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| Christadelphian EJournal |
|  |
| Of Biblical Interpretation |

**Vol. 5, No. 4, Oct 2011.**

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**Editorial**

Analytical exegetical writing that leads to exposition has declined in the last twenty-five years in the community, both in terms of quality and quantity. There was also greater critical engagement with scholarship in previous generations. Instead, there has been a corresponding increase in devotional writing, introductory writing, sentiment, and practical ethics. The EJournal addresses this imbalance. It has no ‘publishing committee’; there is no need for such a body. It has no ecclesial sponsor or ‘establishment’ status. It is not openly promoted and it relies on word of mouth for additional subscribers. It consists of a group of co-operating editors who like writing and write a lot.

This year we have introduced regular quarterly ‘columnists’ who have a brief to write about a thousand words in a subject area. Another columnist, J. Davies, will begin a column in January called “Analysis” for what will be the sixth year of this project. The thinking behind having columnists is the need for balance and variety. The balance that the EJournal seeks is one between pure scripture-interprets-scripture exegesis and writing that engages scholarship. It is easy to become unbalanced, especially when there are few editors with their own interests. Hence, the long term goal is to have a team of seven editors and several columnists of different ages. If some readers find one type of article of relatively little value (say an academic article), it is hoped that there is other material which is of value.

If devotional writing feeds the emotions, analytical writing feeds the understanding. The best analytical writing that has been produced in the community is ‘lost’ in the past in its magazines. In the UK this generally appeared in *The Testimony* and *The (New) Bible Student*. Certain authors have consistently produced insightful writing that ought to be preserved in the more permanent and accessible form of a book of collected essays, either as a multi-author volume or as a single author volume. For example, a selection of essays by E. Whittaker was rightly collected as a book, and this saved them from being lost in the back issues of *The Testimony*. We could reel off a list of half-a-dozen names whose essays *ought to be collected as books for easy access*, but we hope that this project might develop over the next few years. Most writing in magazines is ephemeral and for the moment (it can and should pass without being collected into books), but some of the past analytical writing needs to be preserved in books.

This issue sees the completion of another year. All things end as the world turns and the kingdom is not established, but God-willing the EJournal will publish next year. We have produced another “Annual” of the year’s issues (2011) which is now available from www.lulu.com/willowpublications (314 pp., Price £8.99+p&p).

**Dating Daniel (2)**

**T. Gaston**

**Introduction**

Having established in the first installment of this two-part article that the canonical status of Daniel pre-dates the traditional higher critical date (c. 165 BC), the question that we now have is what length of time we should allocate from the composition of Daniel to its canonical reception.

### Textual History

The manuscript evidence from Qumran is not the only method for fixing a *terminus ad quem* for the book of Daniel. The textual history of the book, primarily its various translations, also provides a method for identifying the footprints of the book. Scholars identify various translations and editions of Daniel and these are shown in Figure 1.

The earliest extant Greek translation (and almost certainly the first) of the book of Daniel is commonly known as the “Septuagint” (LXX) or “Old Greek” (OG-Dan). It is generally accepted that the OG-Dan translator worked from a Semitic Vorlage (source-text, i.e. OG-Vorlage in Figure 1). This Vorlage differed in several important ways from the MT (MT-type text). First, OG-Dan contains longer versions of chs. 4-6 than the MT. Secondly, OG-Dan contains the Apocryphal Additions (Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, the Prayer of the Three Children). The other differences between OG-Dan and the MT, though previous explained by theological bias, are now understood to be due to the OG-Vorlage.[[1]](#footnote-1) OG-Dan is generally dated to the late second century; the Additions, which undoubtedly were composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, predate this translation.

Around the second century AD the Old Greek text of Daniel was replaced in the Christian communities with the so-called “Theodotion” version (Th-Dan), named after its translator.[[2]](#footnote-2) Though ascribed to its eponymous translator, it is almost certain that the text seen in Th-Dan predates Theodotion’s translation of the OT. The reason for this conclusion is that we have citations of Daniel that closely compare with Th-Dan but they pre-date Theodotion.



Figure 1 – The Textual History of the Book of Daniel

A number of scholars regard some NT citations of Daniel as “Theodotionic”,[[3]](#footnote-3) but it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss this question.[[4]](#footnote-4) There are also a number of citations in the apocryphal work *Epistle of Baruch.*[[5]](#footnote-5)These citations in *Baruch* are difficult to explain as “independent faithfulness to the Hebrew Daniel 9” and so it is supposed that the text of Daniel witnessed in Th-Dan is older than *Baruch*.[[6]](#footnote-6)

It is generally recognized that OG-Dan is presupposed by Th-Dan;[[7]](#footnote-7) Di Lella explains Th-Dan as one of several recessions of OG-Dan (inc. “Proto-Lucian”).[[8]](#footnote-8) Th-Dan is frequently closer to the MT than OG-Dan; and significantly, Th-Dan includes short versions of chs 4-6 that are independent from OG-Dan. It is therefore likely that the translator had access to a Hebrew Vorlage, similar to the MT. As P. M. Bogaret concludes, Th-Dan is sometimes a new translation and sometimes a revision of OG-Dan.[[9]](#footnote-9)

Extant copies of Th-Dan contain the Additions, placing Susanna before ch. 1 and Bel and the Dragon after ch. 12. However, it is likely that Th-Dan did not originally contain these additions. Further, Th-Dan translates the divine names differently in the Additions than from the rest of the text, while OG-Dan translates them consistently. Di Lella writes:

This difference proves that originally Th-Dan lacked the supplement in chapter 3 as well as the stories of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon. For these portions Th-Dan provides a recession of OG-Dan based on a substratum that itself is revised. [[10]](#footnote-10)

Th-Dan is generally thought to have originated from Palestine, given its provenance, and so it was likely that the Additions were known in first century Palestinian Judaism.

This information should not lead us to doubt the accuracy of our present versions – as we have seen, the MT is likely to be very close to the Autograph, as confirmed by comparison with the DSS. It is the textual history of the Greek versions that interests us as these recessions imply the passage of years.

Using the citations of Th-Dan in *Baruch* we can determine a date for Th-Dan. The date of composition of *Baruch* varies widely from late second century BC to mid-first century AD.[[11]](#footnote-11) Looking at just the known recessions between the *Baruch* quotations and the Autograph and we can identify at least four time-periods of undetermined length (A-D) that push back the date of the Autograph (see Figure 2).

**Auto-graph**

**OG-Dan**

**Th-Dan**

***Baruch* quotations**

**c. 55 AD**

A

B

C

D

**OG-Vorlage**

Figure 2 – Versions between Autograph and *Baruch* citations

Period A: Time from composition to OG-Vorlage recession

Period B: Time from OG-Vorlage to OG-Dan translation

Period C: Time from OG-Dan to Th-Dan revision and translation

Period D: Time from Th-Dan to *Baruch* citations

If we posit a date for *Baruch* c. 50 AD and if we allow only fifty years for each recession stage and then a composition of the Autograph, c. 165 BC might be plausible. However, we have good reason for considering fifty years to be overly optimistic. If the author of *Baruch* is using Th-Dan as an accepted translation of the OT then this implies that this translation was not only known but received. Similarly, if the existence of Th-Dan implies that OG-Dan was well-known and widely received, but also widely deemed to be substandard – all this takes time. If we allow an only slightly more generous seventy-five years for each recession stage then a composition of the Autograph c.165 BC is impossible. Equally, if the date of composition for *Baruch* can be shown to be earlier than c.50 AD then **a composition of the Autograph c.165 BC is impossible**.

Conclusion: Comparable *Baruch* quotations fix a *terminus ad quem* of c.50 AD for Th-Dan

**Literary References**

Another way of identifying a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of Daniel is to identify comparable quotations and allusions in other texts, assuming they can be dated with a degree of certainty. We have already noted that Daniel is cited frequently in the NT and other Christian writers. It has sometimes been asserted that Daniel could not have been written in the sixth century because it is not referred to in Jewish works until the first century. It is, however, important to point out that we do not have copies of many Jewish works written between the fifth and second centuries, so even if this were true, it would not be a particularly strong argument against the early date. In fact, we will see that literary references that can be found in Jewish works attest to the wide popularity of the book of Daniel and make a second century date improbable.

*Dead Sea Scrolls*

Eight incomplete manuscripts of the book of Daniel have been discovered at Qumran, the earliest dating from c. 125 BC.[[12]](#footnote-12) It is likely that each manuscript originally contained the complete book, except 4QDane which may have contained only the prayer of chapter 9.[[13]](#footnote-13) All twelve chapters are attested, though not in full; none of the Additions are attested. The three manuscript containing chapters 4-6 witness to the shorter versions found in the MT.[[14]](#footnote-14) The distribution of Hebrew and Aramaic matches that preserved in the MT. The text at Qumran is largely consistent with the MT and there are few significant textual variants, although E. Ulrich notes that “the OG frequently agrees with the Qumran reading against the MT”.[[15]](#footnote-15)

As well as the eight Daniel manuscripts found at Qumran, there were also discovered several other manuscripts that refer to the book of Daniel or that are based upon its stories.

* **The War Scroll (c. 50 BC – 50 AD)**. Several copies of the War Scroll were found at Qumran, both in cave 1 (1QM, 1Q33) and in cave 4 (4Q471, 4Q491-7), which demonstrates how popular this document was. The text itself describes the final battle against the Gentiles, particularly the Kittim, and also contains many rules about military preparation and conduct. The War Scroll makes many allusions to the book of Daniel. G. Vermes presents the thesis that this work drew its inspiration from Dan 11:40-12:3, the final battle, and was later expanded with other material.[[16]](#footnote-16) Vermes also refers to the fact that the several manuscripts of the War Scroll found at Qumran differ from one another. This shows that there wasn’t a single version of the War Scroll. Over time changes had been made leading to the existence of several different redactions or versions.
* **Florilegium (4Q174)**. This text dates from c. 25 BC.[[17]](#footnote-17) It is a midrash about the Last Days. It writes of these times saying:

This is the time of which it is written in the book of Daniel the Prophet: ‘But the wicked shall do wickedly and shall not understand, but the righteous shall purify themselves and make themselves white’. The people who know God shall be strong.[[18]](#footnote-18)

* **Pseudo-Daniel in Aramaic (4Q243-5)**. This is collection of three small fragments seem to be based upon the Daniel story.
* **The Four Kingdoms (4Q552-3)**. This Aramaic work is based upon the vision of Daniel 7. Here the four kingdoms are not represented by beasts but by trees.
* **Aramaic Apocalypse (4Q246)**. A particularly significant text based upon the visions of Daniel 7. What makes this text so interesting is that it uses the words “son of God”, though it is not clear whether this figure is meant to be a saviour or a blasphemous tyrant.
* **4Q551 or 4QDanSus**.This is very fragmentary text and is therefore difficult to interpret. It is probably not part of the apocryphal Susanna story preserved in the Septuagint. It may be based upon that story or may be an antecedent of the Susanna story.
* **Melchizedek (11Q13)**. This text (c. 50 BC) is about a heavenly saviour identified as Melchizedek who is to come and proclaim freedom for the captives in the Last Days. He is described as “the Anointed one of the spirit, concerning whom Dan[iel] said …”. Though the text is damaged, it is likely that it refers to Dan 9:25.

The eight manuscripts of the book of Daniel attested to the popularity of the book with the Essenes living at Qumran between the second century BC and the first century AD. These manuscripts give us broader picture. The quotations in Melchizedek and Florilegium show that by the first century BC (at the latest) the Essenes regarded the book of Daniel as Scripture. By the first century AD the Essenes had created new stories and commentaries based upon Daniel, including several redactions of the War Scroll. The idea that the Essenes only read the book of Daniel for the first time in mid second century is made improbable by the wealth of literature they would then have produced in such a short space of time.

*Second Century BC*

The texts found at Qumran are not the only texts from this period that refer to the book of Daniel. The first book of Maccabees quotes explicitly from Daniel when it says:

Now the fifteenth day of the month Casleu, in the hundred and forty fifth year, they set up the ‘abomination of desolation’ upon the altar, and built idol altars throughout the cities of Judah.[[19]](#footnote-19)

And again:

 Daniel for his innocence was delivered from the mouth of lions.[[20]](#footnote-20)

Scholars generally agree that I Maccabees was written around 100 BC. The last recorded event is when John Hyrcanus becomes king, which took place 134 BC, and so it is likely that I Maccabees was composed shortly after this date.

As already noted, OG-Dan (and Th-Dan) includes three additions to the book of Daniel not included in the Hebrew version, or amongst any of the manuscripts found at Qumran. These are called the Prayer of Azariah (sometimes called The Song of the Three Children), Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon. These stories are generally recognized to be additions to Daniel, not only because they are not found in the MT (or DSS) but also because they are inconsistent with the rest of the book and their addition disrupts the order of the other material. Scholarly consensus dates these additions before 100 BC, the approximate date of their translation into Greek in OG-Dan. Some scholars have looked for references to the crisis preceding the Maccabean revolt in these additions,[[21]](#footnote-21) which would imply a date for these additions contemporary with the proposed date for Daniel itself.

In *Baruch*, the author refers to Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar as being father and son and as living at the same time. This historical inaccuracy is probably based upon a misunderstanding of Daniel 5, which is sometimes taken to imply that Nebuchadnezzar was the biological father of Belshazzar. There is no consensus regarding the date of *Baruch*, though many scholars date it to the first century BC on the assumption that Daniel was composed in the second century. Were Daniel not dated so late then Baruch could be dated earlier.

Conclusion: Citations and allusions in Jewish literature fix a *terminus ad quem* of late second century BC for the book of Daniel

*Third/Fourth Century BC*

One tantalizing piece of evidence from Qumran is the fragments that have been found of the book of Enoch. One of these fragments, “Astronomical Enoch” (4Q208), has been carbon-dated to 186-92 BC.[[22]](#footnote-22) Given 4Q208 has been dated paleographically to around 200 BC, these two methods agree on an early second century for this fragment.

What makes this fragment so significant is that the Ethiopic book of Enoch contains a lot of material that alludes to the book of Daniel, particularly its use of the imagery of “the Son of Man” (Dan 7:13). In this form, the book of Enoch must have been completed after the book of Daniel, and so **if** the fragments discovered at Qumran attested to this form then this would provide decisive evidence against the second century date for the book of Daniel.

Unfortunately the fragments discovered at Qumran make up only a small amount of the text of the book of Enoch and many of the fragments are too small for translation.[[23]](#footnote-23) The fragments do not contain any of the Son of Man material, while the Astronomical sections are much longer at Qumran than in the Ethiopic. Scholars speculate that the book, though perhaps originally composed as early as 400 BC, underwent several revisions over its history and did not take its final form until after the completion of the New Testament.[[24]](#footnote-24)

Conclusion: If discovered, allusions in Qumran Enoch would fix a *terminus ad quem* of early second century BC for the book of Daniel (tentative)

*Fifth Century BC*

The book of Nehemiah was written towards the end of the fifth century BC. Nehemiah is an exile in court of the Persian king Artaxerxes. Distressed by news from Jerusalem of those Jews who have returned, Nehemiah prays to God. H. A. Whittaker observes regarding this chapter:

When Nehemiah prayed for the peace of Jerusalem, he closely modeled his prayer on that of Daniel, so presumably he already had a copy of the Book of Daniel included in his Bible![[25]](#footnote-25)

Comparison of the two prayers demonstrates their connection:

And I said, ‘O LORD God of heaven, the great and awesome God who keeps covenant and steadfast love with those who love him and keep his commandments …’ Neh 1:5 (ESV)

And I prayed to the LORD my God, and made confession, and said, ‘O Lord, great and awesome God, who keeps covenant and steadfast love with those who love him and keep his commandments …’ Dan 9:4 (ESV)

Both men confess their sin and the sins of the nation of Israel. Both men refer to the curses laid down in the Law of Moses. And both men pray for the restoration of the nation of Israel.

Nehemiah did not copy his prayer word for word from Daniel; he tailored it to his own situation. His prayer is also shorter than Daniel’s, which probably indicates that Daniel’s is the original. However it is possible that both men based their prayers upon a traditional prayer-format, which may explain their similarities.

Conclusion: Parallels in Nehemiah may indicate a *terminus ad quem* of late fifth century BC for the book of Daniel (tentative)

*Sixth Century BC*

The prophet Zechariah was one of the Jews who returned to Jerusalem after the exile with Zerubbabel to rebuild the Temple.[[26]](#footnote-26) In the book named after him there are recorded the account of a series of visions which Zechariah received. One of these is clearly based upon Daniel’s vision of the four beasts.

And I lifted my eyes and saw, and behold, four horns! And I said to the angel who talked with me, ‘What are these?’ And he said to me, ‘These are the horns that have scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem”. Then the LORD showed me four craftsmen. And I said, ‘What are these coming to do?’ He said, ‘These are the horns that scattered Judah, so that no one raised his head. And these have come to terrify them, to cast down the horns of the nations who lifted up their horns against the land of Judah to scatter it’. Zech 1:18-21 (ESV)

As in Daniel’s vision, and the Four Kingdoms from Qumran, here we have a series of four kingdoms of the Gentiles. The use of horns as a symbol of kingdoms is the equivalent to the use of this symbol in Daniel.

Conclusion: Parallels in Zechariah may indicate a *terminus ad quem* of late sixth century BC for the book of Daniel (tentative)

**Summary and Findings**

In this two-part study we have aimed to identify fixed points (*terminus ad quem*) from which to calculate the latest possible date for the composition of the book of Daniel. We have identified at least two fixed points that provide a *terminus ad quem* for the book itself:

**Position 1: 4QDanc fixes a *terminus ad quem* of 125 BC for the book of Daniel**

**Position 2: Citations and allusions in Jewish literature fix a *terminus ad quem* of late second century BC for the book of Daniel**

Both these fixed points presuppose the canonical reception of the book of Daniel and implies the following time-period:

**Period X: Time from composition to canonical reception**

Therefore we can define the calculation for the latest possible date for the composition of book of Daniel as follows:

 (Position 1 or Position 2) – (Period X) = the latest possible date

In other words, if Period X is longer than forty years then the late date (165 BC) for the composition of the book of Daniel is impossible.

We have also identified a fixed point that provides a *terminus ad quem* for a Greek translation of Daniel:

**Position 3: *Baruch* citations fix a *terminus ad quem* of c.50 AD for Th-Dan**

As we have seen, this date presupposes four time periods between the recessions that led to Th-Dan translation of Daniel:

**Period A: Time from composition to OG-Vorlage recession**

**Period B: Time from OG-Vorlage to OG-Dan translation**

**Period C: Time from OG-Dan to Th-Dan revision and translation**

**Period D: Time from Th-Dan to *Baruch* citations**

Therefore we can define a second calculation for the latest possible date for the composition of the book of Daniel as follows:

(Position 3) – (Period A) – (Period B) – (Period C) – (Period D) = the latest possible date

If these four periods were longer than an average of 52.5 years then the late date (165 BC) for the composition of the book of Daniel is impossible.

We have also identified three tentative *terminus ad quem* any one of which, if confirmed, would necessarily rule out the late date.

**Position 4: If discovered, allusions in Qumran Enoch would fix a *terminus ad quem* of early second century BC for the book of Daniel (tentative)**

**Position 5: Parallels in Nehemiah may indicate a *terminus ad quem* of late fifth century BC for the book of Daniel (tentative)**

**Position 6: Parallels in Zechariah may indicate a *terminus ad quem* of late sixth century BC for the book of Daniel (tentative)**

It is hoped that future research will identify a sound methodology upon which to calculate the probably length of Periods A-D and Period X, which would provide definitive proof against the late date hypothesis and force critical scholars to consider the historical and linguistic evidence upon which the early date is established.

The Holy Spirit in Isaiah

A. Perry

**Introduction**

The purpose of this article is to answer the question: who or what is the holy Spirit mentioned in Isaiah 63? The proposals that can be found in the commentaries are as follows: the psyche of the Deity; the angel of the presence; the third person of the Trinity; and the spirit of God in Moses.

**Oracle Units**

A new oracle is recorded in Isa 63:7-14; it is from the watchmen on the city walls; one was inspired to utter the oracle and Isaiah has recorded it, or Isaiah may have seen it in vision and given it to the watchmen (*Tg. Isa* 63:7). We know this because it uses the verb “to mention” (rkz, v. 7) from Isaiah 62,

I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, *which* shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that make mention (rkz) of the Lord, keep not silence… Isa 62:6 (KJV)

Once we see this intertextual link[[27]](#footnote-27) and observe that a herald on the city walls would typically announce, “Who is this that is coming?”, we can see how and why the two oracle units of Isa 63:1-14 are positioned at this point: they are part of the chronological sequencing in Isaiah.

The second oracle (Isa 63:7-14) opens with a natural response of gratitude for the salvation of the Lord on behalf of Judah for victory over Edom (Isa 63:1-6); however, the remembrance is not all praise. The remembrancer is taking up the general command of Deut 32:7, and more particularly the command of Isa 47:9,

Remember (rkz) the former things of old: for I *am* God, and *there is* none else; *I am* God, and *there is* none like me… Isa 46:9 (KJV)

The verb translated “mention” in v. 7 is the common verb “to remember” and it also occurs in v. 11,

Then he remembered (rkz, mentioned) the days of old, Moses, *and* his people, *saying*, where *is* he that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherd of his flock? Where *is* he that put his holy Spirit within him? Isa 63:11 (KJV)

The repetition of the verb “mention” in v. 11 helps to identify and distinguish the watchman’s words from those of the narrator (Isaiah) reporting upon the watchman.

The oracle unit opens in the first person, “I will mention” (v. 7), and the reader is expected to pick up the connection with Isa 62:6. The watchman speaks of Yahweh and what he has done for his people up until the end of v. 10. At this point the voice changes to Isaiah who is recording what the watchmen is remembering and mentioning: Isaiah says, “Then he [the watchman] remembered the days of old”. Isaiah is highlighting the function of the watchmen—to remember and mention the Lord.

What the watchman now remembers continues in v. 11b with questions,

Where *is* he that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherd of his flock? Where *is* he that put his holy Spirit within him? That led *them* by the right hand of Moses with his glorious arm, dividing the water before them, to make himself an everlasting name? That led them through the deep, as an horse in the wilderness, *that* they should not stumble? Isa 63:11b-13 (KJV)

This is a reminiscence of the exodus from Egypt, spoken, but rhetorically asking where Yahweh (‘he’) was in the present situation. The “answer” concludes the unit,

As a beast goeth down into the valley, the Spirit of the Lord caused him to rest: so didst thou lead thy people, to make thyself a glorious name. Isa 63:14 (KJV)

The answer here uses the common motif of giving a victorious leader *rest* from his enemy (e.g. Deut 12:10; 25:19; Josh 14:15; 2 Sam 7:11; 1 Chron 22:9; Est 9:16; Ps 94:13; Isa 14:3). The switch from the plural “them” in v. 13 to the singular “him” (v. 14) is a shift to talking about what the Spirit of the Lord did through Moses. The hope being expressed is that the answer to the question “Where is Yahweh?” is that “The Spirit of Yahweh is *still* in the Redeemer-Conqueror” of Isa 63:1-6. In the next oracle unit (Isa 63:15-16), the Conqueror will also ask the same question: Why is Yahweh’s mercy restrained?

**Loving-kindness**

The remembrancer begins with the mention of the lovingkindness of the Lord,

I will mention the lovingkindnesses of the Lord, and the praises of the Lord, according to all that the Lord hath bestowed on us, and the great goodness toward the house of Israel, which he hath bestowed on them according to his mercies, and according to the multitude of his lovingkindnesses. Isa 63:7 (KJV)

The RSV renders the Hebrew “lovingkindness” as “steadfast love” and the idea is of faithfulness to the covenant (Ps 89:34). The use of “house of Israel” is rare in Isaiah (4x) and the echo here, in view of the wine motif of vv. 1-6, is “For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts *is* the house of Israel” (Isa 5:7).

In the KJV, RSV and NASB, the remembrancer appears to give a reason for Yahweh’s lovingkindness,

For he said, surely they *are* my people,[[28]](#footnote-28) children *that* will not lie: so he was their Saviour. Isa 63:8 (KJV)

However, the Hebrew has a conjunction (w rather than yk) and we can equally read, “And he said” (following the LXX), which can then be taken as a comment by the narrator on what the remembrancer is saying. This ties in with the syntax of v. 8 and we can see that the narrator’s comments are part of the structure of the oracle: “And *he* said…then *he* remembered” (vv. 8, 11).[[29]](#footnote-29)

The actual words of the remembrancer in v. 8 begin with the recollection of the story of the exodus:

Surely they *are* my people, children *that* will not lie: so he was their Saviour. In all their affliction he was afflicted,[[30]](#footnote-30) and the angel of his presence saved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bare them, and carried them all the days of old. Isa 63:8-9 (KJV)

God expresses the hope while the people are still in Egypt and as he goes about being their saviour that they will not lie in the future. The idea of lying is that of dealing falsely according to the terms of a covenant (Gen 21:23; Lev 19:11; Ps 44:17), and so God is expressing the hope that the people will not “lie” against the covenant that he intends to make at Sinai. However, as the remembrancer then states, the people did rebel: “they rebelled and vexed his holy Spirit” (v. 10). The contrast between “will not lie” and “they rebelled” is anticipated in the earlier lament, “This is a rebellious people, lying children, children that will not hear the law of the Lord” (Isa 30:9).

