



I NTERPRETATION & H ISTORY



Essays in honour of
Allan A. MacRae

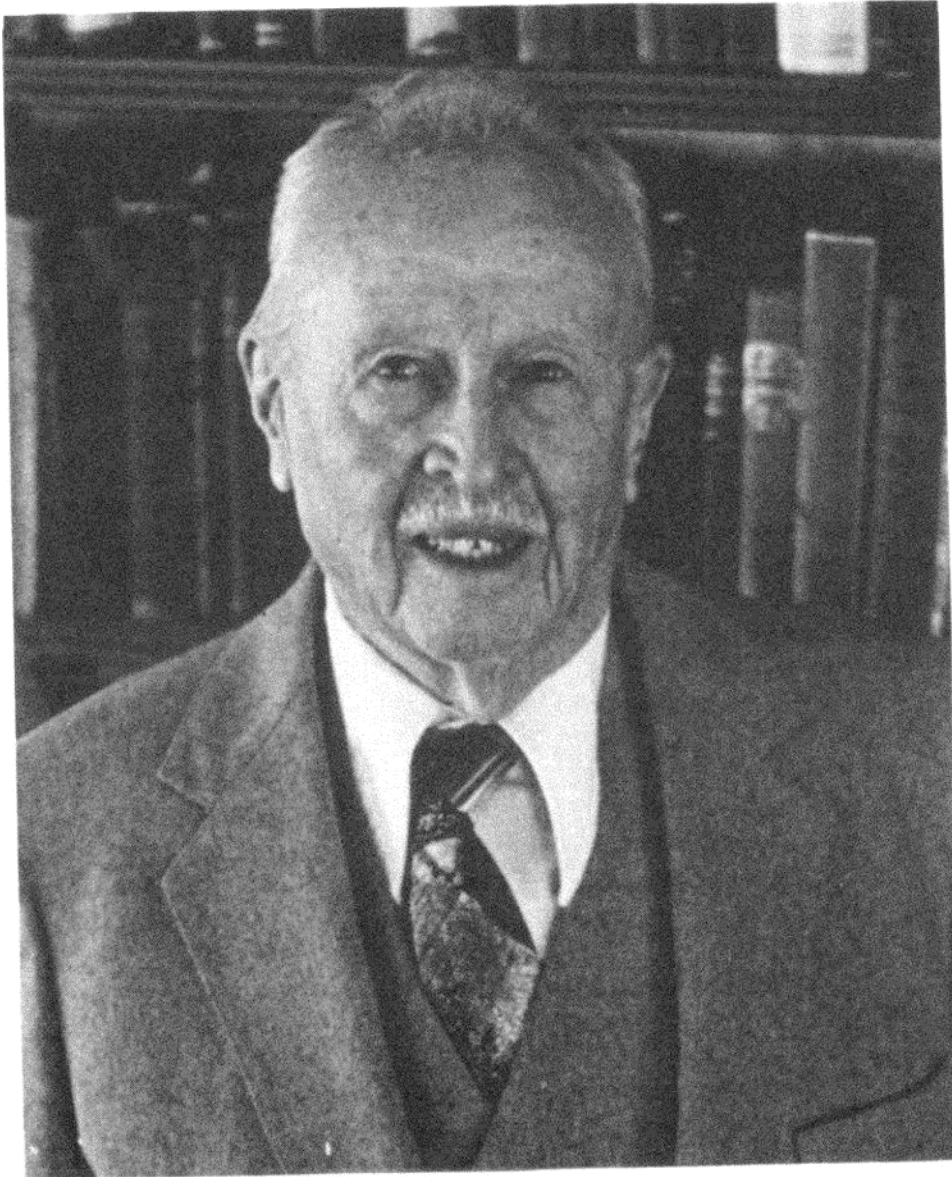
Edited by
R. Laird Harris
Swee-Hwa Quek
J. Robert Vannoy

INTERPRETATION & HISTORY

A volume of essays written and presented to Dr Allan A. MacRae by his former pupils on the occasion of his eighty-fourth birthday.

The book concerns vital issues affecting the interpretation of the Bible and the understanding of certain historical problems. It comprises contributions by seventeen scholars (besides a few others), namely, R. Laird Harris, J. Robert Vannoy, Robert E. Longacre, Paul R. Gilchrist, Samuel J. Schultz, Elmer B. Smick, Robert A. Peterson, Robert C. Newman, W. Harold Mare, Vernon C. Grounds, Robert J. Dunzweiler, Gordon R. Lewis, William Paul, Wilher B. Wallis, Thomas V. Taylor, William N. Harding, and John M. L. Young.

INTERPRETATION
&
HISTORY



ALLAN ALEXANDER MACRAE

"From a pure heart and a good conscience and a sincere faith"
(1 Tim 1:5 NIV)

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Allan A. MacRae

Edited by
R. Laird Harris
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Christian Life Publishers

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FOREWORD

ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος καὶ σύνδουλος ἐν κυρίῳ
Col 4:7

The intention to mark the occasion of the eighty-fourth birthday of Dr Allan A. MacRae with a volume of essays was mooted in 1982 at a meeting of the Faculty of Biblical Theological Seminary. At long last we present this Festschrift to our beloved teacher, esteemed colleague and brother in Christ. The honor we give him is long overdue and we are glad that his contributions to the ongoing task of biblical scholarship can be recognised in this humble manner.

One mark of a great Bible teacher is his ability to urge others on to fulfil their various God-given vocations. Dr MacRae's pupils may be found today in the pastorate, in the mission field, in theological faculties, and in "secular" professions as responsible Christian laymen. Their varied interests are reflected in this volume. The views expressed may not command widespread agreement -- each writer is responsible for his own work -- nevertheless we are confident that these essays will consolidate and advance the achievements of biblical scholarship. We thank all the contributors for their labor of love and hope that by the grace of God they will continue to write and grapple with the issues facing Christians today. We know that God will raise up many in these last days to demonstrate clearly and cogently that we have in our hands the inerrant Word of God. Through the work of Dr MacRae, his pupils and a host of many others, may this task be done to the glory of God.

We record our thanks to our publisher, Mr Paul Wong, for his willingness to undertake this project. We also thank all who have made this project possible. It is our hope that there will be something in this book for everyone and that it may enrich the thinking and lives of many Christians.

We wish our distinguished mentor God's richest blessings *in multos annos!*

11 February, 1986

R. LAIRD HARRIS
SWEE-HWA QUEK
J. ROBERT VANNOY

PART ONE

ALLAN A. MACRAE: AN APPRECIATION

The Late Francis A. Schaeffer

Dr Allan A. MacRae is one of the key people who opened a door for me in my life. His influence came at a very crucial time when I graduated from Hampden-Sydney College and entered Westminster Theological Seminary. In those days, of course, the school was located on Pine Street in Philadelphia. Edith and I had just been married and I walked each day from Green Street, where we had our little apartment, down to Pine Street, carrying along the lunch that Edith had made for me which I used to eat in the old library rooms.

One of the great questions before me at that time in my preparation for the ministry was the type of exegesis that one should apply to the whole of Scripture. It was here that Dr MacRae helped me lay a foundation which has been very important to me from that day to this.

He taught me the elements of Hebrew as well as other subjects. The courses that were especially important to me were his courses on the Old Testament Prophets. As the class studied through these it became very clear that the prophetic passages of Scripture were to be treated in the historical, grammatical form of exegesis and not in any spiritualised sense. This laid a foundation for my study of Scripture and for my approach to exegesis in all the years that followed.

Later in my other course work, this form of exegesis, so clearly biblical, was carried across into the New Testament. It gave me a firm foundation through all the years in my personal reading, preaching, teaching and writing. I became convinced that there is a uniform approach to exegesis for the whole of Scripture. With reference especially to eschatology, I was sure that prophetic passages should be exegeted in exactly the same way as the doctrinal and historical passages of Scripture. I cannot over-emphasise the importance of this in my personal life and outlook as well as in my teaching and work.

Then later, as Faith Theological Seminary was begun, in that first year of its existence, I was Dr MacRae's "assistant". This meant helping him with his filing, some reference work and so on. It also meant spending much time in his apartment in Wilmington, Delaware, and provided a friendship as well as stimulation which was exceedingly important for me at that time, an influence which lasted well into my subsequent life.

I am thankful for the contributions Dr Allan A. MacRae has made to the Christian world of our generation, and I would emphasise this includes his influence upon me personally.

John W. Sanderson

Allan MacRae spoke in chapel during my senior year of college, and he impressed me with the natural blend of scholarship and mission, which was his emphasis in that talk. His concern was for missions throughout the world, in particular, for the mission field of Europe because of its strategic place in the world, as well as for the needs of the Europeans who once had the Gospel as their possession. This was not a one-time stress. Later on, in his classes, I saw the same commitment, and when both of us served on the executive committee of a foreign missions board, I saw his concern only deepening and widening.

It is only natural today that graduates of schools with which Allan has been connected should be found both in the halls of scholarship and on the mission fields where the need for theological education is a high priority. Seminaries and Bible schools were established as soon as churches had been planted. While of course others shared his vision in this and gave their support, much credit is Allan's for his continued emphasis on missions.

Allan had been influenced greatly by Robert Dick Wilson who was careful not to side-step the difficult questions of the Old Testament. Like Wilson, he took his students on a painstaking review of Pentateuchal criticism and the single authorship of Isaiah. We spent a month, three hours a week, on the latter. We took a whole semester to consider the development of documentary theories concerning the writings of Moses. Such time-consuming study was not appreciated by many students, but the professor always insisted that only the truth would prevail, and that truth would be found in the data of Scripture and not in the critics' theories.

Allan's influence continues to make itself felt today, and the church can be grateful for his balance between word and deed, and for his zeal for the truth. It is my pleasure to recall just a few things for which I will be forever grateful.

Jack W. Murray

"Roots" has become a much-used word during recent days. Dr Allan A. MacRae and I were born in the small town of Calumet on Michigan's Upper Penninsula. At the turn of the century it was a boom town, extracting more copper than almost any other place in the world. In this remotest region of Michigan's Upper Penninsula, Dr MacRae's father was the medical doctor while my father was employed as a miner by the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company. Allan MacRae studied at the Bible Institute of Los Angeles in the days when Reuben A. Torrey was the president. Years later I was enrolled in the same school. We believed in Horace Greeley's, "Go West, Young Man, go West." Not until I was a college student at Wheaton College in Illinois did I hear Dr Allan A. MacRae speak. Little did I realize that I would be enrolled as a first year student when Faith Theological Seminary was founded in the fall of 1937 in Wilmington, Delaware, and Dr Allan A. MacRae would be its founding president. I am grateful to pay tribute to this unusual and brilliant scholar. It was my privilege to study under him during those three years of seminary. Later I served as a visiting lecturer and as a member of the Board of Directors. Little did I realize that in 1971 it would be my joy to serve as founding chairman of the Board of Trustees of a new seminary, Biblical Theological Seminary, in Hatfield, Pennsylvania, with Dr Allan A. MacRae as its founding president.

Now nearly fifty years after our first meeting, I deeply appreciate the scholarship and spiritual leadership of this man of God. Our "roots" are similar, but the bloom of the life of this man of God is more brilliant than ever. May our Lord enable him to continue to serve His Lord, and the church with increased spiritual effectiveness.

R. Laird Harris

Ad magistrum honorarium

As a former student, colleague and friend, I join with many others, Allan, in saluting you on the occasion of the publication of this volume of studies in your honor. Two months after I was called by the Lord to leave a career in chemistry and become a minister, I was enrolled in your course in beginning Hebrew. I cannot truly say that you made a dead language come alive for me, but you taught me Hebrew well and, more, you showed me the value of Hebrew. Then you went on to show me the riches of Old Testament study and the value of the new resources of linguistics and archaeology bearing on Old Testament study. What fruit I have had in my own study was in great measure the result of those beginning years.

Your contribution has not only been in the classroom. Many do not realize that your seminary administration was not primarily valuable because you gave the job smooth operation, but because you gave it ideas and direction and above all because of your unvarying loyalty to the Holy Scriptures. As a result, your spiritual children rise up also and call you blessed. For all of these things, combined with your warmth and friendship over the years, we salute you in the Lord and congratulate you on your years of effective service to him and his church.

We cherish this fellowship together, and especially so because, "our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ." (1 John 1:3).

Swee-Hwa Quek

Much has been written concerning Dr Allan A. MacRae's exemplary service to our Lord. It is now my happy and humble duty to add to the accolades.

I was Dr MacRae's "assistant" twenty-two years ago, helping him to mark the weekly church history quizzes for a class which comprised nearly the whole of the student body then at Faith Theological Seminary. That gave me good opportunities to get to know him better. Through this contact and through his lectures I found that in his treatment of important issues, whether from church history or from the Old Testament, he was firm and unyielding on a point of truth, yet charitable and tactful as regards views from which he clearly differed. His lectures were not entertaining, though as students we often found welcome relief to rest our tired fingers during those occasional moments when he would veer off into an amusing anecdote or two. Nevertheless his lectures were stimulating as we were presented not only with information but also with the value or non-value of each bit of information presented in his lectures. The meticulous care with which he painstakingly examined points of controversy was similar (as I found out later in a seminar under Professor F. F. Bruce at the University of Manchester) to the way Irenaeus of Lyons refuted the various Second Century A. D. gnostic heresies in his *magnum opus* entitled *Adversus Haereses*.

One quality of Dr MacRae which deserves to be highlighted is the fact that he is approachable and encouraging to his pupils, even long after their graduation. Those of us who took the trouble to write and consult him on some point of biblical interpretation were sure to receive a carefully-worded reply. To this would often be added his sincere interest in our life and ministry and especially close to his heart is our performance in the pastoral ministry and our concern for mission work.

Like the Old Testament prophets who exercised a proclamatory (as well as predictive) ministry and whom he loved so greatly, Dr MacRae continues in these last days to proclaim the truths of God's Word in a seemingly untiring ministry of teaching, preaching and writing. His distinguished teaching career of fifty-six years (since 1929) spans more than half a century. Far from retiring he keeps himself busily engaged in the Lord's work. We wish him many more years of fruitful service for our Lord.

Timothy Tow Siang Hui

I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr Allan A. MacRae who taught me the principles of prophecy, particularly the Book of Isaiah (in Preface to *The Gospel Prophets: An Applied Commentary on Isaiah and Micah*, by Timothy Tow).

TRIBUTE TO ALLAN A. MACRAE

R. Allan Killen

Professor Emeritus

Reformed Theological Seminary

All of us who are contributing articles to this memorial volume owe much of our expertise and success in the Lord's work to certain teachers and professors who contributed greatly to our training. I myself owe most to two men of great stature and faith, namely to Dr Allan A. MacRae and Dr J. Oliver Buswell III.

For some years Dr Buswell and Dr MacRae worked closely together (from about 1940 till 1955), Dr MacRae being the President and Dr Buswell the Professor of Theology at Faith Theological Seminary.

These men were leaders in their own fields: Dr Buswell in theology and philosophy, Dr MacRae in Old Testament theology and archeology. From Dr Buswell I received a solid training in theology plus apologetics, and from Dr MacRae a similar training in the study and defence of the Old Testament along with archeology.

I shall never forget when Dr MacRae spoke at Wheaton College Chapel in the fall of 1938. I had completed my B.A. with a major in history, and was enrolled, with five other young men, in a new two-year master's program in biblical studies. As he ably, yet simply and clearly, defended the Old Testament and the infallibility of the Bible, I realized that here was a man of warmth and love, with a scholarly approach to the Old Testament, under whom I could learn to understand and defend the Bible. Humility and sincerity coupled with kindness shone through his address.

Because of a sad heart-rending experience which I had gone through at St Stephen's College (seminary) in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, about twelve years before, as an Old Testament professor tore the early chapters of Genesis apart, and a New Testament professor refused to support the doctrine of the Virgin Birth of Jesus Christ, I had lost my faith in the Bible, turned away from preparation for the gospel ministry and became a farmer.

But as I heard Dr MacRae speak in Chapel at Wheaton College, I sensed he had love and grace, and knew in his particular way, how to approach the problems faced by college and university students. While studying under him I had the privilege of driving him over to a nearby college and hearing him speak at an Inter-Varsity Fellowship meeting. He was simple and clear. What he said was loving and understanding. He was a man who knew and taught the art of pre-evangelism, both in his attitude and his words. From him I learned that we must really love people if we are to help them. From him I learned that we must be ready to understand a person's intellectual problems, to make those problems our own in the sense we would assume the challenge and responsibility to study them and to answer them.

I have always been glad that I moved to Faith Theological Seminary to

study under Dr MacRae. There were two reasons in particular for this. First, I wished to see demonstrated and to learn for myself how to approach problems with the Christian Faith. Second, I wished to learn how to show humility and love to men and women who cannot accept the Gospel of Jesus Christ because of insurmountable problems and doubts.

In my time of biblical skepticism I had a particular problem which those who tried to help me could not solve as I found the experience shattering. As I was being helped I said silently to myself concerning those who were reaching out to me: "You do not ask me what is my problem and where I am hurting because you are afraid. You just do not have an answer!" I wanted very much to tell someone where I hurt as a troubled intellectual. I wanted to get help and find the answers.

Karl Barth's reaction to the appeals and criticisms of his teachings by Orthodox evangelicals illustrates the point that I am trying to make. He, like several neo-orthodox theologians who followed in his steps, said to the Christians who approached him, "You do not love." Why did he do so? For the same reason that I did, while still in the throes of liberalism. If one really loves a liberal or a neo-orthodox, should there not be a desire to hear where that person is hurting? Such a person may be "crying in the dark". He has lost faith in the infallible, inerrant Bible and that hurts. He has acquired devastating intellectual problems (e.g., JEDP theory, and Formgeschichte) and philosophical problems (e.g., Kantian agnosticism, Hegelian dialectic, and many existential problems found in liberalism and neo-orthodoxy, and more recently liberation theology). And he could not solve any of these problems. It would be dishonest for him to ignore his problems and make a Kierkegaardian leap and accept Christ. Orthodox evangelicals did not listen to a Barth's cry when he tried to work out logically, for example, the consequences of assuming that God is timeless and spaceless. Barth and his neo-orthodox followers were honestly telling us, by their view of the Bible, what they saw as the logical consequence of assuming the timelessness and spacelessness of God. Yet many orthodox evangelicals refuse, even today, to accept the fact that logically their reasoning is unassailable. Someone will say: you have just raised a very difficult philosophical problem. We ourselves believe that God is timeless and spaceless. Several of the church fathers, such as Athanasius and Augustine, also believed God was timeless and spaceless, together with many modern Reformed theologians and others today. But at the same time we hold, as do such men, that God does speak directly to man. Over eleven hundred and fifty times in the Old Testament we read, "Thus saith the Lord." We see no contradiction therefore at this point!

What is the neo-orthodox response? I believe Barth and his followers will reply thus: "Not only do you not love us, but you throw the Bible in our faces. You refuse to stop and understand how we are hurting and why. And then you quote Scripture even though it does not solve the problem. If God is timeless and spaceless, then he is *totaliter aliter*, absolutely other than we are, and truth with him is also absolutely other because it is without the categories of time or space! Such truth cannot be communicated directly because man stamps the two categories of finitude upon all

of God's revelation and thereby makes it indirect. The only way man can therefore have truth is by 'demythologization' -- namely, by taking off the time-space wraps which man has put upon revelation, as he received it from God, and thereby unearth the truth.

At this point some of our readers may say, "You have led us into a very deep philosophical problem. That is not our field of study." I agree that it is difficult, but I cannot agree that it is a field of study for which only the orthodox Christian apologist is responsible. It is the concern also of all who claim to be scholars and defenders of the Bible as the divinely inspired, infallible Word of God.

I remember a statement made by Dr MacRae which has encouraged me ever since the Lord guided me into the field of apologetics. He remarked: "We have faced and been able to answer so many questions which have been raised in modern Old and New Testament studies that we are certain that, though many questions still remain to be solved, we shall finally find the answers to these also." This admonition and encouragement and the careful methodical scholarly approach demonstrated in his class lectures together form a solid basis for the study of biblical apologetics.

I did not consciously choose the field of apologetics. I was precipitated into it first by the crisis which I went through for eight years during my farming experience, and then, twenty years later, when the renowned Dr G. C. Berkouwer, at the Free University in Amsterdam, Holland, suggested I write my doctoral dissertation on Paul Tillich. In order to do so, I had to train myself in the field of philosophy since Tillich based his theology upon the Eastern Mystical view of a timeless-spaceless monistic God and used Hegelian dialectic to describe the unfolding of Being or God to form triadically the Trinity and to explain the origin and existence of the world and man.

This was the point at which what I learned from Dr MacRae coalesced with that which I had received from Dr Buswell. Both Dr MacRae and Dr Buswell are admirers of Charles Hodge and B. B. Warfield, the two greatest Presbyterian theologians who taught at Princeton Theological Seminary. Hodge and Warfield were classical apologists: they believed and taught the value and use of both biblical evidences and the theistic arguments for apologetics. In contrast, Dr Abraham Kuiper, founder of the Free University in Holland, believed in and taught what is called pre-suppositionalism. He maintained that apologetics was the last and the least of the theological disciplines. He reasoned that since both theistic arguments and biblical evidences produce only probability arguments, they are worthless and probability cannot rise above chance.

It is interesting and important to note that B. B. Warfield disagreed with Kuiper. He wrote the introductory chapter for *Fundamental Apologetics* (Columbia: Richmond Press), a book written by Francis Robert Beattie, a Southern Presbyterian, in 1902. Warfield faulted Kuiper in a very gracious but able manner, pointing out that saving faith was really built upon apologetics. Kuiper failed to grasp what Warfield was saying. This was the first open conflict between the classical apologetics of Princeton and American Presbyterianism, and the presupposition apologetics of Abraham Kuiper and the Christian Reformed Church. Our heritage, as

Presbyterians, whether Scottish, Canadian or American, is based on the classical apologetic of Hodge and Warfield.

Dr Buswell followed in the line of Presbyterianism. The Dutch Reformed theologians, such as Louis Berkhof in the United States and G. C. Berkouwer in Holland, accompanied by Cornelius Van Til at Westminster Theological Seminary, have followed Kuiper.

An extended dialogue developed between Dr Van Til and Dr Buswell. It went on for about eight to ten years. Dr Buswell defended and used the theistic arguments. At the same time, he agreed with Dr Van Til, and the presuppositionalists, that the theistic arguments along with biblical evidences are only probability arguments. Nevertheless, he maintained that both are useful. For example, he presented the cosmological argument in the following form. He wrote:

I suggest as a proper approach to the cosmological argument the proposition: 'If anything does now exist, then either something must be eternal, or something not eternal must have come from nothing.' The argument should then proceed to show that it is more reasonable (probable) to believe that something is eternal and that among the many hypotheses of eternal existence, the God of the Bible is the most reasonable, *the most probable eternal being*. ("Thomas and the Bible," p. 89)

While it is not our purpose to take up the debate mentioned above, we would point out that John's Gospel asserts the validity and value of probability arguments when the Apostle writes:

And many other things truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book. But these are written that ye might believe Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God: and that ye might have life through His name (John 20:30-31).

John's records of the seven miracles of Jesus -- turning water into wine; the nobleman's son healed; the healing at the pool of Bethesda; feeding the five thousand; Jesus walking on the water; healing of the man born blind; and the healing of Lazarus -- are probability arguments used by the Holy Spirit to authenticate the person of Jesus Christ.

Dr Buswell did a superb job in apologetics in his classes and in his books, *Systematic Theology of the Christian Religion* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1963) and his introduction to philosophy. *Being and Knowing* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960). He was an able and fearless defender of the Christian faith in the field of philosophy. He attended yearly conferences on philosophy and reported to us what he had experienced. I used to sit and wonder at his keenness and ability and wished I had been able to have had some courses in philosophy so that I could understand all that he said. Yet, there were significant fragments of truth which were to be of much help later on. It was because of what he said that I gained the confidence that I would never have otherwise had. The Christian theologian can and ought to hold his own in the field of philosophy. It was from him I learnt several absolutely basic principles and facts which were to be of tremendous value later on. For example, I found that I could understand and answer the problems faced by Karl Barth, Paul Tillich, and many others.

In this effort I was also helped by Dr G. C. Berkouwer who was an authority on Karl Barth. It was during my teaching in apologetics at Faith

Theological Seminary that I saw, for the first time while teaching Kant, Barth's real problem and how it had affected his theology, particularly his view of revelation. In later studies I was able to trace back the lines to the origin of his assumption that God is timeless and spaceless in philosophy.

That assumption originated in Eastern Mysticism. Plato and Aristotle wrestled with the concept. Aristotle's struggles with this concept are basic to the problem of neo-orthodoxy. Time and space, he proposed, are measured by numbers. The question Aristotle faced was: did numbers and mathematics exist before time and space, and before the existence of things that can be numbered, or did countables have to exist before numbers and mathematics? Aristotle could have answered either way. Finally he arbitrarily decided that countables, namely, created things, must exist before numbers and mathematics, and that time and space are therefore created categories. If such is the case, then God and heaven are timeless and spaceless, and time and space -- because they are attached to countables -- are created. (Buswell, "Thomas and the Bible," p. 69).

The early Christian Fathers saw no problem with this view. They failed to see that it had come down from paganism -- from Eastern Mysticism and had they seen the logical consequences to which it led, they would, we believe, have rejected the idea. Athanasius used the concept of timelessness and spacelessness to explain the eternal progression of the Son from the Father. Augustine also adopted the concept. However, Calvin refused to discuss the idea in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, stating that its adoption could lead to dangerous speculations. Later Reformed theologians adopted the assumption, failing to see the logical consequences to which it could lead. They even tried to support it by such a phrase as "that there should be time no longer" (Rev 10:6), and "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day" (2 Pet 3:8). Dr Buswell questioned the idea. He wrote:

If the past is not past for God as well as man, then we are yet in our sins; Christ has not come and never will come, for He is Deity and therefore timeless. But He is said to have come "in the fullness of time" (*chronos*). And "in due time" (*kairos*). If the past is not past for God, we are yet under the wrath and curse of a righteous Judge. Either this, or sins, is merely an illusion, and we might as well be Eddyistic idealists and be done with the Gospel. (*Systematic Theology*, I. 47)

The idea of God being timeless and spaceless appeared in the philosophy of Immanuel Kant. Kant said that there appear to be three infinities: God, time and space. But this is impossible, he reasoned, because there cannot be more than one infinity. Since God, to be God, must be infinite, time and space must therefore be finite and created. Such being the case, God must be *totaliter aliter*, that is totally different from creation and man. Søren Kierkegaard, as well as Kant, saw that if such is the case, there can then be no direct communication and no direct revelation from God to man! But Kierkegaard was not willing to accept such a conclusion. In his two-volume "love letter", *Either/Or*, written to his sweetheart Regina, he came to the conclusion that, if he as a finite human being could communicate indirectly with another human being, namely, Regina, then God, as infinite, could and must be able to do the same "directly" with man. It was this idea of communication which Barth adopted as the basis of his view of

revelation. The only difference between him and Kierkegaard was that he maintained that there was a double indirectness in revelation, while Kierkegaard spoke merely of a single indirectness.

Our answer to the assumption that God is timeless and spaceless goes back to Immanuel Kant. The definition of the infinite adopted by Kant is incorrect. One infinite does not necessarily annihilate another. There can be one line which theoretically travels infinitely in two directions, but there can also be other lines which do the same and yet do not impinge upon the infinity of the first. In fact there can be any number of infinite lines which do not touch upon the infinity of others. Kant's is therefore incorrect. He defined God's infinity quantitatively, when he ought to have defined it qualitatively. The Shorter Catechism gives a fine example of this point.

Q. What is God?

A. God is a spirit, infinite eternal and unchangeable in his (1) being, (2) wisdom, (3) power, (4) holiness, (5) goodness (love), (6) justice, (7) truth.

There are seven infinities and none impinges upon or annihilates any of the others since they are all qualitative in nature.

I thank God for Dr MacRae's constant warnings especially in chapel talks, that liberalism might, in some years, even take over a sound theological seminary. The old Neo-orthodoxy introduced by Karl Barth, and fought against for some thirty or forty years by orthodox conservatives, is again being advocated. In his recent book, *After Fundamentalism* (Harper & Row, 1983), Bernard Ramm, a leading Baptist apologist, has argued that evangelicalism needs to return to Barth in order to solve its own problems. A careful study of his book reveals that he, like so many others, has not seen the Kantian problem mentioned above which lies behind Barth's problem and has failed both to analyze and to answer it in a scholarly way. The Southern Baptist seminaries are already in a crisis over the doctrine of verbal inspiration and the infallibility of the Bible and because of this the whole great denomination is in extreme turmoil. Never has there been a day when the Church of Jesus Christ needs solid work more in contemporary theology than today. A great danger faces this generation of conservative evangelical students, who need to be content to rest simply and rejoice in the superb apologetic efforts of such men as Dr Allan A. MacRae and Dr J. Oliver Buswell, Jr.; they should recognize that what they have received from these men is in God's grace, a challenge and a charge to dedicate their own lives and abilities to the field of contemporary theology.

Just before I left farming to return to studies in 1935, I asked God if he would give me the privilege of answering the attacks on the faith of young theological students which had devastated my life and driven me out to the farm in the first place. Years later, when lecturing in contemporary theology at Reformed Theological Seminary in Jackson, Mississippi, this prayer came to my mind as I found myself engaged in the task of the evangelization of the intellectual. God was indeed answering my plea as he led me to analyze and answer the problems of such men as Karl Barth, Paul Tillich, Marshall McLuhan, Edgar Cayce, Herbert Marcuse, Angela Davis, the Eastern Mystics, and many others. But the groundwork for

those answers was received in the classroom lectures of Dr MacRae and Dr Buswell.

The final thing that I feel I must say is that the field of contemporary thought and theology needs to be studied and understood by Old and New Testament professors as well as theologians and apologists. Perhaps the most important issue today is that of liberation theology in South America. It calls for the united efforts of biblical and of theological scholars plus the help of young men who have majored in history, philosophy, anthropology, and economics. If we evangelicals hesitate much longer and do not produce a truly scholarly Christian answer, the entire field of missions in South America may be lost to the preaching of the Gospel! South America presents us with the greatest challenge in contemporary thought and theology faced by the Christian Church in the past five hundred years.

The challenge to take up this task of contemporary theology falls upon those of us who have enjoyed the careful, scholarly, methodical analysis of the problems facing Christianity taught by Dr MacRae and by Dr J Oliver Buswell, Jr. The formulation of answers to such tremendous issues as Barth's neo-orthodoxy, and the theology of liberation in South America, finds its solid foundation, in my case, in the lectures of both men. As I close my chapter I want to challenge the readers of this book to take up the task in which these men have so ably taught and performed. Those who accept the challenge and do so will bring more joy and a greater reward to their efforts than anything else that can be done.

TRIBUTE TO ALLAN A. MACRAE

Robert J. Dunzweiler

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*A Biographical Sketch and Appreciation of Dr MacRae
Presented on April 9, 1977, on the Occasion of the Celebration of
the 50th Anniversary of his Ordination*

My purpose this evening is not to attempt the audacity of evaluating another man's life. It is much more modest. I wish merely to sketch some of the outlines of one man's lifetime of service, and to attempt to say something meaningful concerning his impact.

Allan Alexander MacRae was born to John MacRae, M.D., of Calumet, Michigan, and Eunice Jennison of Hartford, Connecticut, on February 11, 1902. The fruit of this union between descendants of Scottish Highlanders and English Puritans showed at an early age his inclination toward scholarly pursuits. In grammar school he studied Latin; and at home he often read the Latin of a six-language edition of the Bible. One Sunday afternoon a Boston preacher visiting Calumet saw Allan and his boyhood chum poring over the Latin text, and was so impressed that upon his return to Boston he proudly informed his fellow Bostonians in a newspaper article that Boston culture was alive and well in Calumet, Michigan! And in fact, Allan's home was a hub for the activities of literary clubs, political groups, and church groups. Having come to Christ at an early age, he set himself the task of reading the entire Bible, often covering 20 or 30 chapters at a sitting.

When Allan was 11, his family went to Italy for several months for the benefit of his father's health. In Rome, Allan attended school in the morning, and in the afternoon he rolled his hoop through the ancient streets between visits to the Forum, the Arch of Titus, the Coliseum, the Appian Way, St. Peter's, the Vatican galleries, and many other sites about which he had previously read. It was probably in Rome that his desire to travel was born.

Soon after the family's return from Italy, Allan's father's health necessitated a move to a warmer climate; and so Allan's high school years, having begun in Calumet High School, were completed in Franklin High School in Los Angeles. During this stay in California, Allan got his first taste of real hiking and mountain climbing, an activity which was to become a lifetime hobby, and would lead to hiking trails and mountain peaks in 30 states and 15 foreign countries on four continents.

In 1918, at the age of 16, Allan entered Occidental College, a fine school with a conservative Presbyterian background, but one which was undergoing a transition to a more liberal emphasis. Allan was at the top of his

class, a member of the varsity debating team, editor of the weekly school paper, and a Phi Beta Kappa. He majored in history and minored in English.

In 1922, Allan emerged as valedictorian of his graduating class. In his valedictory, he issued a stirring call for a return to the old faith! When he finished, one college official declared that he would never have another MacRae on the college platform!

Having earned his Bachelor of Arts degree, Allan returned to Occidental in the fall of 1922 to take his Master of Arts degree, which he completed in the spring of 1923.

During the 1923-24 school year, Allan attended the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, where he studied the Bible under the leadership of Dr R. A. Torrey. After one year at BIOLA, Allan was advised by Dr Torrey to go to Princeton Theological Seminary.

Allan accepted this advice, and so in 1924 he was off to Princeton, New Jersey. As he studied under Robert Dick Wilson and J. Gresham Machen, he became convinced of the necessity of a scholarly defense of the inspiration of the Scriptures. And thus, even while he was working toward his seminary degree, he began work in Princeton University on another master's degree, this time in Semitic Philology. And thus it was that in 1927 he received both his Bachelor of Theology from Princeton Seminary and his Master of Arts degree from Princeton University.

Back in Los Angeles after graduation, Allan came before a presbytery made up of both liberal and conservative ministers and elders, to be licensed and ordained. Following his introduction as a prodigy, the presbytery's committee meekly asked him who wrote the four gospels (and a few other rather simple questions), and then proceeded to ordain him!

Upon his graduation from Princeton, Allan had been awarded a fellowship to study Semitics at the University of Berlin; and thus, in the late summer of 1927, he proceeded to the next arena of learning. Between his studies in Babylonian Cuneiform, Egyptian Hieroglyphics, Arabic, and Syriac, Allan managed to find opportunity to do extensive hiking and climbing in the Tyrol, the Black Forest, the Swiss Alps, and the Austrian Alps. Feeling keenly his lack of fluency in the German language, he began talking to the natives on his hiking tours, and became so proficient in the language that when he later returned to the United States he dreamed in German for months!

During his second year at the University of Berlin, Allan made a four-month trip to Palestine, where he met a famous archaeologist, Sir Flinders Petrie; and where he studied in the American Schools of Oriental Research under another famous scholar, William F. Albright. Together with Dr Albright and two other students, Allan participated in the exciting discovery of the site of the Biblical city of Ham, mentioned in Genesis 14.

In 1929, Robert Dick Wilson invited Allan MacRae to join him as his assistant in the Old Testament Department of the new school which was being organized after the reorganization and consequent liberalization of Princeton Seminary. After some hesitancy, Allan interrupted his doctoral program at Berlin and returned to the United States to assume the assistant professorship of Old Testament in Westminster Theological Seminary.

During his eight years at Westminster, Allan resumed his doctoral studies, this time at the University of Pennsylvania Under Ephraim A. Speiser. This program was completed in 1937 when Allan received his Ph.D. degree. His dissertation was entitled "Semitic Personal Names at Nuzi."

In the summer of 1937, when the need was felt for the founding of a new theological seminary stressing certain desirable distinctives, Dr Allan A. MacRae joined with Carl McIntire, Roy T. Brumbaugh, Harold S. Laird, and Frederick Paist to formulate a plan for the new school. Since they had no faculty, no property, no students, and really nothing but their faith, they decided to call it Faith Theological Seminary. Dr MacRae was asked to assume the presidency of the institution, and he accepted the position.

Almost at once, events occurred to move the dream toward reality. The Sunday school building of the First Independent Church of Wilmington, Delaware, was offered for classrooms; a fine faculty was assembled; and 25 students enrolled. Among the members of the entering class were Vernon Grounds, John W. Sanderson, Jr., Norman Jerome, and Jack W. Murray.

The new school grew steadily. By the 1943-44 school year, there were 62 students, including two women. One of these was Grace E. Sanderson, who, after a brief stint as a temporary secretary to Dr MacRae, discovered that he seemed to have more than a temporary interest in her. Following many long walks and much good-natured teasing from the students, Miss Grace Sanderson became Mrs Allan A. MacRae.

During the MacRae's honeymoon in the Grand Canyon of Arizona, three army fliers parachuted out of a bomber that appeared ready to crash. They floated down into the canyon, and spent the next ten days on an isolated plateau. The search for these airmen drew nationwide attention. A veteran park ranger, aware that Dr MacRae (a veteran of many long trips in the Canyon) was there at the time, sent word to join him in the rescue attempt. They went down from the north rim, located a narrow deer trail down the precipitous cliffs, and brought out the three fliers in good condition.

The story made all the newspapers and many magazines, including *Time*. As a result of this experience, Dr MacRae was besieged with invitations to relate his adventure; and he used these opportunities to drive home a gospel application to thousands of men and women in every type of organization and setting.

In November of 1948, John Phillip MacRae was born. At the time, his parents could not have predicted that he would be called of God into the gospel ministry, would enter Faith Seminary, would complete his theological studies at B. S. T., and would become a successful pastor in Western Pennsylvania.

During the next several years, Faith Seminary was experiencing growing pains. For example, in 1951 the student body jumped to 120. Following a search for new quarters, the school moved in 1952 to the Widener estate in Elkins Park. The growth of the student body reached its high point in 1952-53, when it numbered 156.

Following a major disruption in 1956, Dr MacRae began the painstaking task of rebuilding the faculty and the student body, a task which occupied

him over the next few years.

In 1960, Dr MacRae's car overturned on the Pennsylvania Turnpike. He suffered seven broken bones, and for six months carried around embedded in his arm an inch-long chunk of metal which the doctors who patched him up had failed to detect. The fact that the accident did not take a greater toll of life or limb was a wonderful instance of God's providential care.

In 1971, after 34 years as President and Professor of Old Testament of Faith Theological Seminary, and facing a crisis which threatened to destroy the approach and emphasis which he had sought to maintain at such personal cost for so many years, Dr MacRae displayed a new burst of pioneering dedication and spirit which, in collaboration with Dr Jack W. Murray and with the sponsorship of Bible Evangelism. Inc., led to the establishment of Biblical School of Theology.

Biblical began with a seasoned faculty team, 48 dedicated students, no library, no buildings, and no constituency of its own. Now, having completed its fourteenth year, the Seminary has a fine student body of 150, a library of 40,000 volumes, functionally excellent buildings, and a highly loyal constituency. And it still has Dr Allan A. MacRae, who -- although he retired as President in 1983 - - continues to provide wise counsel and inspiration as Chancellor.

When we attempt to assess the greatest area of impact in Dr MacRae's life, we may be tempted to think of his contributions to the lives and ministries of *Christian leaders*, through interaction at conferences and conventions, through correspondence, or by his teachings and writings.

Or we may be led to think of his contributions to his *students*, whether made in the classroom, in the office, in the hall, or in the chapel. Any list of former students which includes the names of Francis A. Schaeffer, Joseph T. Bayly, Vernon C. Grounds, Kenneth S. Kantzer, Arthur F. Glasser, G. Douglas Young, Samuel J. Schultz, and Jack W. Murray must surely be considered remarkable.

Or we may be drawn to consider his contributions to the *Christian public* generally, through his articles, his many speaking engagements, or his large correspondence, in which he has dealt faithfully, carefully, and often at length with questions and problems of every kind.

Or we may be tempted to think of his contributions, to *Christian scholarship* through his teaching approach and method, his articles in technical and professional journals, his encouragement of younger scholars, his work on the *New Scofield Bible's* Revision Committee, his translation work for the *New International Version* of the Bible, his service as vice-president and president of the Evangelical Theological Society and as vice-president and honorary Fellow of the American Scientific Affiliation, his contributions to Bible commentaries, Bible dictionaries, Bible encyclopedias, his book *The Gospel of Isaiah*, or the book on *Daniel* on which he is currently working.

Or we may be led to think of his contributions to theological education, through his role in the founding of three theological seminaries, his speaking opportunities at the baccalaureates, commencements, conferences, and chapels of a large number of Christian colleges and seminaries, or through his repeated articulation of a Christian view of education.

But I think that the impact of Dr MacRae's life may be seen most clearly in two emphases which he has consistently maintained over the past 50 years -- his faithfulness to the inerrancy of all that Scriptures teach, coupled with his stress upon the maintenance of vital spiritual life, manifesting itself (among other ways) in his carefulness to proclaim the gospel in every message that he has delivered.

I am certain that I speak for everyone gathered here tonight when I say to Dr MacRae:

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS,
WE CANNOT REWARD EXCELLENCE;
WE CAN ONLY RECOGNIZE IT.
THEREFORE, DR MACRAE,
WE TAKE THIS OCCASION
TO RECOGNIZE THE PERVASIVE
EXCELLENCE OF YOUR LIFE,
AND THE OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS
WHICH YOU HAVE MADE TO
BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP,
THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION, AND
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP DURING
50 YEARS OF CHRISTIAN MINISTRY!
DR MACRAE, WE HONOR YOU TONIGHT!

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ALLAN ALEXANDER MACRAE, PH. D.

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Allan A MacRae is one of those scholars whose unpublished writings far exceed those which have made it into print. This bibliography does not pretend to encompass the many letters, lecture notes, and other material which Dr MacRae has produced over the course of six decades but not published. With several exceptions, all of the citations contained herein either appeared in periodicals or were issued as monographs or parts of monographs. The goal has been a comprehensive bibliography of such writings, but certain items undoubtedly have eluded the attention of the compiler.

Citations are arranged alphabetically by title and are divided into three sections. Making up approximately two-thirds of the bibliography, the first section comprises articles published in periodical literature. Articles in dictionaries, *Festschriften*, etc., constitute the second section. Other writings, such as books and pamphlets, are grouped together in the third section.

Annotations accompany all but a few of the citations. In writing these annotations the compiler has attempted to avoid evaluation. Rather, the aim has been to provide simply some indication as to the gist of the item being cited. The length of an annotation is not necessarily related to the length or importance of the cited work. In the vast majority of cases the compiler has been able to peruse the writing himself, but at times this was not possible. In some cases the same writing appeared in two or even three publications, usually through reprinting. In certain instances each of these appearances is cited in full, but equally often a passing reference in the annotation serves as the only indication of the item's publication elsewhere.

Dr MacRae's output leaves one with the impression that it is possible to combine careful scholarship with deep personal concern for assorted practical issues of an ecclesiastical nature. Esoteric topics are presented in a clear, readable fashion which at times almost takes on the character of a good homily. Permeating Dr MacRae's work is his interest in evidence and in avoiding paths of error, whether new ones or those which already have been heavily trod. The scope of this bibliography reflects this sensitivity. No ponderous tomes are to be found. Instead, there are cautions, critiques, and popular calls to attend to what matters most. Clear insights and rich illustrations abound, however, and particularly in the more scholarly writings there is a solidity which merits serious attention from those given either to lockstep or to flights of fancy.

Abbreviations Used

<i>BSac</i>	Bibliotheca Sacra
<i>BT</i>	Bible Today
<i>CB</i>	Christian Beacon
<i>FP</i>	The Free Press
<i>GW</i>	Gospel Witness
<i>JASA</i>	Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation
<i>RR</i>	Reformation Review
<i>SST</i>	Sunday School Times

I. ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

"Abraham and the Stars." *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society* 8 (Summer 1965): 97-100.

"Abraham and the Stars." *JASA* 17 (September 1965): 65-67.

Maintains that the Bible and science harmonize. The promise that the number of Abraham's descendants would be as the stars is shown to be evidence for the Bible's divine origin. This article issued from a paper presented at the meeting of the Evangelical Society in Nyack, New York, December 1964. Translated into German by Heidemarie Henschel, it also appeared in the Festschrift for Samuel R. Külling, *Seine Stimme gehört und keinen Fabeln gefolgt*, which constituted a 1984 issue (Heft I) of *Fundamentum*.

"Answering Critics of Daniel." *SST* 84 (17 January 1942): 37.

Discusses Robert Dick Wilson's study of the Book of Daniel and reviews Wilson's volumes which appeared in 1917 and 1938.

"The Ante-Nicene Fathers." *SST* 99 (28 September 1957): 741-42, 757-58.

Primarily goes over the church history of the periods from which the various writings come. See also "Two Great Christian Writers" and "Years of Conflict and Progress."

"Archaeology." *JASA* 5 (September 1953): 12.

Subtitled "The Present Status of Biblical Archaeology." Discusses the frustrations besetting archaeological work in the Near East following the "golden era" from 1921 to 1939,

"Archaeology." *JASA* 5 (December 1953): 14-15.

Notes that "higher criticism" had its real beginning in 1753 when Jean Astruc advanced a theory concerning Moses' use of various documents. The theory's application to the rest of the Pentateuch came later along with delineation of conflicting material and rejection of Mosaic authorship. Biblical archaeology is credited with destroying the longstanding unanimity among scholars concerning the higher criticism as represented by the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen hypothesis.

"Archaeology." *JASA* 6 (September 1954): 22-24.

The subtitles "Could Moses Write?" and "Regarding Noah's Ark" appear within this article. These two topics are discussed briefly. Hieroglyphics, cuneiform, and Sinaitic characters from which the "old Phoenician" (or Paleo-Hebrew) as well as other alphabets developed are each brought forward as possibly being the language in which

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Moses wrote the Pentateuch. News reports of Libi's and Navarra's sightings of Noah's Ark are mentioned. A skeptical attitude regarding such is encouraged, pending new data.

"Archaeology." *JASA* 6 (December 1954): 14-15.

Discusses the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Mentions the immediate photographing of the Isaiah Scroll, disputes about the age of the Scrolls, etc.

"Archaeology." *JASA* 7 (December 1955): 28-29.

Treats the question of the text of the New Testament. Relates the story of Tischendorf's discovery of Sinaiticus, the difficulty Tregelles had in examining Vaticanus, the 1889 change in papal attitude toward use of the Vatican Library, the mid-twentieth century microfilming of manuscripts on site at Jerusalem and Mt. Sinai, etc.

"Archaeology." *JASA* 9 (JUNE 1957): 16-17.

Mentions that of biblical archaeology's written and artifactual categories of material, the primary interest at the time centered around the written material. In turn that interest involved not so much the discovery of new material as the finding of a tool for better understanding material already available.

"Archaeology." *JASA* 10 (December 1958): 16-18.

Describes Yigael Yadin's excavation at Hazor and then mentions the Harvard-Cornell expedition's discovery of Lydian remains at Sardis.

"Archaeology." *JASA* 11 (September 1959): 14-15.

Deals with archaeological evidence related to the period of the judges. Mentions excavations at Gibeon, Dothan, Shechem, and Hazor.

"Archaeology." *JASA* 12 (June 1960): 21-23.

Deals with Ras Shamra texts (noting they generally had come to be designated the Ugaritic texts). Notes that if not somewhat eclipsed by the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Ras Shamra texts would have been hailed even more widely as an exceedingly important find for the study of antiquity.

"Archaeology." *JASA* 14 (September 1962): 85-86.

Presents information concerning Assyrian rulers and their strategies. The techniques of moving whole populations and intimidating through a reputation for brutality are noted, and Babylonian and Persian empires receive brief mention.

"Archaeology and the Bible," *CB* 16 (19 July 1951): 3, 5.

Relates archaeological support for the Bible. An address given at Geneva, Switzerland, on August 17, 1950, before the Second Plenary Congress of the International Council of Christian Churches.

"Bible Prophecy." *American Mercury* 87 (October 1958): 29-34.

Popular article in a non-religious periodical with a literary and political orientation.

"The Book Called 'Numbers'." *BSac* 111 (January 1954): 47-53.

Considers the "ill-chosen title" of the Bible's fourth book and indicates the book's practical value for Christians.

"Can Christianity and Communism Coexist?" *Free World Forum* 2 (April-May 1960): 3-5.

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Concludes that "real and lasting coexistence is impossible, owing to the nature of the communist regimes and the West's failure to demand respectable action such as the carrying out of the Potsdam Agreements."

"Can We Be Sure Which Books Are Inspired of God?" *The Journal of the Faith Theological Seminary Alumni Association* 6:3 (Spring 1955): 3-8; 7:1 (Fall 1955): 9-14.

Superbly treats the question of the biblical canon. Eleven points lay out the basis for accepting the books on Christ's authority. See also (*CB* 20 (19 January 1956): 2.

"The Crucial Importance of the Eighteenth General Synod." *FP* 1 (30 June 1953): 4-5.

Reports on the eighteenth synod meeting of the Bible Presbyterian Church. Decisions to establish a new Christian education committee, a magazine, and a college receive criticism.

"Dead Sea Scrolls." *CB* 31(10 November 1966): 6.

Reprinted from *Inter-Varsity* (Trinity term, 1955). Begins by recounting events on and following the spring day in 1947 when "an Arab shepherd happened to cast a stone into a little hole." Besides historical information, the article treats the conditions of the Scrolls, the carbon-14 dating method, etc.

"The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible." *RR* 5 (January 1958): 101-9.

Substance of a lecture delivered at the Scandinavian Evangelical Conference at Hillerod, August 1957. Gives a general description of the Dead Sea Scrolls and their significance. Seeks to expose misunderstanding of the Scrolls' implications for Christianity.

The Establishment of Additional Synod-controlled Agencies is a Big Step in the Direction of Prelacy, and away from True Presbyterianism." *FP* 1 (30 June 1955): 6-7.

Gives six reasons why a synod is not actually representative, and therefore must not legislate.

"Except the Lord Build the House." *CB* 20 (28 April 1955): 4.

Takes its title from the first verse of Ps 127.

"Existence of Synod-controlled Boards and Agencies Greatly Cuts Down the Effectiveness of Synod in the Areas of Work Which Properly Belong to It." *FP* 1 (30 June 1955): 9-10.

Expresses regret concerning Bible Presbyterian Synod attention devoted to the administration of the American Council of Christian Churches. Synod-controlled agencies are seen as part of an ecclesiastical machine,

"The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah." *CB* 18 (16 July 1953): 3.

Isaiah 53 receives treatment here and elsewhere in MacRae's writings, invariably with the respect and insightful approach which are typical of MacRae. See citations below for the articles entitled "Studies in Isaiah" and "With the Rich in His Death," and also the citation for the book entitled *The Gospel of Isaiah*

"The Higher Critical Assault upon the Scriptures." *Christian News* 1 (2 September 1968): 6-7.

"The Higher Critical Assault upon the Scriptures." *CB* 33 (5 September 1968): 7-8.

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"The Higher Critical Assault upon the Scriptures." *RR* 16 (1968-69): 80-90.

Outlines Wellhausen's theory and summarizes results of investigation against it. This was an address delivered at the Seventh World Congress of the International Council of Christian Churches, Cape May, New Jersey, 15 August 1968.

"The Historical Reliability of the Old Testament." *RR* 7 (January 1960): 80-91.

Address given at the European Evangelical Conference, 23-28 July 1959 at Oslo. Emphasizes the importance of the Old Testament for the Christian. Deals with evidence concerning Belshazzar, Gen 13, and the chronologies of Kings and Chronicles.

"How We Got Our Bible." *CS* 8 (26 August 1943): 1.

Distinguishes revelation from inspiration. Observes that not all of the Bible is revelation, but that all is equally inspired. "Inspiration means simply that the writers have been kept from error of thought, of doctrine, or of judgment in the presentation of the material which they have written under the direction of the Spirit of God."

"Internal and External Evidences of the Bible." *CB* 17 (24 July 1952): 2.

Treats those supporting "evidences" of the Bible which testify to its divine origin, reliability, etc.

"Is Communism a Jewish Conspiracy?" *CD* 32 (31 August 1967): 5-6.

Refutes any association of the Jews with Khazars. Refutes the idea that communism is a Jewish conspiracy. (Originally was a letter replying to an inquiry from someone concerned about anti-Semitic propaganda as represented by allegations that many Jews are Khazars.)

"Is There a Scriptural Basis for Synod-run Boards and Agencies?" *FP* 1 (30 June 1955): 3-4.

Argues for independent agencies as opposed to denominational ones.

"Is Your Question -- Where Shall I Study?" *CD* 21(16 August 1956): 3.

"Jonah." *The National Missions Reporter* 8 (September 1955): 5-6, 8.

Introduces the book of Jonah as a good place to begin study of the Minor Prophets because it has the most narrative. The story is rehearsed up through Jonah's rescue from the deep, with numerous applications.

"The Key to Ezekiel's First Thirty Chapters." *BSac* 122 (1965): 227-33.

Deals with the first several chapters of Ezekiel and alleges that the prophet first ministered by word of mouth.

"The Lamsa Bible: Scholarship or Pretense?" *SST* 100 (22 February 1958): 142-44

Exposes the false claims of the Bible "translation" by George M. Lamsa, and in doing so deals with the question of the Aramaic language in relation to the Bible.

"MacRae Cites Footnote in RSV New Testament." *CB* 18 (9 April 1953): 8.

"The Miracle of Faith Seminary." *SST* 96 (25 September 1954): 785.

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Briefly indicates the history behind Faith Theological Seminary and sketches the developments relating to its occupation of the former Widener Estate in Elkins Park, Pennsylvania.

"The New English Bible Old Testament." *News and Views of the Christian World* 1 (November 1970): 1-2 (unnumbered).

Points up the "great amount of freedom" the New English Bible translators allowed themselves. Observes the "strong bias of the New English Bible against any New Testament idea or any reference to Christ" in the Old Testament.

"New Light on the Old Testament." *JASA* 2 (June 1950): 4-12.

Address at the Fourth Annual Convention of the American Scientific Affiliation, held at the Bible Institute of Los Angeles.. The address actually was delivered off campus in the Church of the Open Door as the one advertised public meeting of the August 1949 convention.

"New Light on the Second Chapter of Second Thessalonians." *BT* 43 (1949-50): 201-10.

Supports, E. Schuyler English's interpretation of *apostasis* as signifying "the rapture of the church."

"The Principles of Interpreting Genesis 1 and 2." *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society* 2 (Fall 1959): 1-9.

Carefully lays out seven principles, most of which also have application beyond the Bible's first two chapters.

"Professor MacRae Leaves Westminster Seminary." *Presbyterian Guardian* 4 (15 May 1937): 50-51.

The letter of resignation constitutes this 'article' by MacRae.

"Progress in Bible Translation." *SST* 101 (27 November 1959): 889-900, 913-14.

Written when the Berkeley Version in Modern English appeared. Discusses the nature of translation, faults the RSV, compliments the Berkeley Version as a "beginning, and one which will be of great value to that committee a few decades from now, which will be in a position to give us a translation worthy to stand beside the King James Version."

"A Pseudo-Conservative Introduction to the Old Testament." *CB* 7 (3 June 1943): 2-3, 5.

Critically reviews *A Conservative Introduction To The Old Testament* by Samuel A. Cartledge.

"Putting on the Whole Armor of God." *Biblical Missions* 25 (April 1959): 8-10.

Popular exposition of Ephesians 6:10-13 in the periodical of the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions. Reprinted in *Biblical Witness* 10 (September 1959): 1-2.

"The Rapture and the Tribulation," *SST* 80 (7 May 1938): 329-30, 333-34.

Faults Alexander Reese's *The Approaching Advent of Christ* for attending only to the rapture question, and doing that with a dogmatic posttribulation view.

"The Reformation of the 16th and 20th Centuries: The Scriptural Basis of

Reformation." *GW* 48 (5 June-28 August 1969): 86, 101, 117, 132, 147, 178, 197.

A recounting of Luther's experiences follows more general treatment of belief and unbelief and the need for reformation then and now. Luther's respect for James is maintained. This was the first of four lectures (delivered under the main title above) in Toronto Baptist Seminary, 10-15 March 1968.

"The Reformation of the 16th and 20th Centuries: John Calvin the Second Generation Reformer." *GW* 48 (11 September-23 October 1969): 211, 229, 245, 261.

Treats Luther's divisive position on the Lord's Supper, and then rehearses Calvin's experiences.

"The Reformation of the 16th and 20th Centuries: How God Moved the Center of the Reformation to the New World." *GW* 48 (6 November-4 December 1969): 274, 291, 308.

Deals with the Reformation in England, and the Pilgrims.

"The Reformation of the 16th and 20th Centuries: The Rise of Evolution." *GW* 48 (18 December 1969-26 March 1970): 323, 341, 357, 371, 389, 405, 421, 436; 49 (9 April-18 June, 30 July 1970): 10, 28, 45, 61, 87, 99, 143.

Traces the development of Darwin's theory and assesses its impact.

"The Relation of the Dead Sea Scrolls to Christianity." *JASA* 9 (December 1957): 15-17. Also appeared in June 1959 *HIS* ("What the Dead Sea Scrolls Don't Prove").

Notes Professor Zeitlin's difficulty in holding that the Dead Sea Scrolls were written in the Middle Ages. Exposes as false those views purporting that ideas of the Qumran community served as the source of various Christian doctrines. Allegro's and Dupont-Sommer's views are noted specifically, and American journalist Edmund Wilson's widely translated book is pointed out as "detrimental to Christianity" in its unwarranted conclusions.

"The Revision of the Davis Dictionary." *SST* 87 (3 February 1945): 81-82, 84.

Proves false the publisher's claims concerning Henry Snyder Gehman's work on *The Westminster Dictionary of The Bible* by John D. Davis.

"A Revolutionary Discovery or a Gigantic Hoax?" *Presbyterian Guardian* 3 (28 November 1936): 73-75.

"A Revolutionary Discovery or a Gigantic Hoax?" *The Evangelical Student* 12 (January 1937): 5-8.

Analyzes the "tremendous claims" made by George Lamsa which are summarized "in three heads: first, that our Gospels represent a very poor translation of an Aramaic original; second, that he has access to that original; third, that he is supremely qualified to interpret that original." Lamsa's claims are shown to be false and the argumentation supporting them is exposed as unscholarly.

"The Scientific Approach to the Old Testament." *BSac* 110(1953): 18-24, 130-38, 234-41, 309-20.

√38 *Interpretation & History*

Originally a lecture in the 1951 W. H. Griffith Thomas Memorial Lectureship delivered 13-16 November of that year in the chapel of Dallas Theological Seminary. Gen 1 and 2 receive special attention, as does the question of the millennium.

"The Scientific Approach to the Old Testament." (These particular lectures were duplicated but apparently not published.)

Second, third, and fourth lectures delivered in the W. H. Griffith Thomas Memorial Lectureship. 13-16 November 1951, at Dallas Theological Seminary. Having a theme expressed by Isa 48:3-5, the second lecture discusses the story of Deborah, then Ps 22 and Isa 53. The third lecture covers various cases of archaeology correcting biblical criticism. Lecture four illustrates the difficulty of predicting the future and then examines the reliability of biblical predictions. (The first lecture appears under the same title. See preceding citation.)

"The Second Coming of Christ." *HIS* 9 (May 1949): 7-9, 23-24.

Explicates areas of agreement and disagreement regarding the Second Advent, which is shown to have four major implications for the individual Christian. The importance of fellowship is emphasized, regardless of eschatological differences.

"The Servant of the Lord in Isaiah." *BSac* 121 (1964): 125-32. 218-27.

Explains how the Servant is both Israel and Christ.

"Should the RSV become Standard?" *HIS* 13 (January 1953): 6.

Critically reviews the Revised Standard Version, showing that numerous renderings of the Hebrew are mistaken or misleading.

"The 16th Century Reformation and the 20th Century Reformation." *CB* 30 (5 August 1965): 2.

Provides some insight into the significance of reformation in the Church.

"Solomon's Seaport." *By Faith* (Summer 1943): 2-3.

Notes the excavations at Ezion-geber in relation to biblical evidence. A similar but longer account is found within "The Voice of the Stones."

"The Sons of Ham." *JASA* 10 (March 1958): 20-21.

Demolishes the notion that blacks are the descendants of Ham. Claims that the English, the Germans, etc., "may equally well have been descended from Shem, Ham, or Japheth" as "far as biblical evidence is concerned."

"Special Revelation." *CB* 15 (27 August 1950): 3.

Excerpts from an address on Holy Scripture delivered before the Evangelical Presbyterian Training Association as part of a series of lectures on the Westminster Confession of Faith given monthly for Christian laymen in the Wilmington, West Chester, Pa., and Philadelphia areas. (Also published in booklet form: cf. *The Holy Scriptures*, cited below.)

"Story of the Bible Presbyterian Church." *CB* 17 (4 September 1952): 4.

"Photographed" from a "folder published by the Committee on National Missions of the Bible Presbyterian Church."

"Studies in Isaiah." *BT* 37 (1942-43): 581-584; 38 (1943-44): 30-35, 65-72.

Provides an overview of the book and its sections. and treats chaps. 1-6.

√39 *Interpretation & History*

"Studies in Isaiah, The Book of Immanuel." *BT* 38 (1943-44): 81-90, 110-17, 146-50, 177-87.

Discusses Isa 7-11 at length and briefly mentions chap. 12.

"Studies in Isaiah" *BT* 38 (1943-44): 241-48; 39 (1944-45): 11-13, 48-51, 102-9, 129-37, 154-57.

Treats Isa 28-35 chapter by chapter.

"Studies in Isaiah." *BT* 39 (1944-45): 212-17.

Comments on Isa 36-39, which is "different from any other" part of Isaiah.

"Studies in Isaiah." *BT* 39 [second vol. 39] (1945-46): 278, 302, 346, 390, 415, 434, 462, 496; [pagination of second vol. 39 continues with vol. 40] (1946-47): 511, 558, 619, 642, 656; 41 (1947-48): 163, 192, 220; 42 (1948-49): 10, 66, 85.

Analyzes and interprets Isa 40-66. The later chapters receive more extensive treatment. Insights abound.

"Studies in Isaiah." *BT* 42 (1948-49): 113-17, 145-46, 172-79, 235-42.

Outlines and comments upon Isa 13-14, and also provides introductory material for chaps. 13-27.

"Studies in Isaiah." *BT* 43 (1949-50): 13-19, 29, 71-78.

Interprets Isa 15-16 and then chap. 17, a distinct unit.

"Studies in Isaiah." *BT* 43 (1949-50): 108-15, 136-41, 153-54, 176-81, 227-29.

Examines Isa 18-20 and then the three visions in chap. 21.

"Studies in Isaiah." *BT* 44 (1950-51): 39-43, 93-95.

Interprets Isa 22. Careful attention is paid to the unusual prophecy concerning Shebna and Eliakim.

"Studies in Isaiah." *BT* 44 (1950-51): 100-107.

Interprets Isa 23. "The Burden of Tyre."

"Studies in Isaiah." *BT* 44 (1950-51): 146-51, 179-84, 187.

Extensively treats Isa 24 after noting its position within "the Isaiah Apocalypse," which comprises chaps. 24-27. Dr MacRae did not cover Isa 25-27 because *The Bible Today* ceased publication in 1951, apparently with the June-September issue, which concluded vol. 44. He did cover 25-27 in 1982 (manuscript).

"Synod-controlled Agencies by Their Very Nature Tend to Inefficiency."
FP 1 (30 June 1955): 7.

Sets forth various practical difficulties with denominational agencies, and cites benefits of independent ones.

"True Presbyterianism: A Rejoinder." *FP* 1 (25 August 1955): 1-15.

Attempts to deal with responses to the earlier article, "What is True Presbyterianism?"

√40 *Interpretation & History*

"A True Watchman." *CB* 25 (1 September 1960): 3.

Relates personal perceptions of the growth and subtlety of modernism.

"The Turning Point of History: A Study of the Third Chapter of Genesis." *CB* 13 (30 September 1948): 3.

Explains the origin of sin by unfolding Gen 3 in a sermonic fashion.

"Two Great Christian Writers." *SST* 99 (5 October 1957): 761.

This editorial reviews *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Ser., 14 volumes, originally published 1886, reprinted by Eerdmans in 1956. Discusses Augustine and Chrysostom, whose writings appear in these fourteen volumes. See also "The Ante-Nicene Fathers" and "Years of Conflict and Progress."

"The Ups and Downs of Higher Criticism." *Christianity Today* 24 (1980): 1130-34.

Commends Higher Criticism's detection of literary fraud, but assails its entrance into source criticism. The abandonment of attempts to delineate sources is noted, as is the disappearance of the term "higher Criticism" outside of biblical studies.

"Verbal Inspiration." *The Journal of the Faith Theological Seminary Alumni Association* 3: 1 (Fall 1950): 3-4.

Counters the idea that verbal inspiration means dictation, and also counters the opinion that biblical inspiration is akin to the feeling one has when a fresh insight occurs to him or her. Rather, "it means that the words, as used in the time and place of writing, studied in their context, present the very idea God desires presented, and do not include false ideas."

"The Virgin Birth of Christ." *RR* 3 (July 1956): 197-210.

Address delivered August 3, 1955, at the Scandinavian Evangelical Conference at Jönköping. Presents 6 reasons why the Virgin Birth is an important doctrine. The *Christian Beacon* printed "The Virgin Birth of Christ" in the December 13, 1956 issue.

"The Voice of the Stones: Address delivered at the Sixth Plenary Congress, August 5-11, 1965, Geneva." *RR* 13 (July 1966): 213-224.

"The Voice of the Stones: Address Delivered at the Sixth Plenary Congress, August 5-11, 1965, Geneva." *CB* 30 (25 November 1965): 2.

Focuses on archaeological evidence from Megiddo and Ezion-geber concerning King Solomon, and includes mention of the author's visit to Megiddo in 1929. The Congress was that of the International Council of Christian Churches. Translated into Swedish as "Stenarna ropar" in *För Biblisk Tro*, Häfte 5 (1965): 206-17.

"What Is True Presbyterianism?" *FP* 1 (30 June 1955): 1-3.

Treats the form of church government and maintains church courts do not have legislative and administrative powers except "for the purpose of safeguarding the preaching from the entrance of unbelief."

"What the Dead Sea Scrolls Don't Prove." *HIS* 19 (June 1959): 6-8.

Has the same material as "The Relation of the Dead Sea Scrolls to Christianity" (cited above).

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"What 'Verbal inspiration' Means." *HIS* 3 (April 1944): 19-21.

Differentiates between revelation and inspiration. Verbal inspiration is explained and the matter of the New Testament quoting the Old is addressed.

"Which Version Shall It Be?" *Christian Life* 14 (December 1952): 21.

Exposes the defects in the Revised Standard Version's Old Testament. The RSV's New Testament, though complimented, is faulted for using "Thou," "thee," for God but not for Jesus.

"With the Rich in His Death." *Moody Monthly* 77 (September 1976): 70-71.

Accurately translates and explains Isa 53:9 as a clear prediction of events connected with Jesus' burial.

"Years of Conflict and Progress." *SST* 99 (12 October 1957): 785-86, 802.

Primarily presents church history (see related articles) of the periods from which the writings come. Reviews *The Nicene And Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Ser., 14 volumes, originally published 1886, reprinted by Eerdmans in 1956. Related articles are "The Ante-Nicene Fathers" and "Two Great Christian Writers."

II. ARTICLES IN DICTIONARIES, FESTSCHRIFTEN, ETC.

"Appendix Note on Revelation, Chapter XX." Appendix in *Unfulfilled Prophecies*, by J. Oliver Buswell, Jr. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1937.

Defends as scholarly the premillennial interpretation of Rev 20.

"Creation." In *The Zondervan Pictorial Bible Dictionary*, edited by Merrill C. Tenney, 187-88. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1963.

Claims that Hebrew syntax permits a long gap between Genesis 1:1 and 1:2 but does not require it. Observes that the Hebrew word for "day" may mean three things, including a long period of time, and all meanings occur frequently. Notes that the "Bible gives no information as to how long ago the original creation of matter occurred, or the first day of creation began, or the sixth day ended." Interacts briefly with scientific and literary questions regarding Gen 1 and 2.

"Deborah's Prophecies." In *Prophetic Truth Unfolding Today*, edited by Charles Lee Feinberg, 80-90. Westwood, N20th.: Fleming H. Revell, 1968.

Treats three prophecies in Judg 4 which were fulfilled in ways not immediately obvious. Examination of these prophecies yields facts helpful in the interpretation of predictive prophecy. "Messages delivered at the Congress on Prophecy convened by the American Board of Mission [*sic*] to the Jews. Inc., in the metropolitan New York area."

"Hath God Cast Away His People?" In *Prophetic Truth Unfolding Today*, edited by Charles Lee Feinberg, 91-100. Westwood, N20th.: Fleming H. Revell, 1968.

Maintains that God's promises to Abraham and the people of Israel are in effect, and that Israel will experience God's blessings as a nation in the future.

"Numbers." In *The New Bible Commentary*, edited by F. Davidson,

162-94. London: Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1953.

Unpacks the often overlooked treasures of a fascinating biblical book with an unrevealing name (in its Greek and English versions).

"Paul's Use of Isaiah 65:1." In *The Law and The Prophets*, edited by John H. Skilton, Milton C. Fisher, and Leslie W. Sloat, 369-76. Nutley, N20th.: Presbyterian and Reformed., 1974.

Raises serious doubt as to the existence of the *niphal tolerativum*. Certain statements in Hebrew grammars are shown to be false, and mistranslations based on them are exposed.

"The Problems of Translation." in *The New Testament Student and Bible Translation*, edited by John H. Skilton and Curtiss A. Ladley, 37-44. *The New Testament Student*, vol. 4. Phillipsburg, N20th.: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1978.

Presents numerous illustrations to show the complexities involved in translating one language into another. Notes that any Bible translation may render particular sentences well, but that a modern version with general excellence like that of the King James Version is a "highly desirable" achievement.

"The Relation of Archaeology to the Bible." In *Modern Science and the Christian Faith: A Symposium on the Relationship of the Bible to Modern Science*, by members of The American Scientific Affiliation, 196-237. Wheaton, Ill.: Van Kampen Press, 1950.

One of the best of Dr MacRae's writings. Those tantalized by shorter pieces from his pen which deal with Biblical archaeology should consult this article.

"A Response to Historical Grammatical Problems." In *Hermeneutics, Inerrancy and the Bible*, edited by Earl D. Radmacher and Robert D. Preus, 145-65. Grand Rapids: Zondervan. 1984.

Offers objections and general comment regarding Bruce Waltke's presentation of certain problems confronting biblical scholars. Waltke's essay is contained in this volume, as is another response to it, made by Kenneth L. Barker. MacRae's response is addressed primarily to one section of Waltke's piece, although the other sections are not altogether overlooked.

"The Scientific Approach to the Old Testament -- A Study of Amos 9 in Relation to Acts 15." In *Truth for Today: Bibliotheca Sacra Reader Commemorating Thirty Years of Publication by Dallas Theological Seminary, 1934-1963*, edited by John F. Walvoord, 111-22. Chicago: Moody Press, 1963.

Observes that "our approach to the Bible must be exactly the same as our approach to any field of science" as far as study is concerned (gathering data, studying them, comparing them, seeking to determine their meaning). Concludes that those interpreting the Acts 15 quotation of Amos 9 "as a description of the setting up of the Christian church are going completely against the context in Amos." (This article is not to be confused with one bearing the same title which appeared in the 1953 volume of *Bibliotheca Sacra*.)

"Some Principles in the Interpretation of Isaiah as Illustrated by Chapter 24." In *New Perspectives on the Old Testament*, edited by J. Barton Payne. 146-59. Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1970.

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Observes that in the prophets "a few outstanding sections and an occasional verse are memorized and frequently quoted. The rest remains a dark and seldom noticed area." This situation is addressed, as is the notion that the prophets were "social reformers interested merely in the developments of their own day."

The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible. s.v. "Exodus, Book of", "Kedar", "Kedesh", "Nuzi", "Pashur", "Pedaiah" "Prophets and Prophecy", "Samaritan Pentateuch", "Targum", "Text and Manuscripts of the Old Testament", "Zadok", "Zion Daughter of",

Merrill Tenney served as general editor and Gleason Archer and R. Laird Harris were Old Testament consulting editors for this 1975 five-volume work. Three of Dr MacRae's articles are long, scholarly treatments of the Book of Exodus, prophets and prophecy, and the texts and manuscripts of the Old Testament, respectively. The remainder of the articles are brief, reflecting either the narrower subjects involved or the encyclopedia's purpose or both. Dr Patrick McGovern, when a student of Dr MacRae's, assisted with the writing of various articles.

III. OTHER WRITINGS

Biblical Archaeology. Marshallton, Del.: The National Foundation for Christian Education, 1967.

Provides a broad survey of biblically relevant archaeological and historical material. Separate publication of article from *Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 2. The booklet was reprinted in 1976 at Wilmington. Del.

"Communism and the Historic Christian Faith." Elkins Park, Pa.: Faith Theological Seminary, n.d.

Briefly presents the merit of free enterprise and the failure of socialism. Topics touched upon include the social gospel, the brutality of communism, and the position of liberal churchmen with regard to communism.

"The Facts About J, E, D. and P." Elkins Park, Pa.: Faith Theological Seminary, n.d.

Briefly introduces Wellhausen's documentary hypothesis and presents ten arguments against its reliability. Reissued at Biblical Theological Seminary, Hatfield, Pa.. USA. Reprinted earlier in *Biblical Missions* 34 (November-December 1968): 9-10, 12.

"The Future Kingdom of Christ." Chapel message delivered 3 October 1972 at Covenant College, Lookout Mountain, Tenn. Mimeographed.

Examines Isa 11 and its context.

A Glorious Future. Hatfield. Pa.: Biblical Theological Seminary, 1981.

Extensively revises *The Millennial Kingdom Of Christ*.

The Gospel Of Isaiah. Chicago: Moody Press. 1977.

Presents some of the fruit from years of study in the prophecy of Isaiah. Introduction by Francis A. Schaeffer.

The Holy Scriptures. Lectures on the Westminster Confession of Faith for Laymen, first in series. Wilmington, Del.: The Evangelical Presbyterian Training Association, 1950.

√44 *Interpretation & History*

Lays out the Confession's teaching on Scripture. Revelation and inspiration are carefully distinguished.

"Jesus' Last Commands." Chapel message delivered 4 October 1972 at Covenant College, Lookout Mountain, Tenn. Mimeographed.

Unfolds the meaning of Jesus' word in Acts I for His disciples' actions and expectations. The nature of Jesus' kingdom is discussed.

"Luther and the Reformation." New York: The American Council of Christian Churches, n.d.

Surveys Luther's life after mentioning attempts to transform understandings of him.

The Millennial Kingdom of Christ. Hatfield, Pa.: Biblical School of Theology, n.d.

First appeared in the *Christian Beacon* (March 11 & 18, 1937). Also published (n.d.) by Faith Theological Seminary when the Seminary was located in Wilmington, Delaware.

"The Miracle of Faith: A Series of Four Programs Coast-to-coast on the NBC Nationwide Network." Four-part radio script of programs made under the auspices of the American Council of Christian Churches Broadcasting Commission, and entitled "The Miracle of Life", "The Miracle of a Nation", "The Miracle of the God-Man", and "The Miracle of the Millennium." Mimeographed.

Dr MacRae, then President of Faith Theological Seminary, was assisted by the participation of Mr Arthur E. Steele, the Seminary's Vice President and Treasurer (later President of Clearwater Christian College).

Nuzi Personal Names, by Ignace J. Gelb, Pierre M. Purves, and Allan A. MacRae. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 57. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1943.

Dr MacRae's section. "Akkadian and Sumerian Elements" (pp. 281-318), represents the final revision of his dissertation presented to the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania in 1936.

"The Rapture of the Church." Chapel message delivered 5 October 1972 at Covenant College, Lookout Mountain, Tenn. Mimeographed.

Treats I Thess 4:13-17 and matters relating thereto.

"The Revised Standard Version and the Apocrypha." New York: The American Council of Christian Churches, n.d.

Provides evidence for protesting inclusion of the Apocrypha in editions of the Bible.

"A Scriptural Appraisal of Vatican II." Paper prepared at the request of the General Secretary of the American Council of Christian Churches, [1966].

Observes some positive changes resulting from Vatican II, but claims some doctrines objectionable to Protestants were not altered significantly.

Semitic Personal Names From Nuzi. Ph. D. dissertation, Oriental Studies, University of Pennsylvania, 1943.

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"10 Reasons Why College Graduates who are Earnest Christians Should Consider Biblical School of Theology for Ministerial Training." Hatfield, Pa.: Biblical School of Theology, n.d.

"The Textus Receptus and the King James Version." Robert C. Newman, coauthor. Hatfield, Pa.: Biblical Theological Seminary, n.d.

Uses a question-and-answer format to clear up misunderstandings and false conceptions regarding the nature of the "textus receptus". The King James Version's complex and frequently misconstrued relationship to the "textus receptus" also is addressed.

"Why I Cannot Accept the Revised Standard Version." New York: American Council of Christian Churches, n.d.

Faults this Version for failing to do justice to biblical evidence for the prediction of Jesus' deity.

"Why Spend So Much Time Learning Languages?" Hatfield, Pa.: Biblical Theological Seminary, n.d.

Presents a solid case for the study of Hebrew and Greek, owing to the position they occupy as original languages of Christianity's sacred Scriptures.

TABULA GRATULATORIA

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And many other colleagues, students, and friends of Dr A. A. MacRae.

PART TWO

PROPHECY, ILLUSTRATION AND TYPOLOGY

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In the current interest in hermeneutics, the science of interpretation of the Bible, there has been renewed attention to the subject of the use that the New Testament makes of the Old. In the past, the New Testament usage has usually been considered definitive. Sometimes the variant form of the NT quotation has been remarked upon and perhaps its derivation from the LXX noted. Usually in orthodox circles, when the NT and LXX differ from the MT, they are considered to have approximated the OT meaning and the differences are judged not to concern important points. Thus the New Scofield Reference Bible (1967) at Heb 10:5 gives seven ways the NT uses OT quotations. The first six are commendable: (1) Divine authority is attributed to the OT; (2) the LXX is usually employed "as an English translation may be employed today;" (3) there may be a desire to translate the Hebrew more accurately; (4) many quotations are not intended to be verbatim; (5) some quotations are a summary; and (6) some are only intended to be an allusion not an exact quotation. The seventh may be questioned: "The Holy Spirit who inspired the OT was free to reword a quotation just as a human author may restate his own writings in other words without impugning the accuracy of the original statement. While we may agree that both passages are inspired, a problem here is: Is it clear that this is the intention of the NT passage? It is seldom considered that the LXX and NT may be dependent on a superior text and the MT may be wrong. Actually, it does seem that once in a while the MT is erroneous or at least that the standard interpretation of the MT is erroneous.

An interesting example is Ps 19:4, which is quoted in Rom 10:18. The MT reads, "their line" (| ׀ׁ׃ׁׁׁׁׁׁ) and the LXX-NT reads, "their voice", which probably represents the Hebrew | ׀ׁ׃ׁׁׁׁׁׁׁ. The difference in the Hebrew consonants concerns the presence or absence of the letter "L" (lamedh). The context and especially the parallel stitch strongly favor the reading, "their voice." M. Dahood in his commentary on this Psalm argues that the MT is correct but that the Hebrew should be interpreted as "their voice." In either case the LXX-NT is correct.

