEY, EDWARD BOUVERIE (1800–1882)

Born Aug. 22, 1800, at Pusey, Berkshire, P. was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, obtaining a degree in classics in 1822. In 1823 he gained a fellowship at Oriel College, Oxford, where J. Keble and J. H. NEWMAN were also fellows. From 1825 to 1827 he studied theology and oriental languages (Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac) in Germany, familiarizing himself with German scholarship and becoming a competent Semitist. On returning to England he wrote a book analyzing and condemning the rationalistic character of German theology and advocating a high view of biblical INSPIRATION (1828–30).

In 1828 he was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford and canon of Christ Church, a position he held until his death in 1882. His two principal books on the HB, both strongly anti-critical in their approach, were on Daniel (1864) and the Minor Prophets (1860–67). In the former he argued at great length against the critical view that the book of Daniel is a second-century BCE pseudepigraph (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA) and accused the proponents of this view of unbelief. The latter, although less blatantly apologetic, is marked by the same combination of learning and conservatism. P. also initiated and wrote an introduction to Isaiah 53.

It is as a leader of the Anglo-Catholic Tractarian (or Oxford) movement, along with Keble and Newman, that P. is most famous. Associated with the movement from 1833, he wrote tracts on its behalf, the most noteworthy being those on baptism and the Eucharist. P.'s private life was characterized by austere asceticism and intense personal religion. He died on Sept. 16, 1882; however, his memory lives on in Pusey House, a theological and religious center founded at Oxford two years after his death.

Works: *An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character Lately Predominant in the Theology of Germany* (2 parts, 1828–30); *Minor Prophets with a Commentary, Explanatory and Practical, and Introduction to the Several Books* (1860–67); *Daniel the Prophet: Nine Lectures Delivered in the Divinity School* (1864); *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters* (2 vols., ed. S. Driver and A. Neubauer, 1877).

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J. DAY

PUUKKO, ANTTI FILEMON (1875–1954)

A Finnish HB scholar, P. studied Semitic languages under K. Tallqvist in Helsinki but was most influenced by R. KITTEL, with whom he studied in Leipzig in 1906–9, 1912, 1921, and 1925. He graduated from Helsinki in 1909 with a doctorate in philosophy and theology with his dissertation *Das Deuteronomium* (1910). At the University of Helsinki he was a *Dozent* for Hebrew language and literature (1910–18), assistant professor of biblical languages (1918–27), and professor of OT from 1927 to his retirement in 1945. He served as editor in chief of the Finnish theological journal (*TAik*) from 1934 to 1954 and president of the Finnish Academy of Sciences (1947–48).

P.'s name has continued to live in international scholarship because of *Das Deuteronomium.* Starting with the critical study of Josiah's reform in 2 Kgs 22:3–23:25, he used LITERARY criticism in an attempt to reconstruct Josiah's lawbook and from there an *Ur*-Deuteronomy. According to P., this lawbook was a purely cultic code that had come into existence during the seventh century in priestly circles and still lacked, among other things, all of the humanitarian laws. Although P.'s starting point was too narrow to support his results, his acute literary-critical observations are still valid and make the work one of the classics of deuteronomic research. In a 1913 essay P. examined Jeremiah's relationship to Deuteronomy and reached the conclusion that Jeremiah had at first bided his time because of his enmity toward the cult but later had taken a critical stand against Deuteronomy.

P., who began as a purely literary critic, later turned to the ancient Near Eastern legal codes, stressing the necessity for a comparative legal- and cultural-historical approach. In light of the ancient Near Eastern parallels to HB law he was prepared to ascribe to *Ur*-Deuteronomy a somewhat wider scope than he had proposed in his dissertation. He contributed decisively to the breakthrough of historical-critical biblical studies in his homeland through his broad writing activities in the Finnish language and also played an influential role in the modern translation of the Finnish Bible, OT (1933) and NT (1938).

Works: *Das Deuteronomium: Eine literarkritische Untersuchung* (BWANT 5, 1910); "Jeremias Stellung zum Deuteronomium," (BWANT 13, 1913) 126-53; "Die altassyrischen und hethitischen Gesetze und das Alte Testament," *StudOr* 1 (1925) 125-66; "Paulus und das Judentum," *StudOr* 2 (1928) 1-87; *Vanhan Testamentin johdanto-oppi* (= Introduction to the OT, 1945); *Raamatun selitysteos* (= Commentary to the Bible) 1-4 (1952–56).

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T. K. VEIJOLA

Q

Q (The Sayings Gospel)

1. Nature and Extent. Q (from the German *Quelle,* "source") is a hypothetical source entailed in the two document hypothesis, which holds that Mark is prior to Matthew and Luke and that Matthew and Luke independently used Mark. In order to account for the approximately 4,500 words of non-Markan (double tradition) material that Matthew shares with Luke, it is necessary to posit a second common source consisting mainly of sayings of JESUS. The fact that there is high verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke in much of the double tradition, coupled with the fact that more than one-third of the sayings occur in the same relative order in Matthew and Luke (even though they are fused with different Markan contexts), makes the conclusion virtually inescapable that Q was a written document rather than simply a body of oral tradition (J. Kloppenborg [1987] 72-80). Matthew and Luke independently combined Mark with Q and hence do not agree on the specific ways Q was attached to Markan contexts; but since they used a written document, both were influenced by Q's order of sayings and hence display significant agreements in the relative ordering of sayings.

The idea of a collection of sayings can be traced back as far as H. MARSH (1801), who argued that the Synoptics derived from two sources: א, a Semitic proto-gospel and a sayings collection, and ב, containing both the material common to Matthew and Luke and many of the parables and sayings used only by Matthew or by Luke. F. SCHLEIERMACHER (1832) later posited an Aramaic sayings collection used by Matthew to compose his five discourses (Matthew 5–7; 10; 13:1-52; 18; 23–25) and argued that this collection was the Hebrew *logia* (oracles) to which PAPIAS referred (see Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16). The origins of the modern two document hypothesis can be found in the work of K. LACHMANN (1835), who argued that since it is easier to suggest reasons for Matthew altering Mark's order of pericopae than vice versa, Mark probably stood closer to a now-lost primitive gospel narrative than did Matthew or Luke. In 1838 C. WEISSE took the step of identifying canonical Mark (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) with Lachmann's primitive gospel narrative, since Mark was the common denominator between Matthew and Luke and appeared to be more primitive than the other two Gospels. In order to account for the shared non-Markan material, Weisse invoked Papias's *logia* as a common source that Matthew and Luke independently consulted. With this, the two document hypothesis was born.

During the nineteenth century several variations of this hypothesis were proposed, each implying a different profile for the sayings source. Some scholars hypothesized a primitive version of Mark (*Ur-Markus*) that included some of the double tradition (e.g., Luke 3:7-9, 16-17; 4:1-13; 6:20-49; 7:1-10) and, therefore, a sayings source that was reduced in size (Weisse [1856]; H. Holtzmann [1863]); others posited a much expanded sayings source that contained Markan material (H. Wendt [1886]; A. Resch [1898]). The appeal of such speculative hypotheses declined significantly following P. Wernle's analysis of the SYNOPTIC PROBLEM (1899), which argued that an *Ur-Markus* was quite unnecessary to account for the form of Matthew and Luke. This insight meant that the sayings source, by that time known simply as "Q" (J. Weiss [1890]), became more or less coextensive with the double tradition and with the few instances where Matthew and Luke have a longer version of a story that is also preserved in Mark (e.g., the preaching of John the Baptist, the temptation story, the Beelzebul accusation, and the parables of the mustard seed and leaven).

In the early part of the twentieth century several reconstructions of Q in Greek were published (A. von Harnack [1907]; B. Weiss [1907]; W. Haupt [1913]), of which the most important and least idiosyncratic was von HARNACK's. Important discussions of the extent, order, style, and characteristics of Q followed (G. Castor [1918]; C. Patton [1915]; B. Streeter [1911, 1924]); and in 1937 T. MANSON produced what would be the first commentary on Q. However, the rise of FORM CRITICISM and its attention to oral tradition put Q as a document into eclipse, especially in Germany. The two document hypothesis continued to be affirmed, but little attention was paid to Q's LITERARY and editorial features; there were even occasional, if ultimately unconvincing, suggestions that Q might have been oral (M. Dibelius [1935] 235; J. Jeremias [1930]).

With the success of REDACTION CRITICISM following WWII, efforts were rekindled to describe Q's literary organization and theology and to situate it on the landscape of primitive Christianity (D. Lührmann [1969]; P. Hoffmann [1972]; S. Schulz [1972]; A. Polag [1977]). Since the 1980s, a large number of studies have ap-

peared examining the theology, genre, literary history, and social setting of the document (see D. Scholer [1989], with yearly supplements). Renewed interest in Q highlighted the need for a critical text to replace the sometimes ad hoc and idiosyncratic reconstructions previously used. The International Q Project (IQP), begun in 1989, is producing a critical edition of Q (J. Robinson et al. [1999]) along with a multivolume database of reconstructions of Q from 1838 to the present (Robinson et al. [1996–]).

The IQP text of Q contains 251 verses, some (unbracketed) assigned to Q with a high probability and others (bracketed) with less probability. Texts in braces {24-26} probably do not belong to Q. The resultant text, in Lukan versification, includes: 3:2*b*-3, 7-9, 16*b*-17, [21-22]; 4:1-13, 16; 6:20*b*-23, {24-26}, 27-28, 35*c*, 29, [Q/Matt 5:41], 30, 31, 32-33/34, {35*ab*}, 36, 37, {38*ab*}, 38*c*, 39-45, 46-49; 7:1*b*, 3, {4-6*a*}, 6*b*-10, 18-19, {20-21}, 22-23, 24-28, {29-30}, 31-35; 9:{1-2}, 57-60; 10:2-3, 4-6, [7*a*], 7*b*-[8], 9-11, 12-15, {Matt 11:23*b*-24}, 16, 21-22, {Matt 11:28-30}, 23-24, {25-28}; 11:2-4, {5-8}, 9-13, 14-15, 17-20, [21-22], 23, 24-26, [27-28], 16, 29-32, 33-35, [36], 39*a*, 42, 39*b*-41, 43-44, 46, 52, 47-51; 12:2-12, {Matt 10:23}, {12:13-14, 16-21}, 22-31, {32} 33-34, {35-38}, 39-40, 42*b*-46, [49], {50}, 51-53, [54-56], 58-59; 13:18-19, 20-21, 24, 25, 26-27, 28-29, [30], 34-35; 14:{1-4}, [5], {6}; 14:11/18:14; 14:[16-24], 26-27; 17:33; 14:34-35; 15:4-7, 8-10; 16:13, 16, 17, 18; 17:1*b*-2, 3*b*-4, 6*b*, {20-21}, 23-24, 37*b*, 26-27, {28-29}, 30, {31-32}, 34-35; 19:12-13, 15*b*-26; 22:28-30.

2. History of the Interpretation of Q. Although a sayings source approximating modern reconstructions of Q was posited as early as the 1830s, it had little impact on NT studies during the nineteenth century, being used instead, rather, as an algebraic variable for solving the problem of Mark's relation to Matthew and Luke. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century did Q gain importance, first in relation to the quest of the historical Jesus and later for reconstructions of the history and theology of the Jesus movement. After W. WREDE demolished confidence in the narrative framework and secrecy motif of Mark as reliable indexes of historical tradition, von Harnack turned to Q, declaring that it was uncontaminated by editorial bias and afforded access to the historical Jesus (1908, 171). The effort to base reconstructions of the historical Jesus on Q was short-lived, however. J. WELLHAUSEN (1905) attacked von Harnack's analysis, arguing that Q also displayed secondary editorial features and might be posterior to Mark.

With the rise of form criticism, attention quickly shifted from Jesus to the character of the early Jesus tradition, with R. BULTMANN appealing to Q as an instance of the intersection of two distinct streams of primitive Christian tradition, one heavily apocalyptic (see APOCALYPTICISM) and the other characterized by "thoroughly secular proverbial wisdom" (1913, 40). In the period between the world wars, Q was treated within the conceptual framework of form criticism. From a literary point of view, Q was paraenetic (Dibelius [1971^3] 233-65) or catechetical (Streeter [1924] 187-91; Manson 13-17); theologically it served as a supplement to the Easter *kerygma*. With the rise of redaction criticism, both the literary and the theological assessments of Q were revised. H. Tödt (1959) noted the distinctive lack of paraenetic and catechetical materials in Q and argued that Q's representation of Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom amounted to a *kerygma* parallel to, but independent of, the Easter *kerygma*. J. Robinson (1964) advanced the thesis that Q represented an independent stream of theology focusing on the sapiential character of Q's christology. As an instance of the genre *logoi sophōn* (words of the sages), Q tended to associate the speaker of the wise sayings (Jesus) with heavenly Sophia (Wisdom) and ultimately displayed a GNOSTIC proclivity that was neutralized only when Q was recast within the framework of Mark's Gospel. H. Koester (1965, 1971) likewise saw a Gnostic tendency in Q but located a decisive shift away from Gnosticism within the redaction history of Q itself: Q's original depiction of Jesus as a wisdom teacher was modified by the insertion of apocalyptic Son of man sayings.

The studies of Robinson and Koester catalyzed a discussion of Q's genre. While a few scholars took the view that Q is *sui generis* (F. Neirynck [1976]), the dominant stream of interpretation has taken seriously Q's significant component of wisdom sayings and their topical organization, the lack of a strong narrative framework, and the lack of a passion and resurrection narrative. Developing more casual suggestions by Streeter (1924), Robinson (1964) located Q on a trajectory of sapiential genres extending from Near Eastern wisdom collections to Gnostic dialogue collections (see also M. Küchler [1979]). Kloppenborg (1987) combined a compositional and a generic analysis, suggesting that the earliest compositional stratum consisted of (in Lukan versification) 6:20*b*-49; 9:57-60, 61-62; 10:2-11, 16 (23-24?); 11:2-4, 9-13; 12:2-7, 11-12, (13-14, 15-20?), 22-31, 33-34; 13:18-19, 20-21, 24; 14:26-27; 17:33; 14:34-35. This stratum displayed strong affinities with the didactic genre of wisdom instruction, a common genre of Near Eastern wisdom (see also R. Piper [1989]). It was later augmented by prophetic and other materials, most framed as *chriae* and eventually prefaced by the temptation story. Thus the shift toward a loose biographical presentation of Jesus' sayings is already evidenced within Q's compositional history.

M. Sato took a different view, also offering a compositional analysis of Q but suggesting that Q was composed as a prophetic book (similarly, C. Tuckett [1996]). Sato included the baptism of Jesus in Q, treat-

ing it as a prophetic call story, but could find no place in this genre for most of the Q material in Luke 14–18 and so treated these as later accretions. Likewise, Sato considered Q 11:2-4, 9-13; 11:33-35; 12:2-12, 22-31, 33-34 as "unmotivated additions" to the original prophetic collection.

Other genres have been proposed. Based on an analysis of the use of verbs denoting speech, the allocation of space, topical organization, length, and general character, F. Downing (1994) has suggested that Q most closely resembles the philosophical "lives" (*bioi*), especially Cynic *bioi* like Lucian's *Demonax.*

In spite of differences in the assessment of Q's genre, there is wide agreement that the editing of Q has been strongly influenced by DEUTERONOMISTIC theology, which regarded the history of Israel as a repetitive cycle of sinfulness, prophetic calls to repentance, punishment by God, and renewed calls to repentance with threats of judgment (A. Jacobson [1992]). In this schema the prophets are depicted as repentance preachers who are inevitably rejected, persecuted, and even killed. Q opens with an oracle of coming judgment (Q 3:7-9, 16-17); it privileges repentance as a central theological category (Q 3:8; 10:13; 11:32); and it views the rejection of Jesus (and John) through the lens of the deuteronomistic theology of the sorry fate of the prophets (Q 7:33-34; 11:47-51; 13:34-35). The story of Lot, invoked at several points (Q 3:2*b*-3, 7-9; 10:12; 17:28-29, 34-35), further dramatizes Q's announcement of an imminent fiery judgment (Kloppenborg [1991]).

Q can be said to have a christology; but it lacks the terms *Messiah* (*Christos*), *Son of David*, and *King of Israel*. The temptation account uses "Son of God" twice, but the main designation of Jesus is "Son of man." This term occurs in reference to Jesus (Q 6:22; 7:34; 9:58; 11:30) and to a coming advocate or judge (Q 12:8, 10, 40; 17:24, 26, 30) but never in relation to Jesus as a suffering figure (contrast Mark). The Son of man is treated in Q 7:33-35 as a child of heavenly Sophia along with John the Baptist. The depiction of Sophia as sending (Q 11:49-51; cf. 13:34-35) and vindicating prophetic figures, including John and Jesus, has led to suggestions that Q has a Sophia christology or sophialogy (cf. Wis 7:27). Q 10:21-22 comes close to depicting Jesus ("the Son") in the same exclusive relation to God that Sophia in Second Temple wisdom literature enjoyed. In this regard, Q anticipates the most vigorous development of wisdom christology, evidenced in the Fourth Gospel.

A number of unresolved problems regarding Q's theology remain. Q's eschatology—whether it is fundamentally apocalyptic or not—is the topic of debate but turns largely on definitional issues rather than on the interpretation of individual sayings and is fueled by the agenda of historical Jesus scholarship. The lack of a passion account (and even direct references to Jesus' death) and a resurrection story raises the issue of Q's relationship to the Easter *kerygma.* Although it is obvious that Q presupposes Jesus' death, there is no evidence that his death is accorded specifically redemptive significance. Similarly, while Q assumes some form of vindication of Jesus by Sophia (Q 7:35; 13:35*b*), it does not employ the metaphor of resurrection to articulate that vindication.

Galilee is normally suggested as the provenance of Q (J. Reed [1995]). The document is variously associated with a scribal (Kloppenborg [1991]; Piper [1995]), prophetic (Tuckett; R. Horsley [1991]), or Cynic (L. Vaage [1994]; B. Mack [1993]) ethos. Q's attention to basic issues of subsistence, local violence and conflict, and debt and its negative representation of cities, judicial processes, rulers, and the priestly hierarchy suggest an origin in towns and villages of lower Galilee, probably before the first revolt but achieving its final form near the time of the revolt (Hoffmann [1995]) or even slightly after it (M. Myllykoski [1996]).

Since von Harnack, Q has been used in scholarship on Jesus and has in recent years become the focus of special attention. The stratigraphic analysis of Q proposed by Kloppenborg (1987) was employed in J. D. Crossan's book on Jesus (1991) in a larger effort to create a comprehensive stratigraphic analysis of the entire Jesus tradition. In contrast, J. Meier (1991) treats Q as an essentially unedited grab bag of sayings. Much remains to be done to clarify how the results of compositional analysis might be employed in the reconstruction of the historical Jesus. A naive understanding of literary stratigraphy has led to the misapplication of conclusions that pertain only to Q's documentary features, and to equally simplistic rejections of Q's significance for historical Jesus scholarship (see Kosch [1992]; Kloppenborg [1996]).

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QOHELET

1. Authorship and Date. Virtually all commentators until modern times ascribed the book to Solomon. A. IBN EZRA (12th cent.), however, mentioned (and rejected) an opinion that the author was an "assembly" (understanding the name *qôhelet* as *qĕhillâ*) of Solomon's disciples who included their own, often contradictory, opinions.

MAIMONIDES (middle 12th cent.) ascribed the epilogue to "those who edited the book," indicating that he considered Qohelet to be a later collection of Solomon's teachings (see Japhet and Salters). LUTHER judged the book to be non-Solomonic on grounds of literary unevenness. H. GROTIUS (1644, 1:258) determined, on the basis of the book's haphazard composition and late language, that Qohelet is not Solomonic but rather a postexilic collection of various opinions. By the middle of the nineteenth century scholars commonly accepted the book's postexilic (and thus non-Solomonic) dating.

With few exceptions commentators since the late nineteenth century place Qohelet in the Hellenistic period (4th–3rd cent.). The arguments are linguistic (the book shows late usages and numerous Aramaisms; see sec. 2) and conceptual (Qohelet shows a late stage in the development of wisdom thought; see, e.g., S. Blank [1970] xv-xxv). Some scholars also base this dating on presumed Greek influence in language and thought (see sec. 5) as well as on various putative historical references. C. Whitley (1979, 122-46) places Qohelet after Ben Sira in the middle of the second century (but see Reif [1981]). H. GRAETZ proposed a Herodian dating, but such dating has been excluded by the discovery of second-century fragments of Qohelet among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS (J. Muilenburg [1954]).

2. Language. Grotius was apparently the first to remark on the late character of Qohelet's language, observing that it contains many Aramaisms and postexilic locutions. Franz DELITZSCH catalogued these features and characterized Qohelet's language as bearing a mishnaic stamp and being no earlier than Ezra–Nehemiah. Most recent commentators have affirmed this assessment (for a survey of late locutions see Delitzsch [1875] 190-206; and Gordis [1968] 59-68). R. GORDIS describes Qohelet's language as a transition between classical biblical and mishnaic Hebrew (see also Whitley, 119-

48). D. Fredericks (1987) argues that the evidence usually adduced for a postexilic dating can be explained in other ways and favors an exilic or preexilic date. B. Isaksson suggests that Qohelet's language may be a popular dialect of the First Temple period. C.-L. Seow (1997, 11-20) places it specifically in the Persian period.

Two theories try to explain the strangeness of Qohelet's language as literally foreign. M. DAHOOD (1952, 1958, 1962, 1966) claimed that Qohelet's language and orthography are northern (Phoenician) in character and point to a northern locale for its authorship. F. Zimmermann (1945–46; 1949–50; 1973, 98-122) and H. GINSBERG (1961), developing a suggestion of F. BURKITT (1922), argued that Qohelet is a mechanical, often erroneous and awkward, translation from Aramaic. They contend that numerous awkward locutions make better sense if retroverted to Aramaic then translated correctly back to Hebrew (sometimes after emendation as well). Gordis (1952; 1968, 399-403), Whitley (42-49, 106-10), and F. Piotti argued against both theories in detail, claiming that better explanations for the difficult words and phrases are available. A. Schoors's detailed examination of Qohelet's morphology and syntax (1992) argues that the language is late biblical Hebrew and that the other theories either treat the data atomistically (Fredericks), assume too many mistranslations (Ginsberg), or misinterpret the epigraphic and linguistic evidence (Dahood). (See further the survey by F. Bianchi [1993].)

Special mention should be made of F. Ellermeier's studies of Qohelet's syntax (1967, 161-306) and Ginsberg's insights into Qohelet's idiosyncratic vocabulary (1961, 13-18). D. Michel (1989) examines the literary functions of Qohelet's linguistic usages, and W. Delsman (1982) brings together data on Qohelet's language. Isaksson (1989) applies structural and discourse analysis to aspects of Qohelet's syntax, particularly the verbal system, and explains the distinctive series of qatal verbs as characteristic of the "autobiographical" genre. Schoors surveys Qohelet's orthography, morphology, and syntax in detail.

3. Unity of Composition. The inconsistencies in Qohelet (e.g., he both affirms divine justice [8:12b-13] and points to its violation [9:11-12a, 14]), which have been at the center of Qohelet exegesis since at least the first century CE, have given rise to theories that posit additional voices besides Qohelet's in the book.

An older approach—followed, e.g., by JEROME, J. G. HERDER, J. G. EICHHORN, and J. K. C. Nachtigal (1753–1819)—saw the book as a dialogue between Qohelet and one or more people of lesser wisdom such as a pupil or a fool. (See also the paragraph on Perry [1993] below.) Alternatively, the unorthodox opinions were considered as statements of erroneous ideas that Qohelet quotes in order to refute them. (This approach is common in traditional Jewish commentary; A. Ibn Ezra, for example, says that 9:4b and 9:10 are claims of others that Qohelet rejects.) L. Levy and, most extensively, Gordis have maintained the book's unity by regarding the orthodox opinions as unmarked quotations of various sorts that Qohelet opposes or refutes; this suggestion has been widely accepted.

Another line of interpretation finds various secondary additions (always of orthodox glossators) imbedded in Qohelet's words. K. Siegfried's analysis is often mentioned because it represents the extreme of fragmentation: two "Qohelets," two glossators, a group of glossators of indefinite number, two editors, and two epiologists. More moderate and widely accepted are the analyses of A. McNeile, L. Podechard, and G. A. BARTON, who distributed various orthodox passages between a *Ḥāsîd* (a pietist, whose additions speak of God's justice and the need for human piety [e.g., Eccl. 2:26*ab*; 3:17; 7:26*b*; 8:11-13; and the "second epilogue," 12:13-14]) and a *Ḥākām* (a wise man, whose additions defend the value of wisdom [e.g., Eccl 1:2; 7:27-28; 12:8; and the "first epilogue," 12:9-11]). In this way Qohelet is made to appear as consistently skeptical as he is consistently pious in most traditional commentaries. Most of the recent commentators hypothesize a few additions, usually without identifying the group affiliation of their authors. For example, K. GALLING, W. ZIMMERLI, and Ellermeier identify a few phrases and sentences as secondary (e.g., Eccl 1:16*a*; 2:7*b*; 4:17*b*; 11:9*b*; plus two epilogues). Gordis marks no interpolations in the body of the book (1:2–12:8).

Virtually all modern scholars assign the epilogue, 12:8-14 (or 9-14), to a later glossator, whom they commonly identify as the book's editor (Maimonides was the first to do this). Many discern two (12:9-11 + 12-14) or three epilogues (12:9-11 + 12 + 13-14). Delitzsch and M. Fox (1977; 1987, 311-27) see in the epilogue a shift to the voice of the author, who has previously quoted Qohelet, a persona.

4. Literary Structure and Form. The structure of Qohelet has been placed everywhere on a continuum from a more or less random collection of sayings and meditations to a well-organized discourse whose parts are subordinated to a single design. On the latter end of the continuum, various interpreters, e.g., M. Thilo (1923), A. Miller (1934), Ginsberg, G. Castellino (1968), and most notably, A. Wright (1968) have proposed different well-conceived designs to describe the book's structure. Wright emphasized formal characteristics, in particular repetitions, as an approach to discovering the book's structure, which he saw as an intricate, well-articulated, hierarchical design. In subsequent studies (1980, 1983) he found intricate numerical patterns coordinated with the design (e.g., *hbl*, "vanity," has the numerical value of thirty-seven and occurs this number of times). N. Lohfink (1980) finds a palindromic structure in the book as a whole. Most

commentators since the end of the last century regard the book as a collection of aphorisms and longer units without much overall organization; e.g., Delitzsch, Zimmerli, H. Hertzberg, Gordis, O. Loretz, A. Lauha, and most emphatically, K. Galling (1932, 1969). Ellermeier (1967, 131-41) provides a useful tabulation of the unit demarcation according to the major modern commentaries and attempts to isolate the editorial means (22-124)—namely, thematic concepts and key words—used to order the originally independent units (fifty-six, according to his analysis). Michel (1989) argues that 1:3–3:15 is a coherent unit expressing the basics of Qohelet's thought. Statements later in the book that do not agree with the message of that unit are citations of other opinions, which Qohelet rejects or relativizes.

Commentators who deny the presence of an overall structure see the book's unity as residing in the cohesiveness of the author's thought, attitudes, tone, and style (Delitzsch, Galling, Hertzberg, Gordis, and many others; on style see in particular Loretz [1980] 135-217). Loretz also identifies a group of recurrent *topoi* as a source of cohesiveness (1980, 196-212). Zimmerli (1974) argued that the book of Qohelet, while not a well-structured tractate on a single theme, is not a mere collection of sayings; for there are relations in content among contiguous units.

The genre of the book as a whole has been variously identified. The view implicit in much of traditional exegesis is that the book is or consists of preachment since it is words Solomon preached in his wanderings ("Qohelet" is understood as *maghîl,* "assembler" of the congregation). Others, understanding the name *qôhelet* to allude to an assembly of sayings, regarded the book as a collection of teachings. Some interpreters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (e.g., M. Mendelssohn and J. Döderlein), spoke of the book as a philosophical discourse or treatise. Others of that period, most notably Herder, described the book as a philosophical dialogue or symposium. The latest representative of that view is Miller (1934), who argued that the book is a condensed literary rendering of a school disputation or discussion and that this form is the principle of its structure. Miller (1934), A. Allgeier (1925), and Lohfink (1980) have classified Qohelet as a diatribe. It has also been compared to a journal or "confession," like Pascal's *Pensées* (Murphy [1955]) or Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations* (Rudolph [1959]).

Various literary forms within the book have been described in greatest detail by Ellermeier (1967, 48-93). He labels the basic form the *mashal,* a broad grouping he subdivides into "sentences" (including proverbs and artistic sayings) and "reflections" of various sorts, the latter composed of various form elements (statements, questions, self-presentation). R. Murphy (1981, 127-30) identifies the following forms: wisdom saying, instruction, reflection, example story, woe oracle, blessing. Loader (1979) says that the book is composed of thirty-eight chiastic structures and sixty polar structures, the latter being patterns of tension between an idea of "general *hokmâ* and another view (i.e., Qohelet's) or a contrary fact."

5. Foreign Influence. The peculiarity of Qohelet's thought and style has led some scholars to look to foreign influences as the sources of his special character.

a. Greek. G. Zirkel (1792) was the first to propose that Qohelet was influenced by Greek thought, language, and literature. He was followed by numerous commentators, especially in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, including Graetz, Allgeier, G. Wildeboer, and Levy. Certain phrases were thought to be Grecisms (e.g., "under the sun," *hypo ton hēlion* = "do good," *la 'asôt tob* or *eu prattein*). Ranston (1923, 1925) emphasized the indirect influence of Theognis and Hesiod (noting especially the latter's doctrine of the "right time"). More recently, Braun (1973) has argued for extensive stylistic, structural, and philosophical parallels between Qohelet and a broad range of Greek writers, in particular Homer, Theognis, Euripides, and Menander. Whitley (165-75) emphasizes Epicurean influence (e.g., God's remoteness, reluctance to communicate with man; life ends with the body; hedonistic advice). M. Hengel sees Qohelet as responding to the impact of the spiritual crisis of early Hellenism and as fusing the popular views of the Greek "bourgeoisie" with traditional wisdom and with Qohelet's own observations (1974, 125). Lohfink finds Greek influence in Qohelet's motifs, ideas, language, and style. He maintains that the inspiration for the book was Greek education, but that the background and values were Hebrew wisdom (1980, 10). Other writers, e.g., Podechard, Hertzberg, Gordis, and M. Fox, grant only a vague and general contact of Qohelet with his Hellenistic environment (against the theory of Greek influence, see Loretz [1964] 45-57). In contrast, Schwienhorst-Schönberger (1996) examines Qohelet's thought in its Hellenistic and Jewish contexts to determine the ways in which it draws upon and is in tension with both. The pivotal question of both Hellenistic philosophy and Qohelet is the nature of human happiness and the limitations of its possibilities, especially with respect to the individual life. In contrast to Greek wisdom, Qohelet does not believe in the absolute autonomy of the inner realm. Man cannot create happiness but can only receive it from God.

b. Mesopotamian. H. Grimme (1905) was the first to observe the similarity of 9:7-10 to Gilgamesh X, iii (*ANET* 90a; Old Babylonian), the alewife's advice to Gilgamesh to enjoy life in the face of inevitable mortality. Loretz (1964, 90-134) made the case for a Mesopotamian background (to the exclusion of other influences) most thoroughly. He emphasized certain parallels with Babylonian literature, in particular *Ludlul* (*ANET* 435-37), the "Pessimistic Dialogue" (*ANET* 437-

38), the Babylonian Theodicy (*ANET* 438-40), and above all Gilgamesh (*ANET* 72-99). Among the parallels he noted are the concern with the problem of divine justice; the motif of "wind/breath" (*hebel;* Babylonian *saru*), in the sense of nothingness, transience; and the problem of "name" and memory. A. Shaffer (1967, 1969) found Qohelet's "threefold cord" saying (4:12) in "Gilgamesh and Hubaba."

c. Egyptian. P. Humbert (1929) almost alone strongly advocated an Egyptian background (see EGYPTOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) for Qohelet, even suggesting that the author had traveled to Egypt. The parallels he noted include the theme of royal authorship (as in Amenemhet [*ANET* 418-19] and the instruction for Merikare [*ANET* 414-18]); pessimistic and skeptical texts, e.g., the "Dispute Over Suicide" (*ANET* 405-10) and the "Song of the Harper" (*ANET* 467; this includes a *carpe diem* comparable to Eccl 9:7-9); complaints about old age (cf. Ptahhotep [*ANET* 412a, Eccl 12:1-6]). B. Gemser (1960) pointed to parallels with the Demotic Instructions of Onchsheshonqy, including the near-identity of Onchsheshonqy 19.10 (advice to cast one's bread upon the water) with Eccl 11:1. Loretz (1964, 57-89) disputes Egyptian influence altogether.

6. Teaching. The major divide in Qohelet interpretation lies between the traditional exegesis of this book (from the 1st cent. to the 18th or 19th, together with that of many modern religious conservatives) and its modern exegesis (18th–20th cents.). Most of the main ideas that modern interpretation ascribes to Qohelet can be found, with different emphases, in the interpretations of the earliest exegetes—a fact that seems to show that the essential themes of the book are clear. Traditional interpreters, believing that the book was Solomon's, found in it an affirmation of such orthodox beliefs as Solomon could be assumed to teach. Modern interpreters emphasize the book's skepticism and pessimism and commonly view it both as an attack on earlier orthodoxies (of the wisdom school) and as evidence for the failure of the regnant intellectual and religious systems. The following survey looks at a sampling of significant commentators, with emphasis on the modern period. C. GINSBURG's commentary includes an extensive survey of all exegesis until 1860. For early and medieval Jewish commentary see Schiffer (1884). For patristic commentaries see E. Plumptre (1881, 83-97), S. Holm-Nielsen (1974), and Murphy (1982). For later works see Galling (1934), Blank (1970), S. Breton (1973), and J. Crenshaw (1983).

a. Traditional interpretations. Three presuppositions common to all early Qohelet exegesis are: (1) Solomon is the author; (2) "vanity of vanities" is to be understood against the perspective of a belief in immortality; and (3) tensions in the book show that Solomon was in dialogue with others (Murphy [1982] 331-32).

The earliest statement of Qohelet interpretation is found in the epilogue (12:9-12), which appraises Qohelet's teachings, along with the other words of the wise, cautiously but appreciatively. The epilogue speaks of Qohelet as one sage among many, not as intolerably skeptical or heterodox. (Sheppard [1977] discusses the epilogist's concept of canon, arguing that he thematizes the book in order to include it within a canon-conscious definition of sacred wisdom.)

It seems that Ben Sira knows of Qohelet and uses his teachings, as he does other inspired writings, often giving a characteristic twist to Qohelet's words but showing no awareness of heterodoxy in them (e.g., Eccl 3:11 and Sir 39:16, 33; Eccl 3:15 and Sir 5:3; Eccl 8:1 and Sir 13:24; Eccl 9:10 and Sir 14:11-12). According to many scholars, the Wisdom of Solomon refers to Qohelet when it castigates the "ungodly" for advocating hedonism (as well as oppression of the righteous) as a response to mortality (Wis 1:16–2:24). However, if the description of the ungodly in that passage were meant to represent Qohelet's teaching, it would be such a distortion that it would be ineffective even as polemic.

The translation of Qohelet in the SEPTUAGINT is extremely literalistic and may even be Aquilan (Graetz, McNeile, Barthélemy [1963]; but see Hyvärinen [1977] 88-99, 112). The translation (and later glossators within the Greek tradition) shows some attempts at moralistic improvement, as in adding a "do not" in the advice of 11:9a. According to G. Bertram (1952), the Greek translation tends to make Qohelet's teaching more abstract, theological, and psychological than does the MT. Humans are regarded as burdened by a sense of sin and spiritual unrest. The theme of the book becomes the complaint against the vanity and willfulness of the human spirit, and Qohelet acquires a unified theological meaning it lacked before. (Many of the qualities Bertram sees in the Greek translation may, in fact, be in the original. For a study of the text of the Greek and its relation to the Hebrew, see McNeile [1904] 115-69.)

The Syriac too (see Kamenetzky [1904]; Schoors [1985]) is highly literalistic. It reveals little of an underlying interpretation except in its understanding of the sense of individual sentences.

According to a later account, at the end of the first century CE the Tannaim, troubled by contradictions in the book, debated Qohelet's status as inspired Scripture (see INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE). They accepted its legitimacy because it begins and ends in words of Torah (*b. Šabb.* 30b). The rabbis also considered withdrawing Qohelet because some of its words—they mention 11:9a and 1:3—might "cause an inclination to heresy" (*Qoh. Rab.* i. 4). In both cases the danger envisioned lay in the susceptibility of these verses to misinterpretations that might have practical consequences rather than in actual ideological skepticism.

There is virtual unanimity among the pre-modern Jewish interpretations (in the Talmud, the Midrash, the

Targum, and the medieval commentaries) on the basic teachings of the book: All works of this world are trivial; humans and their works are ephemeral. One must be resigned to God's will, for all God's works are good. All that is worthwhile is quiet enjoyment of one's lot, good deeds, and study of Torah. People will receive appropriate recompense for their deeds, if not in this life, then in the next.

The highly paraphrastic Aramaic translation, the TARGUM (c. 6th cent.), weaves Qohelet's words into a coherent moralistic homily and interprets his teachings as lessons drawn from Israel's history (viewed prophetically). It opens by relating that when Solomon grew arrogant because of his wealth, God sent Ashmodai, king of demons, to depose him. Solomon went wandering through the land preaching repentance and obedience to the commandments. In his preaching he prophesied the division of the kingdom, the destruction of the Temple, and Israel's exile and said, "Vanity of vanities. . . ." In other words, Solomon's pessimistic statements are thought to address specific historical crises rather than the nature of the world itself. The paraphrase consistently imposes an orthodox assertion of divine justice on the text; for example: "And indeed I have seen sinners who are buried and blotted out of this world, from the holy place where the righteous dwell" (8:10a). Similarly 8:15 is made to praise the joy of obedience to Torah. Misfortunes in this life are explained by astrological influences and by God's decrees.

Qohelet is one of the books most frequently quoted in midrashic literature. Individual verses are quoted for homiletical purposes with little reference to the message of the book as a whole. The way the book is quoted shows that it is understood as a repudiation of the value of earthly matters in favor of a life of Torah study.

The MIDRASH *Qohelet Rabba* (c. 7th cent.) is more exegetical than most Midrashim. As exegesis it is atomistic, but in general it understands Qohelet as teaching that humanity is ephemeral and without substance, that one should devote one's life to good deeds and to the study of Torah, and that reward and punishment await in the next life.

The early Christian commentators took essentially the same approach. However, they placed greater emphasis on the devaluation of this life and its pleasures and believed that salvation through Christ is Qohelet's implied solution to the failure of temporal values.

Ibn Ezra (12th cent.) may be taken as representative of medieval Jewish Qohelet exegesis. Like most traditional commentators, Ibn Ezra was disturbed less by the apparently unorthodox character of Qohelet's teachings than by the apparent contradictions in the book, which he systematically undertook to resolve (see his comment on 7:3). He understood Solomon as teaching that all human works are transient and insignificant. Only the fear of God, reached through the acquisition of wisdom (= Torah) can bring happiness. God's work is perfect, but there are imperfections in the world due to imperfections in the recipients of God's goodness. Ibn Ezra's commentary is infused with philosophical and astronomical ideas as well as with careful grammatical observations.

BONAVENTURE (13th cent.) may be taken as a representative medieval Christian commentator. He wrote that Qohelet maintains the vanity of earthly creatures—who are vain insofar as they are changeable—in order to teach contempt for this world. Still, earthly creatures have some reality and goodness. Since God alone possesses intransmutable repose, true life and happiness can be found in God only (summary in Ginsburg [1970] 109).

b. Modern interpretations. One may summarize the core of Qohelet's teaching as perceived by most commentators since the end of the nineteenth century—excluding religious and homiletical expositors—as follows: Qohelet is pessimistic and skeptical. He declares the futility of human labor, the triviality of wealth, the transience of human life, and the impossibility of true wisdom. He attacks the doctrine of reward and punishment. All this constitutes a polemic against the wisdom school, which had become overconfident, rigid, and dogmatic and which had made unjustified claims to possess knowledge. Qohelet commends wisdom for its relative practical value and urges fear of God and moderate enjoyment of life's pleasures.

Modern interpreters commonly regard Qohelet as representing (or initiating) a general crisis in the wisdom school and in Judaism as a whole. (There is some vacillation as to whether he is responding to a crisis in wisdom literature—unattested elsewhere, except perhaps in Job—or initiating a crisis, which shows no signs of persistence beyond him.) Qohelet's negativism is then often taken as demonstrating the inadequacy of HB religion and clearing the way for the new message of Christianity. A few commentators, however, find a message more affirmative of God's goodness and of the value of human life.

The following epitomes of a sampling of modern interpreters highlight the themes the commentators consider most significant:

Delitzsch (1875, 179-90): All things on earth are vanity; humanity's labor achieves nothing enduring. The striving after secular knowledge, pleasure, riches, and wisdom is unsatisfactory. God is just, but things happen contrary to his justice. The most desirable thing for humanity is to enjoy life, but only within the limits of the fear of God, which is the highest duty. Qohelet testifies both to the power of revealed religion, grounded in an unshakable faith, and to the inadequacy of HB religion.

J. PEDERSEN (1930, 344-70): Qohelet is symptomatic of a crisis in Israel's late period, when earlier harmonies

between nature and humanity and between God and humanity had broken down. The interior and the exterior no longer correspond: One may have all the external blessings but lack happiness. God becomes more and more sublime, while humans become more and more lowly and lacking influence on events, which are under God's arbitrary control. The principal virtue is now fear of God and resignation to the divine will. Qohelet nevertheless recommends enjoyment of life as well as perseverance in trying all possibilities. In this way his skepticism is inseparable from his piety.

Ginsberg (1955; 1961; 1963, 21-27): All is futility, zero. Death renders nugatory the advantages of wisdom and other talents. The same emotions, experiences, and activities recur endlessly. God determines the time when every event will occur. Humans may try to discover this time, but they cannot succeed. The only real value in life is the use of material goods for enjoyment.

Gordis (1955, 112-14): Qohelet believes in God but cannot accept the platitudes of the conventional wisdom teachers. He thinks that justice in human affairs is elusive and that truth is unattainable. All that is certain is that human beings desire happiness; since God created them, the furthering of their pleasure must be the divine purpose.

H. Gese (1963): Wisdom undergoes a crisis in Qohelet. Earlier wisdom assumed that the good or evil a person experiences is just another aspect of the good or evil he or she does. Qohelet recognizes no such connection. The result is a structural change of outlook, consisting of the distancing of the person—the "I"—from the event, i.e., the estrangement of individuals from all that happens to them and about them. Time—the passage of "right moments"—is hidden from humans, to whom life is now opaque. But through fear of God the estrangement may be replaced by an openness to time, meaning an acceptance of whatever comes upon one. This openness includes accepting enjoyment of life, not as an automatic consequence of virtue, but as the direct gift of God.

Hertzberg (1963, 222-38): Qohelet presents three recurrent and decisive ideas: (1) God's exclusivity. God, who is a sort of *fatum* devoid of personal characteristics, determines everything. (2) Earthly vanity. All strivings for wisdom, wealth, happiness—all human activity—is nothing. (This idea is shaped in direct dependency on Genesis 2–4.) (3) Pleasure. The only human possibility is to accept the present as it is and to take passively whatever happiness is given. The main point of the book is (2)—humanity's utter nothingness. This complete negation makes Qohelet the most disturbing messianic PROPHECY of the HB.

Lohfink (1980): Man is an ephemeral being in an unchanging world, with whose oppressive fullness he cannot cope (cosmology, Eccl 1:4-11). Happiness is powerful, but in the face of death all human abilities and achievements are a "vapor." Happiness is allotted by God, not securely produced by man, who must enjoy what he is given in the fear of God (anthropology, 1:12–3:15). Observations of social injustice and fragmentation reinforce the anthropology of "vapor" and "fear of God" (social criticism, 3:16–4:16; 5:7–6:10). In the middle of the book, Qohelet also offers a critical evaluation of piety (religious criticism, 4:17–5:6). The basic dogmas of wisdom, in particular that of just recompense, are undermined (ideological criticism, 6:11–9:6). The fear of God alone can guide humankind. Humans cannot comprehend God's work, hence they may think it arbitrary and amoral. Humans must manage the best they can, accept what the moment brings, and enjoy God's gifts (ethics, 9:7–12:7). The book ends with two orthodox appendices (12:8-11, 12-14).

Crenshaw (1987): Qohelet directs a radical, unrelentingly negative attack on the traditional beliefs of the sages. He repudiates wisdom's claim to secure one's existence and denies that there is any moral order. Chance determines everything, including the time of death; and the future—indeed, all of reality—remains utterly hidden. Divine justice is not in evidence. Qohelet can merely recommend enjoying life's little pleasures in order to soothe the troubled spirit; this, at least, has God's approval.

Murphy (1992): A variety of attitudes are heard in Qohelet. These are sometimes contradictory, sometimes in dialogue. Qohelet affirms the values of life, wealth, toil, and wisdom; but these values prove inadequate when seen under the shadow of death. Qohelet is often in conflict with traditional wisdom teaching, especially its claim to provide security; yet he affirms wisdom and remains within its traditions, employing its methods and literary genres. It is because Qohelet loved life and wisdom that he was grieved by death and by life's vanity.

Fredericks (1993): Qohelet speaks of the transient human realm of reality, not the eternal. He is not skeptical or pessimistic, though he recognizes the evanescence (*hebel*) of human labor and its products. He offers ways of coping with transience, finding value in wisdom, in the joy of work, and above all, in simple pleasures, which are humananity's major consolation. The duty of humans is to resign themselves to God's will and to accept circumstances beyond their control.

T. Perry (1993): The book is a dialogue between a pious sage-narrator, the "Presenter" (P), who transmits and debates the wisdom of the skeptical persona, Kohelet (K). K is the man of experience. He is deterministic and skeptical and rejects wisdom and faith, except insofar as they emerge from his own experience. He teaches that we should embrace pleasure because it is within our power to do so and should fear God because of human ignorance. P, the man of faith, uses K's words to provoke thought and as the basis for argument. P

affirms the value of labor, pleasure, and wisdom. God is to be feared because God is unpredictable; divine justice and freedom are not bound by human conceptions of justice. At the end, P modifies his own position by recognizing that life is vanity; but we are to fear God as the ground of our transience.

C.-L. Seow (1997): Humans cannot control events or their destiny, for everything is *hebel,* meaning that everything is beyond human apprehension and comprehension. (The full meaning of *hebel* is anything that is superficial, ephemeral, insubstantial, incomprehensible, enigmatic, inconsistent, or contradictory.) In spite of God's distance, he is related to humanity and has given it the possibilities of each moment. Hence people must accept what happens to them and respond spontaneously to life, even in the midst of uncertainties, and accept both the possibilities and limitations of being human.

T. Longman (1998): Qohelet (a fictional persona) is distinguished from the book of Ecclesiastes. Qohelet's message is skeptical and pessimistic; but the message of the book is determined by the authorial voice in 12:9-14, which is an affirmation of faith: Life is meaningless without God. Verses 13-14, moreover, introduce an eschatological perspective. Longman places Qohelet's words in the genre of fictional autobiographies found elsewhere in ancient Near Eastern literature.

Fox (1999): The central concern of the book of Ecclesiastes is meaning. What unites all of Qohelet's specific complaints is the collapse of meaning, which is revealed in the contradictions that pervade life. Qohelet fully intends the contradictions he describes (which exegesis has usually tried to eliminate); they demonstrate to him life's absurdity. Qohelet is frustrated that life cannot be "read," that the multiplicity of disjointed deeds and events cannot be drawn together into a coherent narrative with its own significance. Qohelet also tries to reconstruct and recover meanings, albeit local and restricted ones. Even if the world as a whole lacks meaning and purpose, humans have the potential to possess passing moments of goodness and clarity. These are brief, limited, and uncertain; but they are enough to make life worth living.

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M. V. FOX

QUADRIGA

Originally used of a chariot pulled by four horses abreast, the term *Quadriga* is employed to refer to the medieval pattern of biblical interpretation that expounded a fourfold meaning of the text. This approach assumed that a text could have more than a literal or straightforward meaning. Through INNER-BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION writers found secondary meanings in earlier texts by assuming that they said more than appeared obvious or that they were deliberately symbolic or figurative. For example, the seventy years of exile predicted by Jeremiah (Jer 25:11-12; 29:10) was interpreted in Daniel 9 as meaning seventy weeks of, or 490, years; and PAUL understood the "rock" from which the Israelites drank in the wilderness as Christ (1 Cor 10:1-4).

Interpreting a text to give a more-than-literal reading was common in Hellenistic attempts to preserve the value and relevance of Homer's writings by means of allegory. Heraclitus (1st cent. BCE) explained allegory as "speaking one thing and signifying something other than what is said" (*Homeric Questions* 5.2).

Within early Judaism, readings that went beyond the plain meaning of a text also developed, although rabbis argued that "no verse could ever lose its plain sense [*peshat*]" (*b. Šabb.* 63a). PHILO engaged in radical allegorizing and even argued that the plain meaning of some texts was absurd.

In the patristic period Christians found various forms of more-than-literal meanings in HB texts. Because God was the author of both the HB and the Christian faith, the latter must be taught or prefigured in the former, for truth is unified. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA declared that "the mysteries of the word are not to be expounded to the profane" and noted that "all things that shine through a veil show the truth grander and more imposing" (*Strom.* 5.9). The first major Christian treatise on biblical interpretation is found in book 4 of *On First Principles* by ORIGEN. Drawing on such texts as the Greek of Prov 22:20-21 and a tripartite anthropology, Origen argued that Scripture has a body, a soul, and a spirit, i.e., a literal and a twofold spiritual sense. Some texts contain no literal sense because their statements are absurd; difficulties in the text serve to challenge the interpreter. The spiritual meaning is intended to be appropriated by Christians as they grow toward the heavenly world and as an aid in that growth. Knowledge easily acquired was not greatly esteemed; to delve into the mystery of the text was more rewarding. The deep truth was often hidden, to be imparted only to special persons. Thus EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA wrote: "Moses ordered the Jewish plebs to be committed to all of the rites which were included in the words of their laws. But he wished that the others, whose mind and virtue were stronger as they were liberated from this exterior shell, should accustom themselves to a philosophy more divine and superior to common man, and should penetrate with the eye of the mind into the higher meaning of the laws" (*Praep. Evang.* 7.10.378).

Christian exegetes advanced various expressions to delineate the multifold levels of meaning in, and means for, the understanding of Scripture, sometimes threefold, sometimes fourfold. JEROME spoke of *historia, tropologica,* and *intelligentia spiritualis* (*Epistolae* 120.12); AUGUSTINE, of *historia, allegoria, analogia,* and *aetiologia* (*De Genesi ad litteram* 1.1.1; and *De utilitate credendi* 3.5-9); and GREGORY THE GREAT, of *historia, significatio typica,* and *moralitas* (*Moralium libri Epistula missoria* 3). Augustine's terminology—etiology and analogy—was never especially used either by himself or by others (see Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologiae* Ia.1, 10). Nevertheless, Augustine, along with Gregory, greatly influenced the medieval exegetes' search for more than one "higher" meaning in Scripture. At the beginning of his unfinished literal commentary on Genesis, he wrote: "Four ways of expounding the Law are handed down by certain men who treat the Scriptures . . . in accord with history, allegory, analogy, and etiology. It is a matter of history when deeds done—whether by men or by God—are reported. It is a matter of allegory when things spoken in figures are understood. It is a matter of analogy when the conformity of the Old and New Testaments is shown. It is a matter of etiology when the causes of what is said or done are reported" (*De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus* 2.5).

Both Augustine and Gregory stressed the association of the spiritual senses of the text with the theological virtues of faith, hope, and love. The terminology and scheme of multiple meanings in Scripture that were to become almost standard in medieval times were formulated by J. Cassian (c. 360–435): "History embraces the knowledge of things which are past and which are perceptible. . . . What follows is allegorical, because the things which actually happened are said to have prefigured another mystery. . . . Anagoge climbs up from spiritual mysteries to the higher and more august secrets of heaven. . . . Tropology is moral teaching designed for the amendment of life and for instruction in asceticism. . . . And if we wish it, these four modes of interpretation flow into a unity so that the one Jerusalem can be understood in four different ways, in the historical sense as the city of the Jews, in allegory as the church of Christ, in anagoge as the heavenly city of God . . . in the tropological sense as the human soul" (*Conferences* 14.8).

In the later Middle Ages this fourfold interpretation was expressed in a widely used rhyme first attested in the *Rotulus pugillaris,* an aid to preaching by the Dominican Augustine of Dacia (d. 1285): *Littera gesta docet; quid credas allegoria; moralitas quid agas; quid speres anagogia* (The letter teaches what happened; allegory, what to believe; morality, how to behave; anagogy, what to hope for).

In medieval Judaism multi levels of meaning in a biblical text were also described as being fourfold. These were spoken of as *peshat* (simple or plain), *remez* (allegorical or philosophical), *derash* (traditional or haggadic), and *sod* (mysterious or kabbalistic). These terms were used not only to designate four levels of meaning but also four exegetical methods (see W. Bacher [1891, 1893]; A. van der Heide [1983]); they were referred to by the mnemonic PARDES (paradise).

Uneasiness with the Quadriga approach was expressed by many exegetes beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, by both Christians and Jews (see K. Froehlich [1977]; M. Signer [1992–93]). ALAN OF LILLE described the Bible as a "nose of wax" (an image frequently used in later discussions; see H. Porter [1964]), which could be shaped to fit one's conceptions and beliefs. THOMAS AQUINAS argued that theological conclusions should be based on the *sensus literalis* since everything necessary for faith is conveyed through the literal sense (*Summa Theologiae* Ia. Q1.aa. 8-10).

Renaissance and reformation exegetes tended to break with the Quadriga pattern, although still adherring to the idea that some form of spiritual or mystical meaning lay beneath the literal meaning, especially in HB promises (see G. Evans [1985]). This secondary sense might not have been intended by the human writer but was intended by God, the divine author. This issue continued to impinge on the interpretation of PROPHECY in the HB. W. Lowth (1660–1732), father of R. LOWTH, in the preface to his 1714 commentary on Isaiah, wrote: "The Christian Interpretation of the Prophecies is called the Mystical Sense, because it helps to unfold the Mysteries of the Gospel, not as if it were always opposed to a literal Sense. For in many cases what we call the Mystical Sense, more exactly answers the natural and genuine Import of the Words, than any other Interpretation that can be given of them" (x).

In the twentieth century, Roman Catholic scholars have come to speak of the more-than-literal meaning of a text as the *sensus plenior,* an expression coined by A. Fernández in 1925. The method associated with this expression seeks to preserve some of the values of the old Quadriga. The *sensus plenior* is defined as "the deeper meaning, intended by God but not clearly intended by the human author, that is seen to exist in the Words of Scripture when they are studied in the light of further revelation or of development in the understanding of revelation" (R. Brown, *New Jerome Biblical Commentary* [1990] 1157).

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J. H. HAYES

QURANIC AND ISLAMIC INTERPRETATION OF BIBLICAL MATERIALS

Understanding the use of biblical materials in Islamic writings is dependent on an analysis of the history of relations between Muslims, Jews, and Christians and on judgments about what constitutes biblical material. As will be clear, Muslims, Jews, and Christians have had varying attitudes about the relationship between what is found in the Torah or Gospels, on the one hand, and the Quran, on the other hand. Often such discussions have hinged on the decision about which text is primary or "original," as well as what constitutes the biblical CANON. It should also be remembered that there is no certain evidence that the Bible was translated into Arabic during the formative period of Islam. Most instances of quotation of biblical verses by Muslims before the tenth century appear to be mediated by oral rather than by written sources and to be interpretations rather than translations.

1. Pre-Islamic Arabia. Traditionally, discussions about the relationship between Islamic writings and the Bible have started with considerations about the existence of the Bible in Arabia, the birthplace of Muḥammad (570–632 CE), the founding prophet of the religion of Islam. The presence of Jewish communities from before the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE in both Yemen and the Hijâz (northwest Arabia) as well as such Christian communities as Nestorians and Monophysites around the periphery of the peninsula has led to the conclusion that Jewish and Christian Scriptures were known to some people in Arabia before Muhammad's birth. Evidence for this is indirect and scanty and comes primarily through Islamic sources. Muslim historians reported, for example, that the Jews of the city of Medina used to read the Torah in Hebrew and explain it to the Arabs in Arabic. There is also some evidence that at least portions of the Gospels were known in Arabia in the pre-Islamic periods. But most of the evidence for pre-Islamic Arabian knowledge of biblical materials comes from interpreting Islam's scripture, the Quran. Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry yields little information about the Bible, but this is to be expected, given the secular content of that highly formalized genre.

2. The Quran and the Life of Muhammad. According to Muslim tradition, Muhammad was born in the city of Mecca around 570 CE. Muslim traditions portray Mecca as the center of a pagan religious empire supported by international trade. The Meccan empire was dominated by the tribe of Qureish, which was divided into several clans. Muhammad's Hashimite clan was the poorest of all the clans, but it possessed great nobility from both Arab and biblical lines. Muslim genealogists place Muhammad in a line of descent from Adam through Abraham and his son by Hagar, Ishmael, down through the line of North Arabs. This genealogy does not appear in the Quran, nor are extensive details about Muhammad's life given in Muslim scripture.

At the age of forty Muhammad is said to have had the first of a series of religious experiences in which the Quran was brought down to him from an exemplar in heaven by the archangel Gabriel. From 610 to his death in 632 Muhammad received verses and portions of the Quran. According to the traditional Muslim view, only after Muhammad's death did 'Uthmân, the third successor or Caliph, order a commission to put the scattered verses (Arabic, *'ayah*) into their present form of 114 chapters (Arabic, *sûrah*). Islamic histories of the Quran regard the 'Uthmânic recension as a faithful compilation of the known oral and written sources and a faithful replica of the heavenly original. Western scholars have noted that the process of compilation started during the lifetime of Muhammad and took much longer than the first two decades after his death. They point out that there are variant spellings of words and different textual traditions, some of which are tolerated by Islamic

religious law. Attempts by Western scholars at producing a critical *variorum* edition have been unsuccessful.

At first glance there appears to be little underlying organization within and among the chapters, but both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars have offered numerous theories about the principles of composition. For Muslims, the Quran is a unique, inimitable book that contains the authentic words of God (Arabic, *'Allâh*). Its counterpart in heaven, the *'Umm al-Kitâb,* is what God writes in and can be abrogated or confirmed at God's will (Q. 13:39). Some of the verses are clear and unambiguous, while others have ambiguous or indiscernible meanings (Q. 3:7). The notion that some verses in the Quran are abrogated by other verses mostly figures in legal discussions; but some commentators hold that various tellings of the stories in the Quran fit within an extension of that principle, thus accounting for what non-Muslim scholars have termed inconsistencies.

Muhammad's career as prophet and community leader was divided into two distinct periods. The first period (610–22) was in the city of Mecca, when Muhammad seems to have had only limited initial success in winning his fellow Meccans to his religion. His message of moral and social reform caused considerable antagonism among the power elite, and he was forced to leave Mecca in 622 and move to the city of Medina, also called Yathrib. This migration, called the *Hijrah,* in which Muhammad was preceded by those of his followers who could get away from Mecca, is reckoned as the beginning of the political establishment of the Muslim community; thus the year 622 CE is the first year of the Muslim calendar.

Western scholars, noting that there were few, if any, Jews and Christians in Mecca, date the Quran's use of biblical figures chiefly to the period of Muhammad's sojourn in the strongly Jewish city of Medina. To be sure, some biblical names are cited in the Meccan period, but most of the rich details are dated to the Medinan period. Determining the dates of the origins of the stories in the Quran raises some methodological problems, for some passages are counted as from the Medinan period due to the inclusion of biblical figures. Despite the dating problems, it is generally agreed that the later portions of the Quran contain the most detailed information about biblical figures. What is most problematic is the source of these stories.

As mentioned above, for believing Muslims the source of the Quran is God's eternal word, preserved in the heavenly prototype, the *'Umm al-Kitâb.* This was the source for all of God's revelations to those known as *Ahl al-Kitâb,* the "People of the Book," usually meaning Jews and Christians, who were recipients of God's prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). Differences between the Quranic stories and those found in the Bible are accounted for by the charge made against Jews and Christians that they corrupted God's message (Arabic, *tahrîf* [see Q. 2:75, 4:46, 5:13] or *tabdîl* [Q. 2:59]), thus necessitating the series of prophets who brought corrections from God. For Muslims, the Quran stands as the corrective to errors that had come into the Scriptures of Jews and Christians. Even though the Quran is the last of the series of revelations chronologically, Muslims contend that its versions of the common stories are true, represent the original, and should be privileged over Jewish and Christian versions.

From the perspective of Western scholarship the stories in the Quran that mention biblical names and themes are adaptations either from the Bible or from extrabiblical literature. The quest for the original source from which the version was borrowed has characterized much Western research on Islam. Some scholars, following the lead of A. GEIGER (1902), have found mainly Jewish influence, while others, e.g., R. Bell (1926), ascribe the greatest influence on Muhammad and Islam to Christianity. Both views rely on the techniques and presuppositions of philology and are heavily text dependent. But for the most part scholars have had difficulty in finding exact textual matches between Quranic and biblical stories, even when they take cognizance of extrabiblical material. Thus, for example, the differences between the biblical story of Joseph and the Joseph of the twelfth chapter of the Quran are not fully accounted for even in rabbinic lore. The name of the tempting woman, Bilqis, the details of Joseph's shirt having been torn from behind, etc. are not found in any extant pre-Quranic literature. This has sometimes led to assumptions that Muhammad invented the details, that he "made mistakes" in his transmission of the information, or, only slightly more charitable, that he had poorly informed teachers, which led, for example, to the Quranic assertion that some Christians regarded the Trinity as God, Jesus, and Mary (Q. 5:116) or that Jews held Ezra to be the son of God (Q. 9:30).

Recent Western scholarship has tried to avoid the polemical position of determining the correct *ur*-version and has turned to techniques of FOLKLORE and LITERARY THEORY to investigate the relationship between Quranic and Islamic stories of biblical characters and Jewish and Christian versions. H. Schwarzbaum (1982), while avoiding a judgment about whether the stories in the Quran derive from folk literature or literary sources, places the bulk of extra-Quranic writings in the genre of folk literature. This allows for multiple versions and variations without having to decide which one is privileged or "correct." From the perspective of literary theory, M. Waldman (1985) adapts the theories of B. Smith (1981), which reject the search for "originals." Rather, each telling of a story is examined in relationship to other versions, and each version will be a product of the motives, interests, and context of its telling. By analyzing the story of Joseph (Q. 12), Waldman shows that, although there are certain surface similarities between the Quranic and biblical versions (e.g., names,

some key events, and major narrative sequences), the underlying structure, and hence what the details mean, is quite different. While the biblical story of Joseph is connected with the narrative history of the Jewish people, the Quranic Joseph is presented as a model prophet and a paradigm for reliance on God's will. In addition, she contends, as have many Muslim scholars, that one does not need to make reference to the Bible or extra-biblical writings to "make sense" of the Quranic narrative; it stands on its own and has its own universe of discourse.

3. From the Death of Muhammad to the Tenth Century. The political and social context of Islam and the Quran changed after the death of Muhammad, when Muslims moved out of Arabia into the territories of the Persian and Byzantine empires. Arab Muslims found themselves in the ambiguous position of being simultaneously the ruling elite and a religious minority. In most cities where Arab Muslims established administrative centers, they were outnumbered by Jews and Christians well skilled in religious polemic and argument. The inevitable contacts accelerated the need among some Muslims to produce extensive commentaries on the Quran for apologetic and polemical purposes, and many early commentators relied on Jewish and Christian writings and oral traditions to supplement their understanding of the Quran. In addition, converts to Islam often brought with them ideas from their former religions and knowledge of biblical interpretations that became part of Muslim scholarship.

Muslim scholars in the first Islamic century (from the death of Muhammad in 632 to the founding of the Abbasid Empire in the middle of the 8th cent.) collected stories from Jews, Christians, and others to fill out the Quran and to satisfy the growing need among Muslims to have a full explanation of the history of the world. The result was that a rich store of Jewish and Christian stories became incorporated in early Islamic literature. Some of the stories were used as Quran commentary, some formed the basis for universal histories, and some were used as background for the biographies of Muhammad. The genre of Tales of the Prophets (Arabic: *Qusas al-Anbiyâ'*) or Israelite Stories (Arabic: *Isrâ'îlîyât*) expounded on biblical figures as moral exemplars and as forerunners of Muhammad.

The Quran mentions many names known from the Bible, but the names are all in Arabic adaptations, indicating that their stories were known prior to the time of Islam. Moses is Mûsâ, Abraham is Ibrahîm, Jesus is 'Isâ, etc. Most of the names are mentioned only briefly in the Quran, with few details about their lives or deeds. The Quran lists Aaron, Abel, Abraham, Adam, Cain, David, Elias, Elisha, Ezra, Gabriel, Goliath, Gog and Magog, Haman, Ishmael, Israel, Jacob, Jesus, Job, John the Baptist, Jonah, Joseph, Lot, Mary mother of Jesus, Michael, Miriam, Noah, Pharaoh, Saul, Sheba, Solomon, and Zechariah as well as the disciples of Jesus, God's Spirit, Mount Sinai, the twelve tribes of Israel, heaven, hell, etc. Biblical figures were transformed by the Muslim commentators into proto-Muslims. Abraham, for example, was said by Muslims to have been born before the giving of the Torah; he was, therefore, not Jewish. When Jews encountered that polemic, they countercharged that Ishmael did not possess sufficient intellect to know God or enough piety to be chosen for the Binding, as the Muslims contend. Most of the biblical figures are regarded by the classical Quranic commentaries as proto-Muslims (Arabic, *Ḥanîf*) and strict monotheists. Thus Jesus is, for Muslims, only a man who was chosen to be a prophet.

The most lasting and influential use of biblical materials from this period is in Muhammad b. Isḥâq's (d. 767) biography of Muhammad, the *Sirat Rasûl Allâh,* which traces the course of world history from creation to the death of Muhammad, following the model of the Bible. It uses Jewish and Christian stories about biblical and extra-biblical religious figures of Judaism and Christianity to portray Muhammad as the last of God's prophets and the embodiment of all of them. Just as the biblical figures are Islamized, Muhammad's life and that of his family recapitulate the lives of the biblical patriarchs. His grandfather 'Abdu-l-muṭṭalib becomes the new Abraham as the restorer of the Ka'ba built by Abraham; his father, Isaac/Ishmael, is saved from his father's sacrifice by divine intervention; and Muhammad is the new Jacob, but a Jacob who ascends to heaven on the ladder. Muhammad is also said to have fed a multitude, but with barley and roast mutton. The obvious parallel between Muhammad and Moses with the receipt of the law is only one of many correlations that can be made between Muhammad and biblical figures. Ibn Isḥâq made use of materials from Jewish and Christian oral and written sources to develop his image of Muhammad and became the chief proponent of the method of using *Isrâ'îlîyât.*

Beginning in the second Islamic century (mid-8th cent. CE), some Muslims began to react negatively to using Jewish and Christian materials for commenting on the Quran and for explicating the life of Muhammad. Those in the Muslim community who held that each individual Muslim's life should be under the direct governance of God's law began to devalue and then finally to reject Jewish and Christian materials as a basis for their religious and social vision. Rationalist schools, e.g., the Mu'tazilites, developed, gained political power, and rejected most of the narrative elements of the biblically oriented stories. In many places Jews and Christians revolted against Islamic rule, bringing Jewish and Christian sources into political discredit. Scholars who collected Jewish and Christian stories for Quran commentary were supplanted by those whose interests were less historical, more theological, and more centered on

internal Islamic themes. Elaboration of biblically based stories became, for a time, the fare of the popular storytellers who entertained the crowds but whose scholarly methods were suspect. For example, one storyteller is supposed to have been commenting on the Joseph story and said that the name of the wolf who ate Joseph was.... He was interrupted by the crowd, who reminded him that Joseph was not eaten by a wolf. Recovering quickly, he said that what he had meant to say was that the name of the wolf who did not eat Joseph was....

The monumental Quran commentary by Muḥammad b. Jarîr at-Tabarî (d. 923), *Jâmi' al-Bayân fî Tafsîr al-Qur'ân,* and his history of the world, *Ta'rîkh ar-Rusul wa-l-Mulûk,* set a standard for the collection of stories from Jews and Christians; in many ways these works closed the door on additional Muslim collections. The history, and to an extent the Quran commentary, were built on the framework of Ibn Isḥâq's biography of Muḥammad. Aṭ-Ṭabarî not only collected biblical materials but he also tried to correlate the biblical CHRONOLOGY with Iranian traditions. The result is a thorough assimilation of biblical stories based on Jewish and Christian sources into an Islamic worldview, so that after him few Muslims felt the need to look outside existing Islamic scholarship for explanations of biblical figures.

4. Tenth to Nineteenth Centuries CE. Among Muslim scholars, interest in Jews and Christians after the tenth century CE was primarily in the field of heresiography. Most Quran scholars either rejected the fanciful *Isrâ'îlîyât* stories as irrational, as did the Mu'tazilite az-Zamakhshari (d. 1144), or were satisfied to remain within the then-considerable Islamic intellectual tradition. Before the tenth century most heresiographers were converts to Islam from Judaism or Christianity and tended to regard the Bible as partially valid, although superseded by the Quran. After the tenth century Muslims came to regard Jewish and Christian Scriptures as not only wrong in some details or interpretation but also as fundamentally wrong and evil.

Probably the most influential writer to advance the view that the surviving versions of the Torah, the Psalms, or the Gospels were in fundamental error was Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), the first heresiographer in the Muslim world to be born a Muslim. He possessed a powerful intellect and a sharp tongue, which he turned on all who did not agree with him, Muslim and non-Muslim alike. In his *Kitâb al-Fasl fil-Milal wa-l-'Ahwâ' wa-l-Nihal,* Ibn Ḥazm linked errors in Jewish scripture with a particularly vicious polemic against Jews themselves, calling them "stinking," "foul," "vile," "dirty," and "villainous." While such negative attitudes can be seen to have a Quranic base, Ibn Ḥazm represents a major departure from previous Muslim writings. He contended that Jewish and Christian Scriptures are known to Muslims only because they are mentioned in the Quran, but that the Quran regards them as in error, hence the need for the new scripture. Muslims, therefore, should not be bothered with previous scripture except as a warning not to let happen to the Quran what happened to the Torah and to the Gospels—namely, that they became corrupted or partially lost.

After Ibn Ḥazm there were only a few Muslim scholars who sought out Jewish and Christian Scripture. Biblical themes and characters were elaborated only because they were part of the Islamic tradition. Stories abounded about the prophets, some eventually making it into Western story traditions as Muslims and Europeans met. The magical and fantastic adventures of King Solomon and his ability to talk with the animals is a good example, with the stories of King Solomon and the Butterfly That Stamped, or King Solomon and the Talking Hoopoe as just two of many such narratives. For Muslims, the fanciful story was both an entertainment that orbited sometimes closely and sometimes distantly around the text of the Quran and an edifying text to show a moral value. All the biblical figures were precedent setting, though to a lesser degree than was Muhammad; and their teachings were never raised to the status of law.

5. Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Sustained contact between Muslims and Europeans, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has produced varied and sometimes ambiguous reactions to Western culture on the part of the Muslims. Since the Bible was regarded as part of Western culture because of its identification with European Christians, some Muslims tried to reconcile the Quran with the Bible, while others rejected the Bible as they rejected the culture of Western imperialism. The Egyptian nationalist and theologian Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905) and his pupil Rashîd Riḍâ' rejected all so-called *Isrâ'îlîyât* stories as having been made up in order to subvert God's true religion. This, of course, continues Ibn Ḥazm's perspective of vilification by attributing evil motives to the variances between the Bible and the Quran.

Syed Abul 'Alâ Maudoodi (1903–79), in his *Tafhîm al-Qur'ân,* treated the biblical text seriously, although it is interpreted in the light of the Quran. He invoked some biblical verses in support of his argument but rejected others as not "worthy of the high character" of the prophet under discussion. Maulana Muhammad Ali (1875–1951), the prolific Aḥmadîya writer, made use of the results of biblical higher criticism to demonstrate his point that, while the Bible is inaccurate, the individuals mentioned in the Bible and in the Quran were historical figures. In neither author, however, is there a significant attempt to reinterpret the "biblical" figures in any way differently from that of the classical Islamic Quran commentaries.

Biblical themes appear outside of religious literature as Muslims have adopted the secular literary forms of plays and novels. Najib Mahfuz (b. 1912), for example,

in his novel *Awlâd Hâratinâ,* depicts three thinly disguised prophets representing Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad to voice his own critique of modern Egyptian life and the nature of the modern world.

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G. D. NEWBY

R

RABANUS MAURUS (c. 780–856)

R. was educated and became a Benedictine monk at the important abbey of Fulda. He studied under ALCUIN at Tours, returning to Fulda to teach before Alcuin's death in 804. Ordained a priest in 814, he became abbot at Fulda in 822. His twenty years of leadership were marked by good administration, an increase in physical facilities, the founding of churches, the collection of relics, and the abbey's expanding role as an educational center. After retiring as abbot, R. was called back into administration in 847, when he was consecrated bishop of Mainz, a post he held until his death, Feb. 4, 856.

R. produced commentaries on most of the biblical books—the Heptateuch, Ruth, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, Esther, Judith, 1–4 Maccabees, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah with Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Matthew, John, Acts, and the Pauline epistles—many dedicated to important political and ecclesiastical leaders, which ensured their circulation. Isaiah, Daniel, and John remain unprinted. R. drew upon the patristic sources that were available to him, especially JEROME, AUGUSTINE, BEDE, and GREGORY THE GREAT, and reported that he had produced a compilation of quotations on biblical passages by Gregory.

R.'s literary output was enormous. In additon to poetry and his *De institutione clericorum* (a manual for clergy in 3 books), two other works related to biblical interpretation should be noted. His encyclopedic work *De rerum naturis* (later referred to as *De universo*) parallels ISIDORE's *Etymologies.* Its twenty-two books cover a wide variety of learning and many subjects (most of R.'s material on the liberal arts was incorporated in book three of *De institutione*), but it is fundamentally a collection of excerpts with new allegorical and mystical interpretations supplied by R. The work was intended as a reference, especially for use in Scripture study. *Allegoriae in universam sacram Scripturam* is a collection of allegories derived from patristic biblical interpretations and writings.

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RABBINIC BIBLE

At the end of 1517 the first edition of the Rabbinic Bible (RB) in four volumes edited by the convert Felix Pratensis (d. 1539) was published by the Christian publisher D. BOMBERG in Venice; the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) and Megillot had been published at the end of 1516. (Since at least the nineteenth century the RB has been referred to as *Miqra'ot Gedolot* [see title page RB1808; photo *EncJud* 2, 783], although in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was referred to as *Miqra Gedola* [MS Parma 130/7, f. 43b, dated 1573; *Responsa of R. Jacob of the House of Levi,* 1614, f. 56a] or *'Arba Ve' Esrim Gadol* [title page RB1548], i.e., a folio-size Bible.) Several features mark the originality and importance of this 1517 Bible edition. Compared to the more than sixty Bibles that were printed between 1477 and 1517 (mostly parts of the Bible, some with a commentary and/or a Targum; four or five complete editions with text alone), RB1517 was the first complete Bible edition to include at least one commentary and an Aramaic TARGUM (excluding Daniel, Ezra–Nehemiah, and 1–2 Chronicles) on every book. Many

of these commentaries and Targums, including (at the end of vol. 4) the Jerusalem Targum to the Pentateuch and the Second Targum to Esther, were printed here for the first time.

RB1517 was, in fact, the first printed edition of the HB. Unlike his predecessors, Pratensis did not simply copy the manuscripts before him. Rather, as befitting a humanist, he gathered several manuscripts for use in determining the Bible text, including vocalization and accentuation. For the first time in any printed Bible, he noted in the margins variants that he found in the manuscripts (variants in plene-defective spelling, variants in vocalization and accentuation, and other textual variants), beginning with Joshua (excluding five cases in Genesis and one in Deuteronomy). Unlike his predecessors, who printed the *ketiv* in cases of *"qeri* and *ketiv"* with the vocalization of the *qeri,* Pratensis was the first to include also the *qeri* in the margin.

In an appendix to the edition, he was the first to print A. BEN ASHER's *Sha' ar Diqduqei Ha-Teamim* as well as two non-Masoretic treatises, all three based on a faulty manuscript (MS Berne Burgerbibliotek 419, as shown by A. Dotan), which he, together with the Venetian rabbis, tried to correct (not altogether successfully). This manuscript also served as the basis for the *massorah magna* lists he was the first to print, along with a list of the variants between Ben Asher and BEN NAPHTALI in the Pentateuch and the Megillot (this latter list was useless because it lacked the vocalization and accentuation in all the examples).

In spite of the understandable pride in this edition noted by Bomberg and Pratensis (the former, in the colophon to the edition; the latter, in his dedication to Pope Leo X on the verso of the title page in some copies), only eight years later Bomberg made the effort to hire another editor and publish a new edition of the RB, also in four folio volumes (c. August–October 1525). To understand this unusual decision to not simply publish a second print of RB1517, we must first consider JACOB BEN ḤAYYIM IBN ADONIYAHU, the editor of the second RB, who convinced Bomberg to invest in a new edition. His motivation was twofold: He wanted to edit the Masorah for publication, and he felt that RB1517—contrary to the judgment of its publisher and editor—did not restore the Bible text to its original splendor. Therefore, unlike editions of other works that Bomberg had printed, RB1517 could not serve as an exemplary edition.

Ben Ḥayyim's interest in the Masorah stemmed from his learning in TALMUD, Halakhah, and KABBALAH. From his predecessors in these disciplines he had learned of the great value of the Masorah as guardian of the Bible text and as a source for homiletical explanations. Seeing that his contemporaries, including various scholars, neglected the Masorah and that it was "almost forgotten and lost," Ben Ḥayyim wanted to restore its importance. He therefore convinced Bomberg—as explicitly stated in the RB1525 introduction—of the great value of the Masorah and spared no effort in preparing it for print.

Ben Ḥayyim valued the work of the Masoretes, especially in the light of his kabbalistic outlook: The Masoretes preserved the text of the Pentateuch and thereby preserved "the divine edifice hewn with the name of God." Indeed, Ben Ḥayyim valued the correct text of the Bible in its entirety, for it serves as the basis for kabbalistic mysteries (e.g., he noted in the introduction to RB1525 that the *qeri* and *ketiv* system refers to mysteries of the Torah). In some unusual comments in the *massorah parva* and *massorah magna* in RB1525, he expanded the concept to include vocalization and accentuation, explaining—by allusion only—unusual vocalization or accentuation according to the Kabbalah, specifically following the *Zohar.* His kabbalistic conception of the Torah and of the work of the Masoretes can be seen in his unique note in the *massorah magna* of RB1525 (Exod 10:5), where he chose between two conflicting Masorahs concerning plene-defective spelling on the basis of a kabbalistic explanation.

It appears that in convincing Bomberg to print the Masorah Ben Ḥayyim also explained to the publisher the value of the Masorah according to Kabbalah. In those days kabbalistic studies were popular among various Christian Hebraists. Bomberg was aware of this enthusiasm and, indeed, explicitly said in his Latin introduction to the *Miqneh Avram* of R. Abraham de Balmes—published at Bomberg's press in 1523—that he wanted to publish kabbalistic books, which were important to every Christian. (Similar thoughts were already expressed in the Pratensis-Bomberg Apr. 23, 1515, request to the Venetian authorities for exclusive rights to print Pratensis's Latin translation of kabbalistic works as well as the RB in Venice.) Thus Ben Ḥayyim's kabbalistic reasoning did not fall on deaf ears.

The second reason for the publication of RB1525—Ben Ḥayyim's evaluation that RB1517 did not restore the Bible text to its original splendor—is not explicitly stated; however, it becomes apparent through a careful comparison of the two editions. RB1517 and RB1525 differ in four areas (aside from the number of commentaries): (1) unusual letters (*puncta, suspensae, majuscular,* etc.); (2) marking of the *qeri* and of the apparatus of the *massorah parva* in general; (3) the apparatus of the *massorah magna* and of the *massorah finalis;* and (4) the Bible text, its accentuation and vocalization. In the first three categories, although Pratensis made pioneering efforts, Ben Ḥayyim was more accurate and comprehensive in reflecting the Masorah. In the fourth category, a comparison of the text in Genesis, Joshua, and Proverbs in both editions and of the vocalization and accentuation of the first four chapters of these books shows that these editions differ regarding the text

(mostly plene-defective spellings) as well as the vocalization and accentuation (mostly concerning *ga'ayot,* the sign for the *qamaṣ qatan* [Pratensis with *qamaṣ* and *shewa*], and variants in accents). Projecting the results for the entire Bible, one can estimate that the editions differ in about one percent of the text and in about one percent of the biblical accents and vocalization. These results allow us to deduce that the editor of RB1525 thought that RB1517 was faulty not only in matters of Masorah but also in matters of unusual letters, biblical text, and accents and vocalization. We can assume that Ben Ḥayyim persuaded Bomberg that there was a need to correct these other faults and to publish a new edition of the RB based on accurate biblical manuscripts accompanied by Masorah. Ben Ḥayyim was not proposing just to supplement RB1517 but, rather, to make all the necessary corrections.

An analysis of Ben Ḥayyim's introduction to RB1525, which was the first printed work devoted entirely to Masoretic topics (*qeri* and *ketiv;* variants between the Masorah and the Talmud concerning the biblical text; *tiqqun soferim* and *itur soferim;* the value of the Masorah as guardian of the Bible text and as a basis for *derashot*) as well as its influence on Ben Ḥayyim's contemporaries and on the following generations can be found in J. Penkower's study (1982). The latter also contains a detailed analysis of Ben Ḥayyim's conception of the biblical text and of the Masorah, based on his numerous notes throughout RB1525 in the *massorah parva, massorah magna,* and *massorah finalis,* which deal with the conflicts in the sources at his disposal. Furthermore, an analysis of Ben Ḥayyim as editor of RB1525 is undertaken there, based on several types of conflicts within RB1525 (not noted by Ben Ḥayyim).

A comparison of the textual, vocalization, and accentuation variants between RB1517 and RB1525, noted above with the accurate Tiberian manuscripts, Spanish manuscripts, and Ashkenazi manuscripts (the latter are farthest from the accurate Tiberian manuscripts, differing widely, especially regarding plene-defective spellings) yields the following results (for further details, see Penkower). Both RB1517 and RB1525 are essentially based on what have been identified as "accurate Spanish manuscripts" (fairly close to the accurate Tiberian manuscripts, although there exist a certain number of variants between them, mostly in plene-defective spelling; these variants are apparently no more than 1 percent of the text). However, in editing RB1517 Pratensis did not follow these manuscripts exclusively. Rather, he chose to include several phenomena based on Ashkenazi sources, e.g., a subsystem of accentuation in Proverbs (and Psalms); the systematic marking of "light" *ga'ayot,* including in the Hagiographa; the marking of *qamaṣ qatan* with *qamaṣ* and *shewa*; and the vocalizing of *bin-Nun* with *dagesh* in the first letter of the second word. Similarly, RB1517 contains a group of twenty-four textual variants in Joshua (non–plene-defective variants) based on Ashkenazi sources. Pratensis thought he was restoring the text to its correct state in all matters—text, vocalization, accentuation, and *ga'ayot.* In fact, his edition was a new hybrid not found in the manuscripts. Ben Ḥayyim, on the other hand, relied on accurate Spanish manuscripts in all their details—text (though there is some sporadic influence from other types), vocalization, and accentuation—in order to achieve a correct edition of the Bible. In matters of *ga'ayot* in the Pentateuch and the Prophets, however, he relied on RB1517, even though this disagreed with the accurate manuscripts. In the Hagiographa, he reverted to his original procedure and relied on the Spanish manuscripts concerning *ga'ayot* as well.

RB1525 became the standard for generations and was regarded as the *textus receptus.* When there was a renewed demand for the RB, a new edition was not undertaken. Rather, additional printings of RB1525 were published, sometimes with the addition of a commentary and sometimes with corrections concerning the Masorah. Thus, we find RB1548 (Bomberg); RB1568 (G. Di Gara [fl. 1564–1610]); RB1617–18 (Braggadin, Venice; corrected by R. Leon de Modena [1571–1648]); and RB1618–19 (L. König, Basel; corrected by J. Buxtorf). The position achieved by Ben Ḥayyim's RB can further be seen by the fact that RB1548 was the Bible held up to scrutiny by the two Bible text critics (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM) R. Menaḥem di Lonzano (*'Or Tora* [1618]) and R. Yedidya Norẓi (*Minḥat Shai* [1626]). Later generations right into the twentieth century have continued to print the RB, often adding commentaries without attempting a major revision of the text and the Masorah. A reduced-size photo edition of RB1525 was published in Jerusalem in 1972 with an introduction by M. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN (note that the Jerusalem Targum at the end of vol. 1 actually comes from RB1548; Ibn Ezra's introduction to his commentary is missing at the beginning of vol. 1; at the beginning of vol. 2, pp. 5-6 should be placed after p. 18; at the end of vol. 2, the order should be: pp. 396, 398, 397 = 399 [2 Kgs 19:23*b*–20:11*a* is missing], 400).

A new edition of the Pentateuch with Targum and commentaries, *Torat Ḥayyim,* was published by M. Kook (7 vols., Jerusalem, 1986–93). This edition brings together several elements that had been published earlier separately: The Pentateuch text was edited anew (M. Breuer [c. 1992]) and is meant to reflect the Aleppo Codex and the manuscripts close to its tradition (though certain liberties were taken concerning vocalization and accentuation); *Targum Onqelos* was edited based on the Yemenite tradition (Y. Qapaḥ); and the commentaries were also edited anew (various editors). This edition, however, completely lacks the Masorah (even though it includes the medieval midrashic commentary of R. Meir of Rothenberg on the Masorah), one of the essential

elements of the RB since 1525, and therefore should not be considered a classic RB.

Recently an entirely new edition of the RB has been planned, edited by M. Cohen of Bar-Ilan University. In this edition, the text and Masorah, which is explained in a separate apparatus, will be based on the Aleppo Codex—the most accurate of all Tiberian manuscripts (on the editorial policy concerning the parts missing in the Aleppo Codex see the introduction in the volume on Joshua [44-77] and in the volume on 1–2 Kings); and the Targum and commentaries (with punctuation and sources added) will be edited anew based on manuscripts. To date five volumes have appeared: Joshua and Judges (1992, with a detailed introduction by the editor); 1–2 Samuel (1993); 1–2 Kings (1995, with further introductory material); Isaiah (1996); and Genesis (vol. 1 to 25:18, 1997). Genesis (vol. 2) is now in press. When completed, the edition will also be available on CD ROM, allowing for searches on all its components.

Bibliography: **M. Breuer,** *Masorah Magna to the Pentateuch* (c. 1992). **M. Cohen,** *Miqra'ot Gedolot Ha-Keter, Joshua and Judges* (1992) 1-100 (Hebrew); *1 and 2 Kings* (1995) 1-26 (Hebrew). **J. S. Penkower,** "Jacob ben Ḥayyim and the Rise of the Biblia Rabbinica" (diss., Hebrew University, 1982) Hebrew with extensive summary in English and detailed bibliography.

J. S. PENKOWER

RAD, GERHARD VON (1901–71)

Born Oct. 21, 1901, in Nuremburg, R. died Oct. 31, 1971, in Heidelberg. He studied theology at Erlangen and Tübingen (1921–25) and completed his doctorate at Erlangen (1928) and his habilitation at Leipzig (1930). He served as tutor at Erlangen (1929–30), as *Dozent* and as *ausserordentlicher* professor at Leipzig (1930–34), and as full professor at Jena (from 1934). On his return in 1945 from military service, including time served as a prisoner of war, he went first to Göttingen, then to Heidelberg (1949), where he became professor emeritus in 1967.

R.'s ecclesiastical home was Franconian-Bavarian Lutheranism; K. Heim (1874–1958) and P. Althaus (1888–1966) were the theological teachers who most influenced him. As a student he had read K. BARTH's *Letter to the Romans* as a new book; and Barth's thinking and works were a constant presence with him, especially as mediated by G. Merz (1892–1959). The German church's difficulties in the 1920s and the dangerous church struggle of the Hitler era pushed R. toward the HB. Isolated in Jena during the Third Reich in a theological faculty occupied primarily by "German Christians," R. served the Confessing Church through his exegesis of the HB among German congregations, traveling and lecturing extensively. Such exegesis and above all his preaching were the goal of his entire scholarly life's work.

R. received inspiration from his great teacher at Leipzig A. ALT and also profited from the works of M. NOTH, another of Alt's students and R.'s predecessor at Leipzig. R. was personally less attuned to the historical craft as practiced by Alt and Noth. Rather, his great charisma resulted from his ability to feel his way into the text with artistic power and thus bring it to life and allow it to speak, always in conjunction with the application of sound exegetical methods and in the framework of his comprehensive literary erudition. His greatest contribution was not so much his frequently controversial scholarly theses as his expectant approach to the texts. As an academic teacher, he understood himself as sharing this approach with his students, an attitude that can still be detected in his books. Thus it is no accident that his commentary on Genesis remains his most read book, having been shaped under the influence of his personal experiences during the war.

In his first publications R. sought the key to the important literary works of the HB. His 1929 dissertation grasped Deuteronomy as a unity impressed with the idea of the people of God. In his 1930 *Habilitationschrift* he maintained that the view of history in the chronicler's work derived more from DEUTERONOMISTIC historical writing than from the priestly document. In 1934 he described the design of salvation history in P (which he did not consider a literary unity) in the form of three concentric circles: the world circle, the Noah circle, and the Abrahamic circle. He dared at the same time to posit a surprisingly novel key to understanding the Hexateuch as a whole, offering a form-critical hypothesis (see FORM CRITICISM): In the beginning there had been the "small historical credo" of Deut 26:5-9 and related texts. The recitation of this credo at the feast of weeks, in combination with the recitation of the Sinai tradition at the feast of booths (Succoth), developed through numerous stages (the most important of which had been the writing down of the story in literary form by the Yahwist) and achieved its final form while retaining the decisive basic motifs preserved in the small historical credo. R. traced HB traditions back to cultic rites and institutions—in this he was influenced by S. MOWINCKEL—but he employed his own historical and form-critical ideas. Thus he derived the structure of Deuteronomy from the liturgy of the "covenant-renewal festival" of the "amphictyony," celebrated annually in Shechem (1947), and also interpreted "holy war in ancient Israel" as an institution of this amphictyony (1951).

In his culminating work, the two-volume *OT Theology,* R.'s goal was not the reconstruction of a historical or systematic synthesis (e.g., he denied a "center of the OT") but, rather, the retelling of the HB witnesses naturally, through critical reflection, in their theological

dimension. In something of a contradiction to this intent, the first volume (1957) begins with "a history of Yahwism and of the sacral institutions in Israel in outline," which is extremely informative in terms of the state of contemporary research. After this introduction, "the theology of Israel's historical traditions" (the Hexateuch and the historical books) follows. A section on Psalms and Wisdom is subsumed under the heading "Israel before Yahweh (Israel's answer)." The second volume (1960) treating "the theology of Israel's prophetic traditions" separates these traditions with unexpected sharpness from the rest of the HB. However, the roots of the prophets in earlier traditions are strongly postulated in the first volume. The second volume concludes with a discussion of the relationship between the HB and the NT.

For most of his life R. had understood the HB primarily in terms of the traditions of history and cult. During the last years of his life he consciously applied himself to the correction of the one-sidedness of his earlier work by the study of Wisdom, which he had earlier considered a fringe phenomenon. His 1970 book surprised many scholars. Still, the fundamental problem that stood behind the rich and vital presentation of this thought-world was the one that had motivated R. in his work on the historical biblical witnesses and that had imprinted his entire theological existence: the relationship of faith to reality.

Works: *Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium* (BWANT 47, 1929); *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes* (BWANT 54, 1930); *Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch* (BWANT 65, 1934); *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch* (BWANT 78, 1938; ET 1965); *Mose* (1940; ET 1959); *Deuteronomium-Studien* (FRLANT 58, 1947, 1948^2; ET, SBT 9, 1953); *Das erste Buch Mose: Genesis* (ATD 204, 1949–53, 1981^{11}; ET, OTL, 1972, 1976^2); *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (1951, 1969^5; ET, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991] with intro. by B. C. Ollenburger [1-33] and "War, Peace, and Justice in the HB: A Representative Bibliography," by J. E. Sanderson [135-66]); *Theologie des Alten Testaments* 1 (1957, 1982^8; ET 1962), 2 (1960, 1984^8; ET 1965); *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (TBü 8, 1958, 1971^4); *Das fünfte Buch Mose: Deuteronomium* (ATD 8, 1964, 1968^2; ET, OTL, 1966); *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (1965); *Die Botschaft der Propheten* (1967; ET, *The Message of the Prophets* [1968]); *Weisheit in Israel* (1970, 1985^3; ET, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972]); *Das Opfer des Abraham* (1971, 1976^2); *Predigten* (ed. U. von Rad, 1972); *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* 2 (TBü 48, ed. R. Smend, 1973); *Predigt-Meditationen* (1973; ET *Biblical Interpretations in Preaching* [1977]); *Gottes Wirken in Israel: Vorträge zum Alten Testament* (ed. O. H. Steck, 1974; ET, *God at Work in Israel* [1980]); *Erinnerungen aus der Kriegsgefangeschaft Frühjahr 1945* (1976). For additional bibliography see K. von Rabenau, *Probleme biblischer Theologie: G. R. zum 70. Geburstag* (ed. H. W. Wolff, 1971) 665-81.

Bibliography: **M. E. Andrew,** "G. R.: A Personal Memoir," *ExpTim* 81 (1972) 296-300. **F. Baumgärtel,** "G. R.'s 'Theologie des Alten Testaments,' " *TLZ* 86 (1961) 801-16, 896-908. **J. L. Crenshaw,** *Gerhard von Rad* (Makers of the Modern Theological Mind, 1978); *HHMBI*, 526-31. **G. H. Davies,** "G. v. R.: OT Theology," *Contemporary OT Theologians* (ed. R. B. Laurin, 1970) 63-90. **M. Honecker,** "Zum Verständnis der Geschichte in G. R.s Theologie des alten Testaments," *EvTh* 23 (1963) 143-68. **K. Koch,** *Tendenzen der Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine Geschichte in Porträts* (ed. H. J. Schultz, 1966) 483-87. **W. H. Schmidt,** " 'Theologie des Alten Testaments' vor und nach G. R.," *VF* 17 (1972) 1-25. **R. Smend,** *DATDJ*, 226-54. **D. C. Spriggs,** *Two OT Theologies: A Comparative Evaluation of the Contributions of Eichrodt and R. to Our Understanding of the Nature of OT Theology* (1974). **H. W. Wolff,** "Gespräch mit G. R.," *Probleme biblischer Theologie: G. R. zum 70. Geburtstag* (1971) 648-58. **H. W. Wolff, R. Rentorff, and W. Pannenberg,** *G. R.: Seine Bedeutung für die Theologie* (1973). **W. Zimmerli,** "G. R., 'Theologie des Alten Testaments,' " *VT* 13 (1963) 100-111.

R. SMEND

RAHLFS, OTTO GUSTAV ALFRED (1865–1935)

Born in Linden, R. enrolled at Göttingen (1883), where, except for one semester in Halle, he remained all his life, serving successively as *Privatdozent* (1891), *ausserordentlicher* professor (1901), and full professor (1919). He studied oriental languages mainly under P. de LAGARDE, whose visionary program for restoring a prerecensional SEPTUAGINT (LXX) text became the central focus of R.'s academic life. After Lagarde's death in 1891 R. completed and saw through the press Lagarde's *Septuaginta-Studien* (vol. 2, 1892) and his *Bibliothecae Syriacae a Paulo de Lagarde collectae* (1892). R.'s own career as LXX scholar was firmly established by his *Septuaginta-Studien* (3 vols., 1904–11).

In 1908 on the insistence of R. SMEND and J. WELLHAUSEN, the Septuaginta-Unternehmen was established to promote LXX studies, with the end of producing critical texts with full apparatuses for all the books of the Greek HB. The formation and development of the Unternehmen was entrusted to R., who remained its director until shortly before his death.

R. collected photographs of LXX manuscripts in libraries throughout the world for eventual collation (the Unternehmen currently has an almost complete collection of photographs and microfilms of pre-Gutenberg LXX manuscripts) and catalogued extant manuscripts (including Catena manuscripts), which appeared as vol. 2 of the *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* (*MSU*) in 1914 and remains the basis for all work in LXX manuscripts.

World War I and the economic collapse in postwar Germany meant that instead of independent recollations of manuscripts R. prepared a small critical pocket edi-

tion of Ruth (1922) as well as of Genesis (1926), based on the collations of the Cambridge Septuagint. *Psalmi cum Odis,* which appeared as the first volume of the Göttingen Septuaginta, is based on a new collation of the older materials only; the work did not include a collation of hexaplaric materials.

The work for which R. is best known is his two-volume *Handausgabe* of the entire LXX, based almost exclusively on a collation of the old uncials—Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and Sinaiticus—but embodying the careful and mature philological judgments of the major LXX scholar of the twentieth century. Only the volumes of the Göttingen Septuaginta, which without R.'s preparations would be unthinkable, purport to improve on his texts.

Works: *Die Berliner-Handschrift des sahidischen Psalters herausgegeben* (AGWG.PH, 1901); *Septuaginta-Studien,* vol. 1, *Studien zu Königsbüchern* (1904); vol. 2, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters* (1907); vol. 3, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher* (1911); (with P. Glaue), "Fragmente einer grischisechen Übersetzung des samaritanischen Pentateuchs," *MSU* 1 (1911) 29-68; (with W. Gerhauser), "Münchener Septuaginta-Fragmente," *MSU* 1 (1913) 101-18; *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des AT* (*MSU* 2, 1914); "Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche," *MSU* 1 (1915) 119-230; (with L. Lütkemann), "Hexaplarische Randnoten zu Isaias 1–16, aus einer Sinai-Handschrift," *MSU* 1 (1915) 231-386; "Über einige alttestamentliche Handschriften des Abessinierklosters S. Stefano zu Rom," *MSU* 3 (1918) 1-46; "Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth," *MSU* 3 (1922) 47-164; *Das Buch Ruth griechische als Probe einer kritischen Handausgabe der Septuaginta* (1922); *Genesis, Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Gottingensis auctoritate edidit* 1 (1926); "P. de Lagardes wissenschaftliches Lebenswerk im Rahmen einer Geschichte seines Lebens dargestellt," *MSU* 4 (1928) 1-98; *Psalmi cum Odis, Septuaginta Societatis Scientarium Gottingensis auctoritate edidit* 10 (1931); *Septuaginta id est VT Graeca iuxta LXX interpretes edidit* 2 (1935). For full biography see repr. of *Septuaginta-Studient* 1–3 (1965) 682-88.

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J. W. WEVERS

RAINOLDS (or REYNOLDS), JOHN (1549–1607)

An English Bible translator, R. was born at Pinhoe, near Exeter, in 1549 and attended Merton College and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he became a fellow. In 1593 he was made dean of Lincoln and in 1598 was elected president of Corpus. James I chose him to be one of the Puritan participants in the Hampton Court Conference of 1604. and it was he who moved that there should be a new TRANSLATION of the Bible. The king favored the proposal; and work was begun on the translation, which came to be known as the Authorized (or King James) Version. The translators were divided into six companies, two at Oxford, two at Cambridge, and two at Westminster. R. was a member of the Oxford company that translated the HB, beginning with Isaiah and ending with Malachi. He seems to have been the dominant member of his company until his death, by which time most of its work was done. He died May 21, 1607, four years before the AV appeared in print.

Bibliography: **T. Fowler,** *DNB* 47 (1896) 180-82; *University of Oxford, College Histories: Corpus Christi* (1898). **T. Fuller,** *The Church History of Britain* 3 (new ed. 1837) 172, 182-83, 230-31. **O. S. Opfell,** *The King James Bible Translators* (1982). **G. S. Paine,** *The Learned Men* (1959). **A. à Wood,** *Athenae Oxonienses* 2 (new ed. 1815) 12-19.

A. W. WAINWRIGHT

RAMSAY, WILLIAM MITCHELL (1851–1939)

Born in Glasgow, Scotland, Mar. 15, 1851, R. attended the University of Aberdeen and St. John's College, Oxford, where he studied classics and humanities. He spent the summer of 1874 at Göttingen studying Sanskrit. Elected a fellow successively of Exeter (1882) and Lincoln (1885) colleges, he served as Regius Professor of Humanities at Aberdeen from 1886 until his retirement in 1911. As a student he traveled in Greece and in Asia Minor (1880), which became the focus of his lifetime work; throughout his career he visited and worked extensively there. He delivered the Gifford lectures at Edinburgh in 1915–16 (published in 1927) and authored numerous articles for HASTINGS's *Dictionary of the Bible.* He died at Bournemouth, Apr. 20, 1939.

R.'s interests were the topography, geography, inscriptions, and overall history of Asia Minor in the Roman period and their relationship to early church history. His knowledge of the region was without peer, and his lasting contribution to NT studies lies in the coordination of his research with biblical interpretation of texts related to the early church in Asia Minor. Through studies on Luke he attempted to demonstrate that Luke was a reliable and accurate historian. He also elucidated the work of PAUL through a study of the cities in which the apostle labored. R. was a strong advocate of the so-called South Galatian theory—namely, that Paul had addressed the letter to the Galatians to Christians living in southern Asia Minor rather than in the old northern province of Galatia. In his later works R. tended to become more extravagant in his claims regarding the trustworthiness of the NT writings.

Works: *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1890); *The Church in the Roman Empire Before AD 170* (1893); *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (1895); *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phyrgia* (vol. 1, 2 pts., 1895–97); *Was Christ Born at Bethelehem? A Study of the Credibility of St. Luke* (1898); *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (1899); *Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia* (1904); *Pauline and Other Studies in Early Christian History* (1906); *The Cities of St. Paul: Their Influence on His Life and Thought* (1907); *Luke the Physician and Other Studies in the History of Religion* (1908); *Pictures of the Apostolic Church: Studies in the Book of Acts* (1910); *The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day* (1913); *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the NT* (1915); *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization* (1927); *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor* (ed. J. G. C. Anderson, 1941).

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J. H. HAYES

RAMSEY, PAUL (1913–88)

Born in Mendenhall, Mississippi, R. graduated from Millsaps College (1935) and received the BD (1940) and PhD (1943) from Yale University. After brief teaching assignments at Millsaps, Garrett Biblical Institute, and Yale Divinity School, he joined the faculty of Princeton University in 1944. He was named Harrington Spear Paine Professor of Religion in 1957. One of the most influential theological ethicists in the United States in the period following WWII, R. remained at the forefront of debate concerning the most critical and complex moral issues of the day, including modern warfare, medical ethics, and genetic control over human reproduction.

The biblical notion of God's covenant with humanity provides the fundamental structure for R.'s interpretation of Christian ethics and for his concepts of human nature and of community. Human beings are created in and for covenant relationships with their fellow humans (1950): They are created for community based on "obedient love," which includes human justice (*mišpāṭ*) modeled after the righteousness of God (*ṣedeq*). Although the full meaning of the biblical concept of *agape* is disclosed in the life and teachings of JESUS, the idea itself is grounded in and informed by the fundamental biblical conceptions of the righteousness of God and the reign of God, both ultimately rooted in the covenant. For R., love is neighbor centered, primarily concerned with right relations (faithfulness, fidelity) among persons and only secondarily with the consequences of moral choices. In this respect R.'s ethic is basically deontological rather than teleological, especially in his later works (1967).

As the basic norm of Christian ethics, *agape* needs the resources of natural justice, particularly in the area of social policy. In all such relationships love remains sovereign and free, seeking to meet the needs of the neighbor through enlisting and transforming natural justice, not apart from it. Like the virtues of patience, kindness, and courage, justice based on reason and directed toward the neighbor is a form of neighbor-love.

R.'s attempt to relate the biblical concept of *agape* to problems in social ethics led in his later works to a shift from *agape* to covenant as the basic norm of Christian ethics. In *The Patient as Person* he appealed to covenant as the basis for the claims of faithfulness and fidelity implicit in the practice of medicine. Covenant is more precise than *agape* as a symbol of the relationship of individuals to community, and it provides a broader basis for moral discourse in a pluralistic society.

Works: *Basic Christian Ethics* (1950); *War and the Christian Conscience* (1961); *Deeds and Rules in Christian Ethics* (1967); *The Just War: Force and Political Responsibility* (1968); *Fabricated Man* (1970); *The Patient as Person* (1970); *Ethics at the Edges of Life* (1978).

Bibliography: **D. Attwood,** *P. R.'s Political Ethics* (1992). **C. E. Curran,** *Politics, Medicine, and Christian Ethics: A Dialogue with P. R.* (1973). **E. C. Gardner,** *Christocentrism in Christian Social Ethics: A Depth Study of Eight Modern Protestants* (1983). **J. M. Gustafson,** *Ethics from a Theocentric Perspective* 2 (1984). **J. T. Johnson and D. H. Smith** (eds.), *Love and Society: Essays in the Ethics of P. R.* (1974).

E. C. GARDNER

RAMUS, PETER (PIERRE DE LA RAMÉE) (1515–72)

R. was a French logician and philosopher whose reforms of logic and education sought an alternative to reigning scholastic methods. His career was marked by quarrels within the universities where he taught and throughout his tours of European centers of learning. By 1570 he had espoused Protestantism and adopted a modified form of Zwinglian theology. This faith endangered his position at the Collège de Presles and his regius professorship. His prominence in the university made him a target for the Parisian mob in search of victims when King Charles IX ordered the assassinations of French Protestant political leaders in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre (Aug. 23, 1572). R. was seized while praying, shot, and stabbed, and his body was thrown into the Seine.

R. wanted to reorganize and reform dialectic and rhetoric in line with emerging sixteenth-century humanism. He is reputed to have defended the proposition "All that Aristotle taught is 'artificial' [*commentitia*]" for his master's thesis. Although the incident is false, it reflects his desire for education to be practical and directed away from the contemporary complicated Aristotelian logic.

R. simplified Aristotelian categories into "arguments" or "concepts." Logicians were to classify and arrange concepts so that they become understandable and memorable. "Method" meant the orderly presentation of a subject, most often in the form of dichotomies; a subject thus analyzed produced a visual skeletal blueprint resembling a branching tree, in which all elements were divided and subdivided, moving from general to particular. The alternative form of reasoning, the syllogism, was used heavily by Aristotelians but sparingly by Ramists, who instead stressed self-evidencing axioms, which they categorized according to method so the constitutive parts of any subject could be clearly seen.

Ramism was particularly useful to leading English Puritans, including W. PERKINS, W. Ames (1576–1633), G. Downame (d. 1634), J. Downame (d. 1652), W. Gouge (1578–1653), and J. Yates. Puritan Ramists used grammatical, rhetorical, and logical analysis for the "resolution" of Scripture passages. Placing texts in their biblical contexts, they defined words then "divided" the text by Ramist logic through definition, division, and classification from general to specific. This produced a Ramist chart with "branches" that served as "topics" or "commonplaces" to show quickly the text's lineaments and their interrelationships. Biblical interpretation could be eminently practical in drawing out both a text's theological and ethical meanings (application, use) along the usual lines of Ramist dichotomy of theory/practice or doctrine/life. This unified theology and ethics, thus fitting the pattern for Puritan "plain style preaching." Puritan Ramists believed that this method uncovered the mind of the Holy Spirit, which stood behind the texts of Scripture.

Works: *Dialecticae institutiones* (1543); *Commentariorum de religione Christiana* (1576); *MSHH* 13 (1730) 259-304 contains a full listing of R.'s fifty works.

Bibliography: **D. K. McKim,** *Ramism in W. Perkins's Theology* (1987). **W. Ong,** *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (1958).

D. K. MCKIM

RASHI (RABBI SHELOMO BEN ISAAC) (1040–1105)

R. was born in Troyes, France, and completed solid Talmudic studies in the famous academies of Mayence and Worms. At the age of twenty-five he returned to Troyes, where he founded an important school. His disciples also began schools, and in time the academies of northern France exceeded in reputation those of the Rhine. R. died in Troyes, his last years saddened by illness and by the massacres perpetrated in several Jewish communities in Europe during the first crusade. His exegesis, reflected in commentaries on the TALMUD and the Bible, knew immediate and lasting success and is today still basic to Jewish studies of sacred texts.

Until the middle of the eleventh century, the teaching of the Bible in the Jewish schools of western Europe was almost exclusively based on the MIDRASH. At the beginning of the second half of the eleventh century, the Renaissance swept across Christian Europe affecting Jewish communities as well. The essential characteristic of this intellectual revival was the search for a suitable balance between the authority of tradition and the exigencies of reason. The young intellectuals of the time were no longer satisified with the old commentaries, which too often moved far away from the obvious sense of the sacred texts. Thus there simultaneously emerged among Christians and Jews a movement in exegesis that sought to emphasize the literal meaning of the Scripture without devaluing the traditional spiritual sense. For Christians, the school of St. Victor tackled this task; for Jews, the school of Rashi.

Another factor in the development of literal exegesis in the Middle Ages was the Judeo-Christian religious controversy. Christian scholars attempted to prove that the Christian faith and its dogmas were rooted in the text of the HB. Conversely, Jewish exegetes tried to show that a clear reading of these same texts dismissed all christological interpretation. It is against this historical background that one must examine R.'s exegetical work.

R. explained his method in his commentary on Gen 3:8: "The Midrashim are numerous. . . . As for me, I am only explaining *peshuto shel mikra* and introducing all Haggadah which illumines the words of the text and established the sense of it in a suitable manner." *Peshuto shel mikra* is the interpretation of difficult words, complicated grammatical forms, and dubious contructions of syntax. For this, R. drew from TARGUM *Onkelos* (e.g., on Gen 2:8; 18:15). All the same, he was inspired by the philological works of Menahem ben Saruk (10th cent.) and Dunash ben Labrat (10th cent.), e.g., on Gen 31:41-42 and Exod 28:28. Often he proposed a translation of Hebrew words in the French vernacular, e.g., Gen 1:2. The translation constitutes about one-fourth of the commentary, followed by an interpretation of the biblical message completely based on midrashic texts. R. proceeded in the following manner: First he worked out a very strict selection among the Midrashim according to criteria of literal exegesis, then he elaborated these Midrashim so as to develop a doctrine that could meet the needs of the times. His biblical exegesis is thus an

exegesis of engagement. He believed the major direction of Scripture to be anthropocentric, not theocentric. "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev 19:18) is "the fundamental rule of the Torah." The primary goal of the Bible is didactic: to educate humankind in unpretentiousness, as when God, consulting the angels, said: "Let us make humankind in our image" (Gen 1:26) in spite of the theological danger of using the plural "let us make." R. joined midrashic and grammatical explanations in order to establish that Adam and Eve would sin after the birth of their children (on Gen 3:8; 4:1). In maintaining that the offspring of Adam were originally pure and that every man is alone responsible for his own behavior, R.'s commentary implicitly rejects the idea of original sin.

The didactic tendency of R.'s exegesis is expressed most clearly in his doctrine on angels. To combat this belief in the existence of intermediaries between God and humanity, R. retained from the various rabbinical traditions the one relating that the angels were created on the second day, which made it clear that God alone created the world. He stressed that angels acted only on behalf of God and often anonymously, even when speaking in the first person (on Gen 18:10; 19:13; 32:29).

Much of R.'s energy was focused on his commentary on the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) rather than on any other book of the Bible. The impact this commentary had on Jewish communities throughout the diaspora and throughout the generations is well attested by the more than two hundred super-commentaries it generated, of which the most recent was published in 1988. Nevertheless, special note should be taken of R.'s commentaries on the Song of Songs and on the book of Psalms. His influence affected Christian exegesis as well; NICHOLAS OF LYRA (1279–1340), in particular, often referred to him.

The manuscripts and printed editions of R.'s commentaries contain many interpolations. However, the critical editions of A. Berliner (1866) and others constitute an important step toward the reconstruction of the original text, although more remains to be done in this area.

Works: Critical editions of R.'s commentaries include *Pentateuch* (ed. A. Berliner, 1866, 1905²; ed H. D. Shevel, 1981); *Twelve Prophets, Isaiah, and the Psalms* (ed. J. Maarsen, 1930, 1933, 1936); "Song of Songs," *S. K. Mirsky's Jubilee Volume* (ed. J. Rosenthal, 1958). ET of some of R.'s commentary may be found in *R. on Genesis* (L. Loewe, 1928); *Pentateuch, with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath, and R.'s Commentary* (5 vols., tr. and annotated by M. Rosenbaum and A. M. Silberbmann, 1929–34); *R. on Ezekiel xl-xlviii* (ed. A. J. Levy, 1931); *R.: Commentaries on the Pentateuch* (selected and tr. C. Pearl, 1970); *The Mystery of Creation According to R.: A New Translation and Interpretation of R. on Genesis I–VI* (P. Doron, 1982).

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E. TOUITOU

RATRAMNUS OF CORBIE (d. 868)

Involved in controversy over the Eucharist with PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, R. was condemned for teaching a doctrine of double predestination in another contemporary controversy. He is the author of treatises rather than biblical commentary, but his use of scriptural and patristic authorities in support of his arguments exemplifies a technique that developed significantly among Carolingian authors.

Works: *PL* 121; "Treatise on the Nature of the Soul," *Analecta Medievalia Namurcensia* 2 (ed. C. Lambot, 1952).

Bibliography: **T. R. Roberts,** *DMA* 10 (1988) 261.

G. R. EVANS

RAWLINSON, ALFRED EDWARD JOHN (1884–1960)

A tutor at Keble College (1909) and Christ Church (1914), Oxford, and university lecturer (1927), archdeacon of Auckland (1929), and bishop of Derby (1936–59), R. was, prior to his elevation to high office and redirection to ecumenical affairs, among the ablest of the younger Anglican theologians of his day, contributing significantly to *Foundations* (1912), *Essays Catholic and Critical* (1926), *Mysterium Christi* (1930), and *Essays on the Trinity and Incarnation* (1928), which he also edited. As an intelligent traditionalist he was initially more impressed by Roman Catholic modernism than by liberal Protestantism. He wrote a series of short books (1915, 1918, 1922, 1924), but his serious biblical works are the Westminster Commentary on Mark (1925) and his Bampton lectures on NT christology (1926), the best British response to W. BOUSSET's *Kyrios Christos.*

Both of these latter works are models of sober exegesis backed by sound history-of-religions research (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE), guided by an admitted theological interest, and reverently written.

Works: "The Interpretation of Christ in the NT" and "The Principle of Authority," *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought* (ed. B. H. Streeter et al., 1912) 147-210, 361-422; *Dogma, Fact, and Experience* (1915); *Religious Reality: A Book for Men* (1918); *Catholicism with Freedom* (1922); *Authority and Freedom* (1924); *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (1925); "Authority as a Ground of Belief," *Essays Catholic and Critical* (ed. E. G. Selwyn, 1926) 83-97; *The NT Doctrine of the Christ* (1926); "Hebraic Theism as Presupposed by the Christian Movement," *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation* (1928) 3-22.

R. MORGAN

RAWLINSON, GEORGE (1812–1902)

Brother of the distinguished soldier and orientalist, H. Rawlinson, R. was born in Oxfordshire and studied classics at Trinity College, Oxford (BA 1838; MA 1841). Ordained in the Anglican Church, he was named Camden Professor of Ancient History (1861). W. E. Gladstone secured his appointment as canon of Canterbury (1872), and in 1888 he received charge of the rectory of All Hallows, Lombard Street, which created a controversy, since he still held his post as canon of Canterbury. Consequently, he resigned his Oxford professorship.

R.'s academic career was devoted to the study of ancient history and to the defense of the historical reliability of the Bible. His survey of ancient Near Eastern history, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* (3 vols., 1862–67), and his work, *The History of Herodotus* (1858), were important contributions. Many of his other publications were summaries of information from science and history intended to verify the historical accuracy of Scripture. His first major publication of this sort was the 1859 Bampton lectures, in which he dealt with new archaeological discoveries in the Near East and which many regarded as his attempt to refute his "rationalist" colleagues at Oxford. The following year saw the publication of *Essays and Reviews* by some of his ideological opponents, to which R. responded with "On the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Pentateuch." Later, he wrote for Men of the Bible (volumes on Isaac and Jacob, Moses, the kings of Israel and Judah, and Ezra and Nehemiah) and Present Day Tracts series (*The Antiquity of Man Historically Considered* [1883]; *The Early Prevalence of Monotheistic Beliefs* [1883]; *The Religious Teachings of the Sublime and Beautiful in Nature* [1883]). In addition, he wrote for *The Pulpit Commentary,* the *Speaker's Commentary,* and *Smith's Bible Dictionary.*

R. set forth his convictions that (1) modern religious skepticism should be traced back to W. DE WETTE, D. F. STRAUSS, and other advocates of German "Noelogy"; (2) study of ancient history and the latest ancient Near Eastern ARCHAEOLOGY showed the biblical account of history to be entirely accurate; (3) it was likely that reliable, antediluvian documents lay behind Genesis; (4) the earliest human religion, monotheistic in nature and including expiatory sacrifice, gradually deteriorated into idolatry, except among the Hebrews; and (5) the priestly code of laws in the Pentateuch derived from Moses.

Works: *The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records Stated Anew* (1859); "On the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Pentateuch," *Aids to Faith* (ed. W. Thomson, 1861) 273-327; *A Manual of Ancient History: From Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire* (1869); "The Alleged Historical Difficulties of the OT and NT," *Modern Scepticism: A Course of Lectures Delivered at the Request of the Christian Evidence Society* (1871) 265-305; *Historical Illustrations of the OT* (1871); *The Heathen World and St. Paul* (1877); *The Religions of the Ancient World, Including Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia, Persia, India, Phoenicia, Etheria, Greece, and Rome* (1882); *Biblical Topography* (1887); "Moses the Author of the Levitical Code of Laws," *Lex Mosaica, or the Law of Moses and the Higher Criticism* (ed. R. V. French, 1894) 21-52.

Bibliography: **R. Bayne,** *DNB,* 2nd sup. 3 (1912) 165-67.

M. P. GRAHAM

READER-RESPONSE CRITICISM

This approach views literature in terms of its readers and their values, attitudes, and responses, thus supplementing or displacing approaches to literature that focus on either the universe imitated in the work, the author, the original audience, or the work itself. The nature and role assigned the reader, however, vary according to the critical theory being used and the explicit or implicit worldview of which the theory is an integral part.

1. Factors in Reader-response Criticism. Developments in the critical theory of S. Fish illustrate reader-response criticism and introduce significant factors in this approach. The background for his work is New Criticism and its argument that only the text is stable, since the intentions of the author are unavailable and the responses of the reader are too variable. As Fish first focused the issue, the source of meaning has to be either the text or the reader; and since the temporal dimension of reading rather than the spatial form of the text is the essential factor in meaning, he argued in favor of the reader rather than the text.

In his early emphasis on the reader, Fish viewed the variability of readers' responses negatively, as did New Criticism. To maintain a concept of validity, he distinguished two levels of experience in reading—a level

shared by all readers regardless of differences in education and culture and a secondary level that could be seen as a reaction (emotional or intellectual) to the experience of the primary level. For Fish, the proper practice of LITERARY criticism involved the suppression of the subjective and idiosyncratic in favor of the response shared by all readers.

From a later perspective, Fish acknowledged that the argument for a common reading experience required an object (the text) in relation to which readers' experiences could be seen as uniform. He was in reality retaining the most basic of new critical principles—the integrity of the text—in order to claim universality and objectivity for his method. The radical move away from new critical assumptions came when he discerned that literature is a conventional category dependent on subjective perception. This involves the denial of a basic or neutral language unrelated to perception and response. The conclusion is that "it is the reader who 'makes' literature." Fish qualifies this subjectivism by defining the reader as a member of a community that determines the attention given by the reader and the kind of literature made by the reader. "Thus the act of recognizing literature is not constrained by something in the text, nor does it issue from an independent and arbitrary will; rather, it proceeds from a collective decision as to what will count as literature, a decision that will be in force only so long as a community of readers or believers continues to abide by it" (1980, 11).

The later work of Fish redefines the activity of criticism as a matter of persuasion rather than of demonstration. The business of criticism is the determination of the perspective from which reading will proceed. This determination is not one that is made once and for all by some objective standard. The decision must be made and remade "whenever the interests and tacitly understood goals of one interpretive community replace or dislodge the interests and goals of another" (16).

2. Theoretical Context of Reader-response Criticism. Theoretical considerations enter most obviously when Fish questions the status of the knowledge involved in literature and the nature of the self or the subject in the reading process. A careful look at these considerations indicates that in reader-response criticism we do not have minor revisions of some previous system; in fact, a revolution is taking place. An indirect, but powerful, influence on this revolution is the philosophical questioning of the intrinsic limits of epistemology. The limits of knowledge have been emphasized in a dramatic fashion in the skeptical deconstruction associated with the name of J. Derrida and the failure to establish some final foundation for knowledge. Skepticism, however, is not the only possible conclusion. G. W. F. Hegel's (1770–1831) anti-foundational epistemology, for example, was accompanied by an attempt to justify knowledge in a non-linear, circular fashion through the relationship of the results obtained to the beginning point. This circular epistemology was expanded to include ontology. Thought is not sovereign; it is dependent on being. And this being against which thought is tested is being revealed in experience.

Reader-response criticism has been directly influenced by fields of study intimately related to both epistemology and TEXTUAL interpretation: HERMENEUTICS, STRUCTURALISM and post-structuralism, and phenomenology. Long before the advent of reader-response criticism, hermeneutics transformed the question of interpretation into the question of knowledge (How do we know?) and the question of being (What is the mode of being of that being who only exists through understanding?).

R. BULTMANN and the New Hermeneutic used the relationship between being, language, and humankind postulated by M. Heidegger. But the theological framework and the lack of an appropriate concept of language caused the New Hermeneutic to stagnate. Some forms of reader-response criticism, however, move back to Heidegger's idea that the understanding of a text does not simply involve the discovery of an inner meaning contained in the text but also that to understand a text is to unfold the possibility of being that is indicated by that text.

The structural tradition has also become important for reader-response criticism. French literary structuralism became popular in the 1960s and 1970s, with its emphasis on order and necessity rather than on human choice and freedom—factors emphasized by the existentialism that was its background. In post-structural developments associated with Derrida, order is replaced with a radical disordering. The structural linguistics of Saussure, then, was used for both French structuralism's positivism and post-structuralism's emphasis on the differential nature of meaning and the continual deferring of any final meaning.

The opposition between French structuralism and post-structuralism or deconstruction was actually mediated in the application of structuralism to literary study prior to French structuralism. By the late 1920s, Russian formalism as a whole had integrated the structural view of a work with history and with the individual. The structural view of the literary work as an organized whole influenced the way culture and the individual were related to the literary work by such scholars as J. Tynjanov (1894–1943) and J. Mukarovsky (20th cent.). Tynjanov viewed literature as a system standing in correlation with other systems that define literature. Literature in general and also specific works of literature, therefore, are influenced by changes in culture. The individual was first seen by Tynjanov and Mukarovsky as defined by culture, but Mukarovsky eventually shifted attention from impersonal cultural codes to human beings as the subject and ultimate source of aesthetic

interaction. The individual is then seen as the crucial aspect of aesthetic interaction; no longer an irrelevant individual superimposing private associations on a social meaning, the reader is an active force indispensable to meaning from the beginning.

The phenomenological tradition conceives of the literary work of art in such a way as to emphasize the role of the reader. In the phenomenological approach of R. Ingarden (1920–), the work of art is distinguished from the work as an aesthetic object that is constituted or concretized through the intentional act of reading. The complexity of a literary work and its apprehension are such that the reader cannot give himself or herself equally to all the components of the total apprehension. Only a few of the multiplicity of experienced and interwoven acts become central, while the rest are only co-experienced. This means that there is constant change with regard to which component acts are central at any particular moment. The same literary work is apprehended, then, in a variety of changing aspects.

3. Varieties of Reader-response Criticism. The pluralism of contemporary reader-response theory results from the lack of domination of any one worldview and critical theory. The various methodologies depend on views taken of language, self, world, text, and meaning and the relationships between all of these and other factors. Moreover, no one tradition is "pure," for wave after wave of influence has swept over literary criticism; and criticism has responded in different ways.

a. The autonomous reader. Although the concept of an autonomous reader determining *the* meaning of an autonomous text has been severely relativized, this conventional critical approach has not been completely displaced. "Post-modern" approaches (including radical reader-response approaches) are still dependent on the "modern" critical model.

b. The implied reader. The concept of implied reader does not really move away from the text and the author as the source of meaning. W. Booth speaks of implied authors and readers as rhetorical devices of the actual author that are to be discerned by the reader on the basis of such elements as the explicit commentary of the narrator, the kind of tale being told by the author, the meanings that can be extracted, and the moral and emotional content of the characters' actions. The goal of a real reader is to become the implied reader and to find the implied author.

c. Reader-reception criticism. The history of readers' reception is the concern of H. Jauss (1982). This approach attempts to situate a literary work within the cultural context of its production and then to explore the shifting relations between this context and the changing contexts of historical readers. The work of Jauss is an attempt to rehabilitate literary history in the tradition of Mukarovsky, and Jauss is credited with making the reader a central factor in the study of literature in West Germany.

d. Aesthetic-response criticism. W. Iser (1978), a colleague of Jauss at the University of Constance, has emphasized the process by which a reader actualizes a text. Iser's work falls within the hermeneutical tradition but more directly within the phenomenological tradition of Ingarden. Iser is not concerned with Jauss's goal of formulating "a theory of the aesthetics of reception" arising from the history of the readers' judgments but with the formulation of "a theory of aesthetic response" that "has its roots in the text" (1978, x). Iser makes the "gaps" and their completion by the reader a central factor in literary communication. A text is seen as a system of processes whereby language is broken up and reconstituted. This process is marked by gaps that must be completed and blanks that must be filled in. Communication begins when the reader fills in the blanks and bridges the gaps.

e. Psychological approaches. Psychological approaches to the reader emphasize the stages of development of individual readers or (as in the case of N. Holland [1973]) the role played by the "psychological set" of readers. In an early period Holland saw the literary text as providing readers with a fantasy that they introjected and experienced as their own, supplying their own associations to it. In a later period he acknowledged the limitations of viewing the literary text as an embodiment of the psychological process and moved to a description of the interdynamics of the reading experience on the basis of the four principles of expectation, defense, fantasy, and transformation.

f. Radical views of reader-response. Radical reader-response approaches see the result of reading, not in terms of interpretation or the specification of meaning, but in terms of an effect on the reader. This is visualized in different ways. J. Culler (1982), for example, suggests that the process of reading shows the reader the problems of his condition as maker and reader of signs and that this is the meaning of a work. Iser views the process of reading as the coming together of text and imagination in an experience of continual modification closely akin to our experience in life. Because of the nature of the process, the reality of the experience of reading illuminates the basic pattern of real experiences. G. Poulet (1977) emphasizes the achievement of self-transcendence. In reading, the object of the reader's thought is the thought of another; yet it is the reader who is the subject in the act of reading. The subject exists in the work. In reading, there is a movement beyond the objective elements of a work, with the purpose (or at least result) of elevating criticism "to the apprehension of a subjectivity without objectivity."

Radical reader-oriented approaches are foreign to the experience of historically oriented biblical critics because of different views of the use of language and of the nature of biblical literature. It is difficult to overcome this strangeness because conventional views of language

and life reinforce one another. Both are governed by the Enlightenment model in which subject and object—humankind and nature—are distinct, with the subject—humankind—dominating. Language is a tool of reference used by humans, and the truth of the reference is validated by the human subject through establishment of correspondence between the statement and that to which it refers. In radical reader-response criticism the subject-object dichotomy is dissolved, the subject even becoming the object in the process of reading. This may be a return to an earlier view of language, in which humankind and nature were not separated but were united by a common power. In this view, language can affect nature. In reader-response criticism, of course, language is seen as affecting the reader rather than nature.

R. Fowler suggests that "in arguing for a temporal model of reading, rather than a spatial one, we are actually returning to an understanding of language that has affinities with the language of oral culture." Different modes of consciousness are involved. The spatial written word "constitutes a literate/visual mode of consciousness," while the temporal spoken word "constitutes an oral/aural mode" (1985, 20). This may not be the only or the best way to reimage the use of biblical language, but it supports the view that the nature and function of biblical language and literature must be reconsidered before reader-response criticism can have its fullest effect.

Bibliography: **A. Bach,** *Women, Seduction, and Betrayal in Biblical Narrative* (1997). **The Bible and Culture Collective,** "Reader-response Criticism," *The Postmodern Bible* (1995) 20-69. **S. Brown,** "Reader Response: Demythologizing the Text," *NTS* 34 (1988) 232-37. **E. Cheney,** *She Can Read: Feminist Reading Strategies for Biblical Narrative* (1996). **D. J. A. Clines,** *Interested Parties: The Ideology of Writers and Readers of the HB* (GCT 1, 1995). **J. D. Culler,** *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism* (1982). **J. A. Darr,** *On Character Building: The Reader and the Rhetoric of Characterization in Luke–Acts* (1992) **R. Detweiler** (ed.), "Reader Response Approaches to Biblical and Secular Texts," *Semeia* 31 (1985). **J. C. Exum,** *Plotted, Shot, and Painted: Cultural Representations of Biblical Women* (JSOTSup 215, 1996). **J. Fetterley,** *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction* (1978). **S. Fish,** *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (1980). **R. W. Fowler,** "Who Is the 'Reader' in Reader Response Criticism?" *Semeia* 31 (1985) 5-23; *Let the Reader Understand: Reader Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark* (1991). **E. Freund,** *The Return of the Reader: Reader-response Criticism* (1987). **P. Harner,** *Relation Analysis of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Reader-response Criticism* (1993). **N. N. Holland,** *Poems and Persons: An Introduction to the Psychoanalysis of Literature* (1973). **W. Iser,** *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (1978). **H. R. Jauss,** *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception* (1982). **J. G. Lodge,** *Romans 9–11: A Reader-response Analysis* (1996). **E. V. McKnight,** *The Bible and the Reader: An Introduction to Literary Criticism* (1985); *Postmodern Use of the Bible: The Emergence of Reader-oriented Criticism* (1988); "Reader-response Criticism," *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application* (ed. S. L. McKenzie and S. R. Haynes, 1993) 197-220. **S. D. Moore,** *Literary Criticism and the Gospels: The Theoretical Challenge* (1989); *Let the Reader Understand: Reader Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark* (1991). **G. Poulet,** *Entre Moi et Moi: Esai critiques sur la conscience* (1977). **T. Rockmore,** *Hegel's Circular Epistemology* (1986). **E. Struthers Malbon and E. V. Knight** (eds.), *The New Literary Criticism and the NT* (1994). **J. P. Tompkins** (ed.), *Reader-response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-structuralism* (1980). **R. C. Webber,** *Reader Response Analysis of the Epistle of James* (1996).

E. V. MCKNIGHT

REDACTION CRITICISM, HEBREW BIBLE

Redaction criticism analyzes the techniques by which a redactor (or redactors) assembled, shaped, and supplemented preexistent materials to form a new work, seeking insight into the literary dynamics of the product. While LITERARY criticism focuses on documentary sources and FORM CRITICISM on oral genres, redaction criticism concentrates on the formation of the final text. Recognizing that a redactor may have had any number of written and oral sources, redaction criticism examines the redactor's creative role.

Although the term was coined only recently by an NT scholar (W. Marxsen, *Der Evangelist Markus: Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Evangeliums* [FRLANT NS 49, 1954]), redaction criticism has significant antecedents in HB studies, reaching back at least to the observations of the medieval rabbinic scholars RASHI and A. IBN EZRA (11th and 12th cents., respectively) concerning late editorial activity in the Torah. A. MASIUS (*Josuae imperatoris historia illustrata atque explicata* [1574]) distinguished between the apparently older materials in the book of Joshua and the younger materials that frame them. He described a process of "compilation" and "redaction" by which Ezra combined these older "annals" and "diaries." A century later the Mennonite scholar A. van Dale (*Dissertationes de Origine ac Progressu Idolatriae et superstitionum* [1696] 685-88) hypothesized that the narrative and legal portions of the Torah were authored by Ezra and Moses respectively and that Ezra incorporated the Mosaic material into the narrative framework.

Methodologies and programs of inquiry in HB studies have generally been developed and sharpened first with regard to the Pentateuch. Classical PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM pursued earlier insights concerning the composite nature of the Torah and sought to identify and charac-

terize these components. For the most part, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Pentateuchal critics hoped that critical tools would enable them to strip accretions from the text, identify the ancient documentary witnesses to Israel's early history, and thus gain a historically reliable vantage point. Consequently, they did not credit the redactor(s) responsible for shaping the Pentateuch with any creative role. One notable exception, H. HUPFELD (*Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung* [1853]), prefigured the viewpoint of redaction criticism. Although his identification of three documentary sources for Genesis paralleled the emerging source-critical consensus in many respects, he also argued that these documents were not compiled in a purely mechanical fashion. Instead, they were skillfully harmonized according to a well-conceived plan in the service of an independent theological program.

Pentateuchal studies did not focus significantly on the assessment of the final shape of the Torah, however, until the middle of the twentieth century. Several calls went out in the 1920s and 1930s for a true history of HB literature that would overcome the deficits of source criticism's fragmentation of the text by attending to the constructive process of selection, arrangement, and supplementation that produced complete literary works (see, e.g., W. Staerk [1924]; O. Eissfeldt [1927, 1928]; J. Hempel [1930–34]; and H. Hertzberg [1936]).

The first extensive attempts at a new approach were made by G. von RAD (1938) and M. NOTH (1948). Both sought to understand how the authors of the final source documents shaped the traditions at their disposal. Von Rad was first to note that neither source nor form analysis had accounted for the organic structure and overall unity of the final form of the source documents. In order to examine these questions, he employed TRADITION criticism, an extension of the form-critical interest, to include the history of the combination of discrete traditions into lengthier blocks of material. Second, he noted the widespread occurrence of "brief historical creeds" throughout the Pentateuch and beyond, which he regarded as the simplest and most ancient forms of Israel's cultic confession of salvation history. Positing that this simplicity reflects a phase in the history of the cult when the various traditions concerning Israel's beginnings had not yet been systematically interrelated, he concluded that the Yahwist must be seen as a creative author/theologian who combined these originally distinct themes into a continuous history.

Although differing with von Rad on several details, Noth's 1948 study of the Pentateuch agreed that the authors of the source documents engaged in creative theological reflection. Indeed, theological creativity continued, in his view, in the combination of the source documents into the finished Pentateuch: "The juxtaposition of the two creation stories can be considered most readily as theologically significant. . . . These stories, by mutually supplementing one another, reach a new unity" (1948, 251).

In attempting to correct further the static viewpoint of the documentary hypothesis, a number of scholars have sought to address the question of the formation of the tradition from fresh redactional perspectives. F. WINNETT (1965) and J. Van Seters (1975) argued that the components of the Pentateuch may be described more accurately as redactional layers rather than as documentary sources, emphasizing the dynamic process of growth behind the final form. Similarly, H. Schmid (1976) argued that the so-called J material in the Pentateuch is not unified to the degree that might be expected of a single author but that it represents a layer of materials related to the deuteronomistic movement. R. Rendtorff (1976) argued that a number of tradition complexes (i.e., Genesis 1–11) with separate histories were combined by a Dtr redactor into the present Pentateuch. This line of inquiry has been continued by others (i.e., E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* [WMANT 57, 1984] and G. Rendsburg, *The Redaction of Genesis* [1988]).

With regard to the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), S. MOWINCKEL suggested as early as 1913 (similarly in 1933 and more systematically in 1946) a redactional model for understanding the formation of the prophetic corpus. He rejected Scandinavian tradition criticism, which regarded prophetic books as the product of verbatim oral transmission of prophetic preaching so that the documents virtually represented the *ipsissima verba* of the prophets. Rather, he envisioned a dynamic process of growth throughout a long period of oral transmission of prophetical sayings; the accretion of tradition complexes; and finally, the production of the extant prophetic books. Mowinckel's dynamic model of selection, reinterpretation, and redaction also questioned the "authentic/inauthentic" categories of earlier source analyses of the prophets. Like source criticism of the Pentateuch, such analyses had primarily sought to identify later glosses and insertions in order to reconstruct a pristine original. In place of this interest in originality, redaction critics after Mowinckel came to regard the prophetic books as testimony to a living tradition that continually actualizes the prophetic message (see W. Zimmerli [1979]; J. Jeremias [1983]; and M. Biddle [1990]).

Redactional studies of the prophets have continued to struggle with models of prophetic activity and with the formation of prophetic books. Representative studies include H. W. WOLFF's commentary on the book of Amos (1969), which posited a long process of growth, reception, reinterpretation, and actualization of the Amos tradition lasting into the postexilic period. The phenomenon of the Isaiah scroll is perhaps the most incontrovertible evidence of the capacity of prophetic traditions to generate new statements; consequently, it

has lent itself to a number of redactional studies. O. KAISER (1963, 1973) subjected the book of Isaiah to a stringent redactional examination, rejecting any attempt to identify genuine texts in favor of a model of redactional composition by an Isaianic school. J. Vermeylen (*Du prophète Isaïe à l'Apocalyptique* [2 vols., EB, 1977–78]) identified successive redactions of the book of Isaiah, revealing the continuing interest of later eras in appropriating the message of the prophet. Several other scholars have pursued the question of prophetic books as archives of living traditions (e.g., P.-E. Bonnard, *Le Second Isaïe* [EB, 1972]; E. Sehmsdorf, "Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte von Jes 56–66," *ZAW* 84 [1972] 517-76; B. Renaud, *La formation du livre de Michee: Tradition et actualisation* [1977]; R. Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant* [1981]; *Jeremiah: A Commentary* [OTL, 1986]; W. Brueggemann, "Unity and Dynamic in the Isaiah Tradition," *JSOT* 29 [1984] 89-107; and J. Vermeylen [ed.], *Le livre d'Isaïe* [BETL 81, 1989]).

Such analyses of prophetic books have occasioned questions and criticism regarding the historical connections of later reinterpretation to the prophetic message. In response to J. Garscha (*Studien zum Ezechielbuch* [1974]), G. FOHRER (*ZAW* 87 [1975], 396) raised the objection, for example, that approaches that regard virtually an entire prophetic book as a redactional product are tantamount to assurances of inauthenticity. Some scholars have addressed this issue by questioning the fidelity of prophetic tradition to prophetic message. In an examination of the prose sermon material in the book of Jeremiah, material noted for its affinities with deuteronomisticism, E. Nicholson (1970) has emphasized, for example, the fact that the authors of this material were motivated to actualize faithfully the message of the prophet. The redactional process, the reapplication and restatement of the message given impetus by the prophet, ought not be considered a pious fiction, therefore, but a genuine expression of the prophetic message. From a different perspective, JEREMIAS in his Hosea commentary suggested that the very existence of certain prophetic books may best be attributed to the reception of the prophetic message by a first generation of tradents and redactors. If the prophets saw themselves as God's messengers in a specific context, interest in preserving this message in a more universally applicable form best explains the collection of the prophet's oracles. In Jeremias's view, then, no "authentic" form of certain prophetic books—in the sense in which source critics would have used the term—may have ever existed.

The historical books of the HB have also been a focus of redaction-critical studies. As von Rad did with respect to the Yahwist, Noth portrayed the deuteronomistic historian as an author/redactor who did not simply compile sources but who creatively selected and arranged materials and freely composed supplementary sections of the history. Although his characterization of the process as a creative endeavor and not simply as mechanical compilation has been widely accepted, Noth's suggestion that the DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY is the work of one author/redactor has essentially been abandoned. A number of redaction critics have seen stylistic and, more significantly, IDEOLOGICAL and theological tensions as evidence for two or more redactions of the work (see von Rad; Wolff; R. Nelson [1981]; E. Jenni; A. Radjawane; M. Rose; and R. E. Friedman [1981]). Issues include (1) whether the deuteronomistic history is, as Noth argued, basically pessimistic with regard to a future for Israel after the fall of Jerusalem, or whether there are texts (from the hand of a later deuteronomist) that suggest the possibility of restoration, as von Rad, Wolff, and others suggest and (2) whether the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges in particular ever existed apart from the deuteronomistic history as a whole, so that differing assessments of the monarchy in different sections of the history, for example, may be attributed to the sources instead of to multiple redactions.

Many other portions of the HB have been subjected to redactional analyses. The books of Chronicles theoretically offer a unique opportunity for redaction criticism in that the major documentary source of the chronicler, the deuteronomistic history, is also available to the modern critic, so that the chronicler's selection, arrangement, and correction may be assessed more transparently. There are, however, vexing questions regarding the text of 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings available to the chronicler (W. Lemke, "The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History," *HTR* [1965] 349-63) and the degree to which additions to the chronicler's history may be identified (W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* [HAT, 1955]; J. Botterweck, "Zur Eigenart der chronistischen Davidgeschichte," *FS Viktor Christian* [1956] 12-31). Redaction-critical studies have also been fruitfully undertaken for the book of Esther, extant in three clearly distinct editions (D. Clines, *The Esther Scroll* [JSOTSup 30, 1984]), Proverbs, Psalms, and Job.

Several issues face redaction criticism at this juncture. First, there is some disagreement among practitioners as to the proper scope of the method and the precise definition of the central term. R. Knierim (1985) has identified three basic approaches: One distinguishes between redactor and author in an approach resembling the classical distinction between original and secondary materials; another terms the penultimate operation "composition" and reserves "redaction" for the ultimate editorial procedure; and a third considers the entire history of a written text as successive phases of redaction. This disunity reflects more than terminological imprecision; it corresponds to various models of the process of literary fixation. No clear boundaries among redaction, composition, and tradition have been estab-

lished; any solution must incorporate an awareness that the literary history of many HB texts seems to have been a truly fluid phenomenon. How does the reworking of documents differ from the reworking of oral traditions at the moment of literary fixation? Which stage of the process should be considered the basis for evaluating later additions/alterations/redactions? Is a text immune to the continued influence of the circle that produced and preserved it?

Second, recent advocates of newer methods informed by linguistics and literary theory have questioned the fruitfulness of diachronic investigation altogether. Reasserting the canonical priority of the final form, they have attempted to expose the ideology and subjectivity of any reading of a text. It remains to be seen whether redaction critics will champion the method's potential to combine diachronic and synchronic concerns. After all, redaction criticism was initiated in response to a perceived need to appreciate the text, not simply as a repository of older sources but also as a finished product. To deny the historical processes that produced the final text, however, is to force symphonic voices into unison.

A related third issue concerns how the questions of AUTHORITY, authenticity, and individual readings of texts are to be resolved. Newer methods often shift the locus of meaning even beyond the final form of the text to the reader (see READER-RESPONSE CRITICISM). Can the perspective of redaction criticism provide a means for appreciating the authority of tradition? The process of reception, reinterpretation, and actualization may not only provide a model for hermeneutical method (see HERMENEUTICS), but may also establish directions for contemporary interpretation. Redactors and tradents stood within received traditions. They did not offer replacements; they preserved, reinterpreted, and actualized traditions that were authoritative for them. Similarly, modern interpreters may reapply and actualize; but the basis for this activity remains the received tradition, including interpretive and intertextual movements (see INTERTEXTUALITY) contained within it.

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REDACTION CRITICISM, NEW TESTAMENT

As a literary and historical method associated mainly with gospel research, redaction criticism is "concerned with the theological motivation of an author as revealed

in the collection, arrangement, editing, and modification of traditional material and in the composition of new material or the creation of new forms within the traditions of early Christianity" (N. Perrin [1969] 1). The method has evolved to comprise distinct operations: collection of the editorial alterations of a tradition; attention to the literary context of every pericope, its immediate context as well as its location in the structure of a given Gospel; comparison of this context to that in other Gospels; attempts to define verses or whole pericopes that were "composed," i.e., written by the final author/redactor; and synthesis of these results with suggestions about the theological purpose of a given pericope or of the Gospel as a whole. Although admitting that much of the Gospel material may reflect the historical situation of JESUS' ministry as well as other situations in the early church (e.g., the delay of the parousia), redaction critics are primarily interested in the final shape of the material. Along with analysis of the text to uncover the literary activity of the final editors, redaction critics postulate theological reasons for this activity and suggest a community context for this theology (the *Sitz-im-Leben* of the Gospel).

1. Origin of the Method. From the 1920s until the mid-1950s, gospel research was dominated by FORM CRITICISM, the attempt to define the literary forms and shape of the traditions that were incorporated into the SYNOPTIC Gospels as well to suggest a social context (*Sitz-im-Leben*) for the origin and development of traditional material. The evangelists were seen primarily as collectors who arranged material with minimal editorial changes. Although R. BULTMANN (1921) spoke of the editing (*Redaktion*) and composition of traditional material and of the theological character of the Gospels, this theology was that of the tradition rather than a creative contribution of the evangelists.

The term *Redaktionsgeschichte* (lit., history of the editing) was first coined by W. Marxsen in a review of H. Conzelmann's *Die Mitte der Zeit* (1954; ET, *The Theology of St. Luke* [1960]) in *Monatsschrift fur Pastoraltheologie* 6 (1954) 254. Conzelmann's work, along with Marxsen's studies and the essays of G. BORNKAMM, G. Barth, and H.-J. Held (1960) are seminal works that initially defined the method and determined the shape of future research. In contrast to form criticism's interest in the pre-gospel tradition, these authors studied the alterations and arrangement of traditional material by the evangelists. Along with concern for the editing of traditional material, special attention was given to the arrangement or composition of material in a given Gospel, often called composition criticism. The term *composition,* however, became ambiguous, designating the arrangement of blocks of material as well as the writing of new material. As the method has evolved, redaction criticism has become an umbrella concept involving all the activities mentioned in PERRIN's definition.

2. Precursors of the Method. Study of the Gospels with concern for the theology of the final redaction and as an entree to the life of a community behind a specific Gospel, rather than as sources for the quest for the historical JESUS, has antecedents prior to the 1950s. In the nineteenth century F. C. BAUR sought the "tendency" of each Gospel and situated it within his developmental schema of early church history (*Tendenzkritik*). According to Baur, Mark was the latest of the synoptic Gospels and represented a synthesis of the Jewish Matthew with gentile Luke. While neither Baur's late dating of the Gospels (mid 2nd cent.) nor his theory of synoptic relationships has prevailed, the desire to correlate the theology of the Gospels with social, historical, and theological developments within early Christianity remains normative.

Three figures stand out in the early twentieth century. Against the background of the Markan hypothesis (i.e., Mark as a primitive Gospel that provides the best access to the Jesus of history), F. WREDE (1901) argued that the "Messianic secret" in Mark (i.e., places where Jesus enjoins silence about his mighty works or divine status, e.g., 1:34, 44; 3:12; 5:43; 7:36; 8:26; 9:9) was not historical but a Markan theological construct. Mark, according to Wrede, like the Gospel of John, belongs to the history of Christian dogma. In two insightful volumes (1903, 1905) J. WELLHAUSEN anticipated both form and redaction criticism, arguing that the sources of the Gospels were oral traditions that circulated in small units and that the combining of such material was the work of an author "with literary ambitions" (1905, 3). Although often overlooked in the history of redaction criticism, B. BACON, best known for his theory of the five-book structure of Matthew (1930), is a seminal figure. Under the strong influence of Baur, Bacon constructed an elaborate theory of sources for the Gospels and correlated these with other streams (e.g., Pauline and Petrine) in the development of early Christianity. He described his method as aetiological, i.e., "the effort retrospectively to account for and justify existing practice and beliefs" as reflected in the Gospel narratives (1910, 56). For Bacon, the pre-Gospel tradition consisted of "loosely connected anecdotes strung together for the purpose of explaining or defending beliefs and practices of the contemporary church" (see R. Harrisville [1976] 11).

These early attempts to take the gospel writers seriously as theologians concerned with problems of their communities were overshadowed by the rise of form criticism, by the ongoing quest for the historical Jesus, and by the rise of dialectical theology. However, such scholars as E. LOHMEYER (1936) and R. H. LIGHTFOOT (1934, 1938) continued to argue that on the basis of its topical and geographical references the Gospel of Mark embodied theological perspectives distinctive from the traditions received.

3. The Flowering of Redaction Criticism. In the mid-sixties when redaction criticism took hold, Perrin, one of its chief practitioners and chroniclers, described it as a "lusty infant" (1966, 298). It soon developed into the dominant method of Gospel research, with multiple contributions, and took on distinct emphases in different settings. German scholarship stressed the difference between tradition and redaction and the need to write a careful history of the tradition. At the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, important studies appeared (see Q. Quesnell [1969]; W. Thompsom [1970]) focusing less on the distinction between tradition and redaction and more on the literary style and composition of a given Gospel. In North America early redaction-critical studies worked with the tradition/redaction model, but the method soon developed into full-scale LITERARY criticism (understood, not as source criticism, but as the application to biblical material of a wide variety of methods used by secular literary critics).

The synoptic Gospels became the major area for application of the method, yielding fruitful understandings of their distinctive theologies and communities. The synoptic evangelists were called theologians as readily as an earlier generation had so named PAUL and John. Each Gospel has a distinctive christology; important elements of the tradition, e.g., Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom and his summons to discipleship, are interpreted differently in each. Redaction criticism underscored the pluralism among and within the different communities that received the Gospels and, on the basis of evidence in the text, sketched out conflicts faced by them (see R. Brown [1979]; T. Weeden [1971]).

a. Redaction criticism of Q. Various attempts have been made to distinguish levels in the composition of Q, that collection of material, mostly sayings, shared by Matthew and Luke but not found in Mark, and to describe the groups or community that preserved and adapted it (see J. Kloppenborg [1984]; F. Neirynck [1982]). Although no consensus exists on the precise content or evolution of the traditions contained in Q, collections of wisdom sayings traceable to the historical Jesus are generally thought to have been supplemented by apocalyptic (see APOCALYPTICISM) and prophetic (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS) material. G. Theissen (1978) traced much of the Q material to the "Jesus movement," itinerant preachers who lived the radical life-style commended in many Q sayings (e.g., Luke 10:5-12). Such material was then supplemented by apocalyptic material in which the community expressed its hope of vindication by the returning Son of man. By incorporating this material into their Gospels, Matthew and Luke simultaneously preserved and reinterpreted the radical prophetic strain within early Christianity.

b. Redaction criticism of the Gospel of John. The Fourth Gospel also provided fertile ground for redaction criticism. Bultmann (1941; ET 1971) proposed that the evangelist incorporated and edited a "signs source" (behind the miracles of chaps. 1–12); "revelatory discourses," characterized by their poetic structure and GNOSTIC motifs (the core of which are found in such chapters as John 10, 15, and 17); and a "passion source" (John 18–20). The content and structure of the canonical Gospel is due to an "ecclesiastical redactor" who also added John 21 and select verses throughout (e.g., John 5:28-29; 6:51*c*-58). Although Bultmann's suggestions have rarely been accepted *in toto,* most subsequent studies are strongly influenced by them. R. Fortna (1979) and W. Nicol (1972) attempted further description of the signs source and its relation to the final text. W. Langbrandtner (1977) postulated an early Gnostic "foundation gospel" (*Grundschrift*) that was expanded by the redaction. There then emerged a "nearly hopeless disarray of proposals for *what* the tradition [behind the Gospel] was and *how* the evangelist employed it" (Kysar [1983] 315). Subsequent research attempted to trace the history of the JOHANNINE community without giving an exact description of sources and traditions. J. L. MARTYN (1968) argued that John produced a "two-level" drama in which much of the controversial material (e.g., John 9:1-40) reflects the separation of the community from Judaism toward the end of the first century. Brown pursued the same approach with an elaborate developmental schema of the Johannine community from its inception through the letters of John.

4. Assessing Redaction Criticism. Although dominant and fruitful, the method is attended with problems. When there is no clear document, as in the case of Q or the Johannine signs source, or no clear source for a given document (e.g., for Mark, according to the generally accepted two source theory, or for John), the separation of tradition from redaction is always problematic, as is the designation of a particular passage or literary technique as typical of the final redactor. R. Pesch, the author of a seminal work distinguishing tradition and redaction (1968), later criticized such attempts as arbitrary (*TRev* 72 [1976] 102) and proposed a radical composition criticism according to which virtually everything in Mark is tradition, with the theological creativity of the Evangelist discernible only in the arrangement (see *Markusevangelium* [HTKNT 2, 1, 2, 1976, 1977]). Likewise, ascribing a theological intention to an editor on the basis of literary phenomena is disputed and can be easily intertwined with the theological perspective of the interpreter.

From its origin, redaction criticism was a counter to the fragmentation of a text into traditional units to the detriment of a holistic look at the individual Gospels. It provided a way for both the specialist and lay readers to engage the text at hand. Although still an important method in NT study, other methods have developed from redaction criticism and taken on lives of their own. Concern for the text as a literary unit has spawned

full-scale literary criticism, which embraces virtually every movement within secular literary criticism from the New Criticism to deconstructionism (see STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION). The other major transformation of redaction criticism has been in the direction of social analysis of NT documents, a natural outgrowth of interest in the community behind the given Gospel. Like its literary counterpart, it brought biblical scholarship into dialogue with other secular disciplines (sociology, cultural anthropology).

Redaction criticism continues to be enhanced by other emerging concerns of NT studies. In assessing the difference between tradition and redaction, more attention must be given to the manner in which ancient writers take over preexisting traditions. Such ancient historians as Thucydides and JOSEPHUS extensively rewrote their sources and traditions in their own style. In the absence of clear sources it is problematic whether the paring off of editorial accretions (as is still customary in much German redaction criticism) can ever disclose a "tradition." Renewed interest in the literary forms of antiquity (e.g., the *chreia*) and in ancient rhetoric will more accurately disclose the literary activity and social location of a given author. The diverse communities behind the Gospels will be better understood in light of the expansion of knowledge about the diversity within first-century Judaism both in Palestine and in the diaspora.

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J. R. DONAHUE

REDPATH, HENRY ADENEY (1848–1908)

Born at Sydenham, England, June 19, 1848, R. was educated at Merchant Taylor's School and at Queen's College, Oxford (BA 1871; MA 1874; DLitt 1901). He

was ordained deacon in 1872 and priest in 1874, served as vicar of Wolvercote (1880–83), rector of Holwell (1883–90), vicar of Sparsholt (1890–98), and rector of St. Dunstan in the East, London (1898–1908). He died Sept. 24, 1908.

From 1901 to 1905 R. was Grinfield Lecturer in the SEPTUAGINT at Oxford. His greatest claim to fame was his completion of the concordance to the Septuagint started by E. HATCH (1835–89). R.'s important work is encapsulated in the name by which this standard reference book is popularly known, "Hatch and Redpath." Hatch had gathered around him a group of scholars to work on the project under his direction. When he died in 1889 nearly half of the concordance had been compiled, but it was in need of revision. R. took over the work, which appeared in six fascicles between 1892 and 1897, and also produced a supplement, which appeared in two fascicles in 1902 and 1906. The first fascicle contained a concordance of Greek proper names, with Hebrew or Aramaic equivalents. The second fascicle contained a Greek-Hebrew concordance of Ecclesiasticus, the Hebrew of which had recently been discovered; a concordance of words from newly discovered hexaplaric fragments; and a Hebrew-Greek index to the entire concordance.

In 1905 R. published a study of Genesis that expressed his conservative stance and opposed the critical approach to the HB. His commentary on Ezekiel was an abler piece of work. Finally, he wrote *Christ, the Fulfillment of Prophecy* (1907), in which he encouraged Jews to recognize Christ as the fulfillment of HB prophecies.

Works: (with E. Hatch), *A Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the OT* (3 vols., 1892–1906; 1998²); *Modern Criticism and the Book of Genesis* (1905, 1906²); *Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (Westminster Commentaries, 1907); *Christ, the Fulfillment of Prophecy* (1907).

Bibliography: **P.-M. Bogaert,** *DBSup* 9 (1979) 1479–80. **E. H. Pearce,** *DNB* 2d. Supp. 3 (1912) 171. *Who Was Who 1897–1915* (4th ed., 1953) 590.

J. DAY

REICKE, BO IVAR (1914–87)

Born in Stockholm, Sweden, July 31, 1914, R. studied Greek and history of religions at the University of Uppsala, completed a doctorate in theology (1946), and taught NT there (1946–53). He was professor of NT at the University of Basel (1953–84), editor of *TZ* (1955–79), and president of SNTS (1982). Although never an adherent of any school and known for his independent approach to issues, he embraced some of the ideas of such Scandinavian scholars as A. FRIDRICHSEN and S. MOWINCKEL, particularly on the role of oral tradition and the cultus in shaping the form and content of NT books. LUTHER was also a pervasive influence on his conviction that Christ formed the center of both testaments and that faith-inspired communities were responsible for the overall unity and diversity in the NT.

In *Diakonie, Festfreude, und Zelos* (1951) R. argued that the *agape* and the Eucharist were originally the same meal. He showed how the cluster of motifs that characterize the *agape* of the late first- to fourth-century Christian texts was also descriptive of HB Jewish festival and testamentary meals. Eucharistic texts in the NT are thus illuminated both by this Jewish context and by Hellenistic influences. In *The NT Era: The World of the Bible from 500 BC to AD 100* (1965), R. demonstrated his mastery of ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman backgrounds in order to locate and nuance historical events and personages of the NT. This NT history is distinguished by the vast amount of Roman political and social history R. brought to bear on the exegesis of NT texts.

R.'s *The Roots of the Synoptic Gospels* (1986), one of the most extensive comparisons of all the SYNOPTIC traditions since that of B. STREETER, includes patristic evidence for the genetic relations of the Gospels. R. concluded that living oral traditions and smaller written traditions, rather than a strict literary dependence, are not only possible but are also the best historical and literary explanations for the parallels of the three Synoptics. Especially telling is the almost complete lack of parallel contexts for the common Q material and the linguistic divergencies within those parallels, both of which R. attributed to the two parallel and overlapping apostolic Aramaic- and Hellenist Greek-speaking communities in Jerusalem.

Works: *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism: A Study of 1 Pet. III. 19 and Its Context* (ASNU 13, 1946); *The Jewish "Damascus Documents" and the NT* (SymBU 6, 1946); *Diakonie, Festfreude, und Zelos in Verbindung mit der altchristlichen Agapenfeier* (AUU 5, 1951); *Handskrifterna fran Qumran* (SymBU 14, 1952); *The Gospel of Luke* (1962; ET 1964); *The Epistle of James, Peter, and Jude* (AB, 1964); *The NT Era: The World of the Bible from 500 BC to AD 100* (1965; ET 1968); *Luthers Thesen und Basler Buckdruck* (1967); *Die zehn Worte in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Zählung und Bedeutung der Gebote in den verschiedenen Konfessionen* (BGBE 13, 1973); *The Roots of the Synoptic Gospels* (1986).

Bibliography: **O. Cullmann,** "Prof. B. R. zum Gedenken," *Uni Nova* 47 (1987) 17-18. **L. Miller and B. Kaye** (eds.), *Good News in History: Essays in Honor of Prof. B. R.* (1993). **W. C. Weinrich** (ed.), *The NT Age: Essays in Honor of B. R.* (2 vols., 1984), with bibliography to 1983.

D. P. MOESSNER

REIMARUS, HERMANN SAMUEL (1694–1768)

Born Dec. 22, 1694, in Hamburg, Germany, R. died there Mar. 1, 1768. He studied theology, philosophy, and ancient languages at Jena (1714–16) and Wittenberg (1716–19). Receiving his MA in 1716, he became an adjunct to the philosophical faculty at Wittenberg in 1719. During a study tour in England and Holland in 1720–21, he became acquainted with DEISM. From 1723 to 1727 he served as rector in Wismar; and after 1727 he was professor of Hebrew and oriental languages at the academic gymnasium in Hamburg, where he also lectured on philosophy, mathematics, and natural sciences. He was especially influenced by the philosophy of C. Wolff (1679–1754) with its correlation of revelation and reason, although he had not studied with Wolff.

R.'s biblical exegesis was closely tied to his religion-philosophical outlook. A lecture from his early years in Hamburg is still extant; written in line with the orthodox *hermeneutica sacra,* according to which there is a multiplicity of meanings within Scripture, it defends the NT interpretation of HB messianic prophecy (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) as fulfilled in JESUS. It is possible that at the time (1731) he had still not embraced Deism (P. Stemmer [1983]). Around 1736, however, he secretly began the preparatory work for his *Apologie.* Three later works written for a wide circle of readers demonstrate that R. was a champion of the cause of (reasonable-moral) natural religion (or, as the case may be, physico-theology): *Die vornehmsten Wahrheiten* (1754), *Vernunftlehre* (1756), and *Betrachtungen* (1760). In these publications he represented natural religion as sufficient in itself, though not in open opposition to Christian faith.

R. worked on the *Apologie* until shortly before his death, but its final recension was not printed in complete form until 1972. Excerpts from a now lost earlier version were published by G. LESSING as *Fragmente eines Ungenannten* (1774–78), unleashing the "fragment controversy," with the orthodox attack led primarily by Hamburg pastor J. M. Goeze (1717–86).

R.'s purpose in the *Apologie* can only be recognized in the final recension (used by D. F. Strauss). In part 1, proceeding from the tenets of reasonable religion ("a reasonable worship of God, and the practice of humanitarian love and virtue," 1:41), which are suppressed in Christianity (bk. 1, 1:65-180), R. sought to test the witnesses to revelation. His basic principle was that Scripture was "a human witness of a divine revelation. . . . Thus it must be tested according to the rules by which one examines the truth of a human witness" (1:74). His standards of critique were (a) the moral quality of the messengers; (b) the content of the teachings—"whatever contradicts itself or other obvious truths, particularly divine perfection and natural law, cannot be a divine revelation"—and their usefulness in promoting the perfectability of humankind and human happiness; and (c) the unbiased stance of the critic with regard to his ancestral religion (1:74-75). The rest of part 1 treats the HB, disqualifying the Hebrew patriarchs as messengers of the divine revelation on moral grounds, discarding miracles, dismissing the law as largely ceremonial, and raising questions about such ideas as inherited sin and the immortality of the soul.

Part 2 deals with the NT (bk. 1, 2:9-118). The most important principle is the fundamental distinction to be made between the teachings of Jesus and the teachings of the apostles (2:20-24). In Jesus' teachings one must differentiate between those that are valid for all people in general and those that conform to the Jewish religion (2:25-26). R. regards the first of these as superb. It is summed up in the call, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand!" Jesus did not intend to teach supernatural secrets, but he besmirched his call by striving for a worldly messianic dominion (bk. 2, 2:119-76). Thus, when the apostles' hopes for such a dominion were disappointed, they bolstered their cause by preaching the alleged resurrection. This doctrine is nonetheless incapable of proof, not even from the HB, and the doctrine of Jesus' return is in the same category (bk. 3, 2:177-301). Thus the entire structure of apostolic teaching collapses.

Book 4 (2:303-420) treats the means by which early Christianity spread (enthusiasm, imminent expectation of the end, belief in miracles as well as "the fear of God, virtue, and charity"). Book 5 (2:421-520) deals with the Christian doctrinal system. Originally, the teaching of the apostles comprised only a single claim—Jesus is the Christ. Nevertheless, the later tendency to deify Jesus, compounded by greater inconsistency and vagueness in doctrine and by the incomplete regulation of external rules, left the apostles' successors much room for disorderly systems, errors, schisms, and quarrels. The Protestant system of theology with its doctrine of inherited sin is absurd, turning every moral principle on its head (2:451-75). Thus Protestantism is unworthy of a just and loving God (the exchange of the vicarious guilt of Adam for the vicarious atonement of Christ). For this reason, moreover, the understanding of salvation in more recent Christianity does not improve humanity; a more worthy image of God must stand in the background of a truly Christian religion of reason (2:475-520).

An appendix (2:521-85) treats the CANON of the NT. Here R. collected and presented all of the critical objections to the Gospels that were known at the time, sharply criticized the content of Pauline theology (see PAUL), and argued that the NT authors held only the HB to be canonical, not their own writings.

R. brought together the most comprehensive compendium available of contemporaneous biblical criticism. He was the first scholar to formulate clearly the principle of the humanity of the Bible and to distinguish

between the teachings of Jesus and those of his disciples. Ironically, however, he juxtaposed to orthodox dogmatics a system of moral, reasonable religion that was just as inflexible and lacking in history as the one he opposed. Methodological advances are interwoven in R.'s work with crass misjudgments of substance. The essence of the biblical message was foreign to him.

Works: *Vorrede zur Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes* (facsmilie repr., 1967); *Fragments* (ed. with intro., C. T. Talbert, 1970); *The Goal of Jesus and His Disciples* (tr. with intro., G. W. Buchanan, 1970); *Apologie, oder, Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes* (2 vols., ed. G. Alexander, 1972); *Die Vernunftlehre* (ed. F. Lötzsch, 1979); *Allgemeine Betrachtungen über die Triebe der Thiere, hauptsächlich über ihre Kunst-Triebe* (2 vols., ed. J. von Kempski, 1982); *Vindicatio dictorum Veteris Testamenti in Novo allegatorum* (ed. P. Stemmer, 1983); *Die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der natürlichen Religion* (2 vols., ed. G. Gawlick, 1985).

Bibliography: **G. Alexander,** "Neue Erkenntnisse zur 'Apologie' von H. S. R.," *Zeitschrift für Hamburgische Geschichte* 65 (1979) 145-59. **W. Alter and L. Borinski** (eds.), *Logik im Zeitalter der Aufklärung: Studien zur "Vernunftlehre" von H. S. R.* (1980). **C. Brown,** *HHMBI*, 346-49. **G. Gawlick,** "R., Religionskritik, und Religiosität in der deutschen Aufklärung," *WSA* 11 (1989) 43-54. **W. Gericke,** "Zur theologischen Entwicklung von H. S. R.," *TLZ* 114 (1989) 859-62. **H. J. de Jonge,** "The Loss of Faith in the Historicity of the Gospels: H. S. R. (c. 1750) on John and the Synoptics," *BETL* 101 (1992) 409-21. **R. Lachner,** *BBKL* 7 (1994) 1514-20. **M. H. de Lang,** "J. Toland en H. S. R. over de wonderen in het Oude Testament," *NedThT* 46 (1992) 1-9. **J. A. H. Schetelig** (ed.), *Auktionskatalog der Bibliothek von H. S. R.* (1978). **W. Schmidt-Biggemann** (ed.), *Handschriftenverzeichnis und Bibliographie* (1979). **H. Schultze,** "Religionskritik in der deutschen Aufklärung: Das Hauptwerk des R. im 200. Jahre des Fragmentenstreits," *TLZ* 103 (1978) 705-13. **P. Stemmer,** *Weissagung und Kritik: Eine Studie zur Hermeneutik bei H. S. R.* (1983).

H. G. REVENTLOW

REITZENSTEIN, RICHARD (1861–1931)

Born in Breslau, R. became a *Privatdozent* in classical philology there (1888), *ausserordentlicher* professor in Rostock (1889), and professor in Giessen (1892), Strasbourg (1893), Freiburg (1911), and Göttingen (1914). He began his academic career as a classical philologist with a dissertation on Latin authors on agriculture, and in 1897 he published a major work on Greek etymology (*Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika*). Already in 1903, however, in a two-page summary at a congress of German philologists, *Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Literatur des Hellenismus* (Concerning the Religious Literature of Hellenism), he gave an indication of the area in which he was to concentrate his life's work, the religions of Hellenistic antiquity. He confirmed this intention the following year with *Poimandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur,* with which he placed himself in the company of other classical philologists who engaged in the study of Hellenistic religions: H. Usener (1834–1905), A. Dieterich (1866–1908), R. Wunsch (1869–1915), and F. Cumont (1868–1947).

The quest to understand the meaning and origins of Gnosticism (see GNOSTIC INTERPRETATION) on which R. launched his research with *Poimandres* took him all over the ancient world, reaching finally to east Turkestan in northwestern China (the present region of Xinjiang), where manuscript and other archaeological discoveries (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) were made during the first decades of the twentieth century. The discoveries covered an area from Kaschgar in the west to Komul (present-day Hami) in the east but are generally referred to as the Turfan discoveries from the name of the locality explored by the first of four German expeditions sponsored by the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (1902–14), along with expeditions from England, France, Russia, and Japan. The area lies on the silk route once traveled by Buddhist, Nestorian, and Manichaean missionaries; it contributed to a culture in which these religions, and possibly also Zoroastrianism, mingled, challenging scholars with the difficult task of distinguishing between the traditions represented by these mainly eighth-century materials and those of the contributing religions. In the meantime, a wealth of other manuscripts had been slumbering in libraries in Paris, London, Oxford, Leiden, Berlin, and Münich since as early as 1767, when C. Niebuhr (1733–1815) returned from the oriental journey on which he had been sent by Frederick V of Denmark. These manuscripts became the subject of investigation by a large number of scholars, including J. D. MICHAELIS, C. Walch (1726–84), M. Norberg (1747–1826), J. Petermann (1801–76), J. Euting (1839–1913), and W. Brandt (1855–1915), resulting in the collection of texts that has become known as the Mandaean Corpus.

R. always valued the stimulation he received from interaction with colleagues, and so when called to Göttingen he found himself in the extremely favorable situation of close contact with the orientalists F. Andreas (1846–1930) and F. Müller (1863–1931), who were working on the editions of the Turfan manuscripts (F. Andreas and W. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan* [3 vols., 1932–34]), and M. LIDZBARSKI, who worked on editions of the Mandaean texts (*Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* [2 vols., 1905–15]; *Ginza: Das grosse Buch der Mandäer* [1925]). In *Poimandres* R. considered the main constituents of Gnosticism to have come from Egypt; these texts made him seek its origins in Iran.

R.'s guiding principle in his quest to understand Gnosticism was the hypothesis of a redeemer myth, the conception of a divine savior sent from heaven to rescue the sparks of light imprisoned on earth, which became well known in NT scholarship through the work of R. BULTMANN. It has now become clear that this redeemer myth was not a characteristic feature of Gnosticism but was imposed on the material by R. in his attempt to extract its secret. As C. Colpe (b. 1929) has pointed out, E. NORDEN's work has shown "in a, for current research, exemplary way that the proof of pre-Christian gnosticism does not have to be bound to evidence of an 'oriental' 'primeval man, redeemer myth' " (1961, 30). And yet it was precisely this almost obsession with the redeemer myth that assured R. success in his pioneering research to uncover the secrets of Gnosticism, for which he constantly drew from the insights of his colleagues, especially—in the case of Gnostic thought—those of W. BOUSSET (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* [1907]).

Of immediate significance for the student of the NT is R.'s chapter on PAUL in *Die hellenistische Mysterienreligionen* (1910). Although not an interpretation of Paul, this work provides the background from which the apostle becomes understandable in a way that is unsurpassed, even by specifically NT interpretations.

R.'s research odyssey reveals the best qualities of a scholar who was willing to risk hypotheses, then to revise and correct them as new information brought him closer to an understanding of the phenomenon he was trying to clarify: the religious outlook and longings that found expression in the movement now known as Gnosticism. In the conclusion of his study, Colpe formulated the issue well by pointing out that although the the redeemer myth is fundamentally a modern interpretation that is not present in the sources, this "formula of a 'saved savior' does catch correctly a definite feature of the subject matter" (174).

Works: *Poimandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlicher Literatur* (1904); *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (1906); *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions: Their Basic Ideas and Significance* (1910; ET 1978); *Die Göttin Psyche in der hellenistischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (1917); *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse, und die Evangelienüberlieferung* (1919); *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (1921); (with H. H. Schaeder), *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland,* Teil 1, *Griechische Lehren* (1926); *Die Vorgeschichte der Christlichen Taufe* (1929).

Bibliography: **C. Colpe,** *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule: Darstellung und Kritik ihres Bildes vom gnostischen Erlösermythus* (1961). **K. Prümm,** *DBSup* 10 (1985) 200-210. **O. Rühle,** *RGG*² 4 (1930) 1852-53.

H. BOERS

RELAND, ADRIAN (1676–1718)

A Dutch orientalist and geographer, R. was born at Rijp, July 17, 1676. He studied at Amsterdam (1686–88), Utrecht (1688–93), and Leiden. In 1699 he became professor of physics and metaphysics at Harderwijk and subsequently professor of oriental languages and antiquities at Utrecht (1701), where he remained until his death Feb. 5, 1718.

R.'s studies included classical philology, Persian and Arabic literature, and Far Eastern and South American studies. His special interest, however, was in biblical antiquities and related subjects. His reputation in biblical studies rested largely on his 1714 work, which constituted a major development in the study of Palestinian geography. Illustrated with maps and engravings, the work was divided into three parts: the first treated general geographical features; the second, distances and locations of various places; and the third, cities and villages. In the mid-nineteenth century it was still described as "a most elaborate and valuable work on biblical geography" and at the turn of the century was considered "indispensable." Many of R.'s works and even the geography were reprinted in B. UGOLINUS's *Thesaurus antiquitatum* (34 vols., 1744–69).

Works: *Analecta Rabbinica* (1702); *De incriptione nummorum quorundam Samaritanorum* (1702); *De religione Mohammedica libri duo* (1705; ET 1712); *Decas exercitationum philologicarum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehovah* (1707); *Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum* (1708); *Dissertationes quinque de nummis veterum Hebraeorum, qui ab inscriptorum litterarum forma Samaritani appellantur* (1709); *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* (2 vols., 1714); *De spoliis templi Hierosoymitani in arcu Titiano* (1716).

Bibliography: **A. J. van der Aa,** *BWN* 10 (1874) 45-47. **H. Guthe,** *NSHERK* 9 (1911) 451. **J. Le Clerc,** "H. Relandi Dissertationum pars prima," *Bibliothèque choisie* 11 (1707) 260-76; "H. Relandi Dissertationum pars altera," *Bibliothèque choisie* 13 (1707) 396-400. *MSHH* 1 (1727) 339-49; 10, 2 (1730) 62-63; 10, 2 (1730) 77-78.

J. H. HAYES

RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE

This designation (RGS) originally denoted a group of scholars in Göttingen, also referred to as *die kleine Göttinger Fakultät* (none of whom were full professors at the time), who found themselves unified in the interpretation of the origins of Christianity as a religious-historical movement of Hellenistic Christianity. K. A. A. L. EICHHORN, as *primus inter pares,* H. GUNKEL, W. WREDE, and W. BOUSSET could be considered as the founders of the school. Other members of the original generation included J. WEISS, E. TROELTSCH, W. HEITMÜLLER, and P. Wernle (1872–1939). Important collabo-

rators from outside biblical studies and theology included R. REITZENSTEIN and P. Wendland (1864–1915) from the area of classical philology. To a second generation belonged, among others, H. GRESSMANN, M. DIBELIUS, R. BULTMANN, and S. MOWINCKEL.

It should be noted that some members of this second generation were open to other influences that caused them to move in significant ways from the original intentions of the RGS. Bultmann's comment in the introduction to the fifth edition of Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* expresses this movement: "A word should be said about the intention of the [RGS] to present *the religion* of primitive Christianity and to use the NT as a source for this. Today we can ask whether this intention can do justice to the NT, and whether we are not rather to turn back again to the old question about the *theology* of the NT" (1913, VI; ET 1970, 9). With that statement Bultmann abandoned a key assumption of the RGS—namely, that primitive Christianity could be interpreted adequately, not as a theology, but, rather, as a religion that developed in a "world which was certainly not made up solely of writers and books" (Gunkel [1899] 588).

The RGS was not primarily concerned with non-biblical religions or with first-century Judaism, but with Christianity. The concern with other religions arose only secondarily, as a means to a better historical understanding of Christianity. Likewise, investigations of early Christian history could not remain within the limits of the NT CANON, as Wrede argued (1897; ET 1973). Wrede outlined programmatically the task for a so-called NT THEOLOGY: the description of the history of primitive Christianity as a developing religion. He set the temporal limit for such a history before the time of the apologists, who mark a turning point in Christianity. Bousset went even further, including the apologists as well as IRENAEUS in his "history of the belief in Christ" (1913; ET 1970).

The RGS scholars focused on Christianity as a developing religion of Hellenistic antiquity, a religion they understood to have been influenced primarily by Hellenistic Judaism and only secondarily by pagan Hellenistic religions. In that regard it would be better to translate the name of the movement as the "history-of-religion school" in the singular, in contrast to the distinctively different concerns of the discipline known as "history of religions." Central to the RGS was the understanding of NT faith as an inner-historical phenomenon, based on the conviction that the NT documents were rarely the original products of their final authors but mostly resulted from long, complex developments. In considering the RGS, the issue is less *that* the school made use of non-biblical materials to interpret the Bible than it is *how* the school did so. What made the RGS come to look at its task in this particular way?

With the publication in 1895 of Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* and Bousset's *Der Antichrist,* the method of interpretation that characterized the RGS made its first public appearance, following such antecedents as Bousset's *Jesu Predigt* (1892). J. WELLHAUSEN's (1899) largely negative reaction to *Schöpfung und Chaos* provided Gunkel with the opportunity to defend the *religionsgeschichtliche* method at some of its most crucial points. Wellhausen rejected Gunkel's tracing of large parts of Jewish APOCALYPTICISM back to Babylonian origins; but his main objection, Gunkel's *proton pseudos,* was to attaching so much weight to the question of origins. According to Wellhausen the task of the interpreter is not to uncover the origins of apocalyptic statements but to determine the meanings the author expressed through them. The origins, Wellhausen observed, are of purely antiquarian interest; yet Gunkel had set his TRADITION-historical approach in opposition to a contemporary-historical (*zeitgeschichtliche*) method in such a way that the one excludes the other.

In his reply (1899) Gunkel drew attention to many places in *Schöpfung und Chaos* where he discussed "with special devotion" the particular meanings the apocalyptic materials received in later Jewish and also Christian understanding; but he maintained that such interpretations do not exhaust their meanings. He pointed out how much of the apocalyptic material Wellhausen discarded without further ado as "fantastic chaff," with the result that his interpretation in terms of contemporary events remained hanging in the air. The search for the origins of the meanings of certain features of a text is not out of antiquarian interest but out of recognition that a purely contemporary-historical interpretation fails to clarify a text at so many points. Moreover, the issue is not errors in tradition-historical details—Gunkel admitted that he may have erred frequently—but the procedure itself, which demands that justice be sought for every detail of a text in its own terms.

The key to the problem is that, although Wellhausen admitted that there is material in the apocalypses "that is not absorbed into the conception of a writer . . . and frequently leaves our interpretation with an unintelligible residue" (1899, 233), he did not recognize that the biblical writers themselves were participants in the history of that material and remain unintelligible if some of that history is excluded from the interpretation. As Gunkel stated, "In [his declarations that the origins of such materials have at the most an antiquarian interest] Wellhausen falls into conflict with fundamental principles which are everywhere recognised in historical science, and which are conceded and followed in other fields by Wellhausen himself. The cardinal principle of historical study is this: That we are unable to comprehend a person, a period, or a thought dissociated from its antecedents, but that we can speak of a real living understanding only when we have the antecedent history" (ET 1903, 404).