The remembrancer is mentioning the covenant faithfulness of Yahweh as he has seen this demonstrated in the victory in Edom (vv. 1, 7; cf. Ps 89:34), but by implication, he is also mentioning the tendency for Judah to be unfaithful and deal falsely (v. 8; cf. Ps 44:17) in respect of the covenant. This is the implication of the overtone in “Surely they are my people” which quotes the covenant formula, “You will be my people and I will be your God” (Deut 29:13). The implied doubt is expressed in the addition of “surely” ($a).

**Angel of the Presence**

The remembrancer affirms that Yahweh was their saviour (v. 8, [Xy) and with the same common verb then states that the “angel of his presence saved ([Xy) them” (v. 9). This echoes the definitive event of the Red Sea crossing, “the Lord saved ([Xy) Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians” (Exod 14:30). This was an event in which an angel was pivotally involved (Exod 14:19).[[31]](#footnote-31)

The definite description “the angel of his presence” is constructed from Exod 33:14-15 (“presence”) and Exod 23:20-23 (“my angel”). Isaiah is recording an interpretation of Exod 33:14-15 that suggests Yahweh’s presence among the people was mediated by an angel. Moses had invited Yahweh to make his presence “go” with them (Exod 33:14-15; cf. Deut 4:37), and this echoes the tradition in which Yahweh had said that his angel would “go” (Exod 23:20) before the people. Thus, the Isaianic text is picking up this echo and formulating it in terms of the expression, “the angel of his presence”.

The action of leading the nation from Egypt to the land is attributed both to Yahweh and to the angel of his presence (Exod 33:14-15; Num 20:16; Deut 4:37; Jud 2:1). These Scriptural texts do not present such co-involvement as occasional and episodic; rather they imply that actions and events could be attributed to either party insofar as the angel of the Lord manifested Yahweh.

**Holy Spirit**

An equation between “the angel of his presence” and “his holy Spirit” is often supported with an appeal to the flow of the statements in vv. 9-10,

In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bare them, and carried[[32]](#footnote-32) them all the days of old. But they[[33]](#footnote-33) rebelled, and vexed his holy Spirit: therefore he was turned to be their enemy, *and* he fought against them. Isa 63:9-10 (KJV)

These statements seemingly focus on two persons: first, Yahweh and the angel of his presence and then, secondly, Yahweh and his holy Spirit. The stress carried from v. 9 to v. 10 is on “his”—*his* presence and *his* holy Spirit.

However, there are alternative suppositions to consider: “his holy Spirit” is a reference to,

(1) the psyche of the deity;

(2) God’s spirit as it is in an individual.

Psalm 51 (v. 11) makes a connection between ‘presence’ and God’s holy Spirit that directly affects David, but there is no mention of the angel of the presence. The mention of ‘presence’ in Isaiah 63 trades on this linkage in Psalm 51 and we should look for an understanding of ‘his holy Spirit’ that relates to an individual.

This question can be decided through a study of the verb translated “to vex” (bc[, Isa 63:10, (KJV)) and the word “within” (vdq, Isa 63:11 (KJV)).

**Vexing/Grieving**

The verb “to grieve/vex” (bc[) is a Piel form. There are only three occurrences of the Piel form (Job 10:8; Ps 56:6; Isa 63:10). The psalm uses it in the sense of ‘distorting’ words (NASB) but ‘distort’ could also be the sense in Job if we translate the verse as,

Thy hands have distorted me and made me altogether, and wouldst thou destroy me? Job 10:8 (NASB revised)

Job is affirming that God had not only made him but had also distorted him in his physical affliction. Such a negative physical sense for the Piel in the psalm and in Job is not unrelated to an emotional use of the verb meaning ‘vex/grieve’ since vexing and grieve can indeed lead to bodily and facial distortion.

The Qal form of bc[ has three occurrences and these appear to imply an emotional effect (1 Kgs 1:6; 1 Chron 4:10; Isa 54:6). The Hiphil form occurs twice (Ps 78:40; Jer 44:19), and of these Ps 78:40 is the best indicator to the meaning of bc[in Isa 63:10 as this psalm recounts the same episode as Isaiah but with the Hiphil form:

How oft did they provoke (hrm) him in the wilderness, *and* grieve (bc[) him in the desert! Ps 78:40 (KJV)

This connection would straightforwardly support the interpretation that ‘his holy Spirit’ was the psyche of the Deity were it not for the question as to why Isaiah has ‘grieved his holy Spirit’ instead of just ‘grieved him’ like the Psalm. A simple equation between ‘his holy Spirit’ and God’s psyche does not explain the variation from ‘grieved him’ to ‘grieved his holy Spirit’. Alongside this point, we should also factor in NT interpretation from the quotation[[34]](#footnote-34) of Isaiah in Eph 4:30,

And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption. Eph 4:30 (KJV)

Here, Paul takes the semantic value of possession in ‘his’ and converts its representation to ‘of God’ to give ‘grieve not the holy Spirit of God’. The question reasserts itself as to why Paul has not written ‘grieve not God’, and thereby picked up Ps 78:40 as his background text rather than Isaiah 63. What we clearly need is an explanation for the use of ‘his holy Spirit’ as the object of ‘grieve/vex’ that allows us to see a reference to the psyche of God but explains why we do not simply have ‘grieved/vexed him’. The clue lies in v. 11 which identifies the reference of ‘his holy Spirit’ as something shared between God and Moses.

In v. 11 we read that “his holy Spirit” was either “among them” (RSV, NASB) or “within him” (KJV). If we follow the KJV, the holy Spirit is within Moses and this means that the holy Spirit in Moses is grieved. Is this an explanation of why Isaiah takes Ps 78:40 and ‘grieve him’, transforming this into ‘grieve his holy Spirit’—because he wants to say that both Moses and Yahweh were grieved?

**Within**

The RSV and NASB render v. 11 differently to the KJV:

Then he remembered the days of old, Moses, *and* his people, *saying*, where *is* he that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherd of his flock? Where *is* he that put his holy Spirit within him (wbrqb)? Isa 63:11 (KJV)

Then his people remembered the days of old, of Moses. Where is he who brought them up out of the sea with the shepherds of his flock? Where is he who put his holy Spirit in the midst of them (wbrqb)… Isa 63:11 (NASB)

Then he remembered the days of old, of Moses his servant. Where is he who brought up out of the sea the shepherds of his flock? Where is he who put in the midst of them (wbrqb) his holy Spirit… Isa 63:11 (RSV)

The KJV has “put his holy Spirit within him”, whereas the RSV has “put in the midst of them his holy Spirit” and the NASB varies this trivially with “put his holy Spirit in the midst of them”. The argument in favour of the NASB and RSV is that the singular suffix of wbrqb has a plural sense following the pattern of usage in Num 14:11, Deut 31:16, and Josh 24:5, where “the people” are in focus. It is said that the people are in focus from Isa 63:8 onwards. Thus, this language echoes the presence of Yahweh among the people (wbrqb, Exod 34:10), albeit a presence mediated by an angel.

However, if we instead respect the singularity of the pronominal suffix in the Hebrew (“him”), which is its overwhelming usage in the MT, the KJV would be correct because the narrator has also mentioned a singular figure—Moses. On the KJV reading, ‘his holy Spirit’ is within Moses: it is the holy Spirit in Moses that is also vexed/grieved. This would make the language a **personifying** use of “holy Spirit” for what Moses and Yahweh have in common.

**Moses**

The remembrancer on the city walls is referring to the history of Israel: “Then he remembered the days of old: Moses, his people”—Isaiah specifies “days of old” to be about “Moses, his people”. The two choices for understanding what he is referring to are the rebellion at the entry to the land (Numbers 14) and the rebellion at the second “waters of Meribah” incident (Numbers 20).

The rebellion of the Israelites at the entry to the land is against the Lord, causing the glory of the Lord to appear in the tabernacle (Num 14:9). The Lord speaks to Moses, “How long will this people provoke me?” (Num 14:11). Moses’ appeal is to God’s reputation and to the fact that he was “among” (brq) the people (Num 14:14-16). The focus of the episode is the provocation of Yahweh rather than any hurt caused to Moses. Further, it is Yahweh who is said to be among the people rather than Moses. Some commentators have proposed that Isaiah picks up on this use of “among” from Num 14:14-16 in his phrase “put in the midst of them his holy Spirit”. However, the weakness of this choice for the remembrancer’s words lies in the paucity of lexical echoes to the whole episode. A better choice is the rebellion at the second “waters of Meribah” incident where Moses is to the foreground.

**Psalms 78 and 106**

Isaiah 63 gives prominence to Moses and makes the point that the holy Spirit was put within him. It picks up the verb ‘to grieve/vex’ from Ps 78:40 which relates to Yahweh but varies its use by stating that ‘they vexed/grieved his holy Spirit’ and thereby includes Moses. But we also find further explanation for this variation in Isaiah’s use of Ps 106:32-33 which refers to Moses’ **own spirit**. This text is a relevant connection because references to Moses in connection with ‘spirit’—any ‘spirit’—are rare and consist of Numbers 11, Psalm 106 and Isaiah 63. Isaiah is making a point about the holy Spirit within Moses in contrast to Moses’ own spirit:

They angered him also at the waters of strife, so that it went ill with Moses for their sakes: Because they provoked (hrm) his spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips. Ps 106:32-33 (KJV)

The rebels at Kadesh, the second “waters of Meribah” incident, were “provokers” to Moses (Num 20:10, 24). The contrasting connection to be made here is between “provoked his spirit” and “vexed his holy Spirit”. The use of ‘his holy Spirit’ in Isaiah is a contrasting observation to that in Psalm 106.

In Psalm 106, Moses’ spirit was provoked and he spoke unadvisedly. His being provoked is comparable to Yahweh being provoked of which we read in Ps 78:40 but the reaction is different. Yahweh was provoked but only Moses spoke unadvisedly—Yahweh was, instead, grieved. We might say that Moses’ human nature got the better of him.[[35]](#footnote-35)

This is not to say that Moses did not have the holy Spirit nor that it was not grieved. Moses had the Spirit (Num 11:17, 25)[[36]](#footnote-36) in addition to his own spirit. Rather, Yahweh being grieved by the rebelliousness of the people is matched by Moses being grieved. Isaiah takes what happened with Moses and ‘his spirit’ and associates grieving with ‘holy’ spirit in Moses.

Such a holy Spirit contrasts with the rebellious Israelites who did not have the right ‘spirit’ but a ‘provoking’ or rebellious one (hrm, Ps 78:8). There was such a holy spirit within Moses but his own spirit was provoked into striking the rock (i.e. made rebellious like the Israelites). The failure in the episode was about holiness because Moses did not sanctify or ‘make holy’ (vdq) the Lord before the Israelites (Num 27:14), even though he had the holy (vdq) Spirit. The remembrancer is therefore striking an ironic recollection of the Waters of Meribah.

The rebellion at Kadesh is noted in other Israelite traditions (Num 27:14; Deut 33:8) and would be a likely recollection for a remembrancer juxtaposing rebellion against redemption. After the rebellion, the Lord fought against Israel in their battle with Arad (Num 21:1), and this is recollected by the remembrancer in the words, “therefore he was turned to be their enemy” (Isa 63:10).

We can see that one of the “shepherds of his flock” was Moses:

Where *is* he that brought them up out of the sea with the shepherds[[37]](#footnote-37) of his flock? Where *is* he that put his holy Spirit within him? Isa 63:11 (KJV revised)

Yahweh brought the people up out of the Red Sea *with* the shepherds of his flock (cf. Num 27:17-18; Pss 77:20; 78:52), one of whom was Moses in whom there was his holy Spirit.

Our conclusion therefore is that the holy Spirit should not be equated with the Angel of the Presence.[[38]](#footnote-38) It should be equated with what was put within Moses, what was shared with God, and what was grieved in both; **what we have here is a personification of the Spirit** (rather than a hypostasis or a being).

The text is introducing information about Moses and the Spirit of God in him that aligns him with Ps 78:40 and gives a contrasting point to the failure of his own spirit noted in Ps 106:32-33. It secures the contrast by using the word ‘holy’ for the spirit, because the failure of Moses’ own spirit according to Num 27:14 is a failure “to make [Yahweh] holy”. There is therefore no basis here in Isaiah 63 for any doctrine of the Holy Spirit that is Trinitarian or which attempts to explain the personal language in the NT in relation to the Holy Spirit as angelic. Instead, both Isaiah 63 and Psalm 51 use the expression ‘holy Spirit’ when referring to **what is shared** between individuals and God.

**Spirit of the Lord**

A linkage between the Angel of the Lord and the Spirit of the Lord could be made for Isa 63:9-14, but scholars have disagreed as to whether the oracle identifies the “holy Spirit” and/or the “Spirit of the Lord” as the “Angel of the Lord”. In the light of these opposite opinions, some discussion is necessary.

The close proximity of “Spirit of the Lord” in Isa 63:14 to “holy Spirit” in Isa 63:10-11 has suggested identity of reference. The contextual reference implied by the pronominal suffix “his” in “his holy Spirit” implies “of the Lord” and supports such an identity claim. However, the text offers Moses as the one in whom the Spirit dwells.

The key idea here is “leading”,

That led *them* by the right hand of Moses…That led them through the deep[[39]](#footnote-39)…As a beast goeth down into the valley, the Spirit of the Lord caused him to rest: so didst thou lead thy people, to make thyself a glorious name. Isa 63:11-14 (KJV)

The RSV and NASB more accurately reflect the Hebrew and give,

Who caused his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses, who divided the waters before them to make for himself an everlasting name... Isa 63:12 (NASB)

But the clause is better as,

Who caused his splendid arm to walk in relation to Moses’ right hand…the Spirit of the Lord caused him to rest… (v. 14)[[40]](#footnote-40)

This hypostatization of the Arm of the Lord identifies Moses as the Arm of the Lord that delivered the people. The preposition “at” here (l) means “in respect of” or “in relation to”: God caused his glorious arm to walk in relation to the right hand of Moses. This was pre-eminently seen in the dividing of the Red Sea as Moses lifted up his hand; the people then “walked” across on dry land.

The use of the motif of the Arm of the Lord in relation to Moses is all about deliverance and presenting Moses as a deliverer. It connects with the use of the motif in relation to the Anonymous Conqueror (Isa 51:9; 52:10; 53:159:16; 62:8; 63:5). The motif has been present in Isaiah 40-66 when deliverance has been promised (Isa 40:10; 48:14[[41]](#footnote-41)).

There is a parallelism here to note:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Who | caused to walk | the Arm of the Lord |
| Spirit of the | Lord | caused to rest | the people |

The Spirit of the Lord is not the Arm of the Lord. Instead, the use of the expression “Spirit of the Lord” alludes to its use in relation to the judges who (like Moses) delivered the people (e.g. Jud 3:10; 6:34; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6). The Spirit of the Lord in Moses caused the people to rest, and it was in this way (“so”, !k) that Yahweh led the people. This rest was the Promised Land to which they had been led (Ps 95:11). The simile offered is that the Spirit of the Lord (in Moses, the shepherd) led the people *as* the domestic beast (cattle) is led down into the valley to drink of the river and graze in richer pasture. The emphasis on Moses’ leadership is poignant if there was a crisis of leadership in Judah with regard to the Anonymous Conqueror (this is implied in the following oracle unit, Isa 63:15-64:12).

The remembrancer is declaring that the Lord *caused* his arm to walk in relation to Moses, and the Spirit of the Lord in Moses *caused* the people (the beast in the simile) to rest. Isaiah’s argument and that of the remembrancer is that the rest the people should have been seeking after 701 was the rest that God had given them when they first **occupied the land** (Exod 33:14; Deut 12:9; Ps 95:11). If they were to gain this rest, the army at Jerusalem could not remain inactive—it needed to go out and wreak vengeance on God’s enemies with the Anonymous Conqueror. (The reference to the Spirit of the Lord is made precisely because it was claimed by the Anonymous Conqueror in Isa 61:1.)

The mention of rest could be a puzzle until we set it against the problem of the absence of Yahweh. The people were ostensibly at rest in Jerusalem; the army was not going out to carry out Yahweh’s vengeance, but this policy was not from the Spirit. Hence, the watchman’s argument is that this “rest” was false thinking and rebellious. The raising up of the Anonymous Conqueror was proof of a spiritual malaise in Jerusalem.

**Conclusion**

We have examined the oracle of Isa 63:7-14. This has been a straightforward recollection of the exodus. The remembrancer recollects two historical facts: first, Yahweh’s gracious and faithful acts of redemption and leadership set against the rebelliousness of the people; secondly, Moses’ leadership of the people with the holy Spirit in him. The second recollection is wholly positive whereas the first recollection has the negative note of the people’s rebelliousness.

Set against the backdrop of recent events in Jerusalem, the first recollection resonates with Yahweh’s deliverance of Jerusalem from the Assyrian army. The rebelliousness of the people since that victory has been illustrated in their pursuit of policies of appeasement and political treaties. The second recollection resonates with the leadership of the Anonymous Conqueror who has also been endowed by the Spirit.

**Temple Imagery and Liturgy in the Apocalypse**

**P. Wyns**

**Introduction**

Despite prolific Temple imagery/liturgy occurring in the Apocalypse the impact has been marginal on interpretive approaches and the topos is barely noted in commentaries. Recently this neglect has been addressed by studies from R. A. Brigg, A. & A. Spatafora, M. Barker, and J & G Ben-Daniels who investigate the use of Temple imagery in apocryphal and OT sources and the subsequent development of the Temple theme in the Apocalypse.[[42]](#footnote-42)

**Jewish Worship in the Book of Revelation**

At the Last Supper the disciples and Jesus sang a hymn (Matt 26:30; Mark 14:26). The hymn is part of the traditional liturgy for the Passover service known as the Great Hallel, which is composed of Psalms 113-118. Each first line of these psalms were repeated till the end of Psalm 118 and the people responded to the rest:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Levites:** | ‘Hallelujah’ |
| **People:** | ‘Hallelujah’ |
| **Levites:** | ‘Praise (Hallelu), O ye servants of Yahweh’ |
| **People:** | ‘Hallelujah’ |
| **Levites:** | ‘Praise,(Hallelu) the name of Yahweh’ |
| **People:** | ‘Hallelujah’ |
| **Levites:** | ‘When Israel went out of Egypt’ |
| **People:** | ‘When Israel went out of Egypt’ |
| **Levites:** | ‘The house of Jacob from a people of strange language’ |
| **People:** | ‘Hallelujah’ |
|  |  |
|  | In the same manner, repeating each first line, and responding at the rest, till they came to Psalm 118, when besides the first, these three lines were also repeated by the people (118:25, 26): |
|  |  |
|  | ‘save now I beseech thee Yahweh’ |
|  | ‘O, Yahweh, I beseech Thee, send now prosperity;  |
|  | ‘Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord.’ |

We encounter recital of the Hallel at **the marriage supper of the Lamb** in Revelation 19:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Multitude:** | ‘Hallelujah’(v. 1) |
| **Multitude:** | ‘Hallelujah’(v. 3) |
| **24 Elders Living creatures:** | ‘Amen, Hallelujah’(v. 4) |
| **Christ?** | ‘Give praise to our God all ye his servants’ (v. 5)  |
| **Multitude:** | ‘Hallelujah’(v. 6) |

It follows from this comparison that the antitype to the great whore that is judged (Rev 19:2) is Egypt whose army was decimated at the Red Sea.

It is apparent then that the Passover Temple service forms the basis of the Hallel that is sung in Revelation 19 but the Passover Lamb first appears at the commencement of the Seals, “And I looked, and behold, in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as though it had been slain” (Rev 5:6, NKJV), an obvious reference to the Passover lamb with the ritual of blood redemption. Further, Passover deliverance is celebrated at intervals throughout Revelation with a ‘New Song’ (Rev 5:9; 14:3) which is, “the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb” – in other words the “song” of Exod 15:1 has found its fulfilment in the Passover deliverance wrought by Christ.

The Lamb is situated on the **heavenly** “throne” surrounded by **living creatures** - this has its **earthly** counterpart in the Temple with the Ark of the Covenant and the mercy seat overshadowed by the **cherubim.** John has a “door” opened to him that allows him access to the “heavenly sanctuary” (Rev 4:1) with its golden lampstands (Rev 1:12, 20; 2:1) and altar of incense (Rev 8:3; 9:13; 14:18; 16:7). The altar in Rev 11:1 is therefore probably also the altar of incense – in which case the “temple” in question is the “heavenly temple” and the “outer court” (court of the Gentiles) is a reference to the “earthly temple” and the city of Jerusalem. If this is the case the worshipers are then **inside the temple** (like John) a right of access normally only allowed to Levitical priests. This is essentially the argument of Hebrews, “Let us therefore come boldly to the throne of grace (Heb 4:16)…we have such a High Priest, who is seated at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens (Heb 8:1)…For if He were on earth, He would not be a priest (Heb 8:4)… who serve the **copy and shadow** of the heavenly things (Heb 8:5)…For Christ has not entered the holy places made with hands, *which are* **copies of the true**, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us” (Heb 9:24).

Passover is not the only feast encountered in the Apocalypse – the trumpet section of the Apocalypse is defined by the ritual sounding of the *shofar* (trumpet) and the Day of Atonement liturgy at the commencement of the (civil) New Year.[[43]](#footnote-43) This was the only occasion when the High Priest was permitted to enter the Most Holy place, carrying a bowl of blood to make atonement for Israel. First, he had to offer incense on the golden altar so that smoke filled the Tabernacle.[[44]](#footnote-44) Then he could pass through the veil and sprinkle blood before the mercy seat seven times (Lev 16:31). The feast terminated when the High Priest emerged from the Most Holy Place and pronounced the priestly blessing on the people.[[45]](#footnote-45)

Atonement liturgy is also encountered in the vials. However, the angels do not come forth to pronounce the priestly blessing upon the people, **but rather to dispense punishment.** The earth can only be sanctified and cleansed from its iniquity through the pouring out of the seven vials, imitating the ritual of blood sprinkling seven times in Lev 16:19. Atonement can no longer be obtained by means of the blood of animals, or even the blood of the Lamb; now only the shedding of the sinners’ own blood will suffice.

On the Day of Atonement, the High priest discarded his colourful ceremonial garb in exchange for ‘white linen’ (cf. the angels – white linen with gold belts v. 6). The sanctuary was filled with an immense cloud of incense (cf. Rev 15: 1) and, “there shall be no man in the tabernacle” when the High Priest is making atonement (Lev.16:17; cf. “no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels should be finished” Rev 15:8 (RV)).

The harvest feast known as Tabernacles celebrated the ingathering of the first fruits of the vintage and of the oil (Exod 23:16; Lev 23:34; Deut 16:13) and is applied to the ingathering of the 144,000 who are now protected from the elements by ‘Yahweh’s Tabernacle’, for God will, “spread his Tabernacle over them” (Rev 7:15 (RV)). In contrast, with the joyous ingathering of the 144,000, the ingathering of the vintage in Revelation 14 is retributive. The Apocalypse terminates with the great Feast of Tabernacles envisaged by the prophets; “And it shall come to pass, that everyone that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of Hosts, and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles” (Zech 14:16). The Tabernacle of God is with men (Rev 21:3) rendering a continuous harvest (Rev 22:2) and plentiful water (Rev 21:6; 22:1; cf. the water pouring ceremony of John 7:37).

Revelation 11 alludes to two feasts: (1) the Feast of Lights (Hanukkah) v. 4; and (2) Purim in v. 10. Purim was celebrated joyously with the exchange of gifts to celebrate the reversal of fortune and defeat of the enemies of the Jews (Esth 3:7). Hanukkah celebrated the consecration of the Temple in Maccabean and pre-Maccabean times (cf. measuring of the temple and worshipers in Rev 11:1) and the “miracle” of the oil that kept the lampstand alight without running out (cf. the two witnesses**/lampstands** miraculously sustained by the pure oil**/Holy spirit** from God).