In this paper, however, we are not so much concerned with textual-critical matters as with matters of interpretation. How does the NT interpret the OT and can its use of the OT materials be justified? The old view, going back to Augustine, was that "the New is in the Old contained and the Old is by the New explained." There was a tendency to enlarge the meaning of the OT texts to accommodate the NT usage. The idea was that the older authors wrote better than they knew. They may have done so. John assures us that Caiaphas, the high priest, did not speak "on his own" (John 11:51). The OT authors were inspired by the Holy Spirit and did

indeed write some things without full knowledge of their meaning -- at least of the times to which they applied (1 Pet 1:10-12).

Nonetheless it is of importance to us in cases where the NT refers to an OT section to determine as far as possible what that section meant to its original readers and how the NT used the passage in its explanation. Can the NT interpretation be justified by a fair exegesis of the OT passage? It would seem that historical-grammatical interpretation, a commonly accepted procedure, would involve such study.

The subject is a formidable one for brief treatment because the NT uses the OT in a variety of ways. We are familiar with the NT citations of prophecy as having been fulfilled in Jesus. The OT is also cited as containing applicable standards of life. OT symbols are extensively used and sometimes modified as in the book of Revelation. OT saints are held up as examples of faith and conduct. All of these things cannot be considered in brief compass. But the crucial items about which some special questions revolve are the passages dealing with prophecy and fulfilment.

One problem with these passages is that a naturalistic approach to the Bible denies the reality of specific prophecy. It may be admitted by those who hold this view that there were national hopes that found their answer in Jesus, or royal accolades that were rightly or wrongly applied to Jesus, but a strict naturalism denies that Isaiah, for instance, could have prophesied with the Messiah directly in mind. Such a naturalistic approach, of course, is foreign to both the OT and the New. The OT is full of the miraculous and the supernatural. So is the NT. Valid and true prediction was a test of the OT prophet (Deut 18:22), and a promise to the NT author (John 16:13). The God who could do miracles could also design, know and predict the future. Jesus clearly predicted his resurrection as the crowning miracle to come after his three days in the tomb. A naturalistic approach to the Bible cannot take it at face value, for the Bible is shot through with the supernatural.

But there are problems for the believer. What did OT ritual mean to the OT believer? Did he realize that it was typical, pointing forward to Christ? What about those passages in the NT which seem to use the OT in novel ways not indicated in the OT context? May we find typological significance in events, objects and ritual not specifically named as types in the OT and the New?

It is the suggestion of this paper that various usages of the NT should be identified. There is a place for the recognition of direct prophecy and fulfilment. Also the OT worship did include types not fully explained except by a future reference. Besides these items, we would claim, there are numerous instances where the OT is quoted as illustrative and the value of the illustration would not be apparent to the OT author, but only to us who have seen the NT teaching. Some examples of these various categories of usage should be given.

OT Prophecy and NT Fulfilment

There are, of course, many examples of OT prophecy fulfilled in the OT.

God promised the land to Israel (Gen 13:15; 15:16; etc.). Jacob promised the kingship to Judah (Gen 49:10). Isaiah, Micah and Jeremiah prophesied the Babylonian Captivity and return (Isa 39:7; 44:28; Mic 4:10; Jer 25:9-12). Of course, a naturalistic theology will postdate these prophecies or otherwise interpret them, but without justification. They are ingrained in the OT material.

Similarly, there are prophecies that look to a farther horizon. The Davidic Covenant of 2 Sam 7 is given in words that seem somewhat ambiguous to us; it speaks of an eternal house for David. This clearly refers to the Davidic dynasty, but is it a hyperbole referring to his royal successors, or does it refer finally to Christ? We might debate the word "forever" in 2 Sam 7:29, but it might be of more interest to see how David's contemporaries and his successors interpreted these words. In Ps 110, David refers to a figure called his "Lord" who would rule in Zion and would be an eternal priest. Sceptics do not admit that David wrote this Psalm, though Christ affirmed it (and built his argument on it, Matt 22:43). There was surely no human in Jerusalem whom David called Lord. And, contrary to the Mowinckel view of divine kingship in Israel (H. Frankfort in *Kingship and the Gods* even denies divine kingship in Babylon), neither David nor his successors in Jerusalem were priests, nor were they considered divine. To whom then did the prophecy refer? The Pharisees had no answer when Christ asked them this pointed question (Matt 22:46). The NT takes this Psalm as directly referring to Christ.

Isaiah 9:6 predicts a royal birth of David's line. To whom did Isaiah refer? The terms seem to go beyond any possible hyperbole. They do not refer to Hezekiah who was born well before the Assyrian invasion mentioned in the context. It would be strange indeed if Isaiah were hoping for another king beyond Hezekiah -- Manasseh is an unlikely candidate! Reason says that the hope of Israel at that time was not just another king but a different kind of king - a root of Jesse, a righteous judge, who was to bring in an age of peace (Isa 11:9-10, etc.). Space does not allow an expansion of Mic 5:2; Jer 23:5; Zech 9:9; etc. (See the author's essay in the Appendix to *A Systematic Theology of the Christian Religion* by J. Oliver Buswell, Jr. and his further study of the Messianic Psalms in *The Biblical Expositor*, edited by C. F. H. Henry.) The claim is that the OT directly predicts a superhuman King of David's line who is both king and priest and, indeed, divine (Ps 45:6).

How does the NT interpret these and similar prophecies? They are fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth. As already mentioned, Jesus himself confounded the Pharisees with Ps 110 (Matt 22:45). Matthew quotes the Pharisees' acceptance of Mic 5:2 (Matt 2:6). Peter declares that David was a prophet who saw down the centuries to Christ and wrote in Ps 16 of him and his resurrection (Acts 2:25-31). Paul, also quoting Ps 16:10, argues that it could not have referred to David, but does refer to Christ (Acts 13:34). This interpretation and translation of Ps 16:10 has indeed been questioned. The writer has supported it in the study on "Psalms" in *The Biblical Expositor*, mentioned above. But at least the majority of biblical exegetes through the years have alleged that in these major

prophecies, the OT spoke directly of the superhuman Son of David, Jesus Christ.

Illustration

Less clear is a class of passages that quote the OT seemingly out of context and which, with apparently less warrant, apply them to Christ. Opinions may differ as to which passages belong in the previous category and which in the present. But the writer would argue for a category of quotations from the OT where OT history and personages are cited to illustrate a point rather than as being direct prophecies.

One example of this class, not directly referring to Christ, is the celebrated Hagar-Sarah passage in Gal 4:21-31. Paul calls this an allegory. The NIV says the characters "may be taken figuratively." Hagar stands for unbelieving Jerusalem; Sarah stands for spiritual Jerusalem. Would anyone today get this idea from reading Genesis? Would the ancient Israelites themselves have guessed this from Genesis? Likely not. But Paul is using the historical situation of the two women as an illustration of the believing and unbelieving segments of his nation. He could as well have used other illustrations -- Jerusalem and Samaria, the Jews in Babylon and the small number remaining in Israel (the ones Jeremiah called good and bad figs, Jer 24), etc. An illustration may be drawn from many situations; the value is in the use made of the illustration by the illustrator.

Other examples are in 1 Cor 10 -- the spiritual Rock, the sin of the golden calf, and the snakes that killed the grumblers. These historical incidents are warnings for us, Paul says. indeed they are. They were warnings for ancient Israel. They are warnings for anybody. But they did not occur just for us, nor were they recorded with us in mind. They are not typical of, or prophetic of, our situation. A word about the Rock: some have claimed that Paul refers to a rabbinic notion that the Rock Moses smote trailed behind the congregation and supplied water throughout the wilderness wanderings. Paul does not say this, nor does the OT hint of this. Paul says that all had the spiritual blessings of which the manna and the water from the rock were symbols. Christ, who may be symbolized by the rock, the source of the water, did follow the camp with spiritual blessing which some did not acknowledge. There is here an illustration of blessings refused. Other illustrations could have been given, but there is nothing wrong with this one. It does not allege the truth of, or depend on, rabbinic legend.

Matthew, being a Gospel with a particular Jewish slant -- apparently intended to appeal especially to Jews -- has a number of these illustrative citations which have occasioned much comment. The first we may consider is Matt 2:18, the weeping of Rachel for her children (Jer 31:15). In Jeremiah the weeping is most probably for the woes of the Babylonian captivity. Chapter 29 is a letter to the exiles. The return is predicted in 29:10; the Babylonian captivity and return are mentioned in 32:36-37. Probably, the return of 31:17 is from Babylonian Captivity and the

weeping of 31:15 refers to the Babylonian exiles. But the verses are quite general. They can be used of any tragedy. The memorial fountain dedicated to the victims of the holocaust which has been erected in S. W. Jerusalem has this verse inscribed on it -- and very appropriately. Matthew quotes it, not because a reader in Jeremiah's day would be expecting the slaughter of the innocents by Herod, but because the verse was so applicable to this new outburst of Satan's malignancy. It illustrates and epitomizes the sorrow of those unfortunate Bethlehem mothers.

Another such verse is in the near context, Matt 2:15 quoting Hos 11:1. The verse in Hosea seems not to predict Christ at all, much less the flight to Egypt of the holy family. The OT verse refers to the Exodus in Israel's antiquity, its childhood. It goes on to condemn Israel's apostasy, a thought most inapplicable to Jesus. How can Matthew seriously apply this reference concerning Israel's history to Jesus? He does not elaborate on it. Nor does he give an extensive context. He simply draws the parallel of Jesus' return from Egypt to the Israelites' return to the Promised Land. It is an interesting parallel. The one does not prove the other, but Israel's history in her early days is illustrative of her Savior's history in his childhood. This I would contend, is all that Matthew intended to say.

A problem will be noticed that both of the previous examples are introduced by the expression, ". . . was fulfilled." Does this not mean that the OT passages were cited (wrongly perhaps) as a prediction? Or did Matthew possibly adopt some (unacceptable) Jewish method of interpretation that applies all ancient events and predictions to the current situation? Actually, the problem is caused by our translation of πληρώω (*|play-ro'-o*) as "fulfill." That it can mean "fulfill" is clear. But that it always means "fulfill" is not so clear. James 2:23 says "the Scripture was fulfilled that says, 'Abraham believed God, and it was credited to him as righteousness.'" Here there is no prediction nor fulfilment. There is, however, a correlation. Abraham's faith was accepted by God because it worked and, James argues, our faith should work too (vv20-21). The word "fulfill" used here as a formula of citation rather than as a formula of fulfilled prediction. This broader usage of *|play-ro'-o* should be kept in mind in interpreting Matthew which, like James, reflects Jewish thinking and usage.

These principles will help with the interpretation of Matt 2:23. Here no one prophet is cited; there is no context of prediction of Jesus' name. But different designations of the coming One are given in Isa 11:1 and 10. He is called a "shoot" צֶמַח (*|choter*) and a Branch נֶצֶחַ (*|netser*) in v1 and a Root שֹׁרֵשׁ (*|shoresh*) in v10. Quite clearly the citation in Matthew is a play on the word *|netser*. It sounds like the name of Nazareth (though it may not be strictly the original element in that name). Such word plays are numerous in the OT. Compare only the nine cases in Mic 1:10-15. The Jews of Matthew's day would fully understand the reference Matthew makes to the Branch (*|netser*) only as an interesting parallel using a formula of citation, not of prediction.

We address next an old crux in Matthew, the reference to Jeremiah in Matt 27:9-10. The problem is that a part of the verse seems to refer to Zech 11:12-13, and a reference to Jeremiah is hard to find, Jer 18 refers to

an object lesson given at a potter's house; chap. 19 gives another object lesson in which a potter's jar is smashed. Chapter 32 tells how Jeremiah buys a field, but says nothing about a potter. For these reasons some have alleged a mistake in Matt 27:9, either in the autograph or in the textual transmission. There is even some slight evidence for the reading "Zechariah" instead of "Jeremiah." The NIV footnote refers to Zech 11:12-13 and also to Jer 32:6-9. The latter reference seems obscure but can, we think, be justified. The priests, it says, took the thirty pieces of silver and bought a burial place for foreigners. Very likely this means a burial place for the poor -- people for whom the public would have to provide a grave. For this reason some churches have reserved in their cemeteries a "potter's field" for the burial of poor people. Is there any reference in Jeremiah to the purchase of a field for the poor? Yes, but the reference depends on a word play in Aramaic (or Hebrew). The word play was not new with Matthew. In the list of towns to be conquered by the Assyrians, Isaiah mentions "Poor Anathoth" עֲנָתוֹת עֲנִיָּה (*anayah`anathowth* Isa 10:30). The word "poor" in Hebrew and Aramaic sounds much like the name of the town. When the priests bought a field to bury the "poor" it suggested to Matthew a word play on the name of Anathoth and the strange purchase Jeremiah had made at the word of the Lord. We do not use such word plays in English except in puns for the sake of humor. But we may remind ourselves that many a pun today is more far fetched than the comparison of the Hebrew/Aramaic words "poor" and "Anathoth." This is not to say that Matthew cited Jeremiah as a prediction -- only an interesting parallel illustrating the action of the priests and their purchase. It is as good an illustration as Hagar and Sarah and, we may add, as good an illustration as those sometimes given in pulpits today! Incidentally, the action of the priests need not be thought to contradict Acts 1:18. Since the priests recognized the thirty pieces of silver as blood money that they could not put into the treasury, they probably bought the field in the name of Judas.

The other Gospels do not seem to have exactly this type of reference to the OT. However, there is a class of passages somewhat allied found in all of the Gospels in which an OT verse referring in general to a righteous man or righteous sufferer is applied to Christ -- or one referring to wicked men is applied to Judas or others who refused Jesus' message. One illustration would be the quotation from Isa 29:13, found in Matt 15:8-9 as well as Mark 7:6-7. The original reference was doubtless to unbelieving Jews of Isaiah's day but was all too applicable to unbelieving Jews of the first century A.D. Another example is Ps 118:22-23, quoted in Mark 12:10-11 and parallels and also in 1 Pet 2:7. What was perhaps originally spoken because of an accident in the temple's construction becomes a statement of God's way of reversing human judgements, quite applicable to Christ and his rejection.

Of similar import is the quotation of the following verses of Ps 118 (vv25-26) in all the Gospels. It was at first an invocation used in temple worship, praying for God's saving help. It was applied to Christ by the children at Jesus' triumphal entry. Was it rightly applied? The Pharisees were shocked, but Jesus approved. The point is that "Hosanna" is a Grecianized form of the OT הוֹשִׁיעָה | *howsha`yah na'* ("save us") a cry

addressed in the Psalms to God. The Pharisees thought that the application of this to Jesus was blasphemy. Jesus declared that the children spoke the truth (Luke 19:10).

Another example of an OT passage which is generally important and yet is applicable to the days of Christ is the use made of Ps 69:25 in Acts 1:20. In the OT the Psalmist speaks of his great troubles and especially of those who persecute him. Parts of the Psalms are imprecatory. The section praying for vengeance concludes with v2, "May they be blotted out of the book of the righteous." Among these imprecations is v25, "May their place be deserted; let there be no one to dwell in their tents." Peter quotes this verse in Acts 1:20 and applies it to Judas, but to do so he has to change the reference from plural to singular: "May his place be deserted." Obviously the Psalmist was not directly predicting Judas and his activity, but he was speaking of wicked men like Judas who opposed the righteous sufferer. It is not so easy to say whether the one who suffers in Ps 69 is David or whether the Psalms speaks directly of Christ. Verse 5 speaks of his folly and "guilt" (NIV) -- אָשָׁם |'asham. Those who claim a direct Messianic reference say that this is imputed guilt, not sin creditable to the sufferer. And indeed he is hated "without reason" (v4). Verses 4, 9, and 21, as well as 25, are cited in the NT and applied to Christ. The change in tone from v29 to v30 is notable and is very like that in Ps 22:22. Psalm 69:32 is, in fact, quite like Ps 22:26. But Ps 69 does not envisage the prolonged, public, shameful suffering ending in death which characterizes Ps 22 and which makes Ps 22 inapplicable to David or any known OT martyr. Caution may suggest that Ps 69 is a general Psalm of suffering of which there are a number in the Psalms and which are very applicable to the sufferings of Christ and to the enemies who opposed him. It is from this background that David spoke in Ps 22 concerning the One who would suffer unto death and save us from our suffering. An alternative treatment of Ps 69 and 22 (and also Isa 53) would argue that these are Lament Psalms parallels -- Ps 10, 13, 31 and others. All these Psalms referred to Israel, according to this view, but were aptly applied to Christ in the NT. The question: Does the OT ever rise above the general and specifically speak of the One who suffers supremely? The case is similar with Psalms which mention the king of Israel as especially blessed by the Lord. Does the OT ever rise above praise to the king of Jerusalem and directly speak of the King of kings who will inaugurate a new and different kingdom? As argued above, we believe that the promises of a dynasty to King David included, and were understood by the prophets to include, promises which could only be applied to Christ. The same arguments can be applied to the problem of the Psalms of suffering. The deeper revelation to David, Isaiah and others was that God would send one who would solve the problem of suffering by bearing our sins and our sorrows himself. This deeper interpretation of the guilt offerings of Israel we believe is taught in the OT (Ps 22, Isa 53, etc.) and supported in the New. On the very clear prediction of Isa 53, see the treatment in another connection below.

At this point we should consider this question: If the NT uses the OT in these various ways, how can we tell which OT verses were truly prophetic and which were illustrations or applications? The answer does not seem to

lie in a formula of citation, which may be variously used, but in careful exegesis of the OT itself. Exegesis of the OT passage must decide whether it speaks of the coming Figure in ways inapplicable to contemporary events and people, or whether it speaks in general terms that might be applied to many times and places.

Typology

There is another use made of the OT by the New which is emphasized particularly in the book of Hebrews. The OT mentions numerous rituals, objects and offices which are said in the NT to symbolize things to come. We think at once of the tabernacle, the sacrifices, the priesthood, the kingship and the prophetic office. Can this NT treatment be supported by fair OT exegesis? We think it can.

The very elaborate ritual of the tabernacle and temple sacrificial system was certainly symbolic of spiritual things. The aim of the ritual was to cleanse the worshipper of sin and guilt and bring him into fellowship with God. God is holy. He dwells in the secret, dark, inaccessible place that is called Most Holy. Man is a sinner. He is subject to God's judgement. Many times in the wilderness judgement was expressly given for sin against God's holy law. But God actually may be approached. Sacrifice, confession of sin (e.g. Lev 16:21), a repentant heart (Ps 51:17), are God's way of restoring the believing Israelite to divine fellowship.

But what do these rituals symbolize? On the solemn day of atonement the sins of Israel were confessed over the scapegoat and the goat bore them away (Lev 16:22). Did they believe that goats can carry away sins? Many of the arguments of the book of Hebrews are not given as new revelation, but as common sense. Why were the sacrifices repeated if they were effective? And how could the blood of bulls and goats be really effective? We may look for an answer in two directions in the OT -- forward and backward.

Mention has been made of Isa 53. This great passage really begins with 52:13. There the old Jewish Targum translates the words into Aramaic, "Behold my servant the Messiah," This is an interesting, rather obviously pre-Christian, interpretation: It is supported by the rest of the passage which refers to the extreme, innocent, vicarious suffering of someone who eventually dies as a sin offering bearing the sins of many. Both the wording and the matter of the section are explicit that the OT sacrificial system is to be completed in the coming dying Savior. Not the blood of bulls and goats, but the death of God's sacrifice would justify many and atone for their iniquities. Isaiah 53, of course, has been intensively discussed from many angles, but through the centuries the Christian Church has been satisfied with this interpretation -- it looks forward to the sacrifice of the Lamb of God and it alleges that God's guilt offering (אֲשָׁם *'asham*) is the finale of the OT sacrifices.

We turn back to the strange sacrifice or near-sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22). Christians have a tendency to apologize for this incident as it smacks of human sacrifice which we know was practiced in ancient times and was

condemned by the prophets. Some exegetes, however, have warned against such apologies because ultimately God gave what Abraham was not really called to give -- his Son.

We sometimes forget what was involved in human sacrifice. Albright has restudied the human sacrifices of Canaan (*Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, pp. 236-243), and has argued that the Molech sacrifices were not really to a god Molech, but *Molech* (or *melek*) was a name for the royal sacrifice, the extreme sacrifice, when a king might sacrifice his dearest son to avert divine wrath and save a nation. In such a case the son would in some instances step forward in noble dedication to give his life to save his father's throne. Elements of this ritual we could admire. What then was wrong with the human sacrifice? First, that it was given to the wrong deity without adequate consciousness of sin or of God's righteousness or mercy. Abraham was not guilty in these areas. When called upon to make the supreme sacrifice to the one true God, he rose to that level of faith. And so did Isaac. A strong young boy, he could easily have eluded the old man. But, no, he lay bound on the altar. The second thing wrong with human sacrifice was that it was not good enough. The Psalmist expressed this well. "No man can redeem the life of another... no payment is ever enough" (Ps 49:7-8). The prophet likewise, "Shall I offer my firstborn for my transgression?" (Mic 6:7, cf. v6). Moses in his extremity offered himself in eternal condemnation to pay the price of Israel's sin (Exod 32:32). Here was a human sacrifice beyond anything Abraham envisaged. Hebrews tells us that Abraham in great faith considered the possibility that his sacrificed son would be restored to him later. But Moses offered himself in eternal immolation. And Moses who had spent forty precious days in the presence of God presumably knew well what he was offering -- but the great fault of human sacrifice is that it is not good enough. Not an Isaac, not a Moses, not a Paul (Rom 9:3), could bring us peace with God; none but the One who came as God in the flesh could bear the awful load. We can hardly bring ourselves to recognize the faith of an Abraham who saw Christ's day and was glad (John 8:56). Abraham may have spoken better than he knew as he ascended the hill, "God himself will provide the lamb for the burnt offering, my son." But as Abraham stood the test of full obedience and as he sacrificed the ram providentially at hand, he called the place, "the Lord will provide," and there in his trial and triumph he foresaw, albeit dimly, "the lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world" (John 1:29). Abraham after this experience surely did not believe that the blood of bulls and goats could take away sin. But he had full reason to believe that the sacrifice of the animal symbolized a greater and nobler sacrifice that God himself would supply.

So the sacrificial ritual exhausts the possibilities to see to it that the sacrifice must be perfect, the priestly mediator must be cleansed, the shrine inviolate. The temple with its graded degrees of holiness through which its priest came to the place where God caused his Name to rest surely symbolized a real approach of man to God through a Mediator whom God would supply. And the sacrifices themselves in their manifold meaning of atonement (basic to all of them), worship, communion, thanksgiving and consecration could but point forward to a better, truer final sacrifice.

Isaiah 53:10-11 assures us that at least the discerning Israelite, understood that this would be fulfilled by God's sinless, innocent man who could die to bear our iniquities.

There is even a hint in this section of Isaiah that the temple typology was united in Israel's thought with the coming King. We have spoken above of the predictions of the coming king of David's line who would be a different kind of a king. He was to come as a child to rule on David's throne (Isa 9:6-7), of miraculous birth (Isa 7:14 -- the word is never used of a married woman), from David's city (Mic 5:2), to reign in righteousness (Jer 23:5). Yet he would not be of the seed of Jehoiachin, the last legitimate king of Judah (Jer 22:30), and he would be God (Ps 45:6), Lord (Ps 110:1), and priest as well -- though not of the seed of Levi (Ps 110:4). All this was in fulfilment of the Davidic Covenant, carrying on the ancient promises of Gen 49:10, etc. Now the promise of a perfect sacrifice in Isa 53 leads to a paean of praise in Isa 54 and the invitation of 55:1-3 which climaxes in the citation of the Davidic Covenant. This close juxtaposition of the expectation of a king greater than David and a sacrifice more efficacious than those of the temple, together with the connection in Ps 110 of the divine king with a priest more wonderful than Melchizedek, supports the faith of the church through the ages that the Old Testament was truly typological. Hebrews and the rest of the NT is justified in pointing to the OT types and shadows of priesthood, sacrifice, tabernacle and, we may add, the Davidic kingship and the prophetic office as foretelling Christ and fulfilled in Christ our Prophet, Priest and King, God manifest in the flesh to purchase our redemption.

A question here arises. How can we be sure an OT item is a type of Christ? Some students have found types as far afield as Joseph in his marrying a Gentile bride. Others have insisted we cannot know a type unless the NT certifies it. The present paper would question both views. First, the NT quotation alone is not a sure guide: for, as has been argued, the NT sometimes quotes an item of history not as predictive or strictly typological but as illustrative. And the idea that we can find as many as fifty types of Christ in Joseph gives us no reasonable limit to typology. It is thus robbed of meaning. The claim of this paper is that predictions and types should be identified by strict OT exegesis -- not without attention to the NT and its guidance, but with primary emphasis on the OT itself. Aside from those places where the OT itself teaches that God intended to foretell by promise and foreshadow by type and symbol. there may be hundreds of places where we, like Paul in Gal 4:21-31, can find illustrations of God's purposes, our needs, answered prayers and many spiritual lessons. This would be a worthy approach to the OT. It would give us liberty of application such as the apostle Paul and other NT authors exhibit. It would also give us controls for careful study of the Scriptures and would support the NT in its recognition of the fulfilment of Israel's promises and hopes in our times. We might even hope that canons of strict interpretation of prophecy might be developed that would give us more principles we can agree upon and assured results in the study of things yet to come.

DIVINE REVELATION AND HISTORY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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It does not require a great deal of reading or study of the Old Testament to become aware of the close connection that exists in Old Testament literature between divine revelation and history. Large sections of the Old Testament are in the form of historical narratives. In these narratives God is represented as *speaking* and *acting* in human history: (1) to make himself known, and (2) to effectuate advances in the outworking of his plan of redemption.

From beginning to end the Bible depicts the redemption of man as something that God accomplishes by working within the context of ordinary human history. Adam and Eve fell into sin in the Garden of Eden through the temptation of Satan. Their sin resulted in alienation from God, from one another, and the natural world around them. It brought death to them and their descendants. God, however, *spoke* and promised that the seed of the woman would be the means by which ultimate victory would be won over Satan and death itself (Gen 3:15).

The promise of this seed was the promise of Jesus, who, as we know from subsequent revelation, was God incarnate, being born of the virgin Mary. Jesus lived, suffered, died and rose from the dead in space-time history to redeem fallen humanity, to restore fellowship with God and ultimately to restore all creation.

The historical sections of the Old Testament depict the work of God in human history in bringing to fulfilment the promise of the coming of the seed of the woman. This promise initially given to Adam was renewed and amplified when God spoke to Abraham and said that in "thy seed all nations of the earth will be blessed" (Gen 12:3). Abraham was also told that his descendants would become a great nation, that they would sojourn in a land not their own, and be afflicted there 400 years, after which God would deliver them and bring them into the land of Canaan which he had already promised to give to Abraham and his descendants for their homeland. Subsequent Old Testament historical narratives show how God did indeed deliver the descendants of Abraham from Egypt under the leadership of Moses and Aaron by many miraculous signs and wonders, and how he entered into covenant with them at Mt. Sinai where he spoke and gave his law amidst the thunderings and lightnings that enveloped the mountain. After suffering 40 years of wilderness journeys because of disobedience, Israel was brought into the land of promise. The history of Israel in the land is for the most part a history of continual apostasy and turning away from the LORD with some few exceptions of times of revival and reformation, but at the same time it is a history in which the LORD's longsuffering and covenant faithfulness are repeatedly manifested. In due

time God placed David on the throne as an imperfect but true representative of what a covenantal king should be. David is given the promise that his dynasty will endure forever and in this promise the line of the promised seed is narrowed to the house of David within the tribe of Judah. After Israel's continual disobedience led to her being driven from the land, even though a small remnant was eventually able to return, the promised seed came in the person of Jesus, born of Mary and in the line of Abraham and David.

This, in an extremely abbreviated form is the history of redemption depicted in the Old Testament Scriptures. In this history, God repeatedly speaks to make his will known, at times appears to men in visible form, and at other times demonstrates his power and sovereignty over nature and history through miraculous signs and wonders to advance his redemptive purposes.

In this resume of redemptive history as contained in the Old Testament there are some things of particular importance for our topic, "Divine Revelation and History in the Old Testament."

Revelation in the Old Testament often takes the form of communication from God to man *ab extra*. On various occasions God spoke to certain individuals in an audible voice perceived by normal sense perception. In such instances revelation is "objective" and as real as our own verbal communication with each other. It should be noted that not all divine revelation is given in this way but *some is*, and this is important. In his book on *Biblical Theology*, G. Vos points out that there is also what may be termed "subjective revelation" which is

The inward activity of the Spirit upon the depths of human sub-consciousness causing certain God-intended thoughts to well up therefrom. The Psalms offer examples of this kind of revelation, and although brought up in a subjective channel, we nonetheless must claim for it absolute divine authority; otherwise it could not properly be called revelation. In this subjective form revelation and inspiration coalesce.^1

Vos's next statement, however, is important:

We must . . . be on our guard against the modern tendency to reduce all revelation in the Scriptures to this category of the *ab intra*. That is usually intended to deprive revelation of its infallibility. A favorite form is to confine revelation proper to the bare acts of self-disclosure performed by God, and then to derive the entire thought-content of the Bible from human reflection upon these acts.^2

This is indeed a modern tendency perhaps even more pronounced today than when Vos wrote his *Biblical Theology*.

Although revelation is not to be *confined* to the bare acts of divine self disclosure, such acts did occur and may in themselves have revelatory significance. Because revelation is closely connected with the history of redemption in a number of instances revelation becomes identified with history, or to use Vos's expression, it "becomes incarnate in history."^3 To put it a bit differently we might say that besides using *words* God also employed *acts* to reveal great principles of truth. What Vos has in mind here is not just "prophetic visions or miracles" but the great outstanding acts of redemption such as the deliverance of the Israelites out of Egypt

and in the New Testament the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. In such instances history itself is revelatory -- there is in such acts themselves as Vos suggests a "self-disclosure of God."⁴ This means that there are instances where "*act-revelation*" must be considered in addition to "*word-revelation*."

It should be noted, however, that this emphasis on revelation through "act" or "event" is rightly qualified by Vos in a two-fold manner.

(1) When "revelation" and the "redemptive acts" of God coincide the *primary* purpose of such acts is not revelation, even though this is an important and essential aspect of their purpose. Vos says, "primarily they possess a purpose that transcends revelation, having a God-ward reference for *instruction*."⁵ Thus for example, the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ primarily serve a purpose in reference to God -- to satisfy divine justice -- so that it would not be proper to view these acts exclusively or even primarily under their function with respect to revelation.⁶ Yet Vos holds that "the revealing element [in such acts] is essential . . . the two ends of satisfaction and revelation being combined into one."⁷

(2) The second way in which Vos qualifies his emphasis on revelation through "act" or "event" is to point out that such act-revelations are never left entirely to speak for themselves. He emphasizes that "the revelatory acts of God never appear separated from his verbal communications of truth."⁸ Word and act always accompany each other, usually with the act preceded and followed by word-revelation. Vos comments: "To apply the Kantian phraseology to a higher subject, without God's acts the words would be empty, without His words His acts would be blind."⁹ A look at Exod 1-12 in this connection is very instructive. Here the word of God consistently comes first. The deed of God follows. Revelation is not contained in a word which arises simply by *interpretation* from a deed. Revelation in these narratives consists initially in a word which is then subsequently *confirmed* by a deed. The words and deeds of God are joined together in a snug system of confirmatory revelation whereby God commits himself verbally to what he proposes to do, and then confirms that as a veracious word by doing precisely what he said he would do.

Those of the "revelation-in-history school" of approach to the Old Testament who would limit divine revelation to the medium of *event* do not take sufficiently into account the important role of word-revelation which in fact is indispensable for divine revelation in history to be perceptible with any degree of certainty and clarity.

There is perhaps no issue in contemporary biblical and theological studies that is more important than a correct understanding of the relation between divine revelation and history, or to look at the same issue from another perspective the relation between faith (which is the human response to divine revelation) and history. During the time of the Enlightenment or Age of Reason serious questions were raised about the biblical representations of God's speaking and acting in human history. The scientific and intellectual developments of this time fostered belief in natural law and confidence in human reason. A rational and scientific approach to religious, social and political issues promoted a secular view of the world. This intellectual climate spawned a new approach for the study

of the Bible as well. It was characterized by at least three important and interrelated developments:¹⁰

(1) There was a strong reaction against any form of supernaturalism. The idea was that reason not revelation was the source of all truth. This destroyed the authority of the Bible as divine revelation. Moral norms were not sought in God's law but in human reason and conscience.

(2) There was the development of a new hermeneutic -- namely the historical-critical method. Those who utilized this method viewed history as a closed continuum, an unbroken series of causes and effects in which there is no room for supernatural interventions. As G. Hasel summarizes the approach, all "historical events must be capable of being explained by antecedent historical causes and understood in terms of analogy to other historical experiences."¹¹ When these criteria are not met then according to this hermeneutic one can be certain that the event or phenomena being considered did not happen in the way it is depicted as having occurred.

(3) There was the development of radical literary criticism of the Bible. J. Astruc (1654-1766) a French physician, published a work in 1753 in which he proposed that the book of Genesis was to a great extent a composite of "J" and "E" sources that gave alternate versions of the same stories. He also found numerous other sources in Genesis of less significance. He did not deny Mosaic authorship to Genesis in the sense that he considered Moses to be the one who combined the sources. But his theory of distinguishing sources on the basis of different names for God provided a foundation on which later Pentateuchal criticism would build, and the now long and complex history of the development of critical theories of the composition of biblical books was begun.

Under the influence of these ideas the descriptions of God speaking and *acting* in human history in the way described in the Biblical narratives came to be regarded as something that did not actually happen. The orthodox view of the Bible was thus gradually weakened and ultimately abandoned by many. Rejection of biblical supernaturalism and objective divine revelation by word and act left the practitioners of biblical studies who utilized these methods with serious and insoluble problems. The nature of some of these problems can be seen by means of a brief survey of trends in Old Testament studies over the past century.

I will attempt to sketch some of these trends by means of a very brief survey of the views of the three men who in my opinion have been the most influential scholars in the area of Old Testament criticism in the past century. These three men are Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918), Hermann Gunkel (1862-1932) and Gerhard von Rad (1901-1971).

J. Wellhausen (1844-1918)

J. Wellhausen wedded a documentary source theory of the origin of the Pentateuch to an evolutionary idea of the development of Israel's religious beliefs. Wellhausen believed all religions developed in an evolutionary pattern from polytheism to henotheism, to monotheism, or, to use another scheme, from natural religion (JE) to prophetic religion (D), to priestly religion (P). He then used the JEDP sources which he had isolated in the

Pentateuch to demonstrate this development in Israel by assigning dates to the sources that reflected this alleged development. In the process he said ideas from later times were projected into earlier periods by the writers of the Old Testament, and he not only denied the reliability of many historical sections of the Old Testament, but even went further to claim that it included many deliberate fabrications. This approach of course was not without consequences for the message of the Old Testament. The major concern of Wellhausen and his followers, however, ceased to be the message of the Old Testament or its meaning for us today, but rather their interest was in the reconstruction by means of the *historical-critical method* of what they considered to be the *history of Israel's religious development* based on an evolutionary presupposition. Wellhausen himself resigned from his Professorship on the theological faculty at Griefswald because he did not feel adequate to prepare students for service in the Protestant Church (unfortunately many of his students did not follow his example).^12

Hermann Gunkel (1862-1932)

Although H. Gunkel did not abandon the source documents of Wellhausen, his interest lay elsewhere. He directed his attention for the most part to what he viewed as the antecedent oral traditions that lay behind Wellhausen's documents. In doing this he developed what has come to be known as "form criticism" (as compared with the "literary criticism" of Wellhausen) by trying to isolate story units, determine their literary genre (*Gattung*), and the Situation in life (*Sitz im Leben*) that originally produced the form in question. According to Gunkel's analysis most of the narratives of Genesis are to be viewed as legends of various kinds.^13 It is right at this point, however, that a significant difference between Gunkel and Wellhausen becomes apparent. Even though Gunkel viewed the stories of Genesis as legend and not history he felt that he was still able to preserve their religious value and meaning because in his view *what actually happened is not the important thing in a legend -- but the message conveyed by the story is the significant thing*.^14 He says for example: "Think of the force with which in the Cain story, murder is set forth as the basal crime; the charm of the Joseph story, eloquent of fraternal envy and fraternal love, and full of faith in an over-ruling Providence ..."^15 So even though Gunkel abandoned the historical value of the Old Testament, he tried to hold on to its religious-moral value. This represents a reaction against the sterile theological attitude generated by the Wellhausen school in which the religious value of the OT was swallowed up by a purely literary and history-of-religions approach. But notice that having abandoned the supernaturalism and objectivity of divine revelation in the Old Testament materials, Gunkel begins to move toward a divided field of knowledge in biblical studies in which *historical truth* is separated from *religious truth*.

Gerhard von Rad (1901-1971)

Hermann Gunkel's form critical method had great influence on Gerhard

von Rad of the University of Heidelberg. Developing his own unique approach to the formation of the Hexateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament, von Rad wrote a major two volume theology of the Old Testament¹⁶ and a number of commentaries including one on Genesis¹⁷ and one on Deuteronomy. ¹⁸ His work is still highly regarded, and he would certainly have to be considered one of the most influential Old Testament scholars of the 20th century.

The details of his approach to divine revelation and history would take far too long to review in this article. But the thing that von Rad did which is of particular significance for our own discussion was to give the divided field of knowledge already discernible in Gunkel's thought much greater visibility and clarity. Von Rad distinguished between two sorts of history of Israel. For one form he uses the German term *Historie* which has reference to modern scientific historiography and deals with "history" in the sense of what actually occurred. But according to von Rad this "Historie" can no longer be established from the biblical source materials. The biblical narratives in his view do not give us *Historie* but rather they give us *Heilsgeschichte* (his second term) which is a history that is the construct and expression of Israel's faith. The *Heilsgeschichte* is, to use his own terminology, "confessional history." It is a history in which Israel expresses something of how she understood her own relationship with God. For von Rad the history of Israel in the sense of what happened, and the history of Israel as formed by Israel's faith, are two very different matters. Von Rad is concerned only with the latter. He says:

These two pictures of Israel's history lie before us -- that of modern critical scholarship and that which the faith of Israel constructed (i.e., the Old Testament)¹⁹ -- and for the present we must reconcile ourselves to both of them ... The other activity is *confessional* and personally involved in the events to the point of fervor The fact that these two views of Israel's history are so divergent is one of the most serious burdens imposed today upon biblical scholarship.²⁰

Von Rad really has no solution for this problem. He opts, however, to utilize the *Heilsgeschichte* or "confessional history" for his own theological reflection rather than the *Historie*, i.e., what actually happened.

The radical dualism in von Rad's system is, however, a stumbling block not only for those who take the historical trustworthiness of the Old Testament seriously, but even for many who have accepted the historical-critical method. Franz Hesse, himself an advocate of the historical-critical method, says in criticism of von Rad, our faith lives from what happened in Old Testament times, and not from that which is confessed to have happened. Our faith needs to rest upon "that which has actually happened and not that which is confessed to have happened, but about which we have to admit that it did not happen in that way."²¹ Certainly Hesse is correct in insisting that faith must rest on what has happened -- but as an advocate of the historical-critical method he too is forced (by means of his method) to remove supernaturalism from the pages of the historical narratives of the Old Testament. His view is that the only history which has theological relevance is the history reconstructed by the historical-critical

method. This is then a history that is robbed of objective divine *speaking* and *acting* in human history. In spite of the many variations in approach between Gunkel, von Rad, Hesse and a host of others, it remains the case that all who adopt the historical-critical method ultimately are forced into some form of humanistic religious subjectivism because they have rejected *a priori* the possibility of objective divine revelation in word and act.

There is hardly a more important issue facing the world of biblical studies today than this issue. As G. Hasel points out, the historical-critical method requires that:

Historical events must be capable of being explained by antecedent historical causes and understood in terms of analogy to other historical experiences. The method which prides itself of its scientific nature and objectivity, turns out to be in the grip of its own dogmatic presuppositions and philosophical premises about the nature of history.

A biblical theology which rests upon a view of history that is based on an unbroken continuum of causes and effects cannot do justice to the biblical view of history and revelation nor to the Scripture's claim to truth What needs to be emphatically stressed is that there is a transcendent or divine dimension in biblical history which the historical-critical method is unable to deal with. If all historical events must by definition be explained by sufficient historical causes, then there is no room for the acts of God in history, for God is not a historical character. If one's view of history is such that one cannot acknowledge a divine intervention in history through deed and word, then one is unable to deal adequately and properly with the testimony of Scripture. We are, therefore, led to conclude that the crisis respecting history in biblical theology is not so much a result of the scientific study of the evidences, but stems from the historical-critical method's inadequacy to deal with the role of transcendence in history due to its philosophical presuppositions about the nature of history.²²

That is the issue. The God of the Bible is a God who has *spoken* and *acted* in human history to provide for the redemption of fallen man. Whenever and by whatever means God's *speaking* and *acting* in human history are denied then inevitably the Bible's message of redemption is destroyed. The Bible unites divine revelation, redemption and human history in such a way that any tampering with the objective historical reality of divine revelation inevitably eviscerates the Bible's message of redemption. It is for this reason that it is so necessary for evangelical scholarship to vigorously maintain the importance of the historical trustworthiness of the Bible. The history of the Bible is the history of redemption.

Unfortunately we find that some who consider themselves to be within the evangelical community have made significant concessions to the historical-critical method, and have even moved towards accepting a divided field of knowledge in biblical studies,²³ which I might say is unavoidable when one tries to fuse the historical-critical method with traditional biblical teaching. The certain result of such a position however will be increasing erosion of confidence in biblical historicity and a consequent loss of authenticity and authority for the Bible's message of redemption. As J. Gresham Machen said in his inaugural address as Assistant Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis at Princeton Seminary on May 3, 1915:

The separation of Christianity from history has been a great concern of modern

theology. It has been an inspiring attempt. But it has been a failure.

Give up history and you can retain some things. You can retain belief in God. But philosophical theism has never been a powerful force in the world. You can retain a lofty ethical ideal. But be perfectly clear about one point -- you can never retain a gospel. For gospel means good news, tidings, information about something that has happened. In other words, it means history. A gospel independent of history is simply a contradiction in terms.^24

Praise be to God who has spoken and acted in history to provide for our redemption, and who has given us a trustworthy record of what he has done in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

NOTES

^1 G. Vos, *Biblical Theology: Old and New Testaments* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948, reset for ninth printing, 1975) 12.

^2 Ibid.

^3 Ibid., p.6.

^4 G. Vos, "The Idea of Biblical Theology as a Science and as a Theological Discipline," in *Redemptive History and Biblical Interpretation: The Shorter Writings of Geerhardus Vos* (ed. R. B. Gaffin, Jr., Phillipsburg: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1980) 9.

^5 Vos, *Biblical Theology*, p.7.

^6 Vos, "Idea of Biblical Theology", p.9.

^7 Ibid.

^8 Ibid.

^9 Ibid., p.10.

^10 See G. Hasel, *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, revised and updated, 1982) 18, 19.

^11 Ibid., p.173.

^12 See W. Zimmerli, *The Law and the Prophets* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965) 22-23.

^13 See H. Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964).

^14 Gunkel says (*Legends of Genesis*, p.11): "The conclusion, then, that one of these narratives is legend is by no means intended to detract from the value of the narrative; it only means that the one who pronounces it has perceived somewhat of the poetic beauty of the narrative and thinks that he has thus arrived at an understanding of the story. Only ignorance can regard such a conclusion as irreverent, for it is the judgment of reverence and love."

^15 H. Gunkel, *What Remains of the Old Testament* (New York: Macmillan: 1928) 20.

^16 G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (2 vols., New York: Harper, 1965).

^17 G. von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961).

^18 G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960).

^19 Words in parenthesis are my own.

^20 G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, vol. 1., pp. 107, 108

^21 F. Hesse, "Kerygma oder geschichtliche Wirklichkeit?" *ZThK* 57 (1960) 26.

^22 G. Hasel, *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues*, pp. 173, 174

^23 See, for example. H. M. Kuitert, *Do You Understand What You Read?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970). Kuitert is of the opinion that many of the narrative sections of the Bible are wrongly read if they are understood as historical accounts. He says, for example (p.104): "Is anything changed in the meaning and scope of the book of Jonah if we read it as a midrash instead of ordinary history? Are the remarkable stories about Elisha worthless if we discover there are legends among them? Can God make Himself understandable with the help of folktales? Or is that beneath His dignity? We could go on. Nothing is sliced away, nothing is tossed overboard. Many stories in the Old Testament have scarcely had the intention of imparting historically precise information. If we were to read them as historical reports, we would read them very wrongly."

^24 J. G. Machen. "History and Faith." *PTR* 13 (1915) 1-2.

WHO SOLD JOSEPH INTO EGYPT?

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For sheer intellectual adventure and enjoyment I cannot look back upon any course I took whether in college, theological seminary or in graduate linguistic studies that can compare with *The Introduction to the Pentateuch*, taught by Allan A. MacRae at Faith Theological Seminary in the mid-1940's. I am confused as to the exact year and semester (somewhere in 1944-1946) but the impression that the course made on me is still poignant and fresh. Professor MacRae spent half of the semester building up the positive case for the partitioning of the Pentateuch according to the tenets of source criticism. He did so good a job of it that many of us in the class began to suspect that he was like the painter who paints himself into the proverbial corner. Then about half-way through the semester he began to walk about the edifice that he had so carefully built and pull at a brick here or kick a beam there, until the edifice began to wobble visibly. But even his demolition -- although very thorough -- was carried out somewhat wistfully with the desire, expressed several times, that he had had at least one true believer in source criticism with us in class to argue with him and impress on us the seriousness of the controversy!

On leaving seminary I went into linguistics and Bible translation. Eventually, years later in the 1960's I became interested in discourse analysis or text theory: the study of linguistic wholes rather than of isolated sentences. After directing workshops in text analysis in Mexico, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea and South America¹ I began to be curious about the discourse structure of text in Biblical Hebrew. What if we were to analyze text material in Biblical Hebrew with application of the same methodology used with success in some 100 contemporary languages around the world? For a pilot study I worked on the Genesis Flood Story.² The present work reflects several years' study of the Hebrew text of the Joseph story plus sampling of other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. In the course of my discourse analysis of Biblical Hebrew materials I have increasingly come to feel that (1) the variations, tensions, and so-called contradictions which lie behind separation into JEDP can be demonstrated to be encompassed within the range of effective narrative style by one author; and (2) whatever sources the author used are completely irrecoverable; and (3) such sources probably bore no resemblance to the traditional JEDP of source criticism. Demonstrating the literary unity of such a story as the Flood Narrative or "Joseph" does not, of course, automatically establish the historicity and truth of the narratives; it may, however, rid biblical scholarship of one set of destructive assumptions.

The title of this paper pinpoints a specific question which has been raised in respect to Gen 37, especially v28. Before evangelicals hastily reject this question as a pseudo-question directly resultant on source-critical dissection

of the Scriptures, let us remind ourselves that: (1) The first question about this passage (Gen 37: especially vv25-28) was raised in the twelfth century³ -- considerably before the advent of modern source criticism; (2) The passage has been favored by source criticism as a *prime example* of two contradictory documents combined so as to leave a visible seam.

The Problem

In the English of the NIV, Gen 37:25-28 reads as follows:

As they sat down to eat their meal, they looked up and saw a caravan of Ishmaelites coming from Gilead. Their camels were loaded with spices, balm and myrrh. and they were on their way to take them down to Egypt. (v26) Judah said to his brothers. 'What will we gain if we kill our brother and cover up his blood? (27) Come, let's sell him to the Ishmaelites and not lay our hands on him: after all, he is our brother, our own flesh and blood.' His brothers agreed. (v28) So when the Midianite merchants came by, his brothers pulled Joseph up out of the cistern and sold him for twenty shekels of silver to the Ishmaelites, who took him to Egypt.

Actually, the English, especially that of v28, reads more smoothly than the Hebrew. Verse 25 reports that a caravan of Ishmaelites are sighted, coming from Gilead, bound for Egypt, and loaded with spices. Verses 26-27 report Judah's proposal to sell Joseph to the Ishmaelites and the agreement of the brothers to the transaction. This brings us to the crux of the matter, i.e., v28:

<i>wayya' abrû</i>	<i>'ânasîm</i>	<i>midyanîm</i>	<i>socharîm</i>
And-they-passed-by,	men,	Midianites,	merchants

Here a preterite (waw-consecutive plus the preformative tense) resumes the story line by telling us a group of men are now on stage. The group is identified as *Midianites*, *men*, and *merchants*.

Verse 28 now goes on:

1. *wayyimsékû* *wayya'alû* 'et-yôsep min-habbôr
And-they-pulled-up and-they-raised Joseph from-the-pit.
2. *wayyimkerû* 'et-yôsep layyishmê'elîm be'esrîm kasep (pausal form).
And-they-sold Joseph to-the-Ishmaelites for-20 (pieces of) silver.
3. *wayyabi'û* 'et-yôsep mishrayêmâ
And-they-brought Joseph to-Egypt.

In the above passage I have italicized again the preterite forms that propel the story-line forward in this narrative. The critical question is: Who is the (unstated) subject of the verbs?

Thus Rabbi Eric Lowenthal in his stimulating (and reverent) treatment of the Joseph story⁴ assumes the following scenario: (1) The brothers, sighting the Ishmaelite caravan in the distance, decided to sell Joseph to them. (2) Meanwhile, however, a (small?) group of Midianite merchants came by, heard Joseph yelling and scratching around in the pit, and hauled

him out. Probably the place where the brothers were lunching (v25) was a bit distant from the pit, so the Midianites managed to get to the Ishmaelites first and sold Joseph to them. (3) Reuben was the first of the brothers to discover that Joseph was gone when he visited the pit in an effort to surreptitiously free Joseph. So we have a case of the star-crossed brothers, like the star-crossed lovers at the death scene in *Romeo and Juliet*. Lowenthal notes that this frees the brothers of Joseph from having committed, as is commonly assumed, the crime of the century in selling Joseph. In all this Lowenthal follows Rabbi Shmuel ben Meir. It is also significant that Lowenthal's proposed action sequence does not impair the unity of the passage; he accomplishes his exegesis without resort to source criticism.

Source criticism is, however, much more severe on the passage. In presenting a typical source-critical view I turn to Speiser and the Anchor Bible on Genesis⁵. Speiser here notes that in the broader context of these verses, there is tension/contradiction at three points: (a) a "Reuben story" and a "Judah story"; (h) "Ishmaelites" and "Midianites"; (c) "Israel" versus "Jacob" as name for the clan head.

Specifically, Gen 37 is regarded as largely from source J but with intrusive material from E. Thus, 37:1b-20 is J (although with some diffidence, on Speiser's part, as regarding the latter portion of this sketch). The assignment of this part of the passage to J is largely because of the occurrence of the proper name Israel in vv3 and 13 -- since it is considered that we can with some confidence posit that J uses Israel and E uses Jacob (Speiser, 293). Verses 21-24 are assigned to E, which presents Reuben as Joseph's protector, while vv25-27 are assigned to J, which presents Judah as Joseph's protector (he commutes the proposed murder of Joseph to selling him as a slave). The first part of v28, "Meanwhile Midianite traders passed by, and they pulled Joseph up from the pit." is assigned to E, while the central clause of v28, "They sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for 20 pieces of silver," is assigned to J. With the third clause of 28, we return again to E, since the whole stretch 28c-36 is characterized by 'Reuben', 'Jacob', and 'Midianites', which are hallmarks of E.

Speiser specifically rejects a complicated scenario of the sort proposed above by the tradition running from Rabbi Shmuel ben Meir to the present time (e.g., Lowenthal) in favor of clearing up the assumed confusion by resort to source criticism:

"All this confusion is dissipated automatically once the narrative is broken up into two originally independent versions. One of these (J) used the name Israel, featured Judah as Joseph's protector, and identified the Ishmaelites as the traders who bought Joseph from his brothers. The other (E) spoke of Jacob as the father and named Reuben as Joseph's friend: the slave traders in that version were Midianites who discovered Joseph by accident and sold him in Egypt to Potiphar. Each story is entirely self-consistent thus far, and goes on to build on its own set of data, which hold up meaningfully as the story unfolds."⁶

Speiser further comments that "in all the existing differences in detail, sight should not be lost of the prevailing similarities," admits that the precise documentary assignment "may not be clear in every instance," notes that the ultimate compiler "was not free to suppress any statement in

either source," and finally says "The remarkable thing is that the whole still appears to be deceptively smooth, after so much legitimate scrutiny by modern critics."⁷

We are left, then, in the source critical treatment of this passage with a situation of strain and contradiction between J and E. According to J the brothers sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites, but according to E the Midianites found him in the pit and took him to Egypt to sell as a slave.

A Proposed Solution

In a sense, this "deceptiveness smoothness" to which Speiser refers is the springboard of the present paper. My stand, however, is that the "smoothness" is not "deceptive" as Speiser claims, but evidential of the discourse unity of the narrative as it stands. Contemporary discourse analysis, when applied to this ancient text in the same way that we apply it to text material in present-day languages, is able to explain the text as it stands without resort to either such a complicated scenario as found in the rabbinic tradition which has been cited, or resort to the discourse-dissolving expedients of source criticism.

I propose to examine Gen 37 against the background of the Joseph story as a whole. Some questions cannot be resolved on too narrow a front. I will examine in order the macrostructure(s) of Joseph, the typically recursive structure of the text, its conventions of participant identification, and its ways of indicating the high point of a story by special stylistic devices. From all these considerations, evidence will be brought to bear on the question raised in the title of this article - - but our route to answering this question will necessarily be winding and circuitous.

Macrostructure(s)

Whether we approach a text from a textlinguistic perspective, or pragmatically as a speech act, whether as psychologists, sociologists, or reading theorists, it is increasingly realized that texts must be interpreted from the standpoint of the germinal idea, over-all-plan, main thrust, or what-have-you whereby we are able to perceive the parts in relation to the whole. Van Dijk⁸ (and others) have developed the idea of over-all plan as a *macrostructure* which is typically reduceable to a few lines (often expressed in symbolic logic) but which exercises a controlling, even legislative influence over the whole.

To begin, therefore, in a textlinguistic analysis of Joseph we ask ourselves "What is the story all about?" and secondly "How does the overall plan indicate inclusion/exclusion, balance, and the amount and type of elaboration which is found in the parts?" It is futile to study a given part of such a story as Joseph without resort to the design of the whole.

In some texts the macrostructure is covert and implicit; ways must be found to deduce the macrostructure from the text. In other texts, however, the macrostructure is overt and explicit, i.e., it is given in the text itself. It

appears that the Joseph story belongs to the latter, in that Joseph himself is represented as understanding the meaning of his own story in two crucial passages, Gen 45:4-7, and 50:20. In the former passage is emphasized the severity of the famine and God's sending Joseph to Egypt as a means of saving alive Jacob's clan and other peoples. It is admitted in the same passage that the brothers might well be distressed and angry with themselves for having sold Joseph, but Joseph tries to encourage them by putting it all into proper perspective. The latter verse, Gen 50:20, recognizes that the brothers meant to do Joseph harm but God meant it for good.

Putting these verses together in a rather straightforward way we deduce that the Joseph story is a story of *divine providence*, i.e., *The brothers intended to harm Joseph by selling him as a slave into Egypt, but God made this part of his plan to save Jacob's clan and others from death by famine*. Reducing this macrostructure to component parts we obtain: (1) The *intent* of the brothers to harm Joseph; (2) The *perpetrating* of this crime, i.e., the selling of Joseph; (3) God's *plan* to make Joseph a savior from starvation -- along with whatever providential expedients were necessary to work the plan out, (4) The *actual deliverance* and how it was brought about; (5) The *severity of the famine*.

The Joseph story is, however, part of the *toledôt ya'aqob*, "the life and times of Jacob." Thus, while the bulk of Gen 37-50 is concerned with the Joseph story, other parts of Jacob's family come in for attention in given places. Genesis 38, concerning Judah and Tamar. e.g., is not part of the Joseph story, which it rather interrupts. Furthermore, apparently the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh in chap. 48 is the last episode of "Joseph" proper, so that chaps. 49 and 50 belong to the larger concerns. Consequently, we may well ask: Since the story of Joseph is part of the *toledôt ya'aqob*, is there a macrostructure of the whole section which may, in turn, help us to understand better some features of "Joseph" itself?

I believe if we take chap. 49 as crucial and culminative, we find in this section (the blessing/testament of Jacob) the material for deducing the broader macrostructure. The pronouncements regarding the futures of the twelve clans are found in 49:3-27, i.e., in 24 verses. Of these 24 verses, five refer to Judah, and five to Joseph -- a total of 10 out of 24 verses, something over 41%. By comparison other clans are mentioned only briefly (Reuben in 3 verses: Simeon and Levi together in a passage of 3 verses: Zebulun, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, and Benjamin in one verse each; Issachar in two versus, Dan in three). Of Reuben, the firstborn, it is prophesied "you will not excel." Simeon and Levi, the next in line, are dismissed as violent and cruel. Judah emerges as the future ruler, but Joseph comes in for explicit and lengthy blessing as well. What then? From the standpoint of the testament of Jacob, Judah and Joseph are to be the especially favored ones.

But does this not shed light on this whole *toledôt* section and even on the story of Joseph which is contained within it? The Joseph story is fundamentally a story of three J's: Joseph, Jacob, and Judah. Reuben, the firstborn is represented as giving inconclusive leadership in times of crisis (e.g., chap. 37) and given to ineffectual emotional outbursts (Gen 27: 30,

42:22, and 42:37). Judah, by contrast emerges as a hero in chap. 44 where in his speech before Joseph (the longest speech in the story) he rises to the heroic heights of volunteering to stay a slave in place of Benjamin -- a speech which finally convinced Joseph of the moral transformation of his brothers and led to his revealing himself to them. The story, therefore, represents Reuben as slipping and Judah as rising to the position of preeminence that should have belonged to the first born. Is it any wonder then, that chap. 38 is devoted entirely to Judah, his liaison with Tamar, and the birth of the two twin boys which were his heirs?

Seen in this light, the Reuben passages and the Judah passages are required by the macrostructure of the story which would not be completed or meaningful (in the light of chap. 49) if they were not *both* there. What need, therefore, is there to suppose that the former, the Reuben passages, reflect a source (E) that is distinct from that of the Judah passages (J)? One explanation, if satisfactory, is all that is needed to explain a set of phenomena; if the explanation is satisfactory, further explanation becomes superfluous. If, therefore, by the normal devices of the storyteller a sub-plot (Reuben versus Judah) is worked into our story in a way that explains one of the major emphases of the story, what need is there for resort to source criticism? We are a bit ahead of our argument, however, for we still have Jacob versus Israel and the Midianites versus the Ishmaelites to consider.

The Recursive Constituent Nature of Text

I pause here briefly to consider the typically recursive nature of text in general and narrative text in particular. Discourses are certainly not simple unilinear sequences of sentences; we cannot with any great meaning or relevance report that a given text is a sequence of, say, 946 sentences. Rather the sentences clump and cluster together in all sorts of ways. To begin with sentences cluster into paragraphs, with simpler paragraphs clustering into more complex paragraph units. Paragraphs in turn cluster into embedded discourses which compose the main discourse. Thus, in regard to narratives, story within story, sub-plot within plot is the order of the day. In a story of any great complexity, the main episodes of the story characteristically are themselves stories with their own narrative structures.⁹

What does this have to do with the structure of the Joseph story and the problem that we here address within that story? First of all, it is helpful to recognize the embedded narratives within Joseph: Joseph sold into Egypt (chap. 37); Joseph's rise in Potiphar's house (39:1-6); Joseph's ruin through sexual harassment on the job (39:7-23); Joseph's interpreting the dreams of two imprisoned courtiers (40); Pharaoh's dreams and Joseph's rise to power (41); the brothers' first trip to Egypt to buy grain (42); the second trip, Judah's speech, and Joseph's revelation of himself (43-45); the coming of Jacob and all his clan to Egypt where Jacob and Joseph are reunited (46:13-27); Jacob's blessing Ephraim and Manasseh, Joseph's

Sons (48). Of these episodes, 39:1-6 is the briefest: it is a one-paragraph narrative which in some ways strains the structure of a paragraph to meet the broader requirement of narrative structure. The longest episodes are: Pharaoh's dreams and Joseph's rise to power (41:1-57); and the second trip, Judah's speech, and Joseph's revelation of himself (43-45). Of these long episodes the first is a peak (high point) of the story marked by scintillating dialogue (41:15-36) wedged between two spates of fast moving on-the-line clauses (41:14 and 41:37-45). It is a climax of the story, since it shows God's providential faithfulness to Joseph. Nevertheless it leaves the broader concerns of Jacob's family as an area of unresolved problems. The second long stretch (43-45) is a further peak (high point) of the story marked with dialogue, detail and a great deal of drama: it includes Judah's speech and the masterful build-up in 45:1-2 to Joseph's self-revelation. Certainly this part of the story is the denouement where the unresolved problems are resolved and where finally Joseph himself arrives at an understanding of the meaning of his own story.

Secondly, however, a study of the recursive-constituent structure of Joseph pinpoints the question: What exactly is the meaning and thrust of Episode 1 of Joseph, viz. chap. 37? Here again, we can fall back on some recognized universals of narrative structure among which is the requirement that a story have an *inciting incident*.¹⁰ If there is to be a story, something out of the ordinary and the predictable must happen; there must be a departure from script. So here we find ourselves confronted with a dark and vicious happening in Jacob's family: the selling into slavery of the youngest son by his older brothers and the subsequent cover-up. Although we have met with certain elements of deceit and half-truth in the life of Abraham and Isaac, and although deceit is the order of the day in the Jacob story,¹¹ we are scarcely prepared to have anything as terrible as this happen within the chosen family.

Having, however, identified chap. 37 as the inciting incident of "Joseph," certain conclusions naturally follow: (1) An inciting incident, like a peak, is not routine narration, but rather is narration marked by special features which underscore its dramatic placement in the story.¹² (2) We can expect, therefore, that certain features of chap. 37 will reflect a heightened style and mode of narration which may in themselves aggravate the difficulties of analysis in the chapter.

Conventions of Participant Identification

In narrative discourse participants are introduced, integrated into a story and identified as major or minor participants. The former continue as a slate of participants for most or all of the discourse; the latter figure only in particular sections. Participants, once introduced and integrated into a story, must then be tracked in the balance of the discourse, taken on or off stage, and in some cases phased out of the story.¹³

To do all this requires the development of conventions of participant reference which differ somewhat from language to language. When conventions of participant reference in Language B differ from those

conventions in Language A, a speaker of the latter is likely to feel that the text in Language B is incoherent or poorly organized -- even though by the standards of Language B it may be quite coherent and even elegant. I believe that certain parts of the Hebrew Bible have suffered such ethnocentric and biased judgment on the part of scholars who speak modern European languages.

To begin with let me voice a negative thesis: I do not believe that participants in a story in Biblical Hebrew are introduced *casually* into the text, if they are meant to be focal even to a small part of the story. Participants are not, as it were, sneaked onto the stage, but come on with a certain amount of fanfare. I except from this certain participants who are comparatively minor and who are simply referred to by social role and brought onto the stage without introduction, e.g., in Gen 43:16 there is abrupt reference to the steward of Joseph's house. He is never properly introduced as such, but simply referred to as the one who was over his house. This man is important in 43:16-44:13 but doesn't have to be introduced. It is simply assumed that everyone who has a large household or estate has such a manager standing by. I also exempt from this role a passing reference to someone(s) who is mentioned but does not become central in following clauses.

Aside from such exceptions, the regular thing in Hebrew is apparently the *multiple initial presentation* of a participant if an episode or a whole story is to integrate around him.¹⁴ Thus, Joseph is mentioned by name three times in 37:2-3 and further described as to his age, occupation, circumstances, and his special relation to his father. He is in similar fashion reintroduced and made central to the story in the opening verses of chap. 39 (after the Judah-Tamar material in 38). Here, again, multiple reference to Joseph is found -- although the sheer multiplicity of references to him by name may partly be due to the fact that we have three third person singular candidates for subject in this passage (Joseph, Potiphar, and Yahweh) so that multiple reference to the same partly serves as disambiguation.

In a brief passage, Gen 37:15-17, an unidentified man answers Joseph's inquiry regarding his brothers and redirects him to Dothan. The role of this participant is brief but crucial. He is first introduced as *ʾiysh*, "a man," "a certain" man. After an intervening participial clause, this new participant is referred again, now as *ha'iysh*, "the man" and subject of the next preterite "and-he-asked- him. . ." After Joseph's reply, *ha'iysh* "the man" is again used with the verb which indicates his next speech act, i.e., telling Joseph where the brothers have gone. In this passage Joseph is referred to only by the object affix *-huw'* and by the *y*-subject prefix of the preterite, but "the man," who is thematic in this sketch is referred to in rather close succession three times. We are not left to guess which verbs he is subject of.

Potiphar is identified in 37:36 by name and presented as "one of Pharaoh's officials, the captain of the guard." In the resumption of the story in 39 (again after the Judah and Tamar digression), Potiphar is again presented to us, not only in the phrases used at the end of chap. 37 but also as "an Egyptian man". In 39:2-6, Potiphar is variously referred to as "his master, the Egyptian", "his master", or "the Egyptian". In brief, although

some of the multiple references to Potiphar serve the need of building a bridge over chap. 38 back to chap. 37, it is also evident that considerable care is given to integrate Potiphar into the story.

Potiphar's wife dominates the scenes in 39:7-18. She is introduced as "his master's wife" the alternation between the third masculine singular (*wayyo'mer*, and-he-said) and the third feminine singular (*watto'mer*, and-she-said) would certainly have been sufficient to disambiguate the words and actions of Joseph from the words and actions of the woman. Nevertheless, in v8 we read "But-he-refused. And-he-said to his master's wife," unneeded for disambiguation, serves to re-present her to us and integrate her into that part of the story where she is thematic and dominant. She is also mentioned explicitly again in v9.

Chapter 40 is an embedded narrative, the story of the chief cupbearer and the chief baker. They are introduced in 40:1-2 with considerable care. The passage is, in fact, repetitious to a point which makes poor reading in English; cf. the rendition of the NIV: "Some time later, the cupbearer and the baker of the king of Egypt offended their master, the king of Egypt. Pharaoh was angry with his two officials, the chief cupbearer and the chief baker..."

I suggest that the repetitious manner in which these two men are introduced is simply equivalent to say "Now this is the story of the chief cupbearer and the chief baker of the King of Egypt. These two courtiers sinned against their Master, Pharaoh, and he was angry with them. . ." The references in 40:1-2 are reinforced by a further reference in v5: "the two of them ... the cupbearer and the baker of the King of Egypt, who were being held in prison . This is perhaps one of the best places to perceive the difference between participant introduction and integration in Hebrew as compared to differing devices in contemporary European languages.

Joseph's brothers and Jacob/Israel provide instances of differing names for the same group or individual. The brothers are referred to in various ways according to the sociological context as pictured in various passages and according to the thematic structure of such passages. In many places they are referred to as "Joseph's brothers." When the thematic spotlight rests on Israel, the brothers are mentioned relative to him as "son of Israel." When the thematic spotlight rests temporarily on Reuben (37:21-22, 29-30) or on Judah (37: 26-27), the brothers are referred to relative to Reuben/Judah as "his brothers." In the Peak (dénouement) Episode 43-45, where Joseph puts the brothers through the final excruciating test, where Judah desperately intercedes for Benjamin, and where Joseph at last reveals himself, a new complication arises. In 43:1-14 there is no overt name reference to Joseph's brothers. When reference to them resumes, they are called "the men" (*ha'anashîm*). Furthermore, aside from reference to "Judah and his brothers" (44:14), they either are not referred to by name or are called "the men" (44:3) until 45:2, where Joseph makes himself known to his brothers.

The narrator's art in adapting to the sociological environment and psychological atmosphere -- and creating suspense in the process -- is at work here. From 43:15-25 the brothers deal with Joseph's steward, who does not know their identity nor have the least clue as to why his master is

taking special interest in them. The steward is thematic and dominant and the brothers are called "the men" in accordance with the steward's viewpoint. Even in v15 -- which is part of the 'steward span' -- the brothers are so called even though the steward does not come on the scene until in the following verse. The brothers remain "the men" in the narrator's recounting of the convivial feast with Joseph (cf. 43:33) and in the events of the morning after (44:40). They are not referred by overt name in the intervening episodes. Finally, when Joseph makes himself known to them (chap. 45) they are again "his brothers."

Such adaptation of the narrator's way of referring to a person to the viewpoint of another participant in the story is easy to document both in English and in Hebrew. For the latter, note Gen 12: 14,15 (Sarah > "the woman"); Ruth 3:8 (where Boaz > "the man" and Ruth > "a woman"); I Sam 28:13 (Saul > "the king").

The narrator's art is also seen in reference to alternation between the divine names *'ēlohîm* and YAHWEH in this story. All the uses of the latter are found in the two troughs of the story -- immediately after Joseph is sold as a slave to Potiphar and after his degradation from the stewardship consequent the false accusation of Potiphar's wife. If -- as the story itself tells us -- this is a narrative whose controlling idea is the providence of God, is it any accident that, at the two darkness hours of Joseph's life the narrator tells us that "Yahweh was with Joseph." This divine name, featuring God in his more personalistic and covenant-keeping aspects, is found five times in 39:2-5 and three times in 39:21-23. Resort to the macrostructure as a control is clearly a sufficient reason for the occurrence of Yahweh here as opposed to *'ēlohîm* in all the other passages of the story (many of which picture Joseph interacting with Egyptians).

All this brings us to the discussion of Israel/Jacob. Here we are faced with two names for the same person. Why, after the change of name in 35:10 is not Jacob consistently called Israel -- as Abram becomes consistently Abraham after his change of name? My suggestion here is that "Jacob" emphasizes more Joseph's father as a suffering, feeling human being, while "Israel" accords better with passages where his dignity and office are in view. In emphasizing his role as clan-head we find, universally in the story "the sons of Israel" (not "sons of Jacob").

Elsewhere, note: (1) We find "Israel" in Gen 37:3,13 before the sale of Joseph into Egypt, but "Jacob" in 37:34 where he mourns the loss of his favorite son. (2) In 42:1-4 we find "Jacob," where perhaps this name is fitting in describing the measures taken by a man to obtain food for himself and his family. Note also that "Jacob" (v4) fears to send Benjamin, Joseph's brother. (3) Likewise, in the dialogue ensuing in the brothers' return from their first trip to Egypt. "Jacob" is presented again to us as a frustrated, troubled, somewhat petulant old man. (4) In the dialogue which is found in 43:1-14, after a neutral reference to Israel/Jacob as "their father" we find "Israel" in vv 6,8, and 11. While the emotional outburst in v6 might lead us to expect "Jacob" rather than "Israel" here, we must look at the dialogue as a whole. The dialogue comes to a stalemate of sorts in v7, is redirected by Judah in v8 (he takes personal responsibility for Benjamin), and is taken in hand by their father in v11, i.e., as soon as

their father sees that he can no longer get his way (having the brothers go again to Egypt without Benjamin) he takes charge, and gives a hortatory discourse instructing the sons as to how they are to go about things. In brief, "Israel" comes through this dialogue with a certain dignity and ends up by taking charge as clan-head and issuing orders to his sons. "Israel" therefore characterizes the whole dialogue, even including the earlier parts. (4) In Gen 45:25-27 the sons return to Canaan to tell "Jacob" their father the good news that Joseph is still alive. Initially numbed with surprise, "the spirit of Jacob their father" revives (end of v27). I assume that the shift to the name "Israel" in 28 reflects that his decision to go see Joseph is not simply a personal one but a far-reaching decision as clan-head. (5) We likewise find "Israel" as clan-head setting out for Egypt in 46:1 and receiving a vision from God. In the vision interestingly enough, God calls him "Jacob," his more intimate personal name -- and "Jacob" he remains for most of the following passage. Space fails me to trace this interesting variation any further.

I now have come -- by a very circuitous route -- to the discussion of the Ishmaelites and the Midianites of Gen 37:25-36; and 39:1. As far as the textual references go, we find "Ishmaelites" in 37:25 and in 28b and in 39:1 but "Midianites" in 28a and in 37:36. To summarize: in 37:25 a caravan of Ishmaelites is cited; in 37:36 Midianites sell Joseph to Potiphar; and in 39:1 Ishmaelites sell Joseph to Potiphar. In 37:28, Midianite merchants pass by and someone pulls Joseph out of the pit and sells him to the Ishmaelites. The whole critical separation of this passage rests on two assumptions: (1) One document (J) refers to Ishmaelites; another (E) to Midianites. 39:1 presents a special problem; Speiser feels that it resembles E (who, rather than J, gives the proper name Potiphar) in spite of referring to the Ishmaelites (a J trait) and in spite of the fact that all of chap. 39 is assigned to J.¹⁵ (2) That the two are necessarily separate groups. It is the latter assumption that needs examination.

To begin with, if "Ishmaelites" and "Midianites" refer to the same group the passage smooths out completely and becomes quite coherent. But is there any external objective evidence as to such identification? There is, in fact. Judges 6-8 records Gideon's struggle with the Midianites. After the victory Gideon requested a share of the spoil, i.e., a golden earring from each one's share. To this is appended the parenthetical note (Judg 8:24b): "It was the custom of the Ishmaelites to wear golden earrings." Here, apparently, "Ishmaelite" is used as a generic name for a group of peoples having a similar lifestyle (Gen 16:12) and including the Midianites.

To get back, however, to the text of Gen 37:18, my simple contention is: the Midianite merchants (*'anasîm midyanîm soharîm*) are simply not introduced and integrated into the story as they should be if they are meant to be new participants moving onto the stage. I refer, again, to the cases cited above where new participants are made focal by multiple representation. It seems to me somewhat inconceivable that a new group should be introduced, in 28a, and not made the subject of at least one of the verbs that follow in this verse. Judah's proposal to sell Joseph was agreed on by the brothers in verses 27-28; if someone else besides the

brothers finally made the actual sale, why doesn't the narrator exercise his usual care in participant identification and integration? Even assuming separate documents here, couldn't the redactor have done a better job?

If, however, the Midianites of v28a are the Ishmaelites of 25 and 28b, all fall nicely into place per the usual conventions of participant identification. The mention of the Midianites in 28a counts as the necessary re-presentation of the Ishmaelites which are mentioned only once in 25. Then, to remove all doubt, the narrator again terms them Ishmaelites in 28b.

The only lingering doubt which might remain is: why, in verse 28, are the Midianites mentioned in an almost misleading way (with indefinite nouns) as '*anasim midyanim soharim* in the verse "And there passed by certain Midianite merchants."? To answer this last question, I turn again to the consideration of another major point of text theory.

Peaks as zones of turbulence

It is a fact of discourse structure that structure at a high point of a discourse has features special to it. In terms of narrative structure, structure at peak is not the same as routine narration. Peaks are stylistically marked by a variety of means; and effort is made to insure that the peak of a story does not go by too fast. Some form of rhetorical underlining (repetition, paraphrase, parallelism of statement) is the order of the day. Often the event-line of the story is in some way packed or extended -- e.g., by reporting a lot of the minute component parts of an overall action. Often the verb/non-verb ratio is higher here than for the story as a whole. The stage may be crowded with participants for the last crucial scene of the last act. Specific devices like shifts in tense (e.g., to the historical present) of person (e.g., to first person plural) may contribute vividness. Sentence length may be decidedly shorter (or longer) than the usual length. Dialogue or even drama (i.e., dialogue without formulas of quotation) may come to the fore as not in previous sections of the story. Or, conversely, a story heavy in dialogue may phase out dialogue entirely in favor of a reported sequence of actions.¹⁶

Above all, in terms of text analysis, a peak is a zone of practical analytical difficulty. I have observed this repeatedly in conducting discourse analysis workshops in various parts of the world (Mesoamerica, South America, Papua New Guinea, and the Philippines). People who have begun textual analysis on a text in a language, and who have worked happily on the text for several weeks and who have begun to formulate rules for uses of tenses and for participant reference, will report in to me in a state of considerable frustration and discouragement -- because they have encountered the peak of the discourse and their routine, business-as-usual rules do not work anymore! Special peak-marking rules have to be formulated as modifications or 'gear-shifts' before textual analysis can continue.

Now to apply this to Gen 37, I have two observations to make: (1) As already stated, this chapter is the inciting incident of its story -- and

inciting incidents have peak-like characteristics. (2) As an embedded narrative, Gen. 37 has its own discourse structure so that 37:5-11 is inciting incident (Episode 1) within the chapter (Joseph's dreams provoke a crisis); 37:12-17 is Episode 2 (Joseph goes to seek his brothers); 37:18-22 is Episode 3 (the conspiracy); 37:23-28 is Peak (the crime); and 37:29-35 is a Post-peak Episode (the cover-up). There is rising tension through the pre-peak episodes, especially in Episode 3 (the conspiracy); and there is relatively high but falling tension in the post-peak episode (the cover-up).

Genesis 37:23-28 seems plausibly to constitute the peak of its chapter. To begin with, the introductory *wayhi* And-it-happened (that) followed by *ka'asher ba' yosep 'el-'echayw* 'when arrived Joseph to his brothers' (i.e., when he arrived where his brothers were) introduces an episode where we anticipate a crescendo of activity. Details are added such as the reference in v23 "to his-cloak, the 'special' cloak" (*ketonet happassim*, not mentioned since 37:3); the descriptive clauses in v24, "The pit was empty. There was no water in it"; and the description of the Ishmaelite caravan in v24. Also note the solemn repetition of the name Joseph (3 times) in 28 -- like tolling the bell for Jacob's favourite son.

I believe that the delayed identification of the Ishmaelite caravan, first cited in v25, as Midianite in v28, is also a feature of suspense-at-peak. There is, indeed, a certain parallelism here between events in Episode 3 and in the Peak. In v18 the brothers see Joseph from afar; in 19-22 they sit down to consider how to dispose of him; and in vv23-24 they explode into activity on his arrival at the scene. Similarly, in v25 they sight a caravan afar off; in 26-27 they discuss how to use the caravan to dispose of Joseph; and in v28, on the arrival of the caravan a spate of activity culminates in the selling of Joseph to the caravaneers. The story, I believe, is an artful construction just as it stands: The caravan, first sighted afar off as generally Ishmaelite (=Bedouin?) proves on closer inspection to be Midianite, and Joseph is sold to them. The intervening suspense is artful and effective. Reuben, evidently away on an errand, is not a partner to the transaction and is in consternation at finding Joseph gone -- at which point he becomes a participant in the cover-up.

Conclusion

To answer briefly the question posed in the title: I believe that careful attention to the discourse structure of Gen 37 -- in the light of the *whole* Joseph story -- establishes the traditional view that the brothers sold him (not a group of interlopers called Midianites). This accords with Joseph's words in 45:4, 5 where Joseph twice refers to their having sold him and with the dialogue in 50:17-21, where the brothers ask forgiveness for the sins and wrongs that they committed in treating Joseph so badly and where Joseph agrees "you intended to harm me."

The traditional interpretation also accords with the dialogue in 42:21-22: "They said to one another 'Surely we are being punished because of our brother. We saw how distressed he was when he pleaded with us for his

life, but we would not listen; that's why this distress has come upon us.' Reuben replied: 'Didn't I tell you not to sin against the boy? But you wouldn't listen! Now, we must give accounting for his blood.'" Notice this dialogue implies: (1) that the brothers had done Joseph some great wrong; (2) that Joseph had pleaded with them not to do it; and (3) Reuben was in some sense not as involved in what happened. Does not this imply the traditional interpretation? On the other hand if we have to distinguish between E and J accounts, we have here, in a passage which is supposedly E, a passage which seems to presuppose the scenario found in J.

