Bruce R. Magee

Λ ΑCΜΑΑCΜΑΤΩΝΟΕCΤΙΝΤΩCΑΛΟΜΩ
ΗΝΥΜΦΗ
ΦΙΛΗCΑΤΩΜΕΑΠΟΦΙΛΗΜΑΤΩΝ
CΤΟΜΑΤΟCΑΥΤΟΥ

ENGLISH 452-01

THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE

5:45-9:30 Monday

GTM 309

Spring 1998-1999

SYLLABUS FOR ENGLISH 452: THE LITERATURE OF THE BIBLE

Spring Quarter 1998-1999 Instructor: Dr. Bruce R. Magee

English 452-51 Room: GTM 309 Time: 5:45-9:30 Mon.	Home Page: http://www.latech.edu/~bmagee E-mail: *bmagee@LaTech.Edu*	Office: GTM 222 Phone: 257-3033 Hours: 9:00-11:00 M-F or by appointment

Textbooks

- The Bible. (KJV).
- Hager, Peter J., and H. J. Scheiber. *Designing & Delivering Scientific, Technical, and Managerial Presentations.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997.
- Magee 452 Packet.

Course Description

Catalog Data

ENGL 452: The Literature of the Bible. 0-3-3. A survey of literary genres of the Old and New Testaments, focusing on the poetic and/or narrative art of each. Preq. English 201 or 202. (Eligible for graduate credit)

Objective

English 452 is designed to introduce the students to the different types of literature in the Bible. We will also study the various theories of reading and interpreting literature that have been applied to the Bible.

Prerequisites

English 201 or 202.

Attendance Requirements

- Class attendance is regarded as an obligation as well as a privilege, and all students are expected to attend regularly and punctually all classes in which they are enrolled.
- Attendance is 10% of your grade.
- I shall keep a permanent attendance record for this class. This record is subject to inspection by appropriate college or university officials.
- Regular attendance will help you understand your assignments and complete them on schedule. I encourage you to attend unless you absolutely cannot avoid being absent.
- Make an extra effort to be in class on the days your are scheduled to make a presentation. The nature of the course does not leave time for you to present makeup work later in the quarter.

Conferences

Conferences are encouraged during the quarter. They will be used to discuss specific writing strengths and/or weaknesses.

Note for students with disabilities:

Students needing testing accommodations or classroom accommodations based on a disability should discuss the need with me as soon as possible.

Miscellaneous

- Bring a 9" x 12" manilla folder to class for me to file your work in.
- **KEEP A PAPER COPY OF YOUR ASSIGNMENTS IN YOUR OWN FILES.** It's the cheapest insurance you can buy.
- **COMPLETE ANY MAKE-UP WORK BEFORE FINALS WEEK.**

Note 1. People in this class will interpret the Bible in a variety of ways. Our study can only be successful if we treat one another's views with courtesy, tolerance, and respect.

Note 2. English 452 is a demanding course. Be sure to arrange your schedule so you can spend adequate time for class preparation, researching, and writing.

ASSIGNMENTS	
Daily Quizes	60%
In-class Essay Exam	15%
Paper	15%
Attendance	10%
Total	100%

The grading scale is A: 90-102%, B: 80-89%, C: 70-79%, D: 60-69%, F: 0-59%.

Graduate Requirements:

In addition to meeting the above requirements, graduate students enrolled in the course must prepare a presentation on a clearly defined topic related to studying the Bible as literature. It will be worth an additional 15% of your grade.

HOC OPUS, HIC LABOR EST	
READING	**WRITING**
Registration Week: March 8-13	
No class meetings. Prepare for the first class meeting next week.	
Week 1: March 15	

• Genesis
• Ryken, chapters 1-3
• Magee packet 1-9
    ◦ 15-22 Canon Formation
    ◦ 34-38 Writing Technology
    ◦ 41-50 "Odysseus' Scar"
    ◦ 65-69 Canon Formation
    ◦ 97-98 Hesiod	

Week 2: March 22	
• Exodus 1-20; 32-40 • Numbers 20 • Deuteronomy 34 • 1 Samuel 1-26, 28, 31	Translating the Bible into English[1]

• 2 Samuel 1-7, 11-19
• Packet 23-33 Translating the Bible
    ◦ 77-87 English Translations
    ◦ 89-93 Literary Criticism	

Week 3: March 29	

• Psalms 1-25, 45-50, 119, 120-134
• Proverbs 1-14, 31
• Ecclesiastes
• Song of Songs
• Ryken, chapters 4-6
• Packet 12 Metaphor Diagram
    ◦ 14 Parallelism Diagram
    ◦ 70-76 Hebrew Poetry
    ◦ 94-96 OT Wordplay
    ◦ 108-111 Wisdom of Sol.
    ◦ 112-113 Baruch
    ◦ 131-132 4 Maccabees
	Textual Criticism[1]

Week 4: Easter break	
Week 5: April 12	

• Job 1-14, 38-42
• Jeremiah 1-5, 18-19, 32, 45
• Lamentations
• Isaiah 40-66
• Ezekiel 1-19, 37
• Packet 13 Allegory diagram
    ◦ 99-100 1 Esdras
    ◦ 114 Baruch
    ◦ 115 Epistle of Jeremiah
    ◦ 116 Prayer of Azariah
    ◦ 117 Susanna
    ◦ 118 Bel and the Dragon
	Allegory[1]
	Typology[1]

Week 6: April 19	

• Hosea 1-4, 11
• Jonah
• Esther
• Daniel 1-9
• Revelation 1-10, 19-21
• Ryken, chapters 10-11
• Packet 101-103 Tobit
    ◦ 104-106 Judith
    ◦ 107 Additions to Esther
	Source Criticism[1]
	Form Criticism[1]

Week 7: April 26	

• Matthew
• Mark
• Luke
• Ryken, chapters 7-8, Appendix
• Packet 120-126 1 Maccabees
    ◦ 127-129 2 Maccabees
    ◦ 130 3 Maccabees
	Redaction Criticism[1]
	Sentence Outline for the Research Paper

Week 8: May 3	

• Matthew • Mark • Luke • Packet 51-63 Synopsis	**Essay Exam** **For class discussion:** **Compare the passages in the synopsis & give possible reasons for their similarities & differences.**
Week 9: May 10	
• John • Acts • Ryken, chapter 12	Narratology[1] **Research Paper**
Week 10: May 17	
• Romans • 1-2 Corinthians • Hebrews	

[1] Graduate Student Presentations

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GENESIS בראשית

1 [1] בְּרֵאשִׁית[a] בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ׃ [2] וְהָאָרֶץ
הָיְתָה תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ וְחֹשֶׁךְ עַל־פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל־פְּנֵי
3 הַמָּיִם׃ [3] וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אוֹר וַיְהִי־אוֹר׃ [4] וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־
4 הָאוֹר כִּי־טוֹב וַיַּבְדֵּל אֱלֹהִים בֵּין הָאוֹר וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ׃ [5] וַיִּקְרָא
5 אֱלֹהִים ׀ לָאוֹר יוֹם וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא לָיְלָה וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם
6 אֶחָד׃ פ [6] וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי רָקִיעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַמָּיִם וִיהִי מַבְדִּיל
7 בֵּין מַיִם לָמָיִם[a]׃ [7] וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָרָקִיעַ וַיַּבְדֵּל בֵּין הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר
8 מִתַּחַת לָרָקִיעַ וּבֵין הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מֵעַל לָרָקִיעַ [a]וַיְהִי־כֵן[a]׃ [8] וַיִּקְרָא
אֱלֹהִים לָרָקִיעַ שָׁמָיִם וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם שֵׁנִי׃ פ
9 [9] וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יִקָּווּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־מָקוֹם[a] אֶחָד וְתֵרָאֶה
10 הַיַּבָּשָׁה וַיְהִי־כֵן[b]׃ [10] וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים ׀ לַיַּבָּשָׁה אֶרֶץ וּלְמִקְוֵה הַמַּיִם
11 קָרָא יַמִּים וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב׃ [11] וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים תַּדְשֵׁא הָאָרֶץ
[a]דֶּשֶׁא עֵשֶׂב[a] מַזְרִיעַ זֶרַע עֵץ[b] פְּרִי עֹשֶׂה פְּרִי לְמִינוֹ[c] אֲשֶׁר זַרְעוֹ־בוֹ
12 עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיְהִי־כֵן׃ [12] וַתּוֹצֵא הָאָרֶץ דֶּשֶׁא עֵשֶׂב מַזְרִיעַ זֶרַע לְמִינֵהוּ
13 וְעֵץ עֹשֶׂה־פְּרִי אֲשֶׁר זַרְעוֹ־בוֹ לְמִינֵהוּ וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב׃ [13] וַיְהִי־
14 עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם שְׁלִישִׁי׃ פ [14] וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי מְאֹרֹת
בִּרְקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין הַיּוֹם וּבֵין הַלָּיְלָה וְהָיוּ לְאֹתֹת וּלְמוֹעֲדִים
15 וּלְיָמִים וְשָׁנִים׃ [15] וְהָיוּ לִמְאוֹרֹת בִּרְקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהָאִיר עַל־הָאָרֶץ
16 וַיְהִי־כֵן׃ [16] וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־שְׁנֵי הַמְּאֹרֹת הַגְּדֹלִים אֶת־הַמָּאוֹר

ה ג׳ ר״פ וב׳ מ״פ . ג בתור . וג׳ ול׳ בליש . ח ר״פ
ב׳ . ב׳ . ב . ח ב׳ מנה בליש ובל שמואל דכות ב מ ה רות יי . ל
כה׳ . ל
ג׳
ו׳ . ל׳ . י ב׳ מנה ס״פ בתור
כה׳ ג׳ מנה בטע בעינ . לב
ל . ד׳ . ג׳
ב׳ . ו בעינ
ל
כה׳ . ל . ג׳ . ל׳
ו בעינ . ל׳ . ל

Cp 1 [1]Mm 1. [2]Mm 2. [3]Mm 3. [4]Mm 3139. [5]Mp sub loco. [6]Mm 4. [7]Jer 4,23, cf Mp sub loco. [8]Hi 38,19. [9]2 Ch 24,20. [10]Mm 5. [11]Mm 6. [12]Mm 3105. [13]וחד לחשך Hi 28,3. [14]Mm 200. [15]Mm 7. [16]Mm 1431. [17]Mm 2773. [18]Mm 3700. [19]Mm 736. [20]וחד לַיַּבָּשָׁה Ps 66,6. [21]Mm 722. [22]Mm 2645. [23]Qoh 6,3.

Cp 1,1 Orig *Βρησιθ* vel *Βαρησηθ (-σεθ)*, Samar *bårāšit* ‖ 6 [a] huc tr 7 [a–a] cf 𝔊 et 9.11.15.20.24.30 ‖ 7 [a–a] cf 6 [a]; ins וירא אלהים כי־טוב cf 4.10.12.18.21.31 et 8 (𝔊) ‖ 9 [a] 𝔊 *συναγωγήν* = מִקְוֶה cf 10 מקוה המים ‖ [b] 𝔊 + *καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ὤφθη ἡ ξηρά* = וַיִּקָּווּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־מִקְוֵיהֶם וַתֵּרָא הַיַּבָּשָׁה ‖ 11 [a–a] 𝔊𝔙 cj דשא c עשב ‖ [b] l c pc Mss 𝔐𝔊𝔖𝔗[J]𝔙 וְעֵץ cf 12 ‖ [c] prb dl cf 12.

…t historiae:

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ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. [2]ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. [3]καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω φῶς. καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. [4]καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν. καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους. [5]καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσεν νύκτα. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα μία.

[6]Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. [7]καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα, καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος. [8]καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐρανόν. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα δευτέρα.

[9]Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὤφθη ἡ ξηρά. [10]καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν καὶ τὰ συστήματα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκάλεσεν θαλάσσας. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν. — [11]καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου, σπεῖρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοιότητα, καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον ποιοῦν καρπόν, οὗ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. [12]καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου, σπεῖρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοιότητα, καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον ποιοῦν καρπόν, οὗ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν. [13]καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα τρίτη.

[14]Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς φαῦσιν τῆς γῆς τοῦ διαχωρίζειν ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτοὺς [15]καὶ ἔστωσαν εἰς φαῦσιν

Gen.: 1—46_{28} ηρωων A, 46_{28} πολιν—50 BA, 23_{19}—24_{46} (mutila) etiam S.
Inscr.] + κοσμου A†

1 11 κατα γενος 2^0 mu.] εις ομοιοτητα A (A^c pr. κατα γενος) || 14 του διαχ. mu.] και αρχειν της ημερας και της νυκτος και διαχ. A

Vulgate

Genesis

1:1 in principio creavit Deus caelum et terram 1:2 terra autem erat inanis et vacua et tenebrae super faciem abyssi et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas 1:3 dixitque Deus fiat lux et facta est lux 1:4 et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona et divisit lucem ac tenebras 1:5 appellavitque lucem diem et tenebras noctem factumque est vespere et mane dies unus 1:6 dixit quoque Deus fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum et dividat aquas ab aquis 1:7 et fecit Deus firmamentum divisitque aquas quae erant sub firmamento ab his quae erant super firmamentum et factum est ita 1:8 vocavitque Deus firmamentum caelum et factum est vespere et mane dies secundus 1:9 dixit vero Deus congregentur aquae quae sub caelo sunt in locum unum et appareat arida factumque est ita 1:10 et vocavit Deus aridam terram congregationesque aquarum appellavit maria et vidit Deus quod esset bonum 1:11 et ait germinet terra herbam virentem et facientem semen et lignum pomiferum faciens fructum iuxta genus suum cuius semen in semet ipso sit super terram et factum est ita 1:12 et protulit terra herbam virentem et adferentem semen iuxta genus suum lignumque faciens fructum et habens unumquodque sementem secundum speciem suam et vidit Deus quod esset bonum 1:13 factumque est vespere et mane dies tertius 1:14 dixit autem Deus fiant luminaria in firmamento caeli ut dividant diem ac noctem et sint in signa et tempora et dies et annos 1:15 ut luceant in firmamento caeli et inluminent terram et factum est ita 1:16 fecitque Deus duo magna luminaria luminare maius ut praeesset diei et luminare minus ut praeesset nocti et stellas 1:17 et posuit eas in firmamento caeli ut lucerent super terram 1:18 et praeessent diei ac nocti et dividerent lucem ac tenebras et vidit Deus quod esset bonum 1:19 et factum est vespere et mane dies quartus 1:20 dixit etiam Deus producant aquae reptile animae viventis et volatile super terram sub firmamento caeli 1:21 creavitque Deus cete grandia et omnem animam viventem atque motabilem quam produxerant aquae in species suas et omne volatile secundum genus suum et vidit Deus quod esset bonum 1:22 benedixitque eis dicens crescite et multiplicamini et replete aquas maris avesque multiplicentur super terram 1:23 et factum est vespere et mane dies quintus 1:24 dixit quoque Deus producat terra animam viventem in genere suo iumenta et reptilia et bestias terrae secundum species suas factumque est ita 1:25 et fecit Deus bestias terrae iuxta species suas et iumenta et omne reptile terrae in genere suo et vidit Deus quod esset bonum 1:26 et ait faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram et praesit piscibus maris et volatilibus caeli et bestiis universaeque terrae omnique reptili quod movetur in terra 1:27 et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam ad imaginem Dei creavit illum masculum et feminam creavit eos 1:28 benedixitque illis Deus et ait crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram et subicite eam et dominamini piscibus maris et volatilibus caeli et

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AMOS	עמוס	1015
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JONA	יונה	1031
MICHA	מיכה	1034
NAHUM	נחום	1044
HABAKUK	חבקוק	1049
ZEPHANIA	צפניה	1054
HAGGAI	חגי	1060
SACHARIA	זכריה	1063
MALEACHI	מלאכי	1081
PSALMI	תהלים	1087
IOB	איוב	1227
PROVERBIA	משלי	1275
RUTH	רות	1320
CANTICUM	שיר השירים	1325
ECCLESIASTES	קהלת	1336
THRENI	איכה	1354
ESTHER	אסתר	1367
DANIEL	דניאל	1381
ESRA	עזרא	1411
NEHEMIA	נחמיה	1430
CHRONICA	דברי הימים	1459

TORAH [also Pentateuch, Law]
- Genesis
- Exodus
- Leviticus
- Numbers
- Deuteronomy

PROPHETS
- Former Prophets:
  - Joshua
  - Judges
  - 1–2 Samuel
  - 1–2 Kings
- Latter Prophets:
  - Isaiah
  - Jeremiah
  - Ezekiel
  - The Book of the Twelve (Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi)

WRITINGS [also Hagiographa]
- Psalms
- Proverbs
- Job
- The Five Scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther)
- Daniel
- Ezra-Nehemiah
- 1–2 Chronicles*

The chief alternative name for the first division is Pentateuch, a Greek word meaning "five scrolls" that indicates the physical form of this division. The Hebrew word *torah*, on the other hand, indicates the division's substance or basic nature: It is the "teaching" that Yahweh gave to Moses on Mount Sinai. ("Teaching" is a better translation of *torah* than "Law" because the Torah contains much more than just legislation.) No other books of the Bible are considered to have been thus directly given by the deity. The Torah is the foundation of the Jewish faith and is ritually read through from beginning to end, chapter

* The titles of biblical books and of the collection as a whole always begin with a capital letter, but in normal use they are not italicized or put within quotation marks.

by chapter, in all Jewish congregations through the calendar year. The Christian attitude toward the Torah is somewhat different, but all Bibles, Jewish and Christian, begin with these five books in exactly this order.

The second division, the Prophets, includes four books that might more logically be classified as history; but they are considered prophetic because they deal with that period of Israel's history within which the great prophets lived—a period that, in a religious view, can be called the Age of the Prophets. The third division, the Writings, is obviously a catchall, containing poetry, moral tales, wisdom writing, a theological drama, historical chronicles, and an apocalypse. These are the leftovers: The other two divisions had already been completed before any of these became a candidate for inclusion.

Although the order of the Torah never varied, old manuscripts and printed versions show that there was variation in the order of books in the two divisions following it, especially in the Writings. These need not concern us here, but it should be noted that the order of books in the Christian Old Testament is considerably different from the Jewish one. The Protestant Old Testament canon is identical in content to the Jewish canon but it is split into thirty-nine rather than twenty-four books* and arranged according to literary categories: history (Joshua through Esther), poetry and wisdom (Job through Song of Songs), and prophecy (Isaiah through Malachi). The Catholic Old Testament is somewhat longer because it contains certain books not included in the Jewish canon (as we shall explain in chapter 11); but it is ordered on the same principle, the source of which is the ancient Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint.

The whole collection is sometimes referred to by Jews as the "Tanak," an artificial term formed by combining the first syllables of the three Hebrew words designating the three divisions. But this is a modern device; in ancient times the collection had no title. The term "Bible" (from the Greek *ta biblia*, "the books") came into use during the early part of the Christian era. Needless to say, to Jews there is no "Old" Testament, because for them there never has been any other—certainly not a "New" one, although Jews will often use the phrase, as they will use "B.C." and "A.D.," in conformity with general practice.

* In the Jewish Bible 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, and 1–2 Chronicles are each considered a single book in two parts. Ezra and Nehemiah are combined, and The Book of the Twelve is counted as one book; but the individual pieces in The Five Scrolls count as five books. In addition to the five books in the Torah, then, there are eight in the Prophets and eleven in the Writings, producing a total of twenty-four.

Priori volumini insunt leges et historiae:

Gen(esis)	pag.	1
Exod(us)	„	86
Leu(iticus)	„	158
Num(eri)	„	210
Deut(eronomium)	„	284
Ios(ue)	„	354
Iud(icum)	„	405
Ruth	„	495
Regn(orum) I (𝔐 Sam. I)	„	502
Regn(orum) II (𝔐 Sam. II)	„	565
Regn(orum) III (𝔐 Regum I)	„	623
Regn(orum) IV (𝔐 Regum II)	„	693
Par(alipomenon) I	„	752
Par(alipomenon) II	„	811
Esdr(ae) I (liber apocryphus)	„	873
Esdr(ae) II (𝔐 Ezra, Neh.)	„	903
Est(her)	„	951
I(u)d(i)t(h)	„	973
Tob(it)	„	1002
Mac(habaeorum) I	„	1039
Mac(habaeorum) II	„	1099
Mac(habaeorum) III	„	1139
Mac(habaeorum) IV	„	1157

Alteri volumini insunt libri poetici et prophetici:

Ps(almi)	pag.	1
Od(ae)	„	164
Prou(erbia)	„	183
Eccl(esiastes)	„	238
Cant(icum)	„	260
Iob	„	271
Sap(ientia)	„	345
Sir(acides)	„	377
Ps(almi) Sal(omonis)	„	471
Os(ee)	„	490
Am(os)	„	502
Mich(aeas)	„	512
Ioel	„	519
Abd(ias)	„	524
Ion(as)	„	526
Nah(um)	„	530
Hab(acuc)	„	533
Soph(onias)	„	538
Agg(aeus)	„	542
Zach(arias)	„	545
Mal(achias)	„	561
Is(aias)	„	566
Ier(emias)	„	656
Bar(uch)	„	748
Thr(eni) seu Lam(entationes)	„	756
Ep(istula) Ier(emiae)	„	766
Ez(echiel)	„	770
Sus(anna)	„	864
Dan(iel)	„	870
Bel-et-Dr(aco)	„	936

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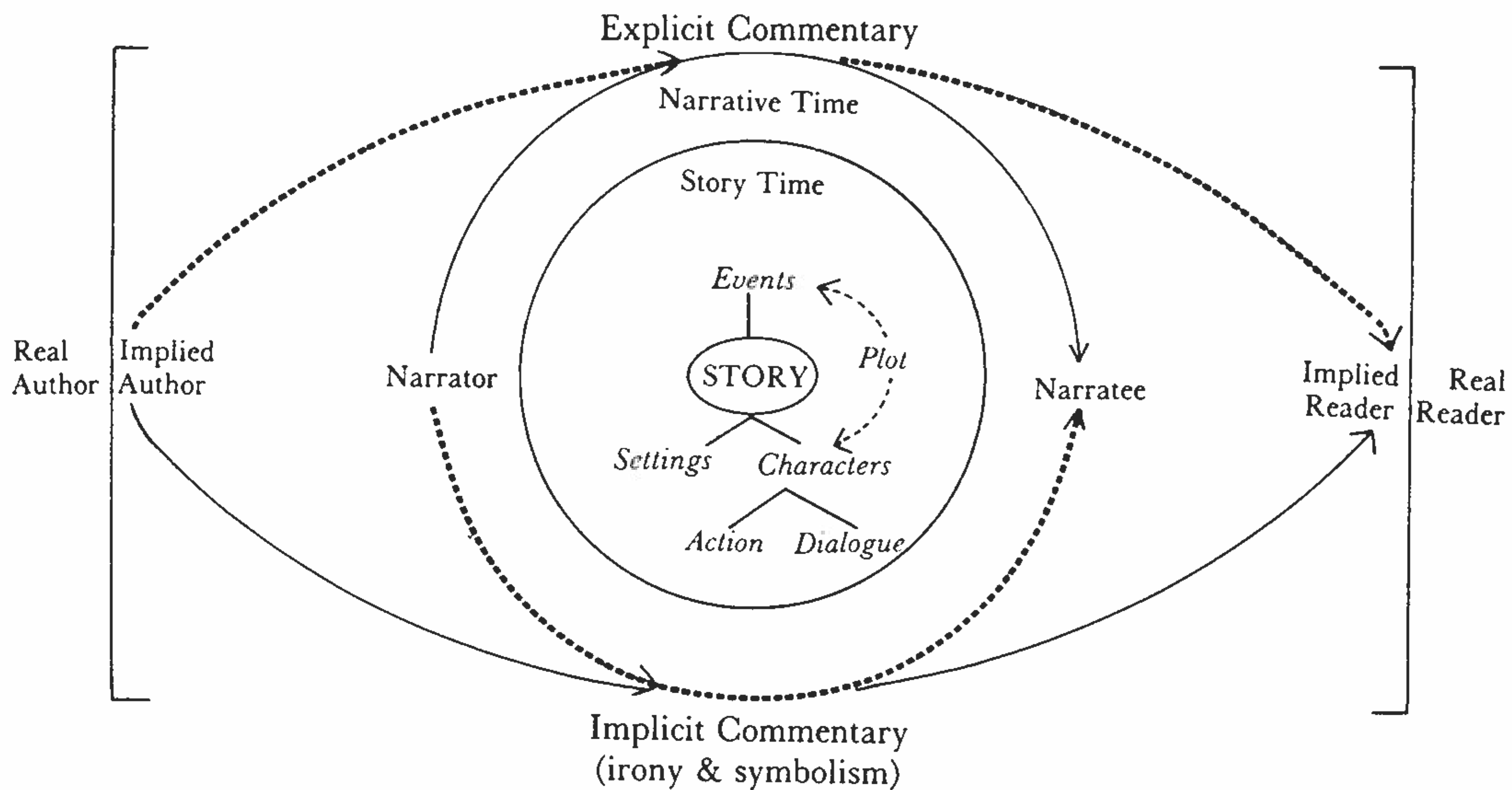
ΒΟΩCΙΝΤΟΟΝΟΜΑΤΗCΝΥΜ

Incipit liber bresith quē nos genesim
In principio creauit deus celū dicim⁹ j.
et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et
vacua: et tenebre erāt sup faciē abissi·
et spūs dnī ferebat̄ sup aquas. Dixitq;
deus. Fiat lux. Et facta ē lux. Et vidit
deus lucem q̄ esset bona: ⁊ diuisit lucē
a tenebris· appellauitq; lucem diem ⁊
tenebras noctem. Factumq; est vespe et
mane dies unus. Dixit q̄ȝ deus. Fiat
firmamentū in medio aquaȝ: ⁊ diui-
dat aquas ab aquis. Et fecit deus fir-
mamentū: diuisitq; aquas que erāt
sub firmamento ab hiis q̄ erant sup
firmamentū· et factū ē ita. Vocauitq;
deus firmamentū celū: ⁊ factū ē vespe
et mane dies secūd⁹. Dixit vero deus.
Congregent̄ aque que sub celo sūt in
locū unū ⁊ appareat arida. Et factū ē
ita. Et vocauit deus aridam terram:
congregacionesq; aquaȝ appellauit
maria. Et vidit deus q̄ esset bonū· et
ait. Germinet terra herbā virentem et
facientē semen: ⁊ lignū pomiferū faciēs
fructū iuxta genus suū· cui⁹ semen in
semetipō sit sup terrā. Et factū ē ita. Et
protulit terra herbā virentē ⁊ facientē
semē iuxta genus suū: lignūq; faciēs
fructū ⁊ habēs unūqdq; sementē scdm
speciē suā. Et vidit deus q̄ esset bonū:
et factū est vespe et mane dies tercius.
Dixitq; autē deus. Fiant luminaria
in firmamēto celi· ⁊ diuidāt diem ac
noctem: ⁊ sint in signa ⁊ tpa et dies ⁊
annos· ut luceāt in firmamēto celi et
illuminēt terrā. Et factū ē ita. Fecitq;
deus duo luminaria magna: luminare
maius ut p̄esset diei et luminare min⁹
ut p̄esset nocti ⁊ stellas· ⁊ posuit eas in
firmamēto celi ut lucerent sup terrā: et
p̄essent diei ac nocti· ⁊ diuiderent lucē
ac tenebras. Et vidit de⁹ q̄ esset bonū:
et factū ē vespe ⁊ mane dies quartus.
Dixit etiā de⁹. Producāt aque reptile
anime viuentis ⁊ volatile super terrā·
sub firmamēto celi. Creauitq; deus cete
grandia· et omnē aīam viuentē atq;
motabilē quā pduxerāt aque ī species
suas· ⁊ omne volatile scdm gen⁹ suū.
Et vidit deus q̄ esset bonū· benedixitq;
eis dicens. Crescite ⁊ multiplicamini· ⁊
replete aquas maris· auesq; multipli-
centr sup terrā. Et factū ē vespe ⁊ mane
dies quintus. Dixit quoq; deus. Pro-
ducat terra aīam viuentē in genē suo·
iumenta ⁊ reptilia· ⁊ bestias terre scdm
species suas. Factūq; ē ita. Et fecit de⁹
bestias terre iuxta species suas· iumen-
ta ⁊ omne reptile terre ī genere suo. Et
vidit deus q̄ esset bonū· et ait. Facia-
mus hoīem ad ymaginē ⁊ similitudinē
nostrā· ⁊ presit piscibȝ maris· et vola-
tilibȝ celi ⁊ bestiis uniūseq; terre· omiq;
reptili qd̄ mouetur ī terra. Et creauit
deus hoīem ad ymaginē ⁊ similitudinē
suā· ad ymaginē dei creauit illū· ma-
sculū ⁊ feminā creauit eos. Benedixit-
q; illis deus· ⁊ ait. Crescite ⁊ multiplica-
mini ⁊ replete terrā· et subicite eā· et dnā-
mini piscibȝ maris· et volatilibȝ celi·
et uniuersis animātibȝ que mouent̄
sup terrā. Dixitq; de⁹. Ecce dedi vobis
omnē herbā afferentē semen sup terrā·
et uniūsa ligna que hn̄t in semetipis
sementē generis sui· ut sint vobis ī escā
⁊ cunctis aīantibȝ terre· omiq; volucri
celi ⁊ uniuersis q̄ mouentur in terra· ⁊ ī
quibȝ est anima viuēs· ut habeāt ad
vescendū. Et factū est ita. Viditq; deus
cuncta que fecerat· ⁊ erāt valde bona.

narrative components of the gospel interact with each other and involve and affect the reader. Ultimately we may be in a better position to understand what the gospel requires of its readers, how it directs the production of its meaning, and what happens when someone reads it.

The theoretical model employed here is derived from Seymour Chatman[8] and owes a great deal to the communicational model of Roman Jakobson. Insofar as it differs from Chatman's the modifications are my own.



THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE

An Introduction

SECOND EDITION

JOHN B. GABEL AND CHARLES B. WHEELER

New York Oxford
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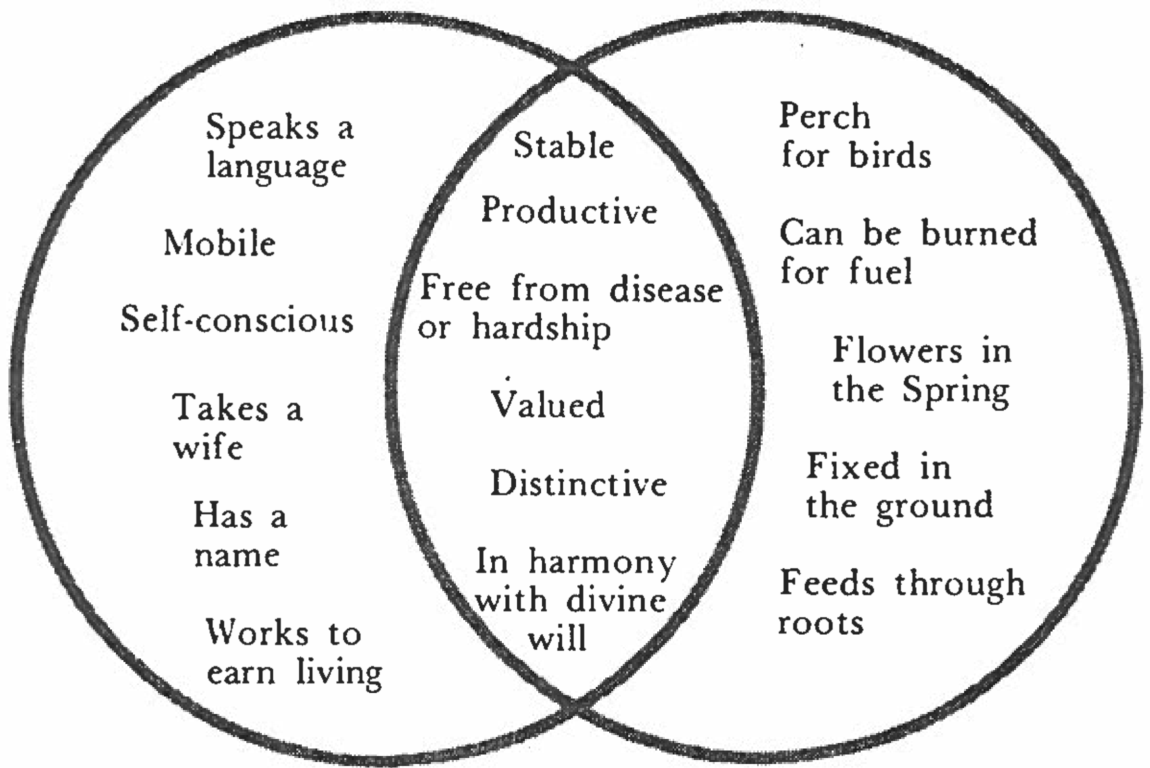

FIGURE 1. METAPHOR

or the idea. The two circles intersect because the terms share certain connotations. This area of intersection varies from metaphor to metaphor, depending on how close the terms were to begin with.