A widespread misunderstanding of the RGS is that it was biased in favor of a pagan Hellenistic interpretation of primitive Christianity. What may have contributed to this misunderstanding is that one of the school's best-known works, Bousset's *Kyrios Christos,* traces "the history of the belief in Christ from the beginnings to Irenaeus" largely within the framework of the pagan Hellenistic environment of the NT. In that same work Bousset nevertheless expressed greater appreciation for the Palestinian Christian community than for the later Greek-speaking churches. "Thus the [Palestinian] community embellished and decorated the life portrait of its master. But by doing so it accomplished more: It preserved a good bit of the authentic and original life. It preserved for us the beauty and wisdom of his parables in their crystalline form—a Greek community would no longer have been able to do so" (74; ET, 116). One merely needs to look at Bousset's list of publications to verify how much more he had been involved in research concerning the Jewish origins of Christianity than with work on the influence of the pagan Hellenistic religions in its further development, beginning with *Jesu Predigt* (1892), continuing with *Der Antichrist* (1895) and *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (1903), and five years before his death, *Jüdisch-Christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandrien und Rom* (1915).

This concern with the Jewish thought of NT times does not make things easier for a traditional understanding of the origins of Christianity, however. The effect is indeed far more devastating: Christianity was not merely influenced in its further development by Hellenistic religions; it came from their bosom in the form of Judaism as a Hellenistic religion in the broader sense of the term. It is noteworthy that in *Jesu Predigt* Bousset tried to negate the decisive influence of Judaism on JESUS, in contrast to the famous work of a fellow member of the school, J. Weiss's *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (published earlier in the same year). Weiss interpreted the conception of the kingdom of God in the preaching of Jesus as a product of Jewish apocalypticism. Bousset's negative reaction shows clearly that the interpretation of primitive Christianity within the framework of Hellenistic Judaism and pagan religions was not a point of departure for the school.

One of the most crucial factors in the development of the RGS was the influence of A. RITSCHL. He drew to Göttingen those scholars who subsequently constituted its membership. From him they learned to understand Christianity historically; but it was against his particular understanding of history that they found themselves united as a group, subsequently as a school.

Ritschl was one of the rare scholars who followed J. P. GABLER's call for a separate biblical THEOLOGY as preparation for a dogmatic theology. The second volume of his *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung* (3 vols., 1870–74), the only volume not translated into English, is a biblical, more specifically an NT, theology, which prepared for the systematic presentation of his own thought in the third volume. His treatment of the NT materials is at the same time appealing and unsatisfactory. His insistence that the NT writings are to be understood religiously, not doctrinally, is appealing; but this approach is overshadowed by a lack of sensitivity for the historical setting of the NT, notwithstanding his claim to offer a historical interpretation. The frustration of the young scholars who had come to Göttingen to study under him becomes understandable when one notes these opposing features of his work: on the one hand, the charm of an undogmatic interpretation; on the other, the disappointment in a lack of historical sensitivity.

In their rejection of Ritschl the young scholars were influenced by P. de LAGARDE and encouraged by Eichhorn. Their rejection was not complete, however; Ritschl's theological system remained an important influence in their understanding of the Christian faith. Weiss made this clear in *Die Predigt Jesus vom Reiche Gottes,* the work in which he broke historically with Ritschl's conception of the kingdom of God. In the preface he pointed out that even though the kingdom of God in the thought of Ritschl had nothing in common with the same expression in the preaching of Jesus, he nevertheless remained convinced that Ritschl's system of thought—especially his conception of the kingdom of God—remained most appropriate for a vital contemporary Christianity. Even though they may not have offered such an explicit comment, the understanding of Christianity found in other members of the RGS was not basically different from that of Ritschl, including his emphasis on Christianity as fundamentally a religion of ethical values. So, for example, Bousset wrote concerning the Palestinian community: "It bowed down before the stark heroism of [the] ethical demands [of Jesus] which were rooted in an equally daring faith in God" (*Kyrios Christos,* 74; ET 116).

Secure in their religious convictions derived from Ritschl, the members of the RGS were unfettered by the concern for a historical confirmation of their faith. So, for example, the truth of Christianity was established for Bousset already in the first two chapters of *Kyrios Christos.* In the rest of the book he made it relevant in changing historical circumstances. Thus he was not the least put off by what may seem strange ideas. He wrote of the Palestinian community: "Only by using the figure of the heavenly Son of Man, the Lord and Judge of the world, to back up the gospel of Jesus . . . did the community make the picture of Jesus of Nazareth influential. An age which did not live solely on the simply ethical and simply religious, but on all sorts of more or less fantastic eschatological expectations . . . needed just such a picture of Jesus as the first disciples of Jesus had created, and accepted the Eternal proclaimed in it, in the colorful wrappings of temporal clothing" (*Kyrios Christos,* 75; ET, 117-18).

For the RGS the truth of Christianity was dependent neither on its historical manifestation nor on the biblical religion—and strictly speaking, not even on Jesus' message. The result was that the members of the RGS were very relaxed about what they found in history and about historical details; it was the larger picture that counted. This attitude was well illustrated by Gunkel in a remark concerning fundamental differences between himself and Bousset on the interpretation of Revelation 12, particularly on its religious background (Babylonian according to Gunkel, Egyptian and subsequently Iranian according to Bousset). Gunkel argued that such differences may be set aside in favor of the one fundamental point, "that this chapter is based on mythical traditions. . . . Whether the myths were originally Babylonian or Egyptian is secondary; subsequent generations may break their heads on that" (1903, 55).

The difference between the RGS and its opponents may best be illustrated with regard to Bousset's wavering on the interpretation of *maranatha.* He gave one explanation in *Kyrios Christos* (1913), that it originated in the bilingual area of Antioch, Damascus, and Tarsus; another in *Jesus der Herr* (1916), that it was an oath directed to God; and then returned to the former explanation in the second edition of *Kyrios Christos* (1921), never wavering in his conviction that it could not have originated in Palestinian Christianity. This was identified as the Achilles heel of his understanding of the development of the cult of Christ the Lord by A. RAWLINSON (*The NT Doctrine of the Christ* [1926]), a critique endorsed by O. CULLMANN (*Die Christologie des Neuen Testaments* [1957] 219-20; ET, 213-14). Nothing can reveal more clearly the difference between the RGS and its critics than this controversy. For Bousset all that was at stake was the best possible historical interpretation. If someone would have been able to make historically plausible a cult of Christ in the Temple in Jerusalem, it could only have contributed to the clarification of the historical picture of the development of the cult of Christ the Lord. Nothing was at stake theologically for him, and future generations could continue to struggle with the details. For Rawlinson and Cullmann, however, the historical explanation carried considerable theological weight.

At the same time it must be said that this historical openness sometimes came at the cost of religious sensitivity. Troeltsch formulated the issue well: "Every act of religious devotion considers itself within its own realm fundamentally and self-evidently as absolute, and each universal religion does the same for every possible sphere" (1912, 110; ET 1971, 132). Gunkel may have been right when he claimed that "the insatiable hunger of the human heart after God and the ineradicable search after Truth . . . come from one and the same Divine source" (1926–27, 535), but not when he concluded that they "can therefore never contradict each other" (535). Troeltsch's statement contradicts Gunkel's assertion that "We are not entitled to select from the course of history some isolated facts or some entire periods and declare that these and these alone are of God and supernatural" (535-36). Whatever else may be said about Gunkel's claim, most scholars would agree that religious conviction elevates precisely some relative historical fact to absoluteness by taking it as more than history, by understanding it as myth.

In arguments with opponents the RGS had an advantage religiously in not being bound in principle to a purely historical framework. Because its conceptions did not depend on historical proof, it remained open to a course leading to the mythological formulation (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) of religious truth as a radicalizing of history. By contrast, interpretations that depend on historical verification must remain within the bounds of the historical.

An important element of the RGS was its conviction that the final purpose of biblical interpretation is the meaning it has for the individual modern believer. This conviction was expressed in extensive lectures by members of the RGS, lectures of a more popular nature offered in local congregations. It was also expressed by the founding of a series of generally accessible interpretations of Christianity for educated laypersons, the Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher für die deutsche christlicher Gegenwart, inaugurated with Bousset's *Jesus* (1904), and by publication of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1909–13, 1927–32[2], 1957–62[3]) as counterpart to the more academically oriented *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.*

The RGS's program of biblical interpretation never came to a conclusion; it was interrupted by the rise of dialectical theology, to which even such an eminent second-generation member as Bultmann was attracted. The misfortune of this for biblical scholarship is not that the answers of the RGS have been lost—to the contrary, they have been refined by sympathizers and opponents alike. The misfortune is rather that their questions have been forgotten without having been fully addressed.

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H. BOERS

RENAN, JOSEPH ERNEST (1823–92)

Born in 1823 in Treguier, Brittany, R. died Oct. 2, 1892, in Paris. Although he is best known among biblical scholars as the author of a life of JESUS (1869), he was also a prolific historian and philologist. His initial training was for the Roman Catholic priesthood. While at seminary, however, he became aware of scientific approaches to ancient texts and creeds and subsequently decided that the major tenets of the Christian faith could not be maintained. Intellectually committed to historical-critical methods and convinced of the incompatibility of their results with orthodoxy, R. no longer considered himself a believer in the traditional sense; and in 1845 he left the St. Sulpice seminary and his initial calling.

Upon leaving the seminary he continued his work with essays on religious history and moral criticism, demonstrating the humanistic and historical approach to religious studies. In 1861 he traveled to the Holy Land to begin his work on the origins of Christianity. A draft of *Vie de Jésus* was finished during this time. R.'s reconstruction was fanciful in the extreme and his portrait correspondingly romanticized. Shortly after his return he was elected to the chair of Hebrew at the College de France, but with the publication of *Vie de Jésus* he was relieved of his position.

Much of what R. wrote concerning Jesus is not more than pure speculation and fantasy. Precisely this excess is what precipitated A. SCHWEITZER's scathing critique in *The Quest for the Historical Jesus.* R. is better understood as a philosopher or social commentator than as a biblical theologian or historian. When that is remembered, his excesses and penchant for imaginative reconstructions can be much better received; his conceptions of God and attempts at recasting religious thought in social forms can be seen as efforts to integrate the truths of religion with truth in science.

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S. J. KRAFTCHICK

REUCHLIN, JOHANNES (1455–1522)

Called "Rabbi Capnion," R. was the father of Renaissance Hebrew study. He was born in Pforzheim and attended the universities of Freiberg, Paris, and Basel, where he studied law, Latin, and Greek. He began

studying Hebrew in the 1480s but experienced difficulty in locating Jewish teachers willing to instruct Christians. For this reason his first publications were devoted to teaching basic Hebrew grammar suited to elementary Christian students. His introduction to Hebrew (1506) was the best Hebrew grammar in Latin then available. In 1512 he published a small book of psalms with translations and grammatical notes to help new students of Hebrew who knew enough grammar to read the HB text. Several years later he addressed more difficult aspects of Hebrew grammar and treated the complex problem of voweling and punctuation (1518). His students included some of the most important intellectuals of the early sixteenth century: J. Eck, J. Forester, J. Ceporinus, R. Wakefield, P. MELANCHTHON, and many others.

R.'s contribution to kabbalistic studies (see KABBALAH) and scriptural exegesis proved seminal throughout the early modern period. His first treatise (1494) was a general study of kabbalistic lore. His later study (1517) was far more intellectually significant and of greater value to Christian students of Scripture. Because Hebrew uses the same symbols for both letters and numbers, Kabbalists believed every word represented a numerological equivalent that might be substituted for other words with equal numerological value, hence the Bible was both a mathematical code as well as a literary account of God's relationship with humankind. R. attempted to prove the existence of the Trinity and the unity of the Godhead and also applied this method to various difficult terms and verses in Scripture in order to demonstrate its general orthodox viability. He believed this esoteric numerology represented a secret oral tradition granted to Moses on Mount Sinai, through which the written HB might be interpreted. Although his writings had little impact on Jewish scholars, they were very influential with Christians.

R.'s views proved controversial, and he was charged with heresy by the Dominican order in Cologne in 1509 when he defended the legal right of Jews in Frankfurt and Cologne to make use of rabbinic literature. The Reuchlin controversy, as it was called, soon became a Europe-wide contest between those humanists championing scholarly use of ancient languages to better understand Scripture and more conservative scholastics for whom an appeal to ancient language sources represented a challenge to papal authority. The conflict ended in 1520 with Pope Leo upholding the Dominican condemnation. Broken in health and spirit, R. died two years later. Many scholars maintain that this battle was the most significant intellectual conflict leading to the Protestant Reformation.

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J. FRIEDMAN

REUSS, EDUARD GUILLAUME EUGÈNE (1804–91)

An Alsatian, R. was born in Strasbourg, July 8, 1804. Partially educated at home, he received good instruction in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and was bilingual in French and German. After presenting his dissertation (*De statu literarum theologicarum per saecula VII. et VIII.* [1825]) at Strasbourg, he studied at Göttingen (1825–26), where he heard J. G. EICHHORN's lectures on Isaiah, and at Halle (1826), where H. GESENIUS and F. THOLUCK were active. At Paris (1827–28) he studied intensely in Semitic languages, including Syriac and Aramaic, and Arabic with Sylvester de Sacy. He absorbed much from such French scholars as B. Constant (1767–1830) who were interested in the origin, development, and PSYCHOLOGY of religion in general and of the Judeo-Christian faith in particular. In 1828 R. became a *Dozent* at Strasbourg; in 1829, licentiate in theology with his *De libris Veteris Testamenti apocryphis perperam plebi negatis;* in 1834, associate professor; in 1836, professor; and in 1838, professor in theology. He died Apr. 15, 1891.

R. was active in several fields, teaching and writing on various subjects—HB, NT, early church history, French Protestantism—and producing a new French TRANSLATION of the entire Bible with commentary. In his biblical work he saw his objectives in primarily historical terms: the production of a reliable history of Israel and of the early church, based on a psychologically understandable process of development, and a description of the origin and nature of biblical literature within the framework of Israelite and Christian history. He understood biblical THEOLOGY as essentially a historical discipline. His NT work thus paralleled that of his contemporary, F. C. BAUR, but with a more conservative posture and a more positive ecclesiastical concern in the treatment of the literature.

As early as 1833–34 R. taught that the HB "prophets are older than the law and the Psalms are later than both." In a footnote in the introduction to his *L'Histoire sainte et la loi* (1879, 23-24), he reported that as early

as 1833 he had formulated certain fundamental theses regarding the HB that he did not then publish because they differed so widely from common opinion and needed further development. These theses were: (1) The historical element in the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) can and must be examined apart from, and not be confused with, the legal element. (2) Both history and law were able to exist without a written form; a nation can have a customary law without having a written code. (3) The national traditions of the Israelites appeared earlier and were written down earlier than the laws of the Pentateuch. (4) The historian should focus on the date of the laws because this is the area in which there is the best chance of arriving at certain results. (5) The narrated history in the books of Judges and Samuel and part of that comprising the books of Kings is in contradiction with Mosaic law; thus Mosaic law was unknown at the time of the composition of these books. (6) The prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries did not know the Mosaic code. (7) Jeremiah is the first prophet who knew of the written law, and his quotations agree with Deuteronomy. (8) Deuteronomy (4:45–28:68) is the book the priests pretended to have found in the Temple at the time of King Josiah and is the oldest part of the edited legislation of the Pentateuch. (9) Israelite history, insofar as it is a question of national development determined by the written law, may be divided into two periods: before and after Josiah. (10) Ezekiel is older than the composition of the ritual code and the law that organized the hierocracy. (11) The book of Joshua is not, as far as can be known, the most recent part of the entire work. (12) The author of the Pentateuch is to be clearly distinguished from the ancient prophet Moses.

These views are reflected in various unpublished lectures (see J. Vincent [1990]), book reviews, short articles, and above all in R.'s 1850 article. His students K. GRAF and A. Kayser (1821–85) were the first to develop R.'s positions systematically. Only in 1879 and 1881 did R. finally produce the work on Israelite literary history he had envisioned in the early 1830s.

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J. H. HAYES

REVELATION, BOOK OF

Also known as the Apocalypse, the last book of the Bible is one of the most controversial. From the time of the early church onward, its date, authorship, and meaning have been disputed; and for many years its right to a place in the NT CANON was also debated. Apparently written when Christians feared persecution by Rome, Revelation has exercised through its visions and prophecies an unceasing fascination both within and beyond the Christian church; its interpretation has been linked with that of other apocalyptic writings (see APOCALYPTICISM), especially Daniel.

1. Early Interpretations to 300. ***a. Chiliasm.*** The prevailing interpretation in early days was that of the Chiliasts, who regarded Rev 20:1-6 as a prediction of Christ's coming reign on earth for a millennium, i.e., a thousand years. One of them, PAPIAS, was probably acquainted with Revelation; and others, JUSTIN (*Dial. Tryph.* 81), IRENAEUS (*Adv. Haer.* 5.28-36), TERTULLIAN (*Adv. Marc.* 3.13, 24; *De Res. Carn.* 25), and Hippolytus

(*De Christo et Antichristo* 47-49), expressly referred to it. Victorinus wrote a commentary on it; Commodianus seems to have been aware of it. Some of these writers outlined the material pleasures of life in the millennium; but Methodius, who was inclined to spiritual interpretations, spoke of a "millennium of rest" (*Symp.* 9.5). A widespread expectation was that the fall of Rome, symbolized by Babylon, would precede the millennium; and the connection between Antichrist and the beasts mentioned in the Apocalypse was much discussed.

b. Opposition to Chiliasm. Most writers believed that John, the son of Zebedee, had written Revelation; Irenaeus dated it in the reign of Domitian (c. 96). But Caius, an opponent of Chiliasm, regarded Cerinthus as its author and refused to accept it as Scripture (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.28); MARCION (Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 4.5) and the *Alogoi* (Epiphanius *Haer.* 51.3) also rejected its canonical status. ORIGEN, who accepted apostolic authorship (*In Ioann.* 1.14), rejected the materialistic hopes characteristic of Chiliasm (*De Prin.* 2.11). DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA advocated a spiritual interpretation and rejected apostolic authorship because its thought and linguistic style were different from that of John's Gospel; he suggested that the author was another John (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 7.24-25). Some scholia on Revelation, probably from Origen's school, do not comment on the millennium but give a spiritual interpretation of other passages.

2. From 300 to 1100. ***a. Canonicity, authorship, and date.*** At the beginning of the fourth century, opinion was divided about the book's canonical status (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.25), and hesitation continued in the East. Cyril of Jerusalem did not include it in his canon. The Syrian church was reluctant to accept it; it was not included in the PESHITTA, although it appeared in some later Syriac NTs. ATHANASIUS and several other Greek writers, however, accepted it. In the West there was less uncertainty, and in 397 the Synod of Carthage recognized Revelation as canonical.

In general, both traditional authorship and Irenaeus's date were accepted, although EUSEBIUS (*Hist. eccl.* 3.39) suggested that the book was written by John the Elder. Epiphanius (*Haer.* 51. 12, 33) dated it in the reign of Claudius Caesar, although his source may have meant Nero. A writing ascribed to Dorotheus of Tyre (see R. Charles [1920] 1:xcii) placed it in the reign of Trajan.

b. Tyconius and Augustine. Chiliasm was accepted by Lactantius and Apollinarius of Laodicea (Basil *Epist.* 263.4) in the fourth century. But with the end of pagan Rome and the absence of any visible return of Christ, its popularity declined; and JEROME removed all chiliastic tendencies from his edition of Victorinus. The Donatist TYCONIUS was responsible for an important development in the book's interpretation. Although his commentary is lost, there is evidence that he understood the millennium as Christ's reign in the church between the first and second advents, the latter of which he seems to have expected in the near future. He explained the first resurrection of Revelation 20 as spiritual, not physical, and, like Victorinus, regarded some of the book's later visions as predictions of the same events as previous ones, a characteristic known as recapitulation (G. Maier [1981] 108-29). AUGUSTINE, who had formerly accepted Chiliasm (*Serm.* 259), later rejected it and gave an account of the millennium and the first resurrection similar to that of Tyconius but without the suggestion that the second advent was near (*Civ. Dei* 20.7-9, 17).

c. Other Western interpreters. Between 500 and 1100 the Apocalypse aroused great interest in the West. Primasius and Apringius (6th cent.), BEDE, Ambrosius Autpertus, and Beatus (8th cent.), Haymo of Auxerre (9th cent.), and Bruno of Segni (12th cent.) were the authors of commentaries based on the principles of Tyconius and Augustine that explained the millennium as the period between the first and second advents of Christ, not literally a period of a thousand years. The same kind of interpretation is found in the *Complexiones* of CASSIODORUS and the *Pseudo-Augustinian Homilies* (attributed by some scholars to Caesarius of Arles, 6th cent.). It is also found in the commentaries ascribed to ALCUIN and Berengaud and in the GLOSSA ORDINARIA, all of which are ninth century or later. The work ascribed to Berengaud claimed that Revelation alludes repeatedly to historical events both before and after the birth of Jesus.

d. Eastern interpreters. Less attention was given to the book in the East than in the West. It was the subject of three Greek commentaries. Two of them, by Andreas (6th cent.) and Arethas (10th cent.), accepted an approach to the millennium like Augustine's but also regarded the book as prophetic of events in their own day. The other Greek commentator, Oecumenius (6th cent.), made the unusual claim that the millennium coincided with the earthly life of Jesus. The influence of Revelation is also likely to be present in the *Greek Apocalypse of Daniel* (9th cent.; J. Charlesworth [1983] 1:755-70).

3. From 1100 to 1500. ***a. Joachim of Fiore.*** The older types of interpretation were perpetuated by several commentators, including ANSELM OF LAON, RUPERT OF DEUTZ, and RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR. In the East, the Syrian Dionysius Bar Salibi (12th cent.) taught that the millennium was yet to come and would, in fact, be the day of judgment. JOACHIM OF FIORE, the most important writer on Revelation in this period, laid the foundation for a renewal of millenarian teaching with his doctrine of the three ages of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. The age of the Spirit was already dawning, and the millennium, which began with Christ's first advent, would come in its fullness after the destruction of the beast and the false prophet. His remarkable assertion that the witnesses of Revelation 11 would be two religious orders soon appeared to be fulfilled in the Do-

minicans and Franciscans. He also explained the visions in Revelation as allusions to the course of history from ancient Israel to his own day.

b. After Joachim. The writings of Joachim had a powerful effect on Franciscan Spirituals, including P. Olivi and Ubertino of Casale. According to Olivi (d. 1298), the angel of Rev 10:1-3 was Francis of Assisi, worldly Christians were the beast from the sea, and a false pope would persecute those who kept the Franciscan Rule. In the opinion of Ubertino (c. 1305) the two witnesses were Francis and Dominic, and the two beasts (Rev 13:1, 11) were the popes Boniface VIII and Benedict XI. Like Joachim, these writers saw the course of history predicted in the book. A new kind of historical interpretation, however, was given by Alexander the Minorite (A. Minorita [1955]) and NICHOLAS OF LYRA (1471–72), who abandoned the principle of recapitulation and explained Revelation as a PROPHECY of events in chronological sequence. Antipapal interpretations were given by Matthias of Janow, J. WYCLIF, the Lollards, and J. HUS. Revelation was the theme of sermons by Savonarola, who aspired to make a New Jerusalem of Florence.

4. From 1500 to 1770. ***a. The Reformation.*** ERASMUS (1527) expressed doubts about the authorship of the Apocalypse. Although LUTHER questioned its divine INSPIRATION in his NT (1522), he withdrew the criticism in a later edition and was prepared to use the book as ammunition in his conflict with the papacy. CALVIN wrote no commentary on Revelation, and ZWINGLI (1982) had a negative opinion of it.

In spite of these hesitations, Revelation became a rallying point for opponents of the papacy. Antipapal writings on the book during the sixteenth century include the sermons of J. BULLINGER and the commentaries of D. Chytraeus (1563), J. Bale (1548), J. Foxe (1587), and J. Napier (1593). Many of these writers saw references in the book to the Turks, especially in the vision of 200 million cavalry in Rev 9:16. The most spectacular treatment of the Apocalypse is to be seen in the Chiliasm of extremists like T. MÜNTZER and John of Leyden, who tried to facilitate the fulfillment of prophecy by the use of force. The Augsburg Confession of the Lutherans and the Second Helvetic Confession of the Calvinists, however, denounced Chiliasm.

b. Roman Catholic reactions and Protestant replies. Eventually there was a Roman Catholic reaction to the antipapal interpretation of the book, led by the Jesuits R. BELLARMINE, Ribera, and Alcazar. Ribera, a pioneer of futurist interpretation (1591), accepted the Augustinian idea of the millennium but rejected world- and church-historical approaches. Most of the book's prophecies, he contended, had not yet been fulfilled; and Rome, symbolized by Babylon, would eventually break away from the pope. Alcazar, following J. Hentennius, gave a preterist interpretation (1614), the beginning of a contemporary-historical approach. Most of the book, he claimed, referred to the judgment on Judaism and Rome in the first three centuries. The beast from the sea was pagan Rome, and the millennium was the life of the church ever since the time of Constantine.

Two Protestants, H. GROTIUS (1644) and H. HAMMOND (1653), produced modified versions of Alcazar's interpretation, dating the millennium from Constantine until about 1300 and explaining Gog and Magog (Rev 20:8) as the Turks and Syrians. They suggested that John received his revelations on several different occasions, beginning in the reign of Claudius. A preterist interpretation was also advocated by the Roman Catholic J.-B. Bossuet (1689). Further Protestant responses came from T. BRIGHTMAN (1609) and D. Pareus (1618), both of whom restated the antipapal interpretation. A distinctive feature of Pareus was his explanation of Revelation as a drama, which led to J. MILTON's description of the book as "the majestick image of a high and stately Tragedy."

c. Millenarian interpretations. In the seventeenth century the chiliastic type of interpretation won great popularity. J. Alsted (1627) predicted that the millennium would begin in 1694. J. MEDE (1627, 1632) expected it in the near future but refused to give a precise date; according to his theory of synchronisms, different passages in the book referred to the same event. Both Alsted and Mede combined their expectations with a church-historical interpretation. Their works provided a scholarly justification for speculation about a future millennium and were very popular during the upheavals of the Thirty Years' War and the English Civil War.

During this period prophets appeared both in Great Britain and in Europe. In Great Britain, L. Muggleton and J. Reeve claimed to be the witnesses of Revelation 11, and J. Robins wanted to lead the 144,000 of the Apocalypse to the Holy Land. In Europe, P. Felgenhauer, J. Warner, and C. Kotter were among the prophetic interpreters of Revelation and of other apocalyptic books. Developments in France had their impact on the treatment of the book: The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 led the Protestant P. Jurieu (1687) to see in that event the death of the two witnesses; it also led to the rise of French prophets whose visions showed the influence of the Apocalypse.

The impact of scientific discoveries can be seen in the writings of T. BURNET (1684–90) and W. WHISTON (1737), both of whom expected the fulfillment of the prophecies through such natural events as volcanic eruptions and the approach of comets. I. NEWTON, on the other hand, preferred to confine his attention to the ways in which he thought prophecy had already been fulfilled.

There was strong opposition to millenarian teaching in orthodox Lutheran and Calvinistic circles, but mediating views emerged. J. COCCEIUS (1665) regarded the millennium as already past but expected an earthly New Jerusalem. According to P. J. SPENER (1693) there would

be a future millennium on earth, but it would not be preceded by the visible return of Christ.

d. Eighteenth-century developments. Views similar to Spener's were developed by D. WHITBY (1702), who argued that the millennium would be a period of great prosperity for the church, followed by the visible return of Christ. This interpretation, known as postmillennial, was adopted by C. VITRINGA (1705), M. Lowman (1747), and J. EDWARDS (1774). It was a form of interpretation congenial to the advocates of missionary expansion.

An unusual account of the book was given by J. BENGEL (1740), who claimed that there would be two millennia. The first would be a period of prosperity for the church, beginning with the fall of the papacy in 1836. During the second, a false sense of prosperity on earth would be followed by the glorious coming of Christ. Bengel's interpretation was influential in Germany and at one stage was given sympathetic consideration by J. WESLEY.

The eighteenth century was conspicuous for the emergence of open criticism of the book. The Deist (see DEISM) T. MORGAN (1738–40) accepted traditional authorship but regarded Revelation as an example of Judaizing. Another Deist, H. St. John, Viscount BOLINGBROKE (1754), dismissed it as "the reveries of a mad Judaizing Christian" and ascribed it to Cerinthus; and VOLTAIRE made some characteristically caustic remarks about it. At the same time the preterist contemporary-historical approach gained momentum, counting among its practitioners F. Abauzit (1770) and J. WETTSTEIN (1752). According to Abauzit, Revelation was written during the reign of Nero and predicted the fall of the Jewish state, symbolized by the seven-headed beast. Wettstein thought that the beast stood for the emperors before Vespasian and that the millennium had lasted just over sixty years from 70 CE until the time of Bar Kochba.

e. Mystical interpretations. Mystical approaches to the book gained popularity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These writers referred to historical events, but they were primarily concerned with explaining the Apocalypse in terms of the inner life. J.-M. GUYON (1713) wrote a commentary relating the book to stages of spiritual development. J. LEAD (1683), J. E. Petersen (1696), and J. W. Petersen (1706) gave accounts based on claims to special revelations. E. Swedenborg (1766) was one of the most famous interpreters in this tradition.

f. Russia. Although most of the writings on Revelation were produced in the West, both sides in the controversy that split the Russian Church in the seventeenth century used its prophecies with those of other apocalyptic writings as weapons to argue their views. Patriarch Nikon described his monastery as the New Jerusalem, while his opponents, the Old Believers, regarded it as the kingdom of the Antichrist and used the number 666 (Rev 13:18) to calculate 1666 as the time of Antichrist's arrival. The use of apocalyptic imagery in Russian church conflict continued in the eighteenth century.

5. 1770 to the Present. ***a. The rise of modern criticism.*** At first the world- and church-historical method of interpretation continued to flourish. Among its advocates were J. Bicheno (1793) and J. Priestley (1803–4), both of whom saw the French Revolution as the earthquake of Rev 11:13. Often used in the nineteenth century, the detailed church-historical method ceased to exercise much influence in academic circles by the twentieth century.

During this period important developments took place in academic research on the Apocalypse. Questions about the nature of its theology and the accuracy of its prophecies led scholars to make adverse criticisms. J. SEMLER (1771–76) thought it unfit for inclusion in the Bible, while J. D. MICHAELIS (1788) questioned its authorship and inspiration. However, the most skeptical approach came from C. Dupuis (1795), who regarded it as a Phrygian cultic document based on an ancient solar myth.

Contemporary-historical interpretation was widely practiced. G. Herder (1779) followed Abauzit in explaining Revelation as a prediction of the downfall of Judaism. J. G. EICHHORN (1791) saw it as a prophecy of both the destruction of the Jewish state and the fall of the Roman Empire, and F. Lücke (1832) examined it in relation to other writings belonging to the genre of what he called "apocalyptic." In the 1840s C. Fritzsche, F. Benary, F. HITZIG, and E. REUSS (see W. Bousset [1906] 105-6) argued that 666, the number of the beast, signified Nero Caesar. F. C. BAUR (1864) contended that Revelation was written in opposition to Pauline teaching (see PAUL). In a modified form of the church-historical method, C. Auberlen (1854) argued that the book prophesied the great epochs in the development of the kingdom of God. E. HENGSTENBERG (1849–50) combined that modified approach with preterism.

In the late nineteenth century, theories about sources and REDACTION were developed. E. Vischer (1886) and F. SPITTA (1889) argued that Jewish sources lay behind Revelation, and even more complex theories were put forward by D. Völter (1886) and others. W. BOUSSET (1896) claimed that the book was a unified work that had assimilated various apocalyptic fragments. According to R. CHARLES (1920), it contains earlier sources but in its present form is mostly the work of one author, although a redactor has worked on the text. H. SWETE (1951) maintained that Revelation is a unity, a viewpoint that became more fashionable later in the twentieth century.

There was growing interest in the book's relationship to myth, a theme developed earlier by Dupuis. Both

Bousset and Charles were influenced by H. GUNKEL (1895), who stressed Revelation's debt to Near Eastern, especially Babylonian, MYTHOLOGY. Others scholars, including F. Boll (1914), related its visions to universal astral myths.

Most subsequent commentators have used a combination of critical methods, giving serious consideration to the mythological background, the possibility of sources and redaction, the influence of the first-century situation, and the relationship to Judaism and to other apocalyptic literature (e.g., W. Hadorn [1928]; E. Lohse [1960]; G. CAIRD [1966]; G. Beasley-Murray [1974]; H. Kraft [1974]; R. Mounce [1977]; J. Sweet [1979]; and J. Roloff [1993]). E. Allo (1921) and P. Prigent (1981) maintained both an Augustinian theory of the millennium and the principle of recapitulation. E. LOHMEYER (1926) and J. Sickenberger (1940) rejected the notion that the book is related directly to Roman persecution. E. Corsini (1983) claims that it describes events from the creation to the fall of Jerusalem. P. Minear (1968) thinks that it alludes to opposition from false teachers. A. FARRER (1949) and Prigent (1964) have given attention to its liturgical setting.

According to E. Schüssler Fiorenza (1985), its author belonged to a Christian prophetic-apocalyptic school. R. Bauckham (1993b) made a detailed study of the book's theology, and T. Holtz (1971) investigated its christology. M. Rissi (1965) interpreted it in relation to salvation history, while W. RAMSAY (1904), P. Touilleux (1935), and C. Hemer (1986) examined its background in Asia Minor. Among the many popular works that have taken serious account of modern scholarship are those by H. Lilje (1940) and W. BARCLAY (1976). In addition to taking account of scholarship, A. Boesak (1987) in South Africa and R. Foulkes (1989), D. Ramírez (1989–90), and P. Richard (1995) in Latin America interpret the Apocalypse in light of the social injustices of their own times.

b. Literary criticism and the social sciences. The poetic and dramatic qualities of the book have been recognized for a long time. Herder emphasized its poetic excellence. M. STUART (1851) argued that it was an epic, and Lohmeyer attempted to divide it into strophes. Following in Pareus's footsteps, F. Hartwig (1780–83), Eichhorn, F. Palmer (1903), J. Bowman (1955), and J. Blevins (1984) have explained it as a drama. The second half of the twentieth century has seen an intensification of interest in its literary qualities. There have been discussions of the book's genre and function (J. Collins [1979]; F. Mazzaferri [1989]), while other scholars have combined the insights of the social sciences (see SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC CRITICISM) with those of LITERARY criticism. RHETORICAL CRITICISM has been applied to the book as well; its structure has been closely examined and attention has been paid in varying degrees to the insights of SOCIOLOGY, anthropology, PSYCHOLOGY (J. Gager [1975]; A. Y. Collins [1984]; Schüssler Fiorenza), and the role of gender (T. Pippin [1992]).

Writers from disciplines other than biblical criticism have reflected on issues connected with the Apocalypse. F. Engels (1964) compared the community depicted in the book with socialist movements of his day. N. Cohn (1957) and E. Tuveson (1964, 1968), studying the impact of millenarian thought on society, also included discussions of Revelation's impact. C. JUNG (1954) made observations from the viewpoint of psychology. Prominent in the writings of such literary critics as F. Kermode (1967) and N. Frye (1982), Revelation has also given rise to reflections by the philosopher and critic J. Derrida (1983).

c. Authorship and date. Many scholars in the nineteenth century and most in the twentieth rejected traditional authorship. F. HITZIG (1843) argued for John Mark as the author, and Lohmeyer (1926) suggested John the Elder. According to J. Ford (1975), most of the book is a product of the John the Baptist circle, to which a Christian redactor has made additions; however, some scholars, including Allo and I. Beckwith (1919), have favored the traditional view. Although rejecting apostolic authorship, Lohmeyer argued that its author also wrote John's Gospel and the JOHANNINE LETTERS. Most scholars have dated the work in the reign of Domitian, but others, especially in the nineteenth century, preferred 66–70, while A. Farrer (1964) assigned it to the reign of Trajan.

d. Other interpretations. The theosophist J. Pryse (1906) and the anthroposophist R. Steiner (1943) have given esoteric interpretations of Revelation. The book has also played an important part in formulating the expectations of several popular religious movements. Reflected in the oracles of the visionaries R. Brothers and J. Southcott in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it has figured prominently in the teaching of Mormons, Seventh-Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and many popular interpreters who have affirmed the imminence of the second advent. Dispensationalism, which can be traced back to J. Darby in the mid-nineteenth century, has attracted an enormous number of supporters. Their position, stated in the SCOFIELD Reference Bible (1909 and 1917) and in the work of H. Lindsey (1970), is that the redeemed will be snatched to heaven in the "rapture," escaping the seven-year tribulation that will precede the millennium. Millenarianism is also advocated by those who believe that Great Britain and the United States are the lost tribes of Israel (e.g., E. Hine [1874]; H. Armstrong [1959]) and appeared in a violent form in the activities of D. Koresh's Branch Davidians.

The impact of the Apocalypse has extended far beyond the sphere of organized religion. Its language and images have been adopted by the advocates of social change and have been enlisted in the service of nation-

alism. Not confined to traditional Western culture, it has influenced millenarian-type movements in other cultures as well.

6. Worship, the Inner Life, Art, and Literature. The Apocalypse has had a powerful influence on Christian worship. In addition to its inclusion in lectionaries, it has been the inspiration for many hymns. Portions of the book have often been used in anthems, prominently in G. F. Handel's (1685–1759) *Messiah* (see MUSIC, THE BIBLE AND). From the fifth century on, the Apocalypse has played an important part in Christian art as well (see ART, THE BIBLE AND). Illuminated manuscripts, sculptures, stained glass windows, tapestries, paintings, woodcuts, drawings, and frescoes in the apses of ancient churches have been based on its visions; and it has attracted artists as diverse as Giotto (c. 1266–1337), Correggio (1494–1534), A. Dürer (1471–1528), El Greco (1541–1615), W. Blake (1757–1827), W. Kandinsky (1866–1944), and S. Dali (1904–89).

The book has frequently appealed to men and women of letters. It was the subject of a devotional commentary by C. Rossetti (1896) but also inspired a not so devotional but intensely passionate commentary by D. Lawrence (1931), who, although entranced by its echoes of ancient myth, denounced it as "the Judas of the NT." It is the theme of several works by P. Claudel. Essayists, novelists, playwrights, filmmakers, and such poets as Dante, Spenser, J. MILTON, and Blake have used its imagery as they have reacted to the upheavals and calamities of their age.

Few books have generated such diverse interpretations or awakened the interest of as wide a variety of people as the Apocalypse. On many occasions the book seems to have been at the mercy of the personal concerns and expectations of its interpreters; nevertheless, its vivid and evocative imagery and the power and passion with which it gives expression to the hopes and fears of individuals have made their mark on the way people think and feel about their present predicaments and their ultimate destiny.

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RHETORICAL CRITICISM, HEBREW BIBLE

1. Rhetorical Competence in the Hebrew Scriptures. "One who knows how to speak. . . ." Rhetorical competence is one of the qualities that commends the young David to Saul's court, and several speeches put into the mouth of Jesse's son bear out the judgment (1 Sam 16:18; cf. 1 Sam 17:45-47; 24:8-15; 25:21-22; 2 Sam 1:19-27). Not surprisingly, HB narrative literature offers many examples of persuasive speechmaking: Judah's pleading with Joseph not to keep Benjamin as hostage (Gen 44:18-34); Moses' sermon-like conclusion of his farewell discourse, setting before Israel the choice between life and death (Deuteronomy 29–30); Samuel's sobering lecture on "the ways of the king . . . over you" (1 Sam 8:10-18); Abigail's honed words restraining David from rash action (1 Sam 25:23-31); Nathan's surprise-charged parable of the ewe lamb (2 Sam 12:1-6); not to mention the alluring argumentations through which two royal counselors compete for Absalom's ear (2 Sam 16:15–17:14). Also, narrative epilogues to the fall of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah (2 Kgs 17:7-23; Jer 44:1-14) as well as the story of Jerusalem's rescue from Sennacherib's siege (Isaiah 36–37) show persuasive pens at work, as do Abijah's self-assured sermon addressed to his wayward Israelite opponents (2 Chr 13:4-12) and the narrative of Ruth, the model of a biblical short story. In short, vivid and varied vocabulary, appealing style, pronounced point of view, functional character portrayal, and unity as well as variation in design characterize these examples of biblical eloquence, which, like that of Homer or of the ancient Egyptian sages (M. Fox [1983]), is "preconceptual" (G. Kennedy [1980] 120).

Rhetorical competence is made the subject of reflection in Proverbs: "The mind of the wise makes his speech judicious and adds persuasiveness to his lips" (Prov 16:23). Various aspects of the art of speaking well are noted: the need to listen with care and to react at the right time (15:23; 18:13); the necessity to ponder an issue in depth and to respond dispassionately (17:27*b*); the urging to be brief and to the point (17:27*a*); and the importance of fitting words and persuasive arguments (16:21). In short, "death and life are in the power of the tongue," and "a gentle tongue is a tree of life" (18:21*a*; 15:4*a*).

However, in the story of Moses' call, his lack of rhetorical competence is the retarding, yet essential, element: He responds to the divine call to speak on God's behalf with the statement that he is "not eloquent [but] slow of speech and of tongue." However, he finds himself overruled by the divine affirmation that God will teach him what to say (Exod 4:10-12). The revelation he then proceeds to convey is thus a divine rhetoric that is not mediated to its human addressees through any human rhetorical competence. It is this antithesis that eventually set Jewish and Christian canonical writings, as divine revelation, apart from human eloquence. Holy writ is by definition not subject to standards of rhetorical competence.

2. Classical Rhetorical Criticism and Biblical Interpretation. This embedded tension accounts for the nearly complete absence of formally conceptualized Greek and Roman rhetorical criticism from biblical interpretation until the last decades of the twentieth century. In their formative centuries, church and synagogue tended to define themselves in contrast to Roman-Hellenistic culture; thus only writers who sought to bring Jerusalem and Athens together drew on classical rhetorical theory in the service of their cause, e.g., AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO (see J. Murphy [1974] for his significant impact). Some theologians and Midrashists (see MIDRASH), in fact, adopted certain classical rhetorical practices; note for instance TERTULLIAN's persuasion-driven treatises or the use of Hellenistic rhetoric in rabbinic exegesis (D. Daube [1949]).

In the Middle Ages and until the Enlightenment, teachers and homilists in synagogue and church carried out biblical interpretation within institutionally defined parameters and in support of then-prevalent conceptualizations of the religious heritage. This state of affairs changed, especially in Western Christianity, with the

Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Thus J. M. Leon's *The Book of the Honeycomb's Flow* (1475/76) shows how a kind of rhetorical analysis was used in Judaism in the late fifteenth century. Another example is J. Alting's (1685) use of rhetorical categories in his "theoretical-practical" commentary, written some two centuries later. For instance, he concludes the introduction to Deut 32:1-43 with the identification of its four parts of a speech as defined in Greek and Roman rhetorical theory: *exordium* (vv. 1-2), *propositio* (vv. 3-6), *narratio* (vv. 7-42), and *conclusio* (v. 43).

From the mid-eighteenth century onward exegetes were increasingly unwilling to see themselves as suppliers of proof texts to dogmaticians and began to embark on exegesis as an interpretive enterprise in its own right. In the course of the two centuries since then, various critical methods of LITERARY analysis and synthesis practiced in the disciplines of the humanities were adopted and, as needed, adapted to meet institutional limitations. Occasionally, however, rhetorical considerations were explicitly made part of interpretive approaches. Thus, C. BRIGGS (1900, 478) briefly discussed "logical and rhetorical interpretations" as part of interpretation generally; and E. KÖNIG discussed at length "the nature of the style" in biblical literature, covering many of the traditional topics within a psychologically-defined framework (see PSYCHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES). The papal encyclical DIVINO AFFLANTE SPIRITU (1942) removed for the Roman Catholic Church the taint of "modernism" from the new methods of interpretation and affirmed their validity for church-related exegesis. The same is now largely true for all but orthodox Judaism. The range and variety of approaches is considerable and defined by linguistic, sociological (see SOCIOLOGY AND HB STUDIES), psychological, or philosophical perspectives (see the survey by A. Suelzer and J. Kselman [1990]).

3. The "New" Rhetorical Criticism. The emergence of HB rhetorical criticism as an identifiable approach is usually based on J. MUILENBURG's 1969 paper "Form Criticism and Beyond" (W. Wuellner [1987] 451; Suelzer-Kselman, 1127). The title suggests what his argumentation lays out: FORM CRITICISM, proceeding as it does analytically, needs to be followed by a synthetically oriented examination of "literary composition . . . exhibiting . . . structural patterns . . . discerning the many and various devices by which the predictions are formulated and ordered into a unified whole." This method Muilenburg described as "rhetorical criticism" (8).

Muilenburg's identification of this step beyond form criticism is, however, problematic in that it introduces as a separate move beyond form criticism the kind of inquiry that H. GUNKEL, the father of form criticism, considered an integral part of the method. More important, the suggested term "rhetorical criticism" refers to a scholarly discipline practiced since Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and Augustine that may be defined as the study and practice of the art of speaking/writing well.

Ancient rhetorics identify three kinds of speeches: judicial speeches, related to the past and in its positive formulation constituted as defense, in its negative form as accusation; deliberative or political speeches, related to the future either as exhortation or warning; and demonstrative speeches, related to the present either as praise or reproach. The process of composition moves through three stages: The conception of the line of argumentation (*inventio*) is followed by the selection of the fitting style (*elocutio*), then the composition of its structure (*dispositio*). The argument is supported by two kinds of proofs: non-technical, like documents or oaths, and technical, based on such considerations as probability. Important aspects of the speech are the speaker's stature (*ethos*), the rationality of the speech (*logos*), and the emotional element with which the audience of the speech is addressed (*pathos*). The parts of the speech usually include an introduction (*exordium*); a narration (*narratio*), which may appear throughout the work; positive or negative lines of proof (*confirmatio/confutatio*); and a conclusion (*peroratio*). Based on K. Ziegler (1979), this incomplete survey shows that classical rhetoric deals only with prose; poetry is discussed separately as "poetics."

The terminological difficulty introduced by Muilenburg into HB interpretation is illustrated by the different way in which the 1984 work by Kennedy programmatically defines and practices NT RHETORICAL CRITICISM in terms of the classical system based on Aristotle. Kennedy's brief discussion (1980) notes that although "rhetorical consciousness is entirely foreign to the nature of biblical Judaism," it is nevertheless "fairly obvious that both as a whole and in its various books there are signs of oral, persuasive intent" (120-21). As far as a definition of HB rhetorical criticism is concerned, the summary of an emerging consensus by C. Black (1989) commends itself: Rhetorical criticism is "the study of the characteristic linguistic and structural features of a particular text in its present form, apart from its generic rootage, social usage, or historical development" (1988–89, 253; similarly M. Kessler [1982] 14).

Given this definition, literary-critical analyses that are not expressly identified as rhetorical criticism are equally of importance, e.g., D. Robertson's discussion of "the OT and the literary critic" (1977) or R. Alter's two books on "the art of biblical narrative and of biblical poetry" (1981, 1985). By the same token discussions of such topics as "the rhetoric of sexuality" (P. Trible [1978, 1984]) also need to be included because they not only combine rhetorical analysis with a specific hermeneutical perspective (see HERMENEUTICS) but also illustrate the range and variety of approaches presently being practiced. The latter is documented in an instructive

discussion of contemporary "ways of analysing text" in D. Birch's survey of "language, literature and critical practice" (1989).

4. Perspectives and Representative Publications. Muilenburg's move to rhetorical criticism was not meant to discard form criticism—on the contrary, it perceived the former as a logical step beyond the latter. However, his commentary on Deutero-Isaiah proceeded synchronically—that is, made the text as it stands the basis of exegesis. As expected, the relation between the diachronic nature of earlier critical approaches and the synchronic character of rhetorical criticism has become a matter of debate. M. Weiss (1967), for instance, considered form criticism "irrelevant to biblical criticism," while others assume continuity between diachronic and synchronic approaches (M. Kessler [1982] 5, 12).

In the practice of rhetorical interpretation the most important decision is made at its inception: What is the extent of the unit to be analyzed? An intentionally conceived and formulated composition is not only structured and plotted but also defined by its beginning and ending. Thus analysis begins with the definition of the extent of the unit; rhetorical interpretation, at least in its basic sense, is concerned only with integral and complete units that expressly present themselves as such, e.g., the books of Ruth, Amos, or Job. Book chapters or lectionary pericopes are rarely primary units; also sections of relative conceptual and literary integrity like Genesis 24 or 2 Kings 22–23 are part of larger texts that constitute the primary parameters of rhetorical analysis. This consideration locates exegesis of subunits in a larger interpretive perspective but by the same token does not rule it out (note the fruitful exegeses of small text units in the collections edited by J. Jackson and M. Kellers [1974]; D. Clines, D. Gunn, and A. Hauser [1982]; and D. Patrick and A. Scult [1990]).

Rhetorical criticism cannot help but surface the social nature of all discourse. The search for the rhetoric of non-Western culture—and that of the Jewish scriptures is indeed so categorized—reveals, in the words of a recent reviewer, "a significant fact both about rhetoric and about the nature of its Western tradition: the true rhetoric of any age and of any people is to be found deep within what might be called attitudinizing conventions, precepts that condition one's stance toward experience, knowledge, tradition, language, and other people" (T. Sloan and C. Perelman [1974] 802). It comes as no surprise, then, when rhetorical criticism takes readers "away from a traditional message—or content-oriented reading of Scripture—to a reading which generates and strengthens ever-deepening personal, social, and cultural values" and leads its practitioners to "personal or social *identification* and *transformation*" (Wuellner [1987] 460-61, with reference to K. Burke's approach).

Representative publications include several monographs that deal with both theory and practice of rhetorical approaches generally, e.g., Alter, S. Bar-Efrat (1989), A. Berlin (1983), N. Frye (1957), L. Alonso Schökel (1965), M. Sternberg (1985), and Weiss. Other publications are concerned with certain parts of the Bible, e.g., J. Fokkelman (1975, 1981), M. Garsiel (1983), D. Jobling (1978, 1986), and R. Polzin (1980, 1989), with parts of the Law and the former prophets; F. Andersen and D. N. FREEDMAN (1980), M. Fox (1980), Y. Gitay (1981), W. Holladay (1976), and J. Lundblom (1975), with the latter prophets. Fox (1983) provides an instructive example of (preconceptual) rhetorical competence in ancient Egypt. The collections by Jackson and Kellers and Clines, Gunn, and Hauser as well as M. Fishbane's book (1979) interpret smaller text units. On the other hand, Trible is an example of rhetorical interpretation from the perspective of FEMINIST hermeneutics.

5. Method in Rhetorical Criticism: An Emerging Consensus? Three review articles include descriptions of steps to be followed in rhetorical criticism (Kessler, 8-9; Wuellner [1987] 455-58; Black, 254-55). On the basis of these works, five stages are suggested: (a) Determination of the extent of the unit. What are the opening and closing paragraphs, strophes, or sentences? How is the unit they delimit marked by compositional completeness and conceptual integrity? If the unit is a subunit of a larger text, what is its place and function within that macro-structure? In turn, if the unit is extensive and anthological or otherwise composite, what considerations need to qualify rhetorical analysis? (b) Identification of the rhetorical situation. What constellation of persons, circumstances, and events led to the composition of the text? How does the unit as a persuasion-oriented composition relate to the historical, social, and psychological setting of the composer? What options were available to the composer, and what is the creative, inventive element in the unit? (c) Identification of the rhetorical disposition. What encompassing strategy carries the argument? What is the latter, and how do the composer's stature, the perspicuity of the presentation, and the appeal to the expectations of the audience serve it? How is the text structured as a unified whole? (d) Determination of rhetorical technique. What style is used? What supporting proofs and clarifying illustrations are employed? What techniques, such as repetition, type-scenes, and reticence, are used? What is the nature of the imagery, and in what manner are social and historical legacies drawn into the presentation? (e) Review of the analysis. In what manner do the insights gathered in analysis fit into a consistent and substantial understanding of the passage? How does the analysis of the whole unit lead to an understanding that is more than the sum of its individual stages?

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W. M. W. ROTH

RHETORICAL CRITICISM, NEW TESTAMENT

1. Origins and History. In his *De doctrina Christiana* (bk. 4), AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO used rhetorical conventions outlined in Cicero's *De Inventione* and *Orator* to analyze PAUL's letters. He found them to uphold classical standards of style, while having a distinct and qualitative rhetoric of their own. The Venerable BEDE analyzed figures and tropes in both testaments in his *De schematibus et tropis.*

The rhetoric of Paul was also of great interest to the Reformers. ERASMUS analyzed 1–2 Corinthians rhetorically in his *Paraphrasis in duas epistolas Pauli ad Corinthios* (1519). CALVIN gave a rhetorical analysis of Romans in his *Testamenti Epistolas, atque eti in Epistol ad Hebraeos commentaria luculentissima* (1551). Of special note is the work of P. MELANCHTHON, whose commentaries on Romans and Galatians use classical conventions of invention, arrangement, and style as well as more contemporary rhetorical conventions (e.g., *Commentarii in epistolam ad Romanos hoc anno MDXL recogniti et locupletati* [1540]).

After the Reformation, rhetorical analysis of the NT did not cease but was limited until German scholarship of the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries revitalized the discipline. Very influential was K. Bauer's two-volume study of Paul's use of classical rhetorical techniques, entitled *Rhetoricae Paullinae, vel, Quid ora-*

torium sit in oratione Paulli (1782). In his *Die neutestamentliche Rhetorik: Ein Seitenstück zur Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms,* the German lexicographer C. WILKE analyzed the stylistic features, sentence structure, and argumentation of the NT (1843). Other important works were written by F. Blass, E. KÖNIG, J. WEISS, R. BULTMANN, and H. WINDISCH.

Despite this important stream of tradition at the turn of the twentieth century, NT studies largely became isolated from rhetoric. E. NORDEN (1898) measured the Pauline epistles according to the classical canons of artistic prose style and found them unhellenic. This assessment remained dominant, and its influence was undergirded by the diminishing role of rhetorical instruction in Western school curricula. In NT studies a subsequent trickle of works reduced rhetorical analysis to matters of style, neglecting the more substantial aspects of invention and arrangement.

In the last three decades of the twentieth century, rhetorical criticism of the NT has been revived, partly due to dissatisfaction with FORM and REDACTION CRITICISM and to the renewed interest in rhetoric in the humanities, philosophy, and classics, as seen in the work of C. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969). In NT studies A. Wilder (1964) and R. Funk (1966) noted the rhetorical qualities of forms and genres and their relationship to their socio-historical settings. However, the major turning point for reintroducing rhetorical criticism to biblical studies was J. MUILENBURG's 1968 presidential address to the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE (1969), in which he urged that biblical studies move beyond form criticism through the use of rhetorical criticism.

This reintroduction came in earnest with the work of H. Betz on Galatians (1975, 1979). He argued that Paul's epistles were composed with classical categories of invention, arrangement, and style in mind and that these could be used as a tool of interpretation. Although Betz has been challenged on several points, he reemphasized interpreting the Pauline epistles by using Greco-Roman rhetorical and epistolary theory in their complete form. At about the same time W. Wuellner was bringing Greco-Roman and more modern rhetorical theory to bear on Romans, arguing that the Pauline epistles should be approached primarily as argumentative and rhetorical (1976). Since these beginnings, hundreds of works have been produced (D. Watson and A. Hauser [1994]).

2. Contemporary Methodologies. Currently a wide variety of methodologies are being used in rhetorical criticism of the NT. These methodologies are based on Greco-Roman rhetorical conventions, on modern rhetorical theories, or on a mixture of both. Even within these broader categories variety abounds. The field is currently occupied with the refinement of methodology (D. Stamps [1992]).

a. Using Greco-Roman rhetoric. Rhetorical criticism can analyze the NT using Jewish and Greco-Roman rhetorical conventions, thereby helping to place the NT texts amid their oral and written cultures. It is a historical enterprise standing between ahistorical LITERARY criticism and historical criticism. This approach assumes that the NT authors were familiar with rhetoric either from formal education or through interaction with oral and written Hellenistic culture, which was permeated with rhetorical practice, and that the biblical documents are argumentative in nature.

The classicist G. Kennedy (1984, 33-38) was the first scholar to provide a methodology for rhetorical criticism of the Gospels and the epistles of the NT according to Greco-Roman rhetorical conventions. His methodology has five interrelated steps: (1) Determine the rhetorical unit. (2) Define the rhetorical situation. (3) Determine the rhetorical problem or stasis and the species of rhetoric, whether judicial (accusation and defense), deliberative (persuasion and dissuasion), or epideictic (praise and blame); (4) Analyze the invention, arrangement, and style. Invention is argumentation by ethos, pathos, and logos. Arrangement is the ordering of the various components, such as the *exordium* (introduction), *narratio* (statement of facts), *probatio* (main body), and *peroratio* (conclusion). Style is fitting the language to the needs of invention and includes such things as figures of speech and thought. And (5) evaluate the rhetorical effectiveness of the rhetorical unit in meeting the exigence.

This approach to rhetorical criticism of the NT has been very fruitful but has raised several questions: (1) Did rhetorical convention influence the epistolary genre to the extent that these conventions can be used to analyze an epistle? (2) To what the extent did Greco-Roman rhetoric influence Jewish culture by the first century CE? Can such rhetoric be used to analyze texts from a predominantly Jewish context? (3) What role does Jewish rhetoric play in early Christian rhetoric?

Besides these questions there are possible pitfalls in using the method, such as the temptation to rigidly apply rhetorical categories to biblical texts. Also, this approach has depended largely on rhetorical theory alone. Such theory is an abstraction from rhetorical practice, so practice reflected in extant letters and speeches composed by orators of Greece and Rome must also be brought to bear in analysis.

b. Using modern rhetoric. Many interpreters consider rhetorical analysis of the NT solely using Greco-Roman rhetorical conventions to be too limited and in need of supplementation with modern rhetorical theory (J. Botha [1989] 14-31; L. Thurén [1990] 41-78; Wuellner [1991] 171-85). Ancient rhetoric does not address all theoretical, practical, and philosophical questions posed by speech; and since the NT texts are rhetorical, they are capable of being analyzed by the principles of both

Greco-Roman and modern rhetoric. Greco-Roman rhetorical theory is primarily interested in the creation of communication as oriented to the speaker, although some consideration of the audience reaction is present; whereas modern rhetoric concentrates on the effect of rhetoric on the speaker and the audience and on the larger social context of communication, which includes speaker and audience. Rhetorical criticism using modern rhetorical theory is a philosophical reconceptualization of Greco-Roman rhetoric, a synchronic approach to argumentation that does not suit purely historical investigation.

Use of the "new rhetoric" represented by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca and others has been prominent. It redefines rhetoric as argumentation with a persuasive intent and focuses on the audience/readers of the rhetoric. The historical and social situation that produced speech and in which it was enacted becomes central. Rhetoric is a liaison between text and social context, assessing the latter through the former.

Wuellner identifies four features of theory and practice using modern rhetoric: (1) "the turn toward argumentation . . . and the designation of arguments as a text-type distinct from narrative and description"; (2) a "focus on the text's rhetorical intentionality or exigency"; (3) "the social, cultural, ideological values imbedded in the argument's premises, *topoi,* and hierarchies"; and (4) "the rhetorical or stylistic techniques . . . are seen as means to an end, and not as merely formal, decorative features" (1991, 176-77). Also, modern rhetorical analysis of the NT often enlists literary criticism, text linguistics, SEMIOTICS, stylistics, READER-RESPONSE CRITICISM, discourse analysis, and/or speech act theory.

3. Rhetorical Criticism of the Gospels. Many individual rhetorical features of the Gospels have been studied, but a thorough assessment of the rhetoric of an entire Gospel is as yet rare. Although Kennedy's method has been applied to portions of the Gospels, it fails to account for more elaborate argumentative schemes or for overall rhetorical structure. Ancient rhetoric did not have a theory of narrative that discussed plot development and would have aided in Gospel analysis.

The study of the ancient *chreia* has illumined the rhetoric of the Gospels (B. Mack [1987]; Mack and V. Robbins [1989]). A *chreia* (pl. *chreiai*) is "a saying or action that is expressed concisely, attributed to a character, and regarded as useful for living" (R. Hock and E. O'Neil [1986] 26); e.g., "Diogenes the philosopher, on being asked by someone how he could become famous, responded: 'By worrying as little as possible about fame' " (85). *Chreiai* were central to oral and written communication and to argumentation in the Greco-Roman world and were the basis of many rhetorical exercises described in the *progymnasmata* (preliminary exercises) used in rhetorical instruction in post-secondary education. These exercises taught students to work out the meaning of the saying or action in the *chreia* using long-established topics, including paraphrase, expansion, condensation, refutation, and confirmation.

Chreiai were used by the rabbis in the time of JESUS and can be found in contemporary literature from a Jewish provenance. The works of Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius show that they were also collected and expanded for use in biographies. As expected by their Jewish provenance and similarities to ancient biography, *chreiai* elaborations are basic literary units of the Gospels and include the words and deeds of Jesus (e.g., Matt 8:18-20), which were transmitted as oral and written *chreiai.* Teachers, preachers, and the Gospel writers elaborated them according to rhetorical conventions to suit their polemical, theological, and literary needs. This is demonstrated by the fact that a *chreia* in one Gospel is elaborated in its parallel account; e.g., Mark 10:13-16 is an elaborated *chreia* that is found in a more condensed form in Matt 19:13-15. The traditional understanding of form criticism that the sayings of Jesus were preserved separately in an oral tradition independent of a narrative context is no longer tenable (Mack [1987] 29-41; Mack and Robbins, chaps. 1–2).

Besides the use of *chreiai* in rhetorical criticism, there are studies showing that portions of the Gospels were written according to rhetorical imitation of texts and narrative paradigms. Alongside rhetorical analysis primarily based on Greco-Roman rhetoric there are also many important studies that use varying degrees of modern rhetorical theory, literary criticism, NARRATIVE CRITICISM, and SOCIOLOGY.

4. Rhetorical Criticism of the Epistles. Currently there is great debate about the extent to which Greco-Roman rhetorical theory influenced the epistolary genre in antiquity. Specifically, the debate concerns the relationship between rhetoric and the epistles of the NT, particularly those of Paul (R. Anderson [1996]; G. Hansen [1989] chaps. 1–2; Thurén, 57-64). Some interpreters limit rhetoric's influence on NT epistles to matters of style and some invention (C. Classen [1993]), while others view the epistles of the NT as speeches in epistolary form that can be analyzed using Greco-Roman rhetorical theory (K. Berger [1974]; Watson [1988]). Still others recognize that both rhetorical and epistolary theory affect the epistle to varying degrees or at different levels (Thurén, 58).

Epistolary and rhetorical theory were developed separately in antiquity; however, there are functional parallels between rhetorical and epistolary classifications and arrangement and some shared stylistic features. Regardless of this lack of articulated integration, by the first century rhetoric had exerted a strong influence on epistolary composition (e.g., the epistles of Demosthenes). Rhetorical handbooks may not have addressed letter writing because they were dominated by the concerns of oral delivery in judicial contexts.

To what extent did Paul receive rhetorical training, and did he employ rhetorical conventions in a conscious manner when writing his epistles? Opinions range from studied and conscious, to merely imitating or functionally related, and to unconsciously borrowing from the experience of oratory. Entire Pauline epistles or significant portions have been successfully analyzed according to the conventions of invention, arrangement, and style. Since Paul's epistles were to be read in the churches, it is logical to assume that they were fashioned like speeches.

Rhetorical criticism of the NT epistles that examines Greco-Roman rhetorical conventions has been used in conjunction with traditional historical-critical methodologies to define more precisely rhetorical strategies and specific types of argumentation as well as more intricate elaboration of arguments and themes, amplification techniques, and much more. The use of modern rhetoric in this analysis has been extremely interdisciplinary, employing discourse analysis, text-linguistics, and reader-response theory, to name a few other disciplines.

The future of rhetorical criticism of the NT will be interdisciplinary. This future is glimpsed in the development of socio-rhetorical criticism (Robbins [1996]), which uses a variety of methodologies to examine the inner texture, intertexture, social and cultural texture, IDEOLOGICAL texture, and sacred texture of the NT texts.

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D. F. WATSON

RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR (c. 1123–73)

Born probably in Scotland, R. came to the abbey of St. Victor sometime in the 1150s. He was made subprior in 1159 and prior in 1162, dying in 1173. He is best known for his mystical treatises, generally known as the *Benjamin minor* (*The Twelve Patriarchs*) and *Benjamin major* (*The Mystical Ark*), exegetical contemplations of biblical persons and themes, the latter describing a sixfold progress in the mystical ascent that was to influence especially BONAVENTURE in the next century (*Itinerarium mentis in deum*).

R. also composed mystical commentaries on the Song of Songs and on Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Daniel 2 (*De eruditione hominis interioris*). His *Liber exceptionum* contains a running allegorization of the biblical story and demonstrates how closely related the allegorical interpretation of Scripture was to the preaching of the time, especially as exemplified in the sermons of the likes of PETER COMESTOR. It may well have been part of a larger, encyclopedic project to provide an aid for study along the lines of HUGH's *Didascalicon.*

In addition, R. composed literal commentaries on Ezekiel and on the Apocalypse, which in the inherited tradition had generally been given a spiritual interpretation—another demonstration of the Victorine insistence that the literal, historical meaning of Scripture could never be dismissed. Yet even here R. displayed his taste, not so much for the historical as for the aesthetic: In de-

scribing the visions of the Throne Chariot and the Temple he gave minute, graphic detail that evinces a keen interest in and appreciation for the artistic qualities of his subject. As B. Smalley (1983³) notes, "What attracted him in the letter of Scripture was not the movement of human history, but the jewels, the songs, the flowers."

R. wrote works of a more dogmatic nature, the most important of which is *De Trinitate,* in which his unique interpretation of the interior life of God, founded on the necessity of the character of love, requires not only Lover and Beloved but also a third who shares in that love—a model for a spirituality that involves interpersonal community, as G. Zinn (1979) notes.

Works: *Opera omnia* (*PL* 196); *Selected Writings on Contemplation* (ed. and tr. C. Kirchberger, 1957); *Liber exceptionum: Text critique avec introduction* (TPMA 5, ed. J. Châtillon, 1958); *De Trinitate* (ed. J. Ribaillier, 1958); *Richard of St. Victor: The Twelve Patriarchs, The Mystical Ark, Book Three of the Trinity* (tr. G. Zinn, 1979).

Bibliography: **B. Smalley,** *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1983³). **M. Zier,** "Preaching by Distinction: Peter Comestor and the Communication of the Gospel," *Ephemerides Liturigae* 105 (1991) 301-29. See also the studies accompanying R.'s published works.

M. A. ZIER

RICHARDSON, ALAN (1905–75)

A prominent English theologian, ecumenist, apologist, and outstanding, widely read popularizer, R. developed a particularly Anglican blend of biblical THEOLOGY in the decades following WWII, best seen in his volume on NT theology (1958). Having worked for the Student Christian Movement, he became canon of Durham in 1943, professor of Christian theology at Nottingham in 1953, and dean of York in 1964. His popular biblical works were widely read. He also edited a theological wordbook of the Bible (1950) and a dictionary of Christian theology (1969), both published by SCM Press, of which he was chair. His more systematic work, *Christian Apologetics* (1948), was followed by *History Sacred and Profane* (1964), which espoused a perspectival view of history. His English insistence on the apologetic value of history and his strong Anglican ties made him hostile to European thought, especially to K. BARTH and R. BULTMANN.

Works: *The Miracle-stories of the Gospels* (1941); *Preface to Bible Study* (1943); *Christian Apologetics* (1948); *A Theological Workbook of the Bible* (1950); *Genesis 1–11: An Introduction and Commentary* (1953); *An Introduction to the Theology of the NT* (1958); *John* (1959); *History Sacred and Profane* (1964); *A Dictionary of Christian Theology* (1969).

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R. MORGAN

RICOEUR, PAUL (1913–)

R. was born in Valence, France, on Feb. 27, 1913, and was raised by his paternal grandparents in Brittany in the tradition of the Protestant Huguenots. In 1935 he graduated from the Sorbonne, where he attended seminars conducted by G. Marcel. While interned in a German POW camp from 1940 to 1945 he was allowed to study German philosophy and theology, including the writings of I. KANT, E. Husserl (1859–1938), M. Heidegger (1889–1976), R. BULTMANN, and K. BARTH. These thinkers have had an abiding impact on his work.

After the war, R. first taught at a secondary school in Chambon-sur-Lignon, a village known for its aid to Jewish refugees during the Nazi occupation. He moved to the University of Strasbourg in 1948 and eventually returned to the Sorbonne to occupy the chair of general philosophy (1957–67). He was active in the Parisian socialist movement and in the promotion of social democracy against the threat of market-driven capitalism. In 1967 he left the Sorbonne and joined the faculty of the University of Paris in Nanterre. As dean, he was instrumental in mediating conflicts between faculty and students over the cries for reform in the French university system during the Paris uprisings of 1968. During this time he did collaborative work with E. Levinas and was one of J. Derrida's teachers; he also became a permanent faculty member of the University of Chicago, with appointments in the divinity school, the department of philosophy, and the Committee on Social Thought. Having resigned from Nanterre in 1980, he became professor emeritus at Chicago in 1991. He lives in the Paris suburb of Catenay-Malabry, his permanent residence since 1957.

R.'s contribution to biblical studies can be noted by summarizing the contents of three of his most seminal writings on biblical HERMENEUTICS, each stemming from a different period in his life. *The Symbolism of Evil* (1960) consists of philosophically informed exegetical readings of the phenomenon of evil, as presented in Greek and biblical texts. By way of these founding texts R. argues that to be human is to be estranged from oneself because all humans, though destined for fulfillment, are inevitably captive to an "adversary" greater than themselves. The bitter irony of this predicament is most effectively symbolized by the myth of Adam's fall (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES). Although the story is putatively about historical origins, it functions as an etiological myth concerning a cosmic battle be-

tween good and evil anterior to Adam's decision. R.'s point in this volume is that human beings enter consciousness as denizens of a world of prior symbols and myths. Thus figurative language interprets us before we interpret it. Since there are no shortcuts to selfhood, it is only when the subject traverses a hermeneutical "long route" through the revealing power of the symbol that he or she can arrive at an adequate self-understanding. This route follows a path from the loss of original belief in the sacred to a critical recovery of the power of myth in a world seemingly empty of meaning and hope. Along this interpretive path the voice of the sacred can be heard again, not in the mode of a pre-critical naïveté, but through an interpretive gesture, what R. refers to as a "second naïveté," that wagers on the power of myth and symbol to elucidate the nature of human being.

"Biblical Hermeneutics" (1975), an exercise in analyzing the discourse of JESUS' parables, is central to the second period in R.'s writings on biblical interpretation. The PARABLES employ extravagantly transgressive language to refigure time at its limits. R. stresses how the parables' power to reorient by subverting the reader's presuppositions about reality allows the Bible's zones of indeterminacy to come fully to light. His study of the iconoclastic nature of parabolic discourse clarifies the importance of attention to the diversity of biblical genres for a multifaceted understanding of the Bible's message. Some theologians and biblical scholars ignore parabolic discourse in favor of narrative modes of expression, reading the Bible as a seamless whole. However, such an interpretation ignores the Bible's irruptions of radical discontinuity. R.'s point in "Biblical Hermeneutics" is that only as narrative is interanimated by cross-fertilizations with other modes of discourse—e.g., Jesus' parables—can it effectively create meaning.

"Interpretative Narrative" (1990) in *Figuring the Sacred* reflects the progression in R.'s hermeneutics from discourse analysis to post-structuralism (especially through his use of the work of F. Kermode and J. D. Crossan). This piece characterizes the third stage in R.'s biblical scholarship. In an interpretation of the secrecy motif in the Gospel of Mark, he shows that the Markan story both creates meaning in recombination with other modes of discourse and, in its cross-pollinations with the counter-narrative stress on the enigmatic, also subverts literary and theological coherence by obfuscating what it purports to elucidate. In a POST-MODERN culture the pathos and the promise of a Ricoeurian hermeneutic is its ability to bring to light the darkness and opacity that shadows the Bible's most prized stories.

Taken as a whole, R.'s contribution to biblical studies has been to help move the field away from being a historical mode of study divorced from wider philosophical discussion toward being a thoroughgoing hermeneutical discipline informed by contemporary intellectual life. While his hope has been to engender a productive dialogue between the tasks of biblical hermeneutics and of philosophical inquiry, R. has not sought to subordinate the former to the latter (however, see K. Vanhoozer [1990] 190-289). Rather, he has endeavored to avoid theory-heavy methods of biblical reading in favor of a text-immanent approach. With other contemporary philosophical and literary readers of the Bible, he maintains that biblical meaning is produced through an interpretation of the diverse genres that constitute the intertext of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures.

Works: *The Symbolism of Evil* (Religious Perspectives 17, tr. E. Buchanan, 1967); *Freud and Philosophy: An Essay on Interpretation* (1970); "Sur l'exégèse de Genèse 1,1-2,4a," *Exégèse et herméneutique: Parole de Dieu* (ed. X. L. Dufour, 1971) 67-84; *The Conflict of Interpretations: Essays in Hermeneutics* (NUSPEP, ed. D. Ihde, 1974); "Biblical Hermeneutics," *Semeia* 4 (1975) 27-148; *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (1976); *The Philosophy of P. R.: An Anthology of His Work* (ed. C. Regan and D. Stewart, 1978); *Rule of Metaphor: Multi-Disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Languages* (1977); *Essays on Biblical Interpretation* (ed. L. S. Mudge, 1980); *Critical Hermeneutics: A Study in the Thought of P. R. and J. Habermas* (ed. and tr. J. B. Thompson, 1981); *Time and Narrative* (3 vols., 1984–88); *Fallible Man* (1965; rev. tr., 1986); *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (ed. G. H. Taylor, 1986); *From Text to Action* (Essays in Hermeneutics 2, 1991); *Lectures* (3 vols., 1991–94); *A Ricoeur Reader: Reflection and Imagination* (Theory/Culture Series 2, ed. M. Valdés, 1991); *Oneself as Another* (1992); *Figuring the Sacred: Religion, Narrative, and Imagination* (ed. M. I. Wallace, 1995).

Bibliography: **P. S. Anderson,** *R. and Kant: Philosophy of the Will* (1993). **S. H. Clark,** *Paul Ricoeur* (1990). **J. D. Crossan** (ed.), "The Book of Job and R.'s Hermeneutics," *Semeia* 19 (1981) 3-123. **J. Dicenso,** *Hermeneutics and the Disclosure of Truth: A Study of the Work of Heidegger, Gadamer, and R.* (SRC, 1990). **M. Gerhart,** *The Question of Belief in Literary Criticism: An Introduction to the Hermeneutical Theory of P. R.* (1979). **L. E. Hahn** (ed.), *The Philosophy of P. R.* (Library of Living Philosophers 22, 1995). **D. Ihde,** *Hermeneutical Phenomenology: The Philosophy of P. R.* (NUSPUP, 1971). **P. Kemp and D. Rasmussen** (eds.), *The Narrative Path: The Later Works of P. R.* (1989). **D. E. Klemm,** *The Hermeneutical Theory of P. R.* (1983). **D. E. Klemm and W. Schweiker** (eds.), *Meaning in Texts and Actions: Questioning P. R.* (SRC, 1993). **L. Lawlor,** *Imagination and Chance: The Difference Between the Thought of R. and Derrida* (Intersections, 1992). **W. J. Lowe,** *Mystery of the Unconscious: A Study in the Thought of P. R.* (ATLA.MS 9, 1977). **C. E. Reagan,** *Studies in the Philosophy of P. R.* (1979); *P. R.: His Life and Work* (1996). **J. Van Den Hengel,** *The Home of Meaning: The Hermeneutics of the Subject of P. R.* (1982). **K. J. Vanhoozer,** *Biblical Narrative in the Philosophy of P. R.: A*

Study in Hermeneutics and Theology (1990). **F. D. Vansina,** *P. R.: A Primary and Secondary Systematic Bibliography (1935–84)* (1985). **M. I. Wallace,** *The Second Naiveté: Barth, R., and the New Yale Theology* (1990). **D. Wood,** *On P. R.: Narrative and Interpretation* (WSPL, 1991).

M. I. WALLACE

RIEHM, EDUARD KARL AUGUST (1830–88)

Born Dec. 20, 1830, in Diersburg, Germany, R. studied theology in Heidelberg and Halle. In 1853 he received his doctorate and in 1858 habilitated in OT THEOLOGY, becoming an *ausserordentlicher* professor in Heidelberg (1861) and a full professor in Halle after H. HUPFELD's death (1866). He died Apr. 5, 1888, in Giebichenstein.

R.'s work belonged to what has been called mediation theology. Combining scholarly work with south German church devotion, R. remained in serious, open-minded dialogue with new scholarly developments in HB studies, tending always to draw conservative conclusions. His dissertation *Die Gesetzgebung Mosis im Lande Moab* (1854) is a careful investigation of the state of the question since W. DE WETTE's *Disstertatio critico-exegetica* (1805), with a focus on theological interpretation. R.'s dating of Deuteronomy to the middle of the seventh century BCE dominated the coming period of scholarship. He was so certain that Deuteronomy was later than the bulk of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) that he did not bother in 1854 to address the opposing view of J. VATKE, P. von BOHLEN, and J. GEORGE that placed much of the Pentateuch after Deuteronomy. However, with K. GRAF in 1866, he was forced at least to concede that the priestly legislation did not become influential until the period of the Second Temple.

Just as significant was his argument with A. RITSCHL over the latter's neglect of the biblical view of God's wrath. R.'s basic biblical and theological concern was especially clear in *Die messianische Weissagung* (1875), in which he explained the individual predictions in their historical settings and as parts of a divine work of education until the onset of NT salvation truth. In *Der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefes* (1858–59), a systematic presentation dependent on the latest commentaries (especially on that of F. Bleek), he treated the same subject from an NT point of view.

R.'s work reached a broad audience through his *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums* (1884) and his contributions to the revision of LUTHER's TRANSLATION of the Bible. In 1865 he began coediting *TSK,* contributing studies and critical remarks that were respected because of their sober meticulousness.

Works: *Die Gesetzgebung Mosis im Lande Moab: Ein Beitrag zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament* (1854); *Der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefes* (2 vols., 1858–59, 1867²); *De natura et notione symbolica cheruborum* (1864); "Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testments: Zwei Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen," review of K. H. Graf in *TSK* 41 (1868) 350-70; "Die sogenannte Grundschrift des Pentateuchs," *TSK* 45 (1872) 283-307; *Die Messianische Weissagung* (1875, 1885²; ET 1876); "Der Begriff der Sühne im Alten Testament," *TSK* 50 (1877) 7-92; *Religion und Wissenschaft* (Rektoratsrede Halle, 1881); *Zur Revision der Lutherbibel: Oster Programm der vereinigten Friedrichs-Universität* (1882); *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums* (2 vols., 1884); *Luther als Bibelübersetzer* (1884); *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (ed. K. Pahncke, 1889); *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (2 vols., ed. A. Brandt, 1889–90).

Bibliography: **E. Kautzsch,** *ADB* 30 (1890) 72-74. **K. H. Pahncke,** *RE*³ 16 (1905) 776-83. **H. Riehm,** *Erinnerungen an unseren Vater, den ordentlichen Professor der Theologie D. E. R.* (1905).

R. SMEND

RITSCHL, ALBRECHT BENJAMIN (1822–89)

Born Mar. 25, 1822, in Berlin, son of a pastor and bishop in the Evangelical Church, R. was reared in Stellin and educated at the universities of Bonn (1839–41) and Halle (1841–43). He received his doctorate from Halle with a dissertation entitled *Expositio doctrinae Augustini de creatione, mundi, peccato, gratia* (1843), which raised some issues that would be the focus of his later work. He studied at Heidelberg (1845) and Tübingen (1845–46), where he became an enthusiastic disciple of F. C. BAUR. In 1846 he became a *Dozent* in NT THEOLOGY at Bonn, *ausserordentlicher* professor in 1852, and full professor in 1859, gradually moving after 1848 into the teaching of church history and the history of dogma. In 1864 he accepted a position at Göttingen, where he taught until his death Mar. 20, 1889, lecturing both in NT and in systematic theology.

Having given up the PIETISM and supernaturalism of his background, R.'s first published works reflect Baur's view of the early church as dominated by strife between Jewish-oriented (Petrine) and universalist Gentile-oriented (Pauline) parties, whose compromise produced the early Roman Catholic Church. Like Baur he argued for the late dating of much of the NT, in his 1846 work maintaining that MARCION's version of Luke was the source of the Gospel. By 1856, however, he had completely broken with Baur and in the 1857 revision of his work on the early church regarded both the early church and the NT as more homogenous and basically "uncontaminated" by either rabbinic Judaism or Hellenistic philosophy.

In R.'s great work on justification and reconciliation, several characteristics of his work become clear: (1) He saw himself as attempting to recover the essence of the

gospel as embodied in the NT and in the early writings of LUTHER and to bring to completion elements of the faith recovered but undeveloped in the "unfinished" Reformation and later deformed by neo-scholasticism, pietistic mysticism, natural religion, and other developments. (2) His exposition of Christianity (never completely presented systematically) addressed polemical concerns against resurgent Roman Catholicism and those who repudiated Christianity's relevance to the modern world. (3) He sought to base his theological use of the NT on the results of NT historical research (perhaps the first theologian to do so), thus emphasizing the synoptics (see SYNOPTIC PROBLEM) rather than John and stressing the kingdom of God as the major element in the preaching of JESUS. (4) He held that faith rests, not on the apprehension of facts or on the arguments of reason, but on the making of value judgments and on the acceptance of the revelational value Christ has for the consciousness of the community that trusts in him as God. Thus, the believing community, in contrast to the individual's faith position, plays a decisive role in theological exposition and at the same time allows theology to avoid supernaturalistic or purely reductionist claims.

R. stressed the importance of the historical Jesus for Christian faith, considering him to be the one who functioned not only in priestly, prophetic, and royal roles but also as the founder of the kingdom of God, which R. understood primarily in ethical terms as "the uninterrupted reciprocation of action springing from the motive of love—a Kingdom in which all are known together in union with everyone who can show the marks of a neighbor . . . in which all goods are appropriated in their proper subordination to the highest good."

R. was the most influential theologian of his day, and his theology greatly influenced the so-called liberal theology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, especially in its focus on love, ethics, and community. He was criticized for the subjectivism of his theology (O. Pfleiderer), for his reduction of Christian faith (later neo-orthodoxy), for failure to recognize the apocalyptic character of the kingdom of God (J. Weiss), and for his isolation of Christian origins from their Judeo-Hellenistic roots (Religionsgeschichtliche Schule).

Works: *Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lucas: Eine kirchen- und dogmengeschichtliche Monographie* (1846); *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* (1850, 1857[2]); *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung,* vol. 1, *Die Geschichte der Lehre* (1870, 1882[2]; ET, *A Critical History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation* [1872]); vol. 2, *Die biblische Stoff der Lehre* (1874, 1882[2], 1889[3]); vol. 3, *Die positive Entwicklung der Lehre* (1874, 1883[2], 1888[3]; ET, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation: The Positive Development of the Doctrine* [1900, repr. 1966]); *Schleiermachers Reden über die Religion und ihre Nachwirkungen auf die evangelische Kirche Deutschlands* (1874); *Über die christliche Volkommenheit* (1874); *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion* (1875; ET in P. Hefner [1972]); *Geschichte des Pietismus* (3 vols., 1880–86; ET of "Prolegomena" in P. Hefner [1972]); *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (2 vols., ed. O. Ritschl, 1893–96); *A. R.: Three Essays* (ed. and tr. P. J. Hefner, 1972).

Bibliography: **J. Baur,** "A. R.—Herrschaft und Versöhnung," *Theologie in Göttingen: Eine Vorlesungsreihe* (ed. B. Moeller, 1987) 256-70. **D. L. Deegan,** "A. R. on the Historical Jesus," *SJT* 15 (1962) 133-50; "The Ritschlian School, the Essence of Christianity, and K. Barth," *SJT* 16 (1963) 390-414; "Critical Empiricism in the Theology of A. R.," *SJT* 18 (1965) 40-56. **C. Fabricius,** *Die Entwicklung in A. R.s Theologie von 1874 bis 1889 nach der verschiedenen Auflagen seiner Hauptwerke dargestellt und beurteilt* (1909). **A. E. Garvie,** *The Ritschlian Theology: Critical and Constructive. An Exposition and an Estimate* (1902[2]). **P. J. Hefner,** *Faith and the Vitalities of History: A Theological Study Based on the Work of A. R.* (1966). **G. Hök,** *Die elliptische Theologie A. R.s: Nach Ursprung und innerem Zusammenhang* (1942). **D. J. Jodok,** "F. C. Baur and A. R. on Historical Theology" (diss., Yale University, 1969). **D. W. Lotz,** *R. and Luther: A Fresh Perspective on A. R.'s Theology in the Light of His Luther Study* (1974). "A. R. and the Unfinished Reformation," *HTR* 73 (1980) 337-72; *EncRel* 12, 403-5. **D. L. Mueller,** *An Introduction to the Theology of A. R.* (1969). **J. Orr,** *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith* (1897); *Ritschlianism: Expository and Critical Essays* (1903). **A. S. Peake,** "The History of Theology," *Germany in the Nineteenth Century* 2d ser. (PUM.H 24, 1915) 169-84. **J. Richmond,** *R.: A Reappraisal* (1978). **O. Ritschl,** *A. R.s Leben* (2 vols., 1892–96); *NSHERK* 10 (1911) 43-46. **R. Schäfer,** *Ritschl: Grundlinien eines fast verschollenen dogmatischen Systems* (1968). **J. Weiss,** *Die Idee des Reiches Gottes in der Theologie* (1901).

J. H. HAYES

ROBERT OF MELUN (d. 1167)

A pupil of P. ABELARD and one of his successors as a master in Paris, R. was a significant transitional figure in the development of twelfth-century methods of Bible study. His *Questions on the Pauline Epistles* demonstrates the way in which the study of specific topics was beginning to be isolated from sequential commentary on the text. He was conscious of the need to revise old procedures; he discussed the value of extensive glossing, the best way to make excerpts from the authorities, and how to abridge and paraphrase while retaining the sense. He died as bishop of Hereford in 1167.

Works: *Oeuvres de Robert de Melun* (SSL 13, 18, 21, 25, ed. R. M. Martin, 1932–).

Bibliography: **D. E. Luscumbe,** *The School of Peter Abelard: The Influence of Abelard's thought in the Early Scholastic Period* (1972), an account of R. and full bibliography of earlier work. **E. G. Robison,** *DMA* 10 (1988) 434-35.

G. R. EVANS

ROBINSON, EDWARD (1794–1863)

R. was born at Southington, Connecticut, Apr. 10, 1794, and educated at Hamilton College (1812–16). He fell under the influence of M. STUART at the theological seminary in Andover, Massachusetts, and in less than two years had become Stuart's teaching assistant in Hebrew and his partner in the translation of lexical works into English for theological students.

In 1826 R. went to Europe to further his study of languages and theology, primarily at Halle and Berlin. He worked on Semitic languages, Greek, Latin, and German while developing close friendships with his instructors, particularly with H. GESENIUS and E. Rödiger in Semitics, F. THOLUCK and Neander in NT and church history, and K. Ritter, the internationally distinguished geographer. Each of these individuals possessed strong historical, philological, and analytical abilities, which R. both possessed and admired.

In 1830 R. returned to Andover to become associate professor of biblical literature and librarian. While at Andover and during the years immediately following, he founded a scholarly journal, *The Biblical Repository* (1831), published a revised edition of D. CALMET'S *Dictionary of the Bible* (1832), translated P. Buttmann's Greek grammar (1833) and Gesenius's Hebrew LEXICON (1836) into English, and published his own Greek lexicon of the NT (1836). This latter work, updated fifteen years later, is the first biblical lexicon produced by an American that compared in quality and scope with its European counterparts. It sold rapidly on both sides of the Atlantic and along with his translation of Gesenius's lexicon set him in the forefront of biblical scholarship in the United States. His translation of Gesenius included major sections from Gesenius's thesaurus, so that the single-volume English edition was an advance on the European editions.

In 1836 the newly formed Union Seminary in New York called R. to be professor of Bible, a position he accepted on the condition that he be allowed first to travel to Europe, Syria, and Palestine for research purposes. There he met a former student, E. Smith, a missionary stationed in Beirut who spoke fluent Arabic. They traveled together in the Galilee region, carefully recording distances and monuments observed as well as the names of local villages. Diverging from the main roads used by pilgrims from the West, they discovered the previously unknown extent to which Arab place-names preserve a cognate to older place-names from biblical times. It was an epoch-making discovery that for the first time reliably located dozens of places recorded in Scripture. R. returned to Europe in October 1838 and researched the records of earlier travelers to the Holy Land in the best libraries available. In 1841 he published a three-volume work on his travels simultaneously in New York, Boston, London, and Germany (in a German translation prepared by his wife) that won him international acclaim.

From 1841 until his death R. taught at Union, making a brief second trip to the Middle East in 1851. He concentrated on scholarly resources for biblical study, whether writing journal articles; updating the translation of Gesenius's lexicon, Buttmann's grammar, or his own NT lexicon; or compiling a critical edition of the Greek NT or a Greek harmony of the Gospels with extensive historical commentary. This latter work was enthusiastically received and is still used in certain circles. R. died Jan. 27, 1863, without completing what he had hoped would be the climax of his work—a physical, topographical, and historical geography of the Holy Land. In 1865 his wife published in English and German the unfinished manuscript of this projected work.

Works: *A Greek and English Lexicon of the NT, from the "Clavis philogica" of C. A. Wahl* (1825); *A Dictionary of the Holy Bible for the Use of Schools and Young Persons* (1833); *A Harmony of the Gospels in Greek* (1835); *Greek and English Lexicon of the NT* (1836, 1850[4]); *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions* (3 vols., 1841, 1856[2]); *Bibliotheca Sacra: Or Tracts and Essays on Topics Connected with Biblical Literature and Theology* (1843); *Harmony of the Gospels in Greek* (1845); *Harmony of the Gospels in English* (1846); *Physical Geography of the Holy Land: A Supplement to the Late Author's Biblical Researches in Palestine* (1865).

Bibliography: **F. J. Bliss,** *The Development of Palestine Exploration* (1903 Ely Lectures, 1906). **J. W. Brown,** *The Rise of Biblical Criticism in America, 1800–70: The New England Scholars* (1969) 111-24. **J. A. Dearman,** "E. R.: Scholar and Presbyterian Educator," *AP* 69 (1991) 163-74. **P. J. King,** "E. R.: Biblical Scholar," *BA* 46 (1983) 230-32. **P. Schaff,** *CBTEL* 9 (1880) 50-53. **H. B. Smith and R. D. Hitchcock,** *The Life, Writings, and Character of E. R.* (1863).

J. A. DEARMAN

ROBINSON, HENRY WHEELER (1872–1945)

An English Baptist pastor, theologian, and scholar of Hebrew Scriptures, R. was born Feb. 7, 1872, in Northampton and died May 12, 1945, in Oxford. He studied at Regent's Park College, London (1890), Edinburgh University (1891–95), Mansfield College, Oxford (1895–98), and the universities of Marburg (1898) and Strasbourg (1899) under such notable scholars as G. GRAY, S. DRIVER, T. CHEYNE, D. S. Margoliouth (1858–1940), K. BUDDE, W. NOWACK, and T. NÖLDEKE.

R.'s major contributions were in Hebrew PSYCHOLOGY and biblical THEOLOGY. Early in his career he developed the theory that in Hebrew thought the "breath-soul" was conceived as permeating all bodily organs, enabling them to have independent physical and psychical functions; thus each organ of the human body possessed a physical-psychical-ethical life of its own. He called this phenomenon "a diffused consciousness," a concept he employed especially in his study of the Hebrew prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), where revelation is received through the eyes and ears and in turn is conveyed through cleansed lips.

The Hebrew conception of corporate personality is his most distinctive contribution to biblical studies. Extending the concept of diffused consciousness to the community, he believed that the Hebrew people regarded the family, clan, and nation, rather than the individual, as the basic unit of society. Individuals received their identity through the group to which they belonged. R. employed this concept extensively as an exegetical tool: (1) It enabled the Hebrew people of preexilic times, without a belief in an existence beyond the grave, to transcend their limitations by extension into the past and the future through participation in the group; (2) it explained the fluidity between the singular and the plural in certain psalms; and (3) it offered a possible solution to the individual and corporate nature of the Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah.

R. also contributed to prophetic studies through his analysis of "prophetic symbolism." He maintained that the Hebrew people believed that the symbolic acts of the prophets were partial realizations of what would come to pass and that by performing these deeds the prophets actually affected the course of future events. He also maintained that the Hebrew people believed that just as an earthly king had his court of advisers so also God was surrounded by the "Council of Yahweh," heavenly spirits who offered counsel and did God's bidding. The prophets believed that they were qualified to speak for God because they had access to the divine will by admission to the council meeting.

In the field of theology of Hebrew Scriptures, R. devoted most of his attention to three topics: (1) The problem of innocent suffering in a world governed by a beneficent deity. His writings on the cross in Hosea, Jeremiah, Deutero-Isaiah, and Job as well as his *The Veil of God* (1936) and *Suffering: Human and Divine* (1939) provide both an intellectual and a spiritual approach to the subject. (2) The interpretation of Scripture texts from within. Although he fully accepted the use of the historical-critical approach to Scripture, he believed that this "religious approach," which he regarded as the truly scientific method of analysis, was necessary if a text's full meaning was to be grasped. (3) The problem of organizing a theology of the Hebrew scriptures that would do justice to the historical nature of revelation. R. came to the conclusion that such a theology must be organized into a series of propositions (e.g., God, humankind, sin, and grace) developed around certain poles that reveal God's activity and human response. His Speaker's lectures (Oxford), posthumously published as *Inspiration and Revelation in the OT* (1946), are the prolegomena to a theology of the Hebrew scriptures he did not live to write.

Works: *The Christian Doctrine of Man* (1911); *The Cross of Job* (1916); "The Psychology and Metaphysic of 'Thus saith Yahweh,' " *ZAW* 41 (1923) 1-15; *The Cross of Jeremiah* (1925); *The Cross of the Servant: A Study of Deutero-Isaiah* (1926); "Prophetic Symbolism," *OT Essays* (ed. D. C. Simpson, 1927) 1-17; *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit* (1928); "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality," *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testament* (BZAW 66, 1936) 49-62; *Redemption and Revelation in the Actuality of History* (1942); "The Nature-miracles of the OT," *JTS* 45 (1944) 1-12; *Inspiration and Revelation in the OT* (1946); *Two Hebrew Prophets: Studies in Hosea and Ezekiel* (1948).

Bibliography: **R. A. Coughenour,** *HHMBI*, 514-18. **E. A. Payne,** *H. W. R.: Scholar, Teacher, Principal. A Memoir* (1946); *DNB* Sup. 6 (1959) 727-29; "Colleague and Erector of Buildings: H. W. R.," *BQ* 24 (April 1972) 260-64.

M. E. POLLEY

ROBINSON, JOHN ARTHUR THOMAS (1919–83)

R. took his degree in classics and theology (1942) and PhD (1946) from Cambridge. Ordained in the Church of England, he became tutor at Wells Theological College (1948–51) and dean of Clare College, Cambridge (1951–59). The direction of much of his later work was mapped out from this time in his *Twelve NT Studies.* He also served on the NT panel of the NEB. In 1959 he was consecrated bishop of Woolwich, and after the publication of *Honest to God* (1963) he became identified with all that seemed threatening in the theology and ethics of the 1960s. He resumed his work on the NT on his return to Cambridge as dean of Trinity in 1969 and continued it until his early death.

One concern of R.'s early work was NT eschatology. In *Jesus and His Coming* (1957, 1979[2]) he argued that the doctrine of the parousia derived, not from authentic words of JESUS, but from "an unresolved crisis in the Christology of the primitive church centering in the problem whether or not the messianic event had yet taken place." The Fourth Gospel escaped the effects of this crisis and presents an eschatology more authentically that of Jesus (3:18-19; 14:23; 16:16, etc.).

R. entered the debate on NT christology in 1973 in *The Human Face of God* (143-79), asserting that no NT author operated with a doctrine of Christ's personal preexistence. The view has since gained currency where

PAUL and the author of Hebrews are concerned, but R. insisted that John be interpreted in the same way. The impression John gives of describing a docetic Jesus is the result of his literary technique of deliberately mixing theological truth with historical reporting. (See also *The Priority of John* [1985] 343-97.)

In *Redating the NT* (1976) R. attempted to show that all the NT books could be fitted into the period before 70 CE, surprising many non-specialists who knew only his reputation as a theological radical. Provocative as a whole—although not uniformly cogent—much of the argument was not new. Indeed, R. saw the work partially as a rehabilitation of some nineteenth-century positions, e.g., A. von HARNACK's on the date of Acts (early 1960s) and J. B. LIGHTFOOT's and F. HORT's on Revelation.

While never narrowing his interest to the Fourth Gospel—two of his books were sets of lectures on Paul—the interpretation of this Gospel was a theme running throughout R.'s career. He never changed his view, set out in 1957 in "The New Look on the Fourth Gospel" (*Twelve NT Studies,* 94-106), that John was the apostle's eyewitness account, composed at an early date and embodying, on the whole, better historical tradition than the SYNOPTICS. The case was comprehensively argued in *The Priority of John,* published posthumously, which took the evidence from John so far as to reconstruct the course of Jesus' career by precise dates, a conclusion of religious as well as of academic importance: "I do not accept that excessive scepticism is a matter of indifference. It is corrosive, at this and many other points, of our confidence in possessing any firm knowledge about the Jesus of history, who, I am convinced, in the twentieth century as in the first, remains an integral part of the Christ of faith" (124).

Works: *In the End God* (1950, 1968²); *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology* (1952); *Jesus and His Coming* (1957, 1979²); *Twelve NT Studies* (1962); *Honest to God* (1963); *The Human Face of God* (1973); *Redating the NT* (1976); *Wrestling with Romans* (1979); *Twelve More NT Studies* (1984); *The Priority of John* (1985); *Where Three Ways Meet* (1987).

Bibliography: **E. James,** *A Life of Bishop J. A. T. R.: Scholar, Pastor, Prophet* (1987); (ed.), *God's Truth: Essays to Commemorate the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Publication of "Honest to God"* (1988). **J. Knox,** "J. A. T. R. and the Meaning of NT Scholarship," *Theology* 92 (1989) 251-68.

J. F. COAKLEY

ROBINSON, THEODORE HENRY (1881–1964)

Born at Edenbridge, Kent, Aug. 9, 1881, R. was educated at Mill Hill School and at St. John's College, Cambridge (1901–4), where he read classical studies and history and included T. Glover among his distinguished teachers. At Regent's Park College, London, he studied Semitic languages and theology and was briefly a student at Göttingen. After lecturing at Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham (1905–8), he spent the next seven years as professor of Hebrew and Syriac at Serampore College, India, during which time he published his much-used *Paradigms and Exercises in Syriac Grammar* (1915, 1939). In 1915 he returned to Great Britain to become lecturer in Semitic languages at University College, Cardiff, becoming full professor in 1927; he remained there until his retirement due to ill health in 1944.

At Cardiff R. began the extensive series of researches and publications that marked his career as a historian and biblical exegete. He also trained many distinguished pupils, including G. Davies, H. ROWLEY, and A. JOHNSON; the last two later became his colleagues at Cardiff. R. was a founding member of the Society for OT Study (1917) and its first secretary. Throughout his years in Cardiff he built up close ties with European, especially German, scholars and worked to forge closer relationships in research across national frontiers. He particularly encouraged German scholars to visit Great Britain.

R.'s major research was in the field of Israelite history in the preexilic period, concentrating particularly on the CHRONOLOGY of the exodus and conquest, which culminated in the publication in 1932 of the first volume of *A History of Israel.* His foremost contribution was in defining the nature of many of the relevant problems and in outlining resources for their resolution. He regarded the patriarchal age as no longer susceptible to definition based on firm chronological data and looked for the date of the exodus as the basic starting point for historical research into ancient Israelite history. He drew extensively on the results of contemporary archaeological work (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) on Palestinian sites, an indebtedness that is also reflected in Rowley's publications, although with significant differences over the dating of the exodus event.

With W. OESTERLEY, R. published a basic introduction to Hebrew religion (1930), although his most significant and influential writings were published in the field of HB PROPHECY. Becoming convinced at an early stage that the emphasis on the ecstatic element in Hebrew prophecy advocated by J. GUNKEL and G. HÖLSCHER was correct, R. sought both to popularize this position and to examine its relevance to the study of the formation of the prophetic literature. His interest is already evident in an article published in *The Expositor* (8th ser., 21 [1921] 217-38) and in his book on Israelite prophets (1923). The high international regard for his work and research in this field, with its special focus on the short units of oracular prophetic utterance, is to be seen in his commentary on six Minor Prophets (Hosea–Micah) in the series HAT (ed. O. Eissfeldt [1936]). A primary goal of such examination was to probe back to the

original utterance of the prophet, stripping off the editorial additions made in the process of literary preservation.

R. wrote extensively, including commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew and on the epistle to the Hebrews (MNTC 1928, 1933). Due to health problems, he retired from his professorship in 1944 and gave up major scholarly research.

Works: *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel* (1923); *The Decline and Fall of the Hebrew Kingdoms: Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC* (CB 3, 1926); (with W. O. E. Oesterley), *Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development* (1930; rev. and enlarged ed., 1937); *A History of Israel,* vol. 1, *The Exodus to the Fall of Jerusalem* (1932); (with W. O. E. Oesterley), *An Introduction to the Books of the OT* (1934); *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten: Hosea bis Micha* (HAT 1.14, 1936).

Bibliography: **H. H. Rowley** (ed.), *Studies in OT Prophecy Presented to T. H. R. by the Society for OT Study on His Sixty-fifth Birthday, Aug. 9th, 1946* (1950) with R.'s bibliography, 201-6; *ZAW* 76 (1964) 244.

R. E. CLEMENTS

ROLLE, RICHARD (c.1300–1349)

Called the "father of English prose," R. is best known of the five great fourteenth-century English mystics, who included W. Hilton, Julian of Norwich, M. Kempe, and the author of *Cloud of Unknowing.* According to the materials prepared for R.'s canonization, which never took place, he was born in Yorkshire, studied at Oxford, and became a hermit at the age of eighteen. His output was vast, including Latin commentaries on the psalter, Job, Canticles, Lamentations of Jeremiah, the Apocalypse, the Lord's Prayer, and the Magnificat, among other treatises, and the *Canticum Amoris,* a poem addressed to the Virgin Mary. He was influenced by AUGUSTINE, PETER LOMBARD, the Victorines, BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, and GREGORY THE GREAT. His reputation for learning and holiness was such that many devotional works have been falsely attributed to him. His authentic works often recount personal experiences corresponding to biblical models (J. Alford [1973]). During the last years of his life, R. advised a community of Cistercian nuns at Hampole, for whom he produced a variety of biblical translations, commentaries, and spiritual epistles: The *English Psalter* and *Form of Living* are dedicated to M. Kirkeby; *The Commandment* is dedicated to another Hampole nun; and the *Ego dormio* (Cant. 5:2), to a Benedictine nun at Yedingham.

R.'s basic premise was that meditation on Scripture, especially the events of the passion and the holy name of JESUS (see Phil. 2:10), can lead to union with God—a union obtainable by all Christians, although R. represented himself as an inspired interpreter. *Incendium Amoris* explains that divine union may be obtained by experiencing the mystical states of *fervor* (heat), *dulcor* (sweetness), and *canor* (song); *Emendatio vitae* outlines the three degrees of love: inseparable, insuperable, and singular. Many of his works, including lyrics, were written in Middle English expressly for lay folk or were translated from Latin by various hands (e.g., R. Misyn) and formed part of a vast body of vernacular religious literature meant to educate and save the men and women of England. Alternatively, the translation into Latin of English works like *Ego Dormio* and *Form of Living* indicates a clerical audience. The *Judica me Deus* adapts William of Pagula's (d. c. 1332) influential pastoral guide, *Oculus Sacerdotis.*

Despite his eremitic lifestyle, R. was not a recluse or an ascetic; although neither a monk nor a priest, he expressed controversial opinions on church reform. Later in the century the Lollards were drawn to his outspokenness and interpolated many of his writings, particularly his *English Psalter,* a complete verse-by-verse prose translation with commentary and liturgical canticles. The commentary derives from Peter Lombard, although R. omitted the spiritual interpretations and reproduced only the literal, to which he added exhortations and personal experiences. His *Meditations on the Passion,* in two versions, presents a graphic account of the crucifixion in a highly affective style influenced by ANSELM and by the pseudo-Bonaventurian *Meditationes vitae Christi* (see BONAVENTURE). Another biblically based work in English is the thousand-word *Commentary on the Decalogue.*

Works: *The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles* (ed. H. R. Bramley, 1884); *Incendium Amoris* (ed. M. Deanesly, 1915); *English Writings of R. R.* (ed. H. E. Allen, 1931); *Canticum Amoris, Traditio* 12 (ed. G. M. Liegey, 1956) 369-91; *Contra Amatores Mundi [Liber de amore Dei]* (P. F. Theiner, 1968); *R. R. de Hampole (1300–49): Vie et oeuvres suivies du Tractatus super Apocalypsim* (ed. N. Marzac, 1968); *Le Chant d'Amour [Melos Amoris]* (2 vols., ed. E. J. F. Arnould and F. Vandenbroucke, 1971; with FT); *The Fire of Love and the Mending of Life* (tr. M. L. del Mastro, 1981); *Judica me Deus* (ed. J. P. Daly, 1984); *Expositio super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum* (ed. M. R. Moyes, 1988); *R. R.: The English Writings* (tr. R. S. Allen, 1988); *R. R.: Prose and Verse Texts* (EETS 293, ed. S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, 1988); *Tractatus Super Psalmum Vicesimum* (ed. J. C. Dolan, 1991); *"Emendatio vitae" and "Orationes ad honorem nominis Ihesu"* (N. Watson, 1995).

Bibliography: **J. A. Alford,** "Biblical Imitatio in the Writings of R. R.," *Journal of English Literary History* 40 (1973) 1-23; "R. R. and Related Works," *Middle English Prose* (ed. A. S. G. Edwards, 1984) 34-60. **H. E. Allen,** *Writings Ascribed to R. R., Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography* (1927). **M. P. Kuczynski,** *Prophetic Song: The Psalms as*

Moral Discourse in Late Medieval England (1995). **V. Lagorio and M. Sargent,** "English Mystical Writings," *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (1993) 9:3049-68, 3405-25 (with extensive bibliography). **N. Watson,** *R. R. and the Invention of Authority* (1991).

J. MOREY

ROMANS, LETTER TO THE

This epistle was apparently written around 56 CE as PAUL and representatives of his gentile congregations were about to bring their offerings to Jerusalem (15:25). It was intended (1) to prepare the way for Paul's projected visit and mission in the West (1:5-6; 15:17-29); (2) (presumably) to ensure some wider understanding of his gospel and law-free gentile mission at that critical moment (15:25-31); and (3) to help foster good relations between Jewish and gentile believers in Rome (14:1–15:12, esp. 15:7). Copies of the epistle may possibly have been sent elsewhere, e.g., Ephesus, accounting for the occasional absence of "in Rome" at 1:7, 15, late in the manuscript tradition, and the varying position of the final doxology (16:25-27). The absence of chaps. 15 and 16 from some manuscripts probably stems from MARCION's having omitted them.

In Romans, even more than elsewhere, Paul's practical aims led him to articulate his understanding of the gospel; and from the end of the first century, when the epistle began to be treated as Christian Scripture, its influence has been incalculable. In the second century Paul was already for most gentile Christians the apostle *par excellence*; and in the Western church since AUGUSTINE, Romans has been the most important single source of the Christian tradition's theological vocabulary. Even earlier, its scriptural status and evident theological depth made it a prime quarry for doctrinal construction; its use in liturgy, preaching, apologetics, and polemic was supported by a rich exegetical tradition, most of which is now lost, although some fragments have been preserved in the surviving catenae.

To Western eyes focused on the themes of law, sin, and grace, or faith and works, the Greek fathers' understandings of the epistle have generally seemed inadequate. Despite some fine exegetical observations, Paul's statements have been read into very different theological contexts and so have been misread. But even the more appropriate Western interpretative models now appear remote from the historical Paul. The relativization of all theological interpretations opens a door to more positive assessments of Romans' reception by the fathers and by heretics alike. Every age has read the epistle from its own perspective, relating this classic to contemporary understandings of the gospel or to other cultural preoccupations, such as the historical and SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC study of religions or the wider study of literature. Paul's historical intentions are rightly prominent in Western interpretation today, but larger and more personal questions also influence how this literary text from the Christian CANON of Scripture is read.

1. Antiquity. The early history of the epistles is uncertain; but Romans was apparently known to the authors of Ephesians and 1 Peter, arguably (the minority view) to Luke–Acts, possibly even to Hebrews and James, and certainly to CLEMENT OF ROME, IGNATIUS, and Polycarp (c. 69–155). But apart from Ephesians, a thematic presentation of Paul's concern for the unity of Jews and Gentiles in the church, and despite Ignatius, whose devotion to Paul was not matched by much theological affinity, the influence of the apostle's thought on early "orthodox" writers is surprisingly slight. Since Paul's missionary policy on the Mosaic law prevailed and since some of his Jewish presuppositions were no longer shared, his arguments were no longer necessary or fully intelligible. His apocalyptic dualism (see APOCALYPTICISM) and dialectical relating of law and gospel caused problems for early Roman Catholic writers when seized on by theologians they judged to be heretical.

The Christian GNOSTIC Valentinus (2nd cent.) and his disciples Ptolemy, Heraclean, and Theodotus found support in Paul's language for their quite different (metaphysical) dualism. We know from their orthodox opponents that Basilides, the Ophites, Naasenes, and other Gnostic sects also used Paul; discoveries from Nag Hammadi have provided evidence in the *Gospel of Truth,* the *Epistle of Rheginus,* and the *Gospel of Philip* for an appreciation of Paul in these circles. But the greatest and most notorious interpreter of Paul in early Christianity was Marcion. He excised those parts of Romans (1:3; 1:19–2:1; 3:31–4:25; 9; 10:5–11:32; 12:1; 15–16) that were positive about Judaism and central to Paul's conciliatory aim, but it was to his expurgated version of Galatians and Romans that he could above all appeal in defining the gospel as the antithesis of the Jewish law. As deeply as he misunderstood the historical Jew Paul, he took the apostle's most crucial argument more seriously than anyone before LUTHER and was a catalyst, perhaps even the pioneer, in the formation of the NT canon. Ptolemy's *Epistle to Flora* comes closer to what Paul says about the law in Romans, but Marcion caught more of the apostle's religious power.

Paul's popularity among the so-called heretics (see 2 Pet 3:16), together with the hostility to him among some Jewish Christians (see the Pseudo-Clementine literature) and the slow emergence of an NT canon account for the limited appeal to Paul in the second century. The task facing emergent Roman Catholicism was to reclaim Paul from under the Gnostic cloud by building the anti-Gnostic elements in his writings into its own doctrinal structure. This was decisively achieved by IRENAEUS in the earliest surviving long presentation of Christianity, directed especially against Valentinians.

Irenaeus found support in Romans as he reaffirmed the unity of creation and redemption against Gnostic dualism and the unity of OT and NT in a salvation-history theology. He developed Paul's Adam-Christ typology; and although he lost the antithetical thrust of Paul's argument, the resulting biblical THEOLOGY had some of its roots in this epistle.

Like the earliest apologists, TERTULLIAN owed much less to the theology of Romans. He regularly quoted it as Scripture and referred to the apostle, but his single-issue discussion of this epistle in *Adv. Marc.* 5.13-14 is relatively brief and concerned only to refute Marcion. Cyprian (d. 258) seems likewise untouched by Paul's understanding of the gospel, while frequently citing Romans in his *Testimonia.* In Rome, Hippolytus (c. 170–c. 236) likewise echoed Irenaeus's use of the Adam-Christ typology, but it was at Alexandria (see ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL) that Christian exegesis, like systematic theology, made its major advance.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and ORIGEN were both enthusiastic admirers of Paul and interpreted him in the framework of their Christian Platonism. By asserting the unity of OT and NT against Gnostic dualism, they minimized Paul's ambivalence about the Jewish law; in defending free will they weakened Paul's teaching on predestination (Romans 9) to divine foreknowledge. Origen's commentary, written around 247 in Caesarea, was hugely influential in shaping interpretation not only in the East but also in the West up to Augustine. In his exegesis of Romans 5, Origen moved away from his earlier speculation on the fall and closer to the later Western debate on original sin; but in general his theology owes more to Romans 8.

Eastern concern with the doctrine of God and with the person of Christ saw little of what the West was to find in Romans. Individual texts played a greater role than the epistle's theological themes: Rom 1:3 was used against Docetism and was also claimed by Apollinaris (c. 310–90); Rom 8:3 confirmed Origen in his subordinationism and was both used by and defended against the Arians (see ARIUS); Rom 9:5 was widely taken to refer to Christ and to support his divinity. After Origen, the only Alexandrine commentator on Romans whose work has to any extent survived in the catenae is CYRIL; but there is also a long fragment from DIDYMUS, probably from *Against the Manichaeans,* discussing Rom. 7. Methodius (d. c. 311) quoted extensively from Romans 7 and 8 in his criticism of Origen in a treatise on the resurrection. Among the few remaining fragments on Romans from the Arian controversy, those from Acacius of Caesarea (d. 365) deserve mention. Very little from Eusebius of Emesa's (d. c. 360) commentary survives.

ANTIOCHENE exegesis was more strongly historical, but it was no less theological than was Origen's spiritual exegesis of the text. The differences between them are less sharp in the epistles than in the narrative parts of Scripture. Fragments on Romans survive from Diodore (30 pages in K. Staab [1926]) and his pupil Severian of Gabala (fl. c. 400; 12 pages). THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA's understanding of Paul is clearer, with sixty pages of his Romans and a Latin translation of his commentary on the ten shorter epistles. He found his own theology in Paul, but Paul had already helped shape his doctrine of the two ages and of adoption as sons. The finest biblical exposition from this school is CHRYSOSTOM's thirty-two homilies on Romans, written at Antioch before 398. The discussion of Romans 13 in Homily 23 makes a significant contribution to political theory, but these eloquent sermons are mostly moral and ascetical in character. Homily 4 attacks homosexual practices (not homoerotic love) as unnatural, in an echo of Rom 1:26-27 that stretches from Clement of Alexandria (*Paid.* 2.10) to the present day. THEODORET's commentary, written in Greek rather than in his native Syriac, and substantial fragments from that of Gennadius of Constantinople (d. 471) are the other main surviving writings representing Antiochene exegesis of Romans. Later Greek writings on Scripture are derivative. Comments by Photius of Constantinople (c. 810–c. 895) survive on a scale that invites attention, but the catenae are in general valuable only for what they preserve of earlier patristic authorities.

Turning to the West, nothing on Romans survives from Marius Victorinus (fl. 4th cent.), but the great landmark of the Pelagian controversy is antedated by the peerless commentary (c. 365–80) of "Ambrosiaster," whose practical historical sense and understanding of Judaism anticipate modern scholarship. Critical of the Greeks, he influenced PELAGIUS's brief, but incisive, expositions, which were widely read in the belief that they stemmed from JEROME. More important, Ambrosiaster also influenced Augustine, who quoted his comment on Rom 5:12 (*in quo omnes peccaverunt*) that everyone has sinned in Adam. This exegesis of what became the key text for the doctrine of original sin highlights the role of TRANSLATION in biblical interpretation. The OL rendering that suggested the mistaken exegesis was adopted by the VULGATE and held sway in both Roman Catholic and Protestant exegesis long after being challenged by ERASMUS in 1516.

This passage also exemplifies how Augustine's theological engagement with Paul, and especially with Romans, has had an incalculable influence on Western culture. A passage from Romans (13:13-14) was instrumental in his conversion (*Conf.* 8), and while studying the epistle in the 390s he wrote the short anti-Manichean *Expositio quarundam Propositionum ex Epistula ad Romanos* (394) and began the rambling *Inchoata Exposito.* The *Propositions* defend free will, but the perplexity of Simplicianus (d. 400) over God's hating Esau (Romans 9) led Augustine in 396 to a longer treatment of Rom 9:10-29, in which he accepted that God's election pre-

cedes justification. By relating these issues he made predestination for the first time a problem for Christian doctrine. When Pelagius protested Augustine's doctrine of grace, predestination increasingly provided its bulwark, at whatever cost to human freedom.

The centrality of Romans for Augustine's theology is clearest in his initial response to Pelagius, *De Spiritu et Littera* (412), which argues that God's help in effecting righteousness consists, not in the gift of the law (the letter), but in our will being aided and uplifted by the Spirit (cf. Rom 7:6). This focus on human incapacity, based on Romans 7 and explained by a doctrine of original sin drawn from Romans 5 (v. 19, if not v. 12), is rather remote from Paul's own concerns; but it yielded a profound reading of the epistle and informed subsequent theological anthropology. Although tangential to the author's intentions, it echoes much that is central to the apostle's religion: Righteousness and faith are God's gift; the law, which gives knowledge of sin, contributes nothing to this saving act; ethics flow from the new life in the Spirit.

Guided by his study of Paul, Augustine refocused Western theology on the human subject. His interpretation of Romans 7 proved crucial. In the early *Propositions* he referred vv. 7-25 to the person still under the law, a position he later retracted, referring these verses in *Contra Duas Epistulas Pelagianorum* (1:8) to Christian experience and so foreshadowing Luther's view of the Christian as *simul iustus et peccator.*

2. Middle Ages. Augustine's understanding of Romans was passed on by monastic compilers, who excerpted his discussions of particular passages. When CASSIODORUS revised Pelagius's commentary in the mid-sixth century, he corrected him with some passages from Augustine. Peter of Tripoli's sixth-century compilation is lost, and BEDE's from the eighth century was not printed. Claudius of Turin and Florus of Lyons from the ninth century added nothing to the understanding of Romans, but they preserved the patristic tradition. The early medieval glosses on the epistles also derive from older authorities, but with BERENGAR; LANFRANC; Bruno of Chartreaux (c. 1032–1101); and especially ANSELM OF LAON, who was responsible for the GLOSSA ORDINARIA on Paul, a new and independent exegesis began to emerge.

The exegetical debates given powerful impetus by Augustine remain unabated. They no longer carry the same theological weight, but for centuries Augustine's interpretation of chap. 7 nourished "the introspective conscience of the West" (K. Stendahl [1976]) even as his reading of chaps. 9–11 informed its bleak view of human history. The human condition as interpreted by Augustine's pessimistic Paulinism was offered healing in the Middle Ages and beyond by a sacramental system that mediated grace and gradually made believers righteous. Paul's discussion of baptism and ethics in Romans 6 provided a foundation for this sacramental theology, but it was another phrase from Romans that under Augustine's influence became central to both medieval and Reformation theology and so to most of Western Christianity. The phrase "the righteousness of God" is scarcely found outside this epistle, but it is presupposed throughout the most intensively read book in Scripture, the psalter. The monastic conjunction of Paul with the psalter at this point, represented brilliantly if one-sidedly by the Augustinian monk Luther, arguably penetrated to the religious roots of what Paul intended; and it did so more successfully than could a critical exegesis that limits itself to literary and historical issues.

Augustine's predestinarianism was less influential and, despite Romans 9, perhaps less true to Paul. It later became central in much Protestant theology, but it was never accepted by the Roman Catholic Church. Even Augustine declined to draw its logical consequences in a doctrine of double predestination or to make quite explicit his view of irresistible grace, conclusions that were condemned at the second Council of Orange (529) and again in the ninth century in opposition to Gottschalk. The different strands in medieval theology could all appeal to Augustine. His introduction of predestination as a doctrinal topic provided a fence protecting medieval views of grace and free will from the Pelagianism that often beckons the morally serious. But Augustine insisted with Paul (Rom 3:5) that God's judgment is always just, never an arbitrary fiat; and the renewal of theology in the late eleventh century was able to build on an exegetical tradition in which the Vulgate of Romans, filtered through Augustine's doctrine of grace, was shaping the Western theological vocabulary. Romans 1:17 and 3:21 were much discussed. Some followed Ambrosiaster, who (guided by Rom 3:3-5) understood "the righteousness of God" as a subjective genitive; others accepted Augustine's conclusion, based on Rom 4:5, that it was "not the righteousness of God by which God himself is just, but by which he justifies the ungodly." Atto of Vercelli (d. 961) wisely followed Ambrosiaster on 1:17, on account of v. 18; but he followed Augustine on 3:21, which looks like an action of God.

The more strongly legal flavor of the Latin phrase *iustitia Dei* had been apparent as early as Tertullian, and the question of its relationship to God's mercy became urgent when ANSELM OF CANTERBURY shifted the discussion of human salvation from mythological to moral and legal categories. *Proslogion* 9 understands God's justice to include his mercy. This medieval attempt to root God's saving act (justifying grace) in philosophical reflection on God's nature is foreign to Paul; but by rejecting any idea of God's justice as rendering to all people their due, Anselm was true to the main thrust of Paul's statements in Romans. Rather more of Paul's religion is reflected in the "subjective" theory of the

atonement propounded by ABELARD, who referred Rom 3:21 to God's love revealed in Christ, which evokes human faith and love, drawing believers into a loving relationship with God. That this theory is unfolded directly through an exposition of Romans is evidence of the epistle's centrality in medieval theology. Second only to Origen, Augustine's Pauline theology of grace also rings through the monastic meditation on Scripture (e.g., Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons on the Song of Songs). Again, the close association of Paul and the psalter arguably echoed chords in Romans that modern exegesis has been slow to recover.

Early medieval commentaries on Paul's epistles helped shape the theological language of the productive period that followed; but a new development is evident in the more analytic exegesis of the scholastics, who worked through entire texts posing *quaestiones.* The scientific exactitude of THOMAS AQUINAS's commentary on Paul represents a high point and feeds into his *Summa.* Romans 1:19-20 provided Aquinas and subsequent Roman Catholic theologians with clear support for their teaching that God can be known through the light of reason, and Romans 4 provided material for their salvation-history framework of Christian belief. Romans 13:1-7 was discussed in political theory and held by Aquinas (*ST* 2.2.42, art. 2), following John of Salisbury (c. 1115–80; *Policraticus* 8), not to forbid tyrannicide; however, the Council of Constance (1415) decided otherwise. Verses 3-4 were often combined with the two swords text (Luke 22:38) to justify the church's exercising political power.

3. Renaissance and Reformation. In the opinion of Aquinas, God acts rationally, i.e., in accordance with wisdom, in saving humanity. Other scholars, like ERIUGENA and later G. BIEL, stressed the sovereignty of the divine will. The combination of this voluntarism with Cicero's understanding of *iustitia* as rendering to each what is due led to the position of the *via moderna,* which Luther inherited from his teachers and still accepted in his *Dictata super Psalterium* (1513–15), but then (in 1515) rejected, as he explained in his autobiographical preface to his Latin writings (1545).

In his *Lectures on Romans* (1515–16), Luther the Roman Catholic monk still understood grace as healing, similar to Augustine. His understanding of Romans, reached independently but confirmed by reading Augustine, caused his break with his teachers, although not the break with Rome. Even his new and distinctive understanding of justification, already emerging here in his claim that the Christian is *simul iustus et peccator,* i.e., extrinsically (in God's reckoning) justified but intrinsically (as we are in ourselves and in our own estimation) sinners, might have remained within the limits of legitimate theological argument within Roman Catholicism had not other factors contributed to the rupture. Luther's interpretation of Romans contributed massively to the development of doctrine and to the reform in the church but cannot be held responsible for the divisions of Western Christianity. It is conveniently summarized in his 1522 preface to the epistle. The sermons "Two Kinds of Righteousness" (1519) and "On Good Works" (1520) also reflect it and show how the early chapters of 1 Corinthians informed Luther's reading of Romans and (historically and exegetically, if not theologically) distorted it. The notion of Christ's righteousness becoming the believer's, for example, derives from 1 Cor 1:30, not from Romans.

Luther's insistence that justification is on the basis of faith alone "without the works of the law" (Rom 3:28) is as old as Origen, whereas his understanding of faith and his polemical application of the doctrine of justification against "the law" mark an epoch. Paul was generally thinking of Torah observance, especially the circumcision of gentile converts; but Luther's generalization of this to include morality and all human achievement radicalized Augustine's anti-Pelagian stance and made it the heart of the gospel for a large part of Western Christianity.

In his response to Erasmus in *De Servo Arbitrio* (1525), Luther drew heavily on Romans 9 to support his insistence on the doctrine of predestination. This controversy again reveals Luther as the radical Augustinian breaking with his late medieval teachers. The Renaissance was simultaneously breaking with scholastic exegesis in other ways. J. COLET's Oxford lectures on Romans in the 1490s had offered a plain running exegesis of the Vulgate text, influenced not only by Augustine but also by M. Ficino's (1433–99) Neoplatonic commentary on this epistle. FABER STAPULENSIS made a fresh Latin translation and exegesis of Paul's epistles (1512), which was used by Luther; but it did not advance philological research as L. VALLA's notes had done. Erasmus published Valla's *Adnotationes* in 1505 before himself carrying through the exegetical achievements of Renaissance humanism, especially in his own lengthy *Annotations.* These notes accompanied the successive editions of his Greek NT from 1516 to 1535, justifying his editorial decisions and both citing and criticizing much patristic and medieval exegesis and even his humanist predecessors. They include TEXTUAL CRITICISM, exegesis, corrections of inaccurate Latin translations, and comparison of SEPTUAGINT citations with the Hebrew. His corrections of the Vulgate at Rom 5:12 (*quatenus* for *in quo*) followed the Greek fathers and withdrew one support from the doctrine of original sin, while his introduction at Rom 4:5 of the verb *imputare* with its forensic implications apparently contributed to P. MELANCHTHON's forensic doctrine of justification. Erasmus never wrote his promised commentary on Romans, but his *Paraphrases* (1518) were a form of commentary with a future. They owe much to Origen, something to Ambrosiaster, Chrysos-

tom, and Theophylact (c. 1050–c. 1125)—and they contradict Augustine.

The controversies excited by Erasmus's notes (e.g., on Rom 5:12 and 9:5) account for a proportion of the intense exegetical activity of this period. Although the invention of printing was a stimulus, the main factor behind the activity was the centrality of Romans for the new religious movements, movements that hinged on their interpretation of Scripture and that made Scripture available in the vernacular.

Luther the Augustinian monk remains the fountainhead of Reformation exegesis of Paul, but he left his Roman Catholic *Lectures on Romans* unprinted and undiscussed. They were rarely read and not published until 1908. His dialectic of law and gospel and his correlation of the Word and faith, however, placed Romans at the heart of Protestant theology and was closely followed, e.g., by W. TYNDALE. The other Reformers were deeply indebted to humanism as well as to Luther, and of these Melanchthon had the most direct influence on Protestant readings of Romans. His widely used *Loci Communes* of 1521, the first Protestant dogmatics, draws much of its form and content from this epistle; his lecture notes (*Annotationes*) on Romans were published in 1522. His 1529 commentary reveals more of the humanist and friend of Erasmus in its use of classical rhetoric. The climax of Melanchthon's work on the epistle, however, is the commentary of 1532 (revised 1540). His *Apology* to the Augsburg Confession (1530) made his forensic understanding of justification the standard Protestant view, introducing the idea of imputation on account of the alien merit of Christ (Art. 21, par. 19). Instead of the Roman Catholic (Augustinian) "making righteous," we have here the Protestant "pronouncing righteous" (Art. 4, par. 252).

The centrality of this doctrine and the importance of predestination for some Reformers led to intensive exegeses of Romans by Roman Catholic as well as by Protestant humanists during this period. All used the Greek text and Erasmus's *Annotationes,* whether producing their own translations into Latin and the vernacular or retaining the Vulgate. The leading scholastic theologian of the day, T. CAJETAN, undertook to rescue the Bible from the heretics and published a major commentary on Paul's epistles in 1529. In the same year the Louvain friar F. Titelmann (1502–37) followed up his *Elucidatio* of all the NT epistles (1528) with his *Collatio* on Romans (1529); and in 1533 J. Gagny of Paris (d. 1549) published his paraphrase (*Epitome Paraphrastica*), to be followed by his *Scholia* on Paul's epistles in 1539. Although the humanist bishop J. Sadoleto's (1477–1547) *Tres Libri Commentariorum* (1535) were suspected of Pelagianism and of affinities with M. BUCER, the denominational divisions were not yet hardened. Many scholars on both sides were looking for reconciliation through open-minded study of Scripture, e.g., M. Grimani's (1488–1546) commentary (1542), which maintains the medieval emphasis on "grace alone."

Of those who became Protestants, J. BULLINGER had lectured on Romans in 1525 while in the Cistercian monastery at Kappel. In writing his commentary (1533) he used Origen, Ambrosiaster, and Theophylact and was deeply influenced by Melanchthon and Erasmus. The largest and most learned Romans commentary was that of Bucer (1536), which was then much used by lesser figures like the Hebraist C. PELLICAN (1539) and the Roman Catholic C. Guilliaud (1493–1551; pub. 1542).

But the greatest Romans commentary of the whole period is the taut work of CALVIN (1540). In this, his first biblical commentary, Calvin was still strongly influenced by Erasmus's Latin text and notes. Like Melanchthon for Lutheranism, Calvin made Romans central for subsequent Reformed Christianity through both his commentary and his complementary systematic theology. The theology of *Institutes* (1536) and especially of the greatly enlarged edition of 1539 and its French translation (1541), which included a chapter on justification by faith and one on predestination, owed much to Romans. Where Melanchthon was critical of the law, Calvin defended it. He was, like Luther, more true to Augustine than the other Reformers were, but he was also indebted to other fathers and to scholasticism. Unlike Luther, whose lectures retained the medieval format of gloss and scholia, and Melanchthon, who self-consciously pursued Renaissance "method," Calvin used humanist grammatical and rhetorical insights in the service of a profound yet concise theological exposition that sought to clarify the intention of the author.

This short period of astonishing creativity in the interpretation of Romans, when humanist scholarship combined with the Augustinian revival in a Reformation theology centered on Paul's most doctrinal epistle, was followed by three centuries and more in which its interpretation reflected rather than propelled the history of doctrine. Justification remained characteristic of Lutheranism; Romans was read for its doctrinal content, with the emphasis on chaps. 1–8, understood with reference to the individual. There were disagreements among Lutherans, e.g., A. Osiander's (c. 1496–1552) rejection of the forensic character of justification, and marked differences of emphasis between Lutherans and Reformed within a shared Protestant framework. As in the Middle Ages, Romans was central but variously interpreted.

Luther had transferred Christian political responsibility to the state, and Rom 13:1-7 reinforced a more conservative political stance. The Calvinist doctrine of predestination (see Rom 8:28-30; 9:15, 18; 11:7) was challenged by J. ARMINIUS as a result of his study of Romans (1612); and this disagreement has persisted, with H. GROTIUS, the Laudians, and later J. WESLEY also

rejecting the deterministic Calvinism of the Puritans. That use of Romans 9 had sustained both Reformers and Puritans under siege, as it had Augustine; but in England their revolution was defeated, with the later Caroline divines preferring the more conservative political thought of Augustine to that of the radical Reformers. G. Bull's (1634–1710) reconciliation of Paul and James indicates an unwillingness to let the apostle rock the boat. In Europe the scholasticism of German and Swiss Protestant orthodoxy multiplied but did not advance the study of this epistle. Neither did the "biblical theology" that first bolstered this orthodoxy and then through PIETISM challenged it. The modern critical study of the Bible had different roots.

The religious potential of Paul's doctrine, evident in the Reformation, was discovered by both Lutherans and Reformed in Pietism and by the Anglican Wesley, whose heart was "strangely warmed" in 1738 at the reading of Luther's preface to Romans. All these revivalists set such store by holiness or perfection as to be accused by Calvinists of relapsing into "works righteousness." But their moral seriousness was true to Paul, even if their separation of sanctification from justification and consequent division of Romans between chaps. 1–5 and 6–8 was a misreading of the epistle. Wesley's recovery of justification by faith for English Christianity was true to Romans as understood by T. CRANMER, whose homilies he abridged and used as a summary of doctrine.

In Roman Catholicism, the decree on justification at the Council of Trent (1546–47) marked the end of compromise with Protestantism and of convergence in both sides' understanding of Romans. The Augustinian revival in Jansenism brought some Roman Catholic interpretation on Romans closer to Protestantism, but Jansenism's defeat contributed to the decline of this Pauline language within Roman Catholicism.

4. Modern Period. Modern historical interpretation of Romans grew out of Renaissance humanism. Grotius's posthumous *Annotationes* (vol. 2, 1646) took the decisive step of clarifying the NT by drawing on classical and Hellenistic Jewish materials. Grotius influenced H. HAMMOND (1653), the father of English biblical criticism, who studied Paul's language closely and also set the epistles in their historical contexts. Both men stand behind J. LOCKE, whose brilliant preface, paraphrase, and notes (1705–7) on the epistles are unsurpassed. These hermeneutical principles (see HERMENEUTICS) were later introduced into Germany by J. ERNESTI, whose *Institutio* appeared in 1761 (rev. 1765). The tradition made popular by Erasmus of interpreting Romans by paraphrasing it into Latin was continued in Germany by J. SEMLER (1769).

More important, Semler was a conduit introducing English DEISM into Germany, including T. MORGAN's theory about the difference between Pauline and Petrine Christianity, as developed in Morgan's *The Moral Philosopher* (1738–40). This theory proved decisive for the historical study of early Christianity. In 1831 F. C. BAUR made the theory pivotal for his understanding of Christianity's development and in 1836 applied it to the interpretation of Romans. By then the Enlightenment scholarship of Semler and J. D. MICHAELIS, joined by the new historical biblical theology of J. P. GABLER and G. BAUER, had inaugurated the great surge of modern German scholarship accumulating in textbooks of NT introduction and theology as well as in commentaries, scholarship soon to explode in historical monographs, articles, and reviews.

The application of Baur's historical method to Romans is best seen in his early essay on the epistle's "purpose and occasion" (1836), which broke with the "doctrinal" interpretation that had guided Protestant theology since Melanchthon (1521). W. DE WETTE (1835) had already recognized an argument going on in Romans; but he had identified the opposition in general terms as Judaism, making the epistle a battle of ideas and subordinating its polemical aspect to the traditional doctrinal perspective. Baur saw Paul's argumentative intention in relation to the inner-Christian dispute about the inclusion of Gentiles in the church. He was possibly mistaken about the composition of the Roman church, which he thought predominantly Jewish-Christian; but he achieved a much sharper historical profile. His interpretation made sense of chaps. 9–11 as the climax of the apostle's argument, not merely as an appendix to its doctrinal heart in chaps. 1–8, as most Protestant exegesis has done. This new historical perspective signaled an interpretative shift away from the Augustinian and Protestant emphasis on the individual's sin and salvation, with chaps. 1–8 becoming doctrinal prologue rather than doctrinal center. But Baur still read Romans in anthropological and doctrinal terms, even though the doctrine now reflected more of Enlightenment and idealism than of Augustine and Luther. Baur's Paul asserted salvation for all believers, i.e., Jews and Gentiles, on a basis of faith ("universalism") as opposed to Jewish "particularism." The theory we call justification by faith was hammered out in the forge of social conflict and answered a practical question; but it was still a doctrine, one the theologian Baur thought true about God and the world and the historian Baur thought true to Paul. The epistle's arguments are a principled exploration of "the truth of the gospel" (Gal 2:5, 14) occasioned by disputes about the admission of Gentiles without requiring conformity to the law, not merely a pragmatic justification of Paul's missionary policy.

In his early essay and thereafter Baur disputed the authenticity of Romans 15 and 16. Some scholars, like the eighteenth-century vicar of Tewkesbury E. EVANSON, would go further. B. BAUER (1851) denied the authenticity of the whole epistle and was followed by the Dutch school, e.g., A. Loman (1823–97), S. Naber

(1828–1913), A. Pierson (1831–96), and W. van Manen (1842–1905). Others, from C. WEISSE and F. SPITTA to J. O'Neill (1975), have thought it extensively interpolated; and a few, e.g., W. Schmithals (1975, 1988), composite. Chapter 16 is now generally agreed to be Pauline, but many scholars, e.g., T. MANSON (1948), have doubted whether it was directed to Rome. The doxology of 16:25-27 is still widely thought inauthentic; but of R. BULTMANN's (1947) eight proposed glosses, only 7:25*b* has found many supporters.

These literary questions have been marginal to the history of exegesis; although attempts to relate Romans to other Greek literature (J. Weiss [1897]; P. Wendland [1907]; Bultmann [1910]) have become more central in modern times, the interpretation of Romans has always been mainly the study of its ideas. Baur's classic monograph on Paul (1845) analyzes them brilliantly in terms of the Christian's spiritual self-consciousness. Bultmann later (1929) saw in Baur's analysis an anticipation of his own existential interpretation, but the decline of Hegelianism allowed the metaphysics of spirit only a weak echo in the contrast liberal interpreters drew between the spiritual and the material ("flesh") in Paul's thought (cf. the NEB translation of *sarx* as "lower nature"). Baur's analysis of Paul's terms nevertheless contributed significantly to the biblical theology of German liberal Protestantism, where Paulinism remained central; and Romans, the main quarry for that doctrinal type. Baur's admirer C. Holsten (1825–97) introduced the dichotomy found in many subsequent accounts of Paul's theology by contrasting his negative view of "flesh" in Romans 7 and 8, based on Greek dualism, with his more neutral Hebraic usage elsewhere. H. Lüdemann's (1842–1933) classic study of Paul's anthopology (1872) extended this distinction to two different doctrines of human nature and so of redemption: the Jewish juridical subjective idea found in Romans 1–4 and the Greek dualistic ethical and "physical" concepts present in chaps. 5–8. This dichotomy within Romans was widely explained in terms of Paul's double background in Jewish Hellenism, with more weight being given to the Greek influence, e.g., by O. PFLEIDERER (1873). Lüdemann and E. REUSS (1864^4) before him also thought the ethico-physical strand more characteristic of Paul than the juridical and so prepared for the denial by W. WREDE (1904) and later A. SCHWEITZER (1930) that justification was central to Paul's theology. Most Protestant exegesis and theology remained more traditional, however; and the Reformation interpretation of Romans was defended and updated by more conservative scholars and by systematic theologians, e.g., in A. RITSCHL's *Die christliche Lehre der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung* 2 (1872).

The main stimulus to new understandings of Romans in this period came from history-of-religion research (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE) on Judaism and on the wider Hellenistic milieu. Like Grotius, Baur had recognized the importance of the religious context; but J. Droysen's (1808–84) discovery of the Hellenistic age and advances in the understanding of first-century Judaism rendered some of his conclusions obsolete. In 1888 H. GUNKEL's monograph on Paul's understanding of the Spirit undercut modern idealist assumptions and placed Paul more accurately in his religious environment. Also in 1888 O. Everling clarified Paul's apocalyptic cosmology (see Romans 8) by reference to Jewish apocalyptic (see APOCALYPTICISM), showing that redemption meant liberation from demonic powers. R. KABISCH's monograph on Paul's eschatology (1893) credited him with a "physical" view of redemption, as had Lüdemann, but derived this from Jewish apocalyptic, adumbrating Schweitzer's theory of Paul's "eschatological mysticism" (1911, 1930). H. HOLTZMANN's preference, shared by E. Teichmann (1869–1919), for the non-Jewish elements in Paul was reinforced in the 1890s and 1900s by the debate about the influence of the mystery religions on Paul's baptismal ideas in Rom 6:3-5 (W. Heitmüller [1903, 1911]; R. Reitzenstein [1910]; and many others). REITZENSTEIN (1904) dated the Poimandres myth to the first century, and W. BOUSSET (1913) followed him in looking there for the religious milieu of Hellenistic gentile Christianity and (granted the apostle's modifications) Paul's Christ mysticism, his talk of spirit, his idea of dying and rising with Christ (Romans 6), and the Adam myth he offers in Romans 5. Bultmann and his pupils followed this derivation of Paul's ecclesiology and christology from the supposed Gnostic milieu of early Hellenistic Christianity; but they found his distinctive contribution, most clearly visible in Romans, elsewhere.

All these representative studies of Paul's "system" have affected how Paul's most systematic letter has been read within NT scholarship. They are reflected in critical commentaries, histories of Christianity, accounts of "Paulinism," and NT theologies. Biographical studies (e.g., Deissmann [1911; 1925^2]) were also popular among liberals, for whom Paul's religion was more interesting and admirable than his theology. Romans 7 was sometimes interpreted as Pauline autobiography, and Paul's divided mind was understood to explain his conversion in psychological terms until W. KÜMMEL (1929) provided a more convincing account of the passage. The focus of history-of-religion research shifted from intertestamental Judaism to the mystery religions and Gnosticism before drawing the interpretation of Romans back to Paul's religious heritage and locating him more firmly on the map of first-century Judaism, now illuminated by Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) as well as by the APOCRYPHA, PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, PHILO, and later rabbinic sources. C. H. DODD, among others, clarified the importance of the Septuagint for understanding Romans (1932, 1935); and Schweitzer's insistence on

the centrality of apocalyptic has, with modifications, been maintained for Romans by E. KÄSEMANN (1973) and Beker (1980). Yet other factors revolutionized the German study of Romans in the 1920s. The Luther renaissance was fueled by the rediscovery of Luther's early lectures on Romans, and the "dialectical theology" of K. BARTH and F. Gogarten (1887–1967) began with the study of Romans and the Reformers. Both these and A. SCHLATTER's NT interpretation contributed to the new Romans-based syntheses of Paul's theology forged by Bultmann and Käsemann and still echoing in the writings of J. Dunn, H. Hübner, and P. Stühlmacher, among many others.

Barth's contribution (1919, 1921–22[2]) was to sharpen the hermeneutical question of how to interpret Paul's talk of God. His Pauline and Reformation understanding of revelation taking place in and through proclamation encouraged him to "speak with" Paul and articulate in his own modern way what the text of Romans is saying. This approach went beyond historical exegesis and gained little support in biblical scholarship apart from Bultmann's appreciative review article (1922); however, its contribution to conservative biblical theology makes it part of the larger story of the impact of Romans on Christian history. Barth's aim was carried through in NT scholarship by Bultmann's account (1948) of man prior to faith (see Romans 1–3) and man under faith (see Rom 3:21–8:39 and 10).

This distillation of Paul's (mainly Romans') anthropological ideas corresponded to Bultmann's theory that God-talk is at the same time talk of human existence, and it formed one of the two planks of his existential interpretation of the NT. The process was continued by his pupils, notably by H. Conzelmann (1967), G. BORNKAMM (1969), and G. Klein (1969). But another pupil, Käsemann (1969), was critical of Bultmann's idealistic and individualistic account of Paul's theology. To do justice to the physicality of human beings; to Paul's futurist and cosmic eschatology; and to the lordship of Christ, the sacraments, and the salvation-historical element in Romans, Käsemann insisted on the realism of Paul's *soma* language and the primacy of christology, giving more weight to the mythological language of Romans 5–8 and to the historical and ecclesiological dimensions of Romans 9–11. Some of Käsemann's exegesis, notably his apocalyptic interpretation of the righteousness of God, has been challenged (e.g., E. Lohse [1973]; Klein [1976]), and some has been developed (C. Müller [1964]; Stühlmacher [1965]). But this synthesis integrates the history-of-religion school's research with a Luther-inspired (*iustificatio impii*) interpretation of Romans and illuminates many aspects of Paul's theology, worship, and ethics.

The discussion of Romans within twentieth-century German exegesis, notably in the Bultmann school but since O. Kuss (1957–78) also in ecumenical Roman Catholic scholarship, has thus combined historical exegesis with strong theological interests, again reflecting the centrality of Romans to Christian (especially Lutheran) theology and proclamation. Elsewhere, a larger space between the interpretation of Paul and theologians' own understanding of Christianity has permitted a less directly theological engagement with Romans. In Christian practice, the themes of the epistle have usually been read in the light of traditional belief, e.g., 1:3-4 in terms of Chalcedon and 3:24-26 as related to atonement doctrine; and that interaction survives in German NT theology, even though historical exegesis provides controls and stimulates new reflection. However, historical research in a pluralist society has relativized that tradition of Christian theological exegesis. While it can be defended as a legitimate set of options for reading Romans, persuasive to some persons whose religion is largely shaped by Paul and Luther, it is scarcely the only historically responsible way of interpreting the epistle today.

More sympathetic and better-informed studies of early Judaism, sometimes motivated by a laudable desire to improve Jewish-Christian relations (e.g., W. D. Davies [1948, 1978]; K. Stendahl [1976]), have reoriented research on Romans in North America, Great Britain, and Scandinavia. In 1963 and 1976 STENDAHL again set Romans firmly in the context of Paul's gentile mission. He agreed with Baur that chaps. 9–11 form the climax of the epistle and echoed Wrede and Schweitzer in rejecting Luther's preoccupation with justification; but he followed J. MUNCK (1954) against all three in denying that Romans was primarily a polemic against Jewish Christianity. Instead, Stendahl maintained that it was apologetic in function: Romans defended Paul's gentile mission by showing how the mission fitted into God's plan. The apostle was not attacking other people or positions, as Luther later attacked the Roman Catholic system by means of the Pauline antithesis of faith and works.

Whether Luther's reading of the epistle was legitimate in his time or is defensible now are further questions that involve more than Paul's authorial intentions; but these intentions are usually agreed to be at least relevant to, and perhaps decisive for, theological interpretation. Modern critical advocates of traditional readings of Romans assumed that the readings were broadly true to the apostle's intentions. Stendahl's persuasive historical contextualization of Romans in Paul's mission was therefore provocative. It initiated the conflict of interpretations that has surrounded Romans since the 1970s.

Historical understanding of the circumstances in which any ancient document, but especially a letter, was written solves some problems and improves a modern reader's understanding of the text. Stendahl's suggestions received strong independent support from E. P. Sanders's account of Palestinian Judaism (1977). Sand-

ers demonstrated that Judaism is not about merit and earning salvation through good works and that therefore Paul could not have been opposing such a system. A significant portion of traditional Pauline interpretation was thus rendered implausible. Still, Sanders was more willing than Stendahl to admit that Paul was critical of his former pharisaic Judaism for its failure to recognize Jesus as Messiah. Christology and soteriology, i.e., salvation in Christ, was Paul's ultimate concern, even though this salvation comes from membership in the people of God. The faith/works antithesis concerns "getting in" rather than describing different ways of relating to God. Justification by faith, according to Sanders, was neither Paul's christology (as Bultmann thought) nor his central idea. But it was connected with salvation in Christ; and it was not simply a missionary tactic, as F. Watson (1986) later argued. Sanders thus stands closer to the traditional view than Stendahl or Watson do because he takes Paul's antithesis seriously. The phrase "not by works," however, is not about what Luther had thought. Sanders (1983) made sense of Paul's conflicting statements about the law (aside from Romans 2) by seeing them in context. H. Räisänen (1983) reached broadly similar conclusions but expressed them more negatively. Watson, through a fresh reconstruction of the situation in Rome (1986, 94-105), was able to incorporate Romans 2 into the new perception of Romans's theology initiated by Baur and revived by Stendahl. This "Romans debate" (K. Donfried [1977, 1991^2]) about the character and purpose of the epistle and the situation addressed (see also P. Minear [1971]) is evidence of Baur's methods and mapwork being followed and his conclusions being modified (see, e.g., Hübner [1978]; Dunn [1988a, 1988b]; Wedderburn [1988]). The variety of possible conclusions shows how much is uncertain at the historical level, as also in the exegetical debates, on account of the epistle's many grammatical and syntactical ambiguities.

The interpretation of Romans at the close of the twentieth century, however, is more complicated than that "Romans debate" suggests because both historical and exegetical enquiries are a means to an interpretive end, not the goal of most attempts to make sense of the epistle. Knowledge of the language is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of genuine understanding; knowledge of the literary conventions prevalent at the time of writing and of other historical information also provides aids to understanding and supports arguments in favor of one interpretation and against another. A more important issue still is the kind of understanding aimed at. Diversity is evident in the various ways the subject matter is defined. Different interpretative aims and different assessments of Paul's subject matter may well affect how the epistle is read. Such diversity reveals another dimension of the interpretation of Romans, one arising from secularism and religious pluralism: Biblical scholars disagree about Paul's subject matter and its possible truth or bearing on their lives.

In this situation interpreters can be questioned regarding the theological stances (if any) that inform their respective proposals, not only about their historical understanding of some first-century ideas and conflicts. Stendahl and Käsemann have contemporary interests at heart in their conflicting interpretations of the Pauline antithesis of faith and works: the one in fostering better relations between Christians and Jews, the other in maintaining a particular understanding of the gospel of salvation. Käsemann sees the world, rather than the church, as the stage of God's saving activity: God justifies the ungodly (Rom 4:5). Thus the authentic response to this gospel proclaimed is personal existential faith in Christ rather than membership in a pious club. Käsemann's Pauline theology of the cross subjects the necessary corporate, ecclesial, "horizontal" dimension of Christian commitment to a christological criterion. Both he and Stendahl include historical and exegetical components in their proposals that might be falsified or lose plausibility in the course of argument. But theological insights can survive the destruction of some historical and exegetical supports. The validity of Luther's criticism of late medieval theology and practice, for example, is not wholly dependent on the historical accuracy of his understanding of Paul. Luther applied the text with its powerful antithesis to a new situation and in doing so changed the point at issue. That application is not history, but it may be more true in some sense to Paul than would be a more historically correct interpretation that fails to echo the religious power of the text.

Similar observations may be made regarding attempts by LIBERATION theologians to achieve a socially relevant interpretation of the text (e.g., J. Miranda [1974]). Such atttempts, along with the use of psychological categories to clarify the transformation of self-understanding intended by Paul's soteriological language (R. Scroggs [1977]; G. Theissen [1983]), raise again the question, posed most challengingly by Baur and Bultmann, of what conceptualities are appropriate to interpret Romans in one's own day. The answers will depend on what kind of interpretation is wanted. Theological interpretations are no longer the only options, and what counts as a theological interpretation today is itself disputed. Political and psychological readings of Romans may be deeply theological.

The majority of readers of Romans are Christian believers who share some of Paul's assumptions. But other readers are not believers, and some believers choose to cultivate the ground they share with their non-Christian contemporaries rather than to explore what they share with Paul. The various approaches have led to new insights. NT scholars' specialism directs them back to the first-century context of the epistle in order

to make their particular contributions to how it is appropriately read both within Christianity and in the broader culture. The epistle's historical context includes ancient literature and rhetoric. The debate about Paul's use of the "cynic-stoic diatribe" in Romans continues (S. Stowers [1981]), and RHETORICAL CRITICISM promises further illumination of Paul's literary activity. The historical aspect of history-of-traditions research has been most fruitful for the exegesis of Romans, identifying liturgical traditions quoted or echoed and commented on by Paul. Identifying these traditions, especially in Rom 3:24-25, has allowed some interpreters (Bultmann [1948]; Käsemann [1960]) to deny that Jewish-Christian atonement theology is characteristic of Paul, whereas others (Stühlmacher [1981]) have given special weight to what Paul takes over from early Christian tradition. However, the literary aspects of Paul's use of earlier traditions are proving most fascinating. Scholars agree on the importance of Scripture for Paul, and the extent of his scriptural quotation in Romans 3–4; 9–11; 15 has attracted increasing attention (F. Umbreit [1856]; O. Michel [1929]; L. Goppelt [1939]; Dodd [1952]; E. Ellis [1957]; R. Hays [1989]). Among the methods and approaches of modern LITERARY THEORY, debates about INTERTEXTUALITY (Hays) and READER-RESPONSE (A. Thiselton [1992]) have seemed more illuminating than has structuralist exegesis (D. Via [1975]; D. Patte [1983]; see STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION).

These brief indications confirm how the interpretation of Romans has exploded in several new directions at the close of the twentieth century, while historical exegesis continues to wrestle with central ideas and key phrases such as "in Christ" (A. Deissmann [1892]; F. Neugebauer [1961]; C. F. D. Moule [1977]). A dramatic new interpretation of a small ambiguous phrase "the faith of Jesus (Christ)" at Rom 3:22, 26, etc., still has the capacity to stimulate contrary understandings of Paul's theology and therefore conflicting readings of Romans. The translation of a single word, *hilasterion* (3:25), has similarly caused or reflected conflicting interpretations in the past. Historical and linguistic study exercises some control over the diversity of interpretations but less than most theologians could wish. Religious interests have always been present in theological interpretation, and this no longer appears disreputable. They are sometimes present in historical exegesis too, and anti-religious interests are also sometimes present in biblical scholarship. Modern historical and other newer approaches continue to stimulate a conversation that has always included diverse and conflicting interpretations of this powerfully ambiguous text.

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R. MORGAN

ROSENMÜLLER, ERNST FRIEDRICH KARL
(1768–1835)

Described as more of a collector than a researcher, R. made no lasting original contribution to HB study. Nevertheless, he earned the gratitude of several genera-

tions of scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by making available historical and other material relevant to biblical criticism. Born Dec. 10, 1768, in Hessberg, he was the son of NT scholar J. Rosenmüller. After attending the Paidagogicum in Giessen, he entered the University of Leipzig in 1785, gaining his doctorate in 1788 and becoming a *Privatdozent* in 1792. In 1796 he became *ausserordentlicher* professor of Arabic at Leipzig and in 1813 full professor of oriental languages. He died in Leipzig, Sept. 17, 1835.

The first volume of R.'s greatest work, the *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum,* appeared in 1788. Intended to be a commentary on the whole of the HB, it used the interpretations of great scholars back to the rabbis but also included R.'s own opinions. Volumes appeared regularly for the rest of his life, although the project was never quite completed. Of the twenty-four volumes of the *Scholia,* L. DIESTEL wrote in 1869 that, although the work lacked depth and independence, its position was relevant, clear, and sound. Its wide circulation indicated that it met a genuine need. R.'s own opinions in the work were of a mildly critical and rationalizing nature. Natural explanations were sought for some miracles; on critical matters he interpreted the psalms historically, not messianically, denied the unity of Isaiah, and was one of the earliest writers to link what were later designated as "Servant Songs" in Isaiah 40–66. Toward the end of his life R. issued revised editions of several of the volumes in which he modified his critical views in favor of more traditional positions. This was taken as partial evidence by conservative scholars that the day of critical scholarship was over.

R.'s other publications included a history of biblical criticism since the Reformation (1797–1800); an Arabic grammar (1818); an exegetical handbook on Joshua to Kings (1797–1800; these were not treated in the *Scholia*); a collection of descriptions of the Orient based on accounts of travelers (1818–20); and a handbook of the geography and cultural background of the Bible (1823–31). Several of his books were translated into English, including three on the geography, mineralogy, and botany of the lands of the Bible, and the *Annotations on Some Messianic Psalms* (1841). R. was one of the last of the "encyclopedic" scholars, and what he collected is still of interest and value.

Works: *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum* (1785–1835; a selection in 5 vols. on the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Psalms, Job, and Ezekiel appeared in 1828–33); *Handbuch für die Litteratur der biblischen Kritik und Exegese* (1797–1800); *Handbuch der biblischen Alterthumskunde* (1823–31).

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J. W. ROGERSON

ROSSI, GIOVANNI BERNARDO DE (1742–1831)

Among the most important Roman Catholic apologists and biblical critics of his day, R. made his greatest contributions to scholarship in the field of HB TEXTUAL CRITICISM. He was born in Castel Nuovo, Italy, and studied theology at Turin, receiving ordination to the priesthood and the doctor of theology degree in 1766. He became proficient in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and several other oriental languages and spent his career teaching these at the Royal University of Parma (1769–1821).

Although several of R.'s earliest works were apologetical (e.g., 1772, 1773), most of his publications were related to the text, TRANSLATION, and interpretation of the HB. In 1778 he scoured Italy for HB manuscripts, consulting and collecting hundreds of them for his *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti,* which offered variant readings for the HB that substantially augmented the work of B. KENNICOTT. R. held to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) and a high view of the INSPIRATION of Scripture but did not advocate a mechanistic understanding of the latter. At R.'s wish, his excellent library remained at Parma, bought for 100,000 francs by Maria Louisa of Austria.

Works: *Della lingua propria di Cristo e degli Ebrei nazionali della Palestina da'tempi de'Maccabei* (1772); *Della vana aspettazione degli Ebrei del loro re Messia dal compimento di tutte le epoche trattato* (1773); *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti* (1784–1788); *Scholia critica in VT libros, seu Supplementa ad varias sacri textus lectiones* (1798); *Introduzione alla Sacra Scrittura* (1817).

Bibliography: **G. Allison,** "G. B. R. (1742–1831): A Sketch of His Life and Works, with Particular Attention Given to His Contributions to the Field of Biblical Criticism," *Trinity Journal* 12 (1991) 15-38. **A. Vaccari,** "Il Più Grande Ebraista Dell' Italia Cristiana: G. B. R.," *Scritti di Erudizione e di Filologia* 2 (1958) 449-69.

M. P. GRAHAM

ROWLEY, HAROLD HENRY (1890–1969)

Born in Leicester, England, Mar. 24, 1890, R. studied at Bristol Baptist College, Bristol University (BA), London University (BD), and Mansfield College, Oxford, taking Semitic languages under G. GRAY and C. BURNEY. He took the BLitt degree at Oxford and served with the Baptist Missionary Society in China (1922–29). R.'s major interest remained the study of the HB, especially problems of Israelite history, which was undergoing major revision in light of archaeological research (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES). He held an assistant lectureship at University College, Cardiff (1929), became a full lecturer (1932), professor of Semitic languages at University College of N. Wales (1935–45),

and professor of Semitic languages at the University of Manchester (1945–59).

An energetic writer, R. made his major contributions to biblical research in the subjects of Israelite history and Jewish APOCALYPTICISM. In 1929 he published his dissertation on the date of the Aramaic in the HB (especially in the book of Daniel) and in 1935 a further detailed study of Daniel. His popular writing on apocalypticism (1944) did much to reawaken interest in apocalyptic thought and literature. He argued forcefully for the unity of the book of Daniel, giving it a second century BCE date, and for an understanding of apocalyptic thought as having its primary origin as a development of PROPHECY. (See particularly "The Unity of the Book of Daniel" *HUCA* 23, 1 [1950–51] 233-73 = *The Servant of the Lord* [1952–65] 247-80.)

The second major area of R.'s research concerned the early history of Israel—particularly that surrounding the work of Moses, the exodus and Sinai events, and the settlement in the land of Canaan. This research culminated in his Schweich lectures (pub. 1950), a primary feature of which was his insistence on the primary historical significance of Moses' achievements, the ability of archaeological research from the Late Bronze Age to illuminate this without providing explicit formal confirmation, and the Mosaic origin of the DECALOGUE in its original, briefer (*Urdekalog*) form.

R.'s conclusions concerning the Mosaic origin of the Decalogue provided a central basis for his reconstructions of early Israelite religious and theological development that found fullest expression in his book on the faith of Israel (1956), in which he presented a short outline of OT THEOLOGY. R. took a deep interest in the discovery of the Qumran scrolls (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) and the origin of the Qumran sectaries. In the Qumran patterns of biblical interpretation, he found a strong support for his understanding of the central importance of apocalyptic for late Judaism in the HB period.

Alongside these specific areas of research, R. profoundly affected British HB scholarship by promoting international cooperation and consultation among biblical scholars of all nations and confessions and by his profound love of books and the detailed bibliographical information he provided. His extensive footnotes, mediated through a comprehensive card index system, benefited a whole generation of scholarship as access to international literature became more readily available. He instituted the annual Society for OT Study Book List, a scholarly aid of international reputation.

Works: *The Aramaic of the OT: A Grammatical and Lexical Study of Its Relations with Other Early Aramaic Dialects* (1929); *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel* (1935); *Israel's Mission to the World* (1939); *The Relevance of the Bible* (1942); *Submission in Suffering: A Comparative Study of Eastern Thought* (1942); *The Relevance of Apocalyptic: A Study of Jewish and Christian Apocalypses from Daniel to Revelation* (1944, 1947, 1963); *The Missionary Message of the OT* (1945); *An Outline of the Teaching of Jesus* (1945); *The Re-discovery of the OT* (1946); *The Authority of the Bible* (1950); *The Biblical Doctrine of Election* (1950); *The Growth of the OT* (1950); *From Joseph to Joshua: Biblical Traditions in the Light of Archaeology* (1950); (ed.), *Studies in OT Prophecy* (1950); (ed.), *The OT and Modern Study: A Generation of Discovery and Research* (1951); *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the OT* (1952, 1962); *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1952); *The Unity of the Bible* (1953); *The Faith of Israel: Aspects of OT Thought* (1956); *Prophecy and Religion in Ancient China and Israel* (1956); *From Moses to Qumran: Studies in the OT* (1963); *Men of God: Studies in OT History and Prophecy* (1963); *Worship in Ancient Israel: Its Forms and Meaning* (1967); *Job* (NCBC, 1970).

Bibliography: **M. Noth and D. W. Thomas** (eds.), *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East, Presented to H. H. R.* (VTSup 3, 1960) with bibliography, xi-xix.

R. E. CLEMENTS

RÜCKERT, LEOPOLD IMMANUEL (1797–1871)

Born Feb. 1, 1797, in Grosshennersdorf/Oberlausitz, Germany, R. studied theology and philosophy at Leipzig (1814–17), was a deacon in Grosshennersdorf (1819–25), a secondary school teacher in Zittau (1825–44), and professor of NT exegesis and systematics in Jena (from 1844), remaining active as a teacher and preacher until his death Apr. 9, 1871.

As an NT scholar, R. can be best characterized by the specific demands he formulated for exegesis in the foreword to the first edition of his commentary on Romans, in the *Magazin* (1838), and in a vice-chancellor's speech (1858): The task of exegesis is to discover and clarify what the author thinks and says. R. listed four concrete tasks: (1) philologically appropriate interpretation, which includes linguistic analysis (attention to grammar and word usage); history (consideration of the historical situation of the text and its contents); logic (strict adherence to the train of thought and reasoning in the text); and imagination (total empathy with the thoughts and concerns of the author); (2) openness, understood as a release of the exegete from any dogmatic system that might limit the inquiry and recording of results; (3) limitation of the exegesis to what is really necessary; (4) "methodical" reproduction of what is found so that one can recreate and examine the author's concerns.

The content of Scripture is to be treated only as something historically given. Since such material may well be "diffused and in part only presented as an allusion," it needs methodical and scholarly processing and presentation, ordering of what is not ordered, and

enlightenment of what is dark. In such an endeavor alone can the biblical theologian, who is interested only in scholarly, scientific knowledge, work toward the biblical dogmatician, who is determined by his personal Christian faith. The dogmatician then grounds Christian faith from the perspective of biblical doctrine.

R. was praised as a promoter of thorough exegesis. His demand for open-minded interpretation was repeatedly renewed, even though his own position as a rationalistic dogmatician ultimately influenced him as a biblical theologian and prevented him from viewing the NT through genuinely unprejudiced eyes. R.'s efforts at conceiving NT exegesis as fundamentally a task of knowledge, with the NT seen as an object of investigation, is worthy of attention.

Works: *Christliche Philosophie oder Philosophie, Geschichte, und Bibel nach ihren wahren Beziehungen zu einander: Nicht für Glaubende, sondern für wiss. Zweifler zur Belehrung* (2 vols., 1825); *Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Römer* (2 vols., 1831–32); *Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Galater* (1833); *Der Brief Pauli an die Epheser* (1834); *Der erste Brief Pauli an die Korinther* (1836); *Der zweite Brief Pauli an die Korinther* (1837); *Magazin für Exegese und Theologie des NT* (1838); "De officio interpretis librorum Novi Foederis," *Antrittsvorlesung* (1844); *Theologie* (2 vols., 1851); *Das Abendmahl: Sein Wesen und seine Geschichte in der alten Kirche* (1856); "Die Aufabe der jenaer Theologie im vierten Jahrhundert der Hochschule," *Prorektoratsrede* (1858); *Der Rationalismus* (1858).

Bibliography: **G. Frank,** *RE*³ 17 (1906) 186-91; *ADB* 53 (1907) 573-76. **K. Heussi,** *Geschichte der Theologischen Fakultät zu Jena* (1954). **J. Wach,** *Das Verstehen: Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Hemeneutischen Theorie* 2, 3 (1929–33).

C. BERGER

RUDOLPH, WILHELM (1891–1987)

Born in Weikersheim, Germany, in 1891, R. began his theological and philological training in the seminary schools of Maulbronn (where he learned Hebrew from E. Nestle), and Blaubeuren, not far from Tübingen, where beginning in 1909 he spent nine semesters (a tenth in Halle) studying oriental languages and theology. From 1914 to 1918 he pastored eight different churches. By 1920 he had received his doctorate; and in the summer of 1922 he was officially appointed professor of OT at Tübingen, where he had already taken up teaching duties without having produced a Habilitationsschrift. He moved to Giessen in 1930, remaining there until the end of WWII. After a short stay at the Kirchlichen Hochschule in Berlin in 1948, he accepted a position in Münster.

R. is perhaps best known to the English-speaking world as editor, with K. ELLIGER, of the *BHS,* a work inherited from A. ALT and O. EISSFELDT. R. had early demonstrated his text-critical abilities (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM), preparing both Jeremiah (1931) and Numbers (1935) for R. KITTEL's *BHK*, while producing several other studies dealing with textual matters. R. published works on a variety of topics ranging from the Servant Songs of Isaiah to Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine to the problem of the Pentateuchal sources. In his 1938 work, building on an earlier work undertaken with his Tübingen colleague P. VOLZ, he argued against contemporary manifestations of the documentary hypothesis, suggesting that the Pentateuch (or Hexateuch), rather than receiving its shape from two fairly coherent narratives, actually drew its structure and content largely from one source. This document, the Yahwist, was shaped over the course of time into the Pentateuch by the addition of a variety of material and by editorial activity. Although such a position did not carry R.'s day, it has found support at various points in the history of PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM and is recognizable in some recent contributions. The greatest portion of R.'s scholarly energy was devoted to his commentaries, which reflect solid and substantial exegetical skill.

Works: *Die Abhängigkeit des Qorans von Judentum und Christentum* (1922); "Die Ebed-Jahwe Lieder als geschichtliche Wirklichkeit," *ZAW* 46 (1928) 156-66; "Sennacherib in Palestina," *PJB* 25 (1929) 59-80; *Der Elohist als Erzähler: Ein Irrweg der Pentateuchkritik? An der Genesis erläutert von P. Volz und W. R.* (BZAW 63, 1933); *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua* (BZAW 68, 1938); *Das Buch Ruth übersetzt und erklärt* (1939); *Die Klagelieder übersetzt und erklärt* (1939); *Jeremia* (HAT 1, 12, 1947); *Esra und Nehemiah samt 3 Esra* (HAT 1, 20, 1949); *Chronikbücher* (HAT 1, 21, 1955); *Jeremia* (HAT 1, 12, 1958); *Das Buch Kohelet* (1959); *Hosea* (KAT 13, 1, 1966); *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona* (KAT 13, 2, 1971); *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja* (KAT 13, 3, 1975); *Haggai, Sacharja I–VIII, Sacharja IX-XIV, Maleachi* (KAT 13, 4, 1976).

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T. J. SANDOVAL

RUPERT OF DEUTZ (c. 1075–1129)

Probably born near Liège, R. was presented as an oblate to the Benedictine abbey of St. Lawrence in that city, where he remained most of his life. As a young man he had a conversion experience in the form of a series of visions that called him to uncover and preach the mysteries of sacred Scripture. He was an uncompromising adherent to the Gregorian reform that sought to reinvigorate the church of his day by purging it of abuses, the most blatant being simony. His attacks on

simoniac clergy were so intense that twice he was exiled. In 1120 the archbishop of Cologne appointed him abbot of Deutz, where he remained until his death in 1129.

R. is often portrayed as an advocate of conservative theology; his theology might more accurately be called idiosyncratic. He was involved in disputes with several of his contemporaries (Alger of Liège, Anselm of Laon, Norbert of Xanten, and William of Champeaux, to name a few) and became embroiled in controversies over christology, the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and predestination. His teaching on the divine and human natures in Christ bordered on adoptionism, based as it was on his reading of John's Gospel. His reading of Scripture led him to resist any suggestion that "God willed evil," however Augustinian (see AUGUSTINE) such a concept of predestination might be.

In all of these controversies R.'s principal starting point was his interpretation of Scripture, especially his *De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius* and his commentary on John's Gospel. Begun in 1114, *De sancta Trinitate* sets forth the goal of providing a spiritual (largely allegorical and doctrinal) commentary on the entire course of Scripture from creation to Apocalypse, the history of salvation as it revealed the works of the three persons of the Trinity: God the Father, known through the works of the seven days of creation; God the Son, known through the works of the seven world ages from Adam's fall to Christ's passion; the Holy Spirit, known through the Spirit's seven gifts, given from the incarnation to the last judgment. One of the distinguishing features of R.'s commentary is that he brought into view events that are more nearly contemporary to him; for R., contemporary history was still very much a part of sacred history. Completed in 1117, *De sancta Trinitate* was interrupted by his commentary on John, completed in 1116 and written in part to work out his understanding of christology and the Eucharist as a way to correct what he perceived to be the errors of his adversaries.

R. also wrote commentaries on the Song of Songs (the first to give it a consistently Marian interpretation), the Minor Prophets, Matthew, and the Apocalypse. As J. van Engen writes, "Thoroughly grounded in the received tradition, he took constant delight in finding new and 'more useful' meanings" in Scripture (1983). R.'s work was written primarily for a monastic audience. His thought is described by modern scholars as symbolic or figurative.

Works: *Opera* (*PL* 167-70); *Liber de diuinis officiis* (CCCM 7, ed. R. Haacke, 1967); *Commentaria in euangelium sancti Iohannis* (CCCM 9, ed. R. Haacke, 1969); *De victoria verbi dei* (MGH, Geistesgeschichte 5, ed. R. Haacke, 1970); *De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius* (CCCM 21-24, ed. R. Haacke, 1971–72); *Commentaria in Canticum Canticorum De incarnatione Domini* (CCCM 26, ed. R. Haacke, 1974); *Anulus sive Dialogus inter Christianum et Iudaeum* (ed. R. Haacke, *Ruperto di Deutz e la controversia tra cristiani ed ebrei nel secolo XII,* 1979); *De gloria et honore Filii hominis super Matthaeum* (CCCM 29, ed. R. Haacke, 1979).

Bibliography: **J. H. van Engen,** *Rupert of Deutz* (1983) with bibliography and review of the *status quaestionis.* **M. Magrassi,** *Teologia e storia nel pensiero di Ruperto di Deutz* (1959). **H. G. Reventlow,** *Epochen der Bibelauslegung* 2 (1994) 161-70.

M. A. ZIER

RUSSELL, MICHAEL (1781–1848)

A Scotsman of Presbyterian background, born in Edinburgh, R. attended the University of Glasgow (MA 1806) and after teaching school for a time became an Episcopalian. He served the church for some years before becoming dean of the diocese of Edinburgh (1831) and finally bishop of Glasgow and Galloway. A prolific writer on diverse topics, he died suddenly on Apr. 2, 1848. His significance for biblical studies lies in his history of Israel, written to supplement the works of H. PRIDEAUX and S. SHUCKFORD.

Works: *Connection of Sacred and Profane History, from the Death of Joshua to the Decline of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Intended to Complete the Works of Shuckford and Prideaux* (3 vols., 1827–37); *Observations on the Advantages of Classical Learning* (1830).

Bibliography: **T. F. Henderson,** *DNB* 49 (1897) 467-68.

J. H. HAYES

RUTH, BOOK OF

The book of Ruth tells the story of a Moabite woman who marries into an Israelite family fleeing from a famine in Judah. Subsequently becoming a widow, she returns with her widowed mother-in-law to Bethlehem and while gleaning in the fields at harvest time meets and eventually marries a wealthy relative, later giving birth to King David's grandfather.

From the earliest period down to the time of the medieval Jewish commentators, the primary interest of exegesis was in telling the biblical story and, to this end, in explaining any difficulties in the biblical text. Thus, in the ancient versions the text was expanded at various points by the introduction of comments that provided reasons for occurrences or actions or otherwise filled in perceived gaps in the story. This process reached its apogee in the TARGUM, which as a result of these expansions is more than twice as long as the Hebrew text of the HB.

In rabbinic literature there was also an interest in

locating the events of the biblical story in history. Some early rabbis took the use of the plural "judges" in Ruth 1:1 to indicate the period of Deborah and Barak (*Ruth Rab.* 1.1), whereas in the Targum and in the TALMUD (*b. B. Bat.* 91a) Boaz was identified with the judge Ibzan. Ruth was given a royal genealogy and said to be a daughter or granddaughter of Eglon (Judges 3), king of Moab (*Ruth Rab.* 2.9.).

Various passages in the story were used for didactic and homiletic purposes, a major interest in this area being the derivation of rules for proselytes. Especially in the Targum, where Ruth's declaration of fidelity to Naomi (Ruth 1:16-17) is expanded into a catechism, in each phrase of which Ruth indicates her acknowledgment and acceptance of some consequence of her conversion, Ruth was seen as a model proselyte. Perhaps this accounts for the custom of reading the book at the festival of *Shavuot,* first recorded in the post-Talmudic tractate *Sopherim.* Or perhaps the development of Ruth as a model proselyte may have occurred in parallel with the development of *Shavuot* from a harvest festival to a commemoration of the giving of the law. The traditional explanation, that Ruth is read at *Shavuot* because that is when King David died (*Ruth Rab.* 3.2), is hardly realistic, while the fact that the main action in the story takes place at the time of harvest is hardly in itself a sufficient basis for the custom's origin.

Aside from the statement in the *baraita* of *b. B. Bat.* 14b-15a that Samuel wrote Ruth, no interest was displayed during this period in the question of authorship. One opinion on the purpose of the book is recorded (*Ruth Rab.* 2.14): "R. Ze'ira said, 'This scroll tells us nothing of cleanliness or of uncleanliness, either of prohibition or permission. For what purpose then was it written? To teach how great is the reward of those who do deeds of kindness.' "

For the major part of the modern period, the main focus of interest has been on the book's date and purpose. To date it on the basis of its language has proved difficult. On the whole, the language is good classical Hebrew, which has often been taken to indicate a preexilic date; however, it includes some Aramaisms and other features generally considered to be late. Several specimens of archaic forms are found only in the speech of Boaz and Naomi, and the suggestion has been made that they represent a literary device that has these older people speak in an old-fashioned way, rather than being an indication of when the book was composed.

The question of date has usually been considered in conjunction with that of purpose, and a wide range of conclusions have been reached. The theory that gained the widest currency—that the book was written as a protest against the policy of Ezra and Nehemiah on intermarriage between the people of Judah and those of surrounding territories—suffers from the problem that not only is there no hint of polemic in the book but that it may equally well be read as propaganda in support of that policy, saying in effect that marriage with foreigners is permissible if they first become proselytes. This problem of the book's ambivalence was recognized already when the idea that the book opposes Ezra and Nehemiah's policy was first broached (see L. Bertholdt [1812–19] 2:2356); notwithstanding its widespread currency, it is doubtful whether the theory will hold.

Many of the proposals made in the present century have proved (or will undoubtedly prove) to be ephemeral and must be seen as monuments to passing fashions in biblical studies. Attempts to explain the story as a fertility cult drama (W. Staples [1936–37]); H. May [1939]) found no lasting acceptance. The proposal that the origin of the book should be located in the Solomonic enlightenment (R. Hals [1969]), which was based on a comparison of the book's theological ideas with those found in other writings attributed to that period, was deprived of its foundation when the concept of the Solomonic enlightenment passed out of fashion. Some other suggestions are that Ruth was written possibly by Jehoiada the priest in order to compare its heroine with another foreign widow, Athaliah, to the disadvantage of the latter (M. Crook [1948]) or that the book's origin should be associated with Jehoshaphat's reformation (E. Campbell [1975]).

The theory that the book had the historical purpose of providing King David with a genealogy has proved a little more durable than most, but the often-stated opinion that the connection with David is secondary (most recently, A. Phillips [1986] 2) would mean that the original composition must have had another purpose. This opinion, which relies on the supposition that because the birth of Ruth's child is greeted with the saying "A son has been born to Naomi" (Ruth 4:17), the child's name should have some connection with the name Naomi, is not necessarily sound, for the statement is not precisely identical in form with any of the other texts in which a child's name is explained by a saying of the person who bestows the name. It remains plausible that the connection with David made in 4:17 is original, although many scholars believe the genealogy of 4:18-22 to be secondary. However, it does not follow from this that the name and nationality of Ruth, at the very least, must be accurate historical data (see A. Anderson [1978] 172). That conclusion, resting on the assumption that Moabite ancestry would have carried a stigma, is questionable in view of the fact that the law of Deut 23:3-4, which is the basis of this thinking, was clearly never applied to the Davidic dynasty, as it ought to have been, on account of Rehoboam's mother, who was an Ammonite (1 Kgs 14:21).

The suggestion that the purpose of the book was to register a legal precedent goes back to the beginning of the modern period. Bertholdt, who has been credited with the invention of the "anti-Ezra" theory, actually

thought that the book's purpose was to extend the obligation to marry a childless widow to kinsmen other than the nearest and the rights to such marriage to foreign women who had embraced the Israelite religion. Even if it is not considered to constitute the purpose of the book, the juridical background to the story has attracted a great deal of interest. The chief exegetical problem is the relation between the situation reflected in chap. 4 and the HB laws on marriage, inheritance, and the redemption of property. There was for a time a widespread tendency to understand Ruth's remarriage as a form of levirate marriage that applied to a more distant relative than the brother-in-law specified in the law of Deut 25:5-10; and the concept of a redeemer-marriage, in which the obligation to marry a widowed kinswoman was combined with the right to redeem the property of her first husband, gained some currency.

More recently, however, the trend has been to move away from the search for juridical precision and to see that the connection between marriage and redemption was created by the storyteller and did not necessarily have any existence as a legal institution. Questions have also been raised as to whether there is any levirate element in Ruth's second marriage. This has been increasingly denied in recent years, especially by those who have examined the textual problem posed by the existence of the *kĕtîb* and *qĕrê* form, representing respectively a first person and a second person singular verb, in Ruth 4:5 (see D. Beattie [1971]; J. Sasson [1979]; B. Green [1982]). Scholars who have recognized in this phenomenon two alternative readings have decided that the *kĕtîb* must represent the original reading and that no obligation to marry Ruth was imposed on the nameless redeemer. Although others continue to follow the tradition of reading the *qĕrê,* which had hitherto been all but unanimous, no one has yet offered any considered argument in its support. The presence of a levirate element has also been denied on other grounds (see R. Gordis [1974] 246; Anderson, 183).