**Conclusion**

The Apocalypse is structured around the liturgy of the high-feast days and the imagery associated with Temple worship. One might ask why such an obvious feature has been insufficiently recognized and why interpretive approaches are barely influenced by the theme. Perhaps because on the surface the obvious organizing principle of the Apocalypse is the number seven and this has distracted exegetes from scrutinizing the deeper structure. However, the more likely explanation is that Christian interpreters, who often regard the church as the replacement of the Jewish nation, did not feel comfortable highlighting the thoroughly Jewish flavour of worship and liturgy in the Apocalypse. The uncritical acceptance by the majority of exegetes of a late date for the Apocalypse reinforces the position that the Apocalypse **has nothing to say to the Jewish nation.** The failure to correctly recognize the importance of temple imagery/liturgy results in interpretations that focus solely on the church or on secular history.

Exegetes cannot explain the centrality of the Day of Atonement to the Apocalypse for it is the Jewish feast *par excellence*, calling for a **national day** of repentance to purge the Temple and the people of their *pesha’im,* **their rebellious sins.**[[46]](#footnote-46) The Epistle to the Hebrews makes the same use of Temple imagery and Atonement liturgy as the Apocalypse in order to press the point that Christians have a “better covenant” and the Christian “Temple” is the true temple with the Jewish temple a mere shadow (type) modelled on the true.[[47]](#footnote-47) The epistle to the Hebrews was written before the destruction of the Second Temple;[[48]](#footnote-48) indeed, what would be the point of stressing the superiority of the “heavenly” over the “earthly” if the “earthly” was no longer standing? The removal of the Second Temple ended the debate and the need for any Christian apology, for Yahweh had demonstrated conclusively that the earthly temple was no longer necessary (cf. Heb 12:25-27). The eschatological city/temple of the Apocalypse (and Hebrews) is one “made without hands” consisting of faithful men and women: “Then I, John, saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband (Rev 21:2)…But I saw no temple in it, for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are its temple” (Rev 22:2).

**Matthew’s Genealogy**

**P. Wyns**

**Introduction**

The genealogy in Matthew chapter 1 contains many unusual features. It is considered by some to be inaccurate, with some names “missing” but as was noted in a previous study, it will not do to simply harmonise away any perceived difference with the OT genealogy of Christ, but rather an effort should be made to understand why Matthew has presented the genealogy in a certain way.

**Genealogy**

Matthew structures the genealogy into three groups of 14 generations (Matt.1:17) punctuated by historical markers. In this article we will seek to explain three omissions and unusual features:

1. Matthew has only 13 names (including Jesus) in the last group – despite stating that there are fourteen generations from the captivity in Babylon until the Christ.
2. Matthew omits five ancestors (4 Davidic monarchs in the second group and 1 ancestor in the last group).
3. Matthew mentions five women in the genealogy.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Matthew 1** | **OT** |
| **Abraham to the Monarchy** |
| 1 | Abraham |  | Abraham |
| 2 | Isaac |  | Isaac |
| 3 | Jacob |  | Jacob |
| 4 | Judah | *Tamar* | Judah |
| 5 | Perez |  | Perez |
| 6 | Hezron |  | Hezron |
| 7 | Ram (Aram) |  | Ram (Aram) |
| 8 | Amminidab |  | Amminidab |
| 9 | Nahshon |  | Nahshon |
| 10 | Salmon | *Rahab* | Salmon |
| 11 | Boaz | *Ruth* | Boaz |
| 12 | Obed |  | Obed |
| 13 | Jesse |  | Jesse |
| 14 | David | *wife of Uriah* | David |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Matthew 1** | **OT** |
| **Solomon to the Captivity** |
| 1 | Solomon |  | Solomon |
| 2 | Rehoboam |  | Rehoboam |
| 3 | Abijah |  | Abijah |
| 4 | Asa |  | Asa |
| 5 | Jehoshaphat |  | Jehoshaphat |
| 6 | Joram |  | Joram |
|  |  |  | Ahaziah |
|  |  |  | Joash |
|  |  |  | Amaziah |
| 7 | Uzziah (=Azariah) |  | Azariah |
| 8 | Jotham |  | Jotham |
| **Matthew 1** | **OT** |
| **Solomon to the Captivity cont.** |
| 9 | Ahaz |  | Ahaz |
| 10 | Hezekiah |  | Hezekiah |
| 11 | Manasseh |  | Manasseh |
| 12 | Ammon |  | Ammon |
| 13 | Josiah |  | Josiah |
|  |  |  | Jehoiakim |
| 14 | Jeconiah |  | Jeconiah |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Matthew 1** | **OT** |
| **From the Captivity to Christ** |
|  |  |  | Pediah (brother of Shealtiel) |
| 1 | Shealtiel |  |  |
| 2 | Zerubbabel |  | Zerubbabel |
| 3 | Abiud |  |  |
| 4 | Eliakim |  |  |
| 5 | Azor |  |  |
| 6 | Zadok |  |  |
| 7 | Achim |  |  |
| 8 | Eliud |  |  |
| 9 | Eleazar |  |  |
| 10 | Matthan |  |  |
| 11 | Jacob |  |  |
| 12 | Joseph | *Mary* |  |
| 13 | Jesus |  |  |

**The Number 42**

Matthew’s approach is deliberately systematic and therefore the idea of error or accidental omission can be discounted. For example his structuring of the genealogy into **three groups of 14**, adds up to a **total of 42 generations** (even though one generation is ‘missing’—more on this below).

The missing generation after the Exile could just be Jeconiah who is named twice—before and after the Exile. Another possibility rests on the fact that Matthew employs the verb “begat” (genna,w) 41 times,[[49]](#footnote-49) but includes the passive rather than the active form in v. 16 with reference to Mary (“of/by whom”). It is therefore possible that Matthew counts Mary as a “generation” in contrast with the other women who are included in a generation alongside their husbands. If that is the case Mary is the “missing” generation that makes up the 14 generations of the third group. Joseph is also counted because he is Jesus’ earthly father. Another idea is that Matthew has deliberately omitted naming “God” alongside Joseph/Mary in his structuring of 42 generations and that God is the “missing generation”. This is possibly supported by the formula “book of the generation” of Christ(Matt 1:1) reflecting the use in Gen 5:1, “book of the generation of Adam…in the likeness of God made he him”*.*

The number 42 is an organizing principle in Scripture. The number 42 is encountered in various forms—42 months, three and a half years, or 1,260 days. The Israelites camped at 42 campsites before entering the Promised Land (Numbers 33); the tribes brought offerings weighing 2,520 shekels (2x1, 260) at the dedication of the Tabernacle (Numbers 7). The length of the drought in Elijah’s day was three and a half years; forty-two youths are cursed by Elisha and mauled by a bear (2 Kgs 2:23–24); Ahaziah takes the throne when forty-two years old (2 Chron 22:2); and Jehu kills forty-two relatives of Ahaziah (2 Kgs 10:14).

The “42” period of time was associated with the persecution of God’s people in Daniel (7:25) and the desecration of the temple (9:27; cf. 8:13–14). The same number reoccurs in the book of Revelation as 42 months and 1,260 days. We should also note that the three and a half year time period is associated with misfortune and judgment in later rabbinic literature.It is clear therefore that Matthew structured his genealogy around the number forty-two because the birth of Christ brought an era of trial and judgement to a close – the kingdom (a favourite Matthew theme) was at hand.

**Missing Ancestors**

The missing ancestors could just be attributed to Matthew’s need for symmetry. However, the criteria for selecting which kings to omit is likely influenced by fact that they were all cursed; the curse of Ahab’s family (1 Kings 21:21) extended to the house of Joram to the third and fourth generation (Exod 20:5 *et al*; cf. 2 Chron.22:7-9; 24:22-24; 25:14-28); the curse of Jehoiakim (Jer 36:30). But, against this idea, is the example of Jeconiah (Coniah), who is mentioned even though he was also the recipient of such a curse (Jer 22:28-30).

However, we can maintain our “curse idea” if Jeconiah’s inclusion is because he was ‘written as childless’ (Jer 28:30). We find that his descendant Pediah is not mentioned as Matthew proceeds directly to Shealtiel. Interestingly, Zerubbabel, although a son of Pediah, is constantly called the son of Shealtiel (the brother of Pediah?). So, although Zerubbabel was Pediah’s son, he is reckoned as his brother’s son. According to Luke’s genealogy, Shealtiel is the son of Neri (Luke 3:27). It seems that some sort of levirate marriage or adoption occurred. Shealtiel was not the son of Jeconiah after the flesh, yet he was the legal heir to the throne…effectively, Jeconiah was ‘written as childless’*.*

**Five Women**

The genealogies also include the unusual naming of five women. Some propose that they are mentioned because they are foreigners; Rahab was a Canaanite (Josh 2:1-4), Ruth a Moabitess (Ruth 1:4), and Bathsheba probably a Hittite (2 Sam 11:3) – but this does not explain the mention of Tamar or Mary. The most likely explanation is the unconventional and often scandalous nature of their unions. That is not to say that the women were not faithful, or that they acted unfaithfully, but their sexual history was scandalous. Tamar played the harlot with Judah in order to expose his hypocrisy and his reluctance to fulfil the law of levirate marriage. Rahab was a harlot who acted faithfully and trusted Yahweh and ended up marrying a prince of Judah (one of the spies). Ruth had a secret liaison with Boaz at night without a chaperone), which if discovered, would have undermined the proposal of levirate marriage and left Ruth and Boaz open to the charge of untoward behaviour – yet she is the paradigm for the virtuous woman. Bathsheba is not even mentioned by name, she is called ‘her *who had been the wife* of Uriah’. This is an obvious condemnatory reference to David’s adultery, but not necessarily condemnatory of Bathsheba herself, who probably could not have refused David’s advances (through fear for her husband’s life?). The commandeering of women to the harem (and execution of the husband) was practiced in the ancient near east (cf. Abraham and Sarah). Bathsheba’s subsequent behaviour demonstrated her faithfulness, using her initiative, God saw to it that her son, Solomon, became heir to the throne (1 Kgs 1:11-31). Finally, we have the mention of Mary, whose pregnancy was unusual, if not scandalous to outside observers (Matt 1:18-19).

**Conclusion**

It is clear that Matthew is quite deliberate and systematic in structuring his genealogy. Ancient genealogies can serve a number of purposes (even simultaneously), such as to show identity and duty, to demonstrate credentials for power and property, or to structure history and to indicate one’s character. Matthew is determined to establish the Davidic lineage of Jesus and mentions David 5x in chap. 1 and 17x in total in his gospel. Furthermore, he only calls David ‘King’ in Matt 1:6 despite all the names in the second group functioning as kings. Matthew’s genealogy deliberately stresses the unconventional and unusual route that led to the Messiah—he even mentions Zera, the twin of Perez, whose birth story testifies to God reordering the usual selection of heirs. The mention of the five women can be seen as polemical—in order to counter accusations of Christ’s legitimacy and unusual conception. The route to the Messiah was unusual.

**Psalm 30-a psalm-song of dedication**

**P. Heavyside**

**Introduction**

This psalm-song’s title tells us that it speaks of a glorious thing, of the dedication of the house of the Lord, of the dedication of the place where the incomparable God who cannot be contained by the heaven of heavens shall dwell. And yet it is a highly personal psalm: full of the use of the first person pronoun throughout: “I”, “me” and “my”; it is a psalm-song occupied with David’s personal experience of illness, of the Lord’s anger toward him, of the Lord hiding his face from him and of David’s cries for healing. What do these personal, challenging experiences have to do with dedication of the Lord’s dwelling place?

One thing for sure can be concluded from these matters, a challenge to each one of us. Whatever the circumstances of our lives, whether we are being restored from illness or wrestling with sin or any other suffering, what is each one of us doing to contribute to the dedication of the Lord’s house, whose house we are if we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm to the end? We ought to mark this point: **not** what is he or she doing or what are they doing to dedicate this house, but whatam **I doing**? In this psalm-song we discover help in facing this challenge, so that we can overcome whatever would prevent us.

**Setting**

Psalm 30 is a psalm-song. Exposition shows that this psalm-song is set at a time soon after the declaration of the covenant of promise to David through Nathan the prophet (2 Samuel 7; 1 Chronicles 17). Analysis also shows that David, through the psalm-song, reflects back on experiences he suffered after he attempted and failed to bring up the ark of God to the city of David (2 Samuel 6; 1 Chronicles 13; 15). We shall see that he learned of the “dedication of the house” (Ps 30:t) within the context of distressing yet eventually joyful experiences.

What is this exposition? We start with some preliminary work to explore the experiences on which David reflects in the psalm-song, and move on to its chronological setting after the declaration of the covenant of promise.

It is evident from Psalm 30 that one of the experiences the prophet David remembers, when giving voice to this psalm-song, is his cry to the Lord for healing from a life-threatening illness. The cry to the Lord is seen twice:

…I cried to [the Lord]... (Ps 30:2)

I cried to you, O Lord, and to the Lord I made supplication.***[[50]](#footnote-50)***(Ps 30:8)

That this cry of David is out of a life-threatening illness is also seen twice:

O Lord my God, I cried to you and you have healed me… you have brought up my soul from the grave; you have kept me alive that I should not go down to the pit. (Ps 30:2-3)

I cried to you, O Lord… what profit is there in my blood when I go down to the pit? Shall the dust praise you? (Ps 30:8-9)

The expression “healed” (*rp’*) (Ps 30:2) helps us determine with certainty that this is an illness with which David was afflicted and not some other threat to his life. A number of psalms illustrate this, as tabulated below:

| Psalm | Comments |
| --- | --- |
|  |  |
| 6:2 “heal me” | David seeks healing from weakness and vexed bones (6:2) and from weariness and night sweats (6:6). |
|  |  |
| 41:4 “heal my soul” | David seeks healing from his bed of languishing and sickness (41:3), a circumstance his enemies refer to as an evil disease (41:8) |
|  |  |
| 103:3 “heals” | David explicitly says here that the Lord “heals all your diseases” (103:3). |

These contexts of the use of “heal” clearly speak of the symptoms of illness or of illness itself. That David’s illness of which he speaks and out of which he cried to the Lord was life-threatening is abundantly clear from his talk of the grave, of being kept alive, and of asking what profit there is in his blood since dust cannot praise the Lord.

When did David experience this life-threatening illness? Again it is evident from the psalm-song that this was when David was the subject of the Lord’s anger, when the Lord had hidden his face from him. This is seen in the following extracts from the psalm-song:

…[the Lord’s] anger endures but a moment (*rg‛*)… (Ps 30:5)

…[the Lord] did hide (*str*) his face (*pnh*), and I was troubled. (Ps 30:7)

Isaiah’s later use of this psalm-song to prophesy comforting words to the Lord’s people neatly demonstrates to us the reason why the Lord was angry with David and why he had hid his face from him; this was because of some sin or sins committed by David:

For a small moment (*rg‛*) have I forsaken you; but with great mercies will I gather you. In a little wrath I hid (*str*) my face (*pnh*) from you for a moment (*rg‛*); but with eternal kindness (*hsd*) will I have mercy on you, says the Lord your redeemer. (Isa 54:7-8).[[51]](#footnote-51)

The context of Isaiah’s prophecy to the people is introduced and set much earlier: “cry to [Jerusalem] that… her iniquity is pardoned; for she has received of the Lord’s hand double for all her sins” (Isa 40:2). Thus, it is evident that the reason the Lord was angry with David and had hidden his face from him was, like Jerusalem, “because of [his] iniquities” (Isa 64:7); we shall explore what David’s sin or sins specifically were when we perform more detailed exposition of the whole psalm-song.

It is plain that David perceived his life-threatening illness to be the chastening hand of the Lord against his sin or sins. This is reflected in his use of “heal” (Ps 30:2) which, apart from its use of being healed from sickness and disease as noted above, is also used to speak of being healed from sin (Ps 41:4), from hardness of heart (Isa 6:10), from the wages of sin (Is 53:5), from stubbornness (Isa 57:18-19) and from backsliding (Jer 3:22; Hos 14:4). Thus, in using “heal” David closely associates his illness with his sin. Such an association is seen further when we see man’s illnesses used as a figure of sin. This figure is seen abundantly in our Lord’s miracles of healing; for example: ““whether it is easier to say to the sick of the palsy, Your sins are forgiven you; or to say, Arise, and take up your bed, and walk?...” (Mark 2:9).

That David perceived his life-threatening illness to be the chastening hand of the Lord against his sin is also seen from his statement that he was “troubled” (*bhl*) when the Lord hid his face from him (Ps 30:7). David here employs the same expression in his description of his illness that we have already considered from Psalm 6. He says there: “Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak; O Lord, heal me, for my bones are vexed (*bhl*). My soul is also sore vexed (*bhl*)” (Ps 6:2-3). Since “troubled” (*bhl*) is an expression used to describe both illness and the trouble David experienced because the Lord hid his face from him, it is clear that David sees the life-threatening illness in Psalm 30 to be a direct consequence of the Lord’s chastening intervention in his life, and that because of his sin. Just as the “dukes of Edom” were to be “amazed” (*bhl*) (Exod 15:15) at the judgments of the Lord on behalf of his people’s inheritance, so David became the subject of the Lord’s judgments by his life-threatening illness.

The chastening of the Lord manifest in David’s life-threatening illness showed to David, through the troubling of his mind, that his illness was a figure of a more serious sickness, sin’s wages, from which only the suffering servant’s stripes can heal us (Isa 53:5) which, through his repentance, remission of sins that were past was accomplished.

When did David suffer the chastening of a life-threatening illness because of the Lord’s anger at his sin or sins, and out of it cry to the Lord for healing? Anticipating the preliminary exposition regarding the chronological setting of the psalm-song, that it is soon after the declaration of the covenant of promise, we need to seek an incident predating this declaration. And we are helped in this search by another aspect of the experiences that David remembers in the psalm-song. This is seen in one of the ways David describes his recovery from his life-threatening illness: “you have turned for me my mourning into dancing” (Ps 30:11). When did David emerge from a period of mourning, during which, as Psalm 30 tells us, he was struck with a life-threatening illness, to dancing?

Of course, the circumstances of the bringing up of the ark of God to Jerusalem cry out to us that this is the situation in which David’s experiences took place. During David’s first, failed attempt to bring up the ark of God, the Lord’s “anger” (2 Sam 6:7; 1 Chron 13:10) was shown by his “breach upon Uzzah” (2 Sam 6:8; 1 Chron 13:11); and David later concludes this was because they “did not seek [the Lord their God] according to judgment” (1 Chron 15:13). But it was not just Uzzah that was breached; it is evident that David also suffered breach, the life-threatening illness described in Psalm 30, and David himself bears witness to this when he speaks in preparation for bringing up the ark of God the second time: “the Lord our God made a breach upon **us**, for that we did not seek him according to judgment” (1 Chron 15:13). David had sinned in not seeking the Lord according to judgment when first bringing up the ark and in his displeasure at the Lord’s righteous judgment, and he was breached with a life-threatening illness for his chastening. It is evident then that this life-threatening illness from the Lord’s chastening hand occurred during the three months the ark abode in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite (2 Sam 6:11; 1 Chron 13:14). Following David’s healing, of which the psalm-song speaks, David brought up the ark, as he recalls in Psalm 30, “leaping and dancing” (2 Sam 6:16) and “dancing and playing” (1 Chron 15:29).

We see, therefore, that the life-threatening illness, out of which David describes himself in this psalm-song as crying to the Lord and being healed so that his mourning was turned into dancing, refers to David’s distressing, yet eventually joyful experiences recorded in 2 Samuel 6 and 1 Chronicles 13 and 15. What then about the chronological setting of the psalm-song?

**Chronology**

We begin discovery of the chronological setting for the psalm-song from a consideration of its title and, in particular, by determining the identity of the house. Is the house, whose dedication to which the title refers, David’s “house” (1 Chron 14:1) or the “house” which David’s seed would build as appointed by the Lord (2 Sam 7:13; 1 Chron 17:12)? The evidence is that it is the house of the Lord, and there are at least two principal reasons for concluding this.

The first is to note how the use of “house” in the psalm-song’s title builds upon a weighty mention of the Lord’s house, the sanctuary where he would dwell, in the psalms immediately preceding Psalm 30. Note the following details:

| Psalm | the Lord’s house or dwelling place |
| --- | --- |
|  |  |
| 26:8 | “the habitation of your house and the place where your honour dwells” |
|  |  |
| 27:4,5,6 | “the house of the Lord… his temple… his pavilion… his tent… his tent” |
|  |  |
| 28:2 | “your holy oracle” |
|  |  |
| 29:9 | “his temple” |

Thus, when Psalm 30 opens with a title referring to “house”, the progress of thought in this series of psalms[[52]](#footnote-52) leads us to conclude that it is a reference to the Lord’s house.

The second reason for reaching this conclusion relates to majority scriptural usage of the expression “dedication” (*hnkh* Ps 30:t) which, along with its related verb, *hnk*, is used of the dedication of a variety of things. This includes dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12:27), of a man’s new house (Deut 20:5) and of the instruction of a child (Prov 22:6). But the prevalent use of these expressions concerns the dedication of God’s sanctuary or its parts: of the altar of the tent of the congregation (Num 7:10,11, 84, 88); of the altar of Solomon’s temple (2 Chron 7:9); and of the house of the Lord (1 Kgs 8:63; 2 Chron 7:5).

Further evidence for identifying the house referred to in this psalm-song’s title as the house of the Lord will be seen as we progress. But let us note now that the title of Psalm 30 indicates that it was revealed after Nathan was sent to David, telling him that the Lord would be the father of the seed of David who was to build a house for the name of the Lord; that it was given quite soon after this promise will become clearer as we expound the psalm-song further.

This chronology, with its conclusion that the dedicated house referred to in the title of Psalm 30 is the Lord’s house, serves to highlight a seeming incongruity: what has David’s earlier experience of recovery from illness, the result of the chastening of the Lord against his sin committed at the failed first attempt to bring up the ark, got to do with the dedication of the house of the Lord? What has a prior, deeply personal experience got to do with a work of magnificence that would result in all the earth knowing there is a God for Israel? It is to this seeming incongruity that we now turn our attention.

**Dedication**

To sharpen our appreciation of what took place when David received the promise of God through Nathan the prophet, consider how David might have reacted. He was told that his own desire to build a house for the name of the Lord God of Israel, though he “did well that it was in [his] heart” (1 Kgs 8:18), would not be accomplished. Rather, it was “[his] son that shall come forth of [his] loins” (1 Kgs 8:19) who would perform the work. What would David have felt about his thwarted desire? Would he have felt disappointment? Certainly we, of like flesh and blood, could understand it if this were the case. But what did David do in response to this? It is clear from the exposition that follows that David reflected back upon his earlier painful experience, out of which he had emerged joyously, and determined from discoveries in the scriptures he made then that there was much he could and would do for the house of the Lord, even though it was not his to build. Let me explain.

When David suffered his life-threatening illness at the hand of the Lord during the three months that the ark continued in the house of Obed-edom, how was he occupied during this time? Did he just languish, self-pityingly, on his sick-bed? It is clear from the fact that it is David who provides instruction to the Levites on how the ark should be brought up to the city of David, as they prepared for the successful second attempt, that he had spent some of his time during his illness searching scripture for answers; on a couple of occasions he gives voice to the conclusions that he, in fellowship with God, had reached through exposition of the relevant scriptures:

…none ought to carry the ark of God but the Levites, for them has the Lord chosen to carry the ark of God, and to minister to him for ever. (1 Chron 15:2)

…you are the chief of the fathers of the Levites: sanctify yourselves, both you and your brothers, that you may bring up the ark of the Lord God of Israel to the place that I have prepared for it… because you did not do it at the first, the Lord our God made a breach upon us, for that we sought him not after judgment. (1 Chron 15:12, 13)

The performance of this instruction from David’s renewed understanding is clear from what happened:

And David assembled the children of Aaron, and the Levites… (1 Chron 15:4)

And the children of the Levites bare the ark of God upon their shoulders with the staves thereon, as Moses commanded according to the word of the Lord. (1 Chron 15:15)

So what scriptures from the hand of Moses had David studied during the three months when he was afflicted with his life-threatening illness? The charge laid upon the Levites of bearing the ark is stated twice in Numbers:

And when Aaron and his sons have made an end of covering the sanctuary, and all the vessels of the sanctuary… the sons of Kohath shall come to bear it… these things are the burden of the sons of Kohath in the tent of the congregation. (Num 4:15)

But to the sons of Kohath he gave [no wagons] because the service of the sanctuary belonging to them was that they should bear upon their shoulders. (Num 7:9)

Thus was David able to instruct the people about how to bear the ark of God during their second attempt at bringing it up to the place David had prepared for it. In this we receive instruction about our own conduct, of course. Here was a prophet (Acts 2:30), upon whom the spirit of the Lord had come (1 Sam 16:13) so that the spirit of the Lord spoke by him (2 Sam 23:2); yet he was required, just like us, to search the scriptures to seek out God’s instructions about how to behave in the house of God. Not only so, but here was a man who acknowledged that he had been stricken with a life-threatening illness by the chastening hand of the Lord; and what did he do during this time? He read and expounded the word of the Lord, out of which he was able to provide instruction for the whole house of Israel.