We don't, of course, think in intersecting circles when we read, only when we analyze. To the reader the metaphor is a unity, but a

thians 12:14–31 symbolizes the structural harmony and interdependence of parts in the community of believers.

These three examples might be called vertical or static allegory because they have meaning simply by standing there, without any action ensuing. But allegory always has the potential for motion: If a stage is peopled with actors, it is almost inevitable that they will start doing things. Thus a story begins to unfold. To picture it, all we need do is take the two intersecting circles in the metaphor diagram (fig. 1) and unroll them to make two parallel horizontal lines, as in Figure 2. On the first line are the connotations of one of the basic terms; on the second line are the connotations of the other term. The lines are connected to show their relationship. Normally, only one of these lines is expressed in words. Because this is what is presented in the text—what is immediately before us—the second line can be called the "ostensible" level. But the ostensible level is not the meaning the author is trying to get across, which lies on the other level, normally unexpressed. We may call this the "actual" level. The value of the allegory—indeed, the whole point of it—is found on the actual level. Finding this point, however, may require interpretive skill on the part of the reader because the ostensible level may serve as much to disguise meaning as to reveal it. Hence authors who want to make sure that their point is understood may add to the allegory a separate passage explaining it, as is done in Nathan's allegory for King David in 2 Samuel 12 or in the remarkable historical allegory of Ezekiel 17.

The problem of understanding is especially acute in the gospel accounts of the parables of Jesus. As the gospel authors present them, these stories often require interpretation because their hearers either do not realize that they are allegorical or cannot ravel out their component meanings. All nine of the major parables in Matthew, for example, are allegories; three of them have explicit interpretations added. Many scholars, seeking to explain the paradox of a popular teacher using a method that confused or mystified his listeners, argue that the parables of Jesus were originally just simple stories with a single point. However, after his death, they argue, the stories were modified in the direction of allegory by a Church tradition that either did not grasp their original purpose or had reasons of its own for altering their thrust. (We shall have more to say on this problem in chapter 12.) The first parable recorded by Mark, the parable of the sower, rather plainly does not fit the allegorical interpretation added to it and so affords us a glimpse into what may have happened. Here the focus is changed from the act of sowing the seed to the fate of the seed after it has been sown. In the added interpretation the sower disappears altogether, although the har-

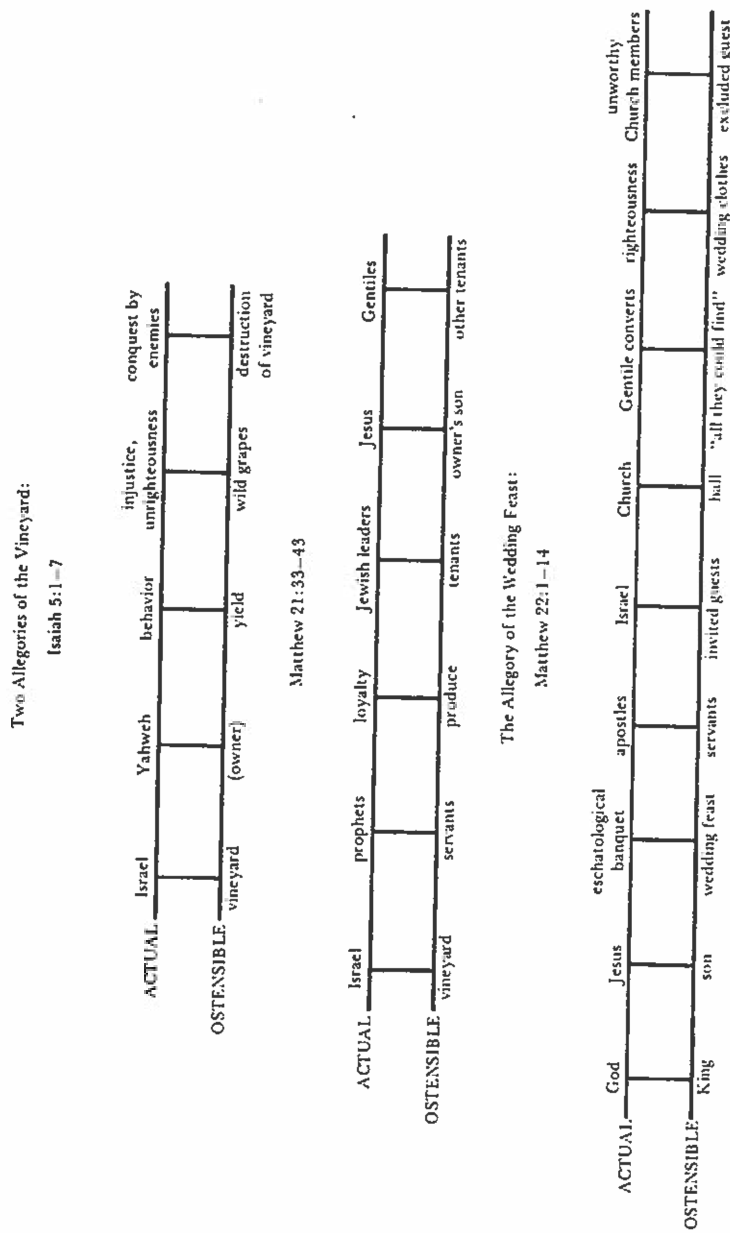

FIGURE 2. ALLEGORY

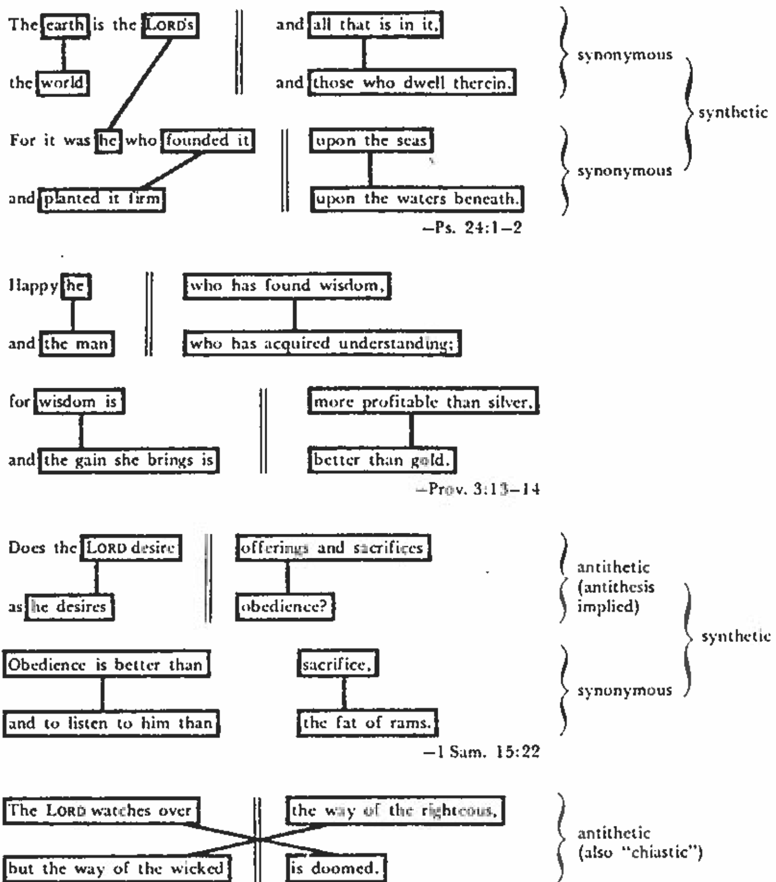

FIGURE 4. PARALLELISM IN HEBREW POETRY

"is the LORD's" being understood in the second line). In the second distich (the technical name for the two-line group) we find the same pattern, as Figure 4 shows.

The modern reader, confronted with this sort of thing, has to make adjustments. Our own literary forms do not encourage repetition; still less are they built on it. But the Hebrew poet thought otherwise and worked within a different tradition. A modern poet, having said something, will be anxious to urge his composition forward to the next stage (perhaps with memories of high school or college papers handed back with "Rep" scrawled in red in the margins). The ancient Hebrew poet,

on the other hand, seems to have been in no hurry. If a thought was truly important, it could not be exhausted in one statement. Turning it in the hand and viewing it from different angles, as it were, the Hebrew poet could more fully demonstrate its latent significance.

Returning to the example from Psalm 24, we can see that the second distich is connected to the first through the reference of the pronoun "he," but we can also see that there is a logical relationship between the two distichs, the second one giving the reason why the earth is the LORD's: It is his because he made it. Units related to each other by logic or by the forward movement of the poet's thought, like this one, are obviously parallel in a different way. The term "synthetic" has been given to this type of parallelism. In the example from Proverbs 3, the pattern seen in Psalm 24 is repeated almost exactly: Two distichs are constructed by synonymous parallelism, the second one related to the first by synthetic parallelism (it tells why it is that wisdom makes a man happy). The only real difference is that here the key term "happy," which controls all that follows, stands outside the pattern as such.

The third major type of parallelism is "antithetic"; this occurs where a unit offers a thought that denies or provides an exception to the preceding one, as in the example from 1 Samuel 15:22. Here the overall opposition is between "sacrifice" and "obedience," and this is set up in antithetical fashion in the first distich. The second distich, itself constructed by synonymy, answers the first one by vigorously excluding sacrifice as a means of serving the deity. Note that "obedience" functions as a kind of hinge or pivot between the two distichs. The example from Psalm 1:6 also shows antithetic parallelism. Its four elements are arranged in a chiastic pattern, which gives a little additional emphasis to the distich because the thought is not completed until the last of the four elements falls into place. If the author had wanted to use synonymous parallelism here, he might have written for the second line something like, "The LORD protects good men from evil." Had he wished to use synthetic parallelism, he might have written, "And causes their enemies all to perish."

Other types of parallelism are offshoots or variations of these basic ones. Two in particular are worth defining and illustrating. "Emblematic" parallelism is a variety of synonymous parallelism in which the thought is expressed half literally and half metaphorically:

> Like a gold ring in a pig's snout
> is a beautiful woman without good sense. (Prov. 11:22)

> Man born of woman is short-lived and full of disquiet.

V

The Formation of the Canon

Much of the preliminary work in the study of the Bible as literature involves the removal of misapprehensions that have grown up around the Bible because of its sacredness in the eyes of believers. Basic to all these misapprehensions is the view that the Bible is a single, complete, and integral document, unchanged and unchanging, which transcends the conditions of life on earth. We are countering that view here with the conclusions of modern biblical scholarship as well as with a certain amount of ordinary common sense. Although the writing of the Bible may well have been under divine inspiration and although it may be regarded in its entirety as God's revelation, God did not put a single word of it on paper (still less did he dictate the language of the King James Version). The writing of the Bible was done by human beings, acting in history—in human history.

But if the books of the Bible represent the writing efforts of many different persons, widely separated in time, what brought these writings together as they now exist? And what excluded all other writings produced during this period? How is it that these books—and only these books—found their place in the collection? This is our next major issue.

During the many thousands of years that it took the human race to expand over this planet and develop the arts of civilization, the Bible did not exist at all. It came into existence during comparatively recent

times in a tiny country at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea as a part of the national experience of a specific people known as Hebrews or Israelites. But this did not happen immediately: For a good part of their own history, these people, too, had no Bible. The man revered as their ancestor, Abraham, had no Bible; their leader Moses had no Bible; their great kings David and Solomon had no Bible. What the Israelites did have were miscellaneous collections of writings, mostly without a well-defined identity or status. The writing down of these documents began in the early years of the monarchical period (from about 1000 B.C. onward), although much of what was written down had been composed earlier and transmitted orally. The documents contained legends of heroes, old patriotic poems, theophanies, divine legislation, explanations of how things originated (including the story of Adam and Eve), genealogies, court records, and especially stories from the period of the Exodus and the Conquest of Canaan. They were, one might say, the archives of the national history, answering the question, "Who are we and how did we get to be here?" Many of the stories in these documents were still being transmitted by word of mouth in the monarchical period, and only priests and court officials would have had access to the written copies or would even know of their existence. It is unlikely that the documents played any part in the actual worship of the people.

This is a long way from having a Bible. Obviously, many steps had still to be taken before these writings became a part of a book of faith with a fixed and unalterable content. No step in the process was more important than that of determining which written materials belonged in the sacred scriptures and which did not—in other words, determining the canon.

The English word "canon" is a direct descendant, through Greek and Latin, of a Semitic word meaning "reed" (*kaneh* in Hebrew). Because a reed is long, thin, and straight, it could be used for measuring, as we now use a yardstick; thus the word for reed came to denote a measuring rod and then by metaphorical extension a rule, standard, or norm. It still has these latter meanings. By another extension "canon" is now applied to the thing measured as well as to the standard of measurement. Its use to designate the list of genuine and authoritative books that make up the only proper contents of the Bible comes from the early period of the Christian church, and that is the sense in which we shall use the term here. Not all believers accept the same list, but every Bible in existence today is canonical to some group and contains nothing that the group does not consider genuine and authoritative.

We begin our study of the history of the canon with a present fact: the order of books of the Jewish Bible.

15

TORAH [also Pentateuch, Law]
- Genesis
- Exodus
- Leviticus
- Numbers
- Deuteronomy

PROPHETS
- Former Prophets:
  - Joshua
  - Judges
  - 1–2 Samuel
  - 1–2 Kings
- Latter Prophets:
  - Isaiah
  - Jeremiah
  - Ezekiel
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by chapter, in all Jewish congregations through the calendar year. The Christian attitude toward the Torah is somewhat different, but all Bibles, Jewish and Christian, begin with these five books in exactly this order.

The second division, the Prophets, includes four books that might more logically be classified as history; but they are considered prophetic because they deal with that period of Israel's history within which the great prophets lived—a period that, in a religious view, can be called the Age of the Prophets. The third division, the Writings, is obviously a catchall, containing poetry, moral tales, wisdom writing, a theological drama, historical chronicles, and an apocalypse. These are the leftovers: The other two divisions had already been completed before any of these became a candidate for inclusion.

Although the order of the Torah never varied, old manuscripts and printed versions show that there was variation in the order of books in the two divisions following it, especially in the Writings. These need not concern us here, but it should be noted that the order of books in the Christian Old Testament is considerably different from the Jewish one. The Protestant Old Testament canon is identical in content to the Jewish canon but it is split into thirty-nine rather than twenty-four books* and arranged according to literary categories: history (Joshua through Esther), poetry and wisdom (Job through Song of Songs), and prophecy (Isaiah through Malachi). The Catholic Old Testament is somewhat longer because it contains certain books not included in the Jewish canon (as we shall explain in chapter 11); but it is ordered on the same principle, the source of which is the ancient Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint.

The whole collection is sometimes referred to by Jews as the "Tanak," an artificial term formed by combining the first syllables of the three Hebrew words designating the three divisions. But this is a modern device; in ancient times the collection had no title. The term "Bible" (from the Greek *ta biblia*, "the books") came into use during the early part of the Christian era. Needless to say, to Jews there is no "Old" Testament, because for them there never has been any other—certainly not a "New" one, although Jews will often use the phrase, as they will use "B.C." and "A.D.," in conformity with general practice.

* In the Jewish Bible 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, and 1–2 Chronicles are each considered a single book in two parts. Ezra and Nehemiah are combined, and The Book of the Twelve is counted as one book; but the individual pieces in The Five Scrolls count as five books. In addition to the five books in the Torah, then, there are eight in the Prophets and eleven in the Writings, producing a total of twenty-four.

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MAKING THE JEWISH CANON

As we have already implied, the threefold structure of the Jewish Bible represents the actual order in which its divisions became canonical: first the Torah, then the Prophets, finally the Writings. The first datable event in the history of the Old Testament canon took place in 622 B.C. during the reign of Josiah, King of Judah. A century earlier the stronghold of Samaria had fallen to the invading Assyrians; with that event the northern kingdom, Israel, had come to an end. The tiny kingdom of Judah was all that remained of the land promised originally to the descendants of Abraham. Shortly after Josiah's reign, Jerusalem, too, would fall, and Solomon's Temple would be destroyed. Meanwhile, there was a period of relative prosperity and stability for Judah. The Assyrian threat had receded, and Josiah had been able to take advantage of the situation to extend the sphere of his control back into the territory of what had been the northern kingdom. In addition to being a politically successful leader, the young king was a reformer, with an apparently genuine interest in purifying and strengthening the cult in Judah.* One of the actions he took toward this end was to order repairs on the Temple in Jerusalem.

During the course of these repairs a scroll was found—perhaps buried under rubble somewhere or stuffed into an obscure cubbyhole—that, when examined, seemed to contain a body of ancient cultic legislation. This was brought to the king and read out to him. With astonishment and dismay, he recognized that, according to this book, the nation was and long had been in gross disobedience of the cultic laws and that a sweeping religious reform was needed to purge Judah of its apostasy. This he proceeded to carry out with great zeal.

The incident is recorded in 2 Kings 22–23, and it is justifiably a famous one. It is told without much art, and details are missing that a modern reader would very much like to have, but that is probably because the writer of the account saw it in a different light than we do and wrote accordingly. One of the principal unanswered questions for us is what exactly was in "the book of the law" (2 Kings 22:8), as the writer calls it, using the Hebrew word *torah*. Certainly not the whole of what we now call the Torah. Most likely it was a portion of the present book of Deuteronomy, perhaps the central section, chapters 12–28, and it may well have been the somber eloquence of the curses in chapter 28 that moved the king to tear his garments in mourning. Scholarly opinion does not take too seriously the possibility that the scroll had been hidden in the Temple ever since the days of Solomon. We can only guess about its actual origin. The document may have been composed in relatively recent times—though incorporating older materials—by refugees from the northern kingdom after its fall in 722 B.C. or, perhaps, by dissident priests working underground during the days of Manasseh, Josiah's grandfather. For them to write it as an address by Moses was not an act of literary deception. The authors were no doubt perfectly sincere in believing that Moses either did say or should have said these things (the distinction between "did" and "should have" is an invention of the modern mind and did not exist in the ancient world). Obviously, the authenticity of "the book of the law" was not questioned in 622 B.C. Josiah's purpose in consulting the prophetess Huldah was not to find out whether the scroll was genuine but to find out what he should do in response to it.

The surprising thing is that as late as 622 even the priests in the Temple apparently did not know the Mosaic law! The story does not suggest that those who found the scroll saw it as an addition to some code of law that they already possessed. For them it was something unique. In other words, up to that time there was no authoritative scriptural text to which they were accustomed to turn for guidance, nor had they felt the need to have such a text. We conclude that the scroll found in the Temple became the very first portion of canonical scripture—but because it was also the only piece of scripture ever to have been made canonical on the spot, it can tell us nothing about the process by which the rest of the Old Testament became canonical.

What happened next in the history of the canon is obscured by the catastrophe that overwhelmed Jerusalem in 587 B.C. when the final act of national independence was played out. We may easily imagine, though, that the besieged remnant in Jerusalem, especially the Temple officials, did everything possible to save their precious written records from the holocaust. These scrolls would have been of no interest to the conquering Babylonians, who had so much of real value to plunder; so the long file of sorrowing captives that made its way slowly into exile carried with it a substantial portion of the future Old Testament canon. By this time, scholars believe, the older historical records had been compiled and edited into a single document, and the history of Israel and Judah had been rewritten and brought up to date in the spirit of the original Deuteronomic authors. Scholars disagree on when the final additions to this work, the Priestly writings, were made—whether just before the Babylonian Exile, during the stay in Babylon, or shortly after the return from exile in 538 B.C.—but in any case the Torah cer-

* Scholars use the term "cult" in a neutral and strictly descriptive way to refer to any system of religious practices supported by traditional beliefs.

tainly existed in its present form and was considered canonical by 400 B.C. At some time not far from this date, as the story is told in Nehemiah, "the book of the law of Moses, which the LORD had enjoined upon Israel" (Neh. 8:1) was read out to the people in a solemn assembly by the scribe Ezra. Out of the very considerable body of written materials that had survived the Exile, the Torah had been fashioned to stand alone as the supreme document of emerging Judaism.

We cannot call the process a speedy one. More than five centuries had passed since the oldest portions of what became the Torah were written down. And we are entitled to suspect that, without the destruction of the Temple and the Babylonian captivity, the process would never have taken place. A part of Deuteronomy was all that King Josiah needed—for centuries not even that had been needed. Only when it seemed to the Judahites that their faith was in danger of disappearing altogether did they feel obliged to fix its traditions permanently as canonical documents. This operation of salvage and reconstruction was a direct response to national crisis. Its product, a book, became ultimately a far more potent object than even the Temple of Solomon.

That the Torah should have been separated off from the rest of the religious literature existing in 400 B.C. is something of a historical accident. Indeed, its unity is artificial: To make the collection end with the death of Moses, the book of Deuteronomy had to be separated from a series of further historical narratives that Deuteronomy had already spawned (beginning with the present book of Joshua). In fact, the death of Moses may originally have been narrated at the end of what is now Numbers. Whatever had to be done to make a unit out of the Torah, its being frequently copied and widely distributed after 400 B.C. prevented alterations either in its content or its form. Once issued as a unit, it became canonical in the most effective possible way: in the minds and hearts of the devout. As we say now, the canon of the Torah was closed.

But the process of canon formation continued. Having now learned how to make a canon, Jews were ready to take the next step, which was to make up their minds about the prophetic material written after the death of Moses, specifically the Deuteronomic history of Israel and Judah and the collections of prophecy attributed to various individuals like Isaiah and Jeremiah. This material was full of moral lessons, it spoke of the glorious past of the nation, and, with postexilic additions, it offered hope of a glorious future. It was part of the bone and sinew of Israel's national identity. Undoubtedly it had more unity in Jewish eyes than it does in ours. The books of the Former and Latter Prophets received canonical status at some time not later than 200 B.C.

The formalizing of the collection of Prophets merely ratified an opinion already current: that these books deserved honor second only to the Torah. This is shown by the comparatively short time between the two events. Just as the works constituting the Prophets had been in existence when the Torah became canonical, other works, known later as the Writings, were already in existence when the Prophets became canonical. Each event had been an act of selection in which a certain group of books, felt to have an inherent unity and a prior claim to recognition, was picked out of the larger number then available, leaving the remainder for the future to decide. The leftovers were a mixed bag, indeed. Their status is indicated by the preface to Ecclesiasticus, written about 132 B.C., which three times specifically mentions the Law (Torah), Prophets, and "the rest of the writings" (a phrase implying that the last group is still undefined).

It might have taken many centuries more for a Hebrew canon to be completed had it not been for two further crises in Jewish history. The first of these was the Jewish rebellion against the Romans in Palestine, led by the "Zealots." In A.D. 70, during the final phase of this rebellion, Roman soldiers led by Titus surrounded Jerusalem, placed it under siege, captured it, and burned down the Temple. During the siege a Jewish elder, Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, managed to escape from the city through the Roman lines for the purpose of setting up a center for Judaism at Jamnia (or Jabneh), a village near the coast west of Jerusalem and out of the battle area. Here he was joined by other rabbis, and together they established a council to replace the now-extinct Sanhedrin, the ruling Jewish Council in Jerusalem. The Sanhedrin had had a degree of political authority and was dominated by the Sadducees, but the council at Jamnia had only religious authority and was composed of Pharisees. (For a discussion of the Pharisees and Sadducees, see chapter 10.) Its self-assigned role was a complex and immensely important one: to determine how Judaism could survive without the Temple. In some ways the situation was analogous to that during the Babylonian Conquest five centuries earlier. Again, the cultic center of Judaism was overwhelmed, again the Temple was destroyed, again the national faith was in grave jeopardy.

One of the responses to this situation was the closing of the canon of Jewish scriptures by fixing the limit of the third division, the Writings. The Pharisees, whose movement had been hospitable to these books, now saw the danger to their orthodoxy in leaving the canon unsettled. It was time to retrench, to purify, to define—in short, to fix once and for all the contents of the third division. That much is certain. But we do not know whether there was any systematic consideration of

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canonical questions at Jamnia or, indeed, whether there was a real "council" in a formal sense, with power to make decisions. No minutes were kept. We do know that there were sharp differences of opinion on the acceptability of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. In the end both were accepted, perhaps because they were ascribed to Solomon. The supposed date of the writing of a book would have been crucial because the belief was already current that there had been no prophets in Israel since the death of Ezra, thus no books written after that time could be inspired. But all we can say for sure is that no book not already popular could ever have made its way into the canon, regardless of other considerations. Hence what the council at Jamnia did for the Writings was essentially to recognize a canon that had already been made in an informal way through the esteem of generations of the faithful. By A.D. 100 (a convenient round number that is accurate enough for our purpose) the canon of Jewish scriptures was closed for all time and Judaism became, as the phrase goes, "a religion of the book."

The action at Jamnia left a number of books outside the canon. These were miscellaneous works in Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic dating from the previous several centuries—parts of the extensive library of Jewish religious writings. We should not think of them as having been deliberately excluded from the canon but rather as having failed to get in: For political or doctrinal or other reasons none of them had attracted a sufficient following. In chapter 11 we discuss these "outside" books in detail.

THE CHRISTIAN CANON

The books collected into the canon of the Jewish scriptures were all written in the Hebrew language. Since the latter part of the third century B.C. there had existed a translation of these (and some other) books into Greek, the Septuagint, which had been undertaken for the use of Greek-speaking Jews living outside of Palestine, who could no longer understand the original scriptural language. This translation was very popular. But it was never considered for canonization at Jamnia—indeed, the process at Jamnia was directed *against* the Septuagint. Not only was the Septuagint a translation, but it was based on a Hebrew text that differed at some points from that used in Palestine, and it included a number of books felt to be of doubtful authority. Above all, it was now being used by the Christians to support their claims about the Messiah and thus to convert Jews.

Although the Septuagint was the Bible of the early Christians, who believed in it just as much as the Jews of Palestine believed in their own Hebrew text, it could not have satisfied Christian needs permanently. It spoke to them of the coming of the Messiah, but it did not bear direct witness to Jesus' life and teaching, nor did it speak to the issues that Christians now faced in the practice of their religion. We must not think, however, that in this situation the early Christians sat down consciously to produce scripture. They did not say to themselves, "We had better get busy and make a covenant book of our own to add to the book of the old covenant." They simply wrote. The first two centuries A.D. were a period of furious literary activity. The notion of a new canonical collection did not arise until everything that is now in it—and more—had already been written. In the end only a small portion of this literary output did become canonical. The rest either perished or remained forever "outside."

The earliest of the Christian writers known to us is Paul, whose letters date from the last decade of his missionary activity, roughly from A.D. 50 to 60. Paul's letters were written to deal with particular situations in the missionary field, but they also included instructions on faith and conduct that would have been relevant to Christians anywhere. They were preserved by the addressees for the first reason, copied and collected by others for the second. Because letters do not come together spontaneously, it is reasonable to suppose that some admirer of Paul's writings took the initiative a generation after the apostle's death and sought out such letters as still existed in order to publish them together. In the interval many letters must have disappeared. The Pauline tradition caught on quickly; by the middle of the second century, a Pauline canon of sorts existed (see, for evidence of this, 2 Peter 3:15–16), comprising thirteen letters (or fourteen, with the disputed book of Hebrews). To this Pauline canon the seven "catholic" or "general" letters (James; 1–2 Peter; 1–2–3 John; and Jude) were added during the second century: works obviously imitative of Paul, but bearing the names of apostolic writers.

The four gospels were not written until after Paul's death. That the latter part of the first century was a fluid and formative period in Christian writing is shown by the fact that each of the gospel writers presented his own account of the ministry of Jesus, on the assumption that his particular gospel would be adequate by itself to the needs of his audience. And because Matthew and Luke, writing in A.D. 80–90, saw fit to modify as well as to use the gospel of Mark, it is clear that to them Mark was not canonical scripture. Between this period and the middle of the second century, however, the situation changed rapidly. Within a few years of the issuing of the fourth gospel, someone obtained copies of all four and combined them into one book. The

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usefulness of their different perspectives on the life of Jesus, or, perhaps, their sheer bulk as evidence when combined, could have motivated him; but whatever his motive, we should pause to acknowledge that the four-gospel tradition, so obvious to us, was once a revolutionary idea. As we saw in the case of the Torah, when books are published together as a unit, they tend to stay together and to resist additions. When the influential churchman Irenaeus, writing about A.D. 180, vigorously championed the four-gospel tradition and proved in a way satisfactory to himself why there could not be more than four gospels, he was dealing with a canonical unit already well established in the Church, if not necessarily taken for granted in it (hence the need for defense).

The four gospels became canonical at a time when there was only a rough consensus about the status of other Christian writings. The next most stable element was the central group of Pauline letters. The book of Acts, which continued Luke's gospel, became canonical independently of that gospel during the latter second century, having been separated from it for reasons that are not clear to us now. There were strong and continued differences of opinion in the Christian world on the acceptability of Hebrews and Revelation, and many powerful churchmen sponsored such popular (and now apocryphal) works as The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, The Shepherd of Hermas, and the Letter of Barnabas. Thus it would be more accurate to speak of New Testament canons rather than of a canon prior to about A.D. 400, when the influence of Jerome's Vulgate began to prove decisive and the present New Testament canon of twenty-seven books (which is accepted by all Christian faiths) became fixed. Again—not so dramatically as before, but no less certainly—a good deal of the impetus toward fixing the canon came from a religious crisis, this time the pressure of various heresies. These movements, now only historical curiosities, were once very real threats to the Church. One famous heretic, Marcion, actually issued a New Testament canon of his own in the middle of the second century. If the early Christians had seemed about to snatch the Old Testament away from the Jews, and the Jews retaliated, now the Christian heretics were doing much the same thing with Christian religious documents, and their challenge was met by the same kind of response.

The only principle that carried real weight in determining canonicity in the New Testament was whether the writer of a document was believed to have been an apostle, having known the living Christ, or, as in the case of Mark and Luke, one who had received the tradition directly from an apostle. The pseudonymous "catholic" letters, the originally anonymous gospels, and the book of Revelation were all justified in this way. This is indicative of the importance placed by the Church on living witness to the Incarnated Saviour. (Incidentally, it may explain why for at least a whole generation after the Crucifixion there were no gospels at all; who needed a written document if he or she had actually been in the Saviour's presence or knew someone who had?) The principle of apostolicity is firmly grounded in historical reality and differs quite markedly from the corresponding principle in the Old Testament, that of prophetic inspiration.

But apostolicity, like inspiration, tends to be urged after the fact. At the stage when it becomes a question of deciding on explicit grounds whether a book should or should not be canonical, its status has already been determined by two different forces: time and consensus. How much time and how wide a consensus it is impossible to specify. A good deal of both, surely. But if generations of the faithful read and cherish a given document and find in it a source of spiritual strength, if it tells them what they want to hear, then all an ecclesiastical authority needs to do or can do is ratify this traditional choice. In a very real sense the Church, the body of believers, creates the writing that it wants to have. Individual writings do not force themselves onto the Church and gain admittance to the canon on their own merits without first having undergone this long process.

CAN THE BIBLICAL CANON EVER BE CHANGED?

The standards of time and consensus explain why the books that are in the Bible are in the Bible. But there are many books not in the Bible that meet these standards in that they are well loved and long used. Might not some of them be admitted? Why should not *The Pilgrim's Progress* be in the Bible? Surely its author, John Bunyan, was an inspired writer. It should not make any difference that he wrote in the seventeenth century rather than the first century, for God's truth never changes. Nor should it matter that he wrote in English: God's truth can be conveyed in the English language, as the Bible that we read testifies. *The Pilgrim's Progress* is not disqualified by being an allegorical fiction, for so, too, is some of the Bible. And there is no question as to the enormous popularity of Bunyan's work over the years among Christians. If *The Pilgrim's Progress* is too Protestant for some tastes, we could balance it with the *Confessions* of Saint Augustine or some other classic of Catholic faith. Having done this much, we could press on to urge the inclusion in the Old Testament of Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet*, which is not less religious than the Song of Songs, or one of the great religious best-sellers of all time, Charles M. Sheldon's *In His Steps* (some thirty million copies printed

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since 1896). Our canon could then be brought up to date on a major social issue of the twentieth century by following the proposal of a group of black clergy in the United States that Martin Luther King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail—April 16, 1963" be added to the Bible because of its eloquent statement of the case for involving the Church in the struggle for civil rights. The possibilities are enormous. In none of the cited cases could any reasons be found for excluding such books that would not also exclude books already in the canon.

But the reasons have ceased to operate. Jews and Christians have decided that *this* is their Bible and that the canon is closed. Once closed, a canon never reopens. As time goes on, the possibility of change becomes smaller rather than larger: Unlike other works of mortal hands, the biblical canon is strengthened and upheld by age. By no effort of the imagination can one visualize the present Bible expanded to include another work, whatever its quality. For example, there is the Gospel of Thomas, a collection of sayings attributed to Jesus, discovered in Egypt during the 1940s. This collection preserves what some scholars believe to be authentic words of Jesus in a form closer to what he originally said than the versions given in the canonical gospels; but these sayings will never be added to the New Testament. It is not a question of our being unable to prove that they are authentic, for when it comes to that we are unable to *prove* that Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John are authentic. We may talk about divine inspiration as the great defining characteristic of all authentic scripture; in fact there is no way to tell simply by looking at a document whether it is inspired or not.