These developments should be seen as part of the trend toward a greater concern with LITERARY values, which may be said to have begun with H. GUNKEL. One of the earliest exercises in detecting symmetrical structures in biblical literature dealt with Ruth (see S. Bertman [1965]), and it soon attracted the attention of FEMINIST literary critics (see P. Trible [1978]). A notable development was the application to Ruth of V. Propp's morphological analysis of Russian fairy tales (see Sasson; P. Milne [1986]), while a number of other significant contributions to understanding the literary art of Ruth have been made in recent years (e.g., M. Bernstein [1991]; D. Fewell and D. Gunn [1988, 1989]; Fewell [1990]).

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D. R. G. BEATTIE

RYLE, HERBERT EDWARD (1856–1925)

Born in London, May 25, 1856, R. was educated at Eton and at Cambridge, where he taught (1887–1900) as Hulsean Professor of Divinity. He served as bishop of Exeter (1901–3) and Winchester (1903–11) and as dean of Westminster (1911–25). He died in London, Aug. 20, 1925, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

With his contemporaries S. DRIVER and A. KIRKPATRICK, R. played a leading role in winning acceptance for HB criticism among English Anglicans at the turn of the twentieth century by his emphasis that the approach need not militate against belief in revelation and INSPIRATION. Virtually all of his HB works were written in the 1890s and have a deliberately semi-popular character.

Works: (with M. R. James), *Psalms of the Pharisees* (1891); *The Canon of the OT* (1892); *The Early Narratives of Genesis: A Brief Introduction to the Study of Genesis I–XI* (1892); *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah with Introductory Notes and Maps* (1893); *Philo and Holy Scripture: Or the Quotations of Philo from the Books of the OT with an Introduction and Notes* (1895); *On Holy Scripture and Criticism: Addresses and Sermons* (1904); "The Prayer of Manasses," *APOT* 1:612-24; *The Book of Genesis* (1914).

Bibliography: **M. H. Fitzgerald,** *A Memoir of H. E. R.* (1928); *DNB, 1822–1930* (1937) 733-35.

C. T. BEGG

RYSSEL, VICTOR (1849–1905)

R. was born in Reinsberg, Saxony, Dec. 18, 1849. He studied at Leipzig (1868–89) with Friedrich DELITZSCH, taught at a gymnasium, and advanced to *ausserordentlicher* professor at the university. In 1889 he accepted the chair for OT and oriental languages at Zürich, where he died Mar. 2, 1905.

R. was above all a philologist. In HB studies he authored monographs on the language of the P source as a criterion for its dating (1878) and on the text and authenticity of the book of Micah (1887). He was a key participant in several great collaborative enterprises in German HB scholarship of his time. In E. KAUTZSCH's HB TRANSLATION (1894) he provided Isaiah 40–66, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther; and in the same scholar's edition of the HB Apocrypha and PSEUDEPIGRAPHA (1900), he rendered the Prayer of Manasseh, the Additions to Esther, Sirach, and the Greek and Syriac BARUCH apocalypses, together with introductions and notes. For R. KITTEL's *BHK* (1905), he prepared Leviticus and parts of Exodus and Numbers. One of his final productions was a lengthy series of articles on the recently discovered Hebrew fragments of the book of Sirach.

Given his philological focus and innate caution, R. was not strongly identified with any of the opposing schools in the HB scholarship of his day. Although he wrote no commentaries, he produced updated editions of those on Ezra–Nehemiah–Esther by E. BERTHEAU (1884) and on Exodus–Leviticus by A. DILLMANN (1897) in the KEH series. He was also responsible for the third edition of J. Fürst's dictionary of HB Hebrew and Aramaic.

Works: *Die Synonyma des Wahren und Guten in den semitischen Sprachen* (1872); *De Elohistae pentateuchi Sermone: Commentatio historico-critica* (1878); *Untersuchungen über die Textgestalt und die Echtheit des Buches Micha* (1887); "Die neuen hebräischen Fragmente des Buches Jesus Sirach und ihre Herkunft," *TSK* 73 (1900) 363-400, 505-41; 74 (1901) 75-109, 269-94, 547-92; 75 (1902) 205-61, 347-420.

Bibliography: **H. Guthe,** *RE*^{3} 24 (1913) 441-45.

C. T. BEGG

S

SAADIA IBN JOSEPH AL-FAYYUMI (882–942)

The first rabbinic scholar neither from Babylonia nor from Judea to be made a gaon (head of a Babylonian rabbinic academy), S. was also the first rabbinic philosopher of note and the first rabbinic scholar to use philology in his interpretations of Scripture. Egyptian-born, he was appointed gaon of Sura in 928 by the exilarch David ben Zaccai. A major conflict soon broke out between them in a case involving the settlement of a large estate. The exilarch invited the gaon Cohen-Zedek of Pumpeditha and S. to countersign his decision. Cohen-Zedek complied and S. refused. In the resulting conflict S. was deposed, and Joseph ben Jacob Bar Satia was appointed gaon in his place. However, after a short retirement to Baghdad S. was reconciled with the exilarch and in 937 returned to his office, which he held until his death in 942.

S.'s most important work was the *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (*Emunot V'deot*), written as a philosophical, theological polemic against the KARAITES. It has two main sections, the first dealing with God's unity and the second dealing with God's justice. He then listed and discussed what he thought to be the fundamental or root beliefs (*ikkarim*) of rabbinic Judaism and the basic categories of Jewish law.

In connection with his studies of the Bible, S. wrote a grammar and LEXICON of biblical Hebrew and an Arabic translation of the Bible. His students made important contributions to the study of the Hebrew language, and they in turn taught J. IBN JANAH, whose two-volume study of biblical Hebrew—*The Book of Roots* and *The Book of Embroidery*—are generally regarded as classics in the field.

S. had an important political motive for his philosophical writings and biblical studies. He was a major rabbinic leader at the time of the Karaite schism, and most of his work in these two fields was intended as a polemic supporting traditional rabbinic interpretation of Scripture and opposing the criticisms of the Karaites. For example, rabbinic Judaism always took the phrase "a life for a life, an eye for an eye . . . an injury for an injury" (Exod 21:23-25) to mean monetary compensation rather than physical retribution. However, Anan ben David, the founder of the Karaite movement, rejected the rabbinic interpretation in favor of the physical punishment that he believed to be the simple meaning (*peshat*) of the text. Against Anan, S. argued that in this case the literal meaning could not be what God intended to communicate to Israel. He offered both a logical argument and a proof text in support of the rabbinic interpretation taken from Lev. 24:20, which says, "wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth: As he maimed a man, so shall it be given [*yitēn*] to him." S. read the second clause in the verse as a question: "As he maimed a man, should the same be given to him?" The implied answer is "Certainly not; instead he should make financial restitution." S.'s logical argument was a form of *reductio ad absurdum.* Suppose one man, A, injures another man, B, and that B loses one-third of his vision. According to the literal meaning, the court would be obligated either to put out A's eye or do nothing at all to him. However, in neither case would the decision be just. In the first case, A would lose all of his sight and not just a third; in the second case nothing would happen to A at all. The situation would be worse in other similar cases where the injured party would have been burned or wounded but lived, and the attempt to render equal punishment would result in the unjust death of the injurer.

The principle underlying S.'s reading of the biblical text is made explicit in *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions,* in which he argues that God makes God's truth known to humankind through both reason and revelation. Because God is one, God's will is one. Since God's will is one, there can be only one truth. Therefore, in principle there can be no contradiction between the correct use of reason and the true meaning of the Torah, which is the record of God's revelation. Consequently, if an interpretation of Scripture contradicts the correct use of reason, that interpretation must be wrong.

In this way S. introduced the pure use of logic as a valid tool for interpreting Scripture. The critical premise in S.'s argument for the use of reason in determining the meaning of Scripture was that Scripture is of divine origin; therefore, whatever Scripture says must be true. Thus any interpretation that is not true could not be what Scripture says. There would be no serious doubt about the use of this method until the seventeenth century, when B. SPINOZA (1632–77) argued in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* that the Torah was written by human beings.

Works: *Sifrei R. Saadia Gaon* (ed. J. Derenbourg and M. Lambert (1849–93), Arabic tr. of and commentary on the Bible

in the Polyglot Bibles of Constantinople (1546), Paris (1645), London (1657), and Yemen (1894–1901); *Kitab Al-Amant Wa-li-ṭaqada* (Hebrew tr. by Judah Ibn Tibbon); *Emunot VeDe'ot* (1864; ET by S. Rosenblatt, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions* [1948]; ET of selections by A. Altmann in *The Book of Doctrines and Beliefs* [1969]).

Bibliography: **E. L. Greenstein,** "Medieval Bible Commentaries," *Back to the Sources: Reading the Classic Jewish Texts* (ed. B. W. Holtz, 1984) 213-60. **H. Malter,** *S. Gaon: His Life and Works* (1921). **S. Munk,** *Notice sur R. S. Gaeon* (1838). **E. I. J. Rosenthal,** *S. Studies in Commemoration of the One Thousandth Anniversary of the Death of S. Gaon* (1943); "Medieval Jewish Exegesis: Its Character and Significance," *JJS* 9 (1964) 265-81. **S. Schechter,** *Saadyana: Genizah Fragments of Writings of R. S. Gaon and Others* (1903). **S. L. Skoss,** *S. Gaon: The Earliest Hebrew Grammarian* (1955).

N. SAMUELSON

SAMUEL BEN MEIR (RASHBAM) (c. 1080–c. 1174)

S. was born and died at Ramerupt, in the Champagne region of France. He was the grandson and pupil of RASHI, and like his grandfather commented on the TALMUD and the Bible. Of his biblical exegesis only the commentary on the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) has survived (minus the material on Genesis 2–17). One unique handwritten copy, buried for centuries in a library, was discovered and printed in 1705 in Berlin. Some scholars also attribute an anonymous medieval commentary on Ecclesiastes to S.

The Renaissance of the twelfth century and Judeo-Christian religious controversy formed the historical background of S.'s biblical exegesis. Developing the tendency initiated by Rashi, he emphasized literal exegesis even more strongly; many of his commentaries seem to be a literal backlash to Rashi's midrashic exegesis. He several times affirmed the primacy of MIDRASH since it dictated Jewish religious conduct, but he recognized the right of the new generation to a free literal exegesis—the *peshat.* He proposed a differentiation of method between Midrash and *peshat* (on Gen 1:1; 37:2), indicating several times that he explained the Bible according to *derekh erez.* In the ancient rabbinical texts *derekh erez* signifies habitual human conduct, and S. enlarged this to include the idea of the common laws of nature, corresponding to the *secundum physicam* of THIERRY OF CHARTRES.

S. had an acute sense of LITERARY criticism. He was one of the first to discover the rule of parallelism in biblical poetry (on Exod 15:6). He also extensively exploited the rule of "premises": Often the biblical author furnishes apparently superfluous details, but they are revealed as important for the elucidation of other texts. He sought to explain the Bible by the Bible, without reference—philological or otherwise—to ancient rabbinical texts.

S. knew the Latin version of the Pentateuch and rejected its translation of Exod 20:13. Several of his comments are explicitly proposed as responses to Christian interpretations; this appears very clearly in his comments on legal texts. Even implicitly his comments often seem to reject christological interpretations, as when he writes that *rûaḥ 'elōhîm* (Gen 1:2) is the natural wind—i.e., not the Holy Spirit.

Works: *Commentarium Quem in Pentateuchem Composuit S. ben Meir* (ed., D. Rossin, 1882); *The Commentary of R. S. ben Meir Rashbam on Qoheleth* (ed. and tr. S. Japhet and R. B. Salters, 1985).

Bibliography: **S. Japhet and R. B. Salters** (eds.), "Rashbam: His Life and Works," *The Commentary of R. S. ben Meir Rashbam on Qoheleth* (1985) 11-17. **S. A. Poznanski,** *Kommentar zu Esechiel und den XII Kleinen Propheten von Eliezer aus Beaugency* (1913) XXXIX-LI. **D. Rosin,** *R. S. b. Meier (Rashbam) als Schriftkerklärer* (1880). **E. Touitou,** "Concerning the Methodology of R. S. b. Meir in His Commentary to the Pentateuch," *Tarbiz* 48 (1978–79) 248-73 (Hebrew); "Rashbam's Exegetical Method Against the Background of His Times," *Studies in Rabbinic Literature, Bible, and Jewish History* (E. Z. Melamed Jubilee Volume, 1982) 48-72 (Hebrew).

E. TOUITOU

SAMUEL, BOOKS OF

1. Pre-modern Interpretations. Originally, there was one book called Samuel. The SEPTUAGINT divided both it and the book of Kings into two, creating four books of "Kingdoms." The VULGATE followed this designation, but the division did not enter into manuscripts of HBs until 1488 and not into printed editions until D. BOMBERG'S RABBINIC BIBLE of 1516/17. The Babylonian TALMUD (*b. B. Bat.* 14b) ascribed the authorship of this one book to Samuel; 1 Chr 29:29 attributes authorship to Samuel, Gad, and Nathan. This view of authorship was widely called into question in the eighteenth century.

The NT cites a number of passages from the books of Samuel (1 Sam 12:22; 2 Sam 5:2; 7:8, 14; 22:3, 50), in addition to many other allusions to the text. Among the Greek fathers, commentaries and/or sermons were written by ORIGEN, CHRYSOSTOM, THEODORET, and Pseudo-Gregory the Great. AMBROSE wrote an apology dealing with David's relationship to Bathsheba and Uriah, while Charlemagne's identification of himself with King David gave new popularity to the books of Samuel and Kings. An anonymous and widely used commentary on the Vulgate, *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Libros Regum* (9th cent.), was falsely attributed to JEROME in the eleventh century. The author of this commentary was probably brought up as a Jew but had converted to Christianity. Pseudo-Jerome rejects the standard Christian interpretation of 1 Sam 13:1 (Ish-

bosheth was one year old when Saul began his reign, and he reigned over Israel for two years after Saul's death) and then cites the standard Jewish interpretation: Saul began his reign when he was as innocent as a year-old infant and continued in that state for two years. This commentary was used by RABANUS MAURUS in the ninth century and by ANDREW OF ST. VICTOR and S. LANGTON in the twelfth century.

During the Renaissance and the Reformation NICHOLAS OF LYRA and T. CAJETAN wrote commentaries, and CALVIN authored a series of sermons on 1 Samuel. J. Bugenhagen (1485–1558), LUTHER's pastor and a theologian in his own right, published a commentary on Samuel in 1524. In the seventeenth century there were commentaries by Sanctius, I. Menochius (1575–1655), Malvenda, and C. à LAPIDE, all Roman Catholic, as well as by E. Schmid, a Protestant. H. GROTIUS also commented on Samuel in his *Annotate ad Vetus Testamentum* (1644).

2. Modern Interpretations. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have seen vigorous critical study of the book that can be summarized under six major categories.

a. The text of Samuel. The MT of Samuel seems to have been severely damaged by *homoioteleuton* and other similar mistakes in antiquity. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, O. Thenius (1842; ET 1898), J. WELLHAUSEN (1871), and S. DRIVER (1913) attempted to improve the text, relying primarily on evidence from the Septuagint. When it was discovered that the DEAD SEA SCROLLS often preserved Hebrew readings that previously had only been conjectured on the basis of the Greek (F. M. Cross [1973]), TEXTUAL critics collated the Qumran texts with the MT and studied the Septuagint with renewed seriousness. Several commentaries and monographs have advanced the discussion significantly on the basis of the Qumran scrolls and the Septuagint (P. McCarter [1980–84]; R. Klein [1983]; E. Ulrich [1978]).

Within the Greek manuscript tradition, textual critics now distinguish between the OG, a second-century BCE translation made in Egypt on the basis of a Hebrew text; the proto-Lucianic recension, a revision of the OG toward the Hebrew text as preserved in Palestine in the first-century BCE; and the *kaige* recension, a first-century CE revision of the Greek on the basis of a Hebrew text very close to the MT. The *kaige* has now replaced the OG in standard copies of the LXX for 2 Sam 10:1–24:25.

b. Source criticism. During the nineteenth century the influence of PENTATEUCHAL studies and the search for continuous sources extended to the books of Samuel. C. GRAMBERG detected two sources, Ra and Rb; Thenius increased these to five. Wellhausen described the two sources in the story of Saul's rise to power as pro-monarchical and anti-monarchical. The pro-monarchical source (1 Sam 9:1–10:16, early joined to 11:1-11, 15 and chaps. 13–14) portrayed kingship as the high point of Israel's history and the greatest blessing of Yahweh, while for the writer of the postexilic anti-monarchical source (1 Sam 7:1–8:22; 10:17-27; 12:1-25, with 11:13-14 serving as a bridge between the two sources), the request for a king was sinful, and Israel was conceived as a theocracy. In his 1902 commentary *Die Bucher Samuel erklärt,* K. BUDDE placed these sources in an earlier period and attributed them to the sanctuaries of Gilgal and Mizpah. The pro-monarchical source he considered J (Yahwist); the anti-monarchical, E (Elohist). R. SMEND and O. EISSFELDT (1966) traced the L (*Laienquelle*, or lay source), J, and E sources throughout Samuel. In last decades of the twentieth century, this search for sources continuing (or similar to) the Pentateuchal sources has been eclipsed by other concerns, although a source-critical interpretation was revived by B. Halpern (1981, 171).

c. Pre-deuteronomistic documents. H. GRESSMANN raised doubts about the existence of extended sources running throughout the books of Samuel (see the ET of his article in D. Gunn [1991]). Subsequently, other scholars have identified coherent pre-canonical documents dealing with specific issues, written for one situation but given a new interpretation by inclusion in the structure of the books we call 1 and 2 Samuel. Contemporary scholarship has sought to determine the original limits of these documents, their date, and their original intention, although some scholars would deny that such sources can be easily isolated from the final Dtr forms of one material (see R. Carlson [1964]).

i. Samuel at Shiloh. These materials, while not as unified as some of the other pre-canonical documents discussed below, antedate the composition of the DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY. They consist of an account of Samuel's marvelous birth (chap. 1), the sins of the sons of Eli (chap. 2), and the vocation of Samuel (chap. 3). The Song of Hannah (2:1-10) was originally a poem sung after a national military victory before it was ascribed to Hannah and is later echoed in Mary's song in Luke 2:46-55. Deuteronomistic notices have been added in 2:27-36 and 3:11-14. It is difficult to determine the function of most of this material outside of its present context, although McCarter considers chapter 1 an original part of the Saul cycle because of the pun in v. 20 and attributes large portions of chap. 2 to the ark narrative.

ii. The ark narrative. L. Rost (1926; ET 1982) identified an ark narrative in 1 Sam 4:1*b*–7:1 and in 2 Samuel 6 that described the loss of the ark to the Philistines, the havoc it caused when deposited in Dagon's temple, its restoration to Israel, and its eventual procession to and deposit in Jerusalem. He thought this narrative was a cultic myth for the Jerusalem Temple written by a priest active in the reign of David or

Solomon. A. Campbell (1975) accepted the identification of the limits for this document proposed by Rost, although he believed that its central theological idea was a reflection on the end of the pre-monarchical epoch. P. Miller and J. Roberts (1977), followed in large part by McCarter, believe that the ark narrative did not originally include 2 Samuel 6 (note the tension between Kiriath-jearim in 1 Sam 7:1 and Baale-Judah in 2 Sam 6:2) but that it did include portions of 1 Samuel 2 (vv. 12-17, 22-25; possibly vv. 27-36). In this understanding the narrative shows that God's displeasure with the priests of Shiloh led to the defeat at Ebenezer but also reaffirms Yahweh's power in a time of apparent defeat. The God of Israel does not go into eclipse with God's people but uses their calamities as a foil for God's mightiest acts. These scholars date the ark narrative to an early period in David's reign before his defeat of the Philistines. During the exilic period this narrative showed what God could do with the broken community of Israel (R. Gordon [1984]).

iii. The rise of Saul. The story of Saul's search for the lost asses of his father, Kish, which leads to his anointing as "prince" (*nāgîd*) by Samuel (1 Sam 9:1–10:16), comes, at least in large part, from early tradition, while the reports of his judge-like victory over the Ammonites and his deliverance of Jabesh-gilead in 1 Sam 10:27*b*–11:15 describe an alternative route by which he became king. The other parts of chaps. 7–12 may have undergone deuteronomistic editing (see below), but the underlying stories of prophetic denunciation of royal self-aggrandizement (1 Sam 8:11-18) or of Saul's being chosen by lot or because of his stature (1 Sam 10:17-27) also have the ring of primary traditions. I. Mendelsohn (1956) dated the prophetic denunciation to Samuel's own time, whereas F. Crüsemann (1978) located it in the early monarchical period. While chap. 12 is clearly a deuteronomistic editorial speech (see below), D. McCarthy (1978) and others have detected older traditions lying within and behind the present text. Anecdotes from Saul's Philistine wars are preserved in 13:2-7*a*, 15*b*-23; 14:1-46.

iv. History of David's rise. The history of David's rise has also been considered an independent document and extends, in one common understanding, from 1 Sam 16:14 to 2 Sam 5:10. McCarter dates this document to the time of David and proposes that it testifies to the legitimacy of David as Saul's successor and attempts to allay the fears of the tribe of Benjamin, which was suspicious of this new king (cf. the Shimei incident and Sheba's revolt). The dynastic idea, which developed under Solomon, is not yet present. McCarter cites the Hittite *Apology of Hattushilish,* which sought to legitimize the rule of a king who had usurped the power of his predecessor. T. Mettinger (1976) dates this document to the period after Solomon's death when the king in Jerusalem tried to assert control over all Israel after the breakup of the national unity that had existed during the time of David and Solomon. J. Grønbaek (1971) locates it in the era of Baasha of the northern kingdom. Both Mettinger and Grønbaek believe that it begins with 1 Sam 15:1, while Mettinger and A. Weiser (1966) include parts of 2 Samuel 6–7.

v. The succession narrative. This document, commonly identified as 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2, recounts the court history of David and of Solomon's ascension to the throne despite the fact that Adonijah was older than he. Rost also included in this account 2 Sam 6:16, 20-23; 7:11*b*, and 16 and dated it to the time of Solomon. McCarter considers only 1 Kings 1–2 as a succession narrative, attributing parts of 2 Samuel 9–20 to other documents from the time of David (the story of Absalom's revolt in 2 Samuel 13–20, the revenge of the Gibeonites in 2 Sam 21:1-14, and David's patronage of Meribbaal in 2 Sam 9:1-13). E. Würthwein (1974), T. Veijola (1975, 1977), and F. Langamet (1981) believe that the materials favorable to Solomon are secondary and that the document was originally critical of Solomon. J. Van Seters (1983) places this material very late and sees it as an anti-messianic insertion.

vi. The appendix in 2 Samuel 21–24. The diverse materials in these chapters have often received inadequate attention or have been dismissed as miscellaneous accretions to the end of the books of Samuel. Recent studies have called attention to the significant and orderly arrangement of these chapters:

21:1-14 famine story
  21:15-22 warrior exploits
    22:1-51 psalm dealing with mighty acts of God for and through David
    23:1-7 oracle about enduring dynasty
  23:8-39 warrior exploits and warrior list
24:1-25 plague story

The psalm in 2 Samuel 22 (cf. Psalm 18) celebrates divine deliverance, contrasting with accounts of human weakness in the lists of warrior exploits that precede and follow it. According to this psalm David was blameless, while 2 Sam 23:1-7 reports the everlasting covenant God made with him and his dynasty.

d. A prophetic redaction. A number of scholars (Weiser; B. Birch [1976]; McCarter) detect a redactional layer within the books of Samuel that gave the stories a prophetic interpretation before their inclusion in the deuteronomistic history. According to McCarter this eighth-century prophetic history viewed the advent of kingship as a concession to the wanton demands of the people. This northern writer, prepared to acknowledge the legitimacy of David, also felt that kings should be subject to the instruction of a prophet (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). Birch ascribes the following passages dealing with Saul to prophetic circles writing after

the fall of the northern kingdom: 1 Sam 9:15-17, 20-21, 27–10:1, 5-8, 16*b*; 10:17-19, 25; 11:12-14; 12:1-5; 13:7*b*-15; 15:1-35. He also argues that the contribution of this redactor was more important than that of the deuteronomistic historian.

e. The deuteronomistic history. In 1943 M. NOTH portrayed Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings as part of a deuteronomistic history written in Judah after 562 BCE (the last date mentioned in 2 Kgs 25:27) and before the return from the Babylonian exile in 538 BCE. According to him this document attempted to justify to the exilic generation the destruction of the northern and the southern kingdoms. Israel had sought after other gods and had not held to the ideal of one central sanctuary, despite frequent warnings by the prophets.

Noth and most subsequent commentators have found fewer deuteronomistic comments in Samuel than elsewhere in the deuteronomistic history (Veijola is an exception). The date and unity of this redaction as well as its purpose are now understood quite differently from Noth's original proposal.

Cross identified a preexilic deuteronomistic redaction (Dtr^1), completed before the death of Josiah. The writer of this document called the remnants of the northern kingdom to return to Judah and to Yahweh's sole legitimate shrine in Jerusalem and extended the claims of the Davidic monarchy to all Israel. The final form of the deuteronomistic history was completed in mid-exile (Dtr^2; for details see R. Nelson [1981]). The Göttingen school (Smend; W. Dietrich [1972]; and Veijola) has detected three layers of redaction in this history, ascribing all of them to the time of the exile: A prophetic redaction (DtrP) added certain prophetic emphases to the original history (DtrG or DtrH). A final, nomistic redaction (DtrN) stressed compliance with the requirements of the Mosaic law.

In the last decades of the twentieth century, almost all studies have differed from Noth in finding positive elements in Dtr. H. W. WOLFF (1975) thought that Dtr meant to challenge its audience to repent and so experience Yahweh's favor anew. The repentance initiated by Samuel in 1 Sam 7:3 led to defeat of the Philistines, whereas the confession of sins in 1 Sam 12:19 persuaded Samuel to promise that God would not abandon the people and that he, Samuel, would continue to pray for them. Cross believed Dtr^1 celebrated the promises to David in addition to its judgment on the sin of Jeroboam. For him Dtr^1 was a propaganda document for the Josianic reform. Although G. von RAD probably erred in attributing almost a messianic significance to the release of Jehoiachin, many other scholars see this release as a signal that the promise to David was still alive as far as the deuteronomistic historian was concerned.

Samuel's farewell speech in 1 Samuel 12 and the oracle of Nathan and David's response in 2 Samuel 7 serve as indicators of the historian's own point of view, even if one or both of these chapters may have existed prior to their incorporation in Dtr. In 1 Samuel 12 Samuel shows that he and Yahweh are innocent, while the request for a king is categorized as a failure to look to Yahweh for help in time of need. Still, life under a king could have been blessed if Israel's conduct had been obedient. The righteousness of Yahweh could thus adjust itself to the new condition of monarchy. Yahweh would also show the divine righteousness by sending prophets like Samuel to pray and teach. The threat in the final verse of this chapter had no doubt become reality by the time the deuteronomistic historian wrote, "If, however, you persist in acting wickedly, both you and your king will be swept away."

The final forms of the oracle of Nathan (2 Sam 7:1-17) and of David's prayer (2 Sam 7:18-29) provide another great deuteronomistic interpretation, whatever role earlier versions of this chapter may have played (see McCarter, 224-31, who finds a primitive document from the court of Solomon in vv. 1*a*, 2-3, 11*b*-12, and 13-15*a*; a prophetic editing in vv. 4-9*a* and v. 15*b*; and a deuteronomistic redaction in vv. 1*b*, 9*b*-11*a*, 13*a*, and 16). The dynastic promise to David is frequently referred to throughout the rest of Samuel and the books of Kings (e.g., 1 Kgs 11:34-36); it is also anticipated in passages contained in the history of David's rise (e.g., 1 Sam 24:20; 25:28). Yahweh established a permanent sacred site for the Israelites in order to give them rest. With the establishment of the monarchy also came the erection of the Temple. The themes of kingship and Temple persist until the end of the deuteronomistic history.

f. A literary reading of the books of Samuel. The methods summarized in sections a-e are primarily diachronic attempts to interpret the text of 1–2 Samuel either through its prehistory (sources or identifiable pre-deuteronomistic documents), through one or more redactions (prophetic and/or deuteronomistic), or through recovering a superior text from one damaged by haplography and other vicissitudes of textual transmission. Many later studies of Samuel, however, have focused more on the present shape of the MT and on NARRATIVE method. Some of these provide a synchronic reading of the text; other readings have attempted to blend modern LITERARY analysis with diachronic observations. D. Damrosch (1987), for example, argues for the mutually beneficial interplay of historical and literary study and even hopes to integrate comparative, text-historical, and literary study. McCarter, by way of contrast, divided his discussion of the Goliath story into two sections: (a) 17:1-11, 32-40, 42-48*a*, 49, 51-54 and (b) 17:12-31, 41, 48*b*, 50, 55-58; 18:1-5, 10-11, 17-19, 29*b*-30. The second section (b) is lacking in Codex Vaticanus and is interpreted by McCarter as an alternative account of David's arrival and early days in court,

which has been interpolated into the primitive narrative. He considers it excursus material. Damrosch argues that the second section (b) is in fact older and once served as a structuring device for the pre-deuteronomistic version of the history of David's rise. When the deuteronomistic historian constructed a new story (a), he had two choices, both of which he tried: He threw out the old story, putting only (a) in the text (cf. the text presumed by LXX), and he inserted his new story (a) into the old (b), resulting in the MT. Damrosch bases these conjectures on sensitive literary analysis of the narrative.

The great variety of modern literary-critical or structuralist readings (see STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION) of Samuel cannot be described in the space here provided (see the review article by R. Polzin [1989] dealing with biblical studies and the humanities). The studies on Samuel by C. Conroy (1978), J. Fokkelman (1986), Gunn (1991), J. Jackson (1965), B. Long (1981), Polzin (1989), and J. Rosenberg (1987) illustrate these approaches. In addition FEMINIST literary biblical scholars have sought to reveal how issues of gender affect the interpretation of the text (see A. Brenner [1994]).

Synchronic and diachronic approaches have made great advances in the understanding of the books of Samuel. While some scholars have stressed one or more methods to the virtual exclusion of the others, there is an increasing awareness that both approaches, with all their sub-disciplines, need to be used in creative tension as the history of the interpretation of the books of Samuel moves on into the twenty-first century.

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R. W. KLEIN

SANCTA MATER ECCLESIA

This document, also called "Instructio de historica evangeliorum veritate" (Instruction on the Historical Truth of the Gospels), was issued by the Biblical Commission of the Roman Catholic Church on Apr. 21, 1964. In it the commission issued directives about the proper understanding of the Gospels for (a) exegetes, (b) professors of Scripture in seminaries, (c) preachers, (d) those who publish for the faithful, and (e) directors of biblical associations.

The important affirmations of the Instruction are found in the directives for exegetes (pars. IV-XI), who are counseled to use all norms of "rational" and "Catholic" HERMENEUTICS, i.e., norms of LITERARY and historical criticism that guide any interpretation of ancient documents, but also Roman Catholic norms (that the Bible is a collection of inspired writings containing divine revelation, and that it is intended for the spiritual upbuilding of God's people). Particularly recommended are the study of the "literary forms" the evangelist has used and the "reasonable elements" of form-critical study (see FORM CRITICISM) of the Gospels.

In addition, the commission insisted that Gospel interpreters must distinguish three stages of the gospel tradition: (1) What Jesus did and said or what his chosen disciples saw and heard. (2) What the apostles preached as they "faithfully explained his life and words" and accommodated their message to their audiences, aided by post-resurrection faith, which did not deform their impression of him or transform him into some "mythical" person. (3) What the evangelists recorded about Jesus, each with an individual literary purpose, as they selected material from the foregoing stages, synthesized it, explicated it, and suited it to the needs of their Christian audiences.

The commission thus stressed that "from the results of new investigations it is apparent that the doctrine and life of Jesus were not simply reported for the sole purpose of being remembered but were 'preached' so as to offer the church a basis of faith and morals" (par. X). In this way, the Instruction undercuts any tendency to fundamentalistic literalness that might equate stage 3 with stage 1.

This Instruction was summarized in the Dogmatic Constitution of Vatican Council II, *Dei verbum* 19, which begins with *Sancta Mater Ecclesia,* leaving no doubt about its source.

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J. A. FITZMYER

SANDAY, WILLIAM (1843–1920)

S. was educated at Repton and Balliol College, Oxford. Following ordination he was elected a fellow of Trinity College (1866) and served in several churches administered by the college. Principal of Hatfield Hall in Durham (1876–83), he became Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis at Oxford, where he was an influential presence in the university. By 1895 he was Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity and chair of the seminar on the relationship among the SYNOPTIC Gospels, which began its discussions in 1894; he subsequently edited *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (1911). Perhaps the surest index of the seminar's deep influence is that three of its principal members were W. Allen, J. HAWKINS, and B. STREETER.

S. was no mere organizer, however; he formulated his own opinions and encouraged others in the seminar to do the same (*Studies* [1911] viii, xxvi, xxvii). In 1872 he had indicated his provisional acceptance of H. HOLTZMANN's theory of the priority of Mark and the use of another source in Matthew and Luke (essay on John's Gospel, ix). In the seminar he emerged as a doughty defender of the two document hypothesis (xi, xii, 3), opposing the view that the form of Mark known to Luke was an earlier version of the Gospel (x, xi, xv, 3, 21). Although he disagreed with Hawkins's appeal to oral tradition to account for variants from Mark in Luke's account of the passion (xiii, xiv), he sided with Hawkins in the description of Q as an actual document (1911, xiv, xv, xix, xx, 3).

S.'s position is represented not only in his adjudication among competing theories of synoptic development but also in his essay on the conditions under which the Gospels were written (*Studies,* 1-26). In a brief prolegomenon (3-5) he explained the challenge: to develop a theory that accounts for both resemblances and variations among the Synoptics. He pointed out that the strength of a documentary theory is that it accounts for agreements; the strength of an oral theory, that it accounts for differences (5); and that the differences found in the Synoptics are of a kind that could be accounted for by oral transmission. Nonetheless, S. operated under the hypothesis (and only that) of Markan priority and literary dependence among the synoptic Gospels; the program of his article (and of his seminar generally) was to test and refine that assumption. Notably, neither he nor any of his colleagues appear to have speculated on the shape a comprehensive oral theory might take.

S. described what he called the "psychological" and "external" conditions under which the evangelists functioned, including under "psychological conditions" their intentions (see PSYCHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES). He described the evangelists as historians rather than copyists (*Studies,* 12): They intended to render their essentially reliable sources faithfully and, in part, their aim was homiletic (13-16). The outstanding feature of S.'s approach is its synthesis of disparate elements. He was, therefore, no mere conduit of Holtzmann's hypothesis but a careful and creative recipient who considered

technical data within a horizon of historical probabilities. He established such an engagement with German scholarship that after him responsible NT scholarship in English had to be international in scope in order to be taken seriously.

A. Souter's bibliography (1921) suggests the breadth of S.'s concerns. He wrote on John's Gospel (1892), arguing vehemently for JOHANNINE authorship, but later, using an inductive approach, justified Johannine authorship only as an inference (Morse lectures at Union Seminary [1905] 248). This inductive approach also characterized his collaboration with A. Headlam in their classic commentary on Romans (1895). S. was no less concerned with the speculative, offering a psychological account of christology. He also acknowledged his fascination with miracle (1920, 60), concluding that "the element of the abnormal" was introduced into accounts of miracles, "not so much in the facts as *in the telling*" (75). Although willing to use the term *miracle* in reference to spiritual power (65-66), S. openly called himself a modernist (67). In both the agenda of his career and the mix of the authoritative and the unorthodox in his results, S. stands as a paradigm of British biblical scholarship in the twentieth century.

Works: *The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel Considered in Reference to the Contents of the Gospel Itself: A Critical Essay* (1872); (with A. C. Headlam), *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC, 1895); *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel: Eight Lectures on the Morse Foundation, Delivered in the Union Seminary, New York, in October and November 1904* (1905); "The Conditions Under Which the Gospels Were Written, in Their Bearing upon Some Difficulties of the Synoptic Problem," *Studies in the Synoptic Problem: By Members of The University of Oxford* (ed. W. Sanday, with intro., 1911) 1-26; *Personality in Christ and in Ourselves* (1911); "On the Nature of Miracle," *Divine Overruling* (1920) 53-81.

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B. CHILTON

SANDERS, JAMES A. (1927–)

Born and reared in Memphis, Tennessee, S. received a BA in Romance languages and philosophy from Vanderbilt in 1948. He went on to Vanderbilt Divinity School, where he was encouraged in biblical studies by J. P. HYATT. S. was ordained in the Presbyterian Church and received a BD with distinction from Vanderbilt Divinity School in 1951, just after finishing one year of study of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS and the NT with A. Dupont-Sommer and O. CULLMANN in Paris on a Fulbright grant (1950–51). Intending to go on to Yale to study NT, S. followed Hyatt's advice to study Jewish backgrounds to NT at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. What was intended to be one year of preparation turned into a full doctoral program, and he earned a PhD at HUC with a dissertation written under the direction of S. SANDMEL, "Suffering as Divine Discipline in the OT and Post-biblical Judaism."

While teaching at Colgate Rochester Divinity School (1954–65), S. was called upon to unroll and publish the Psalms scroll from cave 11 at Qumran. Moving to Union Theological Seminary in New York (1965–77), he began publishing increasingly on textual history, canonical HERMENEUTICS, and the interface between the two, including his *Torah and Canon* (1972) and several essays collected in *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text* (1987). In addition, he joined the Hebrew OT Text Project in 1969 and began a decades-long research and writing collaboration with D. Barthélemy of Fribourg, Switzerland. In 1977 S. moved on to a dual position at the School of Theology at Claremont and Claremont Graduate School, where he taught until his retirement in 1997. A central focus for him throughout the Claremont years was the co-founding and nurture of the Ancient Biblical Manuscripts Center, a repository of microfilms of biblical manuscripts, Dead Sea Scrolls, and related texts.

Throughout his career S. has resolutely refused to be confined in typical disciplinary boxes, focusing in particular on trajectories of textual development and interpretation extending from the "First Testament" (as he has come to call the HB) through Second Temple Jewish writings to the "Second Testament." Where other streams of canonical studies in the United States have tended to stress the shape and final redaction of the CANON (e.g., B. Childs), S. has been just as interested in what he terms the "canonical process"—that is, the ways in which communities of faith use Scripture to inform their lives.

Out of his study of this process, S. has argued that the Christian Bible is a magnificent joining of different communities' attempts to pursue "God's ontological and ethical oneness" in opposition to various forms of contemporary polytheism and complacency. When one takes the Bible's parts separately, one misses the majesty of the whole. When one focuses on biblical texts to the exclusion of the multiple communities who formed them, one risks turning Scripture into an idol. But when one attends to how biblical traditions are the product of an intensely intertextual process (see INTERTEXTUALITY) of discernment of a God far beyond any textual representation, one begins to perceive what it means to call a text "biblical."

Works: *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11. 11 Q Psa* (DJD 4, 1965); *Torah and Canon* (1972); *Canon and Community: A Guide to Canonical Criticism* (1984); *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text: Canon as Paradigm* (1987).

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D. M. CARR

SANDMEL, SAMUEL (1911–79)

A Jewish specialist in NT, S. published more than 200 essays and twenty books on the interrelationship of Judaism and Christianity in both the Hellenistic and modern worlds, with particular focus on PHILO and PAUL. He served as president of the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE (1961) and general editor of the *New English Bible with Apocrypha: Oxford Study Edition* (1976).

Born in Dayton, Ohio, S. received his BA from the University of Missouri (1932) and rabbinical ordination from Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati (1937). Following a Hillel directorship at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill and four years as a Navy chaplain, he earned a PhD from Yale (1949). He served on the faculties of Vanderbilt University (1949–52), Hebrew Union College (1952–79), and the University of Chicago's Divinity School.

In the late 1930s B. H. Branscomb of Duke University prevailed on S. to enter NT rather than HB study, and E. GOODENOUGH at Yale opened vistas of Greek religion and Hellenistic Judaism. During these years S. assessed many treatments of Philo, Paul, and early Christianity as deficient because scholars had underestimated the degree of dissimilarity between diaspora and Palestinian Judaism. When in the late 1960s and 1970s many scholars virtually homogenized diaspora and Palestinian Judaism, construing the latter as a product of the Hellenism characteristic of the general Mediterranean world, S. urged that Hellenism's penetration of Palestine be resolved into three categories of possible influence: language only; Greek ways of living; and Greek modes of thought (the content of Greek philosophy and religion). He concluded that, despite undeniable evidence of some Hellenistic overtones, Hellenism's permeation of Palestine was hardly thoroughgoing, especially compared to its thorough penetration of diaspora Judaism (detailed in S.'s Philonic studies). He became critical of scholars using Palestinian and Babylonian rabbinic literature as a primary tool in studying such Hellenistic figures as Philo or Paul and was troubled by "parallelomania" (the indiscriminate heaping up of seemingly parallel texts culled from fundamentally unrelated corpora of literature).

More than any Jewish predecessor, S. succeeded in persuading fellow Jews that NT study was a legitimate and vital field for Jewish endeavor. He was instrumental as well in facilitating and accelerating progress in Jewish-Christian discourse in both national and international arenas from the 1950s onward.

Works: *A Jewish Understanding of the NT* (1956); *Philo's Place in Judaism* (1956); *The Genius of Paul: A Study in History* (1958); "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962) 1-13; *We Jews and Jesus* (1969); *The First Christian Century in Judaism and Christianity: Certainties and Uncertainties* (1969); *Two Living Traditions: Essays on Religion and the Bible* (1972); *Anti-Semitism in the NT?* (1978); "Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism and Christianity: The Question of the Comfortable Theory," *HUCA* 50 (1979) 137-48; *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* (1979).

Bibliography: **R. M. Grant, J. Smith, and M. Marty,** *Criterion* 19 (1980) 27-31. **F. E. Greenspahn, E. Hilgeret, and B. L. Mack** (eds.), *Nourished with Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of S. S.* (1984) x-14, 51-52, 117-18, 213-37.

M. J. COOK

SARNA, NAHUM (1923–)

S. was born Mar. 27, 1923, in London, into a traditional Jewish Zionist family. He was educated broadly in Jewish Studies at University College London (BA 1944; MA 1946) and Jews' College (Minister's Diploma 1947). In 1949 he traveled to Israel to continue his studies; however, postwar conditions there did not allow him to pursue the PhD, so he came to the United States, where he completed his PhD at Dropsie College in 1955. Influenced by the writings of Y. KAUFMANN, his interests had shifted from rabbinics to biblical studies and Semitics.

S. taught briefly at University College, London, then at Gratz College in Philadelphia (1951–57). He spent most of his career at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York (1957–63 as librarian; 1963–65 as associate professor of Bible) and at Brandeis University in the department of Near Eastern and Judaic studies as Dora Golding Professor of Biblical Studies (1965–85). He was involved in the training of many leading scholars, including M. Fishbane, C. Meyers, S. Paul, L. Schiffman, and J. Tigay. After his retirement from Brandeis he held several visiting professorships and served as academic consultant at the Jewish Publication Society, where he initiated and edited the JPS Torah commentary, to which he contributed *Genesis* (1989) and *Exodus* (1991).

A love of literature, a deep understanding of Jewish civilization, and a firm knowledge of the languages and civilizations of the ancient Near East—interests S. developed in London and at Dropsie—have continued to inform his biblical scholarship. His work is extremely wide-ranging: He served as a departmental editor for *EncJud.* His early work, influenced by C. Gordon of Dropsie, dealt with various ways Ugaritic texts (see UGARIT AND THE BIBLE) clarify the meaning of biblical passages. At the Jewish Theological Seminary, he began to engage in scholarly projects that were connected to the needs of the Jewish community, including *Understanding Genesis* (1966) and various studies on Psalms. This "Jewish" focus continued with several studies on medieval Jewish interpretation (see esp. "Hebrew and Bible Studies in Medieval Spain" [1971]) and its use for contemporary critical scholarship, and various works that use rabbinic texts to shed light on the process of canonization (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) and text-critical issues (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM). He also served on the JPS Kethubim (Writings) Translation Committee along with M. GREENBERG and J. Greenfield. Yet, S.'s work is not parochial or centered on specifically Jewish interests; he was also commissioned to write the general articles on the HB for the fifteenth edition of the *EncBrit* and for M. Eliade's *EncRel.*

His study of Psalms culminated in the 1993 volume *Songs of the Heart: An Introduction to the Book of Psalms* (repr. as *On the Book of Psalms*). This book typifies his methodology: It shows extreme literary sensitivity, is full of philological insights based on Semitic languages and medieval Jewish interpretation, and balances an interest in the meaning of words and of the psalm as a whole. It is somewhat conservative, emphasizing the canonical text and largely ignoring FORM CRITICISM and other perspectives S. feels to be more conjectural. These features characterize much of his work, including *Exploring Exodus* (1986) and his two JPS Torah commentaries. These all play down source criticism, emphasizing holistic readings instead, and take a relatively conservative view on the historicity of biblical accounts, in which S. is influenced by the works of Kaufmann and W. F. ALBRIGHT.

A most significant scholarly writing is S.'s 1963 article "Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis," which shows how the biblical and rabbinic corpora are similar in that later biblical texts may use rabbinic-like midrashic techniques in expositing earlier biblical texts. This article is one of the earliest and most influential for the field that later developed into INNER-BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION or MIDRASH, a field that S. has continued to develop in other studies and that some of his students have promoted and advanced.

Works: "Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis," *Biblical and Other Studies* (P. W. Lown Institute of Advanced Judaic Studies 1, ed. A. Altmann, 1963) 29-46; *Understanding Genesis* (HBI 1, 1966); "Hebrew and Biblical Studies in Medieval Spain," *The Shephardi Heritage* (ed. R. D. Barnett, 1971) 323-66; (tr. with M. Greenberg and J. Greenfield), *The Writings (Kethubim)* (1982); *Exploring Exodus: The Heritage of Biblical Israel* (1986); *Ancient Libraries and the Ordering of the Biblical Books* (1989); *Genesis: The JPS Torah Commentary* (1989); *Exodus: The JPS Torah Commentary* (1991); *Songs of the Heart: An Introduction to the Book of Psalms* (1993).

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M. BRETTLER

SAYCE, ARCHIBALD HENRY (1845–1933)

The son of an Anglican clergyman, S. showed an aptitude for languages. By age eighteen he had become proficient in Latin and Greek and had begun reading Egyptian, Hebrew, and Sanskrit. He studied classics at Queen's College, Oxford, attended lectures by F. Max Müller and E. B. PUSEY, was made fellow in 1869, and the next year was ordained and became a tutor. From 1876 to 1890 he served as deputy professor of comparative philology under Max Müller and from 1891 to 1919 as professor of ASSYRIOLOGY. From 1870 to 1900 he published an average of one book each year as well as articles, notes, and reviews.

S. contributed to scholarship primarily in philology, publishing the first Assyrian grammar and reading book in English as well as a number of important articles and books on Assyrian language, history, and religion. He discovered the value of at least a dozen Hittite signs (see HITTITOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), translated a number of Hittite inscriptions, and deciphered the Vannic cuneiform inscriptions without the aid of a bilingual text. Because of his archaeological interests he traveled extensively throughout the Near East and for almost two decades spent his winters on the Nile in his houseboat, the *Istar,* outfitted with a two-thousand-volume library. His travel and broad linguistic ability equipped him to follow developments in the study of the languages and the history of the ancient Near East.

S.'s contribution to biblical studies was primarily as a popularizer concerned to show how the findings of ancient Near Eastern ARCHAEOLOGY impinged on the study of the HB. In the 1880s his publications revealed a growing interest in the HB and in Near Eastern archaeology. The tone of his works became more polemical with his *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments* (1883), in which he vigorously attacked German

HB source criticism. He believed the source critics had inadequate material on which to base their theories and that their method was essentially subjective. In contrast, he viewed archaeology as providing objective data for the study of the Bible and as a valuable check on the excesses of the source critics. His arguments were sometimes illogical and often unfairly caricatured his opponents, leaving his readers with the impression that archaeological discoveries had completely disproved their theories and that he and others of like mind were the champions of the apostolic Christian faith being threatened by the "higher critics."

S. was not a literalist, however. He was convinced that there was a historical basis for biblical narratives, but he did not believe the narratives were without error. He found errors of historical fact in the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles and thought the editor of the book of Daniel was mistaken in his references to Belshazzar as Nebuchadnezzar's son and to Darius the Mede as the conqueror of Babylon. Furthermore, he believed the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) had been composed from a variety of sources and that the Genesis stories about creation and the flood were based on earlier Babylonian accounts.

S. showed little interest in specialization—whether in Assyriology or in biblical studies—but was always distracted by the latest archaeological discovery. In addition, his imagination often led him to suggest solutions that had not been adequately considered or tested (e.g., his assignment of the Siloam inscription to Solomon's day and his conviction that the Amorites were the white race of Palestine from whom the current inhabitants with blue eyes and fair hair descended).

Works: *An Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes* (1872); *The Principles of Comparative Philology* (1874); *Introduction to the Science of Language* (1880); *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments: A Sketch of the Most Striking Confirmations of the Bible from Recent Discoveries in Egypt, Palestine, Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor* (By-Paths of Bible Knowledge 2, 1883); *An Introduction to the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther* (1885); *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Hibbert Lectures, 1887); *The "Higher Criticism" and the Verdict of the Monuments* (1893); *Patriarchal Palestine* (1895); *The Early History of the Hebrews* (1897); *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations* (1898); *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* (Gifford Lectures, 1902); *Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies* (By-Paths of Bible Knowledge 23, 1904); *The Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1907); *Reminiscences* (1923).

Bibliography: **F. L. Griffith,** *JRAS* (1933) 497-99. **B. Gunn,** *DNB* 1931–40 (1949) 786-88. **S. Langdon,** "A. H. S. as Assyriologist," *JRAS* (1933) 499-503. **B. Z. MacHaffie,** "Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies: Archaeology and the Popularzation of OT Criticism in Nineteenth-century Britain," *CH* 50 (1981) 316-28.

M. P. GRAHAM

SCALIGER, JOSEPH JUSTUS (1540–1609)

The preeminent classicist of his day, S. was born in Agen, the tenth child of the eminent scholar Julius C. Scaliger (1484–1558). He studied Greek and oriental languages at Paris, becoming a Calvinist in 1562 (see CALVIN). At about age twenty he met G. POSTEL, who encouraged him to study Hebrew, Syriac, and other Semitic languages. After travel in Italy (1565) and Scotland and England (1566), he fought on the side of the Huguenots and later studied law at Valence under Cujas. He taught in Geneva (1572–74) and spent time in private research before succeeding J. Lipsius as professor of *belles-lettres* without lecturing responsibilities at Leiden University (1593), which he made into a center of philological learning.

Stressing the need for good critical, well-commented editions of the classics, S. published editions of various Latin authors: Festus (1575), Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius (1577), and others, contributing enormously to TEXTUAL CRITICISM. His commentaries were succinctly and informatively written, and that on Manilius could still be praised in the twentieth century as "without forerunner and without successor" (A. E. Housman). He was also one of the first to attempt reconstruction of the lost older copy of a text and to explain the origin of errors common to several manuscripts. In *De Doctrina Temporum* (1606) he provided a partial reconstruction of EUSEBIUS's *Chronicon.* He sought to apply the same philological method to classical, ancient Near Eastern, and biblical texts.

In the area of history and CHRONOLOGY, in which he had great interest, his *De emendatione temporum* (1583) was not only an attack on the Gregorian calendar and the genuineness of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite but also a milestone in chronological studies. Having argued for the value of oriental chronicles in reconstructing ancient history and chronology, he brought back from Cairo the first copy of the Samaritan book of Joshua. He also inaugurated corespondence with the Palestinian Samarian colony, a practice continued by later scholars (see S. de Sacy [1831]).

S.'s contributions to biblical studies lay primarily in philology and in textual criticism. His annotations to the NT did not appear until after his death and then only after being gleaned from several sources, including his notes in T. BEZA's edition of the NT. His annotations were printed in various editions of the Greek NT and were included in the CRITICI SACRI (1660). He was not hesitant to emend the text, argued that Revelation was originally written in Hebrew, drew upon antiquities and ancient inscriptions in his work, considered a number

of NT writings to be spurious (Hebrews; James; 2 Peter; 1, 2, 3 John; Jude; and Revelation), and sought to place early church history and chronology on a sound footing. He explored the pseudepigraphical and apocryphal texts (see APOCRYPHA, NT and PSEUDEPIGRAPHA) of both testaments but was generally disdainful of these writings. S. was the first to collect and edit the *Apocalypse of Enoch* material from Syncellus.

Works: *Autobiography of J. S.: With Autobiographical Selections from His Letters, His Testament, and the Funeral Orations by D. Heinsius and D. Baudius* (tr. and annotated by G. W. Robinson, 1927).

Bibliography: **J. Bernays,** *Joseph Justus Scaliger* (1855, repr. 1965). **C. M. Bruehl,** "J. J. S.: Ein Beitrag zur geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Altestumsweissenschaft," *ZRG* 12 (1960) 201-18; 13 (1961) 45-65. **R. C. Christie and J. E. Sandys,** *EncBrit* 24 (1911[11]) 284-86. **A. T. Grafton,** *J. S.: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (2 vols., 1983–93). **A. Grafton and H. J. de Jonge,** *S.: A Bibliography, 1852–1982* (1982). **H. J. de Jonge,** "The Study of the NT," *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century* (ed. T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, 1975) 76-87; *De bestudering van het Nieuwe Testament aan de Noordnederlandse universiteiten en het Remonstrants Seminarie van 1575 tot 1700* (1980), esp. 77-81. **P. des Maizeaus** (ed.), *Prima Scaligerana* (1740); *Secunda Scaligerana* (1740). *MSHH* 23 (1733) 279-315. **M. Pattison,** *Quarterly Review* 108 (1860) 34-81; *Essays* (2 vols., 1889) 1:132-243. **S. de Sacy,** "Correspondence des Samaritains de Naplous, pendant années 1808 et suiv," *Notices et extraits des manuscripts de la bibliothèque de roi et autres bibliothèques* (1831) 1-235. **J. E. Sandys,** *History of Classical Scholarship* (1908) 2:199-204.

G. E. SCHWERDTFEGER

SCHECHTER, SOLOMON (1847–1915)

Born to a Polish Hasidic family (see HASIDISM) in Romania, S. learned Hebrew and Bible as a child. He grew proficient in Talmudic studies (see TALMUD), which he pursued further in Vienna together with theology and philology. Ordained a rabbi (1879), he studied at the University of Berlin and at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, developing into a master of scientific rabbinic research. After moving to England in 1882 he published a model edition of *Avot de-Rabbi Natan* (1887) and became reader in rabbinics at Cambridge (1892), professor of Hebrew at London University (1897), and curator of Cambridge Library's oriental department (1900). In 1902 he was appointed president of Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, where he became a leader in the American Jewish community. In 1905 he reorganized the committee that produced the 1917 Jewish Publication Society translation of the HB.

Although he excelled in writing syntheses of rabbinic thought in popular lecture form, S. achieved fame for recovering over 100,000 manuscripts and fragments from the Cairo Geniza (synagogue repository), beginning in 1896. The Geniza contained a mine of data relating to medieval Jewish life in the Mediterranean world and housed the remains of numerous lost rabbinic works and documents, including Bible commentaries by SAADIA Gaon. Among the fragments he brought to the Cambridge Library, S. discovered portions of the Hebrew original of the apocryphal Wisdom of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) and the so-called Zadokite Document, parts of which have subsequently turned up among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS. In 1910 S. published "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" from two medieval manuscripts, astutely identifying their sources as a Jewish sectarian document differing from Pharisaic Judaism and resembling such pseudepigraphic books (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA) as JUBILEES, ENOCH, and the TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS. Remarkably, recensions of the Damascus Document, as it is now known, have been discovered at Qumran.

Not primarily a biblicist, S. accepted many results of critical scholarship, e.g., that Isaiah contains the work of more than one prophet and that David and Solomon did not author the books traditionally attributed to them. But he suspected that much of higher criticism was motivated by anti-Jewish sentiment that aimed to cast aspersions on the originality of the HB. In editing the Hebrew Ben Sira from the second century BCE, he noted its literary dependence on the entire book of Psalms and on the wisdom books. Accordingly, he rebutted scholars who dated those and other biblical works to a late period and challenged higher critical judgments altogether. With eleven leaves of the Hebrew Ben Sira before him, S. also identified examples of proto-rabbinic MIDRASH and liturgical style in the text. He sensed an inevitable Christian bias in the biblical scholarship of his day and fostered a committed yet scientific Jewish biblical criticism.

Works: *Studies in Judaism* (3 ser., 1896–1924); (with C. Taylor), *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Portions of the Book Ecclesiasticus* (1899, repr. 1979); *Saadyana: Genizah Fragments of Writings of R. Saadya Gaon and Others* (1903); *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (1909); *Documents of Jewish Sectaries* (2 vols., 1910, repr. 1970); *Seminary Addresses and Other Papers* (1915).

Bibliography: **N. Bentwich,** *Solomon Schechter* (1931). **A. L. Eisenberg,** *Fill a Blank Page: A Biography of S. S.* (1965). **J. A. Fitzmyer,** "Prolegomenon," *Documents of Jewish Sectaries* (S. Schechter, repr. 1970) 9-37. **L. Ginzberg,** *Students, Scholars, and Saints* (1928) 241-51. **B. Mandelbaum,** *The Wisdom of S. S.* (1963). **A. Marx,** *Essays in Jewish Biography* (1948) 229-50. **A. S. Oko,** *S. S.: A Biography* (1938).

E. L. GREENSTEIN

SCHLATTER, ADOLF (1852–1938)

Born in Sankt Gallen, Switzerland, Aug. 16, 1852, S. died in Tübingen May 19, 1938. He and his mother belonged to the Swiss Reformed Church, his father to a free church, which helps to account for the son's somewhat independent stance in the German Protestant exegesis of his time. S. was productive; many-sided; prodigiously learned; and an exacting, historically conservative NT exegete who had a great influence through his publications and his teaching.

S. studied theology in Basel and Tübingen (1871–75) and was pastor for five years. He taught as *Privatdozent* at Bern (1880–88), professor at Greifswald (1888–93), and professor of systematic theology at Berlin (1893–98), where he was called to counter the government's appointment of A. von HARNACK, whom the church judged heterodox. Although S. extracted the right to teach NT as well, he was not happy in this awkward, competitive position as *Strafprofessor* and gladly accepted a chair at Tübingen (1898–1922), where he taught until 1930, counting among his students R. BULTMANN, K. BARTH, and K. Rengstorf.

S.'s independent position in the exegesis of his day resulted from many factors, e.g., his anti-idealistic philosophical stance, which anticipated and paved the way for Barth's dialectical theology. With a devotion to JESUS as Savior, he refused to acknowledge a distinction between a non-messianic Jesus of history and a Christ of faith, thus setting himself against W. WREDE. In exegesis he stressed a combination of observation (*Sehakt*), theological reflection (*Denkakt*), and life or piety (*Lebensakt*). The first is defined in the preface to his commentary on Matthew (xi): "I call scholarship the observing of what is present to hand, not the attempt to imagine what is not visible." In practice this entailed an extreme concern for philological exactitude, which for S. meant striving to find exact verbal parallels for every verse of the Gospel in JOSEPHUS or in rabbinic literature. He first gave citations from rabbinic literature in Hebrew or Aramaic and then translated into Greek so that the verbal parallel became more evident. This tour de force necessitated an almost photographic knowledge of these sources and an informal concordance to Josephus, which culminated in the published concordance edited by Rengstorf. Because of S.'s philological sensitivity, G. KITTEL dedicated his *TDNT* to him.

Despite his knowledge of the arguments to the contrary, S. held to Matthean priority among the canonical Gospels. His commentary on John directly influenced that of E. HOSKYNS. Besides voluminous NT commentaries, S. published works on dogmatics, ethics, philosophy, biblical THEOLOGY, and devotion.

Works: *Der Glaube im Neuen Testament* (1885); *Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament* (3 vols., 1887–1904); *Die philosophische Arbeit seit Cartesius* (1906); *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (1909; rev. in 2 vols. as *Die Geschichte des Christus;* ET, *The History of the Christian: The Foundation for NT Theology* [1997] and *Die Theologie der Apostel* [1921–23]; repr. 1977); "The Theology of the NT and Dogmatics," *The Nature of NT Theology* (ed. R. Morgan, 1973) 117-66 (Ger. original in *BFTC* 13, 2 [1909] 7-82); *Das christliche Dogma* (1911); *Geschichte Israels* (1925); *RGS* 1 (1925) 145-71 (autobiographical); *Geschichte der ersten Christenheit* (1926; ET, *The Church in the NT Period* [1955]); *Andachten* (1927); *Der Evangelist Matthäus* (1929); *Die Kirche des Matthäus* (1929); *Die Theologie des Judentums* (1932); *Gottes Gerechtigkeit: Ein Kommentar zum Römerbrief* (1935; ET, *Romans: The Righteousness of God* [1995]); *Rückblick auf meine Lebensarbeit* (1952, repr. 1977), autobiography; *Kleine Schriften* (ed. U. Luck, 1969; partial ET by R. Morgan). Further commentaries on John, Luke, James, the Corinthian letters, Mark, the letters to Timothy and Titus, and 1 Peter.

Bibliography: **S. Dintaman,** *Creative Grace: Faith and History in the Theology of A. S.* (1993). **R. Morgan,** *The Nature of NT Theology: The Contributions of W. Wrede and A. S.* (SBT 2, 25, 1973) 1-67. **W. Neuer,** *Adolf Schlatter* (ET 1995); *A. S.: ein Leben für Theologie und Kirche* (1996). **P. Stuhlmacher,** "A. S.'s Interpretation of Scripture," *NTS* 24 (1978) 433-46 = *ZTK* Beiheft 4 (1978) 81-111; *TPNZJ,* 219-40. **R. Stupperich,** "A. S.s Berufungen," *ZTK* 76 (1979) 100-117. **R. W. Yarbrough,** *HHMBI,* 518-23.

B. T. VIVIANO

SCHLEIERMACHER, FRIEDRICH DANIEL ERNST (1768–1834)

A German pastor, philologist, theologian, and philosopher, S. was a man of many talents, recognized as one of the principal shapers of modern religious thought. In his own self-estimation, he was above all a minister of the Word of God. Born into a family of preachers and educated first among the Moravians, then at the University of Halle, he was ordained to the ministry of the Reformed Church and after briefly serving as an assistant pastor was appointed Reformed chaplain at the Charité Hospital in Berlin (1796). While there he wrote his first book, *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers* (1799). A further brief pastorate ended when he received his first academic post at the University of Halle (1804). The climax of his career followed his return to Berlin, where he became pastor of Trinity Church (1809) and professor of theology at the new university (1810).

S. was not primarily a biblical scholar. His greatest literary achievement was his dogmatic masterpiece, *The Christian Faith* (1821–22, 1830–31^2), which has earned him the title "father of modern theology." But his total theological program reserved a much higher place for biblical interpretation than is commonly recognized, and he engaged directly in both NT research and biblical

exposition from the pulpit. His critical work on the NT included studies of the PASTORAL LETTERS and of the SYNOPTIC PROBLEM, to which must be added his posthumously published lectures on NT introduction and on the life of JESUS. Of his voluminous published sermons, all based on biblical texts, many consist of continuous, week-by-week expositions of individual NT books.

S.'s dogmatics is often described as a theology of experience, sometimes with the added comment that its method is subjective and psychologizing in contrast to an objective theology of the Word. However, the more basic feature of his theology is that he approached Christianity as a historical phenomenon. Under historical theology, which he held to be the actual body of theological studies, he included not just church history but also exegetical theology and dogmatic theology. Dogmatics is the coherent presentation of the teaching that prevails in the church or in a particular church at a given time (the present). It is not the science of timeless dogmas but of belief (*Glaubenslehre*), and its companion discipline is the science of Christian behavior (*Sittenlehre*).

S. wrote his dogmatics expressly for the Evangelical Church of the Prussian Union. He therefore argued that Scripture could not be his only source because other churches, including the Roman Catholic Church, also appeal to the Bible; and it is impossible to differentiate them simply as correct and incorrect interpretations of the NT. The immediate sources for a distinctively EVANGELICAL dogmatics must be the Protestant confessions of faith, although it belongs to the dogmatic theologian's task to test the adequacy of their language as expressions of the evangelical religious affections. In this sense dogmatics is certainly a theology of experience (i.e., of a specific way of believing); but it is the experience of a particular religious community, not some private religious experience, that provides the subject matter of the discipline. Furthermore, it is a fundamental mark of this community that it seeks to determine its life in every respect, including its doctrine, by the Word of God.

Exegetical, as distinct from dogmatic, theology in this scheme cannot be merely subordinate or preparatory to dogmatics; rather, the two stand side by side as coordinate disciplines. Biblical exegesis alone cannot tell us what the faith of a believing community is today because no church can simply reproduce the apostolic age. But neither can the Christian character of present belief, as an authentic variety of Christianity, be determined in any other way than by reference to the NT. This is not so much an appeal to supernatural AUTHORITY as recognition of a historical principle: The purest view of any movement that has expanded over time and mingled with other historical forces can be attained only by examining its earliest expression.

Once this principle is grasped as the reason for the NT's normative value, it follows that the HB cannot have a comparable, direct value in the church (*The Christian Faith* [1821–22; ET 1928] 132, 27) and that the boundaries of the NT CANON must be recognized as fluid—that is, precisely as relative to each individual writing's adequacy as an expression of the original faith. "The interpretation of Christian faith which validates itself in each age as having been evoked by Scripture is the development, suited to that moment, of the genuine original interpretation of Christ and His work, and constitutes the common Christian orthodoxy for that time and place" (*The Christian Faith,* 131.2).

S. recognized that the entire theological enterprise rests on the interpretation of texts (i.e., written historical sources). Not only biblical theology but also church history and dogmatics are exegetical, even though we reserve the term *exegetical theology* for interpretation of the primitive Christian documents, hence the need for an explicit method of interpretation. S.'s pioneering work on HERMENEUTICS acknowledges no specific rules for understanding the Bible, only the special application of general rules of understanding that arise directly out of the nature of thought and language. He perceived the heart of the hermeneutic enterprise in two operations: first, a delicate balancing of part and whole, of the individual text and the literature to which it belongs; second, a continual dialectic between linguistic skill and psychological grasp of the author's intention.

In general, S. was an astute and independent NT critic; his arguments, e.g., against the Pauline authorship of 1 Timothy, and his doubts about the authenticity of Ephesians have stood the test of time. His view of the synoptic problem was quickly superseded, and his heavy reliance on the Fourth Gospel found little support. His hermeneutic theory, on the other hand, remains at the center of discussion even when rejected, and his understanding of the NT's place in the life of the church remains theologically significant. A doctrine of biblical INSPIRATION, he held, is not the foundation of faith in Christ; rather, the faith awakened by Christ is the reason why the Scriptures, which proclaim him, have their unique, normative function in the believing community.

Works: *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers* (1799, 1821[3]; ET 1988, 1894[3]); *Christmas Eve: Dialogue on the Incarnation* (1806, 1827[2]; ET 1967); *Über den sogenannten ersten Brief des Paulos an den Timotheos* (1807); *Brief Outline on the Study of Theology* (1811, 1830[2]; ET 1966); *A Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke* (1817; ET 1825); *The Christian Faith* (1821–22, 1830-31[2]; ET 1928); *On the Glaubenslehre: Two Letters to Dr. Lücke* (1829, 1908[2]; ET 1981); *The Life of Jesus* (1832, 1864; ET 1975); *Hermeneutics: The Handwritten Manuscripts* (1838; ed. H. Kimmerle, 1959, 1974[2]; ET 1977); *Einleitung ins neue Testament* (1845); *Servant of the Word: Selected Sermons of F. S.* (ET 1987).

Bibliography: **D. DeVries,** *Jesus Christ in the Preaching of Calvin and S.* (1996). **B. A. Gerrish,** *Nineteenth-century Religious Thought in the West* (3 vols., ed. N. Smart et al., 1985) 1:123-56 (bibliographical essay, 153-56). **B. A. Gerrish,** *A Prince of the Church: S. and the Beginnings of Modern Theology* (1984). **R. R. Niebuhr,** *S. on Christ and Religion: A New Introduction* (1964). **D. F. Strauss,** *The Christ of Faith and the Jesus of History: A Critique of S.'s Life of Jesus* (1865; ET 1977). **T. N. Tice,** *S. Bibliography* (1966), supplement (1985) lists 2,628 entries.

B. A. GERRISH

SCHMIDT, KARL LUDWIG (1891–1956)

Born in Frankfurt a. M., Feb. 5, 1891, S. studied philology and theology in Marburg under W. HERRMANN and became assistant to A. DEISSMANN in Berlin and *Privatdozent* in 1918. He was made professor of NT at Giessen (1921), Jena (1925), and Bonn (1929–33), but because of his opposition to the National Socialists, he was one of the first to be deposed from his post and was compelled to leave Germany. In 1935, after serving Swiss pastorates, he was appointed professor of NT at Basel, where he stayed until illness forced his retirement in 1953. From 1922 to 1937 he edited *TBl* and in 1945 founded Basel's *TZ,* which he edited until 1952.

S.'s books, articles, and sermons cluster about two dynamic poles: the Gospels and the church. In his groundbreaking Habilitationsschrift, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (1919), he pioneered insights that became fundamental to the emerging form-critical method (see FORM CRITICISM). Confirming the position of J. WELLHAUSEN that the canonical Gospels are collections of independent smaller units, S. demonstrated further that the introductory topographical and chronological details (see CHRONOLOGY, NT) of these more or less fixed units were the "framing" formulations of the collectors of these pericopes, i.e., the evangelists. In general, the frames contain little of historical value and the resulting composite of JESUS' words and deeds is a secondary, non-historical life portrait. Thus *Rahmen,* along with the studies of M. DIBELIUS (1919) and R. BULTMANN (1921), further discredited the "life of Jesus movement." According to S., the Gospels must be regarded as essentially church productions from living oral tradition units tied to the particular life forms and functions (esp. worship) of the various church communities (i.e., the *Sitz im Leben*). The Gospels as a whole then should be construed as folk literature (*Kleinliteratur*), not counterparts to ancient "lives" (*bioi/vitae*) and memoirs (*apomnēmoneumata*).

S. asserted (1923) that the nondescript links between the smaller units tend to psychologize the relation of one incident to the next (as Luke does with Mark). Hence corresponding to this folk form or format, the Gospels are communal productions of faith, cultically and kerygmatically generated, shaped, and refined, whose authors are more editors than distinct literary personalities. S. thus turned W. WREDE's thesis on its head: Mark is not a product of an autonomous ideological development but, rather, a reflection of the multilayered experiences of the church in which the Evangelist stands. Although layers of these traditions (esp. written sources) can be chronologically delineated, they bear no intrinsic relation to what is more or less historical, for it is the very nature of folk literature to transcend the objective/subjective continuum of historical authenticity. In his "Jesus Christ" article in *RGG*^{2} (1929) S. added a theological touchstone: All the Gospel traditions are stamped by church folk convinced that God through the death and resurrection of Israel's Messiah has appeared on earth to establish the eschatological people of the old and new covenants. S. thus initiated much that was to be pursued in later sociological approaches (see SOCIOLOGY AND NT STUDIES) and approximated certain insights of the subsequent "new quest of the historical Jesus."

Of his many lexiconographical-theological studies of biblical concepts, S.'s greatest contribution came in the notion of the "church" (*Die Kirche des Urchristentums* [1927] and subsequent articles). *Ecclesia,* taken primarily from the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT), represents the Hebrew *qāhāl* (Aramaic *kenischta*) of Yahweh, the people of God, of which the NT church is the fulfilled HB assembly. Building on F. Kattenbusch's analysis, S. showed that in the NT in general a local congregation embodied the whole people of God. This means that the NT church presented itself as a remnant that remained solidly within Israel, yet as its fulfillment. Jesus as Messiah gathered his representatives of the twelve tribes and ultimately gave this "remnant" self-understanding over to them and to the subsequent church. PAUL acknowledged the priority of the twelve and of Jerusalem but inveighed against the excessive honoring of human personalities coordinated with the hierarchical structuring of authority. These concepts, through which S. made the church a critical theological category for NT scholarship, remained central in all of his subsequent work on the "city" and "state" and in his dialogue with M. BUBER, and provided a potent counter to the theologians of the Third Reich.

Works: *Die Pfingsterzählung und das Pfingstereignis* (Arbeiten zur Religionsgeschichte des Urchristentums 1, 2, 1919); *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu: Literarkritische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung* (1919, repr. 1964, 1967); "Die Stellung der Evangelien in der allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte," *Eucharisterion: H. Gunkel zum 60. Geburtstage* (FRLANT NF 19, ed. H. Schmidt, 1923) 2:50-134; "Die Stellung des Apostels Paulus im Urchristentum," *Vorträge der theologischen Konferenz zu Giessen* (39. Folge, 1924) 3-17; "Der Apostel Paulus und die antike Welt," *Bibliothek Warburg,*

Vorträge 1924–25 (1927) 38-64; *Die Kirche des Urchristentums: Festgabe für A. Deissmann* (ed. K. L. Schmidt, 1927) 258-319; "Formgeschichte," *RGG*^{2} (1928) 2:638-40; "Geschichtsschreibung II: Im NT," *RGG*^{2} (1928) 2:1115-17; "Jesus Christus," *RGG*^{2} (1929) 3:110-51 (ET in *Twentieth Century Theology in the Making* [ed. J. Pelikan, 1969] 1:93-168); "Zusatz des Herausgebers der *TBl* zu: Evangelische Kirche und Völkerberständigung. Eine Erklärung. Von P. Althaus und E. Hirsch," *TBl* 10 (1931) 178-79; "basileus, basileia, etc.," *TDNT* (1933; ET 1964) 1:564-93; (with M. Buber), "Kirche, Staat, Volk, Judentum: Zwiegespräch im jüdischen Lehrhaus in Stuttgart im 14. Januar 1933," *TBl* 12 (1933) 257-74; "Zum theologischen Briefwechsel zwischen K. Barth und G. Kittel," *TBl* 13 (1934) 328-34; "Das Gegenüber von Kirche und Staat in der Gemeinde des Neuen Testaments: Öffentliche Antrittsvorlesung an der Universität Basel am 2. Dez. 1936," *TBl* 16 (1937) 1-16; "Le Ministère et les ministères dans l'église du Nouveau Testament: Les données bibliques et celles de la tradition," *RHPR* 17 (1937) 313-36 (GT in *Neues Testament, Judentum, Kirche: Kleine Schriften* (*TBü* 69, ed. G. Sauter 1981); "ecclesia," *TDNT* (1938; ET 1965) 3:501-36 = *The Church: Bible Key Words* (1950); *Die Polis in Kirche und Welt* (1939); "Der Sinn der neutestamentlichen Apostelgeschichte," *In Extremis* 6 (1940) 33-48; *Kanonische und apokryphe Evangelien und Apostelgeschichten* (ATANT 5, 1944); "Das Pneuma Hagion als Person und als Charisma," *ErJb* 13 (1945) 187-235; *Aus der Johannes-Apokalypse, dem letzten Buch der Bibel* (1946^2); *Die Judenfrage im Lichte der Kapitel 9–11 des Römerbriefes* (TSB 13, 1946^2); "Die Natur- und Geistkräfte im paulinischen Erkennen und Glauben," *ErJb* 14 (1946) 87-143; *Ein Gang durch den Galaterbrief* (TSB 11, 12, 1947^2); "Homo imago Dei im Alten und Neuen Testament," *ErJb* 15 (1947) 149-95; "Die Bildersprache in der Johannes-Apokalypse," *Universitas* 3 (1948) 1153-58, 1281-85; "Jerusalem als Urbild und Abbild," *ErJb* 18 (1950) 207-48; "Nicht über das hinaus, was geschrieben steht!" (1 Kor 4,6)," *In memoriam E. Lohmeyer* (ed. W. Schmauch, 1951) 101-9; *Neues Testament, Judentum, Kirche: Kleine Schriften* (TBü 69, ed. G. Sauter, 1981), 7 articles repr. with biographical sketch and complete bibliography.

Bibliography: **O. Cullmann,** *TZS* 12 (1956) 1-9; "K. L. S. zum 100. Geburtstag," *TZ* 47 (1991) 1-2. **D. R. Hall,** *The Gospel Framework: Fact or Fiction? A Critical Evaluation of "Der Rahmen der Geschichte" by K. L. S.* (1998). **W. G. Kümmel,** *NTHIP* (1970; ET 1972) 327-30, 394-95, 398, 450, 489. **J. Schmid,** *LTK* 9 (1964) 434. **P. Vielhauer,** *150 Jahre Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn 1818–1968* (1968) 190-214 (shortened version in *Neues Testament, Judentum, Kirche: Kleine Schriften* (TBü 69, ed. G. Sauter, 1981) 13-36.

D. P. MOESSNER

SCHNECKENBURGER, MATTHIAS (1804–48)

Born in Thalheim b. Tuttlingen in Württemburg, Jan. 17, 1804, S. studied theology in Tübingen (1823–26), where F. C. BAUR was one of his later teachers, and in Berlin (1826–27), where F. SCHLEIERMACHER, G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), J. A. W. Neander (1789–1850), and P. Marheineke (1780–1846) were influences. From 1834 to his untimely death in 1848, S. was professor of church history and dogmatics in the newly formed university at Bern and lectured extensively in NT as well.

Although studying under some of the leading thinkers of his day, S. never belonged to a particular school of thought but steered his own course between historical skepticism and conservative PIETISM. In S.'s most influential contribution to biblical studies and the first extensive critical treatment of the purpose of Acts (1841), he broke rank with most of Acts scholarship by viewing Luke's aims as other than essentially a historical portrayal of the beginnings of the church. Rather, Luke, PAUL's coworker, wrote Acts to defend his friend against charges by Jewish Christians that Paul was destroying the law of Moses.

S.'s observations about Luke's presentation include the following: (a) Paul's confrontations throughout are with Jews who refuse his repeated appeals to them, whereas Luke avoids all mention of Paul's disputes with Jewish Christians like those in Galatia and Corinth and is virtually silent about his collection for the saints in Jerusalem (see Acts 24:17). (b) Paul lived in strict conformity to the law, even participating in and encouraging ritual observation in the Temple (e.g., Acts 21:17-27). (c) The dual visions surrounding the first gentile convert (Cornelius) through Peter's mission intersect and confirm the dual visions of Paul's calling to Jews and Gentiles. Paul thus fulfilled what JESUS commanded (Luke 24:47; Acts 1:8) and Peter enacted. (d) The extensive Peter/Paul parallels (miracles, speeches, rejections by Jews, visions, etc.) not only conform Paul to Peter but also demonstrate the continuity of the one God working equally through both. In all, what is initiated by the primitive Jerusalem community (chaps. 1–12) is completed by Paul (chaps. 13–28).

Baur hailed S.'s findings but argued that he did not go far enough in seeing that his evidence pointed to Acts as an unhistorical, conciliatory attempt to bridge the warring Petrine and Pauline parties in the second century. For S., Luke's basic historical reliability was never in question. For both S. and Baur, however, Acts must now be construed as fundamentally an apologetic *Tendenzschrift.*

Works: *Ueber Glauben, Tradition, und Kirche* (1827); *Ueber das Alter der jüdischen Proselyten: Taufe und deren Zusammenhang mit dem johanneischen und christlichen Ritus. Nebst einer Beilage über die Irrlehrer zu Colossä* (1828); *Annotatio ad Epistolam Jacobi perpetua cum brevi tractatione isagogica* (1832); *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Neue Testament und zur Erklärung seiner schwierigen Stellen* (1832); *Ueber das Evangelium der Aegyptier: Ein historischkritischer Versuch* (1834); *Ueber den Ursprung des ersten kanonischen Evangeliums: Ein*

kritischer Versuch (1834); *Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte: Zugleich eine Ergäzung der neueren Commentare* (1841); *R. A. Stapferi, Theologi Bernensis, Christologia, cum appendice cognationem philosophiae Kantianae cum ecclesiae Reformatae doctrina sistente* (1842); *Die orthodoxe Lehre von dem doppelten Stande Christi nach lutherischer und reformierter Fassung* (Tübingen Theologische Jahrbücher, 1844); *De falsi Neronis fama e remore Christiano orta* (1846); *Zur kirchlichen Christologie: Die orthodoxe Lehre von doppelten Stande Christi nach lutherischer und reformierter Fassung* (1848); "Beiträge zur Erklärung und Kritik der Apostelgeschichte," *TSK* 28 (1855) 498-570; *Vergleichende Darstellung des lutherischen und reformierten Lehrbegriffs* (ed. E. Güder, 1855); *Vorlesungen über Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (ed. T. Löhlein, 1862); *Vorlesungen über die Lehrbegriffe der kleineren protestantischen Kirchenparteien* (ed. C. B. Hungdeshagen, 1863).

Bibliography: **E. E. Blösch,** *ADB* 32 (1891) 86-88. **E. Gelpke,** *Gedächtnissrede auf M. S., gehalten bei der Leichenfeier, nebst einer Grabrede von C. Wyss* (1848). **C. B. Hundeshagen,** *RE*[3] 17 (1906) 666-70. **A. J. Mattill, Jr.,** "The Purpose of Acts: S. Reconsidered," *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Studies in Honor of F. F. Bruce* (ed. W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, 1970) 108-22. **E. Müller,** *Die Hochschule Bern* 34 (FS 1884).

D. P. MOESSNER

SCHNIEWIND, JULIUS (1883–1948)

Born May 28, 1883, in Elberfeld, Germany, S. was reared in the spirit of the Rhine Lutheran revival movement. From 1901 to 1906 he studied Protestant theology in Bonn, Halle, Berlin, and Marburg. He was influenced by W. HERRMANN in Marburg and especially by F. Loofs, Lütgert, Reischle, and K. Heim in Halle; but M. KÄHLER exercised the greatest influence. In 1910 S. was promoted to lic. theol. with his dissertation, "The Concepts 'Word' and 'Gospel' in Paul," a thematic-historical study. His inaugural dissertation in 1914 analyzed "The Parallel Pericopes in Luke and John." In 1921 he became *ausserordentlicher* professor in Halle and in 1927 full professor in Greifswald. He went to Königsberg in 1929 but in 1935 was forced to move to Kiel; the following year he accepted a position in Halle. After 1946 he served not only as professor but also as prior of Halle and Merseberg. He died Sept. 7, 1948.

Concern with the NT concept of gospel stands at the center of S.'s scholarly work, a concern already present in his dissertation but never really brought to a conclusion. The first installment of the monograph "Evangelion" appeared in 1927 and the second in 1931 (see also his contribution in *TWNT* 1:56-71 and 2:573-83). The third, NT part was not printed, although G. Friedrich employed it in *TWNT* 2:705-35. S. achieved general recognition through his exegesis of the Gospels of Mark (1933) and Matthew (1937) in the series NTD.

Works: *Die Begriffe Wort und Evangelion bei Paulus* (1910); *Die Parallelperikopen bei Lukas und Johannes* (1914); "Evangelion: Ursprung und erste Gestalt des Begriffes Evangelium" (BFCT 2, 13.25, 1927, 1931); "Zur Synoptikerexegese," *TRu* 2 (1930) 129-89; *Nachgelassene Reden und Aufsätze* (ed. E. Kähler, 1952).

Bibliography: **H.-J. Kraus,** *J. S.: Charisma der Theologie* (1965). **W. Wiefel,** *KD* 29 (1983) 182-96.

F. W. HORN

SCHULTENS, ALBERT (1686–1750)

Born in Groningen, Aug. 22, 1686, S. began his theological study in the university there at age fourteen and moved from the study of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac to Arabic. In 1706 he defended a disputation on the use of Arabic in understanding the languages of the Bible (*De utilitate linguae Arabicae in interpretanda Sacra Scriptura,* printed in his *Opera minora*). He received his doctorate in 1709 after studying at Leiden with A. RELAND, who aided in publishing his first book, a volume on Job (1708). After two years of work on manuscripts at Leiden, S. pastored at Wassenaer (1711–13) before becoming professor of oriental languages at Franeker. He returned to Leiden (1729) as rector of the Collegium theologicum, assumed a new chair in Arabic studies at the university (1732), and after 1740 was also professor of Hebrew antiquities. He died Jan. 26, 1750. Both his son Johann Jacob (1716–78) and grandson Heinrich Albert (1749–93) became orientalists and occupied the chair S. had held.

S.'s major contributions to biblical studies were linguistic and philological. Although others had used Arabic philology in biblical studies, including some medieval Jewish scholars and more recent orientalists like E. POCOCKE, S. stressed its importance to the point that he may be considered a founder of comparative Semitic linguistics. He placed Hebrew within the larger family of Semitic languages and decisively disposed of the view, widely held in the seventeenth century and even by some of his contemporaries, that Hebrew had been the primordial language of humanity. Many subsequent scholars shared his emphasis on the use of Arabic for understanding biblical Hebrew. J. D. MICHAELIS considered S. the greatest orientalist of his day.

In addition to works in Arabic studies, S. published several works in biblical studies. He edited T. Erpenius's *Rudimenta lingua Arabicae* (1733) and *Grammatica* (1748), adding a *Clavis* to the former, and a new edition of C. VITRINGA's commentary on Isaiah (1732). *Sylloge dissertationum philologico-exegeticarum* (2 vols., 1772–75) contains twenty-four dissertations directed by S., his son, and N. G. Schroeder (who taught at Groningen) that illustrate S.'s influence and the use of Arabic in biblical interpretation.

Works: *Origines Hebraeae sive Hebraeae linguae antiquissima natura et indoles ex Arabiae penetralibus revocata* (2 vols., 1724–38, 1761²); *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae* (1737); *Liber Jobi cum nova versione et Hebraeum fontem et commentario perpetuo* (2 vols., 1737); *Proverbia Salomonis* (1748); *Opera minora* (ed. J. J. Schultens, 1769).

Bibliography: **J. Brugman and F. Schröder,** *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands* (1979). **W. Genesius,** *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift* (1815, repr. 1973) 126-29. **H. L. Strack,** *NSHERK* 10 (1911) 276. **A. J. Wensinck,** *NNBW* 5 (1921) 707-11.

J. H. HAYES

SCHULTZ, HERMANN (1836–1903)

Born Dec. 30, 1836, in Lüchow in Niedersachsen, S. died May 15, 1903, in Göttingen. He studied theology and philosophy at the universities of Göttingen and Erlangen (1853–56), where he heard J. von HOFMANN. After graduating with a PhD (1858), he became a *Stiftsrepetent* (1859) and lic. theol. as well as a *Privatdozent* in Göttingen (1861). In 1864 he became an *ausserordentlicher* professor at Basel and held professorial positions in Strasbourg (1872), Heidelberg (1874), and Göttingen (1876), where from 1890 he also held the honorary office of the abbot of Bursfelde.

S. had wide interests and was a skilled author, preacher, and *Dozent,* teaching not only HB and NT but also systematic and practical theology. As an HB scholar he was not original, deriving his themes from systematic theology; but he was an independent thinker, took into account the research of his day, and was apologetically responsive to the present. As a dogmatic theologian he stood, albeit cautiously, nearest to A. RITSCHL. Because he regarded Christianity as the "perfect revelation," he was interested in other religions and had influence in the developing RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE at Göttingen.

The various editions of his major work on OT THEOLOGY moderately reflected (more in terms of disposition than of substance) the dramatic history of contemporary HB scholarship, especially PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM, from H. EWALD and A. KUENEN to B. DUHM and J. WELLHAUSEN. It was first published in 1869, and two new editions followed. In the first edition S. presented in three major sections the religious "fundamental facts" and "views" or "directions" of Mosaism, prophetism, and Levitism. In 1878 the section on Mosaism had become the development of the religion of Israel until the time of Ezra. The new second and third sections described the "consciousness of salvation" and the "religious view of the world," both at the end of the prophetic period. The "Levitical period," previously the third section, followed as an appendix. In 1889 this appendix was dropped and the entire work consisted of two sections: historical ("development") and systematic ("consciousness of salvation," "religious view of the world," and "hope of Israel"), in which S. intended to delineate the "quintessence of biblical religious development." The subtitle "The Religion of Revelation in Its Pre-Christian Stage of Development," indirectly characterizes the relationship not only to other religions but also to Christianity, which stands as the religion of the completed kingdom of God, i.e., the destination as opposed to the way.

The wide dissemination of S.'s work shows how strong the need was for a balance between the new historical criticism and the customary ecclesiastical theological picture of the HB. In the area of the NT he relativized the results of scholarship by proposing the thesis that faith in Christ is fully independent of the historical examination of his life.

Works: "Veteris Testamenti de hominis immortalitate sententia illustrata" (diss., Göttingen, 1860); *Voraussetzungen der christlichen Lehre von der Unsterblichkeit* (1861); "Die Lehre von der Gerechtigkeit aus dem Glauben im alten und neuen Bunde," *JDTh* 7 (1862) 510-72; "Über doppelten Schriftsinn: Eine Abhandlung zur Geschichte der Psalmen," *TSK* 39 (1866) 7-52; *Alttestamentliche Theologie: Die Offenbarungsreligion auf ihrer vorchristlichen Entwickelungsstufe* (1869, 1889⁴; ET of 4th ed., *OT Theology* [1892]); "Der christliche Glaube und die geschichtliche Frage des Lebens Jesu," *Wissenschaftliche Vorträge über religiöse Fragen* (1877) 16-48; *Die Lehre von der Gottheit Christi* (1881); *Predigten* (1882); *Grundriss der Evangelischen Dogmatik* (1890); *Grundriss der Evangelischen Ethik* (1891); *Das Alte Testament und die evangelische Gemeinde* (ACW 7, 1893); *Grundriss der Christlichen Apologetik* (1894, 1902²; ET of 2d ed., *Outlines of Christian Apologetics* [1905]).

Bibliography: **J. H. Hayes and F. C. Prussner,** *OT Theology: Its History and Development* (1985) 110-14. **P. Ulrich,** "H. S.s *Alttetestamentliche Theologie* im Zusammenhang seines Lebens und Werkes" (diss. theol., Göttingen, 1988). **E. Vischer,** *RE*³ 17 (1906) 799-804.

R. SMEND

SCHÜRER, EMIL (1844–1910)

Born May 2, 1844, in Augsburg, S. began his university studies at Erlangen and his doctoral studies at Leipzig. Sparked by the Heidelberg theologian R. Rothe, he developed a keen interest in the work of F. SCHLEIERMACHER and F. C. BAUR and in 1868 garnered his university lecturing qualifications with a thesis on Schleiermacher's theology. S. was also influenced by A. RITSCHL. In 1873 S. became a professor in Leipzig and in 1878 took a position in NT at Giessen. After spending some time at Kiel (1890) he came to Göttingen in 1895 and remained there until his death Apr. 30, 1910. He

developed close ties with H. HOLTZMANN and A. von HARNACK, both major proponents of serious historical-critical investigation of the NT and of early Christian history. In 1876 he founded the important journal *TLZ*, which he edited (later with von Harnack) until his death.

S.'s major achievement and lifetime work was his *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ.* Arguably one of the most significant and ambitious works in NT criticism ever to be undertaken, this work established late Second Temple Judaism as a major area of study. S.'s basic premise was that the Jewish environment of late antiquity was the soil in which early Christianity grew and developed; thus any thorough understanding of the NT must be grounded in meticulous study of the Judaism of the NT period, beginning with the Maccabean era and continuing to the Bar Kochba revolt under Hadrian (175 BCE–135 CE). In contrast to many other NT scholars, S. did not deal with the Greco-Roman background of the NT but focused solely on the Jewish context. S.'s liberal Protestant theology placed great stress on JESUS and the Gospels, thus his overall concern was to explicate the background of the Jesus history, every word of which he believed to be incomprehensible apart from its Jewish framework.

S.'s *History* went through a series of revisions, growing considerably in the process primarily through the addition and expansion of copious footnotes and indexes. This highly acclaimed work not only became popular with Christian NT critics but was also used by Jewish scholars. Finally, between 1973 and 1987 the entire third/fourth edition was translated, revised, updated, and corrected by a team of scholars under the editorship of G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black. This final edition remains fundamentally S.'s scholarship, and although references to new discoveries have been added and the discussion has been brought up to date on numerous points, the basic thrust and structure of the original *History* are intact.

The *History* has three main sections: political history, cultural and spiritual life of the Jews, and life among the Jews in the diaspora and the extant Jewish literature of the era, concluding with an extended discussion of PHILO. S.'s work was a significant advance in the scholarship of the period; he used the full range of available Jewish texts, including not only rabbinic sources but also the pseudepigraphic Jewish works (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA), a move that gave impetus to this growing area of Jewish studies. He made extensive use of papyrology, ARCHAEOLOGY, and numismatics. His detailed work resulted in a virtual compendium of research on late Judaism, giving the *History* an encyclopedic quality.

The *History* has been criticized: S. was too systematic and as a result failed to take note of the inner connections between events. He used rabbinic sources with questionable relevance at times and, while familiar with the Mishnah, was dependent on other scholars for his Talmudic references (see TALMUD). He limited his discussions of the religious aspects of Judaism of the NT period to the law and messianism. S. responded that these two aspects captured the fundamental nature of late Judaism and that the growth of the Pharisaic movement, the most significant religious development in the Judaism of this period, argued for the primacy of the law in his treatment. Furthermore, and perhaps most important, he was most concerned with the aspects of Judaism that helped illuminate the Gospels. This meant that discussion of law and messianism was paramount since both were focal points for the ministry and conception of Jesus.

S. had a particular nineteenth-century Protestant conception of Judaism as being ultimately grounded in legalism, and his work in the *History* is fundamentally a history of Judaism given from his perspective of NT studies. His overall interests in the history of Judaism are expressed more clearly in two short studies: Jesus' connection to the OT and to Judaism (1882) and Jesus' messianic self-consciousness (1903). S. argued that, on the one hand, Jesus was firmly grounded in the Jewish world of his time and took on specific messianic conceptions. On the other hand, with Jesus there was also a new ethical reevaluation of the political messianic categories, which were infused with the consciousness that he was a "child of God." Here S.'s liberal Ritschlian theology met his historical-critical study. For him the JOHANNINE portrayal of Jesus was crucial; in his 1889 study of the Gospel the discussion of the Johannine Jesus is clearly influenced by S.'s own liberal agenda. This article provides not only a good summary of nineteenth-century scholarship on John but also links S. with Tübingen *Tendenz* criticism in his treatment of the apostle John's movement from a law-observant to a law-critical position.

Works: *Schleiermacher's Religionsbegriff und die philosophischen Voraussetzungen desselben* (1868); *Die Predigt Jesu Christi in ihrem Verhältnis zum Alten Testament und zum Judenthum* (1882); *Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der johanneischen Frage* (1889); *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (3d/4th ed., 1901–9; ET, *HJPAJC* [3 vols. in 4, rev. G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black, 1973–87]); *Das messianische Selbstbewusstsein Jesu Christi* (1903).

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T. C. PENNER

SCHWEITZER, ALBERT (1875–1965)

Born Jan. 14, 1875, in Kaysersberg, Alsace, S. was the son of a liberal Protestant pastor who settled in Günsbach, a farming village between Colmar and Münster, which became S.'s beloved home. In 1928 he built a house there that today contains the Schweitzer-Zentralarchiv and a museum.

Upon completion of his Abitur in 1893, S. attended the University of Strasbourg, where he studied theology and philosophy, spending a semester each in Paris and Berlin. His philosophy teachers were W. Windelband and T. Ziegler. In theology the noteworthy NT scholar H. HOLTZMANN was a dominant influence. S. also pursued his great musical talent, taking instruction in the organ with C. Widor in Paris; as a virtuoso artist S. later gave concerts in all the great cities of Europe. On Pentecost 1896, however, he made a decision to follow a vocation of humanitarian service after reaching thirty years of age, without yet knowing what that would be.

S. held doctorates from three Strasbourg faculties: philosophical (with a dissertation on I. Kant's philosophy of religion [1899]), theological (with a dissertation on the problem of the Lord's Supper [1901]), and medical (with a dissertation on the psychiatric study of Jesus [1913]). He became a *Dozent* in 1902 on the strength of his Habilitationschrift *Das Messianitäts-und Leidensgeheimnis Jesu* (1901); after 1912 he became a professor. With two theological exams (1898 and 1900) he had become eligible to pastor in the Protestant church of Alsace. The multitude of his interests and an unbelievable capacity for work permitted him between 1900 and 1912 to fulfill simultaneously the duties of vicar of St. Nicholas in Strasbourg, *Dozent* in the evangelical theological faculty, director of the Thomasstift, organist for the Bach society in Paris with regular concerts, and student of medicine (1905–12). In addition, he wrote his most important books during this period.

In the autumn of 1904 S. decided to go to Gabun in central Africa as a medical doctor in the service of the Paris Mission Society in response to an appeal over the distress of the Congo Mission. On his first trip there in 1913 with his wife, Helene, a trained medical nurse, he built and financed a hospital in Lambarene on the Ogowe River that would become a symbol of humanity and that still exists. This work ended temporarily with WWI but was begun again after 1924 with steadily growing success. On his trip to the United States in 1949 and on many European trips, S. collected money for his work through lectures, concerts, and record sales, which soon made him world famous. He received a great number of awards and turned down calls to the universities in Leipzig and Zürich. He worked as the chief doctor in Lambarene for approximately fifty years, where he died at age ninety, Sept. 4, 1965.

S. was and remained at the center of his existence a theologian (see E. Grässer [1979]; conversely, H. Gross [1974]). He held fast to and carried out his office of pastor throughout his life, regarding preaching as an "inner need" (*Werke* [1971, 1974^2] 1:44; 5:472). His going to Africa as a medical doctor was no flight from theology; he understood his mission work as a call to follow JESUS. Even his philosophy, "the ethic of reverence for life," he termed "the universal, encompassing ethic of love. It is the perceived ethic of Jesus expressed in necessarily thoughtful form" (*Werke* 1:241). He was distrustful of confessional faith. "Piety, not 'faith,' is the foundation of religion. Piety is the energy of faith" (letter of Nov. 11, 1960, to H. Casparis). Piety for S. was the lived thought of the kingdom of God, the commission to work in the spirit of Jesus in such a way as to realize the Kingdom (see Grässer, 206). He was persuaded that he was fulfilling this commission in Lambarene.

S. was unwilling to serve a scientific, academic quest for knowledge by means of abstract thought. Instead he always asked of what and to whom was knowledge of use. Knowledge should dispense with the "dangerous questions," which in the case of the Lord's Supper meant that HERMENEUTICS had to ensure that modern Christians could celebrate communion without ceasing to think (see Grässer, 38). This pastoral responsibility of the academic theologian S. knitted seamlessly into his view of the philosopher, musician, and physician. Here, too, appropriateness was the actual goal of knowledge (see W. Picht [1960; ET 1964] 43); thus it is no accident that S. the philosopher turned to I. KANT, in whose work the concept of "moral humanity" emerges. There S. recognized his life's theme, and the young doctoral candidate brought out in his first literary work how Kant, on the one hand, capitulated in the face of the riddle of the ethical and how, on the other hand, he grasped ethics as the possibility of human beings' coming to self-fulfillment (see E. Grässer [1979] 35).

Ethics dominated S.'s thought throughout his life. After winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1952, he became the spokesperson for humanity through passionate appeals for the abolishment of all atomic testing and weapons. Although this stand cost him much respect among politicians, it raised his moral authority with the world population.

As a theologian S. was above all a scholar of Jesus and of PAUL. With his *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* from 1906 and 1913, his name was forever listed with the great scholars. The book is a brilliantly written settling of accounts with the fabricated lives of Jesus from H. S. REIMARUS (1694–1768) to W. WREDE (1859–1906). Into their place steps the historical Jesus, who announces the imminence of the kingdom of God and then takes this immediate eschatological expectation with him to his death, thus setting free for us the ethical motivation to preach the kingdom of God: Insofar as we act in the spirit of Jesus, we build on his kingdom. This thesis did not, however, gain acceptance.

In his books on Paul, S. developed a thoroughgoing eschatological interpretation of the NT with two results. First, Paul is misunderstood if one explains him from the standpoint of Hellenism; instead, he stands completely under the influence of early Jewish APOCALYPTICISM, a realization that today has become widely accepted. Second, one does not have to choose between Jesus and Paul. After Easter, Paul thought through objectively the message of Jesus as an "ethical Christ mysticism," thereby making Christianity historically viable. The easily misunderstood term *mysticism* was for S. "only another expression of the eschatological concept of salvation" (*Werke* 4:166). This idea was central to Paul; the theology of justification was only a secondary doctrine. Paul even intended that one's salvation through Christ result in action. "Action-eschatology" is the catchword (*Werke* 4:307) that points to the fact that the Christian message is ethics.

Works: *Die Religionsphilosophie Kants von der Kritik der reinen Vernunft bis zur Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* (1899, repr. 1974; ET, *The Essence of Faith: Philosophy of Religion* [1966]); *Das Abendmahlsproblem auf Grund der wissenschaftlichen Forschung des 19. Jahrhunderts und der historischen Berichte* (1901, 1929[2]; ET, *The Problem of the Lord's Supper According to the Scholarly Research of the Nineteenth Century and the Historical Accounts* [1982]); *Das Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimnis: Eine Skizze des Lebens Jesu* (1901, 1956[3]; ET *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God: The Secret of Jesus' Messiahship and Passion* [1914]); (with H. Gillot), *J. S. Bach, le musicien-poète* (1905); *Deutsche und französische Orgelbaukunst und Orgelkunst* (1906, 1968[3]); *Von Reimarus zu Wrede: Eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (1906; ET *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* [1910, 1968], with intro. by J. M. Robinson, xi-xxxiii; 2nd. Ger. ed. expanded, *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* [1913, 1951[6]], with new Vorrede; UTB 1302 [2 vols., 1966[7]], with "Einführung" by J. M. Robinson); *Johann Sebastian Bach* (1908, 1977[13]; ET 1911); *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart* (1911, 1933[2]; ET *Paul and His Interpreters* [1912]); *J. S. Bach: Complete Organ Works. A Critico-practical Edition* (8 vols., 1912–67); *Die psychiatrische Beurteilung Jesu* (1913; ET *The Psychiatric Study of Jesus* [1948]); *Das Christentum und die Weltreligionen* (1923; ET *Christianity and the Religions of the World* [1923]); *Verfall und Wiederaufbau der Kultur: Kulturphilosophie I* (1923; ET, *The Decay and Restoration of Civilization* [1923, 1932[2]]); *Kultur und Ethik: Kulturphilosophie II* (1923; ET *Civilization and Ethics* [1946]); *Aus meiner Kindheit und Jugendzeit* (1924; ET *Memoirs of Childhood and Youth* [1924]); *Selbstdarstellung* (1929); *Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus* (1930, 1981), with "Einführung" by W. G. Kümmel (ET, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* [1931]); *Aus meinem Leben und Denken* (1931; ET, *My Life and Thought* [1933]); *Die Weltanschauung der indischen Denker* (1935, 1965[2]; ET, *Indian Thought and Its Development* [1936]); *Goethe: Vier Reden* (1950, 1970[2]; ET, *Goethe: Four Studies* [1949]); *Das Problem des Friedens in der heutigen Welt* (1954; ET, *The Problem of Peace in the World Today* [1954]); *Friede oder Atomkrieg: Drei Appelle* (1958, enl. 1984[3]; ET, *Peace or Atomic War* [1958]); *Strassburger Predigten* (ed. U. Neuenschwander, 1966; ET, *Reverence for Life* [1970]); *Reich Gottes und Christentum* (ed. U. Neuenschwander, 1967, expanded ed. 1995; ET, *The Kingdom of God and Primitive Christianity* [1968]); *Ausgewählte Werke* (5 vols., ed. R. Grabs, 1971, 1974[2]); *Was sollen wir tun? Zwölf Predigten über ethische Probleme* (ed. M. Strege and L. Stiehm, 1974; ET, *A Place for Revelation: Sermons on the Reverence for Life* [1988]); *A. S.: Leben, Werk und Denken, 1905–65. Mitgeteilt in seinen Briefen* (ed. H. W. Bähr, 1987); *Gespräche über das Neue Testament* (ed. W. Döbertin, 1988); *A. S., H. Bresslau: Die Jahre von Lambarene. Briefe 1902–12* (ed. R. Schweitzer Miller, G. Woytt, 1992).

Bibliography: **H. W. Bähr,** *A. S.: Sein Denken und sein Weg* (1962). **H. Clark,** *The Ethical Mysticism of A. S.: A Study of the Sources and Significance of S.'s Philosophy of Civilization* (1962). **E. Grässer,** *A. S. als Theologe* (1979); "A. S. und R. Bultmann: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Jesusfrage," *R. Bultmanns Werk und Wirkung* (ed. B. Jaspert, 1984) 53-69. **N. S. Griffith and L. Pearson,** *A. S.: An International Bibliography* (1981). **H. Gross,** *A. S.: Grösse und Grenzen. Eine kritische Würdigung des Forschers und Denkers* (1974). **C. Guenzler,** *A. S.: Einführung in sein Denken* (1996). **J. L. Ice,** *S.: Prophet of Radical Theology* (1971). **O. Kraus,** *A. S.: Sein Werk und seine Weltanschauung* (1926). **W. G. Kümmel,** "A. S. als Jesus- und Paulusforscher," *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze 1965–77* (1978) 1-11. **D. E. Nineham,** "S. Revisited," *Explorations in Theology* 1 (1977) 112-33. **W. Picht,** *A. S.: Wesen und Bedeutung* (1960; ET, *The Life and Thought of A. S.* [1964]). **G. Seavers,** *A. S.: The Man and His Mind* (1969[6]). **H. Steffahn,** *A. S. in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (1979).

E. GRÄSSER

SCHWENCKFELD, CASPAR VON (1489–1561)

A Silesian noble turned lay theologian, S. was one of the first serious critics of LUTHER and a significant Quietist Reformer. For much of his adult life he traveled from place to place disseminating his brand of spirituality. In addition, he wrote some 1,250 tracts circulated in print or manuscript form. He is generally counted a spiritualist; nonetheless, Scripture was central in shaping his thought—whether as a text to be studied and used as a norm for Christian belief and conduct or in its internal force as the life-giving Word of God. Numerous citations in almost all of his tracts attest to the significance of Scripture, which he accepted as "records of the word which has been prompted" by God.

Under the influence of AUGUSTINE and J. Tauler, S. distinguished between external and internal word, arguing that the spoken or transitory word is Word of God

in a derived sense only. By contrast, the inner Word, i.e., Christ in his celestial nature, is life-giving seed, bread of the soul, water, or spirit. To unregenerate persons Scripture remains a closed book, while to a believing and regenerate heart the Holy Spirit will unveil its mystery unto "edification, discipline, improvement, and punishment." In debate with ANABAPTISTS during the 1540s, S. increasingly upheld Scripture as norm giving, authoritative, and christocentric; but he continued to stress its spiritual, internal dimension. Several of his tracts were devoted exclusively to the place and AUTHORITY of Scripture: *De Cursu Verbi Dei* (1527), *Von der hailigen Schrifft* (1551), *Vom Evangelio Christi* (1552).

Works: *The Piety of C. S.* (tr. E. J. Furcha, 1969); *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* (19 vols. ed. C. D. Hartranft et al., 1907–61).

Bibliography: **P. Erb** (ed.), *S. and Early Schwenkfeldianism* (1986). **E. J. Furcha,** *S.'s Concept of the New Man* (1970). **R. E. McLaughlin,** *C. S.: Reluctant Radical. His Life to 1540* (1986). **P. L. Maier,** *C. S. on the Person and Work of Christ* (1959). **S. G. Schultz,** *C. S. von Ossig (1489–1561): Spiritual Interpreter of Christianity, Apostle of the Middle Way, Pioneer in Modern Religious Thought* (1977).

E. J. FURCHA

SCOFIELD, CYRUS INGERSON (1843–1921)

Born near Clinton, Michigan, Aug. 19, 1843, S. was reared as an Episcopalian in Lebanon, Tennessee. After service in the Civil War (1861–65) he moved to St. Louis, Missouri, where he studied law, and then to Atchison, Kansas (1869–75), where he practiced law and was involved in politics. Leaving his family, he returned to St. Louis, where he later experienced a conversion (1879), became associated with the D. Moody revival movement, and joined the Congregational Church. His church and religious work took him to Dallas, Texas, where he served a church (1882–95), organized mission work, began a correspondence Bible course, participated in Bible conferences, and wrote *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth* (1888), a dispensational premillennial work. After a pastorate in Northfield, Massachusetts (1895–1902), and a return to the Dallas church (1902–7), he settled on Long Island near New York City, continuing correspondence programs and work at Bible conferences until his death, July 24, 1921.

S.'s major impact on biblical interpretation was the publication of his reference Bible (by Oxford University Press) in 1909 (expanded ed. 1917, rev. 1967). The Scofield Reference Bible was based on a theory of seven dispensations through which history providentially unfolds: the dispensations of (1) innocence (Gen 1:28–3:13); (2) conscience (Gen 3:23–7:23); (3) human government (Gen 8:20–11:9); (4) promise (Gen 12:1–Exod 19:8); (5) law (Exod 19:8–); (6) grace, inaugurated with the death and resurrection of JESUS; and (7) the final dispensation to be inaugurated with the pretribulation rapture of the church, the great tribulation, and the return of Christ to establish the millennial kingdom. S.'s Bible was a major publishing success. In addition, he edited the tercentenary edition of the Bible for Oxford University Press (1911).

Works: *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth* (1888 and frequent later eds.); *No Room in the Inn* (1913); *The New Life in Christ* (1915); *What Do the Prophets Say?* (1918); *Things New and Old* (1920); *In Many Pulpits* (1922).

Bibliography: **J. M. Cranfield,** *The Incredible S. and His Book* (1988). **A. C. Gaebelein,** "The Story of the Scofield Reference Bible," *Moody Monthly* (October 1942–March 1943). **S. R. Spencer,** *HHMBI*, 610-615. **C. G. Trumbull,** *The Life Story of C. I. S.* (1920).

J. H. HAYES

SEELEY, JOHN ROBERT (1834–95)

A secular historian and essayist with a keen interest in religion, S. studied classics at Cambridge. He became professor of Latin at University College, London, and after 1869 professor of modern history at Cambridge, where he wrote chiefly on European politics and the British Empire.

In 1865 S. published the anonymous *Ecce Homo,* and it was mainly through the controversy associated with this book that he came to exert an influence on Victorian biblical study. Unacquainted with German criticism and skillfully postponing questions about miracles or the deity of Christ to a promised but never completed second volume, he drew selectively on the Gospels to present Christ as a sublime moralist animated by "the enthusiasm of humanity." Coming after the skeptical works of D. F. STRAUSS and J. RENAN, *Ecce Homo* demonstrated that a purportedly historical, non-dogmatic portrait of Christ need not inevitably clash with the claims of orthodoxy.

Works: *David and Samuel, with Other Poems* (1859); *Ecce Homo: A Survey of the Life and Work of Christ* (1865); *Lectures and Essays* (1870); *Natural Religion* (1882).

Bibliography: **D. L. Pals,** "The Reception of *Ecce Homo*," *HMPEC* 46 (1977) 63-84. **G. W. Prothero,** *DNB* 17 (1897) 1128-31. **D. Wormell,** *Sir J. S. and the Uses of History* (1980) 12-47.

D. L. PALS

SEELIGMANN, ISAC LEO (1907–82)

A Jewish and Israeli historian and biblicist, S. was born in Amsterdam and studied classics at Leiden and Judaica at the Amsterdam Rabbinical Seminary, where he

later taught. During WWII he escaped Nazi extermination through the intervention of his teacher F. de Liagre Böhl but was imprisoned with his family in Theresienstadt. In 1950 he settled in Jerusalem and taught at the Hebrew University until his retirement in 1976.

S.'s primary field of research was the SEPTUAGINT (LXX), which he studied as documents of Hellenistic Judaism. From it he recovered original and secondary Hebrew readings that attest to the development of biblical literature and religion. Studying Hebrew mentality, he detected in the Bible the beginnings of MIDRASH exegesis, pointing out its awareness of the double meaning of words and its use of wordplay. He studied the semantics of key terms in biblical thought (e.g., *yš'*), tracing their secular origin and subsequent theological application.

S. maintained that the DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY was never a unified work but grew out of repeated editorial interventions and interpolations. He disproved the mechanistic use of formulas as indicators of literary genres and considered many etiological elements to be secondary accretions to biblical narratives. As a text critic (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM) he upheld the legitimacy of emendation by conjecture, if founded on ascertained phenomena of corruption, contextual interpretation, and history of thought. Within Jewish scholarship, S. opposed theological attitudes to the Bible, apologetics, harmonistic interpretations, and philosophical deductions. His approach was philological in the European sense and historical throughout.

Works: "Problemen en perspectieven in het moderne Septuaginta onderzoek," *JEOL* 7 (1939–42) 359-90, 763-76 (ET: "Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research," *Textus* 15 [1990] 163-232); *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (1948); "Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese," *VTSup* 1 (1953) 150-81; "Hebräische Erzählung und biblische Geschichtesschreibung," *TZ* 18 (1962) 305-25; "Menschliches Heldentum und göttliche Hilfe: Die doppelte Kausalität im alttestamentliche Geschichtsdenken," *TZ* 19 (1963) 385-411; "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," *VTSup* 17 (1967) 251-78; *I. L. S. Volume* (3 vols., ed. Y. Zakovitch and A. Rofé, 1982) 1:11-18 (complete bibliography to 1982); *Collected Essays* (ed. A. Hurvitz et al., 1992) Hebrew.

Bibliography: **R. Hanhart,** "In memoriam I. L. S.," *BIOSCS* 16 (Fall 1983) 1. **A. Rofé,** "I. L. S.: Teacher and Scholar," *I. L. S. Volume* (3 vols., ed. Y. Zakovitch and A. Rofé, 1982) 1:1-9 (Hebrew). *In Memory of Prof. I. L. S.* (Institute of Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University, 1983) Hebrew.

A. ROFÉ

SELDEN, JOHN (1584–1654)

Educated at Hart Hall, Oxford, S. was called to the bar in 1612. He sat in several Parliaments, where he was often called upon to give legal opinions. An irenic Puritan, in 1643 he became one of the thirty lay accessors of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, often confounding his fellow members by appealing to the Hebrew and Greek text of Scripture. His skills as lawyer, historian, linguist, and orientalist, together with his concern for contemporary politics were all used in his many writings.

As an orientalist S. wrote on the background to Israelite religion, partly in dialogue with the humanist assumptions of European scholars like H. GROTIUS. His widely acclaimed work on idolatry, *De Dis Syris* (1617), a catalog of references in classical sources, was supposedly neutral; but his allegorizing of some ancient deities showed the superiority of the God of Israel. Much of S.'s writing on the Bible was an attempt to show how decisions, both legal and ecclesiastical, on such subjects as church organization, marriage and divorce, the calendar, and inheritance should be consistent with biblical legal texts understood in their own contexts and in their plain meaning, thus creating an effective methodology for refuting partisan interpretations.

S. was familiar with variant readings, especially between the MT and the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT), and was able to exploit them for his own exegetical purposes. He also knew the TARGUMIM and later rabbinic sources, especially the legal codification of MAIMONIDES (whom he quoted, e.g., tithing to the Temple ceased at its destruction in 70 CE [1618, 21]). His *History of Tithes* was suppressed because he proposed that tithes were not a continuing divine prerogative, although tithing should still be practiced. In *Table Talk* he spoke in favor of contextual exegesis that takes account of the author's original intention and, with delightful anti-clericalism, noted that "laymen have best interpreted the hard places in the Bible." His valuable collection of books went to the Bodleian Library.

Works: *De Dis Syris syntagmata duo* (1617); *Historie of Tithes* (1618); *De successionibus in bona defuncti ad leges Ebraeorum* (1631); *De successione in pontificatum Ebraeorum* (1636); *De jure naturali et gentium iuxta disciplinam Ebraeorum* (1640); *De anno civili et calendario veteris ecclesiae seu reipublicae Judaicae* (1644); *Uxor ebraica seu de nuptiis et divortiis ex iura civili, id est, divino et talmudico, veterum Ebraeorum* (1646); *De synedriis et praefecturis iuridicis veterum Ebraeorum* (1650–55); *Table Talk* (1689; ed. F. Pollock, 1927); *Opera Omnia* (3 vols. in 6, ed. D. Wilkins, 1726), includes a biography in 1, 1, i-lvi and indexes of scriptural references.

Bibliography: **J. Aikin,** *The Lives of J. S., Esq., and Archbishop Usher* (1812). *BB* 6 (1763) 3605-624. **D. S. Berkowitz,** *J. S.'s Formative Years* (1988). **E. G. M. Fletcher,** *John Selden, 1584–1654* (Selden Society Lecture, 1969). **E. Fry,** *DNB* 51 (1897) 212-24. **I. Herzog,** "J. S. and Jewish Law," *Journal of Comparative Legislation* 3 (1931) 236-45 = his

Judaism: Law and Ethics (1974) 67-79. **G. W. Johnson,** *Memoirs of the Life of J. S. and Notices of the Political Contest During His Time* (1835). **J. Le Clerc,** "J. S., *De diis Syris syntagmata,*" *BC* 7 (1705) 80-288; "J. S., *Table Talk,*" *BAM* 6 (1716) 251-324; "J. S., *Opera omnia,*" *BAM* 25 (1726) 331-414; *MSHH,* 5 (1728) 21-41. **M. J. Mulder,** "Von S. bis Schaeffer: Die Erforschung der kanaanäischen Götterwelt," *UF* 11 (1979) 655-71. **J. R. Ziskind,** *J. S. on Jewish Marriage Law: The "Uxor Hebraica"* (1991).

G. J. BROOKE

SELLIN, ERNST FRANZ MAX JOHANNES FRIEDRICH WILHELM (1867–1946)

A German OT scholar and archaeologist, born Mar. 26, 1867, S. was the son of a pastor in Altschwerin. He studied theology and oriental languages in Rostock, Erlangen, and Leipzig. Among his most important teachers were the orientalists F. Philippi, F. von Spiegel, L. Krehl, and Friedrich DELITZSCH and the HB scholar A. Köhler. S. received a PhD in Leipzig (1888) and his lic. theol. in Erlangen (1890). In 1894 he became a tutor in Erlangen, where in 1895 he habilitated in theology. He was called to the evangelical theological faculty in Vienna as an *ausserordentlicher* professor of HB in 1897 and in 1899 was named full professor. In 1908 he went to Rostock, in 1913 to Kiel, and in 1921 to Berlin. He edited KAT from 1913.

S. had a reputation as an impressive instructor and lecturer. He attained emeritus status in 1935 but was prevented from further public service because of his opposition to National Socialism. After Berlin was bombed in 1943 he returned to Thuringia. In 1945 he was asked to take up his professorial duties again but died Jan. 1, 1946.

S. was an archaeologist, a commentator, a historian, a theologian, a scholar of introductory studies, and an apologist for the HB. Coming from a theologically conservative Lutheran background, he practiced historical-critical research with a preference for genre analysis and the comparative study of religious history. Given to the construction of hypotheses, he was sensitive to changes in the state of research, and was able to relinquish some of his views quickly or to modify them, as reflected in the different editions of his works. He was especially concerned with the identity of the servant of God in Deutero-Isaiah, identifying this figure alternatively with Zerubbabel, Jehoiachin, and Moses before finally accepting K. ELLIGER's view (dominant in the last half of the twentieth century) that the servant was the prophet himself.

S. was the main German representative in Palestinian ARCHAEOLOGY in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1902 he dug at Tel Ta' annek (Taanach). The discovery of clay tablets in the final season led to an additional season in 1904 that brought to light further texts. Together with C. Watzinger, S. carried out excavations in 1907 at Tell es-Sultan, the HB city of Jericho. His archaeological methods were pre-stratigraphic and for that reason were often criticized, but they were "pioneer efforts of great importance" (G. E. Wright, [1967] 84).

S. wrote a number of studies that became standard works. Besides a commentary on the Minor Prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), his introduction, all seven editions of which were done by S., document a large portion of the history of research. His presentation of Israelite-Judean history, which was preceded by several special investigations, relied very much on extrabiblical sources and archaeological finds, following the model of R. KITTEL. S. found the theological dimension of Israel's history in the unique appearance of personalities like Moses and the prophets, by means of whom divine revelation entered into history. A third volume intended to present the history of the Hellenistic-Roman period remained unwritten. S.'s OT THEOLOGY consisted of historical and systematic parts in order to be consistent with the inseparable unity of the history of religion and theology. Within the HB S. argued for the coexistence of a national cultic religion and a prophetic-moral-universal religion that would find its goal in the revelation in Jesus Christ.

More than once S. argued decisively against those who doubted the canonical status (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) of the HB, whether from a theological point of view (see A. von Harnack; Friedrich Delitsch) or from antisemitic and racist ideology. Even in this case he argued in a hermeneutically questionable fashion, distinguishing between a dispensable national Jewish religion of the cult and a relevant moral-prophetic religion. He proved to be correct in his observation that the National Socialistic campaign against the HB was essentially anti-Christian.

Works: *Die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur der hebräischen Participien und Infinitive* (1889); *Disputatio de origine carminum, quae primus psalterii liber continet* (1892); *Beiträge zur israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte* (2 vols., 1896–97); *Serubbabel* (1898); *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde nach dem babylonischen Exil* (2 vols., 1901); *Tell ta' annek* (1904); *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (1905, 1913²); *Der Ertrag der Ausgrabungen im Orient für die Erkenntnis der Entwicklung der Religion Israels* (1905); *Eine Nachlese auf dem tell Ta' annek in Palästina* (1905); *Die Spuren griechischer Philosophie im Alten Testament* (1905); *Das israelitsche Ephod* (1906); *Die alttestamentliche Religion im Rahmen der andern altorientalischen* (1908); *Das Rätsel des deuterojesajanischen Buches* (1908); *Die israelitisch-jüdische Heilandserwartung* (1909); *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1910; ET 1923, 1935⁷; from 1950⁸ reworked by L. Rost; from 1965¹⁰, fully rewritten by G. Fohrer); *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus* (1912); *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1912); (with C. Watzinger), *Jericho* (1913); *Gilgal: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte*

der Einwanderung Israels in Palästina (1917); *Das Problem des Hiobbuches* (1919); *Das Alte Testament und die evangelische Kirche der Gegenwart* (1921); *Mose und seine Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte* (1922); *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch I. II* (KAT 12, 1922, 1929/30$^{2-3}$); *Wie wurde Sichem eine israelitische Stadt?* (n.d. [1922]); *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes I* (1924, 1935^{2}); *Das Hiobproblem* (1931); *Abschaffung des Alten Testaments?* (1932); *Alttestamentliche Theologie auf religionsgeschichtlicher Grundlage,* vol. 1, *Israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte* (1933); vol. 2, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1933, 1936^{2}); *Das Alte Testament im christlichen Gottesdienst und Unterricht* (1936).

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W. THIEL

SEMIOTICS

The British philosopher J. LOCKE was apparently the first modern philosopher to use the word *semeiotike* for the doctrine of signs and in particular for the study of words (1690, 1959, 4.21.4). C. Peirce first brought the term into general use in his work on logic (1932, 2:227). *Semeiotikos* was used by the Greeks to refer to a person skilled in interpreting signs, and medical writers used the term for diagnosis and prognosis. The philosopher Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. Log.* 1.25) wrote of a person who was a "semiotician" and therefore claimed to be able to make inferences from observable signs. "Semiotics" has been adopted by the International Association of Semiotic Studies for the study of any sign system with no necessary dependence on linguistics (U. Eco [1979] 30). Eco (9-13) notes that the discipline can concern itself with such fields as the communicative behavior of animals, olfactory signs, tactile communication (e.g., a kiss), musical codes, natural and formalized languages, and cultural codes (e.g., etiquette systems).

The Stoics, as described by Sextus (*Adv. Log.* 2.11, 12), made some basic distinctions that remain in use by many semioticians today: "They [the Stoics] say three things correspond to one another: what is signified, what signifies and what is the reality [happening—object or event]. Of these, on the one hand, the signifier is the sound such as 'Dion.' The signified, on the other hand, is the thing itself made known by the sound which [i.e., the thing] we perceive as corresponding to our understanding. But the barbarians do not understand even though they hear the sound. The reality is that which exists outside—e.g., Dion himself."

Peirce spoke of a sign as "something that stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity" (2:228). The object is what the sign stands for (e.g., Dion himself in the quote above). The interpretant is what the sign creates in the mind of another person (what is "signified" in the example above). A sign stands for an object, not in all respects, but in reference to an idea that Peirce called the "ground" of a sign. A sign cannot describe all the characteristics of an object but has to make a selection of those characteristics. Peirce related the interpretant to human conduct (see N. Kretzmann [1967] 395-96).

F. de Saussure, one of the pioneers of modern linguistics, similarly distinguished between signifier (the imprint the sign makes on our senses) and signified. The relation between the two is arbitrary. In other words, a word can mean whatever the users of a language choose it to mean (1928^{2}, 98-100). De Saussure also distinguished between *langue* (the system of a language) and *parole* (the use of a language in a given situation; 37). A word like *parable* can be investigated on the abstract level of its use in English (*langue*). It can also be investigated as to its use in a particular sentence of the English language as uttered by a person at a specific time (*parole*).

K. Bühler, the German linguist and psychologist, developed a model of language understood as an *organum* (tool; cf. Plato *Cratylus* 388b) with which a person communicates something about things to another person (1932, 1982^{2}, 24-25). In his model Bühler includes the sign, the sender, the receiver, and the realm of objects and relations. The sign is a "symbol" of the objects and relations that it expresses. It is a "symptom" because of its dependence on a sender whose inner state it expresses. It is also a "signal" because of its appeal to the hearer, whose outer and inner behavior it guides (like traffic signals; 28). Corresponding to the concepts symbol, symptom, and signal, Bühler also uses the equivalent terms *representation, expression,* and *appeal.*

The behavioral psychologist C. Morris used a semiotics similar to Bühler's. He defined pragmatics as the study of "the relation of signs to interpreters." Semantics is the study of the "relations of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable," and syntactics is the study of the "formal relations of signs to one another" (1946, 217-18). Morris gave a behavioral interpretation of the sign process: A sign sets up in an interpreter the disposition to react in a certain kind of way (the interpretant) to a certain kind of object (the signification) under certain conditions (the context). Taking the dance of bees as an example Morris called the dance itself the sign; the other bees influenced by the dance are interpreters; the disposition of the bees to react in a certain way to the dance is the interpretant;

the object (e.g., food or exploring new hive locations) toward which the bees are prepared to react is the signification; and the context is the position of the hive (1964, 2-3; see 1946, 17-18).

The philosopher G. Klaus included four categories in his semiotic model (1973, 47, 56): the objects of mental reflection (things, qualities, relations), linguistic signs, mental images, and people who use and understand signs. The objects are what are referred to by the signs. For example a word like *angel* can refer to the angel Gabriel (the object). The word *angel* has a conceptual meaning—what Klaus calls a mental image. He defines syntax as the relation of one sign to another or R(S,S′), where R stands for relation, S stands for sign, and S′ stands for other signs. Sigmatics is the relation between signs and the objects of mental reflection or R(S,O), where O stands for objects. Semantics is the relation between signs and mental images or R(S,I), where I is the mental image. Pragmatics is the relation between signs and people R(S,U), where U is the user. Klaus integrated the above categories in another article (1969, 978) in which he defined pragmatics to be a four-place relation between the senders (or receivers) of the sign, the sign itself, its meaning, and its reference. If one abstracts from the sender and the receiver, then semantics is the relation between signs and meanings and sigmatics is the relation between signs and their references. If one abstracts from users and meanings, then syntax is the relationship of signs to each other. D. Hellholm (1980, 23) simplifies the schema by including sigmatics in the discipline of semantics and by replacing O and I with D for *designatum*, or "meaning."

Semiotics has gone in a very different direction in the work of A. Greimas. One of his important contributions is his semiotic square, which he describes as the logical articulation of a semantic category (1982, 308-10). His semiotics concentrates on what has been called semantics above. His square is presented in a simplified form here:

A	non-A
not non-A	not A

A and non-A are contraries. A and not A are contradictories, as are non-A and not non-A. As an example Greimas gives this square:

being	seeming
non-seeming	non-being

The examples from biblical scholars that follow will be divided into syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Hellholm uses the concept of text-syntax (1980, 12, 29, 30) to illuminate the *Visions of Hermas.* One aspect of syntax is anaphora, or pointing back in a text, and kataphora, or pointing forward in a text. One of Hellholm's arguments for making a break between the fourth and fifth visions of Hermas uses this aspect of text-syntax. In the *Book of Visions* there are several examples of kataphora to following visions (*Vis.* 2.4.2; 3.13.4b), but none of them point to texts beyond Vision 4. Anaphora is also found in the references to the three visions in 3.10.7–3.13.4 and finally in 4.3.6. None of the examples of anaphora point to the other books of Hermas either. In the *Book of Mandates,* on the other hand, there is an example of anaphora to the books of visions (*Vis.* 5.5). There is another similar example in the *Book of Similitudes* 9.1 (these last two examples may be secondary). These examples discussed by Hellholm are an example of syntax, i.e., the relation of signs to other signs.

Word studies are a well-known technique in biblical studies. What is more unusual is the use of semiotic categories in such studies. G. Caird (1980, 54), for example, claims that the word *mystērion* used in both Ephesians and Colossians has the identical sense of "secret" and uses that hypothesis to question the arguments against Pauline authorship (see PAUL) based on the different uses of the word in each letter. However, the referent of *mystērion* is different in the two letters, and Caird does not consider the possibility that this could be an indication of different authors. In a similar approach J. Louw (1982, 50) notes that in Revelation *drakōn* means "dragon" and refers to the devil. *Paraklētos* in 1 John 2:1 has the meaning "helper" and the reference Christ.

Scholars can also use semantics to look at larger units of text, as in the investigation of H. Boers. Employing the work of Greimas, Boers uses semiotic squares to analyze John 4. Interpreting John 4:39-42 by means of one of the squares, he states that when the villagers recognized JESUS as a universal savior, they affirmed salvation for all people (1988, 129, 180, 199), whereas their earlier belief in Jesus as Messiah through the woman's testimony did not affirm universal salvation. In Boers's square the contrary of universal salvation is partisan salvation. His square (slightly simplified) is as follows (129): S (the subject) stands for the villagers; O (the object) stands for the concept of universal salvation; and non-O stands for the concept of partisan salvation.

S is conjoined with non-O	S is conjoined with O
S is disjoined with O	S is disjoined with non-O

Boers employs these squares to clarify the logical relationships of the values in the text.

Pragmatics (the relation of signs, meaning, and users) surfaces in the work of many scholars in different forms. P. Maartens, in a discussion of Mark 4:24-25, notes that "watch what you hear" is a perlocutionary speech act. A speech act such as a warning (as in Mark 4:24-25) may have an effect on a hearer, and this effect is the perlocution. If a reader actually heeded the warning, the perlocutionary act would be successful. Maartens (1991, 77) writes: "Mark 16:8 confronts the reader with the

rule of the resurrected Lord. The real reader concretises the speech act in a situational frame which encompasses himself. His faith produces hope. The text re-enacts this hope: Even in times of persecution, oppression and suffering, the hope of the implied reader perseveres." This attention to the effect of signs on a reader is an example of pragmatics. In a discussion of irony in John 4, G. O'Day (1986, 95) remarks that "Johannine irony creates the revelation experience for the reader as a result of the imaginative participation in the text which it encourages." Approaches that concentrate on the reader are semiotic in character (cf. G. Stibbe [1990] 418).

Semiotics overlaps with many other fields of research, e.g., work in INTERTEXTUALITY. The semiotician J. Kristeva describes a horizontal dimension of a word in which a word concerns both the subject of the writing (or author) and the receiver of the text. At the same time there is a vertical dimension of a word in a text and its orientation to a preceding or contemporary literary corpus. A word (or text) then is a crossing of words (or texts), where one reads at least another word (or text). Kristeva writes, "Every text is constructed as a mosaic of citations, every text is an absorption and transformation of another text." She bases her understanding of intertextuality on this model (1969, 84-85). Elsewhere she defines intertextuality: "The term inter-textuality denotes this transposition of one (or several) sign system(s) into another" (quoted in P. Maartens [1991] 75). Semiotics also overlaps with STRUCTURALISM. The American-German tradition of semiotics described above concerns itself with syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. The French tradition of semiotics is concerned mainly with issues of semantics, as in the work of the structuralist Greimas. Semiotic methods in biblical studies will stand or fall on their perceived usefulness in illuminating aspects of the text. The exegetical results may not be totally new, but the different questions such methods ask may throw new and exciting light on old questions.

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J. G. COOK

SEMLER, JOHANN SALOMO (1725–91)

Born Dec. 18, 1725, in Saalfeld in Thuringia, S. grew up under the influence of Lutheran PIETISM and the Enlightenment and became an important proponent of historical-critical Enlightenment theology in Germany. He was supported by S. BAUMGARTEN (1706–57) when he studied at the University of Halle (1743–50). His Latin master's thesis was directed against the NT TEXTUAL CRITICISM of the Cambridge mathematician and theologian W. WHISTON (1667–1752), whose views in part he later accepted. After a short stint as editor of the *Coburg Staats und Gelehrten-Zeitung,* in 1751 he was named professor of history and Latin poetry at the university of Altdorf near Nuremberg, where he primarily gave lectures on the history of the German Reich. In 1753 he went to the Prussian university at Halle as professor of theology. Recognized as an international scholar, he worked there until his death in 1791, repeatedly serving as dean of the theological faculty and three times as rector (prorector).

S. enjoyed a close friendship with Baumgarten and published the latter's extensive scholarly literary remains after his premature death. Following Baumgarten's suggestions, S. helped to produce a breakthrough in the role of historical thought in theology. The chief focus of his work was NT exegesis, textual criticism, HERMENEUTICS, and the history of the church and its doctrines. From 1756 on he lectured regularly on Christian dogmatics and in his works critically discussed contemporary Pietism and the thought of Lutheran orthodoxy. With the Hamburg pastor J. Goeze (1718–86) he disputed the value of the Complutensian POLYGLOT edition of the Bible as a textual source. He was intensively concerned with determining "the essence of Christianity," and in the famous "fragment" debate unleashed by G. LESSING (1729–81), he argued against the deception theory of the "unknown writer" (H. S. Reimarus) and for the

credibility of the NT's message about the crucifixion and the resurrection.

S.'s extensive source investigations and sagacious observations gave biblical exegesis, hermeneutics, and textual criticism important impulses. He distanced himself from both contemporary Pietism and the scriptural teachings of late orthodoxy. Countering Pietism, he demanded that attempts to discover the historical meaning of the biblical writings should take precedence over edifying uses that served religious devotion.

For biblical exegesis S. demanded a historical reading based strictly on the wording (*sensus literalis*) of the biblical texts and attempted to understand them as the biblical authors had at the time when they were written down. Inadmissible were both the theory of a fourfold sense in the Scriptures and the application of allegory, which attempts to find a spiritual or mystical sense behind the words of a text. On the basis of this historical interpretation, S. recognized that the previous practice of finding Christ in the psalms and in other HB texts could not be maintained scientifically. The HB and the NT must be understood as sources for two different religions. However, even the NT does not represent a rigidly uniform teaching because it gives evidence of a clear theological contrast between the freethinking direction of the followers of PAUL and the strictly legal approach of Jewish Christianity. S.'s theory of accommodation assisted him in arriving at a history-of-religions perspective (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE). He recognized that a mythological way of thinking and the religious convictions of early Judaism had influenced the apostolic message.

In the field of NT textual criticism, S. observed the distinction between the large body of younger manuscripts and the small number of valuable, older witnesses. He tried thoroughly to explain the interpolation in 1 John 5:7 (the *Comma Johanneum*). Because this passage is missing in the oldest Greek manuscripts and is not even mentioned in the church fathers of the first centuries, he denied its authenticity and for that reason attacked the dependability of the Complutensian edition of the Bible by Spanish scholars. He held that 1 John 5:7 may not be used as proof for the doctrine of the Trinity and, in contrast to the predominant exegetical view, advocated the thesis that Rom 9:5 can only refer to God the Father, not to JESUS Christ. Nevertheless, he maintained Jesus' divinity on the basis of the statements in the prologue to John and in the Pauline writings.

S. can be called the founder of CANONICAL CRITICISM. In his four-volume work *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Canon* (1771–75), he proved historically that the Christian faith was originally disseminated verbally before the individual writings were collected for preaching in the various communities and were subsequently included in canonical lists of differing extents. The present NT CANON of twenty-seven writings is the result of a long process of development and should not be set up as a legal standard for Christian thinking and behavior. Text-critical and substantive reasons suggest that a distinction should be made between Word of God and Holy Scripture. Important for the Christian faith are the message of the cross and the resurrection of Jesus Christ and the personal appropriation of the message of atonement and salvation.

S. vigorously supported the distinction between theology and religion. Theology was for him a subject for scholarly investigation, something that changes and can develop, and it would be the task of future teachers and scholars. In contrast, religion refers to the conviction of faith, religious devotion, and human love to be found in the practical life of all Christians.

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G. HORNIG

SEPTUAGINT

Palestinian dissatisfaction with the adequacy of parts of the LXX as a TRANSLATION of the HB eventually led to their revision and/or new translations in the first centuries of the Christian era. Rules for the proper exegesis of the Hebrew text were prepared by R. HILLEL (d. c. 20 CE) and his contemporary R. Shammai and in much greater detail a century later by R. AKIBA and R. ISHMAEL BEN ELISHA. These rules were intended to restrict individual interpretations of Scripture and to channel such interpretations in accordance with prescribed exegetical principles. This gradually evolving emphasis on a strict literalist interpretation made an impact on the

text of the LXX as well, particularly in Palestine. Early evidence for such revisions has been found in small fragments at Qumran (e.g., 4Q LXX Num; see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) and particularly in the Greek scroll of the Minor Prophets found in a cave in the Wadi Murabba'at and published by D. Barthélemy in *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (1963). Similarly literalistic texts reflecting some of these exegetical principles formulated by the rabbis are to be found in the Greek HB as accepted by the Christian church as well, Ecclesiastes being the prime example (see below).

When the Christian church emerged from its Jewish background after 70 CE and became a gentile institution it quite naturally adopted the LXX as its Bible. Its use of the LXX as CANON formed in turn its basis for discussion and argument with the Jews; this made Jewish dissatisfaction with the LXX even more intense, with the result that new attempts at rendering the Bible into Greek were made during the second century. The most Jewish of these was that of AQUILA (Aq), a disciple of R. Akiba, whose exegetical rules he attempted to apply in his translation. The result was a brilliant but bizarre piece of work that only someone thoroughly familiar with the Hebrew text could possibly understand. SYMMACHUS (Sym) also rendered the Hebrew text carefully into Greek, but for him the demands of the target language were paramount; thus his translation, though on the whole rendering the sense of the original, is not literalistic. Sym was extensively used by JEROME in his VULGATE translation of the HB. A third translation designated as THEODOTION (Th) is a Palestinian revision of the LXX text, parts of which must be much earlier than the second century since this text is sometimes cited in the NT, particularly in Revelation. In fact for Daniel it is the Th text rather than that of the LXX that was adopted by the Christian church.

By the third century arguments between Christians and Jews had reached such intensity that ORIGEN undertook the task of writing the Hexapla, a massive scholarly attempt to present all the evidence available to him whereby Christian scholars could assess the "correctness" of the LXX translation. As its name implies, it consisted in the main of six columns (occasionally more, as in the psalter). The first column presented the Hebrew text of Origen's day in Hebrew script; the second, in a Greek transcription. The purpose of this second column is not clear and is much debated by modern scholars. The third column was devoted to the text of Aq as the most literalistic rendering of the Hebrew; the fourth was that of Sym; the fifth, of the LXX text; and the last, of Th, although for Psalms the text used for the sixth column has been identified as that of Quinta. (Readings from Quinta, Sexta, and Septima, revisions of unknown origin, are occasionally cited in the fathers or in manuscripts.)

It is the fifth column that had an impact on the later LXX text. Since the work was arranged in columns only one or at most two Hebrew words could appear on a line, and the corresponding words in the translations would be placed on the same line. When the word order of the LXX did not correspond to that of the Hebrew, Origen was compelled to adapt it, i.e., the word order was "corrected." More seriously, the text of the LXX was sometimes longer than that of the Hebrew, sometimes shorter. When the LXX contained text without an equivalent in the Hebrew, Origen marked the onset with an obelus and its end with a metobelus; when the LXX had nothing to correspond to the Hebrew he borrowed from one of the other three, preferably from Th, using an asterisk to show its onset and a metobelus for its end (see Origen *Comm. in Mt.* 15:14). These signs are known as Aristarchian signs because they were presumably first used (although with a different meaning) by Aristarchus of Alexandria in the late third century BCE for his edition of Homer.

Unfortunately the Hexapla did not survive the Muslim onslaught of Syria in the seventh century, and its size precluded its being copied in full. Parts of it, however, were copied; a fragmentary codex found by Mercati in the Ambrosiana in Milan, containing in palimpsest columns two to six of the Hexapla of parts of Psalms 17, 23–31, 34–35, 45, 48 and 88, has been published.

The fifth column could be copied more easily alone, and according to EUSEBIUS (*Vita Const.* 4.35ff.) fifty copies were prepared by him and Pamphilus on orders from Emperor Constantine. Later copyists of this text were not as careful as these fathers presumably had been and, not understanding what the Aristarchian signs meant, often omitted them or placed them incorrectly, thereby creating textual chaos rather than the well-ordered scholarly aid intended by Origen.

According to Jerome (*Praef. in Lib. Paralip.*), Eusebius and Pamphilus promulgated this text throughout the Palestinian provinces, whereas Alexandria and Egypt lauded Hesychius as the author of their LXX; and the text of LUCIAN the Martyr was approved from Constantinople to Antioch. In fact, Jerome maintained that the entire world was at odds by reason of this threefold variety (*trifaria varietate*).

Of these three recensions the Origenian or hexaplaric is the best defined. The Lucianic recension is usually attributed to the Lucian who suffered martyrdom in 311/312. Commonly thought to be somewhat more Atticistic than the old LXX, its text is longer, i.e., it contains numerous doublets; its identification has been severely questioned for certain parts of the HB. This recension is usually identified by its use in the works of CHRYSOSTOM and THEODORET.

The third recension is most problematic. It is not even clear who Hesychius was, although Eusebius speaks of him as a martyr-bishop, an identification by no means certain. Nothing is known of his recension, although J.

Grabe's identification of the text of Codex B (Vaticanus) as Hesychian has received some scattered support. A critical edition of the text of CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA might shed some light, though even this is quite uncertain.

Meanwhile, as Christianity spread the Bible could no longer serve universally as canon for the faithful in its Greek dress. Already in the second century the LXX was being translated into Latin as a North African vulgate form of the Scriptures. This OL text underwent constant revision, particularly when it spread to the European continent, since most well-educated speakers of Latin were also acquainted with Greek. Latin writers like AUGUSTINE often "corrected" their OL texts, with the result that one can quite properly speak of OL versions. In Egypt the LXX was being rendered into Coptic dialects by the early third century. Of these the Bohairic is still used in the modern Coptic Church, whereas the Sahidic (from upper Egypt) is substantially extant in fragmentary manuscripts. At least parts of the HB were also rendered into Achmimic and Fayyumic, but these have almost completely disappeared.

During the fourth century the HB was also translated into Ethiopic (see ETHIOPIAN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION), probably by Frumentius of Tyre. This text underwent at least two revisions, both represented in manuscripts that require careful evaluation for use in LXX studies. For ARMENIAN, translated under the inspiration of Mesrop (d. 440), the textual evidence is much more of one piece in spite of the large number of manuscripts extant. Based on Greek manuscript(s) from Constantinople, for much of the HB its text is a good witness to the hexaplaric recension, and for some books, to the Lucianic/Byzantine tradition. The best hexaplaric evidence among the versions is the Syrohexaplar (Syh) translated during the second decade of the seventh century under the supervision of Paul, bishop of Tella. Much of the HB is extant, and for many books it is the best extant source for the hexaplaric signs as well. Other late versions of less importance for LXX studies are Arabic, Georgian, Gothic, and Slavonic.

Since the LXX and its versions constituted the canonical text for a large part of the Christian church up to modern times (i.e., the 16th cent.), commentaries, *questiones,* and homilies on books of the HB are all in theory part of LXX studies; in practice, patristic evidence is largely limited to textual rather than to exegetical collations and, for practical reasons, to the early centuries. One form of LXX studies needing separate mention is the evolution of catena texts. Catena manuscripts contain not only the biblical text as *lemata* but also large numbers of catenae or extracts from the fathers. Since many of the catenae come from works no longer extant, they constitute a valuable source of information, containing both homiletical/exegetical comments and textual notes that often give lexical information as well as non-LXX readings, especially from Aq, Sym, and Th.

Modern LXX studies may be said to begin with the rediscovery of Hebrew as the original language of most of the HB during the Renaissance. The appearance of J. REUCHLIN's *De Rudimentis Linguae Hebraicae* in 1506 meant that Christian scholars could now compare the LXX with the "original" Hebrew text and in turn use the Greek for both understanding and at times correcting the Hebrew. It is no exaggeration to state that with the appearance of Reuchlin's work HB TEXTUAL CRITICISM, in the modern sense of the term, was born.

Evidence for this new trend in biblical scholarship came with the appearance of the Complutensian POLYGLOT (HB in 4 vols.), printed 1514–17 but issued 1520–22 under the sponsorship of JIMÉNEZ DE CISNEROS. This Polyglot contained the Hebrew, the Vulgate, and the LXX as well as *Tg. Onqelos* for the Pentateuch. According to the preface a large number of manuscripts were used (mainly Spanish), including some on loan from the Vatican Library. Unfortunately the LXX text is not always trustworthy since corrections based on the Hebrew text rather than on Greek manuscripts do occur.

Appearing at approximately the same time (1518–19) was the Aldine edition. The editor, A. Asolanus, used manuscripts from the Bibl. Marciana in Venice for his edition, and its text is free of emendations. The finest edition of the LXX was, however, the Sixtine edition, appearing in Rome in 1587 under the editorship of A. Carafa. The text was primarily based on Codex B, an excellent fourth-century uncial, supplemented by a number of cursives not only from the Vatican Library but also from other Italian libraries. Notes with readings from the fathers as well as readings from Aq, Sym and Th were also provided by P. Morinus at the end of individual chapters and in supplements by F. Nobilius. The Sixtina became extremely popular and was reprinted repeatedly, including such a well-known edition as the London (or Walton) Polyglot of 1655–57 and those by L. Bos (1709); Holmes-Parsons (1798–1827); and C. von TISCHENDORF (1850). An early edition of the LXX that ought not to be overlooked is that of J. Grabe (1707–20) based on Codex A (Alexandrinus), a fifth-century uncial housed in the British Museum. Grabe's edition contains a number of corrections or emendations still accepted by most modern scholars as correct.

Early works in which the LXX is used extensively that are worth reading even today include A. MASIUS, *Josuae imperatoris historia illustrata atque explicata* (1574); J. DRUSIUS, *Veterum interpretum graecorum in totum VT fragmenta* (1622) and the earlier pamphlet *In Psalmos Davidis veterum interpretum quae extant fragmenta* (1581), both extensive collections of hexaplaric materials; L. CAPPEL, *Critica sacra* (1651; see CRITICI SACRI); I. Voss, *De LXX interpretibus* (1661–63); J. MORIN, *Exercitationum biblicarum de hebraei graecique*

textus sinceritate (1669); and J. CARPZOV, *Critica sacra VT* (1728).

The year 1705 marked a turning point in the perception of LXX origins. Prior to the publication of H. HODY's essay *Contra historiam LXX interpretum Aristeas nomine inscriptam* in his *De bibliorum textibus originalibus,* few questioned the historicity of the *Letter of* ARISTEAS; afterward few accepted it as anything but a legendary apology for the LXX. The letter attributes the origin of the LXX Pentateuch to the desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 BCE) to have the Hebrew Torah rendered into Greek for his library at Alexandria. Accordingly, he sent a delegation to the high priest in Jerusalem, who acceded to his request for a good copy of the Torah as well as for seventy-two translators (six from each tribe). On their arrival at Alexandria they were feted and interrogated by the king and thereupon taken to the island of Pharos, where in seventy-two days they finished their task. The result was first read to the Jewish community in Alexandria and then presented to the king, who ordered it deposited in the library. Hody demonstrated conclusively that the story is pure fiction. The only item that might be deemed factual is that the letter originated in the third century BCE in Alexandria.

The nineteenth century was propaedeutic to modern LXX studies; it saw the publication of numerous tools useful for detailed LXX research. The old LEXICON by G. BIEL and E. Mutzenbecher (1779–80), was superseded by that of J. Schleusner (1820). A first CONCORDANCE had already appeared in 1607 (K. Kircher), to be replaced by that of A. Trommius (1718), and finally by that of E. HATCH and H. REDPATH (1892–1906). Collections of hexaplaric materials were made by B. de Montfaucon (*Originis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* [1713]), and in 1875 F. Field published a new collection with the same name and based on, but enlarging, the earlier collections of Nobilius, Drusius, and Montfaucon. The century also saw the publication of editions and/or facsimiles of most of the uncial texts as well as the discovery of Codex Sinaiticus by Tischendorf at Mt. Sinai.

Modern approaches to LXX studies largely center around two scholars of the nineteenth century. The first, Z. Frankel (d. 1875), set forth his principles in his *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (1841) and ten years later illustrated them for the Pentateuch in his *Über den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik.* Frankel maintained that each book of the LXX had to be examined individually as a reflection of the context in which it was created. The work of each translator had to be studied in order to understand his attitudes, prejudices, and understanding, i.e., the translation technique, as well as the translator's cultural milieu before any decisions on glosses, secondary readings, emendations, etc., could be made.

The second was P. de LAGARDE, whose approach was a textual one. Beginning with Jerome's *trifaria varietas,* the three recensions of the LXX prevailing in the Christian church of the fourth century, he attempted to identify the manuscript and the fathers representing each recension. Once each recension was identified and all the recensional elements were removed, he believed, the pre-recensional, i.e., the original, LXX would emerge as the critical text. In 1883 he prematurely published the first part of what he regarded to be the Lucianic recension as *Librorum VT canon: Pars prior graece.*

This approach presupposes that the entire Greek HB manuscript tradition is a lineal descendant of a single *Urseptuaginta* that can be recovered by stripping it of all secondary elements. In order to accomplish this task all relevant materials had to be assembled, i.e., all manuscripts had to be collated, the fathers read and their readings gathered, all the versions first restored to their autographa insofar as this was possible and then collated to the Greek. Lagarde was never able to realize this gigantic project even for one book of the HB, and it was left for later generations to bring to fruition in the Göttingen Septuagint.

Meanwhile, in Great Britain this programmatic vision was being realized in compromise fashion. A manual edition of the LXX was prepared by H. SWETE (1887–94), consisting of a reproduction of the text of Codex B (with only gross errors removed) and, where B was lacking, of the text of the next oldest manuscript. Then for the large Cambridge LXX a selection of well-chosen representative manuscripts, a number of Greek and Latin fathers, and the principal versions were all collated to the text of Codex B; the readings were presented without further classifications in an apparatus. A further apparatus with hexaplaric readings also appeared at the bottom of each page, while the appropriate text of B (or its substitute) appeared at the top of each page, as in the case of the manual edition. The first editors were A. Brooke, N. McLean, and subsequently H. Thackeray. The first fascicle appeared in 1906 and the last (3, pt. 1) in 1940, with no further fascicles envisioned.

The death of Lagarde in 1891 did not end interest in the recovery of the original or at least of the oldest recoverable LXX text. Lagarde's student O. RAHLFS continued the work of his mentor, and in 1908 a proposal by R. SMEND and J. WELLHAUSEN of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences led to the establishment of the LXX Unternehmen for the express purpose of preparing the way for the eventual publication of critical editions. Rahlfs was appointed the first *Leiter* of the Unternehem, a position he occupied until his death in 1935. He personally prepared an *editio minor* for the Göttingen Septuagint in *Psalmi cum Odis* (1931).

The Lagardian program, however, was not universally accepted. In 1925 F. Wutz revived an old theory first proposed by O. Tychsen (1734–1815) that the LXX was

a translation based on a Hebrew text in Greek transcription (cf. BWANT, 2nd ser., 9 [1925] as well as his *Systematische Wege von der Septuaginta zum hebr. Urtext* [1937]). By clever manipulation of different transcription systems, he recovered what he believed to be an original text that was often at variance with the MT. Since the Greek alphabet badly reproduces the phonemes of Hebrew, Wutz reconstructed hypothetical *Urtexte* that no one but he could accept. Although his theory was initially greeted with some enthusiasm, its bizarre results soon lost all support; in his last major work, a Joban commentary, it was no longer applied.

Much more serious a challenge to the Lagardian program was that by P. KAHLE. First proposed in 1915 (*TSK* 85, 399-439) and reiterated and expanded in various publications throughout his life, his theory directly contradicted Lagarde's reconstruction of the textual history of the LXX. Kahle maintained that the LXX text as adopted by the Christian church evolved out of a plethora of translations or TARGUMIM that existed in the first century CE. To Kahle a single standard text could only be an end product, and the isolation of the strands in the *trifaria varietas* does not bring one closer to the original text of the Greek. Kahle used the analogy of *Tg. Onqelos* and *Tg. Jonathan*, where, he maintained, the stilted and literal renderings into Aramaic betray revision from earlier Targumim now largely lost. Kahle was a learned man, a fascinating speaker and writer, and many scholars fell under his spell, but his reconstructions were largely theoretical and based on extremely slender evidence easily admitting other and more plausible interpretations. Since his death his theories have been largely abandoned, and no serious LXX scholar today consistently follows his lead.

Meanwhile, serious work on the grammar of LXX literature was stimulated by A. DEISSMANN's identification of biblical Greek (which naturally includes LXX Greek as well as NT) as *koine*, or ordinary Hellenistic Greek. LXX grammars were published by R. Helbing (1907), Thackeray (1909), and Hlubovskyj (1927). A number of detailed grammatical studies were made by M. Johannessohn; see also Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei der LXX* (1928) and J. Psichari (*REJ* 55 [1908] 161-208). Modern grammatical studies focusing on specific syntactic problems are especially centered in Helsinki around I. Soisalon-Soininen and his students.

The establishment of critical texts of LXX books has now been made much more difficult by the appearance of Barthélemy's book on Aquila's predecessors (1963). The Murabba'at Scroll of the Greek Minor Prophets shows a text with a number of recensional characteristics, the most obvious of which is the rendering of the Hebrew particle (*wĕ*) gam by *kaige* and now popularly, but unfortunately, called the *kaige* recension. Barthélemy noted that these characteristics reflect the influence of the Palestinian rabbinate "in a time when a scrupulous literalism was flourishing." He then extended his study to translations and/or recensions that showed similar characteristics, finding these particularly in two parts of the kingdoms (2 Sam 11:2–1 Kgs 2:11; and 1 Kgs 22:1–2, Kings *fin libri*) and in varying degrees of correspondence in Lamentations, Canticles, Ruth, Judges, and Nehemiah as well as in Th and Quinta.

What Barthélemy demonstrated clearly is that Palestinian exegesis of the first and second centuries CE exerted an enormous influence on the Greek HB in a variety of ways: by translations, by thoroughgoing revisions of existing texts, by occasional or sporadic intrusions into the text, and even at times by substituting new translations for existing ones, as in the case of Daniel. The impact of Palestinian rules of exegesis on the Greek tradition was a gradually evolving one that eventually found its high point in the work of Aquila, which won the day in the case of Ecclesiastes. It constituted a reassertion of dominance by Palestinian Jewry over the Egyptian diaspora, an assertion that has immeasurably complicated the task of recovering the earliest possible text. One thing is clear: No single designation for the *kaige* group (the neutral term used by Barthélemy) is adequate; it is neither a recension nor a translation, although either may fit into this category.

What is also clear from this study is that one must reassess some of the more facile identifications of earlier times. The textual history of the books of the LXX cannot be solely based on Jerome's *trifaria* but begins much earlier and is much more complex than Lagarde could imagine over a century ago.

The current situation with respect to LXX studies shows a great deal of activity. Septuagint dissertations are appearing in various centers, e.g., Oxford, Helsinki, Harvard, Notre Dame, Philadelphia, Toronto, to mention but a few. Some work on critical editions of the versions is being carried on, though it is limited. The Vetus Latina Institut at Beuron continues its work on the OL with renewed vigor, with B. Fischer's *Genesis* (1951), W. Thiele's *Sapientia Salomonis* (1977) and *Sirach Ecclesiasticus* (1987), and R. Gryson's *Esaias* (1987) complete. A number of other books have been assigned to various scholars; the introduction of one, *Gregorius Eliberritanus: Epithalamium sive explanatio in Canticis Canticorum* by E. Schulz-Flügel, has also been published. For Armenian, the editions of Deuteronomy (C. Cox [1979]) and of Genesis (A. Zeytounian) have appeared. M. Peters has edited some of the volumes of the Bohairic Pentateuch (1983), and P. Nagel is working on an edition of the Sahidic HB, whereas M. Goshen-Gottstein published the remains of the Syropalestinian version of the Pentateuch and the Prophets.

The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS) was founded in 1968, and its annual *Bulletin* has provided a focus for information on

activity and bibliography. It has also led to interest in the application of computer technology to HB textual criticism in general and to LXX problems in particular. It has embarked on an ambitious long-term project of translating the LXX into English, the *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (*NETS*), for which a translators' manual has been issued as well as a model rendering of the Greek psalter (both by A. Pietersma). Most, if not all, the books have been assigned to various translators.

Meanwhile, critical editions of the books of the LXX as the *sine qua non* for basic LXX studies continue to appear in the Göttingen Septuaginta series. The following major editions have been published: W. Keppler, *Maccabaeorum* book 1 (original ed. 1936); R. Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum* book 2 (1959) and 3 (1960), *Esther* (1966), *Esdrae I* (1974), *Judith* (1979), *Tobit* (1983), *Esdrae II* (1993); J. Ziegler, *Isaias* (1939), *Duodecim Prophetae* (1943), *Ezechiel* (1952), *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco* (1954), *Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae* (1957), *Sapientia Salomonis* (1962), *Sapientia Jesu Filii Sirach* (1965), *Iob* (1982); and J. W. Wevers, *Genesis* (1974), *Deuteronomium* (1977), *Numeri* (1982), *Leviticus* (1986), *Exodus* (1991). The following are actively in preparation: *Ruth* (U. Quast), *Iosue* (U. Quast), *Daniel* (revision of LXX; O. Munich), *Regnorum I et II* (= 1 and 2 Samuel; A. Aejemlaeus) and *Paralipomenon I et II* (R. Hanhart).

Bibliography: S. P. Brock, C. T. Fritsch and S. Jellicoe, *A Classified Bibliography of the Septuagint* (1973), up to 1972. **C. Dogniez,** *Bibliography of the Septuagint/Bibliographie de la Septante 1970–93* (from 1972). For up-to-date lists of recent literature, see the various issues of the IOSCS *Bulletin.*

J. W. WEVERS

SERMON ON THE MOUNT

The Sermon on the Mount, found in Matthew 5–7 with parallels in Luke 6:17-49 (Sermon on the Plain), contains such well-known passages as the Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, and the Golden Rule. It has engendered a body of literature more vast than any other segment of the NT.

1. Composition. The relationship between the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew and the Sermon on the Plain in Luke represents a problem that has been frequently addressed. Those who are skeptical of biblical criticism have suggested that JESUS preached the sermon on more than one occasion and that this accounts for the differences in the length, content, and setting of the respective sermons in Matthew and Luke.

Critical scholarship, however, has attempted to explain the literary relationship between Matthew and Luke and to analyze the sources of the respective sermons. The scholarly consensus is that the passages are not independent but bear a close relationship to each other. Except for minor discrepancies in order and phrasing, Luke's Sermon on the Plain is contained almost entirely in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. There are about twenty-eight verses in Matthew with parallels in Luke 6, while forty-seven verses are peculiar to Matthew.

One possible explanation for these similarities is that Matthew's Sermon on the Mount represents Jesus' original discourse, which Luke shortened by omitting some material and dispersing other portions throughout his Gospel. A more widely held view, following the conclusions of the four document hypothesis, FORM CRITICISM, and REDACTION CRITICISM, is that both Matthew and Luke drew on a common written source or sources. This source consisted of three major sections: It began with the Beatitudes, followed with a series of admonitions, and concluded with the parable of the two builders. The evangelists were redactors who compiled their sermons from traditional units that originally circulated orally and later were written down by the early Christian community. Moreover, the material was written for a specific purpose: the community's catechetical needs. According to this view, the sermons in Matthew and Luke are not discourses of Jesus that they "remembered" but, rather, compilations of Jesus' sayings that were preserved separately, first in an oral and later in a written tradition. Thus the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Plain are not sermons preached by Jesus on one or even two occasions; rather, they represent the post-Easter modification of the evangelists' sources according to their respective purposes and those of the primitive Christian community. Critical scholars differ among themselves on the nuances of the process, and the rift between conservative and liberal biblical exegesis persists.

2. Relevance and Application. While there is widespread agreement that the Sermon on the Mount represents a compendium of Jesus' teachings and that it is one of the most lofty and powerful ethical expressions ever put forth, there is considerable disagreement as to its meaning and relevance. Did Jesus institute a new law that is as binding for Christians as the Torah is for Judaism? What are the implications of Jesus' eschatological outlook for our understanding of the sermon's application? How can we relate the sermon to problems and conditions strikingly different from those that prevailed in first-century Palestine? These are only a few of the problems that confront those who seek to interpret and apply the Sermon on the Mount.

3. Ante-Nicene Period. An examination of the ante-Nicene writers shows that references to Matthew's Sermon on the Mount appear more frequently than those to any other segment of Scripture. These early writers often spoke of Jesus' relationship to the Mosaic law and

concluded that his message is not contrary to past laws or an abrogation of them but a fulfillment and extension. There is ample evidence that such writers as JUSTIN MARTYR, IRENAEUS, TERTULLIAN, and CHRYSOSTOM employed the sermon for apologetic purposes; it defined Jesus' teaching and became a concise statement of Christian ethics. Jesus' respect for the Torah as expressed in the sermon served to counteract the Marcionite heresy (see MARCION) regarding the discontinuity between the HB and the NT. The early Christian writers, including AUGUSTINE, assumed that the Sermon on the Mount was a perfect rule and pattern for the Christian life and that it was relevant and applicable to their situation; they did not regard the sermon's counsel as reserved for some future application.

Augustine was probably the first to speak of Jesus' sermon as the "Sermon on the Mount." However, this designation was not generally used until after the Reformation.

4. Medieval Period. In the medieval period a new way of understanding the ethic of the Sermon on the Mount developed, which subsequently became basic for Roman Catholic moral theology. In his *Summa Theologica,* THOMAS AQUINAS drew the distinction between "precepts" and "counsels of perfection." Evangelical counsels, as distinguished from moral precepts or commandments, are advisory directives of Christ, given as guides that lead to a closer approximation to perfection and an imitation of Christ himself. They have traditionally been associated with the virtues of poverty, chastity, and obedience. While obedience to precepts or commandments is necessary for salvation, adherence to the evangelical counsels is essential for perfection and to obtain greater merit and favor with God. C. LAPIDE, a late medieval exegete, suggested that Jesus' statement about fulfilling the law consisted of his adding evangelical counsels of perfection to matters of precept. Thus the medieval period introduced a new way of understanding the Sermon on the Mount: In it (and in the rest of the NT) one finds both precepts, or commandments, and evangelical counsels; and these in effect become two paths leading to salvation.

5. Reformation. The Reformation produced three movements, related to LUTHER, CALVIN, and the ANABAPTISTS, respectively, that have influenced interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount to the present time. In a series of sermons on Matthew 5–7, Luther set forth his doctrine of the two kingdoms, by which he sought to maintain the validity of the Sermon on the Mount for all Christians. One must, he argued, distinguish between the secular and the spiritual, between the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of the world. Christians can participate in government—as soldiers, judges, lawyers, etc.—because there is a difference between the person and the office. They may engage in all sorts of secular business, not as Christians, but as secular persons. All the while, their hearts remain pure in their Christianity, as Christ demands.

The relationship between faith and works posed another problem for Luther's understanding of the Sermon on the Mount. The sermon appears to emphasize works, merit, and reward; but it is speaking about works and fruit that are manifestations of the state of grace. The passages on reward and merit are simply intended to comfort Christians. The insistence on grace alone must be preserved, Luther maintained, and then terms like *merit* and *reward* can be applied to the fruit that follows.

Calvin, with his insistence on the unity of the Bible, viewed Jesus, not as a new legislator, but as the one who restored the law to its integrity and cleansed it from the falsehoods of the Pharisees. Jesus was a faithful expounder who showed us the law's nature, object, and extent. There is a sacred tie between the law and the gospel; the latter fulfills the former so that both declare God to be their author.

Like Luther and ZWINGLI, Calvin criticized the Anabaptists for their "misunderstanding" of Jesus' teaching about oaths, nonresistance, and lawsuits. They were misguided in their "ethical radicalism," just like the schoolmen, who perverted Jesus' teachings by turning them into evangelical counsels.

The Anabaptists are often referred to as the left wing of the Reformation, or the radical Reformation. Their radical stance was to a significant degree dependent on their understanding of the Sermon on the Mount. Taking the ethic of the sermon literally, they made it incumbent on all Christians, finding in it an ideal that led them to view the kingdom of God as being in radical opposition to all secular interests. The Anabaptists believed that the essence of the Christian life was discipleship—a following after Jesus (*Nachfolge Christi*)—and their directive or charter for such a life-style was best expressed in the sermon. Their rejection of infant baptism, their insistence on the strict separation of church and state, their commitment to nonresistance and to loving their enemies, their refusal to swear oaths—all these were grounded in the teachings and example of Jesus as found in the Sermon on the Mount.

6. Protestant Scholasticism. In contrast to the Anabaptists, the post-Reformation followers of Luther and Calvin (Protestant scholastics) viewed the Sermon on the Mount as an impossible ideal representing the uncompromising expression of God's righteousness to which no human could attain. They believed that to make the sermon the essence of the gospel or of the Christian life is to embrace a new legalism, or works righteousness. In reality, the sermon serves to expose human sin and finitude and thus prepares the way for justification by faith alone. It throws believers upon the grace of God in Christ; its intent is to expose human failure and despair and to prepare persons for the message of salvation through the cross alone. Widely held

by orthodox Protestants, this view has been restated by C. Stange (1870–1959) and G. KITTEL.

7. Modern Period. In the modern period, with the advent of biblical criticism, increasing diversity and complexity are discernible in the interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount. The literal or absolutistic understanding that the Anabaptists espoused was restated by L. Tolstoy (1828–1910), who summarized the sermon's central teaching in five rules: Be not angry; commit no adultery; swear not; go not to law; war not. For Tolstoy the central reality was Jesus' teaching about nonresistance in Matt 5:38-39. The Sermon on the Mount, and especially the command of nonviolence, is an ethical ideal that is possible for both individuals and society. If it is taken literally, one cannot go to court, take part in government, use violence against one's neighbor, or participate in military service.

Tolstoy's absolutism was set in a different context by L. Ragaz (1868–1945), the father of Christian socialism. Jesus' teachings apply, not merely to the personal realm, but to the social arena, where the struggle for freedom, justice, and peace takes place. While Ragaz did not equate the kingdom of God with socialism, he nevertheless viewed the Sermon on the Mount as the Magna Carta of Christian socialism and held that the whole of socialism is contained in the kingdom of God.

The predominant theological temper of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was characterized by Protestant liberalism or liberal theology. Among its later exponents were A. von HARNACK and W. HERRMANN, who tended to view the kingdom of God as a present and inner reality. It was Herrmann who developed a widely influential understanding of the Sermon on the Mount, according to which the most serious and widespread mistake is to regard it as a set of laws to be fulfilled in every case. This is impossible, he argued. If Jesus had intended his teaching to be general rules, he would have been much worse than the teachers of the law he attacked. Rather, the meaning of his teaching lies in the fact that he wished to open the way for a right disposition (*Gesinnung*). The sermon is a *Gesinnungsethik* (an ethic of disposition); its teachings lead to a renewal of the mind and the will, directing us to freedom, moral power, and development grounded in Jesus. Consequently, the Sermon on the Mount relates more to what we should be than to what we should do.

A. SCHWEITZER, going beyond the proposals of J. WEISS, introduced the concept of "consistent eschatology" as the key to understanding Jesus' life and message. The nineteenth-century quest of the historical Jesus had produced a teacher of morality who sought to establish the spiritual reign of God in people's hearts and thus induce the reign of the kingdom of God on earth. But the Jesus presented in the Gospels is a quite different figure—mysterious, otherworldly, unknown—whose worldview is foreign to ours because it is steeped in the eschatology and APOCALYPTICISM of late Judaism. Jesus believed that the consummation of the Kingdom was imminent, that it would occur in his lifetime; and the urgency of the situation demanded a radical ethic, i.e., an ethic of repentance that would prepare and equip persons for the crisis confronting them. The ethics of the Sermon on the Mount is "interim ethics," relevant only for that brief interim before the eschaton. Those who adopted this radical ethic would be members of the coming Kingdom. Schweitzer believed that it is possible that later Christians can find meaning and relevance in the sermon, but this was not Jesus' intention. His entire horizon was permeated by eschatology, and it is only in this milieu that we can understand his teachings and his mission.

One of the most thorough twentieth-century studies of the Sermon on the Mount is that of H. WINDISCH (1929; ET 1951). Throughout his work, Windisch insisted on a strict differentiation between historical exegesis and theological interpretation. His purpose was to examine the sermon and to show what historical and critical exegesis has taught us to see. The biblical interpreter dare not jump to theological and philosophical conclusions without first doing the prerequisite historical exegesis. Thus Windisch criticized Herrmann, M. DIBELIUS, and R. BULTMANN for modernizing the teachings of Jesus, and Stange and Kittel for superimposing a Pauline, or dogmatic, framework on them. The Pauline dogmatic is absent from the Sermon on the Mount; from the standpoint of PAUL, Luther, and Calvin, its soteriology is hopelessly heretical.

Windisch maintained that the Sermon on the Mount stands wholly within the framework of Jewish religion. Like the Torah, the sermon is essentially a collection of commandments that are to be obeyed. Its teaching is characterized by an ethic of obedience. The intent of the Evangelist is to portray Jesus as a new lawgiver who intends to both fulfill the Mosaic law and improve on it. The sermon, however, has no political reference. It is individualistic in the sense that it deals with relationships between individuals; although political and social implications may derive from it, the sermon does not consider conmmunity, economic, and national organizations and their ethical ramifications. The entire social ethic of the sermon is couched in individual sayings that are to be understood literally and interpreted literally.

Dibelius, one of the original exponents of form criticism, produced an important study of the Sermon on the Mount (1940). Applying the form-critical method, he held that the sermon was not one that Jesus preached on a single occasion but, rather, a collection of individual sayings spoken by Jesus on a variety of occasions and brought together to form a kind of Christian law. For Dibelius, the Sermon on the Mount must be understood as the "pure will of God." It is not an interim ethic, valid only for the period before the end of the

world; it is given for eternity because it represents the will of the eternal God. Jesus did not consider the circumstances of our life and the conditions of this world but looked only to the coming world, to the kingdom of heaven. Thus the Sermon on the Mount has a definite eschatological reference. Jesus' words are "signs of the kingdom of God" and consequently cannot be carried out in this life. He intended them to be signs of hope, but after Easter they became laws of conduct. Today Jesus' directives seem impractical because we have lost the eschatological outlook. According to Dibelius, the sermon should not be viewed as an ideal of religion or ethics. It has no validity for the workaday life, since it was not given as a body of instruction for this life or as a program of reform for this world. Rather, it is an "eschatological stimulus" intended to make persons well acquainted with the pure will of God. Although we cannot perform the sermon's demands fully, nevertheless, we can be transformed by it; the most important thing is that it become effective in our hearts. For the Christian, law does not demand that we do something, but that we be something.

Of twentieth-century interpretations, perhaps none is more impressive, provocative, and controversial than D. BONHOEFFER's *Nachfolge* (*The Cost of Discipleship* [1940[2]; ET 1959[2]]). Its popularity and significance stem to a great degree from the time in which it was written and from the subsequent martyrdom of its author. Bonhoeffer's chief interest was not in dealing with the usual philological and critical problems relating to the sermon but in confronting the church with the life of discipleship—with the imperative of uncompromising, unmitigated, single-minded obedience to Jesus Christ. More important than the critical questions are the ones that ask what Christ's will is for Christians today. The Sermon on the Mount calls believers to a life of surrender and obedience. Bonhoeffer observed that, humanly speaking, the sermon could be understood and interpreted in a thousand different ways. However, Jesus intended only one possibility: obedience.

An interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount that has been influential in certain conservative movements is that of the dispensationalists. The basic premise of dispensationalism is that sacred history is divided into a number of dispensations (usually seven), in each of which God deals with people on a different basis. Dispensationalists maintain that the sermon is pure law and does not contain the gospel; consequently, it does not apply to the church age, the dispensation of grace, but to the coming Kingdom age, the final dispensation. Thus the Sermon on the Mount is the code of laws of the kingdom of heaven.

Two noteworthy Jewish interpreters of the Sermon on the Mount are C. MONTEFIORE and G. Friedlander (1871–1923). Montefiore pointed out that the sermon is individualistic and ignores social questions due to Jesus' eschatological view that the old order was approaching a catastrophic end. One of Montefiore's major concerns was the relationship between the Sermon on the Mount and the HB, and he drew a parallel between Jesus on the "mount" and Moses on Mt. Sinai. Matthew wanted to contrast the two laws: the one old, imperfect, and transitory, and the other new, perfect, and definitive. Montefiore concluded that in spite of the sermon's antitheses, Jesus had no deliberate intention of teaching a new religion or a new righteousness. Comparing the sermon with rabbinic teaching, Montefiore stated that the sermon is more enthusiastic, while the rabbinic literature is more sober; and although it is not very extensive, the Sermon on the Mount contains some original materials not found in Judaism.

Montefiore believed the sermon could be a meeting ground for Jew and Christian because of its lack of christology. It contains no article of faith concerning the person of Jesus; thus the Jew can live in its spirit without acknowledging anyone as lord and/or savior. Furthermore, the sermon makes a *rapprochement* between Jew and Christian possible because it contains nothing essentially antagonistic to Judaism. According to Montefiore, the sermon remains for all time a religious document of "immense importance and significance, and mostly of a high greatness and nobility."

While Montefiore was conciliatory in his evaluation of the Sermon on the Mount, Friedlander (1911) took a polemical and apologetic position, concluding that four-fifths of the sermon is exclusively Jewish. Those parts that are original are insignificant, and Judaism has nothing to learn from them. Indeed, the Pharisaic teaching is infinitely superior to that of the gospel. Friedlander was more outspoken than Montefiore on the "unfair" treatment of the Pharisees in the Sermon on the Mount, maintaining that the NT view of the Pharisees is one-sided, prejudiced, and neither charitable nor just. In Jesus' teaching about wealth, anxiety, and nonresistance, Friedlander discerned an un-Jewish asceticism. Jesus' views are world-denying, while the stance of Judaism is world-affirming.

Friedlander rejected Montefiore's suggestion that the Sermon on the Mount could be the ideal meeting ground and bond of union between Jews and Christians. He affirmed that Gentiles have been unwilling to accept the heavy yoke of the Torah and have instead taken up the easy yoke of the gospel. Nevertheless, he stated: "This is not to condemn the teaching of the Sermon. It has its part to play in the religious training of the world."

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W. S. KISSINGER

SERVETUS, MICHAEL (1511–53)

Possibly the most celebrated and notorious heretic of the early sixteenth century, S. was born in Villanueva de Sijena in Spain. Little is known about his youth or formative education, although it is clear that he was well educated and learned Greek and Hebrew at an early age. His two major works, *De Trinitatis Erroribus* (1531) and *Christianismi Restitutio* (1553), were virtual compendia of contemporary heretical thought; but S. is best known as a spiritual godparent of Socinian Unitarianism (see SOCINUS). He also made significant intellectual contributions in ethno-cultural geography and in medicine before his execution in Geneva, Oct. 27, 1553. Less well known is his considerable contribution to scriptural exegesis, in which he pioneered an approach best described as cultural relativism.

S.'s scriptural interests developed largely to oppose the Trinity and to provide a scriptural basis for his modalism and millenarianism. He called the Trinity a "three-headed Cerberus" and a gross intellectual perversion innocently accepted by later Greek Christians who were ignorant of Hebrew. "Because of the poverty in divine names, the apostles could not express this matter to the Greeks," he complained, adding, "nor should they have caused us so much trouble had the Greeks learned Hebrew." Repeatedly he insisted, "You must bear in mind that all things written about Christ took place in Judea and in the Hebrew language," and advised the reader "to get a knowledge of Hebrew in the first place and thereafter diligently apply yourself to the study of Jewish history." He relied heavily on such medieval Jewish sources as A. IBN EZRA, D. KIMHI, and others of a Jewish rationalist orientation.

S. believed the many HB names for God, including El, Elohim, Shaddai, Yah, Yahweh, Sabbaoth, Oz, and others, including the name Christ, referred to various aspects of God's multifold personality rather than to differentiated persons in the godhead. In turn, he placed these modalist expressions in a larger millenarian framework, arguing that these names constituted a progression of divine self-disclosure beginning at the time of creation and ending with God's complete self-disclosure in Christ. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and the prophets each represented one phase in this entire process of God's self-disclosure; but "the prophets pursued their history as the course of their history led them." Hence the Bible constituted a string of separate works, and scholars should understand Scripture by first understanding the cultural and historical milieu in which each author wrote. To this end, S. used the rationalist exegesis of such Jewish authors as Kimhi, Ibn Ezra, and NACHMANIDES. He believed the world would end in 1588 and hinted that he was his generation's spokesman for God and would initiate the reign of the archangel Michael, when the evil reign of the antichrist would be destroyed.

Works: *De Trinitatis Erroribus, libri septem* (1531); *Dialogorum de Trinitate* (1532); *De Iusticia Regni Christ* (1532); *Christianismi Restitutio* (1553); *Declarationis Jesu Christi Filii dei, libri V* (n.d.).

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J. FRIEDMAN

SFORNO, OBADIAH BEN JACOB (c. 1470–1550)

An Italian Jewish humanist, physician, and Bible commentator, S. was born in Cesena and educated in Rome, where he taught Hebrew to J. REUCHLIN, father of German Hebraism. He later settled in Bologna as head of a rabbinic school and became a much-consulted Talmudic authority (see TALMUD).