Much has been made of Joseph's remark to the chief cupbearer "I was forcibly carried off [kidnapped] from the land of the Hebrews" (Gen 40:15), which as an E passage presupposes the E scenario, viz. that the Midianites came along, discovered Joseph in the pit and pulled him out and took him down to Egypt. However, it seems to me that this interpretation of Gen 40:15 is callously insensitive to the psychological reality of Joseph's situation: could we really expect Joseph, deeply traumatized by what his brothers had done to him to blurt out to a comparative stranger and foreigner the real truth about what had happened in his family? Would we not expect Joseph to resort to some vague euphemistic reference to cover what had happened? I think this is precisely what Joseph can be expected to have done in such circumstances. To return now to the main argument of this paper: (1) In approaching the question "Who sold Joseph into Egypt?" I first of all sketched the Rabbi Shmuel ben Meir to Lowenthal reconstruction of the scene, then the higher critical dissection of the passage into J and E accounts. Both the Lowenthal and the E scenarios assumed that the Midianites came by as interlopers. In Lowenthal's account (which respects the unity of the story) the Midianites sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites. In the higher critical reconstruction, E has the Midianites discovering Joseph and taking him as a slave to Egypt, while J has the brothers selling Joseph to the Ishmaelites who took him to Egypt. It is also supposed here that E features Reuben while J features Judah, and that E refers to "Jacob," while J refers to "Israel."

(2) An examination of the macrostructure of Joseph reveals that it is above all, a story of divine providence, but that it is embedded in the *toledôt ya'aqob* whose overall macrostructure emphasizes the preeminence of Judah and Joseph as individuals and as clans. In regard to the latter, we noted that this encourages us to regard the Joseph story as the story of the three J's: Jacob, Joseph, and Judah. A sub-plot of the Joseph story (but very important in the macrostructure of the *toledôt ya'aqob*) is the waning of Reuben's influence and the waxing of Judah's. From this point of view both the Reuben passages (E) and the Judah passages (J) are demanded by the overall structure -- which exhaustively explains their presence without resort to source criticism.

(3) In examining the recursive constituent structure of this story we identified various episodes which contain embedded narratives (sub-narratives), then took note of the thrust and function of chap. 37 as inciting incident. This, in turn, prepared us to accept certain other-than routine features in the chapter.

(4) The conventions of participant reference of Biblical Hebrew, as

reflected in this story, were next brought to bear on the Ishmaelite/Midianite problem. In describing the manner in which a participant is introduced and integrated into a passage, we examined references to Joseph, the unidentified man of 37:15-17, Potiphar, Potiphar's wife, the chief cupbearer and the chief baker in order to demonstrate that participant identification and integration requires multiple initial presentation of a participant. 'Multiple' is here defined to be at least more than once. Then, the varying references to Joseph's brothers as "Joseph's brothers"/"the men" were examined with a sociological explanation of the latter and a note as to its textual effectiveness in leading up to the denouement -- the self-revelation of Joseph. Finally, references to Israel/Jacob were likewise examined with the suggestion that Israel presents us with the clan-head, the public figure, and Jacob presents to us the man more as a private individual, feeling, suffering, and at times petulant.

We also examined here the alternation between *'elohim/yahweh*, one of the ancient cornerstones of documentary source criticism. In this story, Yahweh appears only at the points which can be described as the darkest hours of Joseph's life. In reference to the macrostructure of the narrative, a story of divine providence, the appearance of the name Yahweh at these two points is very effective. It reinforces -- without moralizing or preaching -- the macrostructure of the story.

Regarding the Ishmaelite/Midianite problem it was then claimed: (a) The Midianites are not, by Biblical Hebrew standards of participant identification, introduced as new participant(s) should have been introduced. (b) But, if the reference in 28a can count as a further reference to the 'Ishmaelite caravan' of v25, then the Ishmaelite/Midianite group can be considered to have been properly introduced. (c) As to the plausibility of the two names referring to the same group, Judg 8:24 points in the direction that "Ishmaelite" was sometimes used as a more generic name (almost=Bedouin) while "Midianite" is probably an ethnic name. Applying this to Gen 37:25-28 we come up with: first the use of the more generic name (when the caravan is first sighted) then the ethnic name when the caravan draws up to where they are. But once the two names are thus established, they are used somewhat interchangeably. Note, e.g., the Midianites in 37:36 as those who sold Joseph to Potiphar, and the Ishmaelites in 39:1 who are mentioned as having performed this transaction. Furthermore, note that 39:1 is meant to be a recapitulatory paraphrase and back-reference to 37:36 (bridging chap. 38). If, however, 39:1 is a paraphrase of 37:36 then by the usual standards of participant reference in any language that I know of, Ishmaelite and Midianite should both refer to the same group.

(5) Finally, we introduced the textlinguistic concept of *peak* as of relevance - - since, among other things, peak is typically a zone of turbulence and analytical difficulty. Here we noted that all chap. 37 by virtue of being the inciting incident of Joseph can be expected to be something more than routine narration. We then noted that 37:25-28 is the peak of the embedded narrative which is found in this chapter, i.e., the story of the selling of Joseph. Peak characteristics of the passage, i.e., its peculiar onset, its graphic detail, and the death-toll like repetition of the

name 'Joseph' (v28) were cited. Then a certain overall parallelism within Gen 37:23-28 was noted, i.e., just as the brothers sight Joseph in the distance, sit down to discuss the matter, and fly into action when Joseph arrives on the scene, so the brothers sight a caravan in the distance, sit down to discuss the matter, and fly into action when the caravan arrives on the scene. Thus, the delayed second identification of the caravan and its nearer specification are artfully delayed from vv25 to 28 -- precisely the sort of thing that could be expected at the peak of a narrative. Taking account of this feature should remove whatever doubts linger as to the identity of the Ishmaelites and the Midianites.

In brief, I have tried to show that the traditional interpretation that the brothers sold Joseph into Egypt is the one demanded by the structure of the whole story and in particular by the structure of chap. 37. In the process I have tried to show that resort to source criticism to explain Reuben versus Judah, Jacob versus Israel, and Ishmaelites versus Midianites is unnecessary -- quite as unnecessary as the assumption that differing sources lie behind references to 'elohim and yahweh.

The same set of data does not need two sets of explanations; if one set of explanations is adequate, the other set is fresh out of a job. If we can explain such variations as those here considered as skillful application of the narrator's art, then source-critical explanations become superfluous.

NOTES

¹ Robert E. Longacre, *Discourse, Paragraph, and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages* (3 vols.; Santa Anna: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1968). Longacre, *Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages* (2 vols.: *Discussion, Texts*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University, 1972). Longacre and F. Woods, *Discourse Grammar: Studies in indigenous Languages of Columbia, Panama, and Ecuador, Parts 1-3* (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington, 1976-7). *Discourse Studies in Mesoamerican Languages*, Linda K. Jones, ed., (2 vols., Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington, 1979).

² Longacre. "The Discourse Structure of the Flood Narrative," JAAR 47.1 (March 1979) Supplement. 89-133.

³ Thus Eric Lowenthal, *The Joseph Narrative in Genesis*. (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1973) 27: "Rabbi hen Meir Rash Bam (1085-1174). Rashi's grandson, was the first to suggest that 'they pulled. . . and sold' refers to the 'Midianite traders,' the new subject, not to the brothers." Also 169, fn. 28: "B. Jacob deals at great length in his important *Quellenscheidung und Exegese*, 9ff. (summed up in his *Genesis*) with Rash Bam's sensational, novel and elaborate explanation accepted by many Jewish authorities and by W. Randolph in *Elohist*."

⁴ Lowenthal, *ibid*.

⁵ E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, AB (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co.) 287-294. For further source critical studies on 'Joseph,' see Donald B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Gen 37-50)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970; Supplement to *Vetus Testamentum* 20); and George W. Coats. "From Canaan to Egypt: Structural and Theological Context for the Joseph Story," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series* 5 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1976).

⁶ Speiser, p.293-294.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.294.

⁸ Teun A. van Dijk. *Text and Context: Explanations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of*

Discourse, (London: Longman, 1977). And van Dijk, *Macrostructures*, (Hillsdale, M. J.: L. Earlbaum Ass., 1980).

⁹ Longacre, *The Grammar of Discourse*, (New York: Plenum, 1983) 269-295.

¹⁰ While something of this sort is widely assumed among rhetoricians, the particular formulation is from W. F. Thrall, A. Hibbard, and C. H. Holman, *A Handbook to Literature*, (New York: The Odyssey, 1961) as worked into my own materials in *Grammar of Discourse*, 20-42.

¹¹ John G. Gammie, "Theological Interpretation by way of Literary and Traditional Analysis: Gen 25-36," *Encounter With the Text*, ed. Martin J. Buss, (Philadelphia, Fortress, 1979).

¹² Keith H. Beavon, *Studies in the Discourse Structure of Konzime -- a Bantu Language of Cameroun*, (Arlington, TX: University of Texas at Arlington thesis, 1979), and Shin Ja J. Hwang, *Aspects of Korean Narration*, (Arlington: University of Texas at Arlington dissertation, 1981).

¹³ Joseph E. Grimes, *The Thread of Discourse*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1976) 43-50.

¹⁴ Unpublished materials: Longacre, *A Textlinguistic Analysis of the Hebrew Text of the Joseph Story*.

¹⁵ Speiser, pp. 302, 304

¹⁶ Longacre, *Grammar of Discourse* 25-41: and "A Spectrum and Profile Approach to Discourse Analysis," *Text* 1.4, (The Hague: Mouton, 1982) 337-359; and "Peak as Zone of Turbulence," (cf. *Beyond the Sentence*, ed. Jessica Wirth, 1983).

TOWARDS A COVENANTAL DEFINITION OF TÔRÂ

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I consider it a singular privilege to honor Prof Allan A. MacRae with a humble contribution to this *Festschrift*. How can one forget the impact he had on us in seminary. One brief recollection will suffice. It was chapel time, and Dr MacRae spoke. He enthusiastically preached on *mûsar* ("discipline"). For the rest of the year, the halls and classrooms rang out with *mûsar*. Even at intramural games on the playing field the cry was heard, *mûsar*! One may have disagreed with him on one issue or another during those seminary years, but clearly there was a mutual respect and esteem. Dr MacRae, we salute you and praise God for you.

The subject I have chosen to write on is of current significance because of the theological and ecclesiastical debates over the concept of law in the Scriptures. The issue focuses more specifically on the question of continuity or discontinuity from Old Testament to New Testament, and hence the application of the OT law in NT times.¹ The subject is too large for an exhaustive treatment in this article. Therefore, we propose to narrow our discussion to the starting point, namely, looking for a biblical definition of *tôrâ*. Our thesis is that *tôrâ* is a covenantal concept having primarily an educational meaning of "teaching, instruction" and secondarily a juridical meaning of "law, legislation." in other words, *tôrâ* is to be understood as a divinely revealed, authoritative instruction rather than as a "code" of ethics or legislation.

Etymology

A considerable amount of attention has been given to the question of the etymology of *tôrâ* without an emerging clear consensus.² Three different views have been generally suggested.³ The first view is attributed to Gesenius who considers that *yrh* "to throw, cast, shoot" in the Qal, but "to teach" in the Hiphil, is the verb from which *tôrâ* is derived.⁴ S. R. Driver and J. E. Hartley seem to agree.⁵ The second view is attributed to Wellhausen though he later changed his opinion. He also derived *tôrâ* from *yrh*, "to throw, cast," but connected it with its use in casting lots in order to obtain an oracle.⁶ Delitzsch has suggested a third view, equating *tôrâ* with its Akkadian cognate *têrtu*, which in turn is derived from *(w)arû*, equivalent to Hebr *yrh*.⁷ Albright seems to agree, but he derived both *tôrâ* and *têrtu* from *(w)âru* (i.e., *wa'aru*), which suggests the meaning of *têrtu* "commission, command, oracle. especially of hepatoscopy (the oracle *par excellence*)."⁸

Two observations may be allowed. One's philosophical or theological

presuppositions may introduce a bias in the study, e.g., the source of an oracle suggesting the notion of "casting lots" or the idea of "oracle, especially of hepatoscopy." Also, there is a question raised as to the relation of *hôrâ* and *yrh*.⁹ Is it possible that lexicographers have mistaken a Qal imperfect for a Hiphil? It may be possible that *hôrâ* "to show, teach" is derived from a different root. BDB subsumes *tôrâ* under *yarâ* "to throw, shoot" with a Hiphil meaning which includes "to direct, teach, instruct." We conclude that *tôrâ* is related to *hôrâ* "to show, teach, direct, instruct" but more precise derivation seems elusive.

Usus Loquendi

Far more important for our study is the *usus loquendi* at various stages of inscripturization. In this connection, we take the traditional position of authorship and dating rather than the modern form-critical views, recognizing that we may gain insights from scholars with whom we differ.¹⁰ We propose to see how *tôrâ* is used in a variety of contexts, i.e., covenantal, priestly, wisdom, juridical and prophetic.¹¹

Tôrâ in Covenantal contexts:

The very first occurrence of *tôrâ* in the Pentateuch is found in Gen 26:5. It is significant that this first use is found in a context of God's covenant promises being reiterated. The promised blessings are expressly renewed to Isaac "because Abraham obeyed (*tsama'*) my voice and kept (*tsamar*) my charge, my commandments, my statutes and my laws." The verbs in the result clause need to be noted: *tsama'* has the basic meaning "to hear" effectively, hence "to listen to, pay attention," or "hearing with the intention to do," hence "to obey." It is used in the notable passage of Deut 6:4 to introduce the great confession that "Yahweh is our God, Yahweh is one." The second verb, *tsamar*, has the basic idea "to exercise great care over," hence "to give heed to do or understand, to diligently do" or "to keep carefully" from the depths of one's heart (cf. Prov 4:20-23). The covenantal context points to the maintenance of a personal relationship rather than to obligations to a code of ethics. The use of *tsamar* for tending or keeping a garden, flock or house, ¹² underscores the idea of careful cultivation and maintenance.

One may also discern the meaning of *tôrâ* from its connection with the other nouns associated with it. The usual translation "because Abraham obeyed me" obscures the Hebrew noun *qôl* "sound, voice." Two earlier usages of God's *qôl* are instructive: in Gen 3:8 and 10 it is the sound of God walking in the Garden, but when God verbalizes his intention, he calls to fallen Adam and Eve, "Where are you?" (v9). This is the voice expressing divine initiative implying grace and mercy. The other passage is Gen 22:18 where the promised blessings of the Abrahamic covenant are confirmed to Abraham "because you have obeyed My voice." The immediate context points back to God testing Abraham and commanding

him to sacrifice Isaac (22:1,2). If this is the "voice" of God to Abraham, it is clear that Abraham understood it within the covenantal context as a test of his faith in God, for in his response when queried by Isaac, he answered, "God will provide for Himself the lamb ..." (v8). This was no legalistic obedience, but it was a response of faith within a gracious covenantal relationship.

We turn briefly to the meaning of the other nouns in parallel with *tôrâ*. The derivative of *tsamar*, *mitsmert* has the idea of "a charge," or "a service" to be carefully kept, preserved or performed. *Miswâ* is usually translated "a command, commandment." Lindars suggests that in Exod 34:11 it is to be connected with the function of the king in promulgating law, though he acknowledges the hazard of building on this idea.¹³ What does seem significant is that the verb *sawâ* is used for the instruction of a farmer to his laborers (Ruth 2:9), of a father to his son (1 Sam 17:20) and of the king's instructions to his servants concerning his burial (2 Sam 21:41). In the wisdom literature *miswâh* is used of the instruction of a teacher to his pupil (Prov 2:1; 3:1). To be sure, when God "commands" He exhibits His power to create (Ps 33:9) and thus demands respect for His authority.

Huqqâ is "a decision, ordinance, enactment," by someone in authority in response to a problem (cf. Exod 18:16) though often it is used of the regulations or customs for observing the feasts (Exod 12:14,17; Lev 23:41) and other priestly regulations.

However, when we ask ourselves if in Gen 26:5 there are distinctions in the use of these words, we would draw the conclusion that they are generally regarded as synonymous. The reason is simple. Has there been any suggestion from the life of Abraham that God's covenant stipulations could be identified as priestly, political or ethical codes? While answering in the negative, we would maintain that God was commending in Abraham his faithfulness and loyalty to the covenantal relationship. Even though at times he faltered, he nevertheless followed the authoritative instructions given to him by the Great King, not out of compulsion for legalistic obedience to some legislation but rather out of heartfelt devotion to the Great King of the covenant. It may be safe to assume from the analogy with the ancient Near Eastern treaties, where the Great King sometimes identified himself as the father, and the vassal was recognized (if not adopted) as the son, that Abraham understood that familial relationship very well. Surely this was part of Isaiah's thought in his covenant lawsuit "Sons I have reared and brought up, but they have rebelled against me" (1:2; cf. Hos 11:1).

One last question needs to be addressed before leaving Gen 26:5. What are the antecedents of "my laws" which Abraham kept? In connection with 22:18 we noted that we could identify the specific reference to "my voice." But here we have the plurals for these synonyms of *tôrâ*. We suggest that because of the covenantal context we have reference here to all those matters dealing with the Abrahamic covenant, in short, all the revelation of God to Abraham which was to be applied to his own life and that of his family. Except for a few imperatives,¹⁴ we find precious little if any that might be classified as legislation.¹⁵ This leads us to the conclusion that "My

charge, My commandments, My statutes and My laws" are not to be understood as legislation but as authoritative instruction from Yahweh who has entered into a covenant relationship with Abraham. Without a doubt, there is a legal aspect to that covenant, but like marriage, it is far more: it is a personal relationship.¹⁶

In Exod 24:12 Yahweh summons Moses to the summit saying "and I will give you the tablets of stone and the law and the commandment which I have written in order to instruct them." This passage has some ambiguities. What is the relation of *tôrâ* and *miswâ* to tablets of stone? Are they in apposition? What is their content? From Exod 31:18 it is clear that the tablets are "two tablets of the testimony" (*ha'edût*). Kline correctly points out that *'edût* is "related to Akkadian *ade* which is used as a general appellation for the contents of suzerainty treaties."¹⁷ This is extremely significant, for the point of comparison is not with such legal codes as those of Hammurapi and Lipit Itshtar, *et al.*, though there are similarities, but with the suzerainty treaties.¹⁸ As to the syntactical relation between the three nouns, Delitzsch on the one hand understands the *waw* in the sense of accompaniment as in Gen 3:24 to mean "with the law and commandments"¹⁹ suggesting that the tablets contained only the decalogue.²⁰ whereas the "law and commandments" might refer to the additional instruction. Lange seems to agree: "But besides this there are added a new, grand task: the construction of the tabernacle."²¹ On the other hand, Calvin suggests that "this must not be understood of any new instructions, but of the authentic writing of the Law: For, after having spoken of the two tablets, He immediately mentions in apposition, the Law and Commandment, by way of explanation ... a celestial and infallible document of his covenant."²² Gesenius, Kautzsch, Cowley also consider it a *waw explicativum*.²³ Whichever view is taken, the question persists: what is the extent of its content? Does it refer to something spoken before but written later, and if so, was there more added during Moses' forty-day stay on the mount? There is cogency to the suggestion that only Exod 20:2-17 was included in the two tablets, since they were to be deposited in the ark which was only 45 inches long and 27 inches wide at most.²⁴ This would include most of the essential elements of a covenant, including the preamble, historical prologue, general stipulations, and the sanctions of blessings and curses. In this connection it is instructive to see a further reference to these tablets in Exod 34:27, 28. Moses is told to write "These words" (*haddebarîm*) "for in accordance with the tenor of these words I have made a covenant."²⁵ Then he wrote on the tablets "the words of the covenant, the Ten Words."²⁶ Two observations are in order. First, it must be significant that *dabar* is used for the stipulations, rather than *miswâ* or *tôrâ*. We suggest that the emphasis is a "word" of instruction to the people recently redeemed, and that this instruction is itself a word of God's grace which has already been exhibited by the establishment of a sovereign covenant relation. Hence, we would note in the second place, that "the Ten Words" are not to be understood only for the ten stipulations but as *pars pro toto*, i.e., for the whole covenant. This also is the usage in Deut 5:5, 22 which brackets the recital of the Sinai covenant.

However, is it possible to give a broader interpretation to the extent of

the content of the two stone tablets of 24:12? It could be argued that Exod 21-23 could have been included, written on a fair-sized slab, when one considers how much was included on Hammurapi's stela. This would then reflect what follows in Exod 24:1-8, "Moses recounted all the words (*dibrê*) of Yahweh and all the ordinances (*mitspatîm*)... And Moses wrote down all the words of Yahweh" (vv3 and 4). This written document is called "The Book of the Covenant" in v7 which he read to the people. This would imply that at least all of Exod 20-23 was included in the Book of the Covenant. If we accept the *waw* as introducing an apposition, then it might be possible that the two tablets of stone included Exod 21-23, the whole being called the Book of the Covenant.

The next use of *tôrâ* in a covenant context²⁷ is Deut 1:5, and indeed, throughout the book it is used some 22 times altogether. It goes without saying that we understand the book of Deuteronomy as a covenant renewal document.²⁸ With perhaps one or two exceptions, *tôrâ* is used of a corpus of material given by Moses on the plains of Moab. The corpus is referred to as "this *tôrâ*," "a copy of this *tôrâ*" (in 17: 18), "all the words of this *tôrâ*,"²⁹ and "the book of this *tôrâ*."³⁰ In the context of Deuteronomy as a covenant renewal document, several observations need to be made. First, one must not lose sight of the hortatory and didactic nature of this document. Moses is giving his last series of sermons with the express purpose of persuading God's people to obey willingly, not grudgingly, and certainly not half-heartedly. The approach is didactic as evidenced by Deut 1:5, where "to explain this law" sets the tone for the rest of the book.³¹ Lindars concludes that *tôrâ* is the word in Deuteronomy which conveys "a complete expression of the will of God, having the same binding force as the Decalogue, recorded especially for the welfare of the people, to be learnt and pondered by them. The term retains its didactic overtones, and to say 'the book of the divine instruction' might represent the real meaning better than the usual translation 'the book of the law'."³²

Another observation must be made. The use of the singular in "this *tôrâ*," "this book of the *tôrâ*," etc. must lead us to understand the solidarity of the complete document. The central concern of the whole book is expressed in Deut 6:4-6. The basic theology is expressed in the great confession of faith, i.e., the covenant "Yahweh is our God, Yahweh is one." Then, and only then, is the great principle of heart consecration expressed as an imperative: "You shall love Yahweh your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your might." Christ quoted this as the great and foremost commandment. He coupled it with the second which is similar, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev 19:18) and made a most startling explanatory statement, "On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets" (Matt 22:40). The point often missed is precisely what needs to be emphasized -- all of the rest of Scripture hangs on, or depends on, these two commandments. This means that no law, statute, command or judgment may be taken out of the context of these two great commands and the great confession. To interpret a chapter, or paragraph, or a verse without relating it to the God of the covenant, is to miss the point. This, we submit, is the all-important "theological interpretation" of Scripture.³³ The first questions for

interpreting the Law and the Prophets should be: (1) What is this passage revealing about God who is my creator and redeemer? (2) How does this passage teach me to reflect His image and to respond to Him with whole-hearted love? (3) How does this passage teach me to love my neighbor who also is an image-bearer? This seems to be the whole spirit and tenor of covenant teaching. We humbly suggest that by asking these questions, one will avoid the pitfalls of a legalistic frame of mind.

Tôrâ in Priestly Contexts

We turn now to those passages where *tôrâ* is used in connection with priestly functions or regulations for worship. Do they in fact support the instructional emphasis of *tôrâ*? We suggest they do.

The *locus classicus* for such usage is found in Deut 33:8-11, the blessing on Levi. We focus on v19 because their function is clearly stated, i.e., (1) to teach (*yôrû*) ordinances (*mispâtîm*) and *tôrâ* and (2) to put incense before God and whole burnt offerings on the altar. Here the sacerdotal functions in the temple seem secondary, while the pedagogical function is primary.

Another function is given to the (high) priest in Deut 17:8. In very difficult judicial cases the (high) priest together with the judge (*hassopet*) who is in office are to render a verdict (*mispat* = "decision, judgment"). Even here, however, though the context is juridical, the decision rendered is given for instruction (*tôrâ*) which "they teach you" (*yôrûka*), vvl0, 11. Micah refers to the teaching function of the priest, but condemns it because Jerusalem's priests "instruct (*yôrû*) for a price" (Mic 3:11).³⁴ Malachi also speaks of the instructional function of the priests. He refers to the covenant with Levi and that early on "the *tôrâ* of truth was in his mouth," i.e., "true instruction" (2:6), for "the lips of priests should preserve knowledge, and men should seek instruction (*tôrâ*) from his mouth" (2:7). However, in Malachi's day the priests "have caused many to stumble by the instruction" (*tôrâ*), and they have "corrupted the covenant of Levi" (2:8).³⁵

As to the content of priestly *tôrâ* the word is used some 22 times in Lev and Num in expressions such as "This is the *tôrâ* of the burnt offering," (Lev 6:9[2]), "this is the *tôrâ* of the plague" (Lev 13:59), "this is the *tôrâ* of the Nazarite" (Num 6:13). Lindars makes the point that in these passages, *tôrâ* always means "rule" or "regulation," (hence best translated "this is the rule of...") but it never refers to the law as a whole.³⁶ One might go slightly farther and say these "rules" could just as easily be considered "authoritative instructions" having to do with particular ceremonies, people, or diseases.

One further passage in connection with priests and ceremonial institutions may prove helpful. In Exod 12:49, Yahweh is concluding the instructions concerning the celebration of that first passover with this statement: "The same *tôrâ* shall apply to the native as to the stranger who sojourns among you." We simply point out that the whole chapter is a historical narrative in which God instructs Moses about the institution of

the passover celebration and the feast of unleavened bread which is associated with it. In all of this *tôrâ*, the redemptive grace of God is being revealed. This revelation of sovereign grace is further underscored in v51 "on that same day... The LORD brought out the sons of Israel out of the land of Egypt." The whole thrust of this chapter is given to reveal and teach God's powerful redemption. God's *tôrâ* is authoritative instruction concerning the sovereign and gracious redemption. Exodus 13 carries this authoritative revelation further -- the telling and retelling of the Exodus redemption already accomplished is for the purpose of educating future generations.³⁶

The conclusion seems to emerge: priestly *tôrâ* may be considered "rule" or "regulation." However, the functional responsibilities of priests and levites should lead us to think of *tôrâ* as "instruction."³⁷

***Tôrâ* in Wisdom Contexts**

The wisdom literature of the Bible has a fair share of examples of *tôrâ*, mostly in Proverbs, but also in the wisdom Psalms as well. It is used in Job only in Job 22:22. Here Eliphaz urges Job to "receive *tôrâ* from His mouth, and establish His words in your heart." Both the parallel with *'amarayw*, and the tone of the context suggest "instruction" as the basic thought of *tôrâ*. This is in keeping with wisdom usage in Proverbs, where *tôrâ* is used in the educational sense of instruction of the wise man, or of the father to his son. Proverbs 1:8 has the parallels of "the *mûsar* of a father" and "the *tôrâ* of a mother." Often translated "discipline," *mûsar* is translated *paideia* in the LXX, clearly identifying it as a pedagogical term. From its several uses in Deuteronomy we conclude that "this discipline might be considered education that is theocentric."³⁸ Such is the parallel which clearly designates *tôrâ* as "instruction, teaching" throughout Proverbs.³⁹

This wisdom usage is generally accepted. However, a closer look at Prov 3: 1-12 may be instructive for it shows clearly contacts with and allusions to the covenantal language of Deuteronomy. Not only are the words *tôrâ* and *miswâ* common, but also such concepts as "heart" (v1, 3, 5) "ways" and "paths" (v6), "fear of Yahweh" (v7), "bind them around your neck, write them on the tablets of your heart" (v3) and others. This suggests a close affinity between the wisdom literature and covenantal ideas.

The use of *tôrâ* in the Psalms sheds some further light on the subject. Although Jer 8:8 denounces those who say, "We are wise, and the *tôrâ* of Yahweh is with us," the Psalms encourage the godly and wise to "delight in the *tôrâ* of Yahweh," and to "meditate day and night in his torah."⁴⁰ They laud those who have the *tôrâ* of God in their hearts.⁴¹ The psalmist sings "O how I love your *tôrâ*."⁴² These verses do not begin to show all the praise of *tôrâ* in the Psalter. A study of all the other synonyms would far exceed the limits of our study. Suffice it to say that no mere "code of ethics" or "code of legislation" would ever receive such high praise, love

and delight. We submit that only a personal relationship with the Author of such a covenant can elicit a response of love for his authoritative teaching. To reduce the covenantal instruction to a code of ethics or legislation can only lead to a legalism that blurs and destroys the spiritual relationship between the parties in the covenant.

Tôrâ in Juridical Contexts

Three areas come to view when we consider the juridical contexts: first, those where judges render a verdict; second, such civil matters as were needed for the body politic; and, third, the covenant lawsuit (*rib*).⁴³

We have already discussed the judicial function of the High Priest in Deut 17:8. Here we take note that the context (16:18-17:13) deals with judges and officers. The broader context expresses concern for governmental righteousness in the leadership of the covenant community: judges, kings, priests and prophets. It needs to be observed that the judges, however, were more than mere administrators of justice, and this would be especially true for the period of the commonwealth before the establishment of the monarchy.⁴⁴ The specific concern is that in making decisions, judges should base them on carefully-garnered evidence (17:4), and that they will not distort justice, nor be partial, nor take a bribe, but that they judge "righteous judgment" by reflecting on the justice of God (16:18-20). This we submit is a theological basis for judgment, not so much a decision based on a code.

With respect to civil matters, one might mention the laws regarding indentured servants, bodily injury and real property in Exod 21 and 22, but note must be taken that these are within "the Book of the Covenant" and must be interpreted within a covenantal framework.⁴⁵ The same might be said for the laws guaranteeing justice, etc., in Deut 19-25, since these may be considered civil legislation but within the proclamation of covenant renewal. Eichrodt has expressed the idea most cogently:

It is clear that we are dealing neither with a proper *Codex iuris*, concerned with juristic formulations and the fixing of penalties, nor with a mere collection of laws, in which old and new definitions are set down side by side, but with a book of legal instruction, marked throughout by a parenetic tone. Its language is not that of the law, but that of the heart and conscience.⁴⁶

Further on he adds:

Deuteronomy is, therefore, not concerned with refinements of technical, juristic formulation, nor with a casuistic expansion of law; indeed, there is hardly any new legal material, properly speaking. The concern is rather with education in the feeling of justice, with the direction of attention by means of examples to the spirit which must inform any just organization of the people's life.⁴⁷

The first time a distinction is made between cultic and civil matters is in the days of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 19:5-11). Two groups are distinguished: the judges (possibly the heads of households), and the levites and priests; each with an overseer, the one group to judge "in all that pertains to the Lord," while the other "all that pertains to the king." This division of

responsibility seems to change what was established in Deut 17:8 where the judge and the high priest render judgments in all difficult cases. We suggest this is within the spirit of the law if not within the letter of the law.

There is one passage which seems to endorse a legalistic interpretation of law. In Ezra 10:3, Shecaniah in a spirit of repentance confesses that many have married foreign women (see also Ezra 9:2 and 14). He then suggests making a covenant "to put away all the wives and their children;... and let it be done according to the *tôrâ*." Ezra, with both priestly and civil authority agrees and calls on those in such situation to "separate yourselves from the peoples of the land and from the foreign wives" (v11, cf. v19 where "they pledged to put away their wives.") Their repentance and confession is salutary. However, one finds it hard to believe that this was the "law" as found in Deut 7:2, 3 or Exod 34:16. There, the concern is that they not enter into marriage with the Canaanites because their debased religious practices would lead the Israelites into idolatry. Such was the case with Solomon, Ahab and Jehoram. But nothing is said of divorcing them where a marriage relation has already been established. Malachi comes closer to the truth when he proclaims the Lord's word, "I hate divorce" (Mal 2:16, cf. 1 Cor 7:12). Whether Malachi was addressing the same problem or a different one we do not know. In either case, nothing in Exod 34 or Deut 7 encourages the breaking of an established family relationship. Contrariwise, the *tôrâ* calls all people to repentance, to acknowledge God and to enter into covenant relation with the Lord. We wonder if Ezra's legalistic interpretation was the precursor of later Pharisaic legalism.

We turn briefly to the covenant lawsuit. In Deut 32:46,47, Moses warns the people of Israel: "Take to heart all the words with which I am warning you today, . . . even all the words of this *tôrâ*. for it is not an idle word for you." The words of warning just given are the song of Moses in 32:1-43.⁴⁸ It is generally agreed that this is an expanded version of the *rib*-pattern, i.e., the covenant lawsuit form.⁴⁹ The structure of the *rib* is similar to the treaty or covenant pattern, but with some slight changes, which include the invocation of witnesses, a record of rebellion, and a most unique element in the biblical lawsuits, blessings through redemptive judgment.⁵⁰ It should be noted that Ps 50, Hos 4, Mic 6, Isa 1 and Jer 2 contain longer or shorter versions of the covenant lawsuit. What is significant for our purposes, is that the charge brought against Israel is rebellion against Yahweh, the Lord of the Covenant, for example: "They have acted corruptly, . . . they are not his children" (32:5), "Then he forsook God who made him, and scorned the Rock of his salvation" (32:15), "And forgot the God who gave you birth" (32:18). The most specific charge is with respect to idolatry: "They made Him jealous with strange gods, with abominations... They sacrificed to demons who were not God." (32: 16,17). In short, the reason God will initiate a lawsuit against Israel is because they will have broken the covenant relationship, not because they will have broken a particular ceremonial regulation or civil legislation. When one studies the lawsuits in the prophetic literature one finds the same concern: the covenant bond has been broken. This leads then to our next point.

Tôrâ in Prophetic Contexts

It remains now for us to examine the use of *tôrâ* in the prophetic literature. For this we think of the *nebi'im*, composed of the "former" prophets and the "later" prophets. Hence we begin with Joshua. Six times in Joshua (1:8; 8:31,32,34; 23:6; 24:26) the expression "book of the law" (*seper hattôrâ*) appears, sometimes qualified with "of Moses," once with "of God". There are several explicit references to that which "is written" and, hence also to "reading" all the words of Yahweh.⁵¹ This clearly points to a body of written material. Joshua 1:7, 8 simply continues with the parenetic use of the *tôrâ* of Moses, i.e., to encourage and instruct. According to 8:30-35, Joshua read "all the words of Moses" which had been "written in the Book of the Law," including the blessings and the cursings. Surely this would have been more than simply the Decalogue, at least the book of Covenant Renewal as commanded in Deut 27:1-14. But might it have included all the five books of Moses? We simply do not know. However it may be appropriate to digress and note that Exod 17:14 records the first command to Moses to write "in the book" (*basseper*). The late Barton Payne's comments are a *propos*:

It was to become a part, presumably, of some historical record already composed. What this record was is not stated, but it may well have consisted of the whole Pentateuch up to this point of Exod 17. Even the historical narratives of Genesis, moreover, present themselves as an authoritative standard for divinely approved conduct (Gen 39:9).⁵²

It seems that the subsequent events recorded in Exod 18, lend support to this position. We would note that God commanded Moses to write for a memorial and for recital of the mighty deeds of the Lord for the encouragement of Joshua -- hence for instruction.

In 1 Kgs 2:3, David is giving his death-bed charge to Solomon. The language is covenantal, similar to that in Gen 26:5. Again reference is made to "what is written in the *tôrâ* of Moses." This could be simply a reference to the book of Deuteronomy. The broader covenantal context, however, may indicate the whole Pentateuch.⁵³ This body of written material is referred to numerous times throughout the book of Chronicles as well. Certainly, by the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the whole Pentateuch is considered "the Book of the *tôrâ* of Moses" or "of God" with authority for direction and governance of the people of God.

In this connection it is well to underscore something mentioned earlier. If, as we noted with respect to Deuteronomy as a book of covenant renewal, there is very little that might be properly called a *Codex iuris*, how much less when we take the whole Pentateuch into account. All of Genesis, half of Exodus and most of Numbers must be classified as history, specifically redemptive history. We draw the conclusion that the *tôrâ* of Moses must have a broader definition than merely "law, legislation." We submit that authoritative "teaching," or "instruction of Moses" would be most suitable, and this would be in keeping with our covenantal definition.

When we look at the "canonical" prophets we see again a concern for covenantal renewal based upon theology rather than on a code of ethics. Norman Snaith expresses this insight with clarity:

Primarily, they were religious prophets; only secondarily were they ethical teachers. By this we do not mean to detract even to the slightest degree from the importance of their ethical teaching. We insist, however, that their insistence upon right conduct was religious in its origin, and at root was never anything else than religious The standard by which they judged was not an ethical code. Their standard was what they themselves knew of the very nature of God Himself."⁵⁴

For our part, we would prefer to use the term "theological" for his "religious." The clearest expression of this is Joel's call to repentance:

Yet even now, declares the Lord, 'Return to me with all your heart, and with fasting, weeping and mourning; And rend your heart and not your garments.' Now return to the LORD your God, for He is gracious and compassionate, slow to anger, abounding in loving-kindness, and relenting of evil (Joel 2:12, 13).

Joel's description of Yahweh is taken from Exod 34:6, 7 which also includes the phrase, "Who forgives iniquity, transgression and sin." Jonah echoes this same idea, but as a complaint against God, precisely because he knew the Lord would grant repentance to the Ninevites based on the very nature of God (Jonah 4:2) as he had known and experienced.⁵⁵ These passages make it exceedingly clear that God's call to repentance is genuine. We would also note that when a message of judgment is pronounced, a call to repentance is implied if not explicit. This is the nature of God as understood by the prophets.

This theological concern is also found in the covenant lawsuit. For example, in Isa 1:10, within a covenant lawsuit context, *tôrâ* is used in parallel with *dabar*. The prophet acknowledges that sacrifices, assemblies and prayers, etc., are being observed, possibly according to the letter of the law, but certainly not according to the spirit of the *tôrâ* or *dabar* of Yahweh. He calls Judah to repentance and to covenant renewal. Although he includes the specifications, his basic charge is that they have rebelled (*patsa'*) against Yahweh their creator and redeemer. In short, they have broken the covenant. What is of significance here is that the *dabar* and *tôrâ* of Yahweh is the prophetic explication which follows as well as the call to repentance. Indeed, Isaiah's covenant lawsuit is very *a propos* as an introduction to the whole book because all the prophetic themes which follow are introduced in the first chapter.⁵⁶ Hence, "authoritative instruction" of God through his prophet would be a most suitable parallel to the gracious word of the Lord.

That the prophets refer to a corpus known as the *tôrâ* of Moses goes without saying. These are in contexts in which priests, rulers, and/or people have disobeyed the Lord⁵⁷ or in which they are commended for keeping it in their hearts or encouraged to return to it.⁵⁸ Isaiah 24:5 clearly makes "laws and statutes" parallel with the "covenant" which has been broken. The attitude of the prophets is positive towards *tôrâ* as a corpus, condemning the materialistic, legalistic, half-hearted lip-service obedience given to it by a back-slidden people. Even in these cases, the prophets are pointing not so much to specific laws broken as to the covenant relationship which has been broken.

Finally, the prophets use *tôrâ* in eschatological contexts. In such passages as Isa 2:3 the *tôrâ* will proceed out of Zion; in 42:4 "the coastlands shall wait for His *tôrâ*,"⁵⁹ and in 51:4 " *tôrâ* will go forth from

Me." Surely we would not expect a legal code to be given. Rather we look for "authoritative instruction" coming from the mouth of Messiah. Indeed, it is this Messianic *tôrâ* that is in view when Matthew comments on the response to Christ's Sermon on the Mount: "the multitudes were amazed at His teaching, for He was teaching them as one having authority, and not as the scribes" (7:28, 29; cf. John 7:46).

Conclusion

We have seen that the etymology of *tôrâ* points to the idea of "direction, instruction". In covenantal, wisdom and prophetic contexts, there can hardly be question that the emphasis of *tôrâ* is pedagogical; hence "instruction" seems to be the best translation. Even in priestly and juridical contexts, where "rule, regulation" might be used to express *tôrâ* in certain situations, we found that education was central to those concerns. Geerhardus Vos speaks of the relation of gospel and law in such passages by saying that gospel "is found *in the law itself*". That which we call 'the legal system' is shot through with strands of gospel and grace. Especially the ritual law is rich in them. Every sacrifice and every lustration proclaimed the principle of grace.⁶⁰ We cannot avoid the conclusion that *tôrâ* is primarily and essentially authoritative "instruction, teaching" whether given orally or transmitted in writing.⁶¹ We further conclude that even when framed in what might be called legal terminology, Christ's own summary of the whole law removes the idea of the law as a rigid, legalistic restriction of human and social relations. Rather, we are encouraged to apply these two basic requirements as a hermeneutic for anthropological relations precisely because they focus on, and are an expression of, our theology, i.e., who God is and what relation we sustain with Him as His covenant people. To reduce *tôrâ* to an abstract code of law is to strip the covenant of its theological and personal meaning. To divorce *tôrâ* from its theological revelation is to denude God of his sovereign mercy and forgiveness and to emasculate the gospel of its genuine offer of grace and pardon.

NOTES

⁶¹ During eleven years in the pastorate and sixteen years of teaching biblical studies in college, I have asked parishioners and students alike what idea comes to mind when they hear about "law" in the Bible. Invariably the answer is something like "legislation, regulations." This is true on a popular level. It may be attributed to a continuing influence of the older dispensationalism. It is gratifying to see a changing attitude among recent moderate dispensationalists (see Kenneth L. Barker, "False Dichotomies Between the Testaments." *JETS* 25/1 [1982], 3-16, where he quotes favorably an editorial observation: "The old heresy that the OT is a book of law as opposed to the NT which is a book of grace dies hard." Barker adds, "It dies hard in spite of the fact that numerous writers have demonstrated the abundant presence of grace in the OT," (p.6). In Reformed circles, the issue of "theonomy" has tended toward a legalistic application of "law" (at least civil law) if not a rigid definition of "law".

Interestingly, Ernest F. Kevan. *The Grace of Law, A Study of Puritan Theology* (Baker, Grand Rapids, 1976) 22, has identified the parties in the Puritan understanding of Law: the main body, the orthodox Puritans, who occupied a central position, opposed to the Antinomians on the one hand, and the Nomists on the other.

^{^2} Willis J. Beecher, "Tôrâ: A Word-study in the Old Testament," *JBL* 24 (1905) 2; Walter Gutbrod, "nomos," in *TDNT*, IV, 1044-47; Barnabas Lindars, "Tôrâ in Deuteronomy," in *Words and Meanings: Essays Presented to David Winton Thomas*, ed. P. R. Ackroyd and B. Lindars. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Gunnar Östborn, *Tôrâ in the Old Testament: A Semantic Study* (Lund: Hakan Ohlssoms Boktryckeri, 1945); Ivan Engnell, *Israel and the Law* (Uppsala: Wretmans Boktryckeri A.-B., 1954).

^{^3} Joseph Jensen, *The Use of Tôrâ by Isaiah* (Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Monograph Series 3; Washington, D.C.: 1973) 3.

^{^4} Wilhelm Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaee Veteris Testamenti* (2nd ed.; Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1840), II. 626-627.

^{^5} S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1956 [originally 1897]) and Harris, Archer, Waltke, *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, (Chicago, Moody, 1980), I. 403.

^{^6} Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (translated by Menzies and Black, Edinburgh: A. & C. Clark, 1885).

^{^7} Friedrich Delitzsch. *Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch -- aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1886).

^{^8} William Foxwell Albright, "The Names 'Israel' and 'Judah' with an excursus on the Etymology of Tôdah and Tôrâ." *JBL* 46 (1927) 180.

^{^9} Roland Murphy. *A Study of the Hebrew Root yrh.* unpublished MA thesis. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1948) referred to in Jensen, p.4.

^{^10} Much can be learned from the excellent exegetical studies of Gutbrod, Lindars, and Jensen (see notes 2 and 3 above) et al., though we disagree with their basic documentary hypothesis and form-critical presuppositions. Two major objections to form criticism seem in order. First, there is increasing evidence for the dating of Deuteronomy long before the monarchy rather than the late Josianic date. K. A. Kitchen has concisely stated the case for a fourteenth/thirteenth centuries BC date based on the *form* of the ancient near eastern treaties in contrast to both earlier and later first millennium treaties. (See his *The Bible in its World*, (Downers Grove, IVP, 1977) 79-85; and M. G. Kline's *The Structure of Biblical Authority*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972) 45-75. Second, in a careful study of the Akkadian Epic of Gilgamesh, for which there are extant tablets going back to the Sumerian culture from the middle of the third millennium BC down to the Assyrian and Babylonian texts of the eighth and seventh centuries BC, A. R. Millard and W. G. Lambert conclude that there is no evidence of accretions to the text analogous to the documentary hypothesis. Very little change is observed; only spelling and grammar seem to be up-dated, as might well be expected. Even in the case of a Hittite translation of a Babylonian Prayer of *Ishtar* from ca. 1400 BC -- both copies extant -- when compared with a Neo-Babylonian copy (ca. 600 BC), no major changes or redactions are observed. (See Millard and Lambert, *Atrahasis and the Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford, 1969); see also Reiner and Cuterbock, *JCS*, (1967) pp. 255ff). The conclusion is inescapable: if there is no evidence for redactional tampering with documents in the literary milieu of the ancient Near East, how can anyone assume that it took place in the biblical literature?

^{^11} Tôrâ is used over 220 times in the OT: 55 times in the Pentateuch (once in Genesis, seven times in Exodus, 22 times in Deuteronomy); some 64 times in the Historical Books; about 50 times in Poetical Books; and around 48 times in the Prophetic Books. However. when we identify the context of each usage, we find in around 120 times it is used of a corpus of material, written or otherwise: twice in Exodus, 22 times in Deuteronomy, 20 times in the Former Prophets, 31 times in the Later Prophets including Daniel and Lamentations, possibly 5 times in the Psalms, and almost 40 times in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah. Allowing for overlaps in the classifications of contexts, tôrâ appears some 53 times in covenantal contexts, 22 being in Deuteronomy and 14 in the Later Prophets. We have already noted that it is used some 48 times in prophetic contexts in other books. In priestly contexts we find tôrâ being used some 44 times, 25 of these in Leviticus and Numbers. The wisdom literature uses tôrâ some 50 times. What is surprising is that tôrâ is used in juridical or civil contexts only about ten times.

^{^12} Cf. Gen 2:15; 30:31; 2 Sam 15:16.

^13 *Words and Meanings*, pp. 126, 128

^14 In 12:1, "Go forth from your country ..." 15:9; 17:1c "Walk before Me, and be blameless," the only stipulation of the Abrahamic covenant; and 21:12; and 22:2.

^15 Other than the creation ordinance (Gen 1:28; 2:15-17) the only major principle laid down is that of human government in Gen 9:3-7. But this hardly qualifies as legislation.

^16 Cf. Hos 2:18, 19 (H 2:20, 21) where covenant and betrothal are juxtaposed. See also Hos 2:16 (H 2:18); Isa 54:5, 6; Jer 3:14.

^17 Meredith G. Kline. *Treaty of the Great King* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963) 16, n. 11. See also Exod 25:16, 21; 32:15; 34:29; 40:20; cf. 2 Kgs 17:15. M. Streck quotes Assurbanipal as saying: *ade epeš arduṭiya ittishu askun* "I made an *ade* -- agreement with him establishing his vassal status," (*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, 7, 14; 9). See further CAD, 1. p.132. Lindars considers '*edūt*' to be derived from the primary idea of witness, "The covenant stipulations are laws to which due witness has been given (Josh 24:27), and as by a common semantic development the word passes over from the act of witnessing to the content of that which is witnessed, i.e. the laws themselves." (*Words and Meanings*, p.127).

^18 See Kitchen, *Bible*, pp.79-85. Kline refers to J. Muilenburg ("The form and structure of the covenantal formulations," *Vetus Testamentum*, IX [Oct. 1959] 4, 347ff) as classifying both legal codes and suzerainty treaties under "the royal message" (ibid., p.17, n.12). Kline continues in his note to point out the differences as is "evidenced by features like the covenant terminology, the *ade* character of the stipulations, the "I-thou" formulation, and the purpose of the whole as manifested both in the contents and the historical occasion, i.e., the establishment of a covenant relationship between two parties."

^19 Keil and Delitzsch, *Pentateuch* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951 ed.) 160.

^20 Ibid., p.219.

^21 John Peter Lange, *Exodus* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1876) 102.

^22 John Calvin, *Commentaries*. (Baker: 1981 reprint) III, 325.

^23 Gesenius, Kautzsch, Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon 1910) p.484. sect. 154a. n1b.

^24 Delitzsch. *Pentateuch*, pp.210-220. He further adds that two stone slabs of this general size would already be quite heavy for Moses to carry down the mountain in his hands (Exod 32:15; Deut 1:15, 17).

^25 NKJV beautifully captures the spirit of the Hebrew *kī 'al-pî*.

^26 Usually translated "Ten Commandments".

^27 The uses in Leviticus and Numbers are closely associated with the priestly regulations and will be treated in the following section.

^28 See Kline, *Treaty*, followed by many including Peter Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976) and J. A. Thompson. *Deuteronomy* (TOTC; London: IVP, 1974). Anthony Phillips. *Deuteronomy*, (CBC; Cambridge: 1973), 4, acknowledges the influence of the treaty structure.

^29 Deut 17:19; 27:3, 8, 26; 28:58; 29:29(28); 31:12, 24; 32:46.

^30 Deut 28:61; 29:21 (20); 30:10; 31:26.

^31 NASB translates: "undertook to expound this law." A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, (NCBC; London: Grand Rapids, Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1979) 116, suggests the meaning "interpret" or "explain", and that "from its use in Deut 27:8 and Hab 2:2 it clearly cannot be separated from the notion of 'writing' or 'engraving', so that Moses is then presented here as the one who made a first written record of his teaching."

^32 *Words and Meanings*, p.131.

^33 It is common to describe our hermeneutical principles as being "grammatical, historical and theological". Cf. Louis Berkhof, *Principles of interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950).

^34 Ezek 7:26 and Jer 18:18 lend support to his view.

^35 Cf. Hag 2:11-14; Hos 8:1; on Hos 4:1, "you have ignored the *tôrâ* of your God" is an inference that priests have failed to provide instruction in covenant responsibilities. Jensen, (The Use of *Tôrâ*, p.11) suggests that instead of the usual translation of "law", it should be more general in the sense of "priestly instruction with reference to commandments and observances."

^36 See vv 8-10.

^37 I am indebted to my colleague, Dr Roger Lambert, who alerted me to a study by Hans Walter Wolff, "Wissen um Gott," *Evangelische Theologie* 12 (1953) 533-554, where he links

the "knowledge of God" with *tôrâ*, thereby giving it a priestly, instructional meaning.

^{^38} P. R. Gilchrist, "*Yasar/Mûsar*", *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody; 1980) 386.

^{^39} See also 3:1; 4:2; 6:20, 23; 7:2; 13:14, and 31:26.

^{^40} Ps 1:2. Cf. also 119:70, 77, 92, 174.

^{^41} Ps 37:31; 40:8(9); cf. Ps 119:11.

^{^42} Ps 119:97; cf. 119:113, 163, 165.

^{^43} Jensen designates *tôrâ* as a "legal" term in two contexts., i.e., "collections of priestly regulations (*tôrôt*)" found in those sections sometimes referred to as "law codes", although in "neither case is the adjective truly applicable in its proper sense." (The Use of *Tôrâ*, p.14).

^{^44} Cf. the role of the *shôpetîm* in the book of Judges, which included civil governance as well as military leadership. Even as far back as Mari the term *shapetîm* is used in this broad sense. For a study on civil officers in ancient and OT times, see my article on "Government" in ISBE (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982, Revised), 536-546.

^{^45} See notes above.

^{^46} Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (Westminister, Philadelphia, 1961) 1. 90-91.

^{^47} *Ibid.*, p.92.

^{^48} Cf. Deut 31:30 and 32:44. See also the introductory paragraphs in 31:14-29.

^{^49} H. B. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit and the Prophets", *JBL* 79 (1959), 286-295; J. Harvey. S. J., "Le *rib*-Pattern", *Biblica* 43 (1962), 172-196; G. E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical study of Deuteronomy 32", *Muilenburg Festschrift*. (New York, 1962) 26-67.

^{^50} See Kline, *Treaty*, pp. 138-144. See also Craigie, *Deuteronomy* p. 375, for select bibliography on the song of Moses.

^{^51} Cf. 17:14; 18:19, 20; 24:3, 4, 7, 12; 32:15, 6; 34:27-29; Deut 1:1, 5; 4:1, 5, 6, 10, 14, 44-45; 5:22, 31; 6:4-9; 17:18-20; 26:16-18; 27:2-3, 8; 29:27; 31:9, 11, 19, 24; 32:44-47.

^{^52} J. Barton Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament* (Grand Rapids. Zondervan, 1962) 63.

^{^53} In 2 Kgs 14:6, there is a direct quotation from Deut 24:16.

^{^54} Norman Snaith. *Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament* (New York: Schocken, 1964) 59-60.

^{^55} Cf. 2 Kgs 13:22, 3; 14:25-27; John 1:14-16; 2:7-9 (8-10).

^{^56} One readily recognizes the messages of judgment throughout Isa 2-35, but we must also consider the messages of comfort and blessing through Messiah in chaps. 40-66 as being anticipated in 1:24-31, a unique feature of the biblical lawsuit, in which blessings are promised through redemptive judgment.

^{^57} E.g. Isa 5:24; 24:5; 42:24; Jer 6:19; 9:13(12); 16:11; 32:23; 44:10, 23; Ezek 22:26; Dan 9:11, 13; Hos 4:6; 8:1; Amos 2:4; Hab 1:4; Zeph 3:4.

^{^58} E.g., Isa 51:7; Dan 9:10; Mal 4:4 (3:22).

^{^59} Cf. 42:21. See also Mic 4:2; Ezek 44:5, 24.

^{^60} Geerhardus Vos, *Biblical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948) 145.

^{^61} B. B. Warfield (*The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible* [Philadelphia, Presbyterian and Reformed, 1948] 99) supports our understanding when he writes about *dabar* and *tôrâ* as the most common vehicles for expressing the idea of revelation: "By the latter (*tôrâ*), the proper meaning of which is 'instruction', a strong implication of authoritativeness is conveyed; and, in this sense, it becomes what may be called the technical designation of a specifically Divine communication." He further adds: "More distinctly still, 'the Law' comes to be thought of as a written, not exactly, code, but body of Divinely authoritative instructions (p. 100).

SACRIFICE IN THE GOD-MAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE PENTATEUCH

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In the fulness of God's revelation through the Old and New Testaments to the human race it is explicitly stated that the shedding of blood is essential for the forgiveness of sin, Heb 9:22. It was through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ that the sin of man was removed providing salvation for him.

The importance of sacrifice in the God-man relationship was progressively revealed throughout OT times. Through the Mosaic revelation at Mount Sinai various offerings were designated as the means by which the Israelites could approach God in the sanctuary that they built for God to dwell among them. The highest point in the priestly-prophetic revelation is portrayed in the servant of the Lord whose life was given as a guilt offering for the justification of many (Isa 53:10-11).

The significance and importance of bringing an offering to God is gradually unfolded as God makes himself known to the human race. The act of bringing an offering to God is first recorded concerning Cain and Abel in their relationship with God. The first altar in man's history is ascribed to Noah. The building of a sanctuary with its altar for man to present his offering to God comes with the establishment of Israel as God's holy people under Moses.

What motivated godfearing people before the time of Moses to bring an offering to God? What significance and meaning did their offerings have for them individually in their relationship with God? Frequently in preaching and teaching, the fuller revelation of subsequent centuries is applied to the events or religious experiences of those who lived before Mosaic times.

In our consideration of the significance of sacrifice in the God-man relationship it is basically important to let the text and the context determine the nature and meaning for the individuals involved. Undoubtedly their relationship with God was as vital as that of any godfearing individual in the history of mankind.

Offerings by Cain and Abel

The bringing of offerings by Cain and Abel seems to have been a normal act of acknowledging God. With no indication in the context that they had specific divine instructions for making sacrifices this action very likely came from the free impulse of their nature as God had created them.¹ Both must have felt the need to bring their offerings as acts of gratitude in the context of their consciousness of God.

Each brought an offering appropriate and normal to his given situation in life. Cain brought from the "fruits of the soil" which may have seemed to be an appropriate offering since God had provided all vegetation to produce food for man (Gen 1:29). Cain "worked the soil" (4:2) which was a responsibility God had previously assigned to man (cf. 2:15; 3:17-19). In his relationship with God he must have considered it essential to acknowledge God by bringing an offering from the abundance of that which the soil had produced.

Abel brought an offering from his flock. Divinely given was the mandate for man to rule over fish, birds, and every living creature (Gen 1:26,28). Since Abel was a herdsman he brought an animal sacrifice.

The gifts brought by Cain and Abel are identified by the Hebrew word *תְּנוּנָה* or offering.² There is no mention of expiation or indication that the shedding of blood in Abel's sacrifice had special merit as it did for the Israelites later.

The offering of Abel was divinely favored. The offering of Cain was rejected, with Cain keenly conscious of God's displeasure. Textually the reason seems to be indicated in the character of their offerings. The selection each made from their respective resources reflects the contrast in the characters of Cain and Abel. In his commentary H. Stigers points out that Cain brought "some of the produce of the ground" while Abel offered "some firstlings of his flock, even the best ones."³ It is apparent that Abel was concerned about selecting the best that God has provided as an offering while Cain merely took "some of the produce" reflecting an attitude of merely meeting the minimum of what might be expected. He did not have enough respect or reverence for God to bring him the best as an offering.

That his relationship with God was affected by bringing this kind of an offering is immediately apparent in the subsequent developments. Cain was chagrined and angry.

When Cain was divinely warned about his attitude he ignored God's advice and murdered Abel. He deliberately acted against better knowledge. Very likely his indifference toward God and what God expected of him was expressed in the quality of his offering prior to this act of murder in defiance of God's warning. Abel by contrast expressed his gratitude, love and respect for God by offering the best available.

The bringing of an offering was vital in the time of Cain and Abel in maintaining a genuine relationship with God. Brought in an attitude of reverential worship the offering made by Abel was pleasing to God. Looking back to this divine-human relationship the author of Hebrews recognizes that it was not the offering itself but the faith of the offerer that was basic and vital in Abel's relationship with God (Heb 11:4).

Delitzsch⁴ pinpoints the basic reason concerning the difference in the offerings when he asserts that "Abel's thanks came from the depth of his heart, whilst Cain merely offered his to keep on good terms with God." Consequently it was not the essence of the sacrifice that was important but the dedication of the heart reflected in giving the best to God.

Noah's Offering

"Then Noah built an altar to the Lord and . . . sacrificed burnt offerings on it" (Gen 8:20-22). This is the first altar mentioned in the history of the human race. Cain and Abel may have had altars but historical evidence is lacking. Noah's offering is the second occasion where man offered a sacrifice in the record of the God-man relationship.

Noah's relationship with God is readily apparent before this occasion of bringing an offering to God. He was a "righteous man, blameless among his people" and like Enoch he walked with God" (cf. 5:21 and 8:9). He lived a life of obedience in building the ark. The author of Hebrews writes about Noah's relationship with God as follows: "By faith Noah, when warned about things not seen, in holy fear built an ark to save his family. By his faith he condemned the world and became heir of the righteousness that comes by faith" (Heb 11:7). In Gen 7:1 Noah is divinely designated as "righteous in this generation" and together with his family was saved while God's judgment came upon the rest of the human race.

Top priority for Noah after leaving the ark was to foster his relationship with God. With everything about him devastated on earth he constructed an altar and offered animal sacrifices. Very likely it was an expression of Noah's gratitude and thanksgiving to God for God's goodness to him. As a pleasing aroma it was accepted by God confirming Noah's continued favor in a vital relationship with God. God's response was the renewal of the divine covenant with Noah and his family.

Expressing his gratitude to God through this offering in which the animals were totally consumed on the altar Noah renewed his attitude of faith and obedience which had been his pattern of living in his relationship with God.

Offerings by the Patriarchs

Our knowledge is limited as to the significance and meaning that sacrifice had for the patriarchs. In the Genesis account there are only three references to offerings made by the patriarchs -- one by Abraham in chapter 22 and two by Jacob in 31:54 and 46:1.

The building of an altar is noted more frequently. Abram built an altar at Shechem (Gen 12:7), at Bethel (12:8), at Hebron (13:18), and on Moriah (22:9). Isaac built an altar at Beersheba (26:25). Jacob built altars at Shechem (33:20) and at Bethel (35:1-7). The only record of an offering sacrificed on one of the altars mentioned is the ram sacrificed as a burnt offering in substitution for Isaac on Moriah by Abraham (22:13).

Altar building was at times associated with a divine-human encounter. After Abram in obedience to God's call reached Shechem as a stranger among the Canaanites it says that "the Lord appeared to Abram." After hearing the assuring promise "To your offspring I will give this land" Abram "built an altar there to the Lord, who had appeared to him."(12:7). This altar marked the place of God's special revelation and promise confirming his vital relationship with God.

Moving southward to the region of Ai and Bethel Abram erected an altar eastward from Bethel. There he built an altar and "called on the name of the Lord" (12:8). At Shechem an altar had been erected after God's revelation. At Bethel Abram takes the initiative and erects an altar in order to call upon God. In calling upon God he acknowledged God's mercy and help very likely expressed in prayer, praise and thanksgiving. It signified Abram's attitude of dependence upon God and his concern about maintaining a vital relationship with God.

Calling on the name of the Lord distinguished an earlier generation from the godless descendants of Cain (Gen 4:25-26). With the birth of Seth hope was renewed that individuals again would call on God.

When Abram migrated southward to live near Hebron he again built an altar. No divine revelation is noted but the erection of an altar very likely expressed his desire to maintain communion with God.

Since Abram built his first altar at a place of divine revelation he apparently made it his priority to erect an altar as he moved to another location. The altar was his meeting place with God. Very likely he offered sacrifices even though none are noted in the record nor is there any indication that God required altars or offerings. Both seemed to be normal means of responding to God in maintaining this divine-human relationship.

The first recorded command by God for man to bring an offering was given to Abraham. God instructed him to sacrifice his son Isaac. For more than three decades Abraham had fostered a vital relationship with God using various altars he had built for this purpose reminding him of God's verbal and visible revelation. Now came divine instructions for Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac as a burnt offering on a mountain divinely designated in the region of Moriah. This involved building a new altar.

During the first 25 years Abraham's relationship with God was repeatedly tested as he awaited the fulfillment of God's promise that he and Sarah would have a son. Abraham's response to God's promise was that he "believed the Lord, and he credited it to him as righteousness" (15:6). During the passing of years Abraham conformed to contemporary customs through the birth of Ishmael but God renewed his promises in repeated assurances that the true son would come through Sarah. This was fulfilled in the birth of Isaac.

The early years of Isaac's life may have been a period of unprecedented optimism and hope for Abraham. In response to divine guidance he had left his homeland and relatives, in obedience to God he expelled Ishmael even though it must have been very difficult for him to part with his son. As Isaac grew into boyhood Abraham must have pondered anew the promises for the future that were vested in his son Isaac.

For Abraham the severest test of his relationship with God was pending. Would he be willing to sacrifice his only son at God's request?

Abraham dearly loved his son Isaac. Awaiting his birth for almost 25 years it was most reasonable that Abraham loved his son more than any treasure in this world. In his paternal care Abraham "may have been in extreme danger of coming by slow degree and in a manner hardly observed by himself to the point where he would have loved his son more than his God."⁵ Now he faced the simple but crucial question, did he love his son

Isaac more than he loved God?

In the contemporary religious culture it very likely was considered appropriate for man to offer the best that he had even if it involved the sacrifice of children in expressing the highest moments of worship. There is no indication that Abraham had been given the divine prohibition of human sacrifice such as was given later to Moses, (Lev 18:21). Consequently he may not have considered it wholly irreconcilable with true religion.

Nevertheless Abraham must have been very perplexed and troubled. His faith in God undoubtedly was disturbed by his intellect and reason. Had not God promised concerning Isaac that "I will establish my covenant with him as an everlasting covenant for his descendants after him" (17: 19)? Would God reduce his own worship momentarily to the inhuman rites of Baal in requiring human sacrifice?

In his experience Abraham had witnessed the miraculous power of God in giving him and Sarah this son Isaac when both of them were beyond the normal age to have children (Gen 17:15-16; 18:11-15). Having witnessed this miracle Abraham had a reasonable basis to believe that God could or would perform another miracle if he offered Isaac as a sacrifice. This reasoning however was only possible within a context of faith in God (cf. Heb 11:17-19).

Abraham's faith in God was expressed in obedience as he took Isaac and two servants with him on the three day journey to the regions of Moriah. It is reasonable to assume that he did not share this awesome mission with Sarah whose maternal concerns naturally would have caused her to object. With Isaac carrying the wood and Abraham the knife and fire the two ascended the Moriah mountain. En route Isaac asked the most piercing question ever addressed by a son to his father, "Where is the lamb for the burnt offering?" Abraham having proceeded beyond the point of any reasonable or rational explanation gave an answer reflecting his faith in God, "God himself will provide the lamb for the burnt offering, my son."

With firm resolution Abraham continued making preparation for offering his son as he constructed an altar, bound Isaac and with knife in hand was poised to make the sacrifice. In his obedience to God he demonstrated that his love for God exceeded his love for his only son Isaac. His faith reached beyond reason and understanding and explanation in his willingness to make this sacrifice. Concerning this crucial experience in Abraham's life J. Oswald Dykes observed, "Obedience was suffered to proceed to that point at which it became undeniable that this worshipper of Jehovah was as ready as any Canaanite to give his best to his God."⁶

At the point of actually slaying his son Abraham was halted by a divine voice saying, "Abraham, Abraham, do not lay a hand on the boy . . . I know that you fear God, because you have not withheld from me your son, your only son."

A ram caught by its horns in a thicket was then substituted for Isaac as a burnt offering on the altar Abraham had built for the sacrifice God asked him to make. In this manner human sacrifice was divinely prohibited.

In this first sacrifice prescribed by God Abraham was confronted with the ultimate essential in the human-divine relationship. The sacrifice God

asked Abraham to bring involved the question of obedience in which his faith was disturbed by his intellect. His love for God was tested by his willingness to sacrifice his only son. Abraham exemplified a total commitment to God through his obedience, love and faith.

In the Mosaic revelation this divine-human relationship was verbalized in the first great commandment in which God expected exclusive devotion excluding all other gods. Moses summarized this when he admonished the Israelites to love God wholeheartedly and exclusively. This was reaffirmed by Jesus who agreed with the religious leaders that the greatest or first of all commandments is to love God exclusively and wholeheartedly. Jesus also reaffirmed that any one who loved father, mother, son or daughter 'more than me is not worthy of me" (Matt 10: 37; Luke 14:26) -- the same basic principle that Abraham recognized in his obedience to bring his son Isaac as a sacrifice to God.

Although Isaac was involved in the burnt sacrifice made by Abraham on Mount Moriah the Genesis account is silent concerning any sacrifice he may have made in fostering his relationship with God. He does build an altar at Beersheba (Gen 26:25). Isaac may have offered many sacrifices and built other altars but no mention is made beyond the above references.

For years Isaac prospered in the area of Gerar where Abimelech was king of the Philistines. In time of famine God confirmed the covenant promises to Isaac warning him not to migrate to Egypt as his father had done a century earlier. After repeated occasions of tension between Isaac and the Philistines he moved to Beersheba.

In this new location Isaac was assured through divine revelation that "I am with you. I will bless you and will increase the number of your descendants for the sake of my servant Abraham" (Gen 26:24). This was the occasion for Isaac to build an altar there and "call on the name of the Lord." Subsequently his servants dug wells indicating that they would remain in that area for some time.

As the Sethites had done, (Gen 4:26) many generations earlier Isaac here called on the name of the Lord. Abraham had also called on the name of the Lord at Bethel where he built an altar (21:8) and (13:4) and later at Beersheba where he planted a tamarisk tree (21:33). Now as Isaac took residence in Beersheba he built an altar and publicly proclaimed that he acknowledged God. As heir to the knowledge of God Isaac thus gave witness through an altar as the place of worship that he was identified with the God of Abraham who had confirmed the covenant to him. In this manner Isaac maintained his vital relationship with God.

Having bought the birthright from Esau and subsequently having stolen the blessing. Jacob experienced his first divine encounter en route to Haran (Gen 28:1-22). In a revelatory dream the patriarchal promise given to Abraham and Isaac was confirmed to him with the assurance of God's providence and care. Jacob responded with a vow to serve God if he returned safely to the land of promise.

After several decades of providential blessings in Mesopotamia Jacob together with his family and possessions suddenly left to return to the land of Canaan. In Gilead he was overtaken by Laban who wanted to reclaim the stolen gods Rachel had taken with her. Not finding them Laban and

Jacob negotiated a peaceful settlement. Before Laban parted Jacob offered a sacrifice and invited his relatives to a meal. Very likely this was a sacramental meal eaten as a consequence of the agreement Jacob and Laban had reached that neither should pass the heap of stones to change the conditions of their agreement. For Jacob this sacrifice may have been an offering of thanksgiving to God for a peaceful parting with Laban.

Arriving in Canaan Jacob built an altar to God at Shechem where Abraham had built his first altar (33:20; 12:7). By naming this altar El-Elohe Israel he publicly acknowledged that the mighty God is the God of Israel. By using the name Israel he very likely recounted his encounter with God at Peniel (32:22-32) when his name had been changed from Jacob to Israel. The erection and naming of this altar may well have expressed Jacob's personal concern about his relationship with God.

Jacob with his family and possessions settled in the Shechem area and apparently remained there for about a decade. The behavior pattern of Jacob's clan, especially Simeon and Levi, brought them into disfavor with the community of Shechemites. This caused Jacob to be apprehensive about their safety (Gen 34:1-31).

Through divine revelation Jacob was instructed to move to Bethel and there build an altar to God who had appeared to him more than three decades ago. Conscious of this meeting with God Jacob instructed his whole clan to get rid of all the idols before returning to Bethel. If the altar at Shechem had been significant for Jacob personally it evidently had not made much of an impact upon his family. With the "terror of God" falling upon the surrounding towns Jacob experienced divine protection as they moved on to Bethel to settle there. At Bethel Jacob erected an altar and called it El-Bethel marking the place of God's revelation to him en route to Haran (35:1-7).

This altar at Bethel built by Jacob is the only altar erected in response to an explicit command by God in the Genesis account. It marked the place where God had previously revealed himself to Jacob. It was there that Jacob had made his solemn vow to serve God (28:20-22). With the completion of this altar God once more revealed himself to Jacob (35:9-15). God's divine blessing was imparted to Jacob with the confirmation of the covenantal promise made to Abraham and Isaac in response Jacob erected a stone pillar on which he poured out a drink offering and oil. Bethel and Jacob signified the place of God's revelation, From Bethel he moved on to Hebron the home of his father Isaac.

Approximately three decades passed in the life of Jacob from the time of his settlement at Hebron (35, 27) and his migration to Egypt (17:9; cf. 37:2; 41:46, 53-54; 45:11). During these years of stress and strain while Jacob mourned the loss of his son Joseph, no mention was made of any altar or sacrifice. When he responded to Joseph's invitation to migrate to Egypt he stopped en route to Beersheba to offer "sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac" (46:1) very likely reflecting his concern about his relationship with God.

Jacob may have seriously pondered the divine revelation in which Abraham was informed that his descendants would leave the promised land of Canaan and after four generations would return to Canaan,

(15:12-16). Uncertainty about leaving Canaan may also have been a serious concern on the basis of Abraham's experience when he migrated to Egypt, (12:10-20), and God's instructions to Isaac not to migrate to Egypt in time of famine, (26:2).

At Beersheba, the point of leaving Canaan, Jacob offered sacrifices. These may have been sacrifices of petition in which Jacob sought divine guidance and approval for going to Egypt.⁷ Making the offerings to the "God of his father Isaac" he may have been particularly concerned about reaffirmation of the promise God had made to Isaac at Beersheba (26:23-24).

God's response came to Jacob in a vision at night. Jacob was instructed to go to Egypt with the confirmation that he would be made "into a great nation there," that God would be with him, and that his descendants would be brought back to the land of Canaan.

With this confirmation of the patriarchal promise at the occasion of these sacrifices in Beersheba Jacob moved on to Egypt. The promise that the Israelites would return to Canaan was imparted to Joseph. Before his death Joseph exacted a vow from his sons that they would transfer his bones to the land of Canaan when the fulfilment of this promise became a reality.

Offerings by the Israelites

The divine-human relationship that was established with the patriarchs was extended in the book of Exodus to the entire nation of Israel. Whereas in the former God primarily revealed himself to individuals who were representatives of their families, in the latter God related to the elders and the entire community of Israel through Moses as spokesman. In Exodus 12:3 Israel as a community meeting for a religious purpose was identified by the Hebrew word *קָהָל* its first use in scripture.⁸

God's purpose in calling Moses was to fulfill the promise made to the patriarchs to redeem Israel and through them bless all the nations of the earth. This was explicitly stated when God revealed himself to them at Mount Sinai asserting that "you will be for me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" as God's treasured possession in the whole earth (Exod 19:56). In this progressive revelation during the Exodus as God displayed his mighty acts on behalf of Israel and through the spoken word provided interpretation of these miraculous events. It is interesting to ascertain the meaning and significance of sacrifices and offerings for the Israelites.

The basic issue in the God-Israel relationship was uniquely stated to Moses when God called him to challenge the pharaoh of Egypt:

Then say to Pharaoh, "This is what the Lord says: 'Israel is my firstborn son, and I told you, "Let my son go, so he may worship me." But you refused to let him go: so I will kill your firstborn son (Exod 4:22-23).'"

This relationship between God and Israel was verbally communicated to Israel through Moses. God was going to redeem the Israelites so that they may worship him. This was also announced to the pharaoh who risked the loss of his firstborn if he refused to release the Israelites.

With this commission in hand Moses and Aaron appealed to the pharaoh to let the Israelites leave Egypt to "hold a festival" and to "take a three-day journey into the desert to offer sacrifices to the Lord our God" (Exod 5:2-3). After the pharaoh's refusal and his imposition of severe hardships on the Israelites, Moses again appealed to the pharaoh to let Israel go "so that they may worship me in the desert" (Exod 7:16). These two refusals brought the plagues of blood (Exod 7:14-24), frogs (8:1-15) and gnats (8:16-19).

When the pharaoh declined the next appeal he was subjected to the plague of flies (Exod 8:20-32). This time he conceded to let the Israelites make sacrifices in the land of Egypt. When Moses pointed out that these offerings would be "detestable to the Egyptians" the pharaoh agreed to let them go if the plague of flies would be lifted. Moses' prayer for this was answered but subsequently the pharaoh reneged on his promise.

Once more the appeal to the pharaoh to let the Hebrews "worship me" is renewed by God through Moses (Exod 9:13-15). Although some of the Egyptian officials "feared the word of the Lord" the plague of hail did not make the pharaoh and his officials willing to release the Israelites.

The pharaoh once again was confronted with the divine command to free the Israelites "so that they may worship me" (Exod 10:1-20). Warned that a locust plague was pending the pharaoh conceded that he would allow the men to go and worship but would keep the women and children as hostages. Moses however insisted that the entire families as well as their flocks and herds should be included "because we are to celebrate a festival to the Lord." Once more the pharaoh refused. When the locust plague devastated the Land of the Egyptians he appealed for prayer and for forgiveness of sin. After the plague was terminated the pharaoh once more refused to let the Israelites go.

Next the plague of darkness settled upon the land of Egypt (Exod 10:21-29). This time the pharaoh conceded that the Israelites with their families could go and "worship the Lord" if they would agree to leave their flocks and herds in Egypt. This time it was explicitly stated that the Israelites needed their flocks and herds for sacrifices and burnt offerings in worshipping God. Again the pharaoh was relentless in his refusal warning Moses that he faced death if he returned to his court again.

After this refusal the divine-human relationship between God and the pharaoh of Egypt reached its climax in the plague of the firstborn (Exod 11:1-10; 12:29-30). Facing the reality of the death of the firstborn in every Egyptian home as well as among all livestock the pharaoh of Egypt summoned Moses and Aaron and urged that the Israelites leave the land of Egypt. He made this last concession so that they could "worship the Lord" with their flocks and herds.

It became quite apparent from the above encounter that worship for the Israelites involved men, women and children, in fact the entire community of Israel. Their possessions were also included since it was from their flocks and herds that they brought their offerings to God. Worship is associated with festivities and festal occasions. Offerings and sacrifices very likely were brought in the context in which the patriarchs made their sacrifices and built their altars. In the book of Exodus altars were not mentioned

until the Israelites were assembled at Mount Sinai.

In preparation for Israel's deliverance God's relationship with the entire nation was vividly brought into the experience of every Israelite. The whole community of Israel was instructed through Moses and Aaron to prepare for the Exodus. For each household a lamb was to be slaughtered, putting the blood on the door frames and roasting the meat for a meal before departing from Egypt. The blood applied to the door frames provided divine assurance that God's judgment upon the Egyptians in the death of the firstborn would not be meted out to the Israelites. Simple was the promise that "when I see the blood, I will pass over you" (Exod 12:13).

What did this offering mean to the Israelites as they followed the simple instructions to bring this sacrifice? It was not an ordinary sacrifice brought to an altar in a worship ritual. When the Israelites were given these instructions for observing this first passover the response of the people was that they "bowed down and worshipped" (Exod 12:27).

Unlike the prescriptions for the sin offering and other kinds of sacrifices delineated in the Sinaitic revelation, the entire lamb was to be eaten that night before they left Egypt. Unlike the blood that was later applied at the sanctuary in purifying the altar as they approached God in worship, the blood of this passover sacrifice was applied to the doorframes of their houses. It was in the houses where the blood was applied that they were assured divine protection as they awaited the slaying of the firstborn in every Egyptian home as well as among the animals. In this sense the blood of the passover sacrifice was given as a substitute representing a life laid down (cf. Lev 17:11). Although there were no instructions in the Exodus context concerning expiation for sin the Israelites must have been keenly aware of the fact that the blood of the sacrifice applied to the door-frames of their houses provided life for them during the night of divine judgment.

Vitally important for the Israelites were two elements in this passover sacrifice: the blood of the lamb shed for them provided life and the roast lamb provided physical sustenance for them to march out of Egypt to freedom as a nation.

The focus upon the firstborn in the execution of judgment upon the Egyptians who enslaved them must have made the Israelites keenly aware of God's claim announced previously through Moses and Aaron that "Israel is my firstborn son" (cf. Exod 4:22-23, 29-31). As they observed the passover sacrifice and realized that their firstborn sons were not subject to divine judgment the Israelites were instructed to consecrate every firstborn son to God (Exod 13:1-16). This offering for each firstborn would be a continual reminder that the firstborn in Israel had been spared in the historic deliverance of Israel when judgment was executed upon the Egyptians who had enslaved them.

With the parting words of the pharaoh. "Go, worship the Lord as you have requested. Take you flocks and herds, as you have said, and go" (Exod 12:31-32), the Israelites departed in haste as the Egyptians urged them to leave. En route the Israelites became realistically aware of their relationship with God. Uniquely God's presence was manifested in a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night providing divine guidance and

protection. With the sea between them and the Egyptians the God-Israel relationship was significantly summarized in (Exod 14:31): And when the Israelites saw the great power the Lord displayed against the Egyptians, the people feared the Lord and put their trust in him and in Moses his servant.