This discussion is not intended to suggest that there is any great pressure to add to the Bible. The vast majority of believers would be surprised merely to hear the question raised, so much do they take the Bible in its present form for granted. These believers are an enormous conservative force—a fact that has been tested from time to time with the issuance of new translations of the Bible or modernizations of language in church ritual. Invariably there are widespread and angry protests from persons who believe the innovations to be subversive of true religion. In addition, we should bear in mind that a canon is an *official* collection, sponsored by a religious establishment. Though the canon may have been created in the first place by the consensus of the faithful, the real interest in preserving it intact is that of the priesthood or rabbinate. *They* cannot afford to be casual about its contents, whatever other persons feel.

We should conclude by pointing out that if the Bible is throughout the word of God, it should in theory be useful and relevant in all parts to the same degree. But no one who uses the Bible treats it that way.

Not all canonical books are in practice equally canonical. For all readers there is a canon within the canon, a list of favorite books or favorite passages to which they habitually return; correspondingly, there are books and passages that they never read or read only under duress. Few would deny that there is great weariness of flesh in working one's way through the lists of names in Chronicles or the descriptions of sacrificial ritual in Leviticus; many Christians have as little to do with the book of Revelation as possible, preferring Paul's teaching on love to John's lurid visions of revenge; few readers can find religious inspiration in the Song of Songs or in Esther, and most are not uplifted by the slaughter that accompanies the conquest of Canaan (Joshua 10-11) or the story of the Levite and the concubine (Judges 19); and so on. When using the Bible to provide proofs in religious argument, readers always turn to those passages that support their own point of view and ignore those that do not. The well-known fact that even the Devil can quote scripture to his own purpose indicates the variety and multiplicity of this inexhaustible collection, for there is something here for all tastes. Most of us would vote to exclude some portions of it in favor of others, if the canon were to be submitted for ratification now.

But it will not be. Not only can no other books get into the Bible, none of the present canonical books can get out. That is what it means to say that the canon is closed.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

Peter R. Ackroyd, "The Old Testament in the Making," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 67–113.

G. W. Anderson, "Canonical and Non-Canonical," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 113–59.

James Barr, *Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983).

C. F. Evans, "The New Testament in the Making," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 232–84.

R. M. Grant, "The New Testament Canon," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 284–308.

Frank Kermode, "The Canon," *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1987), pp. 600–610.

The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. George A. Buttrick (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1962). See articles on Canon of the NT and Canon of the OT.

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GENESIS 1–2:4a	GENESIS 2:4b–3:24
Creation is divided into days.	No days or other periods of time are mentioned.
Creation has a cosmic scope.	Creation has to do with the earth only.
Animals are created before man.	Man is created before animals.
Animals are part of a cosmic design (along with plants and everything else).	Animals are created for a special purpose: to keep man company.
Man is to rule the world.	Man is to have charge of Eden only and, presumably, is never to leave it.
Woman is created simultaneously with man.	Woman is created after (and from) man.
No names are given to creatures.	All creatures, including man and woman, are given names.
Only the deity speaks.	Four speakers engage in dialogue, one of them an animal.
The deity makes a day of the week holy.	The deity forbids eating the fruit of a tree.

It is clear, even in translation, that the first story employs much verbal repetition and is precisely and regularly organized, with the separate acts of creation carefully set in parallel form. It is austere, dignified, solemn in movement, almost ritualistic, as befits the theme that it unfolds. No word is used carelessly. Obviously, a literary artist of great skill wrote it. The second story is no less skillful. In contrast to the first, however, it is down-to-earth and appeals to the mind's eye with many vivid and concrete details. The deity creates Adam not by uttering a verbal command but by descending to the barren plain of earth, taking some clay, molding it into the figure of a man, and then breathing life into it. (The Hebrew verb here, *yatsar*, is the same one that would be used of a human potter molding or shaping a vessel.) The creator is anthropomorphically represented as one of the actors in a drama. A major purpose of the second story seems to be etiology: to explain how something got started. And it is an incomplete story, bringing man to the threshold of history with all of time before him, whereas the first account is complete and implies no sequel or further action.

The two voices that we hear in the opening chapters continue to be

heard as we proceed through Genesis. The characteristics just noted still prevail. The first voice seems preoccupied with order and regulation and now and then produces a genealogical list that makes dull reading for us but must have seemed quite important to the writer. The deity of the first account is remote and abstract—powerful, but not distinct to the human imagination. At appropriate intervals he issues sweeping laws: for observing the sabbath, against eating blood, for circumcision of all males. The second voice, however, continues with its anthropomorphic presentation of the deity, and this writer's flair for the dramatic is revealed in a string of fascinating stories: Cain and Abel, the Tower of Babel, Noah drunk and naked in his tent, Abraham bargaining with God over Sodom and Gomorrah, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob wrestling with a divine antagonist at the ford of the Jabbok.

THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

Biblical scholars attribute these stories to a source they call the "Yahwist," following Astruc's insight. The Yahwist source is designated by the letter J (according to the German system of spelling in which the sound of Y is represented by J). The other source came to be called the "Priestly" or P, because of its overriding interest in ritual legislation (this is much more apparent in the later books of the Pentateuch than in Genesis). A third source that can be traced in Genesis is now called the "Elohist" or E, even though the Priestly source also uses "Elohim" as the name of God. Finally, there is a fourth source, the "Deuteronomic" or D, which in the Pentateuch is found only in the book of Deuteronomy (we shall discuss this a little later).

While the four sources were being identified by nineteenth-century biblical scholars, the question naturally arose as to their order in time. Unless we know this or have a good hypothesis about it, we are at a dead end, for the Pentateuch remains just as mysteriously cut off from the stream of human history as it was when Moses was believed to be its author. The key to solving this problem was the realization that P, the first document encountered and the source of Genesis 1, was actually the last one to have been composed. There is no other way to explain the absence of any mention of ritual legislation by the authors of the history of Israel in Samuel-Kings or by the preexilic prophets. There was, of course, a national cult that worshiped the deity with animal sacrifice, observed a sacred calendar, and had certain rules of conduct; but the historians and prophets never connect any of this with a written document or with written authority. Indeed, the prophets refer to the practice of sacrifice only to denounce it. This picture was considerably altered by the Priestly writers who, late in the process of

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XIV

Translating the Bible

The Bible is one of the world's great books. Throughout history, millions upon millions of people have considered it to be the very word of God and have based the eternal welfare of their souls on its contents. And yet, of the vast number who have held the Bible in such high esteem, not one-half of one percent have read its *actual* words. For those words are in Hebrew and Greek, languages that only a small proportion of the world's population has ever been able to read. All others have had to depend for direct knowledge of the Bible on what a translation can communicate. Thus the history of Bible translating and its state today are matters of the greatest significance for students of the Bible. In earlier chapters we have frequently dealt with some of the more notable of the ancient translations, and we shall review those here before discussing Bible translating in more recent times and the challenges faced by anyone who undertakes this essential labor.

THE SEPTUAGINT

Our review must begin with the translation called the Septuagint, which we have discussed at some length in chapters 5 and 11. This was a rendering of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, for the benefit of Greek-speaking Jews living outside of Palestine in the centuries following the reign of Alexander the Great (who died in 323

B.C.). The Septuagint was the Bible of the earliest Christians and thus provided the form of the Jewish scriptures that the Christian Church claimed as its own and that strongly influenced the writing of the New Testament. The Septuagint was the source from which the earliest Latin versions of the Old Testament were made, and it was a strong influence on the Latin version produced by Jerome in the fourth century A.D. The Eastern Orthodox Church still employs the Septuagint as its Old Testament.

THE VULGATE

Another notable ancient translation was the Latin Vulgate of Eusebius Hieronymus, whom we know as Jerome. As we pointed out in chapter 11, Jerome actually set out simply to revise the already existing Latin versions of the Old and New Testaments. For his revision of the Old Testament, he intended to rely on the authority of the Septuagint and several later Greek translations. But as his work proceeded, he gradually felt the need to go back to the Hebrew itself for the Old Testament and so to produce a new translation straight from Hebrew into Latin. Jerome's busy life did not allow him to accomplish this completely. As a consequence, the translation associated with his name (referred to in later centuries as the "Vulgate" because it was in the language of the *vulgus*, the common people of Rome) contains within it some Old Testament books that were in the early Latin form and not revised or redone by Jerome. What Jerome accomplished was nevertheless a remarkable piece of work for one man and well represented his church's understanding of the scriptures in the late fourth century. Some time passed before this translation drove out rival versions, but having done so, it became firmly established as the official Bible of Western Christianity and remained so for the next thousand years.

The fact that the Western Church used a Latin Bible and the Eastern Church used a Greek Bible was not so important as that each of them considered its version to be the *true* Bible. Western and Eastern churchmen (or at any rate the better educated among them) were not ignorant of the fact that the Old Testament had originally been written in Hebrew; but they all believed that their particular translation had been inspired by God. When medieval Jews pointed out spots in the Greek and Latin versions of the Old Testament that did not faithfully represent the meaning of the Hebrew (the Hebrew, that is, of the medieval manuscripts available to them), the Christians insisted that Jews had altered the meaning of the Hebrew text to avoid having to acknowledge its foretelling of Christ. Similarly, when Eastern Chris-

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tians remarked that some passages in the Latin New Testament were not faithful to the Greek original, Western Christians retorted that the Eastern Church had altered the text of the Greek New Testament to support its own heretical views. This insistence that one's own translation is the "true" Bible can be heard today from some users of the King James Version, who attack more recent translations as works of the Devil. In their view, God inspired a body of translators working some 370 years ago but no translators working before or after that time. And the continuing efforts of modern scholars to understand the Hebrew and Greek originals better is of no interest to them at all.

Throughout the long period of the Middle Ages there were no challenges to the supremacy of the Greek Bible in the East and the Latin Bible in the West. Jewish scholars, of course, continued to employ the Hebrew text of their own scriptures. And Christians made translations of individual books, like the Psalms and the gospels, from Latin and Greek into the tongues of various Western and Eastern European peoples. The entire Bible was translated in the fourth century from Latin into Gothic, an early Germanic language; a thousand years later it was translated from Latin into English by the followers of John Wycliffe, acting on the conviction that English priests and churchgoers alike needed to have the scriptures in their native tongue. But with no official ecclesiastical support for producing new vernacular translations and making them available to individual churches, and with no means for physically reproducing them except by laborious and expensive handcopying, there was no chance that a movement could get under way to put the Bible into modern languages. In the mid-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, however, certain historical developments changed the picture entirely.

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING

The first of those developments was the invention of printing (more precisely, the invention of printing from movable type). The effects of this on human civilization are so vast that they can scarcely be overstated. Before printing, only a single copy of a book could be made at one time by one copyist; and the cost of the book amounted to what the copyist had to be paid during the period required for him to complete it. Thus the cost of a Latin Bible in the preprint era had to include the cost of perhaps a year's wages for a copyist. But once printing came into existence, hundreds of copies could be made at about the same cost for labor as that for a single handwritten copy. This had several major consequences for the translation of the Bible. The most obvious was that, as the cost of book-making dropped,

the prices of books dropped and therefore people other than aristocrats and clerics could afford to own Bibles. Another consequence was that the tools requisite to the making of translations (grammars and dictionaries of ancient languages, concordances to the Bible, commentaries on the Bible text, and, of course, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts themselves) were published for scholars—and at prices they could afford. A third consequence was a great gain in the accuracy of biblical texts, for now a scholar's careful efforts to produce an accurate version of the Bible in some given language would be reflected in hundreds of printed copies. Some errors were introduced during the printing process, of course, but not nearly so many as would have been introduced by individual handcopyists producing the same number of copies.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

Still, without official ecclesiastical support, there could be no widespread effort to put the Bible into the languages of common people. That support was not forthcoming until the time of a second historical development: the Protestant Reformation. The established churches of the East and West felt no need to have the Bible translated into vernacular tongues, for they each were confident that the means of salvation and the dispensation of divine grace were in their keeping and that lay members of the Church had no need to study the Bible privately. But with the Reformation, brought to a head by the efforts of Martin Luther in Germany, the control of the individual believer's religious life was in many places in the West torn away from the Roman Catholic Church. It was Martin Luther's overriding conviction (which had come to him, he believed, by divine inspiration) that salvation was a matter strictly between the individual and God, with no intervention necessary by a church: Human beings were to seize by faith what God made available by grace. Anyone perceiving this and accepting it, Luther thought, possessed the key to the mystery of the scriptures and had a right to study those scriptures. To that end, the Bible had to be made available in the tongues of the people. Translations were required, and they had to be as faithful to the original biblical writings as possible; thus they had to be made from the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament, not from the Latin Vulgate, which was itself merely a translation. Luther set himself to the long task of making a new translation into German (earlier ones existed, but they derived from the Vulgate). In other countries where protest against the Roman Church and a call for reform began to be raised, the "Protestants" (or "Reformers") followed Luther in pressing for translations to be made into modern languages. We shall now sur-

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vey the history of biblical translation in English, but the reader should realize that there is an equivalent history for every one of the major European languages.

EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

The first English product of the Reformers' concern for biblical translation was the New Testament made by William Tyndale, published in 1525 or 1526. The English church opposed this work and attempted, without complete success, to seize and destroy all copies of it. (The English church had an on-again, off-again view of Bible translating, sometimes opposing it because both church and government feared what would happen when common people read and interpreted the Bible for themselves, at other times favoring it in order to promote Reformation ideas.) Tyndale, living and working on the Continent to avoid arrest in England, turned his attention to the Old Testament as soon as he had completed work on the New Testament. He learned some Hebrew and began translating, completing the Pentateuch, Jonah, and most of the historical books. Then he was arrested by agents of the Catholic Inquisition, imprisoned, and in 1536 put to death as a heretic. A year before his death, an assistant to Tyndale, Miles Coverdale, had published the first complete *printed* Bible in English, using Tyndale's New Testament and some of the books of the Old Testament that Tyndale had translated; the remainder of the Old Testament and the books of the Apocrypha, Coverdale himself translated. Coverdale's efforts were encouraged by the English church (which had now been removed from the Roman Catholic fold by King Henry VIII) and permitted by the government; they were not curtailed as Tyndale's had been ten years earlier. The English church allowed a reworked Tyndale-Coverdale version (called the Matthew Bible) to be published in 1537 and then published its own version of this Bible in 1539. Referred to as the Great Bible because of its large size, the 1539 work was authorized to be read in all of the parish churches of England.

THE GENEVA BIBLE

But this openness to Bible translations came to a sudden end when, following the reigns of Henry VIII and his young Protestant son Edward VI, Henry's daughter Mary took the throne in 1552. She was a strong Catholic and intended to bring the English church back to the Roman fold. Those Reformers who resisted her efforts were in danger of execution as heretics. To save themselves, many fled to cities on the Continent that were sympathetic to the Reformation; many who did not flee were burned at the stake by the government of "Bloody Mary." English Protestants living in Geneva, Switzerland, set about making their own translation of the Bible into English. This work, published in 1560, was a resounding success. For one thing, the Geneva Bible was printed in easy-to-read Roman typeface rather than in the old-fashioned black-letter (Gothic) typeface, and it was divided into numbered verses for handy reference. Then, too, it had notes and headings that were strongly Protestant in nature and that suited the public mood in the decades following the death of Mary and the ascension to the throne in 1558 of the third of Henry VIII's children to rule after him, Elizabeth.

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE

Queen Elizabeth, Protestant in sympathy, was constantly watchful against Catholic efforts to regain power in her realm. But she was unwilling to allow Protestant enthusiasts to dictate how she should rule either the nation or the church (of which she was the official head). The English church that she and her advisers shaped had within it some similarities to the Roman Catholic Church—far too many similarities, in the view of English Puritans (so called because they wished to purify the church of Catholic elements). But it was distinctly independent of the Catholic Church, and it encouraged the reading of the Bible in English. To promote this, the bishops of the English church authorized a new translation to be made and used in parish churches. This "Bishops' Bible" (like the Great Bible before it strongly in debt to the work of Tyndale and Coverdale) was published in 1568 and remained the official Bible of the English church for many decades. About the use of the Bible during the Elizabethan era we can make the generalization that, although everyone who attended church services (and everyone was expected to do so) heard the scriptures read from the Bishops' Bible and themselves recited passages from a prayerbook derived from Coverdale's Bible, most of those who participated in daily family devotions at home used the Geneva version.

THE DOUAY-RHEIMS BIBLE

Just as during Queen Mary's reign a great many Protestants fled to the Continent to escape persecution and to be able to practice their religion freely, so numerous Catholics fled during Queen Elizabeth's reign for those same reasons. Although these Catholics did not believe that a Bible in English was necessary for the good of people's souls, they did realize that the Protestants had a distinct advantage in possessing versions in English that could be appealed to in religious

disputes between the two parties. Thus, despite their misgivings about putting the scriptures into the common tongue, English Catholic scholars living on the Continent in the late 1570s set about making their own English version. They translated from the Latin Vulgate, for that was the official Bible of their church; and, in order to avoid importing alien ideas into their version, they stayed as close to the Latin in form as the English language would allow (often they stayed *too* close to the Latin and produced readings that scarcely were English at all). Their New Testament was completed and published in 1582 at Rheims, in France, and their Old Testament in 1610 at Douay (or Douai), also in France. Despite its overliteralness, the Douay-Rheims Bible (as it is usually called) achieved a place as the chief Bible of English-speaking Catholics for the next three-and-a-half centuries. A revision of this Catholic version in the mid-eighteenth century by Bishop Richard Challoner removed many of its stylistic defects.

THE KING JAMES VERSION

Just a year after the publication of the complete Douay-Rheims version, there appeared a translation that was destined to become the greatest of the English Bibles. Pressure for a new, more accurate English version had begun to build shortly after the death of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603 and the ascension to the throne of King James I. James gave his permission (which is why the resultant work came to be called both the Authorized Version [AV] and the King James Version [KJV]), and in 1604 he appointed a large body of scholars to undertake the task. The finished work, published in 1611, initially met with considerable opposition, particularly from individuals with Puritan sympathies who still championed the use of the Geneva Bible. A number of decades were to pass before the KJV would become the undisputed favorite version of English-speaking Protestants. But finally its triumph was complete; and as the scores and hundreds of years passed, it appeared that nothing would dislodge the KJV from its preeminent place. Its language, of course, became increasingly old-fashioned and quaint as time went by. But that language was the language of the English Renaissance and was felt by the bulk of its readers to be the appropriately majestic means of expression for the "good news" of the Bible. Thus, ironically, with the passing of time the making of a new English translation became increasingly necessary but also—given the growing veneration of the KJV—increasingly difficult to accomplish. Various one-person translations were produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and some of them flourished for a time; but none was ultimately of any major significance.

THE REVISED VERSION

By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, there could finally be no denying that much of the language of the KJV was so out of date as to be—for beginning readers of the Bible, certainly—a hindrance to understanding. Furthermore, better biblical documents than those the 1611 translators had used were now available, and much more was known about the original languages of the Bible. Various proposals for revision and attempts at revision of the KJV were made in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. But it was not until 1870 that a committee was formed within the Anglican Church (some non-Anglicans were included) to begin the formal work of revising. The committee set as its task both to introduce into the English text such new knowledge about the Hebrew and Greek originals as had been discovered since 1611 and to alter any KJV language that was misleading. But when they did alter the language, they chose to restrict themselves to employing only words and constructions typical of the KJV and other early translations. And in striving for faithfulness to the originals, they imposed on themselves certain severe limitations, such as trying wherever possible to follow the word order of the originals and always translating a given word in the original by the same English word. The result of this policy was inevitably to produce a very stiff English Bible marred by "translationese." The New Testament of the Revised Version, as it was termed, was published in 1881, the Old Testament in 1885.

THE AMERICAN STANDARD VERSION

An American advisory committee had been established shortly after the revisers began their work in England. Drafts of the revised portions were sent to this committee for comment, the idea being that where possible the English revisers would accept American proposals for alteration, and, where not possible, the American preferences would be listed in an appendix to the Revised Version. The Americans were requested, and agreed, not to publish their own revision in competition with the English Revised Version for a period of fourteen years. When that period expired, the American committee renewed its work on the text and, in 1901, published what is usually referred to as the American Standard Version. This incorporated into the text those preferred American readings that had been listed in the appendix to the Revised Version as well as additional readings that the American committee has settled on in the years following publication of the Revised Version.

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Both England and America had thus produced by the beginning of the twentieth century what were intended to be successors to the KJV. But although these revisions enjoyed some popularity, neither was able to replace the KJV either for use in churches or for private reading. The revisions undoubtedly possessed a great degree of faithfulness to the sense of the originals, but they lacked the natural flow and the majesty of the old translation; in consequence, the public was unwilling to sacrifice the comfortable familiarity of the KJV for any mere increase in accuracy. Thus the revisions of 1881–1901 solved nothing of the problem that the KJV presented except to point the way for further work in revising or translating afresh.

THE REVISED STANDARD VERSION

A number of new and worthy translations of the entire Bible or portions of it appeared in England and America in the first half of the twentieth century. But the next one to achieve widespread and lasting attention was begun by a body of American Protestant churches in the 1930s and brought to conclusion in 1952. This was the Revised Standard Version (RSV), which as the name indicates was a reworking of the American Standard Version—although what the translators actually hoped to replace was not the little-used revision of 1901 but the KJV, which was now more archaic than ever in its language and more out of date than ever in its biblical scholarship. As had happened to most of the English translations before it, all the way back to Tyndale's version, the RSV was published to a chorus of negative criticism: The beloved language of such familar passages as the Lord's Prayer and the Twenty-third Psalm had been altered, certain crucial theological terms had been dropped, religious credentials of some of the translators were suspect, and so on. But time has gradually reduced the dissatisfaction with the RSV, and today some religious bodies that once denounced it embrace it as the best of the recent translations. Although its translators were careful to draw on the best biblical sources and scholarship and to avoid using in their English text utterly archaic diction and obsolete constructions, they nevertheless pointedly maintained the familiar idiom of the KJV. It is probably true that most persons listening to the public reading of the RSV cannot tell whether they are hearing that version or the KJV.

A revision of the RSV, the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV), was published in 1989. Evident in the text of the NRSV are changes made on the basis of recently discovered ancient manuscripts, as well as the elimination of gender-oriented language in the English where gender plays no significant part in the original.

THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE

While work was proceeding in America on the RSV, planning began in Britain for a new translation to be made by Protestants there (ultimately British Catholics as well as Irish Protestants and Catholics joined the project). This was not, however, to be merely an effort parallel to that of the Americans, which was one that looked back to the biblical tradition of the sixteenth century. This would be a completely new effort, paying allegiance solely to the Hebrew and Greek texts, on the one hand, and to the demands of current English language, on the other. Its break with the past would be signaled by its title, the New English Bible (NEB). The New Testament of this work appeared in 1961, just 350 years after the KJV was published, the Old Testament and Apocrypha in 1970. There have been some complaints about the NEB—for example, that it sometimes sacrifices traditional readings too casually and that in places it tends more toward paraphrase than direct translation. But on the whole it has been judged to be a great success, delivering the sense of the originals accurately in language that is both highly idiomatic and suitably dignified. Beginning readers of the Bible have in this translation one that speaks in the language they actually use. And readers accustomed to the language of the KJV have in the NEB a translation that breaks through their usual understanding (or unthinking acceptance) of familiar passages and forces them to rethink what they have been taking for granted.

RECENT MAJOR EDITIONS

Along with the RSV and the NEB, the one of them maintaining and the other breaking away from the prevailing biblical tradition, a number of other important translations of the Bible into English have been made in recent years. (The twentieth century can be considered the second great period of English biblical translation, as the sixteenth century was the first.) Two recent English versions have been prepared by bodies of Catholic scholars: (1) the New Jerusalem Bible (NJB), published in 1985, a translation into English from the Hebrew and Greek but influenced by the thorough research performed in connection with an earlier French translation, and (2) the New American Bible (NAB), published in 1970. A fresh translation of the scriptures by a team of Jewish scholars was completed in 1982. For evangelical Christians a team of one hundred scholars produced the New International Version (NIV), published in 1978; earlier, for that same audience, the American Standard Version of 1901 had been revised as

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the New American Standard Bible (NASB), published in 1971. For readers wishing to have a Bible in the simplest sort of language there is Today's English Version (TEV), published in 1976. For those willing to work their way through biblical texts more complex than usual and wishing to be supplied with scholarly notes and commentaries alongside the texts, there is the Anchor Bible, which in most cases devotes an entire volume to a single biblical book. The Anchor Bible is still in the process of completion.

THE PROBLEM OF TRANSLATION

We observed at the outset that most people who have read the Bible have read it in translation. That being so, it is legitimate to wonder how well readers are served who must depend on a translation of the Bible. Can such readers be confident that translations in general, or any one in particular, will give them the whole Bible and nothing but the Bible? The answer must, alas, be no. And for that state of affairs—contrary to what one might suppose—translators are not primarily to blame. There are two reasons why translators cannot simply take "the whole Bible and nothing but the Bible" in the original languages and make a completely faithful translation into another language. First, there is no such thing as a universally agreed-on text of the Bible to translate from; second, complete faithfulness in translating anything, the Bible included, is impossible to attain. In what follows, we shall expand on these two essential truths.

ESTABLISHING A TEXT

When translators of the Bible sit down to do their work, what specifically is it that they will translate—what will they have before them? Among other things, they undoubtedly will have before them printed books, compiled by textual experts, that contain texts of the Bible in a variety of ancient languages. The number of these books may be relatively small, a half dozen or so, say, but those few scholarly works will be of such a nature as to provide translators with readings drawn from hundreds of ancient biblical manuscripts. The original manuscripts written by the Bible's authors are no longer in existence, of course, nor are the earliest collections of individual biblical writings. The oldest manuscripts that textual scholars can draw on for the benefit of translators date from hundreds of years after the biblical writings were composed. As copies were made from copies (which had been made, in turn, from earlier copies) during those hundreds of years, alterations in the texts were inevitably introduced by the copyists, sometimes intentionally, sometimes unintentionally. Thus our earliest surviving biblical manuscripts differ from one another at point after point. A single set of readings drawn from all the sources at any given point in the biblical text is called the "textual variants" or "variant readings" for that point. It is important that biblical scholars, including translators, be able to know what these variant readings are for any biblical passage they are working on. In order that the variants may be readily available, they are printed as footnotes in the ancient-language editions of the Bible prepared for scholars. Also in those notes will be many proposed emendations of the biblical text—informed guesses about what the original text may *really* have been at this point or that point, where error or interference with the text are suspected. The total number of variant readings and proposed emendations for the whole Bible is now in the hundreds of thousands, and that number will increase as additional ancient manuscripts are found and as textual scholars continue their work. The largest proportion of variants involves minor matters of spelling and grammar, but many thousands concern matters more significant than those.

The rich resources provided by textual scholarship are a great boon to translators, of course. But they force on translators the necessity of making decision after decision about just what it is they are going to translate: At any given point should they take this reading from one manuscript, that reading from another, or a third reading proposed as an emendation? Translators can simplify their problem by following closely the form of the text given in a scholarly edition, a text based on some single ancient manuscript or one put together from many sources by reputable textual scholars. But there will still be many places where individual translators will have their doubts about the accuracy or appropriateness of the text they are following. Often they will wish to select from the footnotes an emendation proposed by some scholar or a reading found in some manuscript other than the one their chosen edition presents. Or they will wish to insert a word or passage not found in the text before them or to omit one that is. Their Greek text of the New Testament may, for example, omit the "For thine is the kingdom . . ." passage from the Lord's Prayer in Matthew 6:13, but the translators may feel that it must be included (as it is in some early manuscripts). Their Greek text may include the story of Jesus and the adulterous woman in John 7, but the translators may decide rather to follow those ancient manuscripts that omit it. They may choose likewise to follow those manuscripts that assign the Magnificat in Luke 1:46–55 to Elizabeth instead of those that assign it to Mary.

All of this is very complex and potentially tedious. The point of presenting it here is to demonstrate that, before scholars begin translat-

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ing the Bible, they must choose which overall version of the original-language texts they are going to use as the basis of their work; then they must continue choosing among individual readings as they arrive at hard spot after hard spot. Anyone who demands that they translate "the whole Bible and nothing but the Bible" is imagining an entity that does not exist. In effect, there *is* no Bible until the translators construct one out of the myriad of possibilities available in their sources.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LANGUAGES

We said above that the second reason why a completely faithful translation of the Bible cannot be made is that complete faithfulness in translating is impossible to attain. The ideal of translation is to carry over, from the original language to the "receptor" language, the whole sense and nothing but the sense of the work in hand. But that ideal can never be achieved. Any translation of literary material from one language to another will always, inevitably, leave some portion of the sense behind and will impose some additional sense of its own. This is so for the simple reason that no two languages have a simple one-to-one relationship with one another. That is, all languages differ from one another in ways far more profound than just having different vocabularies. Thus, translation cannot be done simply by proceeding word by word through the original and turning each word into a corresponding one in the receptor language.

Consider the problem first on the basic level of the lexicon—that is, the words available in each of the two languages a translator is dealing with. Seldom will there be words in one language that correspond exactly with words in another. There will be a great number of *approximately* corresponding words, of course, that will overlap in one or several senses; however, each word in a pair can have additional senses that the other word does not have. To capture all the possible senses of the Hebrew word *derek*, for example, a whole set of English words has to be drawn on: "way," "distance," "road," "journey," "manner," and others. Which one of these senses will be appropriate for any given occurrence of *derek* in the Old Testament? Context will of course be the major determinant, for it will make plain whether "distance" or "road" is the sense of *derek* intended by the author. But context will often not be sufficient for determining which sense a word in the original should be assigned. The Hebrew word *elohim* can mean either "gods" or "God"; in several significant places in the Old Testament (Exodus 32:4, for example) it is unclear which sense *elohim* has. Similarly, Hebrew *ruah* can mean either "wind," "breath," or "spirit"; there is no certainty which of these senses the author of Genesis 1:2 intended

when he wrote that the *ruah* of (or from) God moved over the primeval abyss. When context does not provide certainty, translators must nevertheless choose one or another of the possible senses to put into their text. The other sense or senses they may wish to indicate in a footnote to the text.

Just as the senses of "equivalent" words in any two languages will not correspond exactly, neither will grammatical and syntactical structures. It is difficult for persons with little experience of a second language to believe that other languages work differently from their own. But it is a fact that there are languages in the world that, unlike English, lack a passive voice or that assign gender to inanimate objects or that have no rhetorical questions or that do not employ a past/present/future tense system or that always indicate whether a named person is dead or alive, and so on and so on. The original languages of the Bible have their share of features quite unlike anything in English, requiring that translators make radical adjustments in producing a readable English equivalent. Consider the following few items: (1) Hebrew verbs express not the time of an action but rather whether the specified action is complete or incomplete. Tenses can usually be fairly easily assigned to such verbs, although less easily in prophetic writings, where statements move rapidly back and forth among past, present, and future. But in assigning tenses, translators will often choose to leave unexpressed the completeness/incompleteness element because English has only awkward ways to express that. (2) Hebrew displays much less subordination of one clause to another than does English, and in general it lacks our great variety of words that indicate logical connections between clauses and phrases. In Hebrew narrative, sentence units tend to string out one after another in boxcar fashion and to be hooked together by means of a single, all-purpose connective that is usually translated "and" in the KJV. In Genesis 19:1–3 that connective occurs seventeen times in the Hebrew and is translated "and" every time but one in the KJV. Note the effect of this in one verse (Gen. 19:3): "*And* he pressed upon them greatly; *and* they turned in unto him, *and* entered into his house; *and* he made them a feast, *and* did bake unleavened bread, *and* they did eat" (italics added). Modern translators could not get away with such choppy construction, nor would they want to. They would represent the Hebrew connective not merely with "and" but with "when," "but," "however," and so on (depending on context) or at times would simply omit it. (3) Greek verbs indicate time of action more definitely than Hebrew verbs do, but they also indicate nature of action (whether linear, recurring, or completed). Greek verbs are thus very complex in meaning, and translators who attempt to capture *all* of the potential

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meaning will risk overloading their English and producing a translation so clumsy as to be unreadable.