But how does this bear upon the seeming incongruity of David in this psalm-song relating the dedication of the house of the Lord to his own anguished experience? How does this bear upon understanding David’s reaction to being told his own desire to build a house for the Lord’s name was not his to accomplish? The first point of note is that it is plain that David learned about what he could do, to contribute to the house to be built by his son, during these same earlier meditations upon the scriptures. This is immediately obvious when we note that the first four uses of the expression “dedication” (Ps 30:t) are found in one of the passages he evidently had researched, Numbers 7:

…the princes offered for dedicating (*hnkh*) of the altar in the day that it was anointed… the Lord said to Moses, they shall offer their offering, each prince on his day, for the dedicating (*hnkh*) of the altar. (Num 7:10, 11)

This was the dedication (*hnkh*) of the altar, in the day when it was anointed, by the princes of Israel… (Num 7:84)

This was the dedication (*hnkh*) of the altar, after it was anointed. (Num 7:88)

Obviously then, when David was told that his desire to build a house for the name of the Lord God of Israel would not be his to fulfil but that it would be accomplished by his “son that shall come forth of [his] loins” (1 Kgs 8:19), he remembered the Numbers 7 context he had studied during his chastening illness. This remembrance was that even though a particular ministry in the tent of the congregation was not the portion of the princes of Israel (Num 7:2), David like them could make provision for the ministry of the building of the house that was appointed to Solomon; in David’s case, dedication of the house through preparation of abundance of offerings. Indeed, we see in the narrative of David’s preparation of things for the house of the Lord very many references to Numbers 7, all of which serve to reinforce this point; we see also that David encourages the princes of Israel of his day to participate in this work of dedication of the house of the Lord, in the same way the princes of Israel in Numbers 7 had offered things for the dedication of the altar.

In passing, it should be mentioned that the identification of these things that David prepared for the house of the Lord with the “dedication (*hnkh*) of the house (Ps 30:t)” is reinforced by another matter. This is the mention of the bringing in by Solomon of “the things which David his father had sanctified, the silver, and the gold, and the vessels… among the treasures of the house of the Lord” (1 Kgs 7:51; 2 Chron 5:1), in the context of which Solomon “dedicated (*hnk*) the house of the Lord” (1 Kgs 8:63; 2 Chron 7:5).

Truly, as scripture later records, “David prepared abundantly before his death” (1 Chron 22:5). And it is evident he commenced this work in earnest soon after he received the good news of the covenant of promise through the mouth of Nathan. This is seen in a summary of things David dedicated to the Lord, recorded in the history of his victories immediately subsequent to the giving of the covenant:

[Joram] brought with him vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of brass; which also king David did sanctify (*qdš*) to the Lord, with the silver and gold that he had sanctified (*qdš*) of all nations which he subdued; of Syria, and of Moab, and of the children of Ammon, and of the Philistines, and of Amalek, and of the spoil of Hadadezer. (2 Sam 8:10-12; see also 2 Sam 8:7-8; 1 Chron 18:7-11).

It is evident, from the mention of the sanctification of spoil from at least Amalek (1 Sam 27:8; 30:20) and the Philistines (2 Sam 5:17-25), against whom wars had taken place earlier than the giving of the covenant of promise and before David’s life-threatening illness, that some of the vessels summarised in 2 Sam 8:10-12 were able to be taken by David immediately, so that the dedication of the house could commence contemporaneously with the revelation of the psalm-song. This more narrowly determines the chronological setting of Psalm 30 to be at the conclusion of 2 Samuel 7 (1 Chronicles 17) or the beginning of 2 Samuel 8 (1 Chronicles 18).

We can now determine at least one answer to the seeming incongruity between the title of Psalm 30 and its content. One connection between the dedication of the house of the Lord and David’s experience during his life-threatening illness is that it was during his meditations on scripture at that time that he learned about the opportunity for this dedication of the Lord’s house. He hadn’t just languished self-pityingly on his sick-bed, but had diligently given his heart and mind to understanding the Lord’s judgments about how to behave when bringing up the ark of the covenant of the Lord. And more than this, his workmanship in the scriptures yielded also this fruit: he learned what he could do for the dedication of the magnificent house which was not his to build.

There is a powerful lesson in this for us, of course. Perhaps at times we feel barred or thwarted in a service for the ecclesia we believe we can perform? How does our reaction to such circumstances compare with the scripturally based response of David that led to him abundantly preparing for the house his son would build? But there is another aspect to the relationship between David’s deeply personal experience of some time earlier and the work of magnificence that would result in all the earth knowing there is a God for Israel. We see what this is by taking a closer look at a couple of other aspects of the psalm-song.

**What profit in my blood?**

The way a number of English language versions render the title of Psalm 30 is to present this psalm-song as having been written for use at the dedication of the house, presumably, in the first instance, once Solomon had completed it. For example:

A Psalm *and* Song *at* the dedication of the house of David (KJV)

A PSALM OF DAVID. A SONG AT THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE (ESV)

A Psalm; a Song at the Dedication of the House. *A Psalm* of David (NASB)

*A psalm– a song used at the dedication of the temple; by David* (NET)

The NET is clearly the most explicit in this interpretation but is this interpretation correct? It is evident from the fact that “at*”* in the KJV rendering is italicized (marking it as an interpretive insertion by the translators, not rendering any equivalent Hebrew), that “used at” in the NET is an even greater embellishment. On the other hand, my rendering of the title, partly portrayed in the title of this exposition, is not only a possible translation of the Hebrew but does not require any interpretive embellishments. My full rendering is as follows, with the Hebrew represented beneath:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *a psalm-song* | *of dedication* | *of the house,* | *of David* |
|  |  |  |  |
| *mzmwr šyr* | *hnkt* | *hbyt* | *Ldwd* |

One reading of this is that the psalm-song is, itself, that which accomplishes dedication of the house (as opposed to being used at the time of the dedication). But we have already seen that the dedication was accomplished by king David in his abundant preparations; so, if such a reading is correct, how can this psalm-song be said to accomplish the dedication of the Lord’s house?

When David cried to the Lord and made supplication he said: “what profit is therein my blood, when I go down to the pit? shall the dust give thanks (*ydh*) to you? shall it declare your truth?” (Ps 30:8-9). It is obvious from this that a concern that tortured David’s mind during his life-threatening illness was that an early death would cut off his ability to give thanks to the Lord. This aspect is reinforced from his mention of giving thanks to the Lord two other times in this psalm-song. The first is seen when David addresses the merciful ones and instructs them to “give thanks (*ydh*) for the remembrance of [the Lord’s] holiness” (Ps 30:4). The final instance brings the psalm-song to a glorious conclusion: “O Lord my God, forever I will give thanks (*ydh*) to you” (Ps 30:12). In this close we have presented to us David’s resolution of the problems confronting him, out of which the Lord healed him and turned his mourning into dancing: David, forever, would give thanks to the Lord, and this he proceeded to do, in part through the preparation he made for the house of the Lord. We see this portrayed several times in the narrative about David’s dedication, by the association of giving thanks to the Lord with the preparation of things for the house his son would build[[53]](#footnote-53):

For by the last words of David the Levites werenumbered from twenty years old and above: because their office wasto wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of the house of the Lord… and the work of the service of the house of God;… And to stand every morning to thank (*ydh*) and praise the Lord, and likewise at even. (1 Chron 23:27-30)

Moreover David and the captains of the host separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals… which prophesied according to the order of the king… who prophesied with a harp, to give thanks (*ydh*) and to praise the Lord. (1 Chron 25:1-3)

Now therefore, our God, we thank (*ydh*) you, and praise your glorious name. (1 Chron 29:13).

From this we see that David’s closing words, “O Lord my God, forever I will give thanks (*ydh*) to you” (Ps 30:12), are the dedication of David’s heart and mind to the service of the house of the Lord, to his preparation for its glorious magnificence. It is in this sense then that we can perceive the title’s meaning: this psalm-song dedicates David to the dedication of the Lord’s house; this psalm-song, in which David rejoices that he had not gone to dust (Ps 30:9), that he had been liberated from the snare of the devil who would have taken him captive, becomes David’s self-dedication to accomplish the house’s dedication by which he set about, forever, to “give thanks” (Ps 30:12).

We see instruction in these matters for our learning. David had sinned in his displeasure at the Lord’s righteous judgment, and he was breached with a life-threatening illness for his chastening. As we shall see, this psalm-song contains within it David’s confession of his sin and thereby his path to the Lord’s forgiveness. Thus, Psalm 30 shows that marvellous things can be built from true repentance from sin and from the grace of God in forgiveness; true repentance from sin and the grace of God in forgiveness become for David the foundation of greatness of thankfulness in service. As the apostle Paul was later to say: “I am the least of the apostles… not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God. But by the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowedupon me was not in vain; but **I laboured more abundantly** than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me.” (1 Cor 15:9-10).

Of course, David could accomplish this dedication only because his restoration to the Lord’s fellowship was complete; there was no imposition on him of a period of inactivity as part of his process of restoration; there was no requirement upon him not to instruct the merciful ones to “give thanks for the remembrance of [the Lord’s] holiness” (Ps 30:4) because of the recentness of his sin for which the Lord had hidden his face from him. Rather, the outpouring of his gratitude at the Lord’s healing was given course for full expression: truly, fully, he was restored. It behoves us to reflect on these things and consider how our personal attitudes and ecclesial practice compares when restoring in the spirit of meekness one who has been overtaken in a transgression (Gal 6:1). It is also evident that, whenever any one of us sins and seeks restoration through repentance and forgiveness, notwithstanding the merciless judgments of others, we ought to be as open and honest about our sins and the place of repentance as was David so that, with him, we might instruct others.

**Conclusion**

We can now discern the significance, for Psalm 30, of the second part of this psalm’s *genre*, that it is a psalm-**song**. “Song” (*šyr*, Ps 30:t) is associated with release from the captivity of a darkened understanding due to alienation from the life of God into a new captivity, a captivity of the new man created in righteousness and true holiness. In this specific situation, the release spoken of is the deliverance of David from the sin or sins which he had committed when he was displeased at the Lord’s righteous judgments. Indeed, that David had truly been delivered from the devil’s snare, by which he would have taken him captive (2 Tim 2:26), was further vouchsafed to him a short time later, and figuratively fulfilled, when the Lord delivered David and his people from their enemies’ threats of captivity: “the Lord had given [David] rest round about from all his enemies” (2 Sam 7:1). This is a matter which was further reassured to David when the Lord made promise about a house that God’s son would build:

Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more; **neither shall the children of wickedness afflict them any more**, as beforetime… and have **caused you to rest from all your enemies**. Also the Lord tells you that he will make you an house. (2 Sam 7:10-11).

The deeply personal experience of David, including his release from the snare of sin, is celebrated in this psalm-**song** but, since this release was the foundation of something more, of the dedication of the house, another matter takes precedence, the singing of praises. Thus can we also now discern the significance, for Psalm 30, of the first part of this psalm’s *genre*, that it is a **psalm**-song. That Psalm 30 is first a psalm, a song of praise, celebrates the fact that a direct consequence of David’s deliverance from sin and restoration to God’s fellowship is that he could accomplish the dedication of the house. And because of this he twice speaks about the singing of praises to the Lord:

“sing praises (*zmr*) to the Lord” (Ps 30:4)

“glory shall sing praises (*zmr*) to you” (Ps 30:12)

These expressions of singing praise are, structurally, a primary theme of this **psalm**-song; a direct outcome of David’s deliverance from the captivity of sin is that he speaks of singing praises to the Lord. Singing praises to the Lord is a fundamental function of the Lord’s house.

**Saying What You See**

**A. Perry**

There used to be a TV quiz programme in the UK called “Catchphrase”; it required contestants to look at cartoon pictures representing well-known catchphrases and proverbs and guess them from the picture. The cartoons were sometimes animated; so, for example, one animation might show someone looking and then leaping and contestants were challenged to guess “Look before you leap”. Saying what you see is a useful method for Bible Study, except perhaps it should be “Saying what you read”.

An example of this would be Isaiah 36-39, a narrative history that is largely repeated in 2 Kings. Scholars have long puzzled over its inclusion in Isaiah at the mid-point. There are prophetic oracles before and after these chapters which, scholars recognise, have features in common. So why is the narrative history of Isaiah 36-39 where it is?

We have said what we have seen: Isaiah is delivering standard prophetic oracles before and after Isaiah 36-39. The oracles immediately before are about recompence upon Edom and the restoration of Judah, whereas those immediately after are what is said as the Babylonian envoys leave Judah;[[54]](#footnote-54) Hezekiah has repented over this matter in Isaiah 39.

This tells us why Isaiah 36-39 is narrative history and why it is where it is in the book of Isaiah. 2 Chronicles 32:31 states,

Howbeit in *the business of* the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who sent unto him to enquire of the wonder that was *done* in the land, God **left** him, to try him, that he might know all *that was* in his heart. 2 Chron 32:31 (KJV)

This says that God left Hezekiah to try him; a standard consequence of this would be the withdrawal of the spirit-guided oracles of Isaiah at Isaiah 35. But with Hezekiah’s repentance, God returned to him. We see this in the resumption of Isaiah’s oracles in Isaiah 40 after the historical interlude of Isaiah 36-39.

There is a further point: 2 Chronicles also implies that Hezekiah was given a commission to render recompence after the defeat of Assyria,

But Hezekiah rendered not again according to the recompence *done* unto him; for his heart was lifted up: therefore there was wrath upon him, and upon Judah and Jerusalem. 2 Chron 32:21 (KJV revised)

This recompence is the subject of Isaiah 34-35, recompence upon Edom and the nations/city states roundabout (Isa 34:8; 35:4). At some point after the defeat of Assyria and after the oracles about vengeance and restoration in Isaiah 34-35, God left Hezekiah, and Isaiah’s oracles do not pick again until after his meeting with Hezekiah in Isaiah 39 and when the Babylonian envoys are leaving. Hence, such oracles begin again in Isaiah 40.

The oracles in Isaiah 40-66 broadly cover two topics and these are set by 2 Chronicles: Isaiah 40-48 have a Babylonian emphasis and they reflect an engagement with the Babylonian envoys (as well as the surrounding city-states); the rest of Isaiah is about the failure to “render not again” the recompence that God required of Hezekiah and Judah after 701. This failure led to the raising up of an Anonymous Conqueror to carry out God’s vengeance upon Edom (he is first noted in Isa 41:25).

Saying what you see is a useful method and the result here opposes the critical scholarly reconstructions of Isaiah which most commonly see Isaiah 36-39 as an editorial bridge dating from the exile or beyond that connects Isaiah of Jerusalem with an exilic Second Isaiah through the device of a mention of the Babylonian Exile in Isa 39:6.[[55]](#footnote-55) What is important about Isaiah 39 is not a prediction of the Babylonian Exile (it actually only predicts a deporting of the Royal House not an Exile), but the catalyst for the return of God to Hezekiah and the resumption of oracular prophecy.

**Arius (4)**

**D. Burke**

**Introduction**

In previous instalments we saw that the Arians could trace their Christology through a long tradition held by prominent church elders in good standing. But appeals to the past were becoming difficult to justify as innovation gathered apace. Some generally approved writings from an earlier time contained beliefs now regarded as heterodox. The church of the early 4th Century had no official position on these works and no theological benchmark against which they could be assessed.

**The Heart of the Debate**

J. C. McDowell correctly identifies this as the most significant aspect of the Christological debate:

In A.D. 318 there was no universally recognised orthodox answer as to the question of how divine Christ is (e.g., Origen and Tertullian). **The frontiers of orthodoxy were not so rigidly demarcated as they later became, and important currents of thought flowed outside the main channel.**

This is one of the reasons why the controversy lasted for so long.

Of course certain positions were declared untenable, for example Sabellianism, and Adoptionism. But within these very broad limits no doctrine could properly be said to be heretical (Arius’ views were regarded as no more than a radical version of an acceptable theological tradition by Eusebius of Caesarea, for example).[[56]](#footnote-56)

The Nicenes were troubled by difficulties arising from the Christology of highly regarded church fathers such as Justin, Irenaeus and Tertullian, whose writings were for the most part still considered orthodox.

Justin’s Christology distinguished the Father from the Son to such an extent that Irenaeus’ Christology−a possible reaction to it−seems dangerously Modalistic by comparison. Tertullian followed with a Christology so far in the opposite direction that he was accused of teaching tritheism, and wrote a lengthy discourse (*Adversus Praxean*) which some have seen as a direct attack on Irenaeus himself.[[57]](#footnote-57)

The Arians were not so far removed from Irenaeus’ Christology, and reluctant to speculate about the nature of Christ’s begettal. Ambrose mocked them for it, but what would he have done if they had answered with the words of Irenaeus himself?

If anyone asks us, ‘How then was the Son produced by the Father?’ we reply to him, that no man understands that production, or generation, or calling, or revelation or by whatever other name one may describe his generation. For it is in fact altogether indescribable.[[58]](#footnote-58)

This response was considered acceptable not only by Irenaeus’ contemporaries, but by those who immediately followed him. Nor is there any reason to believe that it would have been rendered unacceptable if invoked by the Arians themselves, for it was not their work but the work of an older, greater man. If Irenaeus wrote such things and was still considered orthodox, the Arians might have argued, how can we, who merely repeat them, be accused of heresy?

Earlier terms of reference could be considered quite ambiguous and even heretical when placed in the context of a later discussion. This was even more likely if they had been closely identified with a specific idea, or set of ideas, which was now considered unorthodox. Alternatively, a new heresy could be wrapped in the language of an older, acceptable orthodoxy and thereby rendered palatable to the church.

A modalist could borrow the words of Irenaeus; a tritheist could benefit from Tertullian’s terminology and even argue he was being misunderstood in the way Tertullian had been.

Herein lay a crucial aspect of the rationale which had led to the condemnation of phrases such as ‘of one torch from another’, or ‘as a lamp divided into two.’

Another aspect (perhaps even more significant) was the shocking realisation that the original source of this language−none other than the great Justin Martyr−was now vulnerable to legitimate accusations of heresy, and with him, all those who deferred to his work as a touchstone of orthodoxy.

Chadwick explains the problem:

In arguing against Hellenized Jews who held that the divine Logos is distinct from God only in the refined sense in which one can distinguish in thought between sun and sunlight, Justin had urged that the analogy of one torch lit from another was a much more satisfactory picture because it did justice to the independence (later theology, from Origen onwards, would have used the technical term hypostasis) of the Logos. Such language was disturbing.

One of the central issues in the conflict with Gnosticism had been the question whether of there is more than one ultimate first principle. The orthodox had insisted that there is no first principle other than God the Creator, no coequal devil, no coeternal matter, but a single monarchia. Justin’s languageappeared to prejudice this affirmation and to be insufficiently protected against the accusation of ditheism.[[59]](#footnote-59)

In the era of Justin and his contemporaries, such language had been perfectly orthodox. In the theological climate of Arianism it was associated with Hieracas the Manichean, a heretic now considered the greatest enemy of Athanasius (aside from Arius). By condemning Hieracas the Arians hoped to establish common ground with the Nicenes and avert a larger confrontation.

The Arians’ formula was constructed partly from Arius’ lyrical sermons and partly from philosophical speculations apparently influenced by Tertullian, but mostly from a collection of proof texts such as Proverbs 8:22:

The Lord created me as the beginning of his way, before his works of old.

This was nothing new. Tertullian had used the same verse for the same purpose more than a century earlier. He had even said the Son was created in a certain moment; not eternally generated (as Origen and others believed) but in the instant immediately preceding the rest of creation:

Then, therefore, does the Word also Himself assume His own form and glorious garb, sound and vocal utterance, when God says, ‘Let there be light.’ This is the perfect nativity of the Word, when He proceeds forth from God, formed by Him first to devise and think out, and afterwards begotten to carry all into effect –

‘When He prepared the heaven, I was present with Him.’

‘Thus does He make Him equal to Him: for by proceeding from Himself He became His first-begotten Son, because begotten before all things; and His only-begotten also, because alone begotten of God, in a way peculiar to Himself, from the womb of His own heart -- even as the Father Himself testifies: ‘My heart,’ says He, ‘has emitted my most excellent Word.’

‘The father took pleasure evermore in Him, who equally rejoiced with a reciprocal gladness in the Father’s presence: ‘You art my Son, today have I begotten You; even before the morning star did I beget You.’

The Son likewise acknowledges the Father, speaking in His own person, under the name of Wisdom:

‘‘The Lord formed Me as the beginning of His ways, with a view to His own works; before all the hills did He beget Me.’[[60]](#footnote-60)

Yet, despite the closeness of their ontological relationship, the Arians did not see Jesus as possessing the same substance as God. This point was to be the axis upon which the entire controversy turned. To counter it, and the Tertullianist arguments advanced in its support, the Nicenes had to find some way of affirming the generation of the Son from the Father without admitting a difference in substance between the two.

They found their solution in the same formula the Arians had publicly denied: ‘a flame from a flame’, or as the Nicene Creed would later express it, ‘light from light.’ Its polemical value was enormous, for it enabled the Nicenes to condemn the Arians on two grounds:

(a) Their rejection of the original ‘flame from flame’ analogy, which could now be conveniently construed as an attack on Nicene Christology.[[61]](#footnote-61)

(b) Their rejection of the belief that the Son is of the same substance as the Father, against which the ‘light from light’ analogy was undeniably effective.

Thus, by the mere rephrasing of a heretical analogy, the Nicenes were able to anathematize a conservative theological movement which had committed no other crime than faithful adherence to an outdated Christology.

**Nicaea**

The first Ecumenical Council met at Nicaea in AD 325. The level of attendance is open to debate. Eusebius says more than 250 bishops attended. Athanasius gives the figure of 300 on one occasion but amends this to 318 in another account. Eustathius claims ‘over 270.’[[62]](#footnote-62) All three were all present at the council, so this discrepancy is perplexing. Stranger still is the consensus for Athanasius’ figure of 318 among Christians of a much later period.[[63]](#footnote-63) It is curiously specific for an era which seems to have preferred round figures.

Modern authorities have seen a Biblical connection. J. W. C. Wand is one of many who observe that 318 corresponds to Gen 14:14.[[64]](#footnote-64) L. D. Davis points out that in Greek, 318 is a cipher for ‘TIH’, widely interpreted by early Christians as representative of Jesus and the cross.[[65]](#footnote-65) Thus there were theological reasons for preferring 318 regardless of historical data, which helps to explain why six subsequent church councils unerringly recall the figure and appeal to it as authoritative.[[66]](#footnote-66)

Representation at Nicaea was unbalanced. The Western contingent was very small; only four or five bishops from the Latin West were able to attend, not counting Hosius of Cordoba and the two Roman presbyters Vitus and Vincent, who attended as the personal delegates of Silvester I. The remaining company was composed of Eastern bishops from almost every imaginable area within the Middle East. Chief among them were Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius (Bishop of the Syrian capital), Marcellus of Ancyra and Macarius of Jerusalem − all stridently opposed to the Arian view. On their side, Arius and his friends were led by the irrepressible Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia and his brilliant namesake, Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea.

Contemporary accounts reveal that the pro-Arian faction seized the initiative almost immediately, proposing a creed incorporating essential elements of Arian theology. But violent protest arose from the opposing side; bishops read aloud passages from Arius’ work, arguing his formulations were extreme and intolerable to the majority. Eusebius of Caesarea intervened with a compromise proposal, recommending the acceptance of the baptismal creed employed in his diocese. While this was recognised as being orthodox by Constantine and the majority of the bishops, there were a few who disagreed.

Debate raged over the significance and meaning of the word *homoousios* (‘one in being’[[67]](#footnote-67)) which was unacceptable to both Arian and anti-Arian Eastern bishops, but considered appropriate by the Latins. In the end, it was the Emperor himself (doubtless guided by Hosius) who succeeded in determining that the orthodox definition of the term, as employed by the Greeks, was included in the Nicene Creed. Ironically, this word originated in Greek philosophy and had been condemned as heretical at the Council of Antioch, convened against Paul of Samosata.[[68]](#footnote-68)

The definitive statement appears in the conclusion of the Creed:

But some say: ‘There was a time in which he was not’, and, ‘Before he was born, he was not’, and, ‘He was created out of nothing’, or they claim that the Son of God is of another substance or another being, or he was created or subject to change or alteration. The Catholic and Apostolic Church declares them excluded from its membership.

Only three refused to sign the Creed: Arius himself, and the bishops Theonas and Secundus, who confessed his Christology. They were excommunicated and exiled to Illyria. Yet Arius’ doctrine continued to spread, for it had not been countered in any serious way.

**Conclusion**The popular view is that Nicaea was fatal to Arianism. Not so, argues Hall:

The anathema at the end attacks a series of statements believed to be Arian. In fact Arius could evade most of them. There is no evidence he actually wrote ‘There was when he was not.’ He would certainly deny ‘alterable’ or ‘mutable’, as we have seen.