Under providential care the Israelites arrived at the mountain where they were to worship God (Exod 3:12). There they prepared for worship (Exod 19). There God spoke to the congregation of Israel (Exod 20-23; cf. Deut 4:10) establishing a covenant with them. They were instructed to construct an altar representing the twelve tribes of Israel (Exod 20:24; 24:4), on which burnt offerings and fellowship offerings were presented to God in worship. The blood of the sacrificial animals was designated as "the blood of the covenant" and sprinkled on the altar and on the people. In Egypt the blood on the door frames had been the means of their salvation. Here it was essential as they brought their offerings into the presence of God to establish the God's covenant with them.

With the erection of the sanctuary or tabernacle as God's dwelling place among the Israelites the blood of the sacrifices became the means of atonement and purification as they came into the very presence of God. Sacrifice and the shedding of blood were essential in maintaining a relationship with God as they came to worship.

Conclusions

in this study we have focused attention upon the meaning and significance of sacrifice in the relationship between godfearing individuals and God prior to the Sinaitic revelation. Through Moses detailed instructions were given for offering various kind of sacrifices, their significance, and the manner in which they were presented (Lev 1-7). Offerings and the priesthood were instituted for the nation of Israel as the worship of God was established at the Tabernacle (Lev 8-10 and 16).

Based on the biblical account preceding this divine revelation at Mount Sinai let us consider the following conclusions as to the meaning of sacrifice in the God-man relationship:

(1) Sacrifices were spontaneous gifts brought as a voluntary offering to God. Prior to the divine command to the Israelites to bring the passover offering only one command is given by God for the bringing of a sacrifice. God commanded Abraham to offer his son Isaac as a sacrifice (Gen 22). Sacrifices brought by Cain, Abel, Noah, and Jacob were offered in the context of a conscious relationship to God.

(2) The significance or meaning of these sacrifices seems to be expressed in thanksgiving, appreciation, and a concern about a mutual commitment in the divine-human relationship.

(3) The altar represented a meeting place between man and God. Although it is generally assumed that sacrifices were made at these altars the fact is that the biblical account seldom indicates that offerings were offered. For the sacrifices of Cain and Abel no altars are mentioned. A tamarisk tree marked the place for fellowship between Abraham and God

(Gen 21:33) at Beersheba whereas Isaac built an altar there for the same purpose (Gen 26:25). No altar was involved in Israel's offering of the passover lamb on the eve of their Exodus. In the Mosaic revelation the altar in the Tabernacle court was uniquely significant as the place where offerings were made and where worshippers met God in worship.

(4) The significance of blood in offering a sacrifice is first mentioned in the divine instructions for the Israelites to bring the passover sacrifice. For the Israelites the simple truth is communicated and realized in their experience that blood, at the expense of the life of an animal provided as substitute for the salvation of the households where the blood was applied. After this experience of protection through the blood of the animal sacrifice the significance of the blood is vividly delineated at Mount Sinai. There blood is sprinkled on the people and on the altar as the Israelites responded to God in the covenant (Exod 24). The sprinkling of blood on the altar as they brought their sacrifices and on the ark of the covenant on the day of atonement was vitally important as the Israelites came to meet with and worship God. (cf. Lev 1-10 and 16).

(5) Substitution in sacrifice was realistically portrayed when Abraham was divinely prevented from offering Isaac. God's acceptance of a substitute ram plainly indicated that God was not pleased with human sacrifice. In the passover observance the Israelites were realistically made aware of substitution in that the blood of the slain animal provided protection for them when the firstborn among the Egyptians were slain under divine judgment. The reality of substitution was further elaborated in the sacrificial system and ultimately in the substitution of God's only son as the sacrifice for the human race.

(6) Offerings and sacrifices were brought in the context of faith. They were important in maintaining divine-human relationships rather than in initially establishing them. Faith as basic in the relationship between godfearing people and God is uniquely delineated in Heb 11:1-29. The passover sacrifice was important for the Israelites in maintaining their relationship with God in the context of their faith and belief in God (Exod 4:31; 12:27; 14:31).

(7) In sacrifice God expected man to bring his best in maintaining a vital relationship with God. Abel brought the best he had and his offering was accepted. Abraham's relationship with God was tested when he was asked to sacrifice his only son whom he loved above all else in this world. In Israel's first passover observance God explicitly communicated to them that he expected them to consecrate their firstborn to God. At Sinai the first commandment to the Israelites was that they must worship God exclusively. Moses later expressed this in admonishing the Israelites to love God in wholehearted exclusive devotion (Deut 6:4). Jesus concurred with this (Matt 22:34-40), and taught that in a relationship with him all other relationships must be secondary, (Matt 10:37-39 and Mark 10:17-22).

NOTES

^{^1} CF. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, n.d.) p1:111.

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² In Mosaic legislation the word תְּנוּנִים is used for bloodless thankofferings (Lev 2:1, 4; 2:14-15) but here it is used in the broadest sense to designate any type of gift brought as an offering. H. C. Leupold. *Exposition of Genesis* (Columbus, Ohio: Wartburg Press, 1942) 193.

³ Harold G. Stigers. *Genesis* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976) 87.

⁴ Keil and Delitzsch, p.1:111.

⁵ Leupold. p.616.

⁶ J. Oswald Dykes, *Abraham the Friend of God* (London: James Nisbet, 1877), 254

⁷ Stigers, p.312.

⁸ R. Alan Cole, *Exodus* (London: Inter-varsity Press 1974) 105. In Deuteronomy 4:10 the Hebrew word תְּנִינָה *qahal* is used which underlies the NT use of ἐκκλησία.

ISRAEL'S STRUGGLE WITH THE RELIGIONS OF CANAAN

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We can improve our focus on Old Testament faith by studying the religion of the Canaanites. The theological and religious structures of Israel were divinely inspired but God gave these to a people who lived in a totally polytheistic context. To fully appreciate Israel's monotheistic faith we must try to understand those converse religious ideologies that challenged and threatened the life and unity of God's people.

The many religions of the Ancient Near East were all interrelated and there was a great deal of syncretism commonly practiced. G. W. Ahlström in his book, *Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion*¹ believes that there were many early forms of Israelite religion coming from various cult centers like Shiloh, Shechem, Mizpah, Ramah, Gibeon, Gilgal, Bethel, Dan and Ophrah. Only after the rise of the Jerusalem cult does Ahlström see a single new religion given from the Jerusalem perspective preserved by the Deuteronomist who wrote much of what we find not only in Deuteronomy but a large part of the history up through 2 Kings. This viewpoint represents a considerable departure from that, for example, of R. DeVaux who felt all Israelite groups officially rejected idolatry from the time of their first settlement in Canaan.² Ahlström maintains that this Deuteronomic history being written at the end of the pre-exilic period condemned earlier accepted cult practices and lamentably admits that this keeps us from drawing a clear picture of the religious history of Israel.³ He has, however, many conjectures about it. One need not deny that syncretism was always a factor with which Israel had to deal without agreeing to the patchwork of conjectures that Ahlström presents as proof it all began that way. It is not a conjecture that the Hebrew text maintains the Hebrew religion had an independent origin. Their God was the unique and cosmic deity who demanded exclusive allegiance. Such a concept ran against the grain of all the religions of the day.

Up until the early part of this century, most of what was known about the religion of Canaan came from the Bible. Then a limited amount of information was put together from fragmentary Phoenician sources discovered in the late 19th century and early 20th century.⁴ Earlier information had come from historians such as Herodotus who had heard about Canaanite mythology from secondary sources but they were often not very reliable. In 1928 the first Ras Shamra tablets were found. They were mostly mythological texts and contained abundant new information on the religious life of Canaan.

The discovery of these alphabetic cuneiform texts opened doors of understanding that had long been closed. The scholarly world had yearned for more information on Canaanite life. These discoveries provided them

with an important mythological literature that not only gave the names and functions of the gods but also a great deal of information on the society of the Canaanites.

W. F. Albright in chapter three of his book *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* summarized this information by noting how the Canaanite deities have two striking features:

- 1) an extraordinary fluidity of personality and function, and
- 2) etymologically transparent names and appellations. These facts, coupled with the nature of the mythology, reveal the primitive state of Canaanite religion.

The generic Canaanite word for "god" was originally *'ilum*. later *'il* or *'el*. There is no consensus as to what it basically means.⁵ The gods were called either *'elim* or *benê 'el* (lit. "sons of El") since the head of the pantheon was called El. At Ugarit El was a remote and shadowy figure who lived far away "at the source of the two rivers, midst the channels of the two deeps."⁶ El was called the "father of years," the "father of man," the "father of men and gods." El had three wives/sisters: Astarte, Asherah (Athirat, also called Elat) and Baaltis. He presided over the divine council of gods who were his children. Although he was brutal enough to slay his son he is called *Lutpan*, the Kindly One and is described as an old man with white hair and a beard.

But Baal is the central figure in the pantheon and is functionally far more important than El and acts as prime-minister for El whom Baal eventually dethroned. This great storm-god, Baal, king of the gods, dominates the Canaanite pantheon. The epithet "Baal" means simply "lord" and could be applied to different gods. To the Aramean people of north Syria their storm-god, Hadad, became the "Baal" par excellence. Hadad was considered to be the "Lord of Heaven," the "One who Prevails," the "Exalted, Lord of the Earth." He alone reigned over gods and men. His kingdom was "eternal to all generations." He was the giver of all fertility. When he died all vegetation and procreation ceased. He was the god of justice, the terror of evil-doers. Baal was called the "son of Dagon" the grain-god, the patron god of Ashdod (cf. 1 Sam 1-7). Baal's consort was identified as Anath, daughter of El (in Ugaritic and Egyptian texts), and Athirat (Asherah in the Old Testament, cf. 1 Kgs 18:19).

The Canaanites explained nature in terms of these gods. Each god represented some object or force of nature. The moon, the sun, the important stars and visible planets were each an independent god or goddess. As god of fertility Baal played the key role in the instigation of the growing season. In one story, Baal meets his arch-enemy Mot (Death) and is killed. The god of fertility is dead and the result is that all of creation is affected adversely. Nature becomes unproductive and infertile. There is an inference that for seven years Baal remains dead and for this period of time there is famine and drought. Baal's mistress, who is also his sister-consort, Anath, seeks to avenge the death of Baal. Anath searches out Mot and the scene that follows is depicted as one of the most violent in all of mythological writings. The story reads:

Like the heart of a cow for her call,
Like the heart of a ewe for her lamb.
So's the heart of Anath for Baal.
She seizes the godly Mot --
With sword she doth cleave him.
With fan she doth winnow him -
With fire she doth burn him.
With hand-mill she grinds him -
In the field she doth sow him.
Birds eat his remnants,
Consuming his portions.
Flitting from remnant to remnant.^7

Following the demise of Mot, Baal is "resurrected". He comes to life and mates with Anath reviving the drought stricken land. This is the core of the religious system. Baal and Anath are the most important deities in the worship of the people because agriculture was so important. It was mandatory to have a good and long rainy season if the harvest was going to be plentiful. There was constant fear of famine. The gods were worshipped so that their favor would be incurred in behalf of the worshipper. G. Ernest Wright explains the meaning of this myth in the lives of the Canaanites as they sought to explain the way nature worked:

From April to the end of October there is no rain, apart from a very occasional and unseasonable shower. Only those vegetables and plants can grow which can secure what water they need from the heavy morning dew. Toward the end of October the rains begin and continue, on and off, throughout the winter to the end of April... In April as a result of the rains, the whole countryside is covered with verdure, including beautiful wild flowers of all sorts. By the end of May these have all disappeared, and the landscape is barren except for the occasional tree of thornybush which can survive the dry season . . . The Canaanite, personifying the forces of nature, had a reasonable answer. Rain-and-Vegetation (the god Baal) was killed each Spring after a great battle with Death (Mot) or with the "Devourers" and "Renderers," who at Ras Shamra were a group of beings fulfilling the same function. Thus through the summer months death and the destructive forces reigned supreme. Why do rains begin again in the fall? Because death is vanquished by Baal's everloving but warrior wife, and Baal comes back to life. Why does verdure cover the land in the spring? Because of the mating of Baal and Fertility, his wife (either Anath or Ashtoreth)."⁸

The three goddesses, Athtarat (Astarte or Ashtoreth in Old Testament, Judg 2:13), Anath (in Old Testament used in the name of the town Anathoth and as Shamgar's progenitor in Judg 3:31), and Athirat (Asherah in Old Testament) present an intricate set of relationships. Astarte the evening star was the feminine form of Ashtar; she was called Ishtar in Mesopotamia. Aphrodite by the Greeks, and Venus by the Romans. Anath's original character is uncertain. Athirat (Asherah) was primarily goddess of the sea and the wife of El. She is also called Elat, the feminine form of El. All three were concerned mainly with sex and war. Their sex life was both maternal and sensuous. How soon sacred prostitution was practiced is a matter of some doubt but there is no doubt that both male and female temple prostitutes were used in the cult of Canaanite religion.⁹ Ironically, the goddesses were considered sacred prostitutes and as such were called the "Holy Ones." The idols representing these goddesses are often nude and sometimes have exaggerated sexual features.¹⁰

The fertility deities were also goddesses of war. In the Baal Epic, Anath

has a gory thirst for blood. In the New Kingdom Egyptian sources Astarte appears as a nude and ferocious cavalry warrior, sporting shield and lance.¹¹

In the KJV the name "Asherah" was erroneously translated "grove" following the Septuagint. Her name does not mean "grove" but she seems to have been represented by some kind of wooden cult object set up in high places beside incense altars and stone pillars.¹²

The Canaanites worshipped many other deities. Surprisingly few are mentioned in the Old Testament. Some appear only in proper names of places or people. Others entered the Hebrew vocabulary as a way to refer to the phenomena associated with that deity. Such is the case with Resheph in Hab 3:5. This deity was widely known as a god of war and pestilence. A name not mentioned in the Old Testament is Shulman-Eshmun, the god of healing. About 1300 B.C. this deity was identified with Resheph and together they became the composite deity, Rashap-Shalmon.¹³ Apparently, the ancients believed that the one who caused disease was best able to heal it. Such polarities were common (cf. Baal, the dying and reviving deity). At Tyre the ancient god Hammon was worshipped as Melcarth (the king of the city) who curiously was also king of the underworld and as Baal, lord of fertile ground. Kathir was the master craftsman, inventor of tools, weapons, and the arts. He came from Crete and had a dual name Kathir-and-Hasis, meaning the Skillful and Clever One. The sun goddess and moon god play a very small part in Canaanite religion in comparison with Egypt and Mesopotamia. Athtar, who as the god of irrigation futilely aspires to succeed Baal the storm-god, is also the morning star and appears in the Bible (Isa 14:12) as Helel, "Shining One" or "Son of Dawn." He is also identified with the Moabite national god, Chemosh, in the Mesha Inscription (9th century B.C.). Sometimes he is called "the terrible" or "the king." He may be the god to whom human sacrifice was made, a practice the Hebrews used the root *mlk* to describe. This was a verb describing the rite and not as was thought formerly a god called Moloch (cf. Lev 18:21).¹⁴

The great Baal Epic of Ugarit concerns itself with the death and resurrection of Baal and other unrelated minor myths. One episode deals with Baal and his sister, Anath. While hunting, Baal mates with Anath who in the form of a wild cow bears a wild bull for Baal. In another episode, Baal is killed by ferocious monsters born of his bitter enemy, Athirat (Asherah). His death was to a certain extent vicarious. Athirat makes a vain attempt to nominate Athtar, god of the morning star, as Baal's successor. But "irrigation" cannot take the place of "rain." Overpowered by grief and jealous for revenge, Baal's consort Anath slays Mot, god of Death, and thus resurrects Baal. Another episode describes the victory of Anath over a series of monsters, including Yam (Sea), Tannin, and Leviathan, all mentioned in Scripture (Job 7:12; Ps 74:13-14; Isa 27:21).

In examining the character of Anath we find her to be exceptionally violent. Through her seduction of Baal, nature blossoms and comes to its fullness. The primary function of the goddesses was to have sexual relationship with Baal on a continual yearly cycle yet they never lose their

virginity -- "the great goddesses who conceive but do not bear." Plaques and figurines from Canaanite cities depict Anath as the naked goddess of fertility.¹⁵

The fertility cult was the most basic feature of Canaanite religion. The concentration on productive harvests and the struggle for survival led these people to worship things that they felt would benefit them materially. The worship of Baal and Anath was necessary for a productive year. If the gods and goddesses were pleased by the worship the result would be found in a plentiful harvest. Thus, proper worship was directly linked with pleasing the deities. The worship of the Canaanites centered around a central shrine or "high place." It was at this locale that the sacrifices would be offered. We have archaeological evidence that animals of all sizes were offered at great temple-shrines such as Beth-Shan.¹⁶ There is no archaeological evidence that human sacrifice was carried on at these great city shrines. This horrid practice was, no doubt, done at special shrines called *Topheths* in the Old Testament (2 Kgs 23:10; Isa 30:33; Jer 7:31, 32; 19:6, 11-14), reserved for the purpose in places like the Valley of the Sons of Hinnom (south of Jerusalem). Infant sacrifice at a dedication has been attested in Syria-Palestine but so far Carthage is the only place where child sacrifice on a grand scale is attested by archaeology.¹⁷

Since the chief aspect in the worship of the Canaanites centered on sex and fertility and the primary reason for worship was to make the gods more favorable in increasing the fertility of the worshipper's land, flocks, herds, and family. The best way to bring this about was to act out the seduction of Baal by Anath by a cultic act. So when the Israelites entered Canaan they were confronted by this religion. Numbers 25 tells how, at an early point, the temptation became too much for them. The sin of worshipping the Baal of Peor included idolatry and intermarriage with Midianites. It doubtless also meant joining cultic participation in the fertility rites which was a gross denial of Yahweh as the Lord of all the functions of nature. The basic idea that made Israel's religion so different was that Yahweh was above nature not in nature.

Israel's God was not only unique but he was invisible. The Psalmist's enemies chided "where is your god?" (Ps 42:3). Theirs were visible images. The Israelites viewed Yahweh as the Creator of, not a part of nature, whether it be the storm, the sun, the moon or stars or the bodies of created beings (cf. Ps 19 and 29). For the faithful Hebrew, Yahweh was the Creator-Sustainer of all things. He was almighty, there was no other greater or even comparable to him in power and holiness. In Isa 40:25, 26a Yahweh says:

To whom will you compare me? Or who is my equal? says the Holy One.
Lift up your eyes and look to the heavens: Who created all these? (NIV)

The Canaanites, on the other hand, by identifying their gods with the forces of nature had a pantheistic view of deity. Henri Frankfort discusses the radical break Israel made with the religious milieu of the Near East.

When we read in Psalm 19 that 'the heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth His handiwork.' we hear a voice which mocks the beliefs of Egyptians and Mesopotamians. The heavens, which were to the psalmist but a

witness of God's greatness, were to the Mesopotamians the very majesty of the divine mother through whom man was reborn. In Egypt and Mesopotamia the divine was comprehended as imminent: the gods were in nature. The Egyptians saw in the sun all that a man may know of the creator; the Mesopotamians viewed the sun as the god Shamash, the guarantor of justice. But to the psalmist the sun was God's devoted servant who 'is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race.' The God of the psalmist and the prophets was not in nature. He transcended nature -- and transcended, likewise, the realm of mythopoeic thought. It would seem that the Hebrews, no less than the Greeks, broke with the mode of speculation which had prevailed up to their time.^18

Israel, indeed, broke with the customs of their day but from the biblical perspective it was the Canaanites who had broken away from God's original revelation of his true nature. By the time of Abraham, the father of the Hebrew nation, all mankind worshipped gods as did even Abraham's ancestors (Josh 24:2).

Abraham received a call to a different way, to a covenant with God which involved a recognition of Yahweh's authority and power as the only true God, the Creator, and Sovereign Lord. Curiously then, the Israelites had no pantheon and great stress was put on the singularity of God (Deut 6:4). There was not even a word in the Hebrew language to designate a female deity. The Canaanites had the word *'ilat* for "goddess" but the Hebrews could only refer to them by their proper names (Asherah, etc.).

But this is not the whole story for the Hebrews, even while in conflict with Canaanite religion, did share a common linguistic heritage which included an overlapping of religious expressions. There was nothing inherently evil in this. The very idea of the personality of deity is a common feature of both religions. All the functions of the separate Canaanite deities are performed by one personal Lord, Yahweh. He is indeed so much a person that the Old Testament frequently anthropomorphized, that is, speaks of him as if he had human form:

Smoke rose from his nostrils, consuming
fire came from his mouth ...
He parted the heavens and came down,
dark clouds were under his feet.
He mounted the cherubim and flew, he
soared on the wings of the wind.^19

This disturbed some of the Jews of post-biblical times but it did not mean the Hebrews who wrote lines like that confused God and the gods. They were doing what every language does to enrich its expression -- using figures of speech already inherent in the language. For example, we do not believe the sun actually rises and sets when we constantly use that ancient phenomenological expression. Likewise, many expressions (e.g. epithets of deity) were imbedded in northwest semitic languages before the Hebrews became a people. One Ugaritic text reads:

Did I not tell thee, O Prince Baal ...
Nor declare, O Rider of the Clouds?
Lo, thine enemies, O Baal,

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In thine enemies wilt thou smite?
Lo thou wilt vanquish thy foes ... ^20

Psalm 68:4 uses the same epithet for Yahweh (cf. NIV, JV, BECK).

Sing to God, sing praise to his
name!
Make a highway for the Rider
of the Clouds:
His name is Yahweh.

Both the poetic format involving an a-b-c//a'-b'-d pattern and the epithet "Rider of the clouds" are clearly common to both text.^21

There were then three ways in which the Old Testament handled its encounter with Canaanite religion. The first has to do with theology, the second with cultic practice and the third with language. It is in the areas of theology and cultic practice that the Hebrews came into head-on collision with Canaanite religion. Israel's God presents himself as the only Creator, the absolutely unique and exclusive deity, the Sovereign Ruler of the universe. That is why the Decalogue says, "I am Yahweh thy God, you shall have no other gods before me... You shall not bow down to them or serve them; for I Yahweh, your God, am a jealous God" (Exod 20:3-5 and Deut 5:6-9). The nature of Israel's God is revealed in this moral law -- the very expression of his character. In contrast to Canaanite deities Yahweh cannot be bribed so as to behave contrary to his moral nature (Deut 10:17).

In cultic practice Israel also came into head on collision with Canaanitic religion. The Israelites and the Canaanites shared certain features of religious worship such as some of the terms used for sacrifices and the shape and the nature of their temples. But they collided where Canaanite practice violated the moral character of Israel's faith. Often one cannot understand some of the ritual law of ancient Israel without realizing these rules are a reaction to the Canaanite cult. The worship that went on in these two religions was essentially different. As noted, there is no evidence that the sacrifices of the Canaanites were anything more than an attempt to appease the gods whereas the Israelite sacrifices were based on the concept of the blood atonement.^22 Leviticus 18:3 says, "You must not do as they do in the land of Canaan, where I am bringing you. Do not follow their practices." (NIV)

Some maintain that Yahweh's command to exterminate the Canaanites was immoral. But when seen in terms of anticipated eschatology, as M. G. Kline has shown, it was just the opposite.^23 The ethics of the world of common grace were suspended and the ethics of the final judgment of sinners ordered by God to save the nation. Deuteronomy 20:17,18 gives the reason why the Israelites were ordered by God to exterminate the Canaanites. The passage says,

Completely destroy (the verb used for sacred war where Israel is God's surrogate to carry out punishment for sin) ... as the LORD your God has commanded you. Otherwise, they will teach you to follow all the detestable things they do in

worshipping their gods, and you will sin against the LORD your God (NIV).

What were some of these detestable things? The most obvious of these was the worship of images. Such idolatry constituted a denial of the rightful place of Yahweh as the only true and unique God. But as noted above there were other areas where Canaanite practice was vile and reprehensible. Among these were the practices of human sacrifice, temple prostitution, the mutilation of the human body and sorcery or divination. Among some of the groups there was even official sanction for the practice of bestiality which was punishable by death among the Hebrews (Exod 22:19, 20). The NIV translation of Deut 23:17, 18 makes the Hebrew reaction to temple prostitution very clear.

"No Israelite man or woman is to become a temple prostitute. You must not bring the earnings of a female prostitute or of a male prostitute into the temple of the LORD your God to pay a vow because the LORD your God detests them both" (NIV).

In Deut 18:10-12 human sacrifice, divination and sorcery are prohibited among the Hebrews. Verse 10 says,

"Let no one be found among you who sacrifices his son or daughter in the fire, who practices divination or sorcery, interprets omens, engages in witchcraft, casts spells or who is a medium or spiritist, or who consults the dead. Anyone who does these things is detestable to the LORD. Because of these abominations the LORD will drive out those nations before you. You must be perfect like the LORD your God."

In Deut 14:1 God through Moses warns the Israelites against mutilation of their bodies which was practiced by the Canaanites in certain rituals for the dead. In the Ugaritic Textbook tablet 67, VI, lines 19-22, it gives a typical Canaanite grief ritual:

He pours the ashes of grief on his head,
The dust of wallowing on his pate,
For clothing he is clothed with sackcloth.
He roams the mountain in mourning, Yea
through the forest in grief.
He cuts cheeks and chin, lacerates his
forearms.
He plows the chest like a garden; like a
vile he lacerates the back.
He lifts his voice and shouts: Baal is dead."

It is such a practice that forms the background of Deut 14:3. "You are the children of the LORD your God. Do not cut yourselves or shave the front of your heads for the dead for you are a people holy to the LORD your God" (Cf. 1 Kgs 18:28). For Israel to practice this typical Canaanite ritual would have been a testimony of denial of the exclusive worship of Yahweh. In Exod 23:24 the Israelites are admonished, "You shall destroy their altars, their cult pillars and cut down their poles that are dedicated to

Asherah." In contrast in Ps 106:34-40 we have a sad commentary on what did happen eventually in ancient Israel. The psalm says,

They did not destroy the peoples as the
LORD had commanded them,
but they mingled with the nations and
adopted their customs.
They worshipped their idols, which became a
snare to them.
They sacrificed their sons and their daughters
to demons.
They shed innocent blood, the blood of their
sons and daughters, whom they sacrificed
to the idols of Canaan, and the land was
desecrated by their blood.
They defiled themselves by what they did; by
their deeds they prostituted themselves.
Therefore the LORD was angry with his
people and abhorred his inheritance.

Despite this sad commentary on cultic practice, in the area of language the Hebrews were both creative and successful in dealing with Canaanite religion. They simply took the old linguistic survivals that came down in their language and either demythologized the terminology or created their own anti-mythology. Every culture must find its expression of theological verity in terms of the language that is available and is used. Though the Hebrews were showing an emphatic reaction to a Canaanite polytheism it must be borne in mind that they were not literary iconoclasts as were the Jews of a later date. Many highly graphic phrases especially those which express the personal nature of God were used to enhance Hebrew monotheism.

We have noted that the Lord is called "the rider on the clouds" (Ps 68:5), a frequently used epithet for Baal. This may suggest an early date but not necessarily a primitive stage of Hebrew religion. It marks a time of religious vitality and verbal fluency. It would have been impossible in the Maccabean period when Hebrew was wooden and Hebrew scholars were given to the use of anti-anthropomorphisms. The poet of Ps 68 expressed God's control over nature in artful poetic idiom without necessarily a thought of the polytheistic usage. The Canaanite substratum was a readily available vehicle through which the prophets and poets could communicate the truth of the character of their only God and other theological truths as well. Though the idiom was freely used, it was not carelessly used so that only theologically acceptable concepts were communicated. As mentioned, the common Semitic word *'ilat* meaning "goddess" was rejected by all Old Testament writers of all periods. Female deities like Asherah were referred to by the proper names given to their images but were never called goddesses simply because the Hebrews had no mythology in which such a concept would have meaning.

That certain valid theological concepts are not late in human history still does not answer the question of when and where they originated. According to the Bible, man originally had a true concept of deity which he proceeded to distort. The Hebrew prophets rejected these distorted

notions and progressively revealed the truth despite the nation's temptation to syncretize. Although the Old Testament was in one sense a product of its time, its own claim to be the product of the Holy Spirit of God is enhanced by its just reaction to the practices and beliefs of the surrounding cults. At the same time, the prophets were not literary iconoclasts. They did not change idiom deeply rooted in Canaanite polytheistic culture but used it to enrich their unique view of God and accepted those vestiges of the truth remaining in the false religions. As a result it is easy to make a superficial case for the evolution of Hebrew religion from pagan roots, but those who do consistently violate the primary rule for correct interpretation: contextualization.

NOTES

^{^1} *Horae Soederblomianae V* (Lund, 1963).

^{^2} *Ancient Israel*, I.271-2.

^{^3} *Aspects of Syncretism*, p.10.

^{^4} See the works of Mark Libzbarski, e.g. *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*.

^{^5} See chap. 2 on the etymology of 'el in *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, M H. Pope, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum (Vol. 2, Leiden: Brill, 1955).

^{^6} Pope attempts to make these words point to a specific geographic locale in Syria. He rejects the idea it was only a mythical description since the location of Baal's house was clearly thought to be on Jebel el Aqra (Mount Cassius). Ibid., chap. 7.

^{^7} James B. Pritchard ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament* (Princeton) p.140.

^{^8} *Biblical Archaeology* (Philadelphia, 1957) p.110.

^{^9} *Cambridge Ancient History II*, 2, p.150 and *The Stone Age to Christianity* (2nd ed., W. F. Albright; New York: 1957), p.235.

^{^10} James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, (Princeton) pp. 161-4.

^{^11} A frequent representation at Deir el-Medina in 13th-12th centuries B.C. Cf. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London, 1968), pp. 116-7 and *Cambridge Ancient History* 11, 1, p.482.

^{^12} See L. L. Walker. *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: 1975) p.355.

^{^13} *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, pp.129-131.

^{^14} Punic inscriptional evidence is clear that *mulk* refers to the sacrifice itself not to a god by that name. There were two types of human sacrifice, the *mulk-ba'al* and the *mulk-'adam*. The former is most likely provided by a nobleman. See *The Role of Human Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* by Alberto R. L. Green (Scholars Press, 1975).

^{^15} *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, figures 464-473.

^{^16} Allan Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-shan*. This city received its name from an original temple (*beth*) built for the god Shean. Similarly, Bethel was originally a Canaanite shrine, the Temple of El, which later was identified by the Northern Israelites with Yahweh.

^{^17} There is no question that child sacrifice became a part of Canaanite (Phoenician) religion. The question is, when? 2 Kings 3:27 tells us Mesha, king of Moab, sacrificed his son on the wall in the 9th century B.C.

^{^18} *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (University of Chicago Press, 1946) p.363.

^{^19} Psalm 18:9, cf. Exod 9:15 and Hab 3:3-6 (NIV).

^{^20} *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 130-1.

^{^21} The NEB rejects the p-b shift that yields the word "clouds" (AB17, p.136). The NEB is left with "he rides the desert plains" (the Arabah) but compare Ps 18:10 for the concept. Psalm 68 has other words and literary features that tie it to Canaanite language.

^{^22} Blood sacrifices were made by both Canaanites and the Hebrews but the former looked on the blood as nourishment of the gods (W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, p.234) while the Psalmist in 50:7-15 provides us with a fine polemic not against the blood sacrifices themselves (cf. Ps 50:8) but against that way of interpreting them. Anath was carnivorous to the point of "devouring his (Baal's) flesh without a knife and drinking his blood without a cup." (See AB16, p.308)

^{^23} *The Structure of Biblical Authority*, pp.162-4.

CHRIST'S DEATH AS AN EXAMPLE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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The biblical writers used a multiplicity of images to convey the meaning of the work of Christ.¹ The Epistle to the Hebrews portrays Jesus Christ as the great high priest who offered himself as the perfect sacrifice in the place of sinners. Hebrews 9:26b reads, "But now he has appeared once for all at the end of the ages to do away with sin by the sacrifice of himself." (NIV)

Romans 5:12-21 sets forth the Lord Jesus as the second Adam who by his voluntary obedience countered the disobedience of our first father Adam and brought justification and eternal life to his people. Philippians 2:8 reflects the same atonement motif when it states that Jesus "became obedient to death -- even death on a cross!" (NIV)

A third theme of the atonement presents Christ as the victor who through his death and resurrection defeats the foes of sin, death, the world, and Satan and thus wins for every believer a great victory.² This theme is taught in such passages as 1 Cor 15:54-57 and Heb 2:14-15. This latter passage says, "Since the children have flesh and blood, he too shared in their humanity so that by his death he might destroy him who holds the power of death -- that is, the devil -- and free those who all their lives were held in slavery by their fear of death." (NIV)

There is also a legal theme of Christ's work in the Scriptures. Galatians 3:13-14, 4:4-5 present Christ as a legal substitute who perfectly fulfilled the law in his life and who took the condemnation that lawbreakers deserved in his death on the cross. Galatians 3:13 begins, "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us ..." (NIV)

One atonement motif which has been overplayed by some and almost neglected by others is Christ's death as an example. This certainly is not the key or central understanding of the work of Christ in the NT. At the very heart of NT theology the atonement is redemptive -- Christ died to save his people from their sins. Yet there is a definite exemplarist strain in the NT picture of the work of Christ.

Martin Luther exercises the theological caution which is necessary in presenting Christ's death as an example. In his unique style Luther stresses that Christ as an example (*Exempel*) is important, yet fundamentally more important is Christ as Savior (Luther uses the word "gift," *Gabe*).

Be sure, moreover, that you do not make Christ into a Moses, as if Christ did nothing more than teach and provide examples as the other saints do, as if the gospel were simply a textbook of teachings or laws. Therefore you should grasp Christ, his words, works, and sufferings, in a twofold manner. First as an example that is presented to you, which you should follow and imitate. As St. Peter says in

1 Peter 4:1 "Christ suffered for us, thereby leaving us an example." Thus when you see how he prays, fasts, helps people, and shows them love, so also you should do, both for yourself and for your neighbor. However this is the smallest part of the gospel, on the basis of which it cannot yet even be called gospel. For on this level Christ is of no more help to you than some other saint. His life remains his own and does not as yet contribute anything to you. In short this mode [of understanding Christ simply as an example] does not make Christians but only hypocrites. You must grasp Christ at a much higher level.... The chief article and foundation of the gospel is that before you take Christ as an example, you accept and recognize him as a gift, as a present that God has given you and that is your own.... Now when you have Christ as the foundation and chief blessing of your salvation, then the other part follows; that you take him as your example, giving yourself in service to your neighbor just as you see that Christ has given himself for you.... Therefore make note of this, that Christ as a gift nourishes your faith and makes you a Christian. But Christ as an example exercises your works. These do not make you a Christian. Actually they come forth from you because you have already become a Christian.^3

The Lord Jesus Christ is presented in Scripture as an example in His life as well as in His death. This essay is concerned only with the latter. The following chart summarizes the findings of an exegetical study of the NT passages which contain an exemplary view of the work of Christ.

Passage	Christ's death an example of:
1 Mark 8:31-37 (Matt 16:21-26) (Luke 9:22-25)	Self-denial, willingness to lose one's life in following Christ
2 Mark 10:42-45 (Matt 20:25-28)	Servant-leadership, service
3 John 15:9-17	Love for other Christians
4 Rom 15:1-3	Pleasing others
5 2 Cor 8:9 2 Cor 9:15	Giving
6 Eph 5:1-2 Eph 5:25	Love for others Love of Husbands for wives
7 Phil 2:1-11	Humility and obedience
8 Heb 12:1-3	Endurance
9 1 Pet 2:21-25	Suffering injustice patiently
10 1 John 3:16-18 1 John 4:9-11	Sacrificial love for other Christians Love for other Christians

A word of explanation is in order concerning the Philippians passage. Some see no example of Christ here at all.⁴ But the Lord's death does seem to be used here as an example. I suggest that the exemplary theme of Christ's work functions in two ways in this passage. It is an example of humility (linked with the preceding context, Phil 2:1-4), and it is an example of obedience (in relation to the verses which follow).

Several conclusions may be drawn from this study. The sheer number of NT passages which present an exemplary view of the work of Christ is significant. It suggests that some portions of the Church have neglected a significant NT motif. It proves wrong such statements as the following: "an exemplary theory of atonement takes from the Cross its objective and saving character."⁵ For the writers of the NT the exemplary theme did not detract from the Cross. The Cross certainly had objective force in their eyes; and yet they witness to a subjective view of Christ's work at the same time. Proper methodology would dictate going to the NT to see what atonement concepts were deemed proper by the apostles.

In every exemplarist passage believers in Christ are addressed; not one is directed to the unsaved. Thus the context is always the Christian life. In none of the ten passages was one's following the Lord's example presented as the way to obtain the forgiveness of sins. The *exemplum Christi* always occurred in a context of sanctification rather than that of justification. The idea of following Jesus' example as a way to salvation (as seen in R. S. Franks's work *The Atonement*) has no biblical basis.⁶

In many of the exemplarist passages there is language which speaks of the saving efficacy of the cross. Redemption came easily to the NT writers' minds when they wrote of the Lord's death. In Eph 5:1-2 (NASB) after Paul tells his readers to "be imitators of God and walk in love just as Christ also loved you" he goes on to say, "and gave Himself up for us an offering and a sacrifice to God as a fragrant aroma."

1 John 4:9 speaks of God manifesting his love towards us and in v11 John exhorts his readers, "Beloved if God so loved us, we also ought to love one another" (NASB). In between he tells us how God has shown His love for us: in sending "His Son to be the propitiation for our sins." (1 John 4:10 NASB)

The classic exemplarist passage is 1 Pet 2: 21-25. Here too Peter, after portraying Christ as an example of bearing up patiently under unjust suffering, also speaks in redemptive terms: "He Himself bore our sins in His body on the cross, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness; for by His wounds you were healed." (1 Pet 2:24 NASB)

Surely here is a rich source for Christian preaching and teaching which has been too long neglected in evangelical circles. We strongly affirm with the biblical writers that Christ is first of all Savior. Yet He is secondly Example by the witness of the same NT writers. We dare not neglect the Savior's example. The exemplary theme of the work of Christ should feature more prominently in our exposition of Sacred Scripture.

NOTES

^{^1} See my book *Calvin's Doctrine of the Atonement* (Phillipsburg, New Jersey: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1983) for more detail on the biblical images of the Atonement as seen through Calvin's eyes.

^{^2} The classic statement of this atonement motif was made by Gustaf Aulén in his work *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement* (New York: Macmillan, 1969).

^{^3} Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, 55 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955-), 35: 119-120.

^{^4} Ralph Martin has done important work on this passage. See his *Carmen Christi*, SNTSMS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967). In this book Martin dealt with Phil 2:5-11 and summarized the history of the interpretation of that passage. In his Tyndale commentary Martin understood Christ's death as an example in Phil 2:5-11. More recently he has changed his mind and has followed a suggestion of Käsemann in which Christ is not an example in this passage. I must respectfully disagree with this latter conclusion.

^{^5} J. F. Jansen, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Work of Christ* (Greenwood, South Carolina: Attic Press, 1956), 58.

^{^6} R. S. Franks, *The Atonement* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934).

PERSPECTIVE TRANSFORMATION BY MEANS OF PARABLES

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In Dr MacRae's long seminary career, one of his distinctive emphases has been the importance of communication. Not only must the pastor or teacher know God's Word, he must also be able to communicate it clearly to others. One important means Dr MacRae has used to this end is storytelling. In view of this emphasis, this paper is dedicated to him.

The influence of mental images on human thought and action is vast. If anything, the aphorism "a picture is worth a thousand words" is an understatement. This is especially true today when motion pictures and television threaten to make the printed word obsolete. Yet long before the age of modern media, the value of word-pictures for holding and persuading an audience was recognized by orator and teacher alike.

In any given culture, some mental images or paradigms are so pervasive as to be accepted without argument. For such basic images, experience is interpreted in conformity with them so that they are rarely challenged.¹ Even in the proverbially objective realm of science, basic paradigms tend to control the interpretation of data. The collapse of one paradigm and its replacement by another constitutes a scientific revolution.² Consequently, the problem of our coming to truth may be much aggravated by the influence of false paradigms, which have to be broken for us to escape from them.

Sometimes a paradigm is broken merely by presenting an alternative. The new paradigm is so clearly superior that nearly everyone recognizes it immediately. Other paradigms must gradually win their way. Even in the best cases, however, those who have much to lose by a change in paradigm may be unwilling to accept it. Recall the ending of Hans Christian Andersen's tale, "The Emperor's New Clothes." As the ruler paraded down the street in his non-existent robes, the crowd pretended to see and appreciate them:

No one wished it to be noticed that he could see nothing, for then he would have been unfit for his office, or else very stupid. None of the emperor's clothes had met with such approval as these had.

"But he has nothing on!" said a little child at last.

"Just listen to the innocent child." said the father, and each one whispered to his neighbor what the child had said.

"But he has nothing on!" the whole of the people called out at last.

This struck the Emperor. for it seemed to him as if they were right but he thought to himself, "I must go on with the procession now." And the chamberlains walked along still more uprightly, holding up the train which was not there at all.³

Several recent studies of the parables of Jesus have drawn attention to

their function of breaking down paradigms or transforming perspectives.⁴ William Beardslee, for instance, compares the Gospel parables to Zen koans, a type of clever verbal harassment used by Buddhist teachers to disorient their disciples. One well-known koan is "What is the sound of one hand clapping?"⁵ Eta Linnemann sees transformation of perspective as the most significant role of parable. In a tense confrontation between speaker and audience, the "narrator, who has at his disposal nothing other than the power of language, is able to prevail upon his listeners, because through the parable he offers them a new understanding of the situation."⁶ Somewhat similar views have been expressed by several others.⁷

Did Jesus use parables in this way? If so, how did they function to transform the perspectives of his hearers? In this paper we shall see that Jesus did use parables in this way, and we shall examine the function of the Synoptic parables for this purpose. Rather than survey the extensive secondary literature recently written on this subject, our approach will be to examine the parables themselves. For each relevant feature investigated, we shall give several examples from these parables and list others. In an appendix these features will be charted for sixty-four Synoptic parables. Biblical quotations will conform to the New International Version.

To date, most writers involved in this aspect of parable research have assumed a critical attitude toward the Gospels. For them, the context of each parable, its audience, and especially any interpretation given in the text, are automatically suspect. As a result they often claim that we cannot know the original circumstances of a parable, and sometimes they replace information supplied by the Gospels with speculative reconstructions of their own. Such a procedure denies the Bible's own claims to inspiration and rejects the historical evidence that the Gospels were written by apostles and their associates. In consequence much valuable information is discarded. We shall take the parables as they stand.

Presenting an Alternative Perspective

Surveying the Synoptic parables, it soon becomes clear that Jesus did not content himself with the mere destruction of perspective (as in a koan) but that he regularly presented an alternative perspective to his audience. This alternative paradigm or perspective can take various forms. We may conveniently classify these forms by distinguishing between parables which are analogues and parables which are examples. Under each of these categories, we shall further subdivide the parables into those which look at things from the same direction as the audience does and those which, so to speak, move the audience to a new location. Let us look at each of these cases in turn.

Analogue

In presenting an alternative perspective, the parable is naturally most

suited to function as an analogue. A parable is usually either an extended simile or an extended metaphor, both of which are analogies. Some relationship or incident from everyday life is presented as an analogue to some relationship in the spiritual realm or some event in salvation history -- "an earthly story with a heavenly meaning." Jesus' presentation of this analogy affords his audience a new way of seeing these spiritual matters and therefore an opportunity to break away from some false paradigm which till then has held them in bondage.

Same Location. A number of Jesus' analogies preserve the standpoint of the audience but propose a different way of seeing the situation. The listener is to stay where he is but sees his situation in a new light. If the audience is directly involved in the particular truth or event Jesus is treating, then they are involved in the same way in the analogy he presents. If the audience is not directly involved, then they are not directly involved in the analogy either.

As an example of direct involvement, consider the parable of the Defendant (5):⁸ "Settle matters quickly with your adversary who is taking you to court. Do it while you are still with him on the way, or he may hand you over to the judge . . ." Here Jesus, using second person pronouns, invites his audience to recognize their status before God as analogous to that of a person about to be hauled into court as defendant in a hopeless case. Better settle out of court!

In the parable of the Mote and Beam (7), the second person also occurs: "Why do you look at the speck of sawdust in your brother's eye and pay no attention to the plank in your eye?" A judgmental person trying to deliver another from sin is as ludicrous as a fellow with impaired vision trying to do eye surgery! In both these cases the listeners are directly involved as sinners, so they are the "you" in each parable. God and the other brother remain in the third person as "adversary" and "brother", as there is no attempt to put the listener in the other person's place. Similar second person analogues occur in (28, 36) and (47).

Analogues in which the audience is directly involved may also be presented in the third person without change of direction as long as the narrative is constructed so the audience identifies with the proper person. In the parable of the Waiting Servants (49), the narrative starts with the second person and then shifts to the third: "Be dressed ready for service and keep your lamps burning, like men waiting for their master to return from a wedding banquet . . ." Such analogues occur also in (37) and (54).

Unfortunately it is not always easy to tell with whom the audience is supposed to identify if there is no explicit indicator. In the parable of the Hidden Treasure (21), the audience will probably identify with the only actor, though there is nothing to tell us to do so; (22, 24) and (42) are similar. Probably it is safest to categorize these under our next category, "New Location."

In other cases, the audience is a spectator with regard to the spiritual matters in view, so all actors in the parable occur in the third person. For instance, in the Sons of the Bridechamber (11), John's disciples have asked Jesus why his disciples don't fast, so the bridegroom (analogous to Jesus) and the sons of the bridechamber (Jesus' disciples) appear in the third

person. The situation is similar in the Strong Man Spoiled (15).

New Location. Most of Jesus' analogies, however, move his audience to a new standpoint. If the listener is involved in the situation, he is invited to step outside to see it in a new light. If he is not involved, he is invited to step inside the situation. Tolkien calls this device "mooreeffoc":

And there is (especially for the humble) *Mooreeffoc*, or Chestertonian Fantasy. *Mooreeffoc* is a fantastic word, but it could be seen written up in every town in the land. It is Coffee-room, viewed from the inside through a glass door, as it was seen by Dickens on a dark London Day; and it was used by Chesterton to denote the queerness of things that have become trite, when they are seen suddenly from a new angle.⁹

One example of this is John the Baptist's parable of the Axe at the Roots (1). Instead of trusting in their descent from Abraham, the audience is called upon to step back and see themselves as fruitless trees would be viewed by a farmer or axeman -- good only to be cut down! In the parable of the Sower (17), the disciples are given an external view of the spread of the Gospel: they may expect varied results like those a farmer gets from grain falling on different types of soil. Other examples of this type are (2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 50, 53, 55, 57, 58, 59, 62 and 64).

Taking God's Place. A special case of this change of location is that in which the audience is invited to imagine themselves in God's place. This type is clearly seen in the parable of the Son Asking Bread (8): "which of you, if his son asks for bread will give him a stone? . . . If you then, who are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father in heaven give good gifts to those who ask him!" This also occurs in (56) and (61), and -- assuming women were present in the audience -- in the Lost Coin (57).

In a number of other cases, the audience may be invited to look at the situation as though they were God by the device of identifying with the character representing him in the parable. For instance, one may tend to identify with the axeman in the Axe at the Roots (1), or with the landowner in the Tares (18). Other examples of this sort are (3, 12, 13, 18, 26, 30, 31, 34 and 50). More ambiguous are (14) and (25).

A case of special interest is the Prodigal Son (58). Will the audience (including many Pharisees) identify with the Father, or will they insist on identifying with the elder brother?

Example

Much rarer among the parables are those which teach by giving samples of the behavior to be imitated or avoided rather than by analogue. This class is restricted to the Gospel of Luke and is usually viewed as consisting of the Good Samaritan (46), the Rich Fool (48) the Rich Man and Lazarus (60), and the Pharisee and the Publican (63).¹⁰ I would add two others: the Lowest Seats (51) and Advice on Invitations (52). Some might be inclined to deny that these are parables, since they do not fall within the range of the English word "parable." However, the Hebrew concept behind the NT

usage is broader, and three of these are explicitly called "parable": (48) in Luke 12:16, (51) in 14:7, and (63) in 18:9. Jülicher calls them "illustrative instances."¹¹ Boucher suggests that they are cases of extended synecdoche rather than simile or metaphor.¹²

Same Location. As in the case of analogue, we can distinguish between cases involving no change of direction and those which shift. An example of the former is (51), where the guests at a banquet are advised not to pick the most prestigious places at the table lest they be embarrassed when the host arrives. This, we are told, is a sample of the more general lesson "everyone who exalts himself will be humbled...." It applies directly to the banquet guests without change of direction. It also comes home powerfully to us by demonstrating that our selfishness and greed really contradict our claim to believe in a God who abases the proud and exalts the humble. Parable (52) also falls in this category.

New Location. The other four example-parables -- (46, 48, 60) and (63) -- give a shift in location. They invite us to step back and look at our own lives from outside. Do we pass by those in trouble without getting involved? Are we concerned about our own security and pleasure more than about those who are poor? Do we look down on others from our spiritual superiority? These are powerful pictures to shatter our complacent self-images, yet each provides an alternative lifestyle for us to imitate.

Criticism of Audience Perspective

Usually Jesus' parables are more than just illustrations: they provide an alternative perspective to that held by some or in most of his audience. In fact, most of Jesus' parables are at least an implicit criticism of the audience's perspective. Many others are explicit in their criticism, and some reduce the audience perspective to absurdity.

Explicit Audience Criticism

We may define explicit audience criticism in a parable as the case in which the audience's perspective actually shows up in the parable to be set in contrast to Jesus' perspective. An example of explicit criticism is the Prodigal Son (58), where the elder brother is present to espouse the Pharisaic position while the father gives Jesus' view. As G. V. Jones observes:

... no Pharisee with any perception could miss the point. The elder son is not identified with any particular group ... he is merely a character in the story; yet he was not included for a literary purpose, but in order that the listeners might be brought to pass judgment upon themselves through perceiving the correspondence between the situation in the story and that of real life.¹³

By contrast, the criticism in the Lost Sheep (56) and Lost Coin (57) is implicit, as only God's perspective is given.

Not only Jesus' opponents, but also the crowd and Jesus' disciples receive explicit criticism as well. In the Tower Builder (54), the multitudes

following Jesus are warned that they are in for a tougher time than they expect. The foolish builder who does not count the cost and therefore cannot finish the tower represents the audience's perspective, while Jesus recommends prudence and foresight in view of the troubles (persecution?) ahead. In the Unmerciful Servant (29), Jesus rebukes Peter's desire to withhold forgiveness. Peter's view is represented by the servant forgiven ten thousand talents who refuses to forgive another a mere hundred denarii. God's view of the matter is represented by the king. Other examples of explicit audience criticism occur in (7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18?, 25, 27, 30, 39, 48, 51, 52, 55, 61, 63 and 64).

Implicit Audience Criticism

Implicit audience criticism occurs in those cases where the perspective of the audience does not find explicit pictorial representation in the parable. Cases (56) and (57) were mentioned above, in both of which Jesus criticises his opponents' non-evangelistic perspective. Another example is the Strong Man Spoiled (15), where Jesus argues his exorcisms correspond to a soldier (?) plundering a strong man's household. The Pharisaic view -- that Jesus' exorcisms are more like a stage-play -- does not appear.

Jesus also uses implicit audience criticism with the crowds and his disciples. To the crowds Jesus presents the Barren Fig Tree (50) as God's justification for bringing destruction on Israel (with a more general application to sinful mankind). The gardener's request to spare the tree for another year is the reason why all have not perished as yet. No sample of the audience's perspective (say, fruitful fig trees) appears. To his disciples Jesus' parable of the Friend at Midnight (47) pictures the importance of persistence in prayer, but their inclination to give up does not find expression.

Besides the examples mentioned above, parables (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 16, 17, 21?, 22?, 26, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 45, 46, 53, 59, 60 and 62) appear to be cases of implicit criticism of the audience perspective.

In other cases, parables appear to be either illustrations of spiritual truths or advance protection against false perspectives that will arise in some situation still future to Jesus' earthly ministry. The Fan in Hand (2), for instance, appears to be a vivid illustration of the judgement to come, which the average Israelite or Pharisee of the time would presumably find in agreement with his own theology. The controversial aspect here would be John's teaching regarding who is in danger of this judgment. The same can be said for the Dragnet (23) and possibly the Sheep and the Goats (41). Other parables which are probably basically illustrative are (19, 20 and 24).

On the other hand, the exhortations to watchfulness and faithfulness found in the Householder and Thief (37), the Waiting Porter (44) and the Waiting Servants (49) appear to be advance warnings for each generation of believers to live in the light of the Lord's sudden return. Each parable attacks in advance those false perspectives which deny a miraculous return or final judgment. Naturally, those who prefer such perspectives will tend

to see these parables as unauthentic creations of the early church! Similarly the Vultures and Carcass (35) seems designed to protect believers against false "second comings," reminding us that the real thing will be easily recognized, even to be seen from quite a distance. The Fig Tree Heralds Summer (36) similarly points to definite signs preceding the Lord's return.

Absurdity

Among the explicit and implicit examples of audience criticism, some are striking in their use of absurdity as a weapon against the false perspective. Linnemann mentions this use of the parable in rabbinic circles as well, though she characterizes such arguments as "superficial."¹⁴

Jesus makes considerable use of this device, and not only against his opponents. The absurdity of Tasteless Salt (3), of hiding a lit lamp (4), of trying to do eye surgery with impaired vision (7), and of feeding one's son a stone (8), are each directed at Jesus' own disciples, or at least at would-be disciples. The foolishness of patching with unshrunk cloth (12), putting fermenting wine in dried-out wineskins (13), building without a proper foundation (9), and fasting at a wedding party (11) are directed either at the crowds or at reasonably neutral inquirers like John's disciples.

Yet Jesus reserves his strongest denunciations for his opponents. They are blind men trying to lead others (27); stubborn children whom no game can please (14); faultfinders who even blame a physician for visiting the sick (10); tenant farmers who think they can get the landlord's property by killing his heir while the landlord still lives (32); builders who do not recognize the chief stone in the architect's plans (33); and rebellious subjects who spurn a royal feast by killing those who bring the invitation (34).

Admittedly there is a danger in using absurdity. When one seeks to make intelligent opponents look foolish, it is easy to fall into caricature and misrepresentation. Yet if Christianity is true, then opposition to Jesus is basically foolish no matter how sophisticated or rationalized it may be. The absurdity in Jesus' parables is thus both fitting and profound. In the universe that really exists, where the God of the Bible is the omnipotent and righteous judge, all sin is irrational and deserves to be presented as absurd so that we may see it in its true colors.

Other Features Relevant to Transforming Perspective

In order that our outlook be transformed, it is not enough that our false perspectives be criticized and we be given the true picture. We must also understand what we hear, and to hear we must listen. As Scripture tells us, the work of the Holy Spirit is crucial in all this. In this paper, however, we are confining ourselves to the means Jesus uses in his parables to aid attention and understanding, rather than dealing with the unseen activity of the Spirit.

Jesus is first of all a gifted storyteller.¹⁵ He constructs interesting plots with memorable and realistic characters in a few bold strokes. Unnecessary

detail is eliminated; there are few actors and usually only one scene. Characterization and emotion are directly relevant to the plot. Vividness is provided by concrete details, direct discourse, and thoughts spoken aloud. The listener's interest is aroused by questions invoking his judgment, by advice, suspense, surprise and mystery. His memory is activated by the parable's vividness, parallelism and repetition. Because he was interesting, even Jesus' enemies listened with attention.

In this paper, we have space to examine only three features Jesus used: involvement, surprise and mystery.

Involvement

Naturally, the intrinsic interest of a story tends to involve the listeners. Jesus makes use of everyday images of home life, society and agriculture with which his audiences were familiar. Yet he does so in such a way that the stories are not boring, trite or commonplace. He also makes considerable use of second person constructions to pull the listener into the story¹⁶, sometimes giving advice, sometimes asking questions, and occasionally inviting imaginative empathy.

Advice. In the parable of the Defendant (5), Jesus advises his audience to make friends with their accuser before their (hopeless) case comes to trial. In the Fig Tree Heralds Summer (36), he tells his disciples to learn how to recognize an approaching event by the signs which precede it. In the rather cryptic parable of Fire, Salt and Peace (43), his disciples are urged to have salt in themselves. At the end of the Good Samaritan (46), Jesus advises the lawyer to "go and do likewise." We are urged to imitate the Dishonest Steward (59) in making friends for ourselves by means of the unrighteous mammon. In general, the advice is part of the parable when the perspective involves no change of direction, and part of the application when the standpoint is changed. Other parables employing advice are (6, 7, 37, 44, 49, 51, 52 and 61), not counting a number (e.g., 10, 17) with advice in the near context.

Questions. To draw the audience into the parable, Jesus asks questions, sometimes rhetorical, sometimes actually seeking a verbal response.

The parable of the Son Asking Bread (8) rhetorically asks the men of the audience how they would respond to their son's request. In the Sons of the Bridechamber (11), John's disciples are asked to judge whether fasting is appropriate for wedding attendants at the festivities. In (54) Jesus asks the crowd if they would start building a tower without estimating its cost and checking their own resources. In (61) he asks the disciples how they would treat their slave at dinnertime, as guest or servant? Other examples of rhetorical questions occur in (14, 15, 19, 20, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 38, 43, 47, 55, 56, 57 and 62).

Other questions asked by Jesus actually received verbal responses. Which of the two sons (31), asks Jesus, did the will of the father? In the parable of the wicked Tenants (32), Matthew reports that some in the audience answered Jesus' question concerning what the owner will do when he learns the tenants have killed his son. Likewise, Simon the

Pharisee answers Jesus' question in the Two Debtors (45), as does the lawyer in the Good Samaritan (46).

Other second person constructions. Jesus also uses the second person to refer to his audience in cases other than the question or command, apparently to encourage involvement. In the parable of the Tasteless Salt (3), Jesus speaks directly to his disciples: "you are the salt of the earth." In the parables of Weather Forecasting (28), Jesus involves his audience: "When you see. . ." and "When it is evening, you say. . ." The parable of the Fig Tree (36) is similar. Neglecting cases where Jesus merely says, "I say to you," the other examples are (6, 29, 51 and 52).

Surprise

Another device Jesus uses in his parables to attract and hold attention is surprise: a sudden twist in the plot, and improbable feature, an exaggeration. This is an extremely common feature, occurring in about half the parables. The absurdities catalogued previously under audience criticism belong to this category.

Yet not all the surprises involve the foolishness of characters representing sinners. Some of the surprises picture the amazing grace of God: a father runs to welcome his prodigal son (58), receiving him with splendor and feasting;¹⁷ a king forgives an enormous debt (29); a householder invites beggars to fill up his banquet hall (53). Others picture the severity of God's judgment: the king cancels his forgiveness when the forgiven servant shows himself unforgiving (29); the improperly-dressed wedding guest is bound hand and foot to be thrown out (34); the foolish virgins are excluded from the feast merely for being late (39). These surprises of foolishness, grace and severity seem rather improbable or exaggerated in the parable's story. Yet when we move from story to meaning, we find they are realistic.

Still other surprises are intended to shake the audience into reexamining themselves and their view of things. This is probably the purpose of having the Samaritan be the hero in (46) and the publican in (63). The surprise of the Axe at the Roots (1) and the Defendant (5) is to see oneself as lost, rather than the other fellow. One of the surprises of the Dishonest Steward (59) is Jesus' advice to imitate the crook! (presumably in taking appropriate action now in view of our brief tenure as stewards).

The surprise in the parable attracts our attention. It should not be surprising, then, that it is in the surprise itself that the main point of the parable often lies. As Jones says of the landowner's payment scheme in the Vineyard Workers (30): "It is natural to resent the apparently flagrant unfairness of the economic policy described; yet it is precisely here that the meaning of the parable is focused."¹⁸

It is noteworthy that Jesus himself occasionally draws attention to a surprising feature by having one of the parable's characters react to it. This is seen clearly when the all-day vineyard workers object to equal pay for

the latecomers (30). It also appears in the elder son's objection to celebrating the prodigal's return (58) and in the bystanders' response to the servant with ten pounds being given another (64). Possibly this is one of the functions of the servants who desire to pull up the tares in (18) and of those who report their unforgiving fellow-servant in (29).

This very surprise also fixes the parable in our minds to be remembered long after we would have forgotten a blander story. What sticks in our memory from the Wicked Tenants (32) is: (a) the landowner sending his son after the way his slaves were treated; and (b) the tenants thinking that killing him will get them the property: i.e., the foolishness of sin and the great grace of God. "It is the improbable trait in the parable that drives the meaning home."¹⁹

Mystery

Since the time of Jülicher it has been fashionable in critical circles to deny the presence of mystery in the authentic parables of Jesus, despite the explicit teaching of Mark 4:11-12 and its parallels.²⁰ Instead, Jülicher proposed that Jesus' parables were non-allegorical, made only one point, and were intended to be easily understood. From this it would follow that many of the Gospel parables have been reworked (if not invented altogether) since the time of Jesus; that allegorical interpretations like that supplied with the Sower (17) are not genuine; and that complex parables which make more than one point (such as the King's Wedding Feast [34] and the Prodigal Son [58]) are at best the fusion of two authentic parables.

None of this is necessary. It is clear from the LXX that in Jewish usage *parabole* is the equivalent of *mashal*, and that *mashal* includes the riddle or dark saying (Prov 1:6). The OT parables of the Ewe Lamb (2 Sam 12:14), the Widow's Sons (2 Sam 14:5-7) and the Escaped Prisoner (1 Kgs 20:39-40) depend upon a certain degree of mystification to succeed. Besides all this, both ancient Jewish and early Christian interpreters (including the Gospel writers) agreed that parables could be mysterious.²¹

Admittedly, Jesus' purpose for mystification in Mark 4 and parallels is a hard saying, though no more so than Isa 6:9-10 from which it is drawn. This writer suspects that the reason God hid the meaning of certain parables from the crowd involved a combination of at least two factors: (a) their judicial hardening as a punishment for resisting Jesus' earlier ministry; (b) the setting up of a situation in which Jesus would be rejected and crucified to provide our redemption. In any case, the presence of mystery in some of Jesus' parables is the clear teaching of Scripture, and (as Morton Smith²² has pointed out) it is also a natural conclusion to be drawn from the wide divergence among modern interpreters over the meaning of some of the Gospel parables!

Yet mystery is not confined to the parables given from the Sower (17) onward, nor are all the later parables mysterious. There must be at least one other function of mystery in Jesus' parables besides that given in Mark 4.

Given the tradition of the three OT parables mentioned above, we

should not be surprised to find mystery used as a device to gain the hearer's judgment for a matter before he realizes he is judging himself. In each of these cases, neither David nor Ahab realized how the story related to himself until the storyteller provided the interpretation. Jones sees something of this sort happening in the Unmerciful Servant (29), the Good Samaritan (46), and the Rich Man and Lazarus (60), where the application is sprung on the listener in the final verse after previously obtaining his "approving interest."²³ To these we can add the Two Sons (31) and the Two Debtors (45), and probably the Wicked Tenants (32) and the Rejected Stone (33), though by this point the Jewish leaders had begun to realize that Jesus was referring to them (Matt 21:45).

If our suggestion on Mark 4 (above) has any merit, another reason for mystery might be the concealment of future events from those whose actions could otherwise interfere with their fulfilment. Paul twice speaks of the ignorance of the leaders in opposing Christ, saying of himself, "I was shown mercy because I acted in ignorance and unbelief" (1 Tim 1:13), and of others "if they had [understood], they would not have crucified the Lord of glory" (1 Cor 2:8). The latter of these two statements occurs in a discussion of God's secrets which are known only by revelation. Such a reason for mystery has an OT precedent, for example, in the book of Daniel, which contains a number of cryptic allegorical visions, plus the command to seal up the book until the end (Dan 12:4). This would explain the mysterious reference to the bridegroom being taken away in (11), to the slain son in (32), and to the rejected stone in (33), all referring in Jesus' death.

In a somewhat similar vein, the whole matter of Jesus' two comings with an interval between could not be broached before the crucifixion, yet the recognition that Jesus taught this mysteriously in his parables would be a great comfort to his disciples later. This would explain the cryptic nature of the parables of the kingdom (17-23), dealing with the interval between the two comings. It might also explain what some of the "new things" are that the householder would bring out of his treasury in (24), i.e., further understanding of these parables by his disciples in the light of later developments. The departure of the nobleman to a distant land to receive a kingdom and return (64) would also fit in this category. Naturally, those who deny supernatural prediction will not be enthusiastic about such proposals.

Most of the parables also have little mysteries about them, not the least of which is whether and how far to press the details. For instance, what are we to make of the "discard" and "trampling" of the tasteless salt (3)? Is this merely pictorial or also to be interpreted? What of the "last cent" in the Defendant (5)? The expression "both destroyed" with reference to the wine and wineskins (13)? Is the leaven (20) good or evil? What are the "plants" in Plants Uprooted (26)? The "wedding garments" of the King's Wedding Feast (34)? The "oil" of the Ten Virgins (39)? The "bankers" of the Talents (40)? For that matter, what does it mean to be "salted with fire" (43)? Perhaps Raymond Brown is right in suggesting that the parables are designed to leave "enough doubt to challenge the hearers into active thought and inquiry,"²⁴ an activity that might eventually succeed in

overturning some of their false but cherished paradigms.

Conclusions

In this brief survey of the parables of Jesus, it appears that most of the parables are designed to alter the perspective of Jesus' listeners. Only a few appear to be purely illustrative. A few others seem to be designed as antidotes to future problems or, equivalently, to alter the perspective principally of future readers. The existence of this last category should not be unexpected for those who believe in the God of the Bible, who knows the end from the beginning.

Jesus accomplishes this alteration of perspective by grasping our attention through vividness, involvement, surprise and mystery; by showing up our own perspectives as false and foolish; and by presenting the true perspectives in a memorable way.

Since Jesus first spoke these parables, nearly two thousand years have passed. Our culture today is largely industrial rather than agricultural, and far more specialized and (we suppose) sophisticated. Yet his parables have not lost their power to expose our own pretensions as being as insubstantial as the Emperor's new clothes.

NOTES

^{^1} See, e.g., Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise on the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Books, 1967).

^{^2} Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (2nd ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

^{^3} Andrew Lang, ed., *The Yellow Fairy Book* (New York: Dover, 1966) 25.

^{^4} Some reviews of recent parable research are J. C. Little, "Parable Research in the Twentieth Century," *Exp Tim* 87 (1976) 356-60; 88 (1976) 40-43, 71-75; W. Wink, "Letting Parables Live", *Christian Century* 97 (1980) 1062-64; B. B. Scott, "Parables of Growth Revisited: Notes on the Current State of Parable Research," *BTB* 11 (1981) 3-9; M. Boucher, *The Mysterious Parable: A Literary Study*, (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association, 1977), chap. 1.

^{^5} W. A. Beardslee, "Parable, Proverb, and Koan", *Semeia* 12 (1978) 151-77.

^{^6} P. Linnemann. *The Parables of Jesus* (London: SPCK, 1966) 19-21.

^{^7} A. N. Wilder. *The Language of the Gospel* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1971); R. W. Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic and the Word of God* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); P. Ricoeur. "The 'Kingdom' in the Parables of Jesus," *ATR* 63 (1981) 165-69; J. D. Crossan, *In Parables* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973); N. Perrin, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976).

^{^8} Numbers in parentheses will indicate parable numbers in the Appendix, where also the relevant Scripture references may be found.

^{^9} J. R. R. Tolkien, "On Fairy Stories," in *The Tolkien Reader* (New York: Ballantine, 1966) 58.

^{^10} W. J. Moulton, "Parables", *Hastings' Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (1906) 2:314.

^{^11} A. Jülicher, "Parables," *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1899) 3:3566.

^{^12} Boucher, *Mysterious Parable*, 22.

^{^13} G. V. Jones, *The Art and Truth of the Parables* (London: SPCK, 1964) 114.

^{^14} Linnemann, *Parables*, 20.

^15 See, e.g., R. F. Brown, "Parables of Jesus," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967) 10:985-86; Linnemann, *Parables* 12-16; Ricoeur, "Kingdom in Parables," 166.

^16 Cp. Flesch's concepts of "personal words" and "personal sentences"; e.g., Rudolf Flesch, *How to Write, Speak and Think More Effectively* (New York: New American library, 1960) 303.

^17 Ricoeur, "Kingdom in Parables", 167.

^18 Jones, *Art and Truth of Parables*, 116.

^10 Ibid., p.117.

^20 A. Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2 vols. (Tubingen: Mohr, 1888-99); his views are sketched in English in his article "Parable" in *Encyclopedia Biblica*.

^21 An excellent response to Jülicher is Boucher, *Mysterious Parable*, esp. chap. 1.

^22 Cited in *ibid.*, p.41

^23 Jones, *Art and Truth of Parables*, 117-118.

^24 Brown, "Parables of Jesus" 10:984.

APPENDIX

CLASSIFICATION OF PARABLES

Key to Notations and Abbreviations:

Parable & Location: Parable number, name & location given by chapter & verses, first in Matthew, then Mark, then Luke; 0 = not in a particular Gospel.

Parable Type: M = metaphor; S = similitude; P = narrative parable; E = exemplary parable; A = allegorical features.

Audience: C = crowd; D = disciples; O = opponents; * = not same occasion in different Gospels.

Perspective: G = God's; N = New (change in standpoint); S same (no change).

Criticism: I = implicit; X = explicit; R = *reductio ad absurdum*.

Other Features: A = advice; M = mystery; Q = question; S = surprise.

Parable & Location	Type & Audience	Perspective & Criticism	Other Features
Parable & Location	Type & Audience	Perspective & Criticism	Other Features
1. Axe at Roots (3: 10; 0; 0)	S CO	NG? I	S
2. Fan in Hand (3:12; 0; 0)	S CO	N	
3. Tasteless Salt (5:13; 9:50; 14:34-35)	S CD*	NG? IR	SM
4. Lamp & Bushel (5:15, 4:21; 8:16 & 11:33)	S CDO	N IR	S
5. Defendant (5:25-26; 0; 12:57-58)	S CD*	S I	SM A
6. Eye as Light of Body (6:22-23; 0; 11:34-36)	S CD*	N I	A

7. Mote & Beam (7:3-5; 0; 6:41-42)	S CD	S XR	SM A
8. Son Asking Bread (7:9-12; 0; 11:11-13)	S CD*	G XR	S Q
9. Wise & Foolish Builders (7:24-27; 0; 6:47-49)	S CD	N XR	SM
10. Physician Heals Sick (9:12; 2:17; 5:31-32)	M?S? DO	N XR	S?
11. Sons of Bridechamber (9:14-15; 2:18-20; 5:33-35)	SA? C	S XR	SM Q
12. New Patch (9:16; 2:21; 5:36)	S C	S?G? XR	SM
13. New Wine (9:17; 2:22; 5:37-39)	S C	NG? XR	SM
14. Children in Marketplace (11:16-19; 0; 0)	S C	NG? XR	Q
15. Strong Man Spoiled (12:29; 3:37; 11:21-22)	S CO	S I	Q
16. Empty House (12:43-45; 0; 11:24-26)	S? CO	N I	M
17. Sower (13:3-8; 4:4-8; 5:5-8)	SA CD	N I	M
18. Tares (13:24-30; 0; 0)	PA CD	NG? X?	SM
19. Mustard Seed (13:31-32; 4:30-32; 3:18-19)	SA? CD	N	M Q
20. Leaven (13:33; 0; 13:20-21)	SA? CD	N	M Q
21. Hidden Treasure (13:44; 0; 0)	P D?	N?S? I?	SM
22. Pearl (13:45-46; 0; 0)	P D?	N?S? I?	SM
23. Dragnet (13:46-50; 0; 0)	SA D	N	M
24. Householder's Treasures (13:52; 0; 0)	S D	S I?	M
25. Defilement (15:11; 7:15; 0)	SA? CDO	G? X	SM
26. Plants Uprooted (15:13; 0; 0)	M?S? D	NG? I	M
27. Blind Leading Blind (15:14; 0; 6:39)	S CDO*	N XR	S Q
28. Weather Forecasting (16:2-3; 0; 12:54-55)	S CO*	S I	S Q
29. Unmerciful Servant (18:23-25; 0; 0)	P D	N X	S
30. Vineyard Workers (20:1-16; 0; 0)	P D	NG? X	S
31. Two Sons (21:28-32; 0; 0)	S?P? CO	N I	Q
32. Wicked Tenants (21:33-41; 12:1-9, 20:9-16)	PA CO	N IR?	M?
33. Rejected Stone (21:42-44; 12:10-11, 20:17)	S?P? CO	N IR	SM Q

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34. King's Wedding Feast (22:1-14; 0; 0, cp #53)	PA CO	NG? IR?	SM?
35. Vultures & Carcass (24:28; 0; 17:37)	M?S? D*	N	M
36. Fig Tree Heralds Summer (24:32-33; 13:28-29; 21:29-31)	S D	S	A
37. Householder & Thief (24:42-44; 0; 12:39)	S C?D*	S	SM A
38. Unfaithful Upper-Servant (24:45-51; 0; 12:40-42)	P C?D*	N I?	S Q
39. Ten Virgins (25:1-13; 0; 0)	PA? D	N X	SM A
40. Talents (25:14-30; 0; 0, cp #64)	PA D	N X	SM
41. Sheep & Goats (25:32-33; 0; 0)	M?S? D	N	
42. Blade, Ear & Grain (0; 4:26-29; 0)	SA? CD	N?S?	M
43. Fire, Salt & Peace (0; 9:49; 0)	M? D	N?	M QA
44. Waiting Porter (0; 13:34-36; 0, cp #49)	S D	N	A
45. Two Debtors (0; 0; 7:41-43)	PA? O?	N I	S Q
46. Good Samaritan (0; 0; 10:30-37)	E CO	N I	S QA
47. Friend at Midnight (0; 0; 11:5-8)	P D	S I	S Q
48. Rich Fool (0; 0; 12:16-21)	E C	N X	S
49. Waiting Servants (0; 0, cp #44; 12:35-38)	S D	S	S A
50. Barren Fig Tree (0; 0; 13:6-9)	P C	NG? I	
51. Lowest Seats (0; 0; 14:7-11)	E C?O?	S X	S A
52. Advice on Invitations (0; 0; 14:12-14)	E C?O?	S X	S A
53. Great Supper (0, cp #34; 0; 14:15-24)	P C?O?	N I	S
54. Tower Builder (0; 0; 14:28-30)	S C	S X	Q
55. King at War (0; 0; 14:31-33)	S C	N X	Q
56. Lost Sheep (18:12-14; 0; 15:3-7)	S?P? CO	G I	Q
57. Lost Coin (0; 0; 15:8-10)	S?P? CO	NG? I	Q
58. Prodigal Son (0; 0; 15:11-32)	P CO	NG? X	SM
59. Dishonest Steward (0; 0; 16:1-9)	P DO	N I	S A
60. Rich Man & Lazarus (0; 0; 16:19-31)	E DO	N I	

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61. Unprofitable Servants (0; 0; 17:7-10)	S D	G X	QA
62. Unjust Judge (0; 0; 18:1-8)	P D	N I	S Q
63. Pharisee & Publican (0; 0; 18:9-14)	E D?O?	N X	S
64. Pounds (0, cp #40; 0; 19:11-27)	PA CD	N X	S

THE WORK ETHIC OF THE GOSPELS AND ACTS

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This work is a sequel to a similar study the author did on the work ethic concept in the Pauline writings.¹ The reason for including Acts² in this study is because of the close relationship the book has to the Gospel of Luke, since both were written by the same author. ³

In the article on the Pauline work ethic, discussion was given to the twentieth century sociological shift away from that work ethic which held some prominence earlier in the twentieth century. In this article, we wish to review this problem and relate to it a study of the attitude toward work in the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles.

That the shift away from the biblical Protestant work ethic is continuing is seen through recent studies by Daniel Yankelovich. This author and researcher in a new work has adequately commented on Calvinism and its interpretation of the Bible on this point of the Protestant work ethic. He says:⁴

When Calvinism conjoined hard work, profit making and ethical rightness, the Protestant ethic began to take shape as a determining force in Western history. Rational profit making involved hard work and self-denial in the present for the sake of later gratification. Self-denial thus received the dual blessing of ethical rightness and practical payoff, an unbeatable combination.

Yankelovich agrees that in the last decades there has been a shift away from this Protestant work ethic. As reasons for this, he cites what he calls the "psychology of affluence." Aspects of this psychology include: (1) the "we expect more-of-everything outlook"; (2) the assumption that acquiring more of everything is a matter of personal entitlement rather than a mere hope or desire; (3) a taking for granted that the economy will function more or less automatically; the economy is Big Mother, indestructible and bountiful; (4) an attitude that turns the self-denial ethic on its head: "instead of a concern with moral obligations to others pursued at the cost of personal desire, we have the concept of duty to self, pursued at the cost of moral obligations to others. Personal desire achieves the status of an ethical norm."⁵

What is it in the teaching of Jesus and the early disciples as set forth in the Gospels and the Acts from which the society as a whole has turned away?

GREEK WORDS FOR WORK IN THE GOSPELS AND THE ACTS

The Greek word ἔργον ("deed," "action"), the common word for work in the Gospels and Acts (used some 47 times) as in Matt 5:16; Mark 13:34; Luke 11:48; John 3:19; and Acts 5:38 is found also in several derivative

forms, as in the nouns ἐργάτης ("workman," "laborer") as in Matt 9:37; Luke 10:2; and Acts 19:25, ἐργασία ("practice," "working," "business," "profit") as in Luke 12:58 and Acts 16:19; and in the verb ἐργάζομαι ("work," "be active," "do," "accomplish") as in Matt 7:23, Mark 14:6; Luke 13:14; John 5:21; and Acts 10:35). The compound ἐνεργέω is more dynamic ("be at work," "be effective," "produce", Matt 14:2; Mark 6:14). One further compound συνεργέω ("work together," "cooperate," "help") occurs in the disputed passage in Mark 16:20.

A word that complements ἔργον is the verb ποιέω which occurs many more times in the Gospels and Acts. It occurs in such passages as Matt 7:17 (a good tree brings forth good fruit); Mark 2:24 (why are they doing what is unlawful on the Sabbath?); Luke 8:21 (those who do the Word of God); John 3:21 (the one who does, practises the truth); Acts 14:15 (the living God made heaven and earth), etc.

Another root stressing "activity" or "function" is πράσσο- or πραττ-. The noun πράξις ("acting," "activity," "function") is used in Matt 16:27 of deeds (acts) good or bad for which the Son of Man will pay back each man (cf. also Luke 23:51 and Acts 19:18).

The verb πράσσω is also used in our literature in the Gospel of Luke and Acts with the implication of good in Luke 23:15, Acts 15:29 and 26:20, 26. In several cases the verbal activities spoken of are evil as in Luke 22:23; Luke 23:41; Acts 3:17; 5:35; 17:7; 19:36; 25:11, 25; 26:9, 31.

Other related words for work are forms of λειτουργία⁶ ("service," particularly religious service to God; Luke 1:23) and λειτουργέω Acts 13:2, of the disciples serving the Lord. The word λατρεία (John 16:2) and λατρεύω (Matt 4:10; Luke 1:74; Acts 7:7, etc.) are also used to indicate religious service to God.⁷

The stem κόπ-, in the words κόπος, ("work," "labor," "toil," "trouble", Matt 26:10; Mark 14:6; Luke 11:7; John 4:38, etc.) and κοπιάω ("become weary," "tired," "work hard," "struggle," etc., Matt 6:28; Luke 5:5; John 4:6; Acts 20:35) carries the concept of hard work, toil, and struggle.⁸

The stem ἀγών⁹ also carries the concept of struggling, fighting. The noun ἀγωνία conveys the idea of a contest (athletics) used metaphorically in Luke 22:44 (a verb omitted in some early manuscripts). The verb form ἀγωνίζομαι ("fight," "struggle," "strive") is used in Luke 13:24 and John 18:36.