Along with words and structures that are not directly translatable, there are in every language idioms—certain set expressions that have developed solely within that language and have no force outside it. When idioms occur in the Hebrew and Greek of the Bible, translators must choose among several possibilities: (1) they may translate the idiom directly when the result will make some degree of sense in the receptor language; (2) they may capture just the main point of the idiom and abandon its colorful dress; or (3) they may substitute for the idiom an approximately equivalent idiom in the receptor language. We can observe all of these things happening in the translations of 1 Kings 21:21 found in the various English versions. Here is the KJV reading: "Behold, I will bring evil upon thee, and will take away thy posterity, and will cut off from Ahab him that pisseth against the wall. . . ." The phrase "him that pisseth against the wall" is a literal rendering of the original, a Hebrew idiom that occurs six times in the Old Testament, always in the setting of a curse. It is (as the reader will realize with a little reflection) a poetic if vulgar way of referring to males as opposed to females: Only males can urinate against walls. It is possible to translate this idiom literally, as was done in the KJV for an early seventeenth-century audience. But the resulting English will nowadays be considered offensive by many (particularly when the Bible is read publicly), and not everyone will understand that the phrase denotes specifically *male* offspring. For these reasons, some modern translations represent the phrase simply by "every male" or, a little more forcefully, "every last male." But the NEB translators chose the third of the options above and employed the already-existing English idiom "every mother's son." This captures the racy, hard-hitting quality of the original without forcing its vulgarity on the sensitivities of a modern audience. Idioms always provide special difficulty for translators; the satisfactory handling of them is one of the hallmarks of a good translation.

The problem of how to represent idioms leads naturally to the related problem for the translator of how to represent literary forms. In both cases the question is how to carry over to the reader not only the *sense* of the original but the *means* by which that sense is achieved. In a poetic construction as in an idiom, the means of expression draws attention to itself and is indeed an inherent part of the sense itself. (To leave behind the vulgarity in translating the idiom discussed above is to leave behind some part of the sense.) We can see the problem of literary form acutely, although on a small scale, in the case of puns. The Old Testament abounds in punning, which can be defined as placing together

words of similar sounds but contrasting senses. The difficulty in translating puns is to come up with a set of words in the receptor language that will represent both the sound and the sense of the set of punning words in the original. Consider Genesis 2:7: "Then the LORD God formed a man [Hebrew *adam*] from the dust of the ground [Hebrew *adamah*]." There exists no combination of English words that can capture both the *different senses* and the *shared sounds* of the two Hebrew words here; so the translators must represent the sense and let the sounds go. They are in better luck in dealing with the wordplay in Genesis 2:23, where Adam says concerning the newly created Eve, ". . . this shall be called woman [Hebrew *ishshah*], / for from man [Hebrew *ish*] was this taken." Happily, the English words "woman" and "man" share sounds in quite the way that *ishshah* and *ish* do while also having the required contrasting senses. But this situation is quite rare; in the great majority of cases, translators must abandon the sound element of puns to get the sense.

And what is true of puns is true of all other literary forms: The burden of sense that a literary device carries can be translated, but not much or any at all of the form itself—and thus not the nuance of meaning and potential for delight that is inherent in artistic form. Consider the situation that Psalms 111, 112, and 119 and Lamentations 3 present to the translator. Each of these chapters is, in the Hebrew original, an alphabetical acrostic poem—that is, in each of them the initial letter of the first line (or group of lines) is the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, the initial letter of the second line is the second letter of the Hebrew alphabet, and so on through all twenty-two letters of that alphabet. Should English translators of these poems try, while capturing the sense of the words, to capture this artistic element as well? Unfortunately, there is no way they can. There are twenty-six letters in the English alphabet, not twenty-two; and English letters are not the same as those in Hebrew. The acrostic feature simply cannot be given any attention when these Hebrew poems are translated into a language with a different sort of alphabet.

In general we can say that the approximate sense of a passage, the order of the points it makes, and its tone can be translated; but most matters of its form and sound, including rhythm and rhyme and wordplay, although they can be equivalenced, cannot be translated. This does not mean, however, that poetic form should be ignored by the translator or its existence hidden from the eyes of the reader. That a poetic passage *is* poetic is one of the most important things to know about it: We are prepared to understand a passage that we take to be poetry differently from the way we understand one that we take to be

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prose. It is important then that translations of poetry at least *look* like poetry, although many of the poetic effects of the original will be incapable of representation in the translation. One of the great virtues of modern translations of the Bible is that in all of them attention has been given to presenting poetry as poetry.

HOW TO CHOOSE A TRANSLATION

A reader of the Bible in English is faced with a wide range of modern translations to select from. Not only are there the half dozen major versions mentioned at the end of our historical survey of translations, there are also scores of lesser known twentieth-century English versions of the whole Bible or its parts. How is a reader to choose among them? What criteria should guide one's choice? Should one take into account, for example, the theological position of those who produced a translation that one is interested in?

THE QUESTION OF THEOLOGICAL BIAS

Well, there is no ignoring the fact that most Bible translating is paid for by religious organizations and performed by individuals with a specific religious commitment. One can suppose that those involved have employed a chain of reasoning something like this: "The Bible is supremely important to persons of our religious persuasion. Because few of our number can read it in the original languages, an English translation is necessary. We have our own unique view of the Bible; therefore, we would do well to make our own translation." It would be a wonder if a translation deriving from this sort of reasoning did not to some extent reflect the theology of those who produced it. Wherever (as is often the case) the Hebrew or Greek texts are unclear or ambiguous—wherever words and expressions in the original can legitimately have any one of several senses—translators with a specific religious commitment will understandably (and sometimes unconsciously) be prone to choose a sense that accords with their own views and those of their intended audience.

Isaiah 7:14 is perhaps the most notable place where this happens. In this passage the prophet Isaiah tells the king of Judah that some unspecified young woman is going to bear a child and name him Immanuel (that is, "God is with us"). The prophet goes on to say that by the time this child leaves infancy, a certain military threat to Judah will have vanished. The Hebrew term for the female here, *ha-almah*, designates some specific young woman of marriageable age. When this passage was translated into Greek in the Septuagint, *ha-almah* was represented by a Greek word meaning not only "young woman" but also

"virgin" in our modern sense. And when the Greek passage was later quoted by the author of Matthew's gospel, it was set in a context requiring that the young woman be understood *specifically* as a virgin and that the birth thus be a miraculous birth. Conservative Christians, holding to the view that there can be no discrepancies in the Bible (and also placing a high value on the doctrine of the Virgin Birth), believe that if the young woman is established as a virgin in the New Testament passage, she must be taken as a virgin in the original Old Testament passage. Thus, translations made by and for conservative Christian groups will "conserve" the traditional view and use the word "virgin" in Isaiah 7:14, although the Hebrew term in question does not require that sense and its immediate context works against it.

FORMAL CORRESPONDENCE VERSUS DYNAMIC EQUIVALENCE

Although there is plentiful opportunity for this sort of shaping of a translation in line with theological views, it in fact occurs so rarely in the major modern translations that beginning Bible readers need not hesitate on this particular score to use any one of them. A far more important element to take into account in choosing a translation is the literalness or freeness of the versions available and what one's personal preferences are in this matter. Actually the terms "literalness" and "freeness" do not well express the point at issue here. The terms "formal correspondence" and "dynamic equivalence" have been coined by translation theorists to designate the two ends of a spectrum of possibilities in translation. Formal correspondence has been defined as the "quality of a translation in which the features of the form of the source text have been mechanically reproduced in the receptor language. Typically, formal correspondence distorts the grammatical and stylistic patterns of the receptor language, and hence distorts the message. . . ." Dynamic equivalence has been defined as the "quality of a translation in which the message of the original text has been so transported into the receptor language that the response of the receptor is essentially like that of the original receptors."* Briefly put, in the former the emphasis is on the *form of the original*, in the latter on the *reader's ability to understand readily*. Note that neither of these elements is good or bad in itself and that it is legitimate to strive for either one in translating. In beginning any translating project, those involved must decide for themselves whether to favor the demands of the form or the needs of the reader. Just where the translators place themselves on the

* Eugene Nida and Charles Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Leiden: The Neth.: Brill, 1969), pp. 200, 201.

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spectrum between these two positions will determine the kind of translation they produce.

Readers making a choice among translations should use the characteristic combination of formal correspondence and dynamic equivalence in each as a major factor in their choice. If one wishes to move slowly through the Bible studying it chapter by chapter, or if one needs an English translation as a help in beginning the study of biblical Hebrew and Greek, one should choose a translation embodying a high degree of formal correspondence: the Revised Standard Version, say, or the New American Standard Bible or the New International Version. If one wishes to read through the Bible in such a way as to become generally familiar with it or if one intends to read the Bible aloud to others, one should elect a translation embodying a high degree of dynamic equivalence: the New English Bible, say, or the New American Bible, the New Jerusalem Bible, or Today's English Version.

Consider the differences between the following two translations of Romans 5:12–13:

> Therefore, just as through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin, and so death spread to all men, because all sinned—for until the Law sin was in the world; but sin is not imputed when there is no law. (NASB)

> Sin came into the world through one man, and his sin brought death with it. As a result, death has spread to the whole human race because everyone has sinned. There was sin in the world before the Law was given; but where there is no law, no account is kept of sins. (TEV)

The first of these embodies formal correspondence, the second dynamic equivalence. One learns from the first as much as any translation can teach about the close details of sense, form, and order of the original while still being within the limits of recognizable English. The second gives the general sense of the passage in easily accessible English at the expense of the close details. A reader will find one of these appropriate in certain circumstances, the other appropriate in other circumstances.

Can translators go too far in one direction or another? Yes, without a doubt. In the direction of formal correspondence, they may go so far as to produce a work that is more Hebrew or Greek than English. In the direction of dynamic equivalence, they may go so far as to produce a text that is smoother and easier for modern readers than it ever was for its first readers. In this latter case the translators' concern for their readers' limited abilities may prompt them to indulge in interpretation rather than translation of the text. There is a fine line that divides mak-

ing the sense of the original clear and interpreting that sense, and translators must be careful not to cross it. That line was certainly crossed by the producers of one nineteenth-century revision of the KJV. These revisers believed firmly that baptizing in the Bible was done in only one way—by immersing converts in water—and they felt that the world needed this truth plainly stated. So wherever they found any form of the word "baptize' in the KJV, they substituted the appropriate form of "immerse" for it. They laid hands even on John the Baptist, renaming him "John the Immerser"! This kind of "help" for readers belongs in clearly labeled interpretive notes to the English text, not, misleadingly, in the text itself.

USING SEVERAL TRANSLATIONS

To be dependent on a translation, as most Bible readers are, is to be dependent on a number of qualities in the makers of the translations: how much they know of the Bible's original languages and of the cultures, religious systems, and historical situations that produced the original texts; the depth of their commitment to scholarly objectivity; their skill and imagination in using the receptor language—in our case, English; and their awareness of the true nature of the process of translating. Average readers of the Bible are not equipped or inclined to consider whether the translation they are using was produced by persons possessed of all these qualities; they just assume that what they have before them is the Bible—and that's that. But allow us to suggest a simple way for average readers to limit their dependence on the abilities and efforts of a single translator or set of translators. That way is merely to make use of more than one translation. By consulting two or three versions, readers can double or triple the number of expert opinions available to them about the meaning of a given passage. At the very least, this will impress on readers a fundamental truth about translations of the Bible: Each one embodies thousands upon thousands of individual decisions about (1) what constitutes the proper text in the first place, (2) what its sense is, and (3) how the sense can best be represented in the receptor language. More pointedly, of course, a comparison of translations will indicate how much confidence an interpreter can put in some particular version's rendering of a given passage. Before investing too much effort in discussing a passage, the interpreter had better be sure that in the original language it has a clear sense that *can* be interpreted.

As an illustration of what one can learn from a comparison of translations, consider the form that Proverbs 18:19 takes in two recent English Bibles:

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> An offended brother is more unyielding than a fortified city,
> and disputes are like the barred gates of a citadel. (NIV)
>
> A brother helped is like a strong city,
> but quarreling is like the bars of a castle. (RSV)

Note that in the first translation the brother had been offended, in the second helped. As though that were not confusing enough, there is a widely divergent reading in another version:

> A brother is a better defense than a strong city,
> and a friend is like the bars of a castle. (NAB)

Here there is nothing negative whatever, only the helpful brother and friend. The explanation for these considerably different versions is that there are variant readings for several words in the Hebrew of Proverbs 18:19, giving us a text sufficiently uncertain that three bodies of scholars have assigned them three different meanings.

Another instance of profitable comparison of translations involves a passage we looked at in chapter 8 but that now deserves a second look in the context of translation. The passage is a crucial one, Job 13:15, in which the tormented Job speaks of God. Consider the difference between these two versions:

> Though he slay me, yet will I hope in him;
> I will surely defend my ways to his face. (NIV)
>
> Behold he will slay me; I have no hope;
> yet I will defend my ways to his face. (RSV)

If the first form represents the sense of what the author actually wrote, then we have one kind of Job: a man who with divine permission is suffering terribly but who nevertheless trusts in God's good intentions toward him. If the second version represents what the author intended, then we have another kind of Job: a man who sticks his chin out and says *he* is not afraid of a bullying God and will insist on speaking the truth. These two senses are possible because there are two different readings in the Hebrew manuscripts available to us. Actually the difference lies in only one letter in one word, but what a difference it makes, giving us a Job who is either a hero of the faith or a rebel against God! The whole context of the passage favors the negative statement. But because pious translators through the centuries (and before them pious editors of the Hebrew text) have recoiled at the thought of a rebellious Job, they have acted on the slim possibility that the positive wording was legitimate and thus have tried to save Job's reputation (although Job, in fact, says very negative things about God elsewhere in the poetic portions of the book). Here we have a case where the translators' desire to maintain a religious tradition has determined what sense they assigned a passage.

A reader interested in pursuing the comparison of translations further may wish to perform the laborious but fascinating exercise of examining each of the following passages as they are represented in a number of English versions (including the KJV and the JB): Genesis 1:1–2, 21:14; Exodus 6:4, 32:4; Leviticus 16:8; Deuteronomy 4:19; Judges 1:14, 1 Samuel 13:1; Job 9:20; Psalms 2:2, 7; Amos 5:25–26; Jonah 3:3; Micah 4:5; Matthew 6:13; Mark 7:16; Luke 9:55–56; John 14:30–31; Acts 10:19; Romans 8:28; 1 Peter 3:18–19. In examining these passages (and any of the earlier ones cited in this chapter), readers should be sure to consult the textual footnotes in those translations that have them. In one view of things, it would be well for a translation to indicate in the notes every Hebrew and Greek variant reading *not* selected for rendering into English and every possible alternative sense of the Hebrew and Greek that *was* chosen. But that would make for such a vast number of notes that the notes would bulk as large as the text itself. What translators do (those who provide any notes at all) is to present only a selection of variant readings and alternative senses. Careful readers should always make the effort to consult the notes if their translations have them, for consulting the notes—like reading a passage in multiple translations—keeps one constantly aware of the degree of uncertainty that exists with respect to both the state of the text and its meaning.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

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Appendix II: Writing in Biblical Times

In societies where Christianity and Judaism are principal religions, the Bible is a common and easily obtainable book. If we happen not to have a copy, the nearest library or bookstore will supply one—indeed, will doubtless offer a choice among editions—and we need not travel with one because there will be a Bible waiting for us in our hotel or motel room when we arrive. Thus, it is hard for us to realize that during the greater part of the Bible's span of existence, copies were scarce and hard to come by, even in nations where there was no political or religious authority anxious to keep it out of the hands of the people. The major reason for its limited availability was simply that the Bible, like all written documents, had to be reproduced by the laborious and expensive process of manual copying. Until the invention of printing from movable type around A.D. 1450, most ordinary persons could never have dreamed of owning—or even handling—a Bible.

The Bible was a handwritten book for a much longer time than it has been a printed book. But what was required to create a formal written document during those many centuries before the printing press took over? As a preliminary to learning the answer to this question, we must free ourselves of preconceptions about writing derived from our own modern culture, with its typewriters and word processors and ball-

point pens and—especially—its abundance of cheap paper. This appendix will survey the technology of writing in order to shed light on the conditions that gave us the Bible as a physical object.

Writing is a very old human invention. But this is not to say that literacy, the ability to read and write, was common anywhere in the ancient world. Though today more than half of the world's adults are literate (in some countries the figure approaches 100 percent), three thousand years ago fewer than 1 percent would have been. Writing in those days was the tool of state and religious authorities—to record their laws, tax receipts, legal decisions, and historical chronicles—and to some extent of merchants and landowners. On the one hand, there was the great mass of illiterate common people who neither produced nor consumed anything written; on the other, the comparative few whose occupations required writing skills and who (as the surviving evidence shows) were responsible for the accumulation of huge archives of written documents dedicated to their own narrow interests.

Given the need for writing in ancient societies, by what physical means was it carried out? Writing can be done on any relatively smooth surface with any tool that can make a mark on that surface. Kings who wished to set before their people a code of laws could command that it be inscribed on a stone pillar or on the face of a cliff—but the people would have to come to the inscription; it could not be taken to them. Merchants with a tally to keep or a letter to write could do so on a piece of bark or broken pottery; but obviously what could be inscribed on such a medium was necessarily quite brief. For messages of any considerable length, there was not a wide choice of media in antiquity, and in most areas there was only one obvious material upon which to write. In lands lying along rivers, clay was readily available at little cost for processing; in lands in which the grazing of flocks provided meat and wool or hair, animal skins were available as a by-product; and in lands with marshy lowlands, the papyrus sedge was available for the taking. Clay, animal skin, and papyrus were the three chief materials employed for writing in the West and in the Near and Middle East until the introduction of rag paper from the Far East long after the biblical period.

WRITING ON CLAY

Clay seems to us today as the least likely of these writing materials. Our modern process of writing by hand, in which a pointed marker is moved across a relatively unyielding surface, does not work well on clay. Those who first began to use clay as a writing medium would quickly have discovered that it is easier to press or poke

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a writing implement into it than to scratch lines across its surface. Thus, the device that came to be used was a stylus with a tip that made a little wedge, an elongated triangular impression, in the clay. The writing system (called "cuneiform," meaning wedge-shaped) required that the thin tip of the wedge be pointing sometimes downward, sometimes directly or obliquely to the right, and that words be constructed from standardized combinations of these marks. The clay itself was prepared for writing by being shaped into tablets of a size that could be held in one hand while the other worked the stylus. The finished tablets could be dried in the sun, fixing the inscription, and thus be suitable for most kinds of communication and record keeping. If the tablet later got wet but was not otherwise mishandled, it could be dried out slowly and again be as good as new. Tablets that had been baked in a furnace were impervious to any damage except being smashed. Hundreds of thousands of whole and partial tablets, baked and unbaked, bearing records related to every aspect of life, have been recovered from the ruins of ancient civilizations. Clay tablets cannot contain nearly so much information as books of the same size or weight; but such tablets are inherently a far more permanent medium of written communication than anything but stone surfaces.

WRITING ON PAPYRUS

Egypt had its river and could have developed the use of clay as its major writing medium. But close to its centers of government and religion, in the marshes of the Nile River delta, Egypt also had papyrus growing in great abundance; and from this it obtained a remarkable fibrous material for making not only food, medicine, rope, sandals, clothing, boats, and sails but an excellent equivalent of our modern paper. The triangular stalks of the plant, measuring anywhere from seven feet to twice that in length and one to three inches in thickness, were cut and carried to nearby factories while still fresh. There the stalks were reduced to lengths and the tough rind removed, revealing the fibrous pith, thin strips of which were torn or cut off along the length of the piece, every effort being made to get as wide a strip as possible. Sheets could then be made by laying out a number of strips side by side, covering those with strips running in the other direction, and then hammering the two layers of pith into a single sheet. The resultant piece could be rubbed smooth, trimmed to size, and glued to other sheets to form one long roll, ready for a variety of uses, most notably writing. The writing was done with a reed brush, the end of which had been rendered fibrous, perhaps by chewing. The ink, if black, was

made from carbon in the form of lampblack or soot, or later from oak galls and iron sulfate; red ink was made from iron oxide.

Papyrus was a remarkable writing material, in use for at least four thousand years. (Papyrus documents still exist that were written as early as the thirtieth century B.C. and as late as the eleventh century A.D.) When carefully made from the choicest part of the stalk (nearest the center), papyrus had all the virtues of the best modern paper. Shipped from Egypt all over the ancient world, it was the writing medium employed by both Greece and Rome in the thousand years of the classical period. We know something of its manufacture and use from what writers of the time said about it, and even more from studying papyrus documents that have survived. But survivability was the weak point of papyrus. Unlike clay (and like our paper), it could not retain its integrity in the presence of moisture. The documents that have lasted through the centuries have done so largely in the dry sands of Egypt, where they were thrown out as trash or tossed away by conquerors interested in spoils of a more substantial kind.

WRITING ON ANIMAL SKIN

The third of the major materials upon which writing was done during the biblical period was animal skin. There were actually two categories, determined by the way the skin was prepared. One was leather, which was produced by first soaking the flayed hide or skin in a lime or salt solution to loosen the hair so that it could be removed and then tanning the skin with substances that would preserve it and give it the qualities appropriate for whatever use the leather was intended for. (Between these two essential steps, unhairing and tanning, the skin was sometimes split into several layers, making it thin enough to be especially suitable for document use.) The other category of animal skin used for writing was parchment, produced by soaking and unhairing the hide, as was done in the case of leather, but then drying the dehaired pelt under tension and (generally) not tanning it; the piece could then be scraped smooth and whitened or otherwise tinted. The best quality of parchment is called "vellum," a word originally applied to parchment made from the hide of calves.

Animal skin in the form of leather was probably used as a writing medium from the very outset. But it was not until about the third century B.C. that parchment was recognized as a particularly desirable form of writing material; and another five or six centuries went by before the use of parchment surpassed the use of papyrus. Parchment could take rougher handling than papyrus and could more satisfactorily

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be written upon on both sides. But it did not survive exposure to moisture much better than papyrus; while it would not disintegrate so quickly when damp, it would lose its shape and have to be restretched while being dried if it was to regain its original dimensions.

Once the individual skin was processed into leather or parchment suitable for writing, it—like the individual sheet of freshly made papyrus—would be trimmed into pieces of an appropriate size and sewn together into a roll (or scroll—the words are interchangeable). An author or scribe who intended to produce a book in roll form would simply have unrolled a short length of the material and begun to write. If the writing were of the kind that is read from left to right, as are Greek and Latin (and English), the writer would put the fresh roll to his right side, pull a portion toward him and write a column, then pull a further portion toward him and write a second column to the right of the first one, and so proceed to the end. If the writing were of the kind that is read from right to left, as are Hebrew and Aramaic, the process would be reversed and the resulting book would be a mirror image of one in Greek or Latin.

ANCIENT ISRAELITE WRITING

All three of the writing materials we have been discussing would have been known to the ancient Israelites. They probably would not themselves have employed clay tablets to any great extent, but while under the rule of Assyrian and Babylonian overlords (from the mid-eighth to the mid-sixth centuries) they would have had more opportunity than they wished to receive missives on clay from those Mesopotamian powers. The Israelites themselves would have used papyrus or animal skin when writing anything more substantial than would fit on a potsherd or a wooden tablet.

The Bible contains a number of stories concerned with the writing process and the media of writing. Moses, of course, is said to have written on stone tablets that he then carried down the mountain (Exod. 34:28–29), just one of the remarkable deeds that are attributed to that great man. Joshua, a junior version of Moses in a number of respects, performs a similar feat when, as the Israelites stand before him, he engraves "on blocks of stone a copy of the law of Moses" (Josh. 8:32). Isaiah is directed by Yahweh to take a "large tablet" (Isa. 8:1) and write a symbolic name upon it "in common writing" (or perhaps "with an ordinary stylus"—the meaning of the Hebrew is uncertain). Ezekiel is given a scroll to eat by Yahweh, which is perhaps to be understood

as a small roll of papyrus (Ezek. 3:1–2). Jeremiah dictates an oracle concerning Judah's coming destruction to his companion Baruch, who takes it down in ink on a scroll. Baruch reads the scroll first to the people gathered at the Temple and then to the chief men of Judah, who are so dismayed at what they hear that they report it to the king, Jehoiakim. The king orders that the scroll be brought and read to him; but so little impressed is he with what he hears that he takes a penknife and cuts pieces off the scroll even while the reading is in progress and drops them into the fire (Jer. 37:1–32). (Some commentators think that this scroll would have been leather, but others say that leather burning in an indoor fire would have smelled so bad that the scroll must have been papyrus.) At the end of 2 Timothy the author requests that "the books" be brought to him "and above all the parchments" (2 Tim. 4:13, RSV), the parchments probably being notebooks. And in the book of Revelation, John is required, Ezekiel-like, to eat a little scroll, which is sweet in his mouth but sour in his stomach (Rev. 10: 9–10).

WRITING THE BIBLE

The individual books of the Jewish and Christian scriptures were initially written down during a span of a little more than a thousand years, beginning around 900 B.C. (parts of the Pentateuch) and ending by about A.D. 150 (the letter called 2 Peter). On what materials would they have been written? We can suppose that the first versions of all the older books of the Jewish Bible—the Pentateuch, the history books, Job, Proverbs, and some of Psalms—would have been written on leather (locally available in Israel) or papyrus (from Egypt). As for the prophetic books, it was the nature of prophets to be speakers, not writers, and their oracles probably circulated orally (as Jesus' sayings did) among their disciples and then might have been written down in the form of notes on potsherds or "notebooks" of papyrus or wood. But as time passed and the traditions of the individual prophets took firm shape, the books as we now know them—embodying both the oracles and stories about the prophets—would have taken shape and been written down in a more substantial form on leather or papyrus. During the centuries when the last books of the Old Testament were being composed and the Pentateuch and then the Prophets were beginning to be thought of as canonical (i.e., not merely religious but sacred) and were copied and recopied, parchment came into general use and could have been chosen by a writer as an alternative to the other two materials. In the Roman Empire, during the time those documents were

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being composed that would someday be gathered and canonized as the Christian New Testament, writing was done primarily on papyrus, with the use of parchment gradually increasing.

FROM ROLL TO CODEX

Until near the end of the first century A.D., books of papyrus and animal skin would have taken the form of a roll. But late in that century a new form of book was developed, the codex, which is the form all modern books take. In a codex the sheets of papyrus or skin material were not fastened end to end, as in a roll, but stacked one on top of the other. To make a book, the stack was folded in half (creating right- and left-hand leaves) and then sewn together at the fold. Because a thick stack is hard to handle, the practice developed of folding and sewing just a few sheets at a time—four, say—and then stacking the resulting units in proper order and binding them together into a whole.

People tend to be conservative in their tastes with respect to books. The new codex form—despite the fact that it could hold more writing than a roll (because its leaves could be written upon on both sides) and was easier to handle than a roll—was not at first widely adopted in the Roman world. But it apparently appealed to one group within the Roman Empire, the Christian Church. If we examine the still-surviving Christian books from the second through the fourth centuries, we find that the great majority of them are codexes (or codices, the classical plural form). Why the young Church should so readily have adopted the new book form when non-Christians were slow to do so is not certain. One reason sometimes given is that Christianity was a missionary religion and that Christians needed a handy book of texts—the Jewish scriptures, Paul's letters, the gospels—to use in the effort to convert others to their cause. According to this view, in the course of heated discussions with Jews or pagans, Christians would have been able to turn to pertinent passages far more quickly in a codex than in a roll. But this argument assumes that biblical texts of the early centuries of the Church were, like our own, divided into chapters and verses and neatly numbered for ease of reference. Those texts, in fact, were lacking most of the aids that we today feel are essential for readers, even spacing and punctuation; and the individual biblical books not only lacked chapter and verse numbering but were not even divided into chapters and verses. There was nothing called "John 3:16" at the time and no easy way to locate the passage that now bears that label. Our present system of chapter division was not devised until the early thirteenth century and our system of verse division until the mid-sixteenth century.*

FROM PAPYRUS TO PARCHMENT

Another signifiant change took place in the making of books during the period from the second to the fourth centuries, namely, the substitution of parchment for papyrus as the standard material of which books were made. This must not be tied too closely to the shift from roll to codex, for throughout the period there were codices and rolls made from both papyrus and parchment. But by the end of the fourth century the standard book form in the West had become the parchment codex—and so it remained for the next eleven hundred years. The fifty Greek Bibles that Emperor Constantine ordered to be made and placed in churches in the mid-fourth century were parchment codices. The copies of Jerome's Latin translation that spread across Europe in the Middle Ages were parchment codices. And even after the invention of printing, when rag paper was plentiful for use in the new bookmaking process, the printing of particularly fine copies of books was sometimes done on parchment.

What we hope has impressed the reader from the foregoing survey is the vast gulf that separates our world, with its cheap printed materials and widespread literacy, from the world within which the Bible developed—and within which it was disseminated for so many hundreds of years. We get our knowledge of the Bible from reading it. Before the spread of printed books (i.e., before the sixteenth century), what the vast majority of people knew about the Bible was obtained at second hand, from hearing portions of it read in synagogue or church, or from looking at artistic representations of biblical stories in church windows or carvings. A handwritten and a printed book are read in exactly the same way—they are both real books—but read by whom,

* The system of chapter division now in use is the work of Stephen Langton, a thirteenth-century scholar who rose to the position of archbishop of Canterbury. Working in Paris earlier in his career, Langton oversaw the production of a Latin Bible embodying his chapter-division system. This "Paris" Bible, prepared by professional copyists and issued in 1231, became the model for many others, and Langton's system passed into the copies of the Bible that came off the printing presses some two centuries later.

The present system of verse division was developed by a sixteenth-century French scholar and printer, Robert Estienne (or Stephanus). In 1551, while residing in Geneva as a Protestant exile, he published a French-language New Testament with numbered verses; in 1553 he published a complete French Bible and in 1555 a Latin Vulgate, both employing his system.

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at what expense, and in what numbers? Printing radically altered the status of all literature, but most of all that of the Bible. There are now more copies of the Bible in existence than any other book ever written.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

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Chapter I

THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE GOSPEL PARABLES

THE parables are perhaps the most characteristic element in the teaching of Jesus Christ as recorded in the Gospels. They have upon them, taken as a whole, the stamp of a highly individual mind, in spite of the re-handling they have inevitably suffered in the course of transmission. Their appeal to the imagination fixed them in the memory, and gave them a secure place in the tradition. Certainly there is no part of the Gospel record which has for the reader a clearer ring of authenticity.

But the interpretation of the parables is another matter. Here there is no general agreement. In the traditional teaching of the Church for centuries they were treated as allegories, in which each term stood as a cryptogram for an idea, so that the whole had to be de-coded term by term. A famous example is Augustine's interpretation of the parable of the Good Samaritan.

A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho; Adam himself is meant; *Jerusalem* is the heavenly city of peace, from whose blessedness Adam fell; *Jericho* means the moon, and signifies our mortality, because it is born, waxes, wanes, and dies. *Thieves* are the devil and his angels. *Who stripped him*, namely, of his immortality; *and beat him*, by persuading him to sin; *and left him half-dead*, because in so far as man can understand and know God, he lives, but in so far as he is wasted and oppressed by sin, he is dead; he is therefore called *half-dead*. The *priest* and *Levite* who saw him and passed by, signify the priesthood and ministry of

the Old Testament, which could profit nothing for salvation. *Samaritan* means Guardian, and therefore the Lord Himself is signified by this name. The *binding of the wounds* is the restraint of sin. *Oil* is the comfort of good hope; *wine* the exhortation to work with fervent spirit. The *beast* is the flesh in which He deigned to come to us. The being *set upon the beast* is belief in the incarnation of Christ. The *inn* is the Church, where travellers returning to their heavenly country are refreshed after pilgrimage. The *morrow* is after the resurrection of the Lord. The *two pence* are either the two precepts of love, or the promise of this life and of that which is to come. The *innkeeper* is the Apostle (Paul). The supererogatory payment is either his counsel of celibacy, or the fact that he worked with his own hands lest he should be a burden to any of the weaker brethren when the Gospel was new, though it was lawful for him "to live by the Gospel."—(*Quaestiones Evangeliorum*, II, 19—slightly abridged.)

This interpretation of the parable in question prevailed down to the time of Archbishop Trench, who follows its main lines with even more ingenious elaboration; and it is still to be heard in sermons. To the ordinary person of intelligence who approaches the Gospels with some sense for literature this mystification must appear quite perverse.

Jülicher
NT allegorization of parables itself mistaken

Yet it must be confessed that the Gospels themselves give encouragement to this allegorical method of interpretation. Mark interprets the parable of the Sower, and Matthew those of the Tares and the Drag-net, on just such principles; and both attribute their interpretations to Jesus Himself. It was the great merit of Adolf Jülicher, in his work *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* (1899–1910) that he applied a thoroughgoing criticism to this method, and showed, not that the allegorical interpretation is in this or that case

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Erich Auerbach

ODYSSEUS' SCAR

Erich Auerbach, a distinguished German scholar-critic, was dismissed from his university position by the Nazis. He taught for several years in Turkey and then came to America in 1947. He was teaching at Yale University at the time of his death in 1957. This essay is the first chapter in his book Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature *(1946, English translation 1953), a pioneering work in a new kind of historical criticism. Professor Auerbach's other major books available in English are* Scenes from the Drama of European Literature, Dante, Poet of the Secular World, *and* Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity.