He appears to have written ‘before he was begotten, he was not’, and, ‘he is from nothing’ (*Letter to Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, HE 1.5.4 [New Eusebius 325]); but even there ‘from nothing’ may be what he is accused of and not what he admits to asserting (note what follows, ‘this we do say, that he is neither part of God nor of any lower essence.’)

‘Created’ he did say, but it is not in the original text of N.[[69]](#footnote-69) Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis later claimed, ‘We subscribed to the creed; we did not subscribe to the anathematizing; not as objecting to the creed, but as disbelieving the party accused to be such as was represented’ (Socrates, HE 1.14.3 [New Eusebius 354.]).[[70]](#footnote-70)

This probably meant that they accepted the whole creed, including the anathema at the end, but did not accept that it applied to Arius. Later events would show their opinion was shared by many.

![C:\Documents and Settings\User 1\Local Settings\Temporary Internet Files\Content.IE5\2GO4YUVJ\MC900383730[1].wmf]()I**ntertextuality**

**R. Morgan**

Last time we had a first look at intertextuality in Revelation by considering the use of Daniel 2 at the beginning of the book. Building on the lesson of Daniel 2, Paul says “that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation (*apokalupsis*) in the knowledge of him” (Eph 1:17). We need the “spirit of wisdom” in order to have an understanding of the purpose of God (v. 18). We gain this from Bible reading and understanding. The word ‘secrets’ in Dan 2:28-29, 47 is the equivalent of the word ‘mystery’ (a secret) in the New Testament. So, in vv. 8 & 9 of Ephesians 1 Paul says “wherein he hath abounded toward us in all wisdom and prudence; Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure which he hath purposed in himself”. Later on in the epistle this “mystery” is expanded upon:

How that by revelation (*apokalupsis*) he made known unto me the mystery; (as I wrote afore in few words, Whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ) Which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit. (Eph 3:3-5)

Again, the secret is revealed “by the Spirit” and the same was true for Daniel – “this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living” (Dan 2:30) - and for us too:

Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect: yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to nought: But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, *even* the hidden *wisdom,* which God ordained before the world unto our glory: Which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known *it,* they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But God hath revealed (*apokalupto*) *them* unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man’s wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know *them,* because they are spiritually discerned. (1 Cor 2:10-14)

The “hidden wisdom” is simply the instruction of God contained in the Old Testament (Rom 16:25-26). We know this from v. 8 which says that if those who crucified Christ had known this wisdom they would not have killed him. In Acts 4 we read similar words:

Who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ. For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together, For to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done. (Acts 4:25-28)

This passage says that the actions of the “princes of this world” were predestined in the words of Psalm 2. All they had to do was read and understand. It is the same for us. The passage in Corinthians tells us that the hidden wisdom of God will only be revealed by the spirit of God. We can only understand by “comparing spiritual things with spiritual”, which means we can only interpret the book of Revelation using the spirit-word of God.

Only those who have this spiritual discernment can understand the revelation of Jesus Christ. Jesus himself said the same thing:

At that time Jesus answered and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed (apokalupto) them unto babes. Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and *he* to whomsoever the Son will reveal (apokalupto) *him*. (Matt 11:25-27)

We need to be spiritual “babes”, humble enough to let Scripture interpret itself and reveal to us the hidden wisdom of God. For instance, the fact that the Law would be replaced by faith (Gal 3:23) was already in the Old Testament and all a Jew had to do was read. We are really without excuse (Rom 1:16-23) and simply need to humble ourselves to read, hear and keep the word of God.

There is another reason why Rev 1:1 quotes from Daniel 2. The context is, of course, the dream of Nebuchadnezzar and the image he saw detailing world history in advance. The book of Revelation is in many ways a filling out of the details of the image as they pertain to the time since John’s day (the legs of the image, the Roman Empire) until the time when the stone strikes it in the feet. The image is about “what shall be in the latter days” (Dan 2:28), but this does not mean it is all about events around the time of the coming of the Lord. It culminates with that, but it also includes those events throughout the centuries leading up to the stone striking the image. The image is essentially *continuous historic* rather than Preterist or Futurist. The same is surely true for the Apocalypse. What use would the prophecy be to any brother or sister down the centuries if it was either Preterist (events in the first century) or Futurist (events still to come)? No use at all; and that is what makes Revelation such a miraculous book, applicable to every brother and sister from the days of John until our day and beyond.

The things in Revelation have been “signified”, says Rev 1:1. This word is usually translated as “sign” in the New Testament. The Revelation was sent by an angel to John, and this is also significant since the apostle was able to “bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ”. Jesus had told all of his disciples that this was their commission in a context that helps us to understand a little more about the book of Revelation:

But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, *even* the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me: And ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning. (John 15:26, 27)

The “Comforter” was an angel sent to the disciples in the first century.[[71]](#footnote-71) Why do I say it was an angel? There are a few hints that help determine that it was. Firstly, at the beginning of this section in John’s gospel record, Jesus says “I go to prepare a place for you” (John 14:2), an echo of Exod 23:20 where the angel that guided Israel through the wilderness was bringing them “into the place which I have prepared”. It is said there of the angel “obey his voice, and do all that I speak” (v. 22) which means that it was the angel’s voice but God’s words. Jesus says the same in John 14:10 – “the words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself: but the Father” and in John 16:13 of the Comforter – “he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak”. This same Comforter would “reprove the world of sin” (John 16:8), just as the angel (Exod 23:21). The Comforter is also called the “Holy Spirit” (John 14:26) and my conclusion is that here we have the power of God manifest in an angel guiding the apostles into all truth in the first century.

In the midst of this section on the Comforter we have the following:

Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, *that* shall he speak: and he will shew you things to come. He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew *it* unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shall shew *it* unto you. (John 16:1-15)

It is probable that this passage concerns the giving of the book of Revelation. The following table summarizes the connections:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| John 16:13-16 | Revelation 1:1 |
| V13 – “he will show you things to come” | “to show unto his servants things to come” |
| V15 – “all things that (1) the Father hath are (2) mine” | “The Revelation of (2) Jesus Christ, which (1) God gave unto him” |
| V13-14 – “(3) he (the Spirit of Truth) shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak… he shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine”  | “he sent and signified it by his (3) angel” |
| V14 – “and he shall show it unto (4) you” | “unto his servant (4) John” |

Using these connections we are able to say that it is through the “spirit of truth” that things are “signified”. Passages like the following help confirm this:

And fear came upon every soul: and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles. (Acts 2:43)

He brought them out, after that he had shewed wonders and signs in the land of Egypt, and in the Red sea, and in the wilderness forty years. (Acts 7:36)

And there stood up one of them named Agabus, and signified by the spirit that there should be great dearth throughout all the world: which came to pass in the days of Claudius Caesar. (Acts 11:28)

See also Acts 2:22; 4:30; 5:12; 8:13; 14:3; Rom 15:19; 2 Cor 12:12 (and vv. 1, 7 – “revelations”); Heb 2:4 where the word ‘signified’ as in Rev 1:1 is used in the context of the Holy Spirit gifts of the first century. The “wonders and signs” (Acts 7:36) were done through angels and therefore I conclude that the pouring out of the Holy Spirit in the first century included more intense angelic involvement in the ministrations of the disciples. This is why the angel delivered the revelation to John, the “spirit of truth” showing him the signs.

**Rebuttal – P. Wyns**

All Bible students of prophecy agree that Scripture should be interpreted using Scripture – a principle using its intertextuality. This is not simply finding word connections between different (usually OT and NT) passages but attempting to understand the context of each passage. The NT writers do not cite or allude to a passage because the wording helped to establish their argument - they do it because the original context of the passage is relevant. So, an Apostle might quote a passage from the Servant Prophecies in Isaiah because the original context of the Suffering Servant is relevant. This means that the Apostles understood the original prophecy – they knew the identity of the Servant and they understood the parallels between the life of the Suffering Servant and Christ. An important interpretive principle is established here, namely, that prophetic scripture has an original context that is determinative for understanding future applications. Therefore the Suffering Servant prophecies have a short time focus (Hezekiah) and a longer-term messianic fulfilment (Christ). If we dismiss the original context as unimportant then we are in danger of misapplying the interpretation. Moreover, the test of a true prophet is the correct fulfilment of his prophecy – this was expected by the generation that heard the prophecy. So, for example, the generation that heard Isaiah (or Christ) might at least expect a partial fulfilment of their words in order to establish whether or not they were dealing with a false prophet.

The image in Daniel 2 is, indeed, about “what shall be in the latter days” (Dan 2:28) but this expression is somewhat flexible. What do we understand as the ‘latter days’ (1,000 years hence, 2,000 years hence, etc.)? More to the point, what did Daniel understand as the ‘latter days’? Daniel was told that the desolations would last 490 years (Dan 9:24-27), therefore, the original context would expect a fulfilment somewhere in the first century (the time of Christ). At the end of 490 years Daniel expected that atonement would be made for sin and that the image would be destroyed and the kingdom established. The Apostles also expected the establishment of the kingdom in the first century (Acts 1:11). As a side point, (*sic*) in a First Century fulfilment the body parts of the image fit the historical proportions of the metal-kingdoms but a continuous fulfilment has deformed legs, four times the length of the body!

Of course, the kingdom was not established in the First Century, even if the Christ-stone did deal a blow to the image but has not yet grown into a mountain. If Daniel/Revelation is not continuous how do we make sense of the prophecies? The **only way is if there is an interruption or “gap” in the prophecies**. Do we have a precedent for this gap? Yes, the generation that was promised entry into the kingdom perished in the wilderness (“ye shall know my breach of promise”, Num 14:34) and this forms the basis of the warning to the Hebrews to change their ways or face the same punishment (“Let us therefore be diligent to enter that rest, lest anyone fall according to the same example of disobedience”, Heb 4:11). So, the warning is that if they do not repent then there will be exclusion and delay in introducing the kingdom as in the wilderness and they will not enter into God’s rest…in other words a ‘breach’ in the promise and subsequently a gap in the prophecies as the promise is suspended (not cancelled).

The Apocalypse commences with the words; “The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to him to show his servants **what must** **soon** **take place**” (Rev 1:1a, RSV). G.K. Beale has noted[[72]](#footnote-72) that the formula translated in Rev 1:1 (and also 4:1 and 22:6) as “**what must….take place**” is found in only one other place in the Bible, namely in Daniel 2, where it occurs in verses 28, 29 and 45:

…what will be in the latter days… what is to be… what shall be hereafter Dan 2:28, 29, and 45 (RSV)

We can bring out the connection by translating the Greek relative pronoun and the verb ‘to be’ as,

…to show . . . …what must be soon (Rev 1:1)

Hence, Daniel is translated in the LXX as,

…he showed . . . what things must take place in the latter days (Dan 2:28, LXX)

The important matter to note is the change from the idea of the latter days to what is to be soon, which indicates that fulfilment has begun (that it is being fulfilled) or will begin in the near future. John varies the text accordingly.

Therefore, the Apocalypse anticipates (via Daniel) an imminent fulfilment in the first century. The conclusion is inescapable that the prophecy of Daniel/Revelation had at least **a partial fulfilment in the first century in the same manner as the Olivet Prophecy.**

This parallel reading of Revelation/Daniel understands both prophecies as **discontinuous** – for although both prophecies were flexible enough to allow a complete outworking in the first century, this was disallowed by the unfaithfulness of the Jewish nation and corruption of the church by Judaizers. The dispersion of the Jewish nation in AD 70 interrupted the prophetic programme which could only recommence with the return of the Jewsfrom their prolonged exile.

**Archaeology**

**J. Burke**

**What is archaeological ‘minimalism’?[[73]](#footnote-73)**

‘Minimalism’ is the view that archaeology provides little or no support for the Biblical history.[[74]](#footnote-74) The best known adherents are OT scholars Philip Davies, Lester Grabbe, Niels Lemche, Thomas Thompson, and Keith Whitelam. However, Israel Finkelstein and Neil Silberman are the only two prominent archaeologists associated with minimalist views. Professional archaeologists are typically strongly critical of minimalist claims. What are some leading scholars saying?

**Kenneth Kitchen**

K. A. Kitchen (an Egyptologist, Assyriologist, and archaeologist) has raised numerous objections to minimalist claims. He rejects Thompson’s assertions that the Hebrew Tabernacle is a literary fiction, and that the Tel Dan Stele does not refer to a Hebrew ‘House of David’:

**In so doing he ignores the whole of the comparative data that show clearly that the tabernacle was a product of Egyptian technology from the overall period 3000 to 1000 B.C. (plus Semitic analogues, 1900-1100), and would be unable to account for such facts.[[75]](#footnote-75)**

Contrary to TLT, “House of X” does mean a dynastic founder, all over the Near East, in the first half of the first millennium B.C.; it was an Aramean usage that passed into Assyrian nomenclature, and examples are common.[[76]](#footnote-76)

He also defends the Merneptah Stele as reliable evidence for a people named ‘Israel’ in early 13th century Canaan,[[77]](#footnote-77) and contradicts the minimalist claim that the use of the first person perspective in the Mesha Stele indicates a post-mortem or legendary account.[[78]](#footnote-78)

**William Dever**

Though far more sceptical than Kitchen, W. Dever, an archaeologist, has nevertheless opposed minimalism vigorously,[[79]](#footnote-79) objecting in particular to their lack of engagement with professional archaeological scholarship.

**Davies does not even cite the standard handbook**, Mazar’s *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*…[[80]](#footnote-80)

Thus he [Thompson] published two years later his revisionist treatment of ancient Israel: *The Mythic Past: Biblical Archaeology and the Myth of Israel*. **Despite its subtitle, this work has next to nothing to do with real archaeology**.[[81]](#footnote-81)

**Israel Finkelstein**

Despite sympathies with some minimalist views, Finkelstein has rejected strongly the minimalist claims concerning the Biblical records of Iron Age Israel.

**The assumption is inconceivable** that in the fifth, or fourth, or even second centuries b.c.e., the scribes of a small, out-of-the-way temple town in the Judean mountains authored an extraordinarily long and detailed composition about the history, personalities, and events of an imaginary Iron Age “Israel” **without using ancient sources**.[[82]](#footnote-82)

He has also rejected the minimalist assertions that the ‘lists and details of royal administrative organization in the kingdom of Judah’ are fictional,[[83]](#footnote-83) and that the Hebrew King David never existed.[[84]](#footnote-84) He acknowledges strong archaeological support for certain parts of the Biblical record.[[85]](#footnote-85)

**Amihai Mazar**

With more in common with Finkelstein than the minimalists, A. Mazar, an archaeologist, takes a moderate though critical view of the Biblical history.

Both Assyrian inscriptions and local inscriptions like the stelae of Mesha, king of Moab, and of Hazael, king of Damascus (better known as the Tel Dan inscription), **confirm that the general historical framework of the Deuteronomistic narrative relating to the ninth century was based on reliable knowledge of the historical outline of that century**. Our understanding of the periods preceding the ninth century is of course foggier.[[86]](#footnote-86)

When in doubt, readers are advised to weigh minimalist claims against the current scholarly consensus. Although widely publicized (especially by skeptics and atheists who find minimalist claims convenient for their own agendas), minimalist views remain on the fringe of archaeology and Biblical scholarship, and to date almost no professional archaeologists have joined the minimalist ranks; Finkelstein remains the only archaeologist with views significantly supportive of minimalism. A future column in the journal will provide information useful for identifying the various positions of mainstream Biblical scholars and archaeologists on contested issues and identifying which scholars hold which positions.

**News and Reviews**

**Review: “All One in Christ Jesus”**

(Published by the Authors, A & I McHaffie, Edinburgh, EH5 1AH, ISBN 978-0-9546681-9-8, 364 pages.)

Sister Averil and Brother Ian McHaffie’s work ‘All One in Christ Jesus’[[87]](#footnote-87) challenges the historical role of sisters in the Christadelphian community.[[88]](#footnote-88) Taking its title and the premise of its argument from the words of Gal 3:28, the book asserts that since brothers and sisters are ‘all one’ in Christ, distinctions in ecclesial roles should not be made on the basis of gender.

This brief review is written in response to Averil and Ian’s invitation for constructive criticism, and their offer to correct any errors.[[89]](#footnote-89) Due to limited space only a few points are examined here; readers interested in more details may refer to my longer work as well as that of Averil and Ian’s.[[90]](#footnote-90)

**Greek word meanings**

Averil and Ian make some claims about Greek word meanings which are misleading at best, and demonstrably wrong at worst.[[91]](#footnote-91)

|  |
| --- |
| Wrong or misleading claims about Greek word meanings |
| Claim | Standard commentary |
| *androphonoi* in 1 Tim 1:9 means ‘mankilling’ or ‘manslaying’ (p. 94 fn. 78). | *androphonos* refers to murder without reference to gender.[[92]](#footnote-92) |
| There is debate over the meaning of *kephalē*, in 1 Cor 11:3, typically translated ‘head’ (p. 228 fn. 148). | Standard lexicons identify *kephalē* as ‘first, superior rank, pre-eminent status, leader, master, head’ in 1 Cor 11:3.[[93]](#footnote-93) |
| There is debate over the meaning of the word *authenteō*, in 1 Tim 2:12 (p. 105; 117-122). | *authenteō* here has the neutral meaning ‘have authority’; the egalitarian view has been rejected by most scholars.[[94]](#footnote-94) |

Professional lexicographical tools are generally ignored. Vine’s *Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words*[[95]](#footnote-95) is used several times (pp. 65, 119, 126), but only one standard lexicon is ever cited (Liddell & Scott, ‘A Greek-English Lexicon’), and only once (p. 40).

**Socio-Historical Context**

Contrary to Averil and Ian’s claims, first century Christian women were not restricted by Jewish, Greek, or Roman social attitudes.[[96]](#footnote-96)

|  |
| --- |
| Wrong claims about socio-historical context |
| Claim | Standard commentary |
|  ‘In his attitudes and relationships with women, Jesus was distinctly different from his contemporaries’ (p. 32). | Jesus’ treatment of women can be found among his contemporaries.[[97]](#footnote-97) [[98]](#footnote-98)  |
| Ecclesial involvement of women was ‘a new and important development’ (p. 33). | Women already enjoyed active religious participation in Judaism.[[99]](#footnote-99) [[100]](#footnote-100) |

**Textual interpretation**

Averil and Ian propose a number of interpretive conclusions which have little no support among standard scholarship.

|  |
| --- |
| Interpretive conclusions rejected by a majority of commentators |
| Claim | Standard commentary |
| Gnosticism is a useful relevant framework for understanding Paul’s arguments on women (pp. 92-93, 111-112, 244). | Gnosticism did not exist until long after Paul was dead.[[101]](#footnote-101) |
| Appeals to the work of Catherine Kroeger (pp. 95, 118-119). | Kroeger has long been discredited.[[102]](#footnote-102) |
| The ‘Law’ in 1 Cor 14:34 is ‘a Jewish understanding of the Old Testament, or to the Jewish oral law’ (p. 75). | Identified on linguistic grounds as a reference to Biblical texts.[[103]](#footnote-103) |
| ‘1 Corinthians 14:34-35 should only be taken as a ban on *disorderly* speaking’ (p. 85). | Not limited to disorderly speaking.[[104]](#footnote-104) |
| 1 Corinthians 14:334-35 is a quotation which Paul rejects (pp. 73-79) | Not a quotation.[[105]](#footnote-105) |

Commentaries cited are almost exclusively those with the same view as Averil and Ian

**Conclusion**

Although passionately argued, ‘All One’ lacks attention to historical facts, standard scholarship, and professional lexicography. It appeals to arguments from the first wave of ‘evangelical egalitarians’, arguments largely discredited over 20 years ago; typically by egalitarians themselves. Symptomatic of legitimate concerns for the fair treatment of sisters in our community, the work is nevertheless not well founded, either on Scripture or on scholarship.[[106]](#footnote-106)

**— J. Burke**

**News: Additional Books on iTunes Bookstore**



The EJournal for 2010 is now available as an ePUB download on iTunes at £2.99.



Demons and Politics is now available as an ePUB download on iTunes at £1.49.



Isaiah is now available as an ePUB download on iTunes at £5.49.

**New Book**

**Reasons (edited by T. E. Gaston)**

Available from Willow Publications and the Christadelphian EJournal of Biblical Interpretation at £6.99 plus postage (231 pages) — [www.lulu.com/willowpublications](http://www.lulu.com/willowpublications).

We live in an increasingly secular age, when religion is marginalised and its fashionable detractors claim that faith is a result of ignorance or irrationality. In such a climate, it is worth remembering that there are good reasons why rational and informed individuals believe in God and put their trust in His message, the Bible. In **this book** a number of authors bring together their expertise in various fields, including science, philosophy and biblical studies, to lay out some of the reasons for believing in God, Jesus and the Bible. Covering topics ranging from the fine-tuning of physical constants to the historical evidence of the resurrection of Jesus, this book provides positive reinforcement for faith in the modern world. The essays and authors are:

**Introduction: Faith in the Modern World (Tom Gaston)**

**Part One: Reasons for Seeking**

Philosophical Arguments (Tom Gaston)

Fine-Tuning (Peter Jeavons)

The Origin of Life (Paul Boyd)

Consciousness (John Launchbury)

Morality (Tom Gaston)

The Problem of Evil (David Levin)

**Part Two: Reasons for Believing**

Textual Criticism (Jonathan Burke)

The Old Testament and History (Andrew Perry)

Bible Prophecy (David Alexander)

Israel: God’s Chosen People (Reg Carr)

The Historical Jesus (Andrew Perry)

The Resurrection of Jesus (Simon Dean)

**Epilogue** (Alan Eyre)

**Postscript: Newcastle to Kings Cross**[[107]](#footnote-107)

**A. Perry**

None of us have met Jesus per­sonally; we did not spend time with him in Galilee. We are among those for whom he prayed just before his crucifixion, when he said, “I pray not for these only, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word” (John 17:20). But what do we believe?

It’s valuable to ask this question from time to time. There is great comfort to be gained from rehearsing our faith, for we are saved by faith. The parable of the sower shows that along the path of life, there will be those who fall away. If we were baptised as teenagers, then with the passing of years, some of those with whom we were baptised will not last the course. We ourselves always need to take heed lest *we* fall. Perhaps as young men and women, we thought that we would not/could not fall, but experience of human nature soon shows how fragile is the human mind.

Our minds are assailed by all manner of opposing forces, and we are beset by the troubles of this life. We have this confidence that He who has begun a good work in us, will ensure that we are kept and made ready for the day of Christ’s return. The Gospel is true and simple, but there are many views ‘out there’, which say the Gospel is ‘this or that’. We can re-assure ourselves about the Gospel by examining the preaching of the apostles. When we do this we find that it is essentially a Jewish Gospel, revolving around Abraham and his natural and spiritual descendants. The Gospel concerns a land, an inheritance, a man and a bride, a people and a name.

We must never lose sight of this Gospel as the instrument of our birth. As time passes, it is easy to lose sight of the Gospel and various things combine to distract us. There is the slow strangulation of the world and its values which impinge on us at every turn. As we step out of our homes, these values are evident everywhere in the cities where we live. Our very ‘Lot-like’ life in those cities is one where we can become acclimatized and accustomed to its ways. The more this happens, the less separate we are, and the less we find ourselves looking for that city to come. We find ourselves content in the city of our present life.

The child of God ought to sense a real alienation from his city and its inhabitants. His city has much evil on display— the hoardings, the shops, the cinemas, the media, the entertainments— where can s/he look without seeing the qualities of the flesh? How dark is the city in which s/he walks? Can s/he see that its darkness is so thick that only a few will be saved?

It is not just the city, because the city begins with individuals. It is a fact that if the world is evil, we too are evil. Indeed Jesus described his disciples as evil, for he said that we are evil even though we know how to give good gifts unto our children. There is fear not only of the world; there is fear also of us.

It is possible to become despondent, it is possible to despair, but we are not without hope. We may be in bondage to sin and death, but freedom has been offered through belief of the truth. It is easy to dwell on problems, especially if you are a melancholic, but the main antidote which we must seize is the reading of the Scriptures. Our reading of them is a kind of barometer on our spiritual health. David loved the Law, and it was his meditation all the day, but can we say this of ourselves? A saying in the world runs – “we are what we read” - of course not many people read anything as heavy as the Bible. It needs to be different with us. Jesus testified that these Scriptures spoke of him, and if we would know the man we have yet to meet, we have to read of him.

We can read of him in the Psalms—the Messianic Psalms— these give us an insight into his thinking, because they are often expressions of his thought— rather than descriptions of events. For example, how did Christ feel when he read Isaiah 51, “I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face from shame and spitting” (v. 6)? Christ had to read Psalm 22, with its prophecy, “They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture” (v. 18). He had to read, “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me” (v. 1). These passages give us extra information about the trial. As well as being spat on and buffeted, his accusers pulled at his hair, as they roughed him about. In this experience of facing death, he did not lose confidence; his accusers would wax old as a garment. None of us have been through a public execution, we have not waited in a condemned cell for three years with the knowledge of our end, and we have not counted the years and the days, or the hours. We have not had to deal with the changing physiology of our body and our nerves as the moment approached. We do not know the day of our death.