Using Aristotelian methods, S. refuted Aristotelianism where incompatible with Judaism (ʾOr ʿammim [1537, Hebrew; repr. 1969/70] = *Lumen Gentium* [1548]). His scriptural commentaries in Hebrew include the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Psalms, Jonah, Habakkuk, and Zechariah; but his reputation rests on his PENTATEUCHAL commentary posthumously edited by his brother Ḥananel. Ignoring philology and (generally) allegory, he drew on medical science (e.g., at Gen 43:27, the balance

of humours) and Renaissance humanism to explain the inherent logic and textual structure of Scripture. Exodus 19:5, "mine is all the earth," means that Israel's privilege is quantitative, not qualitative, since God loves all humankind and particularly righteous Gentiles. Demonology was as serious a matter for him as for Marlowe, and he treated biblical references to it "scientifically." He understood Lev 17:7, which condemns sacrifice to "goat-demons," as referring, not to worship, but to conjuring them up for magical purposes. Since demons feed on the fine substance evaporating from the blood, wherein resides the soul (life force), and since they frequent lonely places, hunters must cover the blood of game with earth (Lev 17:13-14). He held that the tower of Babel (Gen 11:4) was built to make Nimrod world ruler; the height of this idolatrous temple would establish the "name," i.e., reputation, of its city as the religious center of the world and bring universal recognition to its ruler. This is a clear reference to the plan of Bramante (d. 1514) for St. Peter's in Rome as modified by Michelangelo, the dome of which was completed in 1546.

Works: *Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes* (1567); *Psalms* (1586; ed. J. Heilprin, 1952–53; also Hebrew text of Psalms [1972/73]); *Jonah, Habakkuk, Zechariah* (ed. D. Ibn Hin, 1602); commentary on the Pentateuch in Rabbinic Bible (1724 and many subsequent eds.); Mishnah *Aboth* (Ethics of the Fathers; ed. E. W. Rosenberg, 1965–66); commentary to Deuteronomy (ET S. M. Stahl, 1975).

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R. LOEWE

SHUCKFORD, SAMUEL (c. 1694–1754)

Born in Norwich, England, from 1712 to 1719 S. attended Caius College, Cambridge (BA 1716; MA 1720), subsequently obtaining the DD at Lambuth. He served various churches, last of which was All Saints, Lombard Street, London, and died July 14, 1754. S.'s significance in the history of biblical scholarship rests on his widely used and frequently reprinted history of Israel, which, although intended to complement that of H. PRIDEAUX, only covered the time down to Joshua, a desideratum M. RUSSELL sought to correct.

Works: *The Sacred and Profane History of the World* (2 vols., 1728, repr. in various forms; 4 vols., ed. A. Clarke, 1808; 2 vols., ed. J. T. Wheeler, 1858).

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J. H. HAYES

SIBYLLINE ORACLES

These texts constitute a corpus of Jewish and Christian writings ranging from the second century BCE to the seventh century CE. Since they are presented as oracles of the pagan sibyl, there is no overt appeal to Scripture; the degree of actual dependence on the Bible varies considerably. There is virtually none in books 11–14, which consist of political prophecy and commentary from the Roman period. In the earlier books the influence of the Bible appears in three ways: paraphrase of biblical accounts; adherence to biblical ethical norms; and use of biblical motifs, especially in eschatological passages.

The most extensive biblical paraphrase is found in *Sib. Or.* 1, a Jewish work from around the turn of the era that was updated by a Christian in the second century. The Jewish stratum contains a lengthy paraphrase of Genesis retelling the stories of Adam and Eve and, in greater detail, the flood. Two modifications of the biblical account are typical of the oracles: Noah is presented as a preacher of repentance (150-198), and the narrative contains some details that diverge from Genesis but correspond to Babylonian myth (233-257). The interest in primeval history is also typical: The flood is featured again in *Sib. Or.* 7:7-15; and *Sib. Or.* 3:97-109 tells of the tower of Babel, which is recalled again in *Sib. Or.* 8:4-5. In contrast, the summary of Israelite history in *Sib. Or.* 3:218-94 is exceptional. The Christian stratum contains a synthetic presentation of the life of Christ (324-84). Similar summaries of the gospel story are found in *Sib. Or.* 6, a short, twenty-eight-verse hymn to Christ, and in 8:251-336. There is a reference to the baptism of Christ in 7:66-67.

The ethics of the oracles are representative of the Hellenistic Jewish diaspora. Little attention is paid to the ritual requirements of Judaism. The primary emphasis falls on polemic against idolatry and against sexual abuses (adultery and homosexuality). The attacks on idolatry and the emphatic monotheism are often reminiscent of Second Isaiah (e.g., *Sib. Or.* 3:13-14; 6:29; 8:377) but are not so much indebted to specific biblical texts as to the common understanding of biblical law in Hellenistic Judaism. The oracles also contain a tradition of criticism of Rome on grounds of injustice (*Sib. Or.* 3:350-380; 5:162-178; 8:73-109), which is informed in a general way by the prophetic tradition (e.g., by allusions to Isaiah 14 and 47; see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB).

Biblical influence is also apparent in the eschatological passages of the oracles. *Sibylline Oracle* 3 draws on the motifs of the Gentile assault on Jerusalem (3:660-668; cf. Psalms 2, 48), the eschatological transformation of the earth (3:785-795; cf. Isaiah 11), and the eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Jerusalem (3:710-723; cf. Isaiah 2; Micah 4). Other books adopt the apocalyptic belief (see APOCALYPTICISM) in resurrection.

In *Sib. Or.* 2:221-226 and 4:181 the formulation echoes Ezekiel 37. *Sibylline Oracle* 2:154-213 has lengthy accounts of the signs of the end that partially parallel those of Mark 13, etc., while the scene of Christ enthroned for judgment, *Sib. Or.* 2:241-243, is reminiscent of Matt 25:31. In all these cases, however, the biblical references are intertwined with a wealth of other allusions to traditions attested in the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA and in pagan sources. The sibyl speaks with an independent prophetic voice and is never simply an interpreter of inherited Scripture.

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J. J. COLLINS

SIMON, RICHARD (1638–1712)

Born May 13, 1638, in Dieppe, France, S. was educated by the local Oratorians, whose educational program stressed natural sciences, French literature, and Greek and Latin. After a year's study at the Jesuit school at Rouen, he spent the next three years at the Sorbonne, where he began the study of Hebrew, Syriac, and later Arabic. In 1662 he entered the Oratorian novitiate at Dieppe, reading widely in both Roman Catholic and Protestant biblical scholarship. Prior to his ordination in Paris in 1670, he cataloged and studied the order's library collection, which contained a manuscript of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the works of several medieval Jewish commentators. He also sought out Parisian collections containing oriental and Jewish works, engaged in significant discussions with and received instruction from the learned Jewish merchant J. Salvador, and became friends with several important Protestants.

S.'s earliest publications championed the cause of Jews after R. Levi was burned at the stake in Metz (1670), favorably depicted the theology of the Eastern church (1671), compared Roman Catholic and Jewish ceremonies (1674), and provided a study of Lebanon that included a description of Islam (1675). In 1676–77, through his friendship with Protestants, including H. Justel (secretary to King Louis XIV), he became involved in planning an unbiased, interdenominational French TRANSLATION of the Bible. The boldness of his critique and the novelty of his ideas on textual matters contributed to the breakup of the joint project, eventually rendered impossible by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).

S.'s most controversial and perhaps most significant work was his *Critical History of the OT.* Printed in 1678 (1,300 copies), the book had been approved by a Sorbonne censor, the superior general of the Oratory, and given a royal *privilège;* however, when J.-B. Boussuet, bishop of Condom, was sent a copy of the preface, he intervened with the chancellor to halt publication. The print run was confiscated except for fifteen to twenty copies, the *privilège* was rescinded, S. was expelled from the Oratory, and the edition was pulped. A poorly executed manuscript copy of one of the volumes, dispatched to England by Justel, was published in Amsterdam by D. Elzevier in 1680; a Latin translation of this French edition followed in 1681. Attacks on the book were published by C. M. De Veil in the form of a letter to R. BOYLE (London, dated May 14, 1678) and F. Spanheim the younger (Amsterdam, dated Dec. 10, 1678). W. Davies published an English translation by H. Dickinson in London in late 1681 or early 1682. Later in the year Tonson issued part of the original printing, which contained an English translation of S.'s reply to Spanheim's critique as well as poems by R. Duke, N. Lee, and N. Tate praising the translator and author. (Details of this publishing history of the ET are preserved in records of a lawsuit of Tonson against Dickinson; see C. Ward [1946].) In 1685 the Rotterdam publisher R. Leers reprinted the 1678 French edition supplemented by a new preface by S., marginal notes, the critiques by De Veil and Spanheim and S.'s responses, a discussion of the book written by S. under the name P. Ambrun, and Elzevier's original advertisement for the 1680 edition.

Several factors motivated the opposition to S. and to his work in France: strict censorship of materials the state considered controversial and a challenge to authority; Bossuet's high view of the authority of the church fathers and his adherence to the principle of the unchangeability of Roman Catholic doctrine; the strained relationship between such Port Royalists as A. Arnauld and S.; the internal tensions within the Congregation of the Oratory; and the penetrating sharpness of S.'s critiques, the acerbity in his expression, and his unwillingness to grant immunity from criticism to the venerated interpreters of the church's past.

Although J. D. MICHAELIS (1765), J. G. HERDER (1780), and J. SEMLER (1780) later proclaimed S. the founder or father of biblical criticism, S. was simply the best qualified and most empirically oriented of the biblical interpreters of his day. His work is firmly anchored in the developing *ars critica* of the seventeenth century, which had already embraced biblical study.

Three issues dominated S.'s writings on the Bible: (1) The history of the biblical text from its origins to contemporary times was his primary concern, as it was for much of contemporary scholarship. The relationship, value, and AUTHORITY of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and

other versions of the Bible—even the origin and inspiration of the Hebrew vowel points—were discussed throughout the century by the BUXTORFS, J. MORIN, L. CAPPEL, and those responsible for the London POLYGLOT. S. worked with empirical evidence reflected in the existing texts and manuscripts to offer realistic theories to explain this evidence. Thus he denied that Moses wrote the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), hypothesizing the existence of national archives preserved by prophets and scribes, from which the books were produced long after the times of the traditional authors. Such difficulties in the text as omissions, repetitions, and illogical arrangement he attributed to the activity of scribes working with multiple texts, often abridged material, and other difficulty producing factors. Given this history of origin and transmission, one could never expect to reconstruct the original text, already a secondary scribal product, from the existing manuscripts. Difficulties in the text and its lack of clarity meant that Christian theology could not be derived from or based totally on *sola scriptura* but must rely on the traditional faith of the church, which in its earliest form was already existent before the NT came into being. (2) The INSPIRATION of the Scriptures must be reconceived so that the process and the scribes producing the texts share in divine inspiration (see D. Barthélemy [1982]). This position had the effect of both broadening and making more superficial the doctrine of inspiration and removed the ability to point to prophecies and miracles as the final divine substantiation of a writer's inspiration and the Bible's uniqueness. (3) Translation and commentary on the Bible were for S. the goals of biblical study. One could produce a final translation no more than one could recover the original text. Translation must be made by comparison of texts, primarily the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; thus S. valued polyglots, although he criticized the London Polyglot for printing such secondary texts as the Persian. His 1702 NT translation with extensive notes based on the VULGATE was condemned by Bossuet for its novelty and Socinian leanings (e.g., S. had annotated Matt 12:8 to note that "Son of man" means "man"; see SOCINUS). S. published little commentary but left behind a commentary manuscript on the Pentateuch eventually owned by S. BAUMGARTEN (see his 1756 review) and recently rediscovered.

S. died Apr. 11, 1712. His influence on his contemporaries was probably more significant than initially recognized. In Germany there was early dialogue with his work even though none of his writings appeared in German translation before 1713. The popularity of his work is indicated by Leers's reference in 1685 to the seventh edition of the *Critical History.* In England, J. Dryden's poem *Religio Laici* (1682) was occasioned by the English translation of S.'s volume, and J. LOCKE and others were strongly influenced by S. (see P. Harth [1968]; G. Reedy [1985]).

Works: *Factum pour les Juifs de Metz, accusés d'avoir tué un petit enfant Chrétien* (1670); *Fides Ecclesia Orientalis* (1671); *Ceremonies et Coutumes que s'observent aujourd'hui parmi les Juifs* (1674); *Voyage du Mont-Liban* (1675); *A Critical History of the OT* (1678; ET 1682); *Critical Enquiries into the Various Editions of the Bible, Printed in Divers Places and at Several Times: Together with Animadversions Upon a Treatise of Vossius Concerning the Oracles of the Sibylls* (1684; ET 1684); *The Critical History of the Religions and Customs of the Eastern Nations* (1684; ET 1685); *The History of the Original and Progress of Ecclesiastical Revenues* (1684; ET 1685); *Novorum Bibliorum Polyglottorum Synopsis* (1684); *Résponse au livre intitulé Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* (1686); *De l'inspiration des livres sacrés* (1687); *A Critical History of the Text of the NT* (1689; ET 1689); *A Critical History of the Versions of the NT* (1690; ET 1692); *Historie Critique des principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament depuis le commencement du Christianisme, jusqu' a notre temps* (1692); *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du Nouveau Testament* (1695); *Lettres choisies* (3 vols., 1700–1705; 4 vols., 1730) vol. 1 contains a memoir of S. by his grand-nephew De la Martinière; *The NT according to the Ancient Latin, with Critical Remarks upon the Literal Meaning in Difficult Places* (2 vols., 1702; ET 1730); *Bibliotheque critique, ou Recüeil de diverses pièces critiques* (4 vols., 1708–10); *Nouvelle bibliotheque choisie* (2 vols., 1714); *Critique de la bibliothèque des auteurs ecclesiastiques et des Prolegomènes de la Bible* (4 vols., ed. M. E. Du-Pin, 1730); *Additions aux Recherches curieuses sur la diversité de langues et religions de'E. Brerewood* (ed. J. Le Brun and J. Woodbridge, 1983).

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F. H. GORMAN, JR.

SIMPSON, CUTHBERT AIKMAN (1892–1969)

Born on Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, in 1892, S. studied at King's University, Windsor, and won a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford, where he read history at Christ Church and then earned a diploma in theology. He returned to Canada as a rector in Woodside, Nova Scotia, and in 1928 began a long career as a teacher and scholar of OT at General Theological Seminary, New York. In 1954 he was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at the University of Oxford and canon of Christ Church. On retiring from the chair in 1959, he became dean of Christ Church, where he remained until his death in 1969.

Among his students and colleagues, S. was popular for his consideration, directness, and wit. His reputation as an OT scholar rests chiefly on two books that demonstrate a rigorous adherence to the documentary hypothesis and a meticulous application of the source-critical method. This task was undertaken specifically with the aim of recovering the earliest records of Israelite tradition and hence confined itself to pre-deuteronomic material. Perhaps the most eminent exponent of this approach outside Germany, S. interacted especially with the source-critical reconstruction of O. EISSFELDT. *The Early Traditions of Israel* (1948) is a documentary analysis of all the J and E material in the Hexateuch and in Judges 1. Three documents were identified: J^1, J^2, and E. The earliest, J^1, the earliest, represents the traditions of Israelites who had entered Canaan from the south; J^2, using J^1 as a nucleus, and E, in turn using J^2, were the traditions of Israelites who had entered from the east. Several minor redactions were also posited. *The Composition of the Book of Judges* (1957) forms a sequel, tracing the course of these three documents throughout the book of Judges. The promised extension of the project as far as 1 Kings 13 did not materialize. S.'s earlier works, which exhibit his concern for religious and theological exegesis, are largely forgotten.

Works: *Jeremiah, the Prophet of "My People"* (1947); *Revelation and Response in the OT* (1947); *The Early Traditions of Israel: A Critical Analysis of the Pre-deuteronomic Narrative of the Hexateuch* (1948); *The Composition of the Book of Judges* (1957).

P. R. DAVIES

SKEHAN, PATRICK WILLIAM (1909–80)

A native New Yorker, Skehan received his BA from Fordham University (1929) and studied theology at St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, New York (ordained 1933), and Scripture and Semitic languages at Catholic University, Washington, DC (STD, 1938), where he taught in the department of Semitic languages from 1938 until retirement in August 1980. He was several times visiting lecturer/professor to the oriental seminary of Johns Hopkins University and was annual professor (1954–55) and director (1955–56) at the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, Jerusalem; CBA visiting professor to the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome (1969–70); and consultor to the Pontifical Biblical Commission (1965–71). A charter member of the CBA, he served as its president (1946–47) and treasurer and as associate editor of *OTA* (1978–80), editor of CBQMS (1973–75), and frequently as associate editor of *CBQ*.

S. wrote extensively on the psalms and the wisdom books, much of his work relating to structure, prosody, and TRANSLATION problems, areas in which he effectively applied his vast erudition in biblical and related languages. He is perhaps best known for his work on the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, some of which he edited for publication; many of his published articles were spawned by this work. Over a twenty-five-year period S.'s scholarly efforts were dedicated to the NAB translation (in its early stages known as the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine translation). He edited all parts of the OT and translated extensive sections; his work on this important project also resulted in a number of published articles.

Works: *The Literary Relationship Between the Book of Wisdom and the Protocanonical Wisdom Books of the OT* (1938); *Studies in Israelite Wisdom and Poetry* (1971) includes a bibliography of Skehan's publications up to 1971; (with A. A. Di Lella), *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (1987).

Bibliography: *CBQ* 43 (1981) 96-98 (S.'s bibliography from 1971 until his death). **A. A. Di Lella, O.F.M.,** "P. W. S.: A Tribute," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 435-37.

J. JENSEN

SKINNER, JOHN (1851–1925)

A British OT scholar, S. was born July 18, 1851, in Scotland. He was educated at Aberdeen University and the Free Church College, Aberdeen, and also studied at Edinburgh, Leipzig, and Göttingen. Ordained as a minister of the Free Church of Scotland, he served at St. Fergus (1880–86) and Kelso (1886–90). The rest of his life was spent as professor of OT language and literature at the Theological College of the Presbyterian Church of England (1890–1922). Originally located in London, the college moved to Cambridge in 1899 and took the name Westminster College; from 1908 to 1922 S. also served as its principal.

S. was an OT scholar of considerable note. His most substantive work was the commentary on Genesis in the ICC series (1910), which is marked by thorough, careful attention to the text and its exegesis; it is still eminently worth reading. An offshoot of this commentary was his study *The Divine Name in Genesis* (1914), in which he showed conclusively that the arguments of J. Dahse were invalid. Dahse had claimed on the basis of the variants in the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT) and other ancient versions and Hebrew manuscripts that the divine names were not reliably preserved in the MT and were therefore inappropriate as a basis for PENTATEUCHAL source analysis.

S.'s *Prophecy and Religion: Studies in the Life of Jeremiah* (1922, 1926[2]) is something of a classic. A vivid biographical portrait of the prophet (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), it gives special emphasis to the prophet's personal religion. Throughout one can sense S.'s liberal evangelical piety, but his overly biographical and psychological approach would be criticized today for taking insufficient account of the DEUTERONOMISTIC redaction the book of Jeremiah has undergone. In addition to his magisterial work on Genesis, S. also wrote commentaries of a more popular character on Kings, Isaiah, and Ezekiel.

Works: *The Book of Ezekiel* (ExpB, 1895); *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (CBC, 2 vols., 1896–98); *I and II Kings* (Century Bible, 1904); *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (ICC, 1910); *The Divine Name in Genesis* (1914); *Prophecy and Religion: Studies in the Life of Jeremiah* (1922, 1926[2]).

Bibliography: **P. R. Ackroyd,** "Biblical Classics, 1, J. S.: Prophecy and Religion," *ExpTim* 89 (1978) 356-58. **W. S. Towner,** "Interpretations and Reinterpretations of the Fall," *Modern Biblical Scholarship* (ed. F. Eigo, 1984) 53-85. *Who Was Who, 1916–28* (1947[2]) 965.

J. DAY

SMALLEY, BERYL (1905–84)

Born June 3, 1905, S. was educated at Cheltenham Ladies' College and beginning in 1924 at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, where she studied history (MA 1927). Under the influence of F. Powicke, under whom she studied at Manchester (PhD 1930), she began her work on the medieval biblical commentary tradition with a study of S. LANGTON's commentaries (published in articles in 1931). Before she gained a full-time teaching position in 1943, she served as assistant lecturer at Royal Holloway College, London (1931–35), research fellow at Girton College, Cambridge (1935–40), and temporary assistant in the department of Western manuscripts at the Bodleian Library (1940–43). She was history tutor at St. Hilda's (1943–69) as well as vice principal (1957–69). After retirement she continued to write until her death, Apr. 6, 1984.

After her work on Langton, S. explored in various phases the whole range of pre-fourteenth-century medieval biblical scholarship. The special topics of her research were the origins of the GLOSSA ORDINARIA and the literal interpretation of the Bible, especially the HB, by commentators throughout the period. Her 1941 book was a pioneering work that quickly became established as a standard work; greatly expanded in the second edition (1952), it still focused primarily on HB interpretation. Much of her work subsequently focused on NT interpretation, culminating in her collection of studies published in 1985. In the third edition of *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1983), she offered not only a supplement to but also an evaluation of her work in its second edition (preface, vii-xvii). Perhaps more than any other scholar she created an interest in medieval Bible study and made "all medievalists aware of the presence of the Bible in their midst" (R. Southern [1985] 1).

Works: *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1941, 1952[2], 1983[3]); *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (1960); "The Bible in the Middle Ages," *The Church's Use of the Bible Past and Present* (ed. D. E. Nineham, 1963) 57-71; "The Bible in the Medieval Schools," *CHB* 2 (1969) 197-220; *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics in the Twelfth Century* (1973); *Historians of the Middle Ages* (1974); *Studies in Medieval Thought and Learning from Abelard to Wyclif* (1981); "Glossa Ordinaria," *TRE* 13 (1984) 452-57; *The Gospels in the Schools c. 1100–c. 1280* (1985); *Medieval Exegesis of Wisdom Literature* (ed. R. E. Murphy, 1986).

Bibliography: **R. W. Southern,** "B. S. and the Place of the Bible in Medieval Studies, 1927–84," *The Bible in the Medieval World: Studies in Memory of B. S.* (ed. K. Walsh and D. Wood, SCH Subsidia 4, 1985) 1-16 (bibliography of S.'s writings, 317-21); *PBA* 72 (1986) 454-71.

J. H. HAYES

SMEND, RUDOLF (1851–1913)

Born Nov. 5, 1851, in Lengerich, Germany, S. died Dec. 27, 1913, in Ballenstedt. He studied theology and Semitic languages at Göttingen, Berlin, and Bonn beginning in 1870, receiving the PhD from Bonn (1874) and the lic. theol. at Halle (1875). In 1880 he went to Basel as successor to E. KAUTZSCH and in 1889 to Göttingen, succedding E. BERTHEAU.

S. came from a family of Reformed pastors with pietistic leanings (see PIETISM) and throughout his life maintained a conservative-ecclesiastical piety. In his scholarship, however, he considered himself not so much a theologian as a philologist in the broadest sense. Hence he welcomed the fact that the Göttingen OT chair was situated in the philosophy faculty, not the theology faculty, a tradition that ended with S.'s death. His model as a scholar was J. Gildemeister in Bonn (1812–90), who had transferred from theology to oriental studies, and under whom S. had received his doctorate in Arabic studies. S.'s later major achievement in the philological field was an edition of and commentary on the Hebrew version of Ben Sira, which he had attempted to reconstruct from the old translations before the discovery of the Cairo Geniza Hebrew manuscripts (1896); thus he was prepared for the task. In his text-critical work on the HB as a whole, he ascribed greatest importance to the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT). It was due to his initative that the Göttingen Akademie der Wissenschaften in 1908 founded the Septuaginta-Unternehmen by resuming the life work of P. de LAGARDE, whom S. revered.

At Bonn, S.'s first teacher in OT was A. KAMPHAUSEN, whom S. resembled in his fastidious erudition and uncompromising attitude toward what he felt was right. S.'s dissertation at Halle, "Moses apud prophetas," was influenced by Kamphausen and E. RIEHM. In it S. presented the traditional opinion that the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) is older than the Prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). He soon surrendered this opinion, not only because of the arguments of J. WELLHAUSEN, with whom he became friends, but also as a result of his work on his Ezekiel commentary. He approached Ezekiel expecting to discover traces of the priestly writing; but in many places he found quite the opposite, a factor that supported the Grafian hypothesis (see K. GRAF). S. depicted Ezekiel more as a pastor and a lawgiver than as a prophet, as the "spiritual father of Judaism," and appraised his role more positively than did Wellhausen. S. regarded the book of Ezekiel as authentic and as a unity; indeed, he believed that it had been written in one sitting. In his later *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte,* whose title signified a somewhat problematic compromise between a THEOLOGY of the OT and a history of Israelite religion, S. worked in terms of three periods (preprophetic, prophetic, and post-prophetic religion) in line with Wellhausen but, with a comprehensiveness untypical of Wellhausen, sharply demarcating pre-Maccabean from post-Maccabean times in the third period. In the former he saw the prophetic faith acting as a balance against the law.

S. spent his last years analyzing the narrative sources of the Hexateuch, an area that, in his view, had achieved little progress since Wellhausen. He had no taste for the work of H. GUNKEL and E. MEYER in its LITERARY-critical or FORM-critical and TRADITION-historical dimensions. S. divided the narrative of the entire Hexateuch almost completely into four original, independent sources: J^1, J^2, E, and P, going far beyond the older attempts of Wellhausen, K. BUDDE, Gunkel, and others by not confining himself to the *Urgeschichte,* by describing both Yahwistic sources as literary works (and not the product of a school) clearly distinguishable from one another, and by reckoning little with later supplements. The source E he regarded as a unity—which presupposed J, especially J^2—and as originating in Judah rather than in northern Israel. His thesis won acceptance in its modified form in the work of O. EISSFELDT (who designated J^1 and J^2 as L and J). Due to S.'s death, the implications of his thesis for the books of 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings were not pursued beyond the level of aphorism.

Works: "De Dsu r'Rumma poeta Arabico et carmine eius" (diss. phil., Bonn, 1874); "Moses apud prophetas" (diss. theol., Halle, 1875); *Der Prophet Ezechiel* (KEH 8, 1880); *Die Listen der Bücher Esra und Nehemia* (1881); *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religiongeschichte* (1893); *J. D. Michaelis: Festrede im Namen der Georg-August Universität* (1898); *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt* (1906); *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach, hebäisch und deutsch* (1906); *Griechisch-syrisch-hebräischer Index zur Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (1907); "Alter und Herkunft des Achikar-Romans und sein Verhältnis zu Aesop," BZAW 13 (1908) 55-125; "JE in den geschichtlichen Büchern des AT," *ZAW* 39 (1921) 181-217.

Bibliography: **R. Smend,** "Der geistige Vater des Septuaginta-Unternehmens," *Studien zur Septuaginta—R. Hanhart zu Ehren* (AAWG.PH 3, 190, 1990) 332-44. **J. Wellhausen,** *Chronik der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen für das Jahr 1913* (1914) 8-9.

R. SMEND

SMITH, GEORGE (1840–76)

Born Mar. 26, 1840, S. ended his schooling at age fifteen when he was apprenticed as an engraver of banknotes. He developed an interest in the nascent field of ancient Near Eastern studies and educated himself, often spending his meal breaks in the British Museum, where he came to the notice of H. Rawlinson. In 1867

he was appointed assistant to Rawlinson for the preparation of the third volume of *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (1870) and was promoted to senior assistant to the keeper of the department of oriental antiquities.

Along with his passion for Mesopotamia, S. had an exceptional memory and an intuitive grasp of the Akkadian language. Sifting and collating the relatively unordered collection at the British Museum, his early successes included determining the date of Jehu's tribute to Shalmeneser II and discovery of an inscription dating the solar eclipse of 763 BCE, an important fixed point for biblical CHRONOLOGY. In his short career he published many translations of material from the collection as well as books and articles on the history, culture, politics, and language of the ancient Near East. He was a regular contributor to *TSBA* and *ZÄS*.

His most famous work, however, is associated with the discovery and publication of the *Gilgamesh* epic. In December 1872 he announced in a paper read to the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY (pub. in *TSBA* 2 [1873]) that he had pieced together a fragmentary set of legends that included "a copy of the story of the Flood"; he also presented a translation and short comparison of that story with the accounts in Genesis and Berossus. The parallels caught the public fancy; in spring 1873 the *Daily Telegraph* sponsored S.'s expedition to discover the missing fragments of the epic, with a further expedition following in 1874. An account of these expeditions appeared in 1875 under the title *Assyrian Discoveries,* along with a book-length study of Mesopotamian mythological material (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), including *Gilgamesh* and *Enuma Elish,* entitled *The Chaldean Account of Genesis.* A third expedition proved fatal. S. collapsed near Aleppo, where he died Aug. 19, 1876.

The *Chaldean Account of Genesis* was an immensely popular and influential work. At the time of S.'s death it had entered its fourth edition; a German translation had also been prepared, edited by Friedrich DELITZSCH, with whom S. had formed a friendship, and translated by his brother H. Delitzsch. In addition to disseminating the translations of such works as *Gilgamesh* and *Enuma Elish,* S. argued that these dated from the early second millennium and interpreted them as precursors to the biblical accounts. Thus he may be seen as an early representative of the schools of thought that saw Mesopotamia as the source of inspiration for the culture and traditions of Israel (e.g., Pan-Babylonianism and the Babel und Bibel controversy).

Works: *History of Assurbanipal: Translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1871); *The Phonetic Value of Cuneiform Characters* (1871); *Notes on the Early History of Assyria and Babylonia* (1872); *Assyria: From the Earliest Times to the Fall of Nineveh* (Ancient History from the Monuments Series, 1875); *Assyrian Discoveries: An Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the Site of Nineveh, During 1873 and 1874* (1875); *The Assyrian Eponym Canon: Containing Translations of the Documents* (1875); *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (1875; rev. ed. by A. H. Sayce, 1880; GT, *G. S.'s chaldäische Genesis* [1876]); *The History of Babylonia* (ed. A. H. Sayce, Ancient History from the Monuments Series, 1877); *The History of Sennacherib* (ed. by A. H. Sayce, 1878).

Bibliography: **A. H. Sayce,** *Nature* (Sept. 14, 1876) 421-22. **T. Seccombe,** *DNB* 53 (1898) 39-41. **J. Sweek,** "The Monuments, the Babel-Bibel Streit, and Responses to Historical Criticism," *The Pitcher Is Broken: Memorial Essays for G. W. Ahlstrom* (ed. W. Holloway and L. K. Handy, 1995), 401-19; *The Times Newspaper* (Dec. 4, 1875) 4A; (Sept. 5, 1876) 4C; (Sept. 7, 1876) 10F; (Sept. 9, 1876) 6A; (Sept. 11, 1876) 11C; (Sept. 13, 1876) 10A; (Sept. 15, 1876) 8F.

P. L. TRUDINGER

SMITH, GEORGE ADAM (1856–1942)

After graduating from the University of Edinburgh in 1875, S. prepared for ordained ministry in the Free Church of Scotland at New College, Edinburgh. His interest in biblical scholarship was aroused by the Hebrew scholar A. DAVIDSON and by summers in Leipzig and Tübingen, where he came into contact with Franz DELITZSCH and A. von HARNACK. He came to regard W. R. SMITH as a kindred spirit in the Free Church. S. accepted a parish appointment in Aberdeen (1882). Ten years later he was appointed professor of OT language, literature, and theology at the Free Church College in Glasgow. His reputation as a preacher and teacher and his growing list of publications brought him numerous honors on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1910 he became principal of Aberdeen University, and his burgeoning responsibilities as a university administrator gradually took precedence over biblical scholarship.

It is against the background of the parish ministry that much of S.'s early scholarship must be viewed. A gifted expositor, he helped to convince many English-speaking Protestants that EVANGELICAL Christianity and critical scholarship were not incompatible and that the reader who is fully informed about the historical context of a biblical text will be most likely to touch the divine truth embedded within. His popular commentaries on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Minor Prophets, making cautious use of LITERARY criticism, highlighted the social and political contexts of the material. This approach enabled S. to turn the attention of his audiences to contemporary social and political issues and provided him with a biblical foundation for his extensive involvement in the Scottish labor movement and the debate over socialism. The lectures collected in *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the OT* both described the critical movement and acclaimed it as a valuable tool

for spreading the gospel because of its emphasis on the evolutionary character of Israel's faith and on the ethical character of the prophets. His enthusiasm for German criticism, however, did not always meet with approval, as is evidenced by the abortive attempt to try him for heresy in the United Free Church Assembly in 1902.

A burning desire to educate laypeople is especially prominent in S.'s publications on Palestine. He made several ambitious tours of the Holy Lands, eventually publishing detailed accounts of the customs, topography, and natural life relevant to the biblical record. Of these, his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* was most widely read; repeatedly reprinted, it remains a valuable, classical tool. An extensive knowledge of Hebrew culture led him to refute contemporary opinion on the meter of Hebrew POETRY and later in his career to produce numerous short studies that attempted to help others see "the Bible's earthly stage and background."

Works: *Book of Isaiah* (2 vols., 1888–90); *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1894); *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* (2 vols., 1896–98); *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the OT* (1901); *Jerusalem* (2 vols., 1908); *The Early Poetry of Israel in Its Physical and Social Origins* (1913); *Deuteronomy* (1918); *Jeremiah* (1923).

Bibliography: **S. A. Cook,** *PBA* 28 (1942) 325-46. **W. Manson,** *DNB* Sup. 6 (1959) 792-94. **R. A. Riesen,** *Criticism and Faith in Late Victorian Scotland: A. B. Davidson, W. R. Smith, and G. A. S.* (1985). **L. A. Smith,** *G. A. S.: A Personal Memoir and Family Chronicle* (1943).

B. J. MACHAFFIE

SMITH, HENRY PRESERVED (1847–1927)

Born Oct. 23, 1847, in Troy, Ohio, S. studied at Marietta College (1864–66) and received the BA from Amherst (1869) and the BD from Lane Theological Seminary (1872). He spent time in Berlin, studied OT THEOLOGY in Leipzig under Franz DELITZSCH, and taught at Lane (1874–93), becoming professor of OT exegesis in 1877. He was professor of biblical literature, Amherst College (1898–1906); professor of OT literature and history of religions, Meadville Seminary (1907–13); and librarian and professor of theology, Union Seminary, New York (1913–25). Retiring in 1925, he died Feb. 26, 1927.

S. began his career as a theological conservative, unconcerned with issues of critical exegesis. His intellectual integrity, however, compelled him to face textual problems and the questions raised by the historical methods of critical scholarship. A turning point for him was his generally favorable review of J. WELLHAUSEN's critical theories (*Presbyterian Review* 3 [1882] 357-88), which was moderately controversial in Presbyterian circles. Serious opposition to S. arose a decade later when he defended C. BRIGGS, who was being tried for heresy by Presbyterian authorities. S. was then tried for heresy on the grounds that his adopting historical-critical methods of biblical scholarship denied the doctrine of verbal INSPIRATION as set forth especially by B. B. WARFIELD. In 1892 S. was condemned and removed from the ministry; from 1893 to 1898 he was without an academic position.

Chiefly an OT scholar, S. not only helped introduce critical scholarship into the United States but was also a major contributor. Among his works, the commentary on the books of Samuel (1899), his OT history (1903), and a history of Israel's religion (1914) have been most influential.

Works: *Inspiration and Inerrancy* (1893); *The Bible and Islam; or, The Influence of the Old and New Testaments on the Religion of Mohammed* (1897); *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (ICC, 1899); *OT History* (1903); *The Religion of Israel: An Historical Study* (1914); *Essays in Biblical Interpretation* (1921); *The Heretic's Defense: A Footnote to History* (1926), autobiography.

Bibliography: **H. W. Bowden,** *DARB,* 410-11. **J. A. Brewer,** *AJSL* 43 (1927) 249-54. **J. D. Campbell,** "Biblical Criticism in America, 1858–92: The Emergence of the Historical Critic" (diss., University of Denver, 1982) 225-48. *DAB* 17 (1935) 278-79.

G. E. SCHWERDTFEGER

SMITH, JOSEPH (1805–44)

The founder of Mormonism, S. was born Dec. 23, 1805, in Sharon, Vermont, and spent his youth in the Bible-drenched environs of New England and upstate New York. He came of age in the new United States precisely as unmediated Scripture, theoretically unencumbered by clerical, creedal, or scholarly interpretation, was approaching its historical apex among citizens increasingly aware of their sovereignty. Although creeds and clergy remained important in some sectors, "The Bible alone!" was the ascendant watchword. Reacting to the crisis in spiritual authority emerging from this context and possessed of but a rudimentary education, S. in 1830 launched what became perhaps the most colorful, controversial, complex, and successful religious movement native to North America. Crucial to this development was S.'s use of the Bible, which, prior to his murder June 27, 1844, in Carthage, Illinois, took extraordinary turns.

In some ways S.'s scriptural perspectives were conventional for his time, place, and station. Like his contemporaries, his religious conceptions and everyday speech were saturated in biblical language and images. He shared many of his culture's assumptions about the literality, historicity, and INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE. He

read its narratives with presuppositions about the immutability of truth and the direct relevance of PROPHECY (the imminent millennium, America as chosen) common to his era. He viewed the OT through an NT lens, was influenced by a contemporaneous Christian primitivism, and embraced both a long tradition of typological thought and an emerging train of dispensational thought.

But while participating fully in his culture, S. also struggled against it and even changed it. Eventually his views complicated ordinary issues of interpretation with such distinctive dimensions as oral scripture, private scripture, temporary scripture, noncanonized scripture, and an extra-biblical CANON. In 1830 S. published *The Book of Mormon,* translated with divine assistance, he said, from ancient records telling principally of a Hebrew civilization (Nephites, Lamanites) originally transplanted to North America prior to the Babylonian conquest. Thus appeared in the antebellum United States a new scripture built with biblical language that at once challenged yet reinforced biblical AUTHORITY, echoed biblical themes, interpreted biblical passages, shared biblical content, corrected biblical errors, filled biblical gaps, and restored biblical methods—i.e., the prophetic process.

Immediately after completing *The Book of Mormon* and organizing "The Church of Christ," S. undertook a revision of the Bible and continued to receive revelations formulated "after the manner of [human] language" and conceptions. The recorded revelations, many of which were adopted into the Mormon canon, were filled with biblical themes, phrases, and figures yet were themselves independent, coherent religious creations. They show S.'s understanding of Scripture to have been expansive. For him, Scripture was not the static, final, untouchable Word of God that it was for many of his contemporaries. Although his allegiance to it was basic, Scripture was for S. provisional, adaptable, progressive, relivable, subject to refinement and addition, spoken as well as written, varied in its inspiration, and subordinate to direct experience with God.

While dimensions of S.'s use of the Bible have amused, outraged, or inspired various religionists, several aspects invite scholars' notice. For example, half a century before theories about the multiple authorship and the ancient redaction of biblical books gained currency in the United States among any but a handful of specialists at Harvard and at Andover Seminary, S. offered a forthright and dramatic picture of the documentary hypothesis at work: *The Book of Mormon* depicted the fourth-century prophet-historian Mormon freely abridging, editing, and appropriating the records of earlier writers in his account of the ancient Nephite civilization. Again, S.'s early sensitivities to the limits of human communication, deriving from his attempt to record his revelations, anticipated by almost twenty years H. BUSHNELL's influential "Dissertation on Language" (1849), which explored the limitations of human discourse and had profound implications for the meaning of sacred texts. "O, Lord," lamented the twenty-six-year-old S. in 1832, "deliver us in due time from the little, narrow prison, almost as it were, total darkness of paper, pen and ink—and a crooked, broken, scattered and imperfect language."

A certain tension evolved between the Bible and S., although he continued to understand himself and his people as Bible loyalists—indeed, as embodiments of biblical prophecy—yet the limitations he put on biblical authority were substantial and singular. His deeply biblical consciousness, literalism, and inherited notions of "verbal inspiration" were in conflict with his own prophetic experiences, which invaded and altered his earlier assumptions. Not only was revelation filtered through human capacities, as many Bible believers of his day allowed, but revelation was also ongoing, open-ended, and involved active human participation, even experimentation, in a kind of divine/human dialectic. How to balance the authority of Scripture with his own prophetic authority was a problem. Often when a biblical assertion did not seem consonant with his own views, S. suggested that transmission errors had marred the received texts.

S.'s followers inherited these tensions. B. Young, who construed himself as a Bible loyalist, nonetheless insisted on the primacy of living prophets and on the importance of common sense and the truths revealed by science and by human experience. He dismissed parts of the Bible as folktales (see FOLKLORE). Other leaders have worked harder to hold the Bible together with Mormon views. With considerable internal diversity and a measure of inconsistency, the general Mormon tendency since S.'s death has been, relative to other Christians, both to elevate and to lower the Bible's status: Because they believe that they have so vividly recapitulated biblical narratives and have seen the process of revelation occur in their midst, biblical reality and authority have been renewed for Mormons against a secularizing culture. In the process, however, their contemporary prophets and distinctively Mormon scriptures have overshadowed the Bible.

Works: *The Book of Mormon* (1830); *The Doctrine and Covenants* (in various forms and dates); *The Pearl of Great Price* (1851); *The Holy Scriptures* (1867); *The Words of J. S.* (ed. A. F. Ehat and L. W. Cook, 1980); *The Personal Writings of J. S.* (ed. D. Jessee, 1984); *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of J. S.* (ed. A. H. Faulring, 1987); (ed.), *The Papers of J. S.,* vol. 1, *Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (ed. D. Jessee, 1989); vol. 2, *Journal, 1832–42* (1992).

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P. L. BARLOW

SMITH, JULIA EVELINA (1792–1886)

The first woman to publish her own TRANSLATION of the Bible (1876), S. was one of five daughters of Hannah and Zephaniah Hollister, a Yale graduate who left the Congregational ministry and went into law. By 1869 she and her sister Abby were the family's surviving members. Convinced women's rights advocates, they protested taxation without suffrage in their local town meeting. Their refusal to pay taxes led to repeated auctions of their prized Alderney cows. It became a cause célèbre.

S., the scholar of the two, decided in 1876 to capitalize on their notoriety by publishing her own translation of the Bible. Always a careful student of Scripture, she had first turned to the original Greek to check W. Miller's (1782–1849) apocalyptic predictions in the 1840s. Finding many KJV passages unsatisfactorily translated, she began in about 1843 a literal, word-by-word translation of both testaments. She made five different translations: from a Greek NT, from the SEPTUAGINT, from the VULGATE, and, still dissatisfied, taught herself Hebrew and completed two more translations from that language. She spent seven years on the project. Her 1876 Bible was the first translation "by a woman, unaided and alone," as an ad for the Bible attests.

Bibliography: **S. J. Shaw,** *A Religious History of J. E. S.'s 1876 Translation of the Holy Bible* 1993). **M. B. Stern,** "The First Feminist's Bible: The 'Alderney' Edition, 1876," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 34 (January 1977) 23-31.

N. A. HARDESTY

SMITH, LOUISE PETTIBONE (1887–1981)

Born at Ogdensburg, New York, Oct. 4, 1887, S. grew up in a family that valued education. She was also heir to strong Protestant convictions and maintained a lifelong interest in theology, ethics, and the church. (S.'s maternal grandfather, a Congregational and Presbyterian cleric, was one of the founders of the Abolitionist Society in central New York and organized schools in Georgia for the Freedman's Bureau.) S. called herself a Calvinist and summarized her career by quoting CALVIN: "It is not enough to teach faithfully, unless we also contend" (*People's World*). A Bryn Mawr graduate of 1908 with a major in classics, S. earned an MA and a PhD in Semitics and in Palestinian ARCHAEOLOGY (1912, 1917). In 1914 she was a Thayer fellow at the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH in Jerusalem. For most of her career she taught at Wellesley College, beginning in 1915; at her retirement in 1953, she held the John Stewart Kennedy Professorship of Biblical History. She was secretary of the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE (1950–52) and from 1952 to 1970 achieved national prominence as co-chair of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born.

Known for her careful studies of the biblical prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), S. followed the classic models of philological and source-critical analysis as pioneered by German scholars and developed in the United States. Her works on Isaiah and Ezekiel are noteworthy in this regard, and she later published theologically sensitive works on Micah and Ruth. S. was a little-recognized force in making German evangelical theology known to American audiences. Very early, recognizing R. BULTMANN's importance, she translated his *Jesus and the Word* (1934) and later the first volume of *Faith and Understanding* (1969); she also translated K. BARTH's *Theology and the Church: Shorter Writings, 1920–28.* As co-chair of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, S. took up the biblical prophetic spirit of social critique (see her study of Micah). Deriving her activism from the biblical teaching of one law for the alien and the native born (Lev 24:22), she stood against the excesses of McCarthyism, traveling the country to defend resident aliens and naturalized citizens who were being summarily deported or otherwise denied those basic rights enjoyed by native-born Americans. She wrote a history of the commitee and its struggles (*A Torch of Liberty* [1959]). On her seventy-fifth birthday one thousand civil libertarians honored her at a testimonial dinner.

Works: "The Messianic Ideal of Isaiah," *JBL* 36 (1917) 158-211; "The Use of the Word *twrh* in Isaiah, Chapters 1–39," *AJSL* 46 (1929–30) 1-21; "The Eagle(s) of Ezekiel 17," *JBL* 58 (1939) 43-50; "The Book of Micah," *Int* 6 (1952) 210-27; "The Book of Ruth," *IB* (1953) 2:829-52; *Torch of Liberty* (1959).

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B. O. LONG

SMITH, MORTON (1915–91)

S. was born in Philadelphia May 28, 1915, received an AB from Harvard (1936), an STB from Harvard Divinity School (1940), a PhD from Hebrew University, Jerusalem (1948), and a ThD from Harvard Divinity School. At Harvard he studied with H. CADBURY, A. D. NOCK, and H. Wolfson. He taught at Brown University (1950–55), Drew University (1956–57), and Columbia University (1957–85). He died July 11, 1991.

Early in his career S. left the church, characterizing the position he came to adopt as atheism: Belief in divine intervention in human affairs is not a valid basis for historical scholarship (1996, 1:3-11, esp. 7). He enjoyed provoking the conventionally faithful, proposing reconstructions of the past that opposed the narrative promoted by Jewish and Christian orthodoxies, and delighted in denouncing pseudo-orthodoxy—statements of faith masquerading as scholarship (1996, 1:37-54). His wide range of interests facilitated comparisons he believed essential: Religions should not be studied in isolation. This commitment is expressed in the title of his Festschrift: *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults.* Examples of his synthetic view are the criteria he proposed for identifying the significant in the theology of the ancient Near East (1996, 1:15-27), the similarities between Second Isaiah and contemporary Persian sources (1:73-83), the analysis of Nehemiah as the tyrant of Jerusalem (1971, 1987², 126-47), or the investigation of JESUS in the light of the magical papyri that culminated in *Jesus the Magician.*

Many of S.'s articles represent turning points in the history of scholarship. His explanation of the variation of JOSEPHUS'S assessment of the Pharisees throughout his works is a prime instance (1996, 1:104-15). Also important are the studies of the variety of messianic figures in ancient Judaism (1:161-67) and the DEAD SEA sect (1:168-83), the discussion of Zealots and Sicarii (1:211-26), and the analysis of aretalogies (2:3-27).

In 1957 at the monastery of Mar Saba near Jerusalem, S. happened on an unknown letter of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA written on the back blank pages of a seventeenth-century edition of the works of IGNATIUS. The letter warned against and quoted from a "secret gospel of Mark." S. argued that the letter was authentic and that this secret gospel was of great significance for understanding the history of Christianity. These claims generated much controversy, with some scholars implying that S. had forged the whole business and S. repeatedly defending his conclusions (S. Cohen, "Writings of M. S.," nos. 149, 168, 173, 221, 238).

Works: "Psychiatric Practice and Christian Dogma," *Journal of Pastoral Care* 3 (1949) 12-20; *Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels* (JBLMS 6, 1951); (with M. Hadas), *Heroes and Gods: Spiritual Biographies in Antiquity* (Religious Perspectives 13, 1965); *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the OT* (Lectures on the History of Religions 9, 1971, 1987²); *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (1973); (with E. J. Bickerman), *The Ancient History of Western Civilization* (1976); *Jesus the Magician* (1978); *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh* (2 vols., Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 130, 1-2, ed. S. J. D. Cohen, 1996), includes full bibliography by Cohen, 2:257-78.

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A. BAUMGARTEN

SMITH, WILLIAM ROBERTSON (1846–94)

At the cost of considerable personal suffering, S. did more than anyone else to establish historical criticism as a permanent feature of biblical study in Great Britain. Born Nov. 8, 1846, in Keig, near Aberdeen, he was educated at the universities in Aberdeen (1861–65) and Edinburgh (1866–68) and held the chair of Hebrew and OT at Free Church College, Aberdeen, from November 1870 to May 1881, when he was dismissed on a charge of heresy. He then worked for *EncBrit,* becoming sole editor. In 1883 he moved to Cambridge as reader in Arabic and member of Trinity College, and became a fellow of Christ's College (1885), university librarian (1886), and Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic (1889). He died in Cambridge, Mar. 31, 1894.

The education S. received from his father, a cleric of the breakaway conservative Free Church of Scotland, enabled him to combine deep EVANGELICAL commitment with a fearless quest for learning and truth. At age fourteen he went to Aberdeen University, excelling in both sciences and humanities. While at New College, Edinburgh, where his chief mentor, A. DAVIDSON, had a cautious respect for biblical criticism, S. made the first of the many visits to Germany that were to make him an advocate of European historical criticism. From 1870 his Aberdeen students were almost unique in having a British OT professor who spent time in Bonn, Göttingen, and Heidelberg and who valued the theology of R. Rothe and A. RITSCHL.

Brilliant and controversial, S. was dramatically affected by a commission to write some articles for the ninth edition of the *EncBrit.* (Many of his articles for

this work were revised and published in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* [ed. T. CHEYNE and J. Black, 1899–1903].) The article "Bible," which appeared in December 1875, led to an enquiry by the General Assembly of the Free Church in 1878 and 1880 into whether S. was undermining belief in the INSPIRATION and infallible truth of the Bible. In 1880 a small majority of members favored dropping the charges and admonishing S. However, two weeks after this acquittal his article "Hebrew Language and Literature" appeared in the eleventh volume of *Britannica* to be followed by his article "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes Among the Arabs and in the OT" in *JP* 19 (1880) 75-100 (repr. in his *Lectures and Essays* [1902] 455-83). The former article reiterated positions about which he had been admonished, while the second presaged his later work on comparative Semitic religion and argued that the HB contained evidence that Israel's religion had passed through a totemic phase. (His idea of totemism as a feature of primitive religions was taken from the earlier writings of J. McLennan.)

Suspended until his case could be considered by the General Assembly, S. used the intervening period to deliver public lectures in his own defense (*The OT in the Jewish Church* [1881]). For one on trial for heresy these lectures were very bold, amounting to an impassioned exposition of S.'s unique version of the position argued in J. WELLHAUSEN's epoch-making *History of Israel,* a view S. had reached independently. He argued that access to God in the early religion of Israel was not hedged about with cultic requirements and that the elaborate levitical system attributed to Moses was a later development. However, these scholarly findings were no threat to Christian faith; in fact, in confirming evangelical belief in the availability of God's grace directly to the believer, biblical criticism was a necessary expression of the true spirit of the Reformation. But although the lectures were reprinted twice within months of original publication, they did not save S. from dismissal in May 1881.

For the remainder of his career he devoted his time to Arabic and comparative Semitic religious studies. His work on the prophets (1882; see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) was based on a series of popular lectures and followed B. DUHM and Wellhausen in arguing for a vital prophetic contribution to the development of Israelite religion. His 1885 work expanded his earlier article on animal tribes, using Arabic materials to reconstruct the primitive forms of Semitic social organization and arguing that primitive Semitic society had been organized on the basis of totemism. On four occasions (1875–79, 1879–80, 1889, 1890), S. visited the Middle Eastern lands about which he wrote.

In 1888 at Marischal College, Aberdeen, S. delivered the first series of Burnett lectures, which were to form the basis of his greatest work (1889), arguing that fundamental to Semitic understanding of sacrifice was communion, not expiation. It was not just the conclusion that was novel but also the method, which tried to understand Semitic sacrifice in terms of social organization. Often called a father of modern social science, S. directly influenced such sociologists as E. Durkheim. Reprinted many times and enlarged into new editions, S.'s books exercised great influence on thinking about ancient Semitic social life and religious practices for three or four generations after his death.

Works: *The OT in the Jewish Church* (1881, 1892[2]); *Prophets of Israel* (1882; ed. T. K. Cheyne, 1895[2]); *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1885); *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (1st ser. 1889, 1894[2]; ed. S. A. Cook, 1927[3]; 2nd and 3rd ser. ed. J. Day, JSOTSup 183, 1995); *Lectures and Essays* (ed. J. S. Black and G. Chrystal, 1902).

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J. W. ROGERSON

SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC CRITICISM

Social-scientific criticism, in its broadest sense, applies methods and theories to biblical texts in an attempt to reconstruct the social worlds behind these texts (e.g., ancient Israel) while simultaneously illuminating the lives of the people living in these worlds. The implementation of this method reflects a paradigm shift away from the questions asked by historical critics and biblical theologians, recognizing the limited ability of the older models to shed light on these ancient social worlds. New theories generated through the social sciences provide biblical scholars with models for understanding social and religious phenomena that are different from those found in the dynamics of modern life.

The models and approaches of social-scientific criticism include a variety of subdisciplines of the social sciences whose relevance for analyzing the Bible as a social document is still being tested. Most important

among these subdisciplines are SOCIOLOGY, which is interested in locating and analyzing patterns of social behavior that provide generalizations about social change; and anthropology and its subdisciplines, such as ARCHAEOLOGY and structural anthropology, which are less concerned with generalizations, focusing instead on the comparative study of human behavior. The combined application of these methods allows the researcher to reconstruct various social dimensions of the biblical text.

Although social-scientific criticism is regarded by many scholars as a recent addition to the list of paradigms employed for interpreting the Bible, interest in analyzing the social processes that gave rise to the biblical texts has historical roots. Scholars in the Middle Ages, e.g., RASHI, SAMUEL BEN MEIR, J. BEKHOR SHOR, and HUGH OF ST. VICTOR, were interested in understanding the culture surrounding the text rather than in relying solely on the then popular allegorical method of interpretation (R. Wilson [1984] 2-3). Later, Renaissance scholars became interested in the CROSS-CULTURAL connections between ancient Israel and the rest of the ancient Near East.

Representative of early anthropological studies that attempted to understand the social structure and religious customs of ancient Israel and that served as precursors for contemporary social-scientific criticism are those of W. R. SMITH (1889) and J. WELLHAUSEN (1897). These two scholars employed an evolutionary model to explain social phenomena in the HB, using a general comparative method that linked early Israel to the pre-Islamic bedouin Arabs as well as to elements of contemporary Arabic culture. By examining these elements alongside classical Arabic texts, Wellhausen and Smith believed that it was possible to reconstruct the religion and society of ancient Israel. Their anthropological approaches were accepted by later scholars like J. PEDERSEN (1920–34; ET 1926–40) and R. de VAUX (1958–60; ET 1961), whose studies of social life in ancient Israel followed, and whose works are also considered classics. However, the methods employed in these studies are now recognized as relying on comparative data whose relevance to the study of ancient Israel is questionable.

Pioneering studies in historical-critical methods provided examples of both the importance and the limits of other approaches in relationship to social-scientific criticism. For example, the TRADITION-historical research of M. NOTH (1948) builds on comparative evidence from Greek amphictyonies, whose social organization centered around a common religious shrine maintained by members of the tribal confederation. H. GUNKEL's form-critical studies (see FORM CRITICISM) explored the social location of the biblical text in order to understand the social processes that fostered its development from oral tradition to literary production. These studies (and the work of Wellhausen and Smith) understood ancient Israel to be a pastoral nomadic society. Yet this pastoral nomadic model, the basic assumption on which these earlier studies were grounded, is no longer tenable; it neglects to take into consideration the dynamic of change in social structures over time or from one social setting to another. Moreover, statements regarding behavioral patterns are descriptive (subjective) rather than analytic (objective).

By contrast, in *Ancient Judaism* (1952; originally published as journal articles, 1917–19) social scientist M. WEBER presented a sustained sociological analysis of the HB as evidence for his theories of capitalism, anticipating theories currently embraced by biblical scholars. His reconstruction of early Israel depicted a society dependent on two economic bases: seminomadic groups and settled agriculturalists. According to Weber, the bond between these groups was cemented by their common commitment to a covenant and to the authority of charismatic individuals who arose at particular junctures in history. This loosely organized mixed multitude evolved over time into a hierarchical structure that slowly eroded the freedom and the authority of the family unit, usurping power for itself. The onset of the monarchy, Weber argued, led to the stratification of society into the landowners and the landless. This economic distinction and the corruption and exploitation to which it gave rise were the focus of the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), who opposed this system of injustice, drawing on the covenant tradition and on the social equality that existed before the monarchy. Thus Weber's reconstruction of ancient Israel explored the changing institutions of society and related these changes to both political and economic conditions. His theories of the history of ancient Israel were developed further by A. LODS (1930) and A. CAUSSE (1934, 1937), who noted tensions between the indigenous Canaanites and the nomadic Israelites.

The 1960s and 1970s marked a watershed as increasing numbers of scholars applied the methods and theories of social-scientific criticism in reconstructing their histories of ancient Israel. Focusing on socioeconomic conditions, G. MENDENHALL (1973) rejected Noth's thesis of the amphictyonic social organization in ancient Israel because the biblical tradition does not support the theory that ancient Israel had a central shrine. Moreover, Noth's argument located the amphictyony in an urban setting, while Mendenhall argued that early Israel was a peasant-based tribal federation that revolted against its Canaanite overlords and bound itself together through a covenant tradition with God. Ultimately, Mendenhall's reconstruction moves from a socioeconomic perspective to one that emphasizes the ethical dimensions of this revolution at the expense of political forces.

Using an explicitly sociological model for analyzing biblical data, N. GOTTWALD—independently of Mendenhall—focused on pre-monarchical Israel (1979).

His writings refute the pastoral, nomadic societal model for early Israel and interpret the so-called conquest as a retribalization effort by a peasant population. Gottwald's theory relies on sociologist K. Marx (1818–83), who argued that the roots of historical change lie in economic and social forces. Gottwald suggested that Israel emerged from a retribalization movement within the hierarchical Canaanite social structure. He then examined the process by which disaffected, disenfranchised peasants revolted against a hierarchical power structure and retribalized along egalitarian lines. (Note: The distinction between a peasant who controls the products of his or her labor and sells them in a free economy and a peasant whose labor and produce are subject to hierarchical political systems is crucial in this analysis.) Gottwald's study exemplifies the sociological perspective that connects socioeconomic processes and IDEOLOGICAL analysis for the purpose of reconstructing the social history of biblical periods.

Social-scientific studies that have provided a greater understanding of the social life of ancient Israel have focused on kinship and family, marriage, kingship, the queen mother, and sacred prostitution. Although earlier studies of these topics cannot be ignored, they are of limited usefulness, being based on comparative data of questionable relevance for interpreting ancient Israel. Nonetheless, scholarly investigation builds on comparative data whose relevance for understanding the biblical tradition are continually being tested. For example, Wilson (1980) applied anthropological and sociological methods to gather data on the social roles of Israel's prophets. He referred to the entire spectrum of prophetic activity in ancient Israel by the general term "intermediary." Thus he employed terminology that he believed would not oversimplify the ancient or modern data on prophecy but would instead relate the individuals being analyzed to their cultural settings and not to the supernatural. Wilson distinguished between two types of intermediaries, central and peripheral. Central intermediaries seek to maintain the status quo of the society; peripheral intermediaries seek social change, since they tend to lack social status and to function on the fringes of society. Wilson maintained that central and peripheral intermediaries are not opposites but lie along a continuum where movement is possible; a shift from one category of intermediary to the other usually indicates a shift in the nature of the intermediary's social role (1980, 27-28).

While Wilson's study of prophecy drew on comparative anthropological and sociological data, D. Petersen (1981) applied sociological role theory in order to understand the prophetic function. B. Long (1982) and T. Overholt (1989) represent biblical scholars who have turned to British structural anthropology (the study of social phenomena in terms of how the phenomena function within the larger social structure) and ethnographies (descriptions rather than analyses) of Native Americans for their studies of Israelite prophecy.

Thus the current theoretical scene is made up of diverse social-scientific paradigms. Concurrent with the rise of social-scientific criticism in the 1960s was the beginning of women's studies in North America, which resulted in scholarship that focused on gender issues in the Bible (see FEMINIST INTERPRETATION). Approaches from the social sciences provided biblical scholars with an avenue to explore the power and danger (due to their polyvalence of meanings) of biblical stories that inform contemporary attitudes about women's social roles. C. Meyers (1988) relied on comparative data to contextualize gender issues within the pre-industrialized non-Western peasant society of the HB. Her research centered on the social analysis of early Israel developed by Gottwald but focused specifically on women's role in the central highlands in pre-monarchical Israel. She argued that equality between the sexes existed in Israel's formative years and that the institution of the monarchy and the development of hierarchical political structures saw the erosion of women's power and authority vis-à-vis those of men. The impact of hierarchical social control under the monarchy as the context for the limitation of women's roles (as well as those of men) has found corroboration in studies of the deuteronomic law code as an institutionalized means for change in family organization. These studies show that the power of the nuclear family was expanded at the expense of the power of the extended kinship group (C. Pressler [1993]).

The social world of family and kinship in ancient Israel is a topic whose importance is recognized by theorists from diverse social-scientific perspectives. Comparative anthropological data has helped scholars to reconstruct the kinship basis of ancient Israelite social organization, making it possible to locate the interconnection between the family household, the clan, and the lineage, while recognizing that these terms may hold different meanings in different periods. For example, the *bêʾāb* (father's house) referred in the postexilic period to individuals able to trace their ancestry to those who took part in the Babylonian exile, while earlier in Israelite history the term referred to a co-residential unit composed of related individuals and servants. Precision in analyzing residential units cannot always be found in Hebrew terminology because the same Hebrew term is often used to delineate more than one of the groupings analyzed by social scientists.

The analysis of kinship organization in light of cross-cultural data provides the opportunity for the integration of social-scientific research paradigms. For example, the topics of family structure, gender, and political organization converge in N. Steinberg's analysis of Genesis (1993). Her work reveals the patrilineal basis for marriage and family in ancient Israel, with a preference for

patrilineal endogamy as the genealogical skeleton of the family line of Terah through his son Abraham. Of related interest, N. Jay's (1992) sociological and anthropological investigation of sacrifice leads her to argue that the ancient Israelite emphasis on patrilineage required a ritualization process that shifted reproductive emphasis away from the mother who biologically bore a son to the father in whose patrilineage the son takes his place. The conclusions of Steinberg and Jay complement Wilson's earlier study (1977) of the anthropological significance of genealogies in social and political organization. Moreover, social anthropologist J. Goody's (1990) cross-cultural analysis of kinship and family frequently includes examples from the HB, illustrating that ancient Israel can be understood in light of pre-industrialized non-Western patrilineally based societies.

Finally, of particular interest to scholars is the social world of Israelite religion. Social anthropologist M. Douglas (1966) studied dietary practices as a reflection of Israelite social organization. Her research revealed that the ancient Israelite distinction between clean and unclean symbolizes the biblical world's attempt to classify and organize the disorderly natural world around it. Douglas's interpretation of Israelite religion has been influential in the writings of biblical scholars, who now understand the meaning and function of the ritual laws of the Bible as expressions of Israelite social concerns. Just as Douglas's work has been embraced by biblical scholarship, so also the approach of structural anthropologist C. Lévi-Strauss has been employed by E. Leach (1969) to analyze the biblical narratives. Leach's work, comparing biblical narratives and mythological traditions (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), serves to undermine the putative dichotomy between the biblical tradition and the so-called primitive narrative tradition emphasized by earlier theological approaches to the texts.

To realize the potential of social-scientific criticism, biblical scholarship must move toward integration of the results of social-scientific research paradigms. After this has been accomplished there must be a synthesis of the findings of social-scientific criticism with the conclusions of historical-critical study and theology as well as those of archaeology (an enterprise presently under way). Finally, this synthesis must be accomplished with methodological sensitivity to the biblical material and proper use of appropriate comparative data.

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N. STEINBERG

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The SBA was organized in 1870 by S. Birch, H. Rawlinson, H. Fox-Talbot, and others to investigate and publish papers about the "Archaeology, History, Arts, and Chronology of Ancient and Modern Assyria, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, and other Biblical Lands" and to establish a fund and library to support this activity. The society met monthly to hear and discuss scholarly papers, publishing these and other studies in its *Transactions* (1872–93) and *Proceedings* (1878–1918). The outbreak of WWI brought a dramatic decline in SBA memberships and subscriptions, with consequent financial troubles, and led to the merger of the organization

in 1918 with the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

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M. P. GRAHAM

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

In 1880 F. GARDINER, P. Schaff, and C. BRIGGS organized the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis (shortened to the SBL in 1962). Its purpose was to "stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics." In 1881 the society began issuing the *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* (now *JBL*) and in 1946, the first of over a dozen monographic series that it has undertaken. In addition to these publications the SBL sponsors international, national, and regional conferences at which its members present research papers. Membership has grown from the forty-five enrolled at the end of its first year to more than 8,000 individuals and institutions in 1996.

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M. P. GRAHAM

SOCINUS, FAUSTUS (FAUSTO SOZZINI)

(1539–1604)

Born Dec. 5, 1539, in Siena, Tuscany, S. died Mar. 4, 1604, in Poland. His family was related to three popes (Pius II, Pius III, and Paul V) and to prominent jurists. S. became interested in radical religious thought through the influence of his uncle Laelius (1525–62), a prominent radical whose papers S. inherited upon the uncle's death, May 14, 1562. Laelius, who traveled widely, was acquainted with several of the second-generation Reformers, some of whom questioned his orthodoxy. In c. 1561 (first printed 1568) he wrote a work on the opening chapter of the Fourth Gospel, *Brevis explicatio in primum Iohannis caput* (repr. in A. Rotondò [ed.], *Lelio Sozzini, Opere* [1986] 103-28, 340-71), in which he denied that the text refers to the premundane existence of the Christ and denied the traditional doctrine of the Trinity. S. rewrote his uncle's work as *Explicatio primae partis primi capitis Iohannis* (1562), arguing that Christ was divine by reason of his office, not his nature.

From 1563 to 1574 S. served at the court of Grand Duke Cosimo I of Tuscany in Florence. He spent time in Basel, where he wrote an important tract on JESUS Christ the Savior (*De Jesu Christo servatore* [1578]) and on the condition of the first human before the fall (*De statu primi hominis ante lapsum disputatio* [1578]). In the former he argued that the virgin-born Jesus was totally human, had no existence prior to his birth, and was exalted to divine status by God at the ascension; he also denied the traditional satisfaction theory of the atonement. In the latter work he denied the immortality of the soul, arguing for the natural mortality of the first humans apart from the fall.

S. eventually settled in Poland, one of the most tolerant countries in Europe at the time, where he spent the rest of his life, often under persecution and duress. After initial disputes over his opposition to rebaptism, he gradually rose to prominence among the Polish Brethren. In 1580 he began writing his work on Scripture (1588; ET, E. Combe, 1731), which reiterated and expanded on his biblically based anti-trinitarianism, affirmed the unique role of the Bible in theology, and emphasized its reasonableness. He also argued that Christ ascended to heaven during the forty days in the wilderness following his baptism, at which time he, like Moses, received a divine message.

S.'s approach to theology and biblical studies was a combination of rationalism, supernaturalism, and mysticism. A humanistic optimism undergirded his assumption that the Bible could be read and understood in a straightforward sense. He denied that it taught the traditional view of original sin, predestination, the preexistence of Christ, and the Trinity. Although accepting the doctrine of Jesus' virgin birth, he argued that Jesus was the Son of God on the basis of his likeness to the deity. S. strongly emphasized the moral teachings of the NT and ethical behavior as imitation of Christ but argued that only through a personal revelation from God was it possible to be guided to the knowledge of God and thus salvation and immortality. S. and his followers tended to view the HB as subordinate to the NT.

Many of S.'s ideas were incorporated into the Racovian Catechism (Polish 1605; Ger. 1608; Lat., with notes and additions, 1609; ET, J. Biddle, 1652). The Socinian movement was suppressed in Poland in the middle of the seventeenth century primarily through Roman Catholic reaction led by the Jesuits. Socinian thought gave expression to widespread sentiments, however, and its influence spread widely. Its real or assumed threat to more orthodox theology can be seen in the fact that over seven hundred polemical dissertations were produced on the movement between 1595 and 1797 (E. Wilbur [1945] 525).

Works: *Explicatio primae partis primi capitis Iohannis* (1562); *De Jesu Christo servatore* (1578, pr. in c. 1594); *De statu primi hominis ante lapsum disputatio* (1578, pr. in 1610); *De Sacrae Scripturae auctoritate* (1588; ET, *An Argument for the Authority of Holy Scriptures* [1731]; repr. in S. Lubieniecki, *History of the Polish Reformation and Nine Related Documents* [tr. G. H. Williams, HTS 37, 1995]); *Praelectiones theologicae*

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J. H. HAYES

SOCIOLOGY AND HEBREW BIBLE STUDIES

Although some social scientists define sociology as one among other SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC specialisms, it will be used here as a cover term for the whole body of the social sciences as they are used in a systematic study of the structure and development of the totality of a given society. Sociological studies may be divided into three broad categories that may at times be intertwined: (1) social description, (2) social history, and (3) social theory.

Social description is essentially the explanation and elucidation of the institutions and customs of the biblical community. Its primary source is the biblical text, augmented and illuminated by archaeological evidence. Judicious but limited use is made of information derived from ancient, and occasionally modern, societies deemed comparable to the biblical community; but the biblical texts are the controlling factor. Social history may be understood in two ways. First, it takes into account the changes that took place in the long history of the biblical community. Social descriptions of one era may be vastly different from those of another period, since there is recognition that the life of the biblical community was dynamic, not static. Social historians as a rule, however, restrict themselves to a description of the changes—what happened—and bracket consideration of the reasons for those changes—why it happened. Second, social history may refer to attempts to pay more attention to factors often omitted or minimized in traditional histories, which tend to focus on politics, rulers, aristocrats, and the producers and transmitters of high culture. The social historian attempts to adduce evidence, often sparse in the preserved texts, that delineates as broad a picture as possible of the total life of the society. Family structures, the means of economic production, daily life of the mass of the population, etc. are used to provide a picture of the social unit as a whole and to describe the changes that took place in that unit. The emphasis remains, however, on the description of change and not on an explanation of the causes of change.

An increasing number of scholars contend that social description and social history as defined above are inadequate for the sociological task. Although these scholars use social description and social history, they maintain that sociological study must also attempt to account for social change. A primary feature of their program is the use of macro-social theory. Macro-theory, which will be discussed more fully below, concentrates on the total life of a given society, often uses CROSS-CULTURAL models to illuminate data from that society and/or to fill in lacunae in the data, and relies on the generalizing conclusions of one or more recognized social theorists. The extent to which macro-theory may be appropriate for study of the HB is perhaps the most important, and as yet unresolved, issue to be confronted. Before addressing the contemporary state of the discussion, however, it is appropriate to give a brief overview of sociological interpretation prior to the middle of the twentieth century.

1. Brief History of Sociological Study to the Mid-twentieth Century. Occasional references that may be called social description are to be found in the HB itself and in scattered comments in Jewish and Christian interpreters in the succeeding centuries. Concentrated and more systematic sociological study of the HB, however, began in the mid-nineteenth century as a response to the finds of Near Eastern ARCHAEOLOGY and the emergence of the social-scientific disciplines of cultural anthropology and sociological theory. (H. Hahn [1954] provides a covenient summary of the period 1850–1950; for anthropology, 44-82; sociology, 157-84; and archaeology, 185-225. A briefer but useful account is that of R. Wilson [1984] 1-25.)

The anthropologist who most influenced HB studies was E. Tylor, who assumed that a universal primitive mentality lay behind all cultural forms, including religion, and that these forms developed through a common evolutionary process. Since there was a common beginning and a common process, material from widely separated societies could be used in comparative studies. HB scholars, led by W. R. SMITH, quickly began to use Tylor's method. Smith restricted his comparative studies

primarily to early Arab societies, with occasional material from contemporary bedouin groups; but J. FRAZER expanded this approach by including, somewhat unsystematically, evidence for all societies, ancient and modern, that seemed to have some bearing on the beliefs and customs of the biblical community.

Cultural anthropologists following Tylor abandoned the broad comparative approach and insisted that anthropology should focus on the total life of one society. Comparative materials could be used only in a secondary illustrative manner. Most, although not all, biblical scholars responded to this change by withdrawing from overt use of anthropology for biblical study.

The most significant social theorist for HB studies was, and in modified forms continues to be, M. WEBER. Many of his specific conclusions, limited as they were by his dependence on the biblical scholarship of his day, are today abandoned or radically revised. However, two of his major points—that religion provided the uniting bond for the people called Israel (covenant), and that leadership of this covenant people originally resided in charismatic figures not located in an established political setting—continue to have considerable influence in biblical studies, albeit in a number of divergent forms.

Two of his general theses also remain of central importance in sociological study. First, he insisted that a macro-social theory must make use of ideal types, hypothetical constructs that may be used to compare and elicidate actual situations; and these ideal types, when expanded, may then provide a macro-social model. Second, he rejected the Marxist view, which saw religion arising solely from the material conditions of life. It is too much to maintain, as has often been said, that Weber gave religion the earlier role in shaping societal structures. It is more accurate to understand his position as affirming a dynamic interaction between the spiritual values of a society and the socio-cultural matrix in which those values are operative. Full attention must be given to each and not in isolation from the other. Each influenced and was influenced by the other.

A number of scholars in the 1920s and 1930s, both in larger works like the histories of A. CAUSSE and A. LODS and in more limited, specialized studies, directly or indirectly used Weber's insights regarding the interaction of religion and society. A potentially promising but ultimately abortive foray into sociological study was made by the Chicago school, represented in HB studies especially by W. C. Graham and H. G. May (see also L. Wallis). Graham and May attempted to trace the development of religious concepts in the context of the changing social process. Their primary concern was not with Israelite society as such but with the aspects of that society that might contribute to a fuller understanding of the nature and the development of Israelite religion.

2. Contemporary Sociological Study. The "new" sociological study of the HB is, as was noted above, not altogether new. Attention to the importance of economics, social organization, and social PSYCHOLOGY appeared in the works of, e.g., A. ALT, M. NOTH, W. F. ALBRIGHT, J. PEDERSEN, and others who followed their leads. Further, form-critical studies (see FORM CRITICISM) by their very nature were required, in theory at least, to take seriously the social setting. It is fair to say, however, that for the most part sociological observations were of an unsystematic nature and paid little if any attention to sociological theory as such.

While recognizing that there are threads of continuity in sociological study of the HB from the mid-nineteenth century to the present, two features may be deemed distinctive of the contemporary period: (a) a more systematic use of macro-theory and (b) more attention to the role of techno-economic factors in the study of society. Macro-theory, as mentioned earlier, concentrates on the total life of a society and may use cross-cultural models to fill in lacunae in the data directly available from that society. To this extent it is akin to one of the definitions of social history discussed earlier. The new approach, however, makes more refined use of techno-economic data.

Archaeology, particularly as it has shifted from emphasis on description to explanation; physical anthropology; geography; climatology; demography; and other disciplines, techniques, and methods not ordinarily included in the social sciences are increasingly employed. Use of such information is, of course, not altogether new in sociological study; but it is now more pervasive and more refined. It seems evident that as more data become available and as existing data are evaluated by more rigid macro-theoretical methods a more comprehensive social history of Israel, although certainly not a complete one, can be written. (For more detailed discussion of specific contemporary contributions to sociological study of the HB, see the excellent bibliographies in N. Gottwald [1983, 168-84; 1985, 1612-65], a good overview of a number of the most important works through 1983 in Wilson, and a succinct summary of the state of the field through 1985 in R. Culley [1985].)

The following areas of HB study have received extensive attention from scholars using sociological methods.

a. Israel's origins and the formation of the state. The problem that has thus far been most broadly addressed is the question of Israel's origins and the formation of the state. It has long been a commonplace of biblical study that Israel's origins are to be found in a nomadic or semi-nomadic society. This was true whether a conquest model or a settlement model for Israel's emergence in Canaan was adopted. This view also underlay Weber's starting point that early Israelite society is to be understood as a result of the inner tension between those Israelites who reflected the institutions and ideals of a desert society and those who were rooted in an agricultural society.

This prevailing, though not unanimous, view was directly challenged by G. MENDENHALL (1962), who proposed a more appropriate model, which, although recognizing the catalyst supplied by a small group of Yahweh worshipers, stressed the central role of disaffected Canaanite serfs. (Wallis had, much earlier, made a strikingly similar proposal.) GOTTWALD, although operating from an ideological perspective quite different from Mendenhall's, has developed the general thesis with massive sociological data. Techno-economic studies by Mendenhall, Gottwald, and many others have attempted to provide evidence for the model popularly called "peasant revolt," which has found favor with a number of HB historians and has found its way into many popular textbooks. On the other hand, it has also been sharply criticized as being a pure construct with no biblical evidence to support it.

It is too early to judge whether the semi-nomadic theory has been dealt a fatal, or even a serious, blow; however, two significant items for a broader contribution of sociological study of the HB emerge from the debate as it has been carried on thus far. First, it has highlighted the necessity of using techno-economic data available both in the biblical texts and in cogent cross-cultural models. Further research on such data may support or refute the theory, but such research is now seen to be mandatory. Second, and perhaps more important, although the use of a new sociological model may or may not provide new answers, it poses new questions that must be addressed to the biblical texts. That in itself is a not insignificant contribution.

b. The emergence of the monarchy. Closely related to and in part congruent with the issues of Israel's origins is analysis of the emergence of the monarchy. Two major issues have largely dominated sociological study of this question. The first is an attempt to give a social description of the structure of Israelite society in the period prior to the formation of the nation state; the second, to propose reasons for the social change from confederacy (tribal league) to monarchy. With respect to the former, most proposals have used the anthropological model of movement from family to extended family based on genuine kinship, to tribe (clan), to chiefdom, to state (geographical, though stereotypically related to kinship.) Some scholars, however, question whether the biblical evidence or cross-cultural anthropological data will permit so stylized a description. Further study is mandatory before a more precise description than the admittedly uneven and inconsistent picture given in Judges and in the early chapters of 1 Samuel can be affirmed with confidence.

The most attractive feature of the preceding model is that of chiefdom, which seems to provide the best explanation of the reign of Saul and of the early reign of David (see J. Flanagan [1988]). It is proposed that even before Saul larger or smaller geographical areas were under the sway of local chiefs, who had displaced familial units for purposes of military defense and regulation of trade. Thus the development of chieftaincy paved the way for the emergence of the state.

Most historians, accepting the biblical evidence at face value, assert that military and political pressure from the Philistines was the single factor that precipitated the rise of the nation state. Certain recent studies maintain that the picture is much more complicated; although agreeing that the Philistines were a, if not the, critical factor, they insist that fuller recognition needs to be given to the economic collapse, especially of international trade, that characterized the late Bronze Age. It is not yet clear whether the data adduced are compelling. It may well be that the older view focusing on Philistine military pressure is more cogent; but at the very least the new sociological studies are valuable in posing new questions, if not necessarily providing new answers.

c. Prophecy. A third area that has received considerable sociological attention is PROPHECY. Social theory, social psychology, and cross-cultural anthropological studies have been used to examine anew a wide variety of issues, the first dealing with the social location of prophecy and the prophets. While earlier scholars were primarily concerned with the relationship between the prophets and the cult, recent studies have extended this issue to include not only the cult but also the establishment as a whole, distinguishing between prophets who worked within the establishment and those who were outside it. This is a useful perspective but should be tempered by the recognition that the same prophet could from time to time be cast now in one role, now in another.

Another aspect of social location is the attempt to refine and sharpen the social setting (*Sitz im Leben*) of prophetic oracles. The most promising result thus far is the awareness that the quest for the original setting, valuable as it was, is not adequate. One should consider not only the setting in which the genre arose (and not all genres may be related to a specific setting) but also the variety of settings in which specific oracles might be used. Further, attention should be given to the broader cultural environment within which prophetic oracles were pronounced or later circulated. The interlocking of a broad variety of matrices within society constitutes the most valuable vantage point for determining the interaction between oracle and hearer/reader.

Social function is closely related to social location. The older view of the prophets as isolated religious geniuses proclaiming beautiful spiritual and moral truths has largely been abandoned. The prophets were intimately involved in societal life, and recent sociological study has emphasized that this involvement took two

opposing forms: social maintenance and social change. Prophets located within the establishment buttressed the legitimations of that establishment while the outsiders condemned existing social conditions and called for radical change. This paradigm is useful but not exhaustive; some aspects of prophecy cannot be reduced to social concerns.

Sociological study has also addressed the question of prophetic authority and legitimacy, making use of cross-cultural anthropological studies. Although legitimacy and authority may derive from institutional structures, it is societal consensus about how a prophet should behave and acceptance of the general contours of his/her message that ultimately bestow legitimacy and authority.

Anthropological studies have been used to illuminate prophetic behavior in both its physiological and its psychological manifestations. The nature and social impact of ecstatic behavior and stereotypical speech patterns in a number of cultures have been evaluated by socio-psychological criteria. The extent to which such cross-cultural data may be useful in the study of biblical prophets is not yet clear, but a promising beginning has been made (see Wilson, 26-27, 67-80).

d. Apocalypticism. A number of studies have examined the sociological factors that contributed to the ebbing (*cessation* is too strong a word) of prophecy and the emergence of APOCALYPTICISM. On the theoretical level, it is proposed that the seedbed of apocalypticism lies in an experience of group alienation and/or a sense of felt deprivation. Anthropological studies of current or recent messianic/millenarian movements have been used to explicate the social setting of apocalypticism in the biblical texts. Sociological studies have also attempted to contribute to the much-discussed issues of the date of apocalypticism's origin and of its literary and ideational sources.

P. Hanson (1985), drawing primarily on the so-called sociology of knowledge, has dated the dawn of apocalypticism in the early postexilic period, which he has depicted in terms of a polarity between realists and visionaries. The sociological contribution to delineating the sources of apocalypticism has, to this point, been minimal. It is increasingly clear that apocalypticism has no univocal source; further sociological investigations may clarify the interactions among prophecy, royal cult, myth-wisdom, and Hellenistic sources that coalesced to form its shape and content.

e. Law and wisdom. Finally, cultural anthropologists outside the field of biblical studies have devoted considerable attention to biblical laws, especially those relating to purity and sacrifice, and responses by biblical scholars have been forthcoming. It is probable that new sociological studies will review the still-classic treatments of Alt and Noth on the origins of Israelite law. In the last decades of the twentieth century, there has also been considerable scholarly debate on the locus of Israelite wisdom, with clan ethic, royal court, or school being most prominently proposed. It seems likely that no single social setting provides a comprehensive explanation, but reinvestigation of the germane texts from a sociological perspective, as yet in a nascent form, may shed light on the issue. The few studies available thus far tend to indicate that our present wisdom texts, as distinguished from the origins of wisdom as such, come from a relatively well-to-do socio-economic group. Whether further study will confirm or negate this provisional conclusion remains moot.

3. Problems and Prospects. Sociological study of the HB has been criticized even by scholars who accept in principle its potential contribution. (A more fundamental criticism by some anthropologists who maintain that social science methods can legitimately be used only for living societies ["social scientists study living people not books"] is too sweeping and hardly represents a substantive position in the social sciences.) Criticisms vary in scope and intensity but fall into three major categories.

First, considerable caution must be exercised in choosing a particular macro-theory as a paradigm for assessing the data; e.g., adoption of a Marxist perspective will yield quite different results from the use of Weberian or one of the many neo-Weberian approaches. Biblical scholars engaged in the sociological enterprise need to be aware of the enormous diversity existing among social scientists and to keep abreast of developments in the social sciences. Pluralistic use of social theory is desirable, although it should not be diluted to an eclecticism that selects from here and there social theories and comparative examples that seem to elucidate a particular issue. Sociological rigor is mandatory.

Second, cross-cultural materials may be useful in a supplementary manner but should not be used in an extensive and indiscriminate way when evidence in the biblical texts is sparse or lacking altogether. The biblical texts must remain the primary source. And third, there is the question of the centrality of sociological methods for interpretation. Does sociological study, as some of its practitioners seem to imply, provide a paradigmatic breakthrough, or is it a useful, but auxiliary, discipline for historical study as it was for Weber? It is probable that most HB scholars, at least for the foreseeable future, will adopt the latter option (see Wilson, 28-29).

What, then, are the prospects for the future of sociological study? Some of the problems already addressed in this article, e.g., early Israelite history, prophecy, and apocalypticism, will surely be expanded and refined. Two others, law and wisdom, seem ripe for detailed investigation. Two further areas of study may be suggested. The first is the sociology of literature, not to be confused with the "new" LITERARY criticism, whose relationship with sociological study remains problemati-

cal. Investigations in this area will not be simply an extension and refinement of the social setting in which biblical texts emerged, although this is legitimate and necessary. Sociology of literature, as used here, while paying careful attention to the original setting and function of a text, focuses on the continuing sociological impact of the text in the ongoing life of the communities that preserved it. Ultimately such study will embrace the whole question of the origin and significance of CANON. The second area is the complex issue of the sociological setting of early Christianity and its interaction with Judaism. Intense study of both canonical and non-canonical literature of that period has yielded fruitful results.

It might be expected that sociological study will issue in new textboooks that take much more seriously the sociological dimensions of the HB (Gottwald [1985, 1993] is already an example). Finally, as the results of sociological study become more pervasive, covering the whole of the biblical period, it may become possible to produce a genuine social history that will take due account of the total structure of the biblical community, the nature of the literature it produced, and the social worlds underlying both its structure and its literature.

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J. F. PRIEST

SOCIOLOGY AND NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES

1. Interest in Knowledge. Sociologically oriented exegesis has two different interests in knowledge of the biblical text, one historical and the other hemeneutical (see HERMENEUTICS). The historical interest consists in understanding through SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC or, more specifically, sociological categories the reality a text represented or constituted at the time of its origin. Theological, philological, psychological (see PSYCHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), and other categories are not dismissed as improper but, rather, as insufficient. This insufficiency can be addressed by including the social world of the NT age in the interpretative process. One must ask what typical interpersonal behavior was like both in the Christian communities and in their larger environment, e.g., who had regular social interaction with whom? Who commanded? Who obeyed? Who was economically dependent upon whom? Beyond this, one must investigate the causal and functional relationships in which these social actualities took place. For example, the relationship between early Christianity and slavery is not sufficiently grasped until one asks not only what the social position of slaves was in the primitive Christian communities but also which external social influences appeared in this arrangement, and what influence this arrangement had on the greater social reality. The historical interest directing such questions can be focused on individual NT texts as well as on an array of these texts.

The hermeneutical interest in knowledge begins with the insight that communication requires that communicants share a common social world. Thus not only is knowledge of the social world of the NT necessary for communication with NT texts but also knowledge of the place of the interpreter in his or her social world. In its full sense, therefore, sociologically oriented exegesis requires mediation between diverse social worlds.

2. Types. Sociologically oriented exegesis is not a unitary method. A distinction can be made between socio-historical, sociological, and materialistic exegesis. Such a differentiation has some justification, but it is nonetheless problematic.

The relationship between socio-historical and sociological exegesis is often laid out as one between description and explanation, i.e., between the collection of historical material and the interpretation of that material with the help of sociological theory. It is reasonable to ascribe to social history the depiction of typical interpersonal behavior, and to sociology the interpretation of the broader social functions of this behavior. Thus socio-historical exegesis can be seen as the necessary precondition for actual sociological exegesis. To be sure, this distinction is not absolute: No assembling of material is free of theory, and not every theory is applicable to all forms of material. Accordingly, it is impossible to engage in only one of the two endeavors to the exclusion

of the other, though different emphases are permissible.

Materialistic exegesis fits the framework of a sociologically oriented exegesis in its stress on the significance of social actualities and processes for the origin as well as for the understanding of NT texts. Materialistic exegesis also shares the concern to uncover the societal and political relevance of the NT for our time. In what has become its classical form in the work of F. Belo (1975; ET 1981) and M. Clévénot (1976; ET 1985), materialistic exegesis, however, exhibits two peculiarities: It uses structural methods (see STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION) to interpret texts, and it is based on a materialistic hermeneutic that makes use, above all, of K. Marx (1818–83) and L. Althusser and consciously asserts a fixed philosophical, psychological, political, and economic worldview as the interpretative horizon of the NT.

The often-raised objections to materialistic exegesis—that it has an inadequate historical orientation (structuralism), an insufficient capacity for self-correction, and an unfounded denial of the relative autonomy of the text in relation to the means of production (historical materialism)—are too severe. While of some merit regarding the classical representatives of this approach, such objections are invalid for later attempts, e.g., that of C. Myers (1988), to develop a political reading that stands between materialistic and sociological exegesis and attempts to draw on elements of modern LITERARY criticism.

Apart from Myers's socio-literary approach and related methods (see S. Freyne [1988]), two other methodologies cannot be brought under the tripartite schema of socio-historical, sociological, and materialistic exegesis. The first of these is the cultural-anthropological method, represented above all by B. Malina and based on the work of M. Douglas, in which the social experience is the central focus, i.e., the evaluative interpretation of social conditions by the society at large. Of primary interest in this approach is how the interpretation expresses itself in the formation of symbols and in the communication of the respective societies. The second approach is the socio-rhetorical method, which employs a combination of elements from diverse disciplines (rhetoric, modern literary criticism, and the sociology of literature). According to V. Robbins, "A socio-rhetorical approach . . . analyzes the text as a strategic statement in a situation characterized by 'webs of significance' containing an intermingling of social, cultural, religious, and literary traditions and conventions in the Mediterranean world" (1984, 6).

3. History of Research. The history of sociologically oriented exegesis of the NT can be divided into two phases. The first extends from 1880 to 1930; the second, from 1970 to the present. Before 1880, NT exegesis showed scarcely any interest in the social realities of early Christianity and its environment.

a. 1880–1930. During this period a series of books and articles appeared (E. Hatch [1883]; C. Heinrici [1887]; A. von Harnack [1884, 1893², 1902]; E. von Dobschütz [1902]; E. Lohmeyer [1921, 1925]; J. Jeremias [1923]; R. Schumacher [1924]; C. Cadoux [1925]; F. Grant [1926]; W. Bauer [1927]) that were concerned with the social aspects of early Christianity (the forms of the community, the life of the community, its mission, its environment). The reconstruction of the life of the lower classes of imperial Rome by A. DEISSMANN (1908, 1923⁴) based on papyri and inscriptions, became extremely well known. Deissmann's intention was to uncover the social background of the NT. The rise of NT FORM CRITICISM after 1919 (K. Schmidt [1919]; M. Dibelius [1919]; R. Bultmann [1921]), with its search for the *Sitz im Leben* of NT genres, displayed a sociological interest in the wider sense. Such an interest was more specific in one movement of the so-called Chicago school, particularly in the works of S. J. CASE and S. MATHEWS, who, from the standpoint of functionalism, interpreted early Christianity as an answer to the needs of society.

b. After 1970. After its practical disappearance for forty years (for a variety of reasons: dialectical theology, existential interpretation, redaction criticism, structuralism), the sociological approach to exegesis experienced a spectacular comeback in the seventies (also for various reasons: the crisis in historical-critical exegesis, a general interest in the social sciences in the sixties). This development led to a host of relevant investigations and to a confusing differentiation of approaches and methods (see sec. 4).

c. The relation of sociologically oriented exegesis and historical-critical exegesis. The sociological orientation is not a break with traditional historical criticism; it is, rather, (at least in many forms) a discharging of claims long-since made but still unfulfilled by historical criticism. Programmatic assertions relative to the history of NT times, the history of religions (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE), form criticism, and even REDACTION CRITICISM have long included references to the necessary consideration of the social dimension, e.g., social history, sociological determination of the *Sitz im Leben,* the connection between religious concepts and collective living conditions, and the connection between the evangelists' redaction and the situation of their communities. Such purposes were first realized in specifically social-scientific research and in some sociological investigations.

4. Selected Approaches. ***a. Socio-historical approaches.*** M. HENGEL's (1968; ET 1981) approach can be understood as socio-historical research with a strong orientation toward historical criticism. In this treatment the social circumstances of the succession to the historical JESUS were set off from the teacher-pupil relationship of the late rabbinate and from the succession of apocalyptic prophets (see APOCALYPTICISM; also PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). The closest parallel to the calls of

the disciples is, according to Hengel, "the call of the OT prophets through the God of Israel himself" (ET, 98).

A. Malherbe (1977, 1983[2]) was as socio-historically oriented as Hengel. Malherbe stressed that "we should strive to know as much as possible about the actual social circumstances . . . before venturing theoretical descriptions or explanations of them" (1983[2], 20). In this work, based on lectures, he largely limited himself to the former: illuminating the relationship between PAUL and the church in Thessalonica by a comparison of 1 Thessalonians with texts from philosophical communities, especially from the Epicureans; investigating the social status of the early Christians and supporting a "new emerging consensus" (1983[2], 118; cf. 31), according to which this status is set clearly higher than in the earlier *communis opinio;* and discussing the issues of house-churches and hospitality in the early church.

P. Lampe offered a significant study in local social history (1987, 1989[2]). He made use of mainly literary but also epigraphic and archaeological sources in order to (among other things) reconstruct the distribution of Christians in Rome and the fractionalization of the Christian community. He pursued general as well as prosopographical information and characterized the relationship between both as the attempt "to color with concrete instances, generalizations which the sources themselves make" rather than to "project individual cases drawn from the sources onto a representative level—and by what method, even?" (1989[2], XI). Lampe came close to a sociology of knowledge when he went beyond the socio-historical explanation of the daily life of Christians in Roman cities to suggest *"correlations* between the situation and the expression of faith" (347; italics original), e.g., in the *Shepherd of Hermas,* in MARCION, in the Valentinians, etc. In doing so he protected himself against social history's monocausal explanations of theology: "Not static (e.g., super/substructure), but only more complex dynamic models will, in my estimation, help us further, if we want to uncover something of the *mutual* correlations between theology and social reality" (348; italics original). Lampe did not, however, present such models in his socio-historically oriented study.

Several studies in the 1990s focused on the question of egalitarian communities in early Christianity. Both A. Clarke (1993) and J. Chow (1992) tried to explain many of the problems Paul dealt with in 1 Corinthians by comparing the pattern of leadership in the Corinthian community to that of non-Christian Greco-Roman leadership. In their view, Paul struggled to replace secular hierarchical models of patronage and friendship that continued to shape the minds of the Corinthian community with truly Christian, egalitarian ones. This thesis has been countered by T. Schmeller (1995), whose comparison between Pauline communities and Greco-Roman associations offers a more nuanced view: Both kinds of groups show mixtures of hierarchical and egalitarian elements; what seems to be specific of Christian communities, however, is that solidarity forms part of their group-identity.

b. Specifically sociological approaches. Various exegetes have made use of M. WEBER's *verstehender Soziologie,* in particular of his concept of charismatic authority and its routinization, in order to illuminate the structures of authority in the Jesus movement and in the early Christian communities. B. Holmberg (1978) showed how in the early church, and especially with Paul, a process of institutionalization took place in which the purely charismatic relationship of authority between Jesus and his circle of disciples was gradually intermingled with rational and traditional elements. What is new in Holmberg's reconstruction is that this institutionalization is not understood as the inevitable fall from an original peak but as an intended and much longed-for manifestation of the authenticity of the charisma (166). With this move Holmberg seizes on the further inner-sociological development of the Weberian model. A charismatic movement not only calls the existing society into question but also is "in principle nothing less than the founding anew of society" (146). A primary institutionalization is already introduced by the charismatic leader (here the historical Jesus), then a secondary institutionalization is established by the administrative or leadership staff (here Paul in particular). In the early church the last development leads to such forms of authority as "the literal Jesus-tradition, the Christian moral teachings and code of behavior, the cult, and the all-powerful group of leaders" (201).

Probably the most influential contributions to the sociological exegesis of the NT stem from G. Theissen. Depending on the subject matter, Theissen combines Weber's charisma model with conflict or functionalistic theories. His best-known work, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (1977, 1985[4]; ET 1978), has been expanded via some essays in his collected volume, *Social Reality and the Early Christians* (1979, 1989[3]; ET 1992). "The Jesus movement is . . . the renewal movement which Jesus called forth within Judaism in the Syro-Palestinian region from c. 30 to 70 CE" (1985[4], 9). Its "inner structure was determined by the interaction of three roles: the wandering charismatics, their sympathizers in the local communities, and the revealer" (1985, 14). Jesus, the founder of the movement and its first wandering charismatic, remained after Easter as the transcendent revealer, its charismatic leader. The locally settled followers of the movement still did not form proper communities but, rather, as individual sympathizers and material supporters were the charismatically governed. In between the wandering charismatics and their sympathizers stood the disciples of Jesus in the narrower sense, who even before Easter constituted the charismatically qualified leadership staff of the move-

ment and who after Easter, as wandering charismatics, became the actual bearers of the movement. Jesus' radical teachings of the renunciation of homeland, family, and possessions were meant only for the circle of wandering charismatics and were passed on by them. Their message of reconciliation was not drawn upon for the solution of the social crisis in Palestine, which was too sharply torn between class and political factions. While the Jesus movement was a failure there, it enjoyed great success in the Hellenistic cities. This transition brought with it, to be sure, a clear transformation: Local communities became the center of the movement, and the radical teachings, which could not be realized under sedentary conditions, were replaced by a socially conservative patriarchalism of love.

In addition to its expression in Weber's models, the sociology of knowledge has found repeated application in NT exegesis, e.g., in the work of J. Elliott (1981). According to Elliott's analysis, it is an aim of 1 Peter to reconcile the community it addresses with their status as outsiders in society. They are encouraged to not give in to hostility and persecutions, which are to be understood as society's pressure to conform. To this end 1 Peter makes use of the image of the house: The house of the saints is cut off from the world, and as *oikos pneumatikos* (a spiritual house) the saints live in the *paroikia* (foreign parts). Precisely because they appear to the world as eccentrics, they prove themselves the elect. Thus a theological idea is used to legitimize a social reality. The image of the house is particularly good for this purpose because the community was, in fact, organized in house-churches; consequently, the social reality to be legitimized itself provides the image-material for theological reflection.

A broad palette of sociological lines and models was applied by both J. Gager (1975) and W. Meeks (1983). Gager's was concerned to apply tentatively to early Christianity sociological and anthropological models that are standard in the study of other religions in order to find new insight on old issues: "the relationship between religion and social status, the enthusiastic character of the earliest Christian communities, their gradual transformation into a formidable religious and social institution, and the emergence of Christianity as the dominant religion of the later Roman Empire" (1975, 2). Gager has gone farther than many other scholars: He investigates not only the social position of the early Christians and applies Weber's charisma model to the structures of authority in the early church, as is usual, but also interprets early Christianity as a millenarian movement. Further, he explains the Christian mission, active despite the delay of the parousia, through use of L. Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance. Gager adheres to the view that study of other religious movements (e.g., the Melanesian cargo cult) may fill in much data otherwise lacking in the NT, as long as these movements belong to the same sociological type as early Christianity.

More cautious but no less multi-faceted is Meeks's study. He has presented a broad spectrum of analyses of Pauline Christianity, from social history (e.g., city life and mobility in the Roman Empire), to theoretical sociological approaches relating to status, the distribution of power, etc., to questions regarding the sociology of knowledge. Meeks has described himself as a sociological eclectic and a moderate functionalist (1983, 6-7). His differentiated investigations regarding social status show that the Pauline communities offer a social cross section of urban society from which only the highest and lowest levels are absent. The members of these communities who most stand out are those with a higher inconsistency of status. Also of high interest are the correlations between faith convictions and social situation, which Meeks depicts without attempting to trace the one causally back to the other. Thus, for example, the experience of social contradictions in the community corresponds to faith in the crucified Messiah, who is then raised to the status of co-ruler with God: "They are weak in terms of social power and status . . . yet they are exhilarated by experiences of power in their meetings" (191).

c. Combinations of new exegetical approaches. While the interpreters presented up to this point have remained more or less within the framework of historical criticism and sociology, S. Freyne (1988) has included other new exegetical approaches in his work. In particular, he has attempted to link sociological interest with literary criticism. Although, as the author confirms, a sociological reading is interested in the "extra-textual referent," and literary criticism is, conversely, interested in the "intra-textual, fictional world" (7), Freyne sees a compatibility nonetheless: "We cannot a priori exclude the possibility that some realistic features of the narrative dimension of our texts may have a genuine contribution to make in recovering the presumed actual world behind these texts" (12). Such realistic elements spring from the concern of the author to persuade the reader via the probability of the presentation. Narrative analysis of the text can therefore be helpful for a historical and sociological concern. Freyne further sees a hermeneutical advantage in allowing the texts to speak first, instead of immediately analyzing them historically with specific interests. Consequently, he raises first of all the narrative picture of Galilee in the individual Gospels (according to places, persons, and plot) and tries in a second step to reconstruct Galilee as a social world (politically, ecologically, economically, culturally, religiously) and as the context of the Jesus movement. The resulting analysis shows how Galilee, with its mix of traditional religious and progressive, barrier-breaking features became fertile ground for the Jesus movement.

d. Conclusion. In summary, one can recognize three trends in sociologically oriented exegesis of the NT: (1)

The original excitement over the discovery of sociological models appears to have given way to a more critical stance. Socio-historical investigations again enjoy great interest, with few theoretical handicaps. (2) The connection between social reality and symbol-building, especially with regard to ideology (see IDEOLOGICAL CRITICISM), is becoming increasingly important. The "social world" is understood more and more as a "symbolic universe." (3) Combinations of the sociological with other novel approaches, especially with modern literary criticism, are gaining in importance.

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T. SCHMELLER

SONG OF SONGS, BOOK OF

The Song of Songs is one of the oddest books of the Bible. Eight chapters of love lyrics, including many repeating phrases and images that seem to hint at an underlying structure, it nevertheless contains no readily apparent narrative. Instead, a series of amorous images speak of the love between a man (identified as "the king" or "Solomon") and his beloved (named only as "my spouse" or occasionally "the Shulamite"). Nor is the inclusion of this text in the CANON of the Bible readily understandable, for it tells no sacred history, makes no theological points, and does not mention God. In spite of these peculiarities, Song of Songs is part of all known versions of the biblical text. The MT has many examples of *hapax legomena*; consequently, the SEPTUAGINT, based on an undiscovered Hebrew original, contains divergent readings. Subsequent translations into Latin and modern vernaculars are also variant at a number of points, depending on the text from which they were translated (see TRANSLATION). In response to this textual confusion Greek and Latin manuscripts used by Christians show a number of strategies for making sense of the poetry, notably inserting rubrics identifying the speakers as "God," "the church," "the synagogue." This scribal custom is perhaps the first instance of interpretation.

It is equally clear that Song of Songs is included in the Bible because of an ancient tradition, common to Judaism and Christianity, of reading the text allegorically. Rabbi AKIBA defended the book at the discussions of the canon held by Jewish scholars at Jamnia in the first century CE with the much-quoted words: "The whole world is not worth the day on which the Song of Songs was given to Israel, for all the Scriptures are holy, but the Song of Songs is the Holy of Holies" (*m. Yadayim* 3:5). Rabbinic interpretation, as found in the Midrashim (see MIDRASH) and the TARGUMIM, tends to follow one of two basic readings: The book is understood as the song of love between God and Israel given to Moses with the law at Mount Sinai or as the song of love revealed at the building of the ark of the covenant. These interpretations were the basis for an extremely rich tradition of Jewish commentary and provided important clues for the Christian understanding of the text.

1. Early Interpretations. The first important Christian commentator on Song of Songs was ORIGEN of Alexandria, who was widely acclaimed as the author of two interpretations, although these survive only in part and in Latin translation. Extant are two homilies on Cant 1:1–2:14 translated by JEROME and parts of a commentary (to Cant 2:15) in the Latin version of Rufinus (fl. 399–401). Both works show the clear influence of Jewish interpretation and have been linked to Origen's study with rabbis in Alexandria (see ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL) and especially in Caesarea of Palestine. The most striking evidence of this influence is Origen's assumption that Song of Songs tells a divine love story. Like Jewish interpreters he understood the book's deeper meaning with great flexibility as the love between God and the soul, or Christ and the church, or both. This ease with multiple, non-systematic understandings of a sacred text is congruent with his discussion of the fundamentals of biblical interpretation in bk. 4 of his *De Principiis*.

Origen's homilies and commentary differ at some points but in general provide a consistent interpretation. Both works stress that the title evokes the "Holy of Holies," as evidence of the book's importance. Both

describe the text as an *epithalamium*, a wedding song written to celebrate the spiritual marriage of God and the Christian soul or the Christian people. The commentary is more detailed and explicit about the nature of this spiritual love than are the homilies and refers more evidently to Jewish teachers. Both texts, but especially the homilies, were widely circulated and quoted in the Middle Ages in spite of doubts about Origen's orthodoxy that reached a peak with his condemnation by the Second Council of Constantinople in 553, 300 years after his death.

The Origenistic approach to biblical exegesis in general was greatly boosted in the West by its incorporation in the works of the fourth-century bishop AMBROSE of Milan. Ambrose wrote no commentary on Song of Songs but cited the text frequently in his writings, with spiritual understandings taken from Origen. These comments were gathered into one book by the twelfth-century Cistercian author William of St. Thierry. An otherwise unknown contemporary of Ambrose named Aponius, thought to be of Syrian origin, is the author of a Song of Songs commentary with many similarities to Origen's. In the Greek-speaking Christian world Origen's allegorical interpretation was widely spread through the work of the Cappadocian bishop GREGORY OF NYSSA, whose commentary presented an allegorical reading through Cant 6:9.

Origen's allegorical understanding of Song of Songs, however influential, did not receive universal acceptance in the early Christian exegetical tradition. The fifth-century Syrian exegete THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, a member of the independent theological tradition known as the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, is credited with an interpretation that denied any spiritualizing of the text, reading it instead as Solomon's defense of his marriage to an Egyptian princess in the face of the criticism of his people. Theodore apparently understood the Song to be literally carnal and worthy of inclusion (at best) among the deuterocanonical books of the Bible. Unfortunately, this intriguing minority opinion has been lost. Only hints of Theodore's interpretation remain in the writings of his opponents, who were many and powerful: His views may have provoked the attack of THEODORET OF CYRRHUS on those who do not believe in the spiritual meaning of the poems and certainly played a role in Theodore's condemnation at the first Council of Constantinope in 550 (over a century after his death and three years before Origen's condemnation). His literal or "carnal" interpretation seems to have influenced another lost Song of Songs commentary, that of Julius of Aeclanum (d. 454), the Pelagian foe (see PELAGIUS) of AUGUSTINE's waning years.

2. The Early Middle Ages. From the sixth through the twelfth centuries, Song of Songs enjoyed an unmatched flowering of interest. Nearly one hundred commentaries and a series of homilies on the text are extant, many still in unprinted manuscripts. The book's popularity during this period is a result of the relevance of Origen's allegorical interpretation to the dominant monastic culture. Why a spiritual understanding of these biblical love poems struck such a chord has yet to be fully explored, but the wealth and variety of interpretations of the love between God and the church or God and the soul suggests a multifaceted answer.

Three Song of Songs commentaries written before the Carolingian period set the tone for this tradition. That of Justus of Urguel, written in northern Spain before 546, gives an essentially ecclesiological interpretation but understands several verses, notably Cant 4:12, "a garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse," as references to the Virgin Mary. GREGORY THE GREAT, openly following Origen, wrote two homilies on the first eight verses that were widely admired by later medieval exegetes. Gregory took advantage of the difficulties of his text to theorize on the nature of allegorical representations of truth; his dictum that allegory is "a sort of machine which draws one up to God" is a favorite tag of later medieval interpreters. His interpretation was most widely circulated, not as an independent text, but as part of the compendium of his writings assembled by his disciple Paterius. The third early medieval expositor of Song of Songs is the eighth-century Northumbrian BEDE. The middle five books of his seven-part commentary constitute a complete verse-by-verse explication. Book one is a refutation of the Pelagian position on free will, directed against the teachings of Julius of Aeclanum. Book seven presents a collection of comments on Song of Songs taken from the writings of Gregory the Great. The central five books are solidly ecclesiological; the whole taken together should be understood as an educational treatise on the sanctity of the church and on the lack of saving grace outside it. Bede's interpretation was known to later centuries mostly through the abridgement of ALCUIN of York, another English scholar, whom Charlemagne put in charge of ninth-century school reforms.

Biblical exegesis was the major form of theological writing in the Carolingian age. Song of Songs did not figure prominently in this intellectual enterprise, but one treatise from that period proved to be very important for the subsequent tradition of the book's interpretation. The commentary of Haymo (also Haimo or Aimo) of Auxerre, *Commentarium in Cantica Canticorum (PL* 117, 295-358) stressed that the text represents a relationship between the church and God, although Haymo allowed for the possibility that it may represent God's relationship with the individual Christian soul, perhaps showing in this the influence of Origen. Haymo's commentary also shows at some points readings having to do with the end times, thus giving evidence of the application of the famous "four senses of scripture" of J. Cassian (historical, allegorical, tropological, anagogi-

cal) that were widely applied to biblical texts in the later Middle Ages. This treatise was held in high regard for many centuries and was avidly read and copied even after the great flowering of interest in Song of Songs in the twelfth century because it reflects so well the spirit of early medieval biblical commentary. The Middle High German paraphrase of William of Ebersberg in the eleventh century was the first interpretation of the book to enter the tradition of vernacular literature.

Haymo was also the basis for two very different Latin Song of Songs commentaries from the eleventh century, those of John of Mantua and Robert of Tombelinia. John's commentary, primarily concerned with the soul as the beloved of God, characterizes the book as a "doctrine of contemplation." Robert concentrated his interpretation almost exclusively on the spiritual marriage of God and the soul, a union besieged by the corruption found in both the world and the church. This shift from ecclesiological to spiritual interpretation anticipates the later medieval tradition.

3. The Twelfth Century. Twelfth-century commentaries on Song of Songs are extremely numerous and varied. This is seen very clearly in the GLOSSA ORDINARIA, the popular running gloss on the Bible that became increasingly standardized in the later Middle Ages. The most important version of the gloss on Song of Songs names wide-ranging sources, including Jerome, Theodoret, RUPERT OF DEUTZ (a contemporary author), and Origen. This marks both the explicit reentry of Origen into the tradition and the common acceptance of the Mariological interpretation found in Rupert's treatise. Both Origen's and Rupert's versions of the gloss make clear the predominance of spiritual over ecclesiological interpretations in this century.

No interpretation of the book is more famous than the eighty-six homilies by the Cistercian abbot BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. Probably intended for study by fellow monks rather than for preaching in a liturgical setting, this series of homilies treats the text only to Cant 3:1; but this eloquent description of the love between God and the human soul approaches the language of mystical union. Bernard understood the book on three levels equivalent to three stages of spiritual ascent, opening the possibility for a literal, or carnal, reading of the text. But this reading is in some ways the most metaphoric of all the possible interpretations, since it minimalizes human love, portraying it as a cheap imitation of the love of God, which passes all understanding (Phil 4:7). Bernard's influence on his age can be seen in a wave of Cistercian commentaries that followed and complemented his treatment. A commentary by the English Cistercian Gilbert of Hoyland begins at Cant 3:1, where Bernard's homilies end. Bernard's secretary, Geoffrey of Auxerre was also solicited by the order to finish Bernard's truncated work; he declined the task but did compose a commentary on the complete text that includes a short gloss for each verse for those who needed to quickly find an interpretation.

A more systematic attempt to relate levels of meaning in Scripture to Song of Songs is found in the commentaries of Honorious Augustoduniensis (*Expositio in Cantica canticorum, PL* 172, 347-495; *Sigillum Beatae Mariae ubi exponuntur Cantica Canticorum, PL* 172, 496-518). The two prefaces of his treatise deal at length with the question of levels of understanding. In the first, Cassian's fourfold sense is invoked: Historically, the book speaks of Solomon and Pharaoh's daughter; allegorically, it depicts the incarnation and the love between Christ and the church; tropologically, it shows either the mystical union of Christ and the soul or the marriage of human will to divine laws; anagogically, it speaks of the union of the heavenly and the earthly church at the resurrection of the dead. In the second preface the allegorical and moral senses are conflated into a drama of redemption, making Song of Songs the nuptial poem that celebrates the elevation of humanity (as individuals but also collectively as the church) to be the bride of God. All four of Cassian's senses function together in this understanding, and again human sexual passion is understood as a metaphor for the love of God. Honorius's lengthy exposition begins with four senses for each verse; but by the middle of the second chapter this cumbersome method is cast aside in favor of an ecclesiological reading with occasional references to the other senses.

Another important twelfth-century tradition, Mariological interpretation, is also ultimately linked to an ecclesiological understanding. Single verses had been adapted for use in liturgies of the Virgin Mary as early as the fourth century; by the twelfth, the propers for the Feast of the Assumption were taken directly from the text. Commentaries on the book's liturgical use for Marian feasts were written by Honorius and by the Parisian Augustinian canon HUGH OF ST. VICTOR. Several systematic explications that understood the bride as the Virgin Mary also date from this period, notably those of Rupert of Deutz, William of Newburgh, and ALAN OF LILLE, all stressing the role of the Virgin in the incarnation of Christ and so as the mother of the church. An anonymous Middle High German commentary known as the St. Trudpert Song of Songs, addressed to a community of nuns, offered a Mariological interpretation as a model of a pious soul. As the last of the medieval traditions of Song of Songs interpretation, Mariological readings may seem more innovative than they really were, for the primary Christian understanding of the book continued to be that it depicts the love between God and the church and/or God and the soul.

4. The Scholastic Period. With the waning of monastic culture and the rise of the scholastic tradition in the thirteenth century, Song of Songs commentaries were adapted to the scholastic method. An early example

is found in the *Aurora,* a versified Bible begun in Reims before 1200 by the canon Peter Riga and completed by the deacon Aegidius of Paris about a decade later, which drew on entirely traditional sources, including Origen. William of Auvergne (c. 1180–1249), a master of theology at the University of Paris, used the scholastic posing of antitheses to present a dark twist on the traditional ecclesiological reading, stressing the corruption of the church of his day. Even mystical and Mariological interpretations were subjected to the rigors of the scholastic method in the commentaries of the Franciscan P. Olivi and of the Oxford scholar A. Neckham. The *Postilla* of NICHOLAS OF LYRA, a fourteenth-century Franciscan, acknowledged that Jewish scholars understood the bride to be the people of Israel, even as Christians understood her to be the Roman Catholic Church. This is one of the few references since Origen to the tradition of Jewish commentary on the text, although the celebrated commentary of RASHI, who wrote in the late eleventh century, and that of his grandson, SAMUEL BEN MEIR, were known by medieval Christians.

5. The Early Modern Period. The disavowal of both monastic and scholastic exegesis by the biblical scholars of the Protestant Reformation is the beginning of a split in Song of Songs interpretation. LUTHER tried to tread a thin line between unacceptable medieval allegorizing and the equally disturbing literal sense. His commentary reflects political concerns: The bridegroom is God, but the bride is the Christian state in harmonious union with secular and divine powers. Other Protestant exegetes were willing to go further. S. CASTELLIO claimed that the poems only celebrated human sexual love and were not worthy of a place in the canon, a position that led him into conflict with CALVIN and to expulsion from Geneva. Calvin took Song of Songs to portray human love, if divinely inspired. Later Protestant authors often read it as showing the love between Christ and the church, as did T. Wilcocks (1624) and J. Durham (1723), or followed Nicholas of Lyra's historical/allegorical reading, as did T. BRIGHTMAN, J. COTTON, and J. COCCEIUS. By the end of the seventeenth century, this Protestant reading had also influenced such Roman Catholic interpreters as J. Bossuet (1693), whose claim that the text should be read as a historical narrative of Solomon's wedding feast contrasts to the mystical explications of John of the Cross and Teresa of Avila in the sixteenth century, and of his contemporary Françis de Sales.

6. Modern Interpretations. Allegorical readings of Song of Songs, Protestant and Roman Catholic, are found in the eighteenth century in such authors as J. WESLEY, who read the text as describing the love between God and the church, and J.-M. GUYON, who read it as representing the love between God and the soul. But an emerging critical consensus, of which J. G. HERDER is an important representative, focused attention on the poems as literature, emphasizing structural and linguistic analysis. By the middle of the nineteenth century the tools of "scientific" biblical study and the discovery of ancient Near Eastern literature enabled scholars to ask new questions about the book.

Several nineteenth-century scholars cited similarities between the Song and Syrian wedding poetry as the key to its meaning, but this has not been widely accepted. Also controversial but far more established is the position that Song of Songs is related to ancient cultic rituals, especially those connected with divinities of fertility that flourished in the ancient Near East. The similarities between the book and cultic literature of Mesopotamia, Egypt (see EGYPTOLOGY), and UGARIT has been elaborated by such twentieth-century scholars as E. Ebeling, T. MEEK, S. Kramer, and M. Fox (1985). M. Pope (1977) has given a complex summary of these parallels and suggested others. Clues to the book's meaning found in Jewish mystical texts, especially the *Zohar,* have been presented by G. Scholem and elaborated by R. Patai (1967). Although not universally accepted, this work has been influential for more traditional Christian expositors.

Roman Catholic commentators have taken a number of different positions on questions of both the origin and the allegorical understandings of the text. A. Robert (1963) argued that the poems are a Midrash on the history of Israel and are therefore essentially allegorical in nature, not just according to a tradition of interpretation. P. Parente (1944), citing many examples from the long tradition of Christian exegesis, characterized the Song of Songs as "an allegorical representation of various mystical states." A. Rivera (1951) revived the Mariological interpretation as the literal meaning, since the description of the bride fits the Virgin Mary singularly well, especially in her relation to the church. It is striking that none of these interpretations is particular to the modern era. Another contemporary Roman Catholic scholar, R. Murphy, has argued strongly against allegorizing on any level, citing the precedent of Theodore of Mopsuestia. For R. Murphy the Song celebrates the sanctity of human love and the virtues of devotion and fidelity.

Most Protestant commentary in the last half of the twentieth century also agrees that these are songs of human love. E. Young, H. ROWLEY, and R. Laurin (1962) all describe the book as an affirmation of the goodness and dignity of human love, while stressing that the same details of sexuality can be understood as profane or pure, depending on one's spiritual state. Reading the Song as human love poems is also common in modern Jewish commentaries, notably those of I. Bettan (1950), R. GORDIS, and H. GINSBERG. W. Phipps (1974) has issued a scathing denunciation of traditional allegories, blaming them for "the plight of the Song of Songs." The interpretation of D. Lys (1968) portrays the book

as sexual and sacred, its eroticism a deliberate reminder that sexuality is part of both creation and covenant. Lys thus follows K. BARTH in reading the Song as a commentary on Genesis 2. The FEMINIST INTERPRETATION of P. Trible (1978) understands the book as expanding and completing the creation of sexuality described in Genesis 2–3 by describing human love without male dominance, female subordination, or sexual stereotyping.

What is clear from both this biblical book and all of its many interpretations is that Song of Songs speaks of the power and mystery of love. Perhaps the true meaning of the text is destined to remain complex, controversial, and elusive.

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SPEISER, EPHRAIM AVIGDOR (1902–65)

Born in Skalat, Galicia, S. emigrated to the United States in 1920. He was an ethno-linguist and an archeologist (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), an assyriologist (see ASSYRIOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), an expert in the modern Near East, and a Bible translator and commentator. From 1928 onward his academic berth was the department of oriental studies of the University of Pennsylvania, where he was chair from 1947.

S. applied to the study of the Bible his profound expertise in linguistic analysis and in the languages and cultures of the ancient Near East. Beginning with his MA thesis on the Hebrew origin of the first part of the book of Wisdom (1923) and his doctoral work on the pronunciation of Hebrew according to the Hexapla (1924)—under J. MONTGOMERY and M. MARGOLIS—he produced a steady flow of studies on Hebrew and biblical topics. Much of his last decade was devoted to work on the Bible TRANSLATION committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America; its first product, *The Torah* (1962), bears his imprint throughout. His biblical scholarship culminated in his Genesis commentary (1965). As a translator, he aimed "to translate not just a text but a civilization" (*Genesis,* lxvi); as a commentator, "not to say whether a statement was true or false, but what it means" (ibid., lv). For that, a knowledge of the historical-cultural setting of the Bible story was indispensable.

S. was convinced of the overall authenticity of the traditions in Genesis. His proficiency in Mesopotamian law and literature enabled him to draw from them frequent parallels in structure, theme, and legal practice. He laid particular stress on cases in which the ancient meaning of biblical traditions can be restored only from extra-biblical sources, e.g. the wife/sister motif in the patriarchal stories and the importance of the teraphim—both illuminated, he argued, by Nuzi texts (for critiques, see B. Eichler [1977, 1989]; M. Greenberg [1962]; T. Thompson [1974]). Holding the documentary theory to be the key to the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), S. regarded the documents as independent retellings of a common Israelite tradition. The duplications, variations, and divergences between them show that they had early acquired an aura of sanctity as Israel's spiritual history and so could not be freely manipulated by compilers in order to achieve a harmony.

S. was interested in the history of ideas. He identified the beginning of the biblical process—the development of monotheism—with Abraham's call and migration from Mesopotamia. That act "altered the course of history irrevocably . . . the detour became the main road" (*Genesis,* lxi). S. accounted for such typical features of biblical THEOLOGY as the result of two simultaneous planes, divine and human, on which biblical events move (ibid., 256). In all his work he strove to

integrate philological details into larger conceptual wholes, to show continuities in successive cultures of the Near East, and to reflect on their enduring impact, in the process proving that scholarship can be clothed in a witty and elegant style.

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M. GREENBERG

SPENCER, JOHN (1630–93)

A Christian Hebraist born at Bocton, Kent, S. earned his BA and MA degrees at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and was chosen fellow in 1655. He began his career as a tutor and was later appointed a university preacher; he obtained his BD and DD degrees in 1659 and 1665 respectively. A man of great distinction, he became the rector of Landbeach, Cambridgeshire, master of his college, and archdeacon of Sudbury all in the same year (1667). He later became prebendary (1672) and dean (1677) in the church of Ely. He died May 27, 1693.

S. was one of the earliest pioneers of the comparative study of religion. In his *De Urim et Thummim* (1669), he traced the connection between the sacred institutions of Israel and those of its neighbors, concluding that the Israelites had borrowed much from the Egyptians. (In opposition, H. Witsius argued in his *Ægyptiaca* [1683] that the Egyptians had borrowed from the Israelites.) In many respects S. was greatly influenced by MAIMONIDES. Reacting against the contemporary tinker prophets and ranters who spoke in tongues, he adopted Maimonides' portrait of the prophet (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) as a learned, rational, and moral person who possessed soundness of mind both before and at the time of the prophetic utterance (1663). In his *magnum opus, De legibus Hebræorum* (1685), again following Maimonides, he suggested that the greater part of the Israelite ceremonial and cultic laws was instituted as a concession to the Hebrews but in opposition to the practices of the idolatrous nations around them. This work includes treatments on the Mosaic laws and the theocracy (bk. 1); laws occasioned by the customs of the Zabeans and the apostolic decree in Acts 15 (bk. 2); the rites transferred from gentile customs to the law, the origin of sacrifice, purification, new moons, the ark and cherubim, the Temple, the origin of the Urim and Thummim, and the scapegoat (bk. 3); the rites and customs the Hebrews borrowed from the Gentiles, and phylacteries (bk. 4).

Works: *A Discourse Concerning Prodigies: Wherein the Vanity of Presages by Them Is Reprehended, and Their True and Proper Use Asserted and Vindicated* (1663; 1665[2] includes *A Discourse Concerning Vulgar Prophecies: Wherein the Vanity of Receiving Them as the Certain Indications of Any Future Event, Is Discovered, and Some Characters of Distinction Between True and Pretended Prophets, Are Laid Down*); *Dissertatio de Urim et Thummim* (1669); *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus, et earum rationibus libri tres* (1685; 1727[2], ed. L. Chappelow, was expanded by the addition of a fourth book; the Tübingen ed. of 1732 includes a biography by C. M. Pfaff).

Bibliography: **J. Assmann,** "Before the Law: J. S. as Egyptologist," *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (1997) 55-90. *BB* 6 (1763) 3793-802. **R. Buddensieg,** *RE*[3] 18 (1906) 607-9. **T. Cooper,** *DNB* 53 (1898) 359-60. **J. Guttman,** "J. S.s Erklärung der biblischen Gesetze in ihrer Beziehung zu Maimonides," *Festskrift i anledning af Prof. D. Simonsens 70-aarige fødselsdag* (ed. C. H. Melchior et al., 1923) 259-76. **G. V. Lechler,** *Geschichte des englischen Deismus* (1965) 137-40.

J. KUAN

SPENER, PHILIPP JAKOB (1635–1705)

Born Jan. 13, 1635, of Alsatian descent, S. died Feb. 5, 1705. He studied Greek and Hebrew philology, geography, and theology at the University of Strasbourg. In 1666 he was appointed pastor and senior of the Lutheran ministerium at Frankfurt am Main, where in 1670 he initiated the formation of conventicles within the church for the mutual edification and education of individual believers. In 1675 he published *Pia desideria,* a preface to the postils of J. Arndt, which, published separately in various editions, stimulated the spiritual awakening known as PIETISM.

An active pastor and prolific writer, S. published over one hundred individual sermons and collections, catechetical works, hymns, and wider-ranging devotional and theological treatises. Most of these follow the patterns for Bible reading and exposition outlined in *Pia desideria.* In *Spiritual Priesthood* (1677) he emphasized each believer's need for the new birth and a new life in Christ and the need for the renewal of Reformation principles on the centrality of the Scriptures in the life

of the individual and of the Christian community. Insisting that the Scriptures are not obscure, he called on all believers regardless of their "simplicity" to attend to them. Although the ancient languages can help in interpretation, all "simple, pious" Christians can understand Scripture by the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit, if they approach daily Bible reading in sincere prayer, with close attention to individual texts and their relationship to the whole, applying what is read to personal situations and bypassing what is obscure.

Works: *Pia desideria* (ed. K. Aland, 1964); *Pia Desideria* (ed. and tr. T. G. Tappert, 1964); *Spiritual Priesthood* (1677).

Bibliography: **M. Brecht,** "P. J. S.: Sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen," *Der Pietesmus vom Siebzehnten bis zum früher achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (M. Brecht, 1993) 281-90. **P. Grunberg,** *Philipp Jakob Spener* (3 vols., 1893–1906). **J. Wallmann,** *P. J. S. und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (1966).

P. C. ERB

SPINOZA, BENEDICT (or BARUCH) DE (1632–77)

A Dutch philosopher, S. was born Nov. 24, 1632, and died Feb. 21, 1677. He is best known now for his *Ethics* (1677), an attempt to work out a system of philosophy "geometrically" by formal proofs from axioms and definitions, beginning with a demonstration of the existence and nature of God, proceeding through an account of human nature, and culminating in a theory of human conduct and well-being. S.'s God is a philosopher's god, an impersonal first cause of everything that happens (though not first in a temporal sense, since S. conceived the world as eternal); God acts, not to achieve any purpose, but simply out of necessity. Since affirming God's existence amounts to affirming that everything in nature happens because of immutable natural laws, in his own time S. was held to be an atheist; now commentators are more inclined to regard his view as religious, even if unconventional. His theory of human nature is egoistic and attempts to show that enlightened egoism leads to much the same rules of conduct as does traditional religion. Although he identified mind and body, the *Ethics* concludes with an almost mystical affirmation of the mind's ability to achieve eternity through the intellectual love of God.

In his own time S. was at least as well known for his *Theological-Political Treatise* (1670), a landmark in the history of biblical criticism that argued for extensive freedom of thought and expression. He was reared in the Jewish community in Amsterdam, most of whose members were formerly from the Iberian peninsula, where they had been forcibly converted to (at least a nominal) Christianity. In Amsterdam they found freedom to practice their religion openly but were not always prepared to allow equal freedom to dissenters in their midst. As a youth S. was trained in theology but became dissatisfied with the rabbis' teachings and turned to philosophy, in which he was influenced particularly by the work of Descartes and T. HOBBES. By 1656 he had departed sufficiently from orthodoxy to be expelled from the community. The reasons are obscure, but a report in the files of the Inquisition from an informant who talked to S. shortly afterward says that he held that God exists only philosophically, that the mind dies with the body, and that the Jewish law is not the true law. On excommunication S. wrote a defense of his opinions, now lost, although contemporary accounts report that some of its contents survive in the *Theological-Political Treatise.*

At the heart of S.'s biblical scholarship is the doctrine that in interpreting Scripture we must not start from the assumption that it is true in every passage. To do that leads inevitably to reading our own views into Scripture. If we think that Scripture must be true in every respect, and we find it to be in *prima facie* conflict with what, on other grounds, we are convinced is true, then we will find ourselves drawn into reinterpretations of Scripture guided by whatever ideas are current in our society. The meaning of Scripture will change as our ideas about the truth change. S. was particularly opposed to those who, like MAIMONIDES, interpreted Scripture in the light of Greek philosophy.

The proper procedure, S. argued, was to attribute no doctrine to Scripture that we cannot clearly discover from its "history." A history of Scripture, in his sense, will contain an account of the nature of the language the books of Scripture were written in that establishes the ordinary use of its terms and possible sources of ambiguity (e.g., the absence of vowel markings in ancient Hebrew); a thoroughly organized collection of passages on various topics, noting all those that are ambiguous or obscure or seem inconsistent with one another; an account of the life and mentality of the author of each book; when and for whom the author wrote; how the book was preserved, transmitted, and accepted as canonical (see CANON OF THE BIBLE); and how many variant readings there are.

S. contended that for much of Scripture we lack the historical information necessary to discover its true meaning, particularly when it deals with speculative matters or historical narratives. But he insisted that the central moral teaching of the Bible—to obey God through the practice of justice and love—is clear and consistent throughout. Other prescriptions of the law are not essential for salvation; they were designed only to provide for the political stability of the Jewish state. S.'s biblical criticism deals almost exclusively with the HB. He excused himself from commenting extensively on the NT on the ground that he lacked adequate Greek, but he did have some brief and suggestive remarks to make about it.

S. shocked many of his contemporaries by holding that (a) the Bible frequently shows an inadequate conception of God, insofar as the prophets think of God as a lawgiver or attribute to him such emotions as jealousy and anger, love and mercy; (b) miracles are impossible, the miracle narratives reflecting either a misunderstanding of a natural event or a deliberate falsification of the historical record; (c) most of the historical sequence from Genesis through Kings was written by one person (probably Ezra), who worked in the postexilic period from sources now largely lost to tell a story with a political moral (obedience to the law brings prosperity; disobedience, disaster); (d) among the lost works was the original text of the covenant between God and the people of Israel; and (e) many of the difficulties in this narrative arise from Ezra's not having been able to smooth out all the inconsistencies in his sources.

Although his contemporaries thought his work intolerably bold and moved quickly to suppress it, the principal controversy today is whether S. concealed much of his radicalism in an attempt to avoid persecution.

Works: *Opera* (4 vols., ed. C. Gebhardt), the standard ed. in the original languages. A new English language edition is being published: *The Collected Works of Spinoza* (ed. E. M. Curley, vol. 1, 1985; vol. 2, forthcoming). Volume 1 contains the *Ethics* and other works, including the earlier correspondence. Volume 2 will include *The Theological-Political Treatise*, correspondence relating to it, and the Hebrew Grammar. In the interim the best English translations of the *Theological-Political Treatise* and the complete *Letters* are those of S. Shirley (1991).

Bibliography: **E. Curley,** "Homo audax: Leibniz, Oldenburg, and the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*," *Studia Leibnitiana* (1990); "S. and the Science of Hermeneutics," *S.: The Enduring Questions* (ed. G. Hunter and J. R. Brown, 1993). **J. Force and R. Popkin** (eds.), *The Books of Nature and Scripture* (1994). **E. Harris,** "Is There an Esoteric Doctine in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus?*" *Mededelingen vanwege het Spinozahuis* 38 (1978), reply to L. Strauss. **R. Mason,** *The God of S.: A Philosophical Study* (1997). **A. Matheron,** *Le Christ et le salut des ignorants* (1971). **K. O. Meinsma,** *S. et son cercle* (1896; rev. and tr. H. Mechoulan, P.-F. Moreau et al., *S. en zijn Kring* [1983]). **S. Smith,** *S., Liberalism, and the Question of Jewish Identity* (1997). **L. Strauss,** "How to study S.'s *Theological-Political Treatise*," *Persecution and the Art of Writing* (ed. L. Straus, 1952); *S.'s Critique of Religion* (1965) commentary on the religious aspects of the *Theological-Political Treatise*. **S. Zac,** *S. et l'interprétation de l'Écriture* (BP, 1965).

E. M. CURLEY

SPIRITUS PARACLITUS

This encyclical letter of Pope Benedict XV was issued Sept. 15, 1920, on the fifteenth centenary of the death of JEROME. As a memorial encyclical it is more hortatory (recommending Jerome's zeal in the study and interpretation of Scripture as a model for twentieth-century Roman Catholics) than doctrinal.

Following a three-paragraph prologue, the encyclical is divided into eight parts: (1) Jerome's life and labors; (2) Jerome's teaching about Scripture; (3) modern views about Scripture compared with Jerome's teaching; (4) practical counsels; (5) Scripture and priestly education; (6) purpose of biblical knowledge; (7) fruits of biblical study; and (8) Jerome's continuing influence.

What was new in Benedict XV's instruction was his ultraconservative interpretation of Leo XIII's teaching about INSPIRATION and inerrancy, proposed in light of Jerome's teaching. Moreover, in part 3 Benedict rejected views then current among some progressive Roman Catholic interpreters distinguishing between the Bible's primary (religious) affirmations and its secondary (secular) assertions, finding only the former to be guaranteed; or between relative and absolute truths in the Bible's historical accounts, i.e., between popular conceptions of events, or "historical appearances," and what actually took place. Benedict also rejected "tacit quotations" (cited without acknowledgement or assumption of responsibility for content), "pseudo-historical accounts," and diverse "literary forms" because recourse to such interpretative devices whittles away the trust human beings should have in the Bible. Such modern views were said to be incompatible with Jerome's teaching, the church's tradition, and Christ's own method of teaching.

Although this encyclical was meant to honor Jerome, its hidden agenda was a papal reaction to modernism in the first two decades of the twentieth century as this error affected biblical interpretation. It echoes condemnations of Pius X's *Pascendi*, negative *responsa* of the Biblical Commission about "tacit quotations" and "historical appearances" (*RSS* 117 [160-61]), and the decree *Lamentabili* of the Sacred Inquisition. Its effect on Roman Catholic biblical study was stifling. Interestingly, both the encyclical of Pius XII (1943) and the Biblical Commission's document *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church* (1993) pass over it in silence while commemorating Leo XIII's *Providentissimus Deus* (1893).

Bibliography: "Litterae encyclicae *Spiritus Paraclitus*. . . ." *AAS* 12 (1920) 385-422; ET *RSS*, 43-78 (440-95). *BI*, 267-302.

J. A. FITZMYER

SPITTA, FRIEDRICH (1852–1924)

In 1880 S. became a *Dozent* in Bonn; in 1887, professor of NT and practical theology at Strasbourg; and in 1919, professor of NT at Göttingen. He interpreted the writings of the NT against the background of Jewish religious history. Taking his cue from PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM, he rather one-sidedly employed

LITERARY-critical methodology in attempting to isolate older sources within numerous NT writings, for which he received scant scholarly acceptance.

S. was a decisive opponent of the two source theory and particularly of the priority of Mark. Instead, he considered the Gospel of Luke to be the most dependable source of the story of JESUS. S. considered the parallels between the Gospels to be the result of collective dependence on a historically dependable writing composed c. 40 CE, a writing that was most faithfully preserved in Luke, whereas Mark and Matthew—independently of one another—were based on a secondary edition of this original piece. He also detected traces of a comprehensively reworked original writing in the Gospel of John, a writing approximately as old as that behind the Synoptics (see SYNOPTIC PROBLEM).

On the basis of alleged duplications within Acts, S. inferred the existence of two largely parallel original written sources. He considered Romans to be the synthesis of two different Pauline epistles (the first, Rom 1:1–11:36; 15:8-33; 16:21-27; and the second, 12:1–15:7; 16:1-20) and James to be a Jewish piece that was rendered Christian merely by the addition of James 1:1 and 2:1. Finally, he asserted that a single editor created Revelation out of two Jewish apocalypses and one primitive Christian writing. S. defended the authenticity of 2 Peter. He denied any funerary celebration of the Eucharist by Jesus and suspected instead that the prefactory words introduce Jesus' allusions to the idea of a meal of redemption or salvation in which one partakes of the gifts of the Messiah and of the Messiah himself.

Works: *Der Brief des Julius Africanus an Aristides* (1877); *Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas* (1885); *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (1889); *Die Apostelgeschichte, ihre Quellen, und deren geschichtlicher Wert* (1891); *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums,* vol. 1, *Die zweimalige römische Gefangenschaft des Paulus. Der zweite Brief an die Thessalonicher. Unordnungen im Texte des vierten Evangeliums. Die urchristlichen Traditionen über Ursprung und Sinn des Abendmahls* (1893); vol. 2, *Der Brief des Jakobus: Studien zum Hirten des Hermas* (1896); vol. 3.1, *Untersuchungen über den Brief des Paulus an die Römer* (1901); vol. 3.2, *Die Versuchung Jesu. Lücken im Markusevengelium. Das Testament Hiobs und das Neue Testament* (1907); *Streitfragen der Geschichte Jesu* (1907); *Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu* (1910); *Die synoptische Grundschrift in ihrer Überlieferung durch das Lukasevangelium* (UNT 1, 1912).

Bibliography: **O. Böcher,** *RGG*³ 6 (1962) 258-59. **R. Hupfeld,** "Zum Gedächtnis F. S.," *DtPfrBl* 52 (1952) 268-70. **A. Meyer,** *RGG*² 5 (1931) 704. **A. Schweitzer,** *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (UTB 1302, 1984⁹) 591-95.

B. KOLLMANN

SPURGEON, CHARLES HADDON (1834–92)

Born June 19, 1834, at Kelvedon, Essex, S. became a Baptist in 1850, was pastor at Waterbeach (1852–54) and at New Park Street, Southwark, where the congregation soon exceeded its building and the replacement facility. He excelled as a preacher, with oratory punctuated by humor and enlivened by social comment, and drew huge crowds to the Surrey Gardens Music Hall and eventually to the Metropolitan Tabernacle, opened in 1861. Theologically a Calvinist (see CALVIN) and a stickler for pure doctrine, he opposed liberal methods of biblical exegesis. Citing the influence of higher criticism, Arminianism (see J. ARMINIUS), and Arianism (see ARIUS) on his denomination, he resigned from the Baptist Union, Oct. 26, 1887. He died Jan. 31, 1892.

Works: *John Ploughman's Talks* (1869); *The Treasury of David* (1870–76); *Lectures to My Students* (2 ser., 1875, 1877); *Commenting and Commentaries* (1876); plus numerous volumes of sermons; *Autobiography* (compiled by S. Spurgeon [wife] and W. J. Harrald, 4 vols., 1897–1900; rev. in 2 vols., 1962, 1973); *Letters* (ed. C. Spurgeon [son], 1923).

Bibliography: **E. W. Bacon,** *S., Heir of the Puritans* (1967). **A. R. Buckland,** *DNB* 53 (1898) 433-35. **I. Murray,** *The Forgotten S.* (1966). **G. H. Pike,** *Life of C. H. S.* (3 vols., 1892–93). **H. Thielicke,** *Encounter With S.* (1961; ET 1963).

A. P. F. SELL

STADE, BERNHARD (1848–1906)

Born May 11, 1848, in Arnstadt, S. pursued theological, Semitic language, and Arabic studies under L. Krehl and H. Fleischer at Leipzig and Ethiopic under A. DILLMANN at Berlin. At Leipzig he was awarded the PhD (1871) and lic. theol. (1873). After completing his habilitation in 1873, he assumed a chair in HB at the University of Giessen as successor to A. Merx (1875), reorganizing the theological faculty so that it soon attracted such scholars as E. SCHÜRER, A. von HARNACK, and F. Kattenbusch. S. was founding editor of *ZAW* (1881), commonly known as "Stade's journal," and an important contributor. He made it the leading scholarly journal, carefully revising each issue, compiling a bibliography, and placing great importance on impartiality to all scholarly positions. He died suddenly Dec. 6, 1906.

S.'s first works dealt primarily with Ethiopic (see ETHIOPIAN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION), although his habilitation lecture concerned the significance of ASSYRIOLOGY for research on the HB. Influenced by J. OLSHAUSEN, S.'s *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Grammatik* consistently drew from other Semitic languages. In his attempt to describe the Hebrew language as an organic whole with tangible rules, S. regarded H. EWALD as a model; but he contributed much of his own: criticism

of secondary elements in Masoretic vocalization and the thesis that several groups of weak verbs consist of two, not of three, radicals. Unfortunately, the second volume on Hebrew syntax was never produced, and his *Hebräisches Wörterbuch* suffered from the inferior quality of his collaborator's work. S. strove for completeness in linguistic matters, taking into full account TEXTUAL CRITICISM and—contrary to his Semitic schooling—letting linguistic comparisons, etymology, and general "root meanings" recede into the background. He regarded the contemporaneous revisions of H. GESENIUS's *Lexicon* as too speculative.

Long before J. WELLHAUSEN followed up his analysis of HB historiography in *Die Geschichte Israels* (1878) with his synthesis *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (1894), S. had undertaken such a synthesis in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* which began to appear in fascicles in 1881. In the second volume he extended his presentation only to the Greek period, with O. Holtzmann completing the work to the end of the Jewish state and the rise of Christianity. In an effort to produce a factual presentation for a broad audience, the work discusses in great detail both the biblical tradition and its historical value. The main emphasis lies on the development of Israelite religion, with Christianity as its goal. Its scholarly viewpoint is, for the most part, that of Wellhausen; some points, however, advance further. As many of his articles and especially his edition of the *Books of Kings* show, S. was an independent and provocative textual and LITERARY critic who succeeded in making many discoveries in his subtle analysis of the text.

In theological matters S. represented an open liberalism, appealing to the Lutheran Reformation in contrast to orthodoxy, PIETISM, and especially Roman Catholicism. He was influenced by his experience of the Prussian "cultural struggle" and by the theologian A. RITSCHL. His intention of pursuing theology as a critical exegete is evident in the title of his last major work, unfortunately unfinished: *Biblische Theologie des alten Testaments.* Instead of a history of Israelite religion, as was common at that time, he offered a very lucid and rich account of the history of religion, in the first section treating the pre-prophetic religion of Israel; and in the second, the transformation of Israel's religion in the age of PROPHECY, which he considered to have lasted until Ezra and Nehemiah, where he located the caesura between Israel and Judaism. Following S.'s death, A. BERTHOLET wrote the depiction of Jewish religion after Ezra. S. did not succeed in completing his presentation of biblical THEOLOGY or his discussion of the proper relationship of HB and NT, which he saw joined too easily in traditional theology and split too far apart in modern criticism.

Works: *Über den Ursprung der mehrlautigen Thatwörter der Gecezsprache* (1871); *De Isaiae vaticiniis aethiopicis diatribe* (1873); *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik,* vol. 1, *Schriftlehre. Lautlehre. Formenlehr* (1879); *Über die Lage der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands* (1883); *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* 1 (1887, 1889²; with O. Holtzmann, 2 [1888]; Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, ed. W. Oncken, 1.6); (with C. Siegfried), *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testamente* (1893); *Die Reorganisation der Theologischen Fakultät zu Giessen in den Jahren 1878–82* (1894); *Ausgewählte akademische Reden und Abhandlungen* (1899, 1907²); *Die Entstehung des Volkes Israel* (1899); (assisted by F. Schwally), *The Books of Kings* (SBOT 9, 1904); *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments,* vol. 1, *Die Religion Israels und die Entstehung des Judentums* (GTW 2.2, 1905); *Einst und jetzt: Rückblicke und Ausblicke* (1905).

Bibliography: *Am Grabe B. S.: Reden und Ansprachen* (1906). **G. Beer,** *RE*³ 24 (1913) 525-28. **A. F. von Gall,** "Verzeischnis der Schriften von B. S.," *ZAW* 27 (1907) xvi-xix; "B. S.: Ein Nachruf," *ZAW* 27 (1907) i-xv. **H. Gunkel,** "B. S.: Charakterbild eines modernen Theologen," *Reden und Aufsätze* (1913) 1-10. **R. Smend,** *Giessener Gelehrte in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (ed. H. G. Gundel et al., 1982) 913-24 = *DATDJ,* 129-42.

R. SMEND

STAERK, WILLY OTTO ALEXANDER (1866–1946)

Born in Berlin, Dec. 15, 1866, S. studied at Berlin, Marburg, and Halle (1887–94) under P. Kleinert, A. DILLMANN, H. Strack, J. WELLHAUSEN, and E. KAUTZSCH. He taught school while continuing private studies (1894–1904). His single university post was at Jena (1905–34), where he died Dec. 3, 1946.

S.'s earliest writings were literary-critical analyses of Zechariah and Deuteronomy. Rather quickly, however, he came to question both LITERARY criticism and the associated concept of the evolution of Israel's religion, exemplified by B. STADE and K. MARTI, on such matters as preexilic prophetic eschatology (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) and the existence of E as an independent source. S.'s later work went in several directions: FORM CRITICISM (particularly in his translation of the psalms in *Die Schriften des Alten Testmaents* [1910, 1920²]), comparative religion (e.g., the soteriological concepts of the Eastern religions), the study of post- and extrabiblical materials (the *Odes of Solomon,* the Elephantine papyri, the Damascus Document, the Mishna, and medieval Yiddish biblical translations), and special problem areas in the HB (the Servant Songs, Deuteronomy). Above all, S. was increasingly concerned to read the Bible theologically and thereby to counteract a "secularizing" approach to it.

Works: *Untersuchungen über die Komposition von Zach. 9–14* (1891); *Das Deuteronomium: Sein Inhalt und seine literarische Form* (1894); *Sünde und Gnade nach den Vorstellungen*

des älteren Judentums (1905); *Das assyrische Weltreich im Urteil der Propheten* (1908); *Die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder in Jes. 40ff.* (1913); *Das Problem des Deuteronomiums: Ein Beitrag zur neuesten pentateuch Kritik* (1923); "Zur alttestamentlichen Literarkritik," *ZAW* 42 (1924) 37-74; *RGS* 5 (1929) 159-206 (autobiography with bibliography); *Versehung und Vergeltung* (1931); "Zum alttestamentlichen Erwählungsglauben," *ZAW* 55 (1937) 1-35; *Die Erlösererwartung in den östlichen Religionen Untersuchungen* (1938).

C. T. BEGG

STÄHELIN, JOHANN JAKOB (1797–1875)

Born in Basel in 1797, S. studied HB and oriental languages at Tübingen under J. C. F. Steudel (1779–1837). In 1823 he returned to Basel, where he was tutored privately for a year by E. HENGSTENBERG. In 1824, following W. DE WETTE's reorganization of the Basel theological faculty, S. became a *Privatdozent* responsible for oriental languages, although he also taught HB. He became *ausserordentlicher* professor in 1829 and gained a full chair in 1835. He died in Basel in 1875.

Although S. did not belong to the first rank of biblical scholars, his work contains observations that still deserve attention. His most important work was his *Kritische Untersuchungen* (1843), in which he attempted to trace the literary history of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) and Joshua to 2 Kings. He argued that the final form of these books was the work of one author, the writer of the books of Kings, who had used ancient sources. The oldest was the Elohim source (similar to what was later called P), which could be traced through Genesis–Numbers and which was also found in the second half of Joshua. This source had been expanded by a Jehovist who wrote in the time of Saul, possibly Samuel or an associate. The Jehovist's work, also to be found in Genesis–Numbers, included most of Deuteronomy and continued into Joshua. Judges 1–16 and the first half of 1 Samuel were written slightly later by a different author. The remainder of 1 Samuel and most of 2 Samuel came from the reign of Hezekiah, and 1–2 Kings was written during the exile. These datings enabled S. to maintain the antiquity of the Mosaic religion and its sacrificial system.

His two other main works were on the messianic prophecies of the HB (1847), a book that owed much to J. von HOFMANN's great work on PROPHECY and fulfillment, and an HB introduction (1862), which represented a conservative critical viewpoint, although S. argued for an exilic date for Isaiah 40–66 and placed Daniel in the Maccabean period. S.'s professed aim was to undertake biblical criticism in an objective, historical, and philological manner. His position owed something to orthodox writers like Hengstenberg as well as to critics like de Wette.

Works: *Kritische Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch, die Bücher Josua, Richter, Samuels, und der Könige* (1843); *De messianischen Weissagungen des Alten Testaments in ihrer Entstehung, Entwicklung, und Ausbildung* (1847); *Specielle Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1862).

Bibliography: **E. Stähelin,** *Dewettiana: Forschungen und Text zu W. M. L. de Wettes Leben und Werk* (1952) 196-98.

J. W. ROGERSON

STANLEY, ARTHUR PENRHYN (1815–81)

The son of a bishop of Norwich, England, S. was born Dec. 13, 1815. At Rugby (1829) he came under the spell of T. ARNOLD and eventually became his biographer. S. went to Balliol College, Oxford, in 1834, where he read classics. He was ordained in 1839, became a canon of Canterbury Cathedral in 1851, professor of ecclesiastical history at Oxford in 1856, and dean of Westminster in 1864. He died July 18, 1881.

An enthusiastic traveler and a great communicator, S. contributed to biblical scholarship through his lively powers of description and illustration and through his preaching, which employed knowledge of the geographical, cultural, and archaeological backgrounds (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) of the Bible. He was not a profound or orignal thinker, and church contemporaries regarded him as unreliable on matters of doctrine. (He opposed efforts [1861–66] to remove and excommunicate Bishop J. Colenso of Natal even though he did not subscribe to Colenso's views.) Nevertheless, through the positions he held and his persuasive preaching and writing, his advocacy of critical study of the Bible became an important factor in winning its popular acceptance among the clergy.

S. undertook two major tours of Palestine. From the first emerged a substantial volume (1856) containing many homilies based on reconstructions of biblical events, together with observations and reflections on geographical features of the biblical lands (especially, "The Connection of Sacred History and Sacred Geography," xi-xxviii), thus bringing popular appreciation for the research of C. Ritter and E. ROBINSON.

Having learned from Arnold a respect for the newer critical approaches to ancient history current in Germany, S. endeavored to apply similar methods to biblical history and to interpret Israel's religious experience as a truly historical one. His commendation of H. EWALD'S *The History of Israel* did much to ensure its acceptance among English readers and was important for the development of critical biblical studies in Great Britain. S. published a three-volume study of biblical history, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church,* that was strongly influenced by Ewald. Although lacking effective source evaluation, these lectures illustrate S.'s power to recreate a sense of the actuality of biblical history

and to arouse serious interest in ancient Israel. They prepared a wide readership for the more rigorous assessments made later by J. WELLHAUSEN, R. KITTEL, and W. R. SMITH. Overall, S.'s work exemplifies the critical approach to biblical research by the more liberal stream of ecclesiastical leadership in England and stands as an important bridge between older and newer insights.

Works: *Life and Correspondence of T. Arnold* (2 vols., 1844); *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians; with Critical Notes and Dissertations* (2 vols., 1855, 1882); *Sinai and Palestine: In Connection with Their History* (1856, rev. ed. 1887); *The Bible: Its Form and Its Substance* (1862); *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church,* pt. 1, *Abraham to Samuel* (1863); pt. 2, *From Samuel to the Captivity* (1865); pt. 3, *From the Captivity to the Christian Era* (1876).

Bibliography: **G. G. Bradley,** *Recollections of A. P. S.* (1883); *EncBrit* 22 (1889) 451-53. **R. E. Prothero and G. G. Bradley,** *The Life and Correspondence of A. P. S.* (2 vols, 1893). **R. E. Prothero,** *DNB* 54 (1898) 44-48.

R. E. CLEMENTS

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY (1815–1902)

Born Elizabeth Cady Nov. 12, 1815, in Johnstown, New York, S. was raised in a strict Presbyterian household. Her father, a judge, allowed her access to his library of law books and encouraged her early studies but would not allow her to attend college. However, she learned Greek from her pastor, S. Hosack, and attended Emma Willard's Female Seminary (i.e., finishing school) in Troy, New York, where she heard the preaching of C. Finney and was swept up in the fervor of the Great Troy Revival of 1831 that Finney so masterfully stoked. S. experienced a personal conversion; or, as she wrote, "became one of the first victims" (E. Griffith [1984] 19), but her newfound faith did not last long. She wrote in her memoirs that fear of judgment seized her soul, visions of the lost haunted her dreams, and mental anguish prostrated her health (*Eighty Years,* 43). She was so distressed that she left school and returned to her family; later, a period of travel seemed to counteract the more emotional effects of Finney's preaching.

In 1840 S. married H. Stanton, who was ten years her senior and already very much involved in anti-slavery and other reform movements. For their honeymoon they traveled to London for the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Convention, where S. met L. Mott with whom she organized the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention in 1848. In addition to giving birth to and rearing seven children, S. remained active in a number of social and political reform movements, not the least of which was women's suffrage. She worked closely with S. B. Anthony and served as first president of the National Women's Suffrage Association. She died Oct. 26, 1902, in New York.

S. is best known in the field of biblical studies as the driving force behind THE WOMAN'S BIBLE, published in two volumes in 1895 and 1898 "that we might have women's commentaries on women's position in the OT and NT" (1:9). The plan was to include only those texts and chapters that refer directly to women and those in which women are made prominent by exclusion, which S. estimated as one-tenth of the Scriptures (1:5). Although she felt strongly that women's political and social degradation were an outgrowth of women's status in the Bible, she recognized also that the hegemony of male interpretation played no small part in the use of the Bible against women's emancipation. She also recognized that many women found the Bible—when rightly interpreted—to be both a source of spiritual strength and an affirmation of the equality of the sexes.

S. recruited a revising committee of thirty members to participate in the project. They represented various religious and political orientations, but all were committed to women's suffrage. S. had hoped to persuade the few women biblical scholars of the time to participate but failed because, in her words, "they are afraid that their high reputation and scholarly attainments might be compromised" by the controversial project (*WB,* 1:9). In fact, S. wrote the bulk of the commentary herself—147 out of 198 essays bear her initials.

Even a century after its publication the *WB* is fascinating. S. was fairly well versed in the tenets of the higher criticism of the late nineteenth century; besides frequent reference to the work of A. CLARKE and J. COLENSO, she mentioned the German scholars K. GRAF and J. MEINHOLD. Other contributors brought in the work of J. ASTRUC, such traditional Jewish sources as the TALMUD and the KABBALAH (an entire chapter is devoted to it), as well as scholarship on Norse mythology and archaeological discoveries in the Yucatan (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES).

What gives the *WB* its particular character, however, is the sharp wit S. employed in the service of women's interests. Noting the lack of interest 1–2 Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah show in women, she wrote, "During that long, eventful period the men must have sprung, Minerva-like, from the brains of their fathers, fully armed and equipped for the battle of life" (2:83). She noted that 1 Kings uses women only as plot devices to better exhibit the accomplishments of Elijah: "He raises the dead, surpasses our Standard Oil Company in the production of that valuable article of commerce, cures one man of leprosy and cruelly fastens the disease on his servant for being guilty of a pardonable prevarication" (2:77). She did not reserve her criticisms for the HB alone, as many women of that period did; she wrote that woman's "inferior position is more clearly and emphatically set forth by the Apostles than by the Prophets and the Patriarchs" (2:113). On PAUL's preoccupation with how women wear their hair, she wrote,

"It appears very trifling for men, commissioned to do so great a work on earth, to give so much thought to the toilets of women" (2:162).

The *WB* predictably aroused the ire of the Christian clergy, but it received positive reviews from those outside the church and rapidly went through a number of printings both in the United States and abroad. No doubt most painful to S. was the repudiation of the *WB* (by a vote of fifty-three to forty-one) by the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, not primarily because the members disagreed with its content, but, rather, because they felt it expedient to avoid unnecessary conflict until women had achieved the power to vote. The *WB* was largely ignored by biblical scholarship until E. Thomsen's 1991 dissertation demonstrated its influence on contemporary FEMINIST interpreters. The title of *The Women's Bible Commentary* (ed. C. Newsom and S. Ringe, 1992) was chosen in conscious "tribute to Elizabeth Cady Stanton's pioneering work" (xv), and the centennial of the *WB* was celebrated at the 1995 annual meeting of the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Works: (with S. B. Anthony and M. J. Gage), *History of Woman Suffrage* (3 vols., 1887); (with the Revising Committee), *The Woman's Bible* (2 vols., 1895–98; repr., 1 vol., 1974, by Coalition Task Force on Women and Religion; also in 1974 as *The Original Feminist Attack on the Bible* by Arno Press; and with a foreward by M. Fitzgerald [iv-xxiv] in 1993); *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815–97* (1898, repr. 1971); *E. C. S. as Revealed in Her Letters, Diary, and Reminiscences* (ed. T. Stanton and H. S. Blatch, 1922).

Bibliography: **D. C. Bass,** "Women's Studies and Biblical Studies: An Historical Perspective," *JSOT* 22 (1982) 3-17. **A. M. Bennett,** *"The Woman's Bible*—A Nineteenth-Century Approach," *Woman-Pain to Woman-Vision* (1989) 71-77. **E. C. DuBois,** *E. C. S., S. B. Anthony: Correspondence, Writings, Speeches* (1981). **M. Fortune and J. Haugerud,** *A Study Guide to The Woman's Bible* (1975). **E. Griffith,** *In Her Own Right: The Life of E. C. S.* (1984). **C. De Swarte Gifford,** "American Women and the Bible: The Nature of Woman as a Hermeneutical Issue," *Feminist Perspectives in Biblical Scholarship* (ed. A. Y. Collins, 1985) 11-33. **S. E. Hill,** "The Woman's Bible: Reformulating Tradition," *Radical Religion* 3:2 (1977) 23-30. **E. C. Huber,** "They Weren't Prepared to Hear: A Closer Look at *The Woman's Bible,*" *Andover Newton Quarterly* 16 (1976) 271-76. **A. Lutz,** *Created Equal: A Biography of E. C. S., 1815–1902* (1940). **R. Page,** "E. C. S.'s *The Woman's Bible,*" *Feminist Theology: A Reader* (ed. A. Loades, 1990) 16-20. **M. D. Pellauer,** *Toward a Tradition of Feminist Theology: The Religious Social Thought of E. C. S., S. B. Anthony, and A. H. Shaw* (1991). **J. H. Smylie,** *"The Woman's Bible* and the Spiritual Crisis," *Soundings* 59 (1976) 305-28. **E. L. Thomsen,** *"The Woman's Bible:* Heritage and Harbinger of Hope for Feminist Biblical Hermeneutics" (diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1991).

T. LINAFELT

STANTON, VINCENT HENRY (1846–1924)

Born in Hong Kong, the son of the colonial chaplain, S. was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, receiving an MA (1873), a BD (1890), and a DD (1891). After ordination in 1874 he served Trinity College and Cambridge University in various capacities and became Ely Professor of Divinity in 1889.

S.'s most significant contribution to biblical scholarship is a study of belief in JESUS as Messiah from the perspective of early Judaism (1886), a work characterized by thorough discussion of the primary sources and familiarity with German scholarship. S. also wrote to establish the admissibility of belief in the supernatural (1886, 15), arguing that historical inquiry generally draws links between cause and effect but that there are instances in which the historian must acknowledge the presence of the inexplicable (19): Anomaly may justify the assumption of the supernatural. Proceeding in a manner diametrically opposed to his Oxford contemporary W. SANDAY, S. argued that Jesus understood himself to be the bringer of God's kingdom, the divine "Viceregent," and as such described himself as the Danielic Son of man. Jesus' own messianic consciousness, confirmed by the resurrection, seemed to S. the best explanation of the faith of the first generation of Christians in Jesus as a supernatural Christ (266). By construing the interpretative task as that of explaining how belief in Jesus arose, not merely how individual stories and sayings emerged, S. used Jesus' self-consciousness and the resurrection together as the best and the supernatural explanation of Christian faith (271). The historian and the believer were at one in his exposition.

Works: *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah: A Study in the Earliest History of Christianity* (1886); *The Place of Authority in Matters of Religious Belief* (1891); *The Gospels as Historical Documents* (3 pts., 1903–20).

Bibliography: **A. and C. Black,** *Who Was Who? 1916–28* (1929) 989.

B. CHILTON

STÄUDLIN, CARL FRIEDRICH (1761–1826)

Born in Stuttgart, July 25, 1761, S. studied at the Tübingen Stift from 1779 to 1784. In 1785 he published a joint work on biblical PROPHECY that anticipated later form-critical work (see FORM CRITICISM) in this area. In 1790 he was appointed professor of theology at Göttingen in preference to J. G. HERDER, and he remained at Göttingen until his death July 5, 1826. He was a prolific writer in the encyclopedic tradition of Göttingen; his history of ethics included the treatment of this subject in regard to the theater, suicide, prayer, conscience, and marriage. His best-known work was on the history of

JESUS' moral teaching (1799–1822). He also wrote a textbook on dogmatics (1809) and a history of skepticism (1794) in addition to co-editing the *Bibliothek der neuesten theologischen Litteratur* (1794–81).

S. was a great admirer of I. KANT, with whom he corresponded and whom Kant honored by dedicating to him his *Der Streit der Fakultäten.* In his history of skepticism S. praised Kant's philosophy as providing a defense against skepticism, materialism, fatalism, and atheism as well as against fanaticism and superstition. At the same time S. did not equate Christianity with Kantianism. He believed that Christ and the Bible gave to faith a certainty that was higher than could be provided by reason and that reason had no right to reject revelation. On the other hand, the results of Kant's critical philosophy were in accordance with S.'s interpretation of the teaching of Jesus. In HB studies S. wrote a history of Hebrew ethics prior to the time of Christ (1794) as well as his work on HB prophecy.

Works: *Beiträge zur Erläuterung der biblischen Prophetie und zur Geschichte ihrer Auslegung* (1785); *Theologie moralis Ebraeorum ante Christum historia* (1794); *Geschichte und Geist des Skepticismus, vorzüglich in Rücksicht auf Moral und Religion* (2 vols., 1794); *Geschichte der Sittenlehre Jesu* (4 vols., 1799–1822); *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik und Dogmengeschichte* (1809); *Geschichte des Rationalismus und Supernaturalismus* (1826); *History of Theological Knowledge* (1835).

Bibliography: *ADB* 35 (1893) 516-20. **H. Doering,** *Die gelehrten Theologen Deutschlands* 4 (1835) 287-99 (with list of sixty-five of S.'s works). **J. T. Hemsen,** *Zur Erinnerung an D. C. F. S.* (1826), contains S.'s autobiography. **E. Hirsch,** *Geschichte der neuern evangelischen Theologie* 5 (1964³) 59-60. **J. M. Schmidt,** "K. F. S.: Ein Wegbereiter der formgeschichtlichen Erforschung des Alten Testaments," *EvTh* 27 (1967) 200-218. **J. Ringleben,** "Göttingen und Königsberg," *Theologie in Göttingen* 1 (ed. B. Moeller, 1987) 104-7.

J. W. ROGERSON

STENDAHL, KRISTER (1921–)

Born in 1921 in Stockholm, Sweden, S. did his doctoral work in Uppsala under the direction of A. FRIDRICHSEN and H. Riesenfeld (completed in 1954). Ordained a priest of the (Lutheran) Church of Sweden in 1944, he later served as bishop of Stockholm (1984–88). He has been married to literary scholar B. Johnsson Stendahl since 1946. At Harvard Divinity School he served as professor, dean, and later chaplain (1954–84; 1989–91). He has also taught at the University of Uppsala (1951–54) and at Brandeis University (1991–93). In addition, he has been a leader in the World Council of Churches, in other international organizations, and in inter-religious dialogue.

The Uppsala School shaped S.'s thought. Whereas liberal theology (e.g., A. von Harnack) found in the Bible ethical monotheism and JESUS as a teacher of the Golden Rule, the Uppsala School focused on ancient Near Eastern myths and rituals (see MYTH AND RITUAL SCHOOL) to explain the biblical text, stressing their strangeness and primitiveness. Fridrichsen developed "realistic interpretation," i.e., descriptive, empathetic history of religions that stressed the gap between antiquity and the present as a response to liberal theology's tendency to cull eternal truths from the biblical text. Unlike, e.g., R. REITZENSTEIN in Germany, who drew mainly on non-Jewish Hellenistic sources to interpret the NT, the Uppsala School looked to Judaism and to the HB.

In his published doctoral dissertation, *The School of St. Matthew,* S. argued that Matthew's use of the HB parallels the *pesher* method of exegesis evident in the Qumran commentary (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) on Habakkuk (1QpHab), which he had studied with A. Dupont-Sommer during a research visit to Paris in 1951. S. posited that a Greek-speaking Christian exegetical school had access to both the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT) and to a Hebrew text of the HB and that the fourteen quotations preceded by a fulfillment formula (Matt 2:17-18) derive from a Hebrew text; his theory has remained foundational for all further Matthean research. In S.'s view Matthew bears testimony to an exegetical school tradition shared by Christians and Jews, but one in which Jesus did not participate. S.'s study makes clear that the HB was a living document at the time of Qumran and of Matthew, open to multiple interpretations.

In 1951 nearly all of the Swedish universities' NT faculty members signed a statement opposing the ordination of women as "incompatible with NT thought." The statement—not signed by S.—caused him to rethink realistic interpretation. In a 1958 essay he argued in favor of women's ordination that realistic interpretation helps to identify the gap between biblical and contemporary culture but that describing NT views on women does not answer how churches should behave today. Historical description does not automatically yield eternal truths because the Bible is a living document. After describing the text and its world empathetically, scholars then need to evaluate the biblical text. S. interpreted the NT texts that call for female subordination (e.g., 1 Cor 14:34-35; 1 Tim 2:11-15; 1 Pet 3:7) as symptomatic for their culture but stressed countervailing glimpses and insights found in 1 Cor 11:11-12 and Gal 3:28 that point beyond the practices of the earliest churches. S.'s work has helped to convince many churches to ordain women and continues to have an impact today.

In a highly influential 1962 *IDB* article, "Contemporary Biblical Theology," S. further outlined the two stages of interpretation required for church use: description and TRANSLATION. He opposed all attempts to in-

terpret the Bible in such a way that it "square[s] well with the ideals of the modern age." He argued that both believers and agnostics are competent to describe the sometimes strange biblical world accurately, a view unusual in its time that helped to pave the way for collaboration among Jewish, Christian, and non-religious NT scholars. S. called for a distinction between "what it meant" and "what it means." The preacher must be a "bilingual translator," neither anachronistically projecting our ethical ideals onto the Bible nor passing off arcane Hebraisms as homily. Because S. sees the Holy Spirit as guiding the church in this task, he can leave space for the church to take a different path today than did the NT, as in the case of women's leadership or the treatment of Jews.

Standahl's thinking on PAUL and on the Jews was inspired by his experiences as a young cleric hearing confessions in Uppsala, in which individual guilt, especially about common sexual infractions, figured prominently. In contrast to this individualistic Lutheran piety, S. found Paul to be concerned with groups of people, with how to bring the Gentiles in and yet to keep them from behaving arrogantly toward Jews. Paul did not focus on individual sin and guilt but, rather, on the question of the Jewish law's ongoing validity for Jews and for Gentiles.

S. summarizes theology's "public health" task in this way: "The Christian Bible includes sayings that have caused much pain both to Jews and to women. Thus I have felt called to seek forms of interpretation which can counteract such undesirable side effects of the Holy Scriptures." Alternatively, S.'s concern with theology's "public health" task has led him to recognize the Christian Scriptures' detrimental effects on women and Jews, to promote equality between women and men, and to improve Jewish-Christian relations.

Works: *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the OT* (ASNU 20, 1954, 1968²); "Prayer and Forgivenes," *SEÅ* 22, 23 (1957/58) 75-86 = *Meanings: The Bible as Document and as Guide* (1984) 115-25; (ed.), *The Scrolls and the NT* (1957, 1992²), esp. chap. 1, "The Scrolls and the NT: An Introduction and Perspective," 1-17; *"Quis et Unde:* An Analysis of Matthew 1–2," *Judentum-Christentum-Kirche* (FS J. Jeremias, ed. W. Eltester, BZNW 26, 1960) 94-105 (repr. in *The Interpretation of Matthew* [ed. G. Standon, 1983] 56-66) = *Meanings,* 71-83; "Biblical Theology, Contemporary," *IDB* 1 (1962) 418-32 = *Meanings,* 11-44; "Hate, Non-Retaliation, and Love: 1QS x, 17-20 and Romans 12:19-21," *HTR* 55 (1962) 343-55 = *Meanings,* 137-49; "Matthew," *PCB* (ed. M. Black and H. H. Rowley, 1962) 769-98; *The Bible and the Role of Women: A Case Study in Hermeneutics* (FBBS 15, 1966); "Immortality Is Too Much and Too Little," *The End of Life: A Discussion at the Nobel Conference Organized by Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, 1972* (ed. J. D. Roslansky, 1973) = *Meanings,* 193-202; *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles—and Other Essays* (1976); *Meanings: The Bible as Document and as Guide* (1984); *Energy for Life: Reflections on the Theme "Come, Holy Spirit—Renew the Whole Creation"* (Risk Book Series 45, 1990); "From God's Perspective We Are All Minorities," *Journal of Religious Pluralism* 2 (1993) 1-13; *Final Account: Paul's Letter to the Romans* (1995).

Bibliography: **J. Barr,** "Biblical Theology," *IDBSup* (1962, 1976) 104-11. **E. Käsemann,** "Justification and Salvation History in the Epistle to the Romans," *Perspectives on Paul* (1969; ET 1971) 60-78. **G. W. E. Nickelsburg and G. W. MacRae** (eds.), *Christians Among Jews and Gentiles: Essays in Honor of K. S. on His Sixty-fifth Birthday* (1986) = *HTR* 79 (3 vols., 1986), with extensive bibliography through 1984.

B. BROOTEN

STEUERNAGEL, CARL (1869–1958)

Born Feb. 17, 1869, at Hardegsen, Germany, near Göttingen, S. studied at Halle (1887–91) and at the Wittenberg Preachers' Seminary. For almost twenty years (1895–1914) he taught at Halle, first as *Privatdozent* (1895), then as *ausserordentlicher* professor (1907). From 1914 to his retirement in 1935, he held the OT chair at Breslau. Fleeing the Russian advance in 1945, he went to Greifswald, where, at age seventy-six, he resumed teaching for several years. He died Mar. 4, 1958, in Greifswald.

S.'s publications evidence the range of his interests in HB studies. A focal point of his scholarship was the Hexateuch. In his work on Deuteronomy, initially in several monographs, then in a first and second edition of his HKAT commentary, he developed an elaborate (and evolving) account of the book's literary history, making systematic use of the recurring *Numeruswechsel* phenomenon. He authored a commentary on Joshua (1899), a concise general introduction to the Hexateuch (1900), both in the HKAT series, as well as review articles on new hexateuchal publications for *TRu* (1897–1908). A second area to which S. devoted much attention was the ARCHAEOLOGY and topography of the Holy Land. For a quarter of a century (1903–28) he edited *ZDPV,* the leading German journal in the field, publishing in it as well as in other periodicals reports concerning current excavations and discussions on site identifications. Closely connected with his archaeological interests were his writings on particular questions relating to the history of early Israel and its religion, e.g., the Sinai covenant, the entry into the land, the title "Yahweh, God of Israel" and Yahweh and "the gods of the fathers." In linguistics he produced a Hebrew grammar that went through eleven editions (1903–48). In addition, he contributed the volumes of Proverbs, Job, and Esther to the third (1910) and fourth (1922) editions of E. KAUTZSCH'S TRANSLATION of the HB. In 1935 he addressed the urgent question of German Protestantism

and the HB in a brochure reprinted three times in the years 1936–39. An enduring monument to S.'s wide erudition is his massive 1912 introduction to the HB (including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha).

Works: *Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums* (1894); *Die Entstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes* (1895); *Das Deuteronomium* (1898, 1923²); *Das Buch Josua* (1899); "Der jehovistische Bericht über den Bundesschluss am Sinai," *TSK* 72 (1899) 319-50; *Allgemeine Enleitung in den Hexateuch* (1900); *Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan* (1901); *Hebräische Grammatik* (1903, 1948¹¹); *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1912); "Jahwe Gott Israels," BZAW 27 (1914) 329-50; "Bemerkungen zu Gen 17," BZAW 34 (1920) 172-79; "Jahve und die Vätergötter," *FS G. Beer* (1935) 62-71; *Der deutsche Evangelische Christ und das Alte Testament* (1935).

Bibliography: "Bibliographie C. S.," *TLZ* 74 (1949) 113-15. **M. Noth,** *ZDPV* 74 (1958) 1-3. **W. Schmauch,** "In Memoriam C. S.," *TLZ* 83 (1958) 547-50.

C. T. BEGG

STILLINGFLEET, EDWARD (1635–99)

Born Apr. 17, 1635, at Cranbourne, Dorset, S. was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was elected fellow in 1653. Famous as a controversialist and preacher, in 1678 he became dean of St. Paul's and in 1689 was made bishop of Worcester. He died Mar. 27, 1699.

S.'s earliest major work, *Irenicum* (1659), advocated episcopacy and monarchy but did not claim that these forms of government were divine necessities. Always an opponent of Roman Catholicism, in later life he also became very critical of Protestant dissenters. In *Origines sacrae* (1662) he argued that the Hebrew Scriptures are more historically accurate than are other ancient histories. He defended the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), which had been challenged by T. HOBBES and B. SPINOZA. A Latitudinarian, S. did not want a complex system of doctrine but desired a comprehensive national church. Christianity, he argued, was based on revelation, and that revelation was reasonable. He engaged in controversy with Roman Catholics and Deists (see DEISM) and toward the end of his life exchanged published correspondence with J. LOCKE, whom he accused of opening the door to the rejection of the doctrines of the Trinity and the resurrection.

Works: *Origines sacrae, or a Rational Account of the Christian Faith as to the Truth and Divine Authority of the Scriptures and the Matters Therein Contained* (1662); *A Discourse in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity* (1696); *An Answer to Mr. Locke's Letter* (1697); *An Answer to Mr. Locke's Second Letter* (1698); *Works* (6 vols., 1709–10).

Bibliography: *BB* 6 (1763) 3836-42. **R. T. Carroll,** *The Common-sense Philosophy of Religion of Bishop E. S., 1635–99* (1975). **W. Dahrendorf,** *Lockes Kontroverse mit Stillingfleet und ihre Bedeutung für seine Stellung zur anglikanischen Kirche* (1932). **W. H. Hutton,** *DNB* 54 (1898) 375-78. **G. Reedy,** *The Bible and Reason: Anglicans and Scripture in Late Seventeenth-century England* (1985).

A. W. WAINWRIGHT

STRAUSS, DAVID FRIEDRICH (1808–74)

Born Jan. 29, 1808, in Ludwigsburg, Germany, S. died there, Feb. 8, 1874. He studied at the University of Tübingen (1825–30), where his most important teacher was the eminent church historian F. C. BAUR. Through him S. became acquainted with F. W. J. von Schelling's (1775–1854) and F. SCHLEIERMACHER's writings. But soon G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), through his *Phenomenology of the Spirit* and *Encyclopaedia,* became the dominant figure in S.'s intellectual biography. After taking his doctorate he was granted one semester's leave in Berlin (1831–32) to hear Hegel's lectures. Hegel died, however, Nov. 14, so S. studied instead under Schleiermacher and P. Marheineke (1780–1846), a Hegelian professor of theology. S.'s friendship with the HB scholar W. VATKE became equally important. Upon returning to Tübingen S. became instructor of philosophy at the seminary and wrote his *Life of Jesus* (1835). This book brought its author immediate renown, but its radical conclusions precipitated his dismissal. In 1839 he was called to a theological professorship in Zürich, but when the clergy there organized a mass petition to the city council threatening revolt, S. had to retire before being inaugurated. He remained a private scholar, living on his Zürich pension and on the revenues from his books, including his *Dogmatics* (2 vols., 1840–41), *The Life of Jesus for the German People* (*GS* 3, 4, 1864), biographies of U. von Hutten (3 vols., *GS* 7, 1858–60)) and VOLTAIRE (*GS* 11), and *The Old Faith and the New* (*GS* 6, 1872; ET 1873).

S.'s principal exegetical book is *The Life of Jesus,* originally planned as a work preparatory to his *Dogmatics.* That connection is evident from the outline related in an 1832 letter (see J. Sandberger [1972] 192-97). It has three sections: a description of the tradition, its critical destruction, and its essential restitution on the speculative level. The actual book replaced the first section with a brief history of the "mythical" view and reduced the third to a short "Concluding Dissertation," reserving most of its pages (ET 95-756) for historical criticism. Yet its overriding concern was to have the philosophical truth emerge unscathed.

The exegetical method presents supernaturalism and rationalism as mutually destructive: The assertion of miracles as facts is refuted by the law of nature; their reduction to commonplace events violates the texts. Schleiermacher's

synthesis of the two, combining the doctrine of a prototypical Christ with historical criticism, constituted the most sophisticated non-speculative position and seems to have been the decisive challenge for S. By empirically demonstrating the impossibility of God's manifestation in a historical individual, interpreted as his self-estrangement, S. hoped to clear the ground for a philosophically adequate and historically incontestable view of revelation (a method analogous to Vatke's interpretation of the HB in his *Biblical Theology* [1835]).

S.'s main conceptual tool for achieving his purpose was myth (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), i.e., a "quasi-historical clothing of early Christian ideas, formed in the unintentionally feigning saga" (1:75; explained more fully, ET 86-87), not a fraudulent invention, but the spiritual product of a primitive community's imagination. The eternal idea is represented by stories that glorify the community's heroes. Thus, JESUS, incorporating the HB idea of the Messiah, is exalted above Moses and the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). The eternal idea's true expression, however, is a concept in which it is mediated by itself with itself. (While this thinking points to Hegel, the term *myth* and its connotation as prescientific link S. to the eighteenth-century rationalistic mythological school.)

For S., the mythological view must be overcome, not *aufgehoben* in Hegel's sense (nearest equivalent: "subsumed"; see H. Harris [1973] 53, n. 13, implying an element of truth preserved), but discarded (see Schelling's *Method of Academic Study* [1803]). The reappearance of the eternal idea in the form of subjective faith ("Concluding Dissertation") therefore underlies the further criticism exacted by the history of doctrine (*Glaubenslehre* [1840–41] 1:71). Thus non-speculative positions are annihilated (a task inadequately performed by the Right-Hegelians, 2:729-32; ET 777-78): "This is indeed not the mode in which Idea realizes itself; it is not wont to lavish all its fulness on one exemplar, and be niggardly towards all others . . . : it rather loves to distribute its riches among a multiplicity of exemplars which reciprocally complete each other" (2:734; ET 779-80). No single individual, but humanity as a whole, is "God become man" (2:737; ET 780). While claiming for this philosophical proposition essential identity with the Christian faith, S. seems to surmise their incompatibility when he admits that preaching is now bogged down in a "Last Dilemma" (2:732-44; ET 779-81). His *Glaubenslehre* consequently abandons Christianity and also parts from Hegel, who had insisted that the Spirit's manifestation in an individual person, while lacking adequacy, was nonetheless a fact.