Readers of the *Odyssey* will remember the well-prepared and touching scene in book 19, when Odysseus has at last come home, the scene in which the old housekeeper Euryclea, who had been his nurse, recognizes him by a scar on his thigh. The stranger has won Penelope's good will; at his request she tells the housekeeper to wash his feet, which, in all old stories, is the first duty of hospitality toward a tired traveler. Euryclea busies herself fetching water and mixing cold with hot, meanwhile speaking sadly of her absent master, who is probably of the same age as the guest, and who perhaps, like the guest, is even now wandering somewhere, a stranger; and she remarks how astonishingly like him the guest looks. Meanwhile Odysseus, remembering his scar, moves back out of the light; he knows that, despite his efforts to hide his identity, Euryclea will now recognize him, but he wants at least to keep Penelope in ignorance. No sooner has the old woman touched the scar than, in her joyous surprise, she lets Odysseus' foot drop into the basin; the water spills over, she is about to cry out her joy; Odysseus restrains her with whispered threats and endearments; she recovers herself and conceals her emotion. Penelope, whose attention Athena's foresight had diverted from the incident, has observed nothing.

All this is scrupulously externalized and narrated in leisurely fashion. The two women express their feelings in copious direct discourse. Feelings though they are, with only a slight admixture of the most general considerations upon human destiny, the syntactical connection between part and part is perfectly clear, no contour is blurred. There is also room and time for orderly, perfectly well-articulated, uniformly illuminated descriptions of implements, ministrations, and gestures; even in the dramatic moment of recognition, Homer does not omit to tell the reader that it is with his right hand that Odysseus takes the old woman by the throat to keep her from speaking, at the same time that he draws her closer to him with his left. Clearly outlined, brightly and uniformly illuminated, men and things stand out in a realm where everything is visible; and not less clear—wholly expressed, orderly even in their ardor—are the feelings and thoughts of the persons involved.

In my account of the incident I have so far passed over a whole series of verses which interrupt it in the middle. There are more than seventy of these verses—while to the incident itself some forty are devoted before the interruption and some forty after it. The interruption, which comes just at the point when the housekeeper recognizes the scar—that is, at the moment of crisis—describes the origin of the scar, a hunting accident which occurred in Odysseus' boyhood, at a boar hunt, during the time of his visit to his grandfather Autolycus. This first affords an opportunity to inform the reader about Autolycus, his house, the precise degree of the kinship, his character, and, no less exhaustively than touchingly, his behavior after the birth of his grandson; then follows the visit of Odysseus, now grown to be a youth; the exchange of greetings, the banquet with which he is welcomed, sleep and waking, the early start for the hunt, the tracking of the beast, the struggle, Odysseus' being wounded by the boar's tusk, his recovery, his return to Ithaca, his parents' anxious questions—all is narrated, again with such a complete externalization of all the elements of the story and of their interconnections as to leave nothing in obscurity. Not until then does the narrator return to Penelope's chamber, not until then, the digression having run its course, does Euryclea, who had recognized the scar before the digression began, let Odysseus' foot fall back into the basin.

The first thought of a modern reader—that this is a device to increase suspense—is, if not wholly wrong, at least not the essential explanation of this Homeric procedure. For the element of suspense is very slight in the Homeric poems; nothing in their entire style is calculated to keep the reader or hearer breathless. The digressions are not meant to keep the reader in suspense, but rather to relax the tension. And this frequently occurs, as in the passage before us. The broadly narrated, charming, and subtly fashioned story of the hunt, with all its elegance and self-sufficiency, its wealth of idyllic pictures, seeks to win the reader over wholly to itself as long as he is hearing it, to make him forget what had just taken place during the foot-washing. But an episode that will increase suspense by retarding the action must be so constructed that it will not fill the present entirely, will not put the crisis, whose resolution is being awaited, entirely out of the reader's mind, and thereby destroy the mood of suspense; the crisis and the suspense must continue, must remain vibrant in the background. But Homer—and to this we shall have to return later—knows no background. What he narrates is for the time being the only present, and fills both the stage and the reader's mind completely. So it is with the passage before us. When the young Euryclea (vv. 401 ff.) sets the infant Odysseus on his grandfather Autolycus' lap after the banquet, the aged Euryclea, who a few lines earlier had touched the wanderer's foot, has entirely vanished from the stage and from the reader's mind.

Goethe and Schiller, who, though not referring to this particular episode, exchanged letters in April 1797 on the subject of "the retarding element" in the Homeric poems in general, put it in direct

opposition to the element of suspense—the latter word is not used, but is clearly implied when the "retarding" procedure is opposed, as something proper to epic, to tragic procedure (letters of April 19, 21, and 22). The "retarding element," the "going back and forth" by means of episodes, seems to me, too, in the Homeric poems, to be opposed to any tensional and suspensive striving toward a goal, and doubtless Schiller is right in regard to Homer when he says that what he gives us is "simply the quiet existence and operation of things in accordance with their natures"; Homer's goal is "already present in every point of his progress." But both Schiller and Goethe raise Homer's procedure to the level of a law for epic poetry in general, and Schiller's words quoted above are meant to be universally binding upon the epic poet, in contradistinction from the tragic. Yet in both modern and ancient times, there are important epic works which are composed throughout with no "retarding element" in this sense but, on the contrary, with suspense throughout, and which perpetually "rob us of our emotional freedom"—which power Schiller will grant only to the tragic poet. And besides it seems to me undemonstrable and improbable that this procedure of Homeric poetry was directed by aesthetic considerations or even by an aesthetic feeling of the sort postulated by Goethe and Schiller. The effect, to be sure, is precisely that which they describe, and is, furthermore, the actual source of the conception of epic which they themselves hold, and with them all writers decisively influenced by classical antiquity. But the true cause of the impression of "retardation" appears to me to lie elsewhere—namely, in the need of the Homeric style to leave nothing which it mentions half in darkness and unexternalized.

The excursus upon the origin of Odysseus' scar is not basically different from the many passages in which a newly introduced character, or even a newly appearing object or implement, though it be in the thick of a battle, is described as to its nature and origin; or in which, upon the appearance of a god, we are told where he last was, what he was doing there, and by what road he reached the scene: indeed, even the Homeric epithets seem to me in the final analysis to be traceable to the same need for an externalization of phenomena in terms perceptible to the senses. Here is the scar, which comes up in the course of the narrative; and Homer's feeling simply will not permit him to see it appear out of the darkness of an unilluminated past; it must be set in full light, and with it a portion of the hero's boyhood—just as, in the *Iliad*, when the first ship is already burning and the Myrmidons finally arm that they may hasten to help, there is still time not only for the wonderful simile of the wolf, not only for the order of the Myrmidon host, but also for a detailed account of the ancestry of several subordinate leaders (16, vv. 155ff.). To be sure, the aesthetic effect thus produced was soon noticed and thereafter consciously sought; but the more original cause must have lain in the basic impulse of the Homeric style: to represent phenomena in a fully externalized form, visible and palpable in all their parts, and completely fixed in their spatial and temporal relations. Nor do psychological processes receive any other treatment: here too nothing must remain hidden and unexpressed. With the utmost fullness, with an orderliness which even passion does not disturb, Homer's personages vent their inmost hearts in speech; what they do not say to others, they speak in their own minds, so that the reader is informed of it. Much that is terrible takes place in the Homeric poems, but it seldom takes place wordlessly: Polyphemus talks to Odysseus; Odysseus talks to the suitors when he begins to kill them; Hector and Achilles talk at length, before battle and after; and no speech is so filled with anger or scorn that the particles which express logical and grammatical connections are lacking or out of place. This last observation is true, of course, not only of speeches but of the presentation in general. The separate elements of a phenomenon are most clearly placed in relation to one another; a large number of conjunctions, adverbs, particles, and other syntactical tools, all clearly circumscribed and delicately differentiated in meaning, delimit persons, things, and portions of incidents in respect to one another, and at the same time bring them together in a continuous and ever flexible connection; like the separate phenomena themselves, their relationships—their temporal, local, causal, final, consecutive, comparative, concessive, antithetical, and conditional limitations—are brought to light in perfect fullness; so that a continuous rhythmic procession of phenomena passes by, and never is there a form left fragmentary or half-illuminated, never a lacuna, never a gap, never a glimpse of unplumbed depths.

And this procession of phenomena takes place in the foreground—that is, in a local and temporal present which is absolute. One might think that the many interpolations, the frequent moving back and forth, would create a sort of perspective in time and place; but the Homeric style never gives any such impression. The way in which any impression of perspective is avoided can be clearly observed in the procedure for introducing episodes, a syntactical construction with which every reader of Homer is familiar; it is used in the passage we are considering, but can also be found in cases when the episodes are much shorter. To the word scar (v. 393) there is first attached a relative clause ("which once long ago a boar . . ."), which enlarges into a voluminous syntactical parenthesis; into this an independent sentence unexpectedly intrudes (v. 396: "A god himself gave him . . ."), which quietly disentangles itself from syntactical subordination, until, with verse 399, an equally free syntactical treatment of the new content begins a new present which continues unchallenged until, with verse 467 ("The old woman now touched it . . ."), the scene which had been broken off is resumed. To be sure, in the case of such long episodes as the one we are considering, a purely syntactical connection with the principal theme would hardly have been possible; but a connection with it through perspective would have been all the easier had the content been arranged with that end in view; if, that is, the entire story of the scar had been presented as a recollection which awakens in Odysseus' mind at this particular moment. It would have been perfectly easy to do; the story of the scar had only to be inserted two verses earlier, at the first mention of the word scar, where the motifs "Odysseus" and "recollection" were already at hand. But any such subjectivistic-perspectivistic procedure, creating a foreground and background, resulting in the present lying open to the depths of the past, is entirely foreign to the Homeric style; the Homeric style knows only a foreground, only a uniformly illuminated, uniformly objective present. And so the excursus does not begin until two lines later, when Euryclea has discovered the scar—the possibility for a perspectivistic connection no longer exists, and the story of the wound becomes an independent and exclusive present.

The genius of the Homeric style becomes even more apparent when it is compared with an equally ancient and equally epic style from a different world

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of forms. I shall attempt this comparison with the account of the sacrifice of Isaac, a homogeneous narrative produced by the so-called Elohist. The King James version translates the opening as follows (Genesis 22: 1): "And it came to pass after these things, that God did tempt Abraham, and said to him, Abraham! and he said, Behold, here I am." Even this opening startles us when we come to it from Homer. Where are the two speakers? We are not told. The reader, however, knows that they are not normally to be found together in one place on earth, that one of them, God, in order to speak to Abraham, must come from somewhere, must enter the earthly realm from some unknown heights or depths. Whence does he come, whence does he call to Abraham? We are not told. He does not come, like Zeus or Poseidon, from the Aethiopians, where he has been enjoying a sacrificial feast. Nor are we told anything of his reasons for tempting Abraham so terribly. He has not, like Zeus, discussed them in set speeches with other gods gathered in council; nor have the deliberations in his own heart been presented to us; unexpected and mysterious, he enters the scene from some unknown height or depth and calls: Abraham! It will at once be said that this is to be explained by the particular concept of God which the Jews held and which was wholly different from that of the Greeks. True enough—but this constitutes no objection. For how is the Jewish concept of God to be explained? Even their earlier God of the desert was not fixed in form and content, and was alone; his lack of form, his lack of local habitation, his singleness, was in the end not only maintained but developed even further in competition with the comparatively far more manifest gods of the surrounding Near Eastern world. The concept of God held by the Jews is less a cause than a symptom of their manner of comprehending and representing things.

This becomes still clearer if we now turn to the other person in the dialogue, to Abraham. Where is he? We do not know. He says, indeed: Here I am—but the Hebrew word means only something like "behold me," and in any case is not meant to indicate the actual place where Abraham is, but a moral position in respect to God, who has called to him—Here am I awaiting thy command. Where he is actually, whether in Beersheba or elsewhere, whether indoors or in the open air, is not stated; it does not interest the narrator, the reader is not informed; and what Abraham was doing when God called to him is left in the same obscurity. To realize the difference, consider Hermes' visit to Calypso, for example, where command, journey, arrival and reception of the visitor, situation and occupation of the person visited, are set forth in many verses; and even on occasions when gods appear suddenly and briefly, whether to help one of their favorites or to deceive or destroy some mortal whom they hate, their bodily forms, and usually the manner of their coming and going, are given in detail. Here, however, God appears without bodily form (yet he "appears"), coming from some unspecified place—we only hear his voice, and that utters nothing but a name, a name without an adjective, without a descriptive epithet for the person spoken to, such as is the rule in every Homeric address; and of Abraham too nothing is made perceptible except the words in which he answers God: *Hinne-ni*, Behold me here—with which, to be sure, a most touching gesture expressive of obedience and readiness is suggested, but it is left to the reader to visualize it. Moreover the two speakers are not on the same level: if we conceive of Abraham in the foreground, where it might be possible to picture him as prostrate or kneeling or bowing with outspread arms or gazing upward, God is not there too: Abraham's words and gestures are directed toward the depths of the picture or upward, but in any case the undetermined, dark place from which the voice comes to him is not in the foreground.

After this opening, God gives his command, and the story itself begins: everyone knows it; it unrolls with no episodes in a few independent sentences whose syntactical connection is of the most rudimentary sort. In this atmosphere it is unthinkable that an implement, a landscape through which the travelers passed, the serving-men, or the ass, should be described, that their origin or desent or material or appearance or usefulness should be set forth in terms of praise; they do not even admit an adjective: they are serving-men, ass, wood, and knife, and nothing else, without an epithet; they are there to serve the end which God has commanded: what in other respects they were, are, or will be, remains in darkness. A journey is made, because God has designated the place where the sacrifice is to be performed; but we are told nothing about the journey except that it took three days, and even that we are told in a mysterious way: Abraham and his followers rose "early in the morning" and "went unto" the place of which God had told him; on the third day he lifted up his eyes and saw the place from afar. That gesture is the only gesture, is indeed the only occurrence during the whole journey, of which we are told; and though its motivation lies in the fact that the place is elevated, its uniqueness still heightens the impression that the journey took place through a vacuum: it is as if, while he traveled on, Abraham had looked neither to the right nor to the left, had suppressed any sign of life in his followers and himself save only their footfalls.

Thus the journey is like a silent progress through the indeterminate and the contingent, a holding of the breath, a process which has no present, which is inserted, like a blank duration, between what has passed and what lies ahead, and which yet is measured: three days! Three such days positively demand the symbolic interpretation which they later received. They began "early in the morning." But at what time on the third day did Abraham lift up his eyes and see his goal? The text says nothing on the subject. Obviously not "late in the evening," for it seems that there was still time enough to climb the mountain and make the sacrifice. So "early in the morning" is given, not as an indication of time, but for the sake of its ethical significance; it is intended to express the resolution, the promptness, the punctual obedience of the sorely tried Abraham. Bitter to him is the early morning in which he saddles his ass, calls his serving-men and his son Isaac, and sets out; but he obeys, he walks on until the third day, then lifts up his eyes and sees the place. Whence he comes, we do not know, but the goal is clearly stated: Jeruel in the land of Moriah. What place this is meant to indicate is not clear—"Moriah" especially may be a later correction of some other word. But in any case the goal was given, and in any case it is a matter of some sacred spot which was to receive a particular consecration by being connected with Abraham's sacrifice. Just as little as "early in the morning" serves as a temporal indication does "Jeruel in the land of Moriah" serve as a geographical indication; and in both cases alike, the complementary indication is not given, for we know as little of the hour at which Abraham lifted up his eyes as we do of the place from which he set forth—

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Jeruel is significant not so much as the goal of an earthly journey, in its geographical relation to other places, as through its special election, through its relation to God, who designated it as the scene of the act, and therefore it must be named.

In the narrative itself, a third chief character appears: Isaac. While God and Abraham, the serving-men, the ass, and the implements are simply named, without mention of any qualities or any other sort of definition, Isaac once receives an appositive; God says, "Take Isaac, thine only son, whom thou lovest." But this is not a characterization of Isaac as a person, apart from his relation to his father and apart from the story; he may be handsome or ugly, intelligent or stupid, tall or short, pleasant or unpleasant—we are not told. Only what we need to know about him as a personage in the action, here and now, is illuminated, so that it may become apparent how terrible Abraham's temptation is, and that God is fully aware of it. By this example of the contrary, we see the significance of the descriptive adjectives and digressions of the Homeric poems; with their indications of the earlier and as it were absolute existence of the persons described, they prevent the reader from concentrating exclusively on a present crisis; even when the most terrible things are occurring, they prevent the establishment of an overwhelming suspense. But here, in the story of Abraham's sacrifice, the overwhelming suspense is present; what Schiller makes the goal of the tragic poet—to rob us of our emotional freedom, to turn our intellectual and spiritual powers (Schiller says "our activity") in one direction, to concentrate them there—is effected in this Biblical narrative, which certainly deserves the epithet epic.

We find the same contrast if we compare the two uses of direct discourse. The personages speak in the Bible story too; but their speech does not serve, as does speech in Homer, to manifest, to externalize thoughts—on the contrary, it serves to indicate thoughts which remain unexpressed. God gives his command in direct discourse, but he leaves his motives and his purpose unexpressed; Abraham, receiving the command, says nothing and does what he has been told to do. The conversation between Abraham and Isaac on the way to the place of sacrifice is only an interruption of the heavy silence and makes it all the more burdensome. The two of them, Isaac carrying the wood and Abraham with fire and a knife, "went together." Hesitantly, Isaac ventures to ask about the ram, and Abraham gives the well-known answer. Then the text repeats: "So they went both of them together." Everything remains unexpressed.

It would be difficult, then, to imagine styles more contrasted than those of these two equally ancient and equally epic texts. On the one hand, externalized, uniformly illuminated phenomena, at a definite time and in a definite place, connected together without lacunae in a perpetual foreground; thoughts and feeling completely expressed; events taking place in leisurely fashion and with very little of suspense. On the other hand, the externalization of only so much of the phenomena as is necessary for the purpose of the narrative, all else left in obscurity; the decisive points of the narrative alone are emphasized, what lies between is nonexistent; time and place are undefined and call for interpretation; thoughts and feeling remain unexpressed, are only suggested by the silence and the fragmentary speeches; the whole, permeated with the most unrelieved suspense and directed toward a single goal (and to that extent far more of a unity), remains mysterious and "fraught with background."

I will discuss this term in some detail, lest it be misunderstood. I said above that the Homeric style was "of the foreground" because, despite much going back and forth, it yet causes what is momentarily being narrated to give the impression that it is the only present, pure and without perspective. A consideration of the Elohistic text teaches us that our term is capable of a broader and deeper application. It shows that even the separate personages can be represented as possessing "background"; God is always so represented in the Bible, for he is not comprehensible in his presence, as is Zeus; it is always only "something" of him that appears, he always extends into depths. But even the human beings in the Biblical stories have greater depths of time, fate, and consciousness than do the human beings in Homer; although they are nearly always caught up in an event engaging all their faculties, they are not so entirely immersed in its present that they do not remain continually conscious of what has happened to them earlier and elsewhere; their thoughts and feelings have more layers, are more entangled. Abraham's actions are explained not only by what is happening to him at the moment, nor yet only by his character (as Achilles' actions by his courage and his pride, and Odysseus' by his versatility and foresightedness), but by his previous history; he remembers, he is constantly conscious of, what God has promised him and what God has already accomplished for him—his soul is torn between desperate rebellion and hopeful expectation; his silent obedience is multilayered, has background. Such a problematic psychological situation as this is impossible for any of the Homeric heroes, whose destiny is clearly defined and who wake every morning as if it were the first day of their lives: their emotions, though strong, are simple and find expression instantly.

How fraught with background, in comparison, are characters like Saul and David! How entangled and stratified are such human relations as those between David and Absalom, between David and Joab! Any such "background" quality of the psychological situation as that which the story of Absalom's death and its sequel (II Samuel 18 and 19, by the so-called Jahvist) rather suggests than expresses, is unthinkable in Homer. Here we are confronted not merely with the psychological processes of characters whose depth of background is veritably abysmal, but with a purely geographical background too. For David is absent from the battlefield; but the influence of his will and his feelings continues to operate, they affect even Joab in his rebellion and disregard for the consequences of his actions; in the magnificent scene with the two messengers, both the physical and psychological background is fully manifest, though the latter is never expressed. With this, compare, for example, how Achilles, who sends Patroclus first to scout and then into battle, loses almost all "presentness" so long as he is not physically present. But the most important thing is the "multilayeredness" of the individual character; this is hardly to be met with in Homer, or at most in the form of a conscious hesitation between two possible courses of action; otherwise, in Homer, the complexity of the psychological life is shown only in the succession and alternation of emotions; whereas the Jewish writers are able to express the simultaneous existence of various layers of consciousness and the conflict between them.

The Homeric poems, then, though their intellectual, linguistic, and above all syntactical culture appears to be so much more highly developed, are yet comparatively simple in their picture of human beings; and no less so in their relation to the real life which they describe in gen-

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eral. Delight in physical existence is everything to them, and their highest aim is to make that delight perceptible to us. Between battles and passions, adventures and perils, they show us hunts, banquets, palaces and shepherds' cots, athletic contests and washing days—in order that we may see the heroes in their ordinary life, and seeing them so, may take pleasure in their manner of enjoying their savory present, a present which sends strong roots down into social usages, landscape, and daily life. And thus they bewitch us and ingratiate themselves to us until we live with them in the reality of their lives; so long as we are reading or hearing the poems, it does not matter whether we know that all this is only legend, "make-believe." The oft-repeated reproach that Homer is a liar takes nothing from his effectiveness, he does not need to base his story on historical reality, his reality is powerful enough in itself; it ensnares us, weaving its web around us, and that suffices him. And this "real" world into which we are lured, exists for itself, contains nothing but itself; the Homeric poems conceal nothing, they contain no teaching and no secret second meaning. Homer can be analyzed, as we have essayed to do here, but he cannot be interpreted. Later allegorizing trends have tried their arts of interpretation upon him, but to no avail. He resists any such treatment; the interpretations are forced and foreign, they do not crystallize into a unified doctrine. The general considerations which occasionally occur (in our episode, for example, v. 360: that in misfortune men age quickly) reveal a calm acceptance of the basic facts of human existence, but with no compulsion to brood over them, still less any passionate impulse either to rebel against them or to embrace them in an ecstasy of submission.

It is all very different in the Biblical stories. Their aim is not to bewitch the senses, and if nevertheless they produce lively sensory effects, it is only because the moral, religious, and psychological phenomena which are their sole concern are made concrete in the sensible matter of life. But their religious intent involves an absolute claim to historical truth. The story of Abraham and Isaac is not better established than the story of Odysseus, Penelope, and Euryclea; both are legendary. But the Biblical narrator, the Elohist, had to believe in the objective truth of the story of Abraham's sacrifice—the existence of the sacred ordinances of life rested upon the truth of this and similar stories. He had to believe in it passionately; or else (as many rationalistic interpreters believed and perhaps still believe) he had to be a conscious liar—no harmless liar like Homer, who lied to give pleasure, but a political liar with a definite end in view, lying in the interest of a claim to absolute authority.

To me, the rationalistic interpretation seems psychologically absurd; but even if we take it into consideration, the relation of the Elohist to the truth of his story still remains a far more passionate and definite one than is Homer's relation. The Biblical narrator was obliged to write exactly what his belief in the truth of the tradition (or, from the rationalistic standpoint, his interest in the truth of it) demanded of him—in either case, his freedom in creative or representative imagination was severely limited; his activity was perforce reduced to composing an effective version of the pious tradition. What he produced, then, was not primarily oriented toward "realism" (if he succeeded in being realistic, it was merely a means, not an end); it was oriented toward truth. Woe to the man who did not believe it! One can perfectly well entertain historical doubts on the subject of the Trojan War or of Odysseus' wanderings, and still, when reading Homer, feel precisely the effects he sought to produce; but without believing in Abraham's sacrifice, it is impossible to put the narrative of it to the use for which it was written. Indeed, we must go even further. The Bible's claim to truth is not only far more urgent than Homer's, it is tyrannical—it excludes all other claims. The world of the Scripture stories is not satisfied with claiming to be a historically true reality—it insists that it is the only real world, is destined for autocracy. All other scenes, issues, and ordinances have no right to appear independently of it, and it is promised that all of them, the history of all mankind, will be given their due place within its frame, will be subordinated to it. The Scripture stories do not, like Homer's, court our favor, they do not flatter us that they may please us and enchant us—they seek to subject us, and if we refuse to be subjected we are rebels.

Let no one object that this goes too far, that not the stories, but the religious doctrine, raises the claim to absolute authority; because the stories are not, like Homer's, simply narrated "reality." Doctrine and promise are incarnate in them and inseparable from them; for that very reason they are fraught with "background" and mysterious, containing a second, concealed meaning. In the story of Isaac, it is not only God's intervention at the beginning and the end, but even the factual and psychological elements which come between, that are mysterious, merely touched upon, fraught with background; and therefore they require subtle investigation and interpretation, they demand them. Since so much in the story is dark and incomplete, and since the reader knows that God is a hidden God, his effort to interpret it constantly finds something new to feed upon. Doctrine and the search for enlightenment are inextricably connected with the physical side of the narrative—the latter being more than simple "reality"; indeed they are in constant danger of losing their own reality, as very soon happened when interpretation reached such proportions that the real vanished.

If the text of the Biblical narrative, then, is so greatly in need of interpretation on the basis of its own content, its claim to absolute authority forces it still further in the same direction. Far from seeking, like Homer, merely to make us forget our own reality for a few hours, it seeks to overcome our reality: we are to fit our own life into its world, feel ourselves to be elements in its structure of universal history. This becomes increasingly difficult the further our historical environment is removed from that of the Biblical books; and if these nevertheless maintain their claim to absolute authority, it is inevitable that they themselves be adapted through interpretative transformation. This was for a long time comparatively easy; as late as the European Middle Ages it was possible to represent Biblical events as ordinary phenomena of contemporary life, the methods of interpretation themselves forming the basis for such a treatment. But when, through too great a change in environment and through the awakening of a critical consciousness, this becomes impossible, the Biblical claim to absolute authority is jeopardized; the method of interpretation is scorned and rejected, the Biblical stories become ancient legends, and the doctrine they had contained, now dissevered from them, becomes a disembodied image.

As a result of this claim to absolute authority, the method of interpretation spread to traditions other than the Jewish. The Homeric poems present a definite complex of events whose boundaries in space and time are clearly delimited; before it, beside it, and after it, other complexes of events, which do not depend upon it, can be conceived without conflict

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and without difficulty. The Old Testament, on the other hand, presents universal history: it begins with the beginning of time, with the creation of the world, and will end with the Last Days, the fulfilling of the Covenant, with which the world will come to an end. Everything else that happens in the world can only be conceived as an element in this sequence; into it everything that is known about the world, or at least everything that touches upon the history of the Jews, must be fitted as an ingredient of the divine plan; and as this too became possible only by interpreting the new material as it poured in, the need for interpretation reaches out beyond the original Jewish-Israelitish realm of reality—for example to Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Roman history; interpretation in a determined direction becomes a general method of comprehending reality; the new and strange world which now comes into view and which, in the form in which it presents itself, proves to be wholly unutilizable within the Jewish religious frame, must be so interpreted that it can find a place there. But this process nearly always also reacts upon the frame, which requires enlarging and modifying. The most striking piece of interpretation of this sort occurred in the first century of the Christian era, in consequence of Paul's mission to the Gentiles: Paul and the Church Fathers reinterpreted the entire Jewish tradition as a succession of figures prognosticating the appearance of Christ, and assigned the Roman Empire its proper place in the divine plan of salvation. Thus while, on the one hand, the reality of the Old Testament presents itself as complete truth with a claim to sole authority, on the other hand that very claim forces it to a constant interpretative change in its own content; for millennia it undergoes an incessant and active development with the life of man in Europe.

The claim of the Old Testament stories to represent universal history, their insistent relation—a relation constantly redefined by conflicts—to a single and hidden God, who yet shows himself and who guides universal history by promise and exaction, gives these stories an entirely different perspective from any the Homeric poems can possess. As a composition, the Old Testament is incomparably less unified than the Homeric poems, it is more obviously pieced together—but the various components all belong to one concept of universal history and its interpretation. If certain elements survived which did not immediately fit in, interpretation took care of them; and so the reader is at every moment aware of the universal religio-historical perspective which gives the individual stories their general meaning and purpose. The greater the separateness and horizontal disconnection of the stories and groups of stories in relation to one another, compared with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the stronger is their general vertical connection, which holds them all together and which is entirely lacking in Homer. Each of the great figures of the Old Testament, from Adam to the prophets, embodies a moment of this vertical connection. God chose and formed these men to the end of embodying his essence and will—yet choice and formation do not coincide, for the latter proceeds gradually, historically, during the earthly life of him upon whom the choice has fallen. How the process is accomplished, what terrible trials such a formation inflicts, can be seen from our story of Abraham's sacrifice. Herein lies the reason why the great figures of the Old Testament are so much more fully developed, so much more fraught with their own biographical past, so much more distinct as individuals, than are the Homeric heroes. Achilles and Odysseus are splendidly described in many well-ordered words, epithets cling to them, their emotions are constantly displayed in their words and deeds—but they have no development, and their life-histories are clearly set forth once and for all. So little are the Homeric heroes presented as developing or having developed, that most of them—Nestor, Agamemnon, Achilles—appear to be of an age fixed from the very first. Even Odysseus, in whose case the long lapse of time and the many events which occurred offer so much opportunity for biographical development, shows almost nothing of it. Odysseus on his return is exactly the same as he was when he left Ithaca two decades earlier. But what a road, what a fate, lie between the Jacob who cheated his father out of his blessing and the old man whose favorite son has been torn to pieces by a wild beast!—between David the harp player, persecuted by his lord's jealousy, and the old king, surrounded by violent intrigues, whom Abishag the Shunnamite warmed in his bed, and he knew her not! The old man, of whom we know how he has become what he is, is more of an individual than the young man; for it is only during the course of an eventful life that men are differentiated into full individuality; and it is this history of a personality which the Old Testament presents to us as the formation undergone by those whom God has chosen to be examples. Fraught with their development, sometimes even aged to the verge of dissolution, they show a distinct stamp of individuality entirely foreign to the Homeric heroes. Time can touch the latter only outwardly, and even that change is brought to our observation as little as possible; whereas the stern hand of God is ever upon the Old Testament figures; he has not only made them once and for all and chosen them, but he continues to work upon them, bends them and kneads them, and, without destroying them in essence, produces from them

forms which their youth gave no grounds for anticipating. The objection that the biographical element of the Old Testament often springs from the combination of several legendary personages does not apply; for this combination is a part of the development of the text. And how much wider is the pendulum swing of their lives than that of the Homeric heroes! For they are bearers of the divine will, and yet they are fallible, subject to misfortune and humiliation—and in the midst of misfortune and in their humiliation their acts and words reveal the transcendent majesty of God. There is hardly one of them who does not, like Adam, undergo the deepest humiliation—and hardly one who is not deemed worthy of God's personal intervention and personal inspiration. Humiliation and elevation go far deeper and far higher than in Homer, and they belong basically together. The poor beggar Odysseus is only masquerading, but Adam is really cast down, Jacob really a refugee, Joseph really in the pit and then a slave to be bought and sold. But their greatness, rising out of humiliation, is almost superhuman and an image of God's greatness. The reader clearly feels how the extent of the pendulum's swing is connected with the intensity of the personal history—precisely the most extreme circumstances, in which we are immeasurably forsaken and in despair, or immeasurably joyous and exalted, give us, if we survive them, a personal stamp which is recognized as the product of a rich existence, a rich development. And very often, indeed generally, this element of development gives the Old Testament stories a historical character, even when the subject is purely legendary and traditional.

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Homer remains within the legendary with all his material, whereas the material of the Old Testament comes closer and closer to history as the narrative proceeds;

in the stories of David the historical report predominates. Here too, much that is legendary still remains, as for example the story of David and Goliath; but much—and the most essential—consists in things which the narrators knew from their own experience or from firsthand testimony. Now the difference between legend and history is in most cases easily perceived by a reasonably experienced reader. It is a difficult matter, requiring careful historical and philological training, to distinguish the true from the synthetic or the biased in a historical presentation; but it is easy to separate the historical from the legendary in general. Their structure is different. Even where the legendary does not immediately betray itself by elements of the miraculous, by the repetition of well-known standard motives, typical patterns and themes, through neglect of clear details of time and place, and the like, it is generally quickly recognizable by its composition. It runs far too smoothly. All cross-currents, all friction, all that is casual, secondary to the main events and themes, everything unresolved, truncated, and uncertain, which confuses the clear progress of the action and the simple orientation of the actors, has disappeared. The historical event which we witness, or learn from the testimony of those who witnessed it, runs much more variously, contradictorily, and confusedly; not until it has produced results in a definite domain are we able, with their help, to classify it to a certain extent; and how often the order to which we think we have attained becomes doubtful again, how often we ask ourselves if the data before us have not led us to a far too simple classification of the original events! Legend arranges its material in a simple and straightforward way; it detaches it from its contemporary historical context, so that the latter will not confuse it; it knows only clearly outlined men who act from few and simple motives and the continuity of whose feelings and actions remains uninterrupted. In the legends of martyrs, for example, a stiff-necked and fanatical persecutor stands over against an equally stiff-necked and fanatical victim; and a situation so complicated—that is to say, so real and historical—as that in which the "persecutor" Pliny finds himself in his celebrated letter to Trajan on the subject of the Christians, is unfit for legend. And that is still a comparatively simple case. Let the reader think of the history which we are ourselves witnessing; anyone who, for example, evaluates the behavior of individual men and groups of men at the time of the rise of National Socialism in Germany, or the behavior of individual peoples and states before and during the last war, will feel how difficult it is to represent historical themes in general, and how unfit they are for legend; the historical comprises a great number of contradictory motives in each individual, a hesitation and ambiguous groping on the part of groups; only seldom (as in the last war) does a more or less plain situation, comparatively simple to describe, arise, and even such a situation is subject to division below the surface, is indeed almost constantly in danger of losing its simplicity; and the motives of all the interested parties are so complex that the slogans of propaganda can be composed only through the crudest simplification—with the result that friend and foe alike can often employ the same ones. To write history is so difficult that most historians are forced to make concessions to the technique of legend.