Any words we could use to describe the death of Christ would be an understatement, but we do need to reflect on this sacrifice made on our behalf. In his death he overcame the world, he overcame his city. As we walk around our cities, may we constantly have his example in our mind and be of good cheer.

**Supplement**

**Luke-Acts and**

**Hellenistic Historiography**

**A. Perry**

**Introduction**

In this supplement we discuss those features that Luke shares with typical Hellenistic histories. We then discuss dissonant features that may support an alternative genre classification.

Scholars determine the characteristics of Hellenistic history from both the historical works themselves and the theoretical remarks of Hellenistic historians on the process of writing history. However, here we will not utilize a definition of this genre; our approach is only concerned with family resemblances between Luke and Acts and “typical” Hellenistic histories.

Several features of Luke-Acts have been aligned with extant Hellenistic histories. These include the existence of common literary forms such as prefaces and speeches;[[108]](#footnote-108) evidence that Luke has employed an historical “method”, stating an historical purpose in his prefaces and using sources; and the subject-matter itself of Luke-Acts — it appears to be a “history”.

*Literary Forms*

An emphasis upon shared *literary forms* and a common *method* is essential to the case that Luke-Acts is a kind of Hellenistic history, because the *substantive content* of Luke-Acts is obviously different from the classical histories of, for example, Herodotus (5c. BCE.), Thucydides (5c. BCE.), Xenophon (5c. BCE.), Theopompus (4c. BCE.), and the Hellenistic histories, such as Diodorus Siculus (1c. BCE.), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1c. BCE.), Arrian (1c. BCE.) and Polybius (1c. BCE.).[[109]](#footnote-109) These histories concern the actions of nations, cities and great men, whereas Luke-Acts is a parochial story. Whether Luke-Acts is to be classified in the Hellenistic historical genre revolves around the issue: are the formal similarities and a similar avowed method a sufficient basis for such a classification or does the divergent content require another classification?

**Prefaces**

H. J. Cadbury asserted that,

...it is the bare fact of his [Luke] using a preface rather than in its details that Luke’s relation to literature is apparent.[[110]](#footnote-110)

Cadbury also argued that Luke’s “prefaces and dedications at once suggest classification with the contemporary Hellenistic historians”.[[111]](#footnote-111) The use of prefaces was common in the Hellenistic era (but not earlier), for example, *Dionysius: Roman Antiquities*,[[112]](#footnote-112) and *Polybius: Histories*.[[113]](#footnote-113) Thus, the presence of the preface in Luke and a brief recapitulation[[114]](#footnote-114) in Acts is taken to be evidence that Luke-Acts was meant as a species of a single genre — Hellenistic history writing.

In her ongoing critique of this approach, L. C. A. Alexander summarises the common scholarly view that, “the preface of Acts functions as a genre-indicator” and “the informed reader…is led immediately to place it in the category of ‘history’ or ‘monograph’…”.[[115]](#footnote-115) Whether Luke-Acts fulfils these terms of reference well does not obviate the authorial cue signalled by the two prefaces.

The features of Luke’s prefaces bear comparison with prefaces in Hellenistic histories, as well as other genres. However, if an association is to be made with *historiographical* prefaces, rather than novels, medical or geographical works, it will be because of the *subject-matter* of Luke-Acts — it is to be regarded as historical in the sense that it is about the words and deeds of a religious leader and his followers.

Luke appears to advertise his use of Hellenistic historical methods in his preface:

Inasmuch as many have undertaken to compile a narrative (dih,ghsij) of the things which have been accomplished among us (evn h`mi/n), just as they were handed down to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses (auvto,pthj) and servants of the word, it seemed fitting for me as well, having followed (parakolouqe,w) everything carefully (avkribw/j).from the beginning, to write *it* out for you in consecutive order (kaqexh/j), so that you may know the exact truth about the things you have been taught. Luke 1:1-4

The following details in Luke’s prefaces have been noted by scholars:

1) Luke uses the authorial first person, which is found in historiographical prefaces such as Diodorus[[116]](#footnote-116) (e.g. Book I.3.1, “consequently we…were led to feel a like enthusiasm for the subject”) and Polybius (e.g. Book VI.6.2, “I am aware that some will wonder why I have deferred…my account”).

2) Luke refers to previous writers (evpeidh,per polloi. evpecei,rhsan avnata,xasqai dih,ghsin), and this is a convention of historiographical prefaces (e.g. Polybius, Book I.1.1, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities*, Book I.1.1[[117]](#footnote-117)). Luke uses the term dih,ghsij and this is used for historical accounts (e.g. Polybius III.4.1, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* I.7.4, Diodorus Siculus XI.20.1).[[118]](#footnote-118)

3) Luke criticizes other accounts, but his criticisms are implied by his objectives. Thus other accounts have failed to include the beginning of the story (a;nwqen); they have failed to include all the necessary detail (pa/sin); their work was not precise enough (avkribw/j); and it was not in order (kaqexh/j). A particular failing of these accounts would be the failure to include the apostolic words and deeds as part of the “all things” belonging to the whole story.

This reflects Lucian’s methodology, when he says,

…when he [the historian] has collected all or most of the facts let him first make them into a series of notes…then after arranging them into order, let him give it beauty and enhance it with the charms of expression, figure and rhythm.[[119]](#footnote-119)

Luke seeks to persuade his patron that his account is more faithful to events, and he seeks to do this by advertising his methodology. In this way, Luke criticizes other authors, a common characteristic of Hellenistic histories.

4) While Luke does not claim to be an eyewitness,[[120]](#footnote-120) he identifies with his story in the phrase evn h`mi/n (Luke 1:1), and this satisfies Polybius’ desideratum that the historian be “of action” or a participant “in actual affairs” (Book I.1.2); he is one of the “community”, the founding of which he is narrating. Luke claims eyewitnesses (auvto,pthj) as his sources, and here he satisfies Lucian’s pre-requisite of listening to those who tell the most impartial story. Eyewitness knowledge was thought the most reliable, and Luke’s mention of eyewitnesses shows a conscious evocation of this principle of evidence and therefore an intentional participation on his part in an historical method.

5) Luke’s stated objective to Theophilus is that “you may know the truth (avsfa,leia) concerning the things of which you have been informed (kathch,qhj)”. The apologetic aspect of this objective is a comparable utility to the political value of Hellenistic histories.

6) Luke includes a dedication, and this practise is *indirectly* evidenced for Hellenistic histories. Commenting upon other histories, Hellenistic historians often note the patron for whom the history was written. For example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his *Roman Antiquities* I.4.3 refers to the common practise of writing histories for kings.

7) Luke’s second preface in Acts summarises the contents of the previous work, and this bears comparison to some Hellenistic histories, for instance, in Polybius Book II.1.1, “in the preceding book” and in Diodorus Book II.1.1, “the preceding book, being the first of the whole work”. In these cases, the first preface was generally applicable to the whole work, while subsequent prefaces were shorter, mentioned former volumes and specified the content of the next volume.

The above similarities, (1)-(7), do not prove that Luke and Acts share the same genre unless the preface to Luke covers Acts. Alexander makes the neutral observation that the prefaces do not prove that the two volumes were conceived as a two-part work, or that they were *not* so conceived.[[121]](#footnote-121) However, placing any authorial plan to one side, the question is whether the recapitulation of Acts incorporates the concerns of the gospel preface for an implied reader. If it does, and if the gospel preface is indicative of an historical genre, this would carry forward to Acts.

The recapitulation of Acts is brief and directs a reader to the relationship that the second work has in an entire design. In this aspect, Acts bears comparison to briefer recapitulations in historical multi-volume works that do little more than link the parts of a single work, for instance, Josephus, *Antiquities* Book VIII.1.1 “concerning David…we have written in the preceding book. Now when his son Solomon…”.[[122]](#footnote-122) Therefore any genre indications in the gospel preface carries forward for the implied reader to the continuing story in Acts.

The irony in this observation is that, for many scholars, whereas the gospel preface is arguably an historical preface, it is attached to a largely “biographical” work, or perhaps a unique “gospel” genre; it would have been more “at home” attached to Acts, which has other characteristics suggestive of the “historical” genre. Accordingly, our conclusion is that the preface alone is not *sufficient* to indicate an historical genre for Luke or Acts or Luke-Acts. This conclusion is reinforced by dissimilarities between Luke’s prefaces and Hellenistic counterparts.

The topics covered in Hellenistic prefaces bear some comparison with Luke’s prefaces, but there are also points of dissimilarity. Alexander has argued that the prefaces to Luke and Acts do not fit the Hellenistic historiographical pattern. Several points of dissimilarity can be proposed:

1) The **sizes** of the prefaces are smaller than those in other histories, e.g. Polybius Book VI.2.1-10, Diodorus Book I.1-5 extend to several pages. Further, Luke’s **style** in the preface is not as elevated as those of the Greek historians.

2) The **subject-matter** of Luke and Acts, as laid down in the prefaces, does not match Hellenistic histories. The **scope** of the work is narrow (a social movement) unlike political and military concerns of standard histories, and the **scale** of the work is small compared to the multi-volume works of Hellenistic histories, e.g. Diodorus offers forty volumes, Polybius, forty books.

3) **Dedications** are not normally found in history-writing; Josephus is an exception. They are found in other types of literature, for example, Plutarch’s *Table-Talk* I.612.[[123]](#footnote-123) Alexander comments that dedications are found in histories “outside the mainstream of Greek culture”.[[124]](#footnote-124) This may explain the freedom exercised by Luke to include a dedication. Similarly, Greek historians usually give their own **signature**, whereas this is absent in Luke-Acts.

4) Alexander observes that **recapitulations** are relatively rare in Hellenistic histories; Alexander’s comment is that “recapitulation at the beginning of a book cannot therefore be described as in any way *customary* or *usual* in Greek historiography”.[[125]](#footnote-125)

Accordingly, Alexander argues that the Luke’s prefaces correspond more closely to “the scientific tradition” of writing, which she documents, but concedes that such a tradition is too broad to be considered a genre.[[126]](#footnote-126) The methodological problem inherent in Alexander’s discussion is the problem of “induction”. Examples of classical and Hellenistic historiographical prefaces can be more or less aligned with Luke’s prefaces with appropriate similarities and dissimilarities noted, (and the same exercise can be carried out for “scientific” works), but such a catalogue falls short of providing a general criterion whereby a Hellenistic historiographical genre can be identified. Scholars seek a general rule, but the partiality of the evidence falls short of providing a general rule.

Moreover, D. E. Aune makes the obvious point against Alexander that, “since Luke does not appear to be a scientific or technical treatise, this thesis poses an apparent problem”.[[127]](#footnote-127) Luke-Acts consists of narrative discourse, whereas the “scientific tradition” is comprised of expository and descriptive discourse. Accordingly, we would argue that the dissimilarities identified by Alexander between Luke’s prefaces and historiographical works do not override the similarities, given that these are supported by the *narrative character* of Luke-Acts. R. I. Pervo’s observation that “Alexander has demonstrated that the prefaces do not support the claim that Luke introduced himself as a historian”[[128]](#footnote-128) is too hasty; Alexander has merely illustrated the inductive problem that scholars face in balancing the mix of evidence.

Our conclusion therefore is that while Alexander has shown that the existence of a preface in Luke and Acts is not *sufficient* to warrant a classification of Luke or Acts or Luke-Acts as Hellenistic historiography, she has not shown that, taken with other features of the two works (see below), it is not *jointly sufficient* for such a classification.

**Speeches**

Speeches are the second characteristic of Luke and Acts that scholars identify as indicative of “history-writing” and coupled with the existence of a preface, the argument is made that these two characteristics are jointly sufficient for such a classification.

Thucydides gives classical expression to the role of speeches for Hellenistic histories. He states,

As to the speeches that were made by different men… [they] are given in the language in which, as it seemed to me, the several speakers would express, on the subjects under consideration, the sentiments most befitting the occasion, though at the same time I have adhered as closely as possible to the general sense of what was actually said.[[129]](#footnote-129)

Whether Thucydides followed his own principle, this methodology allows for both accuracy and rhetorical excess, and both ends of this spectrum are in evidence in Hellenistic history-writing.

Polybius followed Thucydides’ example; he states,

…the peculiar function of history is to discover, in the first place, the words actually spoken, whatever they were, and next to ascertain the reason why what was done or spoken led to failure or success. For the mere statement of a fact may interest us but is of no benefit to us: but when we add the cause of it, study of history becomes fruitful.[[130]](#footnote-130)

We see here the typical emphasis given to speeches as causally significant events in the explanation of the flow of events. Accordingly, Polybius is critical of other writers who make up speeches or engage in rhetorical excess, and who fail to make the connection between speeches and events.[[131]](#footnote-131)

Luke obviously follows this practise, insofar as he places set-piece speeches at critical junctures in his narrative. Scholars discuss whether his speeches are more or less accurate in terms of the words and/or content of what was said by the historical individual; whether they illustrate his own theology; whether they reflect the concerns of the communities with which he is associated; or again, whether they represent a point of view appropriate to the character delivering the speech and function wholly within the narrative-world; yet again, it is said that the speeches may reflect the point of view of any sources used by Luke. These possible readings (and combinations of them) are represented in scholarship and applied to the speeches grouped and classified according to a chosen scheme.[[132]](#footnote-132)

It is beyond the scope of our consideration of genre to examine the historicity of the speeches. Hellenistic histories had speeches, but they were not required to be verbatim reports. Whether Luke included verbatim reports of speeches or whether he constructed accurate speeches conveying *what* was said on the occasion in question does not affect the assignment of “Hellenistic History” as the genre of Luke-Acts. Since Luke was a Christian prophet and a recipient of the Spirit, his speeches are an inspired historical record. This fact neither negates nor establishes a classification of Luke-Acts as Hellenistic history. What is more significant is the question of whether the speeches in Luke and/or Acts were unique.

M. Dibelius distinguished Luke’s missionary speeches (Acts 2, 3, 5, 10 and 13) from those speeches that function to explain and advance the plot (e.g. speeches at the Jerusalem Council, or the speeches of characters such as Felix and Festus).[[133]](#footnote-133) Dibelius regarded[[134]](#footnote-134) Luke’s missiological speeches as a new form of speech, unrepresented in Hellenistic history-writing, and to have a common form and content; he viewed the non-missiological speeches as analogous to speeches in Hellenistic histories.

F. F. Bruce observes that “the speeches in Acts should not be considered in isolation from those in the Third Gospel”.[[135]](#footnote-135) The “speeches” in Luke’s gospel, have a different character to those in Acts; they are substantially aphoristic, didactic, and parabolic, whereas in Acts they are much more apologetic, although as M. L. Soards notes, “there is much deliberative and epideictic rhetoric”.[[136]](#footnote-136) The apologetic quality of the speeches is conducted with a scriptural deliberation that is absent in the gospels. Jesus teaches from the scriptures, but he does not engage (ironically) in the kind of scriptural debate evidenced throughout Acts.

The *existence* of speeches in Luke and Acts has been cited as evidence of historical genre. However, scholars have gone further and identified corresponding characteristics between Luke’s speeches and Hellenistic histories.

M. L. Soards cites[[137]](#footnote-137) E. Plümacher’s[[138]](#footnote-138) six points of contact between speeches in Acts and Hellenistic histories, some of which carry more weight. Citing relevant parallels, Soards asserts that Luke has i) fitted speeches to the context; ii) used speeches to advance the plot; iii) ended speeches by reporting that much more was said, or by interruption; iv) incorporated historical example; v) indulged a complimentary style to the atticizing practised in Hellenistic history-writing by imitating Septuagintal modes of expression; and vi) employed older forms of expression in order to give an impression of his period (the period of the Apostles).

Soards is critical of Plümacher, but notes that “one cannot deny some relationship between Acts, especially the speeches, and Hellenistic historiography”.[[139]](#footnote-139) The question raised by Soards’ discussion concerns what criteria are sufficient to classify Acts as a “Hellenistic” history. Of Plümacher’s six points of contact, the only significant correspondence is *the use of speeches to advance the plot*. This criterion forces a comparison with Hellenistic history-writing. This criterion is structural and *literary* and can be demonstrated for most if not all of Luke’s speeches, as well as the speeches in Hellenistic histories. Plümacher’s other points of contact are not fully generalized characteristics of Hellenistic history-writing.

Given the large number of speeches cast across the classical and Hellenistic histories available to an educated person such as Luke, it is likely that his speeches in Acts do have correspondences in style and content to some speeches in some other histories, but such parallels do not establish that Acts is a Hellenistic history. Thus, Luke may end *some* of his speeches in a similar way to *some* speeches in the standard histories of his day, but this does not amount to the proof of a literary pattern that has significance for genre classification. Further, the value-judgment that Hellenistic speeches *loosely* fit the context involves the subjective reading of the modern historian and will vary from speech to speech in any given history; this kind of similarity is too vague to support a genre classification. Again, the use of historical example or contemporary allusion in a speech is too incidental to provide a general feature of Hellenistic history writing.

Soards’ critique of Plümacher is not *theoretical* in terms of what would count as a genre-significant comparison, but rather it is addressed to Plümacher’s analysis of the speeches in Acts. However, his critique does illustrate the problem of induction once again: many characteristics of Hellenistic historical speeches are not sufficiently general to participate in a definition of the genre. Accordingly, the question is whether the structural use of speeches by Luke is *sufficient*, or *jointly sufficient* with another characteristic of his writing (e.g. the presence of a preface) to warrant the genre assignment of “Hellenistic History”.

R. I. Pervo has argued that, citing the statistical work of G. H. R. Horsley[[140]](#footnote-140) and C. J. Hemer,[[141]](#footnote-141) “Acts has substantially more direct speech than do the historians with which it is often otherwise compared”.[[142]](#footnote-142) Pervo’s purview takes in all the direct speech in Acts, as well as the set piece speeches, the enumeration of which is subject to different counts by scholars. Pervo’s argument is that the quantity of direct speech affects an assignment of “Hellenistic History” to Acts; Acts bears more similarity to works of fiction in its quantity of direct speech.[[143]](#footnote-143) He states, “in terms of naked quantification of direct speech, Acts fits more comfortably among historical novels”.[[144]](#footnote-144) Pervo’s statistics are sound, but they do not affect the basic point that Luke’s *structural* use of set piece speeches is analogous to Classical and Hellenistic history-writing. The argument can be made that this characteristic is jointly sufficient with Luke’s use of a preface for a determination of genre. Whether this argument is successful, however, depends on any assessment of competing genre proposals.

*Literary Materials*

In terms of the literary forms in Luke and Acts, Hellenistic histories included a wide variety of material, such a genealogical records, letters, meal scenes as occasions for instruction, dreams and visions, travel narratives and dramatic episodes, such as escapes and dangerous voyages. However, these characteristics can be found in biographical works as well as novels. Their presence in Luke and Acts does not make those works historical or fictional; a more significant factor is whether Luke’s subject-matter is worthy enough to be deemed “historical” according to the standards of his day. Accordingly, in specifying criteria of identity that are jointly sufficient for identifying a work as a Hellenistic history we cannot include any literary forms that are defined according to content.[[145]](#footnote-145)

**Method**

Method for Hellenistic historians was a matter of assessing prior histories, geographies and ethnographies relating to their topic, incorporating data from official written documents, conducting oral interviews, and adding their own eyewitness knowledge; it was a matter of evaluating prior work by authors (often unfavourably), judging source material, weighing eyewitness information, and then writing a more or less veridical account with style and imagination, with some objective or specific audience in mind.

Hellenistic historians used various sources, including eyewitness materials. Dionysius states that historians should,

...take great care and pains, to provide themselves with the proper equipment for the treatment of their subject.[[146]](#footnote-146)

Lucian of Samosata states that the historian should,

…for preference be an eyewitness, but if not, listen to those who tell the more impartial story.[[147]](#footnote-147)

Polybius thought that historians should ideally be participants of the events they narrated, he says,

…it will be well with history either when men of action undertake to write history…or again when would-be authors regard a training in actual affairs as necessary for writing history.[[148]](#footnote-148)

Some historians emphasized a veridical method and a disdain for rhetoric and imagination. Polybius asserts that his history-writing is different to other works; he criticizes those who write for pay and those who write for rhetorical display,[[149]](#footnote-149) and he consciously sought to recover classical standards.[[150]](#footnote-150) He states,

…my own opinion is that we should indeed bestow care and concern on the proper manner of reporting events.[[151]](#footnote-151)

This concern pertained to geographical description as well as the narration of events. As far as Polybius is concerned, “…if History is stripped of her truth all that is left is an idle tale”.[[152]](#footnote-152)

Dionysius illustrates a different kind of history-writing in which there is explicit attention to rhetoric. E. Cary comments, “…the desire to please is everywhere in evidence; there is constant straining after rhetorical and dramatic effects”.[[153]](#footnote-153) The purposes of rhetoric included the objectives of persuading the reader as well as entertainment. Devices such as speeches, antitheses, dramatic episodes and exaggeration were used. In terms of purpose, Hellenistic historians wrote for those in positions of power. Polybius’ claim is illustrative: he wrote for “education and training for a life of active politics”.[[154]](#footnote-154)

Luke advertises his methodology in his preface (which we have discussed above), and he illustrates his method in his narrative; this can be checked against the one source that is available (Mark). In keeping with the practice of historians, Luke modifies his sources. He claims to have “followed” (parakolouqe,w) the course of events from the beginning, rather than to have undertaken a new “research” project. This is a claim to have contemporaneously acquired knowledge in the sense of taking note of events as they happened albeit not as an eyewitness. The starting point of this notice may apply to the apostolic ministry or to Jesus’ ministry. L. T. Johnson remarks,

(1) His prologue tells us that he is writing an “orderly account.” Historians of his age used such language to describe their work. He refers as well to oral and written sources; he knew others had written narratives before him. He had sources; therefore, he regarded them as such, and he used them critically. (2) He tries to relate his story to the broader historical context. He does this first by providing chronological references for pivotal events (see Luke 1:5; 2:1-2; 3:1-2; Acts 18:12). In addition, he identifies power blocs and governing agents, not only in Palestine (Acts 18:12-17). (3) Above all, Luke has the historian’s instinct for chronology and causality; he makes connections between events, so that a thread of purpose runs through his narrative.[[155]](#footnote-155)

Luke-Acts illustrates the historical writing of the day: For example, there are figures for the growth of the church and there are episodes of miracles involving handkerchiefs and shadows. The basic story is one of the advances of a movement and opposition from Jewish authorities. The emotional commitment of the reader to the story is drawn out through the twin device of coupling stories of conflict, persecution, prison escapes, shipwrecks and constant dangers, with speeches that describe the theology of the movement; in this way the reader is expected to “side” with the movement and its vision. To further encourage this result, divine providence is everywhere written into the narrative

Luke’s common Hellenistic historiographical method constitutes a third criterion for identifying a work as Hellenistic history-writing; of itself it is not sufficient, but with the use of a formal preface and the structural use of set-piece speeches, scholars have argued that it is *jointly sufficient* for identifying the genre of Luke-Acts.

**Content**

In terms of the content of Luke and Acts, scholars have found indications of an intention to write a Hellenistic history in its subject-matter, the language of cause and effect, an awareness of historical periodization, and the inclusion of synchronisms. However, the generality of these observations belies significant differences between Luke’s material and those of typical Hellenistic histories.

*Subject-Matter*

The subject-matter of Luke and Acts concerns deeds and teaching; Luke states that his first volume concerned w-n h;rxato o` VIhsou/j poiei/n te kai. dida,skein, (“…that which Jesus began to do and to teach”). There is a focus on Jesus’ actions rather than on the portrayal of character; there is relatively little interior monologue, narrative comment, or idiosyncratic detail; the focus of Luke is on Jesus’ deeds and his teaching. A similar concern informs Luke’s second volume, which was soon endowed with the title of Praxiej, a term applied to the subject matter of Hellenistic histories (e.g. Polybius, Book I.1.1).

However, Dionysius states that historians should choose “noble and lofty subjects and such as will be of great utility to their readers”.[[156]](#footnote-156) Polybius and Dionysius write about the rise and fall of cites and states, and this is the common subject-matter of Classical and Hellenistic histories. It is not clear that either writer would recognise the subject-matter of Luke-Acts as “historical” in their sense of the word.

Luke’s own values may have demurred from those of Dionysius in this regard; Luke may be consciously writing a history in a Hellenistic style, even if the wider literary community would demur from such a classification. However, this raises the question of whether an unimportant writer (in the world’s eyes), such as Luke, can innovate upon the boundaries of a well-defined genre and successfully claim that it is “historical”; is he not rather just producing a literary mess according to the standards of Hellenistic history-writing?