The stem δουλό-¹⁰ carrying the meaning of conscious subservience and submission in work is used in several forms in the Gospels and Acts. The noun δοῦλος carries the meaning of "slave" in Matt 10: 24, of "servant" in Mark 13:34; Luke 12:37; John 8:34; Acts 16:17, etc. The feminine form δούλη ("female slave," "servant") is also used in Luke 1:38; 1:48 and Acts 2:18.

The verb δουλεύω ("be a slave," "be subjected," "perform the duties of a slave") is used in Matt 6:24, Luke 15:29, John 8:33, Acts 20:19, etc. A companion verb is δουλόω ("make someone a slave," "enslave," "subject") used in Acts 7:6. Another verb indicating submission is ὑπωπιάζω used (Luke 18:5) in the sense of "wearing the person out."

A milder word for servant is ὑπηρέτης ("the servant," "the helper,"

"the assistant"). It is used in Matt 5:25 ("court officer"), Mark 14:45 ("guards"), Luke 4:20 (synagogue "attendant"), Acts 13:5 ("helper"), etc. The verb form ὑπηρετέω ("serve," "be helpful") is not used in the Gospels but occurs in Acts 13:36, Acts 20:34, and Acts 24:23.

The results of hard and productive work, whether for good or bad, is seen through several Greek roots. From one root, μισθ-¹¹ ("payment for work done") comes the noun μισθός ("reward") Matt 5:12; Mark 9:41; Luke 6:23; Acts 1:18; ("pay," "wages") Matt 20:8; Luke 10:7; John 4:36.

Another noun, μίσθιος is used to indicate "day-laborer" (Luke 15:17,19), "hired sailors" (Mark 1:20), or "hired shepherds" (John 10: 12, 13). μίσθωμα (passive, "of what is rented") is used in Acts 28:30 (Paul's "rented house"), while the verb μισθόω ("hire worker") is used in Matt 20:1, 7.

From the root ἀγορ-¹² ("buy," "purchase") comes ἀγορά, (the place of purchase, the marketplace) Matt 20:3; Mark 12:38; Luke 7:32; Acts 16:17 and 17:17. The verb ἀγοράζω ("buy," "purchase") is used for purchases of various items: a field (Matt 13:44); food (Mark 6:36); oxen (Luke 14:19), etc. The ἀγοραῖοι are the unruly market people (Acts 17:5).

The verb ἀποδίδωμι is also used with commercial implication. In the active it means "to pay," "to pay back" (Matt 5:33; Mark 12:17; Luke 7:42). In the middle it means "to sell" as a property (Acts 5:8) or as a slave (Acts 7:9). πωράσκω also means "to sell" as possessions (Matt 13:46; Acts 2:45), as slaves (Matt 18:25), and as precious ointment (Mark 14:5; John 12:5), etc. πωλέω means "to sell" such things as fields (Acts 4:37), possessions (Mark 10:21; Luke 12:33), sparrows (Matt 10:29), cattle (John 2:14), and purple cloth πορφύροπωλις (Acts 16:14).

The Inherent Nature of Work According to the Gospels and Acts

The Gospels and Acts teach something about the purposefulness of work, whether physical, mental, or spiritual. The words used to express this concept are ἔργον, ἐργάζομαι, ἀποδίδωμι, ὑπηρετής, ὑπηρετέω, and λειτουργέω. Sometimes the purposefulness involved is expressed; sometimes it is implied.

The works (ἔργα) of Jesus are divinely purposeful. In his high priestly prayer the Savior says, "I have brought you glory on earth by completing the work (ἔργον) you gave me to do (ποιεῖν)" (John 17:4).¹³ Jesus elsewhere speaks of the very work God has given him "to finish" (John 5:36). He says, "The miracles (works) I do (ποιεῖν) in my Father's name speak for me" (John 10:25); "anyone who has faith in me will do what I am doing" (John 14:12); and as his followers, the Lord challenges the disciples to let their light shine before men that they may see the believers' deeds (ἔργα) and praise God in heaven (Matt 5:16). Act 13:41 tells of God's wonderful works accomplished in salvation (cf. Hab 1:5). Purposeful work includes such as the act of anointing Jesus (Matt 26:10;

Mark 14:16; cf. John 12:3-5). With divine intent the Holy Spirit has the church set aside Barnabas and Saul for his work (Acts 13:2), a work that they completed (Acts 4:26). Needful activity includes working to provide material things such as food, clothing, and shelter, which Paul by hard work had supplied to meet his needs and those of his companions (Acts 20:34,35). Later the friends of Paul do good work in providing for Paul's needs (Act 24:23).

First century A. D. disciples fulfilled God's purpose for them as obedient "under-workers" (ὕπηρέται) by proclaiming the Word (Luke 1:2). Paul as a servant (ὕπηρέτης) worked for God to bring Jews and Gentiles to salvation (Acts 26:16-18), a task which John Mark evidently failed in at first (Acts 13:5; 15:38). The disciples are to pray that God will accomplish his purpose by sending forth more spiritual workers (ἐργάται) into his harvest (Matt 9:37,38; Luke 10:2).

In contrast the Lord warns against useless idolatrous work, such as the crafting and worship of the golden calf (Acts 7:41). That work approved of God in the Gospels and Acts is not only to be purposeful but to be persevering and intensive activity. Jesus' spiritual, mental, and physical anguish (ἀγωνία) in the Garden of Gethsemane (Luke 22:44) is an example of this. Also Jesus indicates that, if he wished, he could have his servants put up an intensive struggle (ἀγωνίζομαι)¹⁴ for him to deliver him from the forces of evil (John 18:36). Equally intensive effort is indicated when the Savior states that those whom he is drawing to himself should "make every effort" (ἀγωνίζομαι) to enter through the narrow door (Luke 13:24), as though the lure of the flesh (cf. Matt 13:22), and the world (1 John 2:15), and the devil (John 8:44) were bending every effort to influence the individual to continue on the broad "road that leads to destruction" (Matt 7: 13). This is the kind of persevering activity exemplified in the widow who persisted in pressing her case (ὕπωπιάζω) before the judge (Luke 18:5).

Work to be thus accomplished is to be done promptly, in God's allotted time, as Jesus said when he indicated that it was his intent to do God's work while "it is day," not at night "when no one can work" (John 9:4). For God's people it may be early or late when he sends them forth to do his work, but the work is to be done (Matt 20:1, 6).

These works enjoined in the Gospels and Acts are not works for salvation. Jesus' statement, "work (ἐργάζομαι)¹⁵ for the food which endures unto eternal life" (John 6:27) in the context means "take in," "assimilate," "partake of" Christ the bread of life from heaven (cf. John 6:52-26). On the other hand, believers in Jesus are to produce works worthy of repentance (Acts 26:20, "prove this repentance by their deeds," NIV).

These works are to be good works pleasing to God. Such were those done by Barnabas, "a good man, full of the Holy Spirit and faith" through whom "a great number of people were brought to the Lord" (Acts 11:24), and by Tabitha (Dorcas) who was full of good works ("who was always doing good"), and the Lord commands such works to be done by God's people generally (Matt 5:16; 6:33; Luke 19:13 πραγματεύομαι; John 14:15).

The terms which describe these purposeful, persevering, good works are ἐργάτης (laborers in the vineyard, Matt 20:1; in God's spiritual harvest. Matt 9:37,38; Luke 10:2), ὑπηρέτης ("servant-laborers" in the word, Luke 1:2; Paul, a minister-servant laborer of the Lord, Acts 26:16), λειτουργέω ("religious ministering,"¹⁶ "ministering to the Lord," Acts 13:2, "worshipping the Lord," NIV), λειτουργία (ritual services for the Lord, Luke 1: 23). and λατρεία, λατρεύω (service and worship of God, cf. John 16:2; Matt 4: 10). Such service is to be given to God only (Luke 4:8), a service that is to be personal (Anna, Luke 2:37; Paul, Acts 24:14; 26:7; 27:23) and rendered without fear (Luke 1:74). All such works performed by believers are to be "done through God" (John 3:21).

Motivation in Work

Work in the Gospels and Acts is pictured as motivated either from a God-centered or a man-centered life. Jesus' works, of course, are God-centered. He says: "The very work that the Father has given me to finish and which I am doing, testifies that the Father has sent me" (John 5:36); "the miracles (the works, τὰ ἔργα) I do in my Father's name speak for me" (John 10:25); and "I have brought you (Father) glory on earth by completing the work you gave me to do" (John 17:4).

New Testament believers' works also are described as God-centered. Anna, the prophetess, is depicted as worshipping (serving, λατρεύω) at the temple night and day with fasting and prayers (Luke 2:37). Zachariah fulfilled at the temple his religious service to God (λειτουργία, Luke 1:23). Paul states that he worships (λατρεύω) the God of his fathers (Acts 24: 14), that he belongs to and gives service to (the same word) the angel of the Lord who had appeared to him (Acts 27:23).

For Paul it is the Lord who had appointed him to be his servant (ὑπηρέτης, Acts 26:16), and he even comments that the twelve tribes of Israel earnestly serve (λατρεύω) God night and day (Acts 26:7) as in ignorance they oppose Jesus of Nazareth. The Christians at Syrian Antioch are said to be honoring God with their service (λειτουργέω, Acts 13:2), and those who walked with Jesus are said to be eyewitnesses and ministers (ὑπηρέται) of the Word (Luke 1:2).

In addition, Christians are enjoined to do God-honoring works. Through the coming of Jesus, God's people are enabled to serve the Lord (λατρεύω, Luke 1:74), and they are commanded to fulfill (pay, ἀποδίδωμι¹⁷) to the Lord the oaths that they have made (Matt 5:33). As a matter of fact, the Christian's whole cycle of activity is to be God-centered: "Seek first his kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well" (Matt 6:33); "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good deeds and praise your Father in heaven" (Matt 5:16). In climax, Christians are challenged to "prove their repentance by their deeds" (Acts 26:20).

In contrast, those who do not know God do their works in a context of self-centeredness, man-centeredness. This is all the result of the Fall of Adam (Gen 3; cf. John 8:44). The works of the unsaved man are

described as evil (John 3:19; cf. Matt 7:23; John 5:29), as well as those of the whole unsaved world (John 7:7). The unbelievers approve of the works of their forefathers (Luke 11:48), and they are described as doing the works of their father, the devil, and are related to him and motivated by him (John 8:44).

The work of making and worshipping the golden calf is considered idolatrous and heinous to God, an act for which he gave them over to worship the hosts of heaven (Acts 7:41,42), an offence climaxed later by man's murderous act of putting Christ to death (Acts 4:28). Because of their self-centeredness, men also do evil against their fellowmen, exemplified by fraudulent collection of taxes (Luke 3:12,13), extortion of money and false accusations (Luke 3:14); they betray and persecute members of their own families (Acts 7:9), and even betray the Savior (Luke 22:23). They are lazy and wicked (Matt 25:26,27) and are sometimes even involved in practising sorcery and the occult (Acts 19:24,25) at the expense of other unfortunate human beings (Acts 16:16,19), serving only money and material gain (Matt 6:24; Luke 16:13). By God's grace some men, as the thief on the cross, finally realize how wicked their deeds are (Luke 23:41) and seek Christ's mercy (Luke 23:42).

Prominent in the Gospels and Acts are statements about and descriptions of the motivation of the works of God the Father and of Christ the Son. Jesus constantly thinks of his work as in harmony with God's work: The Father shares with him his own work (John 5:27,30); he is doing the work which the Father has given him to do (John 5:36); he will be doing even greater works of the Father (John 5:20); all these works, he says, are necessary for him to do (John 9:4). It is the Savior's purpose to finish the works the Father has assigned him (John 4:34). In his agony he thanks God that throughout his life and ministry on earth he has fulfilled those divine works (John 17:4). Because of the perfection of his works, the Lord calls on men to believe his miraculous works (John 10:38; 14:11).

These good works, he says, are many (John 10:32). Men bear testimony to his good deeds and to his good life (Pilate, Luke 23:15, and the thief on the cross, Luke 23:41), and John the Baptist in prison is encouraged to inquire further about Jesus' deeds as he received the message of what Christ was doing (Matt 11:2). The testimony among the disciples and others was that Jesus "was a prophet, powerful in word and deed before God and all the people" (Luke 24:19). Following in the footsteps of Jesus (cf. I Pet 2:21), Jesus' disciples will do similar works and even greater works: "Anyone who has faith in me will do what I have been doing. He will do even greater things than these, because I am going to the Father" (John 14:12).

In the Gospels and Acts, God the Father is set forth as involved in his sovereign work. It is stated that he has done his marvelous work of creation (making the heavens, the earth, and the sea, Acts 4:24). He has performed his marvelous work of salvation through the death and resurrection of Jesus (Acts 13:41), and he is continually working his providential acts among men (Acts 5:17). He is sovereignly accomplishing his divine work in and through Christ (John 5:36; 14:10). And he also works his divine purposes in and through frail and infirmed man (John 9:3). even through

his disciples (Acts 5:39). All these works of God are declared to be good (John 10:32).

The Deeds of the Saints

The works of the disciples of the Lord in the Gospels and Acts are generally pictured as good and honoring to the Lord. First, the disciples are seen earnestly grappling (ἀγωνίζομαι) with their sinful condition (Luke 13:24) and calling on God for salvation (Luke 18:13). The inquiring disciples are to repent of their sin and turn to God and "prove their repentance by their deeds" (Acts 26:20). As redeemed of God, their deeds wrought through God (John 3:21) are to be good (Matt 5:16) and righteous (Acts 10:35) and are to be performed humbly (Acts 20:19) and without fear (Luke 1:74). As laborers for God in his harvest field (Matt 9:37,38), they should be powerful in speech and action (Acts 7:22), and the effect of that work for the Lord should be widespread (Acts 26:26). These saints who do works for God are both male (Zachariah, Luke 1:8) and female (Dorcas, Acts 9:36).

The deeds of the saints described fall into two categories: spiritual and physical-material. In the spiritual realm the disciples are to worship and serve God only (λατρεύω, Matt 4:10; Luke 4:8), and that religious service is to be engaged in constantly (present form of λατρεύω, Acts 24:14; 27:23), both by individuals as Paul (Acts 24:14; 27:23) and Zachariah (Luke 1:23), as well as by the whole church (Acts 13:2). This religious service (λατρεύω) is frequently accompanied by fastings and prayers and performed night and day on occasion (Acts 2:37). That service includes performing (λατρεύω) the promises or vows one has made to the Lord (Matt 5:33). This kind of service (λατρεύω) is perennial, the same kind of worship relationship as enjoyed by the saints of other ages: Paul worshiped the God of his fathers (Acts 24:14).

However, these works of service to God can be and are defective when those who are supposed to know God really do not know him and thus fail to do his work. In John 8:39 Jesus recognizes the correlation: They who are Abraham's spiritual children will do the works (τὰ ἔργα) that Abraham did (in truly serving God), which many of Jesus' antagonists did not do. Paul, on his part, recognizes that the twelve tribes of Israel in his day were earnestly serving God (ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ ... λατρεύω Acts 26:7) but, of course, not with true faith.

The physical-material deeds of the saints include daily work to provide food, clothing, and shelter: Paul testifies to the Ephesian elders (Acts 20:34) that "these hands of mine have supplied (ὕπηρετέω) my own needs and the needs of my companions." In turn, a little later Paul's friends took care of his needs (ὕπηρετέω Acts 24:23) when the Apostle was imprisoned in Caesarea Maritima. Many of the women who followed Jesus provided for (διακονέω) the needs of Jesus "out of their own means" (Luke 8:2, 3; Matt 27:55). In the early church there was a material sharing to meet the needs of all (Acts 2:45; 4:32-37), specifically caring for the needs of the widows in the church community (Acts 6: 1-4). Particular

individuals mentioned who helped were Joseph-Barnabas, a Levite from Cyprus (Acts 4:36, 37), and Tabitha (Dorcas) who was known for her garment-making (Acts 9:36, 39).

Other examples of those saints who distinguished themselves as workers of good deeds are the sinful woman who anointed Jesus' feet (Luke 7:38), the woman who anointed the head of Jesus (Matt 26:10; identified in John 12:3-8 as Mary who anointed him for his burial),¹⁹ Joseph of Arimathea who provided a tomb for Jesus (Matt 27:57-60) and who with Nicodemus prepared Jesus' body for burial (John 19:38-40), and also some of the women disciples prepared to do the same (Mark 16:1; Luke 23:55-24:1). Zacchaeus, upon his conversion, is depicted as one who would give generously to the needs of the poor (Luke 19:8), and, by inference, we gather that after Matthew met the Lord, he began to supply the physical needs of those despised or less fortunate than he (Matt 9:9-11). Moses is a man known for his mighty deeds and words (Acts 7:22), Dorcas for her millinery work (Acts 9:36), Anna for her service in the temple (Luke 2:37), and Paul for his continual service to God (Acts 24:14, 27:23) and man (as a tent-maker, Acts 15:3), and one who provided for his own needs and the needs of others (Acts 20:34; 28:30).

Above all, the saints are to be those who live by the truth, who come into the light and demonstrate clearly that their deeds have been "done through God" (John 3:21); thus in heeding God's instructions they are assured that they can do well (Acts 15:29). Jesus promises that, "Anyone who has faith in me will do (τὰ ἔργα) what I have been doing. He will do even greater things than these, because I am going to the Father" (John 14:12). And having been faithful to the Lord in the exercise of their duty, the saints can look forward through God's grace to bring to completion the work which he has given them to do (Acts 14:26).

The Goals, Methods, and Accomplishments of Work

A good deal is said in the Gospels and Acts regarding the goals, methods, and accomplishments of work. The work activities described center around the buying-selling, profit-loss theme, the obligations motif, and the theme of sharing the results of one's labor with others.

Prominent in the fabric of the Gospels and Acts is the buying-selling, profit-payment motif. This is emphasized through the use of several Greek words. One is πᾶρασκω whose basic meaning is "sell";²⁰ its emphasis can be on value (selling all to buy a pearl, Matt 13:45, 46) and profit (as in selling for a huge price a product like the expensive perfume which had been used to anoint the body of Jesus, Matt 26:9; Mark 14:5; John 12:5). The word is also used in Acts for the selling of real estate, lands and houses (Acts 4:34; 5:2) and other kinds of possessions and goods (τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις Acts 2:45). In one instance, the word is used in a story told about a creditor's intent to sell his debtor's wife and children into human slavery, an event which transpired many times in that society. ἀποδίδωμι is also used once in our literature to indicate a slavery transaction (Acts 7:9). In Acts 5:8, however, ἀποδίδωμι is used for the

act of selling a piece of ground. It is also used to indicate an employer's pay of hired workers (Matt 20:8), for produce payment-in-kind to owners by responsible tenant farmers (Matt 21:41), and for account-giving by appointed steward-managers (Luke 16:2), as well as by people at large (Acts 19:40). It is used to indicate repayment in a contractual obligation made by the Samaritan with the innkeeper (Luke 10:35). Persons who had nothing to pay were forgiven (Luke 7:42), while those who may be guilty of wrongdoing are encouraged to settle up their accounts before they are called upon to pay up to the last penny (Matt 5:26; Luke 12:59). The person, like Zacchaeus, with a redeemed heart, determines that for his acts of cheating his fellow human beings, he will repay those cheated "four times the amount" (Luke 19:8).

In a spiritual sense, the Lord promises to reward his saints who are faithful in their giving to the needy, in praying, in their fasting, etc. (Matt 6:4, 6, 18).

Ἀγοράζω is another important word in the Gospels and Acts used in the description of commercial work transactions. The basic concept of the word is "to go to the market-place to purchase."²¹ It is used in our literature to indicate the purchase of a variety of goods: food (βρώματα, Matt 14:15, Luke 9:13); τροφᾶς (John 4: 8); bread in particular (Mark 6:36, John 6:5); oil (Matt 25:9, 10); animals (five oxen, Luke 14:19, and animals for temple sacrifice, Matt 21:21; Mark 11:15); goods, such as a garment (Luke 22:36); fine linen (Mark 15:46); sweet spices (Mark 16:1); pearls (Matt 13:46); land purchases (Matt 13:44; Matt 27:5; Luke 14:18).

Still another word for the buying-selling transaction is πωλέω²² ("sell"). This word is used for a wide range of purchases, from animals, as sparrows (Matt 10:29; Luke 12:6) and animals for sacrifice (Luke 19:45), as oxen and sheep (John 2:14) and doves (Matt 21:12; Mark 11:15; John 2:16), to goods (Matt 13:44; Mark 10:21; Luke 12:33; 18:22), such as garments, swords, oil (Matt 25:9), other property (Acts 5: 1), and fields (Matt 13:44).

The value of the thing sold is emphasized in Matt 10:29 (two sparrows sold for an assarion, 1/16 of a denarius which was a workman's daily wage) and in Luke 12:6 (five sparrows sold for two assaria, 1/8 of a denarius). Emphasized are sales in which the proceeds were to go to the poor (Mark 10:21; Luke 12:33; 18:22; Acts 4:34, 37; 5:1). Bad aspects of selling and buying are suggested in Luke 17:28 when it is stated that buying and selling and the like was all there was to life in the days of Lot in Sodom and Gomorrah.

The advantages of making profit is suggested in the parable of the talents (Matt 25:16) where the servant is described as trading his five talents (ἐργάζομαι, he worked with his talents) to gain five more, and the parable of the ten pounds (Luke 19:23) where the master expects the money at least to have been deposited in the bank²³ where it could have drawn interest (πράσσω, produce something).

Some of these same Greek words just examined emphasize the fulfilling of obligations for work done. Jesus tells of an employer who hires men for specific wages (Matt 20:1,2) and those wages are paid (Matt 20:8); here

the Savior teaches that in physical work laborers deserve their wages, and that this applies also to those who perform spiritual service (Matt 10:10; Luke 10:7). Particularly the Greek root μίσθ- (pay, hire) is used to convey the meaning of hired servants (μισθοί, Luke 15:17, 19; μισθωτοί, Mark 1:20; John 10:12, 13), a hired house (μισθωμα, Acts 28:30), the act of hiring (μισθόω Matt 20:1, 7), and the wages given for fulfilling the job (μισθωμα, Matt 20:8; μισθός, Luke 10:7; John 4:36, wages for the spiritual harvest). The teaching is given that for sin and inequity, pay (μισθός) will also be given (Acts 1:18). The word ἀποδίδωμι (give back, recompense) carries the notion of fulfilling one's obligation whether of paying up fully one's debt (Matt 5:26, to the last κοδράντην²⁴; Luke 12:59, to the last λεπτόν²⁵) to the idea of farmers fulfilling their crop quota obligation (Matt 21:41), and managers of estates giving an account of their management (Luke 16:2). Zacchaeus, in his financial accounting, determines to give back four times what he has wrongly cheated people of (Luke 19:8). People are called to give account of their rash actions (Acts 19:40). The Savior reminds men that at the Second Coming he will fulfill his obligation by recompensing each person according to his work (πρῶξις, Matt 16:27).

Sometimes men are addressed as not realizing the implications and consequences of their deeds (cf. those who crucified Christ, Acts 3:16), and at other times it is admitted that their deeds are not deserving of the punishment which men want to give (John 18:38; Acts 25:11, 25).

The Gospels and Acts make clear that it is not enough for one to engage in the buying-selling activity and to be making profit enough to live on and to meet one's own obligation. There is the additional obligation to use one's substance to help the poor and needy. Possessions, goods, and properties were sold (πιπρασκω) that proceeds could be used where necessary to help those in need (Acts 2:45; 4:34; 5:4). Disciples (Luke 12:33), as well as others (the rich man, Mark 10:21; Luke 18:22), are encouraged to sell (πωλέω) their possessions and give to the poor. Jesus also teaches the principle that creditors are to be considerate and merciful to debtors who have fallen on bad times and cannot pay (Luke 7:42), just as God forgives the sinner who has grievously sinned against Him (Luke 7:44-47).

Bad business transactions and profits are not overlooked, as exemplified in the case of the rich farmer who only thought of making more (Luke 12:16-21), and the owners of the slave girl who only thought of their profit (ἐργασία, Acts 16:16, 19), and by the Ephesian craftsmen who were interested only in making profits from their silver shrine business (Acts 19:24, 25), rather than in meeting the needs of the people of the city.

The Places Where Work is Accomplished

The number of uses of the root ἀγορ- (market-place) emphasizes the importance of the work and business motif in the Gospels and Acts. The ἀγορά is the place where laborers are hired (Matt 20:3), where judicial business (Acts 16:19), and other official business (Acts 17:19) is

conducted, where philosophical, religious, and other types of discussions are held (Acts 17:17), where friends and leaders meet to greet each other (Matt 23:7; Mark 12:38; Luke 11:43; 20:46). The ἀγορά was that common market-place where the sick were brought for Jesus to heal (Mark 6:56); that place where children would play, even imitating the flute-playing of the adults in celebrations and funerals²⁶ (Matt 11:16; Luke 7:12). It was that place of business activity frequented by religious and other persons (Mark 7:3, 4).

Another place of business was the tax collector's tax office (τελώνιον) (Matt 9:9; Mark 2:14; Luke 5:27; cf. Luke 19:2). The word τράπεζα was that financial table, the money changer's table where his coins were laid out. In the Gospels particularly such tables are mentioned in the temple courts (Matt 21:12; Mark 11: 15; John 2:15). The term also means the bank where money could be deposited to bear interest²⁷ (Luke 19:23). In addition, that place of business could be the temple treasury (γαζοφυλάκιον, Mark 12:41,43; Luke 21:1) where rich and poor brought their gifts to the temple treasury. It can be assumed that landowners paid their workers and tenant farmers at their estates (as at the vineyard, Matt 21:33; Luke 20:13; cf. Matt 25:19).

Accountability in Work

The Gospels and Acts readily teach that men are accountable for their deeds. This is true even though they have acted in ignorance (πράσσω, Acts 3:17), as in their crucifying Christ: in this instance they are instructed to "Repent then, and turn to God so that your sins may be wiped out" (Acts 3:19). On this theme Jesus warns men that in his Second Coming "he will reward each person according to what he has done" (πρᾶξις, Matt 16:27). The Savior warns those who oppose God that on the day of judgment they will give account (ἀποδίδωμι) for "every careless word they have spoken" (Matt 12:36). That principle of accountability is certainly seen in the parable of the unjust servant; here, on the one hand, the principle of accountability for one's actions is tempered by mercy and forgiveness, and yet, on the other hand, persistence in sin brings ultimate and final punishment (Matt 18:23-35). For good deeds (giving, praying, fasting, etc.), however, God will reward his people (Matt 6:4, 6, 18).

In the area of accountability to society and government, Jesus teaches that men should pay (ἀποδίδωμι) their debts to their neighbors (Luke 12:59) and "give (same Greek word) to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's" (Matt 22:21; Mark 12:17; Luke 20:25).

The Ultimate Purpose, End, Goal of Work

The Gospels and Acts teach that one of the chief purposes, or goals, of work should be of giving service both to God and to man. The important Greek stem to suggest this idea is δουλ-, serve, be a slave. The verb δουλεύω is used to teach that one cannot have divided service; it is either

servicing God or material-money, but not both at the same time (Matt 6:24; Luke 16:13). One chief example is the Apostle Paul who "served the Lord with great humility and with tears." (Acts 20:19) Examples of other faithful servants of the Lord are Elizabeth (Luke 1:38, 48) and Simeon (Luke 2:29; cf. Acts 2:18). Although God's people are strictly servants obliged to do God's will, yet through the saving grace of Christ, the Savior calls them his friends (John 15:15). But as God's servants the believers are to be careful not to count themselves superior in any way to their Lord (Matt 10:24; John 13:16; 15:20). Looking to the future, as good servants of God, the believers will share in the "Well done, good and faithful servant!" (Matt 25:21,23; Luke 19:17). In recognizing that they are servants of God, the believers are to pray and depend on God for the ability and circumstance to do his will (Acts 4:29-31). And each believer is at all times to be a faithful and wise servant of God and thus he will receive God's blessing (Matt 24:44-47). In contrast, the wicked and disobedient unbeliever who acts selfishly and irresponsibly will receive eternal punishment (Matt 24:48-51). God's people should be recognized as "servants of the Most High God" (Acts 16:17); those whose works cause men to praise the believers' Father in heaven (Matt 5:16).

The Gospels and Acts also teach that man is to be the servant of others, not trying to lord it over men (Mark 10:42-44), but serving them (cf. Luke 10:30-37).

The Gospels and Acts recognize another secondary goal in work: to receive a reward or wages for one's endeavors. Jesus states "the worker deserves his wages" (Luke 10:7). Those wages are sometimes the spiritual blessing and satisfaction (John 4:36) one will receive in hearing the "Well done, good and faithful servant!" (Matt 25:21, 23; Luke 19:17). That reward of enjoying God's approbation will be great in heaven (Matt 5:12; cf. Matt 5:46); even those who are considered insignificant by the world's standards, but who are faithful, redeemed servants of God, will be blessed in heaven (Matt 10:41).

God's blessing will come to his people as, for his glory, they give to the needy and in humility serve him (Matt 6:3, 6).

Serving God faithfully, humbly, and unselfishly will mean that God's people will be storing up treasures in heaven (Matt 6:20).

Conclusion

The teachings of the Gospels and Acts regarding work in all its forms is much the same as it is in the Pauline Epistles.

Inherently, work in the Gospels and Acts is depicted as natural, purposeful activity exemplified first in the purposefulness of God's activity (Acts 13:41; cf. Hab 1:5) and that of his Son, Jesus Christ, who does the very work which the Father has given him to finish (John 5:36). The good and perfect works of God (John 10:32), which includes his creative acts (Acts 4:24), his saving work through Christ (Acts 13:41), and his continual faithful providential acts among men (Acts 5:17), are to be the model for the finite works that the believers whose lives and activities are

to be God-centered (Matt 6:33) are to be accomplished through God's grace (cf. Eph 2:10).

The deeds of the saints, both in the spiritual (Matt 4:10; Luke 4:8) and in the physical realms (Acts 20:34) are to be done for God's glory and purposes (Matt 5:16). Their works are to be shown clearly to have been "done through God," worked by those who are living by the truth (John 3:21).

Far from denigrating the principle of "honest pay for an honest day's work," our literature upholds this work ethic as it describes God's honorable activity and relates this concept to the activities of men. The principle of cause and effect in work is set forth in the Bible's teaching that man's work is to be divinely motivated as he serves God and his fellowmen.

The buying-selling, profit-payment motif is prominent in the stories and accounts of the Gospels and Acts. Doing good work (Matt 25:21, 23), receiving proper pay (Matt 20:8), engaging in private buying and selling (Matt 13:44) and profit making (Luke 19:23) are all put in a good light as meaningful activity for man to do. But because of the sinful, depraved nature of fallen man, all of this work ethic is tempered with instructions and warnings about fairness, about not exacting more than is due (Luke 3:13), using restraint (Luke 3:14), exhibiting mercy and forgiveness (Luke 7:42), instructions about God-centeredness (Matt 6:33), warnings about God's and man's judgment (Luke 12:20), care for others and for the poor (Luke 12:33; Mark 10:21), and concern for one's goal in work -- why am I doing it? For God's glory?

The Gospels and Acts, in upholding the same Bible and Protestant work ethic as do the Epistles of Paul, strike a balance between the hard work-self-denial philosophy, on the one hand, and the self-fulfillment philosophy described by Yankelovich, on the other. With God as central in all work and activity, hard work (Matt 13:3, the sower) and self-denial (cf. Matt 10:37, 38; Mark 8:34-36) are to be for God's glory and thus truly good and purposeful. On the other hand, the believer's self-fulfillment also is to be centered in the Lord and all that he does is to be done for God's glory. The believer finds self-fulfillment in loving God and doing his will (John 14:15), and he takes the pattern for life from Jesus who said, "For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve and to give his life a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45).

The instructions for living in this way are the basis for the Protestant work ethic in its purity, and such a biblically-based work ethic highlights the meaning of Hannah Arendt's view that:

True freedom can flourish only when the "treasure" is not wholly spent on private satisfaction. Freedom always involves the larger community, what Romans called the *res publica*. What thinkers of the eighteenth century called the "public happiness" and what we would today call society or culture.²⁸

On the contrary, when man departs from the norms of the Gospels and Acts, and of all of Scripture, he is destined to end up with a distorted view of the true meaning of self-denial and self-fulfillment and with a distorted view of the pattern and purpose of work which should be done for God's glory and for man's good.

NOTES

- ¹"The Pauline Work Ethic," *New Dimensions in New Testament Study*, (edd. R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1974) 357-369.
- ² Acts was only referred to incidentally in the study on the Pauline work ethic.
- ³ We are assuming at this point the Lucan authorship of both Luke and Acts. For a discussion of that authorship see Richard N. Longenecker, *The Acts of the Apostles in The Expositor's Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1981) 9.238-240.
- ⁴ Daniel Yankelovich. *New Rules* (New York: Bantam, 1982) 244.
- ⁵ Yankelovich, *New Rules*, pp. 186-7.
- ⁶ Strathmann, R. Meyer, "λειτουργία", *TDNT* 4 (1967) 215-231.
- ⁷ Strathmann, "λατρεύω", *TDNT* 6 (1965) 58-65.
- ⁸ Hauck, "κόπος", *TDNT* 3 (1965) 827-830.
- ⁹ Stauffer, "ἀγών", *TDNT* 1 (1964) 134-141).
- ¹⁰ Rengstorf, "δοῦλος", *TDNT* 2 (1964) 261-280.
- ¹¹ Preisler and Wurthwein, "μισθός", *TDNT* 4 (1967) 695-728.
- ¹² Büchsel, "ἀγοράζω", *TDNT* 1 (1964) 124-128.
- ¹³ Verses quoted are from the *New International Version*.
- ¹⁴ Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (2nd ed., Revised and Augmented: Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), "ἀγωνίζομαι", 15.
- ¹⁵ Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, "ἐργάζομαι", 306-7.
- ¹⁶ Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, "λειτουργέω", 470-1.
- ¹⁷ Büchsel, "δίδωμι", *TDNT* 2 (1964) 167-8,
- ¹⁸ Richard N. Longenecker, *The Acts of the Apostles* (EBC, vol. 9; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1981) 498.
- ¹⁹ John A. Broadus, *Commentary on Matthew* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publications Society, 1886) 518.
- ²⁰ Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, "πιπράσκω", 66.
- ²¹ Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, "ἀγοράζω", 12.
- ²² Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, "πωλέω", 731.
- ²³ Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, "τράπεζα", 824.
- ²⁴ Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, "κοδράντης", 437; equals two lepta.
- ²⁵ Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, "λεπτόν", 472; a small copper coil worth about one-eighth of a λεπτός. Χρῆνός literally means "peeled, thin, small." A. Plummer, *Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & I Clark, 1913) 336-7.
- ²⁶ John A. Broadus. *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publications Society, 1886) 243.
- ²⁷ Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible* I, 580. A. Plummer, *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, 442.
- ²⁸ Hannah Arendt. *On Revolution* (New York: Viking, 1963), in Daniel Yankelovich, *New Rules*, p.218.

The Bible and the Modern Mind

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The human situation as depicted in the Bible, Henry Blamires contends, is as foreign to that of the twentieth-century secular-scientific world-view as a bushman's is from Einstein's four-dimensional cosmos. What is the picture of reality popularized today by the media of communication and entertainment? Is it, he asks, the picture of

A world in which angel and demon are locked in conflict? A world packed full of sinners desperately dependent upon the mercy of God? A world amok with fundamentally powerless creatures, running hither and thither, foolishly imagining that they can do without God, and making an appalling mess of things as a result? A world voyaging like a little vessel across the sea, taking its passengers to their final home? A world fashioned by God, sustained by God, worried over by God, died for by God?¹

Such questions require no answer. Simply by asking them Blamires highlights the abysmal difference between the modern mind which has abandoned the biblical perspective and the Christian mind which is biblically informed.

The Biblical Worldview

The worldview of the Bible is a thorough going supernaturalism. It postulates illimitable dimensions of being which encompass, penetrate, and impinge upon our space-time continuum, invisible and intangible dimensions that baffle all our conceivable methods of research. The Bible also affirms that the source and substratum of Being, whether in space-time or beyond it, is the eternal self-subsistent Being we call God. This Being, ineffably mysterious, yet analogically describable in human terms, is personal and moral, Being who is mind and heart, Being who in the depths of an infinite personhood is triune, an ultimate plurality within an ultimate unity; and this Being would exist in undiminished perfection if all created beings were somehow annihilated. The Bible declares, furthermore, that God who is love, motivated by the purpose of expanding the orbit of his triune beatitude, embarked upon a process of creative activity which entailed redemptive activity as well. Out of nothingness he willed into being all besides himself that has existed, now exists, and will ever exist, including of course planet earth and its dominant denizen, man. The Bible gives its own unique interpretation of the human saga, focusing on the fall of the original human pair in Eden: the choice of the Jewish people as the channel of God's saving action; Israel's zigzag development and apostasy; the phenomenon of prophetism; the Babylonian captivity of Israel and its return from exile; the Virgin Birth, miracle-working ministry,

atonement, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ; the founding of the church; and then ultimately the promised *denouement* of the Second Coming with earth renewed and righteousness globally established; the awesome execution of judgment followed by the eternal bifurcation of humanity, the lost forever excluded from light and joy, the redeemed forever in beatific fellowship with God, glorifying him for what he has done and is as self-giving love.

In addition, the Bible claims that, as the record and interpretation of God's nature, purpose, and action, it is God's Word -- God's Word in the words of men who, as they wrote, were directed and controlled by God the Holy Spirit. Thus the Bible also claims that, apart from the sin-obscured disclosure of deity in nature, it is the sole and sufficient revelation of God, characterized by supernatural authority and infallibility. In brief, the thoroughgoing supernaturalism of the Christian Faith is likewise a thoroughgoing Biblicism which the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments regarded as informationally foundational, theologically normative, and experientially indispensable.

Before the rise of modern science the biblical worldview, if one overlooks the occasional skeptic, dominated the thinking of the Christianized nations. Hence commerce with the invisible dimensions of reality was taken for granted. Though the universe was regarded as static, neat, and tidy, an ordered structure that could be precisely diagrammed, it was the scene of momentous and dynamic drama. In the words of John Herman Randall, Jr. whose book, *The Making of the Modern Mind*, was long a standard text for collegians:

To the man of six hundred years ago, anything might happen in this world. Nothing was too strange or too contrary to nature for him to credit on respected authority. Why should he reject such strange narrations when he was prepared for almost any miraculous event to occur in his daily life? Above and beneath him swarmed a myriad of intelligences, demons or angels, strange descendants of ancient gods, ever ready at the behest of God or Satan - it was always difficult to tell which, as witness the voices of Joan of Arc -- work wonders for the edification or damnation of men. Holy men were daily the vehicles of God's power in the performance of miracles to strengthen the piety of the faithful; the Devil and his cohorts waged a never-ending war of temptation upon the purest of heart.^2

But the medieval worldview, rooted in biblical soil and hosting some unbiblical and parasitic accretions, has become literally incredible for any well-informed person in the twentieth century. Why? The climate of opinion has changed. That, at least, is the verdict of Carl Becker, which, however judicious it aspires to be, smacks of supercilious skepticism.

The modern mind, which curiously notes and carefully describes everything, can indeed describe this climate of opinion although it cannot live in it. In this climate of opinion it was an unquestioned fact that the world and man in it had been created in six days by God the Father, an omniscient and benevolent intelligence, for an ultimate if inscrutable purpose. Although created perfect, man had through disobedience fallen from grace into sin and error, thereby incurring the penalty of eternal damnation. Yet happily a way of atonement and salvation had been provided through the propitiatory sacrifice of God's only begotten Son. Helpless in themselves to avert the just wrath of God, men were yet to be permitted, through his mercy, and by humility and obedience to his will, to obtain pardon for sin and error. Life on earth was but a means to this desired end, a temporary probation for

the testing of God's children. In God's appointed time, the Earthly City would come to an end and the earth itself swallowed up in flames. On that last day good and evil men would be finally separated. For the recalcitrant there was reserved a place of everlasting punishment; but the faithful would be gathered with God in the Heavenly City, there in perfection and felicity to dwell forever.³

Becker thus insists that the climate of opinion which prevails today is a *milieu* or a *Zeitgeist* which renders biblical supernaturalism a dead-option. How valid, though, is the assumption which leads to his pronouncement? Is the modern mind, subsisting in its own climate of opinion, unable to accept the biblical view of reality even with "the best will in the world"?

The Modern Mind: How Valid a Concept?

Before that question can be adequately answered, a prior issue requires adjudication. Is the concept of a modern mind, sharply distinguishable from an ancient mind or a medieval mind, anything more than a linguistic convenience which can be used only if its fluidity, imprecision, and indefiniteness are fully recognized? Is it merely a semantic device of dubious value or is it a classificatory rubric which isolates a distinctive entity like the Japanese current that slowly takes on its own unambiguous qualities as it flows through the Pacific Ocean? In the sea of time, similarly, does a current of thought, a cluster of interlocking ideas, a sort of unconscious ideology, gain distinctiveness and directionality until it requires a separate categorization?

But this issue drives us back to an even more basic dispute. Does man *qua* man have a given nature and hence a mind which in all periods of history is uniquely human? There are those philosophers -- Jean Paul Sartre, for example -- who deny that man has a nature which is given, fixed, uniquely human. Since they hold that existence precedes essence, they hold, too, that man in freedom defines himself, and every man's self-definition is irreducibly idiosyncratic. They therefore resist all attempt to make generalizations, other than biological, about persons.

There are other philosophers, however, who draw from the work of anthropologists and psychologists the conclusion that, while born with a uniquely human nature, man unlike instinct-driven and unreflective creatures has a malleable nature which undergoes remarkably diverse modifications according to the environmental and cultural influences that bear upon it. Yet, regardless of the astonishingly wide spectrum of human societies, man's mind as an integral element of his nature is nevertheless always and everywhere the mind of man. Human beings, whether primitive or civilized, oriental and western, ancient and modern, carry on mental processes that are, if not identical, more similar than dissimilar. So French anthropologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl once argued that among primitives a prelogical mentality is to be found (*mentalité prelogique*) which ignores, supposedly, the principles of identity and contradiction. Later, however, he repudiated this position, acknowledging that primitive savages and Parisian savants have in common a human mind. William Foxwell Albright explains why:

In 1939 Lévy-Bruhl became skeptical about his classification and wrote in his notebooks, partly published in 1947, a complete retraction of his views on prelogical thinking. But his reason for retracting his ideas on prelogical thinking was precisely the reason which made me, in the same year (1939), propose an intermediary stage, namely the stage of empirical logic or empirico-logical thinking. Lévy-Bruhl recognized that, in most respects, primitives reason quite as logically as ordinary Westerners, and are much more practical about the affairs of their daily life than the average Westerner is when he comes to live among them. They know the habits of useful animals, as well as the habits of animals which are dangerous. They know the effects of plants, deleterious or beneficial, whether one can eat given plants or animals safely; they know the best ways to hunt and fish; they know about the seasons; they know how to utilize natural resources with such tools and devices as they possess. In all these respects, they are incomparably superior to civilized foreigners who try to live with them as they live. Accordingly, Lévy-Bruhl realized that it is quite wrong to attribute "prelogical" mentality to primitives.^4

In short, the dichotomy between a prelogical, uncivilized mentality and a logical, civilized mentality cannot, in Lévy-Bruhl's opinion, be sustained.

Neither can a split be made between the ancient mind and the modern mind, as if they were disparate entities. Even the impressive technology of the twentieth century does not prove that the modern mind is different from, much less inferior to, the ancient mind. Albright reminds us that, long before the Industrial Revolution and the advent of Western science, men were achieving remarkable feats.

Among the Babylonians of the first centuries of the second millennium there were such inventions and discoveries as Diophantine algebra, named for a Greek mathematician of the Roman period who probably flourished in the third century A. D., and geometry, including individual cases of the famous Pythagorean theorem named for the Greek philosopher and mathematician of the sixth century B. C. The Egyptians had developed remarkable skill in surgery, anatomy, mensuration, and other fields. The Babylonians, having two languages which were totally different in structure, made remarkable progress in analyzing the structure of languages. The Egyptians did not even begin to develop philology because they had only one language. A greater triumph, however, was the remarkable development of ancient Near Eastern law, particularly in the Law of Moses in Exodus, which follows identically the same formulation and patterning as Ancient Oriental law-codes of the second millennium, but is distinctly advanced in detail. The greatest triumph of empirical logic was Israelite monotheism.^5

Albright, moreover, subjects to vigorous criticism the notion advanced by Thorlief Boman, among others, that the Hebrew mind must be put in a polar antithesis to the Greek mind -- temporal versus spatial, dynamic versus static, auditory versus visual. Pungently he remarks:

Boman's approach is completely wrong Boman just took a concept, "to be", which is somewhat differently expressed in Hebrew and Greek, and arbitrarily assumed that the differences were characteristic of different ways of thinking. If he had looked through his dictionaries carefully, he would have found that exactly the same ideas can be expressed, though in somewhat different ways. The hypothesis of different forms of logic and different mentalities based on difference of languages is erroneous.^6

Whether Hebrew or Greek, then, ancient or modern, primitive or civilized, man's mind is distinctively and everywhere the mind of man. In the light of this fact -- for fact it is -- the skepticism of J. Gresham Machen regarding almost airtight classifications among types and periods of human

thinking seems wholly justified.

Frankly, I do not believe in the separate existence of an Oriental mind or an Occidental mind or an ancient mind or a medieval mind or a modern mind. I do believe indeed that different races of mankind have different aptitudes or talents.... We may misunderstand ancient writers, but our very recognition of the possibility of misunderstanding them shows that there is also a possibility of understanding them. I may have difficulty in understanding the mental processes of the Chinese and the Japanese, as they have difficulty in understanding mine; but the very fact that we can both detect that difficulty shows that there is a common intellectual ground upon which we can stand.^7

Though the modern mind *per se* must be consequently denied any quasi-ontological status as an historical entity, its reality as a cultural phenomenon must be asserted. A *Zeitgeist* is no doubt as elusive and intangible as a fog, but it is just as real -- and may be just as obfuscating. Julian Huxley acknowledges this, when despite his abhorrence of religious taboos, he remarks:

Every society in every age not only needs some system of beliefs, including a basic attitude to life, an organized set of ideas round which emotion and purpose may gather, and a conception of human destiny. It needs a philosophy and a faith to achieve a guide to orderly living -- in other words a morality.^8

Every society in every age not only needs a generally accepted belief-system or moral framework: it possesses such a controlling ideology, a set of assumptions, sentiments, and attitudes, a body of operational presuppositions that are rarely called into question. A helpful imagery has been suggested by Duncan Williams:

If a great change is to be made in human affairs, the minds of men will be fitted to it; the general opinions and feelings will draw that way... and then, they who persist in opposing this mighty current in human affairs will appear rather to resist the decrees of providence itself, than the mere designs of men.^9

In some ages, however, the "mighty current in human affairs" must be resisted, as Burke himself resisted the French Revolution, because it is sweeping people towards destructive rapids.^10

The Origins of the Modern Mind

Conceding, therefore, both the historical and heuristic legitimacy of modifying the noun *mind* by the adjective *modern* -- a limited legitimacy -- another preliminary issue arises which requires investigation. When did the modern mind begin to obtrude upon Western civilization, pushing aside that intellectual and cultural *gestalt* known as the medieval mind? And what were, if they can be identified, the causes and forces that produced it?

This investigation may turn out to be a futile quest if Richard Ellmann and Charles Feidelson, Jr., are correct. In the introduction to their comprehensive anthology, *The Modern Tradition*, they describe the efforts of that amorphous group of intellectuals, authors, and artists whom they label "the modernists" to determine "their relation to the past." A most

discouraging task! "They have constantly been searching for and never quite finding their starting -- the end of Victorianism, the beginning of romanticism, the mid-seventeenth century, the end of the Middle Ages."¹¹ Suppose, nonetheless, we too engage in that discouraging task. What is the starting-point of the modern mind? Pushing our way backward, we pause momentarily at 1910, arrested by Virginia Woolf's cryptic statement, "On or about December 1910 human nature changed." And lest we take that statement with undue literality, we had better listen to Irving Howe's interpretation of it.

Through this vivid hyperbole, Virginia Woolf meant to suggest that there is a frightening discontinuity between the traditional past and the shaken present; that the line of history has been bent, perhaps broken. Modernist literature goes on the tacit assumption that human nature has indeed changed, probably a few decades before the date given by Mrs. Woolf; or, as Stephen Spender remarks, that the circumstances under which we live, forever being transformed by nature, have been so radically altered that people feel human nature to have changed and thereby behave as though it has.¹²

So instead of stopping at 1910, we are evidently compelled to push back at least a few decades before that. A few decades? No, we must push back as far as a whole century. For Howe, differentiating between modern and contemporary, says this:

In the past hundred years, we have had a special kind of literature. We call it modern and distinguish it from the merely contemporary; for where the contemporary refers to time, the modern refers to sensibility and style, and where the contemporary us a term of neutral reference, the modern is a term of critical placement and judgment.¹³

Literature is, of course, one of the chief shaping-influences and recording-devices of any cultural era, a kind of barometer or even seismograph of any historical era, reflecting the impact of the most creative and formative individuals. "The artist", Ezra Pound remarks, "is the antennae of the race."¹⁴ Equally so is the writer. Yet it is extremely difficult for a literary historian like Howe to determine when the modern tradition began. He simply asserts that for the past hundred years a new style and sensibility, a new outlook and mood have manifested themselves in the significant writers of the Western world. And they, we may assume, have not only been shapers of the modern mind but likewise been shaped by it -- whenever the modern mind but started to emerge.

Karl Löwith agrees that we are engaged in an elusive quest. He also agrees that we must move back into the nineteenth century in order to locate the headwaters of that surging cultural current labeled modernity. Löwith, whose studies of *Nature, History and Existentialism* are profound and exciting, deserves to be heard *in extenso*.

It is very difficult to say exactly what this "modernity" is and when it began to appear. Goethe thought that Balzac was abominably modern and "ultra", presenting in his novels "the ugly, the hideous and depraved" instead of the wholesome. Baudelaire thought that Flaubert's *Madam Bovary* was "profoundly." Our grandfathers thought that impressionism was terribly modern and our fathers that Van Gogh was ultra modern. Now, for us, the human comedy of Balzac has become rather antiquated in comparison with the human hell in Dostoevski's novels: poor Madame Bovary's problem no longer impresses us as profoundly

modern; impressionism is surpassed by expressionism, and Van Gogh's paintings are realistic compared with those of surrealists. But in spite of the relativity of what a generation feels to be "modern", all these writers and artists still have something in common that distinguishes them sharply from a seventeenth-century man. They are all, to use Goethe's phrase, ultra, beyond, or "ecstatic." They do not represent a human cosmos in their works, but fragments of an uncertain frame of reference. Perhaps one could say that modernity begins with the dissolution of a natural and social order in which man was supposed to have a definite nature and place, while modern man "exists", displaced and out of place, in extreme situations on the edge of chaos. Present-day modernity is therefore vastly different from what was debated under this title in the seventeenth century with regard to the relative merits of the "moderns and ancients." The comparison with the ancient classics was a comparison with works of the same kind. Milton, for example, was compared with Virgil, Corneille with Sophocles. Our modernity, which came of age with the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, is not comparable with what has gone before because it has changed the very standards of comparison.¹⁵

Philosophers are conspicuously absent from Löwith's account of when the indubitably modern took its rise. But certainly our question in reverse gear pushes us back to the powerfully formative figure of G. W. F. Hegel. Regarding him, Langdon Gilkey indulges in high praise, which he elsewhere drastically qualifies.

Hegel, more than any other thinker, can rightly be called the father of modernity. No previous thinker rejected so powerfully the oppressive and life-draining power of any transcendent [Being] over against man, the glory and in fact divinity of the unfolding of an unlimited human autonomy as the goal of human history, and the need therefore to think out reality in terms not only deity but also of immanence and autonomy.¹⁶

But Gilkey, after identifying Hegel as proper claimant to the title of the father of Western thought, does not call off the quest for the *fons er origo* of modernity. He continues on back to the eighteenth century Scottish skeptic, David Hume, endorsing the characterization which Peter Gay makes in "his remarkable book", *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*.

Hume, therefore, more decisively than many of his brethren in the Enlightenment, stands at the threshold of modernity and exhibits its risks and its possibilities. Without melodrama but the sober eloquence one would expect from an accomplished classicist, Hume makes plain that since God is silent, man is his own master; he must live in a disenchanting world, submit everything to criticism, and make his own way.¹⁷

Hume, however, was just one of that large company of gifted *illuminati* and *philosophers* who stand "at the threshold of modernity." These are emancipated intellectuals who took upon themselves the responsibility of freeing their peers and their posterity from the bondage of Christian supernaturalism. Fervent apostles of the secular faith engendered by the *Novum Organum* of Francis Bacon and the mathematical rationalism of René Descartes, they proposed a new religion of this-worldly humanism to replace the old religion of authoritarian revelation. As Becker wrote, these were the four major tenets of their creed:

(1) Man is not natively depraved; (2) the end of life is life itself, the good life on earth instead of the beatific life after death; (3) man is capable, guided solely by the light of reason and experience, of perfecting the good life on earth; and (4) the first and essential condition of the good life on earth is the freeing of men's minds from

the bonds of ignorance and superstition, and of their bodies from the arbitrary oppression of the constituted social authorities.¹⁸

But the eighteenth century enlightenment was by no means a *de novo* movement. Really the Second Enlightenment, it had its beginnings in the First Enlightenment or the Renaissance. Hence we move still further back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, encouraged to continue our inquest-in-reverse by Stanley Hopper's *The Crisis of Faith*, a brilliant study of this pivotal epoch in Western history. He reminds us that "The basic assumptions which have given rise to our passion for freedom, for reason, for investigation, for science, for modernity, were projected in that historical upheaval which Machiavelli called a *ritorno al segno* -- a return to the original source of life."¹⁹ In elaborating this thesis, Hopper reminds us, further, that the biblical-Christian-medieval worldview was at the time of the Renaissance subjected to a threefold rift. First, there was "the deliberate turning from the 'other world' to this world and to man in this world, a shift from a theocentric to an anthropocentric consciousness. This was a choice both of practical consequences (the relativity of ethics) and of metaphysical implication. Second, there was the discovery of man's allegedly "own infinite capacities. As the world was mystically endowed with indefinite progress and goodness, so man turned toward an unlimited future wherein he might unfold his limitless powers." Third, there "was the accommodation of religious faith to a sort of specious neutrality, a skeptical suspension of decision on ultimate questions; an *attitude* . . . [of] 'nonchalance' toward salvation, a life 'without fear and without repentance.'"²⁰

What in their outworking were the consequences of this radical "shift in attitude towards man and his place in the cosmos"? In an abridgment of the intellectual background of the modern mind, a *tour de force* which is nothing short of scintillating, Hopper rehearses what followed when man opted to rely on his wisdom and power.

The turning to the autonomous reason resulted in skeptical impotence (Montaigne), in solipsism (Descartes), in subjectivity (Kant), and in tautology (Hegel). In all of which is discernible a pattern of introversion whereby the self turns in upon itself and yearns for egress into truth. Similarly in the experiments in culture, the prophetic utterance of Luther, which brought the individual to his place of dignity before God, was lost by those successive thinkers who wished to preserve the dignity immanently and rationalistically, independently or magically, romantically or eclectically. Thus in *Hamlet* we beheld the Renaissance individual enervated by doubt and overborne by circumstance in a negative determination; in *Faust* this doubt was positively determined toward despair; in its longing for the infinite the soul returned by disillusionment back in upon itself in what has since been called romantic agony; and in the sanity of Matthew Arnold we saw eclectic wisdom compounded with a Stoic pride whereby a reasoned self-sufficiency maintained itself by morals and by resignation. Matthew Arnold (morals and resignation) is the Stoic counterpart at the end of this development of Montaigne's Epicureanism (morals and hedonism) . . . The pattern of the Renaissance turns in upon the self and thus expounds by dialectical unfolding what Luther knew as sin: *cor incurvatum in se* -- the self's refusal to acknowledge its relationship to God.²¹

Historically, it would seem, we have thus reached the end of our quest, locating the origins of the modern mind in that praiseworthy rebirth of

human freedom and creativity during the Renaissance -- praiseworthy yet tragic. It was tragic because the logic of the renaissential turning from God to man, from eternity to time, from a reasonable faith to faith in reason, has been working itself out by "a silent sorites." And "a silent sorites" is Kierkegaard's phrase for the sophistry which, undetected, leads step by step from truth to falsehood and absurdity.²²

Theologically, though, we must continue pressing backward. The New Testament does not intimate any difference between a first century mind and a twentieth century mind, or a Hebrew mind of the eighth century B. C. in contradistinction to a Greek mind of the fourth century B. C. It knows only the darkened, carnal, corrupt mind of fallen man who, sinfully ignoring God's loving imperatives, professes himself to be wise in his own conceits and thereby becomes a fool. This mind the New Testament traces back through the Old Testament to the Garden where the Tempter enticed man willfully to heed the pride-inflating promise, "Ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." Over against this mind the New Testament sets the Spirit-illuminated mind of the believer *qua* a human being who by grace has the mind of Christ and who struggles constantly to let his renewed mind govern every aspect of thought and behavior. So the modern mind from the perspective of the New Testament is merely an updated version of the carnal mind which, until regenerated, is at enmity with God. The modern mind is only that rebellious mind which, refusing to obey God's Word, rejects scornfully the idea of revealed truth: "Yes, hath God said?"

The Modernity of the Bible

In this context it is impossible to unravel the various strands which make up that ensnarled tangle of beliefs and convictions that constitute the modern mind. Among its interwoven and incompatible elements, however, are such ideologies as anti-supernaturalism, anthropocentrism, rationalism, relativism, secularism, optimism and pessimism (both of them, paradoxically), and nihilism. Each of these cries out for a discussion *in extenso*, but here we must content ourselves by referring to William Barrett's *Time of Need*, a sweeping, magisterial, and enervating critique of "Forms of Imagination in the Twentieth Century." Barrett depicts the normlessness, the meaninglessness, the emptiness of man self-divorced from God as he plunges, fulfilling Nietzsche's prediction, down, down, down into the dark depths of nothingness. Probing the nihilistic consciousness revealed in the novel, in painting, in sculpture, in drama as well as in music, Barrett ends his devastating survey with an analogy that furnishes an incisive commentary on the end-results of the post-renaissential heresy of autonomous anthropocentrism.

Imagine the music of the last three centuries selectively condensed into one long-playing record. It is a wonder nobody has yet made such a record, for it would be a most startling summation of Western history. The gracious concords of polyphony give way to the intricate harmonies of diatonic music, where dissonances

may sound but always (as in the world of theology) find ultimate reconciliation, Fragmentation sets in; tonality turns into cacophonous polytonality, which in turn gives way to the homeless voice of atonality. The haphazard dance of atoms in the music of chance becomes the engineering of casual noise as six radios are played at once -- until in the end there are only great chunks of silence with occasional squeaks of sound like radar blips. A rather startling sequence! It is as if Mozart were to break down and stammer in the incoherent fragments of Samuel Beckett's *Lucky* and then at last become silent.^23

Silence, cold silence unbroken by even the faintest whimper. Is that the end, the dead-end of modernity?

Pondering this appalling *denouement* of twentieth century man self-divorced from a theistic and Christian heritage, we are driven to reconsider the experiential and cultural relevance of biblical faith. How, we wonder, does one avoid this Humpty Dumpty descent into abyss? How? We resolutely refuse to embrace modernity's false assumptions. We challenge the modernity and likewise the validity of the modern mind. Unhesitatingly we grasp the option held out hypothetically by Karl Löwith:

I think it would be very difficult to refute the so-called "nihilism" of existential ontology, on theoretical as well as moral grounds, unless one believes in man and the world as a creation of God or in the cosmos as a divine and eternal order -- in other words, unless one is not "modern."^24

Shall we, thus encouraged, assert our belief in the biblical view of God and man, affirming that we are "modern" in one sense, but decidedly not "modern" in another? Shall we, in other words, flatly repudiate the prevalent notion that to be genuinely modern one must be anti-biblical? Shall we boldly trumpet the contrary? Shall we insist that to be genuinely modern one must think and live biblically? Why not?

C. G. Jung, one of Freud's most intimate associates and originally his heir-apparent as the doyen of the psychoanalytic movement, stresses the ambiguity inherent in the concept of modern man. That species of *homo sapiens*, Jung cautions, is not simply any individual who happened to be born in the twentieth century. By no means! Jung suspects that "he is rarely met with" -- this genuinely modern person. Indeed, Jung is stridently emphatic about his rarity. "It must be clearly understood that the mere fact of living in the present does not make a man modern, for in that case everyone at present alive would be so. He alone is modern who is fully conscious of the present." The genuinely modern man needs, for this reason, to be carefully differentiated from the chronologically modern man, the man whose modernity is *ersatz*. "Many people call themselves modern -- especially the pseudo-moderns. Therefore the really modern man is often to be found among those who call themselves old-fashioned.^25 So it is possible to be old-fashioned and yet modern, or maybe modern precisely because old-fashioned. What, though, is more old-fashioned than the biblical faith, and what, assuming the truth of that faith, is more contemporary -- truth that is always ahead of any culture's *avant-garde*? Hence, whether or not Jung would tolerate the claim that so old-fashioned an orientation is genuinely modern, the Christian makes just that claim. No pseudo-modern who divorces himself from the biblical worldview, the Christian claims that he is the genuine modern, sensitively and critically appreciative of post-renaissance creativity, a self-confessed

adherent of the only worldview, which instead of being antagonistic to human fulfilment, conduces to its fulfilment on the highest levels. Profoundly persuaded of this, the Christian sets himself against the denigration of biblical faith, inevitably appearing as an old-fashioned obscurantist. But he comforts himself with T. S. Eliot's lines:

In a world of fugitives
The person taking the opposite direction
Will appear to run away.²⁶

He finds comfort, too, in recalling Kierkegaard's exclamation, "The movement is BACK!" And because the situation is fraught with an incalculable urgency, there will be, Kierkegaard forewarns, "something in the accent which recalls a policeman when he faces a riot and says, Back!²⁷ Back, back, back to biblical faith and, paradoxically, by going backward to move forward. Hopper sets forth the logic of this regression which is actually progressive.

The crisis in which we stand is, therefore, absolute. It cannot be solved by any retreat into history. It can only be solved by passing through the lost domain of Christian truth to the point of the Cross, for only so can it be revised progressively.²⁸

A genuine modern, therefore, who at this stage of Western history believes the way forward is back, sympathizes deeply with Ernest Becker's quest for an adequate solution to the predicament of our times.

Is there any answer to the incredible world-picture of the twentieth century? Is there something that can work against the death grip of both commercial and communist ideology, and mechanistic science and maybe even history itself? One thing perhaps one thing alone: a theory of alienation, a broad and compelling theory. which showed what man was, what he was striving for, and what hindered this striving -- in himself, in society, in nature. We need a theory of alienation that was composed of the best knowledge in psychology, sociology, ontology, and theology, and this is what the hardpressed human spirit itself supplied. It was a theory of alienation that was at the same time a thoroughgoing new moral view of the world.

But the Christian is convinced that, granting the need for understanding and applying it, the answer in essence lies ready to hand. In the Bible we have "a broad and compelling theory" which is the profoundest of anthropologies and which, a radical interpretation of human brokenness and healing consonant with "the best knowledge" available, proves dynamically moral. Becker speaks in language the Biblicist gratefully appropriates. Modern man frets and whines under the burden of existence because

he has nothing ultimate to dedicate it to; nothing infinite to assume responsibility for, nothing self-transcending to be truly courageous about. He has only himself, his dazzling and diverting little consumer objects; his few closely huddled loved ones; his life-span; his life-insurance; his place in a merely biological chain of things.

Becker, therefore, ringingly avows: "God alone can make sense of a free horizon of meaning."²⁹ Becker is right, provided the God he avows is the God biblically self-revealed.

Only in biblical faith, the Christian contends, can modern man obtain the answers he needs, those answers to the ultimate questions which, Gilkey writes, spring from the depths of human existence. Those questions are, typically, "Why am I? Who am I? What should I become and be? Why should I value truth and the good? What is the meaning and future destiny of my life and the history in which it participates? How can I be whole again?"³⁰ To such questions there are answers, the Christian rejoices -- God's answers given in a Book, God's Word.

Only in biblical faith, then, the Christian contends, can personal and social redemption be found. "The saving element" which, Barrett laments, has not been discovered in science, technology, literacy, education, the emancipation of women, the spread of enlightenment and reason or "all the shining and estimable goals of the Enlightenment." For, Barrett points out, the "old humanist aphorism" that man is the measure of things has, as our century ingloriously and despairingly hobbles towards the year 2000, lost its glamor. "In fact men do not always like to assume this lonely and arrogant role of a measuring stick for all reality. Man is void and empty unless he finds something by which to measure his own being." More than that, Barrett adds:

Man cannot find meaning in himself, not in himself alone anyway; he must feel part of something greater than himself. And to belong simply to a social group will not do, for then we may all be together but we are just the lonely crowd in a void. No, he must feel that he belongs to something cosmic that is not of man . . . and least of all man-made. . . .³¹

The Biblicist, applauding Barrett's struggle to locate both measure and meaning for human life, lifts up an old Book -- God's inscripturated self-revelation, the one authentic disclosure of that transcendence which provides "the saving element." Only in biblical faith, the Christian contends, is there an interpretation of reality which will provide the solution to human ills that Becker and others are so ardently seeking.

The Bible is the kind of book, the Christian contends, which the heroine of Doris Lessing's *The Golden Notebook* wished she could write. "a book powered with an intellectual and moral passion strong enough to create order, to create a new way of looking at life."³² Astonishingly charged with recreative passion and power, the Bible is the kind of book which ethnologist and philosopher, Emile Cailliet, vainly tried to fashion out of his own resources. Born in late nineteenth century France and reared in a hermetically antisupernatural environment, Cailliet, despite years of graduate study and soul-shaking war experiences, had never held a copy of the Bible in his hands. Yet he felt the need for a certain kind of book. Let him personally tell the story.

Reading in literature and philosophy, I found myself probing ... for meaning. During long night watches in the foxholes I had in a strange way been longing -- I must say it, however queer it may sound -- for a book that would understand me. But I knew of no such book, Now I would in secret prepare one for my own private use. And so, as I went on reading for my courses I would file passages that would speak to my condition, then carefully copy them in a leather-bound pocket book I would always carry with me. The quotation, which I numbered in red ink for easier reference, would lead me as it were from fear and anguish, through a variety of

intervening stages, to supreme utterances of release and jubilation.

The day came when I put the finishing touch to "the book that would understand me," speak to my condition, and help me through life's happenings. A beautiful, sunny day it was. I went out, sat under a tree, and opened my precious anthology. As I went on reading, however, a growing disappointment came over me. Instead of speaking to my condition, the various passages reminded me of their context, of the circumstances of my labor over their selection. Then I *knew* that the whole undertaking would not work, simply because it was my own making. It carried no strength of persuasion. In a dejected mood, I put the little book back in my pocket.

But through a series of coincidences -- or providentially -- his wife secured a Bible. Cailliet relates the sequel.

I literally grabbed the book and rushed to my study with it. I opened and "chanced" upon the Beatitudes! I read, and read, and read -- now aloud with an indescribable warmth surging within I could not find words to express my awe and wonder. And suddenly the realization dawned upon me: This was the Book that would understand me! I needed it so much, yet unaware, I had attempted to write my own -- in vain. I continued to read deeply into the night, mostly from the gospels. And lo and behold, as I looked through them, the One of whom they spoke, the one who spoke and acted in them, became alive to me. This vivid experience marked the beginning of my understanding of prayer. It also proved to be my initiation to the notion of presence which later would prove crucial in my theological thinking.

The providential circumstances amid which the Book had found me now made it clear that while it seemed absurd to speak of a book understanding a man, this could be said of the Bible because its pages were animated by the presence of the living God and the power of his mighty acts. To this God I prayed that night, and the God who answered was *the same God* of whom it was spoken in the Book.³³

And what about C. S. Lewis and C. E. M Joad and Malcolm Muggeridge, surely as modern and sophisticated as Bertrand Russell or Aldous Huxley or Rudolph Bultmann? They testify that the message of the Bible meets their needs intellectually and emotionally, satisfying mind and heart. So Joad, who as a professor of philosophy and psychology in the University of London was once fiercely anti-Christian, bears this witness to the faith which is biblically mediated.

... the belief in the fundamental, and in this life ineradicable nature of human sinfulness, seems to me quite intolerable unless there were some source of guidance and assistance outside ourselves to which we could turn for comfort. The more I knew of it, Christianity seemed to offer just that consolation, strengthening and assistance. And with that the whole Life force philosophy which I had hitherto done my best to maintain, came to seem intolerably trivial and superficial -- a shallow-rooted plant which, growing to maturity amid the lush and leisured optimism of the 19th century, was quite unfitted to withstand the bleaker winds that blow through ours. I abandoned it. Once I got as far as this, it seemed there was nothing to be lost and everything to be gained by going the whole way. What better hope offered than by the Christian doctrine that God sent His Son into the world to save sinners? But the assistance must be deserved as well as desired, to live in the way that Christ enjoined. Since it is impossible to live a Christian life alone, let alone to worship God by oneself, the next step was to join a corporate body of Christian worship, to return, in fact, to the bosom of the Church, and to set one's feet on the steep and slippery path that leads to Heaven.³⁴

Or let Malcolm Muggeridge, one-time editor of *Punch* who with acid wit has assailed the shams and follies of contemporary culture, bear witness to the strange magnetism and impact of the Biblical documents.

As for the Gospels and Epistles, I find them (especially St. John) irresistibly wonderful as they reduce the jostling egos of now -- my own among them -- to the feeble crackling flicker of the burning sticks against a majestic noonday sun. Is it not extraordinary to the point of being a miracle, that so loose and ill-constructed a narrative in an antique translation of a dubious text should after so many centuries still have power to quell and dominate a restless, opinionated, overexercised and undernourished twentieth-century mind?³⁵

What is true, as Muggeridge attests, of the New Testament is true of the entire Bible. This apparent haphazard collection of ancient literature, produced by pre-scientific Semites over a lengthy stretch of their otherwise undistinguished history, has the power to fascinate, enlighten, and transform the most modern of moderns. The experience of Malcolm Muggeridge, a prime specimen of the "restless, opinionated, overexercised and undernourished twentieth-century mind," like the experience of C. E. M. Joad and C. S. Lewis, refutes one of the glib, popular, ideological canards of the post-renaissential era: no honest and intelligent heir of Western culture can any longer turn to the Bible with the expectation that through its words a revealing, renewing, redeeming Word will be spoken from the depths of eternity and the heights of transcendence. Today, as compellingly as before the emergence of the self-styled modern mind, when any man reaches the point where he is willing to listen, he can still hear that Word spoken in and through the Bible.

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- ^27 Soren Kierkegaard, *The Point of View for My Work As an Author* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962) 75.
- ^28 Hopper, *op. cit.*, p.139.
- ^29 Bernard Murchland, *The Age of Alienation* (New York: Random House, 1971) 164-165, 168.
- ^30 Gilkey, *Naming the Whirlwind, op. cit.*, p.301.
- ^31 Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 141.
- ^32 Quoted by Kampf, *op. cit.*, p.286.
- ^33 Emile Cailliet, *Journey Into Light* (Grand Rapids. Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1968) 16, 18.
- ^34 C. E. M. Joad, *The Faith of Great Scientists: a collection of "My faith" articles from The American Weekly* (Hearst Publishing Company, Inc., 1948).
- ^35 Malcolm Muggeridge, *Jesus Rediscovered* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969) 79.

INSPIRATION, "INSPIREDNESS," AND THE PROCLAMATION OF GOD'S WORD TODAY

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All Scripture is inspired by God and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for training in righteousness; that the man of God may be adequate, equipped for every good work. 2 Tim 3:16-17.

It seems eminently fitting that the Apostle Paul, having written these words concerning the inspiration and profitableness of Scripture, should go right on to write:

I solemnly charge you in the presence of God and of Christ Jesus, who is to judge the living and the dead, and by His appearing and His kingdom: preach the word; be ready in season and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with great patience and instruction. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but wanting to have their ears tickled, they will accumulate for themselves teachers in accordance to their own desires: and will turn away their ears from the truth, and will turn aside to myths. 2 Tim 4:1-4.

Here Paul charges Timothy to preach the word, to preach sound doctrine, and to preach the truth. The connection between the last two verses of chap. 3, and the first four verses of chap. 4, seems unavoidable: because all Scripture is inspired and profitable, therefore preach the word!

Of course it should be recognized that the Scripture which Timothy had in A.D. 63 (at the time of the writing of 2 Timothy) included copies of the Old Testament books, copies of those New Testament books which had thus far been written, put into circulation, and made available to Timothy, and perhaps the original of Paul's first epistle to Timothy, together with the original of this second epistle. It should also be recognized that the claim of inerrancy is made, not for copies of Scripture, but for the originals.

This distinction between inerrant originals and errant copies has occasioned considerable discussion, both concerning the value of the doctrine of inerrancy (since we do not possess the originals), and concerning our ability to say that we are proclaiming the word, sound doctrine, and truth today (since we possess only errant copies). This discussion, which has been going on for some time, has acquired a new impetus and urgency in recent years, in part because of the cleavage which has surfaced between "inerrantists" and "errantists" in the evangelical camp.

An illustration of this discussion appears in the exchange, in editorials and letters, between Dr Lester DeKoster, editor of *The Banner*, and Dr Edwin H. Palmer, Executive Secretary of the New International Version Translation Committee. The exchange was occasioned by Dr Palmer's statement in the January, 1977, issue of *The Outlook*, as follow: "To be very clear, let me assert with all the force that is in me that the King James

Version that Dr DeKoster has on his table is *not* the infallible, inerrant Word of God. And no translation of the Bible is without error -- not even the best of them all, the New International Version! All translations without exception have errors in them." (Dr Palmer wrote these words in an article defending Harold Lindsell's *Battle for the Bible* against criticisms by Dr DeKoster). Dr DeKoster subsequently sent a letter to the editor of *The Outlook*, which appeared in the June, 1977, issue, together with Dr Palmer's reply. Dr DeKoster asked four questions, and Dr Palmer addressed three of them. Permit me to quote the exchange:

1. 'Can Dr Palmer be serious?'

Answer: Yes, I am. I will say again what I believe: The Bible which Dr DeKoster has on his table is not, I repeat, not, the infallible, inerrant Word of God. And it is most important to realize this. Yes, I am serious.

2. 'Does the Christian Reformed Church base its synodical decisions, sermonizing, consistorial decisions, and Christian life on an errant and fallible Bible?'

Answer: No, it does not. It bases them on the inerrant, infallible Word of God -- the originals. It has always distinguished between the autographa and the apographa, between the original writings that the Holy Spirit inspired and the countless copies and translations that are based on the original Only what was written by the men inspired by the Holy Spirit is infallible. Only what Jeremiah, David, Paul and Peter actually wrote is inspired.

3. When the Belgic Confession characterizes Scripture as 'this infallible rule' (Art. VII) does it really mean, that infallible original now lost?

Answer: Yes. It cannot be the King James that added to the original and now says 'nephews' when 'grandchildren' are meant (1 Tim 5:4).

Dr DeKoster reported and commented on this exchange in the August 19, 1977, issue of *The Banner* in an editorial entitled "Really Incredible?". In the August 26 issue he set Dr Lindsell in opposition to Dr Palmer by several quotations from *The Battle for the Bible*. On p.36, Dr Lindsell states: "Any student of Lower Criticism admits there have been copyist's mistakes, but a copyist's mistake is something entirely different from an error in Scripture. A misspelled or a misplaced word is a far cry from error, by which is meant a misstatement or something that is contrary to act." And on p.37 Dr Lindsell adds: "Textual problems today in no way make the doctrine of biblical inerrancy impossible." In the September 2, 1977, issue of *The Banner*, Dr DeKoster addressed an Open Letter to the Reformed Fellowship (the publishers of *The Outlook*), applying Dr Palmer's view to the task of preaching. He wrote:

I set this open question to you, Brethren, in the context of Preaching. For the doctrine of Scripture is tested by the doctrine of Preaching.

Is Preaching Possible?

Only, if the Bible open on the pulpit is the Word of God, and thus inspired, infallible, inerrant.

Yes, there are only two choices: either, (1) the Bible on our pulpits, and elsewhere, is the inspired Word of God, or (2) it is the uninspired word of man.

If you deny the first choice, as *The Outlook* does, then you are stuck with the second. But the second choice makes true Preaching impossible -- as the tragic history of Liberalism so clearly demonstrates.

The Church, as we believe it, stands or falls with true Preaching. And true Preaching stands or falls with the belief that an inspired Bible lies open on the pulpit. How else shall the Word go forth: *Thus saith the Lord!*...

Meanwhile, Brethren, *The Outlook* is your magazine. Does it here speak for

you?

Listen to it further, as you make up your mind: 'For all practical purposes, we can take a modern translation in hand -- even the King James with all its errors and say, "This is the Word of God." It is not the Word of God, because it is not the original, which the Holy Spirit inspired...' (a quote from Dr Palmer's article in the January, 1977, issue of *The Outlook*).

Look for a moment at the Bible, in your hand or on the pulpit, and see if your lips can frame your *Outlook's* words: '*It is not the Word of God...*' For then -- it is only the word of man!

Is that now your doctrine of Scripture?

Briefly. *The Outlook's* scenario runs like this: God once inspired the original writers of the Bible. He preserved them from all error as they committed His inspired (God-breathed) word to writing. But, alas, those original manuscripts (called the autographs, or autographa) were lost, or worn out, or destroyed in the course of time. But what happened, then, to that inspired Word? *The Outlook* says that this Word went with the autographs; God's Word was lost -- as if God's intent to preserve His inspired Word for His Church in all ages was thus easily frustrated! The inspired Word of God, according to *The Outlook*, no longer exists. History has devoured it!

Obviously, on this view, the world has been without any inspired Word from the Lord ever since the first copies were made, and originals lost.

But what good, then, for *The Outlook* to assure us that "we" (whoever that is) are now sure of the accuracy of '98 percent' of our copies! What good would it do if that 'we' were certain of 100 percent accuracy so long as the 'God-breathed' Word upon which Preaching depends was lost with the first copy? 'We' might say that the Bible on our pulpits is as pure a copy as Ivory soap -- it remains, on *The Outlook's* grounds, still the uninspired, fallible, errant word of copyists and translators. No basis, Brethren, for: 'Thus saith the Lord!'

Of course, it should be pointed out in the interests of objectivity that, in the midst of all of the dust thrown into the air at Palmer and Lindsell's expense, DeKoster never attempts an alternative explanation for his position that the Bible on his table and on the pulpit of his church "*is*, here and now, the inspired, infallible, and inerrant Word of God." instead he retreats into mysticism. He speaks of "God's mysterious ability to use a fallible, frail, erranting human ministry to proclaim his infallible Word!" and then goes on to say:

No one, at least in the Reformed tradition, claims inerrancy, or infallibility, or inspiration for the pulpit ministry. Yet, genuine Preaching is possible, and can mark off the true Church, only because the Word of God is, in fact, here and now, conveyed to the faithful by the lips of sinful man! You know this well, Brethren. Many of you depend upon this inexplicable mystery every Lord's Day to dare to say: 'Thus saith the Lord!'....