It is clear that a large part of the life of David as given in the Bible contains history and not legend. In Absalom's rebellion, for example, or in the scenes from David's last days, the contradictions and

crossing of motives both in individuals and in the general action have become so concrete that it is impossible to doubt the historicity of the information conveyed. Now the men who composed the historical parts are often the same who edited the older legends too; their peculiar religious concept of man in history, which we have attempted to describe above, in no way led them to a legendary simplification of events; and so it is only natural that, in the legendary passages of the Old Testament, historical structure is frequently discernible—of course, not in the sense that the traditions are examined as to their credibility according to the methods of scientific criticism; but simply to the extent that the tendency to a smoothing down and harmonizing of events, to a simplification of motives, to a static definition of characters which avoids conflict, vacillation, and development, such as are natural to legendary structure, does not predominate in the Old Testament world of legend. Abraham, Jacob, or even Moses produces a more concrete, direct, and historical impression than the figures of the Homeric world—not because they are better described in terms of sense (the contrary is the case) but because the confused, contradictory multiplicity of events, the psychological and factual cross-purposes, which true history reveals, have not disappeared in the representation but still remain clearly perceptible. In the stories of David, the legendary, which only later scientific criticism makes recognizable as such, imperceptibly passes into the historical; and even in the legendary, the problem of the classification and interpretation of human history is already passionately apprehended—a problem which later shatters the framework of historical composition and completely overruns it with prophecy; thus the Old Testament, in so far as it is concerned with human events, ranges through all three domains: legend, historical reporting, and interpretative historical theology.

Connected with the matters just discussed is the fact that the Greek text seems more limited and more static in respect to the circle of personages involved in the action and to their political activity. In the recognition scene with which we began, there appears, aside from Odysseus and Penelope, the housekeeper Euryclea, a slave whom Odysseus' father Laertes had bought long before. She, like the swineherd Eumaeus, has spent her life in the service of Laertes' family; like Eumaeus, she is closely connected with their fate, she loves them and shares their interests and feelings. But she has no life of her own, no feelings of her own; she has only the life and feelings of her master. Eumaeus too, though he still remembers that he was born a freeman and indeed of a noble house (he was stolen as a boy), has, not only in fact but also in his own feeling, no longer a life of his own, he is entirely involved in the life of his masters. Yet these two characters are the only ones whom Homer brings to life who do not belong to the ruling class. Thus we become conscious of the fact that in the Homeric poems life is enacted only among the ruling class—others appear only in the role of servants to that class. The ruling class is still so strongly patriarchal, and still itself so involved in the daily activities of domestic life, that one is sometimes likely to forget their rank. But they are unmistakably a sort of feudal aristocracy, whose men divide their lives between war, hunting, marketplace councils, and feasting, while the women supervise the maids in the house. As a social picture, this world is completely stable; wars take place only between different groups of the ruling class; nothing ever

pushes up from below. In the early stories of the Old Testament the patriarchal condition is dominant too, but since the people involved are individual nomadic or half-nomadic tribal leaders, the social picture gives a much less stable impression; class distinctions are not felt. As soon as the people completely emerges—that is, after the exodus from Egypt—its activity is always discernible, it is often in ferment, it frequently intervenes in events not only as a whole but also in separate groups and through the medium of separate individuals who come forward; the origins of prophecy seem to lie in the irrepressible politico-religious spontaneity of the people. We receive the impression that the movements emerging from the depths of the people of Israel-Judah must have been of a wholly different nature from those even of the later ancient democracies—of a different nature and far more elemental.

With the more profound historicity and the more profound social activity of the Old Testament text, there is connected yet another important distinction from Homer: namely, that a different conception of the elevated style and of the sublime is to be found here. Homer, of course, is not afraid to let the realism of daily life enter into the sublime and tragic; our episode of the scar is an example, we see how the quietly depicted, domestic scene of the foot-washing is incorporated into the pathetic and sublime action of Odysseus' homecoming. From the rule of the separation of styles which was later almost universally accepted and which specified that the realistic depiction of daily life was incompatible with the sublime and had a place only in comedy or, carefully stylized, in idyl—from any such rule Homer is still far removed. And yet he is closer to it than is the Old Testament. For the great and sublime events in the Homeric poems take place far more exclusively and unmistakably among the members of a ruling class; and these are far more untouched in their heroic elevation than are the Old Testament figures, who can fall much lower in dignity (consider, for example, Adam, Noah, David, Job); and finally, domestic realism, the representation of daily life, remains in Homer in the peaceful realm of the idyllic, whereas, from the very first, in the Old Testament stories, the sublime, tragic, and problematic take shape precisely in the domestic and commonplace: scenes such as those between Cain and Abel, between Noah and his sons, between Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar, between Rebekah, Jacob, and Esau, and so on, are inconceivable in the Homeric style. The entirely different ways of developing conflicts are enough to account for this. In the Old Testament stories the peace of daily life in the house, in the fields, and among the flocks, is undermined by jealousy over election and the promise of a blessing, and complications arise which would be utterly incomprehensible to the Homeric heroes. The latter must have palpable and clearly expressible reasons for their conflicts and enmities, and these work themselves out in free battles; whereas, with the former, the perpetually smouldering jealousy and the connection between the domestic and the spiritual, between the paternal blessing and the divine blessing, lead to daily life being permeated with the stuff of conflict, often with poison. The sublime influence of God here reaches so deeply into the everyday that the two realms of the sublime and the everyday are not only actually unseparated but basically inseparable.

We have compared these two texts, and, with them, the two kinds of style they embody, in order to reach a starting point for an investigation into the literary

representation of reality in European culture. The two styles, in their opposition, represent basic types: on the one hand fully externalized description, uniform illumination, uninterrupted connection, free expression, all events in the foreground, displaying unmistakable meanings, few elements of historical development and of psychological perspective; on the other hand, certain parts brought into high relief, others left obscure, abruptness, suggestive influence of the unexpressed, "background" quality, multiplicity of meanings and the need for interpretation, universal-historical claims, development of the concept of the historically becoming, and preoccupation with the problematic.

Homer's realism is, of course, not to be equated with classical-antique realism in general; for the separation of styles, which did not develop until later, permitted no such leisurely and externalized description of everyday happenings; in tragedy especially there was no room for it; furthermore, Greek culture very soon encountered the phenomena of historical becoming and of the "multilayeredness" of the human problem, and dealt with them in its fashion; in Roman realism, finally, new and native concepts are added. We shall go into these later changes in the antique representation of reality when the occasion arises; on the whole, despite them, the basic tendencies of the Homeric style, which we have attempted to work out, remained effective and determinant down into late antiquity.

Since we are using the two styles, the Homeric and the Old Testament, as starting points, we have taken them as finished products, as they appear in the texts; we have disregarded everything that pertains to their origins, and thus have left untouched the question whether their peculiarities were theirs from the beginning or are to be referred wholly or in part to foreign influences. Within the limits of our purpose, a consideration of this question is not necessary; for it is in their full development, which they reached in early times, that the two styles exercised their determining influence upon the representation of reality in European literature.

SYNOPSIS OF THE FOUR GOSPELS

Greek-English Edition of the Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum

On the basis of the Greek Text of Nestle-Aland 26th Edition
and Greek New Testament 3rd Edition.
The English Text is the Second Edition of the
Revised Standard Version

Edited by Kurt Aland

Sixth completely revised Edition

1983

United Bible Societies

[Matt. 1.1-17]	Mark	[Luke 3.23-38]	John
		the son of Mahalaleel, the son of Cainan, [38] the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, the son of God.	
[17] So all the generations from Abraham to David were fourteen generations, and from David to the deportation to Babylon fourteen generations, and from the deportation to Babylon to the Christ fourteen generations.			

Matt.: 17 were] are A R | until (unto R) the carrying away into (to R) Babylon A R | are fourteen A | carrying away into (to R) Babylon unto (+ the R) Christ (+ are A) A R
Luke: 37 Maleleel A

Luke: 23-38: *cp. p. 17*

20. The Temptation

Matt. 4.1-11	Mark 1.12-13	Luke 4.1-13	John 1.51
(no. 18 3.13-17 p. 16)	*(no. 18 1.9-11 p. 16)*		
[1] Then Jesus was led up by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil. [2] And he fasted forty days and forty nights, and afterward he was hungry.	[12] The Spirit immediately drove him out into the wilderness. [13] And he was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan; and he was with the wild beasts;	[1] And Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit, returned from the Jordan, and was led by the Spirit [2] for forty days in the wilderness, tempted by the devil. And he ate nothing in those days; and when they were ended, he was hungry.	
[3] And the tempter came and said to him, "If you are the Son of God, command these stones to become loaves of bread." [4] But he answered, "It is written, 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God.'"		[3] The devil said to him, "If you are the Son of God, command this stone to become bread." [4] And Jesus answered him, "It is written, 'Man shall not live by bread alone.'"	
[5] Then the devil took him to the holy city, and set him on the pinnacle of the temple, [6] and said to him, "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down; for it is written, 'He will give his angels charge of you,' and 'On their hands they will bear you up, lest you strike your foot against a stone.'"		4.9-12 *(lin. 42-53)* [9] And he took him to Jerusalem, and set him on the pinnacle of the temple, and said to him, "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down from here; [10] for it is written, 'He will give his angels charge of you, to guard you,' [11] and 'On their hands they will bear you up, lest you strike your foot against a stone.'"	

Matt.: 1 by] of A R (2×) ‖ 2 And when he had fasted A R | and] – A R | was] – R | an hungred A | hungered R ‖ 3 when the tempter came to him, he said A | that these A R | be made (become R) bread A R ‖ 4 out of the A R ‖ 5 him up A | into the A R | and he set R | a pinnacle A ‖ 6 cast thyself A R | concerning thee A R | And in (on R) A R | lest at any time A | lest haply R | thou dash thy A R
Mark: 12 And immediately (straightway R) the Spirit driveth A R | out] – A | forth R ‖ 13 was there in A | of Satan A R | and he (– A) was A R
Luke: 1 being full A | Ghost A | the] – Jordan A | Spirit into (in R) the wilderness A R ‖ 2 Being forty days tempted A | during forty days, being tempted R | by] of A R | did eat A R | completed R | he afterward (– R) hungered A R ‖ 3 thou be A | to] that it A R | become] be made A ‖ 4 alone + but by every word of God A

Matt.: 1-11: Heb. 2.18; 4.15 ‖ 2: Ex. 34.28; 1 Kings 19.8 ‖ 4: Deut. 8.3 ‖ 5: Mt. 27.53; Neh. 11.1; Dan. 9.24; Rev. 21.10 ‖ 6: Ps. 91.11-12
Luke: 2: Deut. 9.9; 1 Kings 19.8 ‖ 4: Deut. 8.3

[Matt. 4.1-11]

[7]Jesus said to him, "Again it is written, 'You shall not tempt the Lord your God.'" [8]Again, the devil took him to a very high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; [9]and he said to him, "All these I will give you, if you will fall down and worship me." [10]Then Jesus said to him, "Begone, Satan! for it is written, 'You shall worship the Lord your God and him only shall you serve.'"

4.5-7 *(lin. 16-28)*

[5]Then the devil took him to the holy city, and set him on the pinnacle of the temple, [6]and said to him, "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down; for it is written, 'He will give his angels charge of you,' and 'On their hands they will bear you up, lest you strike your foot against a stone.'" [7]Jesus said to him, "Again it is written, 'You shall not tempt the Lord your God.'"

[11]Then the devil left him, and behold, angels came and ministered to him.

(no. 30 4.12 p. 28)

[Mark 1.12-13]

and the angels ministered to him.

(no. 30 1.14 a p. 28)

[Luke 4.1-13]

[12]And Jesus answered him, "It is said, 'You shall not tempt the Lord your God.'" [5]And the devil took him up, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time, [6]and said to him, "To you I will give all this authority and their glory; for it has been delivered to me, and I give it to whom I will. [7]If you, then, will worship me, it shall all be yours." [8]And Jesus answered him, "It is written, 'You shall worship the Lord your God, and him only shall you serve.'"

[9]And he took him to Jerusalem, and set him on the pinnacle of the temple, and said to him, "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down from here; [10]for it is written, 'He will give his angels charge of you, to guard you,' [11]and 'On their hands they will bear you up, lest you strike your foot against a stone.'" [12]And Jesus answered him, "It is said, 'You shall not tempt the Lord your God.'" [13]And when the devil had ended every temptation, he departed from him until an opportune time.

(no. 30 4.14 a p. 28)

John

1.51 *(no. 21, p. 21)*

[51]And he said to him, "Truly, truly, I say to you, you will see heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man."

Matt.: 7 shalt not make trial of the R[2] || 8 him up into A | an exceeding high A R || 10 Get thee hence A R

Luke: 5 And he led him R | taking him up into an high mountain A | and] – A || 6 and the devil said A R | All this power will I give thee A | and the glory of them A R | that is delivered A | to whomsoever I will I give it A R || 7 therefore A R | before me R | , all shall A || 8 Get thee behind me Satan; for it is A || 9 brought A | led R | on a A | thou be A | cast thyself A R || 10 of] over A | concerning R | keep A || 11 In A | Lest at any time A | Lest haply R | dash A R || 12 shalt not make trial of the R[2] || 13 completed R | every] all the A | for a season. A R

Matt.: 1–11: *cp. p. 19* | 7: Deut. 6.16 || 10: Deut. 6.13; Mk. 8.33 || 11: Mt. 26.53; Lk. 22.43

Luke: 6: 1 Jn. 5.19 || 8: Deut. 6.13 || 10–11: Ps. 91.11–12 || 12: Deut. 6.16 || 13: Lk. 22.28

[Matt. 5.13]	[Mark 9.42-50]	[Luke 14.34-35]	John
how shall its saltness be restored? It is no longer good for anything except to be thrown out and trodden under foot by men.	how will you season it? Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace with one another." (no. 251 10.1 p. 215)	how shall its saltness be restored? [35] It is fit neither for the land nor for the dunghill; men throw it away. He who has ears to hear, let him hear."	

Mark: 50 how] wherewith A R | be at] have A
Luke: 34 how] wherewith A R | shall it be seasoned A R ‖ 35 nor yet for A | but (– R) men cast it out A R

Mark: 50: Col. 4.6; I Thess. 5.13
Luke: 34–35: *cp. p. 160*

169. The Parable of the Lost Sheep

(cp. no. 219)

Matt. 18.10-14	Mark	Luke 15.3-7 (no. 219, p. 194)	John
[10] "See that you do not despise one of these little ones; for I tell you that in heaven their angels always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven.[c]			
[12] What do you think? If a man has a hundred sheep, and one of them has gone astray, does he not leave the ninety-nine on the mountains and go in search of the one that went astray? [13] And if he finds it, truly, I say to you, he rejoices over it more than over the ninety-nine that never went astray.		[3] So he told them this parable: [4] "What man of you, having a hundred sheep, if he has lost one of them, does not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness, and go after the one which is lost, until he finds it? [5] And when he has found it, he lays it on his shoulders, rejoicing. [6] And when he comes home, he calls together his friends and his neighbors, saying to them, 'Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost.'	
[14] So it is not the will of my[d] Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish.		[7] Just so, I tell you, there will be more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous persons who need no repentance.	

Matt.: 10 take heed that A | I say unto A R | which is A R ‖ + 11 For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost A ‖ 12 what] how A R | any man R | have A R | be gone A R | and goeth into (go unto R) the mountains A R | and seeketh (seek R) that which (is gone A) goeth A R ‖ 13 if so be that he find A R | verily A R | more of that sheep than of A | which went not astray A ¦ which have not gone astray R ‖ 14 even so A R | my) your A R
Luke: 3 told] spake ... saying A R ‖ 4 has lost] lose A ¦ having lost R | that which A R | find A R ‖ 6 and neighbours A ‖ 7 I say unto you that A R | likewise joy shall be in A ¦ even so there shall be joy in R | more than A R | righteous] just A

Matt.: *c* Other ancient authorities add verse 11, *For the Son of man came to save the lost* ‖ *d* Other ancient authorities read *your* ‖ 10: Acts 12.11 ‖ 11: Lk. 19.10
Luke: 7: Jas. 5.20; Lk. 19.10; 15.10

170. On Reproving One's Brother

(cp. no. 230)

Matt. 18.15-18	Mark	Luke 17.3 (no. 229, 230, p. 199, 200)	John 20.23
[15] "If your brother sins against you, go and tell him his fault, between you and him alone. If he		[3] "Take heed to yourselves; if your brother sins, rebuke him, and if	

Matt.: 15 Moreover (And R) if A R | sin R ¦ shall trespass A | go shew R[1] | he (+ shall A) hear thee A R
Luke: 3 sin R ¦ trespass against thee A

Matt.: 15–17: I Cor. 6.1–6; Gal. 6.1; Jas. 5.19–20; Lev. 19.17; Deut. 19.15

277. The Parable of the Two Sons

Matt. 21.28-32	Mark	Luke 7.29-30 *(no. 107, p. 98)*	John
[28]"What do you think? A man had two sons; and he went to the first and said, 'Son, go and work in the vineyard today.' [29]And he answered, 'I will not'; but afterward he repented and went. [30]And he went to the second and said the same; and he answered, 'I go, sir,' but did not go. [31]Which of the two did the will of his father?" They said, "The first." Jesus said to them, "Truly, I say to you, the tax collectors and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. [32]For John came to you in the way of righteousness, and you did not believe him, but the tax collectors and the harlots believed him; and even when you saw it, you did not afterward repent and believe him.		[29](When they heard this all the people and the tax collectors justified God, having been baptized with the baptism of John; [30]but the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected the purpose of God for themselves, not having been baptized by him.)	

Matt.: 28 A certain man A | went] came A R | my vineyard A || 29 answered and said A R | repented himself R || 30 went] came A R | said likewise A R | answered and said I A R || 31 Whether of the (them A) twain A R[1] | say (+ unto him A) A R | Jesus saith A R | Truly] Verily A R | tax collectors] publicans A R || 32 tax collectors] publicans A R | and ye when ye saw (had seen A) it, repented not (did not even repent yourselves R) afterward, that ye might believe A R

Matt.: 28: Mt. 20.1; 21.33

278. The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen

Matt. 21.33-46	Mark 12.1-12 *(no. 276 11.27-33 p. 241)*	Luke 20.9-19 *(no. 276 20.1-8 p. 241)*	John
[33]"Hear another parable. There was a householder who planted a vineyard, and set a hedge around it, and dug a wine press in it, and built a tower, and let it out to tenants, and went into another country.	[1]And he began to speak to them in parables. "A man planted a vineyard, and set a hedge around it, and dug a pit for the wine press, and built a tower, and let it out to tenants, and went into another country.	[9]And he began to tell the people this parable: "A man planted a vineyard, and let it out to tenants, and went into another country for a long while.	
[34]When the season of fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the tenants, to get his fruit;	[2]When the time came, he sent a servant to the tenants, to get from them some of the fruit of the vineyard.	[10]When the time came, he sent a servant to the tenants, that they should give him some of the fruit of the vineyard;	
[35]and the tenants took his servants and beat one, killed another, and stoned another. [36]Again he sent	[3]And they took him and beat him, and sent him away empty-handed. [4]Again he sent	but the tenants beat him, and sent him away empty-handed. [11]And he sent	

Matt.: 33 a (certain A) (man that was a R) householder A R | hedged it round about A | around] about R | dug] digged A R | tenants] husbandmen A R | a far country A || 34 season] time A | the fruits (fruit A) A R | tenants] husbandmen A R | to (that they might A) receive A R | the fruits of it A | his fruits R || 35 tenants] husbandmen A R

Mark: 1 a certain man A | about it A R | dug] digged A R | a place for the winefat A | tenants] husbandmen A R | another] a far A || 2 And at the season he A R | tenants] husbandmen A R | that he might receive from the husbandmen of the fruit (fruits R) of A R || 3 took] caught A | handed] – A R

Luke: 9 tell] speak to (unto R) A R | A certain man A | out] forth A | tenants] husbandmen A R | another] a far A | while] time A R || 10 And at the season he A R | tenants] husbandmen A R | some] – A R | tenants] husbandmen A R | handed] – A R || 11 And again A

Matt.: 33-46: Is. 5.1-7 || 34: Mt. 22.3
Mark: 1-12: Is. 5.1-7
Luke: 9: Is. 5.1-7; Mt. 25.14

56

[Matt. 21.33-46]

other servants, more than the first; and they did the same to them.

cp. v. 35

[37]Afterward he sent his son to them, saying, 'They will respect my son.' [38]But when the tenants saw the son, they said to themselves, 'This is the heir; come, let us kill him and have his inheritance.' [39]And they took him and cast him out of the vineyard, and killed him. [40]When therefore the owner of the vineyard comes, what will he do to those tenants?" [41]They said to him, "He will put those wretches to a miserable death, and let out the vineyard to other tenants who will give him the fruits in their seasons."

[42]Jesus said to them, "Have you never read in the scriptures:
'The very stone which the builders rejected
has become the head of the corner;
this was the Lord's doing,
and it is marvelous in our eyes'?
[43]Therefore I tell you, the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a nation producing the fruits of it."[q] [[44]"And he who falls on this stone will be

[Mark 12.1-12]

to them another servant, and they wounded him in the head, and treated him shamefully. [5]And he sent another, and him they killed; and so with many others, some they beat and some they killed. [6]He had still one other, a beloved son; finally he sent him to them, saying, 'They will respect my son.' [7]But those tenants said to one another, 'This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance will be ours.' [8]And they took him and killed him, and cast him out of the vineyard. [9]What will the owner of the vineyard do? He will come and destroy the tenants, and give the vineyard to others.

[10]Have you not read this scripture:
'The very stone which the builders rejected
has become the head of the corner;
[11]this was the Lord's doing,
and it is marvelous in our eyes'?"

[Luke 20.9-19]

another servant; him also they beat and treated shamefully, and sent him away empty-handed. [12]And he sent yet a third; this one they wounded and cast out. [13]Then the owner of the vineyard said, 'What shall I do? I will send my beloved son; it may be they will respect him.' [14]But when the tenants saw him, they said to themselves, 'This is the heir; let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours.' [15]And they cast him out of the vineyard and killed him. What then will the owner of the vineyard do to them? [16]He will come and destroy those tenants, and give the vineyard to others."

When they heard this, they said, "God forbid!" [17]But he looked at them and said, "What then is this that is written:
'The very stone which the builders rejected
has become the head of the corner'?

[18]Every one who falls on that stone will be

John

Matt.: 36 unto them likewise (in like manner R) A R ‖ 37 afterward] last of all A | respect] reverence A R ‖ 38 tenants] husbandmen A R | among themselves A R | have] let us seize on A ¦ take R ‖ 39 took] caught A | forth out R | killed] slew A ‖ 40 owner] lord A R | shall come R | tenants] husbandmen A R ‖ 41 he will miserably destroy those wicked (miserable R) men, and will let A R | his vineyard A | tenants] husbandmen A R | which (who R²) shall render him A R ‖ 42 Have ... read] did ... read A R | very] – A R | The same is become (was made R) the A R | This is A | was from the Lord R ‖ 43 say I unto A R | away] – A | shall be given R | producing] bringing forth A R | of it] thereof A R ‖ 44 And whosoever shall fall (he that falleth R) on this stone shall be broken (+ to pieces R) : but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind (scatter R) him to powder (as dust R) A R

Mark: 4 servant + and at him they cast stones A | and sent him away shamefully handled A ¦ and handled shamefully R ‖ 5 And again he A | so with] – A R | beating some, and killing some A R ‖ 6 Having yet therefore one son, his wellbeloved, A | He had yet one, a R | finally] – A R | also (– R) last unto A R | respect] reverence A R ‖ 7 tenants] husbandmen A R | among themselves A R ‖ 8 forth out R ‖ 9 therefore will R ¦ shall therefore A | owner] lord A R | tenants] husbandmen A R | will give A R ‖ 10 even this R | very] – A R | is become A ¦ The same was made R ‖ 11 was from the Lord R

Luke: 11 yet another A R | treated] entreated A ¦ handled R | handed] – A R ‖ 12 And again he sent A | and they wounded him also A (R ≈) | cast him A R | out] forth R ‖ 13 owner] lord A R | respect] reverence A R | him + when they see him A ‖ 14 tenants] husbandmen A R | they reasoned among themselves (one with another R), saying, this A R | come let A ‖ 15 forth out R | owner] lord A R ‖ 16 these husbandmen A R | shall (will R) give A R | this] it A R ‖ 17 beheld (looked upon R) them A R | very] – A R | The same is become (was made R) the A R ‖ 18 whosoever shall fall upon that A

Matt.: q Other ancient authorities add verse 44, "*And he who falls on this stone will be broken to pieces; but when it falls on any one, it will crush him*" ‖ 33–46: *cp. p. 242* ‖ 41: Mt. 8.11; Acts 13.46; 18.6; 28.28 ‖ 42: Ps. 118.22–23; Acts 4.11; 1 Pet. 2.7

Mark: 1–12: *cp. p. 242* ‖ 10–11: Ps. 118.22–23; Acts 4.11; 1 Pet. 2.7

Luke: 16: Acts 13.36; 18.6; 28.28 ‖ 17: Ps. 118.22–23; Acts 4.11; 1 Pet. 2.6–7 ‖ 18: Is. 8.14–15

[Matt. 21.33-46]

broken to pieces; but when it falls on any one, it will crush him."] [45]When the chief priests and the Pharisees heard his parables, they perceived that he was speaking about them. [46]But when they tried to arrest him, they feared the multitudes, because they held him to be a prophet.
cp. v. 45

[Mark 12.1-12]

cp. v. 12b
[12]And they tried to arrest him, but feared the multitude, for they perceived that he had told the parable against them; so they left him and went away.

(no. 280 12.13-17 p. 245)

[Luke 20.9-19]

broken to pieces; but when it falls on any one it will crush him."
cp. v. 19b
[19]The scribes and the chief priests tried to lay hands on him at that very hour, but they feared the people; for they perceived that he had told this parable against them.

(no. 280 20.20-26 p. 245)

John

51 54 57 60

Matt.: 45 had heard A ‖ 46 sought to lay hands (hold R) on him A R | multitude A | took him for a A R
Mark: 12 they sought to lay hold on him A R | multitude] people A | perceived] knew A | had spoken A ¦ spake R | so] and A R | away] their way A
Luke: 18 to pieces] – A | but on whomsoever it shall fall, A R | will grind (scatter R) him to powder (as dust R) A R ‖ 19 tried] sought A R | the same hour A | had spoken A ¦ spake R

Matt.: 33-46: *cp. p. 242*
Mark: 1-12: *cp. p. 242* ‖ 12: Mk. 11.18
Luke: 19: Lk. 19.47

279. The Parable of the Great Supper

(cp. no. 216)

Matt. 22.1-14
8, 12

[1]And again Jesus spoke to them in parables, saying, [2]"The kingdom of heaven may be compared to a king who gave a marriage feast for his son, [3]and sent his servants to call those who were invited to the marriage feast; but they would not come. [4]Again he sent other servants, saying, 'Tell those who are invited, Behold, I have made ready my dinner, my oxen and my fat calves are killed, and everything is ready; come to the marriage feast.' [5]But they made light of it and went off, one to his farm, another to his business, [6]while the rest seized his servants, treated them shamefully, and killed them.

Mark

Luke 14.15-24
(no. 216, p. 192)

[15]When one of those who sat at table with him heard this, he said to him, "Blessed is he who shall eat bread in the kingdom of God!" [16]But he said to him, "A man once gave a great banquet, and invited many; [17]and at the time for the banquet he sent his servant to say to those who had been invited, 'Come; for all is now ready.' [18]But they all alike began to make excuses. The first said to him, 'I have bought a field, and I must go out and see it; I pray you, have me excused.' [19]And another said, 'I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to examine them; I pray you, have me excused.' [20]And another said, 'I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.' [21]So the servant came and reported this to his master.

John

3 6 9 12 15 18

Matt.: 1 answered and spake A R ‖ 2 heaven is like (likened R) unto a certain A R | which made A R | feast] – A ‖ 3 sent forth A R | them that were bidden A R | the wedding A ‖ 4 sent forth A R | them which (that R) are bidden A R | have prepared A | calves] fatlings A R | all things are A R | feast] – A ‖ 5 went their ways A R | own farm R | his merchandise A R ‖ 6 the remnant took his A ¦ the rest laid hold on his R | entreated A R[1] | shamefully] spitefully A | killed] slew A
Luke: 15 them that sat at meat A R ‖ these things A R ‖ 16 A certain man made a great supper A R | and he (– A) bade A R ‖ 17 and he (– A) sent forth (– A) his servant at supper time A R | were bidden A R | all things are A R ‖ 18 all with one consent A R | excuse A R | a piece of ground A | must needs go out (– A) A R ‖ 19 to prove them A R ‖ 21 that servant A | and shewed (told R) his lord these things A R

Matt.: 3: Mt. 21.34
Luke: 15: Rev. 19.9 ‖ 20: Deut. 24.5; 1 Cor. 7.33

58

Matt.	[Mark 14.43-52]	Luke	[John 18.2-12]
	followed him, with nothing but a linen cloth about his body; and they seized him, [52] but he left the linen cloth and ran away naked.		
cp. v. 50b	cp. v. 46		[12] So the band of soldiers and their captain and the officers of the Jews seized Jesus and bound him. 17.12 *(no. 329, p. 296)* [12] "While I was with them, I kept them in thy name, which thou hast given me; I have guarded them, and none of them is lost but the son of perdition, that the scripture might be fulfilled.