D. L. Balch argues[[157]](#footnote-157) that Luke-Acts is comparable to Dionysius’ history of the origins of Rome insofar as both “histories” tell a story about founders, a royal monarchy, and an expansion of power and influence. However, Balch’s analysis is an abstraction overlaid upon Dionysius and Luke-Acts in order to achieve a comparison. It remains the case that the subject-matter of Rome and its founding is very different to the founding of a movement and a community, which is plausibly a minimum description of the content of Luke-Acts.[[158]](#footnote-158) Accordingly, our conclusion is that the disparity between Luke’s subject-matter and those of typical Hellenistic histories is strong counter-evidence against classifying Luke and Acts or Luke-Acts as “Hellenistic History”.

*Cause and Event*

The explanation of events through cause and effect was important to Hellenistic historians. For example, Polybius’ writing is replete with the language of cause and effect.[[159]](#footnote-159) R. Flacelière comments that,

Polybius had a positive realistic mind; he studied the causation of events, particularly the origin of wars, in a rigorously methodical and precise way, based on the logical categories established by Aristotle.[[160]](#footnote-160)

These objectives bear some comparison with Acts. Luke has advertised his intention to write all things (pra/gma) down “in order” (kaqexh/j) in respect of his Gospel, which is presumably an objective not abandoned with Acts. Accordingly, Luke uses standard explanatory constructions (e.g. me.n ou=n, Acts 8:4, 12:5, 14:3, dio., Acts 10:29, ou=n, Acts 10:33, 15:27, and participle clauses, Acts 15:2). Over and above these devices, causality is implied by the juxtaposition of events and Luke’s development of his plot as announced in his programmatic episodes (e.g. Luke 4:16-30, Acts 1:4-11).

Luke also includes divine agency as a causal factor in his episodes, ranging from dreams and visions (Luke 1-2), to more supernatural interventions like theophanies (Luke 3, Acts 2), as well as a more direct involvement through the personified character of the holy Spirit. This bears comparison with general notions of “providence” and “fate” in Hellenistic histories. For example, Diodorus states,

…for just as Providence, having brought the orderly arrangement of the visible stars and the natures of men together into one common relationship, continually directs their courses through all eternity…so likewise the historians, in recording the common affairs of the inhabited world…have made of their treatises a single reckoning of past events and a common clearing-house of knowledge concerning them.[[161]](#footnote-161)

Luke has no such statement, but the notion of a divine plan is important for his work.

It is less clear that there is a valid comparison to be made in *theological* terms between Luke’s notion of divine agency and that employed by Classical or Hellenistic authors. Balch lists[[162]](#footnote-162) some parallels to Luke-Acts in Hellenistic history-writing relating to divine agency. He cites *Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists* VI.22ef[[163]](#footnote-163) and the tale of the Chians being punished by the Deity for mistreating slaves, and he compares this to Luke’s use of the story of Joseph in Egypt in Stephen’s speech; he also cites Dionysius’ use of the *Iliad* to prophesy the dynasty of Aeneas (Book I.53.5). However, these parallels are not comparable to Luke’s richer schema. The quantitative measure of divine agency in Luke-Acts gives the work a characteristic emphasis that is not matched in the secular histories. Accordingly, our conclusion is that this aspect of Luke and Acts places those works outside the category of “Hellenistic History”.

*Periodization*

Classical and Hellenistic histories betray a sense that history has an overall direction and coherence, and that it can be presented in terms of periods with beginnings and ends. Polybius illustrates this in relation to the “rise of Rome” which he charts within a specific 53-year period.[[164]](#footnote-164)

Luke also betrays this outlook insofar as he has a concept of salvation-history and an awareness that the events he narrates pertain to the “last days” (Acts 2:17). This teleological awareness comes through in texts such as,

i) Luke 11:50 where there is a concept of a “foundation of the world”, a pattern of killing prophets, and accountability for the current generation;

ii) Luke 3:7 where there is a coming wrath for the current generation;

iii) Luke 16:16 where there is a pivot centred upon John the Baptist and the end of the Law of the Prophets,

iv) Acts 3:19-21 where there is a notion of “times of restitution” conditional upon the return of Christ.

In formal terms, Luke also exhibits a sense of periodization in his use of the concept of a “beginning” (avrch**,** Luke 1:2, a;rcomai Acts 1:1). The deployment of this concept shows an awareness that a complete historical explanation depends on tracing the origins of the phenomenon to be narrated.

However, this kind of teleology is very different from the capricious teleology of the Greco-Roman histories. Further, Luke’s periodization is providentially driven, whereas Hellenistic histories demarcate significant periods in terms of the coherence of policies, wars, military victories, and the exercise of power. This is a very different principle of periodization to that employed by Luke, and this is therefore a further reason for excluding Luke and Acts as a Hellenistic history.

*Synchronisms*

Historical works engaged in correlation of persons and events in order to set their account in a wider context. For example, in Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *Roman Antiquities*, events are synchronized by Olympiad and names of consuls, and Thucydides dates the beginning of the Peloponnesian War with a precise series of dates defined according to the year of several contemporaneous rulers and governors (Book II.2.1). This is seen in Luke in the synchronism with the incumbent political and religious authorities at the start of the ministry (Luke 3:1-2). The precision of this introduction to the public career of the two principal characters of his narrative stands in contrast to the vaguer synchronisms of Luke 1:5, 2:1 in the infancy narrative. Synchronisms continue in Acts with references to persons and events such as Claudius, Herod, Gallio, Felix and Festus (Acts 11:28, 12:1, 18:12, 23:24, 24:27). The existence of this kind of content in Luke and Acts suggests classification as “Hellenistic History”.

*Summary*

J. B. Green provides a summary of the attributes of Luke-Acts which lend support to a classification of “History”:

Luke’s two volumes evince a number of other attributes common in Greco-Roman historiography – for example a genealogical record (Lk. 3:23-28); the use of meal scenes as occasions for instruction (as in Greco-Roman symposia); travel narratives; speeches; letters; and dramatic episodes, such as Jesus’ rejection at Nazareth (4.16-30) and Paul’s stormy voyage and shipwreck (Acts 27.1-28.14). Further in characterizing his work as a narrative (*diegesis*), Luke qualifies his project as a long narrative of many events, for which the chief prototypes were the historiographical writings of Herodotus and Thucydides.[[165]](#footnote-165)

**Greco-Roman Biography**

Scholars have observed similarities between Luke and Acts and other Greco-Roman literary forms and these have led to genre classification other than “history”. The argumentative strategy involved in this move shifts the level of analysis from *literary forms* to characteristics of *content*. The general motivation for proposing an alternative classification is the difference in *content* (noted in the previous section) between Luke-Acts and Hellenistic histories: Luke-Acts is not about the great questions of state or the rise and fall of nations.

C. H. Talbert has been the principal advocate of the view that Luke and Acts are a species of biography.[[166]](#footnote-166) His case is stronger for Luke than it is for Acts, and this disparity highlights the issue of whether and how Luke-Acts can be considered a single genre.

*Gospel of Luke*

Talbert lists characteristic emphases of Hellenistic histories in contra-distinction to biographies. His essential argument is conveyed by Plutarch when he says,

…for it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives; and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of virtue or vice, a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall…I must be permitted to devote myself rather to the signs of the soul in men.[[167]](#footnote-167)

A Hellenistic biography will typically focus on character and be anecdotal, rather than a systematic explanation of events and their causes; it will have a broader audience. A Hellenistic history will be focused on political and military affairs, and written for those in positions of government. Nevertheless, Aune observes that “…neither history nor biography was constricted by static literary canons”,[[168]](#footnote-168) and biographical sketches in “histories” were as integral as “historical” material in biographies.

The genre of Luke’s gospel plausibly fits the category of “biography”: there is a birth narrative, family history, two cousins as the principal characters, incidents and travels that narrate their lives, teachings, a chronology and a death. Luke’s gospel conforms to the formal structure of Greco-Roman biographies insofar as it follows a chronological order[[169]](#footnote-169) and includes a variety of materials spoken by its main character — anecdotes, speeches, proverbial sayings, reminiscences, alongside loosely structured episodes.

Moreover, the gospel is one of a known group of writings which share similar biographical characteristics and this group (Matthew, Mark, John and various non-canonical gospels) may legitimately be termed a sub-genre of the species. Hence, Aune argues that “the canonical Gospels constitute a distinctive type of ancient biography combining…Hellenistic form and function with Jewish content”.[[170]](#footnote-170)

Aune also observes that the series of biographies undertaken by Greco-Roman authors illustrate stereotyping, “a typecast social role and the stereotypical virtues and/or vices associated with that role”.[[171]](#footnote-171) This biographical technique is comparable to Luke’s portrayal of John the Baptist and Jesus as prophets; their lives conform to the Jewish scriptural pattern of warning, a call to repentance, a promise of restoration of divine favour, but eventual rejection. Consistent with this correspondence, Luke’s gospel is didactic and encomiastic insofar as it recommends Jesus’ life and teaching. It does this through miracle stories, pronouncement stories, episodes, speeches, sayings and parables.[[172]](#footnote-172) These types of literary unit are found in Greco-Roman biographies.

Accordingly, Aune argues that while there are “no exact literary analogues”,[[173]](#footnote-173) “the gospels are a subtype of Greco-Roman biography”;[[174]](#footnote-174) “the Evangelists wrote biography with historical intentions”. [[175]](#footnote-175) An alternative nuanced proposal would be that Luke’s gospel is a species of Jewish Hellenistic biographical writing. Philo is an example of a Jewish Hellenistic writer who wrote biographies. His *Life of Moses* accentuates the virtues of Moses, and insofar as Jesus is presented as a prophet like unto Moses (Luke 7:16, Acts 7:37), a comparison can be made between Philo and Luke. R. T. France observes that “the moral and philosophical concerns of the author and particularly his apologetic aim” dominate Philo’s biography of Moses.[[176]](#footnote-176) This apologetic emphasis in Jewish biographies of Moses[[177]](#footnote-177) can be cited as a parallel to Luke’s presentation of Jesus.

Two objections can be made against the view that Luke’s gospel is a biography. The first concerns the question of *function* — it appears to be evangelistic, with a utility value in confirming the faith of disciples and in persuading outsiders attached to Christian communities. The quantity of speeches in the gospel and their evangelistic purpose belies a claim that Luke is writing a biography.[[178]](#footnote-178) The emphasis is not on Jesus *per se*, but on “what Jesus began to do and teach” (Acts 1:1).

However, Aune asserts that “in both form and function, the gospels are fully comparable to Greco-Roman biography…the function of the gospels was the legitimation of the present beliefs and practices of Christians by appealing to the paradigmatic role of the founder”.[[179]](#footnote-179) The problem with this assertion though is that while “role” is a biographical concept, it is too weak to encompass the ways in which Luke’s gospel legitimates beliefs. Jesus’ role was that of teacher, prophet, son of God, *and so on*; the gospel of Luke contains teaching about eschatology, Jewish national hopes, acceptable behaviours, the kingdom of God, Satan, demons, and the God of Israel. This broader view of the gospel’s function begs a broader genre classification than “biography”.

Secondly, in relation to Jesus, a “biographical” classification presents a christological problem: if Luke is expressing a Christology in his gospel (a case that cannot be argued here), is this purpose consistent with a classification of the work as “Hellenistic biography”. Lucian of Samosata ends his biography of Demonax by saying, “these are a very few things out of many which I might have mentioned, but they will suffice to give my readers a notion of the sort of man he was”.[[180]](#footnote-180) Is Luke attempting to describe “the sort of man” (o`poi/oj evkei/noj avnh.r evge,neto, cf. Acts 26:29) that was Jesus? Does Luke conceive of Jesus as a man to be compared and contrasted with other men? If genre is a basis of comparison, can Jesus’ “biography” in Luke’s gospel be compared to biographies of other men?

Accordingly, our counter-argument to Talbert and Aune is that the *implied use* of the Gospel of Luke prevents a classification of “biography”.[[181]](#footnote-181)

*Acts*

Acts does not obviously narrate lives but rather the progress of a movement. Talbert has sought to address this problem. The paradigmatic biographies that interest Talbert are those that narrate the life of a founder of a philosophical school, his teachings, and those who followed in his footsteps. Since Luke’s gospel narrative has a main character, a birth story and a death, it is plausible to construe it as a “biography”, but it is not clear that Acts should construed as a “succession” account. Talbert’s main example of a founder + successors biography is Diogenes’ *Lives of the Philosophers*.[[182]](#footnote-182)

The initial statement of Talbert’s thesis has been criticized in terms of its adequacy as a model for Luke-Acts, when Acts is paralleled to “succession accounts” in founder biographies. Balch accepts that “Luke-Acts is concerned with succession, but more with who are heirs to God’s promises to Moses and the prophets, less with who are the individual, institutional successors of Jesus”.[[183]](#footnote-183) Balch argues that succession narratives are “individualistic” whereas Acts is concerned with a group and its societal impact. Aune has also criticized Talbert. His principal objection is that the succession narratives are just *lists* of disciples rather than any coherent story about the legitimacy of a movement.[[184]](#footnote-184) Talbert seems to accept that his thesis is weakest at this point, and his later treatment (“The Acts of the Apostles: monograph or ‘bios’?”) is more cautious.

Talbert’s later analysis contains the seeds of its own refutation.[[185]](#footnote-185) He observes that some succession narratives are just “lists” of disciples, which is unlike Acts; he notes that where there is some narrative story-telling in a succession story, it is relatively brief, and Acts is long; and he shows that the terminology of succession[[186]](#footnote-186) is different to Acts. Over and above Talbert’s own qualifications, there is a stronger objection to classifying Acts as a “succession” narrative. For Luke, the founder is not dead; he makes an appearance in Acts more than once, and is constantly affirmed to be alive by the major characters.

While the genre of the gospel might be “biographical”, this is an unlikely classification for Acts; the programmatic statement of Acts 1:8 is missiological. Luke does not make any effort to narrate the life stories of his principal characters, or bring out incidental details of character. He includes the most detail about Paul, from his “entry onto the scene” before conversion until his “end” in Acts 28. However, Luke is not giving a biography of Paul, because he does not narrate events that are anticipated in his life (“bear witness in Rome”, Acts 23:11; “stand before Caesar”, Acts 27:24). Whether or not an appropriate ending for Acts would have been Paul’s martyrdom or his acquittal, the non-fulfilment of these anticipations casts doubt on the proposal that Luke’s aims in Acts are biographical.

If Acts is not biography, does this preclude Luke-Acts from being a species of biography, and/or does it prevent Luke’s gospel from being so classified? In this connection, Aune asserts that “Luke does not belong to a type of ancient biography for it belongs to Acts, and Acts cannot be forced into a biographical mould”,[[187]](#footnote-187) although he has argued that Luke’s gospel is biographical, when viewed in isolation and with the other Christian gospels (see discussion above). If Luke and Acts are considered as a two-volume work, and Aune asserts that “Luke-Acts must be treated as affiliated with one genre”,[[188]](#footnote-188) then a classification of the gospel as biography is not possible.

**Historical Monograph**

Scholars have nuanced the “historiographical classification of Luke-Acts by proposing that it is a “monograph”. Polybius divided history-writing into two kinds: monographs and general history. Monographs treat individual nations or wars, whereas “universal history” treats all nations.[[189]](#footnote-189) Examples of monographs include Arrian’s *Anabasis of Alexander* and Sallust’s *War with* *Catiline* or *War with Jugurtha*. The critical argument for this proposal rests on the limited scope and scale of Luke and Acts. The dissonance represented by this aspect of Luke-Acts is circumvented by comparing Luke-Acts to shorter monographs.

There are points of similarity between Luke-Acts and Arrian’s *Anabasis of Alexander*.[[190]](#footnote-190) Although a large multi-volume work, it does focus on the deeds and life of an individual covering a short time period. Its preface (Book I. pref.) records the existence of sources and criticizes their lack of harmony, and it declares a selection of preferred sources. In the case of Sallust[[191]](#footnote-191) the preface to *War with Catiline* is moralistic, praising the value of great ambition (I-III) with no mention of historical method, and in *War with Jugurtha*, while the value of history-writing is stressed (IV.1-4), there is no methodological discussion. Moreover the subject-matter and concerns of Arrian and Sallust bear no comparison to Luke-Acts.

Accordingly, while the “monograph” thesis satisfies a criterion of scope and scale, it fails to group Luke and Acts with surviving writings of similar aims.

**Novel**

R. Pervo has argued that Acts is best understood as a “novel” rather than a species of history-writing. Accepting that “novel” is a modern term of analysis, Pervo uses the term in an inclusive sense when surveying Hellenistic novels[[192]](#footnote-192) “embracing a variety of prose fictions, in particular, historical novels”.[[193]](#footnote-193) In relation to Acts, he has tended towards a classification of it as “popular literature”, one designed for enjoyment.[[194]](#footnote-194) Luke’s gospel could also be classified as a novel insofar as its plot follows a “tragic” plotline, which is then partly reversed in the resurrection. Aune observes that Greco-Roman biography rarely exhibits plotlines.[[195]](#footnote-195) Pervo offers several arguments for considering Luke and Acts as “novels”:

1) Pervo offers an argument of *extent*: the extent to which Luke-Acts is a work of theology rather than history, to that extent it is not a species of history-writing. This argument sides with those scholars that have been sceptical of recovering historical data about Jesus, and infers the obvious conclusion that Luke cannot be considered to be a species of historical writing.[[196]](#footnote-196)

2) Pervo questions the conclusiveness of *formal* comparisons between Luke-Acts and Hellenistic history-writing (prefaces, speeches). He observes that prefaces were used in novel writing, and argues that focus on Luke’s speeches obscures the fact that Luke and Acts contain a proportion of direct speech that is more comparable to popular literature.[[197]](#footnote-197)

3) Pervo claims that the *style* and *subject-matter* of Luke-Acts would not have suggested to a literate audience that it was comparable with Hellenistic histories”. He avers, “…no educated Greek would place such a poorly written account of the missionary activities of a new-fangled oriental cult during its first thirty years on the shelf beside the Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus”,[[198]](#footnote-198) and “…its inconsistent style and inclination to treat insignificant happenings as world-historical events would offend learned readers”.[[199]](#footnote-199) Rather, the dramatic episodes and pacy action of the narrative would have suggested something akin to a romantic historical novel.

4) Finally, Pervo offers an argument of *association*: scholars have traditionally sort genre comparisons with extant materials in Luke’s literary environment. If this context of association is shifted to materials that Luke’s works engendered or influenced, it is possible to assert that Acts stands as the head of a new genre, and here Pervo lists the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in this genre.[[200]](#footnote-200)

Pervo’s thesis has at least three problems:

1) The first problem with this thesis is that it does not reflect Luke’s intentions as stated in his preface, which are not fictional. The kinds of episode featured in Acts and the story-line may bear comparison with Hellenistic novels, but they are also found in Hellenistic histories. As Aune states, “parallels…occur in Greco-Roman histories and novels, since the narrative techniques of both nonfictional and fictional narratives overlap considerably”.[[201]](#footnote-201) Historians wrote to entertain as well as to inform.

2) There is no obvious conclusion about genre to be drawn from Pervo’s own failure to derive the “historical Jesus” from the Gospel, or the “historical Paul” from Acts. If Luke and Acts is deemed to be reliable and factual, then this damages Pervo’s thesis.

3) The final problem is one of method. Part of Pervo’s case shifts the literary co-text from the past to the future. However, this argument cannot be made for the implied author or the implied reader of Luke or Acts since, necessarily, future literary works do not exist. Determination of the genre of Luke and Acts or Luke-Acts should proceed on the basis of an existing literary co-text. While it may be valid to judge retrospectively that Acts or Luke’s gospel are new genres and stand at the head of apocryphal gospels and fictional stories about the apostles, this thesis is difficult to sustain for the implied author or reader. Luke indicates in his preface that he is writing an “account” comparable to other accounts. A classification of genre should therefore proceed on the basis of extant writings.

Accordingly, our conclusion is that Pervo’s argument fails to convince; it does not fit Luke’s intentions.

**Conclusion**

The formal similarities between Luke-Acts and Hellenistic histories are significant, but the subject-matter of Luke-Acts provides a stumbling-block to such an easy result. Given the penetration of Hellenistic culture into Palestine, famously documented by M. Hengel,[[202]](#footnote-202) the question arises as to whether a narrower genre assignment is more appropriate, one specifically tied to Jewish History.