S.'s contribution to Gospel research lies in exhibiting the crucial role and kerygmatic character of oral tradition. He was the first scholar who thoroughly attempted to disprove the factuality of the miracle stories and consistently explained them "mythically." He left the SYNOPTIC sermons intact except for Jesus' predictions of his passion and resurrection, since the tools for their LITERARY analysis had not yet been developed. He did, however, support K. Bretschneider's (1776–1848) insight that the Gospel of John, because of its sermons, was even farther removed from historical reality than the Synoptics. He also came close to FORM CRITICISM's conception of small units as the origin of tradition. On the other hand, he failed to further the progress of source analysis, adopting J. J. GRIESBACH's hypothesis of Matthew's primacy and assuming with Schleiermacher several prior collections of material.

S. definitively proved the impossibility of writing Jesus' biography, dooming in advance the scores of such efforts subsequently made. On the other hand, his predominant interest in the collective process of tradition left him, after removing all glorifying gilt, with but a scant collection of facts about Jesus: his birth in Nazareth, his baptism as a disciple of John the Baptist, his preaching in Palestine, and his crucifixion. One is left with a preacher of morals not unlike the rationalist Jesus, hardly one to inspire religious reverence. (S. recognized this problem after attacks from all quarters and in the third edition of his *Life of Jesus* stressed the uniqueness of Jesus' personality—only to restore the original text in the fourth.) Nevertheless, the problem he formulated has yet to be satisfactorily resolved.

Works: *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* (2 vols., 1835–36, 1837², 1838–39³, 1840⁴ [quotations without title from the 1st ed.]; ET *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined,* of 4th ed. by G. Eliot; of 5th ed. [1906]; ed. with intro., P. C. Hodgson, LJS, 1972); *Die christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und im Kampfe mit der modernen Wissenschaft dargestellt* (2 vols., 1840–41); *The Christ of Faith and the Jesus of History* (1864; ET with intro., L. E. Keck, LJS, 1977); *Gesammelte Schriften* (12 vols., ed. E. Zeller, 1876–77); *Ausgewählte Briefe* (ed. E. Zeller, 1895).

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D. LANGE

STREETER, BURNETT HILLMAN (1874–1937)

S. was born Nov. 17, 1874, in Croydon, England, and was killed in an airplane crash in Switzerland, Sept. 10, 1937. He was educated at King's College and at Queen's College, Oxford, where he served as a fellow (1905–33) and as provost (1933–37).

At Oxford S. joined W. SANDAY's seminar on the SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. His contributions to the volume edited by Sanday as the final communication of the seminar focus on the hypothetical document Q. S. concluded that (1) the order of the document is better preserved in Luke than in Matthew; (2) Matthew had carved the document up to serve the literary structure of five discourses of Jesus (1911, 151, 157-58); and (3) Mark also knew Q as a written source (165-66, 176-77; Sanday reluctantly came around to that point of view, xvi). Because S. considered Q a written source, probably by an original eyewitness (185; cf. 216), its delineation appeared important to him. Assuming that Q would have been treated by the evangelists much as Matthew and Luke treated Mark (185), he argued that matter peculiar to later Gospels might originally have been part of Q (184). He offered Luke 9:51–15:10 and 17:1–18:8 as highly speculative candidates for inclusion in Q (206).

In "The Literary Evolution of the Gospels" (1911, 210-31) he argued that initially witnesses wrote down only what might be forgotten. Q is intelligble as a document written to supplement the living tradition of a generation that had known Christ (215). Mark, on the other hand, wrote to supplement Q, which is why his Gospel so often mentions Jesus' teaching without citing it (219). Matthew and Luke were written with an aim for completeness (200) but with distinctive purposes: Matthew is a discursive account of Jesus' teaching (222); and Luke, an inspirational biography (222-23).

S.'s greatest work, *The Four Gospels* (1924), represents his concern with historical development. He built on the work of B. F. WESTCOTT and F. HORT to develop a theory of "local texts": The ancient manuscripts of the NT were witnesses to the geographical variety among early Christians. His account of how variants arose and were later homogenized remains illuminating; and his designations of major groups of variants as Alexandrian, Western, Caesarean, and Byzantine continue to be used. Analysis by locality led to his sketch "The Fundamental Solution" of the synoptic interrelationship (1924, 149-98): Mark was located at Rome (c. 60 CE); Q, at Antioch (c. 50 CE); Matthew, at Antioch (c. 85 CE); and Luke, at Corinth (c. 80 CE). In this work S. also proposed a four document hypothesis, including a Proto-Luke, as a solution to the synoptic problem (223-79).

In certain crucial respects, this work refines the picture S. offered in 1911, viewing Mark as "taken down from rapid dictation by word of mouth" (163) and as stylistically more primitive than Matthew and Luke (164). The distribution of Markan matter in the later Gospels seemed to him "only explicable on the theory that each author had before him the Marcan material already embodied in one single document" (165). However, he was far more ambivalent about Q than in 1911. He was no longer certain Q was a written document (184; cf. 237), changed his position on Q's relationship to Luke (199-222) and Matthew (251-52), and insisted that efforts to specify the precise contents of Q—including his own—were fruitless (185; cf. 239-42). Increasingly, S. thought in terms of cycles of tradition rather than in terms of documentary dependency.

S. has been faulted chiefly for his acceptance of Markan priority (W. Farmer [1976] 118-77); but when his analysis is taken within its own terms of reference, his understanding of what constitutes a document appears to be the primary difficulty. Of attempts to discern sources in John, he remarked, "As well hope to start with a string of sausages and reconstruct the pig" (377). Increasingly, he appeared impatient with precise construals of sources and more concerned with the religious sense of documents. Notably, he insisted that religion requires a metaphysical basis. For him, the sources of the Synoptics were not merely of literary or historical interest; they were the most primitive articulations of what was eternally and absolutely true.

Works: "On the Original Order of Q," "St. Mark's Knowledge and Use of Q," "The Original Extent of Q," "The Literary Evolution of the Gospels," "On the Trial of Our Lord before Herod: A Suggestion," *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (ed. W. Sanday, 1911), cf. "Appendix: Synoptic Criticism and the Eschatological Problem," 423-36; (with A. J. Appasamy), *The Sadhu: A Study in Mysticism and Practical Religion* (1921); *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Date* (1924); *Reality: A New Correlation of Science and Religion* (1926); *The Primitive Church, Studied with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry* (1929).

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B. CHILTON

STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION

The term *structuralism,* which came into vogue in the 1950s and 1960s, refers properly to a set of techniques for the analysis of literary texts and other human productions, together with the specific theory on which the techniques are based. Construed more broadly, it has become a focusing term (almost a code word) for a wide-ranging theoretical rejection of historicism. A human production is to be analyzed primarily in terms of

the rules of its internal organization, not primarily in terms of the process that produced it. As the theoretical debate has developed and as the early structuralist claims have become more muted, other focusing terms have appeared, including *deconstruction.* The latter sometimes indicates a technique for LITERARY analysis but more often denotes a way of looking at current critical theory, particularly at the debate over structuralism. While it does not reverse structuralism's rejection of historicism, deconstruction suggests the reopening of the question of history in a new framework.

Within biblical studies structuralism has developed in the context of a revolt that began to gain power in the 1960s and continues with increasing vigor against the predominance of historical criticism in biblical studies. Despite the vast accomplishments of historical criticism, it has been widely felt that there are significant dimensions of biblical meaning that historical criticism is unable to illuminate, in particular, literary dimensions. In response, a wide range of literary approaches has been proposed and tried out, many of them simply refinements of age-old sensitivity to the Bible as literature. But some biblical scholars have found in the extra-biblical debate over structuralism and deconstruction a much more radical approach to the literary analysis of texts and to the whole question of meaning in texts, pointing eventually to a rethinking of the whole enterprise of biblical studies.

1. Extra-biblical Developments. ***a. Stages of development.*** There are three main stages in the development of structuralism that have become significant for biblical studies.

i. Linguistics: F. de Saussure. The first is the linguistics of F. de Saussure. When we hear an English sentence, such as "Yesterday I got into my car and drove to work," we automatically process it as a piece of information about the speaker. What remains almost always unconscious is our processing it as a piece of language, yet this is the precondition of its having any meaning for us. In constructing the sentence, the speaker has used numerous linguistic rules that we also use to decode it; some are very general (e.g. the order of elements in a syntactically well-formed English sentence); others, detailed and subtle (e.g. the verb *get* must be treated in this case as part of an irreducible combination "get into," hence "enter," rather than "acquire").

Saussure contrasted *parole*, any actual linguistic event (e.g., a spoken sentence), with *langue*, the underlying system of relationships among the elements of a language (the French words are usually retained in English discussion). The system is more basic than the event, but it is an abstraction to which we have access only through the study of utterances the linguistic community deems acceptable. Knowledge of the system is by no means necessary in order to use the language. *Langue* is an abstraction in another sense too. It implies that we can stop language at a moment in time and examine its structure, whereas, in fact, language is in constant flux. This suggests the distinction, of the utmost importance to all of structuralism, between synchronic and diachronic method. Saussure stresses synchronic linguistics, the study of the language at one point in time, at the expense of diachronic, the study of its development over time. One other tenet of his system is of key importance—namely, that the elements of a language do not have intrinsic meaning but, rather, have meaning only as a result of their place in the system, of their relations with other elements. (A classic example is the non-correspondence of color terms in different languages. What the majority of French-speakers call *bleu* will not exactly correspond to what the majority of English-speakers call *blue*. The meaning of *blue* is "what the majority of English-speakers do not regard as better described by some other color term"!)

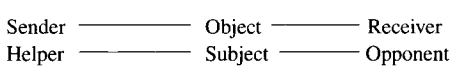
ii. Generalization of linguistics to other systems: C. Lévi-Strauss. The second stage involves a generalization of these insights to human systems other than natural languages. (A glance at an anthology like that of J. Ehrmann [1970] or M. Lane [1970] will show in how wide a variety of disciplines structural methods have been tried.) The most important figure, indeed the founder of structuralism as a self-conscious method, is Lévi-Strauss. In his anthropological work he has analyzed subsystems (or "codes") of primitive societies as having a quasi-linguistic structure. Examples are dietary or kinship rules (thus permissible versus impermissible marriages in a kinship system are analogous to syntactical versus asyntactical sequences of words). In each case members of the society have so internalized the system that they can differentiate between acceptable and unacceptable combinations without being consciously aware of the underlying logic. All these codes are ways in which a society organizes reality, and Lévi-Strauss believes in an innate human necessity to organize the world in this way. The message encoded by each subsystem in a given society is ultimately the same (see esp. Lévi-Strauss [1967]).

Lévi-Strauss's most extensive and important work has been on myth (for a programmatic statement, see Lévi-Strauss [1963]), culminating in a four-volume *magnum opus* on Amerindian mythology (1970, 1973, 1978, 1981). A primitive society deals with the irresoluble contradictions it experiences in the world through myth (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), which creates the illusion of resolution so that the world can be experienced otherwise than as merely incomprehensible. Lévi-Strauss reads a myth as a set of logical operations that bring the terms of experience into relation with one another. The various myths of a culture (and, eventually, all myths) are "transformations" of each other, any change in a single term being correlative with changes in other terms of the system. All these operations,

however complex, can be reduced analytically to binary oppositions (life versus death, animal versus vegetable food, etc.), which the myth posits and mediates. For example, the total contradiction between life and death can be displaced into an opposition between this world and a world beyond this one; and various beings can then be introduced who (although they cannot be both alive and dead) can move between one world and the other.

iii. Structural analysis of narrative: A. Greimas. The third stage is the structural analysis of narrative, especially the work of Greimas (1983, 1987, 1988). Narrative is language, and one way of thinking of such analysis is as an extension of Saussurean linguistics beyond the scope of sentences to whole narrative sequences. Greimas has tried to define the most elementary units of narrative and to frame laws governing their acceptable combination. An important precursor in this enterprise was V. Propp (1968), who analyzed about one hundred Russian folktales into their sequential plot elements, or "functions" (e.g., "the hero is pursued," "the villain is exposed"). He defined thirty-one such functions and found that, although a given tale never included all of them, those it did contain proved always to be in the same order. This strongly suggests that the community producing these tales screened them for "syntactical" structure by a process analogous to the construction of sentences in a natural language.

Greimas builds consciously on Propp but finds Propp's functions too diffuse and repetitive. Many of them are simply logical transformations of one another (e.g., the finding and equipping of the hero has the same logical structure as the hero's combat with the villain) and can be reduced to relatively few binary oppositions and their mediation. Thus Greimas looks for schemata of maximum abstraction and generality as the linguistic rules for all human narrative. The best known of these is his "actantial model" for anything done (or intended) in narrative: A sender transfers an object to a receiver by the agency of a subject whom other agents may help or oppose:



This scheme can be used to map a whole story, but it can also map units of story action down to the most elementary so that the story can be analyzed as an interlocking set of actantial models.

b. Issues. Because of its large claims, structuralism has from its inception brought to the fore a mass of theoretical questions. Many contemporary commentators consider that, having failed to answer such questions, it is already passé. Certainly the early structuralist proposals cannot survive unchanged, but a truer assessment would be that structuralism has been extraordinarily fecund in initiating theoretical debate (literary and other). It retains its vibrancy in this sense even if fewer researchers now call themselves structuralists. But it is senseless any longer to discuss structuralism in isolation from the larger theoretical field. (For an excellent discussion, see P. Caws [1988].) Four issues, which cannot be cleanly separated from one another, may be highlighted.

i. The relation of structural and historical methods. The most persistent problem has been the relation of structural to historical methods of research. Are the "deep structures" of human productions changeless over time? To the extent that they apparently are not, to what historical variables are they correlative? How can structural and historical methods combine to give a theoretical account of stability and change? What, in this connection, are the historical conditions for the rise of structuralism itself?

ii. The relation of structural methods to literature. To what kinds of literature are structural methods appropriate? Lévi-Strauss confines himself to "primitive" texts (myths) and doubts that his methods are at all applicable to texts generated out of a historical consciousness. Propp worked with folktales, and it was largely with these that Greimas and other narrative structuralists preferred to work at the outset. But what of modern literature? Insofar as early structuralism took it up at all, it was in its most highly stereotyped genres, the detective novel or even the strip cartoon. Is there something about modern literature that resists the application of structural methods? R. Barthes devoted a whole book, the influential *S/Z* (1974), to the analysis of a short story by Balzac (cf. Greimas [1988] on Maupassant). But the most characteristic modern form, the novel, has not been much taken up by structuralists (see, however, G. Genette [1980] on Proust).

iii. The relation of structural analysis to textual laws. A directly related question is how structural analysis of the individual text is related to positing general laws that govern texts. Barthes (already in *S/Z*) moved beyond structuralism into what he called textualism to stress the uniqueness of the single text. However, when Greimas devotes a study to a single text it is with an eye to the potential for generalizing the results. But his effort to formulate elementary laws governing all narrative does not imply that all narrative texts are essentially the same. Rather, it is necessary to think of a hierarchy of structures: The analysis of a text may demonstrate universal structures but also ones specific to the text's culture, its literary genre, etc., as well as ones specific to itself. The text partakes of various "universes of meaning" out of which its own particular universe is created.

iv. Structuralism in relation to the reader. Structuralism has tried to pattern itself on the model of an objective natural science. Its theoretical claim that any reader using its techniques would discover the same structure is not the case in practice. One reason is that

the text is only a part of the whole process of communication (or "enunciation") in which, in particular, the reader has a role to play (see READER-RESPONSE CRITICISM). Theory is being developed regarding the reader as an interactive participant in the creation of the structures of meaning that literary analysis discovers (J. Tompkins [1980]). Another theoretical development that has forced structuralism out of its objective mode is a growing insistence (in part under the influence of the American philosopher C. Peirce) that it is one part of a pervasive and fluid human need to create systems of signs. Proponents of this development prefer the term SEMIOTICS to structuralism (see U. Eco [1976]).

c. Deconstruction: J. Derrida. The theoretical issues surrounding structuralism must now be pursued in relation to deconstruction (for valuable surveys, see J. Culler [1982]; R. Harland [1987]; V. Leitch [1983]). Derrida, with whom this term is most associated, developed his ideas in a French context dominated by structuralism and directed much of his early critique to the structuralist pioneers Saussure and Lévi-Strauss (1976, 27-73, 101-40). As a philosopher, Derrida takes up nothing less than the whole metaphysical tradition in Western philosophy, which he sees (1978) as the attempt to posit a fixed center (God, human, consciousness, reason, etc.; the comprehensive term for all such systems is *logocentric*) from which the rest of reality can be reliably organized. But the history of modern thought is simply the story of the forced abandonment of each proposed center (the earth as center in the Copernican revolution; consciousness as center in the Freudian, etc.). Deconstruction attempts a radical decentering by unearthing and subverting the unquestioned assumptions on which the metaphysical tradition is based.

The relationship of this kind of deconstruction to structuralism is a double one. On the one hand, it is by structural analysis that deconstruction most characteristically proceeds. The metaphysical tradition works by positing binary oppositions (some common ones are rational/irrational, clear/obscure, original/imitation, central/peripheral, simple/complex, serious/frivolous) and by systematically affirming the superiority of the first over the second term. The work of deconstruction can be thought of as the careful demonstration of the arbitrariness of these procedures, of the inner contradiction they cannot avoid (e.g., anything affirmed as original can always be shown to be imitative). On the other hand, Derrida sees structuralism as belonging to, even as a culmination of, this same Western metaphysical tradition, creating binary oppositions of its own and affirming the superiority of one term over the other (*langue* over *parole*, *synchronic* over *diachronic*). Structuralism becomes yet another logocentric attempt to control reality through a system.

The positive interest shown in the structuralism-deconstruction debate by feminists (see FEMINIST INTERPRETATION) and Marxists is extremely significant. Previously, structuralism was seen as outmoded, at least in the North American context. Deconstruction was taking on the very narrow connotation of a method of literary criticism that stresses the limitless plurality, or "undecidability," of meaning in the literary text. From the perspective of political engagement, this approach seemed irrelevant or retrograde. But the implications of the development of structuralism and deconstruction in France, in a highly charged political context, have now been taken more seriously in the United States. It is increasingly understood that the metaphysical tradition's striving for structure and hierarchy has always gone along with accumulating and hierarchizing political power, thus Derrida's deconstruction of metaphysics is also the deconstruction of the structures of real power.

There are many examples of the politicization of the current debate, including the structural Marxism of L. Althusser (ET 1969), with its extension into literary criticism by P. Macherey (1978), or the analysis by M. Foucault (ET 1978) of how power operates in scientific discourse. But the most obvious example is provided by feminism, where there a clear link between the male/female opposition in Western metaphysics (with its endless correlates: rational/irrational, domination/submission, etc.) and the political oppression of women. This philosophical and linguistic creation of the categories of male and female has been much analyzed in French feminism (T. Moi [1985]), and recently a flood of feminist literary criticism in North America has taken up related issues (e.g., G. Greene and C. Kahn [1985]; for more generally on feminism and post-structuralism, see C. Weedon [1987]).

Among the most interesting examples of the new trend is the work of F. Jameson (1981), who attempts a Marxist analysis of texts from FOLKLORE to the modern novel, informed by the entire structuralism-deconstruction debate, notably by Greimas (see his foreword to Greimas [1987]). He insists on the question of the relation of text to history, although not in the sense of facile correspondence between the text and some history independent of the text. Rather, the "world of meaning" in the text (what Jameson calls its "political unconscious") is correlated with the ideology under which it was produced. Specifically, study of the text's inner contradictions can help discern the contradictions inherent in the ideology. But if all texts need, in this sense, to be historicized, so also all history needs to be "textualized," deconstructed, read in terms of the arbitrary relationship of its language to meaning. Jameson both draws structuralism into the service of IDEOLOGICAL analysis and performs an ideological analysis of structuralism itself. (On Marxism and deconstruction, see also M. Ryan [1982].)

2. Biblical Developments. The response within biblical studies has been diverse, with theoretical bounda-

ries not always clearly drawn. Only recently have biblical scholars engaged the critical issues raised by deconstruction. Significant developments have usually been first announced in the periodical *Semeia,* founded as a direct result of structuralist interest in the Bible. The range of topics *Semeia* now takes up is a good index of the range of theoretical debate in which biblical structuralism is involved (see also The Bible and Culture Collective [1995] and D. Jobling [1995]).

a. Structural analysis. The first application of structural analysis to the Bible was an essay by the anthropologist E. Leach (1969) on Genesis 7–23. In it and elsewhere Leach follows closely Lévi-Strauss's procedures for myth analysis. Biblical specialists find this essay facile, but another of Leach's analyses, "The Legitimacy of Solomon" (25-83), based on Lévi-Strauss's work on kinship, is widely conceded to have opened up quite unexpected and important horizons. The main problem is that Leach treats the Bible as a concatenation of quasi-mythic fragments, paying no attention to its character as sequential narrative. (On the impact within biblical studies of Lévi-Strauss's work on kinship, see also M. Donaldson [1981] and T. Prewitt [1990]. While not a follower of Lévi-Strauss, M. Douglas [1966] also applies structural anthropology to the Bible, e.g., to the levitical prohibitions.)

b. Literary and textual issues. Most biblical structuralists have pursued specifically literary/textual issues. The main inspiration has been Greimas, although many scholars have continued to find Lévi-Strauss's techniques for myth analysis useful in dealing with the deep structural elements that narrative analysis posits. A considerable school of French scholars (notably J. Calloud [1976]) has since the 1960s pursued a Greimasian approach to biblical texts (for a more idiosyncratic use of Greimas, see Barthes [1988]), which has had a decisive impact on biblical structuralism in America through the ongoing work of D. Patte and his associates (1978, 1991).

The first organized work in North America, devoted to the synoptic PARABLES (see SYNOPTIC PROBLEM), was issued in *Semeia* 1 and 2. It was the result of a convergence of interest between Patte, in his attempt to establish structuralism within American biblical studies, and a group interested in the literary reading of the parables (especially J. D. Crossan [1995]; R. Funk [1982]; and D. Via [1967]). This early work was rather eclectic, but it provided an important impulse and is still interesting for opening up a variety of structural possibilities. But it is in Patte's own developing work that structuralism has decisively moved beyond a marginal position in biblical studies. In 1978 he and A. Patte proposed a precise method of structural analysis that they claimed anyone could apply to biblical texts with controllable results (11-38). They defined procedures by which the reader can move from the complex Gospel narrative, through the system of simple subnarratives that underlie it and the symbolic system these subnarratives imply, to the text's "semantic universe" or world of meaning. This method underlies D. Patte's books on PAUL (1983) and Matthew (1987), in which he sets out to display the structure of the biblical authors' convictions, or faith. This structure constrains the way the author organizes his material, whatever its source (e.g., Matthew's convictions shape what he may take from Mark or Q). In later works (1990a, 1990b) Patte has considerably refined his method.

Through the 1970s and 1980s a number of other important contributions emerged from the circle around Patte. E. Malbon's 1986 work on the "geographical code" in Mark demonstrates the continuing vibrancy of Lévi-Strauss's impulse; she shows how the structural organization of spaces (Galilee and Judea, sea and land, inhabited land and desert, etc.) provides a major key to what is going on in this Gospel. D. Jobling (1986), working in the HB, pursues a line more loosely adapted from Lévi-Strauss and Greimas. R. Polzin (1980) explores a very different and important direction in applying the methods of the Russian formalists to a part of the DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY. Of particular interest is *Semeia* 18, which offers a large collection of alternative structural exegeses of a single text (Genesis 2–3); in his introduction, Patte takes up the issue of how there can be a variety of valid structural methods.

c. Deconstruction. Biblical scholars, including many structuralists, were initially slow to become involved in the debate over deconstruction. This may be because in the United States this debate was largely carried on by specialists in modern literature. This was false to Derrida's initiative since it is precisely the foundational documents of Western culture that he has taken up—e.g., Plato; but also, on several occasions, biblical texts (e.g., *Semeia* 23:63-97, 54:3-34).

After the breakthrough in *Semeia* 23 (*Derrida and Biblical Studies*), contributions began to appear steadily: Crossan's deconstructive reading of John (*Semeia* 26:3-21); G. Phillips's reading of Matthew 13 in the light of Derrida and Foucault (*Semeia* 31:111-38); and major collections of essays in *Semeia* 51 (*Poststructural Criticism and the Bible*) and 54 (*Poststructuralism as Exegesis*); and, at book length, P. Miscall (1986, on 1 Samuel) and S. Moore (1992, on Mark and Luke; for a survey and critique of contributions, see The Bible and Culture Collective, 119-48). S. Handelman (1982) has probed the historical links between rabbinic biblical interpretation and deconstruction. Phillips (*Semeia* 51:7-49) and H. White (1991) have taken a lead in broadening the theoretical framework of biblical structuralism by considering developments in semiotics. All these works demonstrate the possibility and necessity of a fully critical reading of the Bible, a reading that takes current critical debate with full seriousness and intends to make its own

contribution to that debate. But such a reading is threatening to traditional views of the Bible, since it starts to unpack the Bible's AUTHORITY, uniqueness, sacredness, and so on, forcing the question of how the Bible's centrality in Western culture has been implicated in the establishment of the logocentric metaphysical tradition. The Fourth Gospel's programmatic statement that "the Word was God" sounds, from a deconstructionist point of view, like a summary of the whole problem!

Several of the above authors and collections work on the boundary between deconstruction and the political or ideological analysis of texts. An important precursor was the materialist reading of F. Belo (1981). Drawing on both French structuralism (especially Barthes's textualism) and Marxist theory, he has produced an astonishing reading of the Gospel of Mark in which he analyzes how this text unravels the two incompatible systems whereby Judaism understands sin as pollution and as debt (Belo's work is not so much a deconstruction of Mark as a claim that Mark deconstructs the Torah). Contributions include a representative collection of essays in *Semeia* 59 (*Ideological Criticism of Biblical Texts*), R. Boer's (1996) definitive treatment of the relevance (both theoretical and exegetical) of Jameson's work to biblical studies, and the pursuit of related issues of pedagogy by Patte and Phillips (see also Patte [1995]). Feminist writers informed by deconstruction, particularly M. Bal (1987, 1988a, 1988b), press the issue of the Bible's implication in entrenched structures of oppression (on Bal, see Jobling [1991]; further on critical feminist reading, see J. C. Exum [1995] and D. Fewell [1995], who provide annotated bibliography; and Exum [1993]).

3. Conclusion. Structuralism and deconstruction, in conjunction with other literary approaches, have played a large role in demonstrating the narrowness and arbitrariness of the previously dominant historical-critical method in biblical studies. They have helped create a climate in which attention to the biblical text in its final form takes precedence over hypothetical reconstruction of its possible earlier forms. They have altered the grounds on which debate over appropriate biblical methodology is conducted. Although they still need greater representation in introductions and commentaries, they have already generated major works of biblical scholarship.

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D. JOBLING

STUART, MOSES (1780–1852)

Born in Wilton, Connecticut, Mar. 26, 1780, S. trained for the law at Yale and on graduation in 1799 taught school before being admitted to the bar in 1802. That

fall he was invited back to Yale as a tutor and fell under the influence of Yale president and theologian T. Dwight (1752–1817), converting to evangelical Christianity before the year was out. In 1804 he was called as assistant pastor of the First (Center) Church of New Haven and in 1806 as full pastor. In 1810 he became professor of sacred literature at the recently founded Congregational Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts, where he remained until he retired in 1848. He died Jan. 4, 1852.

Unprepared to teach at Andover, S. immediately began private study of Hebrew and German; German especially enabled him to keep abreast of advances in biblical scholarship. Although he never abandoned his evangelical persuasions, by 1820 he had appropriated much of contemporary European scholarship, particularly the grammatico-historical school of HERMENEUTICS that informed all of his later biblical interpretation. He was an inspiring teacher. Several of America's important nineteenth-century biblical scholars, including E. ROBINSON, J. Gibbs (1790–1861), and C. Stowe (1802–86) were among his pupils; and Andover graduates on the mission fields perpetuated his principles of biblical scholarship in notable vernacular Bible translations (see TRANSLATION).

S. was a prolific writer, and his primary theological work was his biblical defense of the doctrine of the Trinity to counter the growing influence of American Unitarianism. Equally important was his grammatical-historical reading of the first chapters of Genesis against the less literal interpretations of America's leading geologists. His most lasting achievements, however, were in the disciplines of philology and exegesis. His Hebrew and Greek grammars, though reworkings of European prototypes, were the earliest thorough works of their kind in America. His exhaustive commentary on Hebrews (1827–28) was a landmark in American biblical science and was followed by five other commentaries of similar stature, each an invaluable mine of contemporary biblical scholarship. He also wrote extensively on the relevance of the Bible to social problems, particularly alcoholism and slavery.

Works: *A Hebrew Grammar Without the Points: Designed as an Introduction to the Knowledge of the Inflections and Idiom of the Hebrew Tongue* (1813); *Letters to the Rev. W. E. Channing* (1819); *A Hebrew Grammar with a Copious Syntax and Praxis* (1821); *Elements of Interpretation, Translated from the Latin of J. A. Ernesti, and Accompanied by Notes and an Appendix Containing Extracts from Morus, Beck, and Keil* (1822); *A Greek Grammar of the NT, Translated From the German of G. B. Winer, Professor of Theology at Erlangen* (1825); *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (1827–28); *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (1832); *A Grammar of the NT Dialect* (1834); *A Commentary on the Apocalypse* (1845); *A Critical History and Defense on the OT Canon* (1845); *Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius as Edited by Roediger, Translated, with Additions and Also a Hebrew Chrestomathy* (1846); *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1850); *A Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (1851); *A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* (1852).

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J. H. GILTNER

SUKENIK, ELIEZER LIPA (1889–1953)

Born in Bialystok, Poland, S. emigrated to Palestine in 1912 as a teacher. After doing graduate work at Dropsie College, Philadelphia, he joined the staff of the newly established Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1927 as field archaeologist and was promoted to lecturer in 1935 and to professor in 1938. In 1938 he also became director of the University Museum of Jewish Antiquities, putting together the nucleus of the archaeological Museum on the Mt. Scopus campus.

S. was in many ways the father of Jewish ARCHAEOLOGY in Mandatory Palestine. Assisted by such scholars as N. Avigad, R. Amiran, and S. Ben-Dor, he directed and published the results of many excavations, including the synagogues of Beth Alpha (1929); Hammath Gader (1932); Yafia; and She'albim (1949). Most of these discoveries were reported in the 1931 Schweich lectures of the British Academy and in other publications. S. also cleared numerous Jewish ossuary burials in the vicinity of Jerusalem. He carried out soundings at the mounds of Affuleh and Tell Jerishe and with L. Mayer cleared part of the famous "Third Wall" of Jerusalem (1925–27). Finally, he headed the Hebrew University contingent in the joint excavations at Samaria.

S. will be remembered especially for his courageous role in securing for the Hebrew University the first group of eleven of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS in 1947 during Arab-Jewish hostilities leading to the establishment of the State of Israel—a task completed shortly thereafter by his even more illustrious son, Y. (Sukenik) YADIN. S. died in 1953 while engaged in the publication of these scrolls.

Works: (with L. A. Mayer), *The Third Wall of Jerusalem* (1930); *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth-Alpha* (1932); *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece* (1934); *The Ancient Synagogue of El Hammeh (Hamath by Gadara)* (1935); (with J. W. Crawford and K. K. Kenyon), *The Buildings at Samaria* (1942); "History of Jewish Archaeology," *The Jewish People, Past and Present* (1946) 1:48-77; *The Earliest Records of Christianity* (1947); *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (1955).

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W. G. DEVER

SWETE, HENRY BARCLAY (1835–1917)

Born at Bristol, England, Mar. 14, 1875, S. was educated at King's College, London, and at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. He was ordained in 1858, served as dean of Gonville and Caius (1865–68), as professor at King's College (1882 to 1890), and in 1890 followed B. F. WESTCOTT as Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. He died May 10, 1917.

S. edited THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA's commentary on Galatians–Colossians (1880) and 1 Thessalonians–Philemon (1882). His monumental textual project was the Cambridge edition of the SEPTUAGINT. Commissioned in 1883, the three volumes were published in remarkably short order (1887–94). S.'s program was to follow the Codex Vaticanus where possible and to supplement its readings with the Codices Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, Bodleianus, Cottonianus, Ambrosianus, and Ephraemi Rescriptus. He also cited ancient psalters as well as other witnesses of Hosea–4 Maccabees (1894). His complementary mastery of septuagintal, early Christian, and patristic literature is evident through the great majority of his contributions. He was a moving figure in founding *JTS* and the CPT series and in preparing a LEXICON of patristic Greek.

S. published a commentary on Mark's Gospel in 1898 that opens with a "Personal History of St. Mark" that is remarkable for its grasp of classical philology and patristic evidence but also for its naïve assumption that an identifiable individual authored the Gospel. He dealt with the church's reception of the Gospel (1913^3, xxix-xxxviii), its language and dating (xxxix-l), structure (l-lxv), and content (lxvi-lxxxix). Although he strengthened the emerging consensus that the longer ending of Mark is secondary (xcvi-cxiii), his assertion that Mark did not write with a dogmatic purpose (xciv) is astonishing in a work contemporaneous with that of W. WREDE. The failure to cite Wrede's *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* (1901) seems espcially egregious considering that S. did refer to the work of H. HOLTZMANN, H. GRESSMANN, E. KLOSTERMANN, J. WELLHAUSEN, and G. Wohlenberg (1862–1917). Instead of reckoning seriously with the most important challenge to his assumptions, however, S. perpetuated the nineteenth-century insistence on Mark's portrait as intimate, vivid, and primitive (xcv).

S.'s commentary on Revelation (1906) is certainly his finest. It has the virtues of the earlier work: attention to contemporaneous literature (includinig apocalyptic writings), care for textual and stylistic matters, and high regard for the document's reception by the church. He also remained true to his historical interests, drawing particularly on the work of W. RAMSAY. In two crucial ways S. anticipated recent approaches to Revelation. First, his inductive analysis of an integral document received as a unity (xlii) represents an early and critical challenge to the assumption that interpreters should deal with the fragments behind texts rather than with the consciousness the texts themselves represent. Second, S.'s concern with the work's intended readers was so great that two of his introductory essays deal with the document's historical and social milieu (li-lxxxix). These essays give the foundation for his two firm conclusions: Revelation was written to address the special needs of a particular group of Christian societies (xc), and it was composed during the last years of Domitian's imperium (c). Challenged in the twentieth century, both views have been confirmed by most scholars. S.'s commentary reached beyond its own presuppositions through a steady, reasoned exegesis that gave modern scholarship a model of the genre rarely attained.

Works: *What Is the Right Method of Conducting the Defence of the OT in the Rationalistic Controversy Which Has Come upon the Church?* (1863); *England Versus Rome: A Brief Handbook of the Roman Catholic Controversy for the Use of Members of the English Church* (1868); *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii: The Latin Version with the Greek Fragments; with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (2 vols., 1880–82); *Church Services and Service-books Before the Reformation* (1896, 1920^2); *The OT in Greek According to the Septuagint* (3 vols., 1887–94); *The Gospel According to St. Mark: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (1898, 1902^2, 1913^3, repr. 1977); *An Introduction to the OT in Greek* (1900, repr. 1968); *The Apocalypse of St. John: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (1906).

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B. CHILTON

SYMMACHUS (late 2nd cent.)

Conflicting data have been transmitted concerning S.'s biographical details and religious affiliation. In the fourth century, Epiphanius (*De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, xvi) wrote that S. was a Samaritan who had become a proselyte; but according to EUSEBIUS (*Hist. eccl.* 6.17) and JEROME (*De Ver. Ill.* 16) he belonged to the Jewish-Christian Ebionite sect. A. GEIGER maintained that S. was Jewish; and D. Barthélemy (1974) has identified him with Somchos, a disciple of Rabbi Meir, mentioned in the TALMUD (*b. Erubin* 13b).

S. produced a Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures that technically speaking is a revision of an earlier TRANSLATION, but actually amounted to a new translation, since S. inserted so many new elements that the underlying base text can be discovered only after minute research. This revision is usually dated to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third century CE.

Fragments of S.'s translation of most biblical books have been preserved and are known, especially since they were included in ORIGEN's Hexapla.

Two tendencies in direct opposition to each other are visible in S.'s revision. On the one hand, he was very precise (like Aquila, he based his revision on *kaige*-Theodotion); but on the other hand, he very often translated *ad sensum* rather than representing the Hebrew words with their stereotyped renderings. The revisions of AQUILA and S. are based on the text of *kaige*-Theodotion, rather than on that of the so-called OG translation. This dependence explains the background of the many readings that Aquila, S. and THEODOTION have in common. Ancient quotations from these sources are often recorded as "the Three."

S.'s readings are recorded in the Göttingen and Cambridge editions of the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT) and in Field's edition of the Hexapla. The Hebrew text from which the translation was made was virtually identical with the MT.

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E. TOV

SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke are called synoptic because their similarities and differences make it possible and desirable to study them in a synopsis (from a Greek word meaning "seen together"), an instrument that presents the texts of these Gospels in parallel columns and eventually even on parallel lines. The first adequate synopsis was created by J. J. GRIESBACH in 1774 as part of his critical edition of the Greek NT and was published in 1776 as a separate book entitled *Synopsis evangeliorum Matthaei, Marci, et Lucae.* These publications became the starting point for all modern studies of the synoptic problem, which have included investigations of the historical, literary, and theological relationships between and among these Gospels.

1. The Synoptic Problem in Antiquity. The synoptic problem was already being discussed by scholars in antiquity who were first concerned that the four canonical Gospels (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) did not always narrate the sayings and deeds of JESUS in the same order. PAPIAS, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, made investigations into the Gospel traditions around 110 CE; and although his five books on the *Interpretation of the Logia of the Lord* are not now extant, some of his statements about the Gospels of Matthew and Mark have been preserved in EUSEBIUS's *Church History,* written between 300 and 325 CE.

IRENAEUS, bishop of Lyons after 178 CE, also referred to Papias but stressed the divine revelation that he believed was imparted to each of the authors of the four canonical Gospels (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.1-17). Also during the second century CE, TATIAN, a Syrian theologian, constructed a harmonized and combined text of the canonical Gospels, which he called the *Diatessaron* ([One Gospel] Through Four). Although his attempt to compose a single Gospel did not supplant the AUTHORITY of the four separate canonical Gospels in most regions of the church, his *Diatessaron* was transmitted to the later church in several languages, as extant fragments demonstrate.

Another product of early study of the Gospels was the similarly entitled work, "the *dia tessaron* gospel," which a certain Ammonius produced in Alexandria around 250 CE, as Eusebius stated in a letter to one Carpianus. In this letter, which later served as a preface for Eusebius's own tables of ten "canons" for the Gospels, Eusebius wrote that Ammonius excerpted and applied parallel sections from the other three canonical Gospels to the running text of Matthew, thus disturbing the order of materials in Mark, Luke, and John. In order to preserve the order of pericopes in all four of the canonical Gospels, Eusebius later numbered Ammonius's sections and collected these numbers into tables of various canons, with which one could cross-reference sections of the Gospels according to the categories of agreements among and between them. Eusebius's canons included tables for agreements among all four canonical Gospels, among any three, and between any two except Mark and John as well as tables displaying sections that are unique to each Gospel. These Eusebian canons were often added to the texts of the Gospels, and the numbers of the sections in the tables were copied into the margins. The canons remained important for centuries as aids for comparative study of the Gospels. (See Nestle-Aland 27, 84-89 for Eusebius's letter to Carpianus and his tables of canons, and consult the inner margins of the canonical Gospels for the corresponding numbers of the Ammonian/Eusebian sections).

The oldest explicit reference to the sequence in which the Gospels were composed is attributed to CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, who claimed, in turn, to be quoting a tradition of the primitive elders. According to Eusebius, Clement wrote, "those gospels were first written which include the genealogies [i. e., Matthew and Luke and perhaps others with genealogies]" (Hypotyposeis 6, as quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.14.5-7.).

The first detailed and explicitly literary attempt to explain the agreements and differences among the canonical Gospels is found in AUGUSTINE's *De consensu evangelistarum,* written around 400 CE. In book 1 of this work, Augustine asserted that Mark had followed and epitomized Matthew, but in book 4 he declared it more probable that Mark had been influenced by both Matthew and Luke. Augustine's first, but implicitly less probable, source theory about the Gospels, implying the order Matthew, Mark, Luke as the order of composition was adopted by many later scholars and eventually became known as the Augustinian hypothesis.

2. Middle Ages, Reformation, and Enlightenment. J. GERSON made a remarkable endeavor to harmonize the four Gospels in his *Harmonia evangelica* (c. 1420), and during the Reformation A. Osiander (c. 1496–1552) offered a very detailed exposition of this kind in his *Harmonia evangelica* (1537). During the Enlightenment, scholars gradually replaced apologetic harmonies of the Gospels with critical presentations that simply juxtaposed the texts more or less in their own sequence. J. LE CLERC prepared the way for a transition to a new era in synoptic study with his *Harmonia evangelica* (1699), which contained Greek and Latin texts of the canonical Gospels in four parallel columns. However, the decisive step into this new era of synoptic presentation, as distinct from harmonization of the Gospels, was taken by Griesbach, whose critical edition of the Greek NT (1774) arranged the entire Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke and selected sections of John in parallel columns. Griesbach intended to facilitate comparative analysis of the Gospels, not their harmonization, which he rejected as impossible. His synoptic arrangement, published as a separate volume in 1776, became the model for all later multi-columned synopses.

3. 1780–1820. Griesbach's synopsis inspired him and other Protestant theologians in Germany to intensified studies of the synoptic problem. Prior to 1800 Griesbach and his competitors had developed four main source theories about the Gospels, descendants of which can be found in all later contributions to the problem. These four classical theories have been described, particularly in the German literature, as: (a) the utilization hypothesis; (b) the proto-gospel theory; (c) the multiple source theory; and (d) the oral tradition hypothesis.

a. The utilization hypothesis. This hypothesis implies that one canonical Gospel was a source for one or more of the others, although their interrelationships and order of composition have been understood in different, sometimes even opposite, ways by different scholars.

At least between the time of THOMAS AQUINAS and the second half of the eighteenth century, most scholars accepted the generally received canonical sequence—Matthew, Mark, Luke—as the order of composition. In antiquity this sequence was affirmed by ORIGEN (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 6.25.3-6); by JEROME (*Prologus quattuor evangeliorum* [*praefatio in comm. in Mattheum*]); and, at one stage of his work, by Augustine (*De consensu evangelistarum* 1.2.4, 1.3.6). This Augustinian hypothesis was later advocated by the Dutch jurist and theologian H. GROTIUS (1641), among many others.

This hypothesis, however, included the view that Mark was the abbreviator of Matthew (*De consensu* 1.3.6), a view called into question at least since the time of CALVIN. Calvin and some other scholars argued that there was no literary relationship among the canonical Gospels at all; but others, e.g., J. MILL and J. WETTSTEIN, accepted the generally received canonical order as the order of composition while denying that the relevant literary evidence supported the view that Mark was an abbreviator of Matthew.

Then in 1764 an English scholar, H. Owen (1716–95), advocated that the sequence of composition was Matthew, Luke, and Mark. Owen argued that Mark was a conflation of Matthew and Luke rather than an abbreviation of Matthew.

Somewhat later, at Jena in Germany, F. Stroth (1750–85), in an anonymously published article (1781), came to similar conclusions. Griesbach, Stroth's colleague at Jena, then advocated this source theory in three speeches delivered at the university at Easter 1783 and at Whitsunday 1789 and 1790. Inspired by the intermediary function of Mark presented in his synopsis, Griesbach first argued that Luke had made use of Matthew, and then demonstrated in more detail that Mark alternately depended on Matthew or Luke or both. Known as the Griesbach hypothesis, this form of the utilization hypothesis became the most popular source theory about the Gospels from his time into the middle decades of the nineteenth century. A brilliant discussion of a modified form of Griesbach's theory was published in 1826 by his former student, W. DE WETTE.

No decisive evidence has yet been presented by modern scholars that Stroth or Griesbach knew of Owen's earlier work on the synoptic problem, but it is a fact that Griesbach's extended visit to London (September 1769 to June 1770) overlapped the three-year period (1769–71) when Owen was Boyle lecturer. In deference to this possible connection and for other reasons, some scholars today refer to the Owen-Griesbach hypothesis. A few scholars on both sides of the English Channel during this same period, e.g., A. F. Büsching (1724-1793) and E. EVANSON, agreed that Mark was a conflation of Matthew and Luke but gave priority to Luke rather than to Matthew.

The view opposing the Augustinian hypothesis, that Mark had been a source of Matthew and Luke, was advocated in 1786 by G. Storr (1746–1805) of Tübingen. Storr's theory does not seem to have influenced his contemporaries, and although the priority of Mark was suggested again in the years 1836–38 (see sec. 4), its advocates did not base their arguments on Storr's. Nev-

ertheless, this founder of the so-called first Tübingen school anticipated the Markan form of the utilization hypothesis that rose to popularity from the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Thus already in the eighteenth century the utilization hypothesis included advocates of the priority of Matthew (Mill, Wettstein, Owen, Stroth, Griesbach), the priority of Luke (Büsching, Evans), and the priority of Mark (Storr).

b. The proto-gospel theory. This theory is characterized by the view that the extant Gospels derive from an earlier source rather than from one or more of the other canonical Gospels. This idea had its origins in Papias's statement that Matthew had "composed the *Logia* in *hebraidi dialektw,*" understood to mean "in the Hebrew language" or "in the Hebrew dialect," i. e., Aramaic. In the fourth century, Epiphanius and Jerome referred these *Logia* to an older Hebrew gospel assumed to lie behind the Jewish-Christian gospel of the Nazarenes. In 1689 R. SIMON, a pioneer of TEXTUAL CRITICISM, described this presumed older gospel as an Aramaic proto-gospel, a hypothesis popularized in 1778 by G. LESSING, whose brilliant little study was published posthumously in 1784. Lessing regarded the Aramaic gospel of the Nazarenes as the common source of all canonical and apocryphal gospels (see APOCRYPHA, NT). His thesis was accepted in 1794 by J. G. EICHHORN; but since this polyhistor combined it with the assumption of multiple sources (see sec. 3c), it seemed much too complicated in the eyes of his contemporaries. In 1832 F. SCHLEIERMACHER suggested that the sayings of Jesus as quoted in Matthew derived from Papias's proto-Matthew, which contained *Logia* (see sec. 4). Since Schleiermacher believed *Logia* included only sayings, this suggestion developed into a reduced form of Lessing's proto-gospel theory.

c. The multiple source theory. This theory was initiated by J. KOPPE in 1782. Drawing attention to the many authors mentioned in Luke 1:1, he assumed that Matthew, Mark, and Luke had collected a number of circulating units structured in oral and written form as narratives, speeches, parables, sayings, etc. A similar fragment theory assuming short written notes was developed by Schleiermacher in a book on Luke (1817). This monograph had no great influence on later scholars, but Koppe's suggestion that the Gospels developed from earlier and smaller literary units containing differing literary forms anticipated the form-critical approach (see FORM CRITICISM) that developed in the twentieth century (see sec. 5).

d. The oral tradition hypothesis. This hypothesis was created by J. G. HERDER and made public in 1796–97. Repudiating the utilization and the proto-gospel theories, Herder called a common oral tradition the "protoplasm" from which the later written Gospels grew. He presumed that on this basis an oral, Aramaic proto-Mark was developed in the period 34–40 CE and that some years after 60 CE it became the source of the written Nazarean proto-Matthew, which, supported by proto-Mark, gave rise to the Greek synoptic Gospels. Herder's enthusiastic occupation with FOLKLORE made him emphasize living traditions instead of fixed documents, and he found all ideas about redactional manipulations in the composition of the Gospels to be anachronistic. The Gospel writers, in Herder's view, should look more like first-century composers and less like eighteenth-century authors, publishers, and bookmen. Arguments in favor of living oral traditions and against literary traditions were also adduced in a monograph by J. GIESELER (1818).

4. 1830–70. Synoptic Gospel studies during this period were dominated by contributions from German Protestant scholars, and their opinions influenced later scholars of different nationalities and confessions throughout the world. As Germany forged a unified political identity, middle-class standards, liberalism, and nationalism rose in popularity. German professors were held in high esteem and thus were able to advance even radical suggestions about the development of earliest Christian history without restraint. In general, Protestant theologians in Germany during this period showed a preference either for bourgeois realism or for philosophical idealism, two views characteristic of the time.

a. The influence of realism. Around the year 1830 Griesbach's and Herder's synoptic theories were dominant among German divines. Soon, however, interest in realism prompted reactions against the more elaborate theology believed to be found in Matthew and Luke and against the uncontrolled development that was supposed to characterize the growth of oral traditions. These reactions were intensified when D. F. STRAUSS published his provocative two-volume work on Jesus in 1835–36. Influenced by G. W. F. Hegel's (1770–1831) idealist philosophy, Strauss replaced history with MYTHOLOGY in his interpretation of the Gospels, while presupposing Griesbach's and Herder's theories.

Other German scholars who preferred middle-class empiricism sought to reconstruct the life and teachings of Jesus based on documents that seemed the most primitive. They claimed to possess two such witnesses: Mark, whose narrative was neglected by Strauss even though it had been positively reevaluated by the well-known philologist K. LACHMANN in 1835; and the *Logia* of Matthew, about which Papias had commented but which Schleiermacher in an 1832 article understood in the limited sense of "sayings."

Impressed by Lachmann and Schleiermacher, although not yet by Strauss, in 1836 K. Credner (1797–1857) of Giessen proposed a source theory based on the priority of Mark and a *Logia* source. More detailed than Credner and in explicit opposition to Strauss, the empirical philosopher C. WEISSE also developed a two document hypothesis

(1838). Weisse praised the simplicity of Mark and extended the influence of the presumed *Logia* source to Luke. In the same year, but without any knowledge of the works by Strauss and Weisse, a pastor in Saxony, C. WILKE, also argued for the priority of Mark. Credner's and Weisse's attempts to prove the historical nature of Mark's account were not immediately successful, but some of their arguments were taken up again ten years later.

b. The influence of Hegel's dialectic. Until the revolution of 1848 the idealism of the Prussian philosopher Hegel inspired several German theologians. They also found Griesbach's contention that Matthew and Luke had provided source material for Mark most in harmony with Hegel's dialectic pattern of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. This perspective especially characterized work by F. C. BAUR, leader of the second Tübingen school. He and his followers understood the evangelists to represent dialectic principles and tendencies, which they characterized as Judaism, Hellenism, and Syncretism (early Roman Catholicism). To accommodate his schematic view of the development of earliest Christianity, Baur and other members of this school dated Luke and Mark sometime in the second century. This philosophical overlay on the synoptic theory of Griesbach and the results to which the second Tübingen school came in reconstructing early Christian origins did not enhance the popularity of Griesbach's source theory.

c. The resurgence of realism. After the revolution of 1848, liberal realism took command again in Germany, and Hegel's idealism became less popular. This led to another advancement of the Mark-and-*Logia* theory by the Göttingen professor H. EWALD. In articles published between 1848 and 1850 and in an 1850 commentary, Ewald expressed the conviction that his revision of the theory would restore true religion and unify Germany; he was, in fact, followed by several of his countrymen in the 1850s.

In 1863 Heidelberg professor H. HOLTZMANN summarized earlier proposals about the sources of the Gospels and commented on the synoptic Gospels on the basis of his own distinctive two document theory. Major critiques of Holtzmann's work were offered by the German advocate of the Augustinian hypothesis, A. HILGENFELD of Jena (1863), and by a Dutch advocate of the Griesbach hypothesis, H. Meyboom (1842–1933) in his doctoral dissertation (1866). A distinctive contribution of Meyboom's dissertation was to call attention to the work done on the synoptic problem by members of the Strasbourg school, including T. Colani (1824–88), M. Nicolas (1810–86), E. REUSS, A. Réville (1826–1906), and E. Scherer (1815–89). Although each of these scholars advocated some form of the Markan hypothesis, none affirmed the priority of canonical Mark. Reuss, Réville, and Nicolas advocated a proto-Mark hypothesis (Meyboom claimed that Réville coined the term *proto-Mark*). Because of the singular literary style Scherer found in canonical Mark, he published his doubts about the Markan hypothesis, particularly about Reuss's view that the canonical text of Mark had developed through several earlier stages at the hands of several authors and editors.

In spite of the cautious work of these French scholars, shortly after its appearance the 1863 work by Holtzmann came to be regarded by most European scholars as the definitive answer to the synoptic question. However, Holtzmann's names for the two oldest sources, Alpha and Lambda, did not replace the terms *Ur-Marcus* and *Logia,* which later developed into canonical Mark and Q. (Following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 and the subsequent annexation of Alsace-Lorraine into a newly unified German nation, Holtzmann was appointed professor in Strasbourg to represent German NT scholarship there.)

5. 1870–1950. Holtzmann's two source theory influenced scholars in all countries and denominations during the subsequent period of synoptic research. A former student and one time colleague on the Strasbourg faculty, A. SCHWEITZER, wrote that the two source hypothesis "is carried by Holtzmann to such a degree of demonstration that it can no longer be called a mere hypothesis, but it does not succeed in winning an assured position in the critical study of the Life of Jesus" (1906).

a. The spread of the Mark and Q hypothesis. The respect other scholars had for Holtzmann's detailed work during this period accelerated the spread of the Mark-and-Q version of the utilization hypothesis to Great Britain. A. Abbott discussed the Gospels in accord with Holtzmann's views in the 1879 *EncBrit.* At Oxford a group of scholars under the leadership of W. SANDAY met for years to study the importance of Mark and Q, publishing their results in 1911. One of the participants in Sanday's seminar was B. STREETER, whose 1924 monograph became a standard treatise on the synoptic problem throughout the English-speaking world.

The transmission of the work of Holtzmann and of other German Protestant biblical scholars to French, English, German, and Italian Roman Catholic circles, particularly among modernists, was often expedited through the efforts of the wealthy, scholarly, and influential Roman Catholic layman F. von Hügel (1852–1925). After delivering a paper on Luke to the Society for Biblical Studies in Rome in 1896, von Hügel corresponded for several months with the young E. Pacelli (1876–1958), the future Pope Pius XII, about historical-critical biblical interpretation as practiced by such Roman Catholic modernists as G. Tyrrell (1861–1909) and by German Protestants, like J. WELLHAUSEN and Holtzmann. After the promulgation of the Roman Catholic encyclical DIVINO AFFLANTE SPIRITU by Pope Pius XII in 1943, Roman Catholic theologians were no longer expected to suppress modernism; they developed a biblical scholar-

ship in parallel with Protestants, which has mostly included a preference for the Mark-and-Q hypothesis, although other suggestions have also been made (see sec. 6b).

b. The rise of form criticism. Within the period 1870–1950 an important complement to the dominating LITERARY criticism of the synoptic Gospels, based as it was on Mark and Q, emerged in 1919, when M. DIBELIUS developed a method called FORM CRITICISM. His leading idea was to study the synoptic pericopes as preliterary units of tradition, like tales and sayings occurring as oral traditions in folklore. Historically, this method shared features of Koppe's and Schleiermacher's fragment theory combined with Herder's and Gieseler's oral gospel theory, although Dibelius presupposed neither written fragments nor a comprehensive tradition. Essential for him was the distinction of forms like "paradigm" (short narrative ending in a point), "novel story" (longer narrative with concrete details), "parenesis" (quotation of Jesus implying admonition), and "myth" (revelation of Christ's Messiahship). The common "life setting" of these various forms was "preaching," by which Dibelius meant both sermons and teaching.

Following WWI, German theologians found this approach stimulating; and Dibelius was followed by several young scholars, among whom R. BULTMANN was the most influential through his 1921 book. These and many later contributors to form criticism, however, presupposed the two source theory. Accordingly, they concentrated form criticism on Mark and on the presumed *Logia* while exposing Matthew and Luke to literary criticism in order to highlight alleged redactional changes of Mark and Q by the later Gospel writers. Such exclusion of other source-critical possibilities was not compatible with the significant declaration of Luke that he, like other persons who had also undertaken to report on Jesus, had access to the oral traditions of eye-witnesses (Luke 1:2). The routine combination of form criticism with literary criticism based on Mark and Q implied a change to a different method and prevented the fresh approach of form criticism from becoming as fruitful as it might have been. Yet scholars generally accepted the source-critical presuppositions of Dibelius and Bultmann along with the form-critical method.

6. 1950–84. ***a. Redaction criticism and structuralism.*** Two of the new trends that developed during this period posited new understandings of the theology of the synoptic evangelists while presupposing the inherited two source theory or ignoring source criticism altogether. REDACTION CRITICISM, which started in western Germany just after WWII, was intended to explain in detail what message the redactors of each Gospel wanted to communicate. Early German pioneers of this method included H. Conzelmann on Luke, W. Marxsen (1919–93) on Mark, and G. BORNKAMM, G. Barth, and H. Held on Matthew. The application of this method produced a rich literature on the Gospels by scholars in many countries, and new theological insights have been gained. However, redaction criticism as it is often practiced is flawed because most redaction critics of Matthew and Luke draw conclusions about the theology of these evangelists only from evidence provided by the alleged supplements and changes these authors are assumed to have made to the texts of Mark and Q, rather than from evidence provided in the complete texts of these Gospels.

The synoptic texts have also been interpreted on the basis of STRUCTURALISM, a system of linguistic principles developed in Geneva and Paris. Its aim is the logical and structural analysis of texts without primary concern for whether they reveal something historical. A synchronic instead of a diachronic view is taken. Source criticism of the Gospels has scarcely interested the structuralists, but their skepticism contributed to the discussion of the synoptic problem after WWII.

b. Source theories. The years after 1950 have also included some positive contributions to the question of gospel origins, and they have led to a useful revival of the discussion of the synoptic problem. Most source theories currently advocated had counterparts or precursors among the classical theories created in Germany before 1800, although the new theories also comprise modifications, elaborations, and sometimes combinations of the earlier theories, often due to new discoveries of relevant material. Thus one will find contemporary forms or combinations of (i) the utilization hypothesis, ascribing priority to Matthew, Mark, or Luke; (ii) the proto-gospel hypothesis, usually in the form of a proto-Mark; (iii) multiple source hypotheses; and (iv) oral tradition hypotheses.

i. The utilization hypothesis. A scholarly attack on the Mark-and-Q form of the utilization hypothesis, which had been most popular since the time of Holtzmann, was delivered in 1951 by a Roman Catholic theologian in London, B. Butler, who wanted to revive the Augustinian hypothesis. He found a receptive following among a few scholars in the United States (J. Ludlum, Jr.) and England (B. Orchard, prior to 1970, and J. Wenham).

More attention, however, was paid to W. FARMER, who recommended Griesbach's hypothesis (1964). A group of scholars has continued to work together with this hypothesis, and since 1964 Farmer has coauthored works advocating the two Gospel hypothesis with L. Cope, D. Dungan, T. Longstaff, A. McNicol, Orchard, D. Peabody, and P. Shuler. Other contemporary scholars who have come to advocate the neo-Griesbach (two Gospel) hypothesis include G. Buchanan, N. Elliott, H. Hoehner, L. Maluf, C. Mann, and D. Tevis in the United States; A. Leske in Canada; H. Riley in England; D. Neville (1994) and B. Powers in Australia; H.-H. Stoldt in

Germany; F. Collison and S. Samuel in India; G. Gamba in Italy; Y. Kim and J. Lee in Korea; and S. Abogunrin in Nigeria.

Adherents of the two source theory have generally found no reason to give up their position or, in some cases, even to discuss the synoptic problem. Two exceptional advocates who have played major roles in the contemporary discussion are C. Tuckett (1983), formerly at Manchester but now at Oxford; and F. Neirynck of Louvain, who contributed to the defense of Markan priority with major publications in 1972 and 1974. Neirynck later summarized his defense of the two source hypothesis in the *IDBSup* (1976) and in the *NJBC* (1990). Tuckett's major critique of the Griesbach hypothesis and defense of the two document hypothesis appeared in the published version of his doctoral dissertation in 1983. In 1995 he also provided his own summary of the current state of Gospel study in volume 8 of the *NIB*.

ii. The proto-gospel hypothesis. The University of Louvain was once a center of attempts to revive Lessing's proto-gospel theory, beginning in 1952 with lectures by L. Vaganay and L. CERFAUX, who started again from Papias's reference to a Hebrew or Aramaic proto-Matthew. However, since intermediary sources and stages were also included, these Roman Catholic scholars and their supporters have partly approached the multiple source theory.

iii. Multiple source hypotheses. Koppe's and Eichhorn's multiple source theories have found modern analogies in work by scholars connected with the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem. In a synopsis published in 1972 M.-E. Boismard gave up the assumption of a common proto-gospel and preferred to regard multiple earlier stages of Matthew, Mark, and Luke as the more original sources of the Gospels. His former student P. Rolland (1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1984) has reconstructed more sources and placed them in a complicated sequence on the basis of minute observations concerning double expressions in Mark, now interpreted as combinations of single expressions in Matthew and Luke.

iv. The oral tradition hypothesis. Contemporary synoptic discussions have also resulted in a renascence of Herder's and Gieseler's oral tradition hypothesis. Its advocates have collected supporting arguments partly from Judaism, partly from folklore.

Jewish analogies have especially occupied Swedish scholars inspired by the Uppsala orientalist H. S. NYBERG's *Studien zum Hoseabuche* (1935), in which he attacked literary criticism and pointed out the importance of the living traditions behind oriental texts. Similar approaches were taken in gospel studies by H. Riesenfeld in 1957 and by B. Gerhardsson, who in a 1964 work emphasized the use of memorization within the apostles' Jewish environment.

Folklore analogies have interested American theologians in recent years, especially under the influence of Harvard philologists who have studied the memorization technique of village minstrels in Bosnia and in parts of Yugoslavia. In addition, a symposium on the Gospels was held in San Antonio, Texas, in 1977, at which A. Lord (1978) of Harvard delivered the first lecture. Oral traditions behind the Gospels have been strongly emphasized also by W. Kelber (1983); and B. REICKE (1986) attempted to find reflections of living oral traditions in the extant texts of all three synoptic Gospels.

7. 1984–98. The classical synoptic theories of the years before 1800 are still represented in modified or combined forms; and exchanges of views among the advocates of these theories have taken place, especially at meetings of international societies like the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas and the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE. Another forum for such discussions was a symposium in Jerusalem at Easter 1984 at which leading representatives of three source hypotheses had rich opportunities for discussion and debate over a two-week period. Although the assembled scholars did not reach much agreement, one of the points of consensus has helped to shape some of the most recent publications. That consensus affirmed that "a literary, historical and theological explanation of the evangelists' compositional activity, giving a coherent and reasonable picture of the whole of each Gospel, is the most important method of argumentation in defense of a source hypothesis."

The classical utilization hypothesis was represented in Jerusalem by advocates of the two source hypothesis and the two gospel (neo-Griesbach) hypotheses. Several multiple source hypotheses were also represented, and at least one representative of the oral tradition hypothesis was present. After the Jerusalem conference the discussion of the importance of oral traditions for a complete understanding of the development of the synoptic Gospels continued at conferences in Dublin, Ireland (1989), and Varese, Italy (1990).

Experts in the synoptic problem gathered again in 1991 at the Georg-August Universität in Göttingen to discuss the significance of the "minor agreements" for a variety of competing source theories. Advocates of two other contemporary source theories not represented in Jerusalem engaged in the debate: Supporters for the Deutero-Markus theory (Matthew and Luke independently used a form of Mark later than canonical Mark as well as Q in composing their Gospels) included A. Fuchs, U. Luz, C. Niemand, and G. Strecker (1993), the conference host; and M. Goulder ably advocated and defended A. FARRER's source theory (Matthew and Luke independently used canonical Mark, but Luke also made direct use of Matthew for material not found in Mark. There was no Q source). Other modern defenders of the J. H. Ropes-A. Farrer-M. Goulder hypothesis include Goulder's student, M. Goodacre as well as J. Drury, E. Franklin, H. Green, E. Hobbs, E. P. Sanders, and D.

Schmidt. The few contemporary advocates of the Augustinian hypothesis (Ludlum and Wenham) and of a form of the utilization hypothesis that gives priority to Luke (R. Lindsey) did not share in this particular international discussion.

A volume of essays, *Biblical Studies and the Shifting of Paradigms, 1850–1914* (H. G. Reventlow and W. Farmer [1995]), that came out of conferences held in La Trobe, Pennsylvania, in 1990 and at the University of the Ruhr in Bochum, Germany, in 1992 has also helped to advance contemporary understanding of the history of the discussion of the synoptic problem.

Public awareness and understanding of the synoptic problem has increased recently through the appearance of several related sites on the World Wide Web. The most comprehensive of these is "The Synoptic Problem" maintained by S. Carlson (http://www.mindspring.com/scarlson/synopt/), who also provides links to several other sites.

In 1994 Farmer provided his answer to every clergy and lay person's fundamental question about the synoptic problem: Does one solution or another really make a difference? Farmer maintained that it makes a great deal of difference and illustrated his answer with comparative discussions, one presupposing the two source hypothesis and another presupposing the two gospel hypothesis, for understanding the Lord's Prayer, the Lord's Supper, justification by faith, the faithful witness of women, God's special commitment to the poor, and the keys to the Kingdom.

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B. REICKE and D. B. PEABODY

T

TAEUBLER, EUGEN (1879–1953)

T. was one of the last great classical scholars produced by the symbiosis of German letters and traditional Jewish studies. Born in Hussite Gostyn (Posen) and reared in Lissa, he was trained in traditional Jewish texts before moving to the progressive Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums. At the University of Berlin he was influenced by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, E. MEYER, and T. Mommsen, who took him as his assistant and whom he later succeeded. T.'s first contributions as a historian were done for Mommsen, for whom he edited the Codex Theodosianus and other texts, ultimately being responsible for producing the missing volume of Mommsen's Roman history. T. then published his *Imperium Romanum* (1913), which challenged some of Mommsen's conclusions, and a history of the second Punic war (1921), then turned to the field of biblical history. Before that, in 1906, he founded the Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden (1906) and divided his work between Jewish and classical studies, teaching at the Berlin Lehranstalt and also at the University of Berlin, in Zurich, and then from 1925 to 1935 as professor at Heidelberg, where he achieved the distinction of membership in its academy of sciences. When the Nazis took power, he returned to the Jewish Lehranstalt in Berlin, eventually escaping to Cincinnati and the Hebrew Union College. There he became professor of Hellenistic and biblical studies while his wife, the great historian and novelist S. Stern-Taeubler, became a research librarian at the same institution.

T.'s uniqueness rested in the broad span of his knowledge, which permitted him to be an outstanding lecturer and scholar in the fields of ancient, medieval, and modern history and to bring this knowledge to biblical texts. Striving for clarity, T. traced institutions to their earliest origins and had W. DILTHEY's perception for the *Lebensbewusstsein* within the social structure out of which these institutions emerged. Often T. dealt with the beginnings of a people, a constitution, an idea, or a state, as in "The Beginnings of Jewish Historiography" (1926), "Habiru-Ibhrim" (1950), "The First Mention of Israel" (1942), and "Terramare and Rome" (1932). After his death one volume of his biblical studies was published, which dealt with the period of the Judges. In it his sense for literature searched out the structure of the novella and moved beyond it to the biblical realities.

In his lectures at the Lehranstalt he attempted to make the rabbinic students in that harsh period confront the "tragic existence" of the Jew with an inbuilt tension and a self-imposed task that denies normality. He tried to link them to a prophetic vision and to a special mission. In his Cincinnati classes he presented Job as an existential text and made the prophets come to life by bringing all of European culture into the class, so that the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel became as relevant as the commentaries of RASHI and MAIMONIDES. His total knowledge of all classical texts and awareness of ancient history enabled him to place biblical history in a universal context, where it became part of a pattern that could be used to solve internal problems. T.'s erudition and breadth of knowledge have probably not been equaled in any modern scholar.

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A. H. FRIEDLANDER

TALMON, SHEMARYAHU (1920–)

Born in Skierniwice, Poland, in 1920, T. was reared in a Jewish-Zionist home. His childhood and youth were spent in Breslau (then Germany), where he attended gymnasium. In 1939 he emigrated to Israel and began his studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he received the MA (1945) and the PhD (1955). He attended a wide range of lectures but with concentration on HB and Hebrew language, SOCIOLOGY, and education. Among his renowned teachers were M. Segal, M. CASSUTO, N. Tur-Sinai (Torczyner), M. BUBER, and E. Simon. His dissertation was on doublets in the transmission of the biblical text. He taught at the Hebrew University from 1955 until his retirement in 1988. During his career he served as visiting professor at various universities (Brandeis, Haifa, Harvard), aided in founding and organizing new academic institutions, and played an active role in shaping Israeli higher education.

T.'s research and publication have focused primarily on three areas of biblical studies: TEXTUAL and LITERARY character of the HB, Jewish sects in Second Temple

Judaism (including the Samaritans and the Qumran community), and the DEAD SEA SCROLLS. His early work, already manifest in his doctoral dissertation, centered on the textual character of the various witnesses to the HB and the transition from literary and editorial dynamics to variants of the authoritative text. Studies of textual matters led to consideration of the literary and stylistic character of the HB. One of the first scholars to publish in Hebrew on the biblical narrative technique, he published a Hebrew brochure bearing his dissertation's title in 1965, excerpts of which appear in ET in *The HB in Literary Criticism* (ed. A. Preminger and E. Greenstein [1986] 28-30, 48-50, 137-38, 246-47, 366-68). He also contributed to *Studies in Hebrew Narrative Art Throughout the Ages* (SH 27 [1978] 9-26). In addition, he has discussed wisdom elements in late biblical books as well as biblical motifs and their use and development. Most of these studies are reprinted in his 1993 volume.

Preoccupation with the form of the biblical text and its transmission focused his attention on the late biblical books. He surveyed Ezra–Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Daniel in *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (ed. R. Alter and F. Kermode [1987] 343-72).

T. was well qualified to use the new data that became available with the discovery and publication of the Qumran scrolls. Several of his articles on textual studies as well as his synthetic survey of the OT text (*CHB* 1 [1970] 159-99) have been reprinted in the volume he edited with F. M. CROSS (1975).

Along with M. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN and C. Rabin, T. helped establish and direct the Hebrew University Bible Project, which aimed at publishing the HB text according to the eleventh-century Codex Aleppo, with full collation of variants culled from all the ancient witnesses: ancient Bible versions, Dead Sea Scrolls, rabbinic literature, and medieval HB manuscripts. The project was instrumental in forging the Jerusalem school of biblical textual criticism, characterized by a cautious and balanced approach to the transmitted biblical text, with attention to the grammatical, lexical, and exegetical aspects of its transmission. Between 1964 and 1982 T. edited *Textus: Annual of the HB Project* (vols. 4–10), an official publication created to publish side products of the work on the project. He was also one of the editors of *The Book of Jeremiah* (1997).

A second area of T.'s main research has been the social background and historical context of the Qumran community and other sects in Second Temple Judaism. His article on the emergence of Jewish sectarianism (repr. 1986) has become a foundational work in this area.

Perhaps best known is T.'s work on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Among the first Israeli scholars to take an interest in the recently discovered scrolls, he published an article arguing that the Qumran community followed a solar calendar (*Biblica* 32 [1951] 186-99). His views have been subsequently vindicated, especially by the various calendrical texts from Cave 4, which he is editing for official publication in the DJD series. In addition to his work on the scrolls from Qumran, T. has edited the textual fragments from Masada left unpublished by the excavator Y. YADIN.

Works: *"Yom Hakippurim* in the Habakkuk Scroll," *Biblica* 32 (1951) 186-99; "Doublets: A Fundamental Phenomenon in the Transmission of the Biblica Text" (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1957); "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin, ScrHier 4, 1958) 162-99; "Aspects of the Textual Transmission of the Bible in the Light of Qumran Manuscripts," *Textus* 4 (1964) 95-132 = *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. with F. M. Cross, 1975); "The 'Desert Motif' in Bible and in Qumran Literature," *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (ed. A. Altmann, 1966) 31-63; "The Presentation of Synchroneity and Simultaneity in Biblical Narrative," *Studies in Hebrew Narrative Art Throughout the Ages* (ScrHier 27, ed., J. Heinemann and S. Werses, 1978) 9-26; (with J. Emanuel and K. Yaron), *The Social and Religious Thought of M. Buber* (1982), Hebrew; (ed. with A. Falaturi and W. Strolz), *Zukunftshoffnung und Heilserwartung in den monotheistischen Religionen* (1983); "The Emergence of Jewish Sectarianism in Early Second Temple Period," (repr. in *King, Cult, and Calendar in Ancient Israel,* 165-201; *King, Cult, and Calendar in Ancient Israel: Collected Studies* (1986); "Literary Motifs and Speculative Thought," *Hebrew University Studies in Literature and the Arts* 16 (1988) 150-68; "The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in the Light of the Qumran Literature," *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (1989) 200-243; *The HB in the Making: Form and Content. Collected Studies* (1991), includes many of T.'s contributions in these areas; *Jewish Civilization in the Helenistic-Roman Period* (JSPSup 10, 1991); *Literary Studies in the HB: Form and Content. Collected Studies* (1993); (ed. with C. A. Evans), *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of J. A. Sanders* (Biblical Interpretation Series 18, 1997).

D. DIMANT

TALMUD

As conventionally understood, the Talmud consists of the Mishnah (compiled c. 220 CE) and the Talmud proper (also called the Gemara), consisting of the Palestinian Talmud (compiled c. 400 CE) and the Babylonian Talmud (compiled c. 500 CE). For the study of biblical interpretation in the Talmudic period (the first five centuries in Palestine and Babylon), however, the works known as the Midrashim (see MIDRASH), containing much material from the same period, must be referred to, since there are no basic differences between Talmud and Midrashim in the matter of interpretation. This article, consequently, considers biblical interpretation in the whole of the Talmudic literature.

1. Canonization and Authorship. The biblical books are divided into three sections: (a) the Torah, the Pentateuch; (b) the *Neviim,* the Prophets; and (c) the *Ketuvim,* the Hagiographa; hence the name *Tanakh* for the HB as a whole. The Torah, as the very Word of God to Moses, is the most sacred of the biblical books. The Prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), conceived of as the product of the intense form of divine INSPIRATION known as prophetic vision, is next in degree of sanctity. The Hagiographa, conceived of as the product of a lower degree of inspiration, that of *ruaḥ ha-kodesh,* "the Holy Spirit," is the least sacred of the three divisions of Scripture. Thus if a scroll of the Torah has been sold, the money may not be used to purchase a book of the Prophets or of the Hagiographa, for that would result in a diminuation of sanctity (*m. Meg.* 3:1).

The term used to denote that a book is sacred and belongs in the CANON (though this term is Christian and occurs nowhere in the Talmudic literature) is that it "contaminates the hands"—that is, the hands have to be ritually cleansed after having touched the book. The reason for this curious rule is, evidently, that a taboo was placed on a sacred book in order to prevent it being treated in an over-familiar manner. Long before the Talmudic period, the Torah and the Prophets had been accepted as sacred writ ("the Law and the Prophets"), but there were debates among the rabbis about the sanctity of some of the books in the third division, notably Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes (*m. Yad.* 3:5 and 4:5-6). It was eventually decided, however, that all the books of the *Ketuvim* do contaminate the hands.

The *locus classicus* for the order and authorship of the biblical books is in *b. B. Bat.* 14b-15a, where the order of the prophetic books is given as: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and The Twelve. The order of the Hagiographa is: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra, and Chronicles. This makes a total of nineteen books (The Twelve counted as a single book). With the addition of the five books of the Torah, this makes a total of twenty-four sacred books, a number that appears frequently in the literature in this context.

The passage continues with a statement regarding the authorship of the books: "Moses wrote his book, the Pentateuch, the portion of Balaam (Numbers 23 and 24) and Job. Samuel wrote his book, Judges and Ruth. David wrote the book of Psalms using the work of ten elders, namely, Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Yeduthan, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah. Jeremiah wrote his book, the book of Kings, and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his associates wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. The men of the Great Synagogue (the postexilic teachers) wrote Ezekiel, The Twelve, Daniel, and Esther. Ezra wrote his book and the genealogies to his own." This second-century source is supplemented in the same passage by editorial material probably dating from the late fifth century CE, which notes that the second-century source also states: "Joshua wrote his book and the last eight verses of the Torah" (Deut 34:5-11, dealing with Moses' death). It points out that R. Simeon (2nd cent.) disagreed and held that Moses wrote the last eight verses as well, but "with tears in his eyes" at the thought of his demise, and further states that the opinion that Moses wrote the book of Job is a minority opinion, with others holding that the book was compiled by a much later author whose identity is hard to determine. This is followed by a Midrash on Job in which a view is recorded that Job is not a historical person at all and that the book is a work of inspired fiction.

That Moses wrote the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) at the dictation of God is taken for granted thoughout the Talmudic literature. It must be appreciated that even the heretics in Talmudic times believed that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, although they maintained that he made it up out of his own head. The issue was not that of the Mosaic authorship; that was accepted by all, unbelievers as well as believers. The real, dogmatic question was whether the "Torah is from Heaven" (*Sanh.* 99a)—that is, whether it was Moses' own work or whether Moses acted simply as a scribe taking down the divine dictation. In a similar vein in another passage (*t. Yad.* 2:14, ed. M. Zuckermandel [1882] 683; and *b. Meg.* 7a), there is a debate on whether Ecclesiastes contaminates the hands. Those who held that it does believed that it was compiled by Solomon under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Those who held it does not were of the opinion that the work was not compiled under the influence of the Holy Spirit but is purely "the wisdom of Solomon." Both accepted without question that Solomon was the author of the book (although it was not actually written down by him). The dogmatic, doctrinal element in the Talmudic discussions regarding the authorship of the biblical books has to do with the question of inspiration, not with the very different question of who actually compiled the books and who recorded them in writing.

The statement that Moses wrote the Pentateuchal portion of Balaam seems odd since this is part of Moses' book in any event. The parallel passage in the Palestinian Talmud (*Soṭa* 5:6, 20a) puts it rather more clearly: "Moses wrote the five books of the Torah then he wrote the book of Balak and Balaam and then he wrote the book of Job." That the portion of Balaam is described as a separate book is no doubt because it is an account of the oracles of a prophet other than Moses, even though recorded by Moses in "his" book. All six books belong to the divinely dictated book of the Torah, unlike the book of Job, which even on the opinion that it was compiled by Moses possesses no more than the lesser degree of sanctity possessed by the *Ketuvim.* On the

manner in which the Pentateuch was written, there was a debate (*Git.* 60a) between the early third-century teachers, R. Johanan and Resh Lakish, one holding that each part of the Torah was "given," i.e., dictated by God to Moses for him to record in writing at the time the events actually took place; the other holding that it was all dictated and written down toward the end of the forty-year journey through the wilderness.

The ten elders said to have contributed to the book of Psalms are either the persons mentioned in the superscriptions to certain psalms or those whose identity is arrived at by the application of the midrashic process. Thus Adam is "found" in Ps 139:16, "Thine eyes did see mine imperfect substance," referring to the clay from which Adam was formed. Melchizedek appears in Ps 110:4—*'al divrātî malkhîṣedeq,* read as "by my word, I, Melchizedek." To Moses is attributed Psalm 90 because of the superscription "A Prayer of Moses the man of God." As for Abraham, the Talmudic editors point to the midrashic identification of Ethan the Ezrahite with the patriarch Abraham in the superscription to Psalm 89. Heman appears in the superscription to Psalm 88; Yeduthan to Psalms 39, 61, and 72; Asaph to Psalms 50 and 73–83; the three sons of Korah to Psalms 42, 44, 48, 85, 87, and 88. That there are three sons of Korah is based on their identification with the three sons of Korah in the book of Exodus (6:24). The artificiality of all this and of a good deal of midrashic interpretation generally is startling until one realizes that it is intentionally homiletical. The statement about the ten elders on whose work David drew in his composition of the psalms is not intended as an established tradition or a real historical reconstruction. The aim is, rather, to discover in the book instances of the sacred number ten. The Midrash to Psalms (on Ps 1:6; ed. S. Buber [1891] 9) observes, "Just as the Psalms bear the names of ten authors, so do they bear the names of ten kinds of song."

Although it is acknowledged that the book of Psalms is of a composite nature, all the elders who are said to have contributed to the book lived before David. Throughout the Talmudic literature the possibility is accepted unquestioningly that there can be a prophetic telling of the future in detail. Thus David is held to be the author of Psalm 137, foretelling not only the destruction of the first Temple but also of the second (*Git.* 57b). The statement in one source (*Midr. Eccl. Rab.* 1:17) that Ezra is one of the ten elders is due in all probability to a scribal error (perhaps a confusion with Ethan the Ezrahite who, in fact, is not mentioned in the list of the ten given in this Midrash).

Throughout the Talmudic literature, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs are the words of Solomon, i.e., he was the author of the inspired words, although the books were not recorded in writing by him but by Hezekiah and his associates. This is obviously based on the title of Proverbs 25: "These are the proverbs, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied down."

2. Halakhic Interpretation. *Halakhah* is that branch of teaching dealing with the law in all its ramifications. *Aggadah* consists of the non-legal side—preachments, theology, ethics, history, FOLKLORE, science, medicine, and so forth. Talmudic-midrashic interpretation of the Bible is twofold: (a) halakhic, the drawing out of rules and regulations from biblical texts, mainly from the Pentateuch and (b) aggadic, the use of the Bible to convey more general ideas and teachings on the conduct of life. The halakhic interpretation predominates. It is more hard and fast, far more categorical than the is fluid aggadic interpretation, which is more poetry than prose, often a reading into the text rather than real exegesis.

Halakhic exegesis proceeds by the application of hermeneutical principles (see HERMENEUTICS) known as *middot,* "measures." Seven of these are attributed to HILLEL in the first century BCE (*Sipra,* Introduction 1:7), and these were extended to thirteen by R. ISHMAEL in the second century CE (*Sipra,* Introduction 1-6). Behind these principles is the idea that all parts of the Pentateuch, the written Torah (in contradistinction to the oral Torah, the traditional interpretation of the former), form a unified whole, so that it is possible to draw out its fullest implications by careful examination of each word and by comparing what is said in one portion with what is said in another.

Of R. Ishmael's thirteen principles, the ones chiefly employed throughout the Talmudic literature are *kal va-ḥomer; gezerah shavah;* and *kelal u-ferat.* The *Kal va-ḥomer* (lit. from the light to the severe) is the argument from the minor to the major, and its use is found by the rabbis in the Bible itself (*Midr. Gen. Rab.* 92:7, referring to Gen 44:8; Exod 6:12; Deut 31:27; 1 Sam 23:3; Jer 12:5; Ezek 15:5). For example, Deut 31:27 states that the corpse of a criminal executed by the court must not be left on the gibbet overnight, which R. Meir (2nd cent.) took to mean that God is distressed at the criminal's death. Hence this teacher argued, "If God is troubled at the shedding of blood of the ungodly, how much more (*kal va-ḥomer*) at the blood of the righteous" (*m. Sanh.* 6:5). This is a halakhic use of the argument, "If priests, who are not disqualified from serving in the Temple by reason of age, are disqualified by reason of bodily defects [Lev 21:16-21], then Levites who are disqualified by reason of age [Num 8:24-25] are certainly disqualified by reason of bodily defects" (*Ḥul.* 24a).

The *gezerah shavah* (similar expression) means that if the same or a similar word occurs in two separate passages, then any elaboration found in one of the passages can be applied to the other. For example, the word *bemô'ădô* (in its appointed time) is used both in connection with the perpetual offering (Num 18:2) and with regard to the paschal lamb (Num 9:2). Now of the

former it is stated explicitly that it has to be offered even on the sabbath, when work is forbidden; and this demonstrates that the term *bĕmô'adô* denotes "even on the sabbath," yielding the rule that if the day when the paschal lamb is to be offered falls on the sabbath, it must be offered on that day (*Pesaḥ.* 66a).

Kelal u-ferat (general and particular) denotes that if a law is first stated in general terms and then specific instances are given, the law embraces only those instances. "Ye shall bring an offering of the cattle, even of the herd and flock" (Lev 1:2). Even though the term *cattle* might have included non-domesticated cattle, these are excluded by the particular instances that follow the general rule, only "from the herd and the flock" (*Sipra,* Introduction). *Perat u-kelal* (particular and general), on the other hand, means that where a specific instance is followed by a general statement, it is all-inclusive, e.g., "if a man deliver unto his neighbor an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast . . . " (Exod 22:10). Here the general statement "or any beast" follows on the statement of the particulars, so that beasts other than those specified are also included (*Sipra,* Introduction).

A combination of the above two principles is *kelal u-ferat u-kelal* (general, particular, general). Here the rule is: You may derive other things than those specified but only if they resemble those specified. "Thou shalt bestow the money for whatsoever thy soul desireth [general], for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink [particular], or for whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee [general]" (Deut 14:26). Other things than those specified may be purchased but only if they are items of foods and drink like those specified, garments being excluded (*Sipra,* Introduction).

Frequently, new laws are derived by logical extension of the laws stated. For example, the law that a man is responsible for damage done by his pit (Exod 21:33-34) is extended to include his responsibility for damage done by a stone he has placed where it can do damage; or the law that a man is responsible for damage done by a fire that spreads from his field (Exod 22:5) is extended to damage done by an object that fell from his roof (*B. Qam.* 2b-5b). The prohibition of placing a stumbling block in front of a blind man (Lev 19:14) is extended to one who gives another bad advice (*Sipra* to the verse); to giving wine to a Nazirite (*Pesaḥ.* 22b), and to hitting a grownup son who might be tempted to retaliate (*Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 17a).

The method of deriving laws through the type of biblical exegesis mentioned above is known as a *derashah* or a Midrash (both from the root *darash,* "to search, to inquire"). A major problem, much discussed by modern scholars (see H. Albeck [1959]; I. Heinemann [1976]; D. Weiss-Halivni [1986]), is which came first, the *halakhah,* the particular law, or the midrash or *derashah* on which it is said to be based. Did the rabbis really derive the law from their close examination of Scripture, or did the law develop independently, the *derashah* being no more than an attempt to find scriptural support for what had been developed? In many instances it is obvious that the law came first. For instance, one of the plants to be used in worship during the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev 23:40) is described as "the fruit of *hadar,*" a word of uncertain meaning. The Talmud (*Sukk.* 35a) gives a number of extremely far-fetched attempts at proving, by the application of midrashic method, that the *etrog,* the citron, is meant. Yet there was a tradition that it is the citron long before any of the attempts at proving it were made. On the other hand, the *derashah* does seem to be the actual source of the law in the many instances where debates on what the law is depend on the different ways of understanding the scriptural verse.

3. Aggadic Interpretation. The main feature to be noted of aggadic interpretation of Scripture is the effort to apply the texts to the contemporary scene. Like preachers everywhere, the rabbis used the Bible to convey what they believed the people they were addressing needed to hear in the particular circumstances in which they found themselves. Eisegesis, rather than exegesis, is at work in aggadic interpretation. Ideas are often read into a text with not the slightest suggestion that this is what the text really means. MAIMONIDES (*Guide* 3.43.573) saw this feature when he referred to the Talmudic interpretation (*Ketub.* 5a) of the verse: "And thou shalt have a peg [*yātēd*] upon thy weapon [*'ăzēnekā*]" (Deut 23:14). The comment reads the word *'ăzēnekā* as if it were *'oznekā* (thine ear). The "peg" is further taken to be the peg-shaped finger, yielding the thought "If a man hears an unworthy matter let him plug his ears with his fingers." Maimonides, followed by the majority of modern scholars, saw this type of Midrash as poetic fancy, "a witty conceit by which to instill some noble, moral quality."

Yet in addition to this ubiquitous poetic element, the Talmudic aggadah allows itself great freedom in the belief that Scripture, in its richness as the Word of God, can have levels of meaning other than the plain surface meaning. In the school of R. Ishmael it was taught (*Sanh.* 34a): " 'Is not my word like as a fire? saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?' (Jer 23:29). Just as the rock is split into many splinters so also one biblical verse may convey many teachings." In this Midrash the Word of the Lord is identified with the text of Scripture, and this leads to its extension to the students of the Torah who peruse God's Word. "Rava said, 'If a young scholar flies into a rage it is because the Torah inflames him, as it is said: "Is not my word like as a fire? saith the Lord" ' " (*Ta'an.* 4a). Similarly, the verse "Ho, everyone that thirsteth come ye for water" (Isa 55:1) is made to yield the thought that the Torah is compared to water to teach that just as water flows from a higher to a lower level

so also the words of Torah only endure in one who is meek (*Ta'an.* 7a). And once the verse in Isaiah has been interpreted to identify water with the Torah, the midrashic authors allowed themselves homiletical license to interpret every reference in Scripture to water as applying to the Torah, even if to do this is to take a verse entirely out of context. "And they went three days in the wilderness and found no water" (Exod 15:22) is interpreted to mean that when the people go for three days without hearing the reading of the Torah in the synagogue, they become exhausted (*B. Qam.* 82a). Again, since the verse says, "The waters wear away the stones" (Job 14:19), and since "water" refers to the Torah, the thought emerges that the way to overcome the stony heart is to engage in the study of the Torah (*Qidd.* 30b).

By the Talmudic period, the doctrine of the hereafter, on which the Bible is comparatively silent, had become so thoroughly developed and accepted in rabbinic Judaism that it was natural for the rabbis to read it into the biblical verses. The verse "Thou makest darkness and it is night; wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth" (Ps 104:20) is made to refer to this world of darkness, where the wicked pursue their nefarious schemes. A following verse (v. 23): "Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labor until the evening" is made to refer to the righteous, who are given the reward of eternal bliss after their life on earth has come to its close (*B. Meṣ.* 83b).

From the examples quoted, and they could easily be multiplied many times, it can be seen that the aggadic teachers treated the biblical verses piecemeal, as it were, using the texts in isolation in a consciously fanciful way to suit their purposes. In this, although each aggadist had his own individual application of the ideas, certain key concepts are used by all of them—e.g., "water is Torah." Thus everywhere in the literature the divine name Elohim is made to refer to God's judgment, while the Tetragrammaton, YHWH, is made to refer to God's mercy. For example, the change from Elohim in the first chapter of Genesis to YHWH in the second is explained (*Gen. Rab.* 12:15) on the basis of the idea that God created the world in his quality of judgment but then added the quality of mercy that the world might endure. Everywhere, too, "wisdom" in the book of Proverbs refers to "the wisdom of the Torah," and the Song of Songs is seen as a dialogue between God and the community of Israel.

Religious polemics is also a prominent feature of aggadah. For instance, while the plural form is used in the verse "Let us make man" (Gen 1:26), the next verse, "And God created man in His image," is in the singular in order to refute any dualistic notions (*Sanh.* 38b). A dualist, quoting the verse "For lo, He that formeth the mountains and He that createth the wind" (Amos 4:13), said to R. Judah the Prince, "He who created the mountains did not create the wind." "Fool," replied the rabbi, "look to the end of the verse: 'The Lord of Hosts is His name' " (*Ḥul.* 87a). The third-century Palestinian teacher, R. Abbahu, evidently preaching against both dualistic philosophies and Christian doctrine, quoted the verse "I am the first, I am the last, and beside Me there is no God" (Isa 44:6) and commented: *"I am the first,* for I have no father; *I am the last,* for I have no son; *and beside Me there is no God,* for I have no brother" (*Exod. Rab.* 29:5). In all this there is without doubt a background of actual debates between the rabbis and those they considered to be engaging in heretical interpretation of Scripture.

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L. JACOBS

TANY, THOMAS (fl. 1649–55)

A goldsmith from Eltham, Surrey, T. proclaimed himself prophet (under the name Theauraujon), scribe, priest, and king of the Jews. Believing that God had commanded him to gather together the lost tribes of Israel and lead them back to Jerusalem, he died at sea on a voyage to meet the Jews in Amsterdam. T. also believed that in seven days God had told him how to translate the Bible properly and had given him all the oriental languages in their uncorrupted forms, even the original language spoken by Adam and Eve in Paradise. In consequence, his own writings are a remarkable

visionary attempt to write the languages of Adam and of God. His words make little or no grammatical sense, but they are instructive examples of an early modern autodidactic, eclectic comprehension of the relationship between human and divine languages.

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N. SMITH

TARGUMIM

Targumim is the plural (and Hebraized) form of the Aramaic noun *targum,* which means simply "translation." As a result of the diaspora and of Persian domination, Aramaic became the *lingua franca* of Judaism; and scriptural rendering into that language became convenient and for many Jews increasingly necessary. The actual shape of Targumim between the Persian and Herodian periods, however, is a matter of conjecture. Such written documents as are presently attested cannot be dated until after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, and the vast majority of extant manuscripts are much later than that.

Aramaic renderings of Leviticus and Job have been discovered among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS (in caves 4 and 11), but they do not present those paraphrastic explanations, composed for the purpose of worship in synagogues, that are programmatically a part of the classical Targumim (J. Fitzmyer [1979] 167-75). According to a *haggadah* contained in *b. Šabb.* 115a, Gamaliel ordered a written Aramaic version of Job buried within a construction of the Temple during the period of its Herodian extension. Whether, as has been conjectured, that document may be identified with 11QtgJob, the story may provide confirmation of the rabbinic ethos of the early period, according to which Targumim were to be promulgated in synagogues orally from memory, not from written scrolls (cf. *m. Meg.* 4:4-10, with *b. Meg.* 23b-25b and D. Barthélemy [1963] 151-52).

Equally, the story about Gamaliel indicates that the rabbis were familiar with precisely those materials they formally proscribed. They actively sought to regulate how Scripture was translated (see TRANSLATION), as in the case of Lev 18:21; *m. Meg.* 4:9 states that this verse should not be related to intercourse with Gentiles, a proscription *Pseudo-Jonathan* (described below) violates. The rabbis even sought to prevent the rendering of certain passages, like the reference to Reuben's taking his father's concubine (see *Meg.* 4:10 and Gen 35:22; and for a discussion of both examples of the apparent contradiction of the Mishnah by the Targumim, M. McNamara [1966] 46-51). However great their efforts may have been, other forces seem to have been greater: All extant Targumim to the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) render the offending verse, although *Tg. Neofiti I* (also characterized below) does so in a truncated fashion, perhaps out of a partial deference to the Mishnaic prescription.

Sipre (Deuteronomy 161) describes Targum as a discipline between Bible and Mishnah, and many of the existing versions uphold this conclusion. The rabbis granted that Targumim were to be used in synagogal meetings but insisted they should be oral, and they developed guidance for their formulation. On the other hand, they refered appreciatively to the written Targum to the Pentateuch, known as *Onqelos,* as "our Targum" (e.g., *b. Qidd.* 49a) and so conspire in the abrogation of their own *halakhah.* If nothing else is clear in targumic study, the pluralism of early and rabbinic Judaism at least becomes apparent beyond any reasonable contradiction.

The rabbis refer to Targumim as already being produced by Ezra and describe the author of the *Targum of the Prophets* as taught by Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi (*b. Meg.* 3a). The first claim is evidently anachronistic, since no extant Targum dates from the period of Ezra, but it does suggest that the perception of the antiquity of the Targumim influenced their reception as authoritative (or at least as quotable). The second claim is patently anachronistic, since the author of the *Targum of the Prophets* is said in the same *haggadah* to have been Jonathan ben Uzziel, a first-century rabbi. The *haggadah* may be referring, with its apparently inept CHRONOLOGY, to the quasi-prophetic authority of the work, which sometimes offers considerable expansions of its Hebrew *Vorlage* among other substantive deviations. Whatever their directly historical value, such *haggadoth* serve to illustrate the rabbinic understanding that the practice of explaining Scripture in synagogue is warranted by Scripture itself, as in the case of Ezra (cf. Neh 8:8, cited in *Meg.* 3a), and that targumic authority was not merely a function of rabbinic authority but was in some sense prior to it. It is notable that in the present *haggadah* after Jonathan translates the Prophets, a divine voice says, "Who has revealed my secrets to the sons of men?" The Targumim appear to have carried considerable weight even as they skirted the boundaries of what it is prudent to say in the name of Scripture; they might be partially tamed, but neither complete domestication nor suppression appears to have been practicable.

1. Targumim to the Pentateuch. The Targum called *Onqelos* after its putative author appears best to represent the rabbinic ideal for the practice of the *meturge-*

man (the Aramaic term for interpreter). Its most obvious feature is its relatively faithful representation of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch once allowance is made for the usual, paraphrastic efforts of all Targumim to speak of God and divine revelation with due reverence. It was once argued that *Tg. Onqelos* did not emerge as an authoritative Targum in Palestine until as late as 1000 CE (M. Black [1978] 18), but the discovery of Aramaic documents at Qumran, Naḥal Ḥever, Murabba'at, and elsewhere (Fitzmyer [1979] 57-84) has brought about a revolution in the study of Aramaic dialects. The idiom of *Onqelos* now appears much more primitive than was once supposed, and it has been suggested that the Targum is as early as the second century. There was clearly a concerted effort by rabbis at that time to standardize translations according to the emerging Hebrew text, as is shown in revisions of the SEPTUAGINT (Aquila, Theodotion, and the fragments of the Minor Prophets found at Murabba'at; cf. Barthélemy [1963] 163-270). On the other hand, that was also a period in which the orality of Targumim was insisted upon; a dating of *Onqelos* in the third century has therefore seemed more plausible to many scholars. Such a dating would also accord with the considerable interest displayed in targumic matters by rabbis of that period (B. Grossfeld [1971] 841-44).

The Targum known as *Neofiti I* after the library in the Vatican where it was discovered (miscataloged) by A. Díez Macho presents a very different profile (Díez Macho 6 [1968–79] 1:19-20). Although it corresponds in a formal way to its Hebrew *Vorlage, Neofiti I* paraphrases and offers considerable expansions, often of a haggadic nature. It is written in a dialect of Aramaic known as Palestinian, comparable to the language reflected in the Palestinian (or Jerusalem) TALMUD. Once dated as early as the second century BCE, the newer understanding of dialects would place it in the third century of our era, contemporaneous with *Onqelos* but produced nearer Tiberias than Babylon. In it the figure of Cain denies the resurrection, judgment, and divine justice overall (Gen 4:8) in a manner reminiscent of the rabbinic perception of heterodoxy (J. Bassler [1986] 56-64). Such considerations support the later dating of the document, which in any case (like *Onqelos*) is not attested textually until well after the Talmudic period.

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan is the last of the complete Targums to the Pentateuch. Its mention in Gen 21:21 of Muhammed's wife and daughter (under the names Adesha and Fatima; see R. LeDéaut [1978] 211) provides a rather obvious *terminus post quem* for the document as a whole. (It owes its curious name to the belief that an abbreviation for "Jerusalem" [its proper name] was misunderstood for "Jonathan," the supposed author of the *Targum of the Prophets.* But the name Jonathan has been used since the document became known in the medieval period, and so the designation has lived on, albeit in its amended form.) Also to be associated with *Pseudo-Jonathan* and of somewhat later periods (between the 7th and the 11th cents.) are the fragments from the Cairo Geniza (M. Klein [1986]). Last, the *Fragmentary Targum* is not a fragmentary version of an original whole but a collection of occasional alternatives cited during the Middle Ages and of the same expansionistic nature of *Neofiti I, Pseudo-Jonathan,* and the fragments from the Cairo Geniza (Klein [1980] 1:12-42). Indeed, these Targumim are so closely related to one another that their relationship sometimes appears synoptic, and in view of their common traits (both linguistic and substantive) they are styled "Palestinian Targumim."

2. Targumim to the Prophets. The Prophets, both former and latter, are ascribed to Jonathan ben Uzziel, the disciple of the elder HILLEL. Linguistically that attribution is not impossible, since *Jonathan* has close affinities with *Onqelos.* But in addition to the caution expressed in respect to dating the latter Targum, certain factors demand an even greater skepticism. As has long been recognized (see Z. Frankel [1872] 13-16), certain dialectical features of *Tg. Jonathan* (in constrast to *Onqelos*) present an affinity with *Pseudo-Jonathan.* Moreover, although the former prophets in *Jonathan* sometimes approximate to *Onqelos* in a formal correspondence to the Hebrew text, there is also a greater freedom in offering explanatory additions. In the case of the latter prophets, *Jonathan* becomes paraphrastic and expansionistic, and unevenly so. This uneven development is such that each Targum within *Jonathan* must be dated separately according to its exegetical and thematic interests as these can be correlated with rabbinic literature (B. Chilton [1982]). The Talmud ascribes targumic activity to Joseph bar Ḥiyya, the fourth-century sage of Pumbeditha, a plausible period for the collection as a whole. The Codex Reuchlinianus to *Jonathan* (and a newly identified manuscript in the Bibliotheque Nationale; Chilton [1997]) represents expansionistic versions from the medieval period that serve a function analogous to that of the *Fragmentary Targum* to the Pentateuch.

3. Targumim to the Writings. Targumim to the Writings are even less coherent than *Jonathan.* In the case of *Psalms* they appear more midrashic (see MIDRASH) than targumic, and *Proverbs* is widely held to have been retroverted from the Syriac of the PESHITTA (M. Goshen-Gottstein [1983] xix). Contemporary study of these documents may well alter scholarly assessment, but they appear to reflect the late, almost esoteric vogue for targumic production as represented in the *Fragmentary Targum* and in Codex Reuchlinianus. Ironically, the genre of Targum, which had initially been designed for general consumption and was influenced by folk usage of Scripture, became the appropriate milieu of academic play for the simple reason that Aramaic had been supplanted by Arabic and survived as an academic tongue.

4. Use in Biblical Interpretation. Once the purposes, dates, and exegetical tendencies of the Targumim are appreciated, their usefulness in biblical interpretation becomes evident. In the first place, there is no question of any extant Targum providing immediate access to a more primitive HB than we would otherwise know. Because most of them do not undertake the direct representation of a Hebrew *Vorlage*, immediate retroversion from Aramaic to Hebrew by textual critics is less likely to provide a primitive text than an artifact of modern erudition. Nonetheless, once the characteristics of a Targum are known, it may be of use in assessing the Hebrew text presupposed by it. In any case, every Targum does directly represent some community's understanding of Scripture. The nature of a particular Targum is cognate to its function for reading in synagogue, reflection in rabbinic discussion, esoteric speculation, or some combination of the three. To that extent Targumim are useful sources of the history of scriptural interpretation within Judaism. Indeed, their relatively straightforward format as translations of familiar texts makes them more accessible to most non-expert readers than are the Midrashim, Talmud, and Mishnah. A project to publish all extant Targumim in English is now nearly completed and may promote a more general understanding of and sympathy for the place of Scripture in early and rabbinic Judaism.

In recent years increasing attention has focused on the Targumim from the perspective of understanding the NT (see McNamara). Although the thesis of a coherent pre-Christian version of the Bible in Aramaic available in the Palestinian witnesses has been put to rest, the fact remains that certain readings from extant Targumim are strikingly similar to passages in the NT. Examples from JESUS' sayings include Luke 6:36, which is comparable to *Tg. Ps.-J.* Lev 22:28, and Mark 4:11-12, which appears to reflect an understanding of Isa 6:9-10 such as *Jonathan* preserves (Chilton [1984] 44, 90-98). Even an elementary knowledge of targumic development precludes any argument that Jesus and/or his followers had actual access to the documents we can read today. On the other hand, it is even more difficult to sustain the argument that the *meturgemanim* (Aramaic, interpreter) simply appropriated Christian teaching. Rather, it would appear that the Targumim took shape over so long a period that they sporadically preserve early Jewish materials from the first century. Sometimes they are of a proverbial nature and may have been unattached to any Targum originally, as may be the case in *Tg. Ps.-J.* Lev 22:28. But on other occasions, as in Mark 4:11-12, the NT accords with targumic readings as a rendering of the HB. In such instances it is all but impossible to resist the argument that *Jonathan* at least partially reflects the appropriation of Scripture in the first century, whatever else it may do.

Among the latest developments in the study of the Targumim, two may be singled out (see Chilton [1986] 1-14). The first is that in rendering the Scripture into Aramaic the *meturgemanim* gave voice to the theology of their day; here is open reference to the messiah, the kingdom of God, the Holy Spirit, PROPHECY, the covenant, the Temple, and other central concepts of interest equally to scholars of Judaism and of early Christianity. The second, related, development is that attention is now being given to the fact that the Targumim present their theologies as construals of the meaning of Scripture. They give us direct access to the manner in which Scripture was appropriated, transformed, and conveyed to others in a way that might prove to be of vital significance in appreciating how the HB and the NT were understood by the many communities that used them.

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B. CHILTON

TATIAN (d. c. 185)

Little is known about T. except for a few biographical notes in his only extant work *Oratio ad Graecos* and occasional references in the early church fathers. He was born in "the land of the Assyrians," perhaps east of the Euphrates River, but more likely in Syria. While exploring various philosophical schools, he became a Christian after reading the SEPTUAGINT. In Rome he became a student of JUSTIN MARTYR; however he was forced out of the Roman Christian community (c. 172) because of Encratite and GNOSTIC tendencies. He returned to the East, but nothing more is known about him other than that his influence was great in the region.

T.'s significance in the history of biblical study is due to the fact that he produced the first influential harmony of the four Gospels. Although reference is made to harmonies produced by Ammonius of Alexandria and by Justin, it was only T.'s *Diatessaron* ("through four [Gospels]"), or *Diapente* ("through five [Gospels]"), as it was once denoted in the sixth century, that had important influence and has survived in significant witnesses. No copy of the work, probably originally written in Syriac, survives; but important witnesses to it exist. The most important is the commentary on it by EPHRAEM THE SYRIAN (d. 373), which survives entire in an ARMENIAN version (pub. by L. Leloir in CSCO 137, 145, 1953–54) and partially in Syriac (Leloir [1963, 1987]); but witnesses to the text "range in genre from poems to commentaries, in language from Middle Dutch to Middle Persian, in extent from fragments to codices, in date from the third to nineteenth century, in provenance from England to China" (W. Petersen [1990] 408).

In the harmony, T. combined the four Gospels so as to remove duplications, reconcile contradictions, and integrate slightly differing parallel passages. The work constitutes the most extensive and earliest collection of second-century Gospel texts known, illustrates the prominence the four Gospels had in the second century, affords insight into how the four Gospels were being harmonized at the time, and is perhaps the earliest of the NT versions. Evidence in the witnesses indicates that T. had access to either an apocryphal gospel or to early non-biblical traditions of Jewish-Christian origin. He relied heavily on the Gospel of Matthew, but apparently the harmony lacked any reference to the genealogies of Jesus or to the account of the ascension. The work remained standard in the Syriac church until replaced in the fifth century by the PESHITTA translation through the influence of Rabbula of Edessa.

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J. H. HAYES

TAYLOR, JEREMY (1613–67)

An English theologian, T. was educated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, was a fellow of All Soul's, Oxford, and was chaplain to Archbishop Laud and to Charles I. He was influenced by W. CHILLINGWORTH, J. Hales (1584–1656), and J. Daillé (1594–1670). After imprisonment during the civil war, T. became bishop of Down and Connor and vice-chancellor of the University of Dublin. He died Aug. 13, 1667.

In *The Liberty of Prophesying* (1647) T. argued for religious toleration. He held that the necessary articles of faith are summarized in the Apostles' Creed and are plainly set down in Scripture. Apart from those few fundamental points, Scripture leaves people uncertain about religious truth. There are no infallible methods of interpretation. Other authorities, such as tradition, the church fathers, and general councils, are of no help. Human beings must judge by reason illuminated by faith, using the best evidence available. In his other writings, however, T. relied heavily on the AUTHORITY of Scripture and on "universal tradition."

T. influenced a wide variety of people. J. WESLEY was impressed by the deep piety and faith shown in *Holy Living* (1650) and *Holy Dying* (1651). A. COLLINS used T.'s views about the uncertainty of religious truth to claim that all of Scripture is uncertain.

Works: *The Whole Works of the Right Rev. J. T.* (ed. R. Heber and C. P. Eden, 10 vols., 1861–65).

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S. J. JONES

TAYLOR, JOHN (1694–1761)

An English dissenting clergyman and Hebrew scholar, T. was educated at a dissenting academy. He served a Presbyterian chapel at Norwich for many years before becoming head of the academy of Warrington in Lancashire, by which time his views had become Arminian (see ARMINIUS) and Antitrinitarian. He spent many years preparing a combined Hebrew CONCORDANCE and LEXICON, which he based on the work of the Basel Hebraist J. BUXTORF, Sr. In addition, he wrote a number of theological works, taking as his own the method of J. LOCKE and S. Clarke wherein one examines exactly what the Bible teaches apart from later orthodox interpretations, an approach that in some respects prefigured later biblical THEOLOGY.

Works: *The Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin* (1740); *A Paraphrase with Notes on the Epistle to the Romans* (1745); *The Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement* (1751); *The Hebrew Concordance, Adapted to the English Bible; Disposed After the Manner of Buxtorf* (2 vols., 1754–57); *The Lord's Supper Explained Upon Scripture Principles* (1756); *The Scripture Account of Prayer* (1761).

Bibliography: **A. Gordon,** *DNB* 55 (1898) 439-40.

D. D. WALLACE, JR.

TAYLOR, VINCENT (1887–1968)

Born in Edenfield, Lancashire, T. studied for the Methodist ministry at Richmond College, concentrating on pastoral training, and served circuits from 1909. He took a BD from London University (1911), later a BD with honors, a PhD (1922), and the first of many DDs (1926). In 1930 he was appointed to the chair of NT studies at Wesley College in Leeds. He retired in 1953 but continued to be actively engaged in scholarship.

T. attested the influence of W. SANDAY, admiring Sanday's use of a refined exegetical technique to address theological issues (1970, 31-32). In considering NT traditions of JESUS' birth, T. added to Sanday's keen focus a diffident restraint in distinguishing exegetical conclusions from theological considerations. He concluded that the tradition of virginal conception is at issue only in Matthew and Luke; therefore, the virgin birth was not the subject of apostolic preaching (1920, 115). Matthew presupposed and defended the tradition (104), but the Gospel offers so much midrashic embellishment (see MIDRASH) as to vitiate its value as historical evidence. Matthew is of historical interest more for the belief it implies than for the data it offers. T. held that the crucial passage, Luke 1:34-35, is at odds with the Davidic descent of Jesus, which is of such central importance within the Lukan scheme as to suggest that 1:34-35 is a later insertion. The insertion, however, was provided by Luke himself, who T. believed "taught the Virgin Birth." These considerations led T. to the view that the doctrine of virginal conception is historically not provable (128).

When T. began a LITERARY study of Luke's Gospel (1926), his understanding of the birth narrative already suggested that stages of composition lie behind the Gospel. B. STREETER's theory of a proto-Luke independent of Mark suited T.'s earlier impression. He posited that document as the foundation and framework of Luke (1926, 182) and tentatively identified the author with the companion of PAUL, who gathered his materials in Caesarea and Jerusalem, perhaps from the daughters of Philip during the 70s.

In 1932 in a series of public lectures at the University of Leeds, T. gave a presentation of FORM CRITICISM (pub. 1933). The volume was important not simply for making form criticism known in Britain but also for offering refinements in the technique: form criticism with an English face. T. focused on the mechanics of oral TRADITION in the earliest period but still engaged questions of historical value and inquired into the emergence of written sources prior to the Gospels. He suggested that the Gospels emerged in three stages: (1) the development of oral traditions to meet the practical needs of early Christian communities (30–50 CE); (2) the gathering of traditions in written and oral sources (50–65 CE); and (3) the actual compilation of gospels (65–100 CE).

In *Jesus and His Sacrifice* T. argued cogently that Jesus saw his suffering as representative and vicarious, a conscious sacrifice, and that he intended for his followers to participate in his self-offering (265). He strongly urged Eucharistic worship as the means of such participation.

T.'s commentary on Mark was an attempt to supplement the work of H. SWETE. He engaged directly the work of W. WREDE, where Swete had not; incorporated Streeter's contributions on the SYNOPTIC PROBLEM and the grouping of textual witnesses; and used a form-critical procedure to discuss the tradition prior to Mark. The resulting synthesis, however, had more similarities to Swete's work than differences. T. argued for the identity of the Evangelist as Peter's companion John Mark and decided that Mark was faithful to Peter's oral tradition. Wrede's "messianic secret" is for T. an element integral to the tradition, not imposed on Mark's material (123).

On the whole, T. appears to have retreated into a form of historicism; and for all its informed reference to modern scholarship, its form criticism, and its exegetical acumen, his commentary marks a persistent tendency in British scholarship to retain the historiography of the previous century while attempting to speak the language of a new generation of German critics.

Works: *The Historical Evidence for the Virgin Birth* (1920); *Behind the Third Gospel: A Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis* (1926); *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (1933); *Jesus and His Sacrifice: A Study of the Passion-sayings in the Gospels* (1937); *The Gospel According to St. Mark: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (1952); *The Person of Christ in NT Teaching* (1958); "Milestones in Books," *NT Essays* (1970) 31-35; *The Passion Narrative of St. Luke: A Critical and Historical Investigation* (1972).

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B. CHILTON

TENNEY, MERRILL CHAPIN (1904–85)

A Greek and NT scholar, T. was born in Chelsea, a suburb of Boston, Apr. 16, 1904. His father oversaw the religion department of the still-extant Goodspeed's Bookstore in Boston and passed on a love of books to his son; his grandmother taught him Latin and passed on her love of languages; and a tent meeting provided the setting for a conversion experience during his adolescence. From this foundation, T. went on to receive a diploma from Nyack Missionary Training Institute (1924), a ThB degree from Gordon College (1927), and a master's degree from Boston University (1930). He received his PhD in biblical and patristic Greek from Harvard University (1944), where he completed his dissertation under H. CADBURY. He then joined the faculty of Wheaton College, where he taught from 1943 to 1971 and also served as dean of the graduate school for over two decades. He was known as a brilliant and open-minded professor, with many of his students completing their doctorates in related fields (G. Hawthorne [1975]).

T. was the author or editor of over twenty-five books, many of them translated into a variety of languages, including Bengali, Chinese, German, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish. His commitment to excellence in scholarship significantly advanced the maturity of contemporary worldwide Reformed-conservative NT studies. His special area of research involved quotations from Luke in TERTULLIAN as related to the texts of the second and third centuries. More broadly, his integrative scholarship contributed to a more sufficient understanding of the political and sociocultural setting of the NT. His scholarship proceeded on the confidence that understanding the political and religious forces that made up the first-century sociocultural setting of the Mediterranean world would enhance understanding of the NT and help in interpreting its message for modern readers. In the process, his intellectual precision and incisiveness shed light on almost every puzzle of NT CHRONOLOGY. When T. died at age eighty, Mar. 18, 1985, he was working on a new study of Luke–Acts.

Works: *John: The Gospel of Belief* (1948); *Galatians: The Character of Christian Liberty* (1950); *NT Survey* (1953–85); *Philippians: The Gospel at Work* (1956); *Interpreting Revelation* (1957–88); *NT Times* (1965–88); "A New Approach to the Book of Hebrews," *BSac* 123 (1966) 230-36; "Topics from the Gospel of John," *BSac* 132 (1975) 37-46, 145-60, 229-41, 343-57; "Historical Verities in the Gospel of Luke," *BSac* 135 (1978) 126-38.

Bibliography: **G. Hawthorne,** *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation: Studies in Honor of M. C. T.* (1975) with T.'s bibliography (19-20); "Educator and Scholar M. C. T. is Dead at 80," *Christianity Today* 29 (Apr. 19, 1985) 54; *JETS* 29 (1986) 127-28.

J. SNAREY

TERTULLIAN, QUINTUS SEPTIMIUS FLORENS (c. 160–c. 225)

T. founded theology and exegesis in the Latin tradition. What little we know of him must be inferred from his works, which can be dated from 196/197 to 212 (T. Barnes [1971] 30-56). A Carthaginian convert to Christianity, T. in later years became a Montanist. He was evidently trained in classical rhetoric and Roman law and philosophy and knew the works of JUSTIN MARTYR and of IRENAEUS. The author of such familiar sayings as "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" T. employed masterful literary artistry in fierce polemics against pagans, heretics, Jews, and ethically lax Christians.

Because he was bilingual in Latin and Greek, we cannot fully determine to what extent T. used existing biblical translations. Although his only commentary is a brief exposition of the Lord's Prayer in his treatise *On Prayer,* exegesis pervades his works. In keeping with his legal training, he thought of the witness of Scripture in forensic terms. Thus it was a fundamental principle for him in interpretation, as in the law, that "the few are to be understood in the light of the many" (*Adv. Praxean* 20; see J. Waszink [1979]). He also argued that heretics had no legal right to use Scripture because it belonged

exclusively to the church (*Prescription,* 15-17). Other hermeneutical principles (see HERMENEUTICS) are that the literal sense is the basis of interpretation, that context should be considered, and that the church's rule of faith guides interpretation. T. allowed for allegory but decried seeking esoteric meanings as *curiositas* and the source of heresy; "seek and ye shall find" (Matt 7:7; Luke 11:9) does not justify continual seeking once one has found Catholic doctrine (*Prescription,* 9). His most sustained exegetical argument is in books 4 and 5 of *Adversus Marcionem,* which treat continuously most of Luke and the Pauline corpus in order to demonstrate their compatibility with the moral teaching of the HB.

Works: *CC* 1-2; *ANF* 3-4 (tr. A. C. Coxe); *The Prescriptions Against the Heretics* and *On Idolatry,* (tr. S. L. Greenslade, *LCC* 5); *Adversus Marcionem* (ed. and tr. E. Evans, 1972).

Bibliography: **C. Aziza,** *T. et le judaïsme* (1977). **T. D. Barnes,** *T.: A Historical and Literary Study* (1971). **J. E. L. van der Geest,** *Le Christ et l'Ancien Testament chez T.* (1972). **D. E. Groh,** "Utterance and Exegesis: Biblical Interpretation in the Montanist Crisis," *The Living Text: Essays in Honor of E. W. Saunders* (ed. D. E. Groh and R. Jewett, 1985) 73-95. **R. P. J. Hanson,** "Notes on T.'s Interpretation of Scripture," *JTS* 12 (1961) 273-79; *IHE* 2 (1983) 23-64. **H. Karpp,** *Schrift und Geist bei T.* (1955) 287-301. **R. Kearsley,** *HHMBI,* 60-65. **T. P. O'Malley,** *T. and the Bible: Language—Imagery—Exegesis* (1967). **J. Quasten,** *Patrology* (1950) 1:246-339. **V. Saxer,** "La Bible chez le Pères latin du IIIe siècle," *BTT* 2 (1985) 339-69. **J. H. Waszink,** "T.'s Principles and Methods of Exegesis," *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition* (ed. W. R. Schoedel and R. L. Wilken, 1979) 17-31. **G. Zimmerman,** *Die hermeneutischen Prinzipien T.s* (1937).

J. W. TRIGG

TESTAMENT OF MOSES

The *Testament of Moses* is a pseudepigraph (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA) extant in a single poorly preserved, incomplete, and at times illegible Latin palimpsest discovered in the Ambrosian Library of Milan and published by A. Ceriani in 1861. The manuscript dates from the sixth century CE, but orthography and style indicate that it is a copy of an early fifth-century writing. The Latin text is clearly a translation from a Greek document that may be as early as the late first or early second century CE. Most early editors assumed that Greek was the original language, but it is now universally agreed that the Greek text available to the Latin translator was itself a translation of a Semitic writing. Whether the Semitic text was Aramaic or Hebrew remains a matter of dispute, but the latter is more probable.

Ceriani, on the basis of quotations in the Acts of the Council of Nicea and in scattered patristic references (Origen *De principiis* 3.2.1), entitled the manuscript *The Assumption of Moses,* an account of Moses' being taken directly to heaven rather than dying a natural death. This story is well known in many Jewish writings and is probably referred to in the letter of Jude (v. 9). The present text, however, knows nothing of an assumption and clearly indicates that Moses died a natural death (1:15; 10:11-14). Some ancient quotations and stichometries (lists of books and the number of lines contained in each) refer to both an *Assumption* and a *Testament of Moses,* although the relationship between them is not clear. It has been proposed that they were two distinct works, a single work consisting of two sections, or two separate works that were subsequently joined together. It is more prudent, lacking manuscript evidence, to refer to the present manuscript as the *Testament of Moses* and leave open the question as to whether a section following the mutilated ending of 12:13 did contain an account of Moses' assumption.

The *Testament of Moses* belongs to the well-known testament genre, the last words of an ancient worthy to his people, family, or successor (see TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS). Moses reveals to Joshua the history of the community from his day until the end time, which in the present form of the text is the immediately post-Herodian age, i.e., the first half of the first century CE. The theology of the book is not particularly original, combining in a somewhat awkward fashion the apocalyptic emphasis (see APOCALYPTICISM) on God's predestination of all things with the deuteronomic formula that the fate of the community results from their obedience or disobedience to God's laws. The former is dominant, in accord with the pragmatic purpose of apocalyptic to give hope to people living in a dying age.

From the time of the manuscript's discovery, scholars have differed widely as to its date of composition and its religious provenance (see R. Charles [1897] for discussion to his time). Dates from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164/163 BCE) to the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 CE) and religious groups as varied as the Sadducees and the Samaritans have had proponents. CHARLES's conclusion that the work was written in the first half of the first century CE and represented a "quietistic Pharisaism" reflects a general consensus that prevailed until the recent contention for an Antiochan dating, with the consequent location of the work in the somewhat amorphous group of Hasidim (see HASIDISM) who figured in the Maccabean revolt (168–165 BCE).

Both Charles's arguments for a first-century CE date and arguments for an Antiochian date must come to terms with an internal chronological inconsistency in the present form of the manuscript. Chapter 6 clearly alludes to Herodian times, but chaps. 7 and 8 are best understood within an Antiochian context. Charles solved the problem by assuming that there had been a dislocation in the transmission of the manuscript, while proponents of an essentially Antiochian dating maintain that

chap. 6 is a first-century CE interpolation into an earlier document. Both dislocation and interpolation are well attested elsewhere, and no *a priori* conclusion may be drawn. It seems more prudent to suggest that the *Testament of Moses* is a first-century CE document, with the recognition that some of its contents may have had a considerable earlier history in either oral or written form. Increasing awareness of the complex nature of Judaism in this period mitigates against attempting to identify precisely the group within which the document arose. We may conclude, at most, that it has affinities most clearly with the Pharisees, the Essenes, and other groups that evolved from the broader circles of the Hasidim.

Some recent scholars, following J. Licht (1961), have proposed that a distinctive theological theme is to be found in the story of the Levite Taxo and his seven sons, who chose to die rather than abandon their faith (chap. 9), and in the following eschatological hymn depicting the divine visitation (10:1-10). They propose that the vow of martyrdom is designed to provoke God to intervene on behalf of his people and thus to inaugurate the eschatological era. This is a possible conclusion, but the story of Taxo and his sons may also be understood as a typical martyrdom story well known elsewhere in the literature of the period (e.g., 2 Macc 6:18–7:42).

The *Testament of Moses* may have been known and used by several NT writers. Attention is called most often to Matt 24:19-21 (with parallels); Acts 7:36-43; 2 Pet 2:13; and Jude 9, 12-13, 16. The clearest allusion is Jude 9, but it apparently refers to the assumption of Moses, which is not found in the extant testament. Although definite dependence cannot be proven, the possible use of the work in some Christian circles as scripture underlines the fluidity of CANON in the late first and early second centuries CE.

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J. F. PRIEST

TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

1. Introduction. Since the discovery of Hebrew and Aramaic testamentary texts in the Cairo Geniza (*T. Levi*), in the medieval manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* (*T. Naph.*), in the *Midrash Wa-yissa'u* (*T. Jud.*), and in the Qumran caves (*T. Levi, T. Naph.,* etc.), it has become increasingly important to distinguish between the composition and transmission of separate testaments and their compilation as the document known as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (*T. 12 Patr.*). Some of the testaments may have been composed at the same time they were compiled in the *T. 12 Patr.;* others appear to be redacted forms of earlier works.

2. Interpretation of the Bible in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. ***a. The use of Genesis.*** Some of the characteristics associated with each patriarch are derived from Jacob's blessing of his sons (Gen 49:2-27); e.g., Judah recalls Gen 49:10 in *T. Jud.* 22:3. Jacob's blessings are explicitly referred to in *T. Sim.* 5:6 (see Gen 49:7). More often the exhortation of each patriarch is linked to an incident narrated in Genesis; e.g., Reuben's act of immorality with Bilhah (Gen 35:22) is used as the basis for his instruction against sexual promiscuity. Several details in *T. 12 Patr.* reflect the Genesis traditions as they were adapted in other texts; e.g., the twelve trees to be presented to God are mentioned in *T. Levi* 9:12 (expanding Gen 28:10-11) and enumerated in JUBILEES 21:12.

b. Other biblical interpretation. The *T. 12 Patr.* barely alludes to specific commandments of the law, being more concerned with universal values and virtues, which are sometimes expressed in phraseology that echoes the wisdom literature. Pentateuchal texts are occasionally used: e.g., *T. Levi* 8:2-10 adapts Exod 28:3-43 in its description of the priestly garments; and *T. Iss.* 5:2 echoes Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18 in its formulation of what the law involves. There are some allusions to prophetic texts: e.g., the description of Joseph being in the cistern for three days and nights (*T. Zeb.* 4:4) recalls Jonah 1:17; and Naphtali's vision on the Mount of Olives (*T. Naph.* 5:1) recalls Zech 14:4-7. M. de Jonge (1953) has discerned two literary patterns in several of the testaments: One is sin-exile-return, an eschatological variant of the DEUTERONOMISTIC view of history; the

other is the juxtaposition of Levi and Judah based on Gen 49:5-12 and prophetic texts that link priesthood and kingship (e.g., Jer 33:17-18; Zech 4:14).

c. Biblical models. The principal models within the Bible for the testaments are the farewell blessings of Jacob (Gen 49:2-27) and Moses (Deut 33:2-29); both of these also link all the tribes together, as does *T. 12 Patr.* In the Second Temple period the genre of testament, a farewell speech in a deathbed scene, began to emerge in its own right (Tob 4:2-21; 14:3-11; 1 Macc 2:49-70). It was very adaptable, providing a form for many kinds of exhortatory and predictive content.

d. The NT. Many of the allusions in the *T. 12 Patr.* to the prophetic books occur in passages that may be Christian interpolations, since similar prophetic passages feature in various NT writings: e.g., Joel's PROPHECY of the pouring out of the Spirit (Joel 2:28-29; cf. Acts 2:17-21) is used in association with the star from Jacob and the shoot of God (*T. Jud.* 24:1-5; cf. Rev 22:16). Some possible allusions to the NT apart from the interpolations support the position of those who see the whole work as a Christian composition.

On the other hand, those who argue for Jewish authorship point to how phrases from the non-interpolated passages are cited in the NT. J. Grabe used the possible citation of *T. Levi* 6:11 in 1 Thess 2:16 to support his 1698 proposal that *T. 12 Patr.* was pre-Christian.

e. Enoch. Several times in *T. 12 Patr.* there are references to the books of ENOCH, which clearly possessed scriptural AUTHORITY for the compiler. Yet few of the allusions can be matched to Enoch materials known in Aramaic, Greek, or Ethiopic; e.g., in *T. Dan* 5:6 Dan's sons are aligned with Satan, according to the *Book of Enoch the Righteous,* an association perhaps based on Judg 18:11-31 and Jer 8:16-17. R. CHARLES thought the phrasing might reflect *2 Enoch* 18:3, but this is unlikely. This use of *Enoch* drew the attention of several medieval and Renaissance scholars to *T. 12 Patr.* as they attempted to explain the similar authoritative use of *Enoch* in Jude.

3. The Interpretation of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. ***a. Early redaction.*** If the *T. 12 Patr.* are not regarded as a coherent composition by a single author, then their earliest interpretation is found in the process of redaction through which they assumed their present form. If some or all of the testaments were originally Jewish compositions, then it could be that the first stage of redaction was undertaken by Jews who added apocalyptic passages (see APOCALYPTICISM), perhaps to make the testaments relate more directly to their own religious and political experiences. These same passages contain the most explicit Christian material, which perhaps belongs to a second redactional stage in the early Christian period when Christian interpolations were added: e.g., *T. Jos.* 19:8 reads, "And I saw that a virgin was born from Judah, wearing a linen stole; and from her was born a spotless lamb"; *T. Ben.* 9:3 reads, "The Lord will be abused and will be raised up on wood. And the temple curtain shall be torn." J. Jervell has proposed (1969) that some of these Christian interpolations reflect a theological concern with the salvation of Israel and so should be dated to the first century CE. ORIGEN appears to cite from *T. 12 Patr.* in his *Homilies on Joshua,* thus providing a likely *terminus ad quem* for its composition, although the text known to him may have been different from the Byzantine one established by modern scholars. And *T. Dan* 7:3, which notes how Dan's predictions came true, may be an even later gloss.

b. Thirteenth to seventeenth centuries. M. Paris (c. 1200–1259) recorded how R. GROSSETESTE, bishop of Lincoln, translated the *T. 12 Patr.* from Greek into Latin in 1242; Grosseteste probably acquired the Greek manuscript from the library of M. Choniates, who until 1204 was archbishop of Athens. Paris noted that the work had been hidden by the Jews but that Greeks had discovered and translated it from Hebrew.

R. BACON, writing in 1266–68, noted that each patriarch describes what Christ must fulfill and what should be believed about him. He believed that the testaments are not authentically patriarchal but have an authority based in their wide use as a non-Christian witness to Christian belief, particularly to convert Jews.

Although featured in several sixteenth-century collections, the *T. 12 Patr.* appears to have been commented on only seldom. In 1566 Sixtus of Siena, a converted Jew, referred to them to illuminate the use of *Enoch* in Jude and noted that they were very old (he may have considered them authentic) and had been translated from Hebrew.

J. Salianus used *T. 12 Patr.* to supplement his history of the period 1770–1625 BCE, published in Paris (1619–24). In 1631 the Puritan J. SELDEN commented on the priority of Levi over his brother Judah (*T. Jud.* 21:1-4) and noted that such disorders were clearly not just a recent phenomenon. In the mid-seventeenth century, S. Sgambati, a Jesuit from Naples, was the first to remark explicitly on the work's literary purpose as moral exhortation. The Zurich theologian J. Heidegger (1633–98) not only called into question Salianus's use of the testaments, arguing like several scholars before him that they were inauthentic, but also seems to have been the first to propose that *T. 12 Patr.* was a Christian work falsely ascribed in order to convert Jews, just as the SIBYLLINE ORACLES were intended to convert non-Jews. Much of Heidegger's approach is paralleled in the seventeenth-century work of Dutch scholar J. de Mey, who also provided a four-page summary of the testaments and concluded that they were originally written in Greek, not Hebrew. R. SIMON, writing pseudonymously (1687; see H. de Jonge [1975]), argued for the work's stylistic unity and for its composition by a Jewish Christian or sectarian; he was the first to propose that

it had originally been written in Aramaic (reading *Jamnia* at *T. Naph.* 6:1 as Aramaic for "sea," preserved as a doublet in the Greek).

The first printed edition of the Greek text appeared in 1698. Its editor, Grabe, argued that the work was Jewish, composed in Hebrew, translated into Greek in the third century BCE, and subsequently (1st or 2nd cent. CE) interpolated by a Christian.

c. Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The interpretation of the *T. 12 Patr.* in these two centuries was dominated by consideration of its Christian authorship. In 1713 J. FABRICIUS argued on stylistic grounds that the testaments were composed by a Christian in Greek and should be associated with *The Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Sybylline Oracles;* he was supported by A. Gallandi (1709–79). H. Corrodi (1781–83) proposed that *T. 12 Patr.* was a Jewish Christian document, since its militaristic messiah was similar to that of Revelation. This ascription was developed further by C. Nitzsch (1787–1868), who linked the work with early second-century Alexandria, and by I. DORNER, whose work provoked a flurry of studies on whether *T. 12 Patr.* was really Jewish Christian or gentile Christian (or both). The most detailed study was by R. Sinker, who in 1869 published an extensive introduction, concluding that it was a product of Nazarene Jewish Christianity at Pella.

d. F. Schnapp. In 1884, through a rigorous application of LITERARY criticism, F. Schnapp proposed that the original *T. 12 Patr.* had consisted of brief narratives about the patriarchs together with corresponding exhortations on virtues and vices; that these had been redacted, first by a Jewish hand, at which stage several passages were added, largely of apocalyptic or messianic character; and second, by a Christian, who altered those same passages with Christian additions. A variation of this view has remained influential, partly because it was popularized by E. SCHÜRER (1886–90) and by Schnapp in E. KAUTZSCH's German collection of PSEUDEPIGRAPHA (1900), and partly because it appeared to be confirmed by F. Conybeare's work (1856–1924) on the ARMENIAN Edschmiadzen manuscript., by M. GASTER's claim (1894) that the Hebrew original of *T. Naph.* was to be found in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel,* and by the publication in 1900 of the Cairo Geniza Aramaic text parallel to *T. Levi* 9–13.

e. R. Charles and after. In 1908 Charles published both a critical text of *T. 12 Patr.* and the first complete commentary on it. His position was similar to Schnapp's, as refined especially by W. BOUSSET (1900): He believed there had been an original coherent work authored by an early pro-Maccabean Pharisee into which were interpolated various Jewish additions, mostly from the first century BCE, many of which were anti-Maccabean; last, at various times the work was given dogmatic Christian additions.

For over forty years Charles was widely followed. Challenges to the theory of a Jewish origin came only from J. Hunkin (1887–1950) and N. Messel (b. 1877). In his extensive literary-critical approach, J. Becker (1970) has outlined in theory what the original Jewish form of the *T. 12 Patr.* might have looked like; to that consistent base text (dated 200–175 BCE) many additions were made, the last being the Christian elements. Through motif analysis A. Hultgard has described (1977–81) three stages: the first is based on anti-Hasmonean Levi material (c. 100 BCE); the second, on additional levitical traditions (1st cent. BCE); the third, on Christian traditions.

f. The Dead Sea Scrolls. The DEAD SEA SCROLLS stimulated some scholars, notably A. Dupont-Sommer (1953) and M. Philonenko (1960s), to associate the *T. 12 Patr.* directly with the Qumran community. No direct historical connection can be proved, but the scrolls show that many of the testaments' theological interests, e.g., certain forms of messianic expectation, eschatology, ethical dualism, and angelology, are at home in Judaism and need not be attributed to early Christianity. None of the extant Aramaic (*T. Levi, T. Jud., T. Jos.*) and Hebrew (*T. Naph., T. Jud.*) testaments among the scrolls is the Semitic source for its Greek counterpart in *T. 12 Patr.,* but each provides evidence for the likely Jewish source material available to the compiler and shows that some of the testaments may have had a long compositional and redactional history before all twelve were compiled and edited together. In particular, several different forms of testamentary material are associated with Levi (1Q21, 4Q213, 214, 540, 541), at least one of which is close to *T. Levi* from the Cairo Geniza.

g. M. de Jonge. In 1953 de Jonge showed that there was no textual basis for the removal of Christian interpolations. He proposed that *T. 12 Patr.* had received such thorough Christian redaction, with several major sections (e.g., *T. Levi* 3:5-9) being Christian compositions, that the whole is better described as the work of a Christian of the second century CE who used much Jewish material (especially in *T. Levi, T. Naph., T. Jud.,* and *T. Reub.*). Although he has revised his position somewhat, he and H. Hollander (1985) still deny the usefulness of literary criticism for understanding the history of the text's redaction. Rather, they insist on a formal approach to the Greek text as it is known now and stress that the diversity of the testaments is largely the result of the wide variety of source material used. De Jonge has also been the driving force behind a new critical edition of the Greek text (1978) in which the reclassification of the extant witnesses is supported by recent study of the Armenian version.

h. Continuing research. Further work on the Armenian manuscripts may provide information on the early transmission of the text. The eventual principal editions of all the Dead Sea Scrolls texts will aid in the study of the Jewish sources that indirectly lie behind the Greek

T. 12 Patr. However, deciding whether *T. 12 Patr.* is a Jewish work with Christian additions or a Christian composition using Jewish sources, and determining its original language, provenance, and date will most likely be answered only after further study of all the APOCRYPHA and Pseudepigrapha.

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TEXTUAL CRITICISM, HEBREW BIBLE

Textual criticism of the HB can be divided into two types: (a) LITERARY criticism, or content criticism, and REDACTION CRITICISM and (b) TEXTUAL CRITICISM of the NT. The main difference between the two types of textual criticism is that the text of the HB is generally much more remote from the event described, which in terms of textual criticism means that there were many more occasions for the text to become corrupted. Moreover, the story may be even more complicated since there may have been additional stages at which the text could have changed or suffered damage. We do not have any evidence for intermediary stages, however; therefore, all such stages are pure speculation.

This kind of introductory remark to our survey may seem somewhat unorthodox, since in the past textual critics used to operate on the tacit assumption that a written text had always existed and that the critic could work with changes of forms and letters, as was assumed in the monograph by Friedrich DELITZCH on *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im AT* (1920). To be sure, at the beginning of this century scholars mainly held that there had been interchanges between the square letters of the type used since the Second Temple period generally and tended to ignore the fact that there could have been interchanges of letters in the paleo-Hebrew script, which by that time had almost disappeared. On the other hand, changes could also have arisen out of mishearings, or else copyists did not always work directly from written sources, since one may have read the text aloud and another have written it down. These considerations, however, do not acknowledge earlier stages of oral tradition.

As in any other area of scholarship, one should always ask what the philosophy is on which textual criticism is based. It is based on the assumption that our procedure enables us to find the primary text (*Urtext*), if we are lucky, or at least get near it. If the biblical text brings us, indeed, the message of God, that message should be retrievable in its original clarity. While in former times the textual picture suffered from theological prejudices, since the time of L. VALLA (15th cent.) sacred literature was judged in the same way as profane literature. In other words, special consideration because of the nature of a sacred text would today be unacceptable.

The beginnings of the history of textual (or lower) criticism as a discipline of biblical studies almost coincide with the changes in European thinking in post-medieval times, i.e., the period of Renaissance humanism. At that time the former theological certainties began to disintegrate, and their unique position inside the church became shaky. Part of the humanist revolution was that two additional major classical languages broadened the horizon, i.e., Greek and Hebrew. Within a few years around 1500, clergy started using the original Hebrew text of the Bible as well as the Greek of the SEPTUAGINT, apart from the Latin of the VULGATE. As soon as the three textual forms were available, the issue of correctness came up. The first scholar who remarked on the differences of texts was a Carmelite monk in Italy Baptista Spagnuoli (Beato Mantovano) in his treatise *Epistola de causa diversitatis inter interpretes sacrae scripturae* (1476). The main question that emerged later was that, if the Vulgate indeed reflected the *hebraica veritas,* how was it that the Hebrew text transmitted by Jews was different? And how much could a Christian rely on the rabbis and their exegesis if these

differed from those of the church? To what extent could these variants be attributed to different HERMENEUTICS? To be sure, in the sixteenth century, clergy hardly argued in terms of differences in hermeneutics. In general, the attitude was that Jews were suspect of having changed the text of the Bible so as to expunge any reference to Christ. Nobody cared at all in how many cases such a possibility could exist.

No sooner had this problem been solved than the church split between believers in Roman Catholic doctrine and the Vulgate and those who followed one of the Protestant denominations and the Jewish CANON. Also, humanists became aware of the way the commonly used Latin had lost the elegance of classical diction and the hitherto neglected vernaculars had become respectable for transmission of the biblical message. It is no coincidence that editions of the classical biblical text were published roughly at the same time the first Bible translations (see TRANSLATION) into European languages started to appear. However, for biblical studies there was one positive aspect: The church cared only minimally about the so-called OT and the character of its text. The major clashes between denominations concerned issues of cult and church custom; the question of how the mass should be celebrated was much more important than issues of the Bible text. For the church, it was the practical side that was generally of interest.

In the upheavals of the early days of the Reformation, another issue developed that had pronounced theological overtones. Protestants (each faction in its own way) refused on principle to acknowledge the superior position of what had been taken throughout the Middle Ages as *hebraica veritas,* as rendered into Latin by JEROME in the fourth century, based on the hermeneutics of his Jewish teachers—which itself had undergone textual developments inside the Western church. That attitude remained significant in the subsequent conflict between Protestants and the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation. However, it seemed impossible to assume that the message of God was beset by ambiguities, and for centuries textual criticism stood under the influence of inner-Christian disputes, in which the Jews played no role. Each faction mobilized evidence from Jewish sources, but due to the Jews' inferior status, only pseudonyms of Jews were allowed to appear as evidence in the ecclesiastical court.

This state of affairs continued from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, when historic positivism became a major feature of European thinking. Scholars needed a model of historical development, and an idea such as "original text" was as necessary as "original language." After all, once there must have been one original text; and it was the task of the textual critic to retrieve it.

Modern textual criticism was based on the assumption that scholars had forged the necessary tools to find their way out of the labyrinth of conflicting textual traditions back to the original text from which all later textual forms could be explained satisfactorily. The foundation for all later critical work was laid in the seventeenth century by J. MORIN, a French Oratorian priest with his *Exercitiones biblicae e hebraei graecique textus sinceritate* (1633), in which he maintained the superiority of the Septuagint and the inferiority of the MT, which he claimed had been tampered with by the Jews. Basically this argument renewed the age-old polemic of the church. Whereas Protestants had accepted the HB as a secure basis, Morin claimed that the Septuagint had been taken *ex purissimis hebraeorum fontibus.* It is important that the Roman Catholic Morin praised the Septuagint so highly, and on that basis the Vulgate was reaffirmed in circles of the Counter-Reformation. To be sure, in the seventeenth century nobody bothered with the later Greek translations and how the available Greek text had been influenced by them. The work of Morin was not simply a new stage in the growth of textual criticism, however, but rather a mixture of critical attitude and old-time misconceptions.

Although Morin was aware of the textual differences between the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch and other texts, it is not quite clear how he viewed the position of that text. In any case, in his *Exercitationes ecclestasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateucho* (1631), he hardly dealt with text-critical issues, including only a paragraph regarding agreements between the texts of Jews and of Samaritans (230). Morin remains for many modern scholars the founder of modern textual criticism, whereas for others he is the embodiment of Roman Catholic prejudice against the MT. Because of this ambiguous position, some modern scholars prefer to view L. CAPPEL as the real founder of modern textual criticism. In contrast to the Oratorian Morin, Cappel belonged to the French branch of the Calvinist church (see CALVIN) and taught at the Reformed theological school of Saumure. His outstanding works were *Critica sacra, sive de variis quae in sacris veteris testamenti libris occurunt lectionibus* (1650) and *Annotata et commentaria in VT,* published at the end of that century, together with a reedition of his *Arcanum,* this time under his own name.

Whereas Morin started off with a prejudice against the Jewish text that had become the basis of Calvinist orthodoxy, Cappel felt impelled to find out how the original text of the Bible could best be reconstructed from whatever texts were at his disposal. Cappel composed his *Critica sacra* (see CRITICI SACRI) a few decades after attacking the position of the master Hebraist of the Reformed Church, J. BUXTORF. The starting point for this notorious feud was the claim of Cappel that the dominant Reformed orthodoxy had given the Hebrew vowel signs the same authority as the letters, an issue that had occupied Christian scholars since they had first

encountered the phenomenon that Hebrew vowel signs are not part of normal orthography. In fact, around 1500, more than a century before Buxtorf, the most important Hebrew grammarian, E. LEVITA, had argued against the early existence of vowel signs; however, he had directed his remarks to his Jewish coreligionists—even though he was driven to the discussion by the then new guard of Christian Hebraists. Buxtorf, in his time the leading Hebraist of the Swiss Reformed Church, maintained that if vowel signs are not part of the authoritative Hebrew text, one cannot take the Hebrew vowels as authoritative. Later stages of the events that had started with the publication of the attack by Cappel, *Arcanum punctationis revelatum* (1624), subtitled *de punctorum vocalium et accentuum hebraeorum vera et germana antiquitate,* published anonymously though T. Erpenius as intermediary and only later under his name, are outside the limits of this survey. Since Morin and Cappel flourished almost at the same time, it makes no sense to debate whose contribution was more significant for the development of textual criticism. Suffice it to say that, although today textual criticism is often judged to be secondary in position, it was the initial step toward biblical criticism in general. Whatever the philosophical trimmings, the undermining of the AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE began with the undermining of the integrity of its text.

A word is in order on the development of different theories with regard to different parts of the Bible. In the early stages, scholars of the Torah text were not quite aware that the division into three traditions—Hebrew, Samaritan, and Greek—only fit the Pentateuch. Actually, all three texts were different manifestations of the Old Palestinian text tradition; nobody paid attention to what a text of Babylonian provenance might have looked like.

In the seventeenth century the facts of the movement of Jewish groups during the time of the Second Temple were as yet not quite clear, and although the story of the Babylonian exile and the involvement of Ezra in guarding the Torah was general knowledge, the details of the movement of Jewish communities from Babylonia to Palestine were not all clear. The picture painted by Morin was not only tainted by theological prejudice but also did not pay attention to the facts of history. For this reason the division into those three textual traditions has never been discounted until modern times.

Even in the eighteenth century scholars still tried to determine the correct facts regarding the Hebrew text. The most representative step was that taken by B. KENNICOTT, who in the 1770s announced a major collation of all Hebrew manuscripts then available in European public libraries, which became the basis for his *Vetus Testamentum cum variis lectionibus* (1776–80). Kennicott believed that since each printed HB claimed that it offered the correct MT, the authoritative text could only be identified by checking all manuscripts. A few years later J. de Rossi prepared another printing of collations on the basis of manuscripts and editions, *Variae lectiones veteris testamenti* (1784–88), followed by his notes *Scholia critica in v.t. libros* (1798). Both undertakings started off with the enthusiastic assertion that through this collation the correct HB text could be determined, yet both ended in a whimper. The reason was simple: In European libraries only rather late HB manuscripts were extant, thus this great enterprise had an inbuilt flaw. The text was too uniform and no conclusions could be drawn from it. Of course, no one could realize this in the eighteenth century; the reasons only became obvious once real textual differences emerged from the Qumran scrolls (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS), which were over a thousand years older than the run-of-the-mill medieval manuscripts used in the collations of Kennicott and de Rossi.

Yet there was an additional fallacy that marred the work of Kennicott. Hebrew Masoretic codices are characterized by the exactitude of Masoretic notation, chiefly marks of vowels and accents. Those notations were treated rather cavalierly by Christian Hebraists. The reason for this attitude is at present of no importance, but the fact is that both Kennicott and de Rossi did not include notes on differences in vocalization and accentuation. Such notations entered textual criticism only in the editions of S. Baer (1869–) and C. GINSBURG (1908), although only Ginsburg's edition was intended for the textual critic.

As intimated before, when the Qumran scrolls became known, textual critics were at first at a loss how to fit the new facts into the existing framework. Up to that time the differing theories of P. de LAGARDE and P. KAHLE—neither of whom had ever dealt with the raw facts of the MT—provided the framework into which textual criticism was fitted. Only the Qumran scrolls finally showed that up to the end of the Second Temple period there was a much larger variety of textual facts than had been assumed previously. Some texts were almost identical with what was later to become the MT, some were nearer to the prototype of the Septuagint, and still others preserved in the Pentateuch similarities with the Samaritan Torah. This diversity persisted roughly until the middle of the second century CE—the very time that had long been assumed to be the date of the final fixation of the Torah text, which needed stabilization so as to offer a secure basis for rabbinic halakhic MIDRASH.

Moreover, we must not forget that the destruction of the Second Temple seemed a far from auspicious time for the survival of Judaism. The textual tradition, which had suffered badly in the time of the Hasmonean wars, seemed now to be in danger of becoming completely destablilized. Thus both external and internal reasons brought about the final effort for stabilization of the Bible text.

At this juncture one must deal with the issue of changes in the Greek text. What is commonly known as the Septuagint referred originally only to the Greek text of the Pentateuch, the only part of the Bible whose exact text and interpretation were decisive for the strict observance of the letter of the law. Since the days of Ezra the reading of the law had become incumbent on all adult men, but the Jews of Egypt were unable to fulfill that duty because they did not understand Hebrew. The so-called OG text represented the form in which the Hebrew Pentateuch was known, at least in Egypt, at about 300 BCE, yet we have not even one piece of written evidence from that time. Due to the subsequent development of the Hebrew text, the OG had become obsolete by the second century CE, and a more up-to-date Greek text was needed. Thus the later Greek forms emerged, connected to AQUILA, SYMMACHUS, and THEODOTION.

The question remains open as to whether these actually were separate new renderings—as assumed in the nineteenth century—or, rather, secondary revisions of the OG text. For this reason, one must always remember that all biblical textual criticism must be based on previous analysis by Septuagint textual criticism. In fact, the state of extant Greek manuscripts is such that there is great difficulty in reconstructing the OG text, since the manuscripts mostly contain some texual mixture. Perhaps the model of ARCHAEOLOGY will be found helpful. Just as the archaeologist has to uncover layer after layer, so also must the textual critic. And just as the archaeologist cannot be sure of the outcome, neither can the texual critic. Over the decades, previously unknown stages have been uncovered; the formerly assumed textual model has largely broken down. This is not to say that the current picture of textual development is absolutely without basis, but one has to be aware of the fact that textual history never stands still.

Since in modern scholarship the rules of textual criticism of sacred texts are not different from that of profane literature, the various reasons for the types of development should not be mixed up. Obviously there were different reasons that finally necessitated the crystallization of one stable text acceptable to all. Thus, in discussions among the rabbis on what the text means, there was no dispute regarding the facts used by each of them.

The issue of canonization is intimately connected to the issue of the text and in the history of modern biblical studies has probably played a more important role than the issue of textual criticism. The stabilization of the text meant that one first had to decide which books properly belong to the recognized Jewish canon and which do not. Are such books as Ecclesiasticus (Ben Sira), ENOCH, or JUBILEES included? The manner in which quotes from Ecclesiasticus are introduced in Talmudic contexts goes a long way to show that their status was in doubt. As it happened, such writings were finally excluded from the Jewish canon, a judgment taken over after the Reformation by Protestants. The most prominent document prepared by one of the outstanding early representatives of German reform was the treatise by A. von KARLSTADT *De canonicis scripturis libellus* (1520), which was the first product of CANONICAL CRITICISM and precedes all other critical statements. Much of what later became part of higher and lower criticism can already be found here.

It is no coincidence that the so-called Council of Yamnia in the days of R. AKIBA (135 CE) served as the decisive point for both the end of the canonization process and the final stabilization of the text. Long the position of modern scholars, this was in the end affirmed by the evidence of textual history, as it emerged from the Qumran scrolls. Again, it is no coincidence that the revisions of the Greek text—whether they were actual revisions or more correct new translations—lead us back to roughly the same date.

Much of what can be said about this early state of textual history fits what one can find in older literature, but much has undergone dramatic changes. The old lines between the disputants had to be redrawn; thus today the dispute between Lagarde, Kahle, and their followers only has historic importance.

Regarding other versions, the Septuagint and its derivatives served as Bible only for the Eastern church. In the West a Latin derivative known as *Vetus Latina,* which was superseded in the fourth century CE by the Latin revision connected to the name of Jerome, served first. Since Jerome worked out his translation with the help of Jewish teachers in the area of Bethlehem, this version served as a proper substitute for the HB and was known throughout the Middle Ages as *hebraica veritas;* however, starting only with the humanist revival in Renaissance times were scholars able to peruse the different texts side by side. Theological, not philological, differences between the texts used by the church and by the synagogue had caused long polemics throughout the ages, with Jews at the receiving end, since their status was inferior.

Modern textual criticism deals not only with differences among the MT, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate but also with Bible versions in other languages finalized much later, such as the TARGUMIM, the PESHITTA, and even the Arabic Tafsir. This last version is of special interest since Rav SAADIA's Tafsir dates roughly to the same time as that of the Masorah text arranged by A. BEN ASHER. In other words, it was prepared roughly at the same time as the Aleppo Codex, the earliest codex of the complete Masoretic Tiberian text, and thus can serve as corroborating or corrective evidence.

This leads us directly to this codex, which is being used as the basic text of the *Hebrew University Bible* and is at present available in facsimile form to every

scholar. The textual critic has to be able not only to handle all primary Bible versions and deal with their history but also to deal with the intricacies of the Masoretic system. Moreover, he or she should also be able to evaluate the biblical quotations that abound in the entire rabbinic literature.

To be sure, in the common evaluation of various types of biblical criticism, textual criticism—not dealing with the major issues of authorship, source, history, and literature—is still thought of as "lower criticism" in contrast to other areas, which together are thought of as "higher criticism." But in spite of this terminology, textual criticism stands very much at center stage next to the inquiry into the nature of the biblical canon and its history.

Textual criticism has been at the center of exegetical endeavor for a long time, consequently its sub-areas have expanded to such an extent that at present there exists hardly a modern general introduction to the Bible that can still deal properly with all of them. Whereas previously most introductions included a discussion of textual criticism, today various specialized introductory treatises deal with the details. In the exegetical tradition up to the twentieth century, almost every commentary dealing with a given part of the text started off with a textual discussion leading to the interpretation of the text—of course, not always of the same quality. This was the system of the major commentary series in Protestant Germany and in Anglican England and often also in Roman Catholic France and Italy.

It was quite an innovation when in 1906 R. KITTEL published the first edition of his *Biblia Hebraica,* which did not focus on exegesis at all but on the text. As an aid for the average student of theology, Kittel's edition did not even pretend to deal exclusively with textual facts but mixed textual corrections based on old versions with conjectural emendation, so much so that the usual type of student, untrained in the exactness of textual criticism, had a difficult time differentiating between textual facts and hypothetical fiction. This basic attitude has hardly changed in later editions up to the latest *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (1967–77) and continues, in fact, to prevail in the planned new edition, BHQ(uinta). This mixture of textual facts and hypothetical emendations has been avoided in the latest attempt to prepare a proper text-critical edition, the *Hebrew University Bible,* which began publication in Jerusalem in 1965, with the complete volume of the book of Isaiah appearing in 1995 and that of Jeremiah in 1997. Only the future will show which type of edition will ultimately best serve biblical scholarship.

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M. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN

TEXTUAL CRITICISM, NEW TESTAMENT

Since the preserved writings of the NT are all written in Greek, NT textual criticism remains within the framework of the rules and methods worked out by classical philologians over the course of many generations. Nevertheless, NT textual criticism finds itself in a special situation compared with classical philology. Complete copies of texts in classical Greek literature can only be dated back to the ninth century CE. Numerous fragments from the preceding centuries exist; however, the quality of these fragments is often questionable, making reconstruction of complete copies a very difficult task. In the case of the NT we have a continuous manuscript tradition from its beginnings to the invention of printing. Three papyri are preserved from the second century (one of them, P^{52}, located in Manchester, containing John 18 from the first half of the 2nd cent., not long after the writing of the Gospel of John). About 200 CE, an extensive transmission of papyrus writings began: Up to the third/fourth centuries there are more than fifty preserved examples (a total of 115 up to the 8th cent.). Named after those who purchased them, the most important of these are the Chester Beatty papyri, P^{45}, P^{46}, P^{47}, and P^{97} (known since the 1930s; currently in Dublin) and the Bodmer papyri, P^{66}, P^{72}, P^{73}, P^{74}, and P^{75} (known since the 1950s; currently in Cologny near Geneva). Supplementing one another, they preserve almost a complete text of the NT: P^{45} (3rd cent.), preserving large parts of the Gospels and Acts; P^{46} (c. 200), large parts of the letters of PAUL; P^{47} (end of the 3rd cent.), Revelation 9–17; P^{66} (c. 200), John 1–14 still in the original book block (the rest of the Gospel preserved in fragmentary form); P^{72} (3rd and 4th cents.), 1–2 Peter and Jude; P^{75} (beginning of the 3rd cent.), large portions of Luke and John (up to 15:10 with few gaps).

Alongside the papyri are the so-called majuscules from the fourth century on (only five are known from the previous period) or uncials, so named because they are written in capital letters, in contrast to the minuscules (small letters) that began to appear in the ninth century. Parchment was the writing material for both majuscules and minuscules until paper came to be used in the ninth century. The latest majuscules derive from the eleventh century; afterward the field is dominated by minuscules. There are more than 300 majuscules and c. 2,860 minuscules, along with 115 papyri, which is c. 3,270 manuscripts of texts. To these has to be added the group of c. 2,400 lectionaries—that is, liturgical readings—in which the NT writings do not appear in consecutive order but, rather, in pericopes divided up for church services. Thus far that makes c. 5,670 manuscripts of the NT.

The extraordinary number of manuscripts is significant and points up another difference between NT textual criticism and classical philology: There is simply an oppressive surplus of material for the former. In addition to the Greek manuscripts there are ancient translations (see TRANSLATION) of the NT, e.g., the Latin; the Syriac; the Coptic, which originated at the close of the second century; and the innumerable NT citations in the church fathers. The sheer breadth of the material presents one of the greatest and most difficult problems for NT textual criticism.

The same can be said about the differences among the manuscripts themselves. The manuscripts of texts were copied countless times from one another over the course of many centuries (the losses from normal wear and tear, persecution, war, fire, and other causes must be estimated as considerable). They were at first copied totally independently. However, from the time of Constantine on, a period when the church had won its freedom (and governmental support), the bishops were able to guide the text, which had been growing freely until then, in a certain direction. They could choose a model text for the official scriptoria (writing factories) they had set up, and this text served as the basis for the copies of the NT.

From the sixth century on, the expanding imperial Byzantine church tried to establish a uniform NT text. There are, for example, ornamented parchment manuscripts from the sixth century (the so-called Purple uncials N 022, O 023, Φ043), whose parchment pages are dyed purple, with the text written in silver and gold ink. Moreover, there is Codex Rossanensis (Σ042) accompanied by numerous miniatures. The production of a normal parchment manuscript is expensive (a large herd of goats or sheep must have died for this purpose) and could only have been commissioned and paid for by high church or governmental offices, undoubtedly intended for important occasions and churches. Since all of them present the so-called *Koine,* imperial Byzantine HB majority text, it is clear that the text of the official church was moving in this direction; however, in spite of official support, the text was certainly not

smooth. From the beginning the copiers tenaciously tried to preserve what they found in their NT *Vorlagen.* The medieval Byzantine church's attempt (the continuation in the 9th and 12th cents. of a process started in the 6th cent.) to create a uniform NT text resulted in the oppressive plurality of preserved NT manuscripts (more than 2,000 come from the 9th cent. and later) containing the standard Byzantine text. Still, elements of the older text, deriving from the earliest days of the church, were preserved even in these manuscripts. The older text is witnessed to by several hundred manuscripts, even if these have often fallen under the influence of the Byzantine text.

Nonetheless, one can assume that the manuscripts that emerged and were used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries preserved the Byzantine text. The misfortune for the history of the NT text lay in the fact that in his *editio princeps* of the NT (1516) ERASMUS used only a few manuscripts (probably five), which he found in the library of Basel. In its five editions and numerous other reprintings, Erasmus's edition and method were directly determinative for the subsequent period. They also had an indirect effect because every edition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Colinaeus [1534]; Stephanus [1546, 1550 (Regia), 1551]; Beza [10 eds., 1565–1611]; Elzevier [7 eds., 1624–78]) was based on late medieval minuscules—although their editors had access to old majuscule manuscripts or even owned them (Beza owned D 05 and D 06!). Along with Erasmus and the Complutensian POLYGLOT (1514, pub. 1522), these editions were based on a growing number of minuscules predominantly found in their editors' environs. In the apparatus to his 1675 edition, the Oxford bishop J. FELL named more than one hundred minuscules and noted readings from the ancient translations. The text of this period was called the *textus receptus,* according to the effective publicity slogan of Elzevier's second edition in 1633, which allowed the users to presume that they had before them a text accepted by everyone (*textum ab omnibus receptum*), in which nothing was changed or spoiled.

Although NT textual criticism as a discipline did not begin until the eighteenth century, J. Caryophilus and St. de Courcelles were its precursors in the seventeenth century. Also, J. MILL's edition (1707) had signified a major step forward, since it printed no fewer than 30,000 variants to the text of Stephanus (1550). Likewise, R. BENTLEY had announced (1720) a radical intervention into the *textus receptus* based solely on manuscripts that were at least 900 years old (not carried out). There were also editions by G. von Maastricht in 1711 and D. Mace in 1729. NT textual criticism was actually initiated by J. BENGEL, who in 1725 proposed the plan for his 1734 edition. In it the *textus receptus* served as a critical basis (he switched from one *Vorlage* to another), and the Codex Alexandrinus was used for the text of Revelation. The notes, which divided the readings into five categories, were decisive: Three of the five categories are to be preferred to the *textus receptus* or are equally justified. An extensive commentary accompanied his decisions. Although Bengel's edition was greatly surpassed by that of J. WETTSTEIN (1751–52) in inclusiveness and penetration of the material, it continued to be influential. Bengel advanced for the first time the detailed genealogical penetration of the manuscript tradition. His overall structure was further developed by J. SEMLER and especially by J. J. GRIESBACH, who had already distinguished the Western, Alexandrian, and Byzantine textual forms, thereby laying out the fundamental lines of the discussion still current.

The decisive turning point occurred when a classical philologist from Berlin, K. LACHMANN, who in 1830 supported the abandonment of the late *textus receptus,* argued for a return to the fourth-century text, which at that time was the oldest form that could be reconstructed. Thus he pioneered the way for establishing the original text of the NT, which since then has been at the forefront of the text-critical debate. The most important textual critics of the nineteenth century were C. von TISCHENDORF, B. F. WESTCOTT, and F. HORT. Without Tischendorf's *Editio octava critica maior* (1869–72), it is impossible even today to work text-critically. He offered in this work all the materials (and dependably, which is not the rule in many editions) that were known in his day, including about sixty majuscules, twenty-one of which he had discovered on his journeys in search of manuscripts. The most significant of these is Codex Sinaiticus (S 01), whose discovery was the sensation of the century, and which to a large extent influenced the text presented by Tischendorf. The latter had little and only belated access to Codex Vaticanus (B 03), which had just become known to the public. With Westcott and Hort, whose *NT in the Original Greek* appeared in 1881, it was a different story; for them Codex Vaticanus played a decisive role.

With these two editions (as well as that of S. Tregelles [1857–72], which took a backseat to Tischendorf's because of their contemporaneity), the age of the *textus receptus* came to a close—at least in scholarly circles. It became the least valuable textual form, as had been the judgment of Bengel and Griesbach. One would think that the battle had been decided after 200 years of controversy, but the *textus receptus* was firmly anchored in the consciousness of the Anglican Church and in English-speaking areas, where it remained the official text until 1880. Even the British and Foreign Bible Society took it as the basis for their editions until 1904, when they began to use the Nestle text, which had been published six years earlier. Up to that time the English Bible circulated only in the KJV. In 1881 this "authorized version" was followed by the "revised version," which ran parallel to the text of Westcott-Hort. Thus

even the layperson could clearly recognize the changing situation. J. Burgon's (1813–88) campaign against Westcott-Hort and in favor of the Byzantine text found corresponding support. It was unsuccessful, however, because textual critics were acutely aware of the secondary character of the Byzantine text: its linguistic and stylistic adjustments (which may seem insignificant to us but which were extraordinarily meaningful in the first millennium); formulations influenced by the church, with inclusions of edifying additions; etc.

In the modern period Burgon's views are experiencing a resurgence, especially in the United States. His polemical writings are being reprinted and repeated in recent publications. Moreover, a new edition of the majority text has been presented (Z. Hodges and A. Farstad [1982]), with a justification that violates all philological and historical knowledge. The proponents of this text, as had earlier generations, base their arguments on the great number of manuscripts coming from every ecclesiastical province. (The bulk of them come from the 9th century and later!) The main argument, which impressed many people, that this text was the "text of the church" is easily countered by asking, "Which church?" The answer is, of course, the Byzantine church of the Middle Ages, which is merely a historical phenomenon for us; it has no binding influence. For the textual critic, only the earliest text can serve this authoritative function. (For details, see K. Aland [1987].)

The Westcott-Hort edition exerted an extraordinary influence on textual criticism late into the twentieth century, and rightly so, for the wisdom of its theoretical expositions (especially in the accompanying volume written by Hort, but even in the appendix to vol. 1 with its discussion of selected passages) is remarkable. Still, from a current perspective questions remain. Westcott and Hort explained that their edition reflects the NT "in the original Greek," but in fact they present only the fourth-century text (a goal announced by Lachmann fifty years earlier). Their manuscript witnesses do not go beyond that date. In order to reconstruct the text of the earlier period, they laboriously appealed to the OL and to the Old Syriac traditions, their chief support being Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D 05). They believed that "the text of D presents a truer image of the form in which the Gospels and Acts were most widely read in the third and probably a great part of the second century than any other extant Greek manuscript" (1881, 149). This claim is now inaccurate, since none of the papyri, original witnesses from the second and third centuries, confirm this assumption. (Only two or three of them, dating from the second half of the 3rd cent., should be considered as representing the early stages of D.)

To the textual forms assumed since the time of Bengel and Griesbach—the Syrian, the Constantinopalitan (Byzantine), the Alexandrian, and the Western texts—Westcott and Hort added the so-called neutral text, represented by Codex Vaticanus (B), which correspondingly played a decisive role in their edition. However, there is no "neutral" text. Without doubt, Codex Vaticanus B presents the most important majuscule manuscript of the NT (this position is strengthened even more since P^{75} pushes its text for Luke and John back at least to the beginning of the third century—perhaps even farther). However, the theory of a neutral text is obviated by the fact that the letters of Paul illustrate a different textual character in Codex Vaticanus than do the remaining writings.

In the twentieth century the situation changed completely. For the first time textual criticism could deal with the NT text "in the original Greek"—specifically with the Chester Beatty and Bodmer papyri. Moreover, for the first time the complete Greek tradition became available to textual critics. Both circumstances changed the situation fundamentally.

The publication of Eberhard Nestle's (1851–1913) *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1898) at the Württemberg Bibelanstalt introduced twentieth-century textual criticism. This NT provides nothing more than an average text established according to the majority principle from Tischendorf's and Westcott-Hort's editions. Where divergences were involved, the edition of R. Weymouth was initially used as a standard; from 1901 on B. WEISS's edition served this purpose for deciding what belonged in the text and what belonged in the apparatus. This edition's text was not, strictly speaking, a scholarly work. Nevertheless, it acquired a decisive significance because it summarized text-critical work in the nineteenth century and because the majority principle had eliminated the unique readings of S 01 (Tischendorf) and B (Westcott-Hort). This edition has dominated the scene, especially since 1904, when it was appropriated by the British Bible Society, and since Erwin Nestle (1883–1972) supplemented it from the thirteenth printing in 1927 on with an increasingly improved text-critical apparatus. In comparison, the contemporary pocket editions of H. Vogels (1922, 1955^4), A. Merk (1933, 1984^{10}; repeated in a Greek-Italian ed., 1990), J. Bover (1943, 1968^5), and J. O'Callaghan (1977, 1988^2) played only a limited role because as a rule they allocated too much space to the Byzantine text (dependent on H. von Soden). The following editions are also worth mentioning: (1) A. Souter's first edition appeared in 1910, the second in 1947, with both being reprinted numerous times. Its significance lies in its critical apparatus, not in its text, which accommodates the *textus receptus* to the 1881 RV. (2) R. Tasker attempted to establish the Greek text underlying the NEB (1964). (3) In 1981 G. Nolli presented an edition (proceeding from Merk) that is inadequate in every respect.

Von Soden's (1852–1914) edition (1902–13) is currently the only completed attempt to establish a "great

edition" comparable to those of the nineteenth century. Its goal was announced in the title: "The Writings of the NT in Their Oldest Attainable Textual Form Based on the History of the Text." The decisive weakness of von Soden's work is also addressed in this title. He proposed the scheme of three text types: K (*Koine* text, Byzantine text), H (Hesychian text, Egyptian text), and I (Jerusalem text). Where two of these three types preserve the same text, we have the archetype still used by ORIGEN. In other words, we have the original text, assuming it had not been corrupted by the influence of TATIAN (the Gospels) or MARCION (Paul).

Even in this case there are considerable doubts. The decisive weakness of von Soden's theory is his assumption of a Jerusalem text, to which he subordinated everything that did not fit elsewhere. Overlooking the fact that Jerusalem was not a great textual center and considering the facts of ecclesiastical history, some decisive consequences arise from von Soden's proposal. If K should emerge as a witness of equal value, and if two text types are sufficient to establish the *Urtext,* then the combination of the secondary textual form (K) with an empirically nonexistent one (I) must lead to a text that cannot be understood as the *Urtext.* Nevertheless, von Soden's edition has remained significant because its critical apparatus provides the most complete collection of variants, even though its complicated designations for manuscripts and its arrangement make it difficult to use. (Unfortunately, it evidences many inadmissible printing errors.) The volumes of this edition represent a gold mine that has not yet been fully exploited, although many sensational text-critical discoveries have been culled from it.

S. Legg's editions of Mark (1935) and Matthew (1940) were planned as competitors to the great editions of the nineteenth century, although Legg did not present a critical text, instead using the text of Westcott-Hort. The editions were so severely criticized that the publisher did not accept Legg's already finished manuscript of Luke. In its place an American-British "International Greek NT Project" was initiated, which after forty years of work presented a two-volume edition of Luke (1984–87) and later an edition of John (vol. 1, The Papyry, 1995). This work's significance lies in its inclusive apparatus, which, nevertheless, is not easy to use. The *textus receptus* was chosen as its text base; thus it must be used as a mirror image, so to speak, if one desires to reconstruct the original text. The *textus receptus* was not selected on its own merits but (long before an attempt was made to revive it) in order to keep the apparatus briefer by not listing the Byzantine manuscripts.

In comparison to the nineteenth century, changes have occurred with reference to the NT text. Nestle's text (through its 25th ed.), with its mechanical origin and its basis in the understanding and information of the nineteenth century, has increasingly come to be viewed in a critical light. The Württemberg Bibelanstalt (with the express approval of Erwin Nestle) commissioned K. Aland to review the existing text critically in light of new discoveries. He was already involved in this task when the American Bible Society came up with a plan to create its own edition of the NT for its 150th anniversary in 1966. The result was the *Greek NT* and the *Novum Testamentum Graece* by Nestle-Aland (present eds.: 4th rev. ed. of *Greek NT* [1993] and 27th rev. ed. of *Novum Testamentum Graece* [1993], both edited by B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. Martini, and B. Metzger). Both editions have the same text; even the punctuation is identical. They differ in their critical apparatus and their goals. The *Greek NT* is intended for translators. Its critical apparatus preserves two or three variants per page, which are especially important in translating; and the beginning of each apparatus item is marked by capital letters (A, B, C, D) in order to indicate the evaluation of evidence for the text. *Novum Testmentum Graece* is directed toward students and theologians; therefore, it offers many more variants in its apparatus (up to twenty or more per page). According to an agreement between the Vatican and the United Bible Societies, both editions are to be used as the basis for every translation into different languages or revisions.

Undoubtedly, the text as presented in *Greek NT*3a and *Novum Testamentum Graece*[26] represents a great advance over the nineteenth-century text. The new papyri were used in establishing it; other manuscript discoveries and connections made between them in the twentieth century, the new editions of the (ancient) translations, and the works of the church fathers were also used. Yet the "new Tischendorf" (an edition with a new text and all the evidence in the critical apparatus deriving from the Greek manuscripts, along with the ancient translations and the church fathers, all of which is necessary for the establishment of the *Urtext* and of major dates in textual history), which was discussed from the beginning of the twentieth century, did not come to fruition until the end of the century.

After a long time of preparation (special eds.: *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus* [1986, 1989, 1994], *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* [1986, 1991, 1995]; special studies: *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* [K. Aland et al., 1987, 1991, 1993, 1998]), in 1997 the Institute for NT Studies in Münster published the first fascicle of the Editio Critica Maior (ECM) of the NT: vol. 4, The Catholic Epistles, installment 1, "The Epistle of James," edited by B. Aland, K. Aland, G. Mink, and K. Wachtel. The Acts of the Apostles will follow the catholic epistles as vol. 2. The ECM offers the full range of textual source materials that is of great significance for first-millennium CE NT text history, including the Greek

manuscripts, quotations up to the seventh- and eighth-century Christian writers, and early renderings of the Greek (i.e., Latin, Coptic, Syriac). The ECM, therefore, presents all variant readings that emerged during the first millennium CE and thus allows for the possibility of NT research in the area of textual criticism as well as in transmission history.

For the first time in the history of NT textual study, the selection of Greek manuscripts has been based on an assessment of all preserved manuscript materials. In order to determine the textual value of various manuscripts, the entire NT was covered with a net made up of over 1,200 test passages intended to reveal the distinct characteristics of each manuscript. As a result the vast majority of manuscripts appeared to be of the Byzantine type; only about 500 manuscripts contain larger portions of the ancient text and are, therefore, of special significance for establishing the original NT text. Those manuscripts selected through this procedure will be registered in the ECM together with their variants. The large number of Byzantine manuscripts, which are to a great extent identical, will be represented by a relatively small selection. The complete representation of textual material will not only create a new base for the constitution of the text but will also invite further insights into the history of the NT. Consequently, the text of the NT as we have it today (*Novum Testamentum Graece, Greek NT*) will be further supported, its base having become much more solid than before.

With each new installment of the ECM will appear supplementary material that will contain a great deal of information expanding the critical apparatus itself: the location of patristic quotations, details as to the readings of the ancient translations, and information about the lacunae of each given manuscript. In addition, each volume of the ECM will be accompanied by supplementary studies in which, among other things, the entire scope of the material will be assessed in a text-critical commentary. All manuscript material will be critically evaluated and further transmission-historical research will be proposed.

The text of the *Novum Testamentum Graece* and the *Greek NT,* as it appears to be supported by the ECM, at least in the epistle of James, profited from the decisive transformation that the twentieth century brought to textual criticism, in particular as a result of access to the early papyri but also (even if only partially) because it is now possible to penetrate the entire body of Greek manuscripts. Because of the publications of the institute at Münster, it is possible for anyone to gain access to the materials for the catholic epistles, the letters of Paul, Acts, and the SYNOPTIC Gospels. By using these publications each manuscript can be compared with the others. Thus a new phase of text-critical work has begun—assuming that the experts will take advantage of the currently available possibilities. Thousands of NT manuscripts have not yet been studied with respect to their textual character and value. Until the late twentieth century every judgment made about the placement of manuscripts into families, groups, etc. rested only on the manuscripts that by accident came into the hands of those who discovered them. That type of analysis is now in the past. The volumes in *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (K. Aland et al.) are fully neutral and consciously limited to a presentation of the evidence (see also K. Aland and B. Aland's list of manuscripts [handbook, 1989^2]).

Without reference to the previously established or hypothesized groupings, the manuscripts can be placed into five categories. Category 1 includes manuscripts of special quality, which should always be considered when establishing the original text. Category 2 consists of manuscripts of special quality, which are distinguished from the manuscripts of Category 1 by foreign influence (especially the Byzantine text), but which are important for the establishment of the original text. Category 3 includes manuscripts with an independent text, often significant for the establishment of the original text but especially for textual history. Category 4 consists of manuscripts of the D text. Category 5 includes manuscripts with a purely or predominantly Byzantine text. Readings are assigned to Categories 1-2, which have been adopted from manuscripts with an "ancient" text into manuscripts with the Byzantine text, i.e., the Byzantine text at these places has preserved the original text. This position does not deny the previous results of scholarly investigation (except for von Soden's Jerusalem text) or even question them but makes possible a method of controlling and supplementing them while exhausting the whole material. Thus a path would be open for the systematic classification of all the evidence.

It can be said that only the Byzantine and D text-types are absolutely certain, but no longer should one refer to a "Western" text. The Egyptian papyri from the second half of the third century reveal that the D text developed in stages, and D 05 from the fifth century or its precursor presents only the conclusion of a continuing process of development. The same is true for the Byzantine text and its early manifestation, the *Koine,* which is not LUCIAN's creation *ex nihilo.* This text also grew in stages, for it is clear that tendencies characteristic of the Byzantine text could be found in the church at an early period.

The following distinctions may be made for manuscripts preserving an Egyptian text that have heretofore had diverse designations: the Alexandrian text (e.g., P^{75} and B 03) and the Egyptian text (for manuscripts whose text came from Alexandria but especially for those infiltrated by the Byzantine text). As long as the so-called Caesarean text has not been studied extensively, and as long as it has not been discovered widely in the writings

of Origen and EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, its existence remains doubtful. Its character might be demonstrated in light of the entire body of existing manuscripts.

The general fundamentals and principles of NT textual criticism can perhaps be summarized as follows: (1) Only one reading can be original, no matter how many variants may exist for a passage. (2) A reading is most probably original if it easily explains the emergence of the other readings (the genealogical principle). It can only be original if the external and internal criteria are in optimal agreement. (3) Textual criticism must always begin with the findings in regard to manuscript transmission. Only then can internal criteria (the context of a passage, the style and vocabulary, the theological ideas of the author, etc.) be considered, for they alone cannot substantiate a text-critical decision. (4) The weight of a text-critical decision depends on the Greek tradition, whereas transmission in the versions and in the church fathers in general only has a controlling and supplemental function. (5) Manuscripts should be weighed not counted, with the specific peculiarities of each manuscript being taken into account. No single manuscript or group of manuscripts should be followed mechanically, even if certain combinations of witnesses deserve to be trusted more than others at the outset. Instead, text-critical decisions must be made on a case-by-case basis (the local principle). (6) Variants may not be dealt with in isolation. The context of the tradition must always be considered. (7) The *lectio difficilior* is the *lectio potior.* Nevertheless, this principle may not be applied mechanically. The old maxim *lectio brevior* = *lectio potior* is correct in many cases, but likewise it should not be used rigidly. This principle loses its force when the text of certain witnesses does not fit into the framework of the normal rules of textual transmission but instead constantly deviates from them because of a redactor's willful abbreviations and expansions (e.g., D 05). (8) These rules may not be applied in isolation, only in the proper combination. Experience is the best teacher in NT textual criticism. Anyone who has completely collated a single manuscript (preferably more), whether it be an early papyrus, an important majuscule or a minuscule, will acquire a point of view different from the person who only makes spot investigations.

Additional studies of the history of the ancient church are urgently needed. Many text-critical judgments of the past can be explained as arising from a neglect of this premise (the dating of the emergence and development of the lectionaries is typical). The textual history of the NT did not happen in a vacuum but, rather, within the history of the church.