No, this cannot be explained. Only believed -- or disbelieved. How can God convey His inspired Word across time and space by way of fallible human beings? This is, for us, an inexplicable mystery. But we are naive enough to believe (except for *The Outlook*) that God in His over-arching Providence does get His inspired, infallible, inerrant Scriptures from its writers to our pulpits., and, from our pulpits to the faithful in the pew. This is what Reformed believers gladly affirm, knowing full well, Brethren, that if you and I never believe more than we can explain, we still never believe unto salvation!

Aside from the rhetoric, let us analyze what Dr DeKoster is saying. First, he affirms that God uses sinful human ministers to proclaim the Word of God. With this affirmation we can humbly and joyfully acquiesce. Second, he affirms that God conveys his Word across time and space, from the writers of Scripture to present-day ministers and their people. To this

affirmation practically all evangelicals can agree. Third, Dr DeKoster asserts that the way in which God gets his Word from the writers of Scripture to us today is "mysterious," an "inexplicable mystery," something which we "dare to say," something which "we are naive enough to believe," and something which we "gladly affirm" but which "cannot be explained." To this assertion we are obliged to respond in a twofold manner. On the one hand, it is good and proper to acknowledge that sinful human beings cannot exhaustively understand the nature or the working of God. Truly, as the Lord says, "For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts." (Isa 55:9). On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of evangelical writers (including Lindsell and Palmer) have attempted to come to grips with the necessity of clearly distinguishing between the original manuscripts of Scripture, which were products of the Holy Spirit's special and unique act of inspiration, were inerrant, and were infallible (in the dictionary sense of that term), and present-day copies of Scripture, which were not copied by inspiration, and which are products of a long process of transmission which involved a number of copyist's errors; and they have attempted responsibly to deal with the problems raised by this necessary distinction, especially by demonstrating how closely present-day copies of Scripture approximate the text of the original manuscripts. By so doing these evangelicals have attempted to preserve the integrity of the assertion that we have the Word of God today, as well as the teaching of Scripture concerning its unique inspiration. Dr DeKoster sees no need of making such a distinction or of coming to grips with the problems raised by it. He chooses simply to believe that we have God's "inspired, infallible, inerrant Scriptures" on our pulpits today. Such fideism is fascinating; like a magic wand it waves into nonexistence both the problem of errors in transmission and the need for textual criticism! Fourth, Dr DeKoster affirms that the Bibles which lie on our pulpits are inspired, infallible, and inerrant; then he denies inspiration, infallibility, and inerrancy for the pulpit ministry; and then he affirms that God gets his inspired, infallible, inerrant Scriptures to the faithful in the pew. If this combination of statements seems mind-boggling, it should be remembered that to Dr DeKoster it is an "inexplicable mystery" which he is "naive enough to believe." Frankly, such a confession of belief seems more than faintly reminiscent of Tertullian's "I believe it because it is incredible," or Kierkegaard's "I believe it because it is absurd!"

Although this exchange between Dr Lester DeKoster and Dr Edwin H Palmer does not serve particularly to illuminate the discussion concerning the value of the doctrine of inerrancy (since we do not possess the originals) and concerning our ability to say that we are proclaiming God's Word, sound doctrine, and truth today (since we possess only errant copies), yet it serves to illustrate the kinds of tensions occasioned by the distinction between inerrant originals and errant copies. To these tensions we must now address ourselves.

In a paper first presented during the 1977 Theological Institute of Biblical Theological Seminary. I proposed a concept for which I coined the term "inspiredness." Under the general term "inspired," I included two

terms which are more specific: "inspiration" and "inspiredness." "Inspiration" was defined as "that special act of the Holy Spirit by which he guided the writers of the books of sacred Scripture, so that their words should convey the thoughts he wished conveyed, should bear a proper relationship to the thoughts of the other books of Scripture, and should be kept free from error in thought, fact, doctrine, and judgment." In brief, inspiration is the supernatural act of the Holy Spirit by which God's Word was inscripturated. "Inspiredness" was defined as "a unique quality, inherent in the autographs in a primary, immediate, absolute sense, but also retained in the apographs in a derived, secondary, mediate, and relative sense." In brief, "inspiredness" is a quality resulting from the act of inspiration. Inspiration refers only to the autographs of Scripture; "inspiredness" refers both to the autographs and to the apographs of Scripture. Thus under the general term "inspired" I included both the originals and the copies of Scripture. The originals were inspired in two senses: they were the product of the act of inspiration; and they were marked by the quality of "inspiredness." The copies were (and are) inspired in only one sense: they were (and are) marked by the quality of "Inspiredness." This theological proposal, if it could be supported, would provide us with a basis for the claim that the copies, versions, and translations which we have in our possession are in truth the inspired and authoritative Word of God (inspired in the sense that they would be characterized by the quality of "inspiredness"). But can it be supported? Permit me to quote from that 1977 proposal:

In II Timothy 3: 15, we discover that Timothy had known from childhood the holy Scriptures which were able to give him the wisdom that leads to salvation through faith in Christ Jesus. These were the same Scriptures which, in verse 16, Paul says are God-breathed (or inspired) and profitable to adequately equip the man of God. Now when Paul spoke of the holy Scriptures which Timothy had known from childhood, of which Scriptures was he speaking? If II Timothy was written in AD. 63, and if (for argument's sake) Timothy was only 25 years old at the time, then Timothy would have been born in A.D. 38, eleven years before the first book of the New Testament Galatians was even written, in A.D. 49. Timothy had been raised in Judaism by a Jewish mother. The "Scriptures" on which he had been nourished were undoubtedly those of the Old Testament. Now we must pointedly ask, What Scriptures of the Old Testament did Timothy's mother and grandmother have in their synagogue (or perhaps, if they were very fortunate, in their possession) -- the originals or copies? The overwhelming probability is that they were copies -- apographs. Yet Paul says that these apographs are able to give the knowledge of salvation (verse 15); and he goes on to say that all Scripture is God-breathed and profitable. It would not have made a great deal of sense for Paul to have said that the Scriptures which Timothy did not have -- the autographs were God-breathed and profitable to equip him for every good work. I believe that Paul was saying that the Scriptures which Timothy had were God-breathed and profitable to equip him for every good work. That is, I believe that the copies of the Old Testament books available to Timothy in AD. 43 (when he was, say, five years old), and the copies of those New Testament books which had thus far been written, put into circulation, and made available to Timothy in AD. 63 -- in other words, whatever books could properly be called Scripture -- were inspired, in the sense that they carried in them the quality of "inspiredness."

In John 10:35 Jesus referred to Psalm 82, argued for the propriety of calling himself the Son of God on its basis, and said "the Scripture is not able to be set aside." Now if not one truth of Scripture can be set aside, nullified, or omitted, to what Scripture was Jesus referring? To the autograph of Psalm 82? Or to the copies

which the Jews had in the temple and in their synagogues, whose words they could check and read for themselves? Most probably the apographs. Incidentally, this text would argue, not only for the "inspiredness" (and thus the truth and divine authority) of copies, but would also argue for the uncorrupted preservation, in the apographs, of the truths of the autographs, in spite of errors of transmission.

In II Peter 1:19, Peter says "we have more certain the prophetic word." I believe that Peter was referring to the Old Testament Scriptures, which predicted the first coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yet the prophetic word which Peter had was not the originals, but copies. However, in verses 20 and 21, Peter is referring to the manner in which the prophecy of Scripture originally came into being, and I believe he is there speaking of the autographs, not of copies. And yet both are inspired. The autographs had the quality of "inspiredness" because of the Holy Spirit's unique act of inspiration; the copies had the quality of "inspiredness" because they were derived from the autographs. In spite of the fact that the inscripturated Revelation was transmitted across centuries, copied, translated, and marred by copyists' errors, its truths were preserved in such a way that Peter could tell his readers to pay the closest attention to that prophetic word which was available to them.

From this quotation it is obvious that I believe my proposal concerning "inspiredness" to be scripturally grounded. I do not believe that it is exegetically defensible to interpret 2 Tim 3:16 as saying, "All Scripture was inspired, and is profitable." Because it is not exegetically defensible to interpret it in this fashion, I do not believe that it is theologically sound to understand the first predicate adjective -- "inspired" -- to refer to the unique act of inspiration in the past, and the second predicate adjective "profitable" -- to refer to a constant quality characteristic of Scripture in the present. Rather, I believe that Paul is saying that all Scripture -- both originals and all copies -- is characterized by the constant qualities of "inspiredness" and "profitableness." And that includes the copies which the Jews of Christ's day had, the copies which Paul and Timothy had, and the copies which lie upon our pulpits today!

However, at this point we must make an important qualification. "Inspiredness," although it is a product of inspiration, does not require the quality of inerrancy. Inerrancy is a quality which is a product of inspiration, not of "inspiredness". This raises the question, "If inerrancy is a quality distinct from "inspiredness," and if the quality of "inspiredness" (but not that of inerrancy) characterizes the apographs of Scripture, how much errancy can characterize the apographs before the quality of "inspiredness" is lost?" How much error can be accommodated in the process of transmitting the Word of God from God's original revelatory words and events to the proclamation of God's Word today? Can we say that we have God's Word today, or that we are proclaiming it? We know what we mean when we speak of "God's Word" as he originally revealed it. But do we mean the same thing when we speak of "God's Word" as we proclaim it today? This is one of the problems posed in this paper: how much error can the quality of "inspiredness" accommodate, before we reach a point at which we are no longer able responsibly to continue calling the copies of Scripture which we possess "The Word of God"? Thus the title "Inspiration, 'Inspiredness', and the Proclamation of God's Word Today," -- in which "inspiredness" is the connecting link which carries us safely from the inspiration of the originals to the proclamation of God's Word today.

This problem of how much error the quality of "inspiredness" can accommodate could be dealt with summarily, simply by negating the applicability of the term "Word of God" to the copies of Scripture in our possession. This would amount to a frank (if a bit precipitous) admission that one of two possibilities is true: either that any degree of error makes the term "Word of God" inapplicable to our copies, or that so much error has piled up over centuries of repetitious copying that the Word of God has become hopelessly irretrievable in the tangled mesh of truth and error. The first possibility (that any degree of error makes the term inapplicable) is plainly negated by the fact that Christ, Paul, and Peter all speak of errant copies in terms of "Word of God." The second possibility (that so much accumulated error makes the term inapplicable to present-day copies) must be examined to see just how much error has entered the process of transmission of the Word of God from its original state as given to its present state as received by us. To that task we now turn our attention.

The first step in the transmission of God's Word is that of revelation itself. Here we must ask the question, "Can God reveal himself truly?" By revelation in the special sense (as distinguished from general revelation) we mean "divine self-disclosure in immediate mode." But what do we mean by "truly"? A long time ago Aristotle said, "To say what is, is, and what is not, is not, is true. And to say what is, is not, and what is not, is, is false." More recently the semantic theory of truth proposed by a Polish logician named Tarski has been widely adopted in linguistic and philosophical circles today. Tarski said that the statement "Snow is white" is true if and only if snow is white. That is, the words in the sentence are a linguistic entity, and the analogous words refer to reality. The characteristics of Tarski's definition are: (1) truth is defined in terms of *language*; (2) truth is defined in terms of *sentences* (that is, truth is a property of sentences, not individual words); and (3) truth is defined in terms of *correspondence*. In the light of these definitions, we must ask, "Can God reveal truth concerning himself? Can he reveal something of what he actually is to us?" Can he bridge the great chasm between an infinite, holy God and finite, sinful men? Gordon Clark, writing in his article in *Revelation and the Bible*, says,

... the evangelical Christian... by reason of the doctrine of creation, must maintain that language is adequate for all religious and theological expression ... The possibility of rational communication between God and man is easily explained on theistic presuppositions. If God created man in his own rational image and endowed him with the power of speech, then a purpose of language, in fact, the chief purpose of language, would naturally be the revelation of truth to man ...^1

Paul K. Jewett, in the same volume, speaks of

the uniqueness of the Biblical idea of revelation, which is that history is the medium through which the eternal God has revealed himself once for all. The foundation is laid in the Old Testament concept of the history of Israel But the Old Testament idea of history, as the scene of God's acts as Redeemer of his people, is not an end in itself. Its meaning is Jesus Christ, whose name is Emmanuel, God-with-us, who came to 'fulfill the law and the prophets.' The prophets had the Word of God, but Jesus is the Word. 'And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth' (John 1:14). The incarnation is that event in history which gathers up all other revelation into itself.^2

To the question, "Can God reveal truth concerning himself?" We must answer: "Not only is there the possibility of such revelation, there is the actuality!" As the writer to the Hebrews puts it: "God, after he spoke long ago to the fathers by the prophets in many portions and in many ways, in these last days has spoken to us by his Son" (Heb 1:1-2).

However, there are those who would claim, "Yes, God can reveal truth concerning himself, but what he has revealed is not inerrant, but only generally trustworthy." In this answer we must understand the concept of "general trustworthiness" as implying that God's revelation includes *error*. This answer calls for analysis.

If God revealed error, then either he must have done so *deliberately*, or he *could not help* doing so. If he deliberately revealed error, we must ask, "Why would, and how could the God of truth reveal error to man?" Scripture itself tells us that "God is not a man, that he should lie." (Num 23:19), and that God "cannot lie" (Titus 1:2). There is no hint of such error in the teachings of the prophets, of Christ, or of the apostles. And there is no evidence that there were errors in revelation itself, either as originally communicated or originally inscripturated. There is abundant evidence of errors in transcription, but what evidence is there of errors in revelation, especially since neither side of the question possesses the original manuscripts of Scripture! Thus we must reject the concept that God deliberately revealed error, on two counts: (1) It is antithetical to his nature and (2) There is no evidence to substantiate it.

If, on the other hand, God could not help revealing error, then either he is *not omniscient* (i.e., he was ignorant of the fact that he was revealing error), or he is *not omnipotent* (i.e., he simply could not inerrantly communicate His thoughts and words to men). That God is omniscient is so clearly taught in Scripture that we must reject the first alternative. To the alternative claim that God is not able inerrantly to communicate His thoughts to man, we must ask, "What man is that who dares presume to say what God can and cannot do, apart from revelation?" It is clear in Scripture that there are some things which God cannot do, but his revelation of truth to man is never mentioned as one of them! In fact, one of the things which God is said not to be able to do is specifically related to this claim - "God cannot lie." (Titus 1:2) Thus we must reject this alternative. If God, who created man's mind, can communicate one truth to man, then in principle there is no reason why he cannot communicate any finite number of truths to man.

And it will not do to ask, "But what does man really *need* for the knowledge of salvation?" and answer, "Not an inerrant, but only an essentially trustworthy revelation." We do not decide the nature of *what God revealed* by the measure of *what man needs*, but rather by the measure of *what God purposed to do, and did*, in his revelation to man. And there is no other source of knowledge as to what God purposed and did, than the statements of Scripture themselves! The norm of the content of revelation must be the content of the inscripturated revelation. There is no other objective norm!

The second step in the transmission of God's Word is that of the inscripturation of revelation. Here we must ask the question, "Has God caused his revelation to be *truly inscripturated*?" To this question we must

reply that either revelation has been truly (i.e., inerrantly -- for truth, by definition, must exclude error) inscripturated, or human finiteness and fallibility have conditioned (at least to some degree) the inscripturation of revelation. If the latter is true, then either we need an absolute principle external to Scripture in order to distinguish divine truth from human error, or, lacking such a principle, we cannot know what is true and what is false, and thus cannot help being reduced to agnosticism or skepticism with regard to any absolute truth in Scripture.

If the *kerygma* (the message, or proclamation) of Christ be claimed as the absolute principle by which truth can be distinguished from error, then it should be pointed out that by definition the *kerygma* itself is conditioned as to its inscripturation by human finiteness and fallibility. Thus the *kerygma* cannot escape the possibility of error, and therefore cannot be the norm of absolute truth.

If *empirical verification* be proposed as the absolute principle of distinguishing truth from error, then what of those statements in Scripture which have not as yet been empirically verified? Must each one await the judgment of philosophy, science, or history before it can be affirmed as true? If so, what does this do to faith? You can only trust in that which you believe to be truth. You can never trust that which you believe is in error or is a lie, no matter how hard you may try! (thus faith and truth are bound together, in the sense that faith is dependent upon truth). If one must await the conclusion of critical (and for the most part, unbelieving) scholarship before he can know whether or not a particular scriptural statement is true, then he cannot believe that statement until such conclusions are reached. But if and when these expert human conclusions are made, is one then sure that he has absolute truth? And what about those spiritual realities which are not able to be verified by sense experience, at least in this present existence? Can one believe in them? As the Lord Jesus put it, "If I told you earthly things and you do not believe, how shall you believe if I tell you heavenly things?" (John 3:12). Empirical verification as a method of testing and verifying truth-claims via sense experience is hopelessly inadequate as an absolute criterion of distinguishing truth from error in Scripture!

This consideration prompts a necessary review of the basic approach and method in discovering the true doctrine of inspiration. If we approach this question via the "critical data of Scripture" or via the "phenomena of Scripture." it would appear unlikely that we could ever arrive at any confidence concerning the Bible as the Word of God. If on the other hand we approach this question via the witness of Scripture to itself, we discover that with *one voice*, the prophets, Christ, and the apostles proclaim that God's revelation of truth has been truly inscripturated! The teaching of Scripture concerning its own inspiration must be permitted to speak. What God has said concerning the nature and extent of the inscripturation of revelation must be taken as normative in defining the truth doctrine of inspiration. Only when we are armed with this doctrine are we equipped to undertake the task of attempting to resolve the problems presented by "critical data of Scripture."

The third step in the transmission of God's Word is that of its

preservation through the process of copying. Here we must ask the question, "Has God caused His inscripturated revelation to be purely preserved?" To this question we must give a mixed answer. If by "purely preserved" one means "inerrantly preserved," the answer is no. But if by "purely preserved" one means "uncompromisedly preserved" in the sense that no teaching of Scripture (either in whole or in part) has been corrupted, then the answer is yes.

For example, in the more than 600 manuscripts of the Hebrew Old Testament there are about 284,000,000 letters. Among these 600 plus manuscripts there are about 900,000 variations in the text. At first blush, 900,000 variations certainly seem to indicate that the text has become hopelessly corrupt! However, of these 900,000 variations, 750,000 are the negligible variations between the similar-appearing Hebrew letters *waw* and *yodh*. The remaining 150,000 do not affect any part of the system of doctrine discoverable in Scripture nor any individual teaching of the Bible as a whole. It should be pointed out that 900,000 variations sounds like a great many, but 900,000 variations distributed 284,000,000 letters amounts to 1 variation in 316 letters. And if the 750,000 negligible variations between *waw* and *yodh* are discounted, 150,000 variations distributed among 284,000,000 letters amounts to 1 variation in 1893 letters. Think of that level of accuracy for an ancient text, parts of which are anywhere from 2,400 years to almost 3,400 years old! By way of comparison, that would amount to the misspelling of one letter in about a half page of the manuscript of this paper!

John H. Skilton, in whose article some of these statistics are to be found, makes a statement which neatly summarizes this point. He writes:

We will grant that God's care and providence, singular though they have been, have not preserved for us any of the original manuscripts either of the Old Testament or of the New Testament. We will furthermore grant that God did not keep from error those who copied the Scriptures during the long period in which the sacred text was transmitted in copies written by hand. But we must maintain that the God who gave the Scriptures, who works all things after the counsel of his will, has exercised a remarkable care over his Word, has preserved it in all ages in a state of essential purity, and has enabled it to accomplish the purpose for which he gave it. It is inconceivable that the sovereign God who was pleased to give his Word as a vital and necessary instrument in the salvation of his people would permit his Word to become completely marred in its transmission and unable to accomplish its ordained end. Rather, as surely as that he is God, we would expect to find him exercising a singular care in the preservation of his written revelation.

That God has preserved the Scriptures in such a condition of essential purity as we would expect is manifestly the case.³

The fourth step in the transmission of God's Word is that of the construction, via textual criticism, of an original-language text which most closely approximates that of the original manuscripts. Here we must ask the question, "is it possible, via textual criticism, to arrive at a text about which, in a probability sense, we can be morally certain regarding its accurate representation of the autographs?" To this question we may confidently reply that we have such a text in our possession. Our confidence of this lies in the agreement of the many manuscripts of the New Testament writers; and the agreement of various lines of witness to the Old Testament text, together with the connecting link of the Jews

(to whom was entrusted the keeping and transmission of the Old Testament writings) with the Old Testament writers.

We have already noted some statistics concerning the Old Testament; now let us note some concerning the New. We have about 5,000 manuscripts of the Greek New Testament (either the whole New Testament or portions of it). These include: (1) 80 papyrus manuscripts, dating as far back as the second century; (2) 260 vellum manuscripts (uncials) dating back as far as the fourth century; (3) 2,700 cursive manuscripts, dating from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries; (4) 2,100 lectionaries, containing selections from the New Testament for use in church services; and (5) a number of ostraca and amulets. In addition to these Greek manuscripts, we have many manuscripts of ancient versions; those of the Latin Vulgate alone exceed 8,000. In addition to the manuscript evidence, we have the important connecting link of the early church fathers, a number of whom included citations of the New Testament in their writings. Let us note six of these writers, the first five of whom died before A. D. 255, and the sixth died in A. D. 340. The number of citations of the New Testament included in their writings is as follows: (1) Irenaeus -- 1,819; (2) Clement of Alexandria -- 2,406; (3) Origen -- 17,922; (4) Tertullian -- 7,258; (5) Hippolytus -- 1,378; (6) Eusebius -- 5,176.

In this great mass of evidence for the text of the New Testament there is also a large number of variations. In regard to these, Benjamin B. Warfield, in his *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, calls attention to Ezra Abbott's view that nineteen-twentieths of the variations in the New Testament text "have so little support that, although they are various readings, no one would think of them as rival readings; and nineteen-twentieths of the remainder are of so little importance that their adoption or rejection would cause no appreciable difference in the sense of the passages where they occur."⁴ Warfield goes on to state that

the great mass of the New Testament ... has been transmitted to us with no, or next to no, variation; and even in the most corrupt form in which it has ever appeared, to use the oft-quoted words of Richard Bentley, "the real text of the sacred writers is competently exact; ...nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost ... choose as awkwardly as you will, choose the worst by design, out of the whole lump of readings."⁵

It should be noted, in connection with the matter of textual criticism, that the great question which liberal scholars raise is not that of whether the text which we have accurately represents the autographs, but rather that of the value of the autographs themselves! For them the autographs are not the Word of God, but the word of man; and amazingly accurate copies of the word of man do not overly excite them! Their problem appears to lie in their doctrine of revelation itself; and behind that problem stands the even greater problem of their doctrine of the nature of God.

The fifth step in the transmission of God's Word is that of the translation of the best-attested texts of the Old and New Testaments into the native or common language of every nation to which the Scriptures come. Here we must ask the question. "Can the best-attested text of Scripture be translated with such accuracy that we can confidently call the resultant version The Word of God?" To this question we must respond by pointing out two facts. First, in a number of places the New Testament

writers appear to quote from the Septuagint, a Greek translation of the Hebrew Old Testament, and they quote it as Scripture, and as carrying with it all of the authority of the Word of God. Second, we have a number of translations in our possession, some of which are more accurate and some less accurate, but all of which are the Word of God and all of which are characterized by the quality of "inspiredness." At the present time the three leading contenders for the title of the English "Textus Receptus" are the King James or Authorized Version, the New American Standard Bible, and the New International Version. Of course, I am speaking of favored versions among evangelicals, not among liberals, Roman Catholic, cultists, or Jews; and I am only speaking of English-language versions. There are many other English-language versions, including the Revised Standard Version, the New English Bible, the Living Bible, Today's English Version (better known as Good News for Modern Man), J. B. Phillips' translation, the Jerusalem Bible, and a host of others, including Douay, Goodspeed, Moffat, and the Confraternity Edition. To some degree, all of these versions retain the quality of "inspiredness." Nevertheless, I believe that a distinction should be made between essentially trustworthy translations and those which are essentially untrustworthy: the difference being that an essentially trustworthy translation is one which, with confidence, one could commend almost indiscriminately, and an essentially untrustworthy translation is one which one could not commend with confidence, or about which one would have strong reservations. Of course, the saving feature about this step is that there are many Christians who have a working proficiency in the original languages of Scripture, who can check the accuracy of any or all of these translations, and can perhaps even more closely approximate the meaning of the best-attested text of Scripture.

The sixth step in the transmission of God's Word is that of the interpretation of Scripture. Here we ask the question, "Can we approximate the God-intended meaning of Scripture sufficiently to be able to affirm that our understanding of the Word of God is correct?" If the answer to this question is no, then transmission has failed, and all of the previous steps are futile. If we cannot have correct understanding of the Word of God, then salvation itself becomes impossible, because saving faith involves knowledge of, assent to, and trust in the redemptive truths of Christ's incarnation, atonement, and resurrection. Because believers have been born again by the Spirit of God, they can understand the things of the Spirit of God (I Cor 2:14-15). Because believers have the anointing (the gift of spiritual enlightenment or understanding) of the indwelling Holy Spirit, they are able to perceive and discern truth (I John 2:20-21, 27). The Holy Spirit is both the infallible Author of Scripture and the infallible Interpreter of Scripture; and therefore believers can have a correct understanding of the Word of God.

Having said this, however, we recognize that among professing Christians there are presuppositionalists and evidentialists, young-earth creationists and old-universe creationists, dichotomists and trichotomists, Calvinists and Arminians, Baptists and paedobaptists, dispensationalists and covenant theology adherents, amillennialists, postmillennialists and

premillennialists, and pretribulationists. In fact, there are even inerrantists and errantists! How can we reconcile these differences of interpretation with the claim that it is possible to have a correct understanding of the Word of God? Shall we say that all of these interpretations are correct, and that all of them are informed by the infallible Interpreter of Scripture, the Holy Spirit?

I believe that the disparity can at least partly be explained by the recognition of four factors: (1) the continuing effects of sin upon even the regenerate human understanding; (2) the differences in the systems of hermeneutics devised by biblical scholars; (3) the frequent gaps between good theory and bad practice; and (4) the frequent failure to distinguish essentials from non-essentials, or verities from distinctives.

In the midst of all of these differences of interpretation, three facts should give us hope. First, our understandings, our hermeneutics, our practice, and our emphases are, by God's grace, always remediable, always open to correction and modification. Second, all born-again Christians have more in common than they have in difference; they have a greater unity than they have diversity; there is more that should unite them than divide them. Third (quoting the words of the Westminster Confession. Chap. I. Sect. VII), "All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all, yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded. and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them."

The seventh step in the transmission of God's Word is that of the proclamation of God's Word. Here we ask the question, "When, by means of the exposition, illustration, application, and persuasion, we attempt to preach upon or teach a portion of Scripture, can we properly say that we are preaching or teaching the Word of God?" In Acts 4:31 we find thousands of believers gathered together, and we are told that "they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak the Word of God with boldness." In Acts 8:4 we are told concerning the scattered disciples of the church in Jerusalem that "Therefore, those who had been scattered went about preaching the word." And in 2 Tim 4:2 Paul exhorts his son in the faith to "preach the word!" On the basis of many Scripture passages I believe that it is quite proper to speak of preaching or teaching the Word of God. Of course, this is only true as we approximate the content and intended meaning of Scripture, and if the Scripture which we have can properly be called the Word of God. This brings us back to the concept of "inspiredness"

Earlier in this paper it was noted that Paul writes, "All Scripture *is* God-breathed and profitable." It was pointed out that it is not exegetically defensible to translate this statement, "All Scripture was God-breathed and is profitable." Still the objection may be made. "Even though we cannot put "was" with the first predicate adjective and "is" with the second, is there not inherent in the word "God-breathed" the idea of origination? Is not Paul saying that Scripture has come from God's mouth, and therefore is the Word of God? And does this not speak of the

inspiration of the original writings of Scripture by the special act of the Holy Spirit?"

To this objection two things need to be said. First, it is true that the term "God-breathed" has primary reference to the original inspiration of Scripture. God breathed out His Word as holy men of God wrote, and the result was Scripture, the Word of God written. Second, it is also true that the term "God-breathed" has secondary reference to all copies, versions, and translations which may properly be called "Scripture." "All Scripture is God-breathed." This includes the copies of Scripture which Timothy had known from childhood and the copies which were available to Timothy at the time Paul wrote 2 Timothy. Paul did not say to Timothy, "Some Scripture is God-breathed" (namely, the original manuscripts which Timothy did not have); but rather said, "All Scripture is God-breathed" (including the copies which Timothy had). This "God-breathed" characteristic of Scripture was not lost with the loss or destruction of the original manuscripts, but was retained in the copies.

These considerations now permit us to attempt a fuller definition of the concept of "inspiredness". "Inspiredness" is that supernatural, Word-bearing, Word-expressing, Word-retaining quality which guarantees that Scripture, subsequent to its inspiration, is a revelation from and of God. This quality is a product of inspiration, and characterizes not only the text of the original manuscripts of Scripture, but also the texts of all copies of Scripture, to the extent and degree that the texts of those copies faithfully reproduce the text of the originals.

What is the implication of "inspiredness" for the proclamation of God's Word today? Simply this: to the extent and degree that the copies which we have can be called *Scripture*, to that extent and degree we have the quality of "inspiredness." "All Scripture is inspired by God . . ." And to the extent and degree to which we have the quality of "inspiredness," to that extent and degree we have the *Word of God*. And to the extent and degree to which we have the Word of God, to that extent and degree we can *proclaim the Word!*

Let us then take heart, realizing the remarkable providence which God has exercised in the preservation and care of his Word; and let us proclaim this living and abiding Word of God with all confidence, in the power of its divine Author, the Holy Spirit, and to the everlasting honor and glory of the incarnate Word, the Lord Jesus Christ!

NOTES

¹ Gordon H. Clark, "Special Divine Revelation as Rational" in *Revelation and the Bible*, ed. Carl F. H. Henry (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958) 40-41.

² Paul K. Jewett, "Revelation as Historical and Personal" in *Revelation and the Bible*, ed. Carl F. H. Henry (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958) 46-48.

³ John H Skilton, "The Transmission of the Scriptures" in *The Infallible Word*, ed. N. B. Stonehouse and Paul Woolley (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1946) 143.

⁴ Benjamin B. Warfield, *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 7th ed. (London, 1907) 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.14.

THREE SIDES TO EVERY STORY: RELATING THE ABSOLUTES OF GENERAL AND SPECIAL REVELATION TO RELATIVISTS

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A motto on my desk reads: "Every story has three sides -- Yours, mine and the facts." Unfortunately many people have despaired of ever finding the 'facts'. That was the problem of a medical doctor with whom I talked. This distinguished specialist said,

I used to think that there were three sides in counseling a married couple: her side, his side and the truth. If I could only discover the truth and tell them, that would solve the problems. Now I do not think there is a third side, the truth. Each has to forgive the other, and that's it. They wouldn't accept the truth if they heard it.

The problem of such relativism becomes acute when we realize that some four billion 'knowers' in the world bring to the knowing process very different backgrounds, personalities, interests, purposes and abilities. A brief list mentions some 36 variables in human knowledge and this could be extensively enlarged.

CHART 1

Location in space (East or West)	Ability to draw sound inductive inferences from evidence
Physical condition	Ability to deduce valid inferences from premises
Mental ability	Peer Pressure
Mental discipline	Motivation to learn in the different fields
Habits	The degree of value placed upon knowing in relation to other activities
Traditions	Present culture or sub-culture
Selectivity in attention	Past culture or sub-culture
Facility in imagination	Economic level
Related past experiences	Sex
Hereditary factors	Race
Attitudes	Ability to synthesize vast amounts of material
Disposition	Ability to analyze material in its smallest details
Memory	Capacity for applying knowledge to life situations
Language used	Capacity for seeing the general implications of specific instances
Ability in the use of the language	
Intellectual honesty	
Ability to overcome pride, greed, selfishness, lust, hate, etc.	
Willing to reconsider biases and prejudices	
Ability to use terms with precision	

Because of so many variables it is common to maintain that all knowledge is relative and no absolute can be known. In spite of the

pervasive relativism in our world, I propose that there are two basic ways to recognize truths valid for all people of all times, all places, and all possible cultural backgrounds. First, by analysis of meaningful knowledge and of responsible moral conduct, people discover absolutes of general revelation. Second, by verification and disverification, people discover and interpret the absolutes of special revelation.

In speaking of a verificational way of knowing, I am not limiting myself to the narrow verifiability criterion of logical positivists. Rather, I refer to a criterion like that of Edward John Carnell and Francis Schaeffer In *Testing Christianity's Truth-Claims: Approaches to Christian Apologetics*.¹ I expounded Carnell's approach at length. Here I seek to interpret and apply his hypothesis-verification approach to the problem of relativism answering the view that people cannot know any objectively valid truth.

Some essays seek to carve out an atom of material for consideration and then split the atom. This chapter, for better or worse, seeks in brief compass to sketch a synthetic perspective of a vast amount of material. I shall consider first, principles derived from general revelation that make verification of specific realities possible, second, verification of the content of special revelation, and third, the use of the verificational criteria in the interpretation in Scripture.

General Absolutes Discovered by Analysis

Is it possible for two people on different sides of a religious question ever to arrive at the facts any more than for two people on opposite sides of a marriage problem? Cornelius Van Til, who in principle at least, is as skeptical as my medical doctor, says, in effect. "No! There is no common ground in principle."² Subsequently, however, Van Til's denial seems to suffer the death of a thousand qualifications. In practice, he builds upon common principles to show the non-Christians that Christianity's system alone provides meaning.³

Carnell does not do as Van Til says, but as he does, in appealing to common principles of logic, fact, values and morality. His ethical analysis developed most fully in *Christian Commitment* does not move from the fact of right and wrong by the principle of causality to a moral God. Analysis is not inductive inference from experience to something outside of experience. Neither is analysis a mere phenomenological description of experience. Analysis is a reflective discrimination of the various elements already present in experience. It cannot be done by proxy through what we hear from others. It is our own unique experience that we are encouraged to analyze. And we are simply to ask what, if anything, makes it meaningful.⁴

Human Rights

What constitutes morally responsible action when we stand in the presence of other human beings? When we confront another person, we ought to respect his inherent rights and acknowledge his worth or dignity.

We ought not treat persons as things or animals. When we ourselves are depersonalized or bestialized, we are not only hurt, but our moral sensibility is offended. Indifference in the face of violated human rights is impossible. Yet, paradoxically we know that we ought not take personal revenge. An individual should not take upon himself the awesome obligations of witness, judge, jury and executioner all at once. Nevertheless, an analysis of meaningful human relationships shows the normative, binding principle of respecting human rights.

The reality that God has written the requirements of his moral laws on all human hearts (Rom 2:14-15) is reflected in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 and the European Convention of Human Rights, 1952. However, individuals and nations may vary in their interpretation and application of the standards, in detail, they hark back to an underlying demand of human beings to respect others and to protect their rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The Demand of Justice

An analysis of meaningful human relationships also shows that people *ought* to be treated fairly or justly. Every time members of a minority cry out that injustice has been done, they assume a basic law of decency that had been violated. People in academic communities insist upon intellectual honesty. A fair and honest reporting of findings in research is not relative to individual tastes and advantages. On the basis of the validity of this principle of integrity, Clifford Irving was prosecuted for his literary hoax, purportedly a biography of Howard Hughes.

Moral decisions are distinguished from compulsive wilfulness by this guiding principle of justice. A just person is one who "lives according to consistent principles (of fairness) and is not to be diverted from them by consideration of gain, desire, or passion."⁵

The law of fairness involves a reciprocity. We cannot reasonably expect other people to respect our interests if we do not respect theirs. Moral reciprocity -- doing to others as one would have them do to oneself -- is often cited, not only in the teachings of Jesus, but in those of many religions and moral philosophers.

The law of justice is not merely the will of the present majority. It is not the utilitarian principle of the greatest good for the greatest number. A rule is unjust which deprives minorities of the basic conditions of a decent life. Even in a democracy which seeks to follow the will of the majority, the rights of minorities must be protected if the democracy be just.

Courts and judges themselves are bound by the law of justice. The laws of nations and the decisions and actions of their administrators are judged by this principle. Law enforcement officers are not exempt from the demands of justice in their work. Teachers should be fair to students, and parents to children. The universality and necessity of justice or uprightness is reflected further as the religions and cults of the world demand good karma or good works in some sense.

The Value of Love

An infant entering the world desperately needs love. Someone must continually care for its well-being. Through the years of childhood, psychologists point out, nothing is so important as that the child is loved. Teenagers seek parents who lovingly understand them. A popular song makes it even more general, "What the world needs now is love, real love."

The editor of the *Great Books of the Western World*, Robert Hutchins, finds that all the books included except possibly those in mathematics and the physical sciences, are represented in references to love. In one of its many forms, he adds, "love is omnipresent in every human life."⁶ Again, "There seems to be no happiness more perfect than that which love confirms. But there is also no misery more profound, no depth of despair greater, than that into which lovers are plunged when they are bereft, disappointed, unrequited."⁷

What is true of Western literature is true in considerable degree also in the East, as James A. Mohler shows in *Dimensions of Love: East and West*. "Without love," a Hindu source says, "man is just skin and bones."⁸ Three major love themes are found in Hinduism: *kama*, interested sensual love; *bhakti*, disinterested love of God; and *shakti*, imitating the love embrace of Shiva and Shakti in creative restraint.⁹

Where love is wanting, all else is inconsequential. An analysis of meaningful human experience could not overlook this the highest of all human values, the value that makes all else worthwhile.

The Data of Experience

An analysis of human knowing shows that it involves given data plus the mind's interpretation. In spite of the many factors which relativize the knowing process, claims to truth go beyond one's arbitrary opinion. Valid knowledge involves more than "subjective certitude." It involves "objective validity." Valid knowledge interacts with the relevant givens presented to knowers by entities beyond themselves. Even those who call the observable world *maya* (illusory), I found in India, must watch the traffic lights and treat illness!

Our knowledge is not limited to experiential reactions (phenomena) and entirely divorced from the givens themselves, as phenomenologists propose. Ben Kimpel argues, "A distinction must be made between knowledge which consists of interpretations and knowledge which is exclusively of interpretations."¹⁰ Some interpretations, furthermore, are better informed than others. Only by referring to given data can comparisons between differing interpretations be resolved. Neither Immanuel Kant, nor anyone else has made it fully clear that our knowledge is only of interpretations and not of reality itself."¹¹

Similarly, all our knowledge, upon analysis is not limited to subjective opinion or conditioned responses. There is a subjective aspect to human experience. "But maintaining that this aspect of experience is the exclusive

feature of experience is a fallacious generalization. Thinking, for instance, is an experience, but what is thought about is not necessarily a thinking experience.¹² A subjective conditioning is an empirical fact, but a total subjectivism in philosophy fails to account for the data of common thoughts and communicated thoughts.

On another side of things, a naive realism fails to account for the differences in scientific theories of the same phenomenon. A responsible position may be called a critical realism, in the words of Arthur Holmes.¹³ This position recognizes that some of our observations are relative to our particular methods and viewpoints, but at the same time may give understanding of the real. Interpretive hypotheses seek to understand nature, and their predictive power shows how closely they fit the facts. In spite of all the variables influencing human knowing, we have to do with some realities other than ourselves.

The Law of Non-Contradiction

The universal validity of the law of non-contradiction is evident, for without it, communication is impossible. When contradictions are proposed in a discussion, one cannot even determine what is being proposed. The very thing that is asserted is denied, so it seems nothing has been asserted. Furthermore, any attempt to speak against the law carries meaning only if the law holds. In India I found that the Eastern mind which purportedly welcomes contradictions does so only on issues of relative unimportance. Hindus would not permit me to deny that "all is one" or "all is Brahman" or that "the observable world is maya." Their basic tenets could not be contradicted; only mine could be!

What are the implications of this common ground in human rights, justice, love, facts and logic? All knowledge is not lost in a sea of variables, but is related to these norms. They provide the latitudinal and longitudinal lines within which a knower can function responsibly in the world. When a view consistently fits the facts externally and internally, it cannot be dismissed as all right for you but not for me. Total subjectivity and an existentialist subjectivism have been answered in part. Marxists cannot justifiably say our knowledge is determined by our economical status, and Freudians cannot justifiably account for such views as determined by early childhood experiences. Neither can John Dewey's humanistic contextualism dismiss such well-founded assertions as merely relative to the experience of a given community or culture. The principles discovered are what Gordon Kaufman called "functional absolutes"¹⁴ and Paul Tillich termed without qualification, "absolutes".¹⁵

These absolutes mean that Christians approach non-Christians with confidence in their worth as persons, with respect for their rights, justly and lovingly, factually and logically. Granting some acknowledgement of these ideals can be attained, we need not push every non-Christian to the point of nihilistic despair with Francis Schaeffer.¹⁶ Neither will we present Christianity as the mere fulfilment (rather than the negation) of the non-Christian's longing with Clark Pinnock.¹⁷ The Christian calls the

non-Christian to join him in repenting for failing to live up to these common standards. Until the non-Christian repents, these absolutes are the basis of his responsibility and accountability before God. They do not make a person autonomous, but responsible!

Special Redemptive Absolutes Discovered By Verification

As Augustine said, "the essence of the world is change, the essence of God is changelessness."¹⁸ Having discovered changeless principles in our world, we have discovered characteristics of God. God is just, loving, respectful of the human beings he created in his image, not a man that he should lie or deny himself, and source and sustainer of every bit of data that man experiences. In seeing these essential characteristics of God, even though we may be unconscious of the fact that they are from him, we know something of his eternal power and existence.

If, however, God has any unique, special plans and purposes beyond the order of nature in the order of grace, we cannot discover them unless He communicates them to us in special revelation. If God has any redemptive plans and purposes for fallen man in history, He must take these inner intentions of his heart known in some special way.

The classical Christian claim is that God disclosed his inner plans and purposes for redeeming fallen man in the person of Christ and the teachings of prophets and apostles.¹⁹ Is that claim true? There were many false prophets during Old Testament times, false christs and false apostles in the last days from New Testament times to the present. As a result there are many sacred writings in the religions and cults of the world. One cannot accept them all for they contradict each other on the nature of God and the way to redemption. Mature persons cannot ignore claims contradicting basic beliefs but must evaluate them on the basis of a sound criterion of truth.

How then can people determine what is truly in accord with God's inner plans and purposes? Any special plan of the God who cannot deny himself, must be consistent with the givens of his created world, internally consistent and supportive of his justice and love. If a claim to divine revelation is to be accepted as true, it must cohere with all the invariables of reality. It is not enough to exhibit the unique authenticity of Christ's person as Trueblood did in *A Place to Stand*.²⁰ Neither should we rest the case on Christ's resurrection alone as John Montgomery does.²¹ The sheer logical consistency to which Gordon Clark appeals is insufficient.²² So is the witness to one's own conversion experience as in Warren C. Young.²³ Arbitrarily to presuppose the authority of one sacred writing because of our subjective response to it (even though identified with the witness of the Holy Spirit) avoids the issue and is insufficient.²⁴ As in government, so in philosophy of religion, we need as many checks and balances upon revelation-claims as possible. Any claim to special revelation from God must be consistent, factual and viable. When these tests are employed, we have an answer to the charge that Christianity may be fine for you but it is not for me. It is true in relation to these unchanging universal principles.

Although written by so many different people from such different backgrounds, the Bible's teaching is remarkably consistent. Alleged contradictions often fail to reckon with the possibility that the same thing is not affirmed and denied at the same time. The relationship is frequently one of subcontraries (some of the things are, and some of the things are not) or just plainly of different things or persons. If the same thing is in view, the alleged contradictions may be referring to two different times or to the same thing at the same times, but in two different respects.

A biblical hypothesis also fits the data given in human experience. Many Christian evidences texts have displayed the remarkable empirical fit.²⁵ In regard to the internal data of human experience, however, it is difficult to find anything comparable to Carnell. The claim is that the hypothesis of the God revealed in Christ and Scripture consistently accounts for the greatest number of converging lines of data with the fewest difficulties. One does not need omniscience but does need humility before all types of evidence including data of values, morality and psychology. In contrast, the Latter-Day Saint revelation-claims are beset by numbers of contradictions and discrepancies with fact.²⁶

At best, however, one can only claim confirmation of the Christian hypothesis (or any other) to a high degree of probability. As in a court of law, the most secure case is established beyond reasonable doubt. The case for the Christian view, in my judgment, is based upon so many lines of converging evidence as to be beyond reasonable doubt. Although the case is developed by a finite, fallen regenerate knower, it is about the infinite God's disclosure in incarnation and inscripturation.

How can an apologetic relative to all the variables distinctive of the apologist establish our special revelation? Can a probable apologetic, James Daane asked in reviewing my *Testing Christianity's Truth Claims*, support an inerrant Bible?²⁷ That question invites several considerations in response.

(1) Daane echoed my objection to pure empiricism in which one starts with a blank mind, examines evidence and can logically have in the conclusion only what the evidence supports. Unfortunately Daane seems to have missed the major emphasis of the book that, more realistically, we start with a hypothesis and in the hypothesis is the Deity of Christ and the full authority of Scripture in all that it teaches. Those truth claims most consistently fit the facts with the fewest problems. This hypothesis has the same kind of support any hypothesis has about gravity, atoms or lung cancer has. The power of the atom is not as weak as the case you may be able to make for its reality.

(2) If the Bible alone is God's inspired Word, then it would be quite inappropriate for any uninspired apologist to claim to have constructed an inerrant case in support of it. In no way, my apologetics text shows, have Gordon Clark, Earl Barrett or Cornelius Van Til provided an absolute apologetic.

Since *ex hypothesi* the Bible alone has this inspired absoluteness in the principles it affirms, it would be inappropriate for any apologist to claim, even in terms of the witness of the Spirit, an inerrant apologetics system. Spirit-illuminated people have been known to be wrong. And Daane

admitted that he himself did not have absolute certainty. The witness of the Spirit provides psychological certitude and moral responsibility, but not an inerrant intellectual system in defense of the Bible.

(3) John Montgomery observes,

The epistemological route by which one arrives at biblical truth does not determine the value of what one arrives at -- any more than the use of a less than perfect map requires one reach a city having corresponding inadequacies. As Harvard logician Willard van Orman Quine has soundly pointed out, one doesn't need to put supports under every inch of a roof in order to hold it fully and completely up. The empirical historical evidences in behalf of Christian revelation are not absolute (no synthetic proof can be), but they are sufficiently powerful to bring us to the feet of a divine Christ who affirms without qualification that biblical revelation is trustworthy.²⁸

Different Interpretations of Scriptural Absolutes Tested by Verificational Procedures

Christianity allows for relativity, not only in the amount of evidence surveyed in a case for its truth, but also in the interpretation of the Bible, once it is accepted as God's Word.

In many passages there are several possible different interpretations: some are very controversial. There are areas in which God has not spoken at all, or not with extensiveness or unquestioned clarity. Even where the Bible speaks extensively on a subject, we must distinguish between the inspired meaning of the passage as given originally, and our present growing understanding of it.

How then do we decide between differing understandings and interpretations? A verificational approach suggests that we take the interpretation that consistently accounts for the greatest number of converging lines of evidence from the grammar, the context, the author's intention or purpose, the historical and cultural setting, the people who first received the message, and the broader theological context. Our knowledge of Scripture is relative in that it is related to how well we have done our homework in all of these respects. But in the final analysis, it is relative to the biblical norms. Some interpretations are better informed than others. So all interpretations are not equally bad or good in an uncharted sea of sheer relativism. Insofar as our interpretations conform to the divine mind known from revelation they are absolutely true. To the extent that our interpretations stray from the biblical norm, they are less probably true.

Doctrines also must be viewed with a degree of relativism, as one studies the development of doctrines in various periods of biblical history in church history. The failure to acknowledge the values of relativism may be clearly seen in relation to Rome's allegedly infallible dogmas. This misguided absolutism, Geoffrey Bromiley has said, is quickly redressed by a little historical relativism.²⁹

The recognition of a difference between the absolute reality of God as revealed in normative Scripture and a given person's present grasp of the truth is nowhere more significant than in missions. As one is transplanted to a very different culture he becomes increasingly aware of the importance

of distinguishing what is genuinely trans-cultural and what was relative to his provincial setting alone. Christians try not to confuse their relative, man-made cultural habits with Absolute Truth.

In attempts at cross-cultural understanding, it is equally important that Christians do not give up absolutes by confusing them with relativities. "The only reason for being a Christian," said Stephen Neill, "is the overpowering conviction that the Christian faith is true." And Alec Vidler has well said of Christianity, "Either it is true for all men, whether they know it or not; or it is true for no one, not even for those people who are under the illusion that it is true."³⁰ Having quoted these men in *The Validity of the Christian Mission*, Elton Trueblood adds,

The defender of the Christian Mission has no need to claim that all is lovely in the West: in like manner, he need not try to maintain that all is satisfactory in the Church, for whether at home or on the mission field, the Church is always inadequate. There is a real difference between Christianity and Western culture. The claim that missions are mere door-openers for colonialism and imperialism loses much of its persuasiveness when we observe the degree to which the Church in missionary lands has been among the most active opponents of imperialism. It is the conscious strategy of the Mission, in a great many different countries, not to impose the culture of the areas from which the workers happen to come, but to develop local churches which are, insofar as possible, indigenous to their own cultures.³¹

"In the long run, the best reason for dedication to the spread of the faith of Christ" according to Elton Trueblood, "is the conviction that this faith conforms to reality as does no other alternative of which we are aware."³² The unpopularity of such a conclusion in an age of supposed tolerance and religious pluralism does not make Christianity false. While seeking to be tender with persons, we must face resolutely all questions of truth and falsity, insofar as we are able to confront them. Whereas there should be hardly any limits to our tolerance of people, Stephen Neill has said, "The moment we raise the question of truth, we are faced by the painful issue of the intolerance of truth."³³ The message of Christianity is not the product of Western speculation. It is held to be objectively true, congruent with what has actually occurred, with reality.

Returning to the point at which we began, there is good reason to believe that there are three sides to every story -- your side, my side and the facts. The facts owe their existence and meaning to the Creator who is omniscient. Hence we may change the motto to read, Every story has three sides -- your side, my side and God's. Our assertions are true insofar as they conform to God's mind. His mind is revealed in general revelation to all men and in special revelation to the inspired biblical writers. By their providential preparation and the miracle of their inspiration, these holy men teach what God wanted taught. Whether affirming what is invariably true or what is true of a once-for-all event, their affirmations convey God's mind. Divine absolutes are then received by common or special grace, not by autonomous human ability. So all truth is God's truth, whether on your side or my side, or wherever it may be found.

NOTES

- ¹ Gordon R. Lewis, *Testing Christianity's Truth Claims* (Chicago: Moody, 1976) 176-284.
- ² Cornelius Van Til, *Defense of the Faith* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1955) 67.
- ³ Gordon R. Lewis, "Van Til and Carnell," *Jerusalem and Athens* (ed. F. R. Geeham; Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1971) 352-354; and *Testing Christianity's Truth Claims*, 135-138.
- ⁴ Edward John Carnell, *Christian Commitment* (NY: Macmillan, 1957) 44-46.
- ⁵ "Stanley I. Benn, "Justice," *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (ed. Paul Edwards; NY: Macmillan & The Free Press, 1967) 301.
- ⁶ Robert Hutchins, "Love" *A Symposium of Great Books of the Western World* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952) 1. 1051-52.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p.1057.
- ⁸ James A. Mohler, *Dimensions of Love; East and West* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1975) 43.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.38-66.
- ¹⁰ Ben F. Kimpel, *Language and Religion* (NY: Philosophical Library, 1957) 39.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p 42.
- ¹³ Arthur F. Holmes, *Faith Seeks Understanding* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971) 25-29.
- ¹⁴ Gordon Kaufman, *Relativism, Knowledge and Faith* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1960) 67-79.
- ¹⁵ Paul Tillich, *My Search for Absolutes* (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1967) 64-75.
- ¹⁶ Francis Schaeffer, *The God Who Is There* (Chicago: Inter Varsity Press, 1968) 128-130.
- ¹⁷ Clark Pinnock. "Cultural Apologetics: An Evangelical Standpoint." *BSac* 127 (Jan-March, 1970) 58-63, n.505.
- ¹⁸ Augustine, *City of God*, XI, 6: Trans. Marcus Dods, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956) 11. 208; Trinity V. 2, 3; *Ibid.*, III. 88.
- ¹⁹ Gordon R. Lewis, *Decide for Yourself: A Theological Workbook* (Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1970) 21-25.
- ²⁰ Elton Trueblood, *A Place to Stand* (NY: Harper and Row, 1969).
- ²¹ John Warwick Montgomery, *Where Is History Going?* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1969) 180-181.
- ²² See my evaluation of Gordon Clark's apologetic in *Testing Christianity's Truth Claims*, 100-124.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 151-1751.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.125-150.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.71-75, 98-99.
- ²⁶ Gordon R. Lewis, *Confronting the Cults* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1966) 43-80.
- ²⁷ James Daane, "Review" of my *Testing Christianity's Truth Claim* in *Themelios* 3. (Sept., 1977) 33, n.1.
- ²⁸ John Montgomery, *Where Is History Going?* 180-181.
- ²⁹ Geoffrey Bromiley, "The Limits of Theological Relativism," *Christianity Today* (May 24, 1968) 6.
- ³⁰ D. Elton Trueblood, *The Validity of the Christian Mission* (NY: Harper and Row, 1972) 45, 46.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, pp.46-47.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p.56.
- ³³ Stephen Neill, *Call to Mission* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970) 9.

TIME AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

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Historians focus their attention on the agents of change and continuity. Intellectual historians are particularly interested in what we might call the "historical consciousness" of these persons and institutions and in the "consciousness" of the communities of which they are a part. The latter -- the tradition, heritage or roots of a culture, community, or group -- provides for continuity in the midst of change and often for the inspiration by which change is instituted and given direction. The argument of this paper is that "time" and "significance" have a distinctive meaning for historians which is intrinsic to the traditions studied.

Analytic philosophers have had some very helpful things to say about these two concepts, but they tend to overlook what is emphasized here. We shall begin with some clarifications of "significance" in history made by Arthur C. Danto¹ in his debate with W. H. Walsh over the difference between "plain" and "significant" historical narratives. Danto's "revelatory" type will be developed to make it applicable to a cultural heritage and thus clarify a distinctive meaning it has for history.

The special focus on "time" in history is twofold. Communities attribute direction to the time process: "chosen people", "salvation history", expectation of a Kingdom of God or a classless society, or faith in social and technological progress. A study of traditions also reveals a variety of ways in which man has understood his temporal nature and the process of time of which he is a part. Three contrasting traditions -- African, Hindu and Christian -- will be reviewed to reveal the conceptual-set concerning time and significance which is presupposed by each.

The paper concludes with a theoretical model of a modern historically conscious group which, I hope, will aid the historian in the study of the conceptual system of specific groups.

Historical Significance

What counts as significant or important in history is by no means easy to determine. How does a historian select from among past events and from among possible interpretations of events the ones which must be incorporated into the history? We can say that it is the historian's know-how which comes with his research experience and his attempt to "relive" a selected past in terms of the questions which he is raising about that past in his own present which is determinative.

But if we look first at the nature of historical narratives rather than at the nature of the historians who produce them, we may be tempted like W. H. Walsh to distinguish between plain and significant narrations.² A plain

one, according to Walsh, simply describes what has happened in terms of a past set of events while the significant narrative in some sense explains what has taken place. Plain narratives are close to being merely chronicles, he says, while significant ones accomplish explanation by "colligating" events under "appropriate conceptions" to make a coherent whole out of the events studied. Danto on the other hand contends that to provide a narrative is already to give a kind of explanation -- the type which is typical of historical endeavor. So Danto sets out to convince Walsh that all we really need is "plain" narrative since if it contains good history it will have reported "precisely what has happened" (Ranke) and hence will have included all that Walsh wants to call significant.

It should be noted that the two philosophers are not engaged in a mere verbal quibble. Both men, but especially Danto, wish to clearly separate analytic approaches to history from "speculative" (Walsh) or "substantive" (Danto) ones. As a consequence, Danto's special interest in defending the role of plain historical narratives is to make the point that such story-lines can be comprehensive of the truly historical without going beyond the past to consider the future and without speculating about "ultimately significant" meanings. My own position on these issues will become clear shortly. For the moment I want to call attention to Danto's contribution to the discussion of how historians incorporate what they take to be *significant* about a past into a *plain* narrative. He introduces four types of significance.³

(1) Historical narratives have a special *pragmatic* significance when a historian is prepared to ascribe moral import to individuals or events included in his story-line. The inclusion of a moral point may well make the narrative fuller or more accurate -- a better *plain* narrative. (He makes a similar claim for all four types.) For my part I would expect the primary responsibility of the historian to lie in setting forth the value structure of the community in question and the historical situation within which specific moral decisions were made. Its inclusion in the account would seem to depend on two factors. The moral decision might be taken by the historian to be so highly commendable or reprehensible that he wishes to call attention to it -- to make, as Danto suggests, a "moral point." In addition, since historians always have the advantage of hindsight, the moral situation may need to be developed in the narrative precisely because the historian will be displaying the important consequences which follow from the action. This, as we shall see, makes moral or pragmatic significance an instance of his third type.⁴

(2) *Theoretical* significance: Here Danto has in mind the use of historical evidence which is taken as significant for establishing or refuting a theory. Let me give an example of this which may also serve to suggest a reason for questioning Danto's effort to restrict history to past events rather than stressing the historian's special concern with the *relationship* between past, present and future.⁵ Historians interested in the Marxian theory which explains past patterns in terms of a causal theory based upon economic forces would also need to deal with the projection of economic class conflict into the future. *The Anatomy of Communist Takeovers* is one recent study which illustrates how this theory has been applied and revised

in the twentieth century. The editor, Thomas Hammond, compares the Outer Mongolian takeover of the early 1920's with those of Eastern Europe and North Korea in the 1940's. For him a *significant* event for the revision of the Marxian economic-class-conflict theory was to be found in the statement made by Lenin in 1920 before the Second Congress of the Comintern:

It would be incorrect to say that the capitalistic stage of development is inevitable for backward peoples -- With the help of the proletariat of the more advanced countries, backward countries can skip over to a Soviet system and arrive at communism through special stages of development, avoiding the capitalist stage of development.^6

Clearly the importance of the Leninist revision was not to be handled solely in terms of past documents (Danto), but in the reformulation of theory to meet new present and future situations.

(3) We come now to what is the most widely evoked approach to historical importance, namely *consequential* significance. A given event is said to be important when other events which can be shown to follow from it are seen as significant in their own right. The two previous types, the moral and the theoretical, seem to be special cases of the consequential view. Danto rightly takes causal analysis to be important for determining what may count as an outcome of a given antecedent event. But it is important to note as far as the work of historians is concerned that to speak of *significant* consequences may require taking into account such features as the reasons agents give for their actions, evidences of behavior directed toward future ends, and even the claim that some events are important because they are *humanly* significant.^7 The Russian Revolution and the Nazi use of genocide are clear modern examples of the last point. These events are not only important because of their consequences causally but because of the way they have indelibly influenced our modern historical consciousness.

The drastic reduction in population during the fourteenth century by the Black Death established its importance immediately. So Danto summarizes the economic consequences: "We may say that the significance of the Black Death was that it created a sellers' market in labour, hence a rise in wages, hence contributed to the break-up of the feudal structures of tied labour."^8 Danto might well agree that if we were doing religious history we might consider the impact of the plague upon late medieval man's perception of his own temporal nature and his concern with salvation. Or, in view of the coming Reformation, the historian might consider its influence on the development of theology. The "causal" connections would then be closer to what we might call "reasonable implications."

Certainly no one questions the "human" significance of the Russian Revolution or the Black Death. What is important to notice is that the historian's actual use of the consequence view is not limited to a strict causal analysis. Often a complex set of inferences about the process of events is required if narratives are to be explanatory. The historian displays the evidence for the significance of certain events by establishing selected *relationships* between the past, present and future. Danto is not unjustified in expressing concern about those philosophies of history which speculate

about the future. As Danto puts it,

Historians describe some past events with reference to other events which are future to them, but past to the historian, while philosophers of history describe certain past events which are future both to those events and to the historian.⁹

The substantive philosophers work with "nonhistorical significance." This important distinction should not obscure, however, the special concern historians themselves need to have for the ways men project themselves into the future or human communities see themselves as moving into a "new era." It must take notice of how those communities look upon some events as "central events" or as "turning points" for all future history.¹⁰ By thus expanding the consequential view we begin to see the interdependence between the understanding of historical time as a dynamic process of event-relationships and what counts as historically important. The link between the two, we are reasoning, is to be found in the conscious tradition of given communities.

(4) A consideration of Danto's final type, *revelatory* significance, will further establish my thesis. From his analytic point of view an event may be said to be revelatory for the researcher when the discovery of that event will help to support a likely story which a historian has proposed to account for a set of events. On discovery, the significant event helps the historian to reconstruct what went on or to infer the occurrence of some other set of events. The revelatory "find" gives the (plain) narrative greater authenticity or more explanatory power. The historian *finds* an event to be revelatory for his research. This is a vital part of the objective side of historical work.

But now let us consider the historian along with the rest of us who are aware of being human beings, members of groups and participating in the historical consciousness of those groups. We now might think of ourselves as *taking* certain events as having revelatory significance not only for our professional work but for the larger meaning of our lives. While this cannot justify just any so-called speculative or "substantive" interpretation of history, it is a historical phenomenon for individuals and groups which the historian may need to incorporate into his narrative if it is to be comprehensively explanatory. To build on an analogy used by Danto, just as a novel may have anticipations of developments to come, the significance of which a reader may not grasp until later, so it is with history. Community traditions single out certain events as important for self- and community-understanding, and, of course, they may have anticipations of possible events which are vital to community expectation and action.¹¹ Black American history provides a good case in point. Martin Luther King helped his people find their "roots" and their program for non-violent action in part by going back to the biblical tradition of the Jewish exodus-experience with the call to "Freedom!" and "Let my people go!". Historians can tell us what men and women have been "grasped by" in their remembered past or in their envisioned future. Such is the broadened conception of revelatory significance.

Time and Historically Conscious Communities

We have been using the terms "time" and "temporality" and have implied that without change there would be no perception of time. In the late eighteenth century Kant made it clear that neither space nor time were entities but were indispensable ways ("forms" of intuition) by which humans *think* about their world. We experience ourselves and other persons and things as having a certain duration, as coexisting, or as occurring in succession -- being before and after. This is the basis for our twentieth century view of time as well, but we are not so sure as to precisely what is universal about temporal awareness. Certainly there are many ways in which temporal relationships can be measured quantitatively and qualitatively. But the time it takes to communicate, for example, may defy measurement. The *experience* of duration can vary greatly as can our ability or desire to recollect. There is evidence to show the influence of illness, drugs or different attitudes upon the perception of the passage of time and of ourselves as temporal beings.

The discussion which follows will illustrate the fact that there is a great deal of cultural variation in how human temporality is perceived and hence how the temporal process is thought to manifest significant meaning. The consideration of three different groups -- Africans, Hindu, and Western Christian -- will demonstrate that the tradition of a community is a vital unit of historical investigation. It will be noticed that all three heritages include the notions of past, present and future, but the way in which their relationship is understood is radically different. These happen to be three traditions where the metaphysical base for understanding the temporal is religious, but historians could obviously concentrate on other social institutions central to the communities being studied and seek out determinate presuppositions -- including those of time and significance -- as these appear in the sources of the given tradition. One can also follow a given tradition under sharply different conditions and notice the metaphorical shifts or more radical revisions in temporal understanding. My three case studies suggest what is happening with the impact of modern influences. Whatever the approach, the point remains. It is an important part of the work of an intellectual historian to discover and communicate precisely what are the controlling assumptions, the conceptual-set of ideas, which are part of the historical consciousness of a specific community in a given time and space.

An African Tribal View of Time

John S. Mbiti, who was raised in Kenya and taught philosophy at Makerere University in Uganda before the advent of that nation's recent tragic dictatorship, has written extensively on the African conception of temporality. For all the diversity that can be found among the hundreds of tribal people, he holds that they share a deeply religious approach to nature and man. All events have their focus toward the past rather than, as

in much of the West, toward the future. God may be eternal but he does not hold out hope of eschatological fulfillment to man. Indeed, traditionally the African may plan ahead for only a few months and put the real stress on life in the Now as interpreted in terms of his individual and community consciousness of the past. The reckoning of time is not by numerical chronology but in terms of the phenomena which dominate life: sunrise, milking time, time to draw water, the 'hot' month, time of 'grain in the ear', lunar months of pregnancy, etc. The older the person the longer his Now-consciousness with its set of remembered experiences. All of these have their foundation in the community's past and in the religious ontology at its roots. To the latter one turns for an explanation of the creation of the world, death, the development of one's language, customs, and tribal wisdom. As Mbiti wrote, "African peoples expect human history to continue forever, in the rhythm of moving from the Now of the Past ... the days, months, seasons and years have no end, just as there is no end to the rhythm of birth, marriage, procreation and death."¹² No newness is expected, no hope of renewal. Instead, the new -- an eclipse, a drought. or the birth of twins -- is likely to be treated as a bad omen and as an invasion of the ontological harmony calling perhaps for a special religious rite.

Among the east African tribes stressed in Mbiti's study there is a conception of immortality only in the sense of being remembered after one dies by the community. Indeed, a primary reason for marriage is to have children who can then remember to call the spirit by its proper name as it continues among the "living dead." Fundamental to all aspects of social life is this community of interests between the living and the dead. It is not solely because so much depends on oral history that one's "existence" may last for only three or four generations. More fundamentally everything slips into the forgotten past because it is after all part of the *rhythmic cycle of time*.

Mbiti is of course fully aware that he is talking about the traditional tribal view and not about the emerging "third world" which reflects the impact of Christianity and Islam, Western Capitalism and Eastern Marxism with its secularization of the Christian hope. These influences together with technology and the new nationalism are part of the crisis of the emerging historical consciousness with its sense of liberation and of planning for the future. But the historian of the African peoples needs to take into account the cluster of ontological and religious presuppositions concerning the temporal process -- the past-oriented Now and the appeal to nature's rhythms -- both to understand tribal Africa and the distinctive character of the new historical awareness.¹³

Time and the Timeless in Hindu Thought

We switch now from a pastness-dominated model to one which stretches the imagination with the vastness of its conception of time and with its distinctive appeal to the future. India's long Hindu tradition reaches back into the oral literature of Brahmanism beginning about 1500 B.C. The

Vedic hymns created by the priests for use in the ritual services include one in which Kala or Time is conceived as the abstract source or first principle from which all changing things spring.¹⁴ Time is the first god, the lord of all things, carrying all things forward into the cycle of being. According to the later *Upanishads*, man's chief function as he passes through various cycles of existence or reincarnation is to bring his soul (*atman*) through sacrificial ritual and meditation into an identity with the Reality or Ground of the universe which is timeless. That is, he is to identify with that which is beyond time, the *Brahman* or the *Atman* as the Real Self (pp.52-3). Man is to improve the nature of his actions (*karma*) in order to raise his standing spiritually in a future mode of existence. This requires disciplined action (*karma yoga*) in accordance with the duties (*dharma*) appropriate to one's present social class (pp. 120-1). Still later literature, beginning with the Bhagavad Gita, develops the notion of Krishna and other deities as incarnations of the greater gods Vishny and Shiva. Lesser gods can thus associate with the world of temporal change long enough to help restore some semblance of moral order to it.

Ainslie Embree makes the point that there is no "Hindu view of history" but only an Indian "understanding of the nature of the historical process" (p.220). As already suggested, fundamental to this understanding is the vastness of the process depicted in terms of endless cycles of aeons and of concentric circles included within the eternity and completeness of Being (*Brahma*). When this cosmic conception of time and perfectability is coupled with the practice of renunciation of the world of temporal change referred to earlier, it is not hard to see why Albert Schweitzer, among others, has represented the Hindu attitude as one of "world and life negation."¹⁵ Paul Tillich has described it as a "non-historical type of interpretation of history" because the combination of the desire to escape from time by reincarnation with the cosmic wheel of repetition means that "no event in time can have ultimate significance."¹⁶

Now since the traditional sources and modern influences are so various in nature, it should not be surprising that some Hindu scholars would take exception to the above criticisms as typical of the western failure to understand the presuppositions of eastern thought. When I discussed this matter with T. M. P. Mahadevan at the University of Madras in 1965 I soon found out that this was the case! Let me quote the central contention from his book *Time and the Timeless*:¹⁷

The purpose of history is to become aware of the eternal -- which is the reality of ourselves -- revealing itself in the temporal process. Our progressive realization of the eternal Self is the inner meaning of history. If only we would free ourselves from our time-obsession, and become time-binding instead of time-bound, we shall [would?] see how Time is a snare and a delusion if it is not regarded as the image of Eternity.

While it is not important for my purposes to resolve the difference in interpretation, it is worth noting that we have here essentially two different paradigms of traditional Indian historical consciousness. Mahadevan in effect is rendering the presuppositions of the "classical" interpretation in an "existentialist" fashion: the eternal is operative *in* the individual and is thus bringing "selflessness" into the temporal process and potentially into

social life.¹⁸ Somewhat like Radhakrishnan, philosopher and former president of India, Mahadevan pushes the mystical and ethical side of Hindu consciousness and its possibilities for social and political life.

Like Africa, but over a longer period of time, India has been undergoing a secularizing and "historicalizing" of a great classical culture. The transition in historical consciousness was well illustrated by Gandhi's continuing faith in "the great cosmic drama of Time" combined with his ability to move a great body of people to peaceful protesting and to planning for the independence of India in 1948.

Significance and Fulfillment: A Christian Approach to Time.

Here again we can only suggest the main characteristics associated with classical and modern versions of Christian historical consciousness. Augustine and Tillich will serve as examples.

As the founding father of a Christian philosophy or theology of history Augustine set forth a view radically different from the two we have just considered. *The City of God* (431 AD) begins with the tenet that God created the world "with time" (XI, 6) and that he continues to relate himself to its processes by showing concern for mankind. Beginning with the historical framework of the Old and New Testaments he shows how God has been acting at first primarily through his covenant people Israel and then, with the incarnation of his Son, through all those who in faith are members of the "City of God" while still being within the "City of Man." Although Augustine believes that God's providential activity can be most clearly seen among those who profess a love for him, God is the Lord of all history and hence is far from indifferent toward the secular city. The interrelations between the two cities now are ambiguous but the ultimate vision is that given to John at Patmos of an eschatological fulfillment in a "City" -- the New Jerusalem -- which symbolizes the end of historical time as we know it and the consummation of God's eternal purposes.

In contrast to the African image, it is here presupposed that history is "going" somewhere and that individual men, the Church, and various cultural groups may be active agents to that end. Time is not simply the "moving image of eternity" in the Platonic or Brahmistic sense. Time achieves its overarching significance within the Christian historical consciousness not only by having a dramatic beginning and end but through a "middle" event. Christ is the transforming Center of history, the point which is eternally pivotal for all previous and subsequent human history. It is in this context that Augustine gives his famous rejection of the Stoic model of recurring cycles and strongly affirms the Christian assumption of the directedness and meaningfulness of time. Rather than supposing that "the same periods and events are repeated." the Christian interprets history in the light of the central event; "For once Christ died for our sins: and rising from the dead. He dieth no more" (*City of God*, XII. 13).

Paul Tillich would essentially agree with what we have stressed in this brief outline of the "classical view." He is an "existentialist" interpreter in the sense that, like Heidegger, he is fundamentally concerned with an

ontological analysis of man's basic questions about his existence in the modern world. Correlated with this analysis is his twentieth century critical and mystical employment of the symbols of Christian theology. I have argued elsewhere that his position raises some vital questions within his own claim that Christianity does indeed provide a "historical type of interpretation of history."¹⁹ Tillich is stronger than Augustine, however, in his stress upon the fact that God's Lordship in history includes his functioning as Judge over the visible Church and also in his recognition that every aspect of cultural life has its "ground" in the religious and may be revelatory of divine action in man's history. Most exciting, perhaps, was the way in which he sought to expand on Augustine's concept of the saving-center of history. While this *kairos*²⁰ or "right time" is all determinative, he claimed that it was meaningful to look for many lesser "centers" (*kairoi*, "right" or "ripe" times) when through the vocations of men and groups in history something of the goodness and justice of God is more fully realized. I can remember when Tillich was propounding this idea at Union Seminary and the graduate students in the history department across Broadway at Columbia were excitedly searching the historical records in the light of this proposal! For Tillich the completely New had come with the Christ, but there can be subordinate Newness, for example, in the Bill of Rights, in Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation, in more contemporary peaceful and perhaps violent protest movements. Both fulfillment and frustration, both the divine and the demonic are within history: only at the End (*telos, eschaton*) will the transforming gospel of New Being and the Kingdom be fully realized.

A Modern Theoretical Model

Each of these contrasting frameworks has had a long influence on the lives and actions of millions of people. For the tribal African view the model is one tied to nature's rhythms with the focus on the past. Significance is determined by what supports nature -- including religious rites -- and by what is remembered as tradition in the Now of the tribe. While the established Hindu perspective also is dominated by cycles of time, they are cosmic in nature and oriented toward an eternal future. What is really important is the movement of persons toward fulfillment and history's developments are significant to the extent that they too fit the trans-historical objective.

A careful look at the Christian tradition in the West would show that it too has appealed to cycles of time and has sometimes treated significance as belonging to the life beyond. However, the Augustinian view and its reformulation by Tillich stress a heritage for addressing ongoing human history where all events and persons are important although some events are singled out as particularly revelatory of God and his purposes for mankind.

But it has not been my purpose to provide a cross-traditions form of evaluation. As with cross-cultural studies, objective criteria are difficult to come by. The intent of the paper has been to call attention to what is not

generally noticed by analytic philosophers of history: historians cannot do justice to a past apart from the careful consideration of the conceptual system which is foundational to the community life being studied. The modern historian needs to come to grips with the African, Hindu, or medieval Christian conceptualizations beginning with those of time and significance. The modern historian concerned with "civil religion" in America needs to exhibit and explain the particular "mix" of traditional Christian ideas about human history with elements of nationalism, capitalism, and progressivism. The same is true of the dialectical conceptions of time and the special economic criterion of significance which one finds in "Christian" Marxism. It is from *within* the tradition of communities that one encounters the distinctively historical use of these terms. It is in the study of traditions that the historian discovers the special ways in which these two concepts are linked together.

The intellectual historian's attention to conceptual foundations of cultural groups is needed precisely because the temporal relations will not be as clear-cut as my three models might seem to imply. Indeed, it may be risky to speak of the "historical consciousness" of, say, the late middle ages. Only the careful work of the medievalist will reveal the special perception of time and the significance of the period with its mix of Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions and the national and regional practices of different European groups. No claim is made here that all segments of a population articulate their sense of the temporal, and it may well be that several paradigms of interpretation come to light upon careful study. In any case the historian's task calls both for understanding what significance a group attributes to itself *and* offering a comprehensive analysis of the historical justification (if any) for that existing sense of temporal awareness.

If we are to have a theoretical model for encouraging ongoing historical research into communities and their traditions which reflects the *modern* situation it must take into account the radicalness of change in our times. C. T. McIntire calls attention to this in his "Introduction" to *God, History, and Historians*. In his discussion of the renewal of interest in a Christian view of history, he sees the awakening as a "response to the catastrophes of our secular age and the search for an alternative view of human nature and human history."²¹ Langdon Gilkey's *Reaping the Whirlwind*²² puts man's changing sense of historical awareness into a longer context: the break with the Platonic-Medieval notion of changeless forms, the recognition of the changing character of cultures and institutions, the trend toward the secularization of life, and the rise and fall of man's faith in social and technological progress. The net result has been a loss of a sense of meaning in the midst of one's relativity in place and time. Gilkey, like some of the writers in the McIntire volume, tries to reconstruct a viable Christian historical consciousness which takes into account the insights of Augustine and Calvin, the modern contributions of Niebuhr, Tillich and Moltmann, as well as the challenges of modern biblical scholarship and of the process and liberation theologies.

What follows here is a relatively simple outline of some of the important theses which a modern historian might consider in examining a particular

heritage. It owes something to Paul Tillich's useful treatment of the ontological characteristics of historical groups²³ and it offers some symbolism from the Christian tradition for illustrative purposes.

The purpose of the model, it should be noted, is not to encourage speculative or substantive approaches. Rather its intent is to urge historical research with an eye to the symbolic ways in which communities may attempt to give their own histories "substantive" import. These substantive elements intrinsic to historical communities -- ancient and modern -- must, of course, remain grist for the analytic mill.

(1) There can be no history without factual occurrences and there is no history without the reception and interpretation of these occurrences by historical consciousness as historical *events*.

(2) The direct bearers of historical consciousness are social-cultural groups of human beings with their centers of authority, institutional structure and "vocational consciousness." Each calls for careful documentation and analysis by students of particular historical communities.

(3) The sense of calling or historical awareness distinctive of particular communities is expressed in the tradition of the recollected, revelatory events, by their expectations for the future, and by their attitudes toward action in conflict situations. This heritage influences the self-understanding of members of the community, their sense of destiny and of freedom, and consequently their roles as agents of continuity and change.

(4) Since individual agents and institutions project themselves into the future, historians themselves deal with the future in this way as well as in terms of the as yet unrealized consequences of past events whose outcomes are thought to be significant.

(5) In a modern technological community the sense of time will include a concern for causal sequences, an awareness of before and after, of *chronos* or time measurable in various ways by modern science. While the technological approach to time may presuppose necessary progress, the realities of a modern community -- as well as its faith which may be directed to other sources -- are calling this assumption into question.

(6) Time is more than "clock time" psychologically, culturally, and historically as well as religiously. It is an ontological reality that man and his institutions are unavoidably temporal. "Temporal passage" is the locus of man's being, but also of his creativity. It is the "arena" in which man actualizes his freedom to create the new in the midst of the destining factors of history.²⁴ With a sense of the New comes that of *kairos* (the "right" time) and of potential *kairoi*. Communities may thus grasp opportunities to work against the demonic forces and for justice in the social structures. A community may see movements toward liberation and reconciliation as evidence of divine providence working through human freedom.

(7) Certain institutions obtain special importance in terms of the tradition of the community. So, for Christian groups, the Church has been central although neither the activity of God nor that of the believer is viewed as limited to this spiritual center. The judgment of God may fall on the Church as on any other social structure. In the modern world the

structures of religion tend to be ecumenical, world-wide in mission, distinctive in vocation and yet very much interrelated with the secular structures.

(8) A function of the central institution or its educational arm may be to aid the members of the community in remembering, perpetuating and celebrating a heritage. Special events (Passover, Easter, May Day), liturgies, dramatic presentations, or preaching may serve this end. In the Church it is by retelling the Story of God's "mighty acts" for his people that the revelatory past is related to present needs and the consciousness of the group is "raised" to confront the issues of the present.

(9) For a religious group the Story which is central to the received tradition is retold through the distinctive symbols of the faith (Lamb, Cross, the Kingdom of God) and through the use of images and metaphors which are a vital part of the ordinary language of the community.²⁵ These carry that tradition's response to the question of the ultimate or fundamental meaning of historical existence.

(10) If a tradition is to have a "historical type of interpretation of history" (Tillich) it will focus on a central event *in* history which addresses the problem of the salvation of the community from the powers of evil in history and *through* history. From the religious community's point of view history will be essentially "history of salvation" and God will be Lord of the temporal process "controlling the universal history of mankind, acting in history and through history."²⁶

(11) A tradition may be kept open, as may its historical consciousness, to historical and critical analysis. For a religious community, biblical studies and theology have this as part of their task.