Mark: 51 having a linen cloth cast about (+ him, over R) his naked body A R | and the young men laid hold on him A ¦ and they lay hold on him R ‖ 52 and fled (+ from them A) naked A R
John: 12 band and the (+ chief R) captain and the (– A) officers A R | took Jesus A

332. Jesus before the Sanhedrin (Peter's Denial)

Matt. 26.57-68 26.69-75; 26.67-68; 27.1-2; 26.55b	Mark 14.53-65 14.66-72; 14.65; 15.1; 14.49	Luke 22.54-71 22.53; 19.47; 22.63-65	John 18.13-24 18.25-27; 2.19
[57] Then those who had seized Jesus led him	[53] And they led Jesus	[54] Then they seized him and led him away, bringing him	[13] First they led him to Annas;
to Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and the elders had gathered.	to the high priest; and all the chief priests and the elders and the scribes were assembled.	into the high priest's house.	for he was the father-in-law of Caiaphas, who was high priest that year. [14] It was Caiaphas who had given counsel to the Jews that it was expedient that one man should die for the people.
[58] But Peter followed him at a distance,	[54] And Peter had followed him at a distance,	Peter followed at a distance;	[15] Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple. As this disciple was known to the high priest, he entered the court of the high priest along with Jesus, [16] while Peter stood outside at the door. So the other disciple, who was known to the

Matt.: 57 seized] laid hold on A ¦ taken R | him away to (+ the house of R) Caiaphas A R | were assembled A ¦ were gathered together R ‖ 58 him afar off, unto the A R
Mark: 53 away to A R | : and with him were assembled all A ¦ and there come together with him all R ‖ 54 had] – A | him afar off, even within (– A) into the A R
Luke: 54 Then took they him, A | away] – A | followed afar off A R
John: 13 away to A | same year A ‖ 14 Caiaphas was he, which (that R[2]) gave counsel to the A R ‖ 15 Now (– A) that disciple was known A R | entered in R ¦ went in A | court] palace A | along] – A R ‖ 16 but (But A) Peter stood (was standing R) at the door without. A R | Then went out that other A

Mark: 53-65: Jn 18.12 ‖ 58: Mk. 13.2; 15.29; Acts 6.14
Luke: 54-55: Jn.18.12
John: 14: Jn. 11.49-51

[Matt. 26.57-68]	[Mark 14.53-65]	[Luke 22.54-71]	[John 18.13-24]
as far as the courtyard of the high priest, and going inside	right into the courtyard of the high priest;		high priest, went out and spoke to the maid who kept the door, and brought Peter in. [17]The maid who kept the door said to Peter, "Are not you also one of this man's disciples?" He said, "I am not."
cp. v. 69	cp. v. 67	cp. v. 56	
he sat with the guards to see the end.	and he was sitting with the guards, and warming himself at the fire.	[55]and when they had kindled a fire in the middle of the courtyard and sat down together, Peter sat among them.	[18]Now the servants[f] and officers had made a charcoal fire, because it was cold, and they were standing and warming themselves; Peter also was with them, standing and warming himself.
26.69-75 *(no. 333, p. 305)* [69]Now Peter was sitting outside in the courtyard. And a maid came up to him, and said, "You also were with Jesus the Galilean." [70]But he denied it before them all, saying, "I do not know what you mean." [71]And when he went out to the porch, another maid saw him, and she said to the bystanders, "This man was with Jesus of Nazareth." [72]And again he denied it with an oath, "I do not know the man." [73]After a little while the bystanders came up and said to Peter, "Certainly you are also one of them, for your accent betrays you." [74]Then he began to invoke a curse on himself and to swear, "I do not know the man." And immediately the cock crowed.	14.66-72 *(no. 333, p. 305)* [66]And as Peter was below in the courtyard, one of the maids of the high priest came; [67]and seeing Peter warming himself, she looked at him, and said, "You also were with the Nazarene, Jesus." [68]But he denied it, saying, "I neither know nor understand what you mean." And he went out into the gateway. [69]And the maid saw him, and began again to say to the bystanders, "This man is one of them." [70]But again he denied it. And after a little while again the bystanders said to Peter, "Certainly you are one of them; for you are a Galilean." [71]But he began to invoke a curse on himself and to swear, "I do not know this man of whom you speak." [72]And immediately the cock crowed a second time.	[56]Then a maid, seeing him as he sat in the light and gazing at him, said, "This man also was with him." [57]But he denied it, saying, "Woman, I do not know him." [58]And a little later some one else saw him and said, "You also are one of them." But Peter said, "Man, I am not." [59]And after an interval of about an hour still another insisted, saying, "Certainly this man also was with him; for he is a Galilean." [60]But Peter said, "Man, I do not know what you are saying." And immediately, while he was still speaking, the cock crowed.	cp. v. 17 18.25-27 *(no. 333, p. 305)* [25]Now Simon Peter was standing and warming himself. They said to him, "Are not you also one of his disciples?" He denied it and said, "I am not." [26]One of the servants of the high priest, a kinsman of the man whose ear Peter had cut off, asked, "Did I not see you in the garden with him?" [27]Peter again denied it; and at once the cock crowed.
[75]And Peter remembered the saying of Jesus,	And Peter remembered how Jesus had said to him,	[61]And the Lord turned and looked at Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said to him,	

Matt.: 58 courtyard] court R \| high priest's palace A \| and went (entered R) in, and sat A R \| guards] servants A ; officers R
Mark: 54 courtyard] palace A ; court R \| he sat A \| guards] servants A ; officers R \| in the light of the fire R
Luke: 55 in the midst of the hall (court R) and were set (had sat R) down A R \| down among A \| in the midst of them. R ‖ 56 certain maid A R \| beheld him A \| by the fire A ; in the light of the fire R \| and earnestly looked (looking stedfastly R) upon A R ‖ 57 it] – R \| denied him A ‖ 58 And after a little while another saw A R \| one] – A ‖ 59 about the space of one hour after (~ R) another confidently affirmed, A R \| of a truth this A R \| man] fellow A ‖ 60 he yet spake A R \| crowed] crew A R ‖ 61 at] upon A R \| how that he said R
John: 16 priest, and A \| the maid] her A R ‖ 17 Then saith the damsel A \| door unto A \| Art thou R \| he saith A R ‖ 18 officers were standing (stood A) there, having (who had A) made a fire of coals; A R \| they warmed (were warming R) A R \| Peter stood with them, and warmed A

Mark: 53–65: *cp. p. 301*
Luke: 54–55: *cp. p. 301*
John: *f* Or *slaves*

[Matt. 26.69-75]	[Mark 14.66-72]	[Luke 22.54-71]	[John 18.13-24]
"Before the cock crows, you will deny me three times." And he went out and wept bitterly.	"Before the cock crows twice, you will deny me three times." And he broke down and wept.	"Before the cock crows today, you will deny me three times." [62]And he went out and wept bitterly.	
26.67-68 [67]Then they spat in his face, and struck him; and some slapped him, [68]saying, "Prophesy to us, you Christ! Who is it that struck you?"	14.65 [65]And some began to spit on him, and to cover his face, and to strike him, saying to him, "Prophesy!" And the guards received him with blows.	[63]Now the men who were holding Jesus mocked him and beat him; [64]they also blindfolded him and asked him, "Prophesy! Who is it that struck you?" [65]And they spoke many other words against him, reviling him.	
27.1-2 *(no. 334, p. 307)* [1]When morning came, all the chief priests and the elders of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death; [2]and they bound him and led him away and delivered him to Pilate the governor.	15.1 *(no. 334, p. 307)* [1]And as soon as it was morning the chief priests, with the elders and scribes, and the whole council held a consultation; and they bound Jesus and led him away and delivered him to Pilate.	[66]When day came, the assembly of the elders of the people gathered together, both chief priests and scribes; and they led him away to their council,	
[59]Now the chief priests and the whole council sought false testimony against Jesus, that they might put him to death, [60]but they found none, though many false witnesses came forward.	[55]Now the chief priests and the whole council sought testimony against Jesus to put him to death; but they found none. [56]For many bore false witness against him, and their witness did not agree.		
At last two came forward [61]and said, "This fellow said, 'I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days.'"	[57]And some stood up and bore false witness against him, saying, [58]"We heard him say, 'I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another, not made with hands.'" [59]Yet not even so did their testimony agree.		2.19 *(no. 25, p. 24)* [19]Jesus answered them, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up."
[62]And the high priest stood up and said, "Have you no answer to make? What is it that these men	[60]And the high priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus, "Have you no answer to make? What is it that these men		

Matt.: 59 chief priests, and elders, and all the council A | testimony] witness A R | Jesus, to put A ‖ 60 none: yea, though A | none] it not R | witnesses came, yet found they none A | At the last came two false witnesses, A | But afterward came two, R ‖ 61 fellow] man R ‖ 62 stood up] arose A | said unto him, Answerest thou nothing? A R | which these witness A R

Mark: 55 the whole] all the A | sought for (– R) witness A R | but they] and A R | none] it not R ‖ 56 bore] bare A R | agreed not together A R ‖ 57 Some] certain A R | stood up] arose A | bore] bare A R ‖ 58 another made without hands. A R ‖ 59 And not R | But neither so A | witness agree together. A R ‖ 60 Jesus, saying, Answerest thou nothing? A R | which these witness against A R

Luke: 61 crow (+ this day R) thou A R | thrice A R ‖ 62 he] Peter A ‖ 63 beat] smote A ‖ 64 And when they had blindfolded him, they struck him on the face and asked A | also] – R | him, saying A R | it] he R | struck] smote A ‖ 65 words] things A R | blasphemously spake they A | reviling him] – A ‖ 66 And as soon as it was day A R | the elders of the people and the chief priests and the scribes came together, and A | was gathered R | they] – A | away] – A

Matt.: 61: Mt. 24.2; 27.40; Acts 6.14
Mark: 53-65: *cp. p. 301*
Luke: 61: Lk. 7.13; 22.34

[Matt. 26.57-68]

testify against you?" [63]But Jesus was silent.
And the high priest said to him,

26.55b *(no. 331, p. 299)*
[55]"... Day after day I sat in the temple teaching, and you did not seize me.

"I adjure you by the living God, tell us if you are the Christ, the Son of God."
[64]Jesus said to him, "You have said so.
But I tell you, hereafter you will see the Son of man seated at the right hand of Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven."
cp. v. 64
[65]Then the high priest tore his robes, and said, "He has uttered blasphemy. Why do we still need witnesses?

[Mark 14.53-65]

testify against you?" [61]But he was silent and made no answer. Again the high priest asked him,

14.49 *(no. 331, p. 299)*
[49]"Day after day I was with you in the temple teaching, and you did not seize me.
But let the scriptures be fulfilled."

"Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?"
[62]And Jesus said, "I am;
and you will see the Son of man seated at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven."
[63]And the high priest tore his garments, and said,
"Why do we still need witnesses?

[Luke 22.54-71]

and they said,

22.53 *(no. 331, p. 299)*
[53]"When I was with you day after day in the temple, you did not lay hands on me. But this is your hour, and the power of darkness."
19.47 *(no. 274, p. 239)*
[47]And he was teaching daily in the temple. The chief priests and the scribes and the principal men of the people sought to destroy him;

[67]"If you are the Christ, tell us."
But he said to them, "If I tell you, you will not believe; [68]and if I ask you, you will not answer.
[69]But from now on the Son of man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God."
[70]And they all said, "Are you the Son of God, then?" And he said to them, "You say that I am."
[71]And they said, "What further testimony do we need?

[John 18.13-24]

[19]The high priest then questioned Jesus about his disciples and his teaching.
[20]Jesus answered him, "I have spoken openly to the world; I have always taught in synagogues and in the temple, where all Jews come together; I have said nothing secretly.
[21]Why do you ask me? Ask those who have heard me, what I said to them; they know what I said." [22]When he had said this, one of the officers standing by struck Jesus with his hand, saying, "Is that how you answer the high priest?" [23]Jesus answered him, "If I have spoken wrongly, bear witness to the wrong; but if I have spoken rightly, why do you strike me?"

Matt.: 63 Jesus held his peace A R | answered and said A | that thou tell A R | whether thou be (art R²) the A R || 64 Jesus saith A R | so] – A R | : nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye (Henceforth ye shall R) see A R | sitting at (on A) A R | coming in A || 65 rent his clothes (garments R), saying, A R | uttered] spoken A R | what further need have we of witnesses? A R
Mark: 61 he held his peace, and answered nothing. A R | him, and said (saith R) unto him, Art thou A R | 62 seated] sitting A R T¹ | at] on A | with] in A || 63 Then the A | tore] rent A R | garments] clothes A R ¦ mantle T¹ | and saith A R | What need we any further witnesses? A ¦ What further need have we of witnesses? R
Luke: 67 Art thou the A || 68 also ask A | answer + me, nor let me go A || 69 Hereafter (But from henceforth R) shall the A R | be seated at] sit on A || 71 What need we any further witness? A ¦ What further need have we of witness? R
John: 19 asked Jesus A R | of his A R | teaching] doctrine A || 20 I spake A | I ever taught A R | in the synagogue A | Jews always resort A | and in secret have I said (spake I R) nothing A R || 21 have said A ¦ spake R | them: behold, they (these R) know A R | what] the things which R || 22 had thus spoken A | which stood by A | with the palm of his hand A | Answerest thou the high priest so? A R || 23 wrongly] evil A R | of the evil: A R | but if well, why smitest thou A R

Matt.: 63: Mt. 27.11; Jn. 18.33 || 64: Mt. 16.28; Dan. 7.13; Ps. 110.1 || 65: Num. 14.6; Acts 14.14; Lev. 24.16
Mark: 53-65: *cp. p. 301* || 62: Dan. 7.13; Mk. 9.1; 13.26 || 63: Acts 14.14; Num. 14.6
Luke: 70: Lk. 23.3; Mt. 27.11
John: 23: Mt. 5.39; Acts 23.2-5

[Matt. 26.57-68]	[Mark 14.53-65]	[Luke 22.54-71]	[John 18.13-24]
You have now heard his blasphemy. [66]What is your judgment?" They answered, "He deserves death."	[64]You have heard his blasphemy. What is your decision?" And they all condemned him as deserving death.	We have heard it ourselves from his own lips." (no. 334 23.1 p. 307)	
[67]Then they spat in his face, and struck him; and some slapped him, [68]saying, "Prophesy to us, you Christ! Who is it that struck you?"	[65]And some began to spit on him, and to cover his face, and to strike him, saying to him, "Prophesy!" And the guards received him with blows.	22.63-65 [63]Now the men who were holding Jesus mocked him and beat him; [64]they also blindfolded him and asked him, "Prophesy! Who is it that struck you?" [65]And they spoke many other words against him, reviling him.	
cp. v. 57	cp. v. 53	(cp. v. 54)	[24]Annas then sent him bound to Caiaphas the high priest.

Matt.: 65 behold, now ye have A R | the blasphemy: R ‖ 66 what (What A) think ye? A R | answered and said, He is guilty (worthy R) of death A R ‖ 67 did they spit in A R | and buffeted (buffet R) him A R | some] others A | smote him + with the palms of their hands, A R ‖ 68 it] he A R | struck] smote A
Mark: 64 the blasphemy A R | what think ye? A R | him to be guilty (worthy R) of death A R ‖ 65 strike] buffet A R | and to say unto A R | guards] servants A ; officers R | received] did strike A | blows (the palms A) + of their hands A R
Luke: 71 for we A R | it] – A R | lips] mouth A R
John: 24 had sent A

Mark: 64: Lev. 24.16
John: 24: Lk. 3.2

333. Peter's Denial

Matt. 26.69-75	Mark 14.66-72	Luke 22.56-62	John 18.25-27 18.15-18
			18.15-18 (no. 332, p. 301) [15]Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple. As this disciple was known to the high priest, he entered the court of the high priest along with Jesus, [16]while Peter stood outside at the door. So the other disciple, who was known to the high priest, went out and spoke to the maid who kept the door, and brought Peter in. [17]The maid who kept the door said to Peter, "Are not you also one of this man's disciples?" He said, "I am not." [18]Now the servants and officers had made a charcoal fire, because it was cold, and they were standing and warming themselves; Peter also was with them, standing and warming himself.

[Matt. 26.69-75]	[Mark 14.66-72]	Luke	[John 18.25-27]
69 Now Peter was sitting outside in the courtyard. And a maid came up to him,	66 And as Peter was below in the courtyard, one of the maids of the high priest came; 67 and seeing Peter warming himself,	22.56-62 *(no. 332, p. 301)* 56 Then a maid, seeing him as he sat in the light and	18.25-27 25 Now Simon Peter was standing and warming himself.
and said, "You also were with Jesus the Galilean." 70 But he denied it before them all, saying, "I do not know what you mean."	she looked at him, and said, "You also were with the Nazarene, Jesus." 68 But he denied it, saying, "I neither know nor understand what you mean." And he went out into the gateway.[f]	gazing at him, said, "This man also was with him." 57 But he denied it, saying, "Woman, I do not know him."	They said to him, "Are not you also one of his disciples?" He denied it and said, "I am not."
71 And when he went out to the porch, another maid saw him, and she said to the bystanders, "This man was with Jesus of Nazareth." 72 And again he denied it with an oath, "I do not know the man."	69 And the maid saw him, and began again to say to the bystanders, "This man is one of them." 70 But again he denied it.	58 And a little later some one else saw him and said, "You also are one of them." But Peter said, "Man, I am not."	26 One of the servants[l] of the high priest, a kinsman of the man whose ear Peter had cut off, asked, "Did I not see you in the garden with him?" 27 Peter again denied it;
73 After a little while the bystanders came up and said to Peter, "Certainly you are also one of them, for your accent betrays you." 74 Then he began to invoke a curse on himself and to swear, "I do not know the man." And immediately the cock crowed.	And after a little while again the bystanders said to Peter, "Certainly you are one of them; for you are a Galilean." 71 But he began to invoke a curse on himself and to swear, "I do not know this man of whom you speak." 72 And immediately the cock crowed a second time.	59 And after an interval of about an hour still another insisted, saying, "Certainly this man also was with him; for he is a Galilean." 60 But Peter said, "Man, I do not know what you are saying." And immediately, while he was still speaking, the cock crowed.	and at once the cock crowed.
75 And Peter remembered the saying of Jesus, "Before the cock crows, you will deny me three times." And he went out and wept bitterly.	And Peter remembered how Jesus had said to him, "Before the cock crows twice, you will deny me three times." And he broke down and wept.	61 And the Lord turned and looked at Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said to him, "Before the cock crows today, you will deny me three times." 62 And he went out and wept bitterly.	

Matt.: 69 sat A | without in A R | courtyard] palace A ¦ court R | maid] damsel A | Jesus of Galilee A || 70 it] – A R | mean] sayest A R || 71 was gone out into the A R | and saith R | unto them that were there, A R | man] fellow A | was also A (~ R) | Jesus the Nazarene R¹ || 72 it] – A R || 73 little] – A | came unto him they that stood by, and A ¦ they that stood by came and R | Certainly] Surely A ¦ Of a truth R | thy speech bewrayeth thee (maketh thee known R²) A R || 74 began he to curse and to swear, saying (– R) A R | immediately] straightway R | crowed] crew A R || 75 the word of Jesus, which said unto him, A ¦ the word, which Jesus had said, R | crow A R | thrice A R

Mark: 66 below] beneath A R | courtyard] palace A ; court R | cometh A R || 67 and when she saw A | at] upon A R | and saith R | the Nazarene, even Jesus R ¦ Jesus of Nazareth A || 68 it] – A R | mean] sayest A R | gateway] porch; and the cock crew A R || 69 a maid A | him again, and began to A | to them that stood by, A R | This is one A R || 70 And a little after, they A | they that stood by said (+ again A) to A R | Certainly] Surely A ¦ of a truth R | Galilaean, + and thy speech agreeth thereto A || 71 began to curse and to swear, saying (– R) I A R || 72 And straightway (– A) the second time the cock crew. A R | Peter called to mind the word how (– A) that Jesus said A R | crow A R | thrice A R | And when he thought thereon, he wept. A R

Luke: 56 certain maid A R | beheld him A | by the fire A ¦ in the light of the fire R | and earnestly looked (looking stedfastly R) upon A R || 57 it] – R | denied him A || 58 And after a little while another saw A R | one] – A || 59 about the space of one hour after another confidently affirmed, A R | Of a truth this A R | man] fellow A || 60 he yet spake A R | crowed] crew A R || 61 at] upon A R | how that he said R | crow (+ this day R) thou A R | thrice A R || 62 he] Peter A

John: 25 stood and warmed A | therefore unto A R | not] – R | it] – R || 26 priest, being his kinsman (a kinsman of him R) whose A R | had] – A R | asked] saith A R || 27 Peter then (therefore R) denied again: A R | at once] immediately A ¦ straightway R | crew A R

Matt.: 75: Mt. 26.34

Mark: *f* Or *fore-court*. Other ancient authorities add *and the cock crowed* || 66–72: Mk. 14.30

Luke: 61: Lk. 7.13; 22.34

John: *l* Or *slaves*

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The Canon

Frank Kermode

THIS chapter offers some explanation of the processes by which the Bible came to include the books it does—insofar as that can be done in reasonable space, or indeed at all—and to venture some remarks on the consequences of their transmission to us as a single book. But it is necessary to begin by saying why we have chosen this particular version of the Bible; for there are many differently constituted Bibles, each with its own version of the canon, and it might be thought that our choice is quite arbitrary. Most obviously, the Jewish Bible lacks the twenty-seven books of the New Testament. The Jewish Bible in Greek—a collection of great antiquity and authority—differs as to contents, and frequently as to text, from the Hebrew Bible. The Latin Bible of the Roman Catholic tradition contains in its Old Testament books dismissed by the Bibles of the Reformed churches as apocryphal. Those churches include as their Old Testament the books of the Hebrew Bible and the twenty-seven New Testament books. This is the "Bible" treated in the present book; it is what most people think of when they think of the Bible; it is the collection to which modern literatures mostly refer; and the fact that all Bibles have them, no matter what else they include, gives them an importance greater than that of the disputed elements. This does not imply a literary judgment on the works excluded, nor does it reflect a belief that all the canonical books are of superior merit. We do not understand all the criteria of canonicity, but we know enough to be sure that modern criteria of literary quality have no relevance to them.

Even the most learned explanations of how the constituent books found themselves together in a canon are highly speculative and have to deal with an intractable mixture of myth and history. Once a sacred book is fully formed, deemed to be unalterable and wholly inspired, it acquires a prehistory suitable to its status and related only very loosely to historical fact or probability. The real history involves all manner of external influences: for example, the closing of the Jewish canon must be in some sense consequent upon the waning of Hebrew as a spoken language, and upon the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., when the book rather than the Temple cult became central to religion. Already there were more Jews in the Diaspora than in Palestine, so the time for such a change was ripe,

and the Bible, already holy, acquired an extra cultic sanctity. In the case of the New Testament it seems possible that the lack of an appropriate technology prevented its achieving definitive shape until the fourth century. The Christians preferred the codex or leaf-book to the scroll, and during the earlier period these newfangled codices could not contain texts of any great extent; only in the fourth century did it become possible to produce a codex that would hold all the accepted Christian Scriptures. Thus canon formation is affected by what seem on the face of it to be political, economic, and technological forces without immediate religious or literary relevance.

The legendary account of the growth of the Bible tells of the destruction of the sacred books during the Babylonian Captivity and their reconstruction by the divinely inspired memory of Ezra. By his time (fifth century B.C.E.) the canon was virtually complete, though Daniel, traditionally ascribed to the sixth century, was added in the second. At the end of the first century C.E. a final list was established at the Council of Jamnia. A more scholarly account would say that the importance of the Law after the return from Babylon speeded the process by which all the disparate material in the Pentateuch acquired final form and authority; the other two sections, the Prophets and the Writings, developed at a different pace, and in some instances, notably that of the Song of Songs, there was dispute about a book's status well into the second century C.E.; tradition has it that the Song of Songs was saved by the advocacy of Aquiba, as a religious allegory. Although the proceedings at Jamnia are not nowadays thought to have been concerned with the canon, the learned still appear to accept the date, ca. 100 C.E., as about right for the closure of the canon. It was of course necessary to leave things out as well as let things in, and a distinction was drawn between books which "defiled the hands" because of their sacred quality, and "outside" books which presumably failed this test, though they might still be granted a certain extracanonical utility. Such was the practice as early as Ezra, who, according to legend, set aside for the use of the wise seventy books apart from the Scriptures proper. Books thus set aside or hidden away would be apocrypha in the original sense; the word later acquired dyslogistic overtones, and the apocryphal came to mean the false or inauthentic.

It would be wrong to suppose that all the constituent books were submitted to the same impartial examination. The Five Books of Moses were naturally of unassailable authority, as were the Psalms and the Prophets. The invocation of Old Testament texts in the Gospels is evidence, if such were needed, of the reverence accorded the Scriptures in a time before the canon was finally established. One might say that there was a canonical habit of mind before there was finally a canon, and that it was in evidence during the long centuries that separate Ezra from 100 C.E. There is some question whether it is proper to speak of a Jewish canon at

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all, and insofar as it has to be accepted as corresponding to real historical developments it may be thought of as a fictional construct concealing the historical truth. Thus the large redactive enterprises carried out on the Torah are concealed by its canonical form, and scholarship has to break it down again into its original components. It is true that revisions of the Old Testament books were carried out in response to external pressures—for example, the political needs of post-Exilic Israel, and, in the first century C.E., the centrifugal force of heresy and schism. But the fact that Judaism reacted to these forces by affirming the cohesion of the Scriptures and, ultimately, by effectively closing the canon is sufficient evidence not only of the significance of the individual books, but of the belief that their power was enhanced by membership in a whole greater than the sum of its parts.

The evolution of the New Testament is another story, though hardly less complicated and conjectural. The first Christians already had a Bible—the Jewish Bible in various forms, Hebrew and Greek and Aramaic—and saw no need of another. What was central to their beliefs was transmitted by oral tradition; indeed the authority of that tradition survived into the second century, although most of what was to become the New Testament already existed. The power of the oral tradition did not reduce the Christian commitment to the Jewish Scriptures; the faithful lived in the end time, history was coming to a close, and events would all occur "according to the scriptures," as they had in the life of Jesus. In a sense the oral tradition took its place beside the Scriptures, just as the Jewish tradition of oral interpretation filled out the implications of the written Torah. In the end both were written down, but the Christian writings came earlier, partly because Paul wrote letters which acquired general authority, and partly because as the years passed it must have seemed important to perpetuate the increasingly fragile oral testimony of the works and sayings of Jesus. One consequence of the growth of Christian Scripture was the transformation of the Old Testament into quite a different book, a sort of unintended prologue to the New Testament. Whether it should be retained at all became a serious question; and the reasons for keeping it were of a kind that had nothing to do with Judaism.

The gradual replacement of the oral tradition by writing was the necessary prelude to the establishment of a canon, with all the consequences of that development. Oral tradition is quite different from written; it is variable, subject to human memory (however aided by mnemonics), discontinuous, selective, and affected by feedback from audiences. It would encourage its transmitters to invent and to add interpretations. It has been suggested that Mark's Gospel—which we take to be the first of the canonical four—resulted from a conscious rejection of the oral tradition, which it represents as virtually extinct (the women at the tomb fail to transmit an oral message to the disciples) or as corrupted by the false preachers and prophets Mark assails in chapter 13.

Neither Paul nor the evangelists wrote with the object of adding to the existing Bible; indeed the only book of the New Testament that claims such inspired status is Revelation, with its threat of damnation to anybody presuming to add to it. Paul's earliest letters belong to about 50 C.E.; the Gospels are of uncertain date, the consensus being that they belong to some time between 60 and 90 C.E., though earlier dates have been proposed. It seems likely that the contents of the New Testament were written over a span of something close to a century, and none of them by writers who supposed they were candidates for entry into a fixed corpus of Scripture.

It is easier to understand why gospels got written (though less easy to see why they took the form they have) than to guess why four, no more and no less, were finally accepted. There must have been many more, and it appears that in the second century there were three versions of Mark available, one public, one reserved for the few, and another used by a Gnostic sect and condemned by the orthodox. Only the public version survives. John was also attractive to Gnostics, and there was accordingly stiff opposition to his inclusion in the canon. Here again we need to remember that "gospel" originally meant not a piece of writing but the good news proclaimed by Jesus; the evangelists wrote down their versions of this news, which were labeled "the Gospel according to X," and eventually the term came to mean also this new genre. The relation of these new documents to the existing Scriptures was a matter for dispute; the heretic Marcion wanted to do away with the Jewish Scriptures altogether, and to recognize as authoritative only a version of Luke and of some Pauline letters. It was conceivably in response to such ideas that orthodoxy felt it must decide what had authority and what didn't, settling on four Gospels as part of the New Covenant or Testament. The concept of a new covenant and of its fulfilling or even replacing an older one is immediately indebted to the Eucharist, for Jesus spoke of the cup as the new covenant (*hē kainē diathēkē*) (1 Cor. 11:25, Luke 22:20), and ultimately to the covenantal element in Jewish theology. When Paul (2 Cor. 3:14) talks about the Jewish dispensation as the old written covenant now replaced by that of Christ—the letter replaced by the Spirit—he is still thinking of the new testament (this is the Latin translation of *diathēkē*) as unwritten. Indeed the expressions *diathēkē* and *testamentum* (sometimes *instrumentum*) were not applied to the new writings until late in the second century, by which time the idea of a body of authoritative Christian writings, including the letters of Paul and the four Gospels, was well established. In the intervening period it is probable that the originals were altered or augmented for the sake of doctrine or inclusiveness; they were not thought of as inspired. Reasons for holding them to be so were provided later. Only when their inspiration became an issue did the discrepancies among the four seem to call for attention. Around 170 C.E. Tatian produced his Diatessaron ("Through the Four"), the first of many attempts

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to harmonize the Gospels. The idea of producing synopses to expose rather than eliminate the differences and facilitate research into relations and priorities arose many centuries later in modern biblical criticism.

Fanciful explanations were available for there being four Gospels, no more and no less: the compass has four points, the cherubim four faces; there are four covenants, associated with Adam, Noah, Moses, and Christ. The discrepancies among them could be explained as a test of faith. Perhaps the commonsense answer is that of Harry Y. Gamble, that the fourfold Gospels represent "a precarious balance between unmanageable multiplicity on the one hand and a single self-consistent gospel on the other."[1] At any rate the four came to be canonical.

Other books were scrutinized according to criteria on the nature of which there is still much dispute, though it is interesting to note that the tests applied were in part philological. It was noticed, for instance, that the Greek of Revelation is not that of the evangelist John, to whom it was attributed; and that the Greek of Hebrews is of a quality sufficient to prove that it was not written by Paul—perhaps, it was proposed, Luke wrote it up from notes. Doubts were entertained concerning 2 Peter and 2–3 John. These issues never quite died away and were important at the time of the Reformation, since *sola scriptura* requires one to be sure what *scriptura* really is. Luther at first rejected Revelation and had grave doubts about James. But all these works have survived in the canon.

As time passed Christianity also became to a great extent dependent on a book, and although the authority of the oral tradition survived—and continues to survive in the magisterium of the Roman Church—the written word acquired the greater power. There remained the need to close the canon, and the date given for this is 367 C.E., when Athanasius listed the twenty-seven books as the only canonical ones. He actually used the word, and also gave a list of rejected books, which he called apocrypha. Doubts persisted, and there may be argument as to whether the canon can really be said to be closed; but it has not been added to as yet, nor has anything been taken away from it; and it is hard to see how the Gospel of Thomas, discovered in this century, if added to the canon, could partake of the authority acquired by the others over the years.

Kanōn, a Greek word originally meaning "rod," came to signify many other things, including an ethical norm or a rule or criterion. It could also mean a list of books, sometimes—and this is the beginning of the biblical sense—a list of recommended books. By 400 C.E. it meant, for Christians, only those books held to be holy and of authority. The Jewish canon, even though it was not so called, had similar qualities. It is characteristic of the Jewish tradition that great care was taken over the transmission by copying of the sacred text, which was held to be unalterable and without corruption, though, as bibliographers know well, this is humanly impos-

sible. The books contained within the canon or canons are held to be inspired and to be interrelated like the parts of a single book. Their relations with "outside" books are of a quite different order. It is important to understand the extraordinary privilege of these inside books. Religious and political history would have been unimaginably different if the apocalyptic prophecies of Daniel had been excluded from the Old Testament, or those of Revelation from the New. John Barton has some interesting observations on the overwhelming importance of inclusion in the canon: suppose Ecclesiastes had been turned down, lost, and rediscovered recently among the documents at Qumran—would it not be virtually a different book from the one we have?[2] Canonization can thus, as it were, alter the meanings of books.

The doctrine that the Bible is its own interpreter was held in different circumstances by both the rabbis and Luther, and the belief that one can best interpret a text by associating it with another text of similar authority clearly presupposes a canon; the idea of explorable correspondences between every part would be absurd if one had no certainty about the extent of the whole. If the entire text is inspired—a belief deeply held by the Jews, with their scrupulousness about every jot and tittle, and given formal expression for the Christian canon at the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century—then the most fleeting echo, perhaps only of a single word, is significant. And given that everything is inspired, all possible relations among parts of the text are also inspired. The poet George Herbert had these relations in mind when he wrote, in "The Holy Scriptures, II":

> Oh, that I knew how all thy lights combine,
>   And the configurations of their glorie!
>   Seeing not onely how each verse doth shine,
> But all the constellations of the storie.
> This verse marks that, and both do make a motion
>   Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie:
>   Then as dispersed herbs do watch a potion,
> These three make up some Christians destinie.

We can now specify certain characteristics of the mythical or magical view of the canon. Regardless of innumerable historical vicissitudes, redactions, interpolations, and corruptions, the canonical text is held to be eternally fixed, unalterable, and of such immeasurable interpretative potential that it remains, despite its unaltered state, sufficient for all future times. This perpetual applicability is established by a continuing tradition of interpretation, as the relevance of old texts to new times always is. Interpretation is controlled by changing rules but is remarkably free, for the canonical book, itself fixed in time and probably in a dead language, has to be made relevant to an unforeseen future. It must prefigure history: hence we have typological interpretations. The book becomes a mythical

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model of the world: the Torah is said to be identical with the Creation, the Christian Bible becomes the twin of the Book of Nature. And the exploration of these world-books requires interpreters who can study the subtle hidden structures just as physicists and chemists (or their ancestors, the alchemists and astrologers and magicians) studied the created world.

It is hardly surprising that the assumptions underlying these views collapsed with the onset of modern scientific philology. From the beginning the canon was seen as a late and arbitrary imposition on the books it contained. Those books should be studied like any other ancient texts, understood in their original senses, and valued for what they told us about the past, so that the work of the interpreter becomes primarily archaeological. It is not the book's membership in a canon that gives it authority, but its report of or allusion to various historical events and persons. And of course the true as opposed to the legendary history of the formation of the canons supports this commonsense view of the matter, for there is little reason to believe that such a series of accidents, unexplained judgments, decisions taken under who knows what political or ecclesiastical duress, should result in a divinely privileged, exclusively sacred, compilation. For the factitious context of the canon the scholars substituted the larger contexts of history. They knew by what methods the sacred texts had been made closely applicable to modern situations; if the New Testament had not already taught them that lesson, the Dead Sea Scrolls, which applied ancient Scriptures exclusively to the concerns of a particular sect at a moment presumed to be just before the End, must have made it plain. And thus the canon, despite its importance in the formation and continuance of the religious institutions which endorsed it, seemed to crumble away. It was no longer a separate cognitive zone, merely a rather randomly assembled batch of historical texts; really, one may say, no longer a Bible so much as a collection of *biblia*.