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K. ALAND (rev. B. KÖSTER)

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (c. 350–428)

Known as "the Interpreter," T. is said to have expounded Scripture "in all the churches of the East." However, in the christological controversies he was identified, together with Diodore of Tarsus, as the source of Nestorian error and eventually was condemned in the sixth century. As a result almost all his works have been lost, apart from hostile quotation and some Latin and Syriac translations. Evidence suggests that he commented on almost all the books of the Bible; yet all that survives is the *Commentary on the Ten Epistles of St. Paul,* which escaped destruction by being attributed to AMBROSE, and the *Commentary on John* in Syriac. In addition, quite extensive Greek fragments of his com-

mentaries on Genesis, Psalms, and the Gospel of John have been gleaned from the catenae.

T. was the most important and most extreme representative of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL. On the whole, his commentaries are brief and consist largely of basic exegetical notes. He discussed linguistic and textual points where difficulties arise about the correct reading or construal of sentences. He commented on the meanings of words and phrases, especially where it is necessary to draw attention to specific biblical meanings. He noted where metaphor and other figures of speech are used and occasionally indulged in etymological explanations. In other words, he was interested in the philological questions raised by the text.

Also characteristic of his commentaries are summaries and paraphrases elucidating the argument in the text (*hypotheseis*) and introductory notes explaining the situation or background of the material. Often his comments are biographical or historical, e.g., whether PAUL had visited Colossae. Thus it is hardly surprising that modern scholars have stressed T.'s literal or historical approach to Scripture—indeed, in his own day he was accused of treating Scripture as the Jews did, which in Christian parlance meant literally.

However, T. was no modern historical critic. He accepted that David composed the psalms, despite his recognition that some of them referred to events of a later period (David was prophesying). The apostle John was the author of the Fourth Gospel and wrote to ensure that people did not lose sight of Christ's divinity. T. assumed that the NT writers taught what he regarded as orthodoxy, and for him the principal purpose of a commentary was to deal with problem texts, particularly those twisted by the heretics.

On the other hand, T. did insist on distinguishing between OT and NT, interpreting the words of the prophets as sermons and warnings for the prophet's hearers, not simply as messianic predictions. He could not accept christological interpretation of the OT uncritically and denied many of the prophecies and types traditional in Christian exegesis. T. appreciated the eschatological dimension of the NT Scriptures as no one else in this period did. One explanation of the characteristics of his exegesis can be found in his fundamental theological perception of the "two ages": The NT is new, and to find it already present in the OT is to undermine the radical character of the gospel. Another explanation would appear to lie in the area of LITERARY-critical method: T. and the other Antiochene exegetes adopted the techniques of comment practiced in grammatical and rhetorical schools. They were concerned with philology and with the narrative logic of the text rather than with verbal allegory. This background in literary criticism perhaps explains why T. admitted one or two cases where the OT prefigured NT events by *mimesis,* for here he seems to be accepting the literary-critical commonplace that literature imitates life and adapting it to the traditional Christian way of reading the OT as PROPHECY. Thus Jonah prefigured JESUS, the extraordinary events of his life signifying by *mimesis* Christ's rejection, his resurrection, and the conversion of the Gentiles.

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F. M. YOUNG

THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (c. 393–c. 466)

A leading ANTIOCHENE theologian, exegete, and historian, T. benefited from an upbringing both in Syriac monasticism and in Greek *paideia.* Although he may not have actually studied with THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, he was thoroughly steeped in his ideas.

T. became the leading spokesman for the Antiochene school at the time of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, both of which he attended, and was the principal architect of the Symbol of Union in 433, which reconciled moderate Antiochenes to Ephesus. He was deposed in 449 by the "robber council" of Ephesus but returned in triumph to participate in Chalcedon, where he agreed reluctantly to condemn Nestorius. T. authored theological treatises, most of them against CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA; exegetical works covering most of the OT and the epistles of PAUL; and histories of the church and of Syrian monasticism and carried on an extensive correspondence.

In exegesis as in theology T. was Antiochene, but not rigidly so. Like Theodore, he saw type and antitype as the key to an understanding of the relationship between the two testaments and sought to understand HB PROPHECY in its own historical context, following the dictum that "it is proper to prophesy, not just to predict the

future, but also to speak of the present and the past" (*PG* 80:861A). Nonetheless, his first work, a commentary on the Song of Solomon, relied on ORIGEN; and he rejected as "Judaizing" Theodore's denial of any direct applicability of most HB prophecies to Christ.

Probably because of their conciseness, clarity, and moderation, his commentaries, in contrast to those of more celebrated exegetes, have survived intact. Although accepting the SEPTUAGINT as normative, he took an interest in TEXTUAL CRITICISM; a knowledge of Syriac enabled him to use the PESHITTA and gave him some access to the Hebrew text.

Works: *PG* 80-84; *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (ed. W. F. Mardos and A. Saenz-Badillos, 1979); *Commentaire sur Isaie* (3 vols., ed. J.-N. Guinot, SC 276, 295, 315, 1980–84).

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J. W. TRIGG

THEODOTION (2nd cent.)

T. produced a Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures that, technically speaking, is a revision of an earlier TRANSLATION but actually amounts to a new one, since he inserted so many new elements that the underlying base text can be discovered only after minute research. Fragments of his translations of most biblical books have been preserved, in some cases amounting to a complete translation. Large segments were included in ORIGEN's Hexapla.

The background of T.'s translation has become known only in recent years. The Greek scroll of the Minor Prophets, found in Naḥal Ḥever (1952) and published in DJD 7 (1990), contains an early revision of the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT) named *kaige* by D. Barthélemy (1963), and a similar revision is reflected in the following sources: the sixth column of the Hexapla (attributed to T.) and the *Quinta* (fifth) column of the same work; several segments of the LXX of Samuel–Kings (2 Sam 11:1[10:1]–1 Kgs 2:11; 1 Kings 22–2 Kings); part of the manuscript tradition of the LXX of Judges and the LXX of Lamentations.

In antiquity this anonymous revision was ascribed to T., who apparently lived at the end of the second century CE; hence the translational units ascribed to him also belong to this revision. Consequently the revision is now designated *kaige*-Theodotion, but it should be noted that this revision's various sources are not uniform in their character. Its presumed early date, toward the end of the first century BCE, solves the so-called proto-Theodotion problem that has long preoccupied scholars.

Barthélemy named the anonymous revision *kaige* because one of its distinctive features is that the Hebrew particle *gam* is usually translated with *kaige* (at least), apparently following the rabbinic hermeneutical rule (see HERMENEUTICS) that each *gam* in the Bible refers not only to the word(s) occurring after it but also to one additional word (one of the 32 hermeneutical rules [*middot*] of R. Eliezer ben Yose ha-Gelili, called "inclusion and exclusion").

The revisions of AQUILA and SYMMACHUS are based on the text of *kaige*-Theodotion rather than on that of the so-called OG translation. This dependence explains the background of the many readings Aquila, Symmacus, and Theodotion have in common. Ancient quotations from these sources are often recorded as "the Three."

T.'s readings are recorded in the Göttingen and Cambridge editions of the LXX and in Field's edition of the Hexapla. The Hebrew text from which the translation was made was virtually identical with the MT.

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E. TOV

THEOLOGY, BIBLICAL (to 1800)

While it may be argued that in the seventeenth century J. COCCEIUS's *Summa doctrinae de foedere et testamento Dei* (1673) or even B. SPINOZA's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670) were types of biblical theology, the technical use of the term *biblical theology* to describe a new approach to biblical exegesis first entered general use at the end of the eighteenth century. Even then its essence was in some doubt; J. Thiess (1797, 185) commented: "One might well give up the idea of realizing a biblical theology even theoretically, given such differ-

ent attempts which by their very nature contradict each other. Still the putting together of the true notions of religion which are scattered in the Bible is a worthwhile undertaking, especially for the instruction of the general populace and youth." This comment might almost be made about biblical theology ever since for, unlike certain exegetical disciplines like TEXTUAL or PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM, where the method tends to define the investigation, in biblical theology wide divergences in method and result are typical.

In essence, biblical theology was (and largely still is) an attempt to winnow out of the Bible what is important by the application of standards and techniques that are not necessarily part of the biblical tradition. Before the eighteenth century, exegesis was approached in this manner; however, in the eighteenth century this procedure became both self-conscious and systematic. In order to understand how this development came about as part of a revolution in theological thinking, it is necessary to be aware of how exegesis was affected by both changes in the intellectual climate and new developments in the theory and technique of scholarly work.

Unlike the nineteenth century, the eighteenth century was a period when social discourse ran ahead of social change. Although society as a whole appeared stable, those who moved in the world of ideas felt a growing unease over the separation of things that had been thought to go together. Thus religion and tradition were separated by the new scientific method's demand for proofs even in religion; elite and popular religion were separated by the problem of how to reconcile personal religion with established religion; religion and citizenship were separated by the question of how to belong to two spheres, each with a claim to ultimate authority; and religion and community were separated by the new emphasis on personal responsibility.

Yet despite the upsets these new developments produced in the area of religion, the eighteenth century was characterized, especially in Germany, not so much by growing secularism as by attempts to formulate a religious position less vulnerable to the factors that made the older theologies obsolete. Whatever their opponents may have suggested, even such major critics of orthodoxy as Edelmann, J. Dippel (1673–1734), H. S. REIMARUS, G. LESSING, K. F. Bahrdt (1741–92), and J. B. Basedow (1724–90) all aimed at reforming religion rather than destroying it; and some even appealed to the AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE for their programs. Inevitably the Bible, considered to be the center of Protestant doctrine, was brought into the day-to-day debates, whether as the object of serious moral objection, thanks to Spinoza and the English Deists (see DEISM), or as the answer to the dislocating effect of new ideas on the structure of society as a whole.

In the theory and technique of scholarly work, several developments were important. First, a new sense of history emerged as it gradually became clear that the people of past ages did not think and act in the same way as their modern successors. Just as historians began to trace the changes that had taken place in church doctrine so also biblical scholars became more aware of the historically conditioned nature of many passages in the Scriptures. It was also realized that different ways of thinking were to be found in the Bible and that an appreciation of these perspectives was necessary before one could begin interpretation, even if one did not wish to follow J. G. HERDER's advice that the only way to understand Hebrew POETRY was to recite it to the rays of the rising sun. By the end of the century the importance of comparative material from other religions began to be felt. Furthermore, technical methods in exegesis were refined, especially in the areas of philology and textual studies. These developments were a source of self-conscious satisfaction among the learned, for in the last quarter of the eighteenth century many scholars agreed that theology had made great strides and that even more astonishing and certain results could be expected.

During the eighteenth century the term *biblical theology* could be used either conventionally to describe a division of theology as it existed, or exceptionally to make a claim for a radically different departure in theology. In conventional use, "biblical theology" was generally employed with approval, for, in Protestant circles at least, there was a strong sense that all theology must be biblical. "Biblical theology" could also be used to distinguish exegesis from other theological undertakings like systematics or church history. It was generally assumed at the outset of the century that within Scripture there were no inconsistencies (*analogia fidei*) and that therefore the work of exegesis was to set out the unified system that was to be found there despite appearances to the contrary. It was from this standpoint that collections of biblical texts were made to prove various doctrines like the oneness of God, the nature of the Trinity, or the INSPIRATION of Scripture. Such important texts were known collectively as *dicta classica.* Perhaps the best-known collection was S. Schmidt's work *Collegium Biblicum* (1671, 1676^2), whose influence can still be seen in C. von AMMON's choice of texts for comment. In these collections texts were arranged according to the traditional forms of Lutheran orthodox theology with little attention being paid to the circumstances of their origins.

In non-conventional use, "biblical theology" was employed to seize the high ground in controversy; for this purpose it could be invoked by people of very different outlooks. Two examples from much the same time illustrate how the term could be given different associations. In the middle of the eighteenth century, C. Döderlein (not to be confused with the more important J.

Döderlein), writing from the Pietist tradition (1758; see PIETISM), argued that the use of philosophy has always had a deleterious effect on the correct interpretation of the Bible. Although he began with HILLEL, it is clear that his main target was theologians who made use of the new philosophy of the Enlightenment, in particular S. BAUMGARTEN. In fact Döderlein was echoing P. J. SPENER's use of the term *biblical theology;* the difference is that Spener's target was a moribund Lutheran orthodoxy while Döderlein's was the new impulses set loose by Baumgarten and others.

That biblical theology could almost simultaneously be used to support the opposite position is shown by A. Büsching, a student of Baumgarten's who had lost faith in his master's system. Büsching's inaugural dissertation (1756) appears to be an unremarkable, even pedestrian, work; but in two later editions, published in Lemgo (1757; GT 1758), he showed his rationalist leanings, thinly disguised as a series of questions appended to the texts he listed.

It tended to be the radicals who appealed to the Bible to justify their position. For example, although Bahrdt (1769/70) claimed to interpret the Bible, in reality he presented his own radical Enlightenment view of religion with very little attention to the evidence. J. HOFMANN (1770) provided one possible answer to Bahrdt's sort of radicalism and perhaps to Bahrdt himself. An able, if somewhat conservative, representative of orthodoxy, Hofmann criticized those who extol the Bible only to disparage theology and who proclaim the words of Scripture only to proscribe the meaning of Scripture from the church of Christ. For Hofmann, apart from popularizing it for the unlearned, there were two ways of treating theology, one that is drawn from the Bible alone and the other that includes the writings of theologians who have translated into their own words what Scripture teaches. The first, biblical theology, is better for winning the minds of learners; the second, for seeing the totality of religion at a single glance. Both are to be done together. Hofmann then went on to deplore the neglect by those who call themselves theologians of the study of Scripture.

In many disputes the difficulty lies, not with the clarity of the argument, but with the pertinency of the evidence. By the latter part of the eighteenth century, it was no longer possible to overlook the fact that, as well as being unsystematic, the Bible does not lend itself easily to systematization; there are simply too many passages that are inconsistent, irrelevant, or offensive. In theory the arguments of Hofmann or even of Döderlein are most attractive, and similar arguments are still offered today. But apart from the philosophical difficulties involved, the fact is that the radicals were right about individual passages far too often to be ignored. The question was whether a new synthesis could be found that would allow for both the value of the Bible and honesty about moral convictions and exegetical insights.

Biblical theology emerged as a response to the factors discussed above; the ensuing disagreements among its four most prominent advocates (G. Zachariae, J. P. Gabler, Ammon, and G. Bauer) about its nature sprang from the particular factors each author was responding to. All four would have agreed that it was necessary to combine new methods of exegesis and the new awareness of biblical thought-worlds in the work of interpretation, while at the same time they had no doubt that the Bible's essential significance was to be defended. All four would have echoed in some way the general feeling that the Bible is best suited for the instruction of the unlearned (note the views of J. Theiss and of Hofmann, above); all would also have agreed that not everything in the Bible is suitable for this purpose. Their differences begin after this point.

ZACHARIAE belonged to an earlier generation for whom philosophy was much less problematical in matters of religion. The defense and explanation of revelation could be left in the hands of the philosophers. Biblical theology should distinguish between what was only of historical importance in the Bible and what was meant as a message to all people of all times; here the eighteenth-century emphasis on universality is apparent. In the wake of the new emphasis on system as part of science, Zachariae felt that some sort of order, albeit not the strict order of dogmatics, should be produced in a biblical theology; just the collection of random evidence was not enough.

GABLER agreed to a great extent with Zachariae but introduced more strongly the distinction between religion and theology: Religion is the minimum knowledge necessary to live a Christian life, whereas theology is the preserve of the learned. The eighteenth-century worry about the danger to public order if common people did not have adequate beliefs is apparent here. For Gabler, the work of biblical theology was to seek out the universal truths embedded in the historical circumstances of Scripture; in effect, such a biblical theology was identical with religion and was to be distinguished from dogmatic theology, although it formed the basis of the latter. Gabler also emphasized that Israel's religion should be seen as a historical entity entitled to study in its own right.

Ammon refused to find any sort of intermediate doctrinal order in the Bible, arguing that the Easterners who wrote the Bible were more attracted to the products of fantasy than to the demonstrations of reason. However, he saw a virtue in the diversity within the Bible, for, whereas a systematic presentation of religion was the product of a single mind, in the Bible different people could find images appropriate to their own view of religion. In this respect Ammon is almost in complete opposition to Gabler's emphasis on finding universal

truths behind the diversity of Scripture. Rather than being a throwback to the older *collegium biblicum,* however, it is apparent that Ammon's work reflects another eighteenth-century concern: How does one reconcile the reality of private religion with the need for public statements, such as creeds? It was also Ammon's conviction that God's gradual revelation to humanity is reflected in the documents of the Bible.

Of all the early biblical theologians, G. BAUER was the most prolific, writing various books around the theme of biblical theology. He came much closer than Ammon to Gabler's demand for a historical treatment of Israel's religion; but Gabler felt that although Bauer was methodologically more correct, Ammon was frequently the deeper commentator on individual passages. In fact, Bauer was already beginning to move into a type of biblical theology that is simply a history of Israel's religion focused on scholarship, without concern for the relevance of the Bible to current religion. Here his area of concern was very different in emphasis from that of the other three writers.

The emergence of biblical theology in the eighteenth century, then, should be seen not as a simple linear development of a desire to separate biblical theology from the dominance of systematics but, rather, as the result of a parallelogram of forces, social, philosophical, religious, and scholarly. It had as much to do with the society of its writers as with the society of the Bible; as such it was a curious amalgam destined by its very nature to be unstable. On the other hand, without some interplay with the world of its readers, the Bible would have become a dead letter, as irrelevant to society in general as the soon to be recovered Babylonian or Egyptian religion (see EGYPTOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES).

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J. SANDYS-WUNSCH

THEOLOGY, NEW TESTAMENT

The roots of a critical understanding of NT theology are to be found in the Reformation principle of *sola scriptura.* In the attempt to free the Bible from the authority of the church, the Bible itself, having to stand on its own, became the subject of critical scrutiny. The work of R. SIMON illustrates the development of the critical process: Simon showed, especially through TEXTUAL CRITICISM, that at many points the Bible is textually unreliable; e.g., the ending of Mark (16:9-20) and the story of the adulteress (John 7:53–8:11) are not supported by the earliest manuscripts. In both Lutheran and Reformed orthodoxy, however, the Bible came under a new form of church dominance in the compendia of biblical texts, referred to as biblical theologies, that were supposed to form the foundation of church dogma.

The crucial breakthrough to a theology of the NT as we know it came with the programmatic inaugural address of J. P. GABLER on Mar. 30, 1787, in Altdorf in Bavaria, in which he called for a clear distinction between the tasks of biblical and dogmatic theology. For him, biblical theology had to be free from determination by dogmatic theology so that theologians had a sound biblical basis for the production of a dogmatic theology. The purpose of biblical theology is to mediate between the plain teachings of biblical religion and the subtle, sophisticated formulations of dogmatic theology. To enable biblical theology to accomplish its task effectively, Gabler further divided it into two distinct steps: "true" biblical theology, which presents biblical religion in a historical, systematic fashion, and "pure" biblical theology, which distinguishes between contingent features that are valid only in particular historical circumstances and truths that are valid for all times.

Gabler's program, further divided into HB and NT theology, has been praised for establishing biblical theology as a separate discipline. In the new discipline's subsequent history this independence was misconceived as meaning that HB and NT theology had no relationship to dogmatic theology. Consequently, HB and NT scholars took upon themselves the task of dogmatic theology as well, no longer distinguishing between what Gabler identified as the distinctive tasks of biblical and dogmatic theology.

It was left to F. C. BAUR to define what it means to provide a thoroughly historical interpretation of the NT. He showed that it is insufficient to clarify the historical circumstances of individual writings; what is needed is a clarification of the history by which the various writings are interconnected. He came to this understanding for the first time in his famous article "Die Christuspartei der korintischen Gemeinde, der Gegensatz des paulinischen und petrinischen Christentums in der ältesten Kirche, der Apostel Petrus in Rom" (1831, repr. 1963). In this study he recognized the interaction of three religious forms, the first two of which—natural religion and Judaism—continued to function after their absorption into the third—the developing Christian religion. In the course of his future work, he increasingly fixated on a schema of NT history characterized by the opposed tendencies of a Petrine-Jewish and a Pauline-pagan form of Christianity that moved toward a synthesis in the developing Roman Catholic Church. However, whatever objections may be raised against Baur's highly schematized understanding of the history of primitive Christianity, he must be credited with making it inescapably clear that no NT writing can be understood adequately unless it is interpreted in terms of its place in the development of primitive Christian history.

Baur's student D. F. STRAUSS had a different understanding of history. In contrast to the opposition between a supernaturalist and a naturalist form of interpretation (the latter had one of its most eminent interpreters in H. S. Reimarus), Strauss proposed a mythological interpretation, drawing on the insights of the MYTHOLOGY school of J. G. EICHHORN, Gabler, G. BAUER, and W. DE WETTE. In his famous *Das Leben Jesu* (1835), he played off the supernaturalist and naturalist interpretations of the Gospels against each other to show that only a mythological interpretation could do them justice. In this interpretation he was inspired by the conviction that the NT expresses universal ideas, not of a single individual, but of primitive Christian communities over a longer period of time: "By NT myths nothing else is to be understood than the expression of primitive Christian ideas formulated in spontaneously poeticizing legends" (Ger., 1:75). With regard to JESUS, Strauss wrote, on the one hand, that Jesus "held and expressed the conviction that he was the Messiah; this is an indisputable fact" (ET 1846, 2:6; 1972, 284; Ger., 2:469), although Strauss developed the idea only gradually (ET 1846, 2:6-13; 1972, 284-88; Ger., 2:469-75). On the other hand, he wrote, "The author is aware that the essence of the Christian faith is perfectly independent of his criticism. The supernatural birth of Christ, his miracles, his resurrection and ascension, remain eternal truths, whatever doubts may be cast on their reality as historical facts" (ET 1846, 1:xi; 1972, lii; Ger., 1:VII).

Baur complained that in his inquiry Strauss had ignored historical factors, e.g., the interrelationships between the Synoptics (see SYNOPTIC PROBLEM) and the history of their origins. Strauss did indeed ignore that aspect of NT history; but he drew attention to another equally, if not more important, aspect—namely, that history takes place, not at the level of literature, but in the reflections of ordinary believers from whom emerged the conceptions that subsequently became the subject matter of the NT writings. The impetus Strauss gave to the investigation of that aspect of history was taken up later in the century in the RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE (RGS).

J. WEISS indicated the direction the RGS would take in his study of the kingdom of God in Jesus' preaching (1892; ET 1971). W. BOUSSET, a fellow member of the RGS, replied critically to Weiss (1892), stating in his preface that, although he admired A. RITSCHL's understanding of the kingdom of God as an ethical ideal, that concept of the divine kingdom had nothing in common with the similarly named concept in Jesus' teaching. Jesus' teaching was grounded in the Jewish apocalyptic idea of two world orders, the present evil age and the future age of the kingdom of God, which would be inaugurated by a cataclysmic event. Jesus could be understood only in terms of the Jewish apocalyptic thought-world in which he lived.

Weiss's conception was subsequently popularized by A. SCHWEITZER (1906; ET 1910, 1913, repr. 1966), who called an end to the liberal quest for the historical Jesus. This quest, according to Schweitzer, sought Jesus, "believing that when it had found Him it could bring Him straight into our time as a Teacher and Saviour. It loosed the bands by which He had been riveted for centuries to the stony rocks of ecclesiastical doctrine, and rejoiced to see life and movement coming into the figure once more, and the historical Jesus advancing, so it seemed, to meet it. But he does not stay; He passes by our time and returns to his own" (ET 1910, 397; Ger. 1966, 620). All that remains that is relevant for the present is the Spirit, through whom we can still encounter Jesus. "He comes to us as One unknown, without a name, as of old, by the lake-side, He came to those men who knew Him not. He speaks to us the same word: 'follow me!' and sets us to the tasks which He has to fulfill for our time" (ET 1910, 401; Ger. 1966, 630).

Schweitzer (1913) had brought the liberal quest for the historical Jesus to a close as a negation, not of its

feasibility, but of Jesus' compatibility with nineteenth-century liberal thought. In Schweitzer's interpretation Jesus was willing to take on himself the burden of the suffering that preceded the transition between the two apocalyptic ages after it became clear to him that suffering was demanded of him to fulfill for the rest of humanity the petition he had taught his followers, "Lead us not into temptation (travail)." Consequently, because Jesus provoked the Jewish authorities into executing him in order to usher in the kingdom of God, he could be understood only within the framework of Jewish APOCALYPTICISM. Here Schweitzer did not discuss the work of M. KÄHLER (1892; ET 1964), who brought the liberal quest for the historical Jesus to an end in a different, more radical way by showing that the "historical" Jesus was purely a product of the historians and had nothing to do with the Jesus who actually lived. The Gospels do not provide the kind of information on which a life of Jesus could be reconstructed; they could more appropriately be understood in the category of sermon.

In response to Weiss's study, Bousset, evidently remaining in this regard within the bounds of nineteenth-century liberalism, argued that even though Jesus was a participant in first-century Judaism he could not be comprehended fully in terms of that thought-world. Another reason, however, may have motivated Bousset's negative reaction. The conception of apocalypticism with which Weiss (1892) operated and, similarly, Schweitzer (1913), was relatively mild. When Weiss was writing his book, Bousset and H. GUNKEL, another member of the RGS, were involved in more far-reaching investigations of Jewish apocalypticism, resulting in Gunkel's (1895) and Bousset's (1895) works that inaugurated the RGS's new method of interpretation in which NT Christianity was understood as a development within the framework of first-century Hellenistic religions. In both of these writings, the world of Jewish apocalypticism was no longer considered alien to the NT but as the thought-world out of which it emerged. The bizarre nature of the Jewish apocalypticism described by Gunkel and Bousset may explain why Bousset was unwilling to accept Weiss's claim that Jesus is understandable only within such a framework.

Other important works also reflect the method of the RGS. Bousset (1913; ET 1970) traced the "history of the belief in Christ from the beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus." W. WREDE (1897; ET 1973) outlined the task for a so-called NT theology as the description of the history of primitive Christianity as a developing religion, for which the NT writings and all of primitive Christian literature are relevant up to the time of the apologists, who mark a new turn in Christianity's development. Wrede (1901; ET 1971) also argued that the motif of a messianic secret in Mark's thought determined the structure of the Gospel, thus anticipating what in the middle of the twentieth century became popularly known as REDACTION CRITICISM.

The influence of the RGS came to an end with the rise of dialectic theology, initiated by K. BARTH (1919; ET 1933). The change in atmosphere in theological thinking is clearly expressed by R. BULTMANN, who can be considered as belonging to a second generation of the RGS, in the introduction to the fifth edition of Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* (1913; ET 1970): "Today we can ask whether [the intention of the RGS to present *the religion* of primitive Christianity and to use the NT as a source for this] can do justice to the NT, and whether we are not rather to turn back again to the old question about the *theology* of the NT" (VI; ET, 9).

What sparked dialectic theology was the collapse of confidence in Western culture brought about by WWI, ushering in a mood of existential anxiety and alienation that lasted into the middle of the twentieth century. Barth (1921; ET 1933) argued that in 1 Corinthians 15 PAUL was not concerned with the "last things," which are expected to happen apocalyptically at the end of the present age and so effectively remain on the plane of history, but with the "end things," which occur whenever a person becomes aware of standing before the Almighty. Bultmann accepted Barth's interpretation of what Paul tried to communicate in the chapter but maintained that in expressing the meaning of the end, as understood by Barth, Paul used the apocalyptic language of his own time. In that way Bultmann accepted simultaneously the fundamental insights of both Barth's dialectical approach and those of the RGS. Through *Sachkritik,* a critique of an author's forms of expression on the basis of the intended subject matter, it was possible to distinguish between the subject matter and the means of its expression. Bultmann elaborated this method of interpretation with great care in his program of demythologizing (1941), where he translated the meanings that were expressed in mythological language in the NT into existentialist language. Bultmann used the existential concepts developed by his colleague M. Heidegger (1889–1976) to translate into contemporary language the meanings expressed in mythological language in the NT. This method of interpretation did not derive from the philosophy of Heidegger, nor did it peel off the mythological shell to get at the kernel of the intended meaning; but, as in the German *Entmythologisieren* (cf. the English "demythologize"), it delved into the meanings through mythological language and reformulated them in existentialist language.

Through the work of the philologist C. Lachmann (1935), C. WILKE (1838), the philosopher C. WEISSE (1838), and H. HOLTZMANN (1892), the problem of the relationship between the Synoptics found a solution that has become standard in NT scholarship: the so-called two source theory, according to which Mark was the oldest Gospel, and in an earlier version, one of the sources of the other two Synoptics. The remaining common material in Matthew and Luke, almost exclu-

sively sayings, comes from a second shared source, referred to by the abbreviation Q for the German word for source, *Quelle*. In the same year as the appearance of Barth's *Der Römerbrief*, two works appeared that signaled a new approach to the study of the Synoptics that had significant implications for NT theology. K. SCHMIDT (1919) argued that Mark reveals that the oldest Jesus tradition "was not a continuous report, but a multitude of individual anecdotes that have been arranged generally according to a material point of view" (317); and M. DIBELIUS (1959[3]; ET 1965) investigated the forms of the synoptic tradition. These works were followed by Bultmann's study (1921, 1958[4]; ET 1968[2]), in which he focused on the layers of development of the traditions in the Synoptics. Each of these works questioned the ability of NT scholars to reconstruct a life and the thought of the historical Jesus and highlighted the role of the church in the formulation of the Gospel materials.

Bultmann subsequently wrote a book in which he claimed to do no more than present a picture of Jesus as he was seen in the earliest layers of the tradition (1926; ET 1934). In a later work (1948–53; ET 1951–55) he presented Jesus' teaching as being only a presupposition for the theology of the NT (1; ET, 3) because the Christian faith emerged only with the early church's faith in Christ, which originated in the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus. Bultmann carried out his program of existentialist interpretation of the NT with incomparable skill and consistency in this work, an achievement that remains without rival as a theological interpretation of the NT.

Bultmann's understanding that Jesus' teaching was only the presupposition for an NT theology, that the history of Jesus, except for the mere fact of his having existed, was of no significance for the development of the Christian faith, led to opposition among his own followers, initiated by an address by E. KÄSEMANN (1954; ET 1982) at the annual meeting of Bultmann's students, "die alte Marburger," in 1953. Schweitzer had brought the liberal quest of the historical Jesus to a conclusion with a Jesus who returned to his own time without relevance for the present, except when we discover his Spirit as the disciples did of old "by the lake-side." Liberal theology wanted to move back from Jesus the Hellenistic Savior, as presented especially by Paul, to Jesus the teacher of simple ethical truths. In dialectic theology and what followed in Bultmann's existentialist interpretation, it was precisely Jesus the Christ, the Lord, as presented in the writings of Paul and John, who was in the foreground. In the new quest of the historical Jesus, the movement was once more back to the historical Jesus, but now no longer by abandoning the Christ, as he was understood in the developing Christian church; to the contrary, there was an attempt to find the Christ of the church in the Jesus of history. Expressing what was at stake theologically, Käsemann (1964; ET 1969) assessed a decade of investigation of the relationship of the Christ of the church to the historical Jesus that produced works by G. BORNKAMM (1956) and H. Conzelmann (1959), a collection of essays on the historical Jesus by E. FUCHS (1960; ET 1964), and another "alte Marburger" address, in this case by H. BRAUN (1957).

Käsemann especially took issue with Bultmann's assertion that only the fact of Jesus' existence was decisive for NT theology, which Bultmann reasserted in his Heidelberger address (1960; ET 1964), in which he assessed with a certain skepticism the so-called new quest of the historical Jesus. Käsemann also took issue with Braun's claims that the only continuity between Jesus and the early church was the constancy of the self-understanding and that there was no historical continuity, especially not in the christology, positions for which Bultmann commended Braun in his address because he was the only one who carried out "the intention of an existentialist interpretation most consistently" (21). Käsemann objected that "with the predicate 'Christian' [in such interpretations] we bring to expression an understanding of existence of the world for which Jesus is merely the spark, and Christ the mythological cipher." What was at stake in the quest launched by Käsemann's 1953 address (1954) was the grounding of the early church's proclamation in Jesus' teaching. According to Käsemann, anything short of that would be a surrender to docetism.

Käsemann objected to Bultmann's program of interpretation on two more crucial points: eschatology and the understanding of God's justice. A key feature of Bultmann's existentialist interpretation was the dehistoricizing of eschatology, as Barth had already done (1921; ET 1933). Eschatology was to be understood in the sense of an encounter with God at every moment, not as something that lay, apocalyptically, at the end of history. Käsemann found this devaluation of history untrue to the NT and appealed to apocalypticism, which Bultmann had taken to be the mere form of Paul's expression in 1 Corinthians 15, to reaffirm the importance of history. By means of apocalyptic imagery, Paul expressed his understanding that salvation does not merely concern the individual but also all of creation. This concern for the world as God's creation was already present in Käsemann's return to a quest for the historical Jesus and is stated succinctly in his formulation that for Paul the body meant "this piece of the world that I am," signifying the human being's intricate binding to the world. Käsemann was unwilling to surrender the world as God's creation to godless powers, and in this sense he wrote that he learned theology from the Nazis—that is, in his rejection of the Nazi claim that theology belonged in the church; and the world, to the Nazis. In a similar way he interpreted the justice of

God in Paul, not as a limitation to the existential justification of the individual sinner, but as an expression of God's concern for all of creation.

For his protests Käsemann received qualified support but also opposition from within the school, e.g., Conzelmann's polemic against his comment that apocalypticism was the "mother of theology" (1965; ET 1966). Since these controversies in the Bultmann school, very little of theological interest has happened in NT interpretation.

Anglo-Saxon, specifically British, NT interpretation has gone its own way, using methods developed to counter deistic arguments (see DEISM). This approach, summarized by C. LESLIE, reached its apogee with W. PALEY (1790, 1794). Paley defined the tasks of the interpreter as establishing the truth of the biblical evidence and basing interpretation on that evidence; i.e., the task of the interpreter is to evaluate and interpret the evidence, not to substitute alternative information. From that point of view, the concern of German scholarship to uncover what lies behind the biblical evidence, particularly as practiced by the RGS, becomes incomprehensible. This is nowhere clearer than in the work of J. Dunn, in which the term *evidence* recurs (1985). In an earlier work (1980) Dunn musters an incredible amount of information from the environment of the NT only to conclude: "We cannot claim that Jesus believed himself to be the incarnate Son of God; but we can claim that the teaching to that effect as it came to expression in the later first-century Christian thought was, in the light of the whole Christ-event, an appropriate reflection on and elaboration of Jesus' own sense of sonship and eschatological mission" (254). This reminds one of M. Hooker's (1959) conclusion that the influence of Isaiah 53 as an interpretation of Jesus' suffering was relatively late and that, therefore, the idea of the suffering messiah could have originated only from Jesus, not in terms of the concept of the messiah, but of the Son of man. "Jesus realized that the Son of Man himself must suffer with his people, since he alone was the perfectly righteous man" (162).

Similar claims for the reliability of the evidence characterize the work of W. MANSON: "The nerve of the argument is that when we examine the early Christian convictions . . . we find a singular unanimity. It is natural to infer that such close agreement between men as different as Peter and Paul is the result neither of accident nor design; that their claims for Jesus tally because they are founded on facts" (1956, 215-16). C. H. DODD may have provided the most precise formulation of this principle: "[A Christian philosophy of history] must in the end account for all the facts accessible to our observation, but it starts from the Christian valuation of a particular set of facts" (1938, 25). British interpretation has remained inductive throughout its history, which has the advantage of allowing the biblical material to speak for itself without the interpreter trying to control it through critical inquiry. In that regard even where there was agreement between British and German scholars concerning the results of their research, they were still worlds apart in what it meant. For British scholars, the results confirmed their evidence; for German scholars, it was the results themselves on which one had to rely.

Over the past decades a large number of new methodologies have been developed, most of the time going begging for questions to which they might be able to provide the answers: LITERARY interpretation (A. Wilder, W. Beardslee, R. Funk, J. D. Crossan, D. Via, R. Tannehill, N. Peterson, S. Moore), the social background of the NT (G. Theissen, W. Meeks, A. Malherbe, J. Gager), linguistics/semantics (E. Güttgemanns, E. Nida, J. Louw, D. Hellholm), STRUCTURALISM/SEMIOTICS (D. Patte, J. Delorme), rhetoric (H. Betz; W. Wüllner; G. Kennedy), to mention only a few. Significant other work concerning NT interpretation in this period was the expansion of what has traditionally been called introduction to the NT to a history of early Christian literature, as had been proposed by Wrede (1901), P. VIELHAUER (1975), and H. Koester (1982; ET 1982). Furthermore, E. P. Sanders (1977) corrected the mistaken understanding of works righteousness as a characteristic feature of rabbinic Judaism, an insight crucial for the interpretation of Paul.

Among significant NT theologies that have appeared since the late nineteenth century, apart from Bultmann's in 1948–53, the following are worth mentioning: H. Holtzmann (1896–97), A. SCHLATTER (1909–10); P. FEINE (1910, 1951[8]); H. WEINEL (1911); M. Meinertz (1950); J. BONSIRVEN (1951; ET 1963); H. Conzelmann (1967; ET 1967); K. Schelkle (1968–76; ET 1971–78); J. JEREMIAS (1971; ET 1971, the first volume of an uncompleted NT theology); W. KÜMMEL (1969; ET 1973); E. Lohse (1974); L. GOPPELT (1975–76; ET 1981–82); H. Hübner (1990–95); P. Stuhlmacher (1992); A. WEISER (1993); J. Gnilka (1994). Other significant works related to the issue of an NT theology are O. CULLMANN (1946, ET 1964; 1965, ET 1967) in which he posed, in opposition to Bultmann's dehistorisizing existentialist approach, an understanding of the NT as the culmination of the history of salvation. The above list reveals a remarkable absence of significant comprehensive works on NT theology in the almost three decades between Weinel (1911) and Bultmann (1948–53), whereas the four decades beginning with Bultmann saw thirteen major new works.

An important development in recent study is the inclusion of the input and circumstances of "marginals" (blacks, women, the poor) in the interpretive process, thereby expanding the hermeneutical horizon (although that frequently results in a corresponding tendency to include only in the horizon a limited number of these groups). The most promising of these may be the reap-

propriation of the Bible by Latin American LIBERATION THEOLOGY at a popular level (from where the impetus came) as well as in scholarly circles. In Latin America the distance between the NT and the contemporary situation, which was created by historical criticism, has been reversed by placing primary focus on the situation of the interpreter who addresses the biblical texts for answers. The immediacy of the situations of the interpreter and of the biblical text, which sometimes border on the naïve, nevertheless produces new hermeneutical insights. At the scholarly level the implications of these insights are being investigated, e.g., by C. Boff (ET 1987) and J. Croatto (1987) in order to establish sound principles through which they can be made more fruitful.

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H. BOERS

THEOLOGY, OLD TESTAMENT

Biblical theology emerged as an independent area of inquiry in the eighteenth century together with, and as a consequence of, historical study of the Bible (L. Baumgarten-Crusius [1828] 4). Historical-critical study also posed the principal problems confronting the discipline it helped to create. These problems were seen to center on determining what in the Bible was of abiding validity in view of its irreducibly historical character. J. P. GABLER's solution was to join the "grammatical-historical" interpretation of Scripture to a theory of human reason's "development by stages" (C. Hartlich and W. Sachs [1952] 46). He made it the task of OT and biblical theology to extract from historically determined modes of expression the unchanging truth contained in them so that it could be delivered to dogmatics for contemporary elaboration (Hartlich-Sachs, 22-46; B. Ollenburger [1985]).

One implication of Gabler's proposal is that the HB is lower than the NT on reason's developmental scale. G. BAUER adopted this view already in 1796 when he published the first OT theology. In arguing that OT and NT theology must be distinguished from each other and carried out independently from dogmatics, and in his emphasis on religious ideas or concepts and their historical development from particular to universal, Bauer set the tone for the nineteenth-century discussion. The following briefly sketches the main lines of this discussion during and after the nineteenth century, especially as carried on in German Protestant circles (Ollenburger [1992]).

1. From Philosophy to History. The first OT theologies of the nineteenth century, contained in the biblical theologies of C. AMMON, W. DE WETTE, and G. Kaiser (1781–1847), were set within a philosophical framework. For Ammon the task of biblical theology was to provide a more adequate foundation for dogmatic theology through a critical study of the texts in order to free them from the "nimbus of illusory ideas" (1801). Thus he cited the traditional proof texts of doctrinal *loci* and tested them against the criterion of rationality. That criterion, understood in a Kantian moral sense (see I. KANT), Ammon regarded as crucial because only what is judged rational can be carried over into dogmatics.

De Wette's approach was somewhat more historically oriented, but the method of his *Biblische Dogmatik* (1813[1]) is grounded in the Kantian anthropology of J. Fries (J. Rogerson [1984] 36-41). This anthropology provided de Wette a hermeneutical foundation (see HERMENEUTICS) for understanding the HB's religious ideas in their purity, distinguished from the mixed historical forms that clothe them (1831). The first task of OT theology, then, is to identify the "fundamental idea on which everything depends" (38), which is "the moral idea, free of myth, of one God as a holy will" (63). This idea is expressed in Hebraism's "ideal universalism" and in its "symbolic particularism," which de Wette identified with the theocracy. He claimed that Israel was prone to misunderstand this particularism by reducing the universal character of God's rule to nationalism, thus preparing the way for Judaism. Unfortunately, this claim appeared in various forms in many subsequent HB theologies.

Kaiser provided a different kind of framework, subsuming the HB under "the universal history of religion" and ultimately, under "the universal religion." The particularity of HB religion (Judaism) is to be understood only in relation to religion in general, and then, together with Christianity and all other particular religions, taken up into a genuine catholicism (1813, 12). By describing the "principal moments" of religion in a dialectical fashion and drawing random insights from philosophy, Kaiser pared from the HB the temporal ideas that must be left behind in the universal religion of humanity. In the process he invented new categories for this task, such as geofetishology, anthropotheology, cosmocraty, demonophany, using this monstrous vocabulary much as Ammon and de Wette used the vocabulary of philosophy and dogmatics to get beyond the HB's particularity but producing in his case a vacant universalism.

Alongside and occasionally in response to those philosophically grounded presentations were others that sought to proceed in a purely historical manner. Baumgarten-Crusius made the first attempt in 1828, followed immediately by C. GRAMBERG. However, they were overshadowed in both methodological clarity and influence by D. von COELLN, who modeled his presentation of OT theology on de Wette's but claimed that neither de Wette nor anyone else had fulfilled the strictly historical requirements of OT theology. From Coelln's work it is clear that what he really opposed was the use of philosophical categories. His understanding of OT theology's task—to differentiate the universal from the particular or the "inexact forms of representation" from the "pure concepts" hidden in them (1836, 1:11)—was otherwise hardly different from de Wette's. Following Bauer, Coelln argued that these judgments can and must be made by historical criticism, which follows the HB's religious ideas in their process of formation through the NT, where they are deepened and broadened to form the basis of a universal religion (1:4). OT theology was for him, as it was for de Wette and Baumgarten-Crusius, the first chapter of historical theology (R. Dentan [1963] 33) and one foundation of dogmatic theology.

The methodological tension between the philosophical and historical approaches was resolved in a higher

unity—*aufgehoben,* as he put it—by W. VATKE, whose *Biblische Theologie* (1835) was the only part of a proposed six-part biblical theology he was permitted to publish (M. Brömse [1984]). OT theology must be historical, Vatke argued, because it pursues the idea of HB religion, expressed in its various religious representations, through the "principal moments" of its historical development. But historical criticism by itself is subjective; it is not concerned with truth because it is not properly scientific (Vatke, 156). It can only achieve scientific status and relative objectivity by being taken up into a philosophically grounded conceptual analysis. G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) provided the tools for such an analysis, which is scientific because it comprehends the most universal horizon possible, history as a whole. Conceptual analysis will necessarily be historical because the concept of a religion is unfolded in a historical dialectic: The subjectivity of the concept and the objectivity of its manifestations are resolved in the idea of Israel's religion. Hegel's philosophy was thus Vatke's hermeneutical foundation for a theological understanding of the history of HB religion.

While Vatke's OT theology was grounded in a philosophical method, it was also the first to have a thoroughly historical character, thus exhibiting a remarkable harmony of method and form. The most notable of his historical observations was that the system of legislation in the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) came after and not before the prophets (204). That observation had its effect in the later elevation of the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) to the pinnacle of HB religion (J. Blenkinsopp [1984] 8-9). Vatke also presaged later developments by emphasizing the need to understand Israel's religion from the perspective of its completed history. His philosophical language is as dense as Kaiser's is monstrous, but Vatke's methodological rigor and consistency remain unexcelled.

2. From Salvation History to History of Religion. Vatke's synthesis did not survive him—B. BAUER's equally Hegelian work (1838) took no account of historical criticism—but his historical organicism was taken up, apart from a Hegelian framework, by a series of conservative scholars oriented to salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*): J. Steudel (1840), H. HÄVERNICK (1848), G. OEHLER (1845), J. von HOFMANN, and H. SCHULTZ (1869). They were influenced to greater or lesser extents by a tradition of mystical PIETISM and speculative history rooted in Württemberg and Tübingen (L. Diestel [1869] 698-708) and absorbed by Hegel and by F. Schelling (1775–1854) as well (J. Toews [1980] 13-26). Salvation historians put particular emphasis on the facts (*Tatsachen*) of God's activity in Israel, which constitute its history as an organic whole. They further assumed that the history narrated in the HB corresponds more or less to an actual course of events within world history and should be the central subject matter of OT theology, and that participation in the spirit of revelation is a condition for understanding this history (Oehler 32-34; Schultz, 1:72). Steudel, Hävernick, and Oehler were unable, however, to display their historical emphases in the body of their OT theologies, which thus reflect a certain inconsistency between theory and execution.

This inconsistency was overcome by von Hofmann, particularly in his *Schriftbeweis.* He wrote no separate OT theology but conceived biblical and historical theology to be engaged in testing systematic theology's exposition of what each (Protestant) Christian is absolutely certain: reconciliation with God through JESUS Christ. According to Hofmann, the trinitarian life of God unfolded first into the world's history and then into Israel's, giving each biblical fact and each text its necessary place within the organic sequence of salvation history. The power and consistency of Hofmann's thought is as awesome as his language is forbidding. In that and other respects he resembles Vatke.

The salvation historians were soon overshadowed by the historians of religion, particularly by J. WELLHAUSEN, as is demonstrated in Schultz's career. In 1848 Schultz edited Hävernick's work, and the first edition of his own *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (1869) reflects the influence both of the salvation historians and of H. EWALD. In the second edition (1878), however, he accepted Wellhausen's late dating of the law and in subsequent editions (through 1896) moved still further toward history of religion. The first to conceive OT theology purely as the history of Israel's religion was A. Kayser in 1886 (the third and following editions of his work, titled *Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion,* were written by K. Marti).

H. GUNKEL and the history-of-religion school (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE) brought the writing of OT theologies to a temporary halt, not because they were not theologians—"Biblical exegesis is theological exegesis" (Gunkel [1913] 24)—but because they conceived theology to be concerned with religion as opposed to dogmatics. Religion, Gunkel declared, is fundamentally piety, to be discovered in the HB by penetrating to the inner life of its authors (25). Gunkel wanted to go behind the religious representations and concepts of the HB in order "to be present at the birth of its deepest thoughts" (1926–27, 533). B. STADE, a friend and follower of Wellhausen, wrote an OT theology as late as 1905, even though Gunkel and his circle had already made it an anachronism. Stade defined OT theology in a way reminiscent of G. Bauer: It has the task of tracing the origin and progressive development of those religious ideas that formed the content of Jewish faith and are "for that reason the historical presupposition of Christianity" (1905, 2). He also wanted to distinguish those HB religious concepts whose development can be traced into Judaism but were not taken up by Jesus and his apostles. Consequently,

"the NT is the best source for the theology of the OT" (1893, 93).

The stalemate to which Wellhausen and Gunkel helped bring OT theology eventually spawned a series of reflections on method from different points of view by HB scholars united only in their agreement that OT theology had to be conceived anew (J. Hayes and F. Prussner [1985] 151-66). J. Köberle (1906) repudiated the history-of-religion movement and suggested a return to salvation history, beginning from the NT and a concept of revelation adequate to Christian faith. W. STAERK granted history of religion its due but called for systematic and philsophical reflection on the historical data from a phenomenological point of view so that OT theology may "come to its fulfillment as a component of systematic theology, which it was from the beginning and which it must remain" (1923, 390). R. KITTEL complained that in the contemporary academic climate of fascination with Mesopotamian parallels (see PAN-BABYLONIANISM), it was as if *extra babylonem nulla salus* (outside of Babylon there is no salvation; 1921, 96). History-of-religion research must be expanded into OT theology, he argued, by employing a philosophy of dogmatics of religion in order to penetrate to the HB's essence and truth. C. STEUERNAGEL (1925) proposed the systematic presentation of HB religion in categories drawn from its historical analysis, without borrowing either these categories or OT theology's methods from philosophy or dogmatics.

This methodological discussion concluded with a debate between O. EISSFELDT (1926; ET 1992) and W. EICHRODT (1929; ET 1992). Eissfeldt claimed that the history of Israelite and Jewish religion should be sharply distinguished from OT theology, since they employ two different approaches that correspond to different functions of the human spirit: active knowing and passive believing. History of religion is objective, although it depends on an "empathetic reliving" of its object (20), and it makes no judgments about validity or truth. OT theology, on the other hand, cannot be a historical inquiry because it is concerned with what is timelessly true as determined by a particular confession. Eissfeldt assumed that historical-critical research could not penetrate to the "proper essence" of HB religion and was thus unable to answer the questions of faith assigned to OT theology. In Eichrodt's judgment, this view preserved the integrity of history of religion but compromised that of OT theology by moving it outside the framework of HB scholarship and of historical inquiry generally.

Eichrodt argued in response that historical investigation could reach the essence of HB religion, but he redefined the essence of the HB as that "deepest meaning of its religious thought world which historical investigation can discover" through an analysis that cuts across the various historical levels of the HB (1992, 33). He argued further that all historical research presupposes a subjective moment and that the interpreter's Christian confession provides the content of that moment in OT theology, which must be considered a legitimate part of historical scholarship.

3. From Eichrodt to von Rad. Eichrodt went beyond these arguments in his *Theology of the OT* (1933–39; ET 1961–67). In both his theological understanding of history and his threefold division of OT theology—God and the people, God and the world, God and the human—he drew heavily on his teacher, O. PROCKSCH, whose own treatment was published posthumously in 1950. Eichrodt's decisive innovation was his proposal to center all of OT theology around the idea of covenant as the concept that "enshrines Israel's most fundamental conviction—namely, its sense of a unique relationship with God" (17). While the term *covenant* appears infrequently or not at all in some parts of the HB and has various meanings elsewhere, Eichrodt appealed to a "stock of spiritual values firmly established at the outset," which lies behind the OT's diversity and attends its "incessant growth" (32) and which is historically expressed through covenant. Criticisms of Eichrodt often fail to attend to the particular way in which he spoke of covenant and especially the importance he attached to Moses as the founder of Israel's religion; it was through Moses' direct and unmediated "intercourse with God" (293) that Israel was introduced to "a new understanding of the whole nature of God" (290) in the opening moment of its history. Thus the structure of Israel's religion was the product of the charismatic endowment of one personality, Moses the mediator; and to understand the forces at work at its beginning is to grasp its enduring essence—and the NT as its fulfillment (26). It is in these terms that Eichrodt understood the concept of covenant and for these reasons that he insisted on its historical origin with Moses.

The coherence Eichrodt achieved between the historical and the systematic components of OT theology marked his work as an advance over the earlier contemporary efforts by E. KÖNIG (1923) and E. SELLIN (1933); and it was not superseded by the later ones of L. KÖHLER (ET 1957), E. Jacob (ET 1958), and T. VRIEZEN (ET 1958). While Eichrodt finally broke through the methodological impasse in OT theology brought about by the history-of-religion school, his work may also be seen as the crowning achievement of history of religion in OT theology, especially when it is compared with E. TROELTSCH's comments in "The 'Dogmatics' of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule" (1913).

After Eichrodt, the methodological debate addressed the question of what, if not covenant, constituted the center (*Mitte*) of OT theology (R. Smend [1970]). G. von RAD concluded that such a debate was beyond resolution, since there is no unifying center to the various theologies within the HB. He argued that both

the history-of-religion approaches and the more recent systematic efforts had failed to identify and to carry out the theological task of OT theology, whose proper subject matter is neither the reconstructed history of Israelite religion nor the HB's thought-world but "Israel's own explicit assertions about Jahweh" (1962, 105). These assertions were made primarily in the form of historical confessions, whose growth and development provided the key to both the growth of the Hexateuch (1966) and OT theology's method. Israel reshaped its historical confessions, its saving history, in a continuing "process of actualization" (1962, 119) that enabled each generation to understand itself as Israel, God's people. OT theology, according to von Rad, has the task of interpreting Israel's history as Israel presented it, not as critical scholars are able to reconstruct it, because in this confessed and narrated history is to be found "what Israel herself regarded as the proper subject-matter of her faith, namely, the revelation in word and deed of Jahweh in history" (114). From this it followed for von Rad that the TRADITION-historical method has the best fit with OT theology (1965, 321) and that "re-telling [*Nacherzählen*] remains the most legitimate form of theological discourse on the OT" (1962, 121).

In this way von Rad gave the Hexateuch and the historical books central place in OT theology; the prophets required separate treatment because they proclaimed an interruption in the saving history (1962, vii), while the psalms and wisdom literature were treated under the category of "Israel's answer." This arrangement of the presentation follows consistently from von Rad's premises. Since "Israel's faith is grounded in a theology of history" (1962, 106), the traditions that give foundational testimony to that faith are theologically prior to others that judge Israel's life in relation to its confession or that engage in reflection in relation to it or in independence from it. In thus demonstrating his own priorities von Rad claimed merely to be following those of the HB.

Even though von Rad was heavily influenced by a line of HB theologians reaching from Hofmann to Procksch, his *Theology* marked a radical departure in the history of the discipline (R. Martin-Achard [1984] 14). By identifying OT theology's subject matter with the HB's historical confessions, he wanted to avoid either confusing salvation history with some objective history or resolving theological diversity by appealing to a putative center, a dogmatic scheme, or some underlying piety. At the same time, his sharp differentiation of the history of Israel, as reconstructed by scholars, from the history narrated in the HB and his refusal to identify a principle of unity (prior to the NT) were seen by critics to constitute major problems for OT theology. Consequently, his *Theology* prompted a vigorous reassessment of the method and task of OT theology (H. G. Reventlow [1985] 59-133).

4. The Discussion After von Rad. The methodological reassessment has not yet been concluded, and no new consensus has emerged. The problem of the relation between OT theology and history remains unresolved and is perhaps insoluble in the way it has often been cast (G. Michalson [1985]). Efforts have been made to go beyond von Rad's distinction between "narrated" and "objective" history by insisting on the priority of objective history (F. Hesse [1958]; G. E. Wright [1970]; R. de Vaux [1972]) by uniting history and tradition (R. Rendtorff; Smend [1977] 49-68), by challenging the Enlightenment conception of history (C. Westermann [1985]), or by concentrating on a philosophical hermeneutics that dissolves the problem (Reventlow [1979]). H. Gese, on the other hand, attempted to expand von Rad's method by giving it an ontological grounding that identifies the history of tradition with revelation (1974, 11-30; 1977, 301-26). In a similarly idealistic vein, P. Hanson has taken Israel's confessional tradition to be a response to historical events understood in terms of a divinely guided dialectical expansion of reality (1978, 1986). In quite a different direction, J. BARR (1976) and J. Collins (1979) suggest turning to the notion of story or "history-like" narrative (see H. Frei [1974]); similarly, D. Patrick (1981) pursues a literary-dramatic approach centering on the identity of Yahweh. More recently, Collins (1990) has proposed a historically critical biblical theology that examines biblical assertions about God for their functional role in motivating behavior, while L. Perdue announces "the collapse of history"—the erosion of historical categories as dominant within OT theology—in light of both internal problems and the emergence of diverse questions, issues, and methods.

Meanwhile, proposals to resolve the second major problem presented by von Rad—that of OT theology's center or simply the organizaton of its material—have been equally diverse. Some scholars have suggested that Yahweh, or the concept of God, should serve as a center (G. Hasel [1974]; J. McKenzie [1974] 23-28; R. Clements [1978] 23-24); but it is not clear that this solves or even addresses the problem. W. ZIMMERLI went further by proposing the name Yahweh as OT theology's center but understanding "center" in a dynamic way that emphasizes God's freedom in revealing the divine self to Israel through act and word as witnessed in the HB (see G. Coats [1985] 245). In this way he could emphasize with von Rad the narrative character of Israel's confession and could at the same time accept the insight of Wellhausen and of Smend that "Yahweh the God of Israel" must be taken along with "Israel the people of Yahweh" (1980, 445-47; Smend [1970]; see G. Fohrer [1972]). Westermann reflects even more clearly the influence of von Rad in giving central place to the historical, verbal character of OT theology (1982), but he goes beyond von Rad by contrasting the "saving God" to the "blessing God" in the HB and locating the

dimension of blessing within the comprehensive framework of creation. H. Schmid has carried this last point still further by proposing that it is creation, and not history or saving history, that constitutes the comprehensive horizon of OT theology.

H. Preuss's recent work returns to Eichrodt's more systematic conception of OT theology, which has to offer "an overview of the world of faith and witness of the OT" (1995, 1). Preuss argues that the center and fundamental structure of that faith is "YHWH's historical activity of electing Israel for communion with his world," which obligates Israel and the nations (25). O. KAISER pursues a similar course but claims that the Torah is the HB's center, while its theological unity lies in the "basic relation" of Yahweh to Israel and the "basic equation" of righteousness and life, which the first commandment brings together (1993, 350).

5. New Departures. Several scholars in North America, working in the wake of the biblical theology movement's collapse (B. Childs [1970]), have departed radically from Eichrodt and von Rad. E. Martens (1981) organizes OT theology around Yahweh's programmatic promises in Exod 5:22–6:8. S. Terrien (1978) brings together the variety of HB (and NT) materials under a number of dialectically related motifs governed by God's elusive presence, thereby integrating dimensions of Israelite faith left peripheral by Eichrodt and von Rad. W. Brueggemann has suggested reducing the dialectic to two poles: "God's omnipotence and God's pathos" (corresponding to "structure legitimation" and "the embrace of pain"; 1986, 70; 1992). For P. Hanson the dialectic is between the visionary and the pragmatic dimensions of the community (1978, 1986), while for J. Sanders it is the dynamic of stability and adaptability in the canonical process (1976, 1984). CHILDS, prescinding from bipolar dialectics, also ascribes central importance to the CANON; he differs from Sanders in his emphasis on the canonical (final) shape of the text as providing the proper context and object of theological inquiry (1985). R. Knierim, in his proposal for a systematic OT theology, claims that neither tradition-historical nor CANONICAL approaches are adequate; rather than providing a solution, they raise acutely the problem of the HB's plural theologies. Knierim seeks to discern semantic priorities among the various theologies in the HB in order to correlate them systematically while preserving their individual character.

If OT theologians in the early and mid-nineteenth century worried about giving the discipline a properly historical character, some scholars at the end of the twentieth century are concerned with its theological character. For Childs this has meant joining the OT and NT of the Christian Bible, as canonical witness to Jesus Christ, in a biblical theology that converses freely and critically with dogmatic theology (1992; similarly, F. Watson [1997]). Brueggemann intends his *Theology of the OT* to be both Christian and theological but not strictly confessional: A Christian reading of the HB respects the availability of its theology to other than Christian construals (1997, 199). R. Rendtorff (1993), recently appreciative of Childs's emphasis on the canon, has a particular concern for Christian conversation with Judaism, a concern that intensifies with O. Kaiser's invocation of Bultmann's reference to Israel's history as a disaster (Kaiser [1993] 86) and with A. Gunneweg's insistence on the NT as the criterion for Christian reception of the HB (1993, 36; contrast M. Oeming [1987] 237). While, or because, Gunneweg reads the HB in this manner, he conducts his OT theology as a history of Israel's religion. For different reasons R. Albertz (1994–96), among others, argues that in the current situation the history of Israel's religion has greater merit for the discipline than does OT theology. The debate between Eissfeld and Eichrodt still lives.

6. Conclusion. The situation at the end of the twentieth century is marked by great variety and also by debate about OT theology's appropriate aims, the way it should conceive its material, and the strategies it should employ—signs of ill health, perhaps, or possibly of vitality (Ollenburger [1995]). Brueggemann, whose *Theology* adopts a courtroom metaphor, argues that the HB is disputatious, offering both testimony and counter-testimony (1997, 317). P. Trible's FEMINIST proposal, which puts issues of gender and sex at the forefront, articulates a counter-testimony to prevailing models and interests, as does I. Mosala's work from South Africa, which critically interrogates biblical texts and their interpreters. Jewish scholars have offered constructive proposals (for Tanakh theology, M. Goshen-Gottstein [1987]), trenchant criticism of past and current practice, and substantive theological interpretation (J. Levenson [1993]). OT theology, with its increasing diversity, has not evolved into the kind of stable, foundationalist discipline that Gabler envisioned. We may regard this as the secret of its life and of its several resurrections.

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THEOPHILOS OF ANTIOCH (late 2nd cent.)

A second-century bishop of Antioch in Syria, T. wrote three apologetic books to a certain Autolycus. The first contains echoes of HB cosmology in materials related to prayers (1:6-7). The second provides the earliest Christian commentary on the creation stories (2:11-28). T. followed Hellenistic Jewish models, not the fanciful allegorizations of PHILO, but a more sober, almost literal exegesis like that of JOSEPHUS, whose works he used. His main points on Genesis are like the literal exegesis noted by Philo and found among rabbis, although he insisted that God's voice, not the actual transcendent God, was heard walking in Eden and found special meanings in the days of creation, the third of which refers to the divine triad of God, the Logos, and the Sophia. Although also fond of fanciful etymologies, T. was not an allegorizer of the ALEXANDRIAN type.

His third book contains selections proving the agreement of the Law with the Prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) and the Gospels on moral themes (3:9-14) and in addition a world CHRONOLOGY (without reference to Christ) from creation to the year 5695 = 180 CE (3:16-29). T. never mentioned Christ but seems to have used the description of JESUS' childhood obedience in Luke 1–2 to interpret Adam's disobedience in Eden, which kept him from becoming a god. Such sub-surface exegesis also occurred when T. refused to give an example of someone raised from the dead because it would not be credible (1.13), an allusion to Luke 16:31-32. Presumably this reticence is apologetic.

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THESSALONIANS, FIRST AND SECOND LETTERS TO THE

1. Place in Early Christian Literature. The epistolary prescripts of these works claim authorship by the apostle PAUL. The letters were alluded to and quoted by various early Christian writers and documents in the late first century to early second century CE (Ignatius of Antioch, *Didache,* Polycarp of Smyrna, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*). Parts of 1 Thessalonians (but not 2 Thessalonians) are found in P^{46}, the earliest manuscript of the Pauline corpus, which dates from about 200 CE. Second Thessalonians is also discussed along with other biblical apocalyptic literature (see APOCALYPTICISM) in Hippolytus of Rome's (c. 170–c. 236) *De antichristo.* Dozens of patristic and medieval commentaries exist for both Thessalonian letters, including those by CHRYSOSTOM, THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, John of Damascus (c. 655–c. 750), Theophylact (c. 1050–c. 1125), and Euthymius Zigabenus (fl. 12th cent.) in the East, along with those of Ambrosiaster, JEROME, Florus Diaconus (d. c. 860), RABANUS MAURUS, PETER LOMBARD, THOMAS AQUINAS, Dionysius Cartusianus (1402–71), and L. VALLA in the West. Sadly, ORIGEN's commentary exists only in Latin in a fragment quoted by Jerome.

2. The Renaissance and the Reformation. Although LUTHER wrote no commentary on the Thessalonian letters, several other Reformers did, including CALVIN and T. BEZA. Calvin's interpretation is notable for his descriptions of present sufferings as evidence of the Thessalonians' being made worthy of the kingdom of God (2 Thess 1:5) as well as for his discussion of attacks from the enemies of Christians as indicating the seal of the Christians' adoption by God.

3. Modern Interpretation. The central problems dealt with by modern interpretation of the Thessalonian letters are their relation to each other and their authorship. Modern scholarship on 2 Thessalonians began with H. GROTIUS in the seventeenth century. Grotius examined both letters and argued that Paul could not have written 1 Thessalonians with no mention of the "sign" referred to in 2 Thess 3:17, then shortly thereafter have referred to such a sign in 2 Thessalonians (2 Thess 2:2) and warned against a forged Pauline letter that lacked it. Since Grotius believed Paul wrote both letters, he concluded that 2 Thessalonians was written first. Grotius also recognized the strongly inflammatory character of the rhetoric of 2 Thessalonians, which he believed made it likely that the early church would not have made the

letter public until it became politically safer (during the reign of Vespasian). Thus the conventional position of 2 Thessalonians in the CANON relates to when it was published rather than to when it was written.

J. Schmidt (1772–1831) was the first to argue against Pauline authorship for 2 Thessalonians (1801), showing inconsistencies between the two letters if taken at face value as Pauline. Schmidt reasoned that 2 Thess 2:1-2 presupposed an earlier letter purporting to be by Paul that taught a speedy arrival of Christ's second coming, which letter 2 Thessalonians attacks as a forgery. However, the most plausible candidate for such a letter bearing Paul's name was, in Schmidt's view, 1 Thessalonians (assuming that it had been written first). He held that there were insuperable problems associated with the maintenance of Pauline authorship for both of the Thessalonian epistles because the conflict of the eschatologies espoused in the two letters mitigated against their having the same author—especially given the warnings against forged Pauline letters in 2 Thess 2:1-2 and the "authentication" in 3:17. Hence, Schmidt concluded against Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians.

F. Kern (1839) made a detailed analysis of 2 Thess 2:1-2, sketching the history of interpretation of that passage as organized around possible interpretations of the parousia of Christ. He stressed that the man of lawlessness was a real person, an insight that led Kern to look for the man's identity among the Roman emperors of the first century CE. The most likely candidate, Kern thought, was Nero; hence the prophecy of the man of lawlessness belongs to a time (68–70 CE) that would make Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians impossible.

F. C. BAUR (1845) argued against the authenticity of 1 Thessalonians primarily by showing the similarities between 1 Thessalonians and the material about Paul's Thessalonian ministry in Acts 17; he also believed that the similarities between 1 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians were too great. Baur likewise attacked the Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians, noting that the theology of the apocalyptic section in chap. 2 is too Jewish-Christian and in his view not classically Pauline enough for Paul to have written the letter. For the true Pauline view of the second coming of Christ, Baur turned exclusively to 1 Corinthians 15, finding the differences between that chapter and 2 Thessalonians 2 simply too great for 2 Thessalonians to be genuinely Pauline.

R. Lipsius (1830–92) held that Baur's objections to Pauline authorship of 1 Thessalonians were groundless, since the audience to which 1 Thessalonians was addressed included "enthusiastic, eccentric prophets" (1854). Therefore, because the situation in Thessalonika was in some ways similar to that in Corinth, similarities between 1 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians are not surprising. Responding in 1855 with an article in which he attempted to identify the situation that evoked both of the letters to the Thessalonians, Baur concluded not only that Paul did not write either letter but also that 1 Thessalonians was literarily dependent on 2 Thessalonians; thus the latter must have been written first.

A. HILGENFELD (1862) was very critical of Baur for his treatment of 1 Thessalonians but agreed with him in opposing Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians. Regarding Baur's statement that in 1 Thessalonians "there is so little for criticism to lay hold of," Hilgenfeld found the information about the Thessalonian community in the letter to be essentially consistent with that in Acts 17. The reason that 1 Thessalonians is so different from other genuinely Pauline letters is that "the relationship of the apostle to the Christians in Thessalonika was in no way strained." Hence Hilgenfeld held that "Paul appears here, in fact, not yet at the height of his dialectic and his apostolic consciousness, as we see that his struggle against a Christian Judaism, which was forced into the Churches he had planted, made him; but Paul appears in this letter in the total kindness of his affectionate care for a young community of Christians, in their depression requiring fatherly words of encouragement" (1862, 242). Thus the reason for the great differences between 1 Thessalonians and the *Hauptbriefe* is that Paul had not yet risen to the occasions that produced the lofty and powerful letters to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Galatians. However, 1 Thessalonians is appropriate to the earlier occasion.

The fine commentary by W. Bornemann (1894) includes an exhaustive history of scholarship on and interpretation of both epistles, especially as regards the eschatology of 2 Thess 2:1-12, from the early patristic period to 1894. Bornemann accepted Pauline authorship for both epistles, arguing that their similarities, along with the lack of personal and local information in 2 Thessalonians, are due to the fact that Paul had practically nothing new to say to the Thessalonians. Bornemann noted an impersonal and objective character in 2 Thessalonians due to its being, not a personal letter, but a hortatory, official letter to the community. The two letters are similar in their common eschatological orientation as well as in form. They differ in that several sections in 2 Thessalonians are not found in 1 Thessalonians: the mention of punitive judgment at the parousia of Christ in 1:8-12; the eschatological section of 2:1-12 with the request for prayer by the writer for the spread of the gospel despite those who are opposed to the faith; the discipline of work commanded in 3:13-16; and finally, the remark about the peculiar attestation of letters truly by Paul. Bornemann admitted that these peculiarities raise a number of questions about the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians; but he offered a psychological explanation (see PSYCHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) to account for the differences, rather than appealing to a misunderstanding of Paul's earlier letter or to Paul's own unclarity or lack of certainty.

H. HOLTZMANN (1901), writing in favor of Pauline

authorship of 2 Thessalonians, pointed out the difference in tone between "we thank God" and "we are obliged to thank God" in the two letters. He concluded that 2 Thess 2:1-12 is a new section (without parallel in 1 Thessalonians) but that the rest of the letter consists of paraphrases and variations of 1 Thessalonians. Holtzmann agreed with Bornemann that the author of the second letter had known the first letter and was somehow dependent on it. However, he argued that one can understand 2 Thessalonians only in light of Paul's intention to replace the first, longer letter, which accounts for what Holtzmann termed the *Ersatzcharakter* (replacement character) of 2 Thessalonians.

W. WREDE's 1903 monograph marks a watershed in interpretation of 2 Thessalonians. Wrede explored several issues, most notably that of the literary dependency of 2 Thessalonians on 1 Thessalonians. Comparing the texts of the two letters in parallel columns, he found that there were major parallels to 1 Thess 1:2-12 in 2 Thess 1:3-12. Other parallels were found at 2 Thess 2:13-14 (parallel to 1 Thess 2:12-13) and 2 Thess 3:6-15 (parallel to 1 Thess 4:1–5:23). Most notably, parallels to 1 Thessalonians were lacking at 2 Thess 2:1-12, the much-debated eschatological section. The similarities between 1 and 2 Thessalonians were striking to Wrede, particularly if Paul was the author of both epistles and if they were supposed to have been written within about three months of each other, especially since whole phrases seem to have been taken over from 1 Thessalonians to 2 Thessalonians without change. Wrede concluded that the parallels between the letters were simply too close for Paul to have been the author of both. Also, he held the eschatological differences between the two letters to be quite sharp, since 1 Thess 5:1-4 advises that the day of the Lord is coming at an unknown time, as a "thief in the night," whereas 2 Thess 2:1-12 gives detailed instructions as to when the day of the Lord is to come. Wrede also held that 2 Thessalonians presupposed Paul's having become a figure of unquestioned authority; thus 2 Thessalonians could not have been written by Paul.

The reaction to Wrede was sharp. J. Wrzol (1916) attacked Wrede and other scholars by arguing in favor of the truly Pauline character of 2 Thessalonians' eschatology and against the alleged impersonal character of the epistle. He maintained that the developing situation in the Thessalonian church could account for the differences in the letters. In his commentary E. von DOBSCHÜTZ (1909) expressed strong doubts about the reliability of material from Acts concerning Paul's activity and rejected as impossibly short the account of Paul's stay in Thessalonika (Acts 17), a conclusion more recent Pauline chronologists have also reached. Dobschütz did not accept the reversal of the canonical order of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, nor was it clear to him whether 2 Thess 2:2 opposed a misunderstanding of Pauline theology or a forged Pauline letter. Analyzing vocabulary in the two letters, he concluded that word frequencies did not point away from Pauline authorship, although he admitted that many parts of 2 Thessalonians read like rewritings of 1 Thessalonians. Nonetheless, he decided in favor of Pauline authorship.

A. von HARNACK also responded (1910), stating that 2 Thessalonians was written to a different, Jewish-Christian group within the Thessalonian church rather than to the group to which 1 Thessalonians was written. This explanation accounts for the fact that the language in 2 Thessalonians is not as personal as that in 1 Thessalonians, since Paul usually identified with the gentile Christians. The apocalyptic was especially designed to appeal to the Jewish-Christian minority in Thessalonika, as were the strong words about endurance under persecution in chap. 1. Thus, von Harnack argued, Paul identified the real addressees of 2 Thessalonians in 1:13, where the Jewish-Christians are described as the "firstfruits unto salvation." Von Harnack's conclusion that 2 Thessalonians was written by Paul but to a different group in the same Thessalonian church from the one for whom 1 Thessalonians was intended was followed by M. DIBELIUS in his commentary (1911, 1925^2, 1937^3).

J. Frame's (1868–1956) substantial commentary (1912) on the letters included, along with a detailed philological analysis, a thorough sifting of issues and of the previous secondary literature. Frame made correlations to extra-biblical historical documents and especially to Acts. Accepting Pauline authorship for both epistles, he read 1 Thessalonians as Paul's response to serious problems within the Thessalonian community. Like other commentators, Frame identified the "disorderly" persons of 1 Thess 5:14 with those acting "in a disorderly way" in 2 Thess 3:6, which then allowed him to understand the *ataktoi* in 1 Thessalonians as "idle brethern" whose enthusiastic activities and rebelliousness caused the trouble that evoked the two letters. According to Frame, the disorderly ones stirred up the church in Thessalonika by misinterpreting 1 Thessalonians, teaching that the day of the Lord had already arrived, which caused the fainthearted to think that their salvation was no longer possible. Hence Frame found the differences between 1 and 2 Thessalonians to be, on the one hand, not very great and, on the other hand, well accounted for by rapid changes in the community.

In 1945 E. Schweizer pointed out that the earliest patristic quotation of or allusion to 2 Thessalonians, Polycarp's letter to the Philippians (3.12 and 11.3), mentions "letters" that Paul had written to the Philippians. Schweizer argued that Polycarp understood the letter he quoted (2 Thessalonians) as having been originally written by Paul to the church at Philippi, a plausible possibility since Philippi and Thessalonika are relatively near to each other in Macedonia. Further,

Schweizer reasoned, 1 and 2 Thessalonians are so similar to each other because Paul wrote them within a short time span. And, deducing no motive for a supposed forger to have written 2 Thessalonians, Schweizer contended that the mention of the same addressees in 1 and 2 Thessalonians was from force of habit.

The most complete commentary on 1–2 Thessalonians from the second half of the twentieth century is that of B. Rigaux (1956). This learned but cautious work is filled with philological and theological notes drawing many parallels between Pauline language and Jewish literature.

According to R. Jewett (1971), the Thessalonian church was being overrun by a libertinistic, enthusiastic group; the congregation was also shocked by the deaths of some of its members. Jewett also believed that the Thessalonians radically misinterpreted the apocalyptic of 1 Thessalonians, making it necessary for Paul to write a second letter, much cooler in tone. In a later monograph (1986) Jewett has attempted to correlate the letters with a rapidly changing social situation within the city of Thessalonika, supporting his interpretation by drawing parallels from the practices of various millenarian communities.

Several more recent scholars have interpreted 2 Thessalonians as a pseudo-Pauline letter. W. Trilling (1972, 1980) has put together various form-critical (see FORM CRITICISM) and linguistic arguments against Pauline authorship. W. Marxsen (1982) maintained that 2 Thessalonians argues against a kind of Pauline Gnosticism (see GNOSTIC INTERPRETATION) that held that the day of the Lord has already come (2:2). F. Hughes (1989) has made a RHETORICAL analysis of 2 Thessalonians and argues that the letter's theological rhetoric opposed the theology spread by a letter or letters claiming to be by Paul that advanced a particular form of fulfilled eschatology. Hughes maintains that the theology 2 Thessalonians attacks is the same as that underlying Ephesians and particularly Colossians. A. Malherbe (1987) has interpreted both letters in terms of Greek philosophical tradition, and B. Johanson (1987) has analyzed 1 Thessalonians using the text-linguistic method popular in Scandinavia.

Most contemporary interpreters believe that 1 Thessalonians is the earliest of the extant Pauline letters, written before the Jerusalem conference and before Galatians. The chronological placement of 1 Thessalonians before Galatians is historically and theologically crucial because 1 Thessalonians then displays Paul acting as a pastor and theologian to a congregation evidently untroubled by Judaizers. One sees clearly in 1 Thessalonians the roots of Pauline theology in early Christian traditions about the imminently expected second coming of Jesus. Therefore, in 1 Thessalonians at least, Pauline theology is centered around faith in Jesus as a returning heavenly redeemer, "Jesus who saves us from the coming wrath" (1:10). The Pauline categories of flesh vs. spirit and the opposition to the imposition of Torah observance in gentile congregations, so well attested in Galatians, do not appear in 1 Thessalonians, leading Jewett (1971) to argue that these categories were developed as part of Paul's conflict with Jewish-Christian agitators. If it is desirable to posit a "center" of Pauline theology, 1 Thessalonians raises the question of whether justification by faith can be that center, since it seems to several interpreters to be absent from the letter.

Drawing on the chronologies of G. Lüdemann (1984) and Jewett (1986), K. Donfried (1993) has suggested that the whole issue of the early Paul needs to be revisited, arguing that much of the tradition in Acts 17 about Paul's founding visit to the church in Thessalonika may be correct. Donfried contends that the reference to three sabbaths in Acts 17:2 may not include the total length of time of Paul's ministry in Thessalonika. He also gives an excellent summary of historical and theological issues, along with cogent proposals for the contemporary relevance of 1–2 Thessalonians.

4. Literary Integrity of 1–2 Thessalonians. Some scholars have argued against the literary integrity of 1–2 Thessalonians either in favor of understanding 1 Thess 2:14-16 as an interpolation (B. Pearson [1971]) or positing the existence of several Thessalonian letters that were subsequently edited into the present collection (W. Schmithals [1984]; R. Pesch [1984]). A strong consensus is that 1 Thessalonians is an integral letter (Donfried, Hughes, Jewett, Johanson, Lüdemann, among others).

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F. W. HUGHES

THIERRY OF CHARTRES (d. after 1151)

A teacher at Chartres and in Paris in the 1120s and early 1130s, T. was made archdeacon of Dreux c. 1137. In 1141 he followed GILBERT DE LA PORRÉE as archdeacon and chancellor of Chartres and was present at the Synod of Reims, where Gilbert was tried for heresy in 1148. In the 1150s he retired, as did many masters of the twelfth century, to the monastic life. The date of his death is uncertain. The only biblical commentary to survive that can be securely attributed to him is his work on the creation narratives in Genesis, mentioned by his pupil Clarembald of Arras (fl. 1130–70). This work is an important attempt to apply to exegesis T.'s studies of the liberal arts, especially the mathematical subjects of the quadrivium, and to synthesize the Genesis account with Plato (with whose *Timaeus* T. was familiar through Calcidius's [fl. c. 400] commentary).

Works: *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and His School* (ed N. M. Häring, 1971) contains the *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* and T.'s other theological writings as well as full bibliography.

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G. R. EVANS

THIRLWALL, NEWELL CONNOP (1797–1875)

Born in London in 1797, T. entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1814, where he read classics and graduated (BA 1818). In the same year he was elected to a fellowship of his college and traveled to Europe, where he met the German diplomat and biblical scholar C. von BUNSEN. This aroused in him a strong interest in contemporary German theology, particularly that of F. SCHLEIERMACHER, and also in ancient history through the work of B. Niebuhr (1776–1831).

In 1825 T. published an English translation of Schleiermacher's *Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke,* to which he added a long introduction to Schleiermacher's thought. After a brief period practicing law (1825–27), he returned to Cambridge in 1827 and began working consistently in the field of ancient history. Ordained and appointed bishop of St. David's, Lampeter, Wales, in 1840, he subsequently became chairman of the TRANSLATION committee that led to the publication of the RV in 1881.

After the early eagerness to spread a knowledge of Schleiermacher's ideas in Great Britain, T. promoted a critical approach to the study of ancient history along the lines developed by Niebuhr. His major work was *History of Greece* (8 vols., 1835–44); along with his major British contemporary G. Grote (1794–1871), T. pioneered important work in this field, fully recognizing the relevance and desirability of a comparable critical approach to biblical history. Deeply involved in church and national affairs, especially in promoting reforms in education, he was closely linked with T. ARNOLD, A. STANLEY, and B. F. WESTCOTT.

Works: *Letters, Literary and Theological* (ed. J. J. S. Perowne and L. Stokes, 1881); *Letters to a Friend* (ed. A. P. Stanley, 1881).

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R. E. CLEMENTS

THOLUCK, FRIEDRICH AUGUST GOTTREU (1799–1877)

Born in Breslau, T. studied Near Eastern languages and theology at the universities of Berlin and Jena, where he was influenced by J. Neander (1789–1850), F. SCHLEIERMACHER, and G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831). In 1825 he traveled to Holland and England and later served as embassy chaplain in Rome (1827–29). He experienced a Pietistic conversion (see PIETISM) at Berlin that guided his lifelong theological perspectives. In 1826 he accepted a position at Halle, which he held until his death. When he arrived, the school was permeated with German rationalism; but after a decade, and with support from Prussian officials, he helped bring about substantial change. His book *Die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner* (1823), directed against W. DE WETTE, retarded the spread of rationalism throughout Germany.

One of the most prominent theologians of his day, T. was especially interested in students, often inviting them to accompany him on daily two-hour walks. Because of his facility in English and his more acceptable theology, he befriended and influenced several English and American students including J. A. ALEXANDER, J. W. Alexander (1804–59), C. HODGE, E. Park (1808–1900), R. Patton (1794–1839), G. Prentiss (1816–1903), E. B. PUSEY, E. ROBINSON, and H. P. SMITH. He was one of the best-known and most respected German theologians in his mature years.

Along with his numerous works on theology and church history, T. published many commentaries (Romans [1824]; John [1827]; Sermon on the Mount [1833]; Hebrews [1836]; Psalms [1843]), a response to D. F. STRAUSS's writings on the Gospels (1837), and a work on the prophets (1861; see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). His commentaries, which were widely circulated in the English world, impressed M. STUART and his numerous students, in addition to Americans who came to Halle. Thus T. uniquely influenced those who laid the groundwork for biblical studies in the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

As a theologian T. adopted, according to his own account, N. ZINZENDORF's motto, "I have had but one passion, and that is Christ, and Christ alone." As a member of the mediating school of theology (*Vermittlungstheologie*), he eschewed creeds and dogmatic theology along with censure of minor defections from orthodoxy. He was a master of many languages, having studied nineteen before he was seventeen. He spoke English, French, Italian, Greek, Arabic, and other languages fluently and brought works in all of them to bear on his exegesis, especially his insights into Near Eastern literature, both Jewish and Islamic. However, despite his influence on American and British biblical scholarship, T. pioneered no major innovations.

Works: *Hints on the Importance of the Study of the OT* (1821; ET 1833); *Die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner, oder die wahre Weihe des Zweiflers* (1823; partial ET, *Guido and Julius: The Doctrine of Sin and the Propitiator* (1936); *Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (1824, 1831[3]; ET 1833–36); *Blütensammlung aus der morgenländischen Mystik* (1825); *A Commentary on the Gospel of St. John* (1827, 1857[7]; ET 1836); *Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount* (1833, 1856[4]; ET 1837–43); *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (1836, 1850[3]; ET 1842); *Gesammelte Werke* (11 vols., 1837–43); *Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Geschichte* (1837); *A Translation and Commentary of the Book of Psalms* (1843; ET 1858); *Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen* (1861); *Geschichte des Rationalismus* (1865).

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T. H. OLBRICHT

THOMAS AQUINAS (1225–74)

Born at the castle of Roccasecca near Naples, T. was the youngest son of an Italian lord. At the age of five or six, he was sent as an oblate to the Benedictine abbey at Monte Casino. Due to military struggles the students were sent to Naples in 1239, where T. attended the recently founded imperial university and was introduced to Aristotle's philosophy by Peter of Ireland. In April 1244, against family desires and opposition, he entered the Dominican order. In 1245 he settled at the priory of St. Jacques in Paris, where he studied at the university with Albertus Magnus (1245–48), whom he accompanied to Cologne as student and lecturer (1248–52). There he lectured on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations. He completed his studies at Paris while teaching as a bachelor (1252–56) and was regent-master (1256–59). Returning to Italy (1259–68), he lectured on Job and began his glossed compilation on the Gospels (*Catena aurea*). He spent 1268–72 back in Paris, where he continued lecturing on the Bible along with other topics and finished his teaching and writing career as Master of Theology at the University of Naples and the Dominican House of Studies. He died Mar. 7, 1274, after having undergone a "heavenly revelation" or "traumatic experience" while celebrating mass in the chapel

of St. Nicholas (Dec. 6, 1273), which left him in something of a stupor.

As Master of Theology, T. was expected to expound the Bible together with other set texts and to decide public disputations on theological topics. As a Dominican Master, he was responsible for educating future preachers and confessors, not least by integrating academic theology with the demands of pastoral outreach. He achieved some academic renown in his lifetime but also faced growing criticism. For half a century after his death, his teachings were considered generally suspect by many outside the Dominican order; some of his particular tenets were formally condemned by local bishops.

From his canonization in 1323 T.'s reputation grew, with support from the papacy. At the Council of Trent (1545–60) his texts were accorded unique authority as a common language for Roman Catholic theology and afterward were sometimes treated as the standard of orthodoxy. Of course, there have been dozens of competing interpretations of T. in the seven centuries since his death as there have been recurring Thomistic revivals. The most recent of these, the neo-Thomism endorsed by Pope Leo XIII in 1879, dominated official Roman Catholic teaching through the Second Vatican Council.

The many ideological Thomisms of Roman Catholic history make it difficult to find the original T.; but he is seen best through his writings, the most important of which can be divided into four categories. The first comprises various experiments with original genres for presenting Christian doctrine comprehensively, including *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith* (commonly and mistakenly known as *Summa Against the Gentiles* [1259–65]) and *Summa of Theology* (1267–73). The second category consists of published versions of T.'s public disputations, especially *On Truth* (1256–59) and *On the Power of God* (1265–66). The third category contains T.'s literal commentaries on selected works of Aristotle, written over a period of fewer than seven years (1267–72/73) for different purposes. T. left about half of them incomplete to pursue other projects.

The fourth and most neglected category of T.'s writings contains his biblical commentaries, which together make up about a quarter of his corpus. Biblical exposition was the central teaching task for thirteenth-century Masters of Theology; and exegesis took many forms, including rapid or "cursive" readings aimed at giving the shape of the literal sense, with only a few meditations on its significance, and "reports" of a Master's fuller reading of a biblical book. T. began his theological writing with cursive expositions of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations (all by 1252). We also have reports of T.'s doctrinal expositions of Matthew (1269–70); John (1270–72); the Pauline epistles with Hebrews (in various redactions, 1265–68/1272–73?); and Psalms (1272–73), complete only through Psalm 54, which was T.'s last work. His cursive and reported exegeses are characterized by simplicity in allegorization, irenic disposition of controversies, and steady insistence on essential doctrine. Although willing to accept multi-layered meanings in a text (see QUADRIGA), T. insisted that doctrine must be based on the literal sense.

T.'s more original contributions to biblical exegesis are a literal exposition of Job (1261–65) and a continuous gloss on the Gospels (1262–64/1265–68). GREGORY THE GREAT's *Moral Readings of Job* was considered the definitive allegorical reading, and T. sought to offer instead literal commentary that attended to the arguments of Job and his interlocutors. Job became for him a sustained and sophisticated exploration of questions about divine providence. The continuous gloss—or *Golden Chain,* as it came to be called—was a verse-by-verse arrangement of abridged extracts from the fathers stitched together to make up a running patristic commentary on the four Gospels. The work is remarkable for its use of newly translated Greek fathers and for its distillation of the various views represented.

Works: *Lectura super Matthaeum* (complete text in MS, Basel, *Bibl. Univ.* B. V. 12 to be published in Leonine ed.); *Super Ieremiam et Threnos* (Parma ed., 14:577-658); *Catena aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels* (4 vols., 1841–45); *Expositio et Lectura super Epistolas Pauli Apostoli* (ET, Aquinas Scripture Series, *Galatians* [1966]; *Ephesians* [1966]; *First Thessalonians* [1969]; *Philippians* [1969]; Romans commentary to appear as vol. 32 of Leonine ed.); *Lectura super Ioannem* (chaps. 1–8 in *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint John,* pt. 1 [1980]); *Postilla super Psalmos* (ed. R. Busa, *St. T. A. Opera* [7 vols., 1980] 6:48-130); *The Literal Exposition on Job: A Scriptural Commentary Concerning Providence* (Classics in Religious Studies 7, 1989); *Expositio super Isaiam ad litteram* (Leonine ed., vol. 28; see also D. Bouthillier and J.-P. Torrell, "Quand saint T. méditait sur le prophète Isaïe," *Revue thomiste* 90 [1990] 5-47).

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M. D. JORDAN

THURMAN, HOWARD WASHINGTON (1900–1981)

T. was born Nov. 18, 1900, in Daytona, Florida. Discrimination against Blacks forced him to leave Daytona to receive a high school education in a private school for Blacks in Jacksonville, Florida. In 1923 he completed his undergraduate education at Morehouse College in Atlanta, where he majored in economics and government. After graduating with a BD degree from Rochester Theological Seminary in 1926, he became pastor of a Baptist church in Oberlin, Ohio, returning to Atlanta in 1929 to become director of religious life and professor of religion for both Morehouse and Spelman colleges. In 1932 he joined Howard University (Washington, DC) as professor of Christian theology and later became dean of Howard's chapel. On a lecture tour (1935–36) through India, Ceylon, and Burma, T. and his wife had extensive conversations with M. Gandhi on religion and social change. In 1944 T. co-founded the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples in San Francisco—the first interracial church in leadership and membership in the United States. From 1953 to 1965 he was professor of spiritual resources and disciplines and dean of Marsh Chapel at Boston University. After retiring in 1965 he continued a rigorous schedule of lecturing and preaching until his death in San Francisco, Apr. 10, 1981.

T.'s *Jesus and the Disinherited* (1949) argued that a disinherited JESUS sought, through teaching and demonstrating the love ethic, to empower the disinherited to overcome social and political oppression. Jesus' method for social transformation was nonviolent engagement, which affirmed the worth of both oppressed and oppressor. T. wrote, "The striking similarity between the social position of Jesus in Palestine and that of the vast majority of American Negroes is obvious to anyone who tarries long over the facts" (34). The book became a major resource for civil rights activists (including M. L. King, Jr.), religious leaders involved in social change, and J. Cone in his development of Black theology (see AFROCENTRIC INTERPRETATION; WOMANIST INTERPRETATION). T.'s writings on the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) and on Jesus stressed the importance of religious experience as their source of INSPIRATION, wisdom, power, and courage. T. interpreted the Bible as proclaiming God's ultimate desire for an inclusive and reconciled community of all God's creation.

Works: *The Greatest of These* (1944); *The Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life and Death* (1947); *Jesus and the Disinherited* (1949); *The Creative Encounter* (1954); *The Inward Journey* (1961); *The Luminous Darkness* (1965); "Exposition to the Book of Habakkuk" and "Exposition to the Book of Zephaniah," *IB* 6 (1956); *The Search for Common Ground* (1971); *With Head and Heart* (1979).

Bibliography: **W. E. Fluker,** *They Looked for a City* (1989). **A. Johnson,** *Good News for the Disinherited* (1997). **M. G. Mitchell,** *Spiritual Dynamics of H. T.'s Theology* (1985). **L. E. Smith, Jr.,** *H. T.: The Mystic as Prophet* (1981). **C. F. Stewart III,** *God, Being, and Liberation* (1989).

L. E. SMITH, JR.

TILLICH, PAUL JOHANNES (1886–1965)

Born in Starzeddel, Germany, Aug. 20, 1886, T. studied at Berlin and Tübingen and received his PhD from Breslau in 1911 and his lic. theol. from Halle in 1912. His thesis was on F. W. J. von Schelling (1775–1854), who was an important influence on his thought. T. taught at the universities of Berlin, Marburg, Dresden, and Leipzig and was professor of philosophy at the University of Frankfurt from 1929 until 1933, when he became the first non-Jew to be dismissed from a university post by the Nazis. His subsequent career in the United States was spent at Union Theological Seminary in New York (1933–55), Harvard (1955–62), and the University of Chicago (1962–65). Widely regarded as one of the most influential Protestant thinkers of the twentieth century, he is best known for his three-volume *Systematic Theology.* He died Oct. 22, 1965.

T.'s understanding of the meaning and significance of the Bible was rooted in his orientation as a philosophical theologian. He was interested in how the claims and language of philosophy (e.g., "the Ultimate," "the One," "Being") relate to the testimony of the Bible about God as Creator, Sustainer, and Redeemer. More interested in ontology than in technical biblical scholarship, he felt that theological language emerges because people have a special encounter with reality that enables them to become ultimately concerned about that reality. As a "boundary thinker," he viewed his task as speaking to those who stand on the boundaries or outside of the community of faith. He described his work as apologetic theology and addressed much of his writing to those who wonder if the Bible has any significance in a secularized and technological age.

T. viewed the Bible as a confessional document of the Christian community. Although he respected the integrity of Judaism, he felt that Christians could legitimately read the HB in light of how it prepared early Christians to understand and respond to JESUS as the

which the "new reality" of Jesus was received and interpreted. The NT is important because it tells how Jesus was perceived and received as the Christ, with every NT writer in some sense a witness. The critical feature of the Christ event is its decisive manifestation of the "Ground of Being" (T.'s favorite term for the holy). Jesus is the "New Being" in whom humanity finds reunion, reconciliation, and restoration. The Bible is the primary source of help for understanding the meaning of New Being. The concept of new being can therefore be said to be T.'s hermeneutical principle (see HERMENEUTICS).

T. rejected all literal interpretations of the Bible as well as the exalted sense of the Bible as the Word of God as championed by K. BARTH. T. felt modern interpreters need to use the historical-critical method but also to show "devotional-interpretive" sensitivity, since the Bible deals with matters of ultimate concern: "Only such free historical work, united with the attitude of ultimate concern, can open the Bible to the systematic theologian as his basic source" (1951, 1:36).

The Bible, then, is not important for its history, ceremonies, liturgical materials, apocalyptical visions, or wisdom documents. Historical inaccuracies or omissions do not negate its AUTHORITY. It has significance because it points to a saving reality that has appeared in history to manifest a new way of being. Biblical language is symbolic and powerful because symbols participate in that to which they point.

T. believed all interpreters of biblical texts are influenced by their own times, by their denominational histories, and by what previous exegetes have done. It is impossible to leap across two thousand years and neatly transpose biblical terminology and ideas into the present. Understanding the Bible and the truth of the Christian proclamation comes through experiencing the reality of New Being. T. has been called the most experience-oriented Protestant theologian since F. SCHLEIERMACHER. His experiential and meditative hermeneutic enabled him to preach powerfully from biblical texts. His three books of sermons—*The Shaking of the Foundations* (1948), *The New Being* (1955), and *The Eternal Now* (1963)—are regarded by many scholars as some of his finest work.

Works: "The Problem of Theological Method," *JR* 27 (1947) 16-26 = *Writings in the Philosophy of Religion* (Main Works Hauptwerke 4.4, ed. J. Clayton, 1987) 301-12; *Systematic Theology* 1 (1951); *Biblical Religion and the Search for Ultimate Reality* (1955); *Dynamics of Faith* (1957), esp. chap. 3, "Symbols of Faith."

Bibliography: **D. G. A. Calvert,** "P. T. and Biblical Theology," *SJT* 29 (1976) 517-34. **R. Price,** "Homiletical Hermeneutics in P. T.," *The Drew Gateway* 50 (1979) 15-24. **C.-H. Ratschow,** *TPNZJ* (1978) 303-330.

J. J. CAREY

TILLOTSON, JOHN (1630–94)

An Anglican archbishop and preacher, T. was reared in a family with Puritan convictions and was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, where he was deeply influenced by W. CHILLINGWORTH's *Religion of Protestants.* One of the most popular preachers in London, T. became dean of St. Paul's and in 1691 archbishop of Canterbury. He died Nov. 22, 1694.

T. is a leading representative of Latitudinarian theology, which dominated Anglican thought at the end of the seventeenth century. His *Rule of Faith* asserts against the Roman Catholics that Scripture alone is the rule of Christian faith. He emphasized plainness and simplicity in both preaching and biblical interpretation, and his sermons are marked by a strong appeal to reason and by an optimistic assessment of what "natural religion" teaches about God and morality. Alleged revelations must be tested by their conformity to God's "essential perfections," as understood by reason. T. emphasized the moral character of Christian life over "obscure" doctrines and religious ceremonies. His rational theology was welcomed by the Deists (see DEISM) and decried by the evangelicals (see EVANGELICAL INTERPRETATION) of the following century.

Works: *The Works of the Most Reverend Dr. J. T. . . . Containing 54 Sermons . . . Together with the Rule of Faith* (1704); *The Works of the Most Rev. Dr. J. T. . . . Containing Two Hundred Sermons . . . Published by R. Barker* (1717).

Bibliography: **A. Gordon,** *DNB* 56 (1898) 392-98. **J. O'Higgins,** "Archbishop T. and the Religion of Nature," *JTS* NS 24 (1973) 123-42. **G. Reedy,** *The Bible and Reason: Anglicans and Scripture in Late Seventeenth-century England* (1985). **I. Simon,** *Three Restoration Divines: Barrow, South, T. Selected Sermons* (1967). **N. Sykes,** "The Sermons of Archbishop T.," *Theology* 58 (1955) 297-302.

S. J. JONES

TIMOTHY, FIRST AND SECOND LETTERS TO (see PASTORAL LETTERS)

TINDAL, MATTHEW (1655–1733)

Educated at Oxford, T. became a fellow of All Souls College in 1678. A Deist (see DEISM), he argued in his chief work (1730), published when he was past seventy, that the gospel is merely "a republication of the religion of nature" and adds nothing new. In discussing the Bible he proceeded according to the hermeneutical rule (see HERMENEUTICS) that one should "admit all for divine Scripture, that tends to the Honour of God, and the Good of Man; and nothing which does not." T. sharply distinguished the HB from the NT, finding in the former little more than a catalog of cruelty (e.g., Jephtha and

his daughter, the extermination of the Canaanites) and absurdity (e.g., the talking snake of Genesis 3, Balaam and his ass). The holier the men of the HB are supposed to be, the more cruel they are. The NT is written in a gentler spirit, but here, too, evidence of human fallibility abounds. The best interpreters accept that JESUS and the apostles were mistaken about the Second Coming, and even Jesus' ethical teaching cannot be taken literally. The estimated 30,000 NT textual variants do not inspire confidence in its reliability. In summary, Scripture would lead people completely astray if they were unable to judge it by the light of reason; we must assert our freedom to assent or dissent, knowing that the letter kills. T.'s volume (GT 1741) had a significant influence on European as well as on English thought. He died Aug. 16, 1733.

Works: *Christianity as Old as the Creation: Or, the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature* (1730).

Bibliography: *BB* 6 (1763) 3960-65. **G. Gawlick,** introduction to facsimile edition of *Christianity* (1967) 5-43. **H. G. Reventlow,** *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* (ET 1984) 321-27, 374-83. **L. Stephen,** *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (1876) 1:134-63; *DNB* 46 (1898) 403-5.

F. WATSON

TISCHENDORF, LOBEGOTT FRIEDRICH CONSTANTIN VON (1815–74)

T. was born in Legenfeld, near Leipzig, Germany, Jan. 18, 1815, and died Dec. 7, 1874. He studied at Leipzig (1834–38), where he was influenced by the Greek grammarian J. Winer and joined the theological faculty in 1840, being promoted to full professor in 1859. He traveled widely in Europe and the Near East to study and collect biblical manuscripts. During visits to the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai in 1844 and 1859, he discovered the important fourth-century manuscript of the Bible Codex Sinaiticus.

T. was primarily a NT text critic (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM). Conservative in theology, he believed that faith required a reliable text. In 1841 he published a Greek NT that showed dependence on the earlier work of K. LACHMANN. His second Leipzig edition included an extensive critical apparatus and the prolegomena that presented his principles of criticism. In general, T. relied on the oldest Greek manuscripts together with evidence from early versions and patristic sources. He classified the material into two groups: Alexandrian and Latin, and Asiatic and Byzantine. The eighth edition (*Novum Testamentum Graece*) was published in two volumes (1869–72). It shows great reliance on Sinaiticus and contains one of the largest collections of variants found in any edition of the NT. In higher criticism T. published a short popular work (1896) that argued that all four Gospels were authentic and were accepted as canonical (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) by the beginning of the second century.

Works: *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst* (1880⁴; ET, *Origin of the Four Gospels* [1867]); *When Were Our Gospels Written?* (1896); *Novum Testamentum Graece* (2 vols., 1869–72⁸); vol. 3, *Prolegomena* (ed. C. R. Gregory, 1884).

Bibliography: **W. Baird,** *History of NT Research* 1 (1992) 322-28. **J. Bentley,** *Secrets of Mount Sinai: The Story of the Codex Sinaiticus* (1986). **M. Black and R. Davidson,** *C. T. and the Greek NT* (1981).

W. R. BAIRD

TITUS, LETTER TO (see PASTORAL LETTERS)

TOBIT, BOOK OF

Because the book of Tobit presents such a well-told story, it has been read and interpreted on many levels among Jews and Christians despite its disputed status in the CANON. Its narrative presents an answer to the problem of how the God of Israel, who is merciful and righteous, rewards the righteous and kind Jew who suffers persecution in the diaspora. Its characters, themes, and plot tell this message by using the everyday concerns of family, honor, sickness, money, death, and marriage along with the extraordinary elements of angels, demons, exorcism, healing, and prophecies (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB).

Although Tobit appears as an Israelite from the tribe of Naphtali in Assyrian exile, he; Anna, his wife; Tobias, his son; and Sarah, his daughter-in-law represent pious Jews caught in the problems of diaspora life. A story of postexilic life for Jews, it seems to have been composed sometime between 250 and 170 BCE (R. Doran [1986] 299; but see M. Rabenau [1994] 175-90). Its earliest use is indicated by four Aramaic fragments and one Hebrew fragment from Qumran (J. Milik [1966] 523, no. 3; G. Vermes [1986] 225; J. VanderKam [1994] 35; J. Fitzmyer [1994] 220-23; F. García-Martínez [1996] 293-99, 487-88). Its presence and likely use among these scrolls show also how Tobit connects with other postexilic Jewish literature that "employed canonical novels for the final shaping of the book, with additional influences being exerted from other factors (sources, new beliefs, needs of the community for which the book was written)" (W. Soll [1989] 220, no. 38).

Tobit was not recognized as canonical in rabbinic Judaism, yet manuscripts and references to it indicate its continued popularity into the medieval period. Although no commentaries were written on it, Jewish copiers and editors showed ongoing interest by making

changes in the texts to conform to later Jewish practices (D. Simpson; R. Pfeiffer [1949] 266).

Early Christian authors also used Tobit: *Polycarp* 10:2 and *2 Clem.* 16:4 correspond to Tob 4:10 and 12:8-9 but do not cite Tobit on the subject of almsgiving and love (J. Gamberoni [1969] 19-20). Later Christian writers tended not to comment in full on the work but used it as a practical and popular resource. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, ORIGEN, Cyprian, DIONYSUS OF ALEXANDRIA, EPHRAEM THE SYRIAN, AUGUSTINE, and Hilary used it on such topics as alms, prayer, sexuality, marriage, patience, parental guidance, angels, demons, exorcisms, persecution, the ideal Christian, and resurrection status (Gamberoni, 19-61). The use and interpretation of Tobit in the early church and in the West until 1600 have been carefully presented by Gamberoni; this article follows his work to show some major developments.

Clement of Alexandria was the first Christian author to show that he understood the story of Tobit as a historical account, as part of the overall development of HB history (Gamberoni, 26). Later Origen stated that he knew of no Hebrew text for the book and that the Jews known to him did not recognize it as canonical—yet he stated that Christians did hold it as part of their HB Scriptures (Gamberoni, 30-33).

While this difference between Jewish and Christian Scriptures was recognized by Christian authors, the popularity of Tobit and its practical, moral, and even doctrinal use ensured its acceptance by the church. This basic position was held by Origen, ATHANASIUS, Rufinus, and Augustine and gave Tobit its deuterocanonical or ecclesiastical status (E. Ellis [1988] 667-74; Gamberoni, 39-55).

While Rufinus accepted Tobit as ecclesiastical, but not canonical, Scripture, JEROME was torn between recognizing that the book was not in the Jewish canon, which he esteemed highly, but had been ecclesiastically used and accepted, which was also important to him (Gamberoni, 72-80). At the request of several Western bishops, he nevertheless translated Tobit into Latin, he said, from a Hebrew TRANSLATION made by an assistant who knew both "Chaldee" (Aramaic) and Hebrew. How Jerome translated what he received or what he had to translate from becomes important not only for manuscript evidence (D. Simpson [1913a] 178; Pfeiffer, 271-72) but also for the influence that his VULGATE translation had on the life of the Western church. Jerome became an interpreter of Tobit because his translation was "fuller" than the important Sinaiticus version (Gamberoni, 83-84; VanderKam, 35), and these expansions (by Jerome or his sources) often accentuate moral, ethical, and religious themes in a way that gives the Jewish material a Christian coloring. One influential expansion, given the growth of Christian asceticism at this time, was that Sarah and Tobit practiced three nights of abstinence after their wedding (Gamberoni, 83-87).

Similar variations of the story for popular Christian use are found in the fifth-century *speculum* called *Audi Israhel,* which cites a version of Tobit on all manner of topics for Christian living (honor of parents, alms, etc.; Gamberoni, 62-64). This sort of practical Christian use also led to finding examples or images in the book for dogmatic purposes, so that ISIDORE OF SEVILLE had father and son symbolize the law and Christ (Gamberoni, 107).

BEDE interpreted Tobit as an allegory concerning Christ and the church; e.g., the end of the book showed the conversion of the Jews (Gamberoni, 115-16) and Tobit and the fish became Christ overcoming Satan, a theme that entered medieval iconography (G. Schiller [1971] 107; H. Weskott [1972] 320-26). NICHOLAS OF LYRA wrote practical sermons (*postilla*) on Tobit with attention to the *littera,* the story, characters, words used, locations, etc. He addressed the book's problems as well as its teachings (Gamberoni, 147-50).

In the medieval period Tobit became the patron of gravediggers and intercessors for the blind. He was the model for young travelers setting out into the world as journeymen after their years of apprenticeship (Réau [1956] 320).

In the late Middle Ages few commentaries were written on Tobit as a whole. But because it was popular and was used in moral, theological, and even canon law issues, exegetical traditions on the book were gathered and transmitted, including discussions of the problems it presented for history, geography, the supernatural, and the canon (Gamberoni, 181-95).

Humanistic scholarship by Christians led to the publication of two medieval Jewish manuscripts printed earlier in Constantinople, one by S. MÜNSTER and one by P. FAGIUS, both in 1542 (Simpson, 178-80; Gamberoni, 250-52). These texts and a very shortened version of Tobit in the medieval homiletical MIDRASH *Tanhuma Yeladammedenu* show continuing Jewish use of the story.

Humanistic education and the Reformation aroused new interest in Tobit, beginning with the question of canonicity. While ERASMUS was aware of the problems from Jerome and others, he did not take the step that A. von KARLSTADT did in viewing canonicity as something the church recognized, not established. Hence, for Karlstadt, books like Tobit that were not in the Jewish canon were valuable but not on the same level and became apocryphal, not ecclesiastical or deuterocanonical (Gamboni, 201-8).

LUTHER gave his view in the 1534 German Bible: "Apocrypha: That is, books not equal to the Holy Scriptures but yet useful and good to read." His preface to Tobit spoke highly of its value for Christian behavior, especially in marriage, and he considered it a pious comedy (*WA* Bibel 12, 108-11). During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, interest in the book blossomed into numerous literary and musical

works (C. Roth and B. Bayer [1971] 1186-87; see WESTERN LITERATURE, THE BIBLE AND; and MUSIC, THE BIBLE AND).

Following Luther, some commentators (C. Pellican, Flacius Illyricus, Osiander) adapted Tobit to new theological and social views on such topics as alms and faith (vs. good works), abstention and marriage. A. Osiander (1496/98–1552) raised questions about Tobit's genre, and C. PELLICAN considered chaps. 13 and 14 as secondary (Gamberoni, 257-73). All these commentaries assumed a basic historicity and probability for the story, whereas ZWINGLI and other writers latched onto Jerome's doubts and began to talk of fables. The Reformed scholar F. Junius the elder went further: Since the book was non-canonical, it was human and open to error. Aware of other versions of Tobit, he pondered its manuscript history, original language (Chaldean, i.e., Aramaic), author, and location, finding moral, theological, and historical errors. It was a bad Jewish sort of fable now safely outside the Bible (Gamberoni, 278-80). This view generally prevailed among Protestants, and scholarly interest in Tobit declined. The wedding service in the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* referred to Tobias and Sarah, following the older Sarum rite; and other Protestant groups, like the Old Order Amish, continued this mention of the book (B. Metzger [1957] 40). Roman Catholic writers, following Trent's favorable decision on Tobit's canonicity, used it in popular works and commentaries (Gamberoni, 281-93) but with a new sense of the problems in the book.

Attempts at dating Tobit and attention to its literary structure began in the nineteenth century and have influenced all subsequent interpretations. Both of these aspects concerned PENTATEUCHAL source critic K. ILGEN in 1800, who proposed several stages of composition (dating from the 7th to the 1st cents. BCE), based partly on changes in style and on manuscript evidence (Pfeiffer, 276). German literary historian K. Simrock (1802–76) suggested on the basis of his work in folktales (see FOLKLORE) that Tobit's plot in part came from the folktale theme often called "The Grateful Dead," although this insight was developed only later (for biblical literature in general and for Tobit specifically) by J. RENAN in 1879 (Pfeiffer, 269). Aside from scholarly interest, the story of Tobit continued to engage such readers as S. KIERKEGAARD, who pondered it in *Fear and Trembling,* proposing Sarah as the real hero.

Despite the protests of some scholars defending Tobit's historicity or priority, by the end of the nineteenth century Tobit was seen as a didactic tale drawing on at least three sources or influences: "The Grateful Dead," "The Dangerous Bride," and "The Story of Ahikar." Recognition of Tobit's connection to Ahikar came before access to the Ahikar text from Elephantine in 1911; in addition to earlier questions about written or oral dependence, interpretation has more recently looked at how the Ahikar material is used in the overall aims of Tobit (P. Deselaers [1982] 424-48; J. Lindenberger [1985] 488-90; Soll, 221). Persian influence was also detected but was disputed (Pfeiffer, 271, no. 40; Soll, 225, no. 46). Egyptian influence (Simpson, 187-88) is now considered unlikely (Pfeiffer, 271).

Besides the Ahikar manuscript discovery, discovery of the Sinaiticus version of Tobit (pub. 1862) and of Tobit fragments from Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) have given new directions to interpretation: Codex Sinaiticus with its Semiticisms (Thomas) and longer version seems favored now over Codices Alexandrinus and Vaticinus as the superior Greek version of the book (backed by the OL); and this in turn has been supported by study of the Qumran fragments, which largely agree with the longer version of Sinaiticus and also represent all fourteen chapters (VanderKam, 35). Aramaic may still be the likely original language (Vermes, 225; Doran, 296; VanderKam, 35; Rabenau, 7).

Work on source analysis (Simpson, 187-96) or the use of sources in Tobit (M. Plath [1901] 404-14) continued in the early twentieth century alongside interest in the book as a source for historical reconstruction of early Judaism and Christianity—as can be seen in the early editions of E. SCHÜRER (*RGG*) and later in Pfeiffer's history and F. Zimmermann's commentary (1958).

Yet beside this more historical approach, literary study grew in new directions with the aid of work on folktales by G. Gerould (1908, 1973), S. Thompson (1933), and V. Propp (1968). S. Liljeblad (1927) proposed to move from the motif of "The Grateful Dead" to the story of "The Dangerous Bride" as the core of Tobit's plot; T. Glasson (1959) agreed but wished to connect the plot to the Admetus story in Apollodorus. Other literary research moved from listing biblical literary connections (Simpson, 192, nos. 6-7; Zimmermann, 12-13) to investigating how biblical themes or stories had been models for Tobit. L. Ruppert (1972) looked to the Joseph story; A. Di Lella (1979) found connections to themes in Deuteronomy; Deselaers proposed the Isaac and Rebekah story in Genesis 24. J. Blenkinsopp (1981) drew these two directions closer in his 1981 work by comparing Tobit as a sort of biography (along with the Jacob stories) with Propp's grid of folktale functions (actually fairytale functions, as P. Milne [1986] has pointed out). Blenkinsopp claimed to find enough similarities to Propp's functions to question the best genre description of Tobit and also whether Tobit has a pattern similar to other lives told in biblical narratives.

Tobit has often carried the tag "didactic" or "paraenetic" story, or *Novelle,* with that sort of flavor (Deselaers, 271, no. 460; Vermes, 222); but like Blenkinsopp, Deselaer challenged this. His *Das Buch Tobit* impressively combined literary, historical, and theological research comparable to G. Nickelsburg's work. While Deselaers

investigated the book's divisions, details, and development, giving some recognition to its totality, Nickelsburg invited the reader to consider it as a totality while appreciating its many constituent parts and complexities. Deselaers began with a LITERARY-critical investigation of the frame story (chaps. 1–3; 14) and of the internal story (chaps 4–14:1), which led him to propose that Tobit originated in a basic didactic story, which was expanded three times (Deselaers, 48-56). After examining all its parts he concluded that the genre of *Novelle* fits for the internal story; but the fuller final shape is better described as a sort of novel (*Roman*) that has incorporated elements from some other genres (Deselaers, 273-79). Rabenau's studies on Tobit enter into conversation with Deselaer's work by proposing a basic narrative focused on the theme of guidance involving various subthemes (Rabenau, 94-147), with expansions (Rabenau, 8-26; 148-74).

The briefer treatments of Tobit by Nickelsburg (1984, 1988) emphasize the present shape of the book as "an integrated literary whole" that contains a complex, yet well-told story employing various literary forms, such as testaments, prayers, hymns, etc. (Nickelsburg [1984] 40; see also the index on Tobit). In his brief commentary he first analyzed the whole text as a "sophisticated and carefully crafted narrative," the plot (especially the parallels of Tobit and Sarah), and the complex forms and motifs woven into the total story (Nickelsburg [1988] 791-92).

On religious dimensions in Tobit, Deselaers and Nickelsburg are in general agreement. Nickelsburg shows a development from pious life to despair in sufferings, followed by God's actions, and finally doxology; he points to the theme that divine help is imperceptible to humans. Deselaers views the terms *hodos, eleēmosynē,* and *eulogein* (blessing) as important for Tobit's overall message. Nickelsburg speaks of the doxological and didactic tones and intention and points out social aspects of Tobit: concern with family, marriage, burial, diaspora, etc. This Deselaers does in greater length and depth in his investigation of theological and sociological aspects, connecting family and kinship with mobility (*hodos*) and almsgiving (*eleēmosynē*) in diaspora life (Deselaers, 309-73).

Both Deselaers and Rabenau propose stages for Tobit's development. Deselaers's three stages occur in 220, 195, and 185 BCE; Tobit was started in Alexandria and enlarged there and in Jerusalem (cf. Doran, 299). Rabenau argues for a Samaritan beginning in the third century BCE, with additions in the 140s and later in the last half of the second century among Jews, while recognizing interest in it in the diaspora (Rabenau, 175-90).

J. Craghan's brief commentary on parts of Tobit (1982) shows agreement with Di Lella's deuteronomic connections and attention to the story line (see Tobit 11:15). I. Nowell's commentary (1990) combines recent discussion on Tobit with a sensitivity to literary points and structure (*inclusio* device, themes of journey, and healing) in its short scope. H. Gross's longer commentary (1987) tends to follow some of the directions set by Deselaers.

Soll's article has drawn together folktale research and refinements and biblical scholarship of the late twentieth century, developing an interesting analysis of one important function of fairytale plots (villainy or lack; Soll calls it misfortune). A brief introduction and overview of Tobit incorporating an interest in the effect of the whole complex story line with attention to literary technique has appeared in N. Petersen's essay (1990). Nowell (1995) and D. McCracken (1995) point to humor in Tobit.

Interpretation of Tobit (indeed of the Apocrypha and beyond) has again begun from interest in social and religious history (B. Bow and G. Nickelsburg [1991]; A.-J. Levine [1992]; H. Engel [1993]; M. Oeming [1994]) and also for tracing literary and theological connections with canonical Jewish and early Christian writing (Nickelsburg [1984] 45-56; [1988] 792).

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W. POEHLMANN

TOLAND, JOHN (1670–1722)

Born in County Donegal, Ireland, Nov. 30, 1670, T. was "educated from the cradle in the grossest superstition and idolatry," as he put it in 1696. He threw off Roman Catholicism in 1685 with a conversion seemingly to Presbyterianism. From 1687 to 1690 he attended the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Supported by the Dissenters, he then went to Holland, where he studied under F. Spanheim (1632–1701) and J. LE CLERC and became a Latitudinarian.

Returning to England, T. published his best-known work *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696). He based his argument partly on philosophy, particularly J. LOCKE's theories of meaning and nominal essence, and partly on an examination of the term *mystery* in the NT. T.'s bold conclusion—in the words of his subtitle—was that "there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to reason, nor above it: and that no Christian doctrine can be properly called a mystery." The book created a sensation and is often said to have started the Deist controversy (see DEISM). It made T. notorious. Many thought—probably rightly—that T.'s actual position was even more radical than the non-mysterious biblical Christianity for which he argued in the book. His 1698 and 1699 works did much to confirm these suspicions. The first suggested that acceptance of a recent forgery helped to explain the acceptance in earlier times of "superstitious pieces under the name of Christ and his apostles," a thesis he defended in the second work by listing over seventy spurious gospels, epistles, and acts. (An even more extensive list was printed in his 1726 posthumous work.) Although T. denied that he was calling into question the CANON of the NT, few of his critics took his disavowal seriously. In his 1709 work he suggested that WALAFRID STRABO was a sounder historian of the Jews than was Moses.

T.'s chief contribution to biblical scholarship was *Nazarenus* (1718), in which he placed early Christianity firmly within a Jewish context. He argued that the first Christians—the Nazarenes, Ebionites, or, as he also called them, Jewish Christians—were obliged to keep the levitical law and that original Christianity was perverted by the heathenism of the gentile Christians (who were not meant to keep the law). He tried to show that the distinction between Jewish and gentile Christianity is able to resolve important perplexities in the NT, e.g., the apparently conflicting claims about faith and/or works being necessary for salvation. T. defended *Nazarenus* in the fourth essay of *Tetradymas,* which also contains (in the 1st essay) a naturalistic account of the pillar of cloud and fire mentioned in Exodus 14.

T. died Mar. 11, 1722, "without the least perturbation of mind" according to his biographer, Desmaizeaux.

Works: *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696); *Life of Milton* (1698); *Amyntor, or a Defense of Milton's Life* (1699); *Origines Judaicae* (1709); *Nazarenus: Or, Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity* (1718); *Tetradymas* (1720); *A Collection of Several Pieces of Mr. J. T.* (2 vols., 1726).

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D. BERMAN

TORREY, CHARLES CUTLER (1863–1956)

Known for his accomplishments in amateur athletics (baseball, tennis, wrestling) and for his talent as a musician (flute), T. was arguably the most brilliant and original biblical interpreter the United States has yet produced. Born at East Hardwick, Vermont, in 1863, he was educated at Bowdoin College (AB 1884), Andover Theological Seminary (BD 1889), and the University of Strasbourg (PhD 1892), where he was greatly influenced by T. NÖLDEKE, P. JENSEN, and J. Euting (1839–1913). He taught Latin at Bowdoin (1885–86), then Semitic languages at Andover (1892–1900). In 1900 he was appointed professor of Semitic philosophy and comparative grammar (later Sterling professor) at Yale, where he became chairman of the department of Semitic and biblical languages, literature, and history, serving until his retirement in 1932.

T. was regarded as the dean of Semitic language scholars in the United States, being versed in Arabic, Ethiopic (see ETHIOPIAN INTERPRETATION), Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Syriac, Accadian, and Persian languages and literatures. He founded and was first director of the American School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (1900–1901), later the Jerusalem research center of the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH. He served twice as editor of *JAOS* (1900–1907, 1911–16). In 1915 he was elected president of the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE and in 1917 of the AOS. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Medieval Academy of America, and the Deutsche Morgenländisches Gesellschaft and director of the Egypt Exploration Fund and of the Palestine Oriental Society. Bowdoin, Yale, Jewish Institute of Religion, Jewish Theological Seminary, and Chicago College of Jewish Studies all bestowed honorary doctorates on him.

Throughout his career and in retirement T. regularly contributed articles to professional journals and to *Encyclopedia Biblica,* the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* He carried out his pioneering archaeological excavation (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) at Sidon, Lebanon (1900–1901), adding an understanding of this important science to his interests in history and philology. He maintained a special interest in numismatics and epigraphy throughout his long and sometimes controversial career. He died in 1956 in Chicago, where he was a director of the Oriental Institute.

T. became famous for promulgating certain controversial opinions. Chief among these is undoubtedly his view that the SYNOPTIC Gospels, John, and Revelation are for the most part straightforward translations of Aramaic originals. He was so convinced of this idea that he actually translated the four Greek Gospels back into Aramaic, then from his hypothetical Aramaic "original" into English. Regarding the HB, T. held that the prophetic books of Jeremiah, Second Isaiah, and Ezekiel were part of a "sacred library of prophets" compiled in the third century BCE and that Jeremiah's connection with the seventh century BCE was purely imaginary and literary. Moreover, he averred that the exile and the restoration were fictions created by the chronicler in his polemic against the Samaritans. Similarly, he believed the bulk of Ezekiel to be pseudepigraphic (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA), composed c. 230 BCE as a Jewish response to Alexander the Great's conquest of the East. T. concluded it was edited later, c. 200 BCE, but so as to appear to be an exilic work. In his classic study of Second Isaiah (1928), following E. KÖNIG's commentary T. argued for the unity of Isaiah 40–66 and considered Isaiah 34–35 as an introduction to that body of PROPHECY; the latter point has won adherents. His forceful, sometimes combative style occasionally manifested itself in debate at annual meetings of the SBL; his arguments on behalf of his independent and stimulating views were considered formidable and are still taken seriously, despite the lack of general acceptance of his conclusions.

Works: *The Commercial-theological Terms in the Koran* (1892); *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* (BZAW 2, 1896); (tr.), *The Mohammedan Conquest of Egypt and North Africa* (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 1901); (ed. and tr.), *Selections from the Sahih of al-Bokkari* (SSS, 1906); *Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel* (1909); *Ezra Studies* (1910; repr. LBS, 1970); *The Composition and Date of Acts* (HTS 1, 1916); (ed.), *The Futuh Misr of Ibn Abd al-Hakam* (YOS.R 3, 1922), Arabic; *The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation* (1928); *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* (YOS.R 18, 1930; repr. LBS, 1970); *The Four Gospels: A New Translation* (1933, 1947²); *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (1933, repr. 1967); *Our Translated Gospels: Some New Evidence* (1936); *Aramaic Graffiti on Coins of the Demanhur Hoard* (1937); *Documents of the Primitive Church* (1941); *The Apocryphal Literature: A Brief Introduction* (1945; repr. 1963); *The Lives of the Prophets: Greek Text and Translation* (JBLMS 1, 1946); *Gold Coins of Khokand and Bukhara* (NNM 117, 1950); *The Chronicler's History of Israel: Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah Restored to Its Original Form* (1954); *The Apocalypse of John* (1958).

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J. M. BULLARD

TOY, CRAWFORD HOWELL (1836–1919)

Born in Norfolk, Virginia, T. studied at the University of Virginia and at Southern Baptist Seminary in Greenville, South Carolina. After serving in the Civil War he spent two years in Berlin studying OT and Semitic languages. In 1869 he became professor of OT interpretation at his alma mater, SBS, which in 1877 moved to Louisville, Kentucky. In 1879 he resigned because of controversies over INSPIRATION and biblical criticism, and in 1880 he was appointed Hancock Professor of Hebrew and Other Oriental Languages at Harvard Divinity School.

T. published numerous works, including two volumes in the Polychrome Bible series on Ezekiel, one a critical text, the other a TRANSLATION. He incorporated the results of critical scholarship judiciously, including the Wellhausenian perspectives (see J. WELLHAUSEN) on the development of Israel's faith. In the Proverbs (1899) commentary he cited Jewish and rabbinic sources and German scholars but made no reference to international wisdom materials.

Works: *The History of the Religion of Israel: An OT Primer* (1882, 1905[15]); *Quotations in the NT* (1884); *Judaism and Christianity* (1890); (ed.), *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (SBOT 12, 1899); (tr.), *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (SBONT 12, 1899); *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* (ICC, 1899; repr. 1948).

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T. H. OLBRICHT

TRADITION HISTORY

This method of analysis is known by several names, including the tradition-history method and tradition-historical criticism, all of which are English translations of German terms: *Traditionsgeschichtliche Studien* and *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien.* In NT scholarship the preferred term is REDACTION CRITICISM, especially in reference to the critical evaluation of the Gospels. This diversity in nomenclature parallels the even greater range in approaches exhibited by individual scholars in their evaluation of particular texts. Thus one must make a very broad definition of the method to encompass the range of exegetical studies available.

In general terms, those using the method seek to reconstruct hypothetically the evolution of a biblical text, set of texts, or theme and the ways this text or theme may have communicated different messages to its ancient audience over the years. The scholar hypothesizes this evolutionary trajectory through both oral and written stages of development. In addition, the method is used to study how a text relates to its greater literary context in our present CANON. The scholar wishes to rediscover how cycles of texts grew into even larger cycles in the process of oral and written transmission. Once these stages of development have been discerned, creative suggestions can be made concerning the social and religious needs of the audiences addressed by the evolving text at each significant stage of growth. This provides the modern reader with deeper insight into the overall meaning of that biblical text.

1. History. The tradition-historical method grew out of the form-critical method (see FORM CRITICISM) in the 1930s and 1940s. The form-critical method had arisen in 1900–1930 through the work of H. GUNKEL (1895, 1901), H. GRESSMANN (1913), H. KLOSTERMANN, A. ALT (1953–59), and others who sought to reconstruct the theoretical oral prehistory and original oral form of a literary biblical text. The later tradition-historical critics, many of whom were already form critics, extended their evaluation to include all the hypothetical stages of development for a biblical text, from its original oral form to the final written canonical text.

The first serious tradition-history scholarship was contributed by G. von RAD and M. NOTH. Von Rad's seminal work (1938; ET 1966) suggested that the Pentateuch evolved out of short oral creeds and that the Yahwistic historian was the first to combine the Sinai traditions with the accounts of the wilderness wanderings and conquest. Von Rad also articulated a significant OT THEOLOGY based on tradition-historical reconstruction. Noth (1948; ET 1972) advanced the theory that great cycles of oral tradition (patriarchs, exodus, wilderness, Sinai, and entrance into arable land) and some shorter cycles evolved into the Pentateuchal sources (Yahwist, Elohist, and priestly source) and that the DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY was composed by one creative author, not out of Pentateuchal sources, but out of diverse and fragmentary traditions (1943; ET 1981).

Scandinavian scholars (referred to loosely as the Uppsala school) contributed greatly to the development of this method. In contrast to their German counterparts, many Scandinavians rejected LITERARY or source criticism, maintaining that the development of biblical traditions occurred primarily in the oral stage before their precipitation into writing during the Babylonian exile—

and hence that the method was concerned only with oral tradition. H. S. NYBERG may have begun this movement with a study of oral tradition in Hosea (1935). Significant scholars included I. ENGNELL (1960, 1969), who wrote numerous essays in critical methodology; and S. MOWINCKEL (1946), who moderated between Scandinavian emphasis on oral tradition and German source criticism. Other Scandinavian contributions include the work of I. Hylander on 1 Samuel (1932); H. BIRKELAND on the prophets (1938); A. Haldar on the prophets (1945); E. Nielsen on oral tradition and the Ten Commandments (1950, 1965); G. AHLSTRÖM on Psalm 89 (1959); R. Carlson on 2 Samuel (1964); and M. Saebø on Second Zechariah (1969).

More recent practitioners have combined the German and Scandinavian approaches by surveying the development of a text, set of texts, or theme through both oral and written stages. Significant works have included those of H. Gese on Ezekiel 40–48 (1958); W. Richter on Judges 3–9 (1964); K. Koch on methodology (1967; ET 1969); R. Rendtorf on the Pentateuchal sources (1977; ET 1990); M. Fishbane on INNER-BIBLICAL exegesis (1985); and C. Dohmen on the prohibition against images (1987). R. Gnuse (1996) has even used the method to analyze texts in the writings of JOSEPHUS. D. Knight has provided an excellent history of the tradition-historical method (1975); W. Rast has generated a text on the method (1972); and further collections of essays outlining the method's history (see K. Jeppesen and B. Otzen [1984]) and probing its wider implications (see Knight [1977]) have appeared.

The comparable discipline in NT studies is redaction criticism, which seeks to trace the evolution of oral tradition from the JESUS sayings down to their final literary form as written Gospels. R. BULTMANN (1931; ET 1963) was a pioneer in this regard. Scholars who have analyzed the theological assumptions of Gospel authors in their use of the Jesus tradition include G. BORNKAMM (1960; ET 1963); W. Marxsen (1956; ET 1969); H. Conzelmann (1953; ET 1960); J. L. MARTYN (1968); and W. Kelber (1983). Emphasizing the creative work of the final author, NT scholars pay more attention to the final stage of transmission, since the NT oral tradition is much shorter than that of HB texts. Hence NT scholars use the term *redaction,* which refers more directly to that final stage, whereas HB scholars prefer a term like *tradition history.* A fine introduction to the NT method was provided by N. Perrin (1969).

Criticism of tradition history has emerged among HB scholars. J. Van Seters (1975, 1992, 1994), T. Thompson (1987), and R. Whybray (1987) have questioned whether an extensive oral tradition really lies behind biblical narratives, and if so, whether it can be reconstructed out of the final literary text. They and other critics suggest a process of literary creation during the Babylonian exile and thereafter out of little or no prior traditions. In the future, scholarly discussion may rage concerning the actual viability of tradition history as an exegetical method.

2. Steps in the Method. In studying a text, set of texts, or theme, the tradition-historical critic will have a particular agenda for the analysis, which will vary depending upon the text's genre, e.g., narrative, legal text, prophetic oracle, psalm, wisdom saying, novella, etc. Certain texts lend themselves to a full tradition-historical scrutiny, especially if they appear to have a long evolutionary pre-history, as might be the case with narrative passages. In assessing a particular passage the critical scholar might envision five stages of development worthy of consideration and, depending on the text, might focus intensely on one or more of these stages.

The first area of consideration would be ancient Near Eastern or Hellenistic parallels to the biblical passage(s). The critic considers comparable texts that may have influenced biblical authors in the oral or written formation of the biblical text. Even if these comparable texts were not directly available to the biblical authors, they may have been part of a familiar genre. Biblical authors used well-established formulas and stereotypic language to communicate with their audience, sometimes employing analogous language and literary genres to communicate similar ideas and sometimes evoking imagery used by their foreign contemporaries in order to critique or reject ideas advanced by those contemporaries. Examples of the former include prophetic oracles, which adapted the messenger formula of ancient Near Eastern diplomatic correspondence, "Thus says the king," to become "Thus says the Lord." Examples of the latter are the biblical accounts of creation and the flood in Genesis 1–3 and 6–9, which reworked the Babylonian and Egyptian mythic accounts (see EGYPTOLOGY).

Critics must be cautious, however, when searching for parallel ancient Near Eastern and classical texts, lest they engage in "parallel-mania"—that is, finding ancient texts that bear only a superficial resemblance to biblical texts. The parallel texts must share significant modes of expression, format, and purpose with the biblical passage in order to be helpful in comparative analysis. Furthermore, in the subjective opinion of the critical scholar, the parallel text or a similar genre must have been reasonably accessible to the biblical author either directly from the foreign culture or through the mediation of other biblical texts. Too often modern scholars have dredged up inappropriate parallel texts from the ancient world and obtained skewed results from their analysis of biblical passages.

The second area of consideration is the possible oral pre-history of the biblical text being studied. Not every biblical passage passed through a significant oral stage of transmission, but scholars generally assume that Pentateuchal and deuteronomistic narratives as well as prophetic oracles and some psalms had an oral pre-history.

Careful scrutiny of our present literary text may discern some of the stages of this developmental process, including the original form, message, and social setting. Thus the tradition-historical critic seeks to answer several questions: (1) What was the original extent of the oral form in contrast to the present written text? What lines have been added secondarily in the later oral and written transmission? (2) What was the shape of the original oral form? Is there a discernible outline or pattern? Does this pattern conform to a genre that would have been recognized by its audience, e.g., epic, hero-tale, legend, myth, chronicle, fable, song, etc. (as in the narratives) or lament, parable, lawsuit, disputation, salvation oracle, taunt, etc. (as in prophetic oracles)? The form communicated as much to the ancient audience as the actual content. (3) What was the original message, and how might it be different from the messages communicated in later oral and written stages? (4) Who spoke the original oral form (priests, Levites, bards, prophets, etc.), and why did this form originate with them? (5) To whom was the oral form addressed, and what were the needs to which this form spoke? This analysis is form criticism, which early form critics used exclusively in analyzing texts (especially psalms). For tradition-historical critics, form criticism is only one stage in the process of exegesis.

The third area of investigation is envisioning how the biblical text might have grown into its present literary context. How did the passage become connected with other texts, and how did that process evolve through various stages? The critic is interested not only in the transformation of meaning experienced by that passage as other texts are connected to it but also in how the passage fits into the greater cycle of texts in terms of meaning. Early literary or source critics assumed that this amalgamation of texts occurred in written or literary fashion; but since the rise of form and tradition-historical criticisms, scholars assume that these early collections, or cycles, arose in oral form.

Once the oral narrative became part of a larger cycle, it functioned in a larger theological tradition with overarching themes that united a number of texts. The individual narrative was subordinate to the themes of the greater cycle, and whoever crafted the larger oral or written corpus often changed some of the language in the shorter forms to conform to these greater themes. The scholar seeks to observe how the original form now relates to passages around it and to discover which of those passages might have been woven together in a separate oral or written cycle at some point of transmission. Diverse texts are associated with one another on the basis of common vocabulary, themes, and theological ideas; they are distinguished from other passages that might have belonged to a separate cycle of traditions because the latter are duplicate accounts of those in the first cycle or because the latter share their own common language. Once this distinct larger cycle of texts has been isolated, the critic seeks to articulate its distinct characteristic theology or ideology (see IDEOLOGICAL CRITICISM).

At this stage the tradition-historical critic engages in what traditionally has been called source or literary criticism. In PENTATEUCHAL studies this would be the point where scholars evaluate texts as being part of the Yahwist, Elohist, or priestly tradition. In the deuteronomistic history scholars delineate cycles, such as the rise of David (1 Samuel 16–2 Samuel 8), the succession narrative (2 Samuel 9–20; 1 Kings 1–2), or the court history of Solomon (1 Kings 3–11). In legal corpora one would isolate the book of the covenant (Exodus 21–23), the holiness code (Leviticus 17–26), or the deuteronomic laws (Deuteronomy 12–26). In the prophetic tradition (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) one would isolate early editions of each prophet's oracles, which contain the core of the prophet's original oracles and early additions by disciples.

The fourth area of evaluation is reflection on how the great cycle of narratives was connected to an even larger segment of literature. At this point the biblical texts most likely precipitated into written form. The tradition-historical critic asks how the original form and its larger cycle now fit into a much larger entity, e.g., the deuteronomistic history (c. 620–550 BCE); the priestly edited version of the Pentateuchal narratives (c. 550–400 BCE); the final written form of a prophetic book like Isaiah (with Proto-, Deutero-, and Trito-Isaiah brought together); or even the prophetic corpus as a whole. Again, the critic inquires subjectively as to how the even greater context affects the original passage and how that passage adds to the message of the greater corpus.

At this stage the scholar is interested in an editorial process, observing additions to the text that appear literary in origin and may be from scribal hands. These additions, as well as the way sources are woven together, reflect sophisticated theological assumptions; and clever literary style and intellectual depth is observable in the allusions, foreshadowings, genealogies, thematic speeches, editorial comments, and other literary links that unite large sections of literature. Early source critics often denigrated these later editorial additions, but in the past two generations scholars have come to respect these final editors as perhaps the most theologically profound contributors to the process.

At this point the tradition-historical critic has engaged in redaction criticism, the study of the literary and editorial process that created the final text. In NT scholarship redaction criticism is done on the Gospels when critical scholars inquire how the Gospel writers theologically formulated the literary text of each Gospel.

The final area of scholarly reflection is one in which tradition-historical critics too often have been remiss: consideration of how the individual text fits into the

message of the entire biblical canon and into biblical theology as a whole. This analysis would consider how the original text(s) under consideration might have been used and reinterpreted by the later biblical tradition, e.g., by books in the Kethubim (Writings) generated during the postexilic era or by writings in the NT. This inner-biblical exegesis has been developed recently by such scholars as Fishbane (1985).

This level of reflection has been called CANONICAL CRITICISM by scholars who have advocated it in the last generation, including B. CHILDS (1970, 1974) and J. SANDERS (1972, 1984). Although sometimes considered a methodology separate from the other critical methods described above, it actually is the final and theologically culminating stage of the tradition-historical method. At this point the biblical exegete attempts to discern the ultimate religious message of the biblical text for people today.

In retrospect, tradition history or the tradition-historical method evaluates the theoretical evolution of a biblical passage and in so doing absorbs the techniques of several other methods. In seeking to understand the message of a text at each stage of its evolution, tradition history demonstrates the dynamic growth of the biblical tradition as each generation reinterprets and develops its past traditions.

3. Representative Exegesis. Given the complexity of the tradition history method as outlined above, it may be helpful to consider a text for analysis using the method. In analyzing 1 Samuel 3, the theophany of Yahweh to Samuel at Shiloh (see Gnuse [1984]), the five stages of evaluation would be as follows: (a) A review of ancient Near Eastern literature would focus on comparable prophetic narratives and dream reports. Mesopotamian sources offer many suggestive parallels, especially nighttime prophetic dream reports received in shrines at Mari (c. 1800 BCE). Even more relevant are dream reports from Egypt and Mesopotamia that fall into patterns of "auditory message dreams" and "visual symbolic dreams." Comparison with 1 Samuel 3 demonstrates striking similarities with auditory message dreams.

(b) Form-critical evaluation of 1 Sam 3:1-21 leads to a sense that the original form of the text was vv. 1-18. In the plot development of the narrative are sensitive literary devices, including the artistic contrast of innocent young Samuel and the old priest Eli, who had failed to control his evil sons, and the threefold call of Samuel by Yahweh designed to heighten the suspense of an impending theophany in an age when the "Word of the Lord" was rare. At this point the scholar observes form-critical similarities between this text and other biblical prophetic call narratives (Moses, Exodus 3; Gideon, Judges 6; Saul, 1 Samuel 9; Jeremiah, Jeremiah 1; and Ezekiel, Ezekiel 1–2), as well as the auditory message dreams of Assyria (see ASSYRIOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) and Chaldean Babylon (c. 700–550 BCE). The account appears crafted to conform to both formats.

(c) The scholar then observes how 1 Samuel 3 fits into the greater Samuel idyll in 1 Samuel 1–3, which as a whole contrasts the young prophet with the evil priests. This cycle shares themes with the larger cycle in the Pentateuch called the Elohist, which likewise has auditory message dreams in the patriarchal accounts, a positive attitude toward prophets, and a distrust of priests (Exodus 32–33, the golden calf incident). How the Samuel idyll is connected to the Elohist tradition is highly debated, however.

(d) The critical scholar expands the observation of how 1 Samuel 3 fits into its greater context by observing further redaction. First Samuel 1–3 became part of the narrative cycle concerning the rise of the monarchy in 1 Samuel 1–15, wherein old narratives sympathetic to the monarchy (1 Sam 9:1–10:16; 11; 13–14) appear woven together with later (perhaps deuteronomistic) texts critical of kingship (1 Samuel 7–8; 10:17-27; 12; 15). The Samuel idyll reinforces a pejorative perception of Saul and kingship by stressing the sufficiency of Samuel as Israel's leader and the general superiority of prophets over kings. This editorial work appears to come from deuteronomistic historians. The same editors then connected 1 Samuel 1–15 with other major sections of literature to create the books of 1–2 Samuel, wherein the decline of Saul before David is justified and David becomes a standard by which to evaluate other kings in the history of 1–2 Kings. First Samuel 3 plays a pivotal role in preparing for the unfolding of later history and for stressing the prophetic word as an ultimate AUTHORITY.

(e) On a canonical level the critic may observe how the deuteronomistic history fits into the greater biblical theological message of the OT, especially in regard to such themes as covenant, obedience, divine revelation, and prophetic calling. First Samuel 3 contributes to all these themes. Canonical criticism also draws the tradition-historical critic into reflection on how 1 Samuel 3 foreshadows Jesus in the infancy narratives of Matthew 1–2 (where auditory message dreams occur again) and Luke 1–2. The prophet Samuel foreshadows the prophetic ministry of Jesus, who also opposed corrupt priests. Hence 1 Samuel 3 ultimately unites with other texts that proclaim the nature of the prophetic calling that all Jews and Christians seek to heed.

4. Theological Significance. The importance of the tradition-history method is found not only in its ability to attempt a reconstruction of the oral and literary evolution of biblical texts. Above all, the method implies that the biblical text is not a static repository of absolute truths revealed by God but the record of a dynamic process of human and divine interaction over many generations, in which sacred texts were received and

reinterpreted by subsequent generations. It may imply that the tradition-making process is part of revelation itself (see Knight [1977]). It further implies that sacred texts may contain several levels of meaning, as those meanings have been imparted by successive generations of transmitters—the sacred texts are polyvalent, capable of multiple interpretations even today. Consequently, the critical scholar may suggest creatively that a wealth of meaning lies beneath a surface reading of the text, on which the modern reader may draw for use in contemporary theology, pedagogy, preaching, and piety.

Critics have assailed the tradition-history method for being too historicistic—i.e., for attempting to reconstruct the history of Israel from the subjective analysis of literary texts. Much of this criticism is deserved, for too often biblical scholars have attempted to reconstruct history on the basis of too little evidence. The history of Israel may be reconstructed only through a subtle interplay of archaeological data (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), critical analysis of literary texts, and the application of appropriate SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC and anthropological models. In actuality the tradition-historical method as well as the other methods (source, form, redaction, etc.) are not historical in the sense that a historian would recognize. Rather, they seek to trace ideational and religious development in a sacred text and to perceive its growth in relationship to other texts in the canon.

In general, the tradition-history method should be seen as primarily a subjective and creative art, not an empirical, scientific method. It is scientific only in that it rigorously analyzes a text by setting aside theological and denominational beliefs and the assumptions of modern interpreters and by temporarily suspending the meaning imparted by the rest of the biblical tradition—i.e., the interpreter tries to be rigorously objective. Also, it may be scientific in that occasionally historical, archaeological, and social-scientific data can be used to facilitate understanding the biblical passage under scrutiny. Yet ultimately the reconstruction of the previous evolutionary development of a literary text is a subjective and hypothetical task. This is evidenced by the multitude of diverse interpretations rendered by scholars on any given biblical text. However, even in the face of such interpretative uncertainty, we should not disparage the method. Its purpose is neither to ascertain ultimate truth nor to determine the perfect reconstruction of a process that can no longer be empirically observed. Rather, the method is suggestive and creative, offering possibilities for understanding latent meanings in the biblical text. The scholar offers new possibilities for understanding texts to the theologian, the preacher, the student of the Bible, and the person of faith in order to enhance their insight and appreciation of the biblical text.

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R. GNUSE

TRANSLATION

Translation is the science—and the art—that attempts to represent with the least possible distortion the meaning and the impact of a text in a language different from the one in which it was originally written. In the case of Bible translation this process involves not only original languages that are vastly different from most modern languages but also, more importantly, ancient cultures that have little in common with modern cultures.

The King James translators (1611) expressed the matter eloquently: "Translation it is that openeth the window to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtain, that we may look into the most Holy place; that removeth the cover of the well, that we may come by the water."

A translation aims at an impossible goal—namely, to make it possible for the readers of the translated text to understand it in the same way that the readers of the original understood their text. Not only that: The translator also wants the readers of the translation to react to it as did the readers of the original. It is obvious that this cannot be done. E. GOODSPEED expressed it well in the preface of his translation of the NT (1923): "It has been truly said that any translation of a masterpiece must be a failure."

The tractate *Kiddushin* 49a of the Babylonian TALMUD succinctly states the translator's dilemma: "He lies, who renders a verse as it is, with strict literalness; he blasphemes, who makes additions." And the grandson of Ben Sira, translating his grandfather's book from Hebrew to Greek, begged the reader's indulgence: "You are invited therefore to read it with goodwill and attention, and to be indulgent in cases where, despite our diligence in translating, we may seem to have rendered some phrases imperfectly. For what was originally expressed in Hebrew does not have exactly the same sense when translated into another language. Not only this book, but even the Law itself, the Prophets, and the rest of the books differ not a little when read in the original."

A translator wants above everything else to be faithful to the meaning and impact of the original, vowing to translate the text, the whole text, and nothing but the text. How is this vow kept?

AQUILA, whose translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek appeared in 130 CE, apparently thought that strict literalness would ensure faithfulness. In translating Gen 1:1, for example, he rendered the Hebrew accusative particle *'et* (followed by the articular noun) by the Greek preposition *sun*, "with," so that the verse reads: "At the beginning created God *sun* the heaven and *sun* the earth." Very few translators will go to such extremes; but even the NRSV (1989), whose motto is "As literal as possible, as free as necessary," translates Acts 27:9: "Since much time had been lost and sailing was now dangerous, because even the Fast had already gone by." There is an appropriate Italian maxim: *Traduttori, traditori.*

Bible translators often complain about the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of their task. LUTHER exclaimed: "O God, what a hard and difficult task it is to force these writers, quite against their wills, to speak German. They have no desire to give up their native Hebrew in order to imitate our barbaric German. It is as though one were to force a nightingale to imitate a cuckoo, to give up his own glorious melody for a monotonous song he must certainly hate" (cf. J. Reumann [1965] 70). And JEROME somewhat peevishly complained about the reception of his new translation into Latin: "If I correct errors in the sacred text, I am denounced as a falsifier. If I do not correct them, I am pilloried as a disseminator of error."

Some scholars argue that translation is actually impossible, i.e., that one can understand the Scriptures only by reading the original Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts. This attitude is like that of pious Muslims who maintain that the Quran (see QURANIC AND ISLAMIC INTERPRETATION) cannot be translated; any so-called translation is really a commentary on the text, not the text itself.

1. The Task of Translation. The Bible translator's task is threefold: (a) Determine the form of the original text; (b) ascertain the meaning of the original text; and (c) transfer the meaning to the target language in such a way that the readers of the translation understand it as did the readers of the original.

a. The biblical text. There is general agreement on the form of the biblical text. For Jewish and Christian translators the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (1977) is widely regarded as the best available edition of the standard Hebrew text, the MT. This does not mean that the MT will be slavishly followed at all times. In a book like 1 Samuel, for example, modern translations, largely on the basis of the Qumran texts (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS), freely depart from the MT. One recent count showed that while the NIV departs from the MT only fifteen times, the NAB departs 230 times. In between come the GNB (fifty-one times); the NRSV (110 times), and the NEB (160 times). The NRSV's inclusion at the end of 1 Samuel 10 of a fairly long passage from a Qumran manuscript is an example of such a departure.

The MT copyists often placed in the margin a reading that they thought should replace the text: The marginal reading was called *qere* (to be read); the text, *kethiv* (it is written). There are around 1,300 such marginal notes.

In addition there is what is called the *qere perpetuum*—that is, the marginal "the Lord" to be read instead of the text's YHWH, the holy name of God, a total of 6,283 times. Traditionally, Bible translations have preferred the *kethiv,* usually in the form of small capital letters, the LORD. But the ASV, the various editions of the Jerusalem Bible (French, English, Spanish, Portuguese), and a number of Bibles in Portuguese, Spanish, and other languages all use a form of the tetragrammaton: Jehovah, Yahweh, Javé, Iahweh. It seems certain that future translations will do the same.

Translators also differ in their handling of the *tiqqune sopherim* (the corrections of the scribes), passages in which scribes deliberately changed texts that seemed offensive to God (traditionally there were eighteen such passages). In Gen 18:22, for example, the text read: "Yahweh continued to stand before Abraham"; this was changed to "Abraham continued to stand before Yahweh." Psalm 106:20 was changed from "they exchanged the glory of God" to "they exchanged their glory"; and in Job 32:3 the change was made from "they declared God to be wrong" to "they declared Job to be wrong."

It should be noticed that the Greek Orthodox Church still prefers the SEPTUAGINT for the OT and the Greek *textus receptus* NT. The Syriac churches hold to the Syriac PESHITTA (5th cent. CE) as their Bible.

For the NT the vast majority of translators use the United Bible Societies' Greek NT (1993^4), whose text is the same as the Nestle-Aland Greek NT (1993^{29}). But there are many passages in which important witnesses to the text vary; in such passages the UBS text provides variant readings and rates them according to the degree of probability that the preferred variant is correct. The rating varies from A (the text is certain) to D (the committee had great difficulty deciding which text is original). In such instances (especially in passages that are rated C and D) a translator may prefer a variant reading. In John 7:8 did Jesus say to his brothers, "I am not [*ouk*] going to this festival" or "I am not yet [*oupo*] going to this festival"?

b. The meaning of the text. There is widespread consensus on the meaning of the greater part of the biblical text. Differences of opinion will always exist as to the intent and meaning of a given passage—else why the appearance, almost yearly it seems, of a new set of commentaries and additional biblical DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS? But agreement does prevail about the surface meaning of the greater part of the text, as a comparison of any number of modern translations will show. Some passages, however, are not easily exegeted. What does the first verse of the Bible mean? Most translations will say it means: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." Other translations, however, such as the NRSV and the New Jewish Version (the Tanakh), take it to mean "when God began to create the heavens and the earth."

c. Translating the text. This is the translator's most daunting task. At first sight it might appear to be very simple indeed. All the translator has to do is to ascertain the meaning of the biblical text and then express that meaning in the target language in such a way that the readers will understand the text in the same way that the readers of the original did. To take one of the simplest passages in the Greek NT, the opening words of the Gospel of John, "In the beginning was the Word." Will today's English-speaking reader understand "the Word" in the same way as did the original readers of the Greek *ho Logos*? Most likely not. And what can a modern businesswoman in Melbourne, or London, or New York, get from Ps 23:1, "The LORD is my shepherd"?

R. Knox (1888–1957) expressed it thus: "A translation is a good one in proportion as you can forget, while reading it, that it is a translation at all" (1949, 94). And the English man of letters H. Belloc (1870–1953) defined translation as "the resurrection of an alien thing in a native body; not the dressing up of it in native clothes, but the giving to it of native flesh and blood."

Semantic differences are difficult to solve. Languages work in a variety of ways, and a translator has to be aware of the differences between the biblical languages and the target language. Rhetorical questions are a fairly simple problem to overcome. The question, "Did I not choose you, the twelve?" (John 6:70), if translated literally in many languages, will mean that Jesus in fact did not choose the twelve; in such cases, the translation must express the meaning with a statement, "I chose you, the twelve."

Figures of speech must be handled with care. Many biblical figures are part of current language for native speakers of English: "a hard heart," "an evil eye," "Abraham's bosom," "the salt of the earth"—but the biblical meaning of these figures is quite different from the meaning assigned them in current English. The widely used NIV still conserves the figure "the horn of salvation" (2 Sam 22:3; Ps 18:2; Luke 1:69) as well as "He will . . . exalt the horn of his anointed" (1 Sam 2:10). Does the reader of this translation have a clear notion of what the writer is talking about? And what does the reader of the NRSV make of the statement that the distance between the Mount of Olives and Jerusalem was "a sabbath day's journey" (Acts 1:12)?

Cultural equivalents have to be provided in languages where biblical cultural items are unknown. In Isa 1:18 God promises the people that their sins "will be like snow . . . will be like wool." In areas of the world where snow is unknown, a cultural equivalent must be found, e.g., in some cultures it will be the egret's feather. And in some places sheep have only brown or black wool, so the biblical "wool" must be replaced with its cultural equivalent in that language. Hope is spoken of as "an anchor of the soul" in Heb 6:18-19; in one translation

in a landlocked region of Africa, it became "the picketing-peg of the soul," inasmuch as in that culture a picketing-peg does for animals what an anchor does for a ship.

Connotative equivalents must also be dealt with. In Matt 5:45 Jesus praises the indiscriminate goodness of God, who sends rain to all, the just and the unjust alike. In the rain jungles of the Amazon region, rain is not a blessing—it is a curse. Jesus' statement in John 6:35, "I am the bread of life" could not be translated literally in the Chol language of Mexico. Bread is known and there is a word for it; but it is a delicacy, to be served only on special occasions. The corn cake *waj* in that culture is the equivalent of "bread" in the biblical culture; so in Chol Jesus says, "I am the *waj* that sustains life."

Many languages have a precise system of honorifics—that is, different ways of addressing people depending on their relation to the speaker, whether equal, inferior, or superior. Does Pilate address Jesus as an equal? Does Jesus address Nicodemus as an equal? Do the disciples treat Jesus as an equal? The relation between siblings must be respected: One brother, for example, is always referred to as older or younger than the other. Who was the older: Simon or Andrew? James or John? Many languages make a difference between the inclusive and exclusive use of the first plural pronouns "we," "us," and "our." These are formal distinctions, and in dialogue the translator must determine whether the person being addressed is included. For example, in Mark 4:38 the disciples say to Jesus, "Teacher, do you not care that we are perishing?" Is Jesus included in that "we"? Was he also in danger of drowning? A language like English need not bother to answer the question; but in languages where such distinctions are mandatory, the translator must say, "Do you not care that we, your disciples, are perishing?" or "Do you not care that all of us are perishing?" Some languages are very precise in certain activities. John 19:17 states that Jesus went out "carrying his cross." How did he carry it? In his arms? On his shoulder? On his head? On his back? The translation must say specifically how he carried it. A bizarre instance arose in the Akha language in northern Myanmar (Burma) when the translators came to Heb 11:37, "They were sawn in two." "Which way?" they asked. "Lengthwise or across?"

2. Current Trends. Increasingly sensitive to the readers' reaction to the biblical text, translators are more and more willing to translate in such a way as not to offend potential readers. Usually this willingness falls under the rubric of reader sensitivity.

a. Inclusive language. This means the use of language that includes females as well as males when this is what the biblical text means (see B. Metzger's statement in "To the Reader" in NRSV). There are several ways this can be done: (1) by shifting from the singular (his) to the plural (their); (2) by using "people" or "humans" or "humankind" instead of "man" or "men"; or (3) by shifting from the third person to the second person.

Some biblical words both in Hebrew and Greek, such as "man," "sons," and "brothers," are often obviously inclusive—that is, they do not, in a given context, restrict themselves to male human beings. It is right and accurate that current translations use inclusive words, e.g., "humankind" instead of "man" in Gen 1:27 and 5:1. In his letters PAUL often addressed his readers as *adelphoi,* which traditionally has been translated "brothers"; but it is evident that Paul is addressing all his readers, women and men alike. So faithfulness in translation demands that the word be translated "brothers and sisters," as the NRSV does consistently.

This practice has been going on for quite a long time (see TEV [1992^2]). So it came as a great surprise when many users of the NIV raised strong objections to the International Bible Society's plan to distribute in the United States the gender-inclusive edition it had been distributing in Great Britain (see esp. *Christianity Today,* Oct. 27, 1997). The protests were so vehement that the society dropped its plans and recalled all copies of the gender-inclusive edition still extant.

One published translation (*The Inclusive NT* [1994]) has gone so far as to obscure or even obliterate the sexual identity of biblical characters. Further, instead of "the Son of God" it has "God's Own." In the place of "Father," used of God, it reads "Abba God." Whether this is the wave of the future remains to be seen.

b. Antisemitism in the NT. This is a particularly sensitive matter, and translators have wrestled with it for a number of years. The third edition of the TEV NT (1976) tried to translate the frequently occurring *hoi Ioudaioi* (the Jews) in the Gospel of John in such a way as not to imply that all the Jewish people (especially the citizens of Jerusalem) were fierce enemies of Jesus and his followers (see *The Bible Translator* 26 [October 1975] 401-9). The CEV (1995) has done much the same, but in some instances it goes even further (see its handling of Luke 21:12; Acts 6:9; 19:14). Such scholars as H. Kee and J. SANDERS posit that the Gospels and Acts, written decades after the events they are reporting, retrojected into the events that took place in the thirties of the first century the conditions that prevailed at the time these books were written, particularly the deep animosity between the Jewish community and the Christian community. So they propose that somehow translators dismantle this unhistorical framework so that the accounts accurately reflect the current situations and not those that developed decades later. How this can be done remains to be seen, but certainly the debate will continue.

c. Reader sensitivity. Besides antisemitism and androcentric language, both of which are deeply offensive to many readers, the translation of Isa 7:14 is a particular

instance of how the readers' reaction can affect the translation. Current Jewish and Christian scholarship is practically unanimous that in this passage the Hebrew *ha-almah* means "the young woman [is pregnant]." In Matt 1:23 the passage is quoted as it appears in the Septuagint: "The virgin [*he parthenos*] will become pregnant." In light of this, the NIV, among others, translates the verse "The virgin will be with child and give birth to a son." The CEV is similar: "A virgin is pregnant; she will have a son." The foonote that accompanies this verse contradicts the plain meaning of the English translation: "In this context the difficult Hebrew word did not imply a virgin birth." But the note goes on to justify the rendering by appealing to Matt 1:23.

3. The Future of Bible Translation. Given the present trends it is reasonable to expect that a "scholars' translation"—prepared by and for biblical scholars—will soon be published. Other than that, it would seem that for language communities that have a large number of Bible readers, different kinds of translations are called for: (1) a traditional translation appropriate for church and liturgical usage; (2) a common-language translation especially suitable for people with a limited amount of formal education, for children, and for people who speak and read the language as a second language; and (3) perhaps a literary translation using the full range of the language in matters of vocabulary and style, such as the NEB (and, to a lesser degree, the REB).

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R. G. BRATCHER

TROELTSCH, ERNST PETER WILHELM

(1865–1923)

A student friend of W. BOUSSET at Erlangen and at Göttingen, as a graduate student T. also associated with other members of the so-called RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE that around 1890 was reacting against A. RITSCHL's biblical THEOLOGY. In 1892 T. became *ausserordentlicher* professor for systematics at Bonn; and in 1894, full professor at Heidelberg, where he became known as the systematic theologian of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule. He moved to a chair of philosophy in Berlin (1915), continuing his work for a new "cultural synthesis" by reworking the Christian tradition for the modern Western world. After a dissertation in the history of doctrine, "Vernunft und Offenbarung bei J. Gerhard und Melanchthon" (1891), most of his theological writings were historical and philosophical in character, increasingly informed by the social sciences and always aiming at social, ethical, and religious reconstruction. Many are long essays engaging the intellectual situation of the day (see esp. *Gesammelte Schriften* [1912–25] vols. 2 and 4). His rich and insightful work *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (*GS* 3 [1922]) is a rambling and probing first part of a projected synthesis whose shape can only be partly gauged from the lectures written for England and edited by von Hügel (1923).

T.'s place in the history of biblical interpretation owes more to his methodological reflections and his bringing a sociological imagination to bear on Christian history than to any original historical research of his own in this area. His great work on the history of Christian social teaching (2 vols., 1908–10, 1912^2, 1923^3, 1961^4; ET, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* [2 vols., 1931]) contains a long chapter on the foundations in the early church. As a liberal Protestant theologian the ethical idealist, T. was deeply affected by his historical understanding of the OT "prophetic ethos" and the teaching of JESUS, while realizing by 1913 that as a Ritschlian he had laid too much weight on the personality of Jesus and neglected his eschatology (*GS*, 2:322-24). But his sense of the subsequent development and recognition of its contribution to the essence of Christianity allowed him to give due weight also to the Pauline strain (see PAUL) in the NT and to early Catholicism (see *Social Teaching*, 1:39-200). His early personal association with the sector of German biblical research that was to determine the course of twentieth-century scholarship (history of religions and history of traditions) meant that he was perhaps the first major systematic theologian to grapple with the new results. He was not fully persuaded by the new historical skepticism concerning the Gospels as found, e.g., in W. WREDE; but after some hesitation he accepted the views of J. WEISS on Jesus' eschatology. The questions of syncretism (H. Gunkel), sacramentalism (W. Heitmuller), and Christ-mysticism (A. Deissmann and others) were equally familiar to him.

T.'s accounts of modern historical method and consciousness and their implications for Christian theology remain unsurpassed. His early essay "Historische und dogmatische Methode in der Theologie" (1898; ET 1991) opposed supernaturalism, showing how modern history's insistence on the three principles of criticism of sources, analogy with one's own experience, and correlation with the larger web of events relativizes

everything and demands a new method in theology. He found his own bridge to this new method in the philosophy of history; from his article "Historiography" in Hastings's *ERE* (1914), it looms ever larger in his work. The best answers he gave to the problem of theological method, however, are found in the quite Schleiermacherian (see F. Schleiermacher, *Brief Outline of Theology as a Field of Study* [1988]) essay "What Does 'Essence of Christianity' Mean?" (1903; ET in *Writings* [1977] 124-81) and in the more metaphysical *Glaubenslehre* (1925; ET, *The Christian Faith* [1991]). His sociological research (see SOCIOLOGY AND HB/NT STUDIES) has often been recalled in recent socio-historical and sociological study of the Bible, e.g., by G. Theissen. Finally, after a period of eclipse lasting several decades, T.'s understanding of the importance of ethics, especially social ethics, in Christian history and for theology is now generally acknowledged. His recourse to I. KANT, G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), and F. SCHLEIERMACHER as the main guides for modern theology has also found a few supporters among biblical interpreters.

Works: *The Absoluteness of Christianity and the History of Religions* (1902, 1921[2]; ET 1971); *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (2 vols., 1908–10, 1912[2], 1923[3], 1961[4]; ET, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* [2 vols., 1931]); *Gesammelte Schriften* (4 vols., 1912–25); "The Dogmatics of the 'Religionsgeschichtliche Schule,' " *AJT* 17 (1913; repr. 1991) 1-21; "Historiography," *ERE* 6 (1914) 716-23 (repr. in *Contemporary Religious Thinkers* [ed. J. Macquarrie, 1968] 76-97); *Christian Thought* (ed. F. F. von Hügel, 1923); *Writings on Theology and Religion* (ed. and tr. R. Morgan and M. Pye, 1977, 1990[2]) includes "The Significance of the Historical Existence of Jesus for Faith" (182-207) and an appendix on "Troeltsch in ET"; *Religion in History* (ed. T. L. Adams and W. Bense, 1991).

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R. MORGAN

TRUTH, SOJOURNER (c. 1779–1883)

Born a slave, Isabella, in Hurley, Ulster County, New York, T. claimed her own freedom in 1827 before the 1817 state emancipation laws legally took effect. In 1843 she felt God speaking to her and claimed her own name, "Sojourner because I am a wanderer, Truth because God is Truth." She became an itinerant preacher, speaking against slavery wherever anyone would listen. She spoke at the 1851 Convention on Women's Rights in Akron, Ohio, and became well known as an anti-slavery and FEMINIST activist. As a slave she had never learned to read and write, but so forceful and compelling were her messages that O. Gilbert wrote a narrative of her words. T. was a contemporary of H. Tubman, a former slave from the South, a black feminist, and a leader in the underground railroad. T. died at age 105, Nov. 26, 1883, in Battle Creek, Michigan.

T.'s tradition was oral and aural. She memorized Scripture, meditated on it, and quoted it in her sermons and speeches, relying on personal communion with God for her interpretation. She said, "You read books; I talk to God." When she examined the Scriptures she relied on children to read to her because adults tended to explain passages if she asked to hear them again. She wanted to see what her own mind could make out of the record and to compare the teachings of the Bible with her own inner witness. A critical interpreter, she concluded that the Spirit of truth spoke in Scripture but that the recorders of those truths had intermingled their own ideas and suppositions.

T. questioned literal interpretations of the Bible, contrasting Scripture with her religious experience of God and her everyday work experience. At first she took the book of Genesis literally. But to conceive of God as working by day, getting tired, and resting conflicted with her intuitive, experiential knowledge of God's inconceivable greatness. She reasoned, "Why, if God works by the day, and one day's work tires him, and he is obliged to rest, either from weariness or on account of darkness, or if he waited for the 'cool of the day to walk in the garden' because he was inconvenienced by the heat of the sun, why, then it seems that God cannot do as much as I can; for I can bear the sun at noon, and work several days and nights in succession without being much tired. . . . No, God does not stop to rest, for he is a spirit and cannot tire; he cannot want for light, for he hath all light in himself" (M. Washington [1993] 86). In her famous "Arn't I a Woman?" speech she questioned arguments against women's right to vote: "I can't read, but I can hear. I have heard the Bible and have learned that Eve caused man to sin. Well, if woman upset the world, do give her a chance to set it right side up again. The Lady has spoken about Jesus, how he never spurned woman from him and she was right. . . . And how came Jesus into the world? Through God who created him and a woman who bore him. Man, where is your part?" (Washington, 118). In her interpretation, Mary's role as the mother of Christ pointed to women's ability to be public leaders who could "set the world right side up again."

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K. BAKER-FLETCHER

TUCH, JOHANN CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH (1806–67)

The author of only one major book on the HB, T. was born Dec. 17, 1806, in Quedlinburg, Germany. In 1825 he entered the university of Halle, where he became a *Privatdozent* (1830). His links with H. EWALD made for a difficult relationship with H. GESENIUS, and he was unable to support himself by academic work alone. In 1838 he published his commentary on Genesis, a rare combination of literary, historical, and philosophical skills, which was so well received that he was appointed *ausserordentlicher* professor in Halle. In 1841 he obtained a full professorship in Leipzig, where he continued his research in Genesis, although he never succeeded in producing a second edition of the commentary. His main interest, however, was palaeography and sacred geography; and he published many articles in the *ZDMG*. His writings from the Leipzig period include an edition of twenty-one Sinaitic inscriptions, a review of the topography of Jerusalem, a discussion of the site of Jesus' ascension, and work on the vocal system of Ethiopic (see ETHIOPIAN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION). He died in Leipzig Apr. 12, 1867.

T.'s commentary on Genesis is famous as an example of the supplementary hypothesis. Against the documentary theory of J. G. EICHHORN and the fragmentary theory of J. VATER and others, T. held that the basic source of Genesis through Numbers was an Elohist document composed in the time of Samuel, possibly by Samuel himself. This document had been added to by a writer in the period of Solomon who mostly used the divine name Yahweh. The supplements did not amount to a separate source but were based on oral tradition. T. was not the inventor of the supplement theory and acknowledged his debt to Ewald and to F. BLEEK among others, but he gave it a classical expression. An important feature of his work was the attention paid to the pre-history of the units that constitute the basic source and the supplements, done in light of a careful discussion of the nature of myths and sagas (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), their processes of formation, and their difference from history. The commentary also had a strong philosophical tendency. T. interpreted Genesis 1–3 as a story about the progress of humankind to freedom and humanity and held that writers like I. KANT had provided the best standpoint from which to interpret the passage. Although the Genesis commentary was overtaken by the reemergence of the documentary theory from the 1850s, it was regarded as valuable for its detailed exegesis and enjoyed a second edition in 1871 with T.'s additional comments.

Works: *Kommentar über der Genesis* (1838; 2nd ed. by A. Arnold and A. Merx, 1871).

Bibliography: **C. Siegfried,** *ADB* 38 (1894) 754-56.

J. W. ROGERSON

TYCONIUS (4th cent.)

T. was a biblical commentator and theologian of Roman Africa during the second half of the fourth century. He was a layman of the Donatist church; but little is known of his life beyond his writings and his celebrated clash in the early 380s with his powerful bishop, Parmenian of Carthage, on the question of the holiness of the church. However, T.'s continuing influence in both exegesis and ecclesiology was assured by AUGUSTINE's respectful attention to his thought. Augustine's inclusion of an extensive summary of and commentary on T.'s *Book of Rules* in book 3 of *On Christian Doctrine* is perhaps the single instance of a leading authority in the church recommending the study of a schismatic theologian's work. *The Book of Rules* was also passed on through the medieval period in a series of epitomes and in a *memoria technica* of the seven Tyconian rules of scriptural interpretation, the first systematic treatise on HERMENEUTICS in the Latin church.

In his *Lives of Illustrious Men* Gennadius of Massilia mentions two other works, now lost, that were authored by T.: *De bello intestino Libri Tres* and a commentary on the Apocalypse. The contents of the former are a matter of speculation, but the influence of the latter can be traced through JEROME, Caesarius of Arles, Primasius of Hadrumetum, CASSIODORUS, BEDE, Ambrosius Autpretus, and Beatus of Liebana. Gennadius noted that in Rev 20:6 T. interpreted the "first resurrection" as baptism and the "second resurrection" as the Second Coming of Christ. This interpretation was accepted by Augustine and became the standard revision of the literal interpretation of the thousand-year reign of the saints found in such earlier commentators as IRENAEUS, TERTULLIAN, Hipploytus, and Victorinus of Pettau. Jerome used the Tyconian commentary to revise the earlier Victorine commentary.

Rigorously systematic and original in his hermeneutics, T. was at the same time a product of the North African exegetical tradition and of the scholarly norms of classical rhetorics. He explored the "double" interpretation of certain types, e.g., Jerusalem as the holy city in some contexts and as an unfaithful city in other contexts. This "doubleness" of interpretation can also be seen in a *transitus* of textual reference that crosses over from Christ as the Head of the church to Christ as the Body of the church, according to the context. This theory of the *transitus* of the reference is linked with his ecclesiology, in which this independent-minded Do-

natist insisted that the church is bipartite, with both saints and sinners in its membership, thus rejecting the key Donatist teaching of the exclusive holiness of the church.

T. was noteworthy for his integration of hermeneutics and ecclesiology. The true nature of the "septiform" church (a reference to the seven angels who are both rebuked and praised in the letters to the churches in the Apocalypse) is that of one body in which are both saints and sinners, who will be revealed to all in the Judgment. But "now" in the time of the church there is no separation from sinners. Although T., like his fellow Africans, focused much attention on the antichrist references in 2 Thessalonians and in 1 John, he urged that "now" is a privileged time of repentance for a church that is not confined to a holy (Donatist) remnant in Africa.

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P. BRIGHT

TYNDALE, WILLIAM (c. 1494–1536)

A Bible translator and Protestant Reformer, T. was the first of the English translators (see TRANSLATION) in the sixteenth century whose translations (1525–35) formed the basis of the later versions of Coverdale (1535, 1536), "Thomas Matthew" (1537), and the Great Bible (1539) and profoundly influenced the KJV (1611). Little is definitely known of the early influences on him; but the "new learning" of classical and biblical humanism, hostility toward scholasticism, Lutheranism, and even traces of late medieval Lollardy were likely factors in his development. Born in Gloucestershire, he studied at Magdalen Hall, Oxford (1510–15), taking the arts course (BA 1512; MA 1515) and probably beginning divinity before moving to Cambridge, where he may have studied Greek and encountered Lutheran and humanist ideas. From c. 1521–23, he was in the service of J. Walsh at Little Sodbury, where he translated ERASMUS's *Enchiridion* and found his vocation as a translator of Scripture. Failing to enlist the support of Tunstall, bishop of London, he left England (1524) for Germany with the backing of a sympathetic London merchant, H. Monmouth, staying at Hamburg, Wittenberg, and Cologne, where the printing of his English NT (1525), with the assistance of W. Roye, was interrupted by the authorities at the instigation of J. Dobneck. Only a fragment of this quarto edition survived. His first complete NT (octavo) was printed at Worms in c. 1526. Its appearance in England attracted condemnation from Warham, Tunstall, and More for its tendentious renderings and Lutheran bias, and a royal ban in 1530. Besides polemical works (notably against More), his remaining years (mainly based at Antwerp) were occupied with revising his NT (1534, 1535); translating the Pentateuch (1530, 1534, with a revised Genesis), Jonah (1531), the liturgical "epistles" from the OT (1534), and Joshua–2 Chronicles (unpub., though probably incorporated in "Matthew's" Bible by his literary associate J. Rogers); and issuing expositions of 1 John (1531) and Matthew 5–7 (1533). Increasingly at risk from the authorities, he was arrested in 1535, imprisoned at Vilvorde near Brussels, condemned for heresy, and strangled and burned at the stake Oct. 6, 1536.

For literary merit and pioneering scholarship the biblical translations remain T.'s enduring legacy. His NT reveals much independent study of the Greek text (Erasmus [1522 ed.]) despite his debt to Luther's German version (1522), the Latin of Erasmus, and the VULGATE. The OT translations show that while his primary source was Luther and, to a lesser extent, S. PAGNINUS (1528), he had sufficient competence in Hebrew, acquired probably in Germany, to make his own decisions between these versions and to respond to the demands of Hebrew vocabulary, syntax, and idiom.

T. accepted *sola scriptura* and justification by faith; he adopted Luther's rearrangement of the NT books and drew freely on his writings, especially for the prologue to Romans. But by c. 1529 he had developed his own distinctive covenant theology, stressing the conditional nature of the covenant promises and the normative use of the divine law. This point of view became a dominant hermeneutical principle in his Pentateuch and revised NT, akin to early Reformed thought and, as some have argued, anticipating later Puritan ideas. Rejecting the exegetical methods of the scholastics, he insisted that Scripture has but one sense (literal); and this is spiritual and edifying to the one who has "feeling faith," whether as promise, law, or example. T. did not exclude topical application or even allegorical interpretation once the

literal sense had been determined, provided they kept "within the compass of faith," did not contradict the literal sense, and were not used as proof. Despite his belief in the clarity of Scripture, he recognized the need to provide aids to remove obstacles to its true meaning; to this end he included explanatory prefaces, exegetical, and sometimes polemical annotations in his NT and Pentateuch.

Works: *NT* (Cologne fragment [Matthew 1–22] 1525; 1st complete version, 1526; rev. 1534, 1535; modern eds.: 1525 [E. Arber, 1871; A. W. Pollard, 1926]; 1526 [Paradine repr., 1976]; 1534 [N. H. Wallis, 1938; D. Daniell, 1989, 1995, modern spelling]); *Prologue to Romans* (1526, adapted from Luther's Preface [1522] and 1523 LT of J. Jonas [facsimile, 1975]); *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1528; adapted from Luther's sermon of Aug. 17, 1522, rev. and LT 1525); *Pentateuch* (1530; 1534 with rev. Genesis; modern eds.: J. I. Mombert [1884, repr. 1967]; D. Daniell [1992, modern spelling]); *The Prophet Jonas* (1531?; facsimile ed. F. Fry, 1863); *A Pathway into the Holy Scripture* (1530/31?; London 1536?, expanded version of his Prologue to the NT adapted from Luther's 1522 Preface); *Exposition of I John* (1531; modern ed. by T. H. L. Parker [1966] and D. J. Millus [diss. Yale University, 1973]); *Exposition of Matthew 5–7* (1533?, adapted from Luther's 1532 sermons); *Liturgical "Epistles" from the OT* (Sarum Use, issued with 1534 NT); *Joshua to II Chronicles* (unpub. in T.'s lifetime; probably used in "Matthew's" [= J. Rogers] Bible, 1537); *Works* (3 vols., ed. H. Walter, 1848–50), excludes the biblical translations.

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D. G. SELWYN

U

UGARIT AND THE BIBLE

1. Introduction. Ugarit is the name of a city buried in a tell called Ras Shamra situated on the coast of Syria, almost opposite the "finger" of Cyprus. Since 1928 the French have been excavating the tell. Ugarit was the capital of a kingdom of the same name that flourished in the Bronze Age, especially between 1400–1190 BCE. Among the spectacular finds were not only tablets written in the syllabic Babylonian cuneiform script but also tablets with a hitherto unknown cuneiform script. As soon as scholars had succeeded in deciphering the script, which turned out to employ a Semitic alphabet, they realized that these Canaanite texts would have an enormous impact on biblical studies. Since then, numerous studies have confirmed this early expectation, and it has become impossible to review all the parallels that have been drawn between Ugarit and the Bible.

Nowadays Ugaritic is frequently invoked even in Bible commentaries and articles of a popular nature. Therefore, it is fitting to start this short survey with a serious warning to the non-specialist. Ugaritic is still a very difficult language that is only partially understood, and scholars differ widely with regard to the interpretation of texts. Consequently, it is often hard to decide whether or not a parallel to some passage in the Bible has been claimed legitimately. One should always consult several different translations.

Scholars also have urged caution because the Ugaritic texts are presumably two or three centuries older than even the earliest parts of the HB, and they come from a city hundreds of miles removed from Jerusalem. Moreover, the texts reflect a polytheistic religion that was expressly rejected by the mainstream of Israelite religious tradition.

To some extent such warnings are entirely appropriate, and any rash equalizing of the two cultures should be avoided. However, recent discoveries tend to confirm that there did exist direct contacts between the Proto-Israelites and the ruling class of Ugarit. The Ugaritic texts testify to intimate contacts with cities in the south, including cities like Ashtaroth, Edrei, Adam, and Kinnereth that are situated in Bashan and Galilee, areas where the early Israelites settled first, precisely at the time when Ugarit flourished. The two peoples share a number of religious traditions that are too specific to dismiss as accidental. Almost half of the metaphors describing God in the HB are also found in the Ugaritic literature, and the nature of the differences one finds suggests that Israelite religion is the result of a schism in the religion of Canaan rather than a totally different faith developed in splendid isolation.

One Ugaritic text even seems to betray knowledge about the struggle for ultimate power between Yahweh/El and Baal (see below). The ruling class of Ugarit and the Proto-Israelites were both of Amorite-Aramaic extraction and therefore may have had a common ancestral background. Moreover, it has been argued that several Ugaritic letters indicate that Ugarit took the side of Moses in his conflict with Pharaoh, which would imply a politico-religious pact between the two peoples (see below). In addition, a number of very old Israelite traditions, e.g., some verses of Genesis 49, the first half of Psalm 68, and Habakkuk 3, are so close to Ugaritic religious traditions that some scholars consider them to be contemporaneous with the Ugaritic texts.