(12) The special historical consciousness of a group may support causes from outside the community, as well as from within, although it tries to understand them in terms of its own center. That center may be reflected in movements which are not identified with the community such as Marxism or certain liberation movements. It may be reflected in movements which want to be a part of the community but are not officially accepted by that group (such as Latin American Catholic liberation thought). Unfortunately, it may also be thought to be reflected in movements which make a god out of their particular version of historical consciousness and employ it for very destructive purposes (as in Jonestown). Such is the ambiguity of history this side of the *Eschaton*. But a community may assert the authority of its Center while accepting the judgment of that Center against every temptation to presumptiveness.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Arthur C. Danto, *Analytic Philosophy of History* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965) 110-113.

² W. H. Walsh, *An Introduction to Philosophy of History* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1967) 32, 61.

³ Danto. *op. cit.*, pp. 118ff. Danto and Walsh would presumably agree that if a historian comes up with a "good" historical narrative it will have the following features: (a) it will report events about a past, (b) in the order in which they occurred, and (c) do so in such a way as to explain those events. To accomplish (c) through Walsh's "colligating" of events under "appropriate conceptions" requires, says Danto, (d) that the narrative which reconstructs the

past do so with imaginative appeal to general concepts ("conceptual evidence"). For his part, Danto would want (d), the conceptual evidence, to be (e) open to testing in terms of independent, documentary evidence. This last requirement by Danto is quite consistent with the causal theory of evidence which he defends as the basis for the scientific side of historical research. It is introduced to prevent Walsh's "appropriate conceptions" from encouraging extra-historical speculation about the future or about "ultimate" meanings.

⁴ Moral or other value considerations are part of the "temporalness" of historical agents and groups. For a recent attempt to defend the historian's ability to deal with "life" values in terms of a "relative objectivity" see R. F. Atkinson, *Knowledge and Explanation in History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978) 85-94, 188-218.

⁵ Cf. C. T. McIntire, "The Focus of Historical Study: A Christian View." AACs Academic Paper (Toronto, Canada, 1980) 3-4

⁶ Quoted (p. 109) by Hammond in his "The Communist Takeover of Outer Mongolia: Model for Eastern Europe?", pp. 107-144 in the volume he edited: *The Anatomy of Communist Takeovers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), For an additional example see A. G. Dickens, *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth Century Europe* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966). Dickens wants his readers to see the Reformation both as a climax of the Middle Ages and as one in a long series of conflicts that has arisen within the basic structure of medieval society. He parts company with those whose major stress is put on a few leaders of the Reformation. He finds evidence to support the theory that lay-Christians were vital influences. The Hussites and the Anabaptists, he demonstrates, carried the spirit of the Reformation as they functioned as migrant workers in the new mines which were opening up in Europe.

⁷ Atkinson, p.86.

⁸ Danto, p.134.

⁹ Danto, *op. cit.*, p.15. I would like to thank historian Ronald R. Nelson for his very helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper read in Chicago, September 26, 1980, to a Conference on Faith and History. Nelson rightly points out that the historian does not rest content with how men have interpreted their own past, present and future, but rather subjects these self-interpretations to critical scrutiny. As Danto has made plain, the task of the historian includes the production of a narrative which explains the changes which have taken place in a past (p.225) and which rectifies the illusory explanations which historical agents may themselves have placed upon past events (p.232). In the process the historian must be aware, I would suggest, of his own modern historical consciousness and of its influence upon his judgment of the temporal awareness of persons and groups in the past under investigation.

¹⁰ Cf. Oscar Cullmann, *Salvation in History* (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1967) 166ff. I have recently prepared a paper on this topic contrasting the views of Bultmann, Tillich and Pannenberg: "The Fate of the Center of History in Contemporary Theology." For those interested in the debate over "speculative" interpretations of history, you will notice that I am insisting on the importance of philosophical analysis and am, indeed, extending its use into what Danto calls the "substantive" because I take the "substance" to be already part of historical traditions which historians should study. My approach is, then, quite different from that taken by Haskell Fain's *Between Philosophy and History: the Resurrection of Speculative Philosophy of History Within the Analytic Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

¹¹ Danto, pp.8-9, 134. Danto is, of course, pointing to the disanalogy that whereas we do finish novels, such is not the case with history. But this does not alter the historical reality we are pointing to: groups *taking* past and yet-future events as significant.

¹² Hohn S. Mbiti. *African Religions and Philosophy* (N.Y.: Praeger Publications, 1969). 24, Cf. his *New Testament Eschatology in an African Background* (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1971).

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 163, 67, 98, Cf. K. O. Dike and J. F. A. Ajayi, *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (N.Y.: Macmillan & Free Press, 1968) 394-9. For an emphasis on time among former Black-slave groups from West Africa see Helen B. Green., "Temporal Attitudes in Four Negro Subcultures", *The Study of Time*, ed. J. T. Fraser. F. C. Haber, G. H. Muller (N.Y.: Springer-Verlag, 1972) 402-417.

¹⁴ Ainslie T. Embree, ed., *The Hindu Tradition* (N.Y.: Vintage Book, 1966, 1972). 24, Page references in the text are to this volume.

¹⁵ Albert Schweitzer, *Indian Thought and Its Development* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936) 1-2.

¹⁶ Paul Tillich, *The Protestant Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948) 18. In this category Tillich also places Taoism, the Greeks, and post-Renaissance European Nationalism. For a detailed discussion see Chapter II of my *Paul Tillich's Interpretation of History* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilm, 1959).

¹⁷ Madras, India: *Uphanishad Vihar* (1953) 24-5. These were the Miller lectures given at the University.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp.81-84. For a recognition of the distinction I am making between the classical and the existential interpretations see S. J. Samartha, *The Hindu View of History: Classical and Modern* (Bangalore Press, India, 1962). Abraham Kaplan in *The New World of Philosophy* (N.Y.: Vantage Book, 1961) 213, 228, makes the point that while classical Hinduism is not fatalistic in any necessary sense, yet psychologically it is on the side of apathy rather than resolute action.

¹⁹ See Chapter IV in my *Paul Tillich's Interpretation of History*. See fn. 9 above for a more recent study. Increasingly Tillich turned his attention from the Center of history to the expectation of New Being and the Kingdom of God as symbols which, he thought, have their counterpart in a variety of religions.

²⁰ It would be a mistake to assume that only the Christian view could make a distinction between *chronos* and *kairos*, or that Christian thinkers never appeal to the cyclical view of time. Cullman (*Christ and Time*) has been so interpreted by some. On time and the ancient western world see *History and the Concept of Time*. Beiheft 6 of *History and Theory* (Wesleyan University Press, 1966).

²¹ Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 6.

²² Langdon Gilkey, *Reaping the Whirlwind, A Christian Interpretation of History* (N.Y.: Seabury Press, 1976) 7-35, 188-205.

²³ Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, III, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963) 300-313.

²⁴ Gilkey, pp.199-200, 215. Gilkey is developing a contemporary conception of the doctrine of providence.

²⁵ On the common role of metaphor in all language. including a useful discussion of metaphors for time, see George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. "Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language", *Journal of Philosophy* (LXXVII, 8 August, 1980) 453-486.

²⁶ Tillich, *The Protestant Era*, pp. 26-27.

REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF PREMILLENNIAL THOUGHT

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I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr Allan A. MacRae for the introduction to a thorough and careful study of the Word of God. It is an honor to add here my grateful recognition of his loyalty to the Bible. We have all been blessed by his meditations on Isaiah, and we eagerly await the commentary on Daniel. Not least among the many cherished doctrines Dr MacRae has inculcated and strengthened is the doctrine of the premillennial Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ.

A few years ago, the reading of Ernest Sandeen's *The Roots of Fundamentalism* directed my attention to LeRoy Froom's massive survey of premillennial thought, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, Washington, D.C., 1950-1954. Froom's work makes one aware of the movement of eschatological thought through the Christian centuries and provides a prodigious store of data for reflection.

I have thus been challenged to add the historical perspective of the development of doctrine to detailed exegetical work. In the present essay, therefore, I present some of my reasons, both historical and exegetical, for believing that the futurist premillennial doctrine is emerging from neglect and misrepresentation to prove itself the most stable form of Biblical eschatology, providing a satisfactory answer to a recurring historical and exegetical problem. I refer to the prevailing practice, at least up to the early nineteenth century, in both postmillennialism and premillennialism, of calculating the times and setting the date of the end of the age.

I propose, then, in this first part of the paper, to make a brief survey from Irenaeus to the early nineteenth century, looking at particular moments which will enable us to trace the development leading to the breakdown and abandonment of the Augustinian view of eschatology and the acceptance, in principle, of the futurist interpretation of Revelation.

THE DEVELOPMENT LEADING TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY DEMISE OF THE AUGUSTINIAN -- TYCONIAN INTERPRETATION OF REVELATION

It is obvious that a strict and consistent futurist conception of the Book of Revelation involves the rejection of much of the time-honored continuous-historical view. I can only say at this point that the following discussion will show my reasons for rejecting a theory which necessarily involves a calculation of the times, especially if combined with the day/year theory. However, I do not think that we have no guidance through the generations which intervene between the First and Second Advents of our

Lord. We have the Lord's own sketch of the characteristics of the age, given at the beginning of the Olivet Discourse. The three concluding verses of Matt 23 anticipate the rejection of Jesus by the leadership of Israel, and lead to the predictions of the desolation of Jerusalem, and, following the interval of Israel's separation from her land, the prediction of her believing acceptance of Christ as He returns in glory. There follows a sketch of the present age in the Olivet Discourse, before the Lord focuses attention on the future complex of events in which Israel's believing welcome will be heard. Sometimes the historicist view is so attenuated and loosely conceived that it does not effectively attempt to calculate the times. I am arguing for the rejection of the principle, in favor of the Lord's statement: "It is not for you to know the times and seasons ..." (Acts 1:7).

Irenaeus of Lyons

Let us take Irenaeus and his great work, *Against Heresies*, as representative of ancient premillennialism. Irenaeus witnesses, I believe, to a premillennial and futurist reading of the Revelation. Irenaeus speaks of a future apostasy in the time of Antichrist, whom he understands to be a particular individual.¹ He expected a future complex of events in which Antichrist would appear. He at no point makes a statement as to how long the interval would be from his own time to that future complex. He simply puts the future complex in the context of the empire which now rules the earth. Irenaeus' reserve is harmonious with the futurist view of the break in the Roman Empire caused by the "deadly wound," followed by the reemergence of the Roman Empire in an eschatological ten-horned kingdom.

A further proof of Irenaeus' futurism is shown in his handling of Rev 17. In Book V, 26, Sect. 1, he quotes Rev 17:12-14, and then comments: "It is manifest, therefore, that of these [potentates], he who is to come shall slay three, and subject the remainder to his power, and that he shall be himself the eighth among them." Irenaeus is bringing together Daniel and Revelation, because in introducing his quotation of Rev 17:12ff, he says: "He teaches us what the ten horns shall be which were seen by Daniel." In his exposition he injects the reference to Dan 7:20 which tells of the elimination of three horns by the little horn, thus leaving seven. John's statements assume knowledge of the Daniel context, so that he is able to say that the beast is the eighth among his contemporaries. Irenaeus understands and repeats this.

Irenaeus thus thrusts into the future the final phase of the world empire headed by the beast and speaks of the partitioning of "the empire which now rules [the earth]...." In doing so he avoids the confusion of saying that Rome of his day was the last phase of that world empire. He is obviously in harmony with Rev 17:10 with its enumeration of seven kings: five fallen, one existing, and one not yet come. He clearly stands apart from the attempt to equate the ten-horned kingdom with Rome of his day. There is no mention of Rome having seven hills. Irenaeus has a consistent futurist system: he simply looks for a future phase of Rome. Of course, Irenaeus could not tell, and did not suggest, how long the interval might be

until that final phase. His system was flexible to the widely accepted idea that the fatal wound the beast received (Rev 13:3) was the dying out of totalitarianism with the break-up of the Roman Empire, and that the healing of the wound will be the "revived Roman Empire."

I therefore think that Irenaeus cannot be called a "historic premillennialist." He gives no hint of a day/year theory, since he obviously takes the years of Antichrist's reign quite literally and makes no attempt to speculate about the length of the time to the end.

The Augustinian-Tyconian Theory

We turn next to Augustine of Hippo for a view which we shall call the Augustinian-Tyconian "church-historical" theory. This view presents the only logical alternative to the view of Irenaeus. Its crucial point of difference is that the millennium has reference to the present age. Our hypothesis is that the 1,300 years after Tyconius reveal stages in the rejection of Tyconius' view and a return to that of Irenaeus. At particular points in history the date-setting inherent in Tyconius' theory has proved to be delusive.

Augustine was a premillenarian previous to his adoption of Tyconius' theory. I propose here a probable explanation of why Augustine adopted Tyconius' idea of recapitulation. The notion of recapitulation appears to be a form of the principle of interpreting Scripture by Scripture. The principle is necessary and commendable, but when false or unreal parallels are juxtaposed, the result is bizarre. If one assumes that Rev 12 speaks of the ascension of Christ, the three and one-half years, or 1,260 days during which the woman is pursued by the dragon, then become an epitome of the present church age. Froom analyzes Tyconius' exegesis as follows:

By the principle of recapitulation -- the sixth in his series of Rules -- Tyconius ingeniously steps back the thousand years over the entire line of the Christian dispensation, dating it from the time of Christ's first advent. Thus he makes the end the beginning, and the beginning the end. Moreover, this millennial period he shortens from 1,000 to 350 years, because Christ's three and a half days in the tomb were shortened by employing only parts of the first and third days. This is part of his 'Fifth Rule,' which puts the part for the whole. Reviving probably a Jewish conjecture that a 'time' possibly signifies a century. Tyconius assumes each prophetic 'time' to be 100 years, and thus three and a half times would be about 350 years. Beginning with the resurrection of Christ, this period would be about expired. So he makes his own day the terminus of prophetic time.^2

The plausible and operative idea is the assumption that the resurrection or ascension of Christ is portrayed in Rev 12. This led to paralleling the 1,000 years of Rev 20 with the three and one-half years, 1,260 days of Rev 12. However, there is abundant exegetical evidence that the 1,000 years of Rev 20 must follow in close chronological succession after the events of Rev 19. Moreover, the other premise of Tyconius' reasoning, that Christ is the man-child of Rev 12, is answered by (1) holding to a sounder literary analysis of Revelation, and (2) holding that the five occurrences of three and one-half years or the equivalent in Rev 11, 12, and 13, must be closely related to the prediction of Dan 7:25, and clearly places the event of Rev 12 in the middle of Daniel's yet future seventieth

week. The entire vision (Rev 4-16) in which chap. 12 is found is an analysis of Daniel's seventieth week. Tyconius' supposed parallel disappears.

The adoption by Augustine of this fundamental displacement in biblical chronology was perpetuated by the prestige of Augustine and has been canonized in countless commentaries up to the present. One obvious result of the application of this scheme is the phenomenon of date-setting. Tyconius was apparently the first to adopt this unwarranted practice, followed by a long line of successors. A brief tracing of the history of this sad phenomenon in church history adds to the already decisive scriptural reason for rejecting it. The Lord's own words indicate that the time of His return is meant to be unknown (Acts 1:7).

The Year A. D. 1000

The premillennial scheme seems to have disappeared completely after it was condemned as heretical at the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431. This disappearance was probably aided by the suppression of the last five chapters of Irenaeus' *Against Heresies* after the rejection of premillennialism and the loss of the Greek original. The reappearance of the full text of this ancient presentation of premillennialism in 1571 (later reconstructed from the Armenian and Syriac manuscripts) may have had something to do with the reemergence of premillennialism in the seventeenth century. Once the Augustinian idea had been established, the conclusion that the end would come in the year 1000 was inevitable.³ Henri Focillon writes:

... in the middle of the tenth century there existed a movement, a groundswell of the belief that the world was drawing to a close Everything leads us to think that the movement swells like a tide as the century moves toward its end, and the year 1000 is the culmination of these terrors.⁴

The obvious failure of the expectation did not change the basic method of reasoning: men found a way to lengthen the 1,000 years into 1,260 years. LeRoy Froom credits Joachim of Flora with this ingenious device. Joachim reasoned that history was disposed in three eras: if the time of the Father ended at the Incarnation the time of the Son would end about the year 1200, and this would be followed by the age of the Spirit. The 1,000 years was to come to an end at the time of Satan's release for a little time. Joachim apparently expected the end to come about 1200. Froom does not offer an explanation of what happened when the expectation was disappointed.⁵

The Tudor Protestant Period and the 17th Century

The influence of Joachim of Flora⁶ may be seen in the Tudor Protestant period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A major feature of the period from Wyclif to the end of the sixteenth century was that the "church of the devil" came to be equated with papal Rome.⁷ Fundamental also to an understanding of the outlook of Tudor prophetic study was the idea that the millennium began with the preaching of the apostles and ended with

the loosing of Satan in Mohammed and the Papacy. Therefore, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were already in the "little time" of Satan's release before the end. Tudor Protestants thus had a theological explanation for the oppression of Rome. They were sustained and encouraged by Heinrich Bullinger's commentary on Revelation, by the assurance that even in suffering and persecution, God was in control.⁸ Thus, according to Richard Bauckham, the theory of putting the thousand years before the Parousia continued in the time following Joachim of Flora, even up into the Tudor era.

For various reasons, the belief that the end was near began to recede and a more optimistic view began to prevail. Only at the end of the sixteenth century, as Bauckham says of postmillennialism:

... genuine millenarianism, an optimistic outlook with strong theological roots in apocalyptic exegesis, came to prevail over a large part of English Protestant theology and had popular repercussions which have been the object of much scholarly attention. The problem of the origins of this millenarianism is a significant historical problem which has scarcely been tackled because it has rarely been sharply perceived.⁹

Bauckham has in mind here the emergence of both postmillennialism and premillennialism in the seventeenth century. This development was a decisive step in the removal of the mechanism of date-setting, which had originated in the assumption that the 1,000 years of Rev 20 "recapitulated" the 1,260 day/years of Rev 12, and invited Joachim's conversion of 1,200 days into 1,260 years.

As we shall later show, a consistent futurism, which completely removes the necessity for calculating the times, did not emerge until the early nineteenth century. Hence, the fundamental mechanism of date-setting, the 1,260 day/years of Rev 12, continues to operate in both the newly-emerging premillennialism and the modified Augustinian scheme of Puritan times.

Bauckham shows that seventeenth century millenarians looked forward to the millennium of Rev 20 as a period of future bliss for the church on earth. Continually accompanying this expectation was the prediction by both parties of the time of its beginning. The non-occurrence of the projected beginning is, of course, the proof of the fallaciousness of the theory. The ongoing of history tested this exegesis and found it wanting. The position of the seventeenth century English Puritans may be represented by Joseph Mede (1586-1638), who took the premillennial view under the influence of a contemporary Biblical writer in Germany, John Henry Alsted.¹⁰

The reasons for Alsted's adoption of premillennialism are obscure. The rediscovery of the last five chapters of Irenaeus about 1570 may have contributed to Alsted's formulation of premillennialism, since he and others used the writers of the ancient church. We may feel that the intensive Bible study of the Reformation, combined with the knowledge of antiquity, was beginning to swing the pendulum back to the primitive premillennialism of Irenaeus which had been rejected by Augustine.

Though both Mede and Alsted broke with the traditional Augustinian model, putting the 1,000 years of Rev 20 after the resurrection of the

saints, yet they retained that part of the familiar inherited structure based on the day/year theory. Alsted used the inherited day/year scheme to predict that the millennium would begin in 1694.¹¹ Mede, more cautious, rejected the precise dating, but looked for the future kingdom of Christ.¹²

The Puritans, outstanding Bible students as they were, held that God promised a glorious future for His church in England and Europe -- a time of latter day glory or millennial bliss. Thus the millennium had been thrust into the future, but the view of the 1,260 days/years was retained and widely used to set the time of the end.

Edmund Calamy's sermon, "Trembling for the Ark of God," has a curious illustration of the effect of date-setting.¹³ Calamy was ejected from his pulpit but continued to attend services at Aldermanbury. On the 28th of December, 1662, the preacher failed to appear and Calamy preached that famous sermon concluding with these words:

We must not pry into the ark. This was the sin of the men of Bethshemesh.... Be not too curious in searching where God has not discovered or revealed. For example, there are great thoughts of heart as to when God will deliver his people, and set His churches at liberty; and many men talk much of the year 1666. Some say that shall be the year in which Antichrist shall be destroyed. And there are strange impressions upon the hearts of many learned men as to that year. Some go by the year 1669. and others pitch upon other times. But, truly, if you will have my judgement, and I am glad of this opportunity to tell you, this is to pry too much into the ark. Remember the text. "It is not for you to know the times or seasons which the Father hath put in His own power." (Acts 1:7) And thus to fasten upon any particular time, if you find that you are deceived, this is the way to make you atheists, and thus afterward you will believe nothing. Those ministers do no service, or rather ill service, to the church of God, that fix upon the times and seasons.

A popish author says that in the year 1000 there was a general belief over the Christian world that the day of judgement should be that year, but when they saw it did not happen, they fell to their old sinning again, and were worse than before, and believed nothing. Well, God's time is the best, therefore let us not pry too much into the ark.¹⁴

The time of the end cannot be calculated. The experience and disappointment of the seventeenth century refuted the exegesis of those who tried to fix a specific date.

The 18th Century

Date-setting and the prediction of the time of the destruction of Antichrist continued through the eighteenth century in both Britain and America. Though both premillennialism and postmillennialism clung to the technique of calculating the times by the use of the day/year theory, we remark in anticipation that for the premillennialist this was no longer necessary. He had broken with the original Tyconian model of putting the 1,000 years before the end, and it only remained to abandon the day/year theory, put the seventieth week of Daniel in the future before the millennium, and thus remove the last remaining means of calculating the times. It is one of the ironies of history that premillennialism is completely free in theory from the means or need to calculate the time of the end, and yet, by clinging to the technique of calculating the times with the 1,260

day/years, it has given the impression that date-setting is an exclusive and necessary premillennial error.

Jonathan Edwards used the 1,260-year scheme, starting at 456 A.D., a date after Genseric had taken the city of Rome. He also used 606 A.D. as the time when civil power confirmed the universal bishopric of the Pope.¹⁵

According to Nathan Hatch, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the American development added to rationalism and pietism the conception "that in America God had founded a new Israel, a people who would point the way to the millennial Kingdom."¹⁶ No such idea could have arisen without the overruling idea that somehow the church had replaced Israel in the divine counsels, combined with the prevailing Whitbyan theory. This in turn rested on the long-standing day/year theory which gave a calculus for the events of the Christian era.

Two influential minds in prophetic matters of the eighteenth century, Daniel Whitby and Jonathan Edwards, do not appear to have very precise forecasts of the future, though both expected the millennium to come before the end of the world. Edwards relies on Lowman for his scheme of interpretation. The fifth vial of Rev 16 spoke of God's judgements on the throne of the beast at the Reformation. He apparently anticipated the sixth vial as something "immediately preparing the way for the destruction of spiritual Babylon."¹⁷

The 19th Century

The nineteenth century witnessed the demise of date-setting. With the failure of prediction in the fifties and sixties of the seventeenth century, there did not appear to have been a precise date for the end of the 1,260 years which met with general acceptance until the events of 1798. However, when General Berthier entered Rome on February 10, 1798, students of prophecy felt that they could now recognize the end of the 1,260-year era of the papacy.¹⁸

The enthusiasm and unanimity with which the idea was seized that the papacy had received its "deadly wound" made it clear that the longstanding mechanism for calculating the times was still in place. The day/year theory was operative, seeking only an appropriate occasion. That hour seemed to have come when French troops under Berthier marched on Rome, established a republic, and sent the Pope into banishment. Ernest Sandeen describes the reasoning involved:

Commentators were quick to point out that this 'deadly wound' received by the papacy had been explicitly described and dated in Revelation 13. Although prophetic scholars had previously been unable to agree on what dates to assign to the rise and fall of papal power, it now became clear, after the fact, that the papacy had come to power in 538 AD.¹⁹

Sandeen continues citing Edward King:

Is not the *Papal power* which was once so terrible, and so domineering, at an end? But let us pause a little: was not this end, in other parts of the Holy Prophecies, foretold to be at the *END* of 1,260 years? And was it not foretold by Daniel to be at the *END* of a time, times, and half a time? which computation amounts to the same period . . . *THIS IS THE YEAR 1798*. Just 1,200 years ago,

in the very beginning of the year 538, *Belsarius* put an end to the Empire and Dominion of the Goths at Rome.^20

In King's calculations, apparently, the end of the domination by the Goths meant the beginning of the ascendancy of papal Rome, which had now suffered a deadly wound, just 1,260 years later! Previous students had selected various dates for the beginning of the evolution of papal power, but this interpretation seemed convincing.

In the prophetic interest and excitement which followed, British millenarianism revived. "The Albury conferences [of 1827 and 1828], more than any other event, gave structure to the British millenarian revival, consolidating both the theology and the group of men who were to defend it."^21

In 1829, Henry Drummond summarized the conclusions reached in the two prophetic conferences. The sixth of these is: "The 1,260 years of Dan 7 and Rev 13 ought to be measured from the reign of Justinian to the French Revolution. The vials of wrath (Rev 16) are now being poured out and the second advent is imminent."^22 In this setting, "futurism" was adopted by Darby, Newton, and the Plymouth Brethren.^23

Henry Drummond went so far as to state that all of the first fifteen chapters of Revelation had already been fulfilled and that in 1827 European history was hovering somewhere between the twelfth and seventeenth verses of Revelation 16. The futurists believed that none of the events predicted in Revelation (following the first three introductory chapters) had yet occurred and that they would not occur until the end of this dispensation. Associated with this rejection of the historicists' harmonizing of Daniel and Revelation was the futurists' attack upon the day/year theory, so vital to the dating of the 1,260 years to 1798. At the first Powers Court Conference the announced topic for Wednesday was "proof if '1,260 days' means days or years...."^24

With the posing and answering of that question, the elements of a consistent futurist position were in place.

Futurism

Futurism has been suspect in some quarters because of its association with J. N. Darby. It is not possible here to discuss the intricacies of the Darbyite system. I would simply argue that the futurity of Daniel's seventieth week, with the millennium following, is a significant development of biblical theology and is not dependent on the intricacies of Darbyite exegesis.

In any case, the present argument is that the consistent futurist position is in full agreement with the basic biblical demand that the time of the end is not calculable by human wisdom. That futurist position, I would argue, was the position of Irenaeus which was rejected by Tyconius and Augustine. The intervening development between Augustine and consistent futurism was motivated by the belief in the authority of Scripture, and that belief was the leverage which made the church-historical and postmillennial day/year theory viable, until its inherent date-setting broke down at repeated points in church history, culminating in the failure of the 1798 date. It was at that point, as Sandeen recounts, that students were ready to consider the consistent futurist position.

A review of the origins of futurism may be helpful at this point. Its revival by Roman Catholic scholars is put down as a purely apologetic device, and the real origin of the view in the writing of Irenaeus is obscured. It is proved to be a needed and satisfactory interpretation of Revelation, and therefore to malign and reject it because of its Roman Catholic origin is unjustified. The animus against it is only further proof of the deep-seated addiction to date-setting which depended on the day/year theory.

Apparently the revival of the ancient futurism of Irenaeus came through the work of Francisco Ribeira (1537-1591). In a commentary on Revelation, Ribeira denied the Protestant application of Antichrist to the Church of Rome. His purpose may have been purely apologetic, but the adoption of the simple futurist view of Irenaeus was a move toward the restoration of sanity in the interpretation of Revelation. It is an interesting speculation whether Ribeira, and later Bellarmine, consulted the last five chapters (chaps. 32-36) of Irenaeus' *Against Heresies*. Even if they did not consult this ancient source, the part of Irenaeus that Ribeira had and quoted, contained the essentials of futurism. Chapter 30 is Irenaeus' famous passage on the number of Antichrist and also contains the remarkable summary in Sect. 4 in which Antichrist's reign of three and one-half years is specifically mentioned. Also, his analysis of the ten-king kingdom of the end times is remarkably faithful to Daniel and Revelation, and though he does not mention the three and one-half year reign of Antichrist, he comments on the passage in Daniel where the time, times, and half a time of Antichrist are mentioned (Dan 7:25). and advances an interpretation of v20 which is the key to a proper interpretation of Rev 17: 11 and its eighth king.

Hence, we may say that Ribeira, even without the suppressed section of Irenaeus, could have found encouragement for the futurist idea. Ribeira's work was only the first step toward the restoration of the ancient premillenarian futurism, because he retained the Augustinian church-historical view of the millennium. Ribeira's futurism dealt only with the futurity of the Antichrist and the ten-horn kingdom. In his rejection of Augustine's view of the temporal rule of the saints on earth²⁵ and of the Protestant application of Antichrist to the Church of Rome, Ribeira was obviously in agreement with Revelation which makes Antichrist a political figure. Here, no doubt, is a source of the age-long confusion. The name Antichrist sounds a religious note, but the beast is not so named in Revelation. His religious ally, the false prophet, is the religious leader and answers to the woman riding on the beast. The identification of the political head, the beast, as Antichrist, has no doubt been a great source of confusion. We need to remind ourselves that "Antichrist" is not used in Revelation. John consistently speaks of that evil eschatological figure as "the beast." The false prophet, speaking like a lamb, is more properly typed as Antichrist.

We return to our tracing of the historical development. The obvious failure of the supposed fulfilment of biblical predictions in 1798 was but another in a long series of delusive predictions of the End. We seem to have reached the limit of plausible conjectural dates for the beginning and

end of the 1,260 years.

However, a series of fiascos, from William Miller's predictions of the Lord's coming in 1843 to those following Anwar Sadat's historic visit to Israel, have given further proof of the fallacies of date-setting. Even the massive scholarship of Froom and E. B. Elliott has not redeemed a hopeless theory. At the same time, the earnestness with which it has been repeated points to the confidence in Scripture which motivated the application of an unworkable theory. Contributing to the confident attempts to calculate the times lay the cumulative effect of centuries of repetition of the Augustinian theory in its many variations.

Conclusion

With the abandonment of the day/year theory went the last support of the Augustinian consensus. The postmillenarian and premillenarian developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had broken the supposed parallel of the 1,000 years with the 1,260 day/years by thrusting the millennium into the future. Now the other means of calculation, the 1,260 day/years, had signally failed again and was attacked by futurism. Futurism proposed the projection of Daniel's seventieth week into the future. related the "week" references in Rev 11, 12, and 13 to Dan 7:25, and took the 1,260 days as real days. The remaining pillar of date-setting was gone. We have returned to Irenaeus' conception of the futurity of Daniel's seventieth week. The whole development is epochal. There ensues a new era in which Bible-believing people in general reject date-setting and point to the William Miller fiasco with aversion. We can rest here, having attempted to draw from history evidence for the thesis that the original Augustinian-Tyconian construction which leads to the calculation of the times is hopelessly wrong since God would have the time of the end to be unknown. The eschatological data of the Bible are so structured that the time between the Advents cannot be calculated.

EXEGETICAL CONFIRMATION OF THE FUTURIST VIEW.

The conclusion of the preceding historical survey that Daniel's seventieth week lies in the future may be confirmed by a discussion of the parallels between the Book of Revelation and the Book of Romans. In order to point out these parallels, I will discuss the outline and literary organization of Revelation, enlarging upon chap. 12 in the light of a consistent futurist view. I will follow a similar procedure in discussing Romans, expanding in detail the exegesis of Rom 11. The natural emergence of parallels between Revelation and Romans is the substance of the present argument. If these parallels hold good, the result should be a confirmation of the proposed futurist interpretation of Revelation.

The Eschatological Headline of Revelation

After his elaborate Trinitarian salutation to the churches of Asia, John

in Rev 1:7 presents a thematic statement which we may call the headline of the entire book: "Behold, He is coming with the clouds, and every eye will see Him, even those who pierced Him, and all the tribes of the earth [land] will mourn over Him. Even so. Amen." This statement is a combination of Dan 7:13 and Zech 12:10-14. Christ uses the same combination in the reverse order at the conclusion of the Olivet Discourse.

Immediately after the Lord portrays His coming, in close relation to that coming, He gives the promise of the gathering of His elect. To anticipate the result of more detailed discussion, it appears that the futurist placement of Daniel's seventieth week at the time of the Parousia provides a framework in which the gathering of the elect, as well as the Parousia, may be located. To anticipate one more point, we will argue that the gathering of the elect, the rapture of the church, occurs at the midpoint of the seventieth week. Thus John's use of Christ's combination of Daniel and Zechariah, with their context in Matt 24:9-31, answers well to his picture of the rapture of the church in chap. 12 as the birth of a child who is to rule the nations. That body of resurrected people are thus prepared to return with their Lord to enter upon their inheritance and reign with Him.

The Revelation appears to be composed of four visions, the second of which is found in chaps. 4 through 16.²⁶ Chapters 12-14 are an explanatory block of material lying between the end of the trumpet series and the bowl judgments of chaps. 15 and 16. In Rev 11:2 and 3; 12:6 and 14; and 13:5 there are five time references. One of these (12:14) uses the language of Dan 7:25 and 12:7. The effect of the orientation of John's second vision to the seventieth week of Daniel thrusts the whole of the vision into the future and makes it an exposition of the content of Daniel's seventieth week. The giving of the scroll in chap. 5 to the Lamb/Lion is surely identical with the Son of Man scene in Dan 7. Further, when the whole of the vision of chaps. 4-16 is made future, chap. 12 and the rapture of the child no longer stand alone as a picture of the rapture of the church. The seal series and the trumpet series are both narratives of the seventieth week, and each makes a place for the resurrection of the righteous.

Two Earthquakes and the Rapture of the Church

It is noteworthy that in each series, seals and trumpets, there are two dramatic earthquakes. In the seal series, one comes at the sixth seal (6:12) and the other at the seventh seal (8:5). In the trumpet series, the first earthquake comes at the resurrection and ascension of the two witnesses (11:13), while the second comes as the events of the seventh trumpet unfold (11:19).

The suggestion lies near at hand that we are not dealing with four distinct earthquakes, but two. It is then plausible to suggest that the cosmic phenomena following the opening of the sixth seal (Rev 6:12-14) are identical with the events described by the Lord in the Olivet Discourse (Matt 24:29-31) which events involve the gathering of the elect. It is also important to note that even the Lord's words in Matt 24:29 are to be

referred to their source in Isa 34:4. If then at or near the earthquake of Rev 6:12 we envision the resurrection, the picture of the 144,000 and the triumphant multitude of chap. 7 become intelligible as an explanation and commentary on the circumstances of the rapture.

We can readily pursue the parallels in the trumpet series. Between the sixth and seventh trumpets, there is a block of explanatory material (10:1-11:14). The linkage of the ascension of the two resurrected witnesses with an earthquake suggests that this is the same earthquake as that of 6:12 and strengthens the assumption that this event is the rapture of the church. We conclude that the seventh and last trumpet is the trumpet of the rapture of the church. The death and resurrection of the witnesses is precisely dated at the middle of the week (11:3). This fits well with the same precise dating of the ascension of the child in chap. 12. We must understand then that the sounding of the trumpet at the rapture in the middle of the week measures out the last half of the week, leading to the climactic second earthquake of 11:19.

The occurrence of two earthquakes in both the seal and trumpet series throws into contrast the fact that only one earthquake occurs in the climactic bowl series. This is readily explained if we see the bowls as a climactic exposition of only the last half of the week. The introduction to the bowl series in chap. 15 portrays again the raptured church singing its song of triumph, anticipating her millennial reign. The first earthquake and seventh trumpet are past. The bowls then narrate the details of the last half of Daniel's seventieth week and conclude with the stupendous second earthquake, in parallel with that of the seventh seal and the one following the seventh trumpet.

John, in a tightly organized manner, has used the concept of the seventieth week of Daniel, focusing attention at the middle and end of the week by using the earthquake motif. The outstanding theme holding it all together is the resurrection of the righteous.

The Woman and the Child

Guided by John's orientation to Daniel's seventieth week, we see the justification for J. O. Buswell, Jr.'s emphasis on the concentration of events at the middle of the week. Buswell argued that the resurrection and ascension of the two witnesses is the same event as the catching up of the male child of Rev 12. The persecution of the woman by the dragon for 1,260 days after the birth of the child marks the second half of Daniel's seventieth week. In an earlier study of Buswell's exegetical method, I said:

If, as Buswell suggests, Revelation 12 pictures the catching up of the true church, then the whole scene is moved into the eschatological future along with clear references to the seventieth week in Chap. 11 and 13, of the Revelation. They fit together very well with the picture from Daniel already placed in the Olivet Discourse. There is a double parallelism and confirmation not only that Daniel fits into the Olivet Discourse, but that both the Olivet Discourse and Daniel find their parallels in the book of the Revelation. Buswell suggests that the child is the true church The language is adequately suited to convey that fact. The very word that is used by Paul in I Thessalonians 4 is used by John, the verb *harpazo*, in the

familiar rapture passage. This is the basis for Buswell's suggestion of a 'mid-week rapture.' It would be well to remark in this connection that there has been much looseness and confusion attaching to what is meant by the tribulation. In popular terminology, tribulation means the seven-year period. Daniel's seventieth week. More discriminating commentators are ready to admit that there is no precise proof of the fact that the tribulation must refer to the seven years, or the first three and one-half years, or the last three and one-half years. Rather, Buswell proposes a brilliant and entirely satisfactory suggestion that the tribulation is the brief, intense and terrible period which lies between the appearance of the abomination of desolation and the time of the actual rapture of the church. As Buswell suggests, in Chapters 11, 12, and 13, there is a considerable emphasis on the material at the middle of the week. The best explanation of the tribulation is that it is the brief period, three and one-half days, when the dead bodies of the two witnesses lie in the streets of Jerusalem Buswell's significant exposition of the mid-week rapture and related events solidly paralleled in the Olivet Discourse may well mark a distinct advance in the interpretation of the Revelation. Such clarification is sorely needed in this twentieth century. Ironically, the 'consistent eschatology' of Schweitzer at the beginning of the century was really the disavowal of biblical eschatology as mythological. Meanwhile, from roots in nineteenth century England, premillenarianism has been brought on the stage as the faith of multitudes of devout, Bible-believing people. These movements seem to be providential. In other ages, great doctrines were brought to a definitive settlement. So today we may hope that details of *endgeschichtliche* eschatology may be clarified in the current discussions. Certainly Buswell's work will be a landmark, as a well-knit, powerful statement of premillenarian exegesis.²⁷

As we say, the woman is certainly Israelitish. The motif of the sun, moon, and twelve stars is clearly taken from Gen 37. Joseph is added in the list of the tribes in Rev 7, thus showing John's perspective. With Joseph are counted his brothers to make up the twelve stars, while the sun and moon speak of Jacob and Rachel. The pregnant woman bears a child who is to rule the nations. There is a parallel here to Rev 2:26, 27, where the promise of ruling the nations, the motif of Ps 2:8-9, is applied to all believers. Hence, the woman's offspring must include Gentiles as well as Jews. This composite group is more fully portrayed in the raptured host of Rev 7. There also we see a specifically Israelitish contingent as well as a multitude of Gentiles. Moreover, John identifies the Jewish contingent, the 144,000 of chap. 7, as firstfruits (Rev 14:5). In developing the idea of firstfruits, John has the complement to, and the prophecy of, the conversion of another group which he calls "the remnant of her seed." This event has already been signaled as of major importance as the headline of the Revelation in 1:7. John, therefore, has portrayed the existence of the elect remnant of ethnic Israel continuing to the resurrection of the righteous. The momentous event of the salvation of the remainder of Israel is contemplated in Rev 1:7, which is, in turn, a composite of Dan 7:13 and Zech 12:10-14.

John emphasizes the existence of "the remnant of the woman's seed" and its harassment by the dragon for the last three and one-half years of Daniel's seventieth week. The "remnant of her seed" may include more than Israelites, but John's emphatic placement of Zech 12:10-14, combined with Dan 7:13, as the headline and major motif of the Revelation, demands that at some point in his book, the salvation of all Israel -- the remnant of her seed -- be exhibited. Surely that is the burden of the last chapters of Zechariah. The translation of τῆς γῆς (*tes ges*, Rev 1: 7) as

"earth" instead of "land" completely disorients the Zechariah passage. It then no longer has its sharp, localized focus on the land of Israel, with Israel in penitential mourning coming to faith in her Messiah. Rather, it then becomes a picture of the whole world mourning in dread and rejection of Christ.²⁸

With the resurrection of the righteous at the middle of Daniel's seventieth week, John has set the stage for the fulfillment of Dan 7:13 and Zech 12:10-14 at the end of the week. At that point we may put the destruction of the army of the beast, the great host gathered against Jerusalem, and in the same context find the conversion of Israel and her cry of acceptance: "Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord."

The Destruction of All Enemies

John's second major vision (chaps. 4-16) is thus an exposition of Daniel's seventieth week. Each of the three series concludes with a climactic earthquake. The bowl series focuses attention on the circumstances of the second earthquake involving the destruction of the army of the beast.

John's third vision, extending from 17:1 through 21:8, gives still more details of the destruction of the army of the beast and the following events which narrate the manner of the final destruction of Satan. The theme of this third vision could well be taken from Heb 2:14. This is indeed the destruction of the one who has the power of death. With his removal, Death itself, as the last enemy, is destroyed by the final resurrection (Rev 20:11-15).

It is a remarkable fact that in John's third vision, the emphasis falls on the destruction of enemies, so that even the millennial episode is subordinated to the larger purpose. In John's outline, it is basically the time of Satan's incarceration. The motifs of blessing during the millennium are concentrated in the suggestion that the resurrected saints are both kings and priests, a unique combination appropriate for the unique transitional and end-historical character of the thousand years.

The birth and ascension of the male child in Rev 12 has long been read as portraying the birth, career, and ascension of Christ. The exegetical alternative of seeing here the rapture of the church is internally consistent within the Revelation itself. Moreover, it rejects the "realized eschatology" which makes the 1,260 day/years refer to the 1,000 years of Rev 20. This rejection is also a rejection of the "recapitulation" theory of Tyconius. Finally, rejection of the traditional view of Rev 12 is harmonious with the obvious literary unity of John's second vision regarded as a threefold exposition of Daniel's seventieth week. The student is then open to see the point of the third major vision of Revelation, the defeat of all enemies focused on the destruction of Satan and Death.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF ROMANS

Recent students of Romans declare that the New Testament does not

teach that God has rejected Israel. A. A. van Ruler says. "I believe that the New Testament never says that the people of Israel ... is definitely rejected."²⁹ A recent influential commentator, C. E. B. Cranfield, writes in similar vein, rejecting the idea that Israel no longer has a place in God's plan: "But the assumption that the church has simply replaced Israel as the people of God is extremely common." He then quotes and rejects Barrett's position: "And I confess with shame to having also myself used in print on more than one occasion this language of the replacement of Israel by the church."³⁰ Hendrikus Berkhof is equally clear and forthright.³¹ This new perception seems to have originated in a fresh exegesis of Romans, especially chap. 11.

Paul's Missionary Activity

It is therefore appropriate to present a sketch of the plot of Romans responsive to these striking new approaches. I take Paul's quotation from Hab 2:4 as a major clue to the understanding of Romans. There are distinct eschatological perspectives in Hab 2. The reference to the coming one of v3 is elaborated in Heb 10:37. Further, the striking Isaianic image of the earth full of the glory of the Lord is quoted by Habakkuk and set in hold contrast to the ugly features of world depravity and idolatry (2:14). It surely is not coincidence that Paul in completing the central "core" of Romans in 15:13 finds it appropriate to climax a series of Old Testament millennial passages with the citation from Isa 11:10. In the sentence just preceding, Isaiah gave the original of the millennial image which Habakkuk quoted and embellished: "The earth will be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." This stunning parallel suggests that in Romans Paul is working within the eschatological outline suggested by Habakkuk and Isaiah. The life of the righteous man presented in Hab 2:4 fixes on Rom 15:12 as its pole-star. The Isaianic saying is the climactic parallel to the Hahakkuk statement.

The apostle's selection of two closely related Old Testament contexts from which to draw the opening and closing motifs for the entire core of the book is a stroke of literary finesse illustrative of the majesty of the style of Scripture. These two points, and the treatise lying between, are themselves enclosed in a wider and more comprehensive parenthesis. The beginning and the end of this wider enclosure are formed by the twin references to the obedience to the faith among all the Gentiles (1:4) and "the mystery ... made known to the nations for the obedience of faith" (16:26). The first reference is found in the passage where the application of Christ's redeeming work is outlined (1:5). The second is found in the magnificent combination of benediction and doxology at the end of the letter. The special eschatological motif suggested is that Paul's particular concern, the salvation of Gentiles is viewed in its widest extent. Both passages stress the fact that all nations are in view. This striking emphasis, with the eschatologically-oriented core of the epistle lying between, points to some special significance that the millennium may have in the completion

of the missionary task which was Paul's special calling. Even enthusiastic premillenarians have not always emphasized the reality of salvation in the millennium and thus have obscured one of the principal reasons for its place in an adequate end-historical scheme.

The literary feature of beginning and ending a poem or work with matching motifs can be observed in many places in the Old Testament, as in Ps 103: "Bless the Lord, O my soul. . ." is heard at the beginning and conclusion. The possibilities for chiasmic structure are especially beautiful. Paul's adherence to this scheme is especially obvious in Romans. Isaiah seems to have suggested the model for Romans. As we have seen, Habakkuk is the companion piece to Isa 11 which concludes the core of the hook. The Book of Isaiah itself is a remarkable example of opening and closing with companion motifs.

Isaiah begins his book with an unsparing description of the sin of his people, but immediately counters the darkness with the sublime millennial picture of 2:2-5. The conclusion of the vision of the son of Amoz is a climactic parallel to the beginning. After the apocalyptic destruction of enemies (66:6) and the conversion of the nation (66:7-11), there comes the millennial word of comfort (66:12-24) when God's glory is known among the nations and all mankind comes and bows before the Lord. Paul has employed the Isaianic pattern with magnificent effect and has found in it the framework for his superb mission epistle.

Two of the eschatological foci of Romans have just been pointed out, one in the salutation of the letter, with its complement in the doxology at the conclusion: and a second in the parallel citations from Habakkuk and Isaiah.

Another eschatological context in Romans is found in Paul's analysis of the divine promises to Abraham. This analysis is of strategic importance in understanding the eschatological outline of Romans. Romans 4: 11-13 contain in essence the whole redemptive plan. Paul makes the breathtaking assumption that the ancient promises meant that Abraham will inherit the cosmos. Paul is clearly here speaking of Abraham in a representative as well as personal status. He is a "father" or representative of all who believe, Jew or Gentile. More particularly to the understanding of Romans, Paul makes a distinction not only between the natural descendants of Abraham and the uncircumcised believers, but most significantly, Paul makes a dichotomy within the natural descendants of Abraham (v12). This is the key to the understanding of Rom 9-11, especially chap. 11. What vast misunderstanding could have been avoided if the church had perceived Paul's division, within Israel, of belief and unbelief, and had not assumed that Israel, as a people, was rejected, when only some branches were broken off! Paul in Rom 4 establishes the doctrine of a believing remnant in Israel. The history of the remnant must be seen to have its full implications in the unfolding of the Abrahamic Covenant. The remnant, according to the election of grace, carries Israel unbrokenly through the trauma of her rejection of the Messiah and, because God purposes to have mercy on all, guarantees the ultimate salvation of the whole people. Small wonder that Paul could exclaim. "O the depth of the wisdom and power of God."

A fourth eschatological note, brief not pregnant, is found in Rom 5:17. The promise that those who receive the gift of grace "will reign in life" has an eschatological ring to it and is recognized as apocalyptic.³² A fifth eschatological vision in Romans is Paul's description of the redemption of the body, with the attendant transformation of nature: Rom 8:11, 18-23. This resurrection of the righteous is important as preparing an immortal people to reign with Christ over the renewed earth. The point in history when the righteous are resurrected dovetails with the experience of Israel which Paul will unfold in chap. 11.

In passing, we can note the light the parallel events of Rom 8:23 and 11:25,26, shed on the outline of Romans. In Rom 4:11-13 Paul discriminated believing Gentiles from Israel. Then he separated the circumcision into two categories: believing and unbelieving. Paul has arrived at the point in covenant history where Gentiles are called and the covenant is opened to them (Acts 2). So far as salvation is concerned, there is neither Jew or Greek, so that Paul can put the hope of all believers in the widest cosmic context (Rom 5) and describe the sanctification of the justified up to their resurrection (Rom 8:23). That is the appropriate point for Paul to review the history of Israel, tracing especially the believing remnant he had singled out in Rom 4:12. Even there he hinted at the prospective millennial interest of the believing remnant in suggesting that Abraham would be the heir of the world. Romans 9-11 expound the principle that the Word of God and the promises cannot fail. Therefore, a remnant elected by grace, and as firstfruits representing and sanctifying the whole mass, is the divinely-chosen expedient to bring the nation to its destiny. Chapter 11 brings Paul's exposition past the point of the resurrection of the righteous (11:15 and 25) to the apocalyptic deliverance and salvation of all Israel (Rom 11:26-32), in preparation for the millennial glories of chap. 15.

A sixth point of concentrated eschatological interest is Rom 11:12-32. This section is the focus of much of the modern re-reading of Romans and will require fuller exposition shortly. The seventh eschatological horizon in Rom 15 has already been alluded to. If the exposition of Rom 11 now to be suggested holds good, the millennial character of the citations in Rom 15 will be established and thereby the solid harmony of Romans and Revelation will be revealed.

The Continuity of Ethnic Israel in Romans 11

John Murray, rejecting the traditional view of Calvin and others, has shown that Rom 11 must be read with the continuity of ethnic Israel in view.³³ Murray also makes clear that Israel is intimately involved in God's plans for the world. Romans 11:12 has a striking "much more": If Israel's stumbling brings riches to the world, how much greater riches will their fulness bring? Therefore, we cannot follow Ernst Käsemann in the supposition that Paul, in Rom 11:25, has reversed the rabbinic perception that "the Gentiles will come when Israel triumphs"³⁴ and suppose that the fulness of the Gentiles means the full tale of all Gentiles, and that the

resulting salvation of Israel brings the end.³⁵ This would be to reverse "to the Jew first" with a vengeance. So far from Israel's salvation bringing greater blessing to the Gentiles, the full salvation of the Gentiles would bring the salvation of Israel. It is to Käsemann's credit that he sees that this would be a reversal of the rabbinic, and indeed Old Testament, view. Murray firmly contends for the Pauline formula: Israel's fall -- Gentile blessing; Israel's conversion -- vastly greater Gentile blessing. He appears to have come to the view of Iain Murray (*The Puritan Hope*) and the Puritan conception of a "time of Zion's glory," yet future, but before the Parousia.³⁶

It is my present contention that the sequence which Iain and John Murray have elaborated is partially correct, but that the *fourth* stage of the historical sequence intimated by Paul in Rom 11:12 properly belongs *after* the Parousia, and is therefore a clear prediction of a millennial period in the consummation of the world's history. This perspective in Romans exactly answers the deepest longings of Israel and seems to be in full harmony with the Old Testament. Hans Schoeps quotes Martin Buber:

We know... that world history is not yet broken down to the very ground, that the world is not yet redeemed. We feel the unredeemed state of the world ... For us the redemption of the world is indissolubly one with the consummation of the creation ... with the realized Kingdom of God³⁷

The traditional handling of Rom 11:15 is the crux of the problem. The ἀποβολή αὐτῶν (*apobole auton*) of 11:15a is invariably read as an objective genitive, declaring God's rejection of Israel in response to their stumbling. 11:15a is thus antithetically paralleled to 11:12a. Paul is thus made to contradict himself, apparently negating the vehement declaration at the beginning of the chapter that God has not cast away His people. To avoid the obvious absurdity, commentators say that God's rejection of Israel is only *temporary* and *partial*. A fatal error is thus introduced into Pauline thought. The principle on which Paul is building is that the root sanctifies the branches; that the firstfruits sanctifies the whole loaf, just as a believing spouse sanctifies an unbelieving spouse and children (I Cor 7:14). There is no partial and temporary rejection of the *people*. Some branches are broken off; the time of breaking off will end, but the root perdures, the *people* is not cast away! Paul speaks of himself out of the election of grace and points to a sovereign and unconditional election of some Israelites, in among whom Gentile branches are grafted. That Paul intends to continue the Old Testament use of "people" as a perduring ethnic entity is made clear in Rom 15, where the Gentiles rejoice with His people!

The results of the bizarre misreading of the genitive of 11:15 are thus apparent. Why have commentators not felt the need to read the genitive as a *subjective* genitive? Thus 11:15 would be synonymously or synthetically parallel with 11:12 instead of antithetically parallel, and 11:15 would be harmonious with the entire Old Testament representation, to say nothing of Paul's perspective in the immediate context. Suppose that the rejection is on Israel's part, that what Paul has in mind is Israel's (the greater part's) rejection of her Messiah, in spite of His yearning over Jerusalem (Matt 23:37. 38). Her rejection of Christ brings about the cross, the

καταλλαγή (*katallage*). The reconciliation is the accomplished atonement (2 Cor 5:18). If the death and resurrection of Christ is the reconciliation of the world, the resurrection of believers is implied in "life from the dead."

Even if "life from the dead" is only the conversion of Israel, it is still end-historical -- not some isolated event *prior* to the Parousia. Moreover, the strong overtones of literal resurrection would be present, answering to the intimations of 11: 25 that some stupendous event is contemplated in the "entering in" of the Gentiles, momentous enough to motivate the conversion of Israel. That "entering in" must be an eschatological "entering in" of Gentiles into the Kingdom by resurrection. Such an event seems to be in view in Matt 8:11, 12 and Luke 13:28, 29. Further, this picture from the Gospels reinforces the point now being made that a believing ethnic Israel perdures through the generations as those who walk in the steps of the faith of Abraham (Rom 4:12).

Israel's Hardening

In Rom 11:25 Paul says that ". . . a hardening has come to Israel in part until . . ." If verse 15a is read as God's reaction to Israel's stumbling (v12), that point would seem to be the beginning of the hardening and blindness. If, however, the "casting away" of verse 15a is Israel's rejection of Christ, associated with the cross and atonement, then a new picture emerges. God has not cast away Israel. Paul is vehement on this point, and many Old Testament promises make this plain. Hence, it is better to conclude that Israel's rejection of Christ is evidence of a hardening and blindness going back to her deliverance from Egypt, and evidenced in succeeding ages. Israel rejected Moses and Samuel. Isaiah's prophecy (Isa 6) concerning blindness and closing of the ears of all except a remnant is found to be true in Christ's ministry as it was in Isaiah's day. It is true even up to the end of apostolic record (Acts 28) and presumably is continuing. Thus the blindness and hardening of part of Israel is not limited to the time of the rejection of Christ and subsequently, but is an ancient fault of Israel. The marvel is that even as God disciplines by bringing successive world empires against Israel, He never rejects her, but rather maintains the ultimate purpose of saving Israel through disciplinary judgments.

There is thus a corroboration of Paul's perspective in Rom 11:12 where the larger contours of Israel's relation to world history are disposed in four stages: (1) Israel's rejection of Christ; (2) blessing to the world (with some of Israel being saved); (3) salvation of all Israel when an elect contingent from Israel and the nations enters into the Kingdom; and (4) a final period of much greater blessing when the nations rejoice with his people (Rom 15:7-13).

At the heart of the whole scheme is God's fidelity to His Israelitish covenant. In order to accomplish His full purpose for Israel and for the world. He must first call out a people for his Name. Gentiles as Gentiles, as fellow heirs with the believing remnant from Israel. When that great company (Rom 11:25) enters the Kingdom. Israel's blindness is removed and in this marvelous manner -- even thus -- (11:26) all Israel is saved,

prepared to enter the millennial Kingdom as the hearer of the much greater blessing to the nations.

The Olive Tree Image.

Paul's olive tree in Rom 11 is Israel, but wild olive branches, Gentiles, have been grafted in. Paul has an end-historical eschatological perspective like that of Rev 12. Paul presents the olive tree illustration in the context outlined by Rom 11:12, with its fourfold development of (1) Israel's stumbling, (2) riches for Gentiles, (3) Israel's salvation, and (4) greater blessing for Gentiles. Romans 11:15 should be read as a full and climactic parallel to verse 12. The αὐτῶν (*auton*) of 15a is a subjective genitive; the action is Israel's, just as the stumbling of verse 12a is hers. The casting away is not God's casting away Israel, but Israel's rejection of her Messiah, just as the stumbling had previously been related to the rejection of the Messiah in 9:32, 33, as well as in 11:12. Israel's rejection, as well as Gentile criminality, was the occasion of the cross and the reconciliation of the world in the atonement.

If, now, the momentous event of the cross is in view in 15a, the end-historical event of the resurrection of the righteous must be in view in 15b. Paul has already shown in Rom 8:23 how closely the resurrection of the righteous is related to the cross, since he there employs the word ἀπολύτρωσις (*apolytroxis*), his great atonement word, to describe the final effect of the atonement in the redemption of the body. Paul appears to have crafted in Rom 11:15 an exquisitely balanced statement. Israel's rejection of her Messiah (a) is related to the cross (b) as, in a parallel but reverse manner, her reception of Him when she says, "Blessed is He who comes in the name of the Lord," (b') presupposes the resurrection of the righteous (a') in the reverse and chiasmic order.

In such a context Paul now argues for the continuity of the believing elect remnant (the firstfruits, the root) sanctifying the rest of the unbelieving branches. The continuity of the remnant is the proof that God has not cast away His people; in due time their number will be augmented by the salvation of "all Israel," when a momentous event, involving Gentiles, has taken place. In such a setting Paul's use of the olive tree image serves a fourfold purpose. (1) It preserves the emphasis on the continuity of ethnic Israel in relation to the believing remnant; (2) it accounts for the rejection of the Messiah by a large number of Israelites (some branches are broken off); (3) it emphasizes the opening of the Abrahamic covenant to Gentiles as Gentiles (wild olive branches grafted in); and (4) it fits the end-historical setting which Paul has in view in vv25-32.

It is just at this point that the precise articulation of the Pauline image with John's thought appears. Paul argues that the existence of an elect remnant in ethnic Israel is the pledge and guarantee of the salvation of "all Israel" in due time: ". . . hardening in part has happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles enters in," Paul says (Rom 11:25). John Murray has well argued that the fulness of the Gentiles cannot mean the whole number of elect Gentiles, since Paul has clearly said that there is to be

greater blessing for Gentiles after Israel's conversion. However, Murray does not see Paul's end-historical focus, and hence concludes that the "entering in" of the Gentile fulness is their entering the Kingdom in conversion at some point prior to the Parousia. However, some of the very passages he and others cite to prove that Paul is using εἰσέλθη in a pregnant way to mean entrance into the kingdom in conversion also clearly point to an eschatological entrance into the Kingdom. See Matt 7:13, 14, and 21; 18:3; Mark 9:43, 45, 47; Luke 13:24; and John 3:3 and 5. Paul's word in I Cor 15:50 becomes decisive: there can be no eschatological entrance into or inheriting of the Kingdom apart from the resurrection change. The end-historical eschatological nuance is just the illumination needed to understand Paul's pregnant εἰσέλθη (*eiselthe*, Rom 11:2) as implying entrance into the Kingdom by resurrection.

Do Gentiles only enter the Kingdom? John's parallels give a clear answer, as does Paul's whole context in Rom 11. Paul's reference to the Gentile contingent implies, rather than rules out, the Israelitish remnant. Christ's words in Matt 8:11 and Luke 13:29 speak to the same point: "... many shall come from the east and west, and recline at the table with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven...." "... And they will come from east and west, and from north and south, and will recline at the table in the kingdom of God." The conversion of all Israel is the vital factor needed to bring the vastly greater blessing to the nations, as already intimated in Rom 11:12. At this point Paul's ecstatic doxology ensues. He does not pause to give details of the bright horizon thus revealed, a time when "o'er our ransomed nature, the Lamb for sinners slain, Redeemer, King, Creator, in bliss returns to reign."

πλήρωμα (*pleroma*) in Rom 11:12 and 25

A lengthy review of the nuances of this word is not necessary, since the most frequently occurring and natural meaning gives excellent sense in the two passages in Rom 11. As the etymology would suggest, **πλήρωμα** is that which is put in to fill up. Or it could mean the completion, as the patch sewed on to mend a garment.

We have argued above that the "entering in" of the Gentile fulness is the eschatological entry of the raptured church by resurrection (1 Cor 15:50-57). But **πλήρωμα** is a relative term. It refers to the Gentile part of the whole number of the elect gathered together at the rapture of the church (Matt 24:31). In terms of the imagery of Revelation (chap. 7), **πλήρωμα** is the great throng from every tongue and nation, distinguished from the 144,000 of Israel. **πλήρωμα** (Rom 11: 25) has its natural force: it is, as S. H. Kellogg said: "... the ... complement [of Gentiles] to the election out of this present dispensation"³⁸ The Jewish portion of the raptured church is the 144,000, whether the number is taken strictly or representatively. This group, in Paul's discussion, is the remnant. For John it is the "firstfruits" (Rev 14:4), clearly pointing to the remainder of the harvest, which is Paul's **πλήρωμα** of v12.

The **πλήρωμα** of Rom 11:12 looks forward to vv25 and 26. Paul has

made it clear that the nation of Israel has not been rejected: a representative remnant remains and continues. This answers to the "in part" of v25: the hardening of a portion of Israel clearly says that a portion is not hardened. After the rapture, the **πλήρωμα** will be saved. This body, plus the now glorified remnant, constitute the resulting total when "all Israel" is saved. The **πλήρωμα** is a contingent relative to the continuing (and now glorified) remnant. The total at this point is not the absolute sum-total of all elect Israelites, but the total achieved at the point when Israel says. "Blessed is He that comes in the name of the Lord."

Again, the clear nuance of **πλήρωμα** is completion, the number added to make up the total, at that point, of "all Israel." The delicate harmony of the Johannine and Pauline phraseology is very striking. Paul speaks of the "entering in" of the Gentile **πλήρωμα**, thus implying the presence in the rapture of the Jewish remnant, the 144,000. John speaks of the 144,000 as "firstfruits", thus implying the Jewish **πλήρωμα** of Rom 11:12b, the harvest to come after the rapture of the church.

The Millennium in Romans 15

The dramatic picture Christ gives of the resurrection gathering of the elect (Matt 24:31: 8:11: Luke 13:29) in order that they may rule over Israel in the Kingdom of God (Matt 19:28) is a fitting transition to the neglected millennial context of Rom 15. Romans 15:7-13 is millennial.

A number of the Pauline epistles show a clear pattern of concluding benedictions. I Thessalonians 5:23, 24 and 28, which express a double benediction of hope, show the typical pattern. The first full and formal benediction uses the stately optative and strikes the note of peace. After the brief concluding personal notes, the final terse benediction rounds off the epistle. There is a notable artistic balance in the chiasmic arrangement of these two benedictions. In his opening greeting, Paul prays for the Thessalonians' grace and peace: in the benedictions, the order of the blessings is reversed, so that the first and last word of the epistle is "grace."

We cannot explore in detail the problem of the multiple benedictions of Romans. Our present purpose is to show the continuing eschatological impetus carrying over from chap. 11, and expressed in the strong notes of hope in the benedictions of Rom 15:5-6 and 15:13. Paul seems to have intended the two formal benedictions to draw together complex lines of thought, giving a strong emphasis even beyond that of the single formal benediction of I Thess and elsewhere. These benedictions strike harmonious and complementary notes. The first emphasizes unity, while the second concludes the appeal of v7 that they receive one another. Vv8-13 are the argumentative reinforcement of the appeal, as the **γάρ** (gar) of v8 shows. Here Paul completely and grandly draws together his twin concerns: the longing for the conversion of Israel and his mission to the Gentiles. Christ stands as a minister of circumcision to accomplish a double end. The promises to the fathers are confirmed, and within the promises to the fathers is the goal that Gentiles should glorify God for His mercy. The pregnant force of Paul's appeal seems to be: (I) Christ has received us to

the glory of God. (2) We may imitate the divine model by receiving one another. (3) Thus the church, both in its present experience, and more gloriously in a millennial setting, will show the unity of Jew and Gentile for which Paul prays.

Let us examine four millennial citations. In the citation from Ps 18:49 (=2 Sam 22:50) Paul assumes that there will be continuity of the prophetic (Davidic) community in Christ. The continuity of the remnant of the past, of Paul's day, and of the future is assumed.³⁹ The language of this and the following citations clearly distinguishes Israel from the nations, and thus confirms the position that Paul has in view the future of ethnic Israel in the earlier chapters of Romans.

The quotation from Deut 32:43a calls upon the nations to rejoice with His people. The distinction between Israel and the nations is clear, but equally clear is the suggestion of full and happy fellowship which only a millennial situation could provide. The textual history of this half-verse from Deuteronomy aids in fixing its eschatological setting. The companion half of the verse is quoted in a series of eschatological texts in Heb 1:5-13. The last part of the verse is absent from the Masoretic text, but is preserved in the Septuagint and in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrews 1:6 seems to mark precisely the eschatological setting: "And when He again brings the firstborn into the world, He says, 'And let all the angels of God worship Him.'"

The third citation in the conclusion of the core of Romans is taken from Ps 117:1. There is a skilful heightening of the rising climax in the choice of the expression "all nations," with the repetition of "all people" in the closing line. The emotion moves upward from rejoicing with His people in Rom 15:10 to jubilant praise in 11a. Here the simple Greek verb of the Septuagint reflects the Hebrew *הללוהו* *halelu(w)* (|| *αἰνεῖτε*, *ai'neite* Rom 15:11a). In the closing parallel, the effect is advanced still more by the compounded Greek verb, reflecting the rarer *שבתוהו* *shabbehu(w)hu(w)* (|| *ἐπαινεσάτωσαν*, *epainesatosan* Rom 15:11), apparently intended as a climactic parallel to *הללוהו*.

The concluding quotation in this remarkable series is the beautifully appropriate one from Isa 11:10. This citation serves to bring both the eschatological setting and the emotional tone to a climax. Here the triumphant note of hope is heard, leading to the double motif of hope in the doxology of verse 13. There hope is related to God's character and the fervent prayer of the optative is that Paul's readers may abound in hope by the power of the Holy Spirit. There is no wonder that Edward J. Young, commenting on Isa 11: 8, says:

... it should be noted that Isaiah has emphasized the fact that the Messiah is the Prince of Peace. When the Messiah has completed His Messianic work, peace is introduced into the hearts of men, and insofar as men are true to the principles of peace which they have received from the Messiah, so far do the blessings herein depicted obtain. In its fullness, however, this condition will not be realized until the earth is covered with the knowledge of the Lord, and that condition will only obtain in the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.⁴⁰

There is here the all-important recognition that such a condition of the earth and human society can only come after the Parousia. What Dr Young

calls new heavens and a new earth answers well to placing this passage as millennial. The reign of Christ over the nations answers perfectly to fulfillment in Rev 20:4-6. when Christ and His people reign. His people are both kings and priests, performing the necessary intercession for the nations as all nations bow before the Lord (Isa 66:23; Ps 86:9; Rev 15:4).

Conclusion

Paul and John both exhibit far-reaching eschatological perspectives. Both are strikingly similar in using a strategic Old Testament citation as a headline at the outset, and they do not depart from the eschatological matrix these texts suggest, boldly developing millennial end-historical schemes.

Revelation 12 and its apocalyptic imagery fix the resurrection of the righteous at the middle of Daniels seventieth week. Paul approaches the resurrection of the righteous in Rom 8 in the context of hope arising from the presence of the Holy Spirit in the believers. In Rom 11:25, 26. Paul brings the resurrection of the righteous into connection with his central theme of God's covenant faithfulness to Israel. God preserves a believing remnant in Israel in all ages, leading on to the eschatological salvation of "all Israel". The resurrection of the righteous is the appropriate and needed motivation for Israel's conversion in the last half of Daniels seventieth week. At the end of that period the Redeemer comes to deliver Israel and destroy the army of the beast.

It is at the point of the conversion of Israel that Paul and John most strikingly converge. John highlighted that event in the Daniel-Zechariah citation carried forward from the Olivet Discourse. John also intimates Israel's conversion in the remnant of the woman's seed and clearly points to it in the rapture of the 144,000 whom he calls "firstfruits" (14:4). The resurrection of the righteous at the middle of the week and the persecution of the remnant of the woman's seed in the remainder of the week suggest Israel's conversion after the resurrection.

Paul is in full harmony with John in these details. Where John has spread out the eschatological drama in the framework of the seventieth week. Paul in Rom 11 argues in a more concentrated way. He gives a terse fourfold analysis of Israel's career (11:12), emphasizing the hope of Israel's conversion. This is given a profound theological grounding in 11:15, and the conversion is positively put in an end-historical context.

By means of the olive tree image Paul carries forward the continuity of Israel in the remnant until the conversion of the whole nation. John carries forward the continuity of Israel in the image of the pregnant woman and expects Israel's conversion in the fulfillment of the promise of Zechariah. Paul is in full agreement with John in placing the conversion of Israel after the resurrection of the righteous and in an apocalyptic setting. Paul draws on the apocalyptic passage. Isa 59:15b-21, combined with motifs from another apocalyptic context, Isa 27:9, and adds the great new covenant theme from Jer 31, a passage which is thus shown to be properly end-historical in its reference. Paul and John have thus presented the

essential ingredients preparatory to the millennium. The resurrected righteous are prepared to reign with Christ (Rev 2:26-27; 5:10; 12:5; 20:4).

Paul is emphatic that only the resurrected ones can inherit the Kingdom and reign (1 Cor. 15:50). Moreover, a converted Israel, a pure church, is now ready "to blossom arid sprout, and fill the whole world with fruit" (Isa 27:2-6). It is notable that in this latter passage from which Paul drew, there is the promise that the Lord will punish Leviathan ". . . and kill the dragon who lives in the sea" (Isa 27:1). The Ugaritic parallels, as well as the ancient art motif from cylinder seals, make it plain that the dragon is a seven-headed creature. John must have drawn his image of the seven-headed dragon rising from the sea from the same context Paul used. The apocalyptic destruction of Satan's power as spelled out by John was immediately available in the context from which Paul quoted. Where John's narrative of the destruction of Satan is full and vivid, Paul is content with the pregnant allusion to Gen 3:15: "And the God of peace will soon crush Satan under your feet" (Rom 16:20).

John holds the prospect of all the nations experiencing the Abrahamic blessing. In Rev 15:3,4, the resurrected host sing

... the song of Moses the bond-servant of God and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are Thy works. O Lord God, the Almighty; Righteous and true are Thy ways, Thou King of the nations. Who will not fear, O Lord, and glorify Thy name? For Thou alone art holy; For all the nations will come and worship before Thee. For Thy righteous acts have been revealed.

All of this is made possible by the reign of Christ and His people as Rev 20 reveals.

Paul's presentation of millennial material in Rom 15 is very compact, but when the Old Testament contexts are consulted, the millennial implications are clear. As was previously shown, the millennial motif is needed, both to serve as a model for the church's ethical activity and to give the inspiration of hope to her missionary task.

It appears that the end-historical scheme that Paul has in view is harmonious with that of John. This is strikingly so in the compact but precise statements of Rom 11. It may well be argued that the futurist view of Revelation, sharpened by Dr Buswell's suggested interpretation of Rev 12, has furnished a much needed key to the interpretation of Romans.

NOTES

^{^1} *Against Heresies* (ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson: ANF I; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), V. xxv. This chapter gives a complete outline of Irenaeus' end-historical scheme. In Sect. 1. Irenaeus describes Antichrist and identifies him as the son of perdition of 2 Thess 2:3, 4. In Sect. 2, he identifies Antichrist in connection with the abomination of desolation in Matt 24:15. In Sect. 3. he identifies Antichrist as the little horn who rises among

the ten horns "at the end of the last kingdom." In explanation of Dan 7:23, he says: "... and [everything] shall be given into his hand until a time of times and a half time ...,' that is, for three years and six months, during which time, when he comes, he shall reign over the earth." In V. xxvi, I, Irenaeus says: "In a still clearer light has John, in the Apocalypse, indicated to the Lord's disciples what shall happen in the last times, and concerning the ten kings who shall then arise, among whom the empire which now rules [the earth] shall be partitioned." Concerning the Antichrist he says in V. xxix, 2: ". . . there is in this beast, when he comes, a recapitulation made of all sorts of iniquity and of every deceit..." V. xxx contains his famous discussion of the number of the beast. In Sect. 2 he says: ". . . let them await... the division of the kingdom into ten: then, in the next place, when those kings are reigning, and beginning to set their affairs in order, and advance their kingdom. [let them learn] to acknowledge that he who shall come claiming the kingdom for himself, and shall terrify those men of whom we have been speaking, having a name containing the aforesaid number, is truly the abomination of desolation." V. xxx, 3: "It is therefore more certain and less hazardous to await the fulfilment of the prophecy, than to be making surmises ... V. xxx. 4: "But when this Antichrist shall have devastated all things in this world, he will reign for three years and six months, and sit in the temple at Jerusalem: and then the Lord will come from heaven in the clouds..." V. xxxv. 1: "For all these and other words were unquestionably spoken in reference to the resurrection of the just, which takes place after the coming of Antichrist, and the destruction of all nations under his rule ..."

^{^2} L. E. Froom. *The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers* (Washington. D.C.: Review and Herald. 1950-54), I. 470-471.

^{^3} H. Focillon, *The Year 1000* (New York: Frederick Angar, 1969) 54: ". . . between the years 940 and 970, certain charters, a sermon, a popular rumour give irrefutable testimony of the belief in the imminence of the world's end."

^{^4} Ibid., p.59. Froom (*Prophetic Faith*, I, 587-591) also writes of the expectancy of the end of the world at the year 1000, referring to Hagenbach, Milman, and Mosheim as being in agreement.

^{^5} *Prophetic Faith*. I, 685-716.

^{^6} R. Bauckham (*Tudor Apocalypse* [Oxford: Sutton Courtenay, 1978] 20) writes: "The subtleties of Joachim's thought had comparatively little influence beside his specific. and revolutionary, expectation of the third *status* which would follow the imminent reign of Antichrist and would feature the rise of new religious orders, the conversion of the world, and the fruition of spiritual life in this world. Joachimism was above all a new form of theologically grounded Optimism about the historical future." Bauckham thinks that Tudor apocalyptic exegesis followed the medieval Tyconius-Augustine tradition rather than Joachim, though indirectly his influence was felt. For our purposes, his most spectacular contribution was the introduction of the day/year theory.

^{^7} Ibid., p.58.

^{^8} Bauckham says: "But only in this way [i.e., that God permitted error] could Tudor Protestants, holding the sovereignty of God alongside the facts of church history, understand the astonishing prevalence of error (both popish and Muslim) throughout the lands where the clear light of the Gospel had shone in the first few centuries of the Christian era" (ibid., p.121).

^{^9} Ibid., p.209.

^{^10} R. C. Clouse. "The Influence of John Henry Alsted on English Millenarian Thought" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation. State University of Iowa. 1963) 208. The explicit premillennialism of Alsted and Mede appeared about the same time, between 1627 and 1632. For our purposes the important point is that the premillennial innovation of putting the millennium after the Parousia and Resurrection was perceived to be a break with the previous Augustinian model, thrusting the millennium into the future (ibid.. p.201).

^{^11} Ibid. p.189.

^{^12} Ibid. p.212. The opposition to Mede's scheme focussed on the break with the Augustinian scheme. This again confirms our previous conclusion that the basic Tyconian parallelism between Rev 20 and the 1,260 day/years of Rev 12 was the heart of the Augustinian scheme. Whatever the causes of the movement of Alsted and Mede away from Augustine, the fact is significant.

^{^13} E. Calamy. *Sermons of the Great Ejection* (ed. I. Murray; London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1962) 21-34.

^{^14} Ibid., pp.33-34.

- ^15 Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, III. 184.
- ^16 N. O. Hatch. *The Sacred Cause of Liberty*, (New Haven: Yale University, 1977) 16.
- ^17 J. Edwards, *The Works of President Edwards* (New York: Levitt and Allen, 1855), I. 480.
- ^18 Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, II. 765.
- ^19 F. R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970) 7.
- ^20 E. King cited in Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, II. 767; and in Sandeen, *Fundamentalism*, p.7.
- ^21 Sandeen, *Fundamentalism*, pp. 18-19.
- ^22 *Ibid.*, p.21.
- ^23 *Ibid.*, p.38.
- ^24 *Ibid.*, p.37.
- ^25 Froom. *Prophetic Faith*, II, 490.
- ^26 W. B. Wallis, "The Coming of the Kingdom." *Presbyterion* (Covenant Seminary Review) 8: 1 (1982) 13-70.
- ^27 W. B. Wallis, "Buswell as Exegete," *Presbyterion* (Covenant Seminary Review) 8: 1-2 (1976) 64-65.
- ^28 For an illuminating discussion of a similar problem in Isa 24, see the study by Allan A. MacRae, "Some Principles in the interpretation of Isaiah as illustrated by Chapter 24," in *New Perspectives on the Old Testament* (ed. J. Barton Payne: Waco, Texas. Word Books, 1970) 146-159. MacRae shows the localised Israelitish focus of the first part of Isa 24. I take this as confirmation of the suggestion that in Matt 24:30 and Rev 1:7 the Zechariah reference be translated "land of Israel" instead of "earth".
- ^29 A. A. van Ruler, *The Christian Church and the Old Testament* (tr. G. W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971) 45.
- ^30 C. E. B. Cranfield, *Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; ed. J. A. Emerton and C. E. B. Cranfield; Edinburgh: T. T. Clark, 1979), II, 448.
- ^31 H. Berkhof. *Christ the Meaning of History* (L. Burrman: Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1979) 136-140.
- ^32 Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 288.
- ^33 J. Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans* (NICNT: ed. F. F. Bruce: Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968). II. 96-97.
- ^34 ME Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (tr. and ed. G. W. Bromiley: Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 307.
- ^35 Johannes Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (tr. F. Clarke; Atlanta: John Knox, 1977) 49.
- ^36 I. Murray. *The Puritan Hope* (London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1971).
- ^37 Cited in H. Berkhof, *The Christian Faith* (tr. S. Woudstra; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979) 263. Berkhof's own estimate of the importance of Rom 9-11, is: "In the New Testament, Paul is about the only one who wrestles with the problem of the separation within the people of God (one gets the impression that other writers either do not yet or no longer think about it). Actually, everything essential that can be said about it from the perspective of the unity of the Old Testament and Christ is found in Romans 9-11..." (*ibid.*, p.265).
- ^38 S. H. Kellogg. *Are the Premillennialists Right?* (New York: Revel, 1923), 41-42 See also J. B. Payne, *Encyclopaedia of Biblical Prophecy* (New York: Harper and Row 1973) 521: "... the large, but still definite number of Gentiles that are to be converted (in this present period ...) before the second advent of Christ."
- ^39 V. Hertrich, "The 'Remnant' in the Old Testament," TDNT 4 (1967) 196-209.
- ^40 E. J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah* (NICOT: Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1965), I. 391.

CHURCH HISTORY REVISITED

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This is not another attempt at understanding historiography but an appreciative essay of the methods and applications of Allan A. MacRae as a teacher of church history.

On coming to seminary, the present writer was surprised to learn that the President of the school (who was also Professor of Old Testament) taught the courses in church history. Dr MacRae's lectures were never dull. Class time passed quickly and often one left the room thinking that in some way both he and Allan MacRae had actually been in those places where the events of history transpired. The method of Dr MacRae was to present the substance of history in a meaningful way with obvious and apparent application to the present day. From his approach the student learned as much about the meaning and application of history as about its content.