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1. A. A. Di Lella, “The Textual History of Septuagint-Daniel and Theodotion-Daniel” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (2 vols; eds. J. J. Collins & P. W. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 2:592. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. J. A. Montgomery, *The International Critical Commentary: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1927),26-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. See J. J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993)*,* 9n; Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, 593. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. [Ed. AP]: For an introduction to this whole area, and a discussion that is corrective of scholarship (albeit with a different example text), see J. W. Adey, “Is Hebrews 10:5’s ‘body’ language from the Septuagint?”, *Christadelphian EJournal of Biblical Interpretation Annual 2007* (Sunderland: Willow Publications), 204-228. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Bar 2:11 / Dan 9:15; Bar 1:15-16 / Dan 9:7-8; Bar 2:14 / Dan 9:17; F. Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (London: Continuum, 2004), 457n74. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Watson, *Paul,* 457n74. For an opposing view, see E. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 519ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, 595-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. P. M. Bogaert, “Relecture et refonte historicisante du livre de Daniel attestées par la première version grecque (Papyrus 967)” in *Études sur le judaïsme hellénistique,* (eds. R. Kuntzmann & J. Schlossar; LD 119; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1984), 197-224. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, 599. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. J. E. Wright, *Baruch ben Neriah* (Univ. of South Carolina Press, 2003), 47; A. Salvesen, “Baruch”, *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 699. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. E. Ulrich, ““Daniel Manuscript from Qumran. Part 1: Preliminary Editions of 4QDanb and 4QDanc”“ *BASOR* 268 (1989): 17-37; cf. E. Ulrich, “Daniel Manuscript from Qumran. Part 2: Preliminary Editions of 4QDanb and 4QDanc”, *BASOR* 274 (1989): 3-26. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. M. Abegg Jr., P. Flint & E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1999),482-3. This is not the only instance from Qumran where biblical prayers were copied out apart from their source-text. It is likely that these prayers were used for liturgical purposes. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. 4QDana, 4QDanb, 4QDand. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. E. Ulrich, ‘The Text of Daniel in the Qumran Scrolls’ in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (2 vols; eds. J. J. Collins & P. W. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 2:573-585 (580). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 164. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Abegg Flint & Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls Bible,* 484. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. 4Q174.II; cf. Dan 12:10. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. I Macc 1:54; cp. Dan 12:11 [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. I Macc 2:60; cp. Daniel 6 [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. e.g. “you did deliver us into the hands of lawless enemies, most hateful forsakes of God, and to an unjust king, and the most wicked in all the world” (Prayer of Azariah .9) [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. A. J. T. Jull, “Radiocarbon Dating of the Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert”*, Radiocarbon* 37:1 (1995): 11-19 (14). [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 545. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Abegg Flint & Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls Bible,* 481. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. H. A. Whittaker, *Exploring the Bible* (Wigan: Biblia, 1992), 34, (original emphasis). [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Ezra 5:1 [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. This kind of link between contiguous oracles in Isaiah is common and noted by commentators. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. H. A. Whittaker, *Isaiah* (Cannock: Biblia, 1988), 532, notes an echo and reversal of Hosea and the meaning of *Lo-Ammi*—”not my people”; this is part of the intertextual weave of the eighth century prophets. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Failure to see this is why the NASB translates v. 11 as “Then his people remembered” which is more a paraphrase than a rendering of the Hebrew. The MT and ancient versions have a singular verb which makes perfect sense on our interpretation. The context requires the verb to refer to the remembrancer. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. The Hebrew *kethib* reading is “In all their straits *he was* not straightened”, i.e. he was able to save them even though they were in bondage. The KJV follows the *qere* reading, “in all their affliction, to him there was affliction”. Either sense is natural in the context. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. The LXX does not represent the MT; it reads “not an ambassador, nor an angel, but he himself saved them”. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. The motif of “being carried” resonates with Isa 40:11 and contrasts with Isa 46:7. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. There is an emphatic pronoun in the text. “they, they rebelled”. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. There are four lexical and semantic elements in common which makes the intertextual connection a quotation rather than an allusion. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. I owe this point to D. Smith. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. We may think of the Spirit in Numbers 11 as about ‘power’ rather than the sensitivities of Moses; but this does not mean that Isaiah 63 is about ‘power’—rather, Ps 51:11 associates the holy Spirit with the spiritual sensitivities in a person. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. The Hebrew is plural which some commentators read as singular; this is not necessary as it could equally refer to Moses and Aaron. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. *Contra* Whittaker, *Isaiah*, 533. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. This may be a reference to the crossing of the Red Sea or of Jordan, but Ps 106:9 would suggest the Red Sea. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. The LXX misdirects the reader by suggesting that a spirit from the Lord descended and led the people to Canaan (kate,bh pneu/ma para. kuri,ou). [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. The *deliverance* of the deportees from Babylon was brought about during Sennacherib’s campaign in 700 against the Chaldeans. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. R. A. Brigg, *Jewish Temple Imagery in the Book of Revelation* (Studies in Biblical Literature; New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1999); M. Barker, *Revelation of Jesus Christ: Which God Gave to Him to Show to His Servants What Must Soon Take Place (Revelation 1.1)*, (London: Continuum, 2000); A. Spatafora and A. Spatafora, *From the ‘Temple of God’ to God as the Temple: A Biblical Theological Study of the Temple in the Book of Revelation*, (Gregoriana: Pontificia Univ., 1997); J. Ben-Daniel, G. Ben-Daniel, *The Apocalypse in the Light of the Temple - a new approach to the Book of Revelation*, (Jerusalem: Beit Yochanan, 2003). [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. The Civil New Year commenced on the 1st of the seventh month (Tishri) with the Memorial of trumpet-blowing (Num 29:1) to introduce the Jewish New Year (Rosh Hashanah). The Day of Atonement, or *Yom Kippur*, occurred on the 10th of the same month (Lev 16:29-31) followed by Feast of Ingathering or Tabernacles (*Succoth*) from the 15th-21st to celebrate the first fruits of wine and oil and the building of booths in the wilderness (Exod 23:16; Lev 23:34; Deut 16:13) and concluded with the Solemn Assembly (Lev 23:36; Num 29:35; Neh 8: 18; cf. John 7:37) on the 22nd of the month. The custom of blowing the *shofar* at the conclusion of the Day of Atonement was adopted during the geonic era (589 AD - 1038 AD). The prologue to the trumpet section (Rev 8:1-6) describes Atonement ritual. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. The altar of incense was lit using coals taken from the brazen altar. The glowing coals from the brazen or sacrificial altar would be contaminated with blood from the sacrifices (cf. Rev 8:7). [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. The Priestly blessing (Heb. *Birkat Kohanim*) is the Scriptural benediction consisting of three short verses, comprising 15 Hebrew words in all, which was ordained to be recited only by the Priests as descendants of Aaron (Num 6:22-27). It was incorporated in the synagogue liturgy and during the Mishnaic period became known also as *Nesi’at Kappayim* (“raising the hands”); it was then recited at each Morning, Additional, and Afternoon Service, as well as at the Concluding Service on the Day of Atonement (*b.Ta’an.* 26b). [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. For the origins and importance of the Day of Atonement see P. Wyns, “Scapegoat Typology” and “The Day of Atonement” in *The Christadelphian EJournal of Biblical Interpretation: Annual 2007* (ed., A. Perry & P. Wyns; Sunderland: Willow publications, 2007), 105-117. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. The example of the “tabernacle” instead of “temple” is employed in Hebrews in order to emphasise the temporary nature of the structure. God did not ask for or need a house to be built, but preferred a temporary dwelling place (2 Sam 7:5-7). [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1976), 200-220. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Matt.1v.2\*3; v.3\*3; v.4\*3; v.5\*3; v6\*2; v.7\*3; v.8\*3; v.9\*3; v.10\*3; v.11\*1; v.12\*2; v.13\*3; v.14\*3; v.15\*3; v.16\*2; v.20\*1. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Actually, we shall see as the exposition progresses that this expression should be rendered taking account of the Hebrew imperfect, but this will be seen not to alter the argument presented here. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. [Ed. AP]: An alternative view is that the sin in Hezekiah’s case was in relation to the matter of the Babylonian envoys but the sickness involved is metaphorical (Isa 57:17). [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Paul’s reference to (what we still know as) Psalm 2 as “the second psalm” (Acts 13:33) is a simple illustration showing that the psalms are presented in a specific order by prophetic design. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. We also see David giving thanks to the Lord immediately after being healed, showing that he lost no time in fulfilling his resolution. “Giving thanks (*ydh*)” is found comprehensively in and around David’s psalm which he first gave to Asaph when the ark of God was successfully brought up to Jerusalem as follows: 1 Chron 16:4, 7, 8, 34, 35, 41. Note that these uses of *ydh* plus the three mentioned in the body of the exposition plus an instance in 2 Sam 22:50 comprise **all** the uses of this term in the historical narrative of David’s life. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. This is developed in A. Perry, *Isaiah 40-48* (2nd ed.; Sunderland: Willow Publications, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. J. Stromberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Isaiah* (London: T & T Clark, 2011), 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. J. C, McDowell, *Arius:* *A Theological Conservative Persecuted?*, 1994, retrieved 22.06.11: <http://www.geocities.ws/johnnymcdowell/papers/Arius.doc>. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. ‘Tertullian’s most elaborate doctrine of God and Christ is stated in response to Praxeas, a heretic otherwise unknown to us; since his name means “fixer” or “fraud”, it may be a nickname Tertullian invented; it is not even out of the question that Irenaeus is the person concerned, since Tertullian is in his book *Against Praxeas* trying to attach heresy to a known opponent of Montanism.’ S. G. Hall, *Doctrine and Practice in the Early Church* (London: SPCK, 1994), 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. *Adversus Haereses* II, XXVIII, vi. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. H. Chadwick, *The Early Church*, (London: Penguin), 86. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. *Adversus Praxean*, VII. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. As opposed to its original purpose in a repudiation of the heresy with which the analogy was historically identified. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Modern estimates lie between 200 and 330; the most commonly accepted is 225. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Evagrius, Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome and Rufinus. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. ‘It was attended by about 300 bishops; Eustathius gives the number as 270, while popular prejudice preferred the number 318, but that was probably arrived at through the mystical connexions of the number of the armed servants of Abraham (Gen. xiv 14).’ J. W. C. Wand, *A History of the Early Church to A.D. 500*, (London: Methuen Publishing Limited, 1974), 153. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. This was a pre-Nicene tradition; we find it as early as *Epistle of Barnabas* (9:7-9). [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. ‘How many came? There exist lists of the bishops who signed the final creed and canons, but none seems o be complete or in full agreement with another... Soon after, however, the symbolic number 318 was assigned to the Council, the number of Abraham’s armed servants in Genesis 14:14, a number which in Greek read TIH, symbol of the Cross and Jesus. These 318 of Nicaea will be appealed to in the six subsequent general councils.’ L. D. Davis, *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787), Their History and Theology* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1994), 57-58. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. The alternative was ‘*homoiousius*’, meaning ‘similar in being.’ This was the term favoured by Arians. *Homoousios* defined Father and Son as one being sharing identical substance; *homoiousius* defined them as separate, individual beings of similar substance. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Paul was a 3rd Century Unitarian. His teachings were condemned by three local church councils. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Hall’s shorthand for the Nicene Creed. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Hall, *Doctrine and Practice in the Early Church*, 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. [ED. AP]: An alternative view is developed in the article “The Holy Spirit in Isaiah” in this issue. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary of the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 153-4, 1130. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Previously published on bibleapologetics.wordpress.com. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. The ‘maximalist’ view is that archaeology overwhelmingly supports the Biblical history, and the moderate view is that archaeology substantially supports the Biblical history but that not all of the history can be supported directly from archaeology. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. K. A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 450-451. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*, 453. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. ‘The Israel of Merenptah’s stela was, by its perfectly clear determinative, a people (= tribal) grouping, *not* a territory or city-state; **rare statements to the contrary are perverse nonsense**, especially given the very high level of scribal accuracy shown by this particular monument.’, Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*, 451 [All emphasis in quotes is mine.] [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. ‘Use of the first person by a monarch **does *not* belong exclusively to either postmortem memorial texts or to later legends about such king**s. A huge army of texts shows up the falsity of his presumption.’, Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*, 456. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. ‘**I want to combat these “minimalist” or “revisionist” views of the history of ancient** Israel by showing how archaeology can and does illuminate a historical Israel in the Iron Age of ancient Palestine (roughly 1200–600 B.C.E.)’, W. Dever, “Save Us from Postmodern Malarkey” *BAR* (26/02), (2000): 28-35, 68-69. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. W. Dever, *Who Were the Early Israelites? and Where Did They Come From?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 138. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. *Who Were the Early Israelites? and Where Did They Come From?*, 141. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. I. Finkelstein, “Digging for the Truth: Archaeology and the Bible” in *The Quest for the Historical Israel* (ed. B. B. Schmidt; Archaeology and Biblical Studies 17; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007), 9-20 (13). [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. ‘In any event, if they are all contrived or artificial, **their coincidence with earlier realities is amazing**.’, Finkelstein, “Digging for the Truth: Archaeology and the Bible”, 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. ‘This argument suffered a major blow when **the Tel Dan basalt stele was discovered in the mid-1990s**.’, “Digging for the Truth: Archaeology and the Bible”, 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. ‘Archaeological excavations and surveys have confirmed that many of the Bible’s geographical listings—**for example, of the boundaries of the tribes and the districts of the kingdom—closely match settlement patterns and historical realities in the eighth and seventh centuries b.c.e**. Equally important, the biblical scholar Baruch Halpern showed that a relatively large number of extra-biblical historical records—mainly Assyrian—**verify ninth- to seventh-century b.c.e. events described in the Bible**:’, “Digging for the Truth: Archaeology and the Bible”, 13-14. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. A. Mazar, “On Archaeology, Biblical History, and Biblical Archaeology” in *The Quest for the Historical Israel* (ed. B. B. Schmidt; Archaeology and Biblical Studies 17; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007), 21-33 (30). [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. The print edition of the book is quoted in this review which may or may not be the same as that available on the ‘sistersspeak’ website at the time of writing [cited 18/8/11]: (http://www.sistersspeak.info/images/stories/pdf/AOICJ.pdf). [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. ‘The male-only practice **is the result of the continuation of church traditions of the 19th century and earlier**. Ironically, we rejected many church traditions, **but kept this one**.’, (p. 289). (All emphasis in any of my citations is mine.) [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. ‘**We continue to welcome constructive criticism of anything we write**, and will be happy to publish corrections on the internet if anything can be demonstrated to be in error.’, (p. iv); however, though a number of errors identified by reviews of previous editions of their work have been corrected in their current edition, no acknowledgement of this has been published on the internet by Averil and Ian. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Available online at www.christadelphian-ejbi.org/downloads.htm [Cited 18/8/11]. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. [Ed. AP]: There is a difference in quality to be marked on this point. Evangelical feminist scholarship (represented here in the book ‘All One’) and conservative complementarian scholarship have been debating the texts since the 1980s in the house-journals and in seminary dissertations, using publishers that have aligned with the two parties, but this writing does not carry the same weight as the lexicographical work that underpins the standard lexicons. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, F. W. Danker, & W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian literature* (3rd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 76. Other lexicons concur— L&N, 1:237; LSJ, 129. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. T. Friberg, B. Friberg, & N. F. Miller, *Analytical lexicon of the Greek New Testament*, (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000), 229. Other lexicons and dictionaries concur—BAGD, 542; TDNT, 3:679. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. A. J. Köstenberger (complementarian), “Teaching and Usurping Authority: I Timothy 2:11-15” (Ch 12) by L. L. Belleville, *Journal for Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* 10/1, (2005): 43-54. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Vine’s ‘Expository Dictionary’ has never been treated as a scholarly lexical work. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. ‘Nor does an appeal to the practices of Jesus himself highlight the uniqueness of early Christian beginnings, **since the role of women in Jesus’ movement is also well within the boundaries of both Greco-Roman practice and Palestinian Jewish practice**, which was far more open to women’s participation than has previously been assumed.’, K. E. Corley, “Women and Greco-Roman Meals”, paper for the Society of Biblical Literature seminar series ‘Meals In the Greco-Roman World’, 1-6 (5). Available online at www.philipharland.com/meals [Cited 24/8/11]. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. ‘Jesus’ behaviour toward women as portrayed in the gospels **is actually generally consistent with** **precisely the rabbinic norm**s from which he is said to have deviated so radically.’, R. S. Kraemer & M. R. D’Angelo, ‘Women & Christian Origins’, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 72. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. ‘**It would probably be difficult to find any element in the gospels** which transcends the essentially Palestinian Jewish frame of ideas. Jesus’ sayings touching on the relationship between men and women **all fall within this fundamental view**.’, K. Stendahl (egalitarian), *The Bible and the Role of Women: A Case Study in Hermeneutics*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. ‘Jewish women in Rome **were active participants in the religious life of their communities, both at home and in the public religious life of the synagogue**.’, R. S. Kraemer, “Non-Literary Evidence for Jewish Women in Rome and Egypt” in *Feminism in the Study of Religion: A Reader* (ed. D. M. Juschka; London: Continuum, 2001), 221-238 (227). [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. ‘**Other women more clearly singled out for their roles as leaders in the synagogues,** include Sara Oura, called *presbutis*, or elder...’, Kraemer, “Non-Literary Evidence for Jewish Women in Rome and Egypt”, 227. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. J. D. G. Dunn, ‘…it is now widely agreed that the quest for a pre-Christian Gnosticism, properly so-called, has proved to be a wild goose chase’ in his “Introduction” to *The Cambridge Companion to St. Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. ‘As a classicist, however, her [Catherine Kroeger] own contributions are **reconstruction of a background and choices from linguistic options** viewed as appropriate to that background. **Both have been discredited**.’, J. A. Holmes (egalitarian), *Text In A Whirlwind: A Critique of Four Exegetical Devices at 1 Tim 2:9-15* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. A. C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 1151; D. E. Garland (egalitarian), *1 Corinthians* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 672, *et al*. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. G. D. Fee (egalitarian), *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 706-707; R. B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (Interpretation; Louisville: WJK Press, 1997), 247; M. L. Soards, *1 Corinthians* (NIB; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999), 305-306, *et al*. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. A. F. Johnson, (London: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 272; D. G. Horrell, *The Social Ethos of the Corinthians Correspondence* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 187, *et al*. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. In our reading we noted various citation errors and bibliographic omissions, but this review is not the place to list them. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Written on a train and first published in *Belief* (a local ecclesial magazine in the North East of England in the 1990s). [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. In order to keep our discussion within reasonable limits, we have excluded the consideration of other literary forms such as journey narratives, official documents, and autobiographical material. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. In addition to these, Josephus should be added, even though he could be considered a species of “Jewish Historiography”. Otherwise, this is a list of those authors prior to or contemporary with Luke whose work has survived in a “complete” form (albeit with missing volumes or fragmentary volumes). There are rhetorical treatises which deal with history and fragments of many other historical works. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. H. J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (London: SPCK, 1968), 196, 344. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. H. J. Cadbury, “The Greek and Jewish Traditions of Writing History” in *The Beginnings of Christianity: Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles: Vol. II: Prolegomena II: Criticism*, (eds., F. J. Foakes-Jackson & K. Lake; London: Macmillan, 1922), 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Dionysius: *Roman Antiquities* (trans. E. Cary; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1937), Book I.1-8. All citations are from this edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Polybius: *The Histories* (trans. W. R. Paton; Loeb Classical Library; London: Heinemann, 1925), Book I.1-5. All citations are taken from this edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. The preface to Acts is not sharply delimited and a matter of scholarly dispute; we will take vv. 1-3 as the preface, with v. 4 beginning a new scene; vv.1-3 have a summarizing quality indicated by the time period of forty days. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. L. C. A. Alexander, “The Preface to Acts and the Historians” in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts* (ed., B. Witherington III; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 73-103 (74). This restates her thesis set out in *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1-4 and Acts 1.1* (SNTSMS, 78; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Diodorus of Sicily, (trans. C. H. Oldfather; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958). All citations are taken from this edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Dionysius confirms this practise by denial, “…nor have I the purpose of censuring other historians, as Anaximenes and Theopompus”, *Roman Antiquities*, Book I.1.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. D. L. Balch, “The Genre of Luke-Acts: Individual Biography, Adventure Novel or Political History?” *SWJT* 40 (1990): 5-19 (11) notes that this is the word that Dionysius uses to describe his history in Book II.48.1. D. E. Aune claims, “by substituting the term ‘narrative’ for Mark’s ‘gospel’ Luke indicated his intention to write history”, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1987), 116. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Lucian: *How to Write History* (trans., A. M. Harmon *et al*; 8 vols; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913-1967), 48. All citations are from this edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. We do however take the view that the “we” passages in Acts are autobiographical. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Alexander, “The Preface to Acts and the Historians”, 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Similar brevity is found at Josephus, *Antiquities* Book XIII.1.1, and XIV.1.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Plutarch: *Moralia* (trans., P. A. Clement and H. B. Hoffleit; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969). [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Alexander, “The Preface to Acts and the Historians”, 86. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Alexander, “The Preface to Acts and the Historians”, 91. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. Alexander, “The Preface to Acts and the Historians”, 77-78. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. D. E. Aune, “Luke 1.1-4: Historical or Scientific *Prooimion*?” in *Paul, Luke and the Graeco-Roman World* (eds., A. Christopherson *et al*; JSNTSS 217; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 138-148 (141). Aune goes onto illustrate the inductive problem: he compares Luke’s prefaces to one in Plutarch’s *Moralia* (144), but admits “one swallow doth not a summer make” (147). [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. R. I. Pervo, “Direct Speech in Acts and the Question of Genre” *JSNT* 28 (2006): 285-307 (286). [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. Thucydides, (trans. C. Foster Smith; Loeb Classical Library; London: Heinemann, 1919), Book I.22.1. All citations are from this edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. Book XII 25.1-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Book XII 25. 3-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. For a review of scholarship in relation to Acts, see. M. L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), chap. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. M. Dibelius, “The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography”, in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (ed., H. Greeven; New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1956), 138-191. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Dibelius, “The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography”, 166. However, he describes the Areopagus speech as “a Hellenistic speech about the true knowledge of God” (“Paul on the Areopagus” 26-77 (57)). [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. F. F. Bruce, “The Significance of the Speeches for Interpreting Acts”, *SWJT* 40 (1990): 20-28 (20). [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 142; see also Bruce’s analysis of the speeches, op. cit. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 138-141. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. E. Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller: Studien zur Apostelgeschichte* (SUNT 9; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972). [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 141. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. G. H. R. Horsley, “Speeches and Dialogue in Acts”, *NTS* 32 (1986): 609-614. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. C. J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (ed. C. J. Gempf; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990). [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. Pervo, “Direct Speech in Acts and the Question of Genre”, 287. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. Pervo, “Direct Speech in Acts and the Question of Genre”, 301-302. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. Pervo, “Direct Speech in Acts and the Question of Genre”, 301-302. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. These are discussed in Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 120-131, who provides parallels in Hellenistic histories. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. Book I.1.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. Lucian, *How to Write History*, 47. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. Book XII. 28.3-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. Book XVI 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. See the “Introduction” by W. R. Paton to his translation, 14-15. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Book XVI 17.10. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. Book I 14.6. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. See the “Introduction” by E. Cary to his translation, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. Book I.1.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. L. T. Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1999), 216. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. Book I.1.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. “The Genre of Luke-Acts: Individual Biography, Adventure Novel or Political History?”, 11-12. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. Other subjects that were regarded as part of an historical genre included annals, chronicles, descriptions of a region and its people, and genealogies. However, Luke-Acts does not fall with these sub-genres—Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 84-86. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. Thus Polybius is concerned with “the how, when, and wherefore”, and “the causes” of a well-defined period in history of Rome’s rise to power (Book III 1.1-2). He states, “…nothing, therefore, should be more carefully guarded against and more diligently sought out than the first causes of each event” (Book III 1.7), or again, “…in the course of this work it will become more clearly intelligible by what steps this power was acquired…” (Book I.2.8). [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. R. Flacelière, *A Literary History of Greece*, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1964), 353. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. Book I.1.3-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. “The Genre of Luke-Acts: Individual Biography, Adventure Novel or Political History?”, 11-12. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. Athenaeus: *The Deipnosophists*, (trans. C. B. Gulick; Loeb Classical Library; London: Heinemann, 1929). [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. Book I.5. Thus, Polybius states that since this time “history has been an organic whole”, Book I.3.4, and “…fortune having guided all the affairs of the world in one direction”, Book I.4.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. J. B. Green, “Internal Repetition in Luke-Acts: contemporary narratology and Lucan historiography” in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, (ed., B. Witherington III; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 283-299 (286). [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. C. H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts* (SBLMS; Missoula, Massachusetts, Scholars Press, 1974); *What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977); “The Acts of the Apostles: monograph or ‘bios’?” in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts* (ed., B. Witherington III; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 58-72. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. Plutarch: *Lives: Alexander*, (trans., B. Perrin; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), I. 2-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. Chronological and topical order was recognised. Quintilian states, “Praise of the mind…there is more than one way of handling it. In some cases, the more attractive course has proved to be to follow the successive stages of a man’s life and the order of his actions…In other cases, it has seemed better to split up the encomium into the various virtues…and assign to each the acts performed in accordance with each”, Quintilian: *The Orator’s Education*, (trans., D. A. Russell; Loeb; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), Book III.7.15. All citations are from this edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 33. Hence, while there is an obvious emphasis on Jesus’ deeds and teaching, there is little treatment of his character in terms of the “inner life”. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. This kind of analysis is the subject of form-critical research; different classifications are possible, but this is beyond the scope of this monograph. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 46. Aune is forced to make this concession because of the lack of popular literature. While Luke’s gospel may appear biographical, it is not written in the same elevated style of Greco-Roman biographies. [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 64. For a discussion of the sub-types of Greco-Roman biography see D. E. Aune, “Greco-Roman Biography” in *Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament*, (ed., D. E. Aune; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 107-126 (107-109). [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 65. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. R. T. France, “Jewish Historiography” in *Gospel Perspectives* (eds., R. T. France, D. Wenham and C. Blomberg; 6 vols; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 3:99-127. (107). [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. The praise of Moses in biographies or biographical sketches is common in the Hellenistic period and evidenced in Aristobulus and Eupolemus; its impact can be seen in the estimates of non-Jews such as Strabo, Tacitus and Heataeus of Abdea. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. Pervo notes that direct speech in biographies tended to be short and dialogic in nature rather than set piece speeches, “Direct Speech in Acts and the Question of Genre”, 287. [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. Aune, “Greco-Roman Biography”, 122. [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. Lucian: *Demonax* (trans., A. M. Harmon *et al*; 8 vols; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913-1967), 67. All citations are from this edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. This argument is consistent with the acknowledgement by 2c. Christian writers that the gospels contained biographical material. For a listing of citations, see Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 66-70. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. Diogenes Laertius: *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (trans. D. Hicks; Loeb; London: Heinemann, 1925). All citations are from this edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. Talbert, “The Acts of the Apostles: monograph or ‘bios’?”, 64-69. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. Talbert argues that diati,qemai, (“appoint unto you”, Luke 22:29) pertains to the apostolic ministry, and that with this verb Luke signals a succession, “The Acts of the Apostles: monograph or ‘bios’?”, 67-69. However, it is more likely that this appointment relates to a kingdom that is deliberately postponed at the beginning of Acts rather than the apostolic mission (Acts 1:6). [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 77. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. Books II.37.4, XII.23.7 [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. Arrian, (trans. E. I. Robson; Loeb; London: Heinemann, 1929). All citations are from this edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. Sallust, (trans. J. C. Rolfe; Loeb; Cambridge, MT: Harvard University Press, 1971). All citations are from this edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. Pervo has argued that Luke and Acts should be considered alongside Jewish Hellenistic novels. These include stories about the fathers of the nation such as Moses or Joseph (e.g. *Joseph and Asenath*) as well as other less prominent figures (e.g. Judith, Tobit). While not purporting to be “histories” these works have historical colour. [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. R. I. Pervo, “The Ancient Novel becomes Christian”, in G. Schmeling (Ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 685-711. [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. Pervo, “Direct Speech in Acts and the Question of Genre”, 303. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. R. I. Pervo, *Profit with Delight: The Literary Genre of the Acts of the Apostles*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 1-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. Pervo, “Direct Speech in Acts and the Question of Genre”, 302-303. [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. Pervo, “Direct Speech in Acts and the Question of Genre”, 303, “from these experimental impulses arose new genres, including the novel and the gospel”; *Ancient Novel*, p. 689-690, “subsequent centuries saw a host of imitations”. [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. Aune, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, 120. [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. M. Hengel’s judgment was that “Jewish Palestine was no hermetically sealed island in the sea of Hellenistic oriental syncretism”, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols; Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2003), 1:312. He added, “…the distinction between ‘Palestinian’ Judaism and the ‘Hellenistic’ Judaism of the Greek-speaking Diaspora, which has been customary for so long, now becomes very questionable”, 1:311. E. P. Sanders comments in his foreword to the fiftieth anniversary edition of W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (4th Ed; Mifflintown: Sigler Press, 1998), “This has been an enormously successful proposal, and similar statements are repeated on all hands”, xi. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)