Even if further research should disprove some of these new and exciting theories, they illustrate sufficiently the enormous impact of Ugaritic studies on biblical scholarship. The Ugaritic tablets indicate that Israel was not a foreign element that at the end of the Bronze Age was suddenly and violently introduced into a predominantly hostile Canaanite environment, as is the impression created by the account of the conquest in the book of Joshua. Early Israel must have been an integral part of the Canaanite world from its very beginning. Linguistically, culturally, and even religiously Israel was an offshoot of Canaan.

This conclusion agrees to a large extent with the results of archaeological research (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), indicating an unbroken transition from the Canaanite to the (presumably) Israelite occupation of a large number of sites in Jordan and Israel. It is also more in line with the picture of a relatively peaceful coexistence drawn in the book of Judges.

Of course, all this has necessitated a radical reorientation of HB research. Some scholars still believe that the late redactors of the HB have more or less successfully obscured the fact that the early Israelites were polytheistic Canaanites. Others agree with W. F. ALBRIGHT (1968) in assuming that some form of "monotheism" (if defined as intolerant monolatry) was a major constitutive factor in the early formation of the national entity customarily called "Israel." This concentration on

one deity who eclipsed all others proves to be a fairly widespread phenomenon in the ancient Near East at the end of the second millennium BCE. It becomes increasingly clear that this movement started in Egypt; and because southern Canaan was an Egyptian colony at that time, the region was influenced most deeply by this fundamental change in religious outlook.

Even with the latter view, it must be granted that next to the monotheistic mainstream there existed in Israel a syncretistic or even polytheistic strand of Canaanite folk religion often tolerated in the private family sphere and sometimes openly favored by the rulers of Samaria and Jerusalem. It is this type of popular religion that is attacked again and again in the HB, especially by the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). However, polemics tend to distort. It is not the intention of the polemicist to give a fair representation of the beliefs under attack but to deliberately ridicule, exaggerate, and manipulate the facts. Hitherto it has been difficult to understand what exactly was being attacked; however, the Ugaritic tablets now furnish us with reliable information from the other side.

2. Ugarit and the HB. ***a. The language.*** Apparently Ugaritic belongs to the same family of Northwest Semitic or "Canaanite" languages as Hebrew. Being somewhat older and representing a northern branch of that family, Ugaritic has helped grammarians to gain a better insight into the development of the Hebrew language. In its long history certain grammatical phenomena became outdated and were no longer understood by later generations, as, e.g., with the so-called enclitic *mêm,* which was often erroneously read as a plural ending or as a personal suffix. Its frequent use in Ugaritic has helped scholars to discover a number of convincing examples of this kind of misunderstanding. Rare forms like *'š* for normal *yš* (2 Sam 14:19; Mic 6:10; MSS Prov 18:24), masculine infinitives of *tertiae* W/Y-verbs (e.g., Gen 18:18; 26:28; 48:11), rare functions of the verb like the narrative *yiqtol* and the optative perfect all found a reasonable explanation on the basis of Ugaritic.

In many other respects, however, standard Ugaritic is quite different from standard Hebrew. The causative stem of the verb, for example, is not the Hiphil, but a Shaphil, as in Akkadian. The relative particle *d* is closer to Arabic and Aramaic than to Hebrew. However, in both cases rare examples of the same morphemes do occur in Hebrew. Other grammatical phenomena that are quite common in Hebrew, e.g., *matres lectionis,* the article, the consecutive perfect, start to appear only in nonliterary Ugaritic texts.

From a lexical point of view, biblical Hebrew has always presented the exegete with formidable difficulties. The total number of different words in the spoken language of ancient Israel may be estimated at 24,000. Only 8,000 of them eventually found their way into the CANON, and about one-third of these are words occurring only once. As a result, the meaning of words and expressions found only rarely in the HB was often forgotten, and in such cases even the earliest translations are guesswork. Ugaritic has proved to be extremely helpful in solving such puzzles.

The verb *šṭ'* in Isa 41:10 for example, which the SEPTUAGINT translates "to wander," actually means "to be afraid" and is attested with this meaning in Ugarit. In Ps 89:20 *'zr* should not be rendered "help" (so the Septuagint) but "hero," since it is clearly related to the Ugaritic *ġzr.* The apparently corrupted Hebrew text of Prov 26:23 could be restored with the help of Ugaritic: For *ksp sygym,* "like silver of dross," should be read *kspsgm,* "like glaze" (the same Ugaritic word may also denote a vessel, like our "glass" or "delft blue"). In 2 Kgs 4:42 the unintelligible *bṣqlnw* appears to be a corruption of *bṣqlnm,* "bulging fresh ears of grain," as found in Ugaritic (confusion of *-nw* and *-m* is a fairly common error in Hebrew manuscripts). In this case the correct interpretation happens to have been still known to a learned medieval glossator of a manuscript of the VULGATE, a coincidence illustrating once again how much modern Hebraists are dependent on data preserved by chance.

b. Textual criticism. In a number of cases like those dealt with in the preceding paragraph, Ugaritic can be adduced to emend a difficult Hebrew text; but it may also help to defend an odd reading in the transmitted text. In Ruth 4:5 there appears to be no need to change *wm* into *gm* because the conjunction with enclitic *mem* is also attested in Ugaritic.

Great care should be taken in making use of Ugaritic for text-critical purposes, however (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM). The Rome school of M. DAHOOD was all too apt to disregard the traditional interpretation of the Hebrew text and felt free to rearrange the consonantal text arbitrarily in a persistent search for Ugaritic forms and words, a method that produces very unreliable results.

c. Style and prosody. Even though most of the extant Ugaritic poetry is of the epic, narrative type, whereas the POETRY of the HB is predominantly of the lyrical type, it cannot be doubted any longer that there existed an unbroken poetic tradition between Canaan and Israel. The structure of cola, verse lines, strophes, and larger units is essentially the same. Numerous stereotyped expressions, metaphors, and similes apparently belonged to a common stock from which both the Ugaritic and Hebrew poets drew. The pairs of words used in parallelism are very often identical, as scholars like Dahood and Y. Avishur (1984) have demonstrated. Such stylistic devices as chiastic arrangements, numerical sayings, ellipsis of self-evident words, expansion of cola, and inclusion and responsion as markers of poetic units are found both in Ugarit and in Israel.

In this way it has been demonstrated that poems like the songs of Miriam, Moses, and Deborah contain many

archaic "Ugaritic" elements. What has not yet been fully appreciated is the necessity to review the entire HB in search of passages of narrative poetry similar to that of Ugarit. Repetitions that LITERARY critics commonly held to represent "doublets" originating from different sources may have had a stylistic function, as they have in Ugaritic literature.

d. Onomastics. Many biblical place names are attested in the Ugaritic texts. This is important, as we have seen, in assessing possible historical links between the two cultures. Geographical names containing divine names from the Canaanite pantheon were often maintained during the Israelite period, apparently for practical reasons. Such cities usually harbored a shrine for the eponymous deity; it is remarkable that later tradition often assigns these cities to the Levites, pointing to the fact that the sanctuary had been taken over by Yahwism. Thus far, Jerusalem is not attested in the Ugaritic texts, but this is accidental because the city is referred to in the Amarna letters.

Even more important are the personal names. The rich and ever-growing material from Ugarit helps us to understand Israelite personal names much better than before. Many names are identical, e.g., Abram, Caleb, Elimelech, Israel, Gilead; but just as interesting are the differences. Whereas many different deities are honored in Ugaritic theophoric personal names, including several goddesses, the great majority of Israelite personal names, found also in epigraphic sources, are Yahwistic or Elohistic; female elements are all but absent. In this way the names testify to a radical differentiation from existing religious practice.

e. Administration and correspondence. Non-literary Ugaritic texts afford us a precious insight into the administration of a Canaanite city-state. Although some of the names of institutions and officers are the same as in Israel, the differences are large enough to postulate a conscious effort on the part of the Israelites to steer away from the social and economic system of their neighbors. Given the fact that religion and society were so much intertwined in the ancient world, this too is understandable as the outcome of the choice of a new type of religion.

Ugaritic kingship evokes some of the more ambitious aspirations of the Davidic dynasty: the king as "son" of God (cf. Psalm 2) or perhaps even "god" himself (cf. Psalms 45; 110). The Ugaritic kings received a "divine" name next to their own name when after their death they were united with their divine patron. It is not impossible that such ideas were still *en vogue* in the early Israelite monarchy. But the early opposition against the earthly kingship in Israel is undoubtedly rooted in the tension between the supreme kingship of the one God and divine status for his mandatory on earth. The kings of both nations also share a number of other honorific titles, like *nś'u* (Heb., *nśy'*, "exalted one, leader"; *tpṭ* (Heb., *špṭ*), "judge"; *šmh,* "sprout."

Letters, treaties, and administrative texts offer an invaluable opportunity to study the causes of the collapse of Ugarit and of many other city-states around 1190 BCE. Among them is a letter from Beya, a powerful Semitic chancellor at the Egyptian court, whom J. de Moor (1990, 1997[2]) has proposed to identify with the biblical leader whose Egyptian name contains the element Moses. If this identification is accepted, several elements in the Exodus story appear to echo historical events.

f. Gods and myths. All the major gods of Ugarit appear in the HB (cf. *DDD*); however, the polytheistic pantheon is reduced to a heavenly household, and Psalm 82 mocks the whole idea. Yet traces of the Canaanite concept of a divine congregation in which special human beings could also participate can still be found. Like the kings Keret and Daniel of the Ugaritic epics, the biblical Job was allowed to enter into such meetings (Job 29:4). Perhaps the original text of Gen 31:53 read *bpḥr 'byw yṣḥq,* "by the assembly of his father Isaac," in which case there must have been nighttime encounters between the living and dead members of the clan in early Israel, just as are described in the Ugaritic ritual *KTU* 1.161, a text in many respects comparable to 1 Samuel 28. In Gen 49:6 the dying patriarch Jacob threatens that his soul will not enter into such meetings with his sons Simeon and Levi. Another trace of a pantheon is found in the original text of Deut 31:8-9, which is still preserved in some manuscripts from Qumran (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) and in the Septuagint but was purged before the MT was established. Here we find the Canaanite idea, also attested in Mari, that every god has been allotted his or her "heritage" on earth, and that every nation received its land as a divine gift.

El is the supreme god of the Ugaritic pantheon, the creator of heaven and earth. Like the Babylonian god Marduk and Yahweh/El of Israel (cf. Gen 1:6; 2 Sam 22:16; Job 28:11; 38:16; Ps 36:7; Prov 3:19-20), El of Ugarit was responsible for the separation of the cosmic waters, i.e., the upper and lower flood (Ugar., *thmt;* Heb., *thm;* related to Babylonian *Tiamat*). El dwells at the confluence of the two, i.e., at the horizon of the habitable cosmos (cf. Ps 29:10); is the "father" of gods and of humanity (cf. Deut 32:6); and creates new beings in different ways, sometimes fashioning them from clay (cf. Gen 2:7; Job 4:19; 33:6), sometimes engendering them physically, and sometimes creating them by his authoritative word alone. As the potent creator-god, he often receives the epithet "bull," like Amun-Re in Egypt. This concept, too, was taken over in early Israel (original text of Gen 49:24; Num 23:22; 24:8; Hos 8:6, all reinterpreted later when this imagery was experienced as too daring).

El is extremely old (cf. Job 10:5; 36:26; Pss 90:2-4; 102:25, 28) and wise (cf. 1 Kgs 3:28; Isa 31:2, etc.), the supreme king of the universe. Nevertheless, his

authority is clearly challenged by his son-in-law Baal, the young rain-god. The tension between the two gods reflects a deep crisis in the polytheism of Ugarit that, if it can be regarded as typical of the Canaanite world as a whole at that time, certainly throws light on the reasons why monotheism was received favorably in southern Canaan.

Whereas El was accepted in Israel, Baal was not. His combat with the sea, extensively described in a Ugaritic myth, is claimed for the God of Israel (cf. Job 9:13; 26:12; Ps 89:11; Isa 51:9; also Pss 29:3; 74:13-14; 93:4). Baal is not the great "Healer" or "Savior" (Ugar., *rp'u*), but Yahweh (cf. Exod 15:26; Deut 31:39; Hos 7:1; 11:3). The HB declares time and again that it is Yahweh, not Baal, who commands the weather; the Rider on the Clouds (Ugar., *rkb ʿrpt*) is not Baal, but Yahweh (Deut 33:26; Pss 68:5, 34; 104:3; Isa 19:1). According to the Ugaritic texts both El and Baal are called *ʾadn*, "lord" (*Adonay;* cf. Isa 51:22). Both are king; but even though the kingship of Baal is described as "everlasting" (cf. Ps 145:13; Dan 3:33; 4:31; 7:14, 18, 27), he is nothing but a vassal of El and must give up his kingship at El's command.

In several Ugaritic myths Baal transforms himself into a bull calf in order to mount a cow. Obviously this expresses his ambition to depose the "bull" El. The theriomorphic representation of Baal may explain why attempts to represent Yahweh as a young bull (Jeroboam) were frowned on later. It is remarkable that Baal never succeeded in defeating the forces of evil in any definitive way. As a result Death, Sea, marine monsters like Leviathan and Tannin, and many others, remained demonic powers threatening life on earth. In their prayers the Ugaritians asked Baal and his belligerent wife Anat to ward such powers off again and again, but of course they knew that Baal once suffered defeat at the hands of these forces. Whereas Baal once "died," the HB proclaims from very early times on that Yahweh is the *living* God who is stronger than death (Gen 16:13; Deut 32:39; Job 19:25; Ps 68:21; Hab 3:4-5).

Occasionally the Ugaritic texts help us to gain a better understanding of obscure gods, demons, and spirits mentioned in the HB. This is the case with the beneficial healer-spirits (Ugar., *rpʾum*) that became powerless ghosts in the HB (Heb., *rpʾym*, revocalized so that it did not mean "healers" but "powerless ones"). *Hyll* in Isa 14:12 is not the "Morning Star" but Hilal, the Canaanite god of the crescent moon. The "Sting" (Heb., *qṭb*) in Deut 32:34; Ps 91:6; Isa 28:2; Hos 13:14 appears to be a son of the Ugaritic god of death Mot (see also Job 18:13).

One Ugaritic myth narrates how El appoints his own son *Yw* as the successor of Baal (*KTU* 1.1:IV). On that occasion *Yw* is renamed *Ym* (Sea). Although many scholars doubt whether this god *Yw* may be equated with Yahweh, nothing can be said against the proposal from a philological point of view. Moreover, the equation has gained in force now that some of the earliest epigraphic attestations of the name of the God of Israel appear to be in the same form *Yw* = *Yawê*. Strangely, according to the Ugaritic myth the envoys of this god *Yw/Ym* have the nerve not to bow to other gods, bringing to mind the second commandment (Exod 20:5; 34:14; Deut 5:9, etc.). In another tablet *Yw/Ym* is ridiculed for having neither a wife nor a son; in a polytheistic context a god without a wife must have looked odd. El allows his son *Yw/Ym* to take over Baal's mountain Zaphon. The so-called Job stele found in Bashan indicates that this mountain range was also called Zaphon at that time and was regarded as the property of El. Abundant biblical testimony confirms that Yahweh/El took over the mountain Bashan/Zaphon (e.g., Ps 68:16-17, 23; the Gadite tribe of the Zaphonites, Gen 46:16; Num 26:15; the border of ideal Israel in Pss 48:3; 89:13; Isa 14:13-14; Ezek 47:17; Micah 7:14; probably also Exod 15:13-18; Ps 78:54). In other words, the Ugaritic myth seems to ridicule the god *Yawê,* who with the help of his "father," El, would have taken over Baal's mountain Zaphon/Bashan. It looks like an outside testimony of the taking hold of the "strange" religion of Yahweh/El in Bashan.

The relation of the gods to humankind is described in terms that express a feeling of skepticism and tragic impotence on the part of the latter. Especially in the legends of Keret and Aqhat, the heroes are described as righteous sufferers who are at the mercy of the caprices of the deities. It is exactly for that reason that Ezekiel mentions the main character of the *Legend of Aqhatu,* Daniel, next to other righteous sufferers like Noah and Job (Ezek 14:14, 20; 28:3). It is significant that a Hebrew prophet was apparently acquainted with this Canaanite tradition.

The words for "sin" are identical in Hebrew and Ugaritic, as are the words for righteous behavior. Perhaps the Canaanites of Ugarit were also acquainted with the concept of original sin; they seem to have known some version of the paradise story. Fragments of it are preserved in charms against snakes and other demonic forces; and the location of the garden, the hybrid nature of its tree, and the grave consequences for procreation caused by the sin of man (Ugar., *ʾadm*) agree with the biblical narrative. In other respects, however, the Ugaritic story is far removed from the Hebrew tradition. Man has a name (presumably Sharrughaziz), and he is bitten by the serpent hidden in the tree. In the extant fragments no role is attributed to an "Eve." Eventually the snake's poison is neutralized when all the other gods force the master of demons, the god Horon, who dwelt in "the city of the East," to give in. It seems that in the Israelite tradition Horon's role was partially transferred to Cain (cf. Gen 3:24; 4:16-17).

g. Cult. As in the Bible, most Ugaritic rituals are of

the prescriptive type; only a few may be termed descriptive. Whereas in Ugarit there is often an ostensive link between MYTH AND RITUAL, this is not the case in Israel (unless one would cite the Passover as an exception; Exod 12). The king was the pivot of the Ugaritic ritual, as in the days of David, Solomon, and Jeroboam (see also Saul's sacrificing in 1 Samuel 13). Because the king could not attend all the services in person, the Ugaritic chief priest often acted as his stand-in. In Ugarit the queen also performed an important task in the ritual.

Ugarit shares certain cultic functionaries with Israel, e.g., the chief priest (Ugar., *rb khnm;* Heb. *hakkōhēn haggādôl*), normal priests (*kōhanîm*), and singers (*šārîm*). Other functionaries are expressly condemned in the HB (e.g., *qedēšôt* and *qdšt,* perhaps cultic prostitutes). No Levites are attested in Ugarit.

Many terms for sacrifices are identical or very similar. Others differ, but the sacrifices are nevertheless the same, e.g., the burnt offerings (*šrp* in Ugaritic; *'ōlâ* in Hebrew). Certain types of sacrifices were unacceptable: No sacrifices of pigs are attested. Baal hates sacrifices of foul meat or sacrifices with improper behavior (cf. Prov 17:1; Mal 1:7, 12). In general, the number of sacrifices brought is much higher than in Jerusalem, probably because every deity demanded its share. Yahweh did not ask for "thousands of rams" (Mic 6:7).

Purification by ablutions was normal in both cults. The ritual blessings of the newly wed Keret and his bride resemble the blessings pronounced in Ruth 4. The rites of mourning were also more or less the same. Later on gashing and shaving of the head were forbidden in Israel, probably because these rites were practiced in connection with ritual mourning for Baal. A ritual of expiation strongly resembles Leviticus 16; it is interesting that in both cases the stranger (*gēr*) was allowed to partake in the ceremonies.

In connection with the ancestor cult, the people of Ugarit held spiritualistic sessions at night. The relevant texts vindicate the authenticity of 1 Samuel 28, although the medium is depicted as belonging to a clandestine circle of superstition, whereas in Ugarit the chief priest was proud to call himself a medium. Both in Ugarit and in early Israel, standing stones were thought to represent the ancestors. Since some scholars think that originally Yahweh too was an ancestral deity, it is significant that in Gen 49:24 the God of Israel is called "the Stone of Israel."

The most important Ugaritic festival was the autumn new year. Lasting seven days, it was celebrated about the time of the equinox in memory of Baal's victory over death and of his reenthronement on his holy mountain. It is more than likely that the Israelite Festival of Booths was directly derived from this festival after the abolishment of its more orgiastic aspects, like the sacred marriage rite and the excessive consumption of new wine processed during the festival.

3. Ugarit and the NT. No comprehensive study of the relevance of the Ugaritic tablets to the NT is available, yet the parallels are impressive enough. JESUS' healing powers, his quieting of the sea (a stele depicts Baal walking on the waves), and above all his ability to throw out demons resemble functions of Baal. It is quite understandable, therefore, that the Pharisees said of Jesus, "It is only by Beelzebul, the prince of demons, that this man casts out demons" (Matt 12:24; *zbl* is a title of the Ugaritic Baal).

The death and resurrection of Baal, god of life-giving water, are the closest parallels to the central theme of the Christian gospel that comparative religion has yet been able to offer. In the cultic reenactment of his vicissitudes, Baal's return was expected "on the third day" and prominent dead persons were supposed to rise from the netherworld with him (cf. Matt 27:53-54, 63).

The NT parallels are not confined to the Gospels. PAUL's description of the resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15 and his account of someone who was taken up into the third heaven in 2 Corinthians 12 have fairly close parallels in Ugarit. The book of Revelation also contains passages that can be clarified with the help of Ugaritic.

How did these unexpected correspondencies between sources separated from each other by more than a millennium arise? The most likely answer is that they were transmitted through the channel of folk religion. Despite official Judaism, Jewish-Aramaic incantation bowls and amulets from the first millennium contain relics similar to those of Canaanite practice. (And certain ostensibly Canaanite beliefs are perpetuated in present-day Palestinian folk religion in spite of Islam.)

4. Epilogue. Obviously the Ugaritic tablets are of prime importance to biblical scholars, who have come to realize more clearly than ever how intimately the Bible is connected with its Canaanite background. Verses like Isa 9:19 and 27:1 are virtual quotations from texts discovered at Ugarit. When the last additions to the HB canon were written down, Israelites must have been acquainted with a literature of the Canaanites that still closely resembled what has been found at Ugarit. Yet the same texts received a radically different interpretation in the Bible. The selection the scribes made involved a conscious break with Canaanite tradition motivated by a fundamental change in religious outlook, a "revelation." Whoever would attempt to lump together Canaanite and Hebrew religious traditions into one new "canon" seriously underestimates the theological relevance of the distinctiveness of the two religions.

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J. C. DE MOOR

UGOLINUS, BLASIUS (18th cent.)

Little is known of U., who appears to have been an Italian Roman Catholic convert of Jewish background. His importance in the field of scholarship lies in his massive series of thirty-four folio volumes published in Venice, most of over 1,000 pages each. In these volumes U. reprinted excerpts and complete works on biblical ARCHAEOLOGY and antiquities written by practically every important person in the republic of letters. In addition, he published many original contributions and translations of his own in the series; the latter include numerous rabbinic writings from the Tosefta, the TALMUD, MIDRASHIM, and MAIMONIDES. A complete listing of the volumes' contents is given in J. Darling, *Cyclopaedia Bibliographica* 1 (1854) 3015-26.

Works: *Thesaurus antiquitatum complectens selectissima clarissimorum virorum opuscula, in quibus veterum Hebraeorum mores, leges, instituta, ritus sacri et civiles illustrantur* (34 vols., 1744–69).

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J. H. HAYES

UMBREIT, FRIEDRICH WILHELM KARL (1795–1860)

U. was born in Sonneborn near Gotha, Apr. 11, 1795, where his father, who had been taught by one of J. S. BACH's last pupils, was an organist. U.'s upbringing in a musical home engendered a sensitivity to aesthetic experience that was to influence his career. He studied oriental languages at Göttingen under J. G. EICHHORN (1814–17) and in Vienna (1819) and was ready to accept the philological and mildly rationalizing position of his teachers until he attended lectures by F. Lücke (1791–1855) on the book of Revelation. Lücke introduced him to theology in the spirit of F. SCHLEIERMACHER and set him on a new course through the assertion that the Bible was more than a repository of ancient languages. Completing his church examinations at Gotha in 1818, U. continued his quest for a full and satisfying theology, culminating in his study of Schleiermacher's dogmatics. In 1820 he became a *Privatdozent* at Heidelberg and held full professorships in the philosophical faculty (1823–29) and theological faculty (from 1829) until his death Apr. 26, 1860.

U.'s publications dealt mainly with exegesis and displayed an aesthetic-romantic spirit in conscious imitation of J. G. HERDER. His position moderated between extreme criticism and literalism. Although he accepted many critical results, he was not satisfied that a text had been properly handled once it had been examined at the critical level: To be fully understood it needed poetic, aesthetic criticism. U.'s most fitting memorial is probably his contribution as co-founder and co-editor of the *TSK* from 1828 until his death. The purpose of the journal was to give expression to the new mediating theology, whose leading lights were Schleiermacher, J. Neander (1789–1850), and Lücke. Thus U. repaid his debt to a theology that had enabled him to do justice to his aesthetic sensitivity.

Works: *Lied der Liebe, das älteste und schönste aus dem Morgenlande* (1820); *Das Buch Hiob* (1824, 1828; ET 2 vols., 1836–37); *Philologisch-kritischer und philosophischer Commentar über die Sprüche Salomo's* (1826); "Über den Knecht Gottes im letzten Abschnitt der jesajanischen Sammlung, Kap. 40–66," *TSK* (1828) 295-330; "Jesus Christus in den Weissagungen des Propheten Jesaja nach der Auslegung von Kap. 9,1-6 und 11,1-10," *TSK* (1835) 551-69, 869-81; "Ist Jesus Christus in dem 22. Psalme?" *TSK* (1840) 697-708; *Praktischer Kommentar über die Propheten des Alten Bundes* (4 vols., 1841–46); *Der Brief an die Römer auf dem Grunde des Alten Testments ausgelegt* (1856).

Bibliography: **E. Riehm,** "Die literärische Wirksamkeit Umbreits, nach ihren Haupterzeugnissen geschildert," *TSK* (1861) 479-511; *ADB* 30 (1875) 273-77. **J. W. Rogerson,** *OTCNC* (1984) 136-37. **C. Ullmann,** "F. W. C. U.: Blätter der Erinnerung," *TSK* (1861) 435-79.

J. W. ROGERSON

USSHER, JAMES (1581–1656)

Born in Dublin, Jan. 4, 1581, U. was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he became a fellow in 1599 and was appointed professor of divinity in 1607. In 1601 he was ordained in the Church of Ireland (part of the Anglican communion) and in 1625 became archbishop of Armagh. A strict Calvinist (see CALVIN) and a bitter opponent of Roman Catholicism, U. was in England at the time of the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and remained there until his death March 20, 1656.

U. was a scholar of immense learning and an authority on such diverse topics as the early history of Ireland and the letters of IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH. His chief contribution to biblical studies was in the area of CHRONOLOGY. It is said that he had already worked out a chronology of the HB to the end of the Hebrew monarchy when he graduated with a BA at Trinity College, but his major works on chronology were published at the end of his life. The *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti,* a chronological digest of events from creation to the Maccabean period, appeared in 1650 and was followed by *Annalium Pars Posterior* in 1654. A third work, *Chronologia Sacra,* published posthumously, presents a defense of the chronology set out in the annals, including such crucial matters as U.'s dependence on the figures of the MT. He was well aware that different figures were given by the SEPTUAGINT and Samaritan traditions.

U.'s chronological calculations received quasi-canonical status through their insertion into the margins of English Bibles published after 1701. In particular, he has become famous for dating the creation of the world to 4004 BCE, actually one of the least original features of his chronology. Forty years before the first volume of the *Annales* appeared, T. Lydiat (1572–1646) had published a chronological study, *Emendatio temporum* (1609), in which the creation of the world was similarly dated to 4004 BCE. U. was introduced to Lydiat and invited him to stay with him in Dublin, where Lydiat apparently assisted U. in his own chronological researches. Comparison of Lydiat's study with U.'s work reveals a number of striking similarities, and the latter's chronology could almost be described as a revision of Lydiat's.

There were also several important differences, however. U. dated the creation of the world to Oct. 23, 4004 BCE; this precision characterizes the whole of his work. The original edition of the *Annales* comprises 1,356 pages in two folio volumes, whereas Lydiat's book was a mere 334 pages of octavo. U.'s overall chronological scheme also differed fundamentally from Lydiat's. Both scholars dated the creation of the world to 4004 BCE, but Lydiat dated the birth of Christ in the year 4007 Anno Mundi (= 3 CE), whereas U. dated it seven years earlier in 4000 AM (= 4 BCE), thereby correcting a weak point in Lydiat's chronology (Herod the Great had died in 4 BCE) as well as achieving a schematic round figure for the date of Christ's birth. U. drew attention to this schematism in his preface to the *Annales* (7) and also commented on another aspect of his chronology. According to his calculations, the Solomonic Temple was founded in 2993 AM and completed in 3000 AM; Christ, of whom the Temple was a type, was thus born exactly one thousand years after the completion of the Temple.

U. also adapted the traditional division of history into seven ages. In the earliest versions of this scheme, history was divided into six ages preceding the second coming of Christ and a seventh millennial age following the return of Christ. But in U.'s chronology there were six ages from creation to the birth of Christ and a seventh age starting with the birth of Christ. This is shown in the following table, based on U.'s table in *Chronologia Sacra* (1). Lydiat's figures for these periods have been added in brackets.

	yrs	mos	days	[yrs]
1. Creation to flood	1656	0	0	[1656]
2. Flood to Abraham's migration	426	6	14	[422]
3. Abraham's migration to exodus	430	0	0	[430]
4. Exodus to foundation of Temple	479	0	17	[479]
5. Foundation of Temple to its destruction	424	3	8	[429]
6. Destruction of Temple to birth of Christ	583	3	25	[590]

Works: *De Macedonum et Asianorum Anno Solari Dissertatio* (1648); *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (1650); *Annales Pars Posterior* (1654; ET, *The Annals of the World* [1658]); *Chronologia Sacra* (Oxford, 1660); *Whole Works* (ed. C. R. Elrington and J. H. Todd, Dublin, 1864).

Bibliography: **J. Barr,** "Why the World Was Created in 4004 BC: Archbishop Ussher and Biblical Chronology," *BJRL* 67 (1984) 575-608; "Luther and Biblical Chronology," *Bulletin of the J. Rylands University Library of Manchester* 72 (1990) 51-67. **J. A. Carr,** *The Life and Times of J. U., Archbishop of Armagh* (1895). **C. R. Elrington,** "Life of J. U.," *Whole Works,* 1:1-324. **A Gordon,** *DNB* 48 (1899) 64-72. **S. J. Gould,** "Fall in the House of Ussher: How Foolish was the Archbishop's Precise Date for Creation?" *Natural History* 12 (1991) 14-16, 18-21. **R. B. Knox,** *J. U., Archbishop of Armagh* (1967).

J. R. A. HUGHES

V

VALETON, JOZUA JAN PHILLIPUS, JR.

(1848–1912)

Professor of OT on the theological faculty at the University of Utrecht (1877–1912), V. received his doctorate at Utrecht in 1871 and did post-doctoral work in Geneva. He is known as the leading OT scholar in the Ethical Movement during the era of modernism's dominance (c. 1860–c. 1900). Standing between orthodoxy and modernism, the Ethicals, whose theological leaders were D. Chantepie de la Saussaye and J. Gunning, Sr., believed in a truly scientific biblical criticism and followed the methods of A. KUENEN and the Leiden school while accepting the idea of a special supernatural revelation at certain points in Israel's history. In this mediating position the Ethicals came under severe criticism from the modernists on the left and the orthodox on the right.

Firmly defending the scientific quality of his biblical criticism against the prejudicial reproofs of the Leiden scholars, V. did not hesitate to participate in the analysis of controverted sections of Scripture, where writers like Kuenen dominated the field. One such area was the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM). In the Ethical journal *Studien*, V. presented the most extensive treatment of Deuteronomy ever produced by a Dutch scholar in modern times (1879–81). He maintained that Deuteronomy was not a deliberate attempt at deception but, rather, a collection of early laws by various writers, compiled and provided with a historical introduction by a redactor in the time of King Manasseh. In other studies V. claimed that Yahwism was a supernaturally revealed religion, monotheistic in principle at its very inception, even though only partially so in practice until the eighth century BCE, and that biblical monotheism was no intellectual dogma but the true and vital religion of Israel that came to its full development amid a heathen environment. He also maintained that the Garden of Eden tradition in Genesis 2–3 was not an allegory but a poetical construction of actual historical origins. It can be fairly said that V.'s type of criticism has enjoyed more lasting influence on contemporary Dutch biblical scholarship than either the historicism of the modernists or the rationalistic supernaturalism of the orthodox.

Works: *Jesaja volgens zijne algemeen als echt erkende schriften* (1871); "Deuteronomium," *Studien* 5 (1879) 69-206, 291-313; 6 (1880) 133-74; 7 (1881) 1-27, 81-120; *Voorlezingen over Jesaja, Jeremia, Ezechiel, en II Jesaja* (1886, 1908²); *Amos en Hosea* (1894; GT 1898); *Christus in het Oude Testament* (1895; GT 1896); *Oud-testamentische voordrachten* (1899–1900, 1909²); *De Psalmen* (3 vols., 1902–5, 1912²); "Die Israeliten," *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (ed. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, 1905³); "Karakter en literairische opzet van het Sinai-verhaal," *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Knoinkliche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde* (1909) 67-113.

Bibliography: **S. J. De Vries,** *Bible and Theology in the Netherlands* (1968) 95-98, 101-4. **I. van Dijk,** "Levensbericht van J. J. P. V., Jr.," *Levensberichten van afgestorven medeleden van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1911–12) 76-119.

S. J. DEVRIES

VALLA, LORENZO (1407–57)

One of the most original, creative, and influential humanists of the Italian Renaissance, V. studied in Rome, was ordained in 1431, became involved in many conflicts, and from 1448 was apostolic secretary under Pope Nicholas V. V. startled contemporaries with unorthodox approaches to ethical, philosophical, and philological problems. Among his best-known works were his dialogue arguing that Epicurean was superior to Stoic morality and his *Declamation on the Donation of Constantine,* which relied heavily on philological evidence in proving the *Donation* a forgery. V. died Aug. 1, 1457, in Rome.

V.'s NT scholarship displayed the same originality of approach and intellectual independence that mark his other works. In an age when NT exegetes depended almost exclusively on the VULGATE, V. insisted that scholars and interpreters must learn Greek and base their works on the Greek NT text. He prepared two drafts of annotations comparing the Vulgate TRANSLATION of the NT with the Greek text, drawing up the first set in Naples between 1442 and 1443 and revising them extensively after consulting new manuscripts in Rome after 1453. He did not consider either draft a finished product, however, and allowed them to circulate only in a small, select circle of scholarly friends. As a result, his work long remained poorly known. In 1505 ERASMUS discovered a manuscript of V.'s notes, which he immediately published. V.'s work exercised deep influence on Eras-

mus and other Renaissance humanists who pioneered the development of critical philological scholarship on the NT.

V. examined only a few Greek manuscripts of the NT—probably no more than seven—but he brought a fresh eye as well as a new text to his work. He identified a small number of textual problems—passages where variant readings obscured the language intended by the authors. More notably, he showed that in several cases the language of the Greek NT did not support doctrine or interpretations that medieval theologians had developed on the basis of the Vulgate. Most of his annotations dealt with technical points of little theological consequence, although some of them touched on matters of large doctrinal import. In all cases his work pointed the way toward a more accurate and sensitive Latin representation of the Greek NT and served an important function by inaugurating the modern tradition of critical philological scholarship on the NT.

Works: *In latinam novi testamentam interpretationem ex collatione graecorum exemplarium adnotationes* (1505); *Collatio novi testamenti* (ed. A. Perosa, 1970); *Opera omnia* (2 vols., ed. E. Garin, 1962).

Bibliography: **J. H. Bentley,** *Humanists and Holy Writ: NT Scholarship in the Renaissance* (1983) esp. 32-69. **S. Camporeale,** *L. V.: Umanesimo e teologia* (1972); "Renaissance Humanism and the Origins of Humanist Theology," *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation* (ed. J. O. Malley et al., 1993) 101-24. **M. Fois,** *Il pensiero cristiano di L. V.* (1969). **D. R. Kelley** (ed.), "L. V.: A Symposium," *JHI* 57 (1996) 1-86. **C. Trinkaus,** *In Our Image and Likeness* (2 vols., 1970); *CE* 3 (1987) 379.

J. H. BENTLEY

VATER, JOHANN SEVERIN (1771–1826)

One of the last great polymaths of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, V. was born May 27, 1771, in Altenburg, Germany, and from 1790 to 1794 attended the universities of Jena and Halle. His doctorate at Halle (1794) was on Aristotle's writings on rhetoric, and the first of his many books on language was the *Hebräische Sprachlehre* (1797). In 1799 he became professor of theology and oriental languages at Halle, and although he published his commentary on the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) during his first Halle period (up to 1809), most of his writings concerned the science of language and included Polish and Russian grammars. In 1809, because of the political situation in Halle following the victories of Napoleon, V. moved to Königsberg, where he continued his work on ethnolinguistics and completed a four-volume work on the Lord's Prayer in five hundred languages and dialects. Returning to Halle in 1820, he devoted himself to church history. He died in Halle, Mar. 15, 1826.

V.'s commentary on the Pentateuch (1802–5) was the most extensive presentation of the fragment hypothesis concerning its authorship. In opposition to the documentary theory of J. G. EICHHORN and others, V. held that it was unlikely that separate documents had been combined and argued instead that a collector had assembled the Pentateuch from many distinct fragments. A feature of the commentary was that it brought to the attention of the German public the work of the Scottish Roman Catholic A. GEDDES, another pioneer of the fragment view. In the third volume (1805) V. argued that Deuteronomy had had a different author or collector from the remainder of the Pentateuch, thus independently reaching a conclusion that W. DE WETTE had defended in his doctoral thesis the same year. However, V. used this view differently than did de Wette. Since the majority of references to the Pentateuch in the remainder of the HB were to Deuteronomy, he concluded that a substantial part of Deuteronomy existed from the time of David or Solomon but that the remainder of the Pentateuch did not reach its final form until the time of the exile. Although Moses may have written some of the fragments, there was no knowledge of a Mosaic law book until the reign of Josiah.

V.'s quest for encyclopedic knowledge, especially in the field of the languages of humankind, meant that he did not follow up and build on his commentary on the Pentateuch. The most important effect of his commentary was to cause the young de Wette to rewrite and expand a book based upon his doctoral dissertation, since V.'s 1805 volume preempted much of what de Wette wanted to say. The result was de Wette's epoch-making attack on Chronicles, which opened the way for a radically new interpretation of the history of Israelite religion.

V. was highly regarded by scholars in general. It was to him that H. GESENIUS sent the first volume of his Hebrew-German LEXICON in 1810, seeking help in finding a publisher. V.'s general position was that of a moderate supernaturalist who combined a personal piety with philological criticism.

Works: *Versuch einer allgemeinen Sprachenlehre* (1801); *Handbuch der Hebräischen, Syrischen, Chaldäischen, und Arabischen Grammatik* (1802); *Commentar über den Pentateuch, mit Einleitungen zu den einzelnen Abschnitten, der eingeschalteten Uebersetzung von Dr. A. Geddes's merkwürdigeren critischen und exegetischen Anmerkungen, und einer Abhandlung über Moses und die Verfasser des Pentateuchs* (3 vols., 1802–5).

Bibliography: **G. Kuhn,** *ADB* 39 (1895) 503-8. **J. W. Rogerson,** *OTCNC*.

J. W. ROGERSON

VATKE, JOHANN KARL WILHELM (1806–82)

Born Mar. 14, 1806, in Behndorf near Helmstedt, Germany, V. studied at Halle under H. GESENIUS and at Göttingen under H. EWALD. He then went to Berlin, where he found himself increasingly attracted to the philosophy of G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) and soon became convinced that Hegel had discovered the vital clue to understanding the history of religion. In 1830 he became a *Privatdozent* in Berlin and in 1831 began a lifelong friendship with D. F. STRAUSS, whose controversial *Leben Jesu* appeared the same year as V.'s masterpiece (1835). V.'s book was the first part of a projected biblical THEOLOGY in which he planned to deal with the OT, the Apocrypha, and the NT. Unfortunately, in 1835 the conservative E. HENGSTENBERG was beginning to assert his power in Berlin. *Die biblische Theologie* was badly reviewed by the conservative press and even such critics as W. DE WETTE expressed reservations. The minister of state, von Altenstein, advised V. not to complete the project, and Hengstenberg saw to it that V. was never appointed to a full professorship. In 1841 V. published *Die menschliche Freiheit* but after 1850 wrote nothing further, although an OT introduction compiled from his lecture notes was published posthumously. Toward the end of his life he turned from his adherence to Hegel's philosophy and recognized that discoveries in the natural sciences were important for theology. He ceased teaching in 1875 and died Apr. 19, 1882, in Berlin.

V.'s biblical theology was an attempt to elucidate the history of HB religion according to Hegelian principles, but he did not merely read into or impose on the HB a Hegelian scheme. His philosophical stance affected what he saw to be significant, but in his very penetrating analysis he also drew attention to many problems inherent in the text.

Basing his ideas on a general theory of religious development, V. believed that the religion of the Israelites in Egypt was star worship (see Amos 5:25-26). Moses introduced the worship of Yahweh, banishing from it all elements of nature worship and setting up a conflict with the popular religion of the people. The period of the Judges saw a conflict between the worship of Yahweh and belief in the Canaanite gods Baal and Astarte; but the building of the Temple introduced a new and more transcendent element, the worship of the sun god. During the monarchy the rise of prophetic religion (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) placed more stress on the holiness and transcendence of Yahweh; there developed also the notion of a theocracy in which Yahweh was seen as lawgiver, lord, and protector of his people. Josiah's prophetic reform was backed by increasing use of laws to regulate the common life, while the exile resulted in greater stress on the holiness of Yahweh and saw the strengthening of a legally sustained theocracy. The religion of Israel reached its high point in the Persian period with the disappearance of idolatry and the final development of ritual and law.

The importance of *Die biblische Theologie* was that it anticipated J. WELLHAUSEN's view of Israel's religious history in denying that Moses was the founder of the full-blown theocracy, in ascribing to the prophets an important role in the development of Yahwism, and in placing in the postexilic period the completion of Israel's legal and cultic system. Wellhausen acknowledged his indebtedness to Vatke for "the most and the best" of his own work.

Works: *Die biblische Theologie wissenschaftlich dargestellt*, vol. 1, *Die Religion des Alte Testments* (1835); *Die menschliche Freiheit in ihrem Verhältnis zur Sünde und zur göttlichen Gnade* (1841); *Historisch-kritische Einleitung ins Alte Testament* (1886).

Bibliography: **H. Benecke,** *W. V. in seinem Leben und seine Schriften* (1883). **M. Brömse,** *Studien zur "Biblischen Theologie" W. V.s* (1973). **E. M. Geldart,** *Modern Review* 5 (1884) 500-518. **L. Perlitt,** *V. und Wellhausen* (BZAW 94, 1965). **J. W. Rogerson,** *OTCNC* (1984) 69-78.

J. W. ROGERSON

VAUX, ROLAND ETIENNE GUÉRIN DE (1903–71)

Born in Paris, Dec. 17, 1903, V. received a licence ès lettres from the Sorbonne, specializing in history. After his priestly formation at the seminary of St. Sulpice at Issy, he was ordained for the archdiocese of Paris, June 29, 1929. He entered the Dominican novitiate at Amiens, making simple profession of vows Sept. 23, 1930. While waiting the three years to take his solemn vows and begin his public ministry, he pursued historical research in orientalism at the Saulchoir (Kain, Tournai, Belgium). Having been recruited by P. Synave for the École Biblique et Archéologique in Jerusalem, he left for Palestine immediately after final vows in September 1933 and spent the rest of his life there until his death, Sept. 10, 1971.

At the École, after two years of study under M.-J. LAGRANGE, L.-H. VINCENT, and L. ABEL and acquiring his Roman Scripture license (1935), he became a professor and taught biblical history and ARCHAEOLOGY (1935–37); Assyrian (1935–40); and exegesis of HB historical books (1946–49), on which he later published short commentaries. He had been trained as a historian but trained himself to be an archaeologist, helped by his friendships with Vincent, W. F. ALBRIGHT, K. KENYON, B. MAZAR, and many others.

V. learned archaeology by doing it. Before 1946 his excavations were modest practice digs: the uncovering of a Byzantine mosaic church floor at Ma'in in Jordan in 1937 (with Savignac); an Arab caravanserai at Abu Gosh (biblical Kireath Jearim) with Stève in 1944 (final

report 1950); a Byzantine shrine to John the Baptist at el-Ma'mudiyeh near Hebron in 1945–46. Thus prepared, he tackled Tell el Far'ah in Samaria, devoting nine seasons to this site between 1946 and 1960. Albright had identified the site with biblical Tirzah, the first capital of the northern kingdom of Israel before Omri transferred it to Samaria. V. accepted this identification but was not able to prove it absolutely (preliminary reports in *RB*).

V. gained international renown as a result of the discovery of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS in 1947 (and due to the romantic descriptions of him by E. Wilson in his popular book on the scrolls). V. was involved in three ways: (1) He helped to negotiate with the bedouin who had found the scrolls to acquire them for the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum. (2) He excavated at the site of the scrolls' production as well as at Wadi Murabba'at and Ain Feshkha (1949–58), publishing the results in preliminary reports in *RB* and in a book (but not the final reports or the pottery). (3) He became editor-in-chief of the team for publication of the fragments. He was succeeded as editor by his colleague P. BENOIT.

After Tirzah and Qumran V. participated in the excavations of Jerusalem directed by Kenyon (1961–63). His sector was the el-Khatuniyeh quarter south of the el-Aqsa mosque, later taken over by B. Mazar. When he decided that the École should resume excavations after the Six Day War, he enthusiastically supported J. Prignaud's first season at Tell Keisan near Akko in 1971 but was too infirm to direct it.

V. served as editor of the *RB* from 1938 to 1953, as director of the École from 1945 to 1965, as prior of the Dominican community from 1949 to 1952, and as consultor of the Pontifical Biblical Commission from 1956 until his death. He was named a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1952, of the Legion of Honor in 1953, and of the British Academy in 1961, receiving a master of sacred theology in 1958. In 1964–65 he was visiting professor at Harvard and during that time gave over 130 lectures throughout the United States.

Among V.'s most successful works was the *Jerusalem Bible* project (1956), for which he served as general and OT editor as well as translator and commentator on Genesis, 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings; this work was translated into many languages. His 1958–60 volumes related archaeological finds to the biblical text and covered the social institutions of Israel under four headings: family, state, military, and religion. In a follow-up work on sacrifices (1964), he went deeper into this aspect of the Israelite religion. His Schweich lectures on the archaeology of Qumran, while not settling every question, firmly fixed the stratigraphy and dates of inhabitation of the site. The last years of his life were devoted to composing a projected three-volume history of Israel; however, his health and luck began to desert him. He was able to complete only the first volume on the Canaanite setting, the patriarchs, the sojourn in Egypt, the exodus, Sinai, and the settlement in Canaan (1971). A part of the second volume on the period of the Judges was published posthumously (1973), reconstructed from his notes by F. Langlamet. This work represents an excellent synthesis of the state of research on the early history of Israel up to 1970 and contributes an acute judgment from a historicist point of view; however, scholarly consensus turned to a more skeptical approach soon after it appeared. V. is remembered as a charming and dynamic teacher and colleague with sound archaeological judgment.

Works: *Notes et textes sur l'avicennisme latin aux confins des XIIe-XIIIe siècles* (1934); *Rois* (1949); *Genèse* (1951); *Samuel* (1953); *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament* (1958–60; ET 1961); *Die hebräischen Patriarchen und die modernen Entdeckungen* (1959); *L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (1961; ET 1973); *Les sacrifices de l'Ancien Testament* (1964; ET 1964); *Bible et Orient* (1967; ET 1972), essays; "Palestine during the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods" and "Palestine in the Early Bronze Age," *CAH* 1, 1 (1970) 499-538; 1, 2 (1971) 208-37; *Histoire ancienne d'Israël* (1971, 1973; ET 1978); *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran et de Aïn Feshkha* (NTOA Series Archaeologica 1, 1994), the first of 5 vols. of the posthumous *Final Report of the Qumran Excavations* (ed. J.-B. Humbert and A. Chambon; Ger. ed., F. Rohrhirsch and B. Hofmeir; ET S. Pfann, forthcoming).

Bibliography: **P. Benoit,** *Lettre de Jérusalem* 37 (1971) 1-7. **T. A. Collins,** *CBQ* 33 (1971) 547-48; *BAR* 3 (1977) 37-39. **J. Hubert,** *CRAIBL* (1971) 541-42. **K. M. Kenyon,** *Levant* 4 (1972) v-x. **A. Parrot,** *Syria* 49 (1972) 277-78. **N. M. Sarna,** *BAR* 6 (1980) 14-21. **R. J. Tournay,** *RB* 79 (1972) 5-6.

B. T. VIVIANO

VAWTER, BRUCE FRANCIS (1921–86)

Born in Fort Worth, Texas, V. studied at St. Thomas Seminary College, Denver; the Pontifical University of St. Thomas, Rome (STL); the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome (SSL); and the Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Tübingen (post-doctoral work). He taught at St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville; Kendrick Seminary, St. Louis; St. Thomas Seminary, Denver; and DePaul University, Chicago, where he chaired the theology department (1968–86). He was CBA visiting professor to the Pontifical Biblical Institute Rome in 1973 and CBA president 1961–62.

V.'s main contributions to biblical studies were his writings on the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) and the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). Although he specialized in HB, he moved easily in the NT, and many of his contributions are in that area.

He published significant pieces on christology, INSPIRATION, and HERMENEUTICS and was equally at home in scholarly and popular writing, contributing much to making advances in biblical studies available and acceptable to lay persons of faith.

V. wrote more than a dozen books, several of which were translated into other languages (including Chinese), numerous articles for scholarly journals, and more popular articles for DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS and newspapers. He also contributed through his editorial activity. At various times he served as general editor, associate editor, and book review editor of *CBQ*, and as general editor of CBQMS; he was general editor of *OTA* from its initial planning (1976) until his death. He served in an executive or editorial capacity for nine different scholarly biblical publishing houses. At the 1980 SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE meeting in Dallas, he received the Herbert Gordon May Award for outstanding contributions to the field of biblical studies as a distinguished editor.

Works: *A Popular Explanation of the Four Gospels* (1955); *A Path Through Genesis* (1956); *Social Justice in the Prophet Isaiah* (1958); *The Bible in the Church* (1959); *The Conscience of Israel: Pre-exilic Prophets and Prophecy* (1961); *The Four Gospels: An Introduction* (1967); *New Paths Through the Bible: Some Essays in Biblical Theology* (1968); *Biblical Inspiration* (1972); *This Man Jesus: An Essay Toward a NT Christology* (1973); *On Genesis: A New Reading* (1977); *Amos, Hosea, Micah, With an Introduction to Classical Prophecy* (1981); *Job and Jonah: Questioning the Hidden God* (1983); *The Path of Wisdom: Biblical Investigations* (1986), twenty of V.'s most important articles; *A New Heart: A Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel* (1991).

Bibliography: **J. Jensen,** *OTA* 10 (1987) 1-2; *CBQ* 49 (1987) 291-92.

J. JENSEN

VENEMA, HERMAN (1697–1787)

Born at Wildervant, the Netherlands, June 2, 1697, V. studied at Groningen and Franeker (1711–18) under both VITRINGA and A. SCHULTENS. After several years of pastoral activity he was appointed professor at Franeker, where he taught from 1724 to 1774. He died at Leeuwarden, May 25, 1787.

Much of V.'s output deals with theological controversies of his day (he was a strong advocate of religious toleration) and church history. As a biblicist, he is important for his series of Latin commentaries on the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) and on the psalms, which began appearing in 1745, several being published posthumously. These commentaries evidence V.'s concern to recover the literal, direct sense of the scriptural word in its historical context with the help of cognate languages (Arabic in particular) and of TEXTUAL CRITICISM. At the same time V. gave considerable attention to the secondary messianic and ecclesial senses, which he admitted for many of the prophets' predictions. V.'s exegetical work thus manifests a complex interplay of factors: Dutch humanistic tradition, Reformed orthodoxy, and emerging Enlightenment consciousness.

Works: *Dissertationes ad vaticinia Danielis emblematica cap. II, VII et VIII* (1745); *Commentarius ad librum Malachiae* (1759); *Commentarius in Psalmos* (6 vols., 1762–67); *Commentarius in librum Jeremiae* (1765); *Praelectiones de mothode prophetica* (1775); *Sermones academici ad librum Zachariae* (1787); *Lectiones academicae ad Ezechielem* (1790–91); *Praelectiones ad Obadjam* (1810).

Bibliography: **J. C. de Brüne,** *Herman Venema* (1973).

C. T. BEGG

VERMIGLI, PETER MARTYR (1499–1562)

Born in Florence, May 8, 1499, V. assumed the name of Peter of Verona, who had been martyred in 1252. V. studied Aristotle at the University of Padua, took his doctorate, and was ordained a priest in 1525. After teaching philosophy and Scripture in Augustinian houses (1526–33), he served as abbot of Spoleto (1533–36) and of S. Pietro ad Aram, Naples (1537–40). Impressed by the writings of M. BUCER and ZWINGLI, he was suspended from preaching in 1540 because of his sympathy with the Reformers; but powerful friends in Rome overturned the local prohibition.

Elected prior of S. Frediano at Lucca in 1541, V. lectured on the Pauline epistles (see PAUL) and on the psalms. When the Inquisition was established in Italy on July 21, 1542, he fled to Zurich and Basel, then went to Strasbourg at Bucer's invitation. During his five years there he lectured on the HB and on Romans, publishing comments on the Apostles' Creed (1544) that clearly deny Roman Catholic teaching on the papacy and on the Eucharist and display his biblical THEOLOGY and humanism.

At T. CRANMER's invitation, V. went to England in 1548 as Regius Professor at Christ Church, Oxford, where he gave lectures on Romans. After Edward VI's death, V. returned to Strasbourg late in 1553, lectured on Judges to the Marian exiles, and was pressed by the Lutheran J. Marbach to conform to doctrinal constraints on baptism and Eucharist. He left in 1556 for Zurich, where he became professor of Hebrew and lectured on 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings. He dedicated his 1558 Romans commentary to Queen Elizabeth. His Judges and Romans commentaries were translated into English in 1564 and 1568. His biblical commentaries are extant in thirty-two editions from Corinthians (1551) to Lamentations (1629). He died Nov. 12, 1562.

Bibliography: **M. W. Anderson,** *P. M., a Reformer in Exile (1542–62): A Chronology of Biblical Writings in England and Europe* (1975). **S. Corda,** *Veritas Sacramenti: A Study in V.'s Doctrine of the Lord's Supper* (1975). **J. P. Donnelly** (ed.), *Calvinism and Scholasticism in V.'s Doctrine of Man and Grace* (1976); (with R. M. Kingdon), *A Bibliography of the Works of P. M. V.* (1990), includes a register of letters compiled by M. W. Anderson. **F. A. James,** *HHMBI*, 239-45. **R. M. Kingdon,** *The Political Thought of P. M. V.: Selected Texts and Commentary* (1980). **J. C. McLelland** *The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of P. M. V, AD 1500–62* (1957); *P. M. V. and Italian Reform* (1980). **J. C. McLelland and G. E. Duffield,** *The Life, Early Letters, and Eucharistic Writings of P. M.* (1989). **P. McNair,** *P. M. in Italy: The Anatomy of an Apostasy* (1967). **K. Sturm,** *Die Theologie P. M. V.s während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Strassburg, 1542–47* (1971).

M. ANDERSON

VICO, GIAMBATTISTA (GIOVANNI BATTISTA) (1668–1744)

Born in Naples, June 23, 1668, V. was educated in a Jesuit school and at the University of Naples, where he became professor of Latin eloquence in 1697. His early works were published in Latin; but his most significant writings (after 1722), in Italian. In 1734 he was appointed historiographer to Charles III. V. died Jan. 23, 1744.

His most important work was *New Science,* which in early manuscript form apparently bore the title *New Science Concerning the Principles of Humanity.* The work went through three editions (1725, 1730, 1744), the last, appearing six months after his death, titled *Principles of New Science of G. V. Concerning the Common Nature of Nations.* Countering the Cartesian deprecation of historical study and the natural law theories of H. GROTIUS, J. SELDEN, and S. Pafendorf (1632–94), V. expounded a philosophy of history based on the argument that human history, society, and institutions are human made. Although he wrote of divine providence working in the course of human history, this was something of a concession to contemporary thought rather than a working hypothesis. Similarly, he "bracketed out" consideration of the Hebrew-Christian traditions and institutions from the new science (after all, his work was dedicated to the pope), although his assessments and evaluations of gentile nations could be, and probably were intended to be, applied to the Bible and to sacred history and institutions.

V. opposed the interpretation of ancient traditions based on what he called "the conceit of nations" and "the conceit of scholars." By the former he meant the ethnocentrism of any human community regarding its origins and special status. By the latter he referred to scholarly interpretations of traditions and myths (see MYTHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) based on the assumption that the ancients were primitive philosophers who thought the same things as modern scholars—that is, "what they [modern scholars] know is as old as the world." V. argued instead that ancient traditions, myths, and mythological worldviews should be understood as prerational and imaginative constructs produced through human responses to their environment. Primitive peoples were poets who spoke in poetic characters and out of their imaginative responses created institutions and culture. These primitive poetic worldviews thus served social needs and utilities. The earliest human creations were religion, marriage, and burial (with the associated concept of immortality). Human history and society are conceived of as human products capable of human understanding. V.'s study of history thus pointed to a detheologizing and secularizing of history and a historicizing of providence that identified the latter with the course of history.

Much of what V. wrote about Homer and his two epic poems—the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*—could be applied to the Bible (bk. 3 of *New Science* is called "Discovery of the True Homer"). V. doubted the existence of a historical Homer, viewed the Homeric works as "two great treasure houses of the customs of early Greece" ("the Greek peoples were themselves Homer"), and saw them, not as philosophical documents, but as poetic expressions of Greek history and life.

Works: *Opere* (8 vols. in 11, ed. F. Nicolini, 1911–41); *The Autobiography of G. V.* (tr. and intro. by M. H. Fisch and T. G. Bergin, 1944, 1963[2]); *The New Science of G. V.* (tr. and intro. by M. H. Fisch and T. G. Bergin, 1948; rev. ed. 1984); *V.: Selected Writings* (tr. and intro. by L. Pompa, 1982); *On the Most Ancient Wisdom of the Italians* (tr. and intro. by L. M. Palmer, 1988).

Bibliography: **I. Berlin,** *V. and Herder: Two Studies in the History of Ideas* (1976). **P. Burke,** *Vico* (1985). **F. E. Manuel,** *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (1967); *The Changing of the Gods* (1983). **J. C. Morrison,** "V. and Spinoza," *JHI* 41 (1980) 49-68. **J. S. Preuss,** *Explaining Religion: Criticism and Theory from Bodin to Freud* (1987), esp. 59-83; "Spinoza, V., and the Imagination of Religion," *JHI* 50 (1989) 71-93; *RMM,* 50-61. **G. Tagliacozzo** (ed.), *V., Past and Present* (1981). **F. Vaughan,** *The Political Philosophy of G. V.* (1972).

J. H. HAYES

VIELHAUER, PHILIPP (1914–77)

The son of a missionary from Basel, Switzerland, V. was born in Cameroon on Dec. 3, 1914. His parents reared him in the tradition of pietistic biblicism (in its German variety). He began gymnasium in Durlach near Karlsruhe in 1925. When he was in tenth grade a teacher gave him a book by the poet R. Huch entitled *Luther's*

Faith (1916) that became fundamental in V.'s life; he later wrote Huch a letter and included a copy of his dissertation (W. Schneemelcher [1978] 25). The book depicted LUTHER's struggle for "faith" and against "morality" (Schneemelcher, 12). Schneemelcher, in his speech honoring V.'s life, noted that the book (along with the strong influence of F. Overbeck) led V. to the understanding of the message of the gospel as utterly different from a worldview at human disposal (Schneemelcher, 13). Both influences also seem to have led V. to his sharp distinction between "early Christianity" and "Christianity."

V. spent two semesters studying theology in Basel, five semesters in Marburg, where he studied under R. BULTMANN and H. von Soden, and three semesters in practical theology in Heidelberg, completing his doctoral dissertation under M. DIBELIUS ("Oikodome: The Image of Building in Christian Literature from the NT to Clement of Alexandria" [1939]). A member of the Confessing Church since the Marburg years, he was put out of the Baden regional church for refusing to take the Hitler oath but was received (October 1935) by the church in Württemberg, where he served until he was drafted in January 1941. He was grievously wounded in Russia in 1942 and suffered for the rest of his life (with a plate in his head).

In 1944 V. returned to the parish. He felt the parish years were important in his life because there he learned to translate his scientific work into praxis—that is, proclamation. In 1947 he became *ausserordentlicher* professor in the theology faculty in Göttingen and completed his inaugural dissertation ("The Figure of the Forerunner and the Importance of the Eschatological Pathfinder in the NT and Its World" [1950]). He was immediately given the chair in NT in Bonn, where he remained until his death, Dec. 23, 1977.

V.'s published writings include a set of essays and a magisterial history of early Christian literature. (The bibliography of his other published articles, sermons, and book reviews may be found in Schneemelcher's commemorative address.) His essays are elegantly and carefully written. "On the Paulinism of the Acts of the Apostles," for example, examines the speeches of PAUL and Peter and compares them with the uncontested letters of Paul, concluding that "The author of Acts is in his Christology pre-Pauline, and in his natural theology, conception of the law, and eschatology post-Pauline. One finds no specifically Pauline thought in his work. His 'Paulinism' consists of his zeal for the universal mission to the pagans and in his veneration for the greatest missionary to the pagans" (1965, 26). His essay "Clothing and Food of John the Baptist" attacks the thesis that John's clothing (Mark 1:1-8) was a deliberate attempt to imitate Elijah (2 Kgs 1:8). To decide whether John could have associated his clothing with Elijah's, V. noted, one must use the Hebrew text of 1 Kgs 1:8 (1965, 49), in which Elijah is described as a hairy man (as in Gen 27:11) with a waistcloth of skin (*ezor or*) on his thighs. There is no mention of a hairy mantle (as in Zech 13:4; cf. Elijah's mantle in 1 Kgs 19:13, 19 and 2 Kgs 2:8, 13 with the mantle [same word] of royal quality in Josh 7:21 and Jonah 3:6 [1965, 51]). V. concluded that John did not see himself as Elijah *redivivus* (resurrected), noting that the bedouin wear leather on their bare bodies covered with a garment of camel hair and also eat locusts and honey. John is a man of the wilderness—a region for which the Jews had eschatological expectations (1965, 53).

In V.'s well-known essay "Kingdom of God and Son of Man in the Proclamation of Jesus," he argued that the historical JESUS preached the kingdom of God but did not use the apocalyptic term *Son of man* (see APOCALYPTICISM). Both concepts never appear together in Jesus' words (1965, 58). V. used various sorts of arguments to make his case. With regard to Mark 14:61-62, for example, the identity of Christ and Son of man was not asserted in ancient Judaism. So Jesus would have made the identification himself for the first time, and the disciples would have heard about his statement from the people at the trial who later converted to Christianity. V. found that improbable and believed that one should attribute the scene to the christological confession of the later Christian community (1965, 72). With regard to Mark 13:26, on the other hand, V. summarized arguments holding that it and other sayings belong to Jewish apocalyptic conceptions and not to the specific situation of Jesus or of the early Christian community (1965, 73). The emphasis in Jesus' preaching on the eschatological proclamation (kingdom of God) makes it probable that texts like Mark 13:26 are not statements of the historical Jesus. The saying in Luke 17:23 (which presupposes false pretenders who claim to be Son of man—"here and there") cannot be historical because such frauds are not present in Jewish apocalyptic conceptions and so could not have been used by Jesus (1965, 75). These arguments can be summarized thus: If the saying can be attributed to the early Christian community or to ancient Judaism, it is not to be attributed to the historical Jesus. On the other hand, if the saying has elements not present in ancient Jewish conceptions, then it cannot be from the historical Jesus either.

For his history of early Christian literature, V. adopted a distinction between early Christianity and Christianity, made earlier by OVERBECK. In his essay "F. Overbeck and NT Research," V. noted that the beginnings of patristic literature do not lie in the NT and that there is not a literary-historical relation between the NT and patristic literature. The letters of the NT are not a form of high literature but are genuine correspondence. The Gospels, Apocalypse, and Acts of the Apostles are true literary forms that died out early before the existence

of a "church literature." They are "primitive Christian literature." In this category Overbeck (and V.) also included the apostolic fathers, Hegessipus' *Hypomnemata* (Memoirs), and PAPIAS' *Exegeses.* The formation of the NT CANON is the temporal limit of this literature. Early Christian literature was created by the interests of the Christian community before any interaction with the surrounding world. Even though the forms (other than that of the Gospels) were not new and had existed in the religious literature of earlier times, the early Christians did not use the forms of "pagan world literature" (1965, 247-48). This position of Overbeck and V. can be illustrated by V.'s claim in his history that the Gospels were a unique literary genre and not an example of Hellenistic biography (1975, 256, 283, 408, 409).

Works: *Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament* (TBü 31, 1965); *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur: Einleitung in das Neue Testament, die Apokryphen, und die Apostolischen Väter* (1975).

Bibliography: **U. Hutter-Wolandt,** *BBKL* 12 (1997) 1367-75. **W. Schneemelcher,** "P. V. Gedenkrede," *In memoriam P. V.* (W. Schrage and W. Schneemelcher, Alma Mater, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universität 44, 1978).

J. G. COOK

VINCENT, LOUIS-HUGUES (1872–1960)

Born Aug. 31, 1872, at Saint-Alban-de-Varaize in France, V. entered the Lyons province of the Dominicans in 1890 and received the religious name of Hugues. After his novitiate at Ryckolt in Holland, he was sent to Jerusalem in August 1891 for his theological studies and was ordained a priest, Dec. 21, 1895. His ambition was to be a missionary, but his unusual ability as a draftsman convinced M.-J. LAGRANGE that his talents would be better employed as an archaeologist. In 1895 he was appointed to the faculty of the fledgling École pratique d'études bibliques, where he remained as a professor until his death, Dec. 30, 1960.

V. began his career just as the exploration of the Holy Land was developing into the scientific discipline of ARCHAEOLOGY. He was one of the first to appreciate the importance of the ceramic typology formulated by W. F. PETRIE in his excavation of Tel el-Hesi in 1890, and V. developed unrivaled expertise in this field. His draftsman's eye gave him exceptional insight into architectural problems, skills complemented by an incredible assiduity in visiting every excavation, whether archaeological dig, cistern, or foundation of a new house. He saw, read, and remembered everything, developing an encyclopedic knowledge that became the basis for the first scientific synthesis of the results of Palestinian archaeology (1907). For over half a century, in 200 articles in the *RB,* he reported and critically evaluated every new discovery.

V.'s mastery of his subject made him "the tutor of all" (W. F. Albright) for the new generation of archaeologists who came to Palestine after WWI. Not only was he a living link with the past, but his capacity for warm friendship and his readiness to make his vast experience available to others did much to foster a climate of cooperation between scholars of various nations and different religions. In 1922 he was part of the group directed by J. GARSTANG who officially fixed the division and names of the archaeological periods for Palestine.

At Lagrange's insistence, V. was made responsible for the publication of the important finds made incidentally in the bizarre quest of the Parker expedition for buried treasure on the Ophel ridge (1911). V. also recorded the discoveries made beneath the Ecce Homo convent in Jerusalem, which he interpreted as the courtyard of the Antonia fortress (1933). Lacking funds, his own excavations at Ain Douq (1920) and Amwas-Nicopolis (1932) were no more than salvage operations. His major contribution, however, is a series of studies devoted to monumental complexes in Hebron, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem. His attention to detail and phenomenal powers of observation enabled him to distinguish different construction phases, and he ensured a complete picture by enlisting the collaboration of his colleague L. ABEL, whose knowledge of the textual data concerning Palestine was without equal. Minute studies of every ancient structure in Jerusalem coalesced into a class trilogy describing the history of the holy city from its foundation to the Middle Ages.

V. could not excavate on these sites; and more recent discoveries have demanded reconsideration of some of his hypotheses, notably the size of the Antonia fortress, the location of the praetorium of Pilate, and the original form of the holy sepulchre. But the quality of V.'s drawings, which record evidence that has now disappeared, and the sheer amount of data he assembled has made his books fundamental to all subsequent study of Jerusalem. He was always concerned to provide all information necessary to permit an independent assessment.

Fidelity to Lagrange's program, the combination of document and monument, dictated V.'s concentration on biblical sites. But his objective was never to prove the Bible true; his intention was, where possible, to give a fuller dimension to the text by fixing the physical conditions of the events there described.

Works: *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (1907); *Jérusalem sous terre* (1911); *Jérusalem antique* (1912); (with F. M. Abel), *Bethléem: Le sanctuaire de la Nativité* (1914); (with F. M. Abel), *Jérusalem nouvelle* (1914–22, 1924); (with F. M. Abel), *Hébron: Le Haram el-Khalil, Sépulture des patriarches* (1923); (with F. M. Abel), *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son historie* (1932); *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament: Recherches d'archéologie et d'histoire* (2 vols. 1954, 1956).

Bibliography: **W. F. Albright,** "In Memory of L.-H. V.," *BASOR* 164 (1961) 2-4. **A. Parrot,** "Le R. P. L.-H. V.," *Syria* 38 (1961) 217-19. **O. R. Sellers,** *BA* 24 (1961) 62-64. **E. Weidner,** *AfO* 20 (1963) 307-8.

J. MURPHY-O'CONNOR

VISCHER, WILHELM (1895–1988)

Born Apr. 30, 1895, in Basel, Switzerland, V. studied at the universities of Lausanne, Basel, and Marburg and became *Privatdozent* at Bethel Theologische Hochschule in 1928. Expelled from Germany in 1933, he became pastor of St. Jacob's Church and *Privatdozent* at the University of Basel in 1936. In 1947 he was called to the OT chair at the University of Montpelier, where he remained until his retirement. He died Nov. 27, 1988.

In his early years V. was associated with the group around K. BARTH and wrote several widely read articles in *ZdZ* calling for a renewed theological interpetation of the OT. His most significant contribution was his book on the witness of the OT to Christ, which brought him into the center of a major theological controversy. His provocative formulation, "The OT tells us what Christ is; the New, who He is," raised a storm of protest from those who thought his christological interpretation was a repudiation of the historical-critical method.

Nevertheless, even his strongest critics (e.g., G. von Rad) admitted that V. had had a major influence in the rebirth of OT THEOLOGY in Germany and that his book had been greatly welcomed by many in the church during the Nazi period. H.-J. Kraus spoke of his "sounding the alarm." In England and America V. was largely understood and dismissed as a simplistic and even fundamentalist preacher. Actually he was a highly sophisticated and well-trained theologian, solidly within the classic Reformed tradition, whose serious contribution to the field has only recently begun to receive reevaluation (see H. G. Reventlow [1979]).

Works: "Das AT als Gottes Word," *ZdZ* 5 (1927) 379-95; *Jahve der Gott Kains* (1929); "Das AT und die Verkündigung," *TBl* 10 (1931) 1-12; "Das AT und die Geschichte," *ZdZ* 10 (1932) 22-42; *Hiob, Ein Zeuge Jesu Christ* (1933, 1947[6]); *Das Christuszeugnis des Alten Testament,* vol. 1, *Das Gesetz* (1934; ET, *The Witness of the OT to Christ* [1949]); vol. 2, *Die früheren Propheten* (1942); *Esther* (TEH 48, 1937); *Die Bedeutung des AT für das christliche Leben* (ThStud 3, 1938, 1947[2]); *Die Evangelische Gemeindeordnung* (1946); *Die Immanuel-Botschaft im Rahmen des königlichen Zionfestes* (ThStud 45, 1955); *Der Prophet Habakuk* (BibS(N) 19, 1958); *Valeur de l'Ancien Testament* (1958); *L'Écriture et la Parole* (1985).

Bibliography: **J. Cadier et al.** (ed.), *Maqqél shâqédh, La Branche d'Amandier: Hommage a W. V.* (1960). **B. S. Childs,** "OT in Germany, 1920–1940: The Search for a New Paradigm," *Altes Testament Forschung und Wirkung* (FS H. G. Reventlow, ed. P. Mommer and W. Thiel, 1994) 233-46. **W. Eichrodt,** "Zur Frage des theologischen Exegese des AT," *TBl* 17 (1938) 73-87. **V. Herntrich,** *Theologische Auslegung des AT? Zum Gespräch mit W. V.* (1936). **H.-J. Kraus,** *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des AT* (1969[3]) 426-32. **N. W. Porteous,** "OT Theology," *The OT and Modern Study: A Generation of Discovery and Research* (ed. H. H. Rowley, 1951) 311-45. **G. von Rad,** "Das Christuszeugnis des AT," *TBl* 14 (1935) 249-54. **H. G. Reventlow,** "Der Konflict zwischen Exegese und Dogmatik: W. V.s Ringen um den 'Christus im Alten Testament,' " *Textgemäss* (FS E. Würthwein, ed. A. H. J. Gunneweg and O. Kaiser, 1979) 110-22. **B. Schroven,** *Theologie des AT zwischen Anpassung und Widerspruch* (1995).

B. S. CHILDS

VITRINGA, CAMPEGIUS (1659–1722)

Born at Leeuwarden in Friesland, May 16, 1659, V. was educated at the universities of Franeker (1675–78) and Leiden (1678–79), becoming professor of oriental languages at Franeker (1680) and subsequently professor of theology (1682) and church history (1693). He was one of the most productive, creative, and influential scholars of his day. Two of his sons were also publishing theologians; both died young, however, Horatius at nineteen (Oct. 8, 1704) and Campegius the younger at twenty-nine (Jan. 11, 1723). V. died Mar. 31, 1722.

Although primarily an OT scholar, V. published works on the NT and also wrote a number of theological works, including the multivolume *Doctrina Christianae* (9 vols. in 10 in the 1761–89 ed.) and a volume on practical theology. His greatest work was his commentary on Isaiah (1714–20), which formed the basis of many subsequent Isaiah commentaries until the work of R. LOWTH and H. GESENIUS. In this volume Isaiah's prophecies (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) are treated with literary skill as genuine orations and are related to specific historical circumstances. V. planned a similar volume on Zechariah, portions of which were published posthumously (1734). In his works on the synagogue and early church (1685, 1687b, 1696), he sought to show the similarities between the two. His two works on Ezekiel and the temple (1687a, 1693) argued that Ezekiel's temple corresponded to Solomon's and that its plan was followed in the second and Herodian rebuilds. Much of the material on Ezekiel as well as V.'s *Observationum* were the results of controversies and public disputations. His work on the NT included a volume on the PARABLES (1715) and one on the Apocalypse (1705), which was strongly anti-Roman Catholic. Works on geography and CHRONOLOGY illustrate two of his continuing interests.

Works: *Observationum sacrarum libri vii* (1683–1708); *Archisynagogue observationibus novis illustratus* (1685; 2nd ed.,

De synagoga vetere libri tres [2 vols., 1696]; ET, *The Synagogue and the Church* [1842]); *Anleidinge tot het reclite verstand van den tempel, die de prophet Ezechiel gezien en beschreeven heeft* (2 vols., 1687a); *De decem viris otiosis* (1687b); *t'Rechte verstand van dem tempel Ezechiels verdeedigt en bevestigt* (1693); *Hypotyposis historiae et chronologiae sacrae* (1698, enl. ed. 1708); *Anakrisis apocalypsios Joannis Apostoli* (1705); *Commentarius in librum prophetiarum Iesaiae, quo sensus orationis ejus sedulo investigatur* (2 vols., 1714–20); *Verklaeringe van de evangelischer parabalen* (ed. J. d'Outrein, 1715); *Hypotyposis historiae et chronologiae sacrae . . . Accedit typus doctrinae propheticae* (1716; portion in ET as "On the Interpretation of Prophecy," *The Investigator* 4 [1834–35] 153-76); *Geographia sacra* (ed. D. G. Werner, 1723); *Commentarii ad librum porphetiarum Zachariae quae supersunt* [i.e., ad c. iv. v.6] (ed. H. Venema, 1734).

Bibliography: **J. Le Clerc,** "C. V., *Observationum liber duo*," *BUH* 12 (1689) 512-32; "C. V., *Observationum liber tertius*," *BUH* 21 (1691) 51-71; "C. V., *Observationum sacrarum libri 5 et 6*," *Bibliothèque choisie* 16 (1708) 356-70; "C. V., *Commentarius in Iesaiam*," *Bibliothèque choisie* 27 (1713) 378-423; "C. V., *Commentarius in Iesaiam*," *BAM* 15 (1721) 1-100. **E. Kautzsch,** *NSHERK* 12 (1912) 218-19. *MSHH* 35 (1736) 30-40. **E. G. E. van der Wall,** "Between Grotius and Cocceius: The *theologia prophetica* of C. V.," *H. Grotius, Theologian* (ed. H. Nellen et al., 1994) 195-215. **B. Wiklander,** *Prophecy as Literature: A Text-linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to Isaiah 2–4* (ConBOT 22, 1984) 8-10. **K. M. Witteveen,** *C. V. und die prophetische Theologie in Reformiertes Erbe* 2 (ed. H. Oberman et al., 1993) 343-59.

J. H. HAYES

VIVES, JUAN LUIS (1492–1540)

Born in Valencia, Spain, Mar. 6, 1492, to converted Jewish parents, V. died May 6, 1540. At the academy of Valencia he learned Latin and Greek; after pursuing university studies in Paris (1509–14), he settled in Bruges. In 1517 he became private tutor to young Cardinal Guillaume (II) de Croy, who took him to Louvain, where even without academic degrees V. was licensed to teach. On Croy's death in 1521, V. sought a post in England.

In 1522 V. was informed that the Spanish inquisition had charged his father with apostasy. (He was executed [1524] and the body of his wife, who had died in 1509, was exhumed and burned). V. accepted Wolsey's invitation to teach at Oxford (1523). He found favor with Henry VIII and made friends with H. MORE, Fisher, and Linacre but lost the king's patronage when he opposed his divorce from Catherine. V. spent the rest of his life in Bruges as a freelance humanist, supported by influential patrons, including Charles V.

V. influenced biblical exegesis of the sixteenth century indirectly but considerably in that he introduced (like L. Valla, R. Agricola, and Erasmus) the RHETORICAL method of interpretation. Advocating the Italian liberal arts tradition of Cicero and Quintilian, he endeavored to replace the abstract logic of scholastic disputations with a humanist rhetoric of persuasion aimed at moral use and religious renewal (1519, 1531). He redefined dialectic by associating it with the rhetorical invention of *topoi* for utilitarian rather than demonstrative purposes. He produced commentaries on Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (1522) and other theological works (1519, 1524, 1539).

Works: *Mediationes in septem psalmos quos vocant penitentiae* (1519); *In pseudodialecticoes: A Critical Edition* (1519; ed., intro., and commentary by C. Fantazzi, 1979); *De institutione feminae Christianae* (1524); *De disciplinis* (1531); *De veritate fidei christianae* (1539); *Opera omnia* (1555, 1782–90, repr. 1964); *Obras completas* (tr. and ed. L. Riber, 1947–48); *Selected Works* (gen. ed. C. Matheeussen, 1987–).

Bibliography: **M. Bataillon,** *Erasmo y España* (1956). **A. Bonilla y San Martin,** *L. V. y la filosofía del renacimiento* (1929). **T. B. Deutscher,** *CE,* 3:409-13. **R. Guerlac,** *J. V. Against the Pseudodialecticians: A Humanist Attack on Medieval Logic* (1979). **A. Guy,** *V. ou l'humanisme engagé* (1972). *MSHH* 21 (1733) 172-85. **C. Noreña,** *J. L. V. and the Emotions* (1970). **P. Sainz Rodríguez,** *Homenaje a L. V.* (1977). **F. Watson,** *V. On Education: A Translation of the De tradendis disciplinis of J. L. V.* (1913).

M. HOFFMANN

VOLTAIRE (1694–1778)

François-Marie Arouet, who created his own pseudonym, was born Nov. 21, 1694. He reacted strongly against the Jesuit education his father forced him to receive at the Paris Collège Louis-le-Grand but even more strongly against the church, which he considered to be filled with institutional deceit, superstitious fanaticism, intellectual intolerance, and theological scholasticism. After time in the Bastille for his critical satire and free thought, V. spent 1726–28 in exile in London, where he became acquainted with Newtonian (see I. NEWTON) natural philosophy and science; British religious toleration and social institutions; many of the major poets; Latitudinarian-Arian theology (see ARIUS); and, to a limited extent, radical deistic thought (see DEISM), while mastering the English language. After he returned to France, his book *Lettres philosophiques* (or *Lettres sur les Anglais* [1734]), praising British life and thinkers and containing an appendix attacking Pascal, led to his flight to Cirey, where he took residence with Madame du Châlet and joined the Cirey circle in which biblical interpretation was one among many interests. After du Châlet's death (1749) he served for a time at the court of Frederick II of Prussia (1750–52), eventu-

ally acquiring the estate of Ferney on the Swiss border, where he lived the last twenty years of his life.

V. was an indefatigable writer, producing works from his early youth until his death in Paris (May 30, 1778). His complete works and correspondence take up over 250 volumes. Religious issues and institutions were the object of his concern throughout his career; but most of V.'s more caustic, scurrilous attacks and witty analyses of the Bible and religion were published after 1760. As his writings and the marked volumes in his private library (taken to Russia by his secretary, Wagnière, and now in the Leningrad public library) indicate, V. was reasonably well acquainted with the biblical scholarship of his day and heavily dependent on D. CALMET as well as on the more radical English Deists, A. COLLINS, T. WOOLSTON, C. MIDDLETON, and P. ANNET, both in the English originals and in French translations by D'Holbach, whom V. refused to follow into atheistic positions. V.'s attribution in his writings of material to various authors, however, is seldom accurate, often revamped and restated, and frequently falsely ascribed and patently created.

From his pamphlet *Sermon des cicquante* (1762) to his book-length commentary on the Bible, *La Bible enfin expliquée* (1776), and his history of early Christianity, *Histoire de l'établissement du christianisme* (1777), V. challenged the INSPIRATION and content of the Bible, wittily reformulating all the arguments leveled against its historicity, miraculous events, CHRONOLOGY, and ethics, often under the pretense of defending it against its detractors. Everywhere his dislike of and disgust with the institutional church and his virulent anti-Judaism are apparent. He is most brilliant and devastating in his *Les Questions de Zapata* and *Examen important de milord Bolingbroke* (both 1767).

The significance of V.'s writings does not lie in any scholarly innovations or in new hypotheses, but elsewhere: (1) He summarized and popularized in an entertaining and engaging fashion the arsenal of questions and difficulties associated with the Bible. (2) He introduced the general reading public to the biblical apocryphal materials, relying heavily on the collections of J. FABRICIUS, and in the process cast further doubt on the traditional authorship and character of the biblical writings. (3) His commentary on "the Bible finally explained" (which does not treat many of the HB books and contains only sixteen pages on the NT, covering only the synoptic Gospels) offered for the first time a biblical commentary that did not set out to prove the value of the material being treated.

Works: *V. on Religion: Selected Writings* (tr. and intro. by K. W. Applegate, 1974), contains "Zapata's Questions" (20-38), "Homilies" (39-92), and "An Important Study by Lord Bolingbroke" (93-214).

Bibliography: **A. Ages,** "V.'s Critical Notes in the OT Portion of *La Bible Enfin Expliquée*" (diss., Ohio State University, 1963); *V., Calmet, and the OT* (1966). **C. J. Betts,** *Early Deism in France: From the So-called "Déistes" of Lyon (1564) to V.'s 'Lettres philosophiques' (1734)* (1984). **A. Bingham,** "V. and the NT," *Studies on V. and the Eighteenth Century* 24 (1963) 183-218. **M.-H. Contoni,** *L'exégèse du Nouveau Testament dans la philosophie française de XVIIIe siècle* (Studies on V. 220, 1984); "V., Rousseau, Diderot," BTT 7, (1986) 799-803. **C. Dedeyan,** *V. et la pensée anglaise* (1956). **G. R. Havens and N. L. Torrey,** "The Private Library of V. at Leningrad," *PMLA* 43 (1928) 990-1009. **A. Hertzberg,** *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (1968). **D. Lévy,** *V. et son exégèse du Pentateuque: Critique et polémique* (Studies on V. 130, 1975). **F. Manuel,** "Israel and the Enlightenment," *Daedalus* 111 (1982) 231-45 = his *The Changing of the Gods* (1983) 105-34. **A. R. Morehouse,** *V. and J. Meslier* (1936). R. Mortier, "V. et la Bible, ou les ruses du polémiste," *Colloque 76 V.* (1983) 17-28. **R. Pomeau,** *La religion de V.* (1956, 1969²). **P. Sakman,** "V. als Kritiker der Bibel und des Christentums," *ZWT* 49 (1906) 398-421, 494-571. **B. E. Schwarzbach,** *V.'s OT Criticism* (1971). **J. S. Spink,** *French Freethought from Gassendi to V.* (1960). **N. L. Torrey,** *V. and the English Deists* (1930). **I. O. Wade,** *The Intellectual Development of V.* (1969).

J. H. HAYES

VOLZ, PAUL (1871–1941)

Born in Lichtenstern (Württemberg), Oct. 14, 1871, V. studied at the universities of Tübingen and Berlin, where his most influential teacher was the Tübingen HB scholar J. von Grill. In 1899 V. became a *Repetent* in Tübingen, in 1903 graduated lic. theol., and in 1907 habilitated as a *Privatdozent* in HB at Tübingen. He became an *ausserordentlicher* professor in 1909 and full professor in 1914. He died May 30, 1941.

An outspoken, theologically oriented HB scholar, V. was more interested in the religious message of the text than in the solution to LITERARY-critical problems. The major areas of his research were the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) and HB-Jewish eschatology, but he also dealt with the beginnings of Yahwistic religion connected with Moses and with various HB theological themes. V. produced popular commentaries on HB wisdom literature and published works on Palestinian ARCHAEOLOGY. His editorship of the *Biblischen Altertümer,* based on his own views and rich with tables and sketches, became a popular textbook.

V. considered eschatological faith to be of genuine Israelite origin, not derived from Israel's environment. Present in the time of Moses, it was developed during the early prophetic movement and, in opposition to popular expectation, was raised by the classical prophets to a new level in which religion and morality were joined. V. denied the existence of a messianic expectation in the preexilic prophets and sought to prove the

incompatibility of this hope with the total character of the judgment prophets.

V. devoted much effort to interpreting the book of Jeremiah. His commentary (1918) written for KAT focuses mostly on Jeremiah's prophetic experience and piety. V. also produced a basic overview of the TEXTUAL condition of the book (1920) which, according to him was essentially composed by Baruch and consists of three parts (chaps. 1–25; 26–36; 37–45). However, V. completely separated the texts dealing with foreign nations (25:15-38; 46–51) from the Jeremianic tradition, attributing them to an anonymous author (Deutero-Jeremiah), who wrote in Babylon in the context of Nebuchadnezzar's death around 560 BCE. The original Jeremianic traditions received many additions due to their use in worship and to the effort to make them contemporaneous.

In his later commentary *Jesaja II,* V. described Deutero-Isaiah as the spiritual leader of the exiles and the first missionary. He did not separate the Servant Songs from the book or from the message of the prophet as B. DUHM did but appraised them as "a piece of autobiography of Deutero-Isaiah" (166). Nevertheless, he removed Isa 52:13–53:12, regarding it as a thoroughly eschatological song that has nothing to do with the other Servant Songs or with Deutero-Isaiah. With regard to Isaiah 56–66, V. followed Duhm in separating the chapters from Deutero-Isaiah but not in assigning them to Trito-Isaiah. Considering any unity as out of the question, he regarded the chapters as a compilation of disparate texts during a period from the seventh to the third centuries BCE. This view, apart from the individual dating, has found widespread acceptance.

V. recognized the great significance of worship for the formation and shaping of tradition. In his work on the new year's festival of Yahweh (1912), he reconstructed the festival after Babylon and Assyrian models (see ASSYRIOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) and equated it with the Festival of Tabernacles. He regarded it as a celebration of the day of the world's beginning, of the commencement of the Kingdom, and of repentance as well as the harvest festival during which the people expressed gratitude for rain and fertility and reflected on the law. Independent of V., S. MOWINCKEL later formulated and consistently developed an analogous conception (Yahweh's enthronement festival).

Finally, V. participated in the discussion of source criticism of the Pentateuch (1933; see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM). In investigating Genesis 15–36 he allowed for only one narrator, whom he called J, and claimed that the Elohist is a fiction, at best a supplementer and redactor of J's work. He also disputed the existence of a priestly narrative, regarding P as a work of legislation whose author here and there (e.g., in the flood story) revised earlier material.

Work: *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias* (1897); *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba* (1903; as *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* [1934²], repr. 1966); *Mose* (1907; as *Moses und sein Werk* [1932²]); *Der Geist Gottes und die verwandten Erscheinungen im Alten Testament und im anschliessenden Judentum* (1910); *Weisheit (Das Buch Hiob, Sprüche und Jesus Sirach, Prediger)* (SAT 3.2, 1911, 1921²); *Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes (Laubhüttenfest)* (SGV 67, 1912); *Die biblischen Altertümer* (1914, 1925²); *Der Prophet Jeremia* (1918, 1931³); *Studien zum Text des Jeremia* (BWANT 25, 1920); *Der Prophet Jeremia* (KAT 10, 1922, 1928²); *Das Dämonische in Jahwe* (SGV 110, 1924); *Jesaia II* (KAT 9, 1932); *Der Kampf um das Alte Testament* (1932, 1933²); (with W. Rudolph), *Der Elohist als Erzähler: Ein Irrweg der Pentateuchkritik?* (BZAW 63, 1933); *Der eschatologische Glaube im Alten Testament* (1935); *Prophetengestalten des Alten Testaments* (1938, 1944³, repr. 1949). Bibliography in "Das Alte Testament," *ThJber* 23 for 1903 (1904); 28 for 1908 (1909).

Bibliography: **J. Annandale,** "Die eliminering van die Elohis as symptoom van 'n nuwe benadering tot die Pentateugprobleem by V., Von Rad, en Van Seters" (diss., Universiteit van Suid-Afrika, 1984). *EKL* 4 (1961) 879. **H. Gunkel,** *RGG*² 5 (1931) 1715.

W. THIEL

VOS, GEERHARDUS (1862–1949)

Born Mar. 14, 1862, in Heerenveen, the Netherlands, where his father was a pastor, V. graduated from the theological school of the Christian Reformed Church in Grand Rapids, Michigan (1883). At Princeton Theological Seminary (1883–85) his thesis, "The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes," won him a fellowship to spend three years at the University of Berlin and at Strasbourg University, where he received a PhD (1888). After teaching at the theological school (now Calvin Theological Seminary) in Grand Rapids (1888–93), he accepted an appointment at Princeton to fill the newly created chair of biblical THEOLOGY, where he taught for the remainder of his career (1893–1931). Although these were turbulent years at Princeton, he apparently did not become deeply involved in the controversies. He died Aug. 13, 1949.

V. is best known for his contributions to biblical theology. He accepted the conservative Reformed theology of his colleagues at Princeton, rejecting the conclusions of critical scholars; but he investigated the Scriptures more from the historical perspective of biblical theology than from the dogmatic viewpoint of systematic theology. He defined his area of study (which, he thought, should be called the history of special revelation) as the science that "attempts . . . to exhibit the organic growth or development of the truths of Special Revelation from the primitive preredemptive

Special Revelation given in Eden to the close of the NT canon" (1948, preface). In his treatment he followed the biblical order (Eden, Noah, the patriarchs, Moses, etc.) and showed at each stage the developments in special revelation, which was designed to interpret the historical process of redemption. "Revelation is the interpretation of redemption. It must, therefore, unfold itself in installments as redemption does" (1948, 14).

V. also made a notable contribution to the study of PAUL's eschatology, arguing for its centrality to the apostle's thought. But he also anticipated later twentieth-century students of Paul by perceiving that in Paul's two-aeon view the new age was divided into the "world to come, realized in principle" (beginning with Jesus' resurrection) and, after the Second Coming, the "future age and world fully realized in solid existence" (1952, 38).

Works: *The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes* (1886); *Die Kämpfe und Streitigkeiten zwischen den banū 'umajja und den banū hāšim* (1888); *De verbonds leer in de Gereformeerde theologie* (1891); *The Teaching of Jesus Concerning the Kingdom of God and the Church* (1903); *Gereformeerde Dogmatiek* (3 vols. [typewritten], 1910); *The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit* (1912); *Grace and Glory: Sermons Preached in the Chapel of Princeton Theological Seminary* (1922); *The Self-disclosure of Jesus: The Modern Debate about the Messianic Consciousness* (1926, rev. ed. 1954); *The Pauline Eschatology* (1930, 1952); *Biblical Theology: Old and New Testaments* (1948); *Redemptive History and Biblical Interpretation: The Shorter Writings of G. V.* (ed. R. B. Gaffin, 1980).

Bibliography: **R. B. Gaffin,** "G. V. and the Interpretation of Paul," *Jerusalem and Athens* (ed. E. R. Geehan, 1971), 228-37; "Introduction," *Redemptive History and Biblical Interpretation: The Shorter Writings of G. V.* (ed. R. B. Gaffin, 1980) ix-xxiii. **J. F. Jansen,** "The Biblical Theology of G. V.," *PSB* 66 (1974) 23-34. **M. Noll,** *Between Faith and Criticism: Evangelicals, Scholarship, and the Bible in America* (1986) 55-56. **M. Taylor,** "The OT in the Old Princeton School" (diss., Yale University, 1988) 499-511. **J. G. Vanden Bosch,** *The Reformed Journal* 4 (1954) 11-14.

J. C. VANDERKAM

VOSSIUS (or VOSS), GERHARD JOHANNES (1577–1649)

Born near Heidelberg, Germany, V. moved to Holland at an early age and was left an orphan in 1585. He studied at Dort and Leiden. In 1599 he was made director of the College of Dort and in 1614 became director of the theological college at Leiden. Although he remained a Calvinist (see CALVIN), he was excommunicated by the Synod of Gouda in 1620 because he seemed to favor Arminianism (see ARMENIUS) in his *Historia Pelagiana.* Two years later he was restored to communion and appointed a professor at Leiden. He refused a position at Cambridge but in 1632 accepted a professorship of history at Amsterdam. He was befriended by Laud, who gave him a prebend at Canterbury even though he continued to live in Holland. V. died in Amsterdam, Mar. 19, 1649.

V. was internationally esteemed as a scholar, with students from England and France coming to Holland to study under him. One of the first writers to examine Christian theology and other religions from a historical point of view, he convincingly argued against the traditional authorship of the Apostles' and the Athanasian creeds. According to the *Journal de Trévoux* (January 1713, repr. 1968) 178-79, he was a man of great erudition, judgment, and integrity who worked slowly, formed his opinions on the basis of what he read, and attempted to penetrate the thought of the authors he cited. His works included treatises on grammar, rhetoric, etymology, and Greek and Latin historians and poets.

Works: *Historia Pelagiana, sive Historiae de Controversiis quas Pelagius eiusque Reliiquiae Moverunt Libri Septem* (1618); *De Historicis Graecis Libri Tres* (1624); *De Historicis Latinis Libri Tres* (1627); *De Theologia Gentili* (1642); *Aristarchus, sive de Arte Grammatica* (1662); *Etymologicum Linguae Latinae* (1662); *Dissertationes Tres de Tribus Symbolis, Apostolico, Athanasiano et Constantinapolitano* (1663); *Opera* (6 vols., 1695–1701).

Bibliography: **A. L. Katchen,** *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis* (1984). **Koldewey,** *ADB* 40 (1896) 370-72. *MSHH* 13 (1730) 92-127.

A. W. WAINWRIGHT

VOSSIUS (or VOSS), ISAAC (1618–89)

A biblical, patristic, and classical scholar, V. was born at Leiden in 1618, the seventh son of G. VOSSIUS, and was educated by his father and a private tutor. He was befriended by Queen Christina of Sweden and spent 1649–51 at her court in Stockholm but fell out of favor after entering into controversy with Salmasius (Saumaise). At one stage he received financial help from Louis XIV. Through the initiative of J. Pearson he moved to England in 1670, and in 1673 Charles II made him a canon of Windsor. A controversial figure, V. had a reputation for bawdiness and was thought to be a skeptic. Charles II is reputed to have said that V. would believe anything except what was in the Bible. V., who accumulated a very large library, died in England, Feb. 21, 1689.

V.'s main contribution to biblical studies was his work on the SEPTUAGINT and on biblical CHRONOLOGY based on the Septuagint, which led him into controversy with Horn and provoked adverse criticism from R. SIMON. V.

was the first person to publish an edition (known as "Vossian") of the seven genuine Ignatian epistles (see IGNATIUS), based on a manuscript in Florence and confirming views held by J. USSHER. V. wrote on a variety of scientific, classical, and theological subjects: the nature of light; the movement of winds; and the sources of rivers, especially the Nile. He produced an edition of Catullus, annotations to Juvenal's *Satires* and Pliny's *Natural History,* and also edited his father's works.

According to *Journal de Trévoux* 13 (January 1713, repr. 1968) 178-79, V. was remarkably different from his father. In the father, judgment ruled; in the son, imagination. While the father was a "man of integrity," the son was a "libertine in heart and spirit."

Works: *Epistolae Genuinae S. Ignatii Martyris* (1646); *Dissertatio de Vera Aetate Mundi, qua ostenditur natale mundi tempus annis minimum 1440 vulgarem aeram anticipare* (1659); *De Septuaginta Interpretibus eorumque Tralatione et Chronologia Dissertationes* (1661); *De Poematum Cantu et Viribus Rhythmi* (1673); *Variorum Observationum Liber* (1685).

Bibliography: **Koldewey,** *ADB* 40 (1896) 370-72. *MSHH* 13 (1730) 127-43. **T. Seccombe,** *DNB* 58 (1899) 392-96. **R. Simon,** *Opuscula critica adversus I. V.* (1685).

A. W. WAINWRIGHT

VRIEZEN, THEODORUS CHRISTIAAN (1899–1981)

A Dutch biblical scholar and Semitist, V. was born in Dinxperlo. He received his doctorate under the tutelage of H. Obbink at Utrecht in 1937 and was a teacher of religion at The Hague from 1929 to 1941. Professor of OT in the theological faculty at the University of Groningen from 1941 to 1956, V. occupied the equivalent chair at the University of Utrecht after 1956. He followed the true line of the Dutch Ethicals, who have had a firm hold in the twentieth century both in Groningen and Utrecht. Following a scientific method of biblical criticism, V. studiously avoided the historicism of the Leiden scholars. Of all Dutch HB scholars of the twentieth century, he has gained the greatest fame abroad, chiefly through his influential work on OT THEOLOGY, which has been favorably compared with the works of W. EICHRODT and G. von RAD. In Holland V. was also known as an influential supporter of the state of Israel and of Jewish-Christian dialogue.

Works: *Onderzoek naar de paradigjsvorstelling bij de oude Semietische volken* (1937); *Oud-Isarelietische geschriften* (1948); *An Outline of OT Theology* (1950; ET 1970[2]); (with J. H. Hospers), *Palestine Inscriptions* (1951); *Die Erwählung Israels nach dem Alten Testament* (1953); "Prophecy and Eschatology," *VTSup* 1 (1953) 199-229; "De ontwikkeling van het moderne Hebreeuws," *Medeleelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschapen, Afdeling Letterkunde* (1956); *De Literatuur van Oud-Israel* (1961); *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (1963; ET 1967).

Bibliography: **G. W. Anderson,** "Recent Biblical Theologies V.: T. C. V.'s Outline of OT Theology," *ExpTim* 73 (1961–62) 113-16. **R. E. Clements,** "T. C. V.: An Outline of OT Theology," *Contemporary OT Theologians* (ed. R. B. Laurin, 1970) 121-40. *Studia Biblica et Semitica, T. C. V. . . . dedicata* (1966) including bibliography of V.'s works (13-17).

S. J. DEVRIES

VULGATE

The history of the Latin Bible is surely one of the most complex histories of any Western text. Indeed, it is at least as much a history of the interaction of the intellectual currents carried forward by the dominant personalities and authorities of Christian history as it is of any one text type. Even the history of JEROME's work, which is commonly described as the "Vulgate," is complicated by the fact that Jerome did not edit the entire Bible: Some books were revised only slightly, others underwent multiple revisions, and still others he left entirely untouched in the OL. Beyond that, the contributions of CASSIODORUS, ISIDORE, the Irish, the Anglo-Saxons of Northumbria, Theodulf (c. 750–821), ALCUIN, and the anonymous stationers who compiled the Paris text in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, together with their "correctors," do not exist in independent exemplars but, rather, almost invariably in mixed text types in which many characteristics and readings are shared. This state of affairs is in no small measure due to the fact that the physical transmission of the text rarely took the form of a complete copy from a single-volume exemplar (pandect). Generally speaking, any given copy of the Bible would consist in a collection of codices, each containing a subset of the biblical CANON (Pentateuch, Gospels, Prophets, etc.). The quality and provenance of any one of these collections could conceivably be (and sometimes was) as heterogeneous as the textual tradition as a whole. Moreover, the project of the church in the first few centuries following Constantine was governed, not primarily by the canons of TEXTUAL CRITICISM, but rather by the needs of preachers and missionaries, who would choose the version of the text best suited to moral exhortation and the teaching of the faith.

1. The Starting Point: Jerome. Jerome, who served as secretary to Pope Damasus from 382 to 385, was charged by him with the revision of the Gospels. Prior to Jerome there had been no consistent version of the OL text, and yet it was the OL that had become enshrined in the liturgical use of the church. Consequently, his revision, which followed the most ancient Greek manuscripts available to him, was limited to correcting only those passages that departed from the meaning of the original Greek. Jerome may have extended this

revision to the balance of the NT, although there is evidence that suggests an anonymous reviser for this part of the Bible. Jerome also prepared at this time a revision of the OL psalter, corrected against its source, the SEPTUAGINT. Although this first revision of Psalms appears now to be lost, the Roman psalter, so-called by virtue of its popularity throughout Italy and with the papacy until modern times, is likely to be very close to Jerome's work. Following the death of Damasus in 384, Jerome settled in Palestine, where he undertook a revision of the OL TRANSLATION of the HB with the aid of ORIGEN's *Hexapla.* His most influential work of this period was his second revision of the psalter, called the Gallican probably through the influence of Gregory of Tours (538/39–94) and the significant number of manuscripts of it that derive from southern Gaul. (No doubt local liturgical custom later influenced Alcuin, who chose this version for his edition.) Jerome occasionally corrected the Latin against the Hebrew and added Origen's diacritical marks to note what was present in the Greek but not in the Hebrew and to note what had been added from the Hebrew in THEODOTION's version. In this stage of his work he also prepared revisions of Job, Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and probably the rest of the HB as well. But his studies, particularly of the Hebrew language, in which he had become proficient, led him ultimately to undertake a new translation from the *Hebraica veritas,* the Hebrew text from Genesis to Chronicles, including the Aramaic portions of Ezra and Daniel. Of the Apocrypha, he translated the Greek portions of Daniel and Esther as well as the Aramaic versions of Tobit and Judith. The deuterocanonical books, Wisdom, Sirach, the first two books of the Maccabees and Baruch, he left in their OL versions. This, then, is the version of the Latin Bible that came to be called the Vulgate in the sixteenth century.

2. Diffusion of Jerome's Text. The *editio vulgata* of Jerome's day was, of course, the OL version of the text; and it was only in the seventh century that Jerome's text began to dominate. Over the course of the next four hundred years, Jerome's version (especially in its better witnesses) spread from Italy and southern Gaul, refracted though liturgical use and through the authority of local versions (especially in Spain). We are fortunate that Cassiodorus described the nature of the Bibles he had with him at his monastery at Vivarium: a working copy of the OL text in nine volumes, the *Codex grandior* (brought to Northumbria by Ceolfrid at the beginning of the 8th cent.) containing Jerome's earlier hexaplaric revision of the HB, his revision of the Gospels and the balance of the NT in the OL, and a smaller one-volume Bible containing the Vulgate text throughout. It would seem that Cassiodorus restricted his editorial work to external features of the text and did not attempt a critical analysis of manuscript witnesses or textual traditions in the modern sense. His goal was to produce manuscripts of the sacred text that conformed to the most ancient and reliable witnesses, punctuated throughout by cola and commata, provided with chapter headings, and modified orthographically only rather modestly. The canons of the Latin language rarely if ever entered into the emendation of the text, and throughout the Middle Ages these guidelines dominated all attempts at improving the biblical text. Although Vivarium was destroyed not long after Cassiodorus's death, his library had an enduring influence through the cartloads of books that were sent from Vivarium to the Lateran palace in Rome.

The dissemination of the Vulgate text, however, had begun long before Cassiodorus. Even in Jerome's lifetime, scribes had come from Spain with the specific task of copying his work. The development of the early Spanish text is sometimes linked to Peregrinus, about whom little is known. The version of the text associated with his name shows the typical signs of additional material from the OL grafted into Jerome's Vulgate together with prefaces intended for Jerome's hexaplaric revision of other books. For his own part, the scholar and encyclopedist Isidore, bishop of Seville (c. 599–636), produced an edition of the text much closer to Jerome's original and followed more closely the canonical order of the Hebrew. But over the course of the seventh century, there inevitably arose a conflated "Peregrinus-Isidore" text type that dominated the Iberian peninsula and had some impact beyond it.

Spanish traditions found their way north of the Pyrenees perhaps most significantly in the person of Theodulf. Born and educated in northern Spain, he fled north from the Moors, taking his library with him. Late in the eighth century Charlemagne appointed him to the see at Orleans. The textual version associated with Theodulf follows Isidore's canon and exhibits prefatory material taken from Isidore and Peregrinus but follows essentially an Italian text type. Theodulf adopted Jerome's Hebrew psalter, and his work evidences corrections directly from the Hebrew. Unfortunately, his efforts to provide a rudimentary apparatus in the form of marginal notations of variant readings inevitably led in later manuscripts to the introduction of the variants into the text itself.

The influences that converged on Carolingian efforts to revise the biblical text came not only, or even principally, from Spain but, rather, from Italy by way of the north. Here again Hieronymean traditions jostled with the OL. Irish monks, whose presence was ubiquitous throughout Europe, often brought with them a mixed text, although a purer form of Jerome's text can be found in the *Book of Armagh* and in the *Book of Durrow* (both Gospel books). It is not impossible that the latter was produced at Iona, whence Irish monks established Lindisfarne, whose Gospels bear a close affinity to the *Codex Amiatinus* produced by Ceolfrid at Jarrow before

716 and modeled after, though not copied directly from, Cassiodorus' *Codex grandior.* The Northumbrian traditions, represented in the *Codex Amiatinus,* together with Irish traditions had spread to Europe by mid-century, as witnessed in the *Codex Fuldensis,* a missionary Bible left at Fulda by the Anglo-Saxon Boniface.

Augustine of Canterbury (d. 604) had brought from Rome a mixed text type, which by the time of Alcuin had reached Northumbria and together with the version represented by the *Codex Amiatinus* and the *Lindisfarne Gospels* became the basis of the text he used at Tours. Alcuin, who had received his education at York and had taken charge of Charlemagne's palace school at Aachen around 782, was abbot of St. Martin's at Tours from 796 until his death in 804; it was there that he produced a corrected text of the Bible and published it in a sumptuous presentation copy that Charlemagne had commissioned to present to the pope in 800. As with Cassiodorus, Alcuin's editorial goals were conservative, limited to punctuation, grammar, and orthography. But it was not strictly the quality of the text of Alcuin's Bible—rather poor at the beginning of the ninth century but improved over the decades—so much as the external circumstances surrounding its production that gave it prominence throughout the empire. Although not officially sponsored by the crown, by the end of the ninth century it had become the norm.

Up to this time, practical and sometimes pastoral concerns governed the correction of the textual tradition. But from Carolingian times down to the Renaissance, there was an increasing tendency to emend the text to harmonize it with the fathers. Already in the ninth century, and especially in the twelfth and thirteenth, the development of the Vulgate text was influenced by the growing authority of patristic authors, both in their use of Scripture and in their articulation of doctrine. With the ascendence of the GLOSSA ORDINARIA in the first half of the twelfth century and the appearance of the *Sentences* (1155–58) of PETER LOMBARD, the patristic witness that they marshaled made an impact on the copying of the Vulgate in subtle ways, especially as the stationers of Paris, who were largely responsible for the diffusion of the Paris text, were not governed by any particular form of the text. This is especially obvious in the case of the Gloss, where discrepancies between the reading of the biblical display text and the patristic usage in the marginal commentary would stand side by side on the same page. There were occasional attempts to purge the Vulgate text of accretions, especially among the early Cistercians. S. Harding (d. 1134) and N. Majacoria (d. 1145) represent this movement, but their efforts run counter to the general trend.

3. Corrections and Revisions of the Vulgate Text. The plethora of alternative readings, especially as found in the fathers, led to the publication of *correctoria* in the thirteenth century by both Dominicans and Franciscans, which generally suggested alternative Latin translations from the original languages and occasionally proposed variants from authoritative Latin manuscripts. This led to a confusion that some scholars, like R. BACON, complained was worse than the problem the correctors sought to remedy. This intensified interest in the biblical text also led to the production of such aids for study as CONCORDANCES, the first of which was produced at the Dominican convent of St. Jacques in Paris under the direction of HUGH OF ST. CHER, and standardized chapter divisions (c. 1225), which go back to S. LANGTON.

Under the stimulus of the philological advances of the fifteenth century, the impulse to correct the Vulgate text against the Hebrew and Greek intensified. But as confessional lines hardened in the sixteenth century, this approach became untenable for the Roman Catholic Church. And with the decree of Trent that only the Vulgate was to be used in public reading, disputations, and sermons (1546), the efforts of several scholars to produce new translations from the original languages were circumscribed. Yet the attempts to produce a corrected, scholarly edition of the Vulgate also met with considerable resistance. Between 1528 and 1540 R. Estienne produced under royal privilege (but with the opprobrium of many Paris theologians) three editions based increasingly on manuscript witnesses. (In a later edition [1555] he introduced the verse divisions still in use). The official revision of the Vulgate was finally undertaken by the Dominican Henten at Louvain based on Estienne's 1540 edition and was published at Antwerp in 1547. A revision of this Louvain Bible by A. Montanus was published in 1574. But it was only at the instigation of Sixtus V that yet another edition was prepared, this time at Rome, to be published at the Vatican in 1590 together with the papal injunction that no other edition was to be used. Yet its errors were sufficiently numerous that shortly after Sixtus's death the copies of the 1590 edition were recalled and a corrected edition was prepared under the impetus of R. BELLARMINE and published in 1592 under the name of Sixtus but in the pontificate of Clement VIII. Until the late nineteenth century this Sixto-Clementine edition was the only edition of the Vulgate in official public use.

4. Critical Editions and New Translations. With the advent of new photographic technologies and the stimulus they gave to other arenas of textual research, not to mention the unending attempts over the centuries to produce new and improved Latin translations of the Bible, Pope Pius X established a commission in 1907 to produce a critical edition of the Vulgate. The first fascicle appeared in 1926 under the direction of H. Quentin (1872–1935); and the last, only in 1995. Concomittantly in 1969 there appeared from

the Württembergische Bibelanstalt a new version (now in its 3rd ed.) under the direction of Weber, B. Fischer, and J. Gribomont together with an ecumenical team of scholars that was, rather than simply the Clementine text with variants, an edition based on a substantial number of witnesses and closely paralleling the critical edition.

While this work on the Vulgate was proceeding, new Latin translations of various parts of the Bible began to be authorized and put into circulation, with the aim of emending obscurities and barbarisms. This development culminated in the the promulgation in 1969 of a *Biblia vulgata nova* under the direction of Cardinal Bea. Completed in 1977, this new Latin version should not be confused with the critical edition of the Vulgate. The twentieth century has also seen the undertaking of a critical edition of the OL Bible, the *Vetus Latina,* in many ways a much more difficult task, since it does not owe its origin to a single author, as does so much of the Vulgate. Publications associated with the *Vetus Latina* began to appear in 1949 under the editorship of B. Fischer and will continue well into the twenty-first century.

Editions: *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem, cura et studio monachorum Abbatiae pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in Urbe O.S.B. edita* 1-18 (1926–95); *Vetus Latina* (1949–); *Biblia vulgata nova* (1969–77); *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem* (ed. B. Fischer, 1983[3]).

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M. A. ZIER

W

WALAFRID STRABO (STRABUS = THE SQUINTER) (c. 808–49)

A theological writer and poet of the Carolingian age, W. was a Swabian of humble birth. He received his education at the abbey of Richenau under the monks Tatto, Wetti, and Grimald. Sent to Fulda soon after 825, he studied under RABANUS MAURUS and served at the court of Louis the Pious (829–38) as educator of the future king, Charles the Bald. He returned to Richenau in 838 as its abbot, was briefly exiled in 840/41, and died Aug. 18, 849, while on a political mission to King Charles in France.

W. was a precocious student, an accomplished Latin stylist at an early age, and one of the best poets of the period. A personal notebook (Cod. Sangall. 878) with entries from his teenage years onward reveals a warm, sensitive personality and a brilliant, creative mind. His poems, many of them styled as letters, his lives of saints in verse and prose, his Dantesque *Visio Wettini,* and the famous *Hortulus* (*Liber de cultura hortorum,* a description of his abbatial garden and its plants) witness to his versatility as a writer.

W.'s theological works include a handbook of liturgical customs, *De exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum.* The exegetical works, most of them from his earlier years, are less original. He produced an abbreviated version of Rabanus's commentary on the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), which enjoyed considerable success, a thorough digest of AUGUSTINE and of CASSIODORUS on the psalter, an interpretation of the catholic epistles excerpted mainly from BEDE, and some short poems on biblical themes. Of the extensive early High German biblical glosses of the ninth century, probably only a few notes in Cod. Sangall. 283 (Rabanus on the Pentateuch) are his. His abbreviation of Rabanus was used in the GLOSSA ORDINARIA on Genesis and Exodus, but W.'s alleged authorship of the *Glossa ordinaria* as a whole or at least of its marginal gloss is a later suggestion first advanced by J. Trithemius in his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (1494).

Works: *PL* 113-14; *MGH.PL* 2 (1884) 259-423 (poetic works); *MGH.L* 2, 2 (1897) 280-337 (*De exordiis*).

Bibliography: **B. Bischoff,** "Eine Sammelhandschrift W. S.s (Cod. Sangall. 878)," *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2 (1967) 34-51. **J. de Blic,** "L'oeuvre exégètique de W. S. et la glosse ordinaire," *RTAM* 16 (1949) 5-28. **M. Brooke,** "The Prose and Verse Hagiography of W. S.," *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious* (ed. P. Godman and R. Collins, 1990) 551-64. **F. Brunhölzl,** *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 1 (1975) 345-58, 557-59. **K. Froehlich,** "W. S. and the *Glossa Ordinaria:* The Making of a Myth," *StPatr* 28 (1993) 192-96. **A. Önnerfors,** "Über W. S.s Psalter-Kommentar," *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter* (ed. A. Önnerfors et al., 1973) 75-121 (with texts); "W. S. als Dichter," *Die Abtei Richenau: Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters* (ed. H. Maurer, 1974) 83-113. **D. A. Traill,** *W. S.'s "Visio Wettini": Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters, 2, 1974).

K. FROEHLICH

WALLIS, LOUIS (1876–d. after 1950)

Educated at Ohio Medical University (1895–1900) and the University of Chicago (1909–14), W. held only an academic post as lecturer in sociology and economics at Ohio State University (1908–9). He was a freelance author and lecturer and served for many years as the executive secretary of the J. A. Fels Foundation.

W. is often referred to as a pioneer of sociological study of the Bible (see SOCIOLOGY AND HB STUDIES), particularly the HB. Three of his many writings (1912, 1935, 1942) are esssentially one thesis in three books; the major theme, refined and expanded, remains the same. He maintained that the biblical view of God and of religion emerged from the interaction of belief with the social process that affected it and was in turn influenced by it. Some critics have maintained that his conclusions are a form of sociological reductionism; but however close he may have come to this position at times, he always returned to the transcendental implications of a universe dominated by unfolding moral purposes.

Writing when sociological method was in its nascent stage, W. understandably often drew specious conclusions. He paid little overt attention to the critical biblical scholarship of his day, much of which would have supported his intuitive judgments. In particular, his view of the settlement in Canaan has become a commonplace of contemporary scholarship, although his contribution is seldom mentioned in the literature. His insights warrant reexamination in the sociological study of the Bible.

Works: "The Capitalization of Social Development," *AJS* 7 (1902) 763-96; *An Examination of Society* (1903); *Egoism: A Study in the Social Premises of Religion* (1905); *A Sociology Study of the Bible* (1912); *The Struggle for Justice* (1916); *By the Waters of Babylon: A Story of Ancient Israel* (1931); *God and the Social Process: A Study in Hebrew History* (1935); *The Bible Is Human: A Study in Secular History* (1942); *The Bible and Modern Belief* (1949); *Young People's Hebrew History* (1953).

Bibliography: **L. Epsztein,** *Social Justice in the Ancient Near East and the People of the Bible* (1983; ET 1984, 1986) 54-57. **F. Hahn,** *The OT in Modern Research* (1956) 173-76. **H. G. May,** "A Sociological Approach to Hebrew Religion," *JBR* 12 (1944) 98-106.

J. F. PRIEST

WALWYN, WILLIAM (1600–1680)

A religious radical, a spokesman for extreme religious toleration, and a Leveller, W. was a successful London merchant whose mother was the daughter of a bishop. He was an active debater in London churches during the 1640s and published works advocating a near complete religious toleration. In the late 1640s after becoming associated with the Leveller movement, he was imprisoned as one of its more prominent figures. He advocated legal and trade reforms in the 1650s but from 1654 onward practiced and published as a physician.

In a remarkable, not yet fully appreciated way, W. merged a secular skepticism derived from classical texts and from Montaigne with a religious radicalism that is part antinomian and part "left" Arminian (see ARMINIUS). He doubted, or is said to have doubted, scriptural infallibility and certainly emphasized the experience of the Spirit over the letter of the Scriptures. For this reason he disapproved of laborious biblical commentary and elaborate, formalistic scriptural interpretation in sermons.

W. was consistently misunderstood: "I have been most uncharitably slandered to deny the Scriptures to be the word of God, because I have opposed insufficient arguments produced to prove them such." Equally, although he made public profession of his belief that the Bible is the Word of God, there is no surviving evidence of his private beliefs, which may not have been so affirmative. His importance was in encouraging, as part of his critique of orthodox Puritanism and its ethics, a probing of the defenses of scriptural fundamentalism without rejecting the "comforts" of Bible reading under the auspices of the Spirit.

Works: *Divine Right and Democracy: An Anthology of Political Writing* (ed. D. Wootton, 1987); *The Writings of W. W.* (ed. J. R. McMichael and B. Taft, 1989).

Bibliography: **H. N. Brailsford,** *The Levellers and the English Revolution* (1961). **J. McGregor and B. Reay** (eds.), "The Levellers and Religion," *Radical Religion* (1984) 65-90. **L. Mulligan,** "The Religious Roots of W. W.'s Radicalism," *JRH* 12 (1982) 162-79. **N. Smith,** "The Charge of Atheism and the Language of Radical Speculation, 1640–80," *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (ed. M. Hunter and D. Wootton, 1992).

N. SMITH

WARBURTON, WILLIAM (1698–1779)

Although educated in law, W. chose a career in the Church of England, was ordained in 1727, and became bishop of Gloucester in 1759. His importance for biblical studies comes from his massive and controversial *The Divine Legation of Moses,* most of which was published in 1737–41; a ninth book appeared posthumously in 1788. An eccentric defense of Christianity against Deists (see DEISM) and skeptics, replete with arcane learning and shrill polemics, it emphasized such matters of importance for biblical studies as the theocratic nature of ancient Israelite polity (which W. thought did not end with the judges but continued to NT times), the absence from the HB of a developed notion of immortality with rewards and punishments (which W. held proved God's guidance of ancient Israel, since no people could long survive without a belief in divine judgment in the afterlife to buttress morality), and the alphabetical and linguistic rather than mystical character of Egyptian hieroglyphics (see EGYPTOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES). W. was one of the first to advocate that hieroglyphics were not intended to conceal secrets. The section dealing with this subject was translated into French and published as *Essay sur les Hierglyphes* (1744). He studied the Bible in the context of the religious and philosophical world contemporary with it.

Works: *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated* (4 vols., repr. 1978); *Works* (12 vols. ed. with a life of the author by R. Hurd, 1811).

Bibliography: **A. W. Evans,** *Warburton and the Warburtonians* (1932). **L. Stephen,** *DNB* 59 (1899) 301-11; *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* 1 (1902) 292-315. **S. Taylor,** "W. W. and the Alliance of Church and State," *JEH* 43 (1992) 271-86.

D. D. WALLACE, JR.

WARFIELD, BENJAMIN BRECKENRIDGE (1851–1921)

Born near Lexington, Kentucky, Nov. 5, 1851, to devout Presbyterian parents, W. was educated at the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) and at Princeton Seminary (1871, 1876). After a study trip to Europe (Leipzig, 1876–77) and a brief pastorate (1877–78), he became professor of NT at Western Semi-

nary in Pennsylvania (1878–87). His inaugural address concerned the INSPIRATION of the NT in light of philosophical and historical criticism. Later he moved to Princeton Seminary, where he taught for over thirty years (1887–1921). He died Feb. 17, 1921, in Princeton.

W.'s title at Princeton was professor of didactic and polemical theology, which appropriately defined his own sense of vocation. He was a proponent of the "old Princeton theology" and defended a strictly confessional Calvinism (see CALVIN) vigorously in the face of perceived rationalistic criticism tempting scholar and layperson alike to abandon orthodox Christianity. He served as editor of *PresR* (1890–1903) and during his distinguished career wrote hundreds of articles and reviews, ranging from scientific and philosophical trends through the traditional theological disciplines of biblical studies, church history, and theology, many of which have been reprinted several times since his death.

Although a prolific writer, W. wrote neither a biblical commentary nor a text in theology, apparently regarding C. HODGE's systematic theology as a definitive text in the latter category. He spent most of his efforts in biblical studies in defending the theory of biblical infallibility and AUTHORITY rather than on sustained exposition of the texts. His shorter expositions display his exegetical skill, and it is unfortunate that he produced no sustained commentary on a biblical book.

The key to W.'s work is summed up in his introduction to his book on biblical authority and inspiration (1948): "There is the exegetical evidence that the doctrine held . . . by the Church is held by the biblical writers themselves. . . . There is the whole mass of evidence—internal and external, objective and subjective, historical and philosophical, human and divine—which goes to show that the biblical writers are trustworthy as doctrinal guides" (1948, 174). Defense of this position was his life's work.

Augustinian (see AUGUSTINE) in approach, W. was convinced that the Westminster Confession and Standards contained the essential system of doctrine taught in Scripture. Yet the great debates of his day forced him to offer a reasoned defense of orthodoxy based on an inductive assessment of evidence (what he called "the facts"). He was no foe of higher criticism as such and believed that "the facts," correctly interpreted, supported orthodox Christianity. Increasingly, however, he argued that a rationalistic, antisupernaturalistic bias influenced many historical critics so that they moved deductively from presuppositions in conflict with his own view that the Bible contained an infallible system of revealed truth. This approach has occasioned debate among scholars, some of whom have seen in his efforts the assumption of an inductive scientific method that can be objective in dealing with truth claims (perhaps an assumption inherited from the theology of the old Princeton school in its dependence on the philosophy of Scottish realism). Other scholars have seen in his arguments an attempt to demonstrate that human experience and the claims of theology cohere most consistently in a Calvinistic worldview (what he would call the necessary interrelationship between facts and doctrine).

During W.'s lifetime the Presbyterian Church held ecclesiastical trials concerning the theological views of some of its seminary professors. W. did not resort to personal vendetta, but he did seek to draw the lines sharply between historic Christianity (which he saw himself defending) and the views of such scholars as H. P. SMITH and C. BRIGGS.

Works: *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the NT* (1886); *Works*, vol. 1, *Revelation and Inspiration* (1927); vol. 2, *Biblical Doctrines* (1929); vol. 3, *Christology and Criticism* (1931); *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible* (1948); *Biblical and Theological Studies* (1952).

Bibliography: **W. A. Hoeffecker,** *Reformed Theology in America: A History of Its Modern Development* (ed. D. F. Wells, 1985) 60-86. **M. A. Knoll,** *The Princeton Theology, 1812–1921* (1983) 239-307 (with full bibliographical listings). **A. N. S. Lane,** "B. B. W. on the Humanity of Scripture," *Vox Evangelica* 16 (1986) 77-94. **T. P. Letis,** "B. B. W.: Commonsense Philosophy and Biblical Criticism," *American Presbyterian* 69 (1991) 175-90. **J. S. McClanahan,** "B. B. W.: Historian of Doctrine in Defense of Orthodoxy, 1881–1921," *Affirmation* 6 (1993) 89-111.

J. A. DEARMAN

WARREN, CHARLES (1840–1927)

Born Feb. 7, 1840, the son of Major-General Sir Charles Warren, W. was educated at Cheltenham College, Sandhurst, and Woolwich and joined the royal engineers in 1857. For the next half-century he distinguished himself as an engineer and soldier, serving in Europe, Africa, Palestine, and the Far East. He died Jan. 21, 1927.

W.'s major contributions to the field of biblical studies were through his archaeological explorations (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES). From 1867 to 1870 the royal engineers lent him to the PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND for survey work. He was commissioned to determine the locations in Jerusalem of the ancient Jewish Temple, the three defensive walls mentioned by JOSEPHUS, the city of David, Herod's palace, the Antonia, and the tomb of JESUS. In spite of official Ottoman resistance and a lack of adequate financial support by the fund (W. said that it should be called the "Debt"), he set about his work with courage, determination, and resourcefulness. Using his training in military mining he sank a series of shafts and ran tunnels from them to explore the extent of the ancient masonry around the

Haram esh-Sherif. At the southeastern corner he found a wall that he followed for eight hundred feet to the southwest, concluding that it had enclosed part of the ancient city. He also examined the Dome of the Rock and the nearby cisterns and in the Tyropoean Valley found what has come to be known as Hezekiah's Tunnel. On the east his explorations uncovered a wall, a water shaft that ran from the city of David to the Gihon Spring ("Warren's Shaft"), and an ancient Hebrew seal inscribed with the name "Haggai." W. also explored the Judean desert, the Dead Sea region, and Masada, becoming the first European in modern times to ascend the mountain fortress by way of the snake path on the eastern side. He also played an important role in the recovery of the fragments of the Moabite Stone.

Since archaeological techniques of his day were still primitive, the pottery and walls that W. uncovered could not be dated accurately. Consequently, his excavations sometimes revealed little more than the depth of the debris around the Temple Mount; however, he preserved and registered every object he uncovered—a new departure at that time. His interpretations of archaeological data were often in error (e.g., he assigned the Herodian walls of the Temple Mount to Solomon and the Maccabean fortress at Tell el-Ful to the Crusaders). W. was able, however, to disprove J. Ferguson's widely circulated theory that the Dome of the Rock was the original Church of the Holy Sepulchre and that Solomon's Temple was located at the southwestern corner of the *Haram esh-Sherif.* W. had little interest in biblical criticism per se; his views in that area were traditional, and he believed that the archaeological investigation of Palestine supported the Christian faith.

Works: (with C. W. Wilson), *The Recovery of Jerusalem* (1871); "Orientation of Ancient Temples and Places of Worship," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4 (1876) 188-230; *Underground Jerusalem* (1876); "Lydda and Ramleh" and "Philistia," *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai, and Egypt* 3 (1880) 145-48, 149-66; *The Temple or the Tomb* (1880); *Plans, Elevations, Sections, etc., Showing the Results of the Excavations at Jerusalem, 1867–70* (1884); (with C. R. Conder), *The Survey of Western Palestine* (1884); *The Ancient Cubit and Our Weights and Measures* (1903); *The Holy Land and How a Knowledge of It Helps to Confirm Our Faith* (1905); *The Early Weights and Measures of Mankind* (1913).

Bibliography: **R. W. A. Onslow,** *DNB, 1922–30* (1937) 889-91.

M. P. GRAHAM

WEBER, MAX (1864–1920)

W. was born Apr. 21, 1864. From 1869 the family lived in Berlin, where his father was a successful politician among right-wing liberals; his mother, a woman of pious and humanitarian concerns, was of Calvinistic extraction (see CALVIN). W. attended the University of Heidelberg in 1882 and the universities of Berlin and Göttingen. Having taken his law examinations in 1886, he became *Privatdozent* at Berlin and professor of economics at Freiburg (1894), returning to Heidelberg in 1896. With the onset of illness in 1897 he ceased regular academic duties. His gradual recovery from 1901 onward enabled him to return to scholarly work, and in 1903 he became associate editor of the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik.* In the summer of 1918 he gave a series of lectures at the University of Vienna on "a positive critique of the materialist conception of history." He accepted a professorship at Munich in 1919 but contracted influenza and died there June 14, 1920.

W. created no comprehensive philosophical or sociological system, and his work cannot be summarized in a generalizing way as can that of K. Marx or E. Durkheim. Rather, he contributed significantly to a wide variety of economic, social, and historical questions; and here his influence remains pervasive. His SOCIOLOGY is distinct in being concerned, not with society as a given entity, but with individuals and groups who act in it and, through their subjective interpretations of reality, create it.

Insofar as he saw society as a balance between opposing groups acting on the basis of their own material and ideal interests, W. may be classified with Marx as a conflict theorist. Moreover, his rejection of historical materialism, particularly well known from *The Protestant Ethic* (ET 1930), is, in part at least, a disagreement with a vulgar Marxism rather than with Marx himself; like Marx, W. allowed for the causative influence of material as well as ideal factors in historical events and social formations. However, W. rejected Marx's determinism; what he adopted from the Marxist analysis of society he considerably refined, especially by introducing the concept of "status group." Unlike class, which is economically determined, the status group is a community bound together by shared ideas as well as by material interests. Through this concept W. allowed for the formative influence of ideas in the creation of social groups without assigning absolute priority to either ideal or material causes.

The other side of W.'s work is his analysis of the phenomenon of authority in which, as in his study of social formations, he constructed "ideal types" as models through which the particular tendencies of actual historical manifestations of authority might be understood. Society is comprehended through an analysis of social structure and authority in terms of its charismatic, traditional, and legal types. Both come together in his historical reconstruction *Ancient Judaism* (originally published as journal articles in 1917–19), a study that reflects many typical Weberian concepts and ideas.

W. approached Judaism, as he did other religious institutions, through the concept of the status group. When the typical characteristics of the status group are carried to their fullest extent, they result in a closed caste in which the group is segregated by ritual, conventional, and legal restrictions. The postexilic Jewish community is considered such a group. Because of its social and political disprivilege and its economic distinctiveness, it may be further characterized as a pariah people.

In W.'s description, Israel originated in the social context of different mutually antagonistic social structures in Palestine, of which the most relevant types are the city dweller, the peasant farmer, and the semi-nomad. Identified totally with none of these types, Israel must be seen to have originated in the creation of a new order that overcame the divisions of existing social structures. The HB law codes reflect the diversity and instability of Israel's social composition and were drawn up to meet the social tensions and antagonisms in Israelite society. At the same time, these law codes with their increasingly theological elaboration also indicate the foundation on which Israel's existence lay, i.e., the covenant relationship that bound different social groups together in union with Yahweh. Israel's breakthrough to a new order is not to be explained in historical-materialist terms but "was determined by quite concrete religious-historical and often highly personal circumstances and vicissitudes" (1952, 80).

This presentation of the basic role of religion in Israel's foundation is consistent with W.'s general understanding of the contribution of religion to social change. Such change represents a breakthrough within an ongoing historical process of "rationalization," and its agent is the charismatic. The new view introduced by the charismatic is "routinized" by his followers in the creation of law and institutions for the life of the new society. This pattern describes both the origin of Israel and its history up to the emergence of the pariah people. The process in Israel was much influenced by the geographical position of Palestine on the periphery of great powers and by the fact that Palestine is not a homogeneous geographical area within which total control by state bureaucracy was possible. Thus, at a time of crisis in world politics, free religious prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) could arise with questions to put to their situation. Drawing on the old covenant ethic handed down by levitical teachers, these prophets represented a charismatic breakthrough to new religious perceptions. Their ethical teaching with its emphasis on humility and absolute obedience as the only mode of relationship to God was routinized in the teaching of the priests and led to the emergence of the postexilic pariah community.

Works: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* 1–3 (1920–21); *Gesammelte politische Schriften* (1921); *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (1922); *Gesammelte Aufstäze zur Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1924); *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Soziologie und Sozialpolitik* (1924); *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (ET 1930); *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (ET 1947); *From M. W.: Essays in Sociology* (ET, ed. H. H. Gerth and G. W. Mills, 1946); *M. W. on the Methodology of the Social Sciences* (ET 1949); *Ancient Judaism* (ET 1952); *The Sociology of Religion* (ET 1963); *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* 1–3 (1968).

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A. D. H. MAYES

WEINEL, HEINRICH (1874–1936)

Born Apr. 29, 1874, in Vonhausen (Hesse), W. studied Protestant theology at Giessen and at Berlin, where he was decisively influenced by Ritschlianism (see A. RITSCHL) and history-of-religion teachers (see RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE). After completing his inaugural dissertation in NT studies in 1899 in Berlin, he became a *Dozent* and inspector in the Protestant theological seminary in Bonn (1900) and was appointed to the faculty in Jena in NT (1904), changing to systematic theology in 1925. He died Sept. 29, 1936.

W. was a representative of the controversial "modern" critical theology that sought to make its findings accessible to laypersons in order to win them to a "true Christianity" corresponding to JESUS' ideal of discipleship. This goal is reflected in many of W.'s popular treatises and publications. He left an impression both through his writing and through his piety and concern for social and peace-related issues.

As an NT scholar W. sought to combine Ritschlian concerns and history-of-religions research, viewing Christianity in a rigorous and consistent fashion as a religion (1906, 1911, 1928[4]). He understood theology as the "ordering of experienced human ideals into a methodically organized world view" and as the "discussion between the religious inner life and the current world view" consciously open to the latest scientific methodologies. Religion concerns the inner life, but W. distinguished between "passive religion" (the feeling of infinity and of the mysteriously living element within and around us) and "actual religion" (the driving force of our lives). He extracted the following morphology of religion from factual elements of historical religions, including Christianity: faith in God, valuation of the world, ethos or conscious ideals of human beings and human community, and the relationships between these various characteristics. He also distinguished between lower (polytheistic) and higher (monotheistic) religions. The religion of salvation (defined as the overcoming of suffering and guilt) is considered the highest religion.

Thus NT THEOLOGY, emphatically oriented toward the Bible (not toward dogmatic doctrinal concepts), is conceived as the comparison of Christianity with other religions for the sake of revealing its essence. In the process, Jesus is revealed as the bringer of the ethical religion of salvation (a view relativizing any NT tendency toward an eschatological religion of salvation and rejecting signs of a mystical, aesthetic-sacramental religion of salvation), and the essential concern of the NT is revealed as "ethical life in God in his saving power" (see A. von Harnack [1912] 177). Jesus' uniqueness is his faith—determined by steadfast expectation of the coming of the kingdom of God—in knowing the will of God and God's demands on human beings. As an example of life "full of the power of conscious humanity," Jesus brought a new ethos: the conviction that human beings, with faith in a Father in heaven, can be pure in heart and even love their enemies. Yet even PAUL departed from this ethos and, by accommodating it to customary notions, altered it.

W.'s interpretation of the NT as the expression of an "empathetic re-experience" found no direct heirs. It was, however, a striking attempt to inquire intensively into the specific elements of NT concerns and to articulate those concerns in appropriate categories, although the categories and the criteria chosen are problematical and limit W.'s significance as an NT interpreter.

Works: *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapostolischen Zeitalter bis auf Irenäus* (1899); *Die Bildersprache Jesu in ihrere Bedeutung für die Erforschung seines inneren Lebens* (1900); "Die Gleichnisse Jesu: Zugleich eine Anleitung zu einem quellenmässigen Verständnis der Evangelien," *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt* 46 (1904, 1929[5]); *Jesus im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* 1904, 1914[3]); "Paulus, Der Mensch und sein Werk: Die Anfänge des Christentums, der Kirche, und des Dogmas," *Lebensfragen* 3 (1904, 1915[2]); "Die moderne Theologie," *Deutsche Monatsschrift für das gesamte Leben der Gegenwart* 6 (1906) 173-83; "Ibsen, Björnson, Nietzsche: Individualismus und Christentum," *Lebensfragen* 20 (1908); *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments: Die Religion Jesu und des Urchristentums* (1911, 1928[4]); "Jesus," *Die Klassiker der Religion* 1 (1912); "Die Bergpredigt: Ihr Aufbau, ihr ursprünglicher Sinn und ihre Echtheit, ihre Stellung in der Religionsgeschichte, und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart," *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt* 710 (1920).

Bibliography: **W. Bousset,** "W., H.: Biblische Theologie des NT," *TLZ* 36 (1912) 325-32. **A. von Harnack,** "W.s *Biblische Theologie des NT*," *ChW* 26 (1912) 177-79. **K. Heussi,** *Geschichte der Theologischen Fakultät zu Jena* (1954). **H. Räisänen,** *Beyond NT Theology* (1990) 20-21. **K. Steiner,** "H. W.s Jesusbild" (diss., Jena, 1971), with bibliography; "H. W. zum 60. Geburtstag," *Freie Volkskirche* 9 (1934) 71-84.

C. BERGER

WEISER, ARTUR (1893–1978)

W. was born Nov. 18, 1893, in Karlsruhe, Germany, and in 1922 completed his habilitation in OT at the University of Heidelberg under G. Beer. He taught there as a *Privatdozent* and after 1928 as an *ausserordentlicher* professor, at the same time serving as pastor of the Baden Landeskirche in Gaiberg. In 1930 he accepted a call as OT professor at Tübingen, where he taught until his retirement in 1962. He died Aug. 5, 1978.

In W.'s early years his research focused on the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB). He stressed that every prophet is to be considered for his own sake and each prophetic book understood individually in order to highlight the distinctive quality of the prophet's religious thought. For W., prophets were more men of words than of the text, since their words resulted from the living events of their time and could only be understood through history. W. developed this picture of the prophets in his still influential work on Amos (1929) as well as in his commentaries on Jeremiah and on the Minor Prophets in the ATD series.

In addition to the prophets, W. worked intensely on TRADITION- and cultic-historical research on Psalms. He pursued his interest along the lines of P. VOLZ and S. MOWINCKEL, emphasizing the development of traditions brought to light in the psalms and in the history of the HB cult that preserved these traditions. The cult was for

him the foundation of HB psalm POETRY: The majority of the psalms derive from the festival cults of the tribal confederation, integrally connected with the Yahweh covenant festival observed at the autumn new year. W. described this festival as a sacred, continually repeated meeting of God (*actio dei*) with his people (*reactio hominum*), with the aim of renewing the Sinai covenant. At its center stood the celebration of God's theophany involving God's self-predication, recapitulation of salvation history, declaration of God's will, acts of covenant renewal, renunciation of foreign gods, and judgment on Israel and on foreign nations (see W.'s Psalms commentary).

W. was always interested in theological questions regarding the HB, especially in questions concerning the relationship of faith and history. He stressed that history influences the formation of faith and that faith must be recognized as a historically formative factor. History is inconceivable without an all-encompassing faith in God because such faith invests the events at their very outset with meaning and connection. The major elements of the HB conception of history are confidence in the historical rule of God, in election, and in covenant as well as in the law. W. understood the theological significance of the HB only from the foundation of historical-critical work, to which he assigned the tasks both of understanding the development of faith in light of its historical background and making God's word accessible. For him, historical-critical work on the HB was possible only within the church because theological understanding is by necessity grounded in faith.

In his later years W. turned his attention to the early history of Israel; his investigation of Samuel is most noteworthy (1962). He understood Samuel as a mediator between the people and God whose task was to unite the people's desire for a king, which grew out of historical necessity, with the axiom of Yahweh's exclusive reign. The crowning glory of Samuel's work was the successful incorporation of the Israelite monarchy into the framework of the traditional Yahwistic faith.

Works: *Die Bedeutung des Alten Testments für den Religionsunterricht* (1925); *Religion und Sittlichkeit der Genesis in ihrem Verhältnis zur alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (1928); *Die Profetie des Amos* (BZAW 53, 1929); *Glaube und Geschichte im Alten Testament* (BWANT 4, 1931); *Die Psalmen* (ATD 14.15, 1935, 1979[9]; ET, OTL, 1962); *Die theologische Aufgabe der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft* (1935); *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1939; ET, *Introduction to the OT* [1961]); *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten* 1 (ATD 24, 1949, 1979[7]); *Klagelieder* (ATD 24, 1949); *Das Buch Hiob* (ATD 13, 1951, 1980[7]); *Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia* (ATD 20.21, 1, 1951, 1981[8]; 2, 1955, 1982[7]); *Glaube und Geschichte im Alten Testament und andere ausgewählte Schriften* (1961); *Samuel* (FRLANT 81, 1962).

Bibliography: **O. Kaiser,** *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1984[5]). **A. S. Kapelrud,** *NTT* 80 (1979) 1:55. **H.-J. Kraus,** *GHKEAT.* **E. Würthwein,** "Amos Studien," *Wort und Existenz* (1970) 68-110. **E. Würthwein and O. Kaiser** (eds.), *Tradition and Situation: Studien zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie. A. W. zum 70. Gerburtstag am 18.11.1963* (1963).

H.-D. NEEF

WEISS, BERNHARD (1827–1918)

Born in Königsberg, Germany, in 1827, W. was educated at the universities of Königsberg, Halle, and Berlin and in 1852 became *Dozent* at Königsberg, where in 1857 he was promoted to *ausserordentlicher* professor in NT. He later served as professor of NT at Keil (1863–77) and Berlin (1877–1908).

W. was a transitional figure in German NT studies, aware of and committed to critical-historical exegesis but advocating the historical veracity of the NT and the reliability of traditional claims of authorship paralleling those of orthodox ecclesial authorities. This perspective is seen in his attitude toward the Tübingen school. Although he was extremely critical of the historical decisions proposed by F. C. BAUR and the school, which he perceived as unnecessarily radical, W. recognized that Baur correctly understood NT studies as an essentially historical enterprise and concurred in maintaining that biblical THEOLOGY should be a consistently historical discipline: Conditioned by their authors and by the historical circumstances in which they were written, biblical materials resulted from forces operative within the emerging church. Thus the unity of the NT could be found, not in a basic and universally accepted orthodoxy, but in the diverse expressions of God's saving action expressed through JESUS. Although W.'s construction was not as radical as Baur's, it shows by its reliance on historical analysis and reconstructed history that he followed the Tübingen school in method if not in detail.

Moreover, following J. P. GABLER, W. argued that biblical theology should be a scientific representation of the ideas and doctrines of the NT and not simply a compendium of its texts. Therefore, biblical theology could not allow dogmatic theology to control either its process or its findings. By asserting its independence, biblical theology demonstrated the varied nature of the NT expressions, allowing them to come to the fore and avoiding the unifying procedures that plagued most efforts controlled by dogmatic categories.

W. was an extremely prolific author, publishing commentaries on the Gospels and critical editions of the NT in both Greek and German and assuming responsibility for critical editions of commentaries on Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Romans, Hebrews, the PASTORAL LETTERS, and the JOHANNINE LETTERS in the MeyerK series. He also published a life of Jesus (which A. Schweitzer classified as one of the liberal lives). Finally, the desig-

nation Q for the common source of Matthew and Luke may have originated with him. Writing to counter a British tradition that held D. Robinson to be the originator, W. HOWARD cited a reference in *Studien und Kritiken* (1891) suggesting that W. used the term long before Robinson.

Works: *Biblical Theology of the NT* (2 vols., 1868; ET 1882–83); *The Life of Christ* (1882; ET 1883); *A Manual Introduction to the NT* (1886; ET 1887); *A Commentary on the NT* (4 vols., 1902; ET 1906); *The Religion of the NT* (1903; ET 1905). Commentaries in the MeyerK series: Matthew (1883^7, 1911^{10}); Mark (1878^6, 1901^9); Luke (1878^6, 1892^8); John (1880^6, 1902^9); Romans (1881^6, 1899^9); Hebrews (1885^5, 1897^6); Timothy and Titus (1886^5, 1902^7); Johannine Letters (1885^5, 1894^6).

Bibliography: **A. Deissmann,** *TBl* 6 (1927) 241-51. **W. F. Howard,** "The Origin of the Symbol Q," *ExpTim* 50 (1938–39) 379-80. **W. Kümmel,** *NTHIP,* 172-73. **H. O. Metzger,** *RGG*^{3} 6 (1957) 1582. **W. Scheffen** (ed.), *Zum Gedächtnis von D. Dr. B. W.* (1918).

S. J. KRAFTCHICK

WEISS, JOHANNES (1863–1914)

The son of NT scholar B. WEISS, W. was born in Kiel, Germany, educated at the universities of Marburg, Berlin, Göttingen, and Breslau (1882–88), and served as *Dozent* at Göttingen in 1888 and *ausserordentlicher* professor in 1890. He was a full professor in Marburg from 1895 and in Heidelberg from 1908 until his untimely death Aug. 24, 1914. He was the son-in-law of A. RITSCHL, under whom he had studied in Göttingen. W. was a member of the RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE; like others in the school, much of his work was a critical response to the liberalism of Ritschlian thought, but also to his father's conservative work on the NT. W. published widely in the area of NT exegesis, including works on the SYNOPTIC Gospels, PAUL, and the history of early Christianity, and edited a highly successful series (Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments [1906–7], later edited by W. BOUSSET and W. HEITMÜLLER) that presented the results of critical scholarship in a form accessible to the broader public.

W. is best known for his work on the kingdom of God in the preaching of JESUS (1892; 1900^2 contains W.'s response to critics), which is marked by its strong argument for the eschatological nature of Jesus' preaching: Jesus referred to the kingdom of God, not as the individual or corporate ethical concepts W.'s contemporaries thought important, but as real territory in which the reign of God would be evident. Jesus viewed himself as initiating the future reign of God through his role as a ransom for the sins of the world. Only after this role was fulfilled could the Kingdom come in its full manifestation. Thus W. dialogued with and refuted the efforts of liberal theology to incorporate the thought of early Christianity into a universal truth or ethic. He argued that by not recognizing the strong eschatological nature of Jesus' preaching, its radical dualism and end-time orientation, and Jesus' belief that his death was a necessary part of this schema, liberal theology had mistaken its own conceptions for those of Jesus.

However, the eschatological form of the proclamation marks Jesus off from his followers both past and present. Not directly applicable to subsequent generations of Christians, the distinguishing characteristic of Jesus' preaching is unusable unless it is reinterpreted. In order to use the preaching of Jesus, the church, from the first followers to the present, must employ some form of hermeneutical appropriation. This principle guided W.'s historical examination of the Gospel materials, in which one perceives the beginnings of FORM CRITICISM applied to the NT. His attempts at modern interpretation and appropriation of the NT, however, differed only slightly from those of the liberal movement. In his view, the thought of Jesus was normative only insofar as it supported the ethical and religious fellowship of humanity. Thus in theological formulation W. remained consonant with his forebears; he separated from them in disallowing a historical link between contemporary conceptions of the kingdom of God and those held by Jesus.

W.'s position is reflected consistently in his commentaries. It culminates in his articles on the task of exegesis and in initial volumes on the history of primitive Christianity, completed after his death by R. Knopf, which show W.'s recognition of early Christianity as a religious, rather than an economic or social, movement. His resistance to taking Christianity out of its historical milieu marks him as a forerunner of much contemporary exegesis and makes his work a turning point in discussions of NT HERMENEUTICS and THEOLOGY later reflected in the work of A. SCHWEITZER, his pupil R. BULTMANN, and E. KÄSEMANN.

Works: *Der Barnabas Brief kritisch untersucht* (1888); *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God* (1892, 1900^2; ET of first ed. 1971, with bibliography of W.'s major writings, 138-42); *Luke* (MeyerK, 1892); *Beiträge zur paulinischen Rhetorik* (1897); *Das älteste Evangelium: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markus-Evangeliums und der ältesten evangelischen Überlieferung* (1903); *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (FRLANT 3, 1903); *Die Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft in der Gegenwart* (1908); *Der erste Korintherbrief* (MeyerK, 1910); "Literaturgeschichte des N.T.s," RGG^3 (1912) 2175-2215; *The History of Primitive Christianity* (2 vols., 1914; ET 1937).

Bibliography: **R. Bultmann,** "J. W. zum Gedächtnis," *TBl* 18 (1939) 242-46. **C. Brown,** *HHMBI,* 531-35. **F. C. Burkitt,** "J. W.: In Memoriam," *HTR* 8 (1915) 291-97. **F. C. Grant,** preface to the Torchbook ed. of *Primitive Christianity* reissued

as *Earliest Christianity: A History of the Period AD 30–150* (1959) 1:i-vi. **R. Hiers and D. L. Holland,** "Introduction," *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God* (1971) 1-54. **D. L. Holland** "History, Theology, and the Kingdom of God: A Contribution of J. W. to Twentieth-century Theology," *BR* 13 (1968) 54-66. **W. Kümmel,** *NTHIP* (1972) 226-30, 276-81. **B. Lannert** *Die Wiederentdeckung der Neutestamentlichen Eschatologie durch J. W.* (1989). **G. Lüdemann and M. Schröder,** *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule: Eine Dokumentation* (1989) 88-89. **F. Regner,** "J. W.: 'Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes' gegen eine theologiegeschichtliche *fable convenue,*" *ZKG* 4 (1973) 82-92.

S. J. KRAFTCHICK

WEISSE, CHRISTIAN HERMANN (1801–66)

Born Oct. 8, 1801, in Leipzig, Germany, W. initially studied jurisprudence, then philosophy, art, and literature. In 1828 he became *ausserordentlicher* professor and in 1845 full professor of philosophy, although he withdrew from university life between 1828 and 1837 to pursue philological-historical, philosophical, and theological studies. As a consequence of his 1838 work, indirectly prompted by D. F. STRAUSS, the theological faculty in Jena bestowed on W. an honorary theological doctorate. His inaugural dissertation in Leipzig (1847) dealt with LUTHER's christology; in the same year his inaugural dissertation in philosophy dealt with Plato. In keeping with W.'s varied interests, the main focus of his work has been described as the reconciliation of Christianity and education. In NT scholarship his name is inextricably bound to the establishment of the two source theory regarding the origins of the SYNOPTIC Gospels. In addition to the priority of Mark already postulated by K. LACHMANN, W. referred to a written collection of sayings as a source available to Matthew and Luke, although he left the question open as to whether it was composed in Aramaic or Greek (*Evangelische Geschichte* [1838] 1:83). In his 1856 book he again took a position on the question of exegesis of the Synoptics.

Works: *Die evangelische Geschichte, kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet* (2 vols., 1838); *Die Evangelienfrage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium* (1856).

Bibliography: *ADB* 41 (1896) 590-94. **M. Horstmeier,** *Die Idee der Persönlichkeit bei I. H. Fichte und C. H. W.* (1930). **K. Leese,** *Philosophie und Theologie in Spätidealismus* (1929). **R. Seydel,** *Christian Hermann Weisse* (1866).

F. W. HORN

WELCH, ADAM CLEGHORN (1864–1943)

Born in Jamaica of Scottish missionary parents, W. was raised in Scotland following his parents' death in 1870. Educated at Edinburgh University, the United Presbyterian Hall, and Erlangen University, he served in pastoral ministry for a number of years (and wrote his first book—on Anselm) before being called to the chair of Hebrew and OT exegesis at New College, Edinburgh, in 1913, largely in recognition of his 1911–12 Kerr lectures (pub. 1912). He retired in 1934.

W. was an impressive teacher. Some of his finest work remains the legacy of his lectures on HB characters and religion, which showed his exegetical abilities to best advantage, and in which he sought to integrate the different strands of religious life in ancient Israel frequently polarized by other scholars. Nevertheless, he is most widely known for his advocacy of minority critical opinions and in particular for his opposition to the standard views on the date and setting of Deuteronomy. Believing that centralization was not a cornerstone of the deuteronomic law, he argued that the origins of Deuteronomy should be traced to the days of Samuel and that the book owed much to its development in the northern (Ephraimite) kingdom; the latter opinion has featured more prominently in more recent work. Similarly, in his work on Chronicles he anticipated some later lines of research (though for completely different reasons) by arguing for its separation from Ezra and Nehemiah and its early (6th cent.) date.

W.'s views seem extreme, which may be why his work has not received the attention it deserves. Few of his conclusions have been adopted in the form or for the reasons he advocated, but he had an eye for material that did not fit into the dominant critical theories of his day. Consequently, many scholars since have found great stimulation in reading his work and in seeking to integrate his observations into more palatable reconstructions of their own. It is thus not surprising to find that a number of his opinions (sometimes unacknowledged) have since been actively developed.

Works: *Anselm and His Work* (1901); *The Religion of Israel Under the Kingdom* (1912); *Visions of the End: A Study in Daniel and Revelation* (1922); *The Code of Deuteronomy: A New Theory of Its Origin* (1924); *The Psalter in Life, Worship, and History* (1926); *Jeremiah: His Time and His Work* (1928); *Deuteronomy: The Framework to the Code* (1932); *Post-exilic Judaism* (1935); *Prophet and Priest in Old Israel* (1936); *The Work of the Chronicler: Its Purpose and Its Date* (1939); *Kings and Prophets of Israel* (ed. N. E. Porteus, 1952).

Bibliography: **G. S. Gunn,** "A. C. W.: A Memoir of His Life," *Kings and Prophets of Israel* (A.C. Welch, 1952) 13-44.

H. G. M. WILLIAMSON

WELLHAUSEN, JULIUS (1844–1918)

Born May 17, 1844, in Hameln, Germany, W. died Jan. 7, 1918, in Göttingen. He began his study of theology in 1862 at Göttingen, where he received his

lic. theol. in 1870. In 1872 he became full professor in OT on the theological faculty of Greifswald, a position he gave up in 1882 to become *Privatdozent* in Semitic languages on the philosophic faculty at Halle. Within this discipline he moved to Marburg as full professor in 1885 and to Göttingen in 1892.

W.'s father was an orthodox Lutheran pastor who belonged to a confessional restoration movement. Perhaps in reaction, W. developed a strong sense of independence at an early age that enabled him to work freely, unhindered by traditions and institutions. Although he remained a pious Christian throughout his life, he did not consider his work as a university professor to be a suitable preparation of students for service in the church; hence his move from the faculty of OT to that of Semitic languages. His most important academic teacher was H. EWALD, who broke with him after the 1866 Prussian conquest of Hannover (and Göttingen). Ewald remained committed to the Hannoverian-Welfian cause, while W. was a supporter of Prussia and Bismarck. Moreover, Ewald did not approve of the academic direction W. chose: PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM along the lines laid down by W. DE WETTE, W. VATKE, E. REUSS, K. GRAF, and A. KUENEN, whose work W. would perfect.

Following his early works, among which his study of the text of Samuel (1871) and his treatment of the lively opposition between the Pharisees and Sadducees (1874) are preeminent, he published his 1876/77 work analyzing the composition of the Hexateuch in conjunction with H. HUPFELD's new documentary hypothesis. W. turned the CHRONOLOGY of the hexateuchal documents around in the sense of the Grafian hypothesis. The priestly document (P, which W. designated Q = *liber quattuor foederum*), heretofore held to be the earliest source, was now considered to presuppose the Babylonian exile, thus to be the latest source. W. spelled out the consequences of this theory for Israelite historiography in his analysis of the books of Judges–Kings in his 1878 revision of the fourth edition of F. BLEEK's introduction: P and Chronicles were not sources for preexilic Israel but, rather, for postexilic Judaism. The law formed the natural break between the two periods: It first emerged as a factor in Deuteronomy and then became formative for Judaism through the further composition of ritual laws in P. Only in the postexilic period, when the law had finally taken shape, did the theocracy emerge as an actual institution; ancient Israel had only known it as an idea. In 1878 W. presented only his source-critical studies and the general starting points for the positive historical reconstruction he published as a "sketch" in 1881 and did not complete until 1894, when he released his *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte.* He developed his reconstruction of Israelite and Judean history in close connection with the history of religions and on the basis of the maxim "Yahweh the God of Israel, Israel the people of Yahweh," which he considered the foundation of Israelite national consciousness. His treatment led to JESUS of Nazareth and ended with W.'s own confession of delight in the free development of human individuality, "the noblest individualism, the freedom of the children of God."

W. made the transition to the study of the ancient Arabians "with the intent of becoming familiar with the wild stock onto which the sprig of the torah of Yahweh had been grafted by priests and prophets" (1882, 5). Through his collection and interpretation of the remains of pre-Islamic Arabic religion, he reached ever deeper into the Islamic period, whose sources he investigated for their historical worth and treated down to the end of the Umayyid period. He was stimulated in this work by the Leiden edition of the works of the early tenth-century Muslim historian Tabari (1879–93).

Even in his work on the NT, W. focused on the narrative books, paying particular attention to their Semitic background. He represented the two source hypothesis in his own way in his work on the SYNOPTIC Gospels but at the same time anticipated later FORM CRITICISM as he worked to extricate the earlier individual traditions from their literary contexts. The more he worked, however, the more a recovery of the historical JESUS appeared impossible to him. His secret antipode was the conservative A. von HARNACK; most fruitful, however, was his exchange with E. Schwartz (particularly in the analysis of the Gospel of John). During the last years of his life, W. studied the letters of PAUL but unfortunately was never in a position to bring his work to literary completion.

W. was and is simultaneously the most venerated and the most attacked HB scholar of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Attempts to discredit him as a Hegelian or an antisemite have had no success. His work naturally has its intellectual-historical presuppositions in the nineteenth century and has been modified in many respects by further scholarship (e.g., the opening up of the ancient Near East and form criticism). However, because W. was not only a great scholar but also a great writer, his work has continued to live on as that of no other.

Works: "De gentibus et familiis Judaeis quae 1. Chr. 2.4. enumerantur" (diss., Göttingen, 1870); *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht* (1871); *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer: Eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte* (1874, 1967[3]); "Die Composition des Hexateuchs," *JDTh* 21 (1876) 392-450, 531-602; 22 (1877) 407-79; (1899[3], repr. 1963); (rev.), *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift.* vol. 1, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (F. Bleek, 1878[4], 1893[6]); *Geschichte Israels* 1 (1878); "Israel," *EncBrit*[9] (1881) 13:396-431 (= *Sketch of the History of Israel and Juda* [1891[3]]); *Muhammed in Medina: Das ist Vakidi's Kitab al-Maghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe* (1882); *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (2nd ed. of

Geschichte Israel 1, 1883, 1905[6]; repr. 1981; ET *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* [1885; repr. 1957 and subsequently]); *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten,* vol. 1, *Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Judas: Lieder der Hudhailiten* (1884, repr. 1985); vol. 2, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (1885); vol. 3, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (1887, 1897[2], repr. 1961); vol. 4, *Medina vor dem Islam: Muhammads Gemeindeordnung von Medina. Seine Schreiben und die Gesandtschaften an ihn* (1889, repr. 1985); vol. 5, *Die Kleinen Propheten* (1892, 1898[3], repr. 1963); vol. 6, *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams: Verschiedenes* (1899, repr. 1985); "Pentateuch and Joshua," *EncBrit*[9] 18 (1885) 505-14; *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (1894, 1914[7], repr. 1981); *The Book of Psalms* (SBOT 14, 1895); *Der arabische Josippus* (AGWG.PH 1, 4, 1897); *The Book of Psalms* (SBONT 14, 1898); *Ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit* (1900); *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (1902, repr. 1960; ET, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall* [1927]); *Das Evangelium Marci* (1903, 1909[2]); *Das Evangelium Lucae* (1904); *Das Evangelium Matthaei* (1904); *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (1905, 1911[2]); "Israelitisch-jüdische Religion," *Geschichte der christlichen Religion* (Die Kulture der Gegenwart, ed. P. Hinneberg, 1, 4, 1, 1905) 1-40; *Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis* (AGWG.PH 9, 4, 1907); *Das Evangelium Johannis* (1908); *Kritische Analyse der Apostelgeschichte* (AGWG.PH 15, 2, 1914); *Grundrisse zum Alten Testament* (ed. R. Smend, TBü 27, 1965); *Evangelienkommentar* (repr. of his works on the Gospels, with intro. by M. Hengel, 1987). Further bibliography to 1914 in *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte* (FS J. W., BZAW 27, 1914) 353-68.

Bibliography: **E. Bammel,** "Judentum, Christentum, und Heidentum: J. W.s Briefe an T. Mommsen, 1881–1902," *ZKG* 80 (1969) 221-54. **J. Barton,** "W.'s Prolegomena to the History of Israel: Influences and Effects," *Text and Experience: Towards a Cultural Exegesis of the Bible* (ed. D. Smith-Christopher, 1995). **C. H. Becker,** *Islam* 9 (1918) 95-99 = his *Islamstudien* 2 (1932, repr. 1967) 474-80. **H. D. Betz,** "W.'s Dictum 'Jesus was not a Christian, but a Jew,' in Light of Present Scholarship," *StTh* 45 (1991) 83-110. **F. Boschwitz,** "J. W.: Motive und Maßstäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung" (diss., Marburg, 1938, 1968[2]). **R. E. Clements,** *HHMBI,* 380-85. **O. Eissfeldt,** *IMW* 14 (1920) 193-208, 325-38 = his *KS* 1 (1962) 56-71. **H. Hoffmann,** "J. W.: Die Frage des absoluten Maßstäbes seiner Geschichtsschreibung" (diss., Marburg, 1967). **W. A. Irwin,** "The Significance of J. W.," *JBR* 12 (1944) 160-73. **A. Jepsen,** "W. in Greifswald," *FS zur 500-Jahrfeier der Universität Greifswald* 2 (1956) 47-56 = his *Der Herr ist Gott* (1978) 254-70. **W. Johnstone** (ed.), "W. R. Smith and J. W.," *William Robertson Smith* (1994) 226-42. **D. A. Knight** (ed.), *J. W. and His Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (*Semeia* 25, 1983, with contributions by B. S. Childs, N. A. Dahl, J. H. Hayes, D. A. Knight, P. D. Miller, K. Rudolph, L. H. Silberman, and R. Smend); "J. W. and His Prolegomena to the History of Israel," *Concordia Journal* (1989) 15:382-83. **J. C. O'Neill,** *The Bible's Authority: A Portrait Gallery of Thinkers from Lessing to Bultmann* (1991) 198-213. **L. Perlitt,** *Vatke and W.* (BZAW 94, 1965). **K. Rudolph,** *W. als Arabist* (SSAW.PH 123, 5, 1983). **E. Schwartz,** "Rede auf J. W.," *NGWG* (Geschäftliche Mitteilungen, 1918) 43-73 = his *GS* 1 (1938, 1963[2]) 326-61. **R. Smend,** *TPNZJ* (1978) 166-80 = his *DATDJ* (1989) 99-113; "W. in Greifswald," *ZTK* 78 (1981) 141-76; "W. und das Judentum," *ZTK* 79 (1982) 249-82 = his *Epochen der Bibelkritik* (GS 3, BEvT 109, 1991) 186-215; "W. in Göttingen," *Theologie in Göttingen* (Göttinger Universitätsschriften A 1, ed. B. Moeller, 1987) 306-24; "W. und die Kirche," *Wissenschaft und Kirche* (FS E. Lohse, TAzB 4, ed. K. Aland and S. Meurer, 1989) 225-31. **J. Timmer,** "J. W. and the Synoptic Gospels" (diss., Amsterdam, 1970).

R. SMEND

WENDT, HANS HINRICH (1853–1928)

Born June 18, 1853, in Hamburg, Germany, W. studied Protestant theology at Liepzig under Franz DELITZSCH; at Göttingen; and at Tübingen under J. BECK, where W. received his PhD in 1876 under C. Sigwart. He became a follower of A. RITSCHL at Göttingen, completing his inaugural dissertation in 1877. In 1881 he became an *ausserordentlicher* professor at Göttingen and in 1883 a full professor at Kiel. In 1885 he moved to Heidelberg, and from 1893 to 1925 he was professor of systematic theology at Jena. He died Jan. 19, 1928.

Against initial opposition, W. established Ritschl's theology at Jena in combination with his own research and teaching in systematics and NT. Instead of a rigid scriptural principle, he considered the teachings of JESUS, as historically experienced divine revelation, to be the standard for dogmatic assertions (1886/90, 1901[2]). For him, religion and ethics were inseparable. He considered the center of Christian faith to be neither speculative christology nor mysticism that turns away from the world but, rather, the possibility of genuine morality emerging from freedom of conscience, a morality founded on liberation from the coercion of the world (particularly from the fear of death) effected by Christ and grounded religiously, not rationally.

Eschatology, understood in the JOHANNINE, rather than in the apocalyptic, sense as the teaching of eternal life as an otherworldly purpose of salvation, characterized W.'s doctrine of God. He considered the Johannine writings—especially the letters, a collection of Johannine speeches by Jesus, and John 1:1-18—to be the real center of the NT. W. claimed to trace the basic collection from the Gospel of John through the disciple John back to Jesus, but he used chiefly the Q source to explain the transmission of the ethical teaching of Jesus. W. considered the narrative source of the Fourth Gospel to be a later redaction.

W.'s exegesis of Acts (MeyerK 3, 1880[5]) was the first internally complete historical-critical commentary since F. C. BAUR's time. In the 1899 and 1913 editions he developed a position more critical than that of A. von

HARNACK concerning questions of authors and sources. According to W., the author of the "we" sections and that of the overall work are not identical, although Acts offers genuinely useful historical material.

Works: *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist im biblischen Sprachgebrauch untersucht* (1878); *Die Apostelgeschichte* (MeyerK 3, 1880[5], 1899[8], 1913[9]); *Die christliche Lehre von der menschlichen Vollkommenheit* (1882); *Die Lehre Jesu,* vol. 1, *Die evangelischen Quellenberichte über die Lehre Jesu* (1886); vol. 2, *Der Inhalt der Lehre Jesu* (1890, 1901[2]); *Das Johannesevangelium: Eine Untersuchung seiner Entstehung und seines geschichtlichen Wertes* (1900); *System der christlichen Lehre* (1907, 1920[2]); *Die Schichten im vierten Evangelium* (1911); *Die Johannesbriefe und das johanneische Christentum* (1925).

Bibliography: **W. Gasque,** *A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles* (BGBE 17, 1975) 102-6. **K. Heussi,** *Geschichte der Theologischen Fakultät zu Jena* (1954) 352-62, 371-72, 379. **K. Schöppe,** "Leben und Werk von H. H. W.," *TSK* 101 (1929) 421-46. **F. Taub,** *RGG*[2] 5 (1931) 1858.

N. WALTER

WESLEY, JOHN (1703–91)

An Anglican clergyman and founder of the Methodist movement, W. was born in England, June 27, 1703, to Samuel and Susannah Wesley. Educated at Oxford and a fellow of Lincoln College, he was influenced by Anglican, patristic, Puritan, non-juror, and Roman Catholic writers. He left Oxford in 1735 for the British colony of Georgia, where he was deeply impressed by the Moravians. Back in England, in 1738–39 he underwent a significant spiritual transition in life and ministry, preaching and publishing extensively and supervising the Methodist revival in Great Britain and North America. He died Mar. 2, 1791.

W. serves as a bridge in the history of biblical interpretation. On the one hand, his conceptions of biblical INSPIRATION and infallibility were completely precritical. He saw no errors in the Bible, understood God to be the Author of Scripture, and felt that to argue with the Bible was to argue with a God who could not lie. On the other hand, his conception of Scripture also pointed the way toward modern interpretation, both EVANGELICAL and critical.

First, W. held an evangelical view of the wholeness of Scripture. The Bible was a unit whose "scope and tenor" was the analogy of faith, the "grand scheme of doctrine" covering original sin, justification, and sanctification (1764, Rom 12:6). Unclear passages were to be interpreted in light of this theme. Like many of his contemporaries, W. emphasized the plain, literal sense of Scripture unless it led to an apparent contradiction with another passage. This emphasis, combined with his understanding of the analogy of faith, led to some of his most controversial interpretations, e.g., the witness of the Spirit (Rom 8:16) and Christian perfection (Matt 5:48).

Second, W. gave a high value to the role of reason in the interpretation of Scripture. He wrote, "All irrational religion is false religion" (*Letters,* 5:364). He understood reason as a faculty of the mind active in apprehension, judgment, and discourse (*Works,* 2:590). Largely ignoring the deistic controversy (see DEISM), he saw reason as an ally to true religion. He acknowledged a fivefold locus of religious AUTHORITY: Scripture, reason, Christian antiquity, the Church of England, and experience. (By Christian antiquity he meant the purest ages of the church, i.e., before the rise of Constantine; by the Church of England he meant the Thirty-nine Articles, the *Book of Common Prayer,* and the Homilies.) The authority of Scripture was supreme. He desired to be *homo unius libri,* a man of one book (*Works,* 1:105). However, his appeals to these five authorities in various combinations are understandable only because he thought they all made the same point.

Third, W. saw the experience of salvation—the growth of the individual from sin to perfection in love—as the goal of Christian teaching. Experience was not sufficient to establish Christian doctrine, but it did confirm it by showing that real people experienced its teachings. Commandments are seen as "covered promises" (*Works,* 1:554-55) showing both God's expectations and God's activity in individual lives. For W., the Bible was primarily a means of grace given by God to show human beings the way to heaven (*Works,* 1:105).

Fourth, W.'s TRANSLATION of the NT shows an awareness of the need for TEXTUAL CRITICISM and the modernization of the AV. Using J. BENGEL's Greek text, he made thousands of emendations in his NT translation. Some, notably the use of "happy" in the beatitudes in Matthew 5 and "love" instead of "charity" in 1 Corinthians 13, anticipated the 1881 RV and subsequent translations. Relying on Bengel, J. Guyse (1680–1761), P. Heylyn (1600–1662), and P. DODDRIDGE, W. added short notes to the text aimed at "plain, unlettered men" (*Notes,* preface).

Works: *Explanatory Notes on the Old and NT* (4 vols., 1764); *The NT, with an Analysis of the Several Books and Chapters* (1790); *The Letters of J. W.* (8 vols., ed. J. Telford, 1931); *The Works of J. W.* (bicentennial ed., 35 vols., 1975–).

Bibliography: **W. Arnett,** "J. W.: Man of One Book" (diss., Drew University, 1954). **F. Baker,** "J. W., Biblical Commentator," *BJRL* 71 (1989) 110-20. **R. M. Casto,** "Exegetical Method in J. W.'s *Explanatory Notes Upon the OT*" (diss., Duke University, 1977). **D. S. Ferguson,** "J. W. on Scripture: The Hermeneutics of Pietism," *MethH* 22 (1984) 234-45. **R. P.**

Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists* (1995). **S. J. Jones,** *J. W.'s Conception and Use of Scripture* (1995); *HHMBI*, 385-88. **T. C. Oden and R. L. Leiceser,** *The Wesleyan Theological Heritage: Essays of A. C. Outler* (1991). **T. L. Smith,** "J. W. and the Wholeness of Scripture," *Int* 39 (1985) 246-62.

S. J. JONES

WESTCOTT, BROOKE FOSS (1825–1901)

Born in Birmingham, England, Jan. 12, 1825, W. attended King Edward VI's School, where he came under the influence of the headmaster, J. Lee. W. received a degree from Trinity College, Cambridge (1848), where he was elected a fellow in 1849 and formed friendships with J. B. LIGHTFOOT and F. HORT. Later serving as professors, the three formed a triumvirate of enormous influence. W. left Cambridge in 1852 to take a position at Harrow School, where during his eighteen-year stay he published several major studies. In 1869 he was appointed canon of Peterborough Cathedral and in 1870 was elected Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Consecrated bishop of Durham in 1890, he entered into conflicts not usually associated with the office of bishop, e.g., mediating a coal strike. He died July 27, 1901.

In his works on the CANON W. showed a mastery of primary sources and argued his case with careful regard to alternative theories, statistical evidence, and exegetical considerations. Against the Tübingen school he maintained that the canon attests the unity of the church and referred to the apostolic faith as authoritative (1855). Opposing theories of literary dependence, he set out a vigorous defense of the relative independence of the Gospels, maintaining that the oral gospel was remolded according to the requirements of different classes of hearers and that an apostolic gospel shaped to suit the needs of particular evangelists was the natural inference to draw from the interrelationship among the first three Gospels (1860). His understanding of apostolic preaching was not that it constitued an oral phase in transmission superseded by the written word but that the unfolding of JESUS' message by his successors assured that the image of the incarnation would be reflected in the Christian Scriptures. The apostolic faith as the environment and interior self-consciousness of the NT elicits an answering response from believers. W. treated the resurrection both as a historical fact in the perception of Jesus' contemporaries and as a hermeneutical key (see HERMENEUTICS) of human existence.

The Westcott-Hort Greek text of the NT, first published in 1881, continues to be a standard. Although specific judgments, applications of principle, and the range of evidence cited have been revised by subsequent critics, this text carried the day against considerable opposition. W. and Hort rightly argued that readers should not put great weight on what they think an author likely to have written or a scribe likely to have mistaken. Primary attention must be given to the character of witnesses attesting a variant. In order to characterize the manuscripts and trace their histories, W. and Hort grouped them into families. The Antiochian or Syrian texts, a harmonious and relatively homogeneous family, accorded with quotations of the fathers during the latter part of the fourth century and were precursers of the *textus receptus* of the Middle Ages. Earlier text families were an Alexandrian and a Western family and a Neutral group mediating between the two. The Neutral family became W. and Hort's preference against the paraphrastic character of the Western text and the scribal corrections of the Alexandrian.

The Gospel of John and the Letter to the Hebrews each occupied a special place in W.'s interests and affections. His commentaries on them as well as his commentary on the JOHANNINE LETTERS grew out of public lectures. W.'s writing was more convoluted than even the Victorian norm, and his qualifications sometimes threatened to overcome the gist of his theses. But he understood the work of an exegete to include, together with the elucidation of texts, an account of what is—in the proper sense—revealed in them.

Works: *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the NT* (1855); *An Introduction to the Study of the Gospels with Historical and Explanatory Notes* (1860); *The Bible in the Church* (1864); *The Gospel of the Resurrection: Thought on Its Relation to Reason and History* (1866); *A General View of the History of the English Bible* (1868); *The Paragraph Psalter* (1879); (with F. J. A. Hort), *The NT in the Original Greek* (2 vols., 1881); *The Gospel According to St. John* (1882); *The Epistles of St. John* (1883); *Christus Consummator* (1886); *Social Aspects of Christianity* (1887); *The Victory of the Cross* (1888); *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (1889); *The Gospel of Life: Thoughts Introductory to the Study of Christian Doctrine* (1892); *The Incarnation and the Common Life* (1893).

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B. CHILTON

WESTERMANN, CLAUS (1909–)

Born Oct. 7, 1909, in Berlin, W. was the son of a professor of African studies. As a young pastor, W.'s theological perspective and scholarly passion were

formed and nurtured through the German church crisis. Completing his studies at Zürich with a dissertation on the praise of God in the psalms, he began his teaching career at the Kirchliche Hochschule in Berlin. He eventually became a distinguished member of the post-WWII circle of German HB scholars (which included G. von Rad, M. Noth, W. Zimmerli, H.-J. Kraus, and H. W. Wolff) who conceived the magisterial BKAT and for several decades dominated much of HB scholarship through their scholarly imagination and theological passion. W.'s career culminated in a long and prolific tenure at the University of Heidelberg beginning in 1958, where he was the colleague of von RAD, WOLFF, and R. Rendtorff. From a methodological perspective, he is the primary heir of the work of H. GUNKEL, both in his commitment to a rigorous form-critical approach (see FORM CRITICISM) and in his sustained attention to Genesis and the psalms. Because of his commitment to the faith and ministry of the church, however, W. regularly has pushed beyond Gunkel's form-critical concerns to the theological issues present in the text.

While his research and publications cover every area of HB literature, W. is best known for work in four areas. (1) His exhaustive commentary on Genesis, which takes full account of form-critical issues as well as Near Eastern parallels while moving in the direction of narrative theology, now stands as a major reference point for all subsequent work. (2) As a German prisoner of war with only a copy of the psalms and no secondary literature at hand, W. wrote the RHETORICAL-critical analysis of the psalms of praise and lament that is now the assumed consensus among many scholars. He has shown that the psalms characteristically move from an acute crisis (plea) to a resolution in faith (praise) and established that this single rhetorical pattern is decisive for most of the psalms, which voice only elements of the pattern, as well as decisive for the faith of Israel. (3) His commentary on Isaiah 40–66 is one of the most widely used commentaries both in Europe and in the English-speaking world, a model of sober judgment, attention to detail, and theological sensitivity. (4) In an attempt to move beyond the theological models of W. EICHRODT and von Rad, W. was among the first to articulate a model of theology around a polarity that holds together two quite distinctive emphases. Alongside the regnant interpretive power of "deliverance in history," he has placed "blessing in creation" as a way of thinking about God's rule that is not intrusive or confined to Israel. Thus he has provided an interpretive frame for subsequent attention to "creation" as a system of blessing, a theme congenial to contemporary concern for the environment.

Works: *The Praise of God in the Psalms* (1953; ET 1965); *A Thousand Years and a Day* (1957; ET 1962, 1964²); *The Psalms: Structure, Content, and Message* (1959; ET 1980); *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (1960, 1964²; ET 1967); (ed.), *Essays on OT Interpretation* (1960; ET 1963); *Forschung am Alten Testament: Gesammelte Studien* (TBü 24, 1964); *Isaiah 40–66* (1966; ET 1969); *Blessing in the Bible and the Life of the Church* (1968; ET 1978); *The OT and Jesus Christ* (1968; ET 1971); *Forschung am Alten Testament: Gesammelte Studien II* (TBü 55, 1974), with bibliography, 319-26; *Genesis: A Commentary* (3 vols., 1974–82; ET 1984–86); *The Promises to the Fathers: Studies on the Patriarchal Narratives* (1976; ET 1979); *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (1977⁵; ET 1981); *The Structure of the Book of Job: A Form-critical Analysis* (1977; ET 1981); *Elements of OT Theology* (1978; ET 1982); *Sprache und Struktur der Prophetie Deuterojesajas* (1981); *Erträge der Forschung am Alten Testament* (TBü 73, 1984); *The Living Psalms* (1984; ET 1989); *Genesis: A Practical Commentary* (1986; ET 1987); *Prophetic Oracles of Salvation in the OT* (FRLANT 145, 1987; ET 1991); *Lamentations: Issues and Interpretation* (1990; ET 1994); *Roots of Wisdom: The Oldest Proverbs of Israel and Other People* (1990; ET 1995); "The Bible and the Life of Faith: A Personal Reflection," *WW* 13 (1993) 337-44; *Die Geschichtsbücher des ATs: Gab es ein deuteronomistiches Geschichtswerk?* (TBü 87, 1994); *Das Johannesevangelium aus der Sicht des ATs* (AT 77, 1994); *Das mündliche Wort: Erkundungen im AT* (AT 82, ed. R. Landau, 1996); (ed. with E. Jenni), *Theological Lexicon of the OT* (3 vols., 1971; ET 1997); *Erzählungen in den Schriften des ATs* (AT 86, 1998).