THE CONTENT OF HISTORY

History is made worthwhile by its content. Its benefit lies not so much in our immediate experience as in the substance of the material offered. To this end the content of history may be seen under three general heads: (1) objective realities, (2) subjective assessments, and (3) providential arrangements. These are not mutually exclusive but essential differences in the categorization allow them to be visible and separate entities for the purposes of our consideration.

The objective realities are the historical entities that are seen in history no matter who tells the story or writes the book. Whether the chronicler is a theologian, an economist, a social theorist, the names and the events are the same. Luther, for example, is still Luther whether the chronicler writes as a Protestant loyalist, an atheist, or a papal secretary.

Subjective assessments differ in that they reflect the interest, background, and viewpoint of the writer who is actually serving as an interpreter of the objective realities. While many scholars hesitate to admit subjectivism in their assessments it is still there as indicated by Latourette who noted candidly: "No historian can write without bias, and he who professes to do so is either deceiving or self-deceived."¹ This however does not make subjective assessments any less a part of history. Without them we would be hard-pressed to have a feeling or an emotional awareness of the whole. Furthermore, one writer's subjectivity may turn the objective entity in such a way as to allow a fuller illumination as to what it really was. These assessments are an important part of the content but we must be aware of what they are and view them in a different light from the way we

see objective realities.

Admittedly providential arrangements are the most baffling and ambiguous items in the classification. There often exists a force in our affairs that cannot be displayed openly and clearly to man (objective realities), nor is it sufficiently understood by man to the extent that he can form some meaningful opinion of this 'force' (subjective assessments). The moods, whims and actions of people, and the meshing of circumstances and natural events, are the means which God uses to bring about his divine purposes, they may not be predicted and analyzed. We call these "providential arrangements" since they are the singular contributions of a benevolent Providence bringing to pass his expectations and designs. They play an enormously important part of history, yet they cannot be pinpointed, placed in crucible of inquiry and reduced to a precise or predictable formula. Our plea is to see the general content of history in these three categories and work from that point.

Objective Realities

In some ways these are culprits of historical studies. Students have been flayed alive with the mass of names, recording of events, dated happenings, and an almost unending train of minutiae as to who has done what and when. The study of history is often turned into a search for details, a search devastating to the modern mind that prefers to account for the 'great issues'. Names, events, dates and a host of minutiae assail the student of church history; yet these details are not without interest, particularly if they play an important part in the ongoing program of God. I shall list a few objective realities.

(1) Persons

History is replete with the names of people who have made it what it is -- the grand record of man's earthly affairs (and, some would add, God's actions). The persons we meet in history often seem like those we know in everyday life and the human foibles are never more clearly seen than when they are witnessed in the lives of notable historical persons. In history we see people, not puppets or machines, but as men and women like ourselves albeit confined to a different age and setting. Knowing people is always an enriching experience; we relate to them in various ways. They must never be merely names on a page, or else we easily lose interest in them. People are the great components of history and we do well to meet and revel in their acquaintance. A biographical approach to history is not without merit albeit the huge number of persons available makes the selection a difficult matter.²

(2) Places

Places have a definite and enduring character: they are not likely to

change radically although the identification of some may be lost in the passing of time. Sites become alive to us when we associate them with the events that took place at those places. How else can we explain the fervor of Palestinian tourism today with their dramatic challenge: "Walk in the streets where Jesus walked." The places themselves offer little interest except when they are seen as influencing and shaping events and they come to life with meaning. The student, for example, who knows something of the life of Martin Luther will find a visit to Worms instructive and exciting.

(3) Events

When something has happened it is entered into the historical log as an occurrence. Here the concept of historiography looms large. It is evident that not all events have been recorded. Therefore, why is one event selected over another? The same question arises in our minds as we consider how the Gospels came to be written. Why is a certain miracle included and another bypassed? A writer selects naturally the events that are pertinent to his particular hypothesis. The great events of history are the property of those who have access to them.

(4) Movements

Movements indicate societal flows in a given direction. They are part of the objective realities. Movements may be positive, as in the Great Awakening or they may take on a more fearful cast as in the witch-hunting era of post-reformation history.³ Watching movements in history is much like watching the current at the shore. There is no way to be really part of it yet we sense how we are influenced by it. There is often a romantic, almost hypnotic pull of attraction to movement ideals.

(5) Enactments

Close to the events of history are the enactments, namely, the written statements and deliberations of people in their respective time. Once again we may wonder why some have been carefully preserved and others lost. Occasionally the recovery of a lost manuscript makes us wonder how our knowledge dared function without it and we cannot help but speculate on how the discovery of further manuscripts, acts, edicts, etc., would enhance our understanding.⁴ But the documents which we have are very important and we must not allow speculation about what we do not have to minimize the significance of what we possess. We must seek to understand the basic documents (texts, statements, edicts, etc.) of history at our disposal. It is not without value to read what others have said about them but it is invaluable to the student to consult the basic works themselves.

(6) Settings

Settings are the resultant complexes that grow from particular events. The multiplication of denominations is one example of how certain principles rightly espoused at the Reformation easily gave rise to a proliferation of religious bodies. The setting that has resulted is something from which we cannot escape and a mere comprehension of it is a fascinating undertaking. The tensions that exist among denominational groupings is a part of the setting and if we can understand how the setting came into existence we can also understand the tensions and what steps may be taken to allay the fears (and prejudices) of brethren separated in the various denominations. With interest we have watched the pacification movements between the Orthodox Eastern Church and Oriental Orthodox communities.⁵ The present setting for those bodies lies in the disputes of distant centuries. To comprehend the problem an understanding is needed as to how the division came to be. With that knowledge we can understand as well the emotive difficulties to be overcome in such a task.

(7) Time

It is inevitable that certain times are more propitious for one sort of advancement than for another. Essentially a "time" is a period of particular characteristics that set it apart from the periods of chronology that have such special characteristics. Thus, with careful study, one may distinguish the times of revival, for instance, and from such learn some of the aspects of renewal that might be cultivated and encouraged. It is true that occasionally an event will occur in what might otherwise be thought of as a contrary time and in such cases we are reminded of the workings of God that exceed our limited ideas. While such exceptions "test" the rule, they do not overthrow it.

It might seem that these objective entities are self-apparent as to need no elaboration. That is not right. It is precisely because persons do not see the content of history that they cannot apply its lessons when needed. Unless there is appreciation of the parts there will be no appreciation for the whole picture. No, we do not want to miss the forest for the trees, but in history this is rarely the case. The more usual occurrences in historical study is seeing neither forest or trees and barely noticing a green blob on the horizon.

To revisit church history with Allan MacRae was to meet the people, visit the places, participate in the events and sample history in the making. The facts of the content were spelled out in most forceful detail and the objective entities were the skeletal bones on which the academic structure was fleshed out.

The Subjective Assessments

History is given meaning not only by the objective realities but also by

the subjective assessments. The values placed on the objective concepts are virtually all subjective: so we spend a fair amount of time in history with such questions as "Why did he do that?" "What was the real motive?" "Would another action have produced a better result?" "What if. . .", etc. The person is known, the result is known, and probably many of the events are known. But what it all means is very much a subjective matter as viewed by the differing writers. We only know of history as it has been given to us and the materials are part of a package which cannot be sorted out easily. As they show us the working of the human mind with its fondness for adventure and intrigue, they actually help us understand more fully the course of history and, perhaps not surprisingly, ourselves.

No doubt a cautious reader will see that even our articulation of subjective assessments is somewhat subjective. At times what seems to one party to be a stark, naked fact, appears to another as meaningless propaganda. This hurdle should not trouble us, however, until we come to the place where we actually look at a span of history and try to identify the parts. Let us note the particular aspects of subjective assessment given below.

(1) The Interpretative Ideal of the Historian

Perspective is the key word in this element and the basic question is: "How does the historian view matters?" Many of us cut our teeth, so to speak, in the study of history at a time when many of the historians were romantic idealists. Washington never lied, Jackson was never afraid, Lincoln always fulfilled his word; in theology the Roman Church was never right, and a Calvinist was a synonym for a truly dedicated Christian. Somewhat later a group of negativists began rewriting history and correcting these myopic glosses. According to them, Washington only told the truth when threatened, Jackson was cowardly but had a quick draw, Lincoln only kept his word in biographies while in theology there were no truly honest men in the church since Jesus and Calvinist was a term describing a person of inferior emotion and exalted ego! This "revisionism" is plainly seen in church history⁶ although not all writers go to the same extent -- naturally. Obviously an account of the deliberation of the Council of Nicaea as written by Hosius would have a very different concept of the events that took place from one written by Eusebius of Nicomedia. Varying interpretative ideals would make that singular Council appear as if it were hardly the same meeting at all.

Some students do not think that interpretative ideals are part of history. But as no history is written with total objectivity, the ideal in the mind of the writer is as much a part of the study as are the occurrent facts. We compare works of one side with parallel works of another and try to observe consistent slants on given facts. In such a manner one would quickly detect the interpretative ideal of D'Aubigne on one hand or Cardinal Gibbons on the other. The nature of the ideal then compels us to view the recorded facts as being only partially presented and so our conclusions are tentative and guarded. In modern speech we would say of

the writers: "Where are they coming from?" The worthwhileness of history is not just in the objective realities but also in the ideals of the persons who speak of them.

(2) The Understanding of Concepts

As is true in history, we meet scenes in the Bible where the understanding of party A explains the interactions or response to party B. The simple facts pinpoint both A and B in a sphere of time and a reportable event occurs predicated on how A understood B. The actual understanding is somewhat conjectural and so is a matter of subjective assessment.⁷ The essential facts are plain and easily agreed upon but the understanding of the parties involved requires some fine "reading between the lines."

This understanding is not only a factor in the position of the writer but also in the thinking of the parties involved. To see Luther's concept of the Eucharist is to understand his disillusionment at Marburg; to fail to understand his dilemma is to make him appear to be something of a recalcitrant demagogue. Gaining this information taxes the mind and research capacity of the student but it is eminently valuable for we are learning to see ourselves better through understanding the concepts, decision and actions of others. In this regard history becomes a vast mirror. Viewing oneself in history requires care because it is a subjective affair. Yet to fail to do it at all is to lose much of the practical meaning of history.

Beyond these immediate ends, conceptual understanding allows one to see why people will die for a cause, why individuals will cooperate or not cooperate over a whim of little real consequence. Gaining this information we are better able to set a proper course to either avoid tragedy or cultivate success or maybe do both at the same time!

(3) Reconstruction

A reconstruction consists of a fresh study of known facts, the supplying of suggestive data to explain further the meaning of the known facts, and the analysis of motivation and behavior as both observed and assumed. The end result of the reconstruction is, hopefully, a better appreciation of both the incidents involved and the processes that produced them. Dangers abound in this field but so long as the reconstruction is plainly labeled and not confused with reality, it is a worthy ploy. By design it allows for a rearranging of data and this at times will allow a better vision of the total picture. It is regrettable that no matter how attractive the supposed reconstruction may be, its hypothetical timbers can never be accepted as established fact. But the potential insights it brings make the reconstruction an exciting procedure.

Reconstructions are particularly interesting when literary accounts are evaluated for their place in history as well as when unlikely (and unwitnessed) accounts are reported in otherwise reliable literature. The Paul and Thecla narrative offers a good example.⁸ Reading the account (it is

unattested outside of its own legendary setting) we meet the miraculous, the bizarre, and the unlikely. In reconstruction we may postulate a cause for its writing, theorize about the background of its characters, and seek to place a scenario for its plots and movements. If we are able to come up with a satisfactory reconstruction of this and similar pieces of literature we may well develop a better attitude and understanding of an entire age.

When reconstruction leads to a determinate revision, the cause of history is jeopardized. This does not mean that all revision is bad but revisionism tends to become the new norm and thereby to lose the distant facts in the dusty clouds of soil reshuffled. In our present view the great service of reconstruction is academic and theoretical in the hope of increased appreciation. It is important to remember that reconstruction does not remove what we know but aids in better assessment. Biblical critics often use it as a means of denial of established matters but reconstruction neither denies nor confirms; it merely tends to line up the matters involved into a fuller perspective.

(4) Vocabulary

An important part of the subjective assessment is what pertains to vocabulary: knowing how the people of history used words and how those who heard them understood them. Semantics should not be used to make dissimilar propositions sound similar but we can only conjecture how many situations would have had different outcomes if the words had been understood equally. Perhaps Thomas Beckett's whole career would have been different had Henry been more explicit in his statements or his followers less anxious in their understanding. Terms such as "victory", "filioque", "millennialism", "supralapsarianism", etc., have all had roles in movements of historic importance. Having an appreciation of the vocabulary of history is objective in what the lexicons may say but highly subjective in the way in which words are used.

(5) Analysis

Perhaps the most subjective of all the assessments is the matter of analysis. This is best defined as the study of events with a resultant prescription that seeks to apply the findings to the present setting. Analysis is very much conditioned by a number of our previous concepts and has fewer safeguards in that its only real check and balance is in the mind of the analyst. Recorded history is full of analysis and the resultant analogy. It is a necessary tool but one in which the findings must be considered very tendential at best.

To be with Allan MacRae in church history was to find oneself not only committed to the knowledge of some basic facts but to considerable effort to determine what those facts meant. There was the search for meaning and motive that led the student to realize one was working in a living field. The subjective assessments became the "bread and butter" in a field that

otherwise tends to coldness and academics.

Providential Arrangements

The third major division of historical materials is that of providential arrangements. Secular historians tend to minimize these while theocentric historians maximize them. Some aspects are always debatable but with as little prejudice as possible it seems that often the deciding influence in an historical interaction is something beyond the control (or purview) of the participant. It would be very difficult to determine which, if any, of these was a direct act on the part of God in interrupting the moving course of events and which may have been a simple occurrence normal in the passage of time. Fortunately we do not have to do this; we may treat all the unexpected and unpredicted as providential arrangements: an unplanned event (in the minds of the participants) often conditions the outcome in an evident manner.

(1) Natural Occurrences in Unplanned Sequence

In this category we keep things that are noumenal as far as their classification is concerned, but occur in unplanned sequences for the advantaging (or vice versa) of a cause. Among these would be the sudden storm, the unexpected fog, the torrential and out-of-season rain, the untimely winter freeze or thaw, etc. It is correct to say that none of these may be planned and can only be predicted in the most general sense of things. But the occurrences that interest us are those when the events occur at unplanned-unexpected times. Men have, however, counted on some of these things when it could have been reasonably expected that they might occur when they did not materialise in spite of the normal expectation, as in the realm of providential arrangements. The effect of the weather in the English channel in 1588 was of no small consequence in the contest with the Spanish Armada.⁹

(2) Coincidental Circumstances

The evening before Arius, the celebrated heretic, was to be readmitted to the fellowship of the church on the basis of an imperial dictum, he died. He was an old man at the time. Was his death a sudden vindication of the Nicene doctrine or was it only another evidence that it is appointed unto man once to die? Regardless of how one might take it the whole incident is an illustration of a coincidental circumstance that is beyond our arrangement. History is full of these, types of events. A storm hits the ship on which Wesley and the godly Moravians are sailing for the American continent. Their spiritual behavior is a moment of meaning and power for Wesley. Would the storm have happened anyway or was it a storm sent by God for a specific purpose? That these are somewhat subjective in appraisal is perhaps no surprise. But the unpredictable nature of this sort

of event allows a fascinatingly large number of providential arrangements for our musing.

We are regularly amazed at the times when two persons meet by chance, neither one planning nor manipulating the situation. Likewise the occurrence of situations in which multiple complexities abound and the timing factor is decisive. Consider the time when Henry VIII sought the annulment from Katherine of Aragon. That Katherine should be an honored aunt to the Emperor, that the Emperor should at the very time be intensely angry with the Pope, that the Pope dared do nothing to infuriate further the Emperor, and that the legates of England in Rome could do nothing to budge the Pope to aid the king who at the time was perhaps the most Romanish of all the kings in Europe, were startling factors in an amazing web of coincidence or, should we say, providential arrangements. That the necessary ingredients for this plot should all mature at the same time is too incredulous for mere fiction but it is somewhat typical of what happens with true life fact. The coincidents offer a fascinating field of study for the church historian.

(3) Personality Changes, etc.

Possibly this heading might belong to a different class of materials but we have placed it at this point since the government of such seems to be beyond our general control. Changes of moods and feelings may be analyzed without great resolution but they are worthy of observation. Substantial changes in attitudes are not easily predicted and often lack rationale when studied but they occur and are often decisive in a historical flow.

It is true that from a spiritual viewpoint some changes are effected by change in spiritual outlook. We can understand these better due to our perspective of life from a Christian point of view. They are still providential in that the occurrences are induced by external powers which are somewhat beyond our prediction and certainly beyond our control. We often Meet a Wallenstein, a Moritz, a Novatus, etc., where a change of interest or direction has made a large difference in the direction of history. It may be argued that better sources may be seen for this sort of action than a providential arrangement but the result suggests that if the act were not specifically prepared by God, it was working in harmony with the interest of God. As with other notes in our study, these providential arrangements do not always favor the same sides or parties. From a theological viewpoint we note that the ultimate purpose of God is served in various ways.

All of the foregoing make history worthwhile; they are content items and history has merit in its content regardless of our apprehension of it. Note how these content items are seen in a single historical account. e.g.. Irenaeus' note on the Apostle John meeting the heresiarch Cerinthus at the public bath in Ephesus:

There are also those who heard from him (Polycarp) that John the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe at Ephesus, and perceiving Cerinthus within, rushed out of the bathhouse without bathing, exclaiming, Let us fly, lest even the bathhouse fall down. because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth is within.^10

We are not certain of the historicity of this account,¹¹ but the incidental idea gives us a small narrative with which to demonstrate our content ideas. The names of the persons, the place, and the occasion are the facts of history. How John perceived Cerinthus, why he was going to bathe on that day, and whether or not his reasoning had foundation in fact are part of the subjective assessments. That the two men should arrive at approximately the same time, know one another and have the ability to react is a matter of providential arrangement. The subjective concepts give life to the bare facts and the overriding influence of God makes us realize that apart from some strange government of circumstance the whole thing might never have happened at all.

The content of history was not lost in the classes of Allan MacRae. The facts were lived out, the viewpoint of the teacher and the analyzing of situations were a constant thrust. God, at the same time, was regarded as the real force in the lives of men.

THE APPROACH OF HISTORY

History, made worthwhile by its content, becomes interesting through the approach of the historian. We are not now talking of the technical approach -- whether e.g., one prefers the ideology of Spengler to that of Augustine, but of the practical approach as to how one views the services and demands of history. This is a critical point in our discussion for the observation is that the value of history is indisputable but it is often obscured by a dull involvement. The best food can be rendered unpalatable if the preparation is inferior or the seasoning too much. So it is with history, if it is poorly approached it may become an unwholesome burden hardly fit for the diet of the student. The approach to history will largely determine its interest value. Our postulate is simple: approach it as a living matter and it will be a living influence in the life of the student; approach it as a corpse and it will have a similar effect in the student life. Approaching history as a living matter involves several interesting steps which were apparent in the methods of Dr MacRae.

(1) A Positive Attitude by the Teacher

This is absolutely basic. One who seeks to lead another in history needs a positive and creative attitude. The teacher must see the value of the discipline and sense the worth it offers to others. A disenchanting lecturer of obscure proposition is one of the fastest ways known to turn a history course into a disaster.

The unhappy fact is rendered doubly true in the light of the fact that so much of the content of history is not pleasant in itself. In the history of the church it is inevitable but what great emphasis will be given the heresies, schisms, factions, and ill-will that have so tortured the church. These are among the components of history but the very force of them can be depressing and a depressed teaching is not going to promote vigorous class

response. Admittedly it is hard to be excited about discussing another faction in a body that already has too many, but the student must see a value in even this and have a positive feel for the subject if not for each item within it.

Projection of attitude is important in many subjects. However, the more lack-lustre a subject is thought to be, the greater should be the effort of attitude-correction. If a subject is of sufficient interest in itself, it may be possible to obtain a good hearing for it with minimal effort. We are not saying that is what should be done! But if the subject has a reputation for tedium nothing but a positive outgoing attitude of triumph will be enough. What is said for history in this regard could apply as well to the preaching of doctrine, a really exciting subject but with a reputation for dullness. The teacher need not be a super enthusiast but the positive attitude is a basic requirement. That person must see church history as having necessity and priority and must convey that to the hearers or an otherwise worthwhile subject may be surrendered to boredom.

(2) An Appreciation for the Processes of Time

Coupled with a positive attitude, this factor is the stimulus in the mind of one who can watch the emergence of a butterfly from the cocoon and feel a sense of wonder and appreciation at every wriggle. The teacher knows the necessity of every step in the procedure and is willing that every step be taken in turn. Details are carefully scrutinized in the light of the relation of one thing to another and careful note is made of the effects of their interaction. Insights result giving greater enthusiasm for the full study and these develop an appreciation for the lessons of history.

This factor may be conditioned by one's view of history. One approaching history with the philosophical setting of a Toynbee or a Spengler will see things differently from one with a philosophy after the order of J. W. Montgomery. One's actual findings may be highly subjective but the interest of the student will be aroused as he seeks to correlate individual items of historical importance with one another. Studies along this line help us to understand how events of youth sometimes influence actions in adulthood. Occasionally they show the refinement or restudy of a doctrine or position. But more often they allow us to see how a resultant position is the consequence of a cumulation of events. Then the historian may see a pattern that allows one to study existing situations and predict the result, hopefully for the bettering of a difficult situation or the avoidance of one of the impossible proportions.

Among other things, this appreciation of time shows us that there is time to achieve our goals if we persevere. History and time are intertwined and those who are impatient with the process are those who have the most to lose. While on the one hand we need not be dilatory in the fulfillment of duty, on the other we need not be so enthused as to move in an uncautioned frenzy. While we cannot treat matters fully, it is a lack of

appreciation for the course of time that makes the "doomsday" thinkers so pathetic in their analysis and application.

(3) Animation

As history is given interest by this approach, animation cannot be overestimated as a factor in rendering the study interesting. With "feeling" for the subject, the historian *knows* the people he speaks about, has *been to* the places mentioned, has *read* the ancient scrolls as written, has *smelled* the smoke of the martyr fires, and has *walked* in the historic paths that are otherwise just names. This is not simply imagination or personality projection. It is such a thorough acquaintance with the subject as to allow the scholar to have an intimate understanding with a high degree of personal rapport. He has visited Servetus in the dungeon because he knows Calvin; he has seen the indignation of Charlemagne as he hears a false report on Nicaea II for he senses the importance of the knowledge of God and the danger of confounding His Person with the images, he has felt the frustration of Whitefield as the Wesleyan dispute continues because he is in love with the church and keenly concerned for both its purity and peace. He cannot be totally passive about the topic: it is a living issue.

These are not conditioned attitudes produced on a stimulus and response arrangement. Nor are they mere dramatics. They are the emotional realities that come with association and time. But these realities will show themselves in a depiction of the events of history marked with life and vitality. Such animation attracts the hearer to the subject and lures one into it. One is caught in the reality that the persons of history were real parties engaged in life-settings very like our own. The interest factor is enlarged and the worthwhile content of history is made increasingly available.

The teacher must *show* this animation. In some circles it is thought that teaching must be without the emotion or movement that attends public readings, preaching, or any vigorous presentation of a public cause. If such is the case it explains why some students find history dull. Animation gives history a display of creativity and that arouses the mind and heart of the hearer.¹²

(4) Insight

The insight of the leader very much adds to the interest of the study. It is the ability of the teacher to understand and give key meanings to situations. Insight opens possibilities of better comprehension for all readers of history. It is not scientific to say it this way, but the better part of insight is probably a natural matter of feeling or intuition. Therefore some teachers seem more insightful than others and if this is part of the personality of the individual instructor, not much can be done about it in the way of teaching how to gather insight. But even the least insightful person can gain in this area with a willingness to seek to apply the historical record to the present setting.

To achieve this the historian may work on the pattern of a series of questions.¹³ What factors have produced a particular setting? How have the factors been arranged? Are there insignificant and minor details that have aided the growth of the complex? Are there suggestions as to how some factors may have been manipulated or controlled by parties involved? Many more questions might be added but these are a sufficient beginning. The danger of the historian is that he may be afraid to inquire. Lacking in inquiry, insight is an illusive matter never attained.

In this regard curiosity may be the scholar's best friend as well as a necessary companion. The process of detailed inquiry has long been recognized as a key part of scientific search but it is often ignored in the social sciences. It is, however, an indispensable tool in keeping history in the sphere of interest. If it should be thought we are losing our view of the objective nature of history, such is not the case, for insight grows from the actual occurrences and situations. Our aim is to keep history as interesting in development as it is worthwhile in content.

(5) Application

Bringing the events and materials of history to bear on existing situations is a strong item in maintaining historical interest. When this application is made plain it does much to show the relevance of the subject and the historical materials. Loss of relevance is one of the many problems that inhibit keener student participation in the study of any form of history and when the relevance factor is missing, it is largely the fault of the instructor. The leader must make the application, must demonstrate the practical significance. This, of course, suggests that the teacher must be perceptive as to how history applies and what the limitations of such are. We will later note that application is of enormous importance in rendering history meaningful and this application is part of the enrichment that must be brought into play for effective learning.

An almost unseen factor in application is the importance of research. The historian is committed to a continued searching for added facts and materials and for better concepts of the meaning of the same. Research often leads to a rethinking of proposition and a renewal of more precise interpretation. Research carries one to better original materials and these give rise to greater potential for application.

(6) A Note of Caution

As important as is the interest factor, there are some warning notes to accompany it. Without due caution, history may be opened to some abusive practices that may add interest but take from the worthwhile content. While presentation is very important it must serve to implement the material and not to manufacture the same. Among the potential "interest-items" that must be kept in check the following may be mentioned:

Preaching

The easy temptation in church history is to pontificate on any number of points. The historian turns his subject into a ground for predicting truth and moves from historian to rector. This easily grows from the application base and while we believe that history must be applied, the application should not slip into an "eternal edict" phase. Showing the usefulness is one thing while mandating the service is another. All historians seek to sow concepts in the minds of students but indoctrination from an authoritarian posture is to be genuinely feared. Occasionally the same problem occurs in character assessment. Perhaps out of one's own past or understanding, certain features of character become more attractive, certain others less. Thus when depicting or analyzing a historic party it becomes relatively easy to give a highly prejudicial portrayal that concentrates on personality leanings more than facts. Such preachments should be avoided or, failing that, sharply limited. The discriminating lecturer will need to be aware of the potential for their error and keep one's ear on guard.

Creating

Here is a very great danger in the study of history: the art of manufacturing materials for which there is no historical warrant. Purposeful deceit is beyond the true historian's aim but incidental misleading easily occurs in the thrust to "keep it alive." Some subjectivistic creation is almost necessary but one must guard against developing whole ideologies or causes that are not factually supported. Creationism, in this sense, is often the result of being only partly informed of needed facts and acting presumptuously or speculating regarding supposed materials. It would seem that this problem lends itself especially to those who are the more vigorous in their approach to the subject. A lively imagination will well enhance the work but one that is not governed by factuality may kill it.

Stretching

While this may not be a solid scientific term it serves its overall purpose well. One setting may be drawn in principle to another and the points of similarity may be far less than the points of non-similarity. Yet the historian may be eyeing a proposition with such intensity as to be unable to see that the two cases are not proximate in development and/or meaning. One may, in such case, simply overlook the noncorrespondence segments or one may stretch the fabric of both settings until they fit: The latter, we think, is completely incorrect and the former is likewise not good although the less objectionable of the two, if such comparison may be considered! What would be right would be to secure items of better correspondence without these shady edges.

A genuine graciousness greatly aided Allan MacRae in avoiding these pitfalls while maintaining an area of presentation that greatly added

interest to the class.

THE APPLICATION OF HISTORY

While history is worthwhile by its content and kept interesting by the proper approach, it is given fullest utilization when it is applied. When applied in the life of the church it is meaningful and when not applied loses much of its significance. Since the reality of the application depends on what has been learned in the process, the logical question relates to what we have learned or are learning in our pursuit of the knowledge of the church. The learning will group itself under three basic headings in which historical matters offer insight for the church today.

(I) General Principle

A general principle may be called an operating procedure that is observed as acting consistently in a number of occurrences set in differing backgrounds. Although the participants change and the settings vary, the outcomes are essentially similar and the result of any situation in which the principle is apparent appears rather predictable. No doubt we must be prepared in these for the existence of the "exception that tests the rule," but we must remember the exception tends to show a degree of fallibility in our analysis: it does not entirely dismiss the entire process.

An example may be seen in Zinzendorf's "*Ecclesia in Ecclesiola*" policy for reforming the church. The idea of a concerted effort by an evangelical community working within a dying structure and thereby recovering it for the truth is an attractive idea championed by Zinzendorf, Wesley and others. The concept is a theme with some current evangelicals in the present day ecumenical systems of Christendom. But the judgment of history is that, as a general principle, it has not worked -- has not achieved the stated or the desired ends. Our observation is not that no gains have ever been made but that the total process has never been accomplished. The general principle might cause one to be concerned about the employment of one's own energies in such a project.

These general principles will fall in four major categories:

Precedents

From generalizations we learn the value and caution to be considered in the setting of a precedent. Alliances formed only for political advantage (as when Henry of Navarre returned to the Roman fold to secure the unification of France) rarely work for the realization of the desired result. The causuistic precedent set by such affairs has a tendency to become self-defeating. As precedent one learns not to compromise fidelity and truth for immediate gain or temporal advantage. Sadly, in the heat of battle, this is easily forgotten and that is why the lessons of history are

mastered with such difficulty. We are often under the tyranny of the immediate and hesitant to see what precedent is being established or to ask to what point it will lead.

Balance

The second area of principle is somewhat hard to define in any precise way yet its importance is apparent. The essential characteristic is that of having relatively equal emphasis on the various aspect of life and witness. Perhaps it is easier to detect imbalance and learn the principles in reverse! But it is notable that progress is difficult without balance although immediate gains may come quickly in some areas.

The "Pietist problem" comes to light in church history when an anti-intellectual thrust calls for a minimizing of precise study and a maximizing of heart worship and feeling. These concepts are by no means diametrically opposed but a very heavy emphasis given to the one with a lack of attention to the other will always produce a less-than-healthy Christianity. Neither the scholastic ideals nor the quietist emotion must be allowed a dominant role in Christian life and development. Both have valuable contributions and are needed for the whole.

It may be impossible to attain total balance in individuals but it should at least be sought in the group. A societal direction to that end is preferable and as a general principle we are instructed that we will not prosper without it. Our history suggests that the search for balance is rarely popular. It is, however, one of these points where the quest is perhaps as important as the attainment.

Evaluation of Issues

The principle is that of learning to discern matters of relative size and importance in various issues and so learning where to take up a challenge and other issues. The problem is one of the proportional size of issues and the determination of the relative importance of related matters. Issue evaluation is necessary in this regard to keep us in line with the exercise of our strengths. When one cannot fight every battle it is important to be selective and concentrate the expense of energy where success is most likely. One must seek to learn from history (and the Scriptures) what the weighty issues are and what things are merely argumentative luxuries.

Unfortunately this is not accomplished in a leisurely manner. In recent years we have undergone a furor over Bible translations. While it is not simple to analyze these complicated affairs, it should be apparent that this is a minor issue as compared with how the Bible is used. Corrupted translations have occurred throughout the long history of the church. No general following seems to accrue to these and they pass from the scene. Additionally the permissible variations in translation ideal are many and the great antagonism that greeted the King James Bible was lost as better understanding of the work of translation developed. The issue, therefore,

should not be viewed as one that "makes or breaks" the faith but should have less stress that more energies might be given to the fuller range of spiritual warfare.

Provincialism

The fourth class of principle observation will warn us against the fatal mentality that sees the whole world as being lived in one corner. As a rule when one tries to impress one's own cultural ideals on others, confusion is produced. A world view, rooted in exegetical theology, is called for in which the church is allowed to live out its obedience under different cultural ideas.

(2) Problematic Situations

As history "repeats itself" we become more aware of the frequency of certain sets of problems. Knowing how they have grown and affected church life in past times, we should be able to see them forming and offer corrective action before tragedy comes. When this is possible the value of history is inestimable. Among these problems some stand out as being particularly painful.

Theological innovation

Often a dangerous culprit, we must exercise caution in dealing with new ideas. Mere innovation is not the problem. The real difficulty is an unwillingness to accept what is basically accorded as true. In the hope of finding more accurate understanding, startling heresies have developed. Hindsight is easier in these matters but we discover that nearly all of the Christological errors grew from theological novelty beyond the open concept of Scripture.¹⁴ To forbid such suggestions would be a reckless abandonment of the proposition whereby every believer is to be a student of the Scripture -- for oneself. But to remember that the possibility of error and divisiveness is close to us all is one of the great practical lessons of history. The challenge is to think while keeping the thought patterns open to wider suggestions of truth but not self-contradiction.

Oversight of error

In a somewhat different vein we discover the oversight of error to be a problematic situation. We define error as what is taught or performed clearly in violation of Scripture. A broad definition on these lines will show the value of tolerance on many issues where the "clear violation" is not apparent. We will actually be less censorious of individual practice when a concentration is made on the essential truths. But if such flagrant error is

not met with truth it will produce a more corruptive effect in the testimony than can be easily imagined. Often error is treated in an offhanded manner that suggests it will go away if left to itself. Church history reveals this is not the case. Error grows rapidly when not answered and the eventual disruption will be serious. It is another instance where a little prevention is better than a lot of medicine.

Issue preoccupation

While a different type of problem than those mentioned, this is a form of one-sidedness that keeps one from giving full attention to the total work of the church. In agreement with the concepts of balance, it is important that the church find its life and witness in the Scriptures and not in a range of issues and problems that tend to supercede the scriptural message in importance. This sort of thinking greatly reduced the Donatist contribution (they became more and more of a "one-issue" society) and has generally been the death cry of any body founded to preserve one aspect of truth or issue of importance. Issue preoccupation is more easily observed in past events but needs a careful watching in every church in order that we maintain a status of those who declare "all the doctrine."

(3) Redirection of Attention

Eventually the great application of history is to rethink our purpose and cause for existence and to renew a commitment to the great Head of the Church. We become aware that if he were not building it, lesser architects like ourselves would have ruined the whole structure. While we may profit from our past and apply it to our present, it is soon seen that none of us is sufficient for the full implementation of the Great Commission or for perfecting a program that will enable us to fully perform with good behaviour in the House of God. We are returned then to the One who is the Foundation, Center, and Head of the Christian church. With humility of soul we acknowledge that at best we are unprofitable servants and are given the privilege of knowing God and his will only through the matchless grace.

To some the application of history is a frustrating affair. These readers see so much that is wrong in history and so little effort to correct it that they are discouraged by the entire process. Their problem is not unique but it is answerable. What one needs is to profit as much as possible in the study of Church History and out of its frustrations and joys to be more fully bound to the Head of the church. In him the questions are answered, in him the church is One, in him is all that is necessary for life and godliness.

Conclusion

Considering the areas of content, approach, and application of history, those who studied with Allan A. MacRae were most fortunate. He

hammered out the essentials of its content, gave it life by a stimulating approach, and applied it both directly and implicitly. An attentive student learned more about living the subject than one did about knowing it! In that sense many of his students entered the life of the church to make history and participate in its progress.

It is perilous to neglect the study of church history. Most of the circumstances we will meet at any given time have been met before and often the clue to their resolution is locked in the archives of the church. Our history is needed to allow us to face up to the existing situation and we can prepare for coming events as well. In this way we obtain a sound understanding of what we are, how we got here, and where we want to go. Church history needs to be revisited.

NOTES

^{^1} Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan 1971) 1, xvi.

^{^2} An example of this type of history writing is Elgin S. Moyer's *Great Leaders of the Christian Church* (Chicago: Moody, 1951).

^{^3} H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968) chap. 3.

^{^4} The saga of Hippolytus offers interesting speculation in this area. Would Hippolytus have received canonization if the *Refutation of All Heresies* had been known to have been his?

^{^5} For the heart of this issue see *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 16:1-2 (1971).

^{^6} Although the writer is much indebted for many historical insights to Paul Johnson, he finds his writings often indicate the negative infringement of this mood. Paul Johnson, *A History of Christianity* (New York, Atheneum, 1980).

^{^7} Perhaps the classic biblical example is found in 1 Kgs 22:13-16 in which King Ahab obviously understood something very different than what the prophet Micaiah actually said.

^{^8} *The Ante Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, n.d.) VIII, 487.

^{^9} Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1959) chapters XXII through XXIX. The account is presented in a very factual way from a somewhat secularist point of view.

^{^10} Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, IV:3. The account is repeated twice in Eusebius: III:14.

^{^11} See the interesting note in *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, n.d.) Series II, Vol. 1, p.161. Historical perspective is clarified in this note.

^{^12} For a modern history text that demonstrates this approach: Bruce L. Shelley, *Church History in Plain Language* (Waco: Word Books, 1982).

^{^13} Latourette, pp.xff. The seven questions offered by the author form the basis for his historical analysis and consideration.

^{^14} We have in mind chiefly the controversies known as monothelism, monophysitism, Nestorianism, etc. Later Christological problems such as Kenosis and the question of potential sin are probably in the same category.

AN EXAMINATION OF PASSAGES CITED BY THE JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES TO DENY JESUS IS GOD

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The Bible teaches clearly that Jesus is God. In Heb 1:8 God, the Father calls Jesus God when He says to Him, "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever." In John 20:28 Thomas, a monotheistic Jew, confessed that Jesus is his God and emphasised that fact when he said to Him, "My Lord and my God!" In John 1:1 the Apostle John declared that Jesus is God when he wrote, "the Word was God." In Titus 2:13 the Apostle Paul referred to Jesus as "the great God,"¹ and in Col 2:9 he stated that Jesus is God when he said "in him," i.e., in Jesus "dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."² In John 10:30 Jesus Himself claimed to be God: "I and my Father are one." The Greek renders this: "I and the Father, we are one." The word "one" here is in the neuter, indicating that Jesus meant he was of the same substance as the Father and we construe this as his claim to be God.

Despite the clear teaching of the Bible that Jesus is God, Jehovah's Witnesses deny this doctrine and cite Bible passages which they say contradict this doctrine. Let us examine six of these passages which, if properly understood, can be adduced to support the view that Jesus is God.

Revelation 3:14

First, Rev 3:14. This passage says, "And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write: 'These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God.'" Jehovah's Witnesses interpret this passage to mean that Jesus was the first of all God's creation. They construe the Greek word translated "beginning" as denoting "the first person or thing in a series."³ Therefore, they say that the phrase "the beginning of the creation of God" means that Jesus was the first thing God created. He was "the beginning of the creation of God," i.e., the first part of God's creation. According to this interpretation, Jesus is a created being and as such he cannot be God, for God is eternal (cf. Ps 90:2). Admittedly the Greek word translated "beginning" in this passage can mean "the first person or thing in a series."⁴ But this Greek word can also mean "that by which anything begins to be," "the origin," or "active cause."⁵ This meaning goes back to the eighth century B. C. when it was first used by Anaximander. If it is the meaning in this passage, the phrase "the beginning of the creation of God" would mean that Jesus is the one by

whom the creation of God took place. Jesus then is "the origin" or "active cause" of the creation of God. The phrase "the beginning of the creation of God" can have two entirely different meanings here. It can mean either that Jesus was the first 'object' God created or that he was actively involved in the creation by God. Both of these meanings are grammatically possible. Which one then did the Apostle John intend in this passage? In John 1:3 the Apostle stated: "All things were made by him [i.e., Jesus]; and without him [i.e., apart from him or independent of him] was not any thing made that was made [i.e., "was not one thing made which has been made"]." John says categorically that all things were created by Jesus and that if we take all the things which have been created and put them together, there will not be a single thing to which we could point our finger and say, "This was not created by Jesus." However, if Jesus was the first 'object' God created, this would not be true.

In Rev 3:14 Jesus told the Apostle John to write a letter to the angel of the church of the Laodiceans. He was to say that the things in that letter were from Him who is "the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God." Now the phrase "the beginning of the creation of God" bears exactly the same sense as John 1:3 even though it is expressed differently: Jesus was the original Creator (together with the Father and the Holy Spirit).

Colossians 1:15

The second passage is Col 1:15. This speaks of Christ, "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature." Jehovah's Witnesses take the phrase "the first-born of every creature" in this passage to mean that he was the first part of the creation to come into existence, just as the first-born of a family is the first child in that family to enter the world. Jesus was created first and after that all other things were created.

Again, if this interpretation is correct, then Jesus is a created being and cannot be God, for God is eternal. But it is wrong, very wrong. The reference ("who") is clearly to Jesus. The phrase "the image of the invisible God" means that Jesus is the exact representation of the invisible God so that whatever is true of the invisible God is true also of Jesus and vice versa. This can only mean that Jesus is God. The first part of this passage deals with the vertical relationship between Jesus and God, Jesus being the exact representation of God. Hence, Jesus said in John 14:9, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." The next part of this passage deals with the horizontal relationship that exists between Jesus and the creation. This relationship is defined in the words, "the first-born of every creature." The words "every creature" in this phrase should be translated "all creation," and the word "of" should be translated "in relationship to." Thus the phrase "the first-born of every creature" should be translated "the first-born in relationship to all creation."

"First-born" in this phrase denotes a position of sovereignty. This becomes evident as we observe the way this word is used in the Old Testament. For example, Abraham had two sons. They were Ishmael and

Isaac. Ishmael was born first but Isaac had the right of the first-born. Isaac had two sons. They were Esau and Jacob. Esau came out of his mother's womb first, but Jacob eventually obtained the right of the first-born. Jacob had twelve sons. Reuben was born first, but Judah who was his fourth son possessed the right of the first-born. It is evident then that the word "first-born" denotes a position, and Ps 9: 27 makes it clear that this position is one of sovereignty, for in that passage we read, "Also I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth." Here we have a synthetic parallelism: the idea expressed in the second line of the parallelism adds something fresh to or explains the idea expressed in the first line of the parallelism. In this passage the second line of the parallelism explains the first line. The first line of the parallelism states that God will make the subject of this Psalm his first-born. The second line explains what that means: that that person will be "higher than the kings of the earth," i.e., it speaks of the supreme sovereignty of Christ over all kings. Jesus is sovereign over all creation. If he was the first-created of all creation, the Apostle Paul would have used the Greek word *πρωτόκτιστος* which means "first-created."⁶ But Paul does not use that word because that was not what he wanted to say. Instead, he uses the Greek word *πρωτότοκος* which is translated "firstborn"⁷ because he wants to say that Jesus is sovereign over all creation, and this word expresses that idea. The Apostle Paul then gives the reason why Jesus is sovereign over all creation, and that reason is that he created it. This reason is given in v16.

In the first part of this verse Paul says that Jesus is the *cause* of the creation of all the things that are in heaven and that are in earth whether we can see them with our eyes or not, and his includes "thrones", "dominions", "principalities", and "powers". These are probably four different classes of angels. Paul says this in the following words: "for by him" or a better translation would be "for in Him", i.e., Jesus "were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers."

Paul goes on to say that Jesus was the *agent* of creation: "all things were created by him," and that he was the *goal* of creation: "all things were created ... for him." Jesus then is the creator in the fullest sense of the word, and that is why He is sovereign over all creation.

Moreover in v17 Paul says that Jesus precedes creation: "he is *before* all things." Further, Jesus preserves creation: "by him all things consist," i.e., they cohere or hold together. So vv16 and 17 teach clearly that Jesus was not part of God's creation.

Jehovah's Witnesses, however, try to get around this problem by inserting the word "other" in these verses. They say that the word "other" is inserted in Luke 13:2 and 4 because it is implied by the context, and if it can be inserted in those verses because it is implied by the context, the word "other" can also be inserted in these verses for the same reason. Therefore, they translate these verses "because by means of him all (other) things were created in the heavens and upon the earth, the things visible and the things invisible, no matter whether they are thrones or lordships or governments or authorities. All (other) things have been created through

him and for him. Also, he is before all (other) things and by means of him all (other) things were made to exist."⁹

Now it is true that in Luke 13: 2 and 4, the word "other", though not in the Greek New Testament, is clearly implied by the context, but the only way the word "other" can be implied by the context in these verses is for the phrase "the first-born of all creation" to mean that Jesus was the first-created of all creation, but there is no evidence to prove that is what this phrase means. As we have already indicated, if this was what Paul wanted to say, he would have used the Greek word which means "first-created." Furthermore, if the phrase "the first-born of all creation" means that Jesus was the first-created of all creation, then Jesus is a created being and he could not be God.

Proverbs 8:22

The third passage is Prov 8: 22. This passage says, "The LORD possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old." Like Rev 3:14 and Col 1:15, this passage is also interpreted by Jehovah's Witnesses to mean that Jesus was the first-created of all creation. According to them wisdom is personified in Prov 8. Christian writers in the early centuries A.D. took this as a reference to Jesus Christ in His prehuman form. So wisdom in this chapter is Jesus Christ, and since it is wisdom that speaks in v22, Jesus Christ himself is the speaker in this verse. Jehovah's witnesses claim further that the Hebrew word translated "possessed" in this verse means "created",⁹ and this is how we should construe it in Prov 8:22. On the basis therefore that Jesus Christ is the speaker in Prov 8, they say that the LORD created Jesus as the beginning of his creation before he created anything else.

Is this correct? It is true that wisdom in Prov 8 is personified, and that many Christian writers of the early centuries A.D. say that this is a reference to Jesus Christ in His prehuman form. But it is a mistake to identify wisdom in this chapter with Jesus Christ. Furthermore, the content of this chapter makes it clear that wisdom in this chapter is not Jesus Christ: wisdom here is personified just as love is personified in 1 Cor 13:4-7. Further the Hebrew word חָכְמָה has two meanings. The first, "to create", is the meaning assigned to it by the Brown, Driver, and Briggs in *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*.¹⁰ But note in the following verse that wisdom is everlasting: with reference to wisdom it states "I was set up from everlasting." This cannot be the meaning here. The second meaning, "to possess" suggests that the LORD possessed wisdom in the beginning of his creation before anything else was created. This agrees with the following verses which say that wisdom is everlasting and that it existed before the creation of the world. This also agrees with vv24 and 25 which say that wisdom was "brought forth", i.e., was in existence¹¹ before the created things mentioned in these verses. This then must be the meaning of this Hebrew word here. There is therefore no contradiction between this passage and the doctrine that Jesus is God.

John 14:28

A fourth passage is John 14:28: "Ye have heard how I said unto you, I go away, and come again unto you. If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I said, I go unto the Father: for my Father is greater than I."

According to the Jehovah's Witnesses, this passage teaches that Jesus is not God because Jesus said "my Father is greater than I." But this statement simply affirms that the Father is positionally greater than Jesus. Let me illustrate: President Reagan and I both have a human nature and, therefore, we are equal in nature. Yet, although we are equal in nature, President Reagan is greater than I am because he is President of the United States of America and I am not. President Reagan then is positionally greater than I am, but he is not greater than I am in nature. The same is true with Jesus and his Father. They are both God and, therefore, they are equal in nature. Yet although Jesus and his Father are equal in nature, his Father is positionally greater than he is as the God-man. This interpretation fits with the context where Jesus reminds his disciples of the news that he had previously given to them that he was going to leave them and go to his Father; but he would come to them again! He tells them that if they loved him with an unselfish love as they ought, they would rejoice over this news instead of grieving over it as they were doing. He then explains the reason why: his Father is positionally greater than he is as the God-man, and therefore, when he goes to him, his Father will exalt him as the God-man to his own right hand, i.e., to a position of honor and authority in heaven. This passage then does not contradict the doctrine that Jesus is God.

I Corinthians 15:28

The fifth passage is 1 Cor 15:28 which says: "And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." Jehovah's Witnesses say this passage teaches that Jesus is not God because the Apostle Paul says that the Son will be "subject" to God the Father. The Apostle Paul says that the Son will be subject to God the Father, not because the Son is not God, but because God the Father is positionally greater than the Son as the God-man. It is like a king who has a son. Both have a human nature, and therefore they are equal in nature. Yet, the son is subject to the king, not because the son is inferior in nature to him, for they both have the same nature, but because the king is positionally greater than the son. The same is true with God, the Father and the Son. They are both God, and therefore, they are equal in nature. Yet, the Son will be subject to God, the Father, not because he is inferior in nature to him, for they both have the same nature, but because God the Father is positionally greater than the Son.

The Context supports this interpretation. The Apostle Paul says that when God the Father brings all things into subjection to the Son, the Son will turn the administration of his kingdom over to him, and when that

happens, then, in addition to all other things being in subjection to God, the Father, "the Son also himself" as the God-man will be in subjection to him in order that God the Father "may be all in all", i.e., supreme in everything.

1 Corinthians 11:3

The final passage is 1 Cor 11:3 which reads, "But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God." Jehovah's Witnesses point out that "the head of Christ is God."

But this phrase does not mean that Christ is not God: it means that Christ as the God-man is subordinate to God the Father just as the physical body is subordinate to the head. This phrase then refers to a positional difference that exists between Christ as the God-man and God, the Father, and not to a difference in nature. This is supported by the fact that the Apostle Paul also says in this passage that "the head of the woman is the man." This does not mean that the woman is inferior in nature to the man, for they are equal in nature, but it means that the woman is subordinate to the man. It is a positional difference that is in view, and just as the woman is subordinate to the man even though they are equal in nature, so Christ as the God-man is subordinate to God, the Father, even though they are equal in nature. In the context the Apostle Paul informs the Corinthian believers of the principle of order and subordination which God has established in the universe and which is essential to its being. This principle is that the woman is subordinate to the man; the man is subordinate to Christ; and Christ as the God-man is subordinate to God the Father. The Apostle Paul informs the Corinthian believers of this principle so that they might see that they have violated it and thus deserve to be condemned for it. There is absolutely nothing in this passage then that contradicts the doctrine that Jesus is God.

We have examined six of the passages that the Jehovah's Witnesses say contradict the doctrine that Jesus is God. We have seen that when these passages are properly understood, they do not contradict this doctrine, but are perfectly consistent with it.

NOTES

^{^1} Since Jesus is called "the great God" in this passage and the LORD (Jehovah) is called "the great God" in Deut 10:17, Jesus and the Lord (Jehovah) have to be the same divine being. for there is only one "great God."

^{^2} The Greek word translated "Godhead" in this verse means "deity", and it denotes the essence of God. This Greek word is different from the Greek word translated "Godhead" in Rom 1:20 which means "divinity" or "divine nature." and which denotes the qualities or attributes of God.

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³ *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1886) 77.

⁴ Ibid. See also W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: University Press, 1957) 111-112.

⁵ Grimm-Thayer, p.77.

⁶ G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) 1200.

⁷ Grimm-Thayer, p.55.

⁸ *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures* (New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, 1970), 1274.

⁹ F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, ed., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 888-889. See also *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament and Apocrypha* (London: Samuel Bagster, n.d.) 795. The English translation has "The Lord made me" instead of "The Lord created me."

¹⁰ Brown, Driver and Briggs, pp.888-889.

¹¹ When Solomon says that wisdom was "brought forth" in these verses, he uses poetic language to express the idea that wisdom was in existence. He did not argue that wisdom came into existence at this time.

CROSS CULTURAL WITNESS: CONFLICT AND ACCOMMODATION

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The subject to be considered here is "Cross Cultural Witness: Conflict and Accommodation." Since it is impossible for anyone to write from a base that does not contain assumed presuppositions, it is reasonable to ask from what premise does the writer undertake this task which has already been approached from such various perspectives as those of anthropology, liberation, dogmatics, and biblical theology? The premise which is the groundwork is that of a biblical theology which attests that the Christian faith was supernaturally revealed in the inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; and that this Word of God reveals to us the flow of redemptive history, from the creation of man to the first century's establishment of the new covenant church, as God unfolds his will for his people in various covenant arrangements in successive eras.

Biblical inspiration, as the writer was taught in the classroom years ago by Dr Allan A. MacRae, was a special work of the Holy Spirit whereby he moved upon the writers of the Old and New Testaments so that their words should convey the thought God wished conveyed, should bear the proper relation to the words of the other writers and should be kept free from errors of fact, doctrine, and judgment. The Bible's authority transcends our understanding of it, since it is the Word of God and is so attested by Christ himself.

As Christians have sought to communicate their gospel in a surrounding non-Christian culture, problems have arisen. One problem has been how to set forth the gospel that it is truly proclaimed without compromise and understood with sufficient comprehension to provide adequate knowledge for saving faith. Paul wrote to Christians in Rome that, "Faith comes by hearing and hearing by the word of God," (Rom 10:17). But the question is, what do they hear from our presentation as we seek to communicate a message from heaven, set in a context of 2000 years ago, coming ourselves from a background of modern Western civilization, and coming to a people of a foreign culture and ideology?

As germane as the above problem is, however, it is the word "conflict" in the subject which brings another question to the fore, one on which more attention will be focused. How do the people of God, the church of God, relate to the problem of accommodation to, or conflict with, the surrounding non-Christian culture? How do they distinguish lawful accommodation from unlawful? Do they consciously wrestle with God's Word for light on how to establish a church that is both at home in its own cultural

way of life and comprised of obedient people who, both as church and as individuals, live with integrity before the face of Scripture and their surrounding culture, a faithfully indigenous church?

Protestant missions of a century ago found the term "indigenous" a very meaningful one to express the kind of church they wished to establish in foreign cultures. To them, however, it referred basically to a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating church. In the past ten years it has increasingly been recognized that the "indigenous church" so formed often lacked identity with its own cultural context in such matters as the form of government and the form of worship, as well as personal life style, concern for the needy, and for the contemporary social struggle. In a word, it failed to live up to its responsibility of being the church in the world.

In place of such efforts to cultivate an indigenous church, the need for contextualization began to be discussed in 1970. One writer in speaking of this term wrote, "contextualization involves adapting the message to the particular concerns and understandings of a culture."¹ Another has written that the gospel is contextualized when it is "presented in forms which are characteristic of the culture to which the gospel is taken."² Harvey Conn has stated that "covenant contextualization cannot take place without . . . a back and forth movement between God's word and God's world, a conversation between text and interpreter and context, where the interpreter functions not as a spectator on the balcony but as actor on the hermeneutical stage."³ In this description the central role of the interpreter who explains the text to the context of the surrounding culture is clearly recognized.

To J. H. Bavinck, "culture is religion made visible," while T. S. Eliot shortens the definition to "lived religion." The Willowbank Report presents culture as the integrated system of beliefs, values, customs and institutions which express these and which binds a society together and gives it a sense of identity, dignity, security and continuity.⁴ In speaking of religion they are not necessarily including deity, but are definitely referring to those basic beliefs, values, and practices to which one is committed and which guide and influence his thoughts, words, and deeds though often unconsciously. Religion may be defined as the beliefs and practices which bind one to his most basic principles of interpretation. The new mind brings a new appraisal of the old culture and religious views, and the problem of conflict or accommodation begins. Scripture speaks of the necessity of being "transformed by the renewing of your mind," (Rom 12:2) of "taking every thought captive to the obedience of Christ," (2 Cor 10:5) the goal being to "serve God with a whole heart and a willing mind" (1 Chr 28:9).

Covenant Perspective As the Interpretive Principle

As Scripture confronts the new man with its covenantal perspective, the ramifications of the radical nature of its demands for total obedience to God's Word in his world are begun to be perceived. The word "covenant"

comes from the old French word *covenir* (to come together) which in turn is derived from the Latin *convenire* (convened to arrange an agreement). But the OT word *berith* means to bind together, while the NT word *diatheke* emphasises an agreed arrangement. A biblical divine covenant was thus an arrangement instituted by God whereby he proclaimed his will to his people and bound (obligated) them to himself with promise. In ancient Semitic times the pattern form for a covenant was widely known.

God's first proclamation to man in the Scriptures (Gen 1 & 2) comes as a covenant in its pattern (Hos 6:7. "Like Adam they have broken the covenant") and gives us his unchanging first mission to men. (1) God, the sovereign Creator of man in his own image, is the speaker (1:26) -- preamble. (2) Having placed man on earth he must tell man what his mission to the world is as he ordains them for their task (1:27-28a) -- historical prologue. (3) The covenanted stipulations of God's will for man are: (a) man is to be fruitful producing servants for God (1:28, 2:5b). The word translated "cultivate", *abad* is the usual word "to serve." (b) Man is to "subdue the earth" for God as a steward of his world (2:15) and Word (2:15-16) bringing out the potential of both for God (4:26, 28). (c) Man is God's vicegerent to rule all of nature for God including himself and all of his responsibilities (1:26, 28-30). (4) The Tree-of-the-Knowledge-of-Good-and-Evil was the witness to the reality of the ever-present Word of God (2:17), while (5) the Tree of Life was God's provision for reminding them that he was the way to life without death and the way of life (2:9 & 3:22). (6) The proclaimed blessing and cursing keyed the ultimate in importance, obedience to God's will for life and death for disobedience (2:17).

The covenant's most characteristic expression in Scripture is God's proclamation, "I will be your God and you shall be my people," (Lev 26:12. Note also Gen 17:7, Exod 19:5, 6 and Jer 7:23). In the unfolding of the covenants down through redemptive history, man was to find saving grace and the way of life, and in covenant obedience he found his true good and the glory of God. Nothing contrary to God's covenanted will can be approved, so that will must be daily sought in the Book of the Covenant. After man's fall into sin, a new dimension of saving grace was added to the covenant so that the covenant breaker could be restored to fulfilling the mandate to cultural and spiritual service in the world (Gen 3:9-19). Now under the evangelistic mandate of the New Covenant (Matt 28:18-20) restored covenant breakers are the witnesses to the reality of the covenanted Word of God (Acts 1:8). They are to be in the world, as lights, (Phil 2:15) but not of the world (1 John 2:16).

The people of God are a covenanted people; they are to glorify him with obedient service and have nothing to do with idolatrous substitutes. When in the OT they ignored this and tried to accommodate their ways to those of the surrounding culture, disaster fell on them from God. When at Sinai a sinful people told Aaron that their invisible God needed to be replaced by one that they could see going before them, he made them a golden calf, a fall-back to the Egyptian culture they had left. In Egypt a calf was sometimes used as the seat of a deity, and some have suggested that Aaron meant them to consider that the calf was the throne of the invisible

Yahweh: If so, his accommodation failed, for the people were delighted to worship the calf. Despite his intention, what he did destroyed for them the uniqueness of the Creator God and brought his anger on them.

On Mt. Carmel it was the boastful bluff of Baal's prophets that Elijah challenged after the three years of famine due to the terrible apostasy at Samaria, and he was very careful to differentiate his worship from theirs. Not only did he refuse to use their altar for his sacrifice, as a symbol of his goal to rebuild the work of God, he rebuilt an old altar of Yahweh's to receive the pending demonstration of Yahweh's mighty reality. As in Ahab's day, government officials in Japan required as an act of loyalty that which essentially was an act of pagan practice. When this happened, as the officials tried to make that act more palatable for believers by declaring it to be an act of patriotic loyalty only, a very difficult situation arose. This became a very real problem in Japan early in the history of Protestant Christianity there.

Accommodation Efforts In Japan

In order to unite the people around the Emperor and to hold them to the traditional manner of thought at the time Christianity was making its greatest impact, the Government in 1890 introduced into the schools the Imperial Rescript and portrait. On certain special occasions when a school assembly was held, the Rescript was read as a message from the God-Emperor, and the students were ordered to bow in worship before his unveiled portrait. These ceremonies at first caused a great stir in Christian circles with real opposition being offered, but the Government was adamant. To make it easier for Christians, the religious bureau released a statement that these ceremonies were not religious but only patriotic. That they were of a polytheistic nature, and therefore religious in the Christian meaning of the word, several considerations show. The Rescript statement opened with a reference to the "Ancestors", but the Chinese ideographs used were for the mythological deities of Shintoism. The next set of ideographs used referred to the human ancestors of the emperors. Further, it spoke of "the Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth", and the "way here set forth is . . . infallible in all ages and true in all places." To a Christian these can be nothing but the religious concepts of a primitive polytheism. A Government news release could not change their religious nature.

But still further, was it not unlawful compromise for a Christian to bow in worship before the portrait of the Emperor, even though the student might have no worshipful feeling in his heart?

The answer lies in the second commandment where it is declared, 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any . . . likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.' The Hebrew word translated here as 'bow down' in the English, and as *ogamu* (worship) in the Japanese, is שָׁחָה (*shachah*). *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, in a learned article on the word 'worship,' makes it clear

that the root idea of $\eta\eta\psi$ is that of bodily prostration with a view to showing reverence. When it is performed to living men in their presence, where no idea of deity is associated, the Scriptures uniformly recognize the act of prostration or bowing as a legitimate salutation. As an act of worship to the living God, who is Spirit, or as only an act of respect in the presence of a living man, who is spirit and body, created in the image of God. $\eta\eta\psi$ (to worship or bow down before) is correct behaviour.

What the Scriptures uniformly condemn, and the second commandment specifically condemns, is the act of bowing, whether merely as an outward act or as one including the inner, emotional, worshipful feeling, towards anything other than living persons, specifically anything made in the 'likeness of anything that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath.' The act of bowing, when performed otherwise than as an act of salutation to a living person, is a worshipful act, whether performed from an inner, emotional religious feeling, or simply performed as an outward act without such feeling, according to the Scriptural presentation of the matter.

The three young Hebrew heroes of the third chapter of Daniel obviously so understood it, for if the only $\eta\eta\psi$ (bow down or worship) forbidden by the second commandment was one associated with an inner religious feeling, then they could have bowed down in good conscience knowing that there was no such feeling in their hearts. They well knew, however, that it was the act of bowing itself which was forbidden and that to do so would be to 'worship an image.' Thus apart from the fact that in Japan bowing to the portrait was made to the picture of one who was declared to be a god, and that the bow required was for the students' profoundest obeisance,' of which there could be none deeper in act or inner meaning, apart from these obvious considerations, the fact that the bow was to the material reproduction of a man, should have been reason enough for Christians to classify it in the category of forbidden acts of an idolatrous nature. That they did not do so established the practice of compromise with the national polytheism for three generations of Christians to come. This early failure to discern between that which could be rendered 'to Caesar' and that which was God's alone resulted in the planting of a seed which within a half century was to bring forth a harvest of destruction in the moral fiber of the Church.

The unlawful accommodation involved in Christians participating in the Rescript ceremonies was a sinful compromise which had a profound effect on the whole future of Christianity in Japan, conditioning it to a tolerant attitude toward participation in polytheistic practices to this very day.

Another place involving unlawful accommodation concerns Christian use of Shinto *Kamidana* (godshelves) and Buddhist *Butsudan* (Buddhist idol altars) in the home. One or other of these objects, and in many cases both, are present in the great majority of Japanese homes for the worship of the ancestors' spirits. The Buddhist altar contains an *ihai* or ancestral tablet in which the names of the ancestors are written. To worship these things would obviously be idolatry, but the argument has been made that they can lawfully be accommodated to Christian use. For instance, one Kyodan pastor (United Church of Japan) made this recommendation in 1951: "Then what will this writer recommend"? The real sense of the

Butsudan comes from the fact that there is an image or picture enshrined in it. Thus, if we take these away, we cannot call it a Butsudan. Therefore we have only to return these to the original temple with some offering money. Next we must consider the *'ihai'*. The Buddhist names of the deceased being written on the front side, these must be removed and the *'ihai'* turned around, so that we can see the other side on which are written the dates of the dead. If we go further and remodel the inside of the Butsudan by setting up a cross and a Bible there we can have a fine Christian holy place. Thus the spirit of Christianity can be breathed into Japanese Buddhists who have made Buddha images but neglected to put a real spirit in them."

What is the objective here? To achieve a sort of syncretism between pagan and Christian symbols, to make the difference between the two seem less apparent? Such a motive is an unworthy one and the method unjustifiable. Hope for unbelievers lies in their recognition of the uniqueness of Christianity, and a complete break with those objects which were the very symbols of their substitution of the worship of the spirits of deceased creaturely men for the living Creator. The idea that the presence of a Christian symbol, like a cross, in a pagan idol box can sanctify it is reminiscent of the Israelitish superstition that they could make God serve their purposes by taking out the Ark on to the battlefield. The call in 2 Cor 6 is for complete separation from such things. Paul's warning in 1 Cor 10:22 needs to be heeded, "Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?"

A somewhat similar recommendation to that given by the Kyodan pastor came from a missionary in Japan concerning another matter, the Obon Festival. (This is a Buddhist festival held each summer in which the spirits of the dead are welcomed back to their homes for a few days.) Christians in Japan are under great pressure to participate in this pagan religious observance to show their filial piety. Thus this missionary recommended that the Obon Festival be declared a Christian "All Saints Day" so that Christians too could observe the day. He wrote:

The process of adjusting Christian religious practices to Japanese culture is already taking place. Because of the desire to pay respects to the dead, it would be an easy matter for the Christian Church to develop an *obon* (Festival of the dead) observance. Many Christians have to return to their native place at this time, help clean up the cemetery and participate in a Buddhist service or they will not be considered filial by their relatives ... Japanese people will adjust their Christian worship and practices to their old faiths.

Such an adjustment between polytheistic faith and Christian faith is syncretism. How will the heathen learn the distinctive nature of the Christian faith, as the one true revealed religion of the Living God, who alone is worthy of worship this way? God forbids all efforts to communicate with the souls of deceased men, whose destinies he holds in the palm of his hand. If such schemes are worked out to lessen the antithesis between Christianity and polytheism, how can non-Christians learn of God's uniqueness? The commands of God in the Scriptures forbidding any attempt to contact the spirits of the dead for any purpose are very explicit (Lev 19:31; Deut 18:10-12; and Isa 19:3) referring to those who "resort to

idols and ghosts of the dead and to mediums and spiritists."

Suggestions For Contextualizing In Japan

A form of contextualization that has appealed to some Japanese Christians recommends working from the hearer's acknowledged interest and ignorance, as did Paul at Athens (Acts 17:23). We refer to Japanese Buddhism considered from the point of view of early Christian influence on its first centuries here. In 804 Kobo Daishi went to Hsian, China, and lived near the Christian (Nestorian) church where its pastor was translating a manuscript with a famous Indian Buddhist priest, Prajna, in that city. When Kobo returned to Japan in 806, he brought new doctrines back with him. His new Shingon (True Word) sect taught of a soul that could be saved by faith, of a heavenly paradise, and of masses for the dead, all more similar to Christian concepts than to original Buddhism?⁵ Is it not appropriate to ask Buddhists why these changes were made? Kobo must have found something in China's capital that he felt the older Buddhism lacked, something more satisfying and meaningful. Thus we find in the early missionary story of China the gospel as the source of the unadulterated message of salvation by faith.

We are told that 82% of the Japanese do not accept religions for their content, indeed "do not believe in any religion", but that "there are many who have a deep religious sentiment (*shukyoshin*)".⁶ The first covenant was introduced by the statement that God made man in his own image. Indelibly stamped in men is the "seed of religion, the sense of deity", to use Calvin's phrases, so that, as they look out on the nature the Japanese love so well, their God-consciousness whispers, "Something (*nanika*) is there." As Basabe says, the older, thinking man will attempt to cross the barrier of a total relativity to reach the *nanika* even though he believes it is not possible since it is inexpressible. Religious doctrines, to him, are not immutable truth and all religions are man-made.⁷ Yet that very reaching out, that "deep religious sentiment", in spite of the despair, is evidence that the Japanese man cannot escape the God in whose image he has been made; and that nature itself is God's general revelation of himself and will always bear witness that he is there (Ps 19:1-4; Rom 1:18-25). It is this God-consciousness in man which is our point of contact with him and the ground of our expectation that our message is being heard -- at least on the intellectual level for only the Holy Spirit can open the heart to hear it internally.

Christians have a two-layer concept of reality, the eternal and the temporal; the Creator and the created. The Japanese intellectual mind, however, is monistic, rejecting all that is not temporal, tending to reject even the subject-object relation. Truth can be falsehood and sin virtue, while it makes little difference whether one is a religious believer or an unbeliever as both must accept that all things are relative.⁸ This is a world and life view with tragic implications and built-in despair. There is no soil more foreign to the Christian message than one rejecting all eternal reality and holding to an earthly monism. The more we go to such a system to find

parallels for the gospel the more we are likely to confirm monism.

When Gentiles began to be converted to Christ, problems arose which led to the Jerusalem conference. The conclusions were sent out to the churches but a few years later the matter of meats offered to idols was brought up again by Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians. The problem here is what to do with things already used in idolatrous worship and which are still the symbols of idolatrous worship to some. The position Paul takes here is not that of allowing for the ignoring of the Jerusalem Council but of upholding it because of the almost sure possibility of putting a stumbling block in someone's path if it is ignored. He even warns against eating in a restaurant on the temple grounds, where everything is dedicated to the service of the idols, lest the example lead someone to ruin (1 Cor 8:9-13).

But in 1 Cor 10, Paul seems to carry the argument against accommodating oneself to eating things sacrificed to idols beyond that of the possible ill effects it may have on others, to an apparent condemnation based on the nature of the thing, and the ill effect it may have on the participator himself. In v14 he warns, "Flee from idolatry." Then he cites two illustrations as background for the conclusion he is to draw. In vv16 and 17, Paul notes that the Christian communion service is a fellowshiping with Christ. Next, in v18, he says that the Jews, eating the temple sacrifices, understand that they are partaking of all that is symbolized by the altar; to them it meant a communion with God. Now is it different with the heathen? Not that there is any reality to the idol, he repeats, but that behind the idol there are demons and it is to these the Gentiles are really sacrificing; their offerings are a symbol of their communion. The Christian cannot fellowship with demons, nor can he participate at a table where demon offerings are being made (vv19-21). The one who thinks he is strong enough to do this without harm is thinking that he is stronger than God, because God has forbidden it (v22). Then in vv23, 27-28 we read:

All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not. If any of them that believe not bid you to a feast, and ye be disposed to go: whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience sake. But if any man say unto you, This is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not for his sake that shewed it, and for conscience sake: for the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof.

The conclusion seems to be that if anything has a very loose or distant connection with an idolatrous symbol this is not of vital concern, unless another points out the connection as something to be avoided (v28). In that case one must be ready to abstain to avoid hurting the other's conscience.

As the century drew to a close, we see that this matter of eating or refraining from food sacrificed to idols was a key test of loyalty to Christ. John mentions it in connection with the sins of two of the seven churches in Revelation, condemning the church of Thyatira for listening to one who led them "to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols" (Rev 2:20).

Even in the passage where Paul warns against any conduct which might compromise one's own or another believer's testimony, however, he does go on to indicate that he himself practised a measure of identification. In 1 Cor 9:20-22 we read,

And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law as without law (although not lawless toward God but committed to Christ's law) that I might gain them are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak; I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.

From the consideration of the proscription of participating in heathen religious worship or in things where the pagan religious symbolism or practice is still closely associated, and the example of Paul identifying himself with the life of the people where he could profitably do so for the gospel's sake, I think we can derive a helpful guideline to assist us in distinguishing between lawful identification and unlawful accommodation. Briefly stated it would be this: in religious practices, separation; in daily life, identification. By this is meant, that whenever there is a direct or close and well-known association with pagan religious practice in their cultural life, the Christian must separate himself from it. On the other hand, where it is a matter of a Christian identifying himself with the life of the non-Christians, where such close religious associations do not exist, in order to win them to the gospel, such identification is lawful and exemplary.

The objection may be raised that in the last analysis all that the heathen do is related to their religion; that heathen religion is a total world and life view as is Christianity. Although this is true, yet there are very different degrees of that relation. Not all that they do is directly related to their religious practices. Many of their cultural practices, having to do with etiquette, dress, diet, house construction, may have long since lost the significance of religious practice, or are in a gray area, whereas certain cultural phenomena still prominently maintain it. It is where that obvious religious practice aspect exists that the Christian is warned to be uncompromising. If an effort is being made to carry over into Christianity something from pagan symbolism to make the break between the two seem less sharp, to maintain some seeming connection, to make Christianity more palatable to the non-Christian by lessening its uniqueness, then a form of syncretism is being advocated and unlawful accommodation is in view.

Conclusion

There is great need today for the covenant interpretation of Scripture, the covenantal perspective of identifying the God of Scripture as the Lord of his people and his people as obedient servants gratefully serving him with the world of nature, the world of human cultural effort, and the world of his revealed Word for, as Gen 2:5 states, God made Adam for "there was no man to serve (him with) the earth," With the motive of love we must aim at bringing out the blessing in all three worlds, It requires full alertness of heart and mind to be faithful interpreters taking the Biblical text into the surrounding context, understanding yet firm in the gray areas where light meets darkness, graciously accommodating in the light ones and uncompromising in the dark ones. Yet, with the help and grace of

God, for this goal we must strive.

NOTES

^{^1} D. L. Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978) 181.

^{^2} B. J. Nicholls, *Contextualization: A Theology of Gospel and Culture* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity, 1979) 74.

^{^3} H. M. Conn. "Theological Reflections on Contextualizing Christianity: How Far Do We Go?"(Unpubl. paper, 1977) 8.

^{^4} World Evangelism Lausanne Committee, *The Willowbank Report -- Gospel and Culture* (Wheaton: 1978) 8.

^{^5} Reischauer, Fairbank, Craig, *East Asia, Tradition and Transformation* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin. 1973) 345, 370-2. See also John M. L. Young, *By Foot to China* (Tokyo: Radio Press, 1984) 97-98.

^{^6} F. M. Basabe, *Religious Attitudes of Japanese Men* (Tokyo: C. E. Tuttle, 1968) 113, 117.

^{^7} *ibid.*, p.116-7.

^{^8} *ibid.*, p.113.

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ERRATA, CORRECTIONS, Greek/Hebrew texts

There is considerable inconsistency in style throughout these essays. Generally I have left things alone unless the meaning required a slight change. Typical changes:

- Tried to be consistent in end quote positioning – single words or short phrases have punctuation outside the quote. Not sure I got all instances
- Added comma or other punctuation when a sentence could be read ambiguously.
- Generally did NOT change spellings or hyphenations, even if somewhat irregular.
- Changed most transliterations as indicated below.
- Changed *many* small typos and omissions (only the major ones are noted below). I can only hope that the OCR didn't add as many more!

Warning: My OCR mistook many commas as periods and semicolons as colons. I tried to pick them up but probably missed some.

Special symbols: ^ = footnote; | = transliteration; √ = page number. These can be removed by a global edit.

Use Hebrew/Hebrew transliterations of <http://www.2letterlookup.com/>

Use Greek/Greek transliterations of <http://www.greekbible.com/>

p5 Contents TÔRÂ

p7 ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος καὶ σύνδουλος ἐν κυρίῳ, Col 4:7

p57 קַוַּמ |quwam ... קוֹלַם |qowlam.

59 jude -> judge

61 πληρῶν (|play-ro'-o)

"shoot" חָרַח (|choter) and a Branch נֶצֶר (|netser) in v1 and a Root שָׂרַשׁ (|shoresh)

62 עֲנִיָּה |anayah `anathowth Isa 10:30)

נָשָׂא הוֹשִׁיעָה |howsha `yah na' ("save us")

63-64 - אֶשָׂם |asham

66 sure guide for -> sure guide: for

76 [transliteration – no Hebrew text: not conformed]

82 |'iysh, "a man, ... " |ha'iysh, "the man" ... affix |-huw'

84 convival -> convivial

86 anyone! -> anymore!

89 "Ismaelite"-. "Ishmaelite"

91 Grammer -> Grammar

➔> 98/99 two references to footnote 36

110 הַחֲנֻכָּה or offering.

116 Hebrew word חֲדָשׁ

117 pharaoh reniged -> pharaoh reneged

121 word ... הַחֲנֻכָּה

לְקַהַל qahal is used which underlies the NT use of ἐκκλησία

131 iconolasts -> iconoclasts

136 Peter 4 [sic] -> 1 Peter 4:1 [reason: overly pedantic]

140 harrasment -> harassment

155 Greek word ἔργον

156 Matt 26:17 -> Matt 16:27 [Numerous greek words on pp156-159]

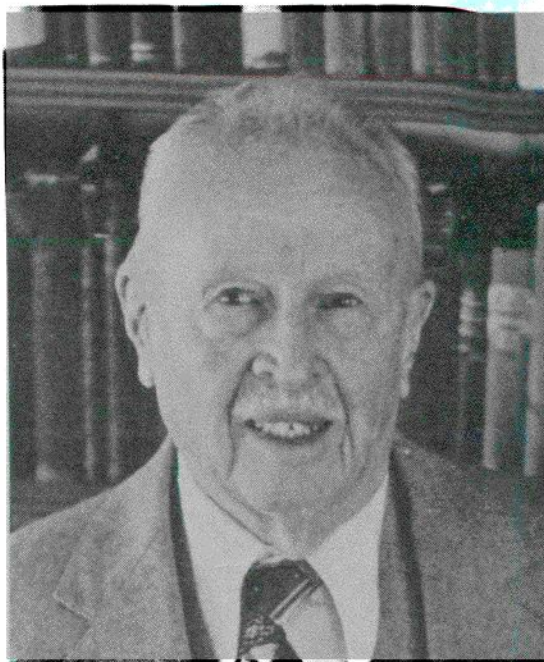
157 (Luke 15:15,19,21) -> (Luke 15:17,19)

157 ἀγοράζομαι -> ἀγοράζω (I don't think -mai is listed)

157 to do (ποιεῖν)" (John 17:4). (neither John 17:4 nor John 10:25 uses infinitive form, See John 5:27 for infinitive ποιεῖν)

158 (Luke 1:3) -> (Luke 1:2) Complaint: there are too many of these errors – including numerous small typos in the original text that are not listed here!

→>161 Reference to Footnote 18 appears to be missing (^17 on 159; ^19 on 162)
173 Missing references to Footnotes 8,9,10 – likely positions are indicated
164 κεδράντην -> κοδράντην
165 γαζοφυλακεῖον -> γαζοφυλάκιον
193 "critical date of Scripture." -> "critical data of Scripture."
=>195 Last Para, first line missing – inserted from Understanding the Bible, pg 78 (same passage): " The fifth step in the transmission of God's Word is that of the translation of"
202 special revelation -> special revelation
203 line 8 missing. Corrected per email from Gordon Lewis:
The reality that God has written the requirements of his moral laws on all human hearts (Rom 2:14-15) is reflected in the United Nations etc.
237 τῆς γῆς (*tes ges*, Rev 1: 7)
242 ἀποβολή αὐτῶν (*apobole auton*)
243 καταλλαγή (*katallage*) ... (2 Cor 5:14)->(2 Cor 5:18)
244 αὐτῶν (*auton*) word ἀπολύτρωσις (*apolytrosis*)
245-6 πλήρωμα (*pleroma*) (multiple times) ... γὰρ (*gar*)
247 הַלְלוּ הַלְלוּ (*halelu(w)*) (|| αἰνεῖτε, *ai'neite* Rom 15:11a). ... רָרַר הַלְלוּ שַׁבְּחֵהוּ (*shabbeh(u)hu(w)*) (|| ἐπαινεσάτωσαν, *epainesatosan* Rom 15:11)
258 predicted-> predicated
261 Irenaeus, note -> Irenaeus' note
275 Greek word πρωτόκτιστος Greek word πρωτότοκος
276 line 2: Footnote 9->^8
276 Hebrew word הַשַּׁחַח (*shachah*)
284-5 הַשַּׁחַח (*shachah*) (several places)



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Besides an extensive preaching, lecturing and writing career, Dr MacRae has taught at Westminster Theological Seminary (1929-37), Faith Theological Seminary (1937-71), and Biblical Theological Seminary (1971-).

THE GOSPEL OF ISAIAH

Allan A. MacRae

Published by Moody Press (Chicago, 1977, 192pp.)

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