Bibliography: **R. Albertz et al.** (eds.), *Werden und Wirken des Alten Testaments: FS für C. W. zum 70. Geburtstag* (1980), with bibliography for 1974–79, 471-73; *Schöpfung und Befreiung: Für C. W. zum 80. Geburtstag* (1989) 284. **J. Limburg,** *HHMBI*, 535-40.

W. BRUEGGEMANN

WESTERN LITERATURE, THE BIBLE AND

In Western European culture the birth of literacy and literature are essentially, not accidentally, coincident with the evangelization of Europe by Christian missionaries. Nor did the influence of the Scripture they brought and translated fade away after a few generations. Indeed, the Bible is so much a foundational text for Western literature that a great deal of it would be unimaginable in its present form without the scriptural precedent. It is for this reason that the critic N. Frye (1912–91) could speak of the intertextual relations and principal literary traditions of Western culture as a kind of secular scripture, the conventions of which the sacred Scripture has in a sense generated (1976).

1. Mediterranean Literary Origins. To be sure, not all Western European literatures share equally in the profundity of this influence. Moreover, Christian literature's indebtedness to the NT is not generally shared by Jewish European literature, although to both Christian and Jewish literature the principal narratives and wisdom

literature of the Hebrew scriptures are a wellspring of plot and aphorism, character type and moral precept.

Jewish tradition has since ancient times valued the auxiliary or ancillary narrative as an aid to biblical understanding. Thus Midrashim, stories that cast light on a biblical story that prompts their telling, are a fundamental aspect of Jewish biblical interpretation. JESUS also used such stories to vivify scriptural precept, and his PARABLES were within a recognizable tradition for his audience. But MIDRASH, like the aphoristic *maśal* (Yid. *mushel*) that can accompany it, continues as a medieval and even modern technique in Jewish exposition. Hence Western secular literature, owing to a Jewish biblical influence, has characteristic informing strategies drawn from centuries of midrashic narration and apothegm, in which divergent or tangential stories can predictably key for the Jewish reader a central covenant narrative or tenet of Torah, yet in a fashion that often resists analysis by those outside Jewish tradition.

In Christian literary practice, the dominant filter for biblical influence in Western literature, the relation of biblical exposition and fictional narrative is more transparent—that is, there is a more visible interlineation of the two, in which the ancillary narrative labors to provide an explicit analogy. Since later antiquity Christian readers have come to expect the dominant mode of textual relations between the canonical and extra-canonical text (see CANON OF THE BIBLE) to be allegorical, proximate, or near proximate one-to-one relationships by which the secular text can be recognized as a "sign" referring to a given text of the Bible. In this evident proximity the referentiality of Christian allegory is somewhat closer in method to the expository HERMENEUTIC embodied in the relationship of the NT to the HB, the strategies of Christian typology, than is the interrogative subtlety of Jewish midrashic tale-telling to the rabbinic exposition of Torah. Another way of putting the difference might be to say that, whereas the midrashic literature of Judaism preeminently questions the bibical text so as to enrich as intricately as possible the ramifications of the questioning, Christian literature built upon biblical foundations often seeks more obviously to answer a question it takes to be already explicit in the biblical text. Both traditions of extra-canonical narrative are, of course, a species of interpretation of a canonical passage. Yet it is an inherent property of the dominant biblical tradition in Western literature that it is somewhat less subtle in its advertisement of this purpose; accordingly, for purposes of theological controversy and apologetic enterprise, Christian literary reflection can seem to obtrude more demonstratively into the ostensibly secular sphere of literary endeavor.

2. Patristic and Medieval Literary Theory. In fact, according to the most important early Christian theorist of literature—a former teacher of classical rhetoric who became also the single most influential Christian expositor of Scripture—the Christian ought not to make too sanctimonious a scruple about dividing secular from sacred wisdom in any case. Following his teacher AMBROSE, AUGUSTINE averred that all truth is God's truth, wherever it may be found (*On Christian Doctrine* 2.18.28). Or, as he put it elsewhere in this enormously influential treatise, even the resources of pagan literature, preeminently classical Greek and Roman authors, ought not to be scorned by the good and true Christian but, where found to contain truth, ought to be brought readily into the service of the Scripture to which it is shown to conform. Even as the children of Israel were commanded to take with them out of Egypt the vessels of gold and silver belonging to their captors but to then put them to a holy use, so also ought Christians to appropriate the vessels of secular literature in the holy work of the gospel (*On Christian Doctrine* 2.40.60). In much the same way JEROME defended his use of classical literature through an exegesis of Deut 21:10-13 that makes classical literature a "beautiful captive" to be "taken into the tent" of the covenant family, there not only to be received with honor but also to become a bride and honored mother.

Augustine's own extensive and approving (though not uncritical) use of Cicero (106–43 BCE) and Virgil (70–19 BCE), his favorite Roman authors, modeled the precept and encouraged imitation. Moreover, the exegetical methods he elaborated in *On Christian Doctrine* and elsewhere were accordingly approved by subsequent medieval theorists as appropriate to all Christian use of literature. The basic assumption was that the purpose of fiction is to veil truth in such a way as to invite a disclosure, or, however ironic it might seem, an unveiling. Or, as in the figure regularly employed by Augustine, GREGORY THE GREAT, Pseudo-Fulgentius (fl. late 5th cent.), and a host of subsequent theorists, the appeal of fiction is like that of a visually pleasing rind, a husk or chaff surrounding the fruit. When one is in pursuit of nourishment, the outer layer attracts the eye; this is then stripped away to lay bare the intrinsic value. In this way literary texts were held by medieval Christian readers and poets to be inherently, not accidentally, referential. What ought to motivate their interpretation is persistence in referential application of the secular text to Scripture until a "charitable" relationship of the two is established—one in which the purpose of Scripture to teach "the enjoyment of God for his own sake, and the enjoyment of one's self and of one's neighbour for the sake of God" (*On Christian Doctrine* 3.10.16) is made relevant to the extra-canonical literary work. Valid readings are thus "baptized" readings, ones in which reference proceeds directly from the secular text to the text of the Bible.

In the twelfth century, from which time the exponential growth of Western vernacular literature may be

dated, convenient summaries of these earlier ideas about the relationship of the Bible to literature may be found in works as various as HUGH OF ST. VICTOR's famous *Didascalicon,* a general treatise on education; John of Salisbury's (c. 1115–80) *Policraticus,* a book on the equipment of wise political leadership; and in the theologian and poet Alanus de Insulis's (c. 1128–1202) poem *Anticlaudianus,* in which it is "given" to the pedagogue Natura to explain the function of poetry. In the rich twelfth-century outpouring of romance (*romans* = "of the Romans") literature based on classical epic loosely translated into French (e.g., *Aneas,* Benoit de St. Maur's [fl. twelfth cent.] *Roman de Troie* [c. 1184]) offers versions of pagan narrative subjected to charitable Christian interlineation. A crude model for this may be found in Bernard of Silvestris's (fl. c. 1150) Christian allegorization of Virgil's *Aeneid,* where, for example, the Dido episode is made to parallel both the Edenic fall (Genesis 2–3) and Israel's captivity or even cupiditous entrapment in the city of mammon, Babylon. Romance texts generally, from C. de Troye's (fl. 1170) *Erec et Enid* to Lazamon's (fl. 12th cent.) and W. Eschenbach's (c. 1170–c. 1220) Arthuriads on to the fourteenth-century English masterpiece *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* make the themes of fallenness, alienation and exile, quest and journey, and testing and triumph typologically analogous to Exodus, among other biblical narratives of exile, pilgrimage, and homecoming.

By the fourteenth century, biblically directed allegorizations of other kinds of classical texts, e.g., the moralizations of Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE), in both Latin and the vernacular (*Ovidus Moralizatus* of Berchorius [d. 1362]; *Ovide Moralisée*) help, with a host of other mythographical commentaries (e.g., those of Albericus of London, the "Third Vatican Mythographer"), to expand the repertory of allusion within which biblical influence might shape the writing of widely diversified literary works. In this way, allusion to classical Greek and Roman texts as employed by Dante (1265–1321) in his *Vita Nuova, Convivio* and *Comedia* was already contextualized in the scriptural tradition by the time Dante made use of it. He declared this in his guidelines to interpretation (e.g., the famous *Epistle to Can Grande della Scala*) in which he adduced the fourfold elaboration of medieval allegory by such biblical expositors and theologians as BONAVENTURE (e.g., his *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*) as equally appropriate to his poetry. It may even be claimed, as Bonaventure did, that literary art is uniquely poised to translate the human condition that the illumination of Scripture transforms or, as in the formulations of their Italian countryman the sonneteer Petrarch (1304–74), that, spiritually speaking, poetry is effectually grounded in biblical precedent. In Petrarch's view not only should we read "philosophy, poetry and history so that the gospel of Christ echoes in our hearts . . . [and so that] to it, as to the highest truth, all else is to be referred" (*Epistolae de rebus familiaribus* 6.2.4) but also we should recognize further that theology itself is a "literary" activity, as Scripture shows: "Is it not enough," he wrote in defense of his writing poetry, "that I affirm theology to be poetry concerning God? To speak of Christ as a *lion, lamb,* etc. What is this if not poetry? Indeed, how else do the parables of the Saviour in the Gospels operate except, if I may express it in one word, by *alieniloquium,* which we are accustomed to call 'allegory'? And with words of this kind the whole realm of poetry is clothed" (*Epistol.* 10.4). If not all of the parables of Jesus are in the medieval Christian sense allegory—existing in a one-to-one analogical relationship to the text—this was not evident to Petrarch and his contemporaries: Enough of them worked in an allegorical way for Petrarch to sustain his apologetic principle.

Both principle and apologetic were, according to this logic, open to certain distortions in practice. In his *De Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* (14.7), for example, Boccaccio (1313–75) wrote that poetry is a gift of God and that its very genesis lies in sacred Scripture; he also wrote that the writings of the Hebrews, notably the Prophets, were his favorite source. Yet a charitable reading of his own licentious poetry has proven for most readers an unrealizable goal, and in the end many of Boccaccio's best-known poems appear less prophetic than profane.

3. European Biblical Paraphrase and Free Translation. In all Western countries there was, of course, a more direct and, in general, theoretically unmediated influence of the Bible on literature. The typical form was loose vernacular paraphrase, lyric, or dramatic retellings of biblical narrative. English literature, for example, can be properly said to begin with such poetry. The Venerable BEDE's story of Caedmon (fl. 658–80), the illiterate cowherd who is miraculously given the gift of poetry and immediately writes, not a pagan epic, but a poem on creation, is metonymic for the genesis of European vernacular literature in written form. Missionaries brought literacy, and their stories from the Bible radically transformed the native stock of story.

Among the best-known examples of loose biblical paraphrase are the fourteenth- to fifteenth-century vernacular passion plays or the French and English Corpus Christi cycles of such cities as York, Wakefield, and Chester. These are pageants of the whole *historia humanae salvationis* from creation to doomsday, the last judgment. In them the biblical narratives basic to the plan of redemption (as represented in the lections of the medieval Christian liturgical year) are adeptly, often powerfully, fleshed out and dramatized in such a way that illiterate audiences could acquire a general narrative knowledge of the Bible. Paradigm narratives of alienation, discord, and loss of community (Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Noah and his family) are typically

succeeded in these cycles by highlights of the covenant story, especially Abraham and Isaac, sometimes Moses and Pharaoh, a "procession of prophets" (*ordo prophetarum*) in which, as also in the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman *Jeu D'Adam,* the messianic promise is declared. Then follow the gospel stories of the annunciation, the birth of John the Baptist, nativity, shepherds and magi, Herod's slaughter of the innocents, elements of the life and ministry of Jesus, his crucifixion, harrowing of hell (based on the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*), resurrection, the events of Pentecost recorded in the Acts, and, typically, a last judgment play based on Matthew 24–25 and Revelation. Apocalyptic themes, like those exemplified in the twelfth-century Bavarian *Ludus de Antichristo,* bring the influence of the book of Daniel especially to bear on some of the European cycles.

These plays were supplemented by morality plays, allegories based on NT teachings, and by saints' plays, which might concern biblical saints and involve considerable spiritual and psychological elaboration of the original narratives as a means of Christian pedagogy (e.g., the English Digby *Mary Magdalene* and *Conversion of St. Paul*). There are numerous European saints' plays of the same period, like the French *Jeu de St. Nicholas;* as late as J. Racine's (1639–99) play *Esther* (1689), the tradition remained vigorous in Latin Europe. Most of these dramatic works, like the biblical histories of the world popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (e.g., the English *Cursor Mundi*), were essentially vernacular presentations of Scripture with incorporated traditional exposition. As in Spanish and Flemish biblical plays, the French passion play at Valenciennes (1547) or even the Dutch morality play of the sixteenth century, *Elkerlyck* (probable prototype for the English *Everyman*), their purpose was straightforwardly catechetical. Following especially the influence of St. Francis (1181/82–1226) and Franciscans like Jacopone da Todi (c. 1230–1306), vernacular lyrics in Italy, like the flowering of vernacular religious lyricism in Germany (e.g., the anonymous 12th-cent. "Oberestiu magenschraft," a poem on the divinity of Christ, and Walther von der Vogelweide's [c. 1170–c. 1230] "Nu alrerst lebe ich mir werde," a song of a pilgrim rejoicing at being able to retrace in the Holy Land the steps of Jesus' life and ministry), offer a meditative focus that is typically christocentric. This can be true even in cases where the apparent dedication of a poem is to the Virgin (e.g., Jacopone's "Stabat mater dolorosa"). Here the passion narrative is of primary influence, followed more distantly by the nativity narrative from Luke's Gospel; but in either case the confessional purpose is typically an inculcation of repentance and/or a renewed spiritual and moral dedication.

4. English Literature and the Bible. The literature of England undoubtedly offers the most extensive example in Western Europe of a formative influence of the Bible. From the earliest records of the literature of the Anglo-Saxons to the modern period, the Bible has been by far the most important of foundational literary texts for English-speaking peoples, even those in many parts of the Third World for whom British missions and later colonization were the means of their introduction to both Christianity and Western culture. (By contrast, classical Greek and Roman literature has been the more important influence in romance language and Germanic literary traditions, including the literature of former colonies of those European nations.)

In part this dramatic effect on English literature owes to the formative role free TRANSLATION of the Bible had in the development of a self-consciously English narrative style. The earliest missionaries to Britain naturally wished to make knowledge of the Scriptures available in the language of the people to whom they ministered. The miraculous gift to Caedmon of poetry in praise of creation is told by Bede (*Ecclesiastical History*) to illustrate a pattern whereby the coming of God's Word to illiterate pagans liberated their language in thankful response. The Caedmonian *Genesis A* and *B, Exodus, Daniel* (chaps. 1–5), and dramatic *Christ and Satan* are all expanded paraphrases of biblical sources. The Exeter *Harrowing of Hell* draws on the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus,* while the beautiful *Advent Lyrics* offers a more direct translation of the psalter and of Gospel passages. This taste for biblical narrative did not diminish in the late Middle Ages but continued to flourish in both the biblical drama and the universal histories already discussed and also in romance-styled narratives like *Patience* (a retelling of the story of Jonah) and *Cleanness* (a fierce denunciation of sin based on the biblical stories of Babel, Sodom and Gomorrah, Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, and the parable of the wedding feast, Matt 22:11-13) by the fourteenth-century Pearl poet. The appetite for vernacular translation of the Scriptures, which becomes evident in R. ROLLE's *Psalter* (c. 1337) and most fully in the Wycliffite Bible (1382, 1396) was, in this sense, amply precedented in popular vernacular adaptation, or "loose" translation.

A second stage in the growth of biblical influence in English literature may be observed in the works of a popular reformist poet like W. LANGLAND, in whose *Piers Plowman* (1369, 1378, 1386) simple moral and political allegories are projected from the Gospels and Pauline epistles onto contemporary crises in church and state. Political counsel—in this case directly to the court—also prompted G. CHAUCER's extensive use of the Bible in his poetry. As a contemporary of J. WYCLIF, Chaucer was well aware of the controversy at Oxford concerning the direct AUTHORITY of Scripture. As an astute reader of the Bible and one knowledgeable of its rich traditions of commentary, he was able to enrich and encode his *Canterbury Tales* with a profoundly

biblical INTERTEXTUALITY demonstrating not only his own mature knowledge of Scripture but also an expectation that considerable familiarity would be shared by his courtly audience.

The Renaissance and Reformation period witnessed a reinvigoration of biblical influence that had seemed to wane dramatically in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. With the translations of W. TYNDALE (1525–30), M. COVERDALE (1535), J. Rogers (c. 1500–1555; Bible pub. in 1537), R. Taverner (c. 1505–75; Bible pub. in 1539), the "Great Bible" (1539), the Geneva Bible (1560), and the Bishop's Bible (1568) as well as T. CRANMER's preparation in English of the *Book of Common Prayer* (1564), intimate textual knowledge of the Bible among the laity grew steadily until the seventeenth century. With the enormous success of the KJV (1611), rightly regarded as the acme of English literary prose, widespread literary enjoyment of the Bible was assured, and its status as the foundational repository of English wisdom literature was guaranteed. Thus, although there were examples of selected literary translations and paraphrases like P. Sidney (1554–86) and the Countess of Pembroke's (1561–1621) rendition of the psalms (1586, 1589) and J. Sylvester's (1563–1618) translation of the Frenchman G. Du Bartas's (1544–90) *Divine Weeks and Works* (a Protestantized medieval hexaemeron), the impact of the Bible in this period is one marked by a thorough popular ingestion, or internalization. This, along with the influence of Calvinist (see CALVIN) covenant theology resulted in the emergence to literary prominence of previously neglected themes, narratives, and characters (like Jephthah, Samson, Ruth, and Deborah). More significantly perhaps, biblical influence reveals itself everywhere in the cadence, phrase, and idiom of the Tyndale, Coverdale, Geneva, and finally 1611 versions, locutions that effectively become the mother tongue of seventeenth-century English poets and prose writers like Shakespeare (1564–1616; e.g., *Measure for Measure, The Merchant of Venice*), J. DONNE, G. Herbert (1593–1633), R. HOOKER (*Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*), and J. TAYLOR (*Holy Living and Holy Dying*). The playwright C. Marlowe (c. 1564–93) in the opening speeches of his *The Tragicall Historie of Doctor Faustus* (1604) can foreshadow his protagonist's incipient self-damnation by showing him obstinately misquoting biblical texts (robbing them of their context), knowing that his audience will readily recognize this abuse of Bible reading as symptomatic of the Wittenberg theologian's rejection of Scripture's authority.

Biblical allusion after the Reformation remained the stock-in-trade of English poets, at least until the time of J. MILTON and J. Bunyan (1628–88). Even as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress, The Holy War,* and other poems are allegories dependent on a thoroughgoing biblical literacy in its readers, so also Milton's *Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained,* and *Samson Agonistes* are overtly biblical poems dependent on a high degree of literacy in classical literature and biblical commentary. It is also clear that the success of such works as *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Paradise Lost* helped ensure a self-perpetuating character for biblical influence, even as these works shaped in distinctive ways the nature of that influence. The gospel according to Milton, so to speak, became a dominating form of subsequent influence on English literature; and the same is true in the case of Bunyan. But between 1480 and 1660 more than half of all books printed in England were devoted to theological or religious subjects, and typically they were copiously indebted to biblical proof texts and discourse. No period in any European culture has witnessed such a pervasive influence of the Bible on all other types of literature. A comparable influence would only occur for a relatively brief period in England's American colonies.

5. North American Literature of the Bible. North American literature branched off from English literature just at that point in the seventeenth century when the power of the Bible as a literary source was at its zenith. The Puritans who settled in North America were, moreover, some of the most biblically literate of Englishmen. Yet early American literature is not typically characterized by Miltonic or quasi-medieval retellings of biblical narrative. Rather, given the established typological hermeneutics of Puritan theology, the American tendency was to draw the stuff of literary narrative from frontier experience and then to shape and structure its claim to enduring, even eternal significance by encoding current events with explicit reference to biblical typology. From the early triumphalist chronicles and journals of settlers, like C. MATHER's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702) to modern American mythography in such texts as W. Percy's (1916–90) *Love in the Ruins: The Adventures of a Bad Catholic at a Time Near the End of the World* (1971) or anti-mythography as in J. Agee's (1909–55) *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941), there is a tendency to privilege for purposes of plot the here and the now while charging its elements, nonetheless, with a transvaluing typology drawn on biblical prototypes. In the early period, as S. Bercovitch (1978) and others have shown, biblical typology provided a means whereby a marginalized life in the colonies could become the literal realization of central scriptural metaphors: Fall, exile, exodus, pilgrim history, promised land, and even millennial kingdom are woven almost seamlessly into the narratives of W. Bradford (1590–1657), J. Winthrop (1588–1649), R. Williams (c. 1603–83), M. Wiggleworth (1631–1705; *The Day of Doom* [1662]), Mather, S. Sewall (1652–1730), and J. EDWARDS. Writers like E. Johnson (1599–1672) in his *Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour* (1654) saw America as the literal promised land and American experience as a biblically foreshadowed text about God's unfolding plan for human redemption. Indeed,

both the APOCALYPTICISM and millennialism characteristic of much American literature can seem to assume, as G. Gunn puts it (1983), that "the Bible was proleptically American."

By the eighteenth century, however, this style of writing had begun to grow archaic: T. Dwight's (1752–1817) Miltonic allegorical epic *The Conquest of Canaan* (1775), populated with eighteenth-century Americans bearing Hebrew names, was unsuccessfully biblical, a relic of his grandfather J. Edwards's day. This Puritan style of writing was to persevere for the time being only in emergent Arican American literature like P. Wheatley's (c. 1753–84) "Thoughts on the Works of Providence" (1770). Yet it was to reemerge in mainstream North American literature of the nineteenth century as a kind of palinode, a use of biblical codes, typology, and language to call biblical theology into question. H. Melville's (1818–91) *Moby Dick* (1851), *Pierre* (1852), *The Confidence Man* (1857), and *Billy Budd* (posthumous) exhibit a fierce resistance to Calvinist readings of Scripture yet display in their antagonism a rich synthesis of biblical narrative and typology that few European writers could match. N. Hawthorne's (1804–64) use of biblical allusion is likewise parodic and antagonistic, and R. Emerson's (1803–82) triumphant self-actualism and antinomian pursuit of the "God within" inverts or redefines the biblical material it borrows. Yet these writers also came to discover, as Emerson put it, that "Out from the heart of nature rolled / The burdens of the Bible old" ("The Problem"). As with Melville, E. Poe (1809–49), Hawthorne, and others, Emerson was forced in his own jeremiad essay "On Self-Reliance" (1841) to use biblical rhetoric to oppose biblical values, anticipating in this way W. Whitman's (1819–92) famous "Song of Myself." The latter poem, the thirty-third section of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855), is a protest against the triumphant self, or "old Adam," ironically grounded, he later admits, in the language of both testaments ("A Backward Glance O'er Travelled Roads").

Subsequently, the American jeremiad, a political sermon in which social criticism is joined to calls for spiritual renewal, has come to be recognized as a foundational and mythopoeic North American literary genre indebted to biblical modeling. Frontier outpost sermons, like those of P. Bulkeley (1583–1659) in the seventeenth century, take their place on a continuum with those of televangelists of the twentieth century in tending to read contemporary events as though they were written down in an unfolding text to which the Bible is the master code. Characterized not only by biblical rhetoric and diction but also formed on biblical narrative and dependent for its wide appeal on extensive popular knowledge of the Bible, the jeremiad has in turn had a powerful influence on other North American literary genres. Included here must be the novel of protest, many of which have been written not only by nominally Christian but also by Jewish writers in North America. *Portnoy's Complaint* (1969) by P. Roth (1933–); *Herzog* (1964) by S. Bellow (1915–); *Joshua Then and Now* (1980) by M. Richler (1931–); and, although less paradigmatically, *My Name Is Asher Lev* (1984) by C. Potok (1929–) each share something of the jeremiad tradition in America with novels of such gentile writers as J. Steinbeck's (1902–68) *The Grapes of Wrath* (1934); J. Baldwin's (1924–87) *The Fire Next Time* (1963); and W. Faulkner's (1897–1962) *Go Down, Moses* (1942) and also with plays like A. MacLeish's (1892–1982) *J. B.* (1958), a modernization of the story of Job; or R. Jeffers' (1887–1962) dramatic poem *Dear Judas* (1929).

But the force of biblical influence has in these works largely shifted away from biblical narrative and diction to vestigial religious tradition, which is almost invariably depicted as a pale shadow of its biblical fountainhead. Where the biblical narrative more directly informs plot and action, it can well be, as in G. Vidal's (1925–) *Messiah* (1954) or J. Barth's (1930–) *Giles Goat Boy* (1966), in a form that T. Ziolkowski (1972) calls "demonic parodies of the life of Christ."

By the late twentieth century, North American fiction within a biblical tradition, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., W. Percy's *The Second Coming* [1980]; R. Wiebe's [1934–] *The Blue Mountains of China* [1970]), has come to use its scriptural heritage in an overtly antagonistic fashion. Nowhere is this more explicitly declared, perhaps, than in M. Atwood's (1939–) *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985), a horrific dystopia in which American arch-conservatives have erected a society based on a rigid implementation of perverted but recognizably Puritan OT laws and social customs. Atwood's tale is an anti-jeremiad expressing fears of a right-wing and "biblicist" United States declaring itself the only "chosen" nation. A popular Canadian novel, T. Findley's (1930–) *Not Wanted on the Voyage* (1984), is a dark recasting of the story of Noah and the ark in demonic parody of the biblical narrative and angry rejection of the Bible's central motifs of covenant and promise to the faithful.

In North American literature generally, the age of "soft" allusion to the Bible—so comfortable for genteel nineteenth-century writers like H. Longfellow (1807–82), E. Dickinson (1830–86), J. Whittier (1807–92), or later, S. Leacock (1869–1944) and R. Frost (1874–1963)—is apparently over. Engaging the Bible as a foundational text now more clearly than ever addresses the question of its authority—not merely in the literary but also in the religious sense. In such a context it is notably writers marginal to the general culture (Mennonite R. Wiebe; Roman Catholic convert W. Percy; black feminist T. Morrison [1931–]) in whose work there is a vigorous recrudescence of the former power of biblical literature for the secular text. More notably

perseverant are a number of Jewish authors living in North America. In powerful novels, like C. Potok's *The Chosen* (1967) and *The Promise* (1969), A. Klein's (1909–72) *The Second Scroll* (1951), Adele Wiseman's (1928–92) *The Sacrifice* (1956), and I. Singer's (1904–91) *The Penitent* (written in Yiddish and translated in 1983), to take a few examples, there is a keenly renewed sense of the pertinence of biblical foundations to the creation of modern literature with ethical power. L. Cohen's (1934–) collection of prose poems *Book of Mercy* (1984) is an explicitly penitential, confessional *responsorium* to the psalms, conveying a diary of the secular Jewish writer who, in despair of rootless writing, has turned back to the wellsprings of his literary tradition as a *baal tshuve,* a penitent. It is the themes of repentance and homecoming from spiritual exile that, in fact, dominate this recent strain of North American literature in the biblical tradition, although in recent American Jewish fiction (e.g., E. Doctorow's [1931–] *The Book of Daniel* [1971]; B. Malamud's [1914–86] *God's Grace* [1982]) typology and apocalypticism emerge in ways reminiscent of earlier Christian readings of biblical PROPHECY.

6. Modern European Literature. During the Enlightenment in Europe, an eclipse of Puritan influence by a latitudinarian or deistic theology (see DEISM), coupled with the ascendency of humanist skepticism and rationalism, significantly blunted biblical influence in the secular literature of nominally Christian cultures. The English Restoration poet J. Dryden (1631–1700) illustrates a general pattern. Relatively early in his career, while still a member of the established (Anglican) church, he wrote a political allegory based on the Bible, *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681). Here, however, the traditional allegorical reference is reversed so that in its retelling the biblical story is not the key but, rather, the surface narrative masking a contemporary saga of political treason. Later, exposed to such works of modernist biblical criticism as R. SIMON's *Critical History of the Bible* (tr. 1682), Dryden was driven to skeptical fideism; joining the Roman Catholic Church, he became increasingly distrustful of literary employments of the Bible and of Protestant typological readings in particular (*The Hind and the Panther* [1687]). Ecclesiastical controversy in this period also tended to reduce the frequency of biblical allusion; it is, rather, ecclesiological allusion that dominates, even in such clerical writers as J. Swift (1667–1745; *Tale of a Tub* [1704]).

The period of the Great Evangelical Revival in England produced a flurry of biblically influenced lyricism (e.g., E. Rowe [1674–1737]; H. More [1745–1833]; C. Wesley [1707–78]; W. Cowper [1731–1800]; C. Smart [1722–71]). The novels of H. Fielding (1707–54; e.g., *Joseph Andrews* [1742]; *Tom Jones* [1749]) offer, however, an atypical measure of residual biblical influence in this increasingly popular romance/epic genre. By the time of W. Blake (1757–1827; *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* [1793]; *Jerusalem* [1820]), and the Romantic poets of Germany and England, the Bible was still of great literary and philosophical interest (e.g., J. von Goethe (1749–1832), S. T. COLERIDGE), but it was being subjected to a process of often radical reconstitution by the poets who used it (L. Damrosh [1980]; R. Stock [1982]). This period witnessed, effectively, the commencement of modernist hermeneutics in both biblical and LITERARY criticism (H. Frei [1982]; S. Prickett [1986]).

French, Italian, and Spanish literature in the nineteenth century, perhaps in part because of Roman Catholic association of the Bible with Protestant polemicism, eschewed HB allusion almost altogether while being almost as circumspect with the NT. E. Sue (1804–57), in his *La Sept pêches capitaux* (1847–49), a series of short stories illustrating each of the seven deadly sins, made use of biblical allusion; but he owed much more directly to the catechetical tradition of medieval morality plays or the *autos sacramentales* of P. Calderon (1600–1681) and his contemporaries. The Bible is more central, however, in the poetry of *symboliste* A. Vigny (1797–1863), who used biblical symbol and archetype to paradigm problematic human nature in his long poems *La Colere de Samson* (1839) and *Le Mont des Oliviers* (1843–44).

In Germany the nineteenth-century lyric poetry of F. Ruckert (1788–1866), drawing heavily on biblical wisdom literature and on Lutheran NT typology, is complemented by the poetry of F. Schiller (1759–1805). Both writers are indebted to the mystical biblicism of seventeenth-century Silesian lyricist J. Scheffler (1624–77). (This vein of Germanic biblical lyricism, drawing heavily on the passion narratives and their themes of atonement and resurrection, flows powerfully into modern times, as in the poetry of Austrian G. Trakl [1887–1914].) Goethe's extensive, if perverse, familiarity with the Bible and its traditions of commentary is evident both in his *Faust* (1790, 1808, 1832) and in his romantic hymns (e.g., "Christ ist erstanden"). Nineteenth-century poets living in Germany also made significant contributions but departed from the mystical and romantic coloration of their countrymen; H. Heine (1797–1856) in "Belshazzar" and "Die Passion Blume" shows biblical influence vigorously contesting with Hellenic tradition and holding its own. Heine's work may be seen as heralding a revival of biblical character and subject that was to parallel historical interest in biblical narrative among German theologians in the early twentieth century. Mennonite H. Suderman's (1857–1928) novel *Das höhe Lied* (1908) and earlier play *Sodoms Ende* (1891) were later to enjoy considerable popularity; F. Werfel's (1890–1945) play *Paulus unter den Jüden* (1926) evokes similar reflections ecumenically; and another Jewish writer, novelist L. Feuchtwanger (1884–1958), publish-

ed a widely read historical novel about Josephus and the Maccabean wars, *Der Judische Krieg* (1932).

The success of this type of historical fictionalizing of biblical narrative is seen in the large number of examples that have appeared in northern Europe and especially in North America. S. Lagerlof's (1858–1940) *Kristuslegender* (1904), offering legendary adaptations of apocryphal Gospel narrative, and her fellow Swede P. Lagerkvist's (1891–1974) novel *Barrabas* (1953), a look at the passion of Christ from the perspective of the released brigand, are part of a rich genre of modern biblical fiction. Also included are works like T. Mann's (1875–1955) landmark four-part novelization *Joseph und seine Brüder* (1930–43) and his novella on the giving of the law *Das Gesetz* (1944), Polish novelist H. Sienkiewicz's (1846–1916) *Quo Vadis?* (1896), concerning the life and ministry of Peter, O. Wilde's (1854–1900) provocative fictionalization of the life and death of John the Baptist in his play *Salome* (1893), and Polish-born Yiddish novelist S. Asch's (1880–1957) *The Nazarene* (1939); *The Apostle* (1943); *Moses* (1951); and *The Prophet* (1955), a perspective on Isaiah. *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1955) by Greek novelist N. Kazantzakis (1885–1957) is a revisionist demythologizing presentation of Jesus in the tradition of Lagerkvist. In France H. Barbusse (1873–1935) made extensive allusions to the Bible in his *L'Enfer* (1908), but he most clearly contributed to the modern literary rediscovery of the Bible in his historical biography *Jesus* (1927). Nobel Prize–winning French novelist F. Mauriac (1885–1970), whose familiarity with the Gospels, in particular, informs such novels as *La Pharisienne* (1941) and *L'Agneau* (1954), also wrote *Vie de Jesus* (1936).

This fashion continued more or less until after WWII, when central biblical narratives could further become the basis for philosophical fiction. Exemplary here are R. Abellio (1907–), with *La Fosse de Babel* (1984) and *Les Yeux d'Ezechiel sont ouverts* (1950), and the Polish expatriate C. Milosz (1911–) in both his poems and his novels, notably *The Issa Valley* (1978). Milosz, a Nobel laureate who now lives and teaches in the United States, has, in fact, translated the Bible into modern Polish; consequently a rich resonance of biblical idiom occurs quite naturally in his creative work. A similarly direct relation between biblical translation and literary idiom is afforded by J. Tolkien (1892–1973), whose *The Lord of the Rings* (1954–56) contains passages strikingly reminiscent of locutions he employs in his portion of the translation of the *Jerusalem Bible* (1966).

The power of biblical *mythos* to generate the patterns of personal and community life is persistent in all Western literatures. The Bible's central tropes, themes, and symbols continue to provide, as Frye has suggested (following Blake), "the Great Code" of Western art and literature. In the modern period this is perhaps most especially true in regional literatures. Norwegian expatriate O. Rolvaag (1876–1931) offered a powerful American example in *Giants in the Earth* (1927), aspects of which are mirrored in Icelandic novelist G. Gunnarson's (1889–1975) *Kirken paa Bjerget* (1924–28) and Canadian Mennonite Wiebe's *Peace Shall Destroy Many* (1962). In this genre one would also want to place Moravian G. Hauptman's (1862–1946) *Der Narr in Christo, Emmanuel Quint* (1910). But biblical encoding as an aspect of ethnic identity became a major theme in African literature in the later twentieth century not only among European Africans, like South African A. Paton (1903–88; *Cry, the Beloved Country* [1949]) but also in post-colonial African writing as well (e.g., C. Achebe's [1930–] *The Arrow of God* [1964]).

Although no longer growing from within a coherent theoretical structure, like the referential analogies of the medieval period or the covenant typology of post-Reformation and especially Puritan writers, the Bible continues to provide a vital stimulus for modern fiction, drama, and poetry. The historic influence of the Bible on Western literature is foundational and remains clearly pervasive far beyond what this minuscule and necessarily fragmentary summary can indicate. Indeed, it has become the subject of a major field of study in the West not merely for students of the history of biblical interpretation (see D. L. Jeffrey [1992]) but also for literary scholars in all the major Western European languages. From the patient efforts of Christian missionaries, Bible translators, and teachers who lived as much as fifteen centuries ago has sprung up a vast flowering of cultural literacy and textual tradition, a large part of which remains as a legacy of the coming of the Bible to the European heartland and the evangelization of its diverse peoples.

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D. L. JEFFREY

WETTSTEIN, JOHANN JACOB (1693–1754)

Born in Basel, Switzerland, where he studied at the university, W. traveled to Paris and London in 1714 to visit scholars and to collate manuscripts. In 1715 he served as the chaplain of Swiss troops stationed in England. Returning to Basel, he was appointed assistant to his father at St. Leonhard's church. He was summoned before Basel's theological committee in 1729 for interrogation about his theological views, and in 1730 the town council removed him from ministerial office. He then moved to Amsterdam, where the Remonstrants (Dutch Arminians) offered him a teaching position in their seminary. However, the municipal council insisted that the Basel charges be cleared before he could teach in Amsterdam. He spent 1731–33 in Basel seeking reinstatement, which he finally achieved, and returned to Amsterdam for the balance of his career.

W.'s major contribution to biblical studies is in NT TEXTUAL CRITICISM. In 1730 he published anonymously *Prolegomena* for a new edition of the NT and presented his text-critical principles (e.g., he valued the number and antiquity of the manuscripts). His Greek text of the NT consists of two large folio volumes. The text itself is not a revision but a copy of the *textus receptus.* The text is printed at the top of the page followed by a critical apparatus, which includes a large number of variants identified by a system (e.g., D = Claramontanus) that is still in use. The lower part of the page contains W.'s notes. A modern version of W.'s annotated Greek NT was begun in 1996, edited by G. Strecker and U. Schnelle.

W.'s text-critical judgments were advanced: He opposed the reading "God" in 1 Tim 3:16 and rejected the three heavenly witnesses of 1 John 5:7. His notes offer a valuable collection of classical and rabbinic references; his critical judgments are conservative (e.g., he believed Paul wrote Hebrews).

Works: *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (2 vols., 1751–52); *Prolegomena ad Novi Testamenti Graeci editionem accuratissimam* (1730).

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W. R. BAIRD

WEVERS, JOHN WILLIAM (1919–)

Born in Baldwin, Wisconsin, June 4, 1919, W. was educated at Calvin College (BA 1940) and Calvin Theological Seminary (ThB 1943), Grand Rapids, Michigan, then at Princeton Theological Seminary (ThD 1945) and Princeton University, where he pursued postdoctoral studies in Arabic, Islamic history, Indo-European philology, and Sanskrit (1945–47). He subsquently studied Akkadian, Aramaic dialects, and Ugaritic (see UGARIT AND THE BIBLE) at Dropsie College from 1947 to 1948. After a brief teaching career at Princeton Theological Seminary, he accepted an appointment to the University of Toronto (1951), where he has been ever since. Retirement from active teaching duty (1984) has meant even greater emphasis on research and scholarly output.

W. has taught a wide variety of subjects on the ancient Near East, but he has gained an international reputation chiefly on the strength of his text-critical work (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM) on the SEPTUAGINT. Formative influences in this regard have been his Princeton "father" H. Gehman (1888–1981) and "grandfather" J. MONTGOMERY (1866–1949). W.'s doctoral dissertation, "The Relation of the Hebrew Variants of the Books of Kings to the OG and the Other Greek Recensions," although never published, spawned a series of articles propaedeutic to his life's work, including critical survey articles on Septuagint studies, which he wrote in 1954 and 1968 for *TRu.*

In 1966 W. was appointed editor of the Greek Pentateuch for the Septuaginta-Unternehmen of the Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen; in 1972 he was elected corresponding member of the Akademie. He brought to this task a wealth of linguistic knowledge, both practical and theoretical; as the need arose to mine the daughter versions of the Septuagint for text-critical information on the Greek, he learned additional languages. In his text-critical work he has been a major proponent of the Lagardian (see P. de LAGARDE) dictum that a modern editor who seeks to reconstruct, out of the conflicting evidence of hundreds of Greek manuscripts, the pristine text created by the Greek translator must have an intimate knowledge of the methods of that translator (see TRANSLATION). Internal criticism, therefore, must always take precedence over external criticism and is to be practiced with all one's mind and might. The Göttingen Pentateuch stands as a monument to the best in textual criticism.

Aware, however, that a critical (modern) reconstruction of an ancient text must necessarily be an approxi-

mation of the original rather than the original itself, W. has not only produced a critical edition for each of the five books but has also detailed the reasons for many of his text-critical judgments in companion volumes devoted to text history. A third set of volumes that might be described as philological commentaries has been completed (1998). Not only do these commentaries contain a wealth of detailed information on philogical matters but also from time to time W. suggests changes to the critical text—a vivid illustration of his scholarly *modus operandi.*

Works: "Septuaginta-Forschungen," *TRu* 22 (1954) 85-138, 171-190; "Proto-Septuagint Studies," *The Seed of Wisdom* (ed. W. S. McCullough et al., 1964) 58-77; "Septuaginta-Forschungen seit 1954," *TRu* 33 (1968) 18-76; "A Lucianic Recension in Genesis?" *BIOSCS* 6 (1973) 22-35; (ed.) *Genesis, Septuaginta* (*VTG,* vol. 1, 1974a); *Text History of the Greek Genesis* (MSU 11, 1974b); (ed.) *Deuteronomium, Septuaginta* (*VTG,* vol. 3, pt. 2, 1977); "Text History and Text Criticism of the Septuagint," *IOSOT Congress Volume* (VTSup 29, 1978a) 392-402; *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy* (MSU 13, 1978b); (ed.) *Numeri, Septuaginta* (*VTG* vol. 3, pt. 1, 1982a); *Text History of the Greek Numbers* (MSU 16, 1982b); (ed.) *Leviticus, Septuaginta* (*VTG,* vol. 2, pt. 2, 1986a); *Text History of the Greek Leviticus* (MSU 19, 1986b); *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SCS 30, 1990); (ed.) *Exodus, Septuaginta* (*VTG,* vol. 2, pt. 1, 1991); *Text History of the Greek Exodus* (MSU 21, 1992); *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SCS 35, 1993); *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SCS 39, 1995); *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus* (SCS 44, 1997); *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers* (1998).

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A. PIETERSMA

WHISTON, WILLIAM (1667–1752)

Born at Norton in Leicestershire, England, Dec. 9, 1667, W. was the son of a Presbyterian clergyman who preserved his post by conforming to the conditions of the Restoration but regretted his actions for the rest of his life. W. attended Clare Hall, Cambridge (BA 1690; MA 1693), where he excelled in mathematics and was elected a fellow in 1691. Ordained in 1693, he served as chaplain to Bishop Moore of Norwich (1694–98) and vicar in Suffolk (1698–1701). In 1701 he was appointed I. NEWTON's assistant at Cambridge at the latter's request and succeeded him as Lucasian Professor of Mathematics. W.'s publications in religion reflecting his Arian (or as he called it, Eusebian) anti-trinitarian christology led to the loss of his professorship, Oct. 30, 1710. He moved to London, where he lectured on a wide variety of topics and championed numerous causes until his death Aug. 22, 1752.

A unique figure in his time, W. was perhaps the model for Dr. Primrose as the example of comic integrity in O. Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield.* His age witnessed the growing tensions between science and religion and the challenges to Christianity and supernatural revelation posed by Deists (see DEISM) and freethinkers. Among W.'s associates were the leading philosophers and scientists of his day and the "coffeehouse freethinkers" like A. COLLINS and T. CHUBB. W. espoused distinctive approaches to biblical interpretation and to the relationship of religion and science and was also an advocate of individual freedom, liberty of expression, and limited governmental authority.

Three overarching concerns related to biblical interpretation are evident in W.'s life and writings: the reconciliation of science and religion, or natural and revealed theology; the perceived trinitarian (or Athanasian) distortion of the original Christian faith; and a millennial approach to history. All of these he shared with his mentor, Newton, although W.'s outspokenness on issues led to a break between them. The following general postulates on which W.'s biblical work was founded are spelled out in his first publication (1696), which was read and approved by Newton and acclaimed by such an influential figure as J. LOCKE: "I. The Obvious or Literal Sense of Scripture is the True and Real one, where no evident Reason can be given to the contrary. II. That which is clearly accountable in a natural way, is not without reason to be ascribed to a Miraculous Power. III. What Ancient Tradition asserts of the constitution of Nature, or of the Origin and Primitive States of the World, is to be allowed for True, where 'tis fully agreeable to Scripture, Reason, and Philosophy" (1696, 95).

W.'s 1696 volume was written to counter a work by T. BURNET that W. felt allegorized the Genesis primeval history to the point of denying special divine providence, and to counter the use the Deist C. BLOUNT made of Burnet to deny divine revelation. W. argued that the Mosaic account of creation in which one day equals a year (or a thousand years; see Ps 90:4) is understandable in literal terms if one assumes that Moses was discussing only the formation of the earth, not the creation of the universe, and if one seeks for the secondary causes (and thus scientific explanations) not described by Moses. W. concluded that the earth was formed by the change of orbit of a comet, which in its settling process became the earth; only the creation of humans necessitates a special divine intervention. The flood was caused when the earth passed through the vaporous tail of a comet, identified in the 1714 edition with Halley's comet, which had appeared in 1680, thus allowing W. to date the flood to 2349 BCE.

In 1707 W.'s Boyle lectures on the fulfillment of OT prophecies (pub. in 1708; see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) sought to demonstrate how a multitude of OT

prophecies had been fulfilled in JESUS. For Newtonians like W., the fulfillment of prophetic predictions demonstrated the special providence of God active in history, just as the law of gravity illustrated God's general providence. Concluding that the Hebrew text of the OT had been corrupted by the Jews to confuse or eliminate many of the predictions fulfilled by Jesus, W. argued that the true text should be restored on the basis of early versions, NT quotations, and patristic references and that a search should be made for uncorrupted copies of the Hebrew text. In addition, he argued that numerous nonbiblical ancient sources, including the SIBYLLINE ORACLES, could be used to prove fulfillment of prophetic predictions. Like most of the millennialists of his day, W. was convinced that the millennium was to begin in the immediate future. He lectured and wrote on the coming accomplishment of the unfulfilled biblical prophecies, illustrating his lectures on the return of the Jews to Palestine, the rebuilding of the Temple, and the Second Coming with scale models of the tabernacle of Moses and Ezekiel's futuristic temple.

Like many of his contemporaries, W. held to a christology that differed radically from traditional trinitarianism, and he sought to restore primitive Christianity. For him, ATHANASIUS was the great perverter of the Christian faith and such works as the *Apostolic Constitutions* should be considered canonical. He hoped that his portrayal of primitive Christianity would become the basis of a restored faith that could achieve the union of all Christians. In 1715 he founded the Society for Promoting Primitive Christianity, which met weekly at his home until 1717. For the background of early Christianity, W. published in 1737 an English translation of the complete works of JOSEPHUS, who according to W. had become a Christian in his last years. His translation remains in print today and has been reprinted at least 217 times since its original issue.

Works: *A New Theory of the Earth, From Its Original, to the Consummation of All Things* (1696, 1714[2], 1736[5]); *Short View of the Chronology of the OT, and of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1702); *Essays on the Revelation of St. John* (1706); *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* (Boyle Lectures, 1708); *Sermons and Essays upon Several Subjects* (1709); *Primitive Christianity Revived* (5 vols., 1711–12); *Reflexions on an Anonymous Pamphlet* (1712), on Collins's *Discourse of Freethinking; A Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles* (1715); *Astronomical Principles of Religion* (1717); *Scripture Politiks* (1717); *Commentary on the Three Catholic Epistles of St. John* (1719); *A Chronological Table, Containing the Hebrew, Phoenician, Egyptian, and Chaldean Antiquities* (1721); *An Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the OT, and for Vindicating the Citations Made Thence in the NT* (1722; *Supplement* [1723]); *The Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* (1724; *Supplement* [1725]); *A Collection of Authentik Records, Belonging to the Old and New Testaments* (1727); *Athanasian Forgeries, Impositions, and Interpolations* (1736); *The Primitive NT in English* (1745); *Sacred History of the Old and NT* (1748); *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. W. W., Containing Several of His Friends also, and Written by Himself* (1749, 1753[2]).

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J. H. HAYES

WHITBY, DANIEL (1638–1726)

An English biblical scholar and controversialist, W. was born at Rushden, England, Mar. 24, 1638, and was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, becoming a fellow in 1664. He was appointed rector of St. Edmund's, Salisbury, in 1669 and precentor of Salisbury in 1672. Famed for his antipapal polemics, he later directed attacks at Socinians (see SOCINIUS) and Calvinists (see CALVIN) as well. In earlier years he wrote in defense of the divinity of Christ, but his posthumous *Last Thoughts* reflect Unitarian views. He died on his eighty-eighth birthday.

W.'s most important work is *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the NT,* which went through several editions in the eighteenth century and was reprinted in the nineteenth. He used the AV as a basic text and included his own amplifications in parentheses. The work shows great learning and discusses the situation in which the NT books were written. It has some lengthy appendixes, mainly on doctrinal issues. J. LOCKE criticized some of its aspects in his *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1705–7), and W.'s reply was incorporated into later editions. The work has no commentary on the book of Revelation but includes a "Treatise on the Millennium," giving a postmillennial interpretation of Revelation 20 that proved to be very influential.

W. wrote a criticism of J. MILL's Greek NT, claiming that its publication of thousands of variant readings would undermine the Bible's AUTHORITY. A. COLLINS reproduced W.'s arguments in his *Discourse of Freethinking* (1713), but R. BENTLEY defended Mill in his *Remarks upon a Late Discourse of Free-thinking* (1713).

Works: *Tractatus de Vera Christi Deitate* (1691); *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the NT* (2 vols., 1703); *Additional Annotations on the NT* (1710); *Examen Variantium Lectionum Johannis Millii S.T.P. in Novum Testamentum* (1710); *Last Thoughts* (1727).

Bibliography: *BB* 6 (1760) 4216. **A. Fox,** *J. Mill and R. Bentley: A Study of the Textual Criticism of the NT, 1675–1729*

(1954) 105-14. **A. Gordon,** *DNB* 61 (1900) 28-30. *MSHH* 21 (1733) 248-64.

A. W. WAINWRIGHT

WILDEBOER, GERRIT (1855–1912)

W. was professor of OT in the Groningen theological faculty from 1884 to 1907 and professor in the University of Leiden literary faculty from 1907 until his death. Although his doctoral dissertation at Leiden was on NT TEXTUAL CRITICISM, his scholarly career was directed to the study of the HB. His 1889 work on the CANON had four editions and was translated into English. His 1893 work, a synthesizing popularization, had three editions and was translated into English, French, and German but scarcely deserves comparison with the highly original and penetratingly analytical work of the great Leiden scholar A. KUENEN. In his work W. stressed that absolutely nothing in the HB is later than the end of the exile and arranged every HB pericope in a precise chronological order. Many of his writings gained W. popularity in Holland and international distinction as a linguistic technician. He was called on to contribute to K. MARTI's influential book (1897–98). With J. VALETON and other Ethicals, W. repudiated the evolutionism and historicism of the Leiden school, stressing the need to treat seriously the Bible's claim to offer an objective and authoritative revelation. It was his good fortune to work at a time when church and society were turning away from modernism to a highly theological biblical scholarship. His widely used works, however, have not retained their interest to the present.

Works: *De profetie onder Israël in hare grondbeteekenis voor christendom en theologie* (1884); *Origin of the Canon of the OT: An Historical-critical Enquiry* (1889; ET 1895); *De letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds naar de tijdsorde van haar ontstaan* (1893); *Karakter en beginselen van het historisch-kritisch onderzoek des Ouden Verbonds* (1897); *Jahwedienst en volksreligie in Israel* (1898; GT 1899); *Het Oude Testament van historisch standpunkt toegelicht* (1908); *Nieuw licht op het Oude Testament: Verspreide opstellen* (1911).

Bibliography: **L. H. K. Bleeker,** "Prof. W.: In memoriam en literatuurlijst," *ThStud* 30 (1912) 81-96. **S. J. DeVries,** *Bible and Theology in The Netherlands: Dutch OT Criticism Under Modernist and Conservative Auspices, 1850 to WWI* (1968) 99-102. **J. Domela Nieuwenhuis,** *Levensberichten van afgestorven medeleden van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (1916–17).

S. J. DEVRIES

WILDER, AMOS NIVEN (1895–1993)

Born Sept. 18, 1895, in Madison, Wisconsin, W. attended Oberlin College (1913–15) and Yale University (1916). From 1916 to 1919 he served in France with the American Ambulance Field Service (awarded the Croix de Guerre, 1917) and the Seventeenth United States Field Artillery. While there he studied at the Faculté de Théologie, Montauban (1919) and returned to Yale (AB 1920), where he wrote his senior thesis under B. BACON, "Eschatology: The Rationale of Redemption." After study at the University of Brussels (1920–21) and Mansfield College, Oxford (1921–23), he returned to Yale Divinity School (BD 1924). He studied in Berlin and then served as pastor of the First Church of Christ (Congregational), North Conway, New Hampshire (1925–28; ordained 1926). From 1928 to 1930 he pursued graduate study at Yale (at Harvard, 1929–30) and received his PhD from Yale in 1933 with his dissertation "The Relation of Eschatology to Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus as Represented in Matthew."

W. taught at Hamilton College (1930–33) and at Andover Newton Theological School (1933–43) as Norris Professor of NT. In 1943 he went to Chicago Theological Seminary to join the newly inaugurated Federated Theological Faculty, and in 1954 to Harvard, where from 1955 he was Hollis Professor of Divinity and after 1963 Hollis Professor, emeritus. He was active in the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE (president, 1955), the Studiorum Novi Testament Societas, the American Academy of Religion, and the Society for Religion in Higher Education. He was acting editor of *JR* (1945–46), on the editorial board of *Christianity and Crisis* (1952–65), and was awarded numerous honorary doctorates. Active into his nineties, he died in Cambridge May 1, 1993.

During W.'s long career as scholar, teacher, and poet, the panorama of North American biblical scholarship unfolded. Trained under its early leaders (e.g., Bacon, F. Porter, K. Lake, and A. D. Nock) and influenced through personal contact by such leading European scholars as C. H. DODD and A. SCHWEITZER, W. greatly influenced the shape of NT studies. Despite W. Lowrie's counsel, "If you would have a long life and see good days, keep mum on the subject of eschatology" (Wilder [1984] 442), W. manifested an initial and continuing interest in NT eschatology and the challenge it poses to ethics. In opposition to those who claimed that the expectation of future hope or judgment reduced ethics to an interim code or encouraged fanciful otherworldliness, W. argued that JESUS transforms into the form of myth "the epoch making, world transforming significance of his own life" (1939, 35). Visions of the future motivate present repentance, and true Christian ethics is a "new covenant" ethics in which Jesus' teaching expresses a way of life made possible by the experience of the Kingdom (162).

W. was a major influence on the emergence of theology and literature and LITERARY criticism of the Bible as vigorous movements within religious studies. Having

published two volumes of poetry before completing his dissertation and a corpus of poetry and literary criticism along with major works in NT interpretation, he was uniquely equipped to plumb the literary riches of the Bible. He voiced the conviction that both scholars and general readers have failed to do justice to the operations of the imagination in Scripture—to poetry, imagery, and symbolism (1982, 15)—and attributed this failure to an "occupational cramp" due to a philological interest in minutiae that reduces poetry to prose and to a theological tradition that is interested only in ideas. By imagination W. meant "a total apprehension" of the world, in which we are engaged with the world through our senses. "When imagination fails," he wrote, "doctrine becomes ossified, witness and proclamation wooden, doxologies and litanies empty, consolations hollow and ethics legalistic" (1973, 593).

W.'s own extensive writings have a poetic quality—engaging, crisp, and fresh after many decades and after many readings. His 1964 landmark work brought together different threads of his own thought—reflections on genre, the literary texture of PARABLE, the importance of narrative—and inaugurated, along with R. FUNK's *Language, Hermeneutic, and the Word of God* (1966), a new era of parable research. W. stressed both the poetic quality and the secularity of the parables: The reader does not meet Jesus "the cloudy visionary" but the "layman" for whom human destiny is at stake in "ordinary creaturely existence, domestic, economic, social" (1964, 82).

Throughout his long career W. was engaged in everyday academic and church life. His books and articles explored biblical studies, literary criticism, and social and religious concerns of modern society. He fostered understanding between European and American scholars, was committed to ecumenism in scholarship and church life, and addressed the widening gulf between religion and contemporary culture. While not reducing religion to art or literature, since "faith has its own rhetoric" (1958, 8), his engagement with the Bible is a reminder that "before the message there must be the vision, before the sermon the hymn, before the prose the poem" (1976, 1).

Works: *Battle-retrospect and Other Poems* (1923); *Archane: Poems* (1928); *Eschatology and Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus* (1939, rev. ed. 1950, repr. 1978); *The Spiritual Aspects of the New Poetry* (1940, repr. 1968); *The Healing of the Waters: Poems* (1943); *Liberal Learning and Religion* (1951, repr. 1969); *Modern Poetry and the Christian Tradition* (1952); *Otherworldliness and the NT* (1954; GT, *Weltfremdes Christentum?* [1958]); *NT Faith For Today* (1955); "The First, Second and Third Epistles of John: Introduction and Exegesis" *IB* 12 (1957) 209-313; *Theology and Modern Literature* (1958); *The Language of the Gospel: Early Christian Rhetoric* (1964; repr. with new preface as *Early Christian Rhetoric* [1971]); *Kerygma, Eschatology, and Social Ethics* (1966); *The New Voice: Religion Literature and Hermeneutics* (1969); *Grace Confounding: Poems* (1972); "Theology and Theopoetic," *Christian Century* 90 (1973) 593-96; *Theopoetic: Theology and the Religious Imagination* (1976); *Imagining the Real* (1978); *T. Wilder and His Public* (1980); *Jesus' Parables and the War of Myths: Essays on Imagination in the Scriptures* (1982); *The Bible and the Literary Critic* (1991). For autobiographical reflections, see preface to *Jesus' Parables and the War of Myths,* 15-38, and "NT Studies 1920–50: Reminiscences of a Changing Discipline," *JR* 64 (1984) 432-51.

Bibliography: **W. Beardslee,** "A. N. W.: Poet and Scholar," *Semeia* 12 (1978) 1-40. **J. Cox,** "Religious Literary Criticism: A Search for Definition in the Work of A. W. and G. Vahanian" (diss., Florida State University, 1970). **J. D. Crossan,** *A Fragile Craft: The Work of A. N. W.* (1981). **A. J. Dewey,** "A. N. W.: Bibliography and Vita," *Semeia* 13 (1978), complete bibliography to 1978, 263-87. **H. Hunter,** "A. N. W. and the Processes of Poetry," *Semeia* 13 (1978) 1-8. **W. McDonald,** "The Literary Criticism of A. W.," *Soundings* 52 (1969) 99-109. **J. A. Mirro,** "A. N. W.: A Theopoet," *BTB* 10 (1980) 118-23. **C. Sleeper,** "Some Contributions to NT American Criticism," *Int* 20 (1966) 322-39. **K. Stendahl,** "Imagining the Real," *HDivB* 23 (1994) 13-15 (on W.'s life and work).

J. R. DONAHUE

WILKE, CHRISTIAN GOTTLOB (1788–1854)

Born May 13, 1788, in Badrina, Germany, W. studied Protestant theology and philosophy in Leipzig (1809–14). He served as an army chaplain (1814–18) and after 1821 was pastor in Hermannsdorf but was dismissed in 1836. As an army chaplain in France he had become acquainted with Roman Catholicism, and in August 1846 he made a Roman Catholic confession of faith. Although he received his PhD in Freiburg in 1847, the Würzburg university senate denied his inauguration into a full academic career after his dissertation was criticized as being unscholarly. He died Nov. 11, 1854, in Würzburg.

Among W.'s scholarly works, two deserve particular attention. The fourth edition of his NT dictionary (see DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS) was reworked by W. Grimm (thence known as Wilke-Grimm), making it really useful for the first time. More significant for the development of NT scholarship, however, was W.'s source-critical work published in 1838. C. WEISSE in the same year defended the priority of Mark from a historian's perspective. W. established that same priority in the narrative material strictly from a LITERARY perspective (684), although he simultaneously asserted a two source theory diverging from Weisse: Matthew was dependent on Luke in his rhetorical material but on Mark in his narrative material (691). An important preliminary work in this context was W.'s 1826 essay.

Works: "Über die Parabel von den Arbeitern im Weinberg, Matt 20,1-16," *ZWT* 1 (ed. G. B. Winer, 1826) 71-109; *Der Urevangelist oder exegetisch kritische Untersuchung über das Verwandschaftsverhältnis der drei ersten Evangelien* (1838); *Clavis Novi Testamenti philologica* (1840–41; Wilke-Grimm, 1888[4]; ET 1886); *Die neutestamentliche Rhetorik* (1843); *Die Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments systematisch dargestellt* (2 vols., 1843–44).

Bibliography: **H. Mulert,** "Zur Lebensgeschichte C. G. W.s," *TSK* 90 (1917) 198-206. **D. A. Rosenthal,** *Konvertitenbilder aus dem 19. Jahrhundert* 1, 2 (1892[3]) 344. **H.-H. Stoldt,** *History and Criticism of the Marcan Hypothesis* (1977; ET 1980) 27-46.

F. W. HORN

WILLET, ANDREW (1562–1621)

A Calvinist theologian (see CALVIN) of the Church of England, W. was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and spent most of his life as a rural parson, authoring major works in refutation of Roman Catholic claims. Renowned for his textual knowledge of the HB, he published a number of commentaries, beginning with one on Genesis in 1605 and continuing with similar works on Exodus, Leviticus, Daniel, and Romans, which he called Hexapla because they compared six translations with the original Hebrew (the Septuagint, the Syriac, the Vulgate, the LT of Tremellius, and two English versions—the Great Bible and the Geneva Bible). Each volume provided a sixfold commentary, which for each text (usually by chapter) treated the argument, variant readings, difficult questions, doctrines, controversies involved, and moral observations. W. also treated the same matters more briefly in commentaries on 1–2 Samuel. While he acknowledged the help of Roman Catholic commentators, his comments included much anti-Roman Catholic polemic.

Works: *Hexapla in Genesin* (1605); *Hexapla in Exodum* (1608); *Hexapla in Danielem* (1610); *Hexapla . . . upon . . . Romanes* (1611); *An Harmonie upon the First Booke of Samuel* (1614); *An Harmonie upon the Second Booke of Samuel* (1614); *Hexapla in Leviticum* (1631).

Bibliography: **J. F. Wilkinson,** *DNB* 61 (1900) 288-92.

D. D. WALLACE, JR.

WILLIAM OF CHAMPEAUX (c. 1070–1121)

Born at Champeaux near Melun, France, W. studied under ANSELM OF LAON and perhaps under Roscelin of Compiègne. He was one of P. ABELARD's masters. Driven from his own teaching by Abelard's competition, he retired to the house of St. Victor, where he founded the order of Victorine canons, opening a school of theology that laid the foundations of the Victorine school. In 1112 he became bishop of Châlons.

W.'s principle teaching activity seems to have been in the liberal arts, with some reference to their application in exegesis. He is the author of a treatise on the Eucharist (*De Sacramento Altaris*), which makes a contribution to the debate on transubstantiation begun by BERENGAR OF TOURS and LANFRANC OF BEC in the previous generation. He is the probable author of an abbreviation of GREGORY THE GREAT's *Moralia in Job.* W. died at Châlons-sur-Marne.

Works: *PL* 163.

Bibliography: **O. Lottin,** *Psychologie et morale aux xiie et xiiie siècles* 5 (1959). **H. Weisweiler,** "L'école de'Anselm de Laon et de Gillaume de Champeaux," *RATM* 4 (1932) 237-69, 371-91.

G. R. EVANS

WILLIAM OF CONCHES (c. 1080–c. 1154)

A pupil of Bernard of Chartres, W. has won a reputation for bringing the scientific aspects of contemporary scholarship to some prominence. He commented on Calcidius's commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* and on the *Somnium Scipionis* commentary of Macrobius. His *Philosophia Mundi* and *Dragmaticon* are concerned with physical and metaphysical aspects of the study of the natural world. His importance for the history of exegesis lies chiefly in the influence of his ideas on commentary on the Genesis story of the six days of creation. Much of his work remains unedited or without modern critical editions, and there are problems of attribution still to be resolved.

Works: *PL* 90.1127-78 and *PL* 171.39-102 contain his *Philosophia Mundi* among the works of Bede and Honorius of Autum respectively.

Bibliography: **M. D. Chenu,** "Une controverse exégètique sur la création au xii[e] siècle," *AHDL* 20 (1953–54) 25-30. **T. Gregory,** *Amina Mundi: La filosofia de Guglielmo di Conches e la scuola di Chartres* (1955).

G. R. EVANS

WINCKLER, HUGO (1863–1913)

Born in Graefenhainichen, Germany, W. excelled early in language study and in 1881 entered the University of Berlin to study Semitic philology under E. Schrader, E. Sachau, and J. Barth. Cuneiform studies won his devotion, and by 1889 he had produced major publications on the Amarna letters and on the inscriptions of Sargon. He continued his academic career at Berlin, becoming an *ausserordentlicher* professor in

1904. Apart from cuneiform studies and his many works of historical and cultural analysis, he is well known for his leadership of the excavations at Boghazkoy (1906–12), the ancient Hittite capital (see HITTITOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES), including the discovery of a major official archive that greatly expanded the range of historical sources.

Ably seconded by A. JEREMIAS and others, W. focused on the character and cultural influence of the Mesopotamian worldview, a perspective labeled PAN-BABYLONIANISM. He held that the worldview of Mesopotamia, the cultural leader of the ancient Near East, significantly influenced all the world's higher cultures and religions (and especially biblical religion). Central in his judgment were the astral myths and the organized system they reflected. He reconstructed a Babylonian cosmic theory he believed fundamental to all Babylonian religion and historiography, in which the everyday historical world was merely a reflection of the astral realities (a microcosm mirroring the astral macrocosm). He viewed the narratives about the biblical patriarchs as heavily influenced by Israel's perception in them of the characteristics of the moon god. Abraham's actual history, therefore, is not accessible, for all the associations (e.g., Ur, Haran, Terah, the 318 attendants) testify to the dominance of Babylonian astral conceptions.

In contrast to J. WELLHAUSEN's reconstruction of Israel's history (in particular the evolutionary development and the comparisons with pre-Islamic Arabia), W. urged the antiquity and complexity of the cultural world (Mesopotamia) out of which Israel developed as well as the way in which the sources reflected ideas much older than the actual date of writing. Some opponents of Wellhausenism supported W. as an alternative, although his astral theories were vigorously opposed by such scholars as H. GRESSMANN and H. GUNKEL. W.'s work with the texts remains of value, but his theoretical reconstructions are now either rejected or ignored.

Works: (with L. Abel), *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons* (2 vols., 1889); (with L. Abel), *Der Thontafelfund von Tell-el-Amarna* (1889–90); *Keilschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (3 eds., 1891–1909); *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (1892); *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (1892); *Altorientalischen Forschungen* (3rd ser., 1893–1906); *Geschichte Israels in Einzeldarstellungen* (1895–1900); *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna* (1896); (with H. Zimmern), *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (1902–3[3]; 1st-2nd ed., E. Schrader); *Der alte Orient und die Bibel* (1906); *Die babylonische Geisteskultur in ihren Beziehungen zur Kulturentwicklung der Menschheit* (1907); *Die jüngsten Kämpfer wider den Panbabylonismus* (1907).

Bibliography: **A. Jeremias and O. Weber,** *Hugo Winckler* (MVAG 20, 1, 1916, with bibliography). **K. Johanning,** *Der Bibel-Babel-Streit: Eine forschungsgeschichtliche Studie* (1988) 265-74. **H.-J. Kraus,** *GHKEAT* (1982[3]) 305-9. **R. G. Lehmann,** *Friedrich Delitzsch und der Babel-Bibel-Streit* (OBO 133, 1994) 40-43. **H. Weidmann,** *Die Patriarchen und ihre Religion im Licht der Forschung seit J. Wellhausen* (FRLANT 94, 1968) 69-81.

H. B. HUFFMON

WINDISCH, HANS (1881–1935)

W. became a *Dozent* at Leipzig in 1908 and professor of NT at Leiden (1914–29), at Kiel (1929–35), and at Halle (1935). His works show him to be a liberal theologian and an adherent of the RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE.

W. devoted a great deal of attention to the relationship between JESUS—whom he saw as a *theios aner* marked by a consciousness of his own messianic mission, who after his baptism understood himself to be a prophetic pneumatic—and PAUL. W. detected differences in their respective understanding of the law. The demands of the law in the SERMON ON THE MOUNT are not to be taken as unfulfillable in the Pauline sense of Romans 3–8. On the contrary, Jesus elevated strict adherence to the law's ethical demands as the entry requirement for the kingdom of God. However, Pauline christology was able to employ Jesus' words in Mark 14:22-25 in which Jesus, referring to Isaiah 53, invested his own death with messianic significance. W. also perceived extensive similarities in Jesus and Paul as individuals; both are similar *theioi andres* with the characteristics of martyrs.

W. was interested in the problem of sin in baptized Christians. He detected contradictions in Paul between statements concerning the sacramental removal of sins by grace (Rom 6:1-14; 1 Cor 6:11) and the fact that Christians nonetheless sin (1 Cor 8:12). This contradiction between ideal and reality generates an unresolved tension between the indicative and the imperative in Paul. The theory of sinlessness corresponds to reality only with qualification; empirical acts of sin by Christians lead to the imperative to avoid sin (Rom 6:15-23). W. considered these Pauline views that baptized Christians were, according to their real essence, sinless and that the church could claim to be a community of saints to be representative for all of primitive Christianity and to have determined the various measures of additional atonement and church discipline. This rigorist viewpoint confronted the Roman Catholic understanding that the sin of baptized Christians was from the very beginning never viewed as extraordinary and that the forgiveness of even the most grievous sins was possible through the church's institution of penance.

Johannes und die Synoptiker deals with the sources and editorial intention of the Gospel of John. W. assumed a JOHANNINE acquaintance with all three SYNOPTIC Gospels. The goal of the Gospel of John was to correct the Synoptics' presentation of Jesus and to dis-

lodge them as normative writings in the Christian communities.

Works: *Die Entsündigung des Christen nach Paulus* (1908); *Taufe und Sünde im ältesten Christentum bis auf Origenes* (1908); *Die katholischen Briefe* (HNT 4, 2, 1911; HNT 15, 1951[3] bearbeitet von H. Preisker); *Der Hebräerbrief* (HNT 4, 3, 1913; HNT 14 1931[2]); *Der Barnabasbrief* (HNT-Erg. 3, 1920); "Das Problem des paulinischen Imperativs," *ZNW* 23 (1924) 265-81; *Der zweite Korintherbrief* (MeyerK 4, 1924; repr. 1970 ed. G. Strecker); *Johannes und die Synoptiker: Wollte der vierte Evangelist die älteren Evangelien ergänzen oder ersetzen?* (UNT 12, 1926); "Jesus und der Geist nach synoptischer Überlieferung," *Studies in Early Christianity* (ed. S. J. Case, 1928) 207-36; *Der Sinn der Bergpredigt* (UNT 16, 1929, 1937[2]); *Paulus und Christus: Ein biblische-religionsgeschichtlicher Vergleich* (UNT 24, 1934); "Paulus und Jesus," *TSK* NS 1 (1934/35) 432-68.

Bibliography: **E. Beijer,** "H. W. und seine Bedeutung für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft," *ZNW* 48 (1957) 22-49. **G. Delling and M. J. Fiedler,** "In memoriam H. W.: Bibliographie H. W.," *TLZ* 81 (1956) 499-510. **A. Meyer,** *RGG*[2] 5 (1931) 1952. **K. Prümm,** "Zur Früh- und Spätform der religionsgeschichtlichen Christusdeutung von H. W.," *Bib* 42 (1961) 391-422; 43 (1962) 22-56.

B. KOLLMANN

WINNETT, FREDERICK VICTOR (1903–89)

Born in Oil Springs, Ontario, Canada, May 25, 1903, W. graduated in oriental languages at the University of Toronto in 1923 and pursued theological studies at Knox College until 1927. Concurrently he continued postgraduate work at Toronto, obtaining the PhD in 1928 with a thesis on a thirteenth-century Syriac text. A postdoctoral fellowship enabled him to spend a further year of study at Hartford Theological Seminary, where he profited from the erudition of D. MACDONALD. W.'s teaching career, begun in 1929, was spent entirely at the University of Toronto. He retired in 1971 and died Jan. 22, 1989.

W.'s reputation as a leading authority on pre-Islamic Arabic began with a volume on Lihyanite and Thamudic inscriptions (1937). Expeditions in Jordan during 1950–51 and 1958–59 produced many Safaitic inscriptions and texts, published in 1957 and 1978 respectively. In 1962 and 1967 trips through northern Arabia led to yet another volume (1970) and several articles.

Another of W.'s interests was Palestinian ARCHAEOLOGY. Closely associated with the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, he was made an honorary fellow of the Jerusalem school (1938–39) and served as director (1950–51, 1958–59). He also participated in excavations at Jericho, Dibon, Gibeon, and Elealeh.

W.'s third interest was biblical literature, particularly the problems connected with the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM), on which he conducted a graduate seminar for many years. His 1949 volume offers an original approach, maintaining that Exodus and Numbers exhibit a continuous account of Moses that was composed in the northern kingdom. Two later recensions were made: the first in Judah after the fall of Samaria, resulting in Deuteronomy, and a priestly harmonization of the two following the exile. W. finally ventured a reconstruction of the original tradition. In a presidential address to the hundredth meeting of the SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE, he argued that revisions in Genesis were the work of a late Yahwistic source. His conclusions have been politely received but have not yet been taken with the seriousness they deserve.

Works: *A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions* (1937); *The Mosaic Tradition* (1949); *Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan* (1957); "Re-examining the Foundations," *JBL* 84 (1965) 1-19; (with W. L. Reed), *Ancient Records from North Arabia* (1970); (with L. Harding), *Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns* (1978).

Bibliography: **A. D. Tushingham,** *BASOR* 279 (1990) 1-4. **J. W. Wevers and D. B. Redford** (eds.), "Studies on the Ancient Palestinean World: Presented to Prof. F. V. W. on the Occasion of His Retirement, 1 July 1971," *TSTS* 2 (1972) x, 171.

R. J. WILLIAMS

WINSTANLEY, GERRARD (1609–c. 1660)

A leader and chief spokesman of the Diggers, or True Levellers, W. was born at Wigan, England, was apprenticed to the cloth trade in London in 1630, and became a freeman of Merchant Taylor's Company in 1637. After 1640 his business failed, and he worked as a hired cowherd in Surrey. In the late 1640s he published mystical, pantheistic works whose ideas took a practical shape in the cultivation of common land by the Diggers, described by W. as a return to humankind's state of oneness with God. The colony lasted from April 1649 into 1650, when the Diggers were dispersed by local landowners. W. defended his actions and program in print, and in *The Law of Freedom in a Platform* (1652) outlined a reorganization of society along Digger lines. He then drifted into obscurity, perhaps becoming a Quaker.

At the heart of W.'s mysticism and communism was a reading of the Bible as an internal (personal) and external (in nature) allegory of the operation of God ("Reason"). Thus, the Garden of Eden is "man's heart." Genesis 1 becomes a source for an elaborate personal and natural interpretation of good and evil: "In this garden are five rivers: hearing, seeing, tasting, smelling, feeling; which we in our age of the world call five

senses. And these five water springs do refresh and preserve the whole creation, both of the out-coasts [nature itself] and of the garden [man]." W. understood the books of Daniel and Revelation as representations of the tyrannies of clerisy, formal education, and private property, which hold people in bondage. The Bible was written by "shepherds, husbandmen, fishermen and such inferior men of the world" who had an "experimental" (direct and personal) experience of God, Christ, and the Spirit. Typically, W. used an economic metaphor to complain that "in opposition to the righteous spirit" the "learned ones . . . engross" poor people's spiritual experiences to themselves.

The True Levellers' Standard Advanced (1649) and *The Law of Freedom* (1652) contain a more broadly based HB justification for the common "enjoyment" of the land, designed to merge the ideals of commonwealth magistracy with Digger communism against the yoke of kingship. W. was disputed by other sectarians for his interpretation of Eden, largely to render a positive picture of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. This in itself is an indication of the wide degree of interest among sectarians in Genesis 1. W.'s large-scale moral allegorizings developed from biblical symbols; his puns prefigure Quaker discourse, although his linking of pantheistic mysticism with economic complaint results in a unique language of visionary penetration.

Works: *The Works of G. W.* (ed. G. H. Sabine, 1941); *The Law of Freedom and Other Writings* (ed. C. Hill, 1973).

Bibliography: **J. C. Davis,** *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516–1700* (1981). **C. Hill,** *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (1972); *The Religion of G. W.* (Past and Present Supplement 5, 1978). **T. Kenyon,** *Utopian Communism and Political Thought in Early Modern England* (1989). **G. M. Shulman,** *Radicalism and Reverence: The Political Thought of G. W.* (1989). **N. Smith,** *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion, 1640–60* (1989).

N. SMITH

WISDOM OF SOLOMON

This apocryphal book is a product of Jewish wisdom composed in Greek thought patterns and literary style. It is not included in Jewish and Protestant biblical canons (see CANON OF THE BIBLE), but it is retained among canonical books by the Roman Catholic Church. Scholarship in major commentaries has centered its critical approach principally around several issues—namely, division of contents, purpose, authorship, origin, original language, and date.

1. Early Interest in the Book. There are five uncial manuscripts: Codex Alexandrinus (A; 5th cent.); Codex Vaticanus (B; 4th cent.); Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus (C; 5th cent.), containing only part of the text; Codex Sinaiticus (S; 4th cent.); and Codex Venetus (V; 8th cent.), important for its witness to many Origenic readings (see ORIGEN). *Sapientia Salomonis* in the Göttingen *Septuaginta* edited by J. Ziegler (1962) is the first critical edition of Wisdom based on all pertinent available recorded evidence. In Ziegler's view the original form of the text is best transmitted in the fourth-century codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus and in the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus. A more complete reading is achieved from the agreement among the manuscripts and the minuscules that depend on them. Ziegler also lists the secondary uncials Ephraemi and Venetus, which contain large gaps and scribal errors, and forty-five cursive minuscules of later age and inferior quality. There are also several papyrus fragments (3rd and 4th–5th cents.), a fragment from Khirbet Mird, and two Greek commentaries. The earlier commentary of M. Monachus (14th cent.) is important because of its use of Greek manuscripts no longer extant, while the work of M. Cantacuzenus (16th cent.) has no special significance. Early documents have variations in the title of the book, all with principal emphasis on the theme of wisdom.

2. Interpretations Before the Nineteenth Century. Scholarship from early times through the eighteenth century includes the homilies of AMBROSE and of AUGUSTINE, which have been lost. The first extant commentary is that of RABANUS MAURUS (856 CE), which shared the scene with the GLOSSA ORDINARIA, attributed to WALAFRID STRABO (c. 808–849), although now many doubt that the work was his. ANSELM, HUGO OF ST. CHER (1260), and BONAVENTURE wrote in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and the work of NICHOLAS OF LYRA (1341) and R. Holcot (d. 1349) appeared during the following century. Post-Reformation viewpoints come from both Roman Catholic and Protestant scholarship. P. Nannius (1500–1557) and V. Strigel (1524–69) taught in the sixteenth century, followed by H. GROTIUS (in *Critici sacri* [1660]), Lorinus, and C. à LAPIDE in the seventeenth. Increased interest appeared in the eighteenth century with D. CALMET (1724), C. Houbigant's contributions of 1753 and 1777, and Klenker and Hasse in 1785. J. Nachtigal (1798) held that Wisdom is a mosaic to which seventy-nine sages contributed, a view termed bizarre by D. Winston (1979, 12). In the same work Winston gives detailed information on manuscripts and versions as well as on the book's status and influence (64-69).

3. Scholarship from the Nineteenth Century. In the critical study of Wisdom, the basic approach to understanding its structure is either in terms of subject matter or in terms of LITERARY characteristics. The majority of commentators divide the text into two or three parts, with variations as to their composition. A few scholars have proposed a four-part division. Subject matter in-

cludes general and hortatory considerations (Wisdom 1–5); praise of wisdom and its role in human destiny (Wisdom 6–9); and wisdom in the history of God's people (Wisdom 10–19). Among literary characteristics are differences in style of the first part (Wisdom 1–9) and the second part (Wisdom 10–19) as well as the author's structuring of his work by using such rhetorical devices as *inclusio* or *kyklos* to mark off sections of the material.

a. Two-part division. W. Deane (1881), J. Harris (1929), and B. Metzger (1957) proposed a simple two-part division. The span of the dates of their works shows a continuing recurrence of this plan over a period of time. Interspersed with these works are others that agree substantially but incorporate variations on the basic two divisions and offer different subdivisions, e.g., W. Wright (1968) who followed J. Reese (1965 and 1970) in identifying the sections of Wisdom on the basis of literary genre but contributed his own intricate outline with two main parts and many subdivisions.

b. Three-part division. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, K. Bretschneider (1804) presented three distinct parts: 1:1–6:8; 6:9–10:21; 11–19. The landmark commentary of K. Grimm (1860) modified the arrangement to 1–5; 6–9; 10–19, and argued for the unity of the book. This position had continuing impact on subsequent scholars, who either accepted the views exactly or made minor modifications, from E. Bissell (1880) to R. Dentan (1971). W. Kohler (1906) laid out three independent parts of the book but disputed Grimm's conclusion on unity, while E. Stein (1936) proposed Wisdom as a compilation of three, or possibly four, books on the basis of sources. M. Hadas (1976) offers an interplay between a two-part and a three-part division by calling for two parts on the basis of theme and three parts on the basis of content. Winston (1979) retains the three-part division but marks the first part as 1:1–6:21 and the second as 6:22–10:21. For him the second part is the core of the book, where the author is at his best. While E. Clarke (1973) spoke of four subdivisions, each with a different theme but dependent on one another, his divisions basically followed Grimm.

c. Four-part division. Reese made a significant breakthrough by first presenting a true four-part division on the basis of the literary genre protreptic, and he provided a scientific approach to unraveling the message of the sage. His methodology was followed by A. Wright (1965, 1990), who nevertheless reverted to a two-part structure. M. Gilbert (1984) shares interest in literary characteristics and patterns but uses a three-part division of the book, which he sees as *encomium.*

d. Purpose of the book. The plan of the book is closely connected with its purpose and is a key factor in understanding it. There is substantial agreement as to the author's basic objective. Standing at one of the turning points in scholarship, Grimm described the purpose as hortatory-apologetic-polemic. In line with him was Deane, who emphasized the Greek influence. Although Bissell accepted this point, he did not follow Deane's positive view of the book's presentation of the Hebrew faith. E. SCHÜRER (1885) noted that Wisdom was directed as much to those outside Judaism as to those within it and aimed to offset the objections of heathen critics. Through the years other scholars have followed similar reasoning with one emphasis or another. Reese drew the sage's purpose into sharper focus by attributing a twofold purpose: (1) to glorify God's mercy in calling people to actively participate in his eternal reign (3:8 and 6:21) and (2) to urge all people to the righteousness that would provide an eternal inheritance among the saints (5:5). Reese's statement (1965) is at once specific and universal. The sage wished to enable future intellectual leaders of his people to view their situation positively, while he extended an orientation toward righteousness to all people who looked to eternity. Winston corroborates the prevailing view and adds that the sagacious author of Wisdom points a finger at pagan kings who have abandoned the principles of divine justice.

Some divergent views have had little following. C. Siegfried (1875) seemed to regard the reconciliation of Jewish and Greek philosophy as the book's main purpose. E. Plumptre (1821–91) thought it was a correction of the teaching of Qohelet or a current misrepresentation of it.

e. Authorship. Early critics hypothesized a wide range of authors including Zerubbabel, Aristobulus, PHILO, and Apollos. Others have suggested a translator of the SEPTUAGINT, one of the Therapeutae, a Christian, or a Samaritan patriot. Some church fathers, e.g., CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, TERTULLIAN, Cyprian (d. 258), Hippolytus (c. 170–c. 236), and Lactantius (c. 250–c. 325), advanced Solomonic authorship and thus opened the issue of a Hebrew original. Augustine denied it, and JEROME dropped the name of Solomon from the title. Solomonic authorship was also advanced by such medieval rabbis as Gedaliah ben Joseph Ibn Yahya (*Shalshelet ha Kabbalah,* 104) and Azariah dei Rossi (*Meor Ennayim,* 175). Whereas many scholars believe that the context makes use of Solomon only as a literary fiction, others allege that at least part of the book can be attributed to him. The discussion of Solomonic authorship continued into the twentieth century, but it receives little support.

i. Unity of authorship. Those who follow Grimm, reflected in F. FARRAR (1888), argue for unity of authorship and generally characterize the author as an Alexandrian Jew. D. Margoliouth (1890) differed in arguing for a Palestinian writer, but J. Freudenthal's (1891) response devastated this hypothesis. Such scholars as J. Reider (1957) basically argue for unity of authorship while suggesting that the various parts of the book may have been composed at different times in the author's

life. Stein held a somewhat different view, proposing three or four parts redacted by one editor; however, his view does not have strong support. On the other hand, Reese's breakthrough represents careful scholarship and concludes that the book is a unified composition with a consistent theological outlook.

ii. Composite authorship. In the eighteenth century Houbigant (1777) and J. G. EICHHORN (1795) argued for composite authorship, as did J. Nachtigal (1798) with his Mosaic theory. From the nineteenth century onward, scholarship was dotted with variations on the subject. R. PFEIFFER (1949) and Winston (1979) cited the arguments of F. Focke (1913) as the most plausible, although they believed his reasons either unfounded or inconclusive. Reider placed in the same category theories that trace four hands in the work. Thus the stronger and more prevalent position is in favor of unity of authorship.

f. Origin of Wisdom. Discussion of authorship raises questions about the book's place of origin. A preponderance of scholarship has favored an Egyptian location, probably in the area of Alexandria. The writer's handling of HB doctrines shows contact with Western philosophy, which most plausibly would have occurred in Alexandria and could best have been expressed in Greek by an educated Jew who integrated his beliefs with those of the heathen culture. Grimm's influence is seen in a long line of scholars who advocated a totally Alexandrian-Jewish character for the book. This position was thus well established and remains so even into the twentieth century, although a few scholars advance a Palestinian locus of composition. The classic debate between Margoliouth and Freudenthal about original language turned in part on place of origin, with Margoliouth's Palestinian hypothesis (263-97) being refuted by Freudenthal (722-53). Focke attributed Wisdom 1–5 and 6–19 to different authors, with the first part being written in Hebrew by a Palestinian author and subsequently being translated into Greek and used as an introduction to the second part by a Greek writer. Focke's theory was refuted by Pfeiffer as based entirely on conjecture. Winston further dismantled Focke's arguments, showing that his position has no foundation. Stein called for a Hebrew and a Palestinian original for the first two of his divisions of the book and a Greek original for the third part; the book would then have been compiled by one hand outside of Israel (467-69). Opinions favoring Palestinian origin have a sparse following, however.

g. Original language. From the discussion of place of origin arise two possibilities about the work's original language: Greek or Hebrew. Scholars who followed Grimm's thought found the book abounding in Hebrew expressions, yet showing mastery of the Greek of the later epoch. Hebrew coloring is found chiefly in the earlier chapters and is due to the use of HB phrases that are heavily Septuagintal, whereas the later chapters reflect a mastery of the Greek language and style and the use of unrestrained rhetoric. From Freudenthal to Reese, scholarship on original language generally took on the air of review. The notion of a Greek original is integral to Reese's analysis of the Hellenistic influence in Wisdom; he argues from detailed examination of vocabulary and style that the sage was trained in Greek rhetoric and was subject to a wide spectrum of Hellenistic influences (1970, 25-31). The preponderance of scholarship accepts Greek as the original language of the book.

The few scholars who favor a Hebrew original have also preferred a Palestinian locus of composition, e.g., Margoliouth, who argued against a Greek original on all points. Focke was refuted by Pfeiffer and Winston. Stein's theory of a final editor for three different sections, each with a different origin and language, has received little credence.

h. Dating of the book. The exact date of the book's composition cannot be determined with certainty. Calculations are based on such issues as persecution of the Jews, which seems to be mentioned and may be taken as some specific time of oppression or as persecution in general; the relation, or lack thereof, between Wisdom and PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA; and literary style. Conjectures span a period from the third century BCE to the first century CE. On the basis of internal evidence, Deane felt he could arrive at a certain date of 217–145 BCE. Grimm took up where Deane left off and situated the book at 145–50 BCE. As in other matters a large number of scholars hover in and around the same time period as Grimm, and even Stein placed the final editing at 145–130 BCE.

Another group of scholars has opted for the first century BCE as the date of origin. Among them is A. Holmes (1872–1940), who opined that the book was early enough to have been used by PAUL. Harris (1929) placed it before Philo and after the Septuagint of Ecclesiastes, as have others who maintain Septuagintal dependence and NT use. Reese prefers this time period; but basing his conclusions on the education of the day and on the literary characteristics reflected in the text, he sees a time before the accession of Augustus as the proper situation for the book's protreptic literary form (1970, 146-51). Gilbert (312) also works from the point of view of literary form, calling it *encomium,* and places the book between 30 BCE and the first decades of the first century CE. Hadas accepts a time near 30 BCE but reverts to the often-repeated themes of persecution and idolatry for determining his date.

Scholars who assign a date in the first century CE connect the writing with the tumults of Caligula's reign. Among these are Winston, who places it around 40 CE; and also Farrar, who on this point only took exception with Grimm and posited a date in the decade after the death of Christ. Because internal historical evidence is limited in Wisdom, various interpretations are possible; they recur repeatedly without the emergence of universal consensus on a date for the writing.

4. Conclusion. In all of the scholarship on Wisdom there is no definite certainty on most issues. The sage's reflections on Jewish traditions show wisdom to be active in creation and carrying history to its goal. From whatever frame of reference one views the book, it is an enriching contribution to evolving religious thought in the intertestamental period. For full treatment and bibliography see especially the works of B. J. Lillie, Reider, Winston, and Ziegler.

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B. J. LILLIE

WITSIUS, HERMAN (1636–1708)

A Dutch Reformed biblical theologian, properly Herman Wits but always known by the Latinized form of his name, since Latin was the language of his writings, W. studied at Groningen, Leiden, and Utrecht. After holding pastorates from 1656 to 1675, he taught at Franeker, Utrecht, and Leiden until his last illness. A man of great piety and learning, he attempted to mediate in the controversy between the biblical THEOLOGY of J. COCCEIUS, based on the concept of covenant and following a chronological method (see CHRONOLOGY), and the dogmatic theology of the so-called Reformed scholastics, following a topical method and based on the concept of predestination. The result was his wide-ranging and thoughtful book *De oeconomia Foederum Dei cum hominibus* (1685) dedicated to the future King William III and more than once translated into English. He also tried to mediate in the English Antinomian and Neonomian controversy: See his *Miscellanea Sacra* (1692–1700), which includes dissertations on many other subjects, mostly biblical. Further works include expositions of the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. W. strongly opposed the biblical criticism of B. SPINOZA, J. LE CLERC, and R. SIMON.

Works: *The Oeconomy of the Covenants Between God and Man: Contemplating a Complete Body of Divinity* (ET 1763).

Bibliography: **J. Marckius,** *Oratio funebris in obitum H. W.* (1710); the memoirs prefixed to English editions of the *Oeconomy* are based on this work.

R. T. BECKWITH

WITTER, HENNING BERNHARD (1683–1715)

Born May 7, 1683, in Hildesheim, W. died there May 8, 1715. The son of a Lutheran pastor, he studied biblical and oriental languages as well as rabbinical literature and mathematics in Jena (1701–4). After 1704 he studied primarily theology in Helmstedt and graduated as PhD and MA under H. von der HARDT. In 1706 he undertook a study trip to Holland. From 1707 until his early death from an epidemic, he was a pastor in Hildesheim.

After a series of shorter articles and polemical pamphlets in academic and ecclesiastical circles, W. wrote a commentary on Genesis but published only the first volume; the manuscript of the second volume disappeared after his death. Reflecting the basic approach and method of his time, the work seeks to accentuate moderate critical principles within the orthodox Lutheran church. Its uniqueness consists in the fact that it deals with the overall meaning of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) as intimated in its title: It discusses the legitimate claims of the Israelites to Palestine and gives a compendium of their laws as well as of divine teachings.

With regard to an area that was later to become of special interest, W. viewed Gen 1:1–2:3 as an ancient song that Moses placed at the beginning of his own work. The song is distinguished by its use of the divine name Elohim, a different style from the writing that follows, and its doublets with the continuation of the creation story. W. was criticized sharply by the Wittenberg theologian H. von Elswich, and his thesis was later forgotten in favor of that of J. ASTRUC. It was not until A. LODS that W.'s proposal was resurrected.

Works: *Jura Israelitarum in Palaestinam terram Chananaeam commentatione in Genesin perpetua sic demonstrata, ut idiomatis authentici nativus sensus fideliter detegatur, Mosis Autoris primaeva intentio sollicitè definiatur, adeoque corpus doctrinae et juris cùm antiquissimum, tùm consummatissimum tandem eruatur* (1711).

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R. SMEND

WOLFF, HANS WALTER (1911–93)

Born in Barmen, Germany, Dec. 17, 1911, W. studied theology and ancient Near Eastern languages and history at Bethel, Göttingen, and Bonn. His graduate studies, undertaken while a vicar in Munster/W. and Solingen (1937–47), were interrupted by WWII; he was drafted into the Luftwaffe but continued to serve as pastor of a Confessing congregation on the weekends.

W.'s scholarly publishing career began early. A seminar paper written when he was twenty-one years old, "Die Begründigungen der prophetischen Heils- und Unheilsprüche" (*ZAW* 52 [1934] 1-22), is still frequently cited. His first dissertation, not submitted to his *Doktorvater* because of the latter's pro-Nazi sympathies, was published in 1937. A second dissertation on Isaiah in early Christianity, submitted to the theological faculty at Halle (1942) was also published (1950^2, 1952^3) and was reprinted as late as 1984.

W. began his teaching career at the Kirchliche Hochschule in Wuppertal in 1947 while continuing as a pastor in Solingen-Wald (1947–59) and became professor of HB there in 1951. He later taught at Mainz (1959–67) and then succeeded his mentor and friend, G. von RAD, at the University of Heidelberg, where he taught until his retirement in 1978. He died Oct. 22, 1993.

Throughout his career W. sought to educate the general reading public in biblical studies, to produce works that would aid proclamation and preaching, and to engage in critical biblical scholarship. He is best known for his commentaries on seven of the Minor Prophets written for the BKAT series, of which he was a co-founder and editor after the death of M. NOTH. Form-critical (see FORM CRITICISM), TRADITION-historical, and REDACTION interests were characteristics of his exegesis. He wrote special studies on the intellectual background (*geistige Heimat*) of Amos (wisdom circles), Hosea (northern levitical groups), and Micah (Judean rural community). In three articles W. sought to highlight the central thrust or message (*kerygma*) of the Yahwist and Elohist sources of the Pentateuch (see PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM) and the DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY (collected in ET in W. Brueggemann's *The Vitality of the OT Traditions* [1975]). His study of the anthropology of the HB sought to enlighten the issue of "how in the OT human beings are initiated into a knowledge of themselves." In addition to his own writings W. edited collected essays by F. HORST, G. von Rad, and M. Noth as well as Festschriften for von Rad and C. WESTERMANN.

Works: *Das Zitat im Prophetenspruch: Eine Studie zur prophetischen Verkündigungsweise* (BEvT 4, 1937); *Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum* (1950); *Vom Leben des Volkes Gottes: Drei Bibelarbeiten nach dem 2. Buch Mose und eine Predigt vom Stuttgarter Kirchentag, 1952* (BibS 4, 1952); *Alttestamentliche Predigten, mit hermeneutischen Erwägugen* (1956); *Das befreiende Wort: Sieben Bibelauslegungen* (1956); *Immanuel, das Zeichen, dem widersprochen wird: Eine Auslegung von Jesaja 7,1-17* (BibS 23, 1959); *Hosea* (BKAT 14, 1, 1961; ET Hermeneia [1974]); *Hosea 8–14: Der Gemeinde ausgelegt* (Alttestamentliche Predigten 5, 1961); *Frieden ohne Ende: Jesaja 7,1-17 und 9,1-6 ausgelegt* (Schriftenreihe Biblische Studien 35, 1962); *Die Botschaft des Buches Joel* (TEH, 1963); *Amos the Prophet: The Man and His Background* (WMANT 18, 1964; ET 1973); *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (TBü 22, 1964, 1973^2); *Studien zum Jonabuch* (BibS 47, 1965, 1975^2); *Wegweisung: Gottes Wirken im Alten Testament. Vorträge zum Bibelverständnis* (1965); *Joel and Amos* (BKAT 14, 2, 1969; ET, Hermeneia [1977]); *Die Stunde des Amos: Prophetie und Protest* (1969); *The OT: A Guide to Its Writings* (1970; ET 1973); *Menschliches: Vier Reden über das Herz, den Ruhetag, die Ehe, und den Tod im Alten Testment* (KT 5, 1971); *Anthropology of the OT* (1973, 1974^2, 1977^3, 1984^4; ET 1974); *Prophetie in Bibel und Koran* (Christentum und Islam 5, 1974); *Obadiah and Jonah* (BKAT 14, 3, 1977; ET 1981); *Jonah: Church in Revolt* (1978); *Micah the Prophet* (1978; ET 1981); *Die Hochzeit der Hure: Hosea heute* (1979); *OT and Christian Preaching* (1980; ET 1986); *Confrontations with Prophets: Discovering the OT's New and Contemporary Significance* (1982; ET 1983); *Studien zur Prophetie: Probleme und Erträge, mit einer Werkbibliographie von J. Miltenberger* (TBü 76, 1987); *Haggai* (BKAT 14, 6; ET 1988); *Zugang zur Bibel: Eine Einführung in die Schriften des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (ThTh 7, 9, 1988^3); *Micah* (BKAT 14, 4; ET 1990).

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G. STANSELL

WOMANIST BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

1. Historical Overview. ***a. The Black theology movement.*** Womanist biblical interpretation arises from the groundbreaking and creative development in African American theological thought (see AFROCENTRIC BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION) called womanist theology. Womanist theology emerged out of the watershed Black theology movement of the 1960s and 1970s that ratified emphatically what theologians acceded theoretically—the ideologically and culturally conditioned roots and character of all theology—thus exploding the myth of a presumed rational objectivity and critiquing the Eurocentric IDEOLOGICAL and racial hegemony that has historically permeated traditional theology. Affirming the thesis that theology in the Christian tradition refers to the critical investigation of a person's or a community's belief in the divine and that the ultimate values of a religion should (and will) be viewed and interpreted from a people's own experience and social location, pioneering theologians J. Cone, J. Grant, J. Roberts, G. Wilmore, and other African American Christian theologians in major divinity schools and seminaries throughout the United States for the first time attempted to construct systematic theologies from the Black perspective; thus the African American experience, with its legacy of struggle arising from slavery, oppression, resistance, and survival in the New World—in sum, the lived experience of black peoples, including the Black church and Black culture—is necessarily a starting point for doing theology (see Cone [1969]; J. Evans [1987]; Grant [1989]; D. Hopkins [1993]; C. Lincoln [1990]).

b. Womanist theology. Like black male theologians, womanist theologians disavow the still-pervasive mythological tenet of Christian theology and biblical interpretation as disciplinarily, ideologically, and culturally disinterested (i.e., devoid of methodologically and practically "interested" or advocacy presuppositions and agendas; see R. Bultmann [1948–53; ET 1952–55] 289-96). Like other LIBERATION theology movements, black male, womanist, and FEMINIST theologies make explicit their starting point for doing theology (see E. Schüssler Fiorenza [1993] 1-21; R. Sugirtharajah [1991] 1-70).

Womanist theology begins with the experience of black women as its point of departure. Like feminist theologians, womanist theologians critique the hegemony of male-articulated understandings of the Christian faith and authenticate the significance of the gospel as read within the context of women's experience, validating in particular black women's experience as the primary source and context for understanding the nature of God and God's Word to humanity (see Grant [1989] ix). Womanist theologians also affirm the struggle against the evil of androcentrism and patriarchy that fosters gender subordination and oppression. Similarly, like black male theologians, womanist theologians critique the pervasiveness of White supremacy in traditional religion that fosters the evil of racial domination and oppression. But womanist theologians recognize the dynamics and politics of gender, race, and class as interlocking systems in an overarching structure of domination in their lives (F. Steady [c. 1981] 7-42); as such, the phenomenology of womanist theological analysis (and biblical interpretation) is multidimensional, inclusive of multiple anthropological referents in both genesis and scope.

Womanist theology privileges African American women's historic and contemporary experiences, voices, and perspectives purposefully, self-consciously, and practically as both a starting point and as a resource for doing theology. The theological expressions "womanist," "womanist theology," and "womanist biblical interpretation" arise from A. Walker's definition of the term, as found in her book, *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens* (1983): "Womanist 1. From womanish. (Opp. of 'girlish,' i.e., frivolous, irresponsible, not serious.) A black feminist of color. From the black folk expression of mothers to female children, 'You acting womanish,' i.e., like a woman. Usually referring to outrageous, audacious, courageous or willful behavior. Wanting to know more and in greater depth than is considered 'good' for one. Interested in grown-up doings. Acting grown up. Being grown up. Interchangeable with another black folk expression: 'You trying to be grown.' Responsible. In charge. Serious" (xi). Walker's culturally coded womanist concept provides significant clues for work undertaken by womanist theologians, with direct implications for the work of womanist biblical interpreters, in at least three ways.

First, Walker's womanist concept suggests that a womanist is a black feminist who is self-identified and constructively assertive—able to interpret reality and define her objectives in order to secure the well-being of herself and others (recalling heroines like H. Tubman), accenting the quality of life and survival interests of black women (see D. Williams [1993] 20-21). As a theology that is a critical and constructive reflection on the Christian faith, womanist theology validates black women's intellectual and generative knowledge base and their functions as creators, models, and purveyors of wide-ranging and transformative theological discourses and praxes, subjugated knowledge, and emancipatory traditions that effect revolutionary and liberating personal, communal, ecclesial, and sociopolitical change for women and men alike (a womanist is a universalist by temperament; see Walker, xi-xii).

Second, whereas traditional Eurocentric masculinist and feminist theological worldviews and discourses and the early writings of black male liberation theologians have historically fostered black women's invisibility and subordination, womanist theology renders black women's experiences decisively visible and their contributions in the formation, assessment, and critique of religious and theological meaning inestimable in the academic study of religion.

Third, Walker's allusion to the rich and historic tradition of the transmission of "mother wit" (wisdom) between mother and daughter in the definition comprises one of many cultural codes pointing to the primacy and crystallization of such values as mutuality, relationality, kinship and friendship networks, and familial and communal empowerment in women-centered activities and formed traditions in the African American community. Whereas some feminist theorizing more normatively privileges an individualistic worldview and various degrees of female separation in the face of inequality (see D. King [1988] 58; P. Couture [1996] 94-104), the effectiveness and resiliency of women-centered networks of resistance and care and the well-being of black women, men, families, and communities comprise a recurrent motif in womanist theological discourses (see K. Cannon [1995] 47-56; C. J. Sanders [1995] 84-94; Williams [1993] xiv).

2. The Project and Tasks of Womanist Biblical Interpretation. ***a. The Bible in womanist biblical interpretation.*** Womanist biblical interpretation is premised on at least three assumptions about the centrality and function of the Bible in the African American community. First, the Bible remains for a significant number of African American women and men the primary (though not exclusive) conduit of the community's understanding of God's being and acts—the church's book—and a plumb line for the life and practice of the Christian community (Evans [1987] 33).

For black women, God's revelation as witnessed in the Bible and read and heard within the context of their experience constitutes a primary source for their understanding of God—this, in spite of the fact that for several centuries black slave women were prohibited from reading the Bible. As HB scholar R. Weems so cogently observes: "For African-American (Protestant) women the Bible has been the *only* book passed down from her ancestors, and it has been presented to her as *the* medium for experiencing and knowing the will of the Christian God" (1991, 63; see Grant [1993] 279).

Unwilling to jettison the Bible in spite of its uses and abuses against African Americans by proslavery jurists, apologists, and others in the dominant European culture of seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century America to provide the *argumentum* and *invidium par excellence* (a definite and supreme appeal to prejudices) in support of chattel slavery, womanist biblical interpreters and generations of African Americans have found in many of its traditions, stories, and themes affirmation of enduring ancestral traditions; the valuation of communal solidarity motifs and biblical mandates enjoining love, mercy, and justice; and the critical paradigms that informed their quest for freedom and inspired hope (cf. God's deliverance of Israel from Egypt, Exod 1:1-15; and the description of Jesus in his earthly ministry as vested with power to deliver women and men from the death-dealing effects of individual and structural sin and oppression to a new life of redemptive and communal wholeness, Luke 4:16-20; 8:40-48; also see Williams [1993] 148-52). Similarly, stories of female and male personalities in the HB and in the Christian Scriptures, inclusive of black Africans in the ancient Near East and in the Greco-Roman world (e.g., the Queen of Sheba in 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 13; Ebed-Melech in Jer 38:7-13; and the Ethiopian eunuch in Acts 8:26-40) inspire unyielding perseverence, strength in weakness, hope in the face of despair, the possibilities of a radically transformed and renewed life in the face of a multiplicity of death-dealing forces.

The previously cited biblical motifs and others hold special interest for African Americans continually assailed by the racial Moloch that sought to circumscribe the integrity of their lives and the promise of their potential on the American landscape. In short, black people have developed an experiential sympathy with much of the Bible, for they have found within its stories ancient symbols of their own predicament and of their own struggle for liberation (C. Felder [1989] 6).

Second, if womanist biblical interpreters have corroborated that the Bible has functioned as a historic, life-giving, and empowering resource for both African Americans and the larger human community because they find their story in the biblical story, they also acknowledge the problematics of the Bible as a pervasively androcentric, patriarchal text. As such, womanist biblical scholars impart a HERMENEUTIC of suspicion to the interpretative task (see Schüssler Fiorenza [1984]), recognizing, for example, that recovering the religious beliefs, experiences, and history of women in the HB and in the Christian Scriptures is methodologically problematic, as much because the Scriptures were written and mediated by males and male-dominated institutions and interests as because the larger interests of the biblical writers often display a dialectic of concealment, redacted traditional interests encased in artistically and rhetorically nuanced figures and symbols. Thus biblical traditions necessarily require critical analysis to assess their meanings within their own socio-historical and ideological context, and critical discernment regarding their possible use and relevance in emancipatory struggles.

Third, womanist biblical interpreters have consistently heralded the need to identify and demystify the reality

and effects of multiple, interlocking ideologies and systems of hegemony and domination inscribed within the biblical traditions and stories and within traditional male and female (including feminist) Eurocentric critical exegetical theories and practices.

b. Tasks of womanist interpreters. The multiple tasks of womanist biblical interpreters in the production of womanist religious scholarship are informed as much by their training in the standard and traditionalist methodologies and practices of biblical criticism in the academic guild as they are by the discourses, values, and sociopolitical and religious experiences and cosmological worldview of African American culture. While the tasks of womanist biblical interpreters are richly diverse and eclectically wide-ranging, four tasks are briefly noted here.

First, womanist interpreters expand on earlier works and on the appropriate recovery, analysis, and reconstruction of the texts and of their worlds as well as on the history of the HB and the Christian Scriptures, including an analysis of their symbolic universes, rhetorical character, and the luminous depths and the ideological complexities of their sacred histories. The reconstruction of the historic faith traditions embedded within both the HB and the Christian Scriptures must necessarily include a recovery of the history of women within the biblical traditions, including a recognition of the methodological complexities attending such reconstructions (see B. Brooten [c. 1985]).

Biblical scholar R. Weems has shown that the recovery and excavation of women's history can yield unsettling historical conundrums about the complexities of women's experience of, e.g., the social constructions of violence and gender including the role of religious language in reinforcing domination (1989). It can likewise provide a blueprint for the possibilities of enhanced emancipatory practices and commitments (1988). Weems aptly demonstrates that even when the hermeneutic aim is the recovery of women's history and agency in biblical texts, the interpreter must always have in view the persons for whom the text is interpreted—that is, given a range of possible audiences, womanist consciousness notably has in view the multiple ways in which the interpretive strategy "arouses, manipulates, and harnesses African American women's deepest yearnings (1991, 59)."

Second, in addition to recovering women's history in the Judeo-Christian tradition, womanist biblical interpreters seek to reclaim the neglected histories and stories of the presence and function of black peoples within divergent biblical traditions, including an assessment of the significance for the respective biblical writer of the African Blacks as active participants in the salvation dramas of ancient Israel (see Gen 16:1-15; 21:8-21; 1 Kgs 10:1-10; Jer 38:7; 39:16) and in the early Christian movement (see Matt 12:42; Luke 11:31; Acts 8:26-40; for a detailed explanation of the significance of ethnographic identity for a biblical writer, see C. Martin [1989]). In a related task, womanist biblical interpretation includes within its purview the need for critical exploration of the origin and evolution of religiously sanctioned and mythological ideas about "blacker" and "blackness" in the history of ideas in both Christian and Western social thought. Topics for analysis include the historic antecedents and expressions of "Blacks" and "blackness" in Greco-Roman thought, within the writings and ideas of patristic theologians (the early church fathers and mothers), and within medieval Christendom (Martin [1989]; see also the important work of R. Hood [1994]).

Third, while attending to such issues as gender, subjectivity in interpretation, the construction of power in social relation, and the possibilities of liberatory intellectual, social, and ecclesial transformations arising from critical exegetical practices in collaboration with white North American and European feminist interpreters, womanist biblical interpreters must nevertheless continue to challenge the persistent and still normative narrowness of vision of feminist theologians and biblical interpreters on the subject of race. The still negligible attention given to issues of ethnicity and race in feminist theological discourses and practices ignores the reality of race and ethnicity as legitimate sites of dialogic exchange and contestation in biblical interpretation and diminishes the significance of the power and the effects of the simultaneity of gender, race, and class variants in their assessment of biblical meaning. Womanist biblical interpreters and theorists who have examined the politics of ethnicity, class, equality, and difference in the Hagar and Sarah traditions in the HB (Gen 16:1-15; 21:1-21) and the consequential historical and political effects of traditionalist interpretations of these texts on generations of black and white women (see Gal 4:21-31), have demonstrated that the "technologies of race" must be taken as seriously as gender in biblical interpretation. For the most extensive and erudite analysis of the Hagar and Sarah story in this regard, see D. Williams (1993) and Weems's useful explanation of the implication of these biblical traditions for contemporary women (1988).

A fourth task of womanist biblical interpretion is the retrieval and documentary analysis of the effective history of the HB and the Christian Scriptures in Western culture in general and on peoples of African descent in Black diasporic communities in particular. The sociohistorical and political effects of exegetical readings and practices on generations of African Americans, for example, continues to be documented by womanist scholars (for a "metalanguage of race" in feminist theory see E. Higginbotham [1995]). Ethicist K. Cannon (1985) contrasts the effects of the oppressive use of the Bible by proslavery apologists with the liberation hermeneutic upheld by women and men in the Black churches during

the antebellum period of American history. Similarly in her story of the origin and function of the household codes, Martin contrasts the glaring contradictions in the strategic use of the domestic codes to provide philosophical legitimation for the subordination of women (through the use of a literalist hermeneutics) with the abandonment of the literalist hermeneutic strategy to advance the argument for the abolution of chattel slavery by nineteenth-century abolitionists (Martin [1991] 206-31).

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C. J. MARTIN

WOMAN'S BIBLE, THE

This two-volume commentary was written primarily by E. C. STANTON on those parts of the Bible that either directly refer to women or conspicuously—in Stanton's view—omit them. It grew out of Stanton's conviction that the church and its interpretation of the Bible were the chief obstacles to improving women's lot. As the daughter of a judge, she learned early that women's legal disabilities were often based on biblical interpretations. At age eleven she asked her Presbyterian pastor to tutor her in Greek, and he later willed her his Greek LEXICON, testament, grammar, and four volumes of Scott's commentaries. She also studied Greek at the Johnstown (New York) Academy and received a Greek NT as a prize for her achievements. Stanton spoke out against the religious oppression of women and the use of the Bible in that effort at the first women's rights convention at Senaca Falls in 1848.

Publicity surrounding the revision of the KJV that resulted in the British RV (1881, 1885) prompted Stanton to begin *The Woman's Bible* in 1886, although she soon laid the project aside until 1894. *The Woman's Bible* came out in paper in two volumes: part 1 on the

Pentateuch (1895) and part 2 from Joshua through Revelation (1896).

Stanton formed her own "Revising Committee" of twenty American and five European women. In her introduction she admitted that some distinguished women scholars refused to join the committee, "afraid that their high reputation and scholarly attainments might be compromised by taking part in an enterprise that for a time may prove very unpopular" (1:9). Even those on the committee contributed less than one-third of the final work (seven women besides Stanton wrote something for vol. 1 and eight for vol. 2). Contributors included L. Blake, F. Burr, L. Chandler, C. Colby, E. Dietrick, M. Gage, U. Gestefeld, P. Hanaford (a Universalist minister), C. Neyman, and L. Southworth. Most were associated with liberal religion and new thought. Few had any expertise in biblical interpretation.

Stanton and her friends worked almost exclusively from the English Bible and from a few standard commentaries. Thus they had difficulty differentiating between text and interpretation. "The canon law, church ordinances, and Scriptures, are homogeneous, and all reflect the same spirit and sentiments," said Stanton.

Two thirds of *The Woman's Bible* is devoted to the HB, much of it to the Pentateuch (Genesis receives twice the space devoted to any other book. The approach was to quote a short passage and then to make random comments. Stanton gave surprisingly little attention to what she would have termed the "Pauline" epistles (see PAUL). There is only one paragraph on 1 Cor 14:34-35; nothing on Ephesians 5 or on Gal 3:28.

The first volume received extensive criticism, and in 1896 the National Woman's Suffrage Association passed a resolution dissociating itself from the project. Leaders felt that their cause was better served by political rather than by religious arguments.

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N. A. HARDESTY

WOOLSTON, THOMAS (1670–1733)

Born at Northampton, England, W. was educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and was a fellow of the college from 1691. In his first published work (1705) he argued for a revival of an allegorical reading of the Scriptures. Following A. COLLINS's attack on the apologetic argument from the fulfillment of PROPHECY (1724), W. wrote a series of pamphlets denying the historical truth of the Gospel miracle stories and asserting that their true meaning is allegorical, as ORIGEN and the fathers taught. W.'s "allegorical sense" is generally anticlerical. His criterion for rejecting the literal sense is often moral: The stories of the Gadarene swine, the withering of the fig tree, and the transformation of water into wine are declared inconsistent with the rule that a genuine miracle must manifest the divine benevolence. The Gospels' claims about JESUS' resurrection are clearly the product of apostolic fraud, and the apostles must have stolen his body—a claim that anticipated the work of H. S. REIMARUS and evoked T. Sherlock's well-known *Tryal of the Witnesses* (1729) in reply. W. was deprived of his fellowship in 1721 and died Jan. 27, 1733, while technically a prisoner for failing to pay the £100 fine that followed his pamphlets.

Works: *An Old Apology for the Truth of the Christian Religion Against the Jews and Gentiles, Revived* (1705); *Six Discourses on the Miracles of Our Saviour* (1727–29); *Two Defenses of His Discourses* (1729–30).

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F. WATSON

WREDE, FRIEDRICH GEORG EDUARD WILLIAM (1859–1906)

Born in Bücken, Hannover, May 10, 1859, W. studied at Leipzig (1877–79) under K. Kahnis (1814–88), C. Luthardt (1823–1902), and Franz DELITZSCH and—after being greatly disappointed by the famous Lutherans—chose A. von HARNACK as his guide. He was introduced to the theology of A. RITSCHL, which he pursued in Göttingen (1879–80) under Ritschl himself, also studying with H. SCHULTZ and B. DUHM. W. became a seminarian at the elite theological institution of Loccum (1882–84) governed by G. Uhlhorn, who followed an educational philosophy of independent inquiry and teamwork. While inspector at the Göttingen Theologische Stift (1884–86) he formed a lasting friendship with K. A. A. L. EICHHORN, who directed W. away from Ritschl to a more autonomous historical-critical study. From 1887 to 1889 W. served a pastorate in Langenholzen-Hörsum. He received the lic. theol. at Göttingen (1891) with a dissertation on *1 Clement.* As *Privatdozent* in Göttingen he was among the young biblical scholars and theologians who in the 1890s were known as the RE-

LIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE SCHULE, among them W. BOUSSET, H. GUNKEL, J. WEISS, and E. TROELTSCH.

In 1892 W. became *extraordinarius* in Breslau and in 1895 *ordinarius*. During his tenure in Breslau he published two works of abiding theological significance—his 1897 critique of NT theology and the seminal study on the messianic secret (1901)—but also other works that sought new directions in biblical studies. His rigorous critique and radical historical conclusions led to constant tension among the theological faculty and with the conservative Silesian church. W. was a master teacher and sensitive musician who actively participated in the musical life of Breslau; he also served for several years as director of the Institute of Church Music at Breslau University. He died Nov. 23, 1906, of a heart ailment at age forty-six.

Consistent with his identification with the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, W. demanded in his critique of contemporaneous biblical and NT theology that only factual historical criteria govern the reconstruction of the religion and theology of the biblical writings and that this task be undertaken free from any dependence on church and theology. As a historical discipline, NT THEOLOGY was not to be limited to canonical writings, since only contextual and factual requirements, not theological delimitations (e.g., the notion of the canon of Scripture) determine the scope of the field. And since the religious historian was concerned with the living religion and theology of early Christianity, not with its doctrinal extract, only their concrete historical meaning and effects became the focus of inquiry. W. wanted to see treated within a TRADITION-historical framework sensitive to all relevant disciplines that might help elucidate the religio-historical context: the critically reconstructed proclamation of JESUS; the faith of the early church in its different geographical locales and distinct Jewish and gentile setting; and a special consideration of the theologies of PAUL and of John as well as their effects on subsequent theological developments.

W.'s *Messianic Secret in the Gospels* was directed especially against the psychological conjectures (see PSYCHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) and developmental assumptions underlying the liberal "life of Jesus" genre. Following Eichhorn's maxim that both the genuine sayings of Jesus and the early Christian traditions about him were legitimate objects of historical inquiry, W. aimed to trace and understand the growth of the messianic secret in the Gospel of Mark and in other relevant literature. W. understood the "messianic secret" (which for him combined several features, e.g., disciple incomprehension and esoteric teachings by Jesus, into one motif already existent in oral tradition), not as actual events in the life of Jesus, but as a theological construct used by Mark to reconcile the primitive view of Jesus as human with the messianic view of Jesus' life and person after the resurrection. In doing so he dealt a death blow to the confidence of the liberals in the historical reliability of Mark. He drew attention to the need to understand the traditions in the Gospels primarily as theological products of the community's faith and with his tradition-historical inquiry prepared the way for subsequent approaches, notably FORM CRITICISM and REDACTION CRITICISM.

Other publications by W. raised significant critical issues. His study on *1 Clement* broke with the naive realism that had reconstructed from the letter the Corinthian situation. W. used *1 Clement* instead as a document that illustrated Roman Christianity at the turn of the first century. His study on Paul—besides underscoring in dramatic fashion the contrast between the proclamation of Jesus and the theology of Paul—raised the question about the origin of the savior myth and the polemical significance of the justification doctrine within Paul's theology. In his brief study of the Gospel of John, W. specified Gnosticism (see GNOSTIC INTERPRETATION) as an appropriate religion-historical context as well as an anti-Jewish polemical setting. His LITERARY studies of 1 Thessalonians and Hebrews prepared the way for a form-critical consideration of the epistolary genre.

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ionsgeschichtlicher Lehrstühle in den theologischen Fakultäten um die Jahrhundertwende," *ZTK* 80 (1983) 69-84; *HHMBI*, 394-98. **A. Schweitzer,** *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to W.* (1911). **G. Strecker,** "W. W.: Zur hundertsten Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages," *ZTK* 57 (1960) 67-91. **K. Weidel,** "W. W. in memoriam," *Chronik des Wissenschaftlich-theologischen Vereins zu Breslau in den Jahren 1861–1911* (ed. K. Lillge, 1911). **W. Wiefel,** "Zur Würdigung W. W.," *ZRGG* (1971) 60-83.

H. ROLLMANN

WRIGHT, GEORGE ERNEST (1909–74)

Born Sept. 5, 1909, the son of a Presbyterian clergyman in Zanesville, Ohio, W. graduated from the College of Wooster in 1931, completed his BD at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Chicago (1943), and was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry. He received his MA and PhD from the Johns Hopkins University (1937) with a dissertation under W. F. ALBRIGHT on early Palestinian pottery (pub. 1937). When the situation in Palestine on the eve of war in 1937 prevented his serving as field secretary of the AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH in Jerusalem, he spent the year on a fellowship at Haverford College, completing publications on the Ain Shems excavations. In 1938 he began his teaching career at McCormick Theological Seminary, remaining there to become professor of OT history and theology in 1945. In 1958 he became Parkman Professor of Divinity and Curator of the Semitic Museum at Harvard, posts he held until his death Aug. 29, 1974.

W.'s career as a field archaeologist (see ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES) began in the summer of 1934 when he accompanied Albright to Bethel. He resumed excavation in 1956 when he launched the Drew-McCormick-ASOR expedition to Shechem in the hill country near Nablus and directed these excavations roughly every other season through 1964, remaining an adviser through the 1966–73 seasons. In 1964–65 while visiting archaeological director of the newly opened Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School in Jerusalem, he collaborated with President N. GLUECK to begin at Gezer a ten-year project of the Hebrew Union College and the Harvard Semitic Museum. After directing the 1964–65 seasons, he turned the project over to his doctoral students W. Dever, H. Lance, J. Seger, and others, who directed annual seasons through 1974. Gezer, the largest and longest-running American excavation in Israel in that period, had a considerable impact on field and research methods and became the major training ground for the next generation of Syro-Palestinian archaeologists.

W. moved to Cyprus in 1971 to resume excavations begun at Idalion by P. Lapp. Subsequent work was carried on after W.'s death by his students L. Stager, A. Walker, and P. Gaber in 1974, 1976, and 1978. In his later years W. was also actively involved in many other American excavations in the Middle East and was president of ASOR from 1966 until his death. His archaeological influence continued and multiplied through numerous field directors, younger scholars in teaching posts, and ASOR's senior officers—almost all of whom were his students in the classroom and in the field. Finally, he was a widely read popular spokesman for archaeology as founder and editor for twenty-five years of the *BA*.

W.'s publications were extensive, both in biblical studies and in Palestinian and biblical archaeology. In biblical studies he published several significant works (1944, 1950, 1952, 1969). These books were supplemented by numerous articles in nearly all the leading journals on such subjects as the patriarchal and conquest eras, FORM CRITICISM, HERMENEUTICS, Israelite religion and cult, general trends in biblical interpretation, and especially OT THEOLOGY. W.'s activity as a layperson and participant in the ecumenical movement resulted in numerous semi-popular handbooks, published lectures, sermons, and reviews.

In archaeology, W.'s early volumes on Palestinian pottery and on the Ain Shems excavation were followed during the war years and during his theological focus at McCormick in the late 1940s and 1950s by a series of brilliant review articles on major excavation reports that kept his archaeological reputation alive. Then, beginning with the Shechem project in 1956, and especially with his founding of the leading graduate program in Palestinian archaeology at Harvard in 1959, he turned to a series of seminal, specialized works in archaeology. These included numerous articles, several of them classics, and several books (1957, 1965, 1970, 1974). The final reports of his Shechem excavations unfortunately did not appear during his lifetime, but the staff he left in place continued the momentum of the project and began full publication with D. Cole's *Shechem I: The Middle Bronze IIB Pottery* (1984).

W.'s dual career as prominent biblical scholar and layperson and simultaneously the leading Palestinian archaeologist of his generation was unusual, perhaps unique—even in the heyday of the biblical archaeology movement (the latter very much his own creation, more so than Albright's). As an HB scholar he will be best remembered for numerous articles mediating the methods and results of continental scholarship to an American audience, for his lively concern with hermeneutical issues, and for his insistence on the constructive role of archaeology in biblical criticism. His coupling of the latter with his lifelong theological interests, however, emerged in a distinctly American, neo-orthodox style of biblical archaeology that made him a rather controversial figure, especially in Europe. Perhaps the most outspoken advocacy of his views on the "faith and history" theme came in his *God Who Acts* (1952) and then again

in a late (and rather poorly received) work, *The OT and Theology* (1969).

W.'s role as a leading spokesperson for the biblical theology movement waned in the 1960s along with that movement, but also as a result of his increasing involvement with his first love, archaeology. The Shechem, Gezer, and Idalion projects (1956–73) and the presidency of ASOR (1966–74) absorbed his last and perhaps best energies. It could be argued that as a Syro-Palestinian archaeologist he even surpassed his mentor Albright. In methodology his acknowledged mastery of pottery was later supplemented by pioneering experimentation in adapting British stratigraphic methods. In his last article, published posthumously (1974), he even came out unequivocally for the still-controversial "new archaeology." Indeed, much of the momentum behind the revolution in North American Palestinian archaeology in the 1980s was directly due to his initiatives, especially through his students and through his prescient vision for the future of ASOR in the Middle East. As a human, a scholar, and a teacher he was characterized by a rare sense of vocation, an absolute commitment to the refinements of methodology, a remarkable candor and modesty, and above all the courage of his convictions.

Works: *The Pottery of Palestine from Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age* (1937); (with E. Grant), *Ain Shems Excavations,* pts. 4, 5 (1938–39); *The Challenge of Israel's Faith* (1944); *The OT Against Its Environment* (SBT 2, 1950); *God Who Acts: Biblical Theology as Recital* (SBT 8, 1952); (ed. with F. V. Filson), *The Westminister Historical Atlas to the Bible* (1956); *Biblical Archaeology* (1957); *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* (1965); *The OT and Theology* (1969); (with W. G. Dever and H. D. Lance), *Gezer I: Preliminary Report of the 1964–66 Seasons in Fields I and II* (1970); (with L. E. Stager and A. Walker), *American Expedition to Idalion, Cyprus: First Preliminary Reports. Seasons of 1971 and 1972* (1974).

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W. G. DEVER

WRITER (or WRIGHTER), CLEMENT (fl. 1645–60)

A radical religious thinker, sometime General Baptist, and sometimes regarded as a Seeker, W. was originally a clothier from Worcester, but he was known in London and was a friend of the Leveller W. WALWYN. He was responsible for introducing scriptural skepticism rather early (1646) into English radical publication. Since all biblical language and translations were riddled with errors, no belief could be founded on them: "Can Any Make Fundamentals of Uncertainties" (*An Apologeticall Narration* [1658] 76). Instead, conviction must come from "divine evidence," the presence of the Holy Spirit in the individual. Biblical TEXTUAL CRITICISM was a tyranny imposed by the clerisy on simple people, who should be allowed liberty of interpretation according to their own experience of the Spirit. There are Leveller tones in W.'s tracts (scriptural interpretation, he said, should never go against the law of nature), and the defeat of the Levellers may be reflected in the pessimism of his later writings. His humane skepticism, well informed by a wide variety of sources, is a defense against personal hypocrisy: "In a Scripture-sense a man at one and the same time may be said to believe, and not to believe, (that is) to believe intellectually, and not to believe obedientially, whereby he becomes a self-condemner" (*Fides Divina* [1657] 77).

Works: *The Jus Divinum of Presbyterie* (1646, 1655[2]); *Fides Divina* (1657); *An Apologeticall Narration* (1658[2]).

Bibliography: **C. Hill,** *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (1972). **N. Smith,** "The Charge of Atheism and the Language of Radical Speculation, 1640–80," *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (ed. M. Hunter and D. Wootton, 1992).

N. SMITH

WYCLIF, JOHN (c. 1333–84)

Born about 1333 near Richmond in Yorkshire, W. went to Oxford about 1350, at first as a student at Baliol, later (1356) as a fellow of Merton. In 1360 he became master at Baliol, although his ordination duties officially remained in the diocese of York. In 1371 he took his doctorate in theology and gave his *Principium* or inaugural lecture. During the following thirteen years until his death by a stroke during the Eucharist at his Lutterworth parish church Dec. 31, 1384, he was responsible for more than forty major works of theological reflection and scriptural commentary in Latin (no verifiable writing of his own in English remains), besides inspiring and probably in some measure directing the English TRANSLATION of the Bible that still bears his name.

W.'s *Principium* provides a succinct introduction to his principal preoccupations as a student of Scripture. He argued that one who would interpret the Bible so as to acquire the divine Author's intentions must have three prerequisites: first, a sound moral disposition—an inclination of the heart to spiritual truth; second, rigorous philosophical training; third, the actual practice of virtue—an obedient life of faith. Without these, he argued, the interpreter cannot oppose world, flesh, and devil as

they enter into the very arena of interpretation (B. Smalley [1964] 276). It is evident that heretics, infidels, and persons living in mortal sin can all study theology, but they do not in that state gain true spiritual wisdom by their efforts. The first condition for a student of Scripture, exceeding in value any capacity for academic disputation or logical analysis, is a basic godly morality such as will prompt searching for a just interpretation of the text (D. L. Jeffrey [1985]). This application of AUGUSTINE's goal of "reading charitably" corresponds in W.'s thought to his emphasis on the moral basis in Christian obedience for holding office in church or state, his theory of "true dominion."

For students of the history of biblical HERMENEUTICS, the most important of W.'s works is his *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae,* a series of lectures on the primacy of Scripture's AUTHORITY in matters of faith and conscience written and delivered at Oxford in 1377–78. In them he argued that sacred Scripture, God's law (*lex Dei, lex Christi*), is entirely sufficient for the guidance of the body of Christ (*De Veritate* 1:55, 148, 183, 245, 343); canon law, which has had the lamentable, if unintentional, effect of turning people away from Scripture, is of a distinctly secondary order of authority. Inversion of the proper order of authority, he maintained, produces gross confusion in the church. Scripture, moveover, is possessed of its own distinctive logic and ought not to be automatically subjected to conventions of logic imposed exclusively from outside without first attending to the special character of biblical logic as well as its own sense of intrinsic genre. These can only be learned from studying Scripture in its canonical entirety (see CANON OF THE BIBLE), out of which *totum integrum* these matters emerge perceptibly (G. Evans [1985]; Jeffrey). Consistently, W. was the only Oxford theologian in this era to lecture and comment on the whole Bible.

A consequence of the general ignorance of Scripture among the clergy was erroneous teaching, and with it, pastoral infidelity. Since most parish clergy were insufficiently competent in Latin to make effective use of the VULGATE—itself a relatively rare item in any case—it seemed to W. that a primary need for ordinands and pastors was translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular. Evidently admiring fragmentary but pioneering efforts in this regard by his countryman R. ROLLE and sometime colleague Trevisa as well as by earlier Franciscans, he instigated and apparently organized the remarkable translation known as The Wycliffite Bible. The first portion of translation—up to the third chapter of the apocryphal book of Baruch—was done by N. Hereford, W.'s assistant. In May 1382 Hereford had to flee from persecution by the church hierarchy, leaving the task to be completed by J. Purvey. Purvey's more elegant translation, finished in 1395/96, a dozen years after W.'s death, was from the point of view of W.'s most fervent ecclesiastical enemies and supporters alike the natural culmination of his resistance to the political power of the church hierarchy and an emphasis on the responsibility of each individual soul for its relationship to God. "The NT," W. had written, "is of full authority, and yet open to the understanding of simple persons in all points necessary for salvation" (*De Veritate* 2:201).

In his approach to Scripture, W. was actually far more conservative than novel: His models and champions in exegesis are Augustine and CHRYSOSTOM, and when he identified "faithful interpreters" (e.g., BONAVENTURE; T. Bradwardine [c. 1295–1349]; R. FitzRalph [c. 1295–1360]) they were notably within the Augustinian tradition. In his own mind W. was actually traditional in insisting on the absolute primacy of Scripture as the standard by which all other authority in the church is to be tested. He was bitterly opposed in his lifetime by the Roman curia and its supporters but never formally declared a heretic until 1415. Yet only in 1428 had English support for W. and his followers died down to the point that orders that his bones be dug up and burned could be safely carried out. In the meantime Bohemian courtiers of Richard's Queen Anne (herself a devotee of the Wycliffite NT), W.'s erstwhile students at Oxford, traveled home with manuscripts of his works, there directly to influence J. HUS, whose indebtedness to W.'s consuming commitment to Scripture was, of course, to be transmitted in time to later Reformers, especially to LUTHER.

Works: *J. W. Sermones* (4 vols., ed. J. Loserth, 1887–90); *J. W.'s De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae* (3 vols., ed. R. Buddenseig, 1905, repr. 1966).

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D. L. JEFFREY

Y

YADIN (SUKENIK), YIGAEL (1917–84)

Born in Jerusalem, the son of the pioneer Jewish archaeologist E. Sukenik, Y. was active in the Haganah from his early days; during the war of independence he was chief of operations (thereafter chief of staff of the Israeli defense forces, 1949–52). After winning his Hebrew University doctorate in 1955 with a dissertation on the *War Scroll* from Qumran (pub. 1955), Y. immediately launched the large and superbly organized Hazor excavations (1955–58). This project became the primary training ground for the postwar Israeli school of ARCHAEOLOGY. Y. rose rapidly in his academic career at the Hebrew University, becoming associate professor in 1959, Sukenik professor of archaeology in 1963, and head of first the department and then (1969) the institute of archaeology. Meanwhile he pursued an active program of field archaeology: the Bar-Kokhba caves in the Judean Desert (1960–61), the massive Masada project (1963–65), several productive small seasons at Megiddo (1960–71), returning to the water system at Hazor (1968–69), and finally beginning a new project at Bethshean (1983). At the time of his death on July 28, 1984, he was planning to return to Hazor for another series of campaigns.

Throughout this period Y. continued his (and his father's) interest in the DEAD SEA SCROLLS. He played a pivotal role in securing the Qumran Cave I manuscripts that had found their way to the United States—much as he personally acquired the long-lost *Temple Scroll* after the 1967 war. These interests resulted in the publication of the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1956), many shorter studies, and especially his magisterial edition of the *Temple Scroll* (1977). The latter was a ten-year project, completed while Y. was on partial leave from the Hebrew University as military adviser in 1967, member of the Agranat Commission of Inquiry in 1973–74, and deputy prime minister in 1977–81.

Y. was easily the most prominent Israeli archaeologist of his generation at home and worldwide. He was renowned for his field exploits, his celebrated archaeological intuition and powers of synthesis, his tireless energy, his style both in teaching and in popular lectures and writings, and his formidable ability in organizing and promoting Israeli archaeology. He was a unique combination of soldier, statesman, scholar of immense talent, and one who served his country and his profession brilliantly.

Works: *War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (1955; ET 1962); (with N. Avigad), *The Genesis Apocryphon* (1956); *Hazor I-IV* (1958–61); *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (1963); *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (1965); *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (1966); *Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Last Jewish Revolt Against Imperial Rome* (1971); *Hazor: With a Chapter on Israelite Megiddo* (1970 Schweich Lectures, 1972); *Hazor: Rediscovery of a Great Citadel of the Bible* (1975); (ed.) *Jerusalem Revealed: Archaeology in the Holy City, 1968–74* (1975); *The Temple Scroll* (1977; ET, 3 vols., 1983); (with S. Geva), *Investigations at Beth Shean: The Early Iron Strata* (Qedem 23, 1986).

Bibliography: **N. A. Silberman,** *A Prophet from Amongst You: The Life of Y. Y.* (1993). **G. Vermes and J. Neusner** (eds.), *Essays in Honour of Y. Y.* (*JJS* 33, 1-2, 1982). **W. G. Dever,** *BASOR* 256 (1984) 3-5; *IEJ* 34 (1984) 73-76; ErIsr 20 (1988 Yadin Memorial Volume, 1988).

W. G. DEVER

Z

ZACHARIAE, GOTTHELF TRAUGOTT (1729–77)

Educated at the universities of Königsberg and Halle, Z. held teaching positions in both school and university. He was appointed professor at Bützow in 1760 and at Göttingen in 1765, and in 1775 he received an administrative post at Kiel. Z., rather than J. P. GABLER, first laid down many of the basic principles of the modern approach to biblical theology; unlike Gabler he put his theories into practice in an extensive work. A pupil of S. BAUMGARTEN, Z. was able to move beyond the internal contradictions of his teacher's hermeneutical thought (see HERMENEUTICS) to take account of new insights being developed, thanks to the extensive study of history in eighteenth-century Germany. Z. was also influenced by J. ERNESTI, whom he considered the greatest exegete of the time.

Two factors lie behind Z's work. First, he was dissatisfied with the preparation of teachers and pastors. Too many were not studying the Bible in and for itself but, rather, were relying on compendia of texts pulled out of Scripture without regard for context. Second, attacks were being made on the biblical basis for many doctrinal statements in the official documents of orthodox Lutheranism, in particular F. Lüdke's *Vom Falschen Religionseifer* (1767), which raised the question of personal integrity versus one's duty to teach according to the doctrines of the church. Presumably because of these problems, Z. went beyond his original intention of writing a commentary on the traditional proof texts (*dicta classica*) and produced a work that was an extensive treatment of the biblical basis of all important doctrines.

Z. pointed out that words that appear in both doctrinal statements and Scripture do not necessarily mean the same thing in both contexts. The writers of the Bible often had difficulty in expressing spiritual ideas in the materialist (*sinnliche*) terminology of their day. Many biblical writers had no idea they were writing for posterity; their main concern was for their own times. One must distinguish between what was meant for their day alone and what was meant for the guidance of the church in all ages. Z. also meant his readers to take seriously new developments in the historical-critical study of Scripture like the existence of two accounts of creation in Genesis.

As a matter of principle Z. was firm about approaching the Bible carefully with a mastery of all the relevant skills plus the intention of not reading one's own ideas into the text. Primary duty to the sense of Scripture comes before loyalty to confessional statements, but one does not have the right to challenge the latter before carefully interpreting the former. A doctrine can be declared biblical in three ways: It may be clearly stated in the Bible; it may exist in the Bible, but not in wording we might prefer; or it may not exist in Scripture but can be derived from it logically. However, some traditional beliefs may be discovered to have less importance than had previously been thought, e.g., biblical cosmology (as opposed to the Copernican system) and the factual nature of the story of the tower of Babel.

Z. had several faults. His criterion for distinguishing between the temporal and the eternal in Scripture (any sentence ascribed to Jesus or God or to a person who was self-consciously speaking under the influence of the Holy Spirit) is too mechanical and not worthy of his understanding of the thought world of the Bible. He did not account satisfactorily for how some historical statements in the Bible fit in with his emphasis on timeless truths. His writing was too prolix even by the standards of his day. However, he had several solid virtues. He was able to take into account new methods of study and new understandings of the cultural setting of the Bible and yet retain the importance of the Bible for the church. His emphasis on integrity, competence, and tolerant understanding as virtues of exegesis is still relevant. Undoubtedly he opened up a new area of discussion by declaring the independence of the biblical world and its right to be understood on its own terms before being used as evidence in contemporary arguments. He recognized that one must distinguish between the important and the unimportant in the Bible.

Works: *Biblische Theologie oder Untersuchung des Biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten theologischen Lehre* (4 vols., 1771–75; vol. 5, ed. J. C. Vollborth, 1785); *Philosophisch-Theologische Abhandlungen als Beilagen zur biblische Theologie zu gebrauchen* (ed. C. G. Perschke, 1776); *Christliche Religionsgeschichte und Lehre zum Unterricht vernünftig zu erziehenden Kinder* (1774).

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ihrer Anfangszeit: Ihre methodischen bei J. P. Gabler und G. L. Bauer und deren Nachwirkungen (1972) 24-26. **J. Sandys-Wunsch,** "G. T. Z.'s Contribution to Biblical Theology." *ZAW* 92 (1980) 1-23.

J. SANDYS-WUNSCH

ZAHN, THEODOR (1838–1933)

A Lutheran NT and patristic scholar of conservative bent, Z. was born at Mörs in the Rhineland, Oct. 10, 1838, and educated at the universities of Basel, Erlangen, and Berlin (1854–58). He was greatly influenced by his Erlangen professor, J. HOFMANN. After teaching at the gymnasium in Neustrelitz (1861–65), Z. served as *Dozent* (1868) and *ausserordentlicher* professor at Göttingen (1871), and full professor at Kiel (1877), Erlangen (1878), Leipzig (1888), and again at Erlangen (1892), retiring in 1909. He died Mar. 15, 1933.

Like Hofmann, Z. was a strong Lutheran confessionalist, toward whom his contemporaries (see A. von Harnack [1889] 4) and later scholars (see S. Neill and T. Wright [1988²] 51) have been perhaps unduly judgmental. In all his work, Z. was motivated to prove an early date for the NT writings and to support their theological reliability and historical trustworthiness. Much of his work has as its background the positions of F. C. BAUR and his followers regarding a late dating for the NT documents and the early history of the church as a struggle between Pauline and Petrine factions. In his work on early apostolic literature, Z., like J. B. LIGHTFOOT, defended the authenticity of seven letters of IGNATIUS and argued that the genuineness of these letters and those of CLEMENT OF ROME made it impossible to follow the two central tenets of Baur's reconstruction.

Questions regarding the NT CANON, which occupied him throughout his career, were answered in terms of an early conscious collection by the church (by c. 80–85) of the thirteen letters of PAUL that subsequently made up the nucleus of the canon. In addition, he supported most of the traditional ecclesiastical views regarding the composition, authorship, and dating of the NT writings. In defending the historical value of the book of Acts and its lack of conflict with the Pauline epistles, Z. argued distinctive positions. The difference between the ALEXANDRIAN textual tradition of Acts and the "Western" tradition, which is about ten percent longer, he explained as traceable to Luke. The longer textual tradition represented the author's first draft, from which he subsequently excised unnecessary or misleading material; thus two forms of Acts by the same author circulated. Z. argued that the author of Luke–Acts had intended to produce a third volume, which helps explain the conclusion of our present Acts.

Z. edited the commentary series KNT, to which he contributed the volumes on Matthew (1903), Galatians (1905), John (1908), Romans (1910), Luke (1913), Acts (2 vols., 1919–21), and Revelation (2 vols., 1924–26); most went through several editions. He was honored with two Festschriften (1908, 1928).

Works: *Die Voraussetzungen rechter Weihnachtsfeier* (1865); *Marcellus von Ancyra* (1867); *Der Hirt des Hermas untersucht* (1868); *Ignatius von Antiochen* (1873); (ed. with A. von Harnack and O. von Gebhardt), *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* (3 vols., 1875–77); *Acta Joannis* (1880); *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur* (10 pts., 1881–1929); *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (2 vols. in 4, 1888–92); *Das apostolische Symbolum: Eine Skizze seiner Geschichte und eine Prüfung seines Inhalts* (1893); *Der Kampf um das Apostolikum* (1893); *Introduction to the NT* (2 vols., 1897–99, 1905–7³; ET, 3 vols., 1909; 3 vols. in 1, 1917²); *Die bleibende Bedeutung des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (1898); *Grundriss der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (1901); "Kanon des Neuen Testaments," *RE*³ (1901) 768-96; "Canon of Scripture," *NSHERK* 2 (1908) 388-400; *Das Evangelium des Johannes unter den Händen seiner neuesten Kritiker* (1910); *J. C. von Hofmann* (1911); *Grundriss der Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1918); *Grundriss der Geschichte der Lebens Jesu* (1928); *Grundriss der neutestamentlichen Theologie* (1928).

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J. H. HAYES

ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF

The history of Christian interpretation of the book of Zechariah commenced with the interpretative references to the book in the preaching of the early church, as testified in the NT. These references, including both quotations and allusions, are more frequent than to any other book among the Minor Prophets, most notably due to the book's alleged apocalyptic character (C. H. Dodd [1952] 61-74, with special reference to Joel 2–3[3–4], Zechariah 9–14, and parts of Daniel). There are some differences between the references to Zechariah 1–8 and 9–14 respectively. Only two quotations from Zechariah 1–8 occur (a minor one in Jude v. 9 to Zech 3:2 and a longer one in Eph 4:25 to Zech 8:16), as compared to forty-one allusions, out of which twenty-three are found in Revelation and twelve in the Gospels. Among forty-one references to Zechariah 9–14, on the other hand,

seven are quotations (six in the Gospels and one in Rev 1:7); there are a total of twenty-five references in the Gospels, ten in Revelation, four in Paul, and two in Hebrews.

Special significance may be claimed for the quotations in Matt 21:5 and John 12:15 of Zech 9:9 (Dodd, 48-49); in Matt 27:9 of Zech 11:13; in John 19:37 of Zech 12:10; and in Matt 26:31 and Mark 14:27 of Zech 13:7. All of these instances have a clear christological interpretation. The NT interpretation of the book of Zechariah, generally eschatological (or apocalyptic) with an especially christological focus, became imperative for subsequent interpretations in the church (Dodd, 119, 124, 127-28; F. F. Bruce [1961]; L. Hartman [1966] 235-52).

Not only in the Christian interpretation of the church but also to a lesser degree in the Jewish interpretation of the synagogue, the messianic—like the christological—understanding of the book was a focal point: For the church, Jesus of Nazareth was the fulfillment of the OT's messianic expectations; for the synagogue, there still remained a living hope for fulfillment. These different foci have made the interpretation of many HB texts, especially prophetical ones including the book of Zechariah, variegated and complex.

There was greater continuity with HB messianic belief and expectation in Jewish interpretation than in Christian interpretation (K. Kuhn [1958]). Generally the Jewish messianic belief did not focus as much on the person of the messiah as on a broader eschatological hope for God's final renewal in the messianic era (J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel* [1955]). Therefore, no great distance existed in Jewish tradition between a messianic and a historical interpretation or even a haggadic exposition in this case. In Zechariah, for example, passages like 11:10, 12-13; 13:7-9 that often have been regarded as belonging together were interpreted basically in messianic terms in some major works like *Bereshit Rabba* on Gen 49:10 or in the Tosephta (*Ta'an.* 3:1) and by leading commentators like RASHI, A. IBN EZRA, or ABRAVANEL; while for others these texts—and especially 11:12-13—were thought to refer to one or another historical situation or person. The TARGUM, being very interpretative here, is in this respect ambiguous; but it has had a decisive influence, e.g., on Rashi (J. Bonsirven [1939] 72-74, 140-41, 174-76; G. Vermes, *CHB* 1:199-231).

Christian interpreters mainly pursued the hermeneutical pattern (see HERMENEUTICS) of the NT, focusing first of all on JESUS' personal fulfillment of the messianic expectations. This perspective brought into focus specific passages in the HB, especially from the Prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) and Psalms. Included with passages of this kind were texts like Zech 2:10-15; 3:1-8; 6:12; 9:9; 11:4-17; 12:10-12; 13:7, which became important proof texts to demonstrate from the Jews' own Holy Writ Jesus' legitimacy as the true Messiah and the fulfillment of the kingdom of God. To some extent these proof texts formed specific traditions of "testimonies" in the old church, as may be seen in the writings of church fathers like JUSTIN (see esp. O. Skarsaune [1987]) or Cyprian (M. Fahey [1971] 254-55, 623-27). In the course of time the church developed an exegetical tradition through commenting on the individual books of the HB, combined with a doctrinal tradition in which the christological interpretation of the HB was prevalent. However, the exegetical tradition was not uniform but was divided into schools of different hermeneutical interpretations. For example, THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL stressed the literal sense and historical aspects of a text and read into Zech 9:9 or 11:4-17, not Christ, but Zerubbabel, the governor of Judah (L. Diestel [1869] 133; G. Diettrich [1902] 74-101; B. Smalley [1984] 356-58, who parallels the Antiochenes of the 5th cent. with the Victorines of Paris around the 12th cent.). LUTHER's lectures on the Minor Prophets (1524–26) demonstrate a balanced focus on the literal and historical sense and on the christological interpretation of passages like Zech 3:8; 6:12-13; 9:9; 11:4-17; 13:7-9; 12:10.

In Christian as well as in Jewish interpretation of the book—what JEROME called *liber obscurissimus*—there was a permanent tension between a theological (especially messianic, i.e., christological) and a historical understanding of the text. A turning point to a more decisive historical understanding came in the seventeenth century when H. GROTIUS (*Annotata ad VT* 2 [1644]) revitalized the older historical approach (M. Saebø, *StTh* [1969] 119-221) but especially when J. MEDE (c. 1630) maintained that Zechariah 9–11 could not have been written by the prophet Zechariah but was older and originated with Jeremiah. The argument was premised, surprisingly enough, on the orthodox doctrine of the INSPIRATION OF THE BIBLE: Matthew 27:9 ascribes to Jeremiah the quote that comes from Zech 11:12-13; thus the author of Zechariah 9–11 had to be Jeremiah since the Holy Spirit could not be in error. This was one solution to the many possible interpretations of Matt 27:9 that had been widely debated for centuries.

The effect of such discussions, however, was to open historical-critical observations that not only often ran contrary to the traditional doctrinal position but also led to different divisions and datings of the book based on its historical content. Such was the case among English scholars who succeeded Mede (H. Hammond [1653]; W. Whiston [1722]; R. Kidder [1699], who also extended Jeremiah's authorship to Zechariah 12–14; W. Newcome [1785], who dated 9–11 to the time of Hosea and 12–14 to after the death of Josiah but before the exile).

Among German scholars B. Flügge (1784) divided Zechariah 9–14 into nine parts of preexilic origin. L.

Bertholdt (1814) argued successfully for a preexilic authorship and, like Newcome, dated Zechariah 9–11 to the time of the Syro-Ephraimitic War. Although he regarded chaps. 12–14, which are restricted to Judah and Jerusalem, as later preexilic fragments that had been added to earlier Zechariah texts, he also maintained that Zechariah 9–11 originated from Zechariah ben Jeberechiah (Isa 8:2), who had become confused with the later prophet Zechariah ben Berechiah (Zech 1:1). The majority of critical scholars followed him (e.g., A. Knoble [1837]; H. Ewald [1840]; F. Bleek [1852]; E. von Ortenberg [1859]; S. Davidson [1863]; B. Duhm [1875]); but some (like E. Rosenmüller [1816] and F. Hitzig [1930]) extended the preexilic dating to the whole of Zechariah 9–14, while still others supposed a late postexilic date. In this respect, J. G. EICHHORN shifted from a preexilic to a postexilic view of the dating of Zechariah 9–14 from the first (1783) to the fourth (1823/24) edition of his *Einleitung in das AT.* In his first edition he suggested that Zech 9:1-8 referred to the time of Alexander the Great, based on his assumption that a prophet primarily addresses, not future, but contemporary events. Therefore, it appeared only logical that he later changed his dating of Zechariah 9–10 to the time after Alexander, although for the rest of the book he was not so specific but implied that 13:1–14:21 might refer to Maccabean times.

Finally, some scholars consistently defended the traditional view of Zecharian authorship of 9–14 (e.g., M. Beckhaus [1796]; E. Hengstenberg [1831]; W. de Wette [1833]; J. Burger [1841]; and, most comprehensively, C. Wright [1879]). But as their defense mostly meant criticism of the preexilic position, they were later used by scholars who, maintaining a late postexilic dating, had to attack the preexilic view (see below).

Thus in modern critical study of the book of Zechariah up to 1880, three main theories were in contention, among which the preexilic view was most generally held. Many scholars were in favor of the traditional position ascribing the whole book to the early postexilic prophet Zechariah, and some argued for a late postexilic dating (for all references see B. Otzen [1964] 11-25; Saebø, *StTh* [1969] 118-23).

A second turning point came with B. STADE (1848–1906), who in 1881/82 published an article in which he argued successfully for a late postexilic dating of Zechariah 9–14. His position became the dominant one for generations, although among his successors there were many variations in dating other parts of the text. Yet the preexilic theory faded almost totally after 1920 (with the exception of M. Segal [1935] and Otzen), and the defenders of the traditional view held a much less favorable status than before (Otzen, 26-34; Saebø, 123-32).

Stade, who renewed the debate on the book of Zechariah, combined some of the concerns of the earlier rival positions: Recognizing the necessity for finding the historical background of the text, he agreed that Zechariah 9–14 appeared to be dependent on earlier prophets. On the other hand, he was not as preoccupied with the details as his forerunners had been but sought to find a totality in which they would most likely fit within the framework of the prophetical movement's development. He found behind Zechariah 9–14 one eschatological author, Deutero-Zechariah, who around 280 BCE used older prophetical material to create "in free reproduction" an "eschatological compendium" in response to the spiritual needs of his own time.

After Stade, the dating of Deutero-Zechariah to the later postexilic period was well established, but scholars have differed to some degree regarding the book's unity as well as on the dating of a Deutero-Zechariah (generally including 9–11 and 13:7-9) and of a Trito-Zechariah (12:1–13:6; 14; cf. e.g., Duhm [1911]) or of even smaller fragments or collections. Often Zechariah 12–14, or parts of it, was placed in Maccabean times (Saebø, *StTh* [1969] 125-32). Also the earlier assignment of Zech 9:1-8 to the time of Alexander the Great has been renewed (K. Elliger, *ZAW* 62 [1949/50] 63-115; M. Delcor, *VT* 1 [1951] 110-24). Although there seems to be a consensus on a postexilic dating, there is still great variety in the specific details. In recent research, however, the question of historical location is not seen as much in regard to political-historical conditions as in the living process of prophetical form history and TRADITION HISTORY (e.g., M. Haller [1914]; A. Jepsen [1939]; F. Horst [1954]; Saebø [1969]; H. Birkeland, *Zum hebräischen Traditionswesen* [1938] 90-93). Structural viewpoints (see STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION) have also been brought to the table (P. Lamarche [1961]; Otzen, 213-29). The present situation of study on the book of Zechariah, especially 9–14, is complex.

In summary, there are some significant tendencies in the study of Zechariah: (a) In the traditional theological (messianic, i.e., christological) and in the modern historical-critical study on the book with its strong focus on dating texts, there has been much selective reading and research. Thus the material's complex totality has not come to the fore in a sufficient way. (b) Theologically and historically Zechariah 1–8 has to a great extent been overshadowed by Zechariah 9–14. Especially in the past two centuries the question of whether there exists a Deutero-Zechariah seems to have engaged most of the interest of scholars. Usually the two parts are discussed in more or less complete isolation; but recent research may indicate new possibilities for handling the delicate question of the relationship of the books' two parts in a new way, paying more attention to TRADITION-historical aspects (R. Mason [1976]). (c) In the case of Zechariah's unique "night visions" in 1:7–6:8 (see, e.g., H. May [1938]; C. Jeremias [1930]; L. Rignell [1950])

and of his different prophetical oracles (see A. Petitjean [1969]), recent tradition-historical and redactional work (see REDACTION CRITICISM) has shown a levitical interest by the author together with a style related to that of the chronicler (see W. Beuken [1967]). (d) Regarding Zechariah 9–14, many questions are still open; but it seems that the strong LITERARY-critical and historical interest in its dating has in some degree diminished and that a new tradition-historical interest in the specific forms and the theological (and partly apocalyptic) content of the chapters has increased (P. Hanson [1979]; H. Lutz [1968]; R. North [1972]; O. Plöger [1959]; Saebø; I. Willi-Plein [1974]). (e) Presumably further study of the book of Zechariah will have to be pursued along these lines in the framework of the development of late prophecy and apocalyptic (see APOCALYPTICISM) not only with regard to the two main parts of the book respectively but also for the book as a whole.

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M. SAEBØ

ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF

The first clearly attested interpretation of the message of the prophet Zephaniah (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB) is in Sir 49:10, which refers to Zephaniah as one of the twelve prophets who were a source of comfort and hope for Israel. This stress on comfort and hope is already suggested by the present form of these books, for they all conclude with a note pointing to either salvation or hope or both.

Zephaniah joins other Qumranic *pesharim* on prophetic books (e.g., 4QpIsa[a], 4QpHos[a], 1QpMic, 4QpNah, 1QpHab) and on Psalms (e.g., 1QPs). These *pesharim* point to relatively early exegetical activity aimed at decoding the true meaning of the text in a way strongly governed by the theological discourse of the interpretative community and by the implied claim that the mentioned meaning is not to be found in the "plain meaning" of the text.

Zephaniah was also considered an apocalyptic figure (see APOCALYPTICISM), at least in certain circles during the late Second Temple period, as evidenced by the so-called *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (see *OTP* 1:497-

507). Significantly, in one of the few times in which CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA cited Zephaniah, he actually quoted from *ApZeph* (*Strom.* 5.77). Furthermore, Zephaniah is assigned a role at the coming of the messianic era in *b. Sukk.* 52b.

Most of the Jewish traditions about the prophet Zephaniah, however, concern certain aspects of his life and preaching. For instance, according to *Pesiq. R.* 26, 129b and *Yalkut Shimoni,* Jeremiah, Huldah, and Zephaniah prophesied to the same generation but in different social environments: Huldah prophesied among the women; Jeremiah, in the streets and markets; and Zephaniah, in the synagogues. And according to *b. Meg.* 15a, Zephaniah was a Jerusalemite and a scion of a family of prophets (*Lives of the Prophets* [*OTP* 2:379-99], where Zephaniah is said to be a Simeonite from Sabaratha).

It should be mentioned, however, that the book of Zephaniah was not among the most popular prophetic books in the first centuries CE. In fact, there are relatively few quotations of the book in Christian and Jewish literature of the time (B. Ben Zvi [1971] 25-28).

Early exegetical works on Zephaniah took three different forms: (a) proof texts, (b) translations and textual versions, and (c) commentaries. Zephaniah was used as a source of proof texts for different theological issues that concerned the living interpretative communities. A variant of the proof text pattern is the communal reading of certain passages. For instance, according to the triennial cycle of Torah readings, the Haftarah to Gen 11:1 ("the whole world had one language and the same words") was Zeph 3:9-17, 20, which begins with "certainly, I will change the speech of the peoples to a pure speech, so all of them may invoke the name YHWH and serve YHWH with one accord," but whose reading immediately after Gen 1:11 suggests to the community one universal language and a reversal to the ideal situation that existed before the building of the tower of Babel (Gen 11:2-9). Ancient translations are also exegetical works; e.g., *TgNeb,* by choice of words and paraphrastic interpretation, tends to stress the transcendence of God, ethical concerns, and the issue of alien cults in Zephaniah, while the VULGATE stresses eschatological understandings (see Zeph 3:8). Hebrew texts may also reflect and communicate exegetical choices. Thus the division into paragraphs attested to by the Hebrew text of Zephaniah from Muraba'at suggests, for instance, that Zeph 2:1-3 and Zeph 3:1 are more closely related to the following verses than to the preceding ones. (See also the division markers in 8HevXIIgr.)

Unlike proof text references—but somewhat similar to translations—commentaries analyze the entire book verse by verse. Perhaps the most influential early commentary was JEROME's. Among Jewish medieval commentaries of Zephaniah are those written by RASHI, D. KIMHI, A. IBN EZRA, J. KARA, and ABRAVANEL (see also Tanhum HaYerushalmi). Two of the main features of these commentaries are their emphasis on grammatical and philological issues and the attempt to understand the historical circumstances referred to in the book. The most influential Reformation commentaries are those by LUTHER and CALVIN; these, especially the latter, may be considered direct precursors of the modern historical-critical commentaries. Although Luther wrote in his commentary that "among the minor prophets, he [Zephaniah] makes the clearest prophecies about the kingdom of Christ" (1975, 319), he did not often refer to Zephaniah in his sermons. Zephaniah was among the less studied prophets in the following centuries.

In modern research the tendency until recently was to give a low value to both Zephaniah and the book (e.g., "Zephaniah can hardly be considered great as a poet," J. Smith [1911] 176). Several scholars claimed that neither the book nor the prophet reflect any "new ideas," that the book echoes ideas found elsewhere in the prophetic literature. Against this background it is not surprising to find only a few references to Zephaniah in the now-classical OT theologies (see THEOLOGY, OT) of this century.

Change is easily perceptible in more recent work. Theological tendencies, whose influence has been on the rise in recent years, generally find Zephaniah relevant for the development of a biblical theological stance concerning poverty (e.g., N. Lohfink [1987]). The supposed African origin of Zephaniah has also evoked special interest in the United States (e.g., G. Rice [1979]).

Several comprehensive studies on Zephaniah have been published in the last decades, and they point to keen interest in the "historical prophet" and/or in the book (e.g., I. Ball [1988]; Ben Zvi; A. Berlin [1994]; R. Edler [1984]; P. House [1988]; H. Irsigler [1977]; G. Krinetzki [1977]; J. Roberts [1991]). Although some recent works have focused on LITERARY aspects (e.g., House) and this trend may grow, the main question in Zephanic studies in this century as a whole has concerned the message of the historical prophet. Accordingly, questions about the social location of the prophet and his audience, and especially about the historical circumstances of his time, have come to the forefront. These circumstances have also provided the background against which scholars have attempted to elucidate the book's message concerning such issues as the Day of Yahweh and the poor (*'aniyyîm*). Of course, since it has been assumed that Zephaniah's message can be abstracted only from the authentic words of the prophet, the starting point has most often been the delimitation of the original text.

Although there is general agreement about the existence of small glosses in the text (e.g., 1:4), there is no scholarly consensus over which parts of the book are authentic. An overall view of the literature shows that

the discussion has been centered on three blocks of material: 1:2-3; 2:7-11; and 3:8[14]-20.

Zephaniah 1:2-3, or certain parts of it, has been considered late, mainly because of its eschatological, or universal, outlook. Most scholars, including the vast majority of those who consider most of 1:2-3 authentic, consider v. 3 ("make the wicked stumble") to be an explanatory gloss introducing an ethical reason for the punishment and/or a reflection of the glossator's misunderstanding of the text (Roberts).

The main arguments for the lateness of 2:8-11, or most of these verses, involve stylistic differences: the mention of "remainder" (*śe'ērît*) and "to remain" (*yātar*) pointing to the remnant; the eschatological contents of v. 11; and historical improbability, i.e., the described situation of Moab and Ammon scorning Judah and taking advantage of its disgrace does not fit the historical data concerning the days of Josiah but those of the first decades of the sixth century. Those who attribute most or all of these verses to the Josianic period (and to the historical prophet Zephaniah) answer these objections by pointing to rhetorical and literary devices that unify the text; by asserting that objections based on contents are unconvincing; and by arguing that the announcement of judgment against Moab and Ammon is not impossible in Josiah's days, or that they, along with the other oracles against the nations in this book correspond exactly to the political situation in the time of Josiah (c. 628–621).

Concerning v. 7, expressions like "restore their fortunes" and "remnant of the house of Judah" and the theme of restoration are considered clear signs of lateness by some scholars; but others deny that these expressions are necessarily exilic or postexilic or that the prophet Zephaniah was devoid of nationalistic feelings. If all these verses are assigned to the historical prophet, then his message included an announcement of territorial expansion beyond the Judahite limits for the future Judahite remnant (or, according to another position, for his contemporaneous Judahites) and an announcement that Yahweh will cause the other gods to shrivel and all the peoples will bow down to Yahweh. If none of these verses are assigned to the historical prophet, then the remaining text includes two main oracles against the nations—namely, those against Assyria and Philistia. These countries are considered by many scholars to be the main enemies of Judah in the Josianic era. Those who follow this approach tend, accordingly, to stress the relative weight of the political and earthly elements in the prophet's message. If vv. 8-9*a* are to be attributed to the prophet, however, then there may be grounds for understanding the message in terms less dependent on concrete political-historical circumstances.

Many scholars have considered the unit 3:8-20 to be a late text that cannot be attributed to the historical prophet Zephaniah nor dated to the Josianic period. The basic assumption underlying this position is that words of salvation or comfort, and especially the motif of universal salvation, occur mainly (or only?) in exilic and postexilic literature. If 3:8-20 is late, the message of the prophet would have no (or almost no) words of salvation or comfort. The issue concerns the basic character of the prophet's message. If these two verses are removed, then 2:3 would probably have the same fate; therefore, the social-ethical message of Zephaniah would be removed as well. Other scholars consider 3:9-13 "Zephanic," mainly on the basis of its relation to vv. 1-8, or because they consider the idea that the peoples will serve Yahweh to be preexilic, or both. If these verses do belong to the historical prophet, then his message would also have included the image of a universal salvation and the universalistic image of all the peoples serving one God, Yahweh. Finally, if 3:14-20 or most of this material is authentic, then these verses receive a totally different meaning from what the address in the second person may suggest. They would not be a call of joy for the prophet's audience (like many psalms) but a call of joy for the future Jerusalem envisaged by the prophet, a Jerusalem that will come only for the "poor and humble" and only after the awesome judgment of the Day of Yahweh. It is noteworthy that these analyses stand or fall on the assumption that any part of the book of Zephaniah is "Zephanic" unless the opposite is proved (for a critique and a different proposal, see Ben Zvi).

On the basis of 1:1 most modern scholars claim that Zephaniah prophesied in the days of Josiah. There is no agreement, however, on the exact time frame during this period: before the reform, at the time of the reform, or after it? The arguments brought on behalf of the idea that he prophesied before the reform are basically: (a) Since the king is not mentioned in 1:4-9, even in v. 8, where the officers and the sons of the king are mentioned, then one may infer that the king had no real influence and power, i.e., Josiah was a minor (cf. 2 Kgs 22:1). (b) The cultic notice in 1:5 reflects the situation before the reform but not after. (c) The harsh words of Zephaniah make sense if addressed to such a syncretistic community. If this picture is correct, the message of Zephaniah may have prepared the ground for Josiah's reform.

Arguments (b) and (c) may also be interpreted as pointing to the time of the reform, in which case Zephaniah's message reflects the ideas of the group that welcomed and advanced the deuteronomic reform in Josiah's days. However, it should be noted that the message of the prophet, if taken at face value, was not "mend your ways and reform the cult and live." Rather, it was "the day of judgment will come regardless of what you or the community do, and only those 'humble' people who seek Yahweh will perhaps live." This literal understanding seems difficult to reconcile with Deuteronomy or with a real policy of reform. Alternatively, if

Zephaniah was active in the reform, then his sayings should not be understood in a literal sense.

The proposal that Zephaniah prophesied after the reform is based on understanding *śe'ār haba'al* in 1:4 as "the remnant of Baal." If this is correct, one may assume that Zephaniah knew about the reform, and in spite of it (or because its success was only partial) prophesied the coming judgment. After the reform may also mean after Josiah. J. P. Hyatt (1948), for instance, proposed the days of Jehoiakim. A different position has been taken by G. Smith (1929) and E. Lacheman (1950). They found many expressions pointing to an exilic or postexilic date and on the basis of the contents of chapter 3 concluded that the book was written c. 200 BCE. Ben Zvi proposes a post-monarchic date and maintains that neither the original message of a historical, seventh-century Zephaniah nor even his actual sayings can be convincingly reconstructed on the basis of the book bearing his name. He advances an understanding in terms of a post-monarchic community.

Questions about the composition and dating of the book and its main sections, the search for the historical Zephaniah and his message, and the study of the book against its historical circumstances are all likely to continue to be a focal point of Zephanic studies in the future. Berlin's statement that "the time of Josiah is not necessarily the time that the book was written, but it is *the time in which the book is set*" (38; emphasis in the original) may well serve as a starting point for many of these new studies. Of course, one may also expect a flourishing interest in works dealing mainly with literary and theological (and ideological) aspects of the book of Zephaniah.

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E. BEN ZVI

ZIMMERLI, WALTHER (1907–83)

Z. was born Jan. 20, 1907, in Schiers (Graubünden), Switzerland, where his father directed the Evangelische Lehranstalt, setting an example of active, direct teaching of the Bible. Z. studied theology at Zurich, Berlin, and Göttingen (1925–30). His eventual choice of HB as his discipline lay in part with his teachers: J. Hausheer, the sensitive translator of the HB for the Zurich Bible from whom Z. learned Aramaic and Syriac; E. SELLIN in Berlin; M. LIDZBARSKI and O. RAHLFS in Göttingen; but most of all J. HEMPEL in Göttingen (1930–33), with whom Z. worked as assistant and under whom he wrote his dissertation on the history and tradition of Beersheba and Bethel.

Z. served pastorates in Aarburg, Switzerland (1933–35), and in Zurich (1935–50), where he also supervised students in their theological studies through the communal life of the "reformed student houses" he and his wife founded and directed. There Z.'s exegesis of the primeval history took shape: The Yahwist depicts the riddle of human existence in Genesis 1–11, while the priestly writer outlines the great divine orders for the world. Z. also wrote essays on the language of Trito-Isaiah (as distinct from Deutero-Isaiah) and on the second commandment (1950). Called to Göttingen in 1950, he attained emeritus status in 1975, remaining there until his death Dec. 4, 1983.

Z. became an exponent of the theological reappraisal of the HB. He believed that "exegetical theology is left hanging in the air" without a theological standpoint to give meaning and illumination to what has been learned historically (R. Smend [1984] 281). On the other hand, "A systematic theology that does not have as its basis the awakening faith of the biblical word remains empty speculation" (ibid., 282). At Göttingen, Z. was successor to G. von RAD, who became his principal dialogue partner on questions of HB THEOLOGY. With von Rad, M. NOTH, and others, Z. was a founder of the *Biblischer-Kommentar.* In the context of this project he posed the "question to systematic theology of whether it should not to a greater extent than previously take upon itself the treatment of the HB promises in their christological dimensions" (*EvTh* 12 [1952/53] 58). His work on the HB was carried out under these theological perspectives.

Z.'s central concerns lay with the prophets (see PROPHECY AND PROPHETS, HB), particularly with Isaiah and Deutero-Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel (whom Z. associated with Israel's *Bundeswirklichkeit*) and with Genesis and HB theology. His major accomplishment was his commentary on Ezekiel "the theologian among the prophets" (1955–68). The careful weighing of texts in which he used the LXX (see SEPTUAGINT) led Z. to argue for a textual *Vorlage* that was sometimes shorter than the MT. Still, he supported the idea of the expansion of the text by the prophet himself as well as by his school (Ezekiel 40–48), and his commentary concerned the book as a whole with its clear overall structure and its "marked linguistic individuality" ("Ezechielbuch," *RGG*^{3} 2 [1958] 847-48).

In Exekiel, prophetic material (call and vision reports, prophetic signs, oracles against foreign nations, divine words, and proof-sayings) and priestly-sacral material (the categories of clean and unclean and the eschatological Temple order) are combined. Z. recognized the need for a methodological treatment of Ezekiel different from other prophetic exegesis (*RGG,* 849). This goal was served by investigations of distinctive formulations drawn from the *opus magnum* (1953, 1954, 1957; all repr. in his *Gottes Offenbarung* [1963]). The most important among these formulations is the "I am Yahweh" formula. The "one center" (*Mitte*), the "finally compulsory factor" that Z. ultimately demanded in opposition to research into the multiplicity of traditions and streams of tradition (*VT* 13 [1963] 105; *Probleme biblischer Theologie* [1971] 640) he found nowhere so clearly stated as in this expression of divine self-introduction (FS A. Alt [1953] 11).

Even though Z. had since his 1933 studies appreciated the "worldliness of the OT" (1971), his efforts still evolved essentially around "the OT as address," as he titled various contributions for publication in 1956. This "address" had its basis in the revelation of God. Thus he never forgot the theological task; his last great publications were dedicated to OT and to biblical theology.

Works: *Geschichte und Tradition von Beerseba im alten Testament* (partially pub. inaugural dissertation, 1932); "Zur Struktur der alttestamentlichen Weisheit," *ZAW* 51 (1933) 177-204 (ET in *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* [ed. J. L. Crenshaw, 1976] 175-99); *1. Mose 1–11: Die Urgeschichte* (2 vols., Prophezei, Zürcher Bibelkommentar, 1943; in 1 vol., 1957^2, 1967^3); "Zur Sprache Tritojesajas," *FS L. Köhler* (*STU* 20, 3-4, 1950) 62-74; "Das zweite Gebot," *FS A. Bertholet* (ed. W. Baumgartner et al., 1950) 550-63; "pais theou," *TWNT* 5 (1952) 655-76 (ET, Z. and J. Jeremias, *The Servant of the Lord* [SBT 20, 1957] 9-42 and *TDNT* 5 [1968] 656-77); "Ich bin Jahwe," *Geschichte und Altes Testament* (FS A. Alt, BHT 16, 1953) 179-209 (ET, ed. W. Brueggemann, *I am Yahweh* [1982] 1-28); *Ezechiel* (2 vols., BKAT 13, 1-2, 1955–69, 1979^2; ET, 2 vols., Hermeneia, 1979–83); *Das Alte Testament als Anrede* (BEvT 24, 1956); *Das Buch des Predigers Salomo* (ATD 16, 1962, 1967^2); " 'Offenbarung' im Alten Testament: Ein Gespräch mit R. Rendtorff," *EvTh* 22 (1962) 15-31; *Das Gesetz und die Propheten: Zum Verständnis des Alten Testamentes* (1963, 1969^2; ET, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study of the Meaning of the OT* [1965]); *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte*

Aufsätze zum Alten Testament (TBü 19, 1963, 1969²); "Die historisch-kritische Bibelwissenschaft und die Verkündigungsaufgabe der Kirche," *EvTh* 23 (1963) 17-31; *Israel und die Christen* (1964, 1980²); "Erwägungen zum 'Bund': Die Aussagen über die Yahwe-*bryt* in Exod 19–34," *FS W. Eichrodt* (ed. H. J. Stroebe, ATANT 59, 1970) 171-90; "Alttestamentliche Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie," *Probleme biblischer Theologie: G. von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H. W. Wolff, 1971) 632-47; *Die Weltlichkeit des Alten Testaments* (1971); "Die Bedeutung der grossen Schriftprophetie für das alttestamentliche Reden von Gott," *VTSup* 23 (1972) 48-64; *Grundriss der alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1972, 1975²; ET, *OT Theology in Outline* [1978]); *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie: Gesammelte Aufsätze* 2 (TBü 51, 1974); "Zum Problem der 'Mitte der Alten Testaments,' " *EvTh* 35 (1975) 97-118; *1. Mose 12–25: Abraham* (Zürcher Bibelkommentare, 1976); "The History of Israelite Religion," *Tradition and Interpretation* (ed. G. W. Anderson, 1979) 351-84; "Biblische Theologie I. Altes Testament," *TRE* 6 (1980) 426-55; "Biblical Theology," *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 4 (1982) 95-130 = "Biblische Theologie," *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 1 (1984) 5-26 (expanded); "Ezechiel/Ezechielbuch," *TRE* 10 (1982) 766-81; *I Am Yahweh* (ed. with introduction by W. Brueggemann, 1982).

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T. WILLI

ZINZENDORF, NICHOLAUS LUDWIG VON (1700–1760)

Z. was born May 26, 1700, and died May 6, 1760. After the early death of his father he was raised by a Pietist grandmother (see PIETISM) and educated at Halle, where he was influenced by A. FRANCKE; Wittenberg; and Utrecht. Intending at first to enter the Lutheran ministry, he eventually took up responsibility for his family's Saxon estates. In 1722 he opened an area of the estate to the persecuted remnant of the Hussite movement in Moravia, the Bohemian Brethren, who named the village they established there Herrnhut. Thereafter, Z.'s theological development and that of the Renewed Moravians were closely united. Under his direction the Moravians undertook an active mission movement and soon had established centers in England, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and elsewhere. En route to Georgia, J. WESLEY first met and was influenced by them.

Z.'s theology was influenced by that of Halle; he put particular emphasis on the need for a "heart religion," which he believed was at the root of all Christian denominations. His position led him to press for ecumenical discussions, and in the 1740s he was especially active in such discussions among the many churches and sects in Pennsylvania. Following the interpretative principles of other Pietists of his day, he emphasized the centrality of the story of JESUS for explaining the Scriptures, which he saw as a compendium directed first to the life of the church and second to the edification of individuals.

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P. C. ERB

ZÚÑIGA, DIEGO LÓPEZ (fl. early 16th cent.)

Better known by his Latinized name, Stunica, Z. collaborated on the editorial team that prepared the Complutensian POLYGLOT BIBLE at the University of Alcalá in the early sixteenth century. His main responsibility was probably the editing of the VULGATE NT. Between 1519 and 1524 he engaged in a bitter controversy with ERASMUS on questions of NT scholarship. Z. considered the Vulgate more accurate than Greek texts of the NT and wrote a series of works attacking the critical studies of Erasmus and other humanist scholars. Z. was a knowledgeable and clever man, but his conservative principles of scholarship were eventually eclipsed by the critical philological methods developed by his humanist rivals.

Works: *Annotationes contra Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem* (1519); *Annotationes contra Erasmum Roterodamum* (1520); *Assertio ecclesiasticae translationis novi testamenti* (1524).

Bibliography: **J. H. Bentley,** *Humanists and Holy Writ: NT Scholarship in the Renaissance* (1983). **H. J. de Jonge,** "Introduction," *Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iacobus Lopis Stunica taxaverat* (in Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* [1983] 9, 2:1-57).

J. H. BENTLEY

ZWINGLI, ULRICH (1484–1531)

Born Jan. 1, 1484, and educated at the universities of Vienna and Basel, then strongly associated with humanism, Z. became firmly committed to a humanist program of reform in the 1510s. A personal encounter with ERASMUS during the latter's sojourn at Basel (1516) appears to have been decisive in winning Z. to Erasmus's position in this regard. In 1519 Z. was called to Zurich, where he began his own program of reform; he was destined to exercise considerable influence within Switzerland and beyond. He died in battle Oct. 11, 1531, while serving as a chaplain.

Z.'s biblical interpretation was strongly influenced by Erasmus, especially the latter's *Enchiridion* (1503). His fundamental concern was for the "natural sense of Scripture" (which is not necessarily its literal sense). This

demands a detailed knowledge of classical languages and familiarity with both the SEPTUAGINT and the Hebrew text of the HB. It also demands an awareness of the complexity of human language and figures of speech. In an important appeal to RHETORICAL analysis, Z. argued that an ability to distinguish alloiosis, catachresis, and synechdoche was vital unless the natural sense of Scripture was to be equated with its literal sense. The importance of this point was brought out in his debate with LUTHER over the meaning of Matt 26:26, *hoc est corpus meum.* Luther argued that *est* was to be interpreted literally as "this *is* my body"; Z. argued that its natural sense was nonliteral (alloiosis, in this case), and that it should be interpreted as "this *signifies* my body."

In his interpretation of the HB (especially Genesis and Exodus), Z. drew a distinction between the literal and allegorical sense of Scripture, using the term *allegory* in an unusually broad sense that apparently subsumes typology. The HB should not be read simply as historical accounts concerning Israel or Jerusalem but as prefiguring something that was accomplished and perfected in Christ. There are strong parallels between Z. and ORIGEN on this point, perhaps reflecting the mediation of the latter through Erasmus's *Enchiridion.* However, Z. insisted that allegorical interpretation of Scripture may only be used to justify doctrines or practices that can be established on the basis of the natural sense of Scripture; allegorical interpretation must be the decoration, not the foundation, of an argument.

Z. demonstrated a strong concern for the moral sense of Scripture (although he did not use the precise term). Where Luther tended to regard Scripture as narrating the promises of God, Z. tended to see it as setting forth authorized paradigms of human conduct. HB figures, for instance, are seen as providing moral examples for the believer.

Works: *The Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God* (1522); commentaries on Genesis (1527), Exodus (1527), and Isaiah (1929).

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A. E. MCGRATH