Such attitudes are as old as "scientific" biblical criticism, from the beginnings of which in the late eighteenth century it was assumed, by Michaelis among others, that the canon was not uniformly inspired, and that by historical analysis one could even assist religion by finding out which books were inspired and which were not. Later the question of inspiration was dropped, or the word acquired a new sense. It might be difficult for some investigators to devote themselves to pure historical truth when it involved the dissolution of the New Testament into a scatter of fortuitously assembled occasional writings; for in most cases these scholars were Christians, and the New Testament is after all the foundation document of their religion. But there were ways out of that dilemma which did not involve their subscribing to obsolete and false ideas about the canon.

In recent years the historical-critical tradition, now well over two centuries old, has been under challenge. That tradition also made hermeneutical assumptions of which its practitioners were not fully aware. For example, they were ready to believe that older views on the canon and the status of the separate books could be dismissed as peculiar to their time and as founded on assumptions now evidently false; but they took it for granted that they themselves were exempt from historical "situatedness," that they could, without interference from their own prejudices (of which they were unaware), transport themselves across history in a pure and disinterested way. As Hans-Georg Gadamer has put it, the historical critic is always seeking in the text something that is not the text, something the text of itself, is not seeking to provide; "he will always go back behind [the texts] and the meaning they express [which he will decline to regard as their true meaning] to enquire into the reality of which they are the involuntary expression."[3] But it is possible to take an interest in the text and its own meaning; that is literary criticism proper, and Gadamer believes that it has for too long (in these circles) been regarded as "an ancillary discipline to history."

The opposition that has lately developed to "scientific" disintegration of the canon is based on the idea that the Bible still ought to be treated as a "collection with parameters."[4] Brevard Childs, who uses these words, has studied both Testaments from the point of view of a revived but still moderate belief in canonicity. Childs wants to eliminate the tensions between historical criticism and an understanding of the Bible as canonical Scripture; he wants, not a return to precritical notions of the canon, but attention to its historical integrity; for he thinks it important that the canon was the product of historical interactions between the developing corpus and the changing community, not of some belated and extrinsic act of validation. And when fully formed the canon is not just an opaque wrapping that must be removed so that one can get at the contents and see them as they really were. Of course the constituents have their own histories, and it is good to know about them. But their preservation and their authority are owing not primarily to their usefulness as testimony to historical events. It is their capacity to be *applied*, their applicability to historical circumstances other than those of their origin, that has saved them alive.

Whatever one's view of the controversy now in progress between defenders of the tradition of historical criticism and practitioners of what is now called "canonical criticism," it is clear that the latter is not a primitivistic revival of precritical notions of plenary and exclusive inspiration. Since we are still living in an epoch in which the historical or "scientific" approach is normal, and therefore seems commonsensical or natural, we may tend to dismiss the opposition as merely eccentric. Yet its presuppositions are at least as defensible as those of the "normal" practitioners; both sides make large assumptions, the one believing that events and persons can be made available, as if by magic, to the reader,

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and the other that historical application can form a body of discrete writings into a whole—as if by magic.

This, of course, is a different kind of magic from the old one; yet the old one still exerts its attractions. It remains quite difficult to think of the wholeness of a canon without associating the idea with the wholeness of an organism or the wholeness of a world. We observe in the realm of secular literary criticism the powerful effect of canon formation on the kinds of attention paid to the books included, even though it is impossible to think of secular canons as closed with the same definitiveness as ecclesiastical canons. And it is undeniably attractive to be able to think of the canon as forming an intertextual system of great complexity, to be studied, by a weaker magic than was available in the past though it is still a kind of magic, as a fascinating array of occult relations, a world of words.

Goethe, commending *Hamlet*, said it was like a tree, each part of it there for, and by means of, all the others. Five hundred years earlier a Kabbalist said this of the Torah: "Just as a tree consists of branches and leaves, bark, sap and roots, each one of which components can be termed tree, there being no substantial difference between them, you will also find that the Torah contains many things, and all form a single Torah and a tree, without difference between them . . . It is necessary to know that the whole is one unity."[5] Moses de Leon and Goethe appear to have had the same thought, though we could make the two statements sound very different by examining their contexts: one of them belongs to what we think of as Romantic organicism, the other to Kabbalistic mysticism and a Jewish tradition that has always accommodated change and variety of interpretation but has always thought of the Torah as an entity, coextensive with the created world.

A flatter, more rational version of the holisms of Goethe and Moses de Leon might be thought to suit us better in our own time. It is true that both historically and actually we grant a different form of attention to canonical books, and that secular criticism has seriously entertained notions of the literary canon that might well be thought to give it a kind of wholeness and a high degree of intertextual relations. Examples include the canonical element in the criticism of T. S. Eliot and the stronger holistic claims of Wilson Knight. It is not surprising, therefore, that the professional biblical critics should feel a renewed obligation to save their canon. Schleiermacher, usually thought to be the founder of modern hermeneutics, was also a major New Testament scholar; he believed that the study of the constituents of the canon must be carried on by exactly the same methods and with the same object as the investigation of secular texts, but he also remarked that "a continuing preoccupation with the New Testament canon which was not motivated by one's own interest in Christianity could only be directed against the canon."[6] It was out of such a conflict of interest that new ways of thinking about the interpretation of

ancient texts developed, and new ways of thinking about history in general. Whether the canon in question is Christian or Jewish or secular, we can no longer suppose that there is a simple choice between the historical and the canonical approach, since the two are now inextricably intertwined. It is an empirical fact that each book has its own history; it is also true that the association of many books in a canon was the result of a long historical process and owed much to chance and much to the needs and the thinking of people we know little or nothing about. But it is also a fact that works transmitted inside a canon are understood differently from those without, so that, if only in that sense, the canon, however assembled, forms an integral whole, the internal and external relations of which are both proper subjects of disinterested inquiry. Nor need we suppose that we have altogether eliminated from our study of canonical works every scrap of the old organicist assumptions, every concession to a magical view of these worlds and their profound, obscure correspondences. When we have achieved *that* degree of disinterest we shall have little use for the canon or for its constituents, and we shall have little use either for poetry.

NOTES

1. Harry Y. Gamble, *The New Testament Canon* (Philadelphia, 1985), p. 35.
2. John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament* (London, 1984), p. 102.
3. Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, ed. Garrett Barden and John Cumming (New York, 1975), pp. 301–302.
4. Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London and Philadelphia, 1979), p. 83.
5. Gershom G. Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, trans. Ralph Manheim (London, 1965), p. 46.
6. Quoted in W. G. Kümmel, *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of Its Problems*, trans. S. McLean Gilmour and Howard C. Kee (London, 1973), p. 425.

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The Characteristics of Ancient Hebrew Poetry

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EXACTLY what is the poetry of the Bible, and what role does it play in giving form to the biblical religious vision? The second of these two questions obviously involves all sorts of imponderables. One would think that, by contrast, the first question should have a straightforward answer; but in fact there has been considerable confusion through the ages about where there is poetry in the Bible and about the principles on which that poetry works.

To begin with, biblical poetry occurs almost exclusively in the Hebrew Bible. There are, of course, grandly poetic passages in the New Testament—perhaps most impressively in the Apocalypse—but only the Magnificat of Luke 1 is fashioned as formal verse. Readers of the Old Testament often cannot easily see where the poetry is supposed to be because in the King James Version, which has been the text used by most English-speaking people, nothing is laid out as lines of verse. This confusing typographic procedure is in turn faithful to the Hebrew manuscript tradition, which runs everything together in dense, unpunctuated columns. (There are just a few exceptions where there is a spacing out roughly corresponding to lines of verse, as in the Song of the Sea, Exod. 15; Moses' valedictory song, Deut. 32; and an occasional manuscript of Psalms.)

What has accompanied this graphic leveling of poetry with prose in the text is a kind of cultural amnesia about biblical poetics. Over the centuries, Psalms was most clearly perceived as poetry, probably because of the actual musical indications in the texts and the obvious liturgical function of many of the poems. The status as poetry of the Song of Songs and Job was, because of the lyric beauty of the one and the grandeur of the other, also generally kept in sight, however farfetched the notions about the formal character of the verse in these books. Proverbs was somewhat more intermittently seen as poetry, and it was often not understood that the Prophets cast the larger part of their message in verse. Finally, it is only in our century that scholars have begun to realize to what extent the prose narratives of the Bible are studded with brief verse

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insets, usually introduced at dramatically justified or otherwise significant junctures in the stories.

Over the last two millennia—and, for many, down to the present—being a reader of biblical poetry has been like being a reader of Dryden and Pope who comes from a culture with no concept of rhyme: you would loosely grasp that the language was intricately organized as verse, but with the uneasy feeling that you were somehow missing something essential you couldn't quite define. The central informing convention of biblical verse was rediscovered in the mid-eighteenth century by a scholarly Anglican bishop, Robert Lowth. He proposed that lines of biblical verse comprised two or three "members" (which I shall call "versets") parallel to each other in meaning.

Like many a good discovery, Bishop Lowth's perception has not fared as well as it might. The realization soon dawned that some of what he called parallelism was not semantically parallel at all. This recognition led to a sometimes confusing proliferation of subcategories of parallelism and, in our own time, to various baby-with-bathwater operations in which syllable count, units of syntax, or some other formal feature was proposed as the basis for biblical poetry, parallelism being relegated to a secondary or incidental position. In another direction, at least one scholar, despairing of a coherent account of biblical verse, has contended that there was no distinct concept of formal versification in ancient Israel but merely a "continuum" of parallelistic rhetoric from prose to what we misleadingly call poetry.[1] Some of these confusions can be sorted out, and as a result we may be able to see more clearly the distinctive strength and beauty of the biblical poems, for an understanding of the poetic system is always a precondition to reading the poem well.

Semantic parallelism, though by no means invariably present, is a prevalent feature of biblical verse. That is, if the poet says "hearken" in the first verset, he is likely to say something like "listen" or "heed" in the second verset. This parallelism of meaning, which is often joined with a balancing of the number of rhythmic stresses between the versets and sometimes by parallel syntactic patterns as well,[2] seems to have played a role roughly analogous to that of iambic pentameter in Shakespeare's dramatic verse: it is an underlying formal model which the poet feels free to modify or occasionally to abandon altogether. In longer biblical poems, a departure from parallelism is sometimes used to mark the end of a distinct segment; elsewhere parallelism is occasionally set aside in favor of a small-scale narrative sequence within the line; and a few poets appear simply to have been less fond than others of the symmetries of parallelism.

Before attempting to sharpen this rather general concept of poetic parallelism, let me offer some brief examples of its basic patterns of development. David's victory psalm (2 Sam. 22) presents a nice variety of possibilities because it is relatively long for a biblical poem and it

includes quasi-narrative elements and discrete segments with formally marked transitions. In the fifty-three lines of verse that constitute the poem, few approach a perfect coordinated parallelism not only of meaning but also of syntax and rhythmic stresses. Thus: "For with you I charge a barrier, / with my God I vault a wall" (v. 30).[3] Here each semantically parallel term in the two versets is in the same syntactic position: with you/with my God, I charge/I vault, a barrier/a wall. Though our knowledge of the phonetics of biblical Hebrew involves a certain margin of conjecture, the line with its system of stresses, as vocalized in the Masoretic Hebrew text, would sound something like this: *ki bekhá 'arúts gedúd/be'lohái adáleg-shúr*, yielding a 3 + 3 parallelism of stressed syllables, which in fact is the most common pattern in biblical verse. (The rule is that there are never less than two stresses in a verset and never more than four, and no two stresses follow each other without an intervening unstressed syllable; and there are often asymmetrical combinations of 4 + 3 or 3 + 2.)

It is hardly surprising that biblical poets should very often seek to avoid such regularity as we have just seen, through different kinds of elegant—and sometimes significant—variation. Often, syntactically disparate clauses are used to convey a parallelism of meaning, as in verse 29: "For you are my lamp, O Lord, / the Lord lights up my darkness," where the second-person predicative assertion that the Lord is a lamp is transformed into a third-person narrative statement in which the Lord now governs a verb of illumination. Even when the syntax of the two versets is much closer than this, variations may be introduced, as in two lines from the beginning of the poem (vv. 5–6) that describe the speaker having been on the brink of death. I will reproduce the precise word order of the Hebrew, though at a cost of awkwardness, for biblical Hebrew usage is much more flexible than modern English as to subject-predicate order.

> For there encompassed me the breakers of death,
> the rivers of destruction terrified me.
> The cords of Sheol surrounded me,
> there greeted me the snares of death.

The syntactic shape of these two lines, which preserve a regular semantic parallelism through all four versets as well as a 3-3 stress in both lines, is a double chiasm: (1) encompassed-breakers-rivers-terrified; (2) cords-surrounded-greeted-snares. In the first line the verbs of surrounding are the outside terms, the entrapping agencies of death, the inside terms of the chiasm (*abba*); and in the second line this order is reversed (*baab*). This maneuver, which, like the interlinear parallelism, is quite common in biblical verse, may be nothing more than elegant variation to avoid mechanical repetitiousness, though one suspects here that the chiastic boxing in and reversal of terms help reinforce the feeling of entrapment that is being expressed: as the two lines unfold, the reader can scarcely choose

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between a sense of being multifariously surrounded and a sense of the multiplicity of the instruments of death.

Another frequent pattern for bracketing the two versets together involves an elliptical syntactic parallelism, usually through the introduction of a verb at the beginning of the first verset which does double duty for the second verset as well, as in verse 15: "He sent forth bolts and scattered them, / lightning, and overwhelmed them." The ellipsis of "he-sent-forth" (one word and one accented syllable in the Hebrew) produces a 3-2 stress pattern, which also involves a counterposing of three Hebrew words to two. (It should be said that biblical Hebrew is much more compact than any translation can suggest, with subject, object, possessive pronoun, preposition, and so forth indicated by suffix or prefix; and most words have only one accent.) This rhythmic truncation of the second verset conveys a certain abruptness which the poet may have felt intuitively was appropriate for the violent action depicted. Elsewhere in biblical poetry, when ellipsis through a double-duty verb occurs while the parallelism of stresses between versets is maintained, the extra rhythmic unit in the second verset is used to develop semantic material introduced in the first verset. Here is a characteristic instance from Moses' valedictory song (Deut. 32:13): "He suckled him with honey from a rock, / and oil from a flinty stone." That is, since the verb "he-suckled-him-with" (again a single word in the Hebrew) does double duty for the second verset, rhythmic space is freed in the second half of the line in which the poet can elaborate the simple general term "rock" into the complex term "flinty stone," which is a particular instance of the general category, and one that brings out the quality of hardness. (The development of meaning within semantic parallelism is discussed in detail later.)

It is beyond my purposes here to classify all the subcategories of parallelism that present themselves in David's victory psalm, but two additional cases are worth looking at to round out our provisional sense of the spectrum of possibilities. Verse 9, like the one that precedes it in 2 Samuel 22, is triadic: "Smoke came out of his nostrils, / fire from his mouth consumed, / coals glowed round him." First, let me comment briefly on the role of triadic lines in the biblical poetic system. Dyadic lines, as in all our previous examples, definitely predominate, but the poets have free recourse to triadic lines with none of the uneasy conscience manifested, say, by English Augustan poets when they introduce triplets into a poem composed in heroic couplets. In longer poems such as this, triadic lines can be used to mark the beginning or the end of a segment, as here the triadic verses 8–9 initiate the awesome seismic description of the Lord descending from on high to do battle with his foes. Elsewhere, triadic lines are simply interspersed with dyadic ones, and in some poems they are cultivated when the poet wants to express a sense of tension or instability, using the third verset to contrast or even reverse the first two

parallel versets. Now, the smoke-fire-coals series quoted above involves approximately parallel concepts and actions, but the terms are also *sequenced*, temporally and logically, moving from smoke to its source to an incandescence so intense that everything around it is ignited. This progression, too, reflects a more general feature of poetic parallelism in the Bible to which we shall return.

Finally, biblical poetry abounds in lines like the one immediately following the line just quoted: "He tilted the heavens, came down, / deep mist beneath his feet" (v. 10). Here the only "parallelism" between the second verset and the first is one of rhythmic stresses (again 3-3). Otherwise, the second verset differs from the first in both syntax and meaning. The fairly frequent occurrence of such lines is no reason either to contort our definition of parallelism or to throw out the concept as a governing principle of Hebrew verse. The system, as I proposed before, is rather one in which semantic parallelism predominates without being regarded as an absolute necessity for every line. In this instance the poet seems to be pursuing a visual realization of the narrative momentum of the line (and, indeed, the momentum carries down through a whole sequence of lines); first he presents the Lord tilting the heavens and descending, and then, as the eye of the beholder plunges, a picture in the locative second clause of the deep mist beneath God's feet as he descends. This yields a more striking effect than would a regular parallelism such as "He tilted the heavens, came down, / he plummeted to the earth," and is a small but characteristic indication of the suppleness with which the general convention of parallelism is put to use by biblical poets.

Now, the greatest stumbling block in approaching biblical poetry has been the misconception that parallelism implies synonymity, saying the same thing twice in different words. I would argue that good poetry at all times is an intellectually robust activity to which such laziness is alien, that poets understand more subtly than linguists that there are no true synonyms, and that the ancient Hebrew poets are constantly advancing their meanings where the casual ear catches mere repetition. Not surprisingly, some lines of biblical poetry approach a condition of equivalent statement between the versets more than others. Thus: "He preserves the paths of justice, / and the way of his faithful ones he guards" (Prov. 2:8). By my count, however, such instances of nearly synonymous restatement occur in less than a quarter of the lines of verse in the biblical corpus. The dominant pattern is a focusing, heightening, or specification of ideas, images, actions, themes from one verset to the next. If something is broken in the first verset, it is smashed or shattered in the second verset; if a city is destroyed in the first verset, it is turned into a heap of rubble in the second. A general term in the first half of the line is typically followed by a specific instance of the general category in the second half; or, again, a literal statement in the first verset becomes a metaphor or

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hyperbole in the second. The notion that repetition in a text is very rarely simple restatement has long been understood by rhetoricians and literary theorists. Thus the Elizabethan rhetorician Hoskins—might the King James translators have read him?—acutely observes that "in speech there is no repetition without importance."[4] What this means to us as readers of biblical poetry is that instead of listening to an imagined drumbeat of repetitions, we need constantly to look for something new happening from one part of the line to the next.

The case of numbers in parallelism is especially instructive. If the underlying principle were really synonymity, we would expect to find, say, "forty" in one verset and "two score" in the other. In fact the almost invariable rule is an ascent on the numerical scale from first to second verset, either by one, or by a decimal multiple, or by a decimal multiple of the first number added to itself. And as with numbers, so with images and ideas; there is a steady amplification or intensification of the original terms. Here is a paradigmatic numerical instance: "How could one pursue a thousand, / and two put ten thousand to flight?" (Deut. 32:30). An amusing illustration of scholarly misconception about what is involved poetically in such cases is a common contemporary view of the triumphal song chanted by the Israelite women: "Saul has smitten his thousands, / David, his tens of thousands" (1 Sam. 18:7). It has been suggested that Saul's anger over these words reflects his paranoia, for he should have realized that in poetry it is a formulaic necessity to move from a thousand to ten thousand, and so the women really intended no slight to him.[5] Such a suggestion assumes that somehow poetry conjures with formulaic devices indifferent to meaning. Saul may indeed have been paranoid, but he knew perfectly well how the Hebrew poetry of his era worked and understood that meanings were quite pointedly developed from one half of the line to the other. In fact the prose narrative in 1 Samuel 18 strongly confirms the rightness of Saul's "reading," for the people are clearly said to be extravagantly enamored of David as they are not of Saul.

Let me propose a few examples of this dynamic movement within the line, and then try to suggest something about the compelling religious and visionary ends that are served by this distinctive poetics. (For the sake of convenience, I have chosen almost all my examples from Psalms.) In the first group, the italics in the second versets indicate the point at which seeming repetition becomes a focusing, a heightening, a concretization of the original material: "Let me hear joy and gladness, / let *the bones you have crushed exult*" (Ps. 51:10); "How long, O Lord, will you be perpetually incensed, / *like a flame* your wrath *will burn* (Ps. 79:5); "He counts the number of the stars, / each one he *calls by name*" (Ps. 147:4). These three lines illustrate a small spectrum of possibilities of semantic focusing between the two versets. In the first example, the general joy and gladness of the first verset become sharper through the contrastive introduction of

the crushed bones in the second verset, and bones exulting is, of course, a more vividly metaphorical restatement of the idea of rejoicing. In the second example, the possible hint of the notion of heat in the term for "incensed" (*te'enaf*, which might derive etymologically from the hot breath from the nostrils) becomes in the second verset a full-fledged metaphor of wrath burning like a flame. In the third example, there is no recourse to metaphor, but there is an obvious focusing in the "parallel" verbs of the two versets: calling something by name, which in the biblical world implies intimate relation, knowledge of the essence of the thing, is a good deal more than mere counting. The logical structure of this line, which is quite typical of biblical poetics, would be something like this: not only can God count the innumerable stars (first verset) but he even knows the name of (or gives a name to) each single star.

Since the three examples we have just considered move from incipiently metaphorical to explicitly metaphorical to literal, a few brief observations may be in order about the role of figurative language in biblical poetics. Striking imagery does not seem to have been especially valued for itself, as it would come to be in many varieties of European post-Romantic poetry. Some poets favor nonfigurative language, and very often, as we have seen, figures are introduced in the second verset as a convenient means among several possible ones for heightening some notion that appears in the first verset. In any case, the biblical poets on the whole were inclined to draw on a body of more or less familiar images without consciously striving for originality of invention in their imagery. Wrath kindles, burns, consumes; protection is a canopy, a sheltering wing, shade in blistering heat; solace or renewal is dew, rain, streams of fresh water; and so forth. The effectiveness of the image derives in part from its very familiarity, perhaps its archetypal character, in part from the way it is placed in context and, quite often, extended and intensified by elaboration through several lines or by reinforcement with related images. However, there is no overarching symbolic pattern, as some have claimed, in the images used by biblical poets, and there is no conventional limitation set on the semantic fields from which the images are drawn. Though biblical poetry abounds in pastoral, agricultural, topographical, and meteorological images, the manufacturing processes of ancient Near Eastern urban culture are also frequently enlisted by the poets: the crafts of the weaver, the dyer, the launderer, the potter, the builder, the smith, and so forth. This freedom to draw images from all areas of experience, even in a poetic corpus largely committed to conventional figures, allows for some striking individual images. The Job poet in particular excels in such invention, likening the swiftness of human existence to the movement of the shuttle on a loom, the fashioning of the child in the womb to the curdling of cheese, the mists over the waters of creation to swaddling cloths, and in general making his imagery a strong correlative of his

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extraordinary sense both of man's creaturely contingency and of God's overwhelming power.

As for the operation of poetic parallelism within the line, the possibilities of complication of meaning are too various to be discussed comprehensively here, but an important second category of development between versets deserves mention. In the following pair of lines, the parallelism within the line is of a rather special kind, involving something other than intensification:

> The teaching of his God is in his heart,
> his footsteps will not stumble.
> The wicked spies out the just,
> and seeks to kill him. (Ps. 37:31–32)

In the first of these lines, the statements of the two versets do correspond to each other, but the essential nature of the correspondence is *causal*: if you keep the Lord's teaching, you can count on avoiding calamity. In the next line, causation is allied with temporal sequence. That is, to try to kill someone is a more extreme act of malice than to lie in wait for him and hence an "intensification," but the two are different points in a miniature narrative continuum: first the lying in wait, then the attempt to kill. We see the same pattern in the following image of destruction, where the first verset presents the breaking down of fortress walls, the second verset the destruction of the fortress itself: "You burst through all his barriers, / you turned his strongholds to rubble" (Ps. 89:41).

It is sometimes asked what happened to narrative verse in ancient Israel, for whereas the principal narratives of most other ancient cultures are in poetry, narrative proper in the Hebrew Bible is almost exclusively reserved for prose. One partial answer would be that the narrative impulse, which for a variety of reasons is withdrawn from the larger structure of the poem, often reappears on a more microscopic level, within the line, or in a brief sequence of lines, in the articulation of the poem's imagery, as in the examples just cited. In quite a few instances this narrativity within the line is perfectly congruent with what I have described as the parallelism of intensification. Both elements are beautifully transparent in these two versets from Isaiah: "Like a pregnant woman whose time draws near, / she trembles, she screams in her birth pangs" (Isa. 26:17). The second verset, of course, not only is more concretely focused than the first but also represents a later moment in the same process—from very late pregnancy to the midst of labor.

This impulse of compact narrativity within the line is so common that it is often detectable even in the one-line poems that are introduced as dramatic heightening in the prose narratives. Thus, when Jacob sees Joseph's bloodied tunic and concludes that his son has been killed, he follows the words of pained recognition, "It's my son's tunic" with a line

of verse that is a kind of miniature elegy: "An evil beast has devoured him, / torn, oh torn, is Joseph" (Gen. 37:33). The second verset is at once a focusing of the act of devouring and an incipiently narrative transition from the act to its awful consequence: a ravening beast has devoured him, and as the concrete result his body has been torn to shreds. We see another variation of the underlying pattern in the line of quasi-prophetic (and quite mistaken) rebuke that the priest Eli pronounces to the distraught Hannah, whose lips have been moving in silent prayer: "How long will you be drunk? / Put away your wine!" (1 Sam. 1:14). Some analysts might be tempted to claim that both versets here, despite their semantic and syntactic dissimilarity, have the same "deep structure" because they both express outrage at Hannah's supposed state of drunkenness, but I think we are in fact meant to read the line by noting differentiation. The first verset suggests that to continue in a state of inebriation in the sanctuary is intolerable; the second verset projects that attitude forward on a temporal axis (narrativity in the imperative mode) by drawing the consequence that the woman addressed must sober up at once.

Beyond the scale of the one-line poem, this element of narrativity between versets plays an important role in the development of meaning because so many biblical poems, even if they are not explicitly narrative, are concerned in one way or another with process. Psalm 102 is an instructive case in point. The poem is a collective supplication on behalf of Israel in captivity. (Since it begins and ends in the first-person singular, it is conceivable that it is a reworking of an older individual supplication.) A good many lines exhibit the movement of intensification or focusing we observed earlier. Verse 3 is a good example: "For my days have gone up in smoke, / my bones are charred like a hearth." Other lines reflect complementarity, such as verse 6: "I resembled the great owl of the desert, / I became like an owl among ruins." But because the speaker of the poem is, after all, trying to project a possibility of change out of the wasteland of exile in which he finds himself, a number of lines show a narrative progression from the first verset to the second because *something is happening*, and it is not just a static condition that is being reported. Narrativity is felt particularly as God moves into action in history: "For the Lord has built up Zion, / he appears in his glory" (v. 16). That is, as a consequence of his momentous act of rebuilding the ruins of Zion (first verset), the glory of the Lord again becomes globally visible (second verset). Then the Lord looks down from heaven "to listen to the groans of the captive, / to free those condemned to death" (v. 20)—first the listening, then the act of liberation. God's praise thus emanates from the rebuilt Jerusalem to which the exiles return "when nations gather together, / and kingdoms, to serve the Lord" (v. 22). Elsewhere in Psalms, the gathering together of nations and kingdoms may suggest a mustering of armies for attack on Israel, but the last phrase of the line, "to serve [or

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worship] the Lord," functions as a climactic narrative revelation: this assembly of nations is to worship God in his mountain sanctuary, now splendidly reestablished. In sum, the narrative momentum of these individual lines picks up a sense of historical process and helps align the collective supplication with the prophecies of return to Zion in Deutero-Isaiah, with which this poem is probably contemporaneous.

This last point may begin to suggest to the ordinary reader, who with good reason thinks of the Bible primarily as a corpus of religious writings, what all these considerations of formal poetics have to do with the urgent spiritual concerns of the ancient Hebrew poets. I don't think there is ever a one-to-one correspondence between poetic systems and views of reality, but I would propose that a particular poetics may encourage or reinforce a particular orientation toward reality. For all the untold reams of commentary on the Bible, this remains a sadly neglected question. One symptomatic case in point: a standard work on the basic forms of prophetic discourse by the German scholar Claus Westermann never once mentions the poetic vehicle used by the Prophets and makes no formal distinction between, say, a short prophetic statement in prose by Elijah and a complex poem by Isaiah.[6] Any intrinsic connection between the kind of poetry the Prophets spoke and the nature of their message is simply never contemplated.

Biblical poetry, as I have tried to show, is characterized by an intensifying or narrative development within the line; and quite often this "horizontal" movement is then projected downward in a "vertical" focusing movement through a sequence of lines or even through a whole poem. What this means is that the poetry of the Bible is concerned above all with dynamic process moving toward some culmination. The two most common structures, then, of biblical poetry are a movement of intensification of images, concepts, themes through a sequence of lines, and a narrative movement—which most often pertains to the development of metaphorical acts but can also refer to literal events, as in much prophetic poetry. The account of the Creation in the first chapter of Genesis might serve as a model for the conception of reality that underlies most of this body of poetry: from day to day new elements are added in a continuous process that culminates in the seventh day, the primordial sabbath. It would require a close reading of whole poems to see fully how this model is variously manifested in the different genres of biblical poetry, but I can at least sketch out the ways in which the model is perceptible in verse addressed to personal, philosophical, and historical issues.

The poetry of Psalms has evinced an extraordinary power to speak to the lives of countless individual readers and has echoed through the work of writers as different as Augustine, George Herbert, Paul Claudel, and Dylan Thomas. Some of the power of the psalms may be attributed to their being such effective "devotions upon emergent occasions," as John

Donne, another poet strongly moved by these biblical poems, called a collection of his meditations. The sense of emergency virtually defines the numerically predominant subgenre of psalm, the supplication. The typical—though of course not invariable—movement of the supplication is a rising line of intensity toward a climax of terror or desperation. The paradigmatic supplication would sound something like this: You have forgotten me, O Lord; you have hidden your face from me; you have thrown me to the mercies of my enemies; I totter on the brink of death, plunge into the darkness of the Pit. At this intolerable point of culmination, when there is nothing left for the speaker but the terrible contemplation of his own imminent extinction, a sharp reversal takes place. The speaker either prays to God to draw him out of the abyss or, in some poems, confidently asserts that God is in fact already working this wondrous rescue. It is clear why these poems have reverberated so strongly in the moments of crisis, spiritual or physical, of so many readers, and I would suggest that the distinctive capacity of biblical poetics to advance along a steeply inclined plane of mounting intensities does much to help the poets imaginatively realize both the experience of crisis and the dramatic reversal at the end.

Certainly there are other, less dynamic varieties of poetic structure represented in the biblical corpus, including the Book of Psalms. The general fondness of ancient Hebrew writers in all genres for so-called envelope structures (in which the conclusion somehow echoes terms or whole phrases from the beginning) leads in some poems to balanced, symmetrically enclosed forms, occasionally even to a division into parallel strophes, as in the Song of the Sea (Exod. 15). The neatest paradigm for such symmetrical structures is Psalm 8, which, articulating a firm belief in the beautiful hierarchical perfection of creation, opens and closes with the refrain "Lord, our master, / how majestic is your name in all the earth!" Symmetrical structures, because they tend to imply a confident sense of the possibility of encapsulating perception, are favored in particular by poets in the main line of Hebrew Wisdom literature—but not by the Job poet, who works in what has been described as the "radical wing" of biblical Wisdom writing. Thus the separate poems that constitute chapters 5 and 7 of Proverbs, though the former uses narrative elements and the latter is a freestanding narrative, equally employ neat envelope structures as frames to emphasize their didactic points. The Hymn to Wisdom in Job 28, which most scholars consider to be an interpolation, stands out from the surrounding poetry not only in its assured tone but also in its structure, being neatly divided into three symmetrical strophes marked by a refrain. Such instances, however, are no more than exceptions that prove the rule, for the structure that predominates in all genres of biblical poetry is one in which a kind of semantic pressure is built from verset to verset and line to line, finally reaching a climax or a climax and reversal.

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This momentum of intensification is felt somewhat differently in the text that is in many respects the most astonishing poetic achievement in the biblical corpus, the Book of Job. Whereas the psalm-poets provided voices for the anguish and exultation of real people, Job is a fictional character, as the folktale stylization of the introductory prose narrative means to intimate. In the rounds of debate with the three Friends, poetry spoken by fictional figures is used to ponder the enigma of arbitrary suffering that seems a constant element of the human condition. One of the ways in which we are invited to gauge the difference between the Friends and Job is through the different kinds of poetry they utter—the Friends stringing together beautifully polished clichés (sometimes virtually a parody of the poetry of Proverbs and Psalms), Job making constant disruptive departures in the images he uses, in the extraordinary muscularity of his language line after line. The poetry Job speaks is an instrument forged to sound the uttermost depths of suffering, and so he adopts movements of intensification to focus in and in on his anguish. The intolerable point of culmination is not followed, as in Psalms, by a confident prayer for salvation, but by a death wish, whose only imagined relief is the extinction of life and mind, or by a kind of desperate shriek of outrage to the Lord.

When God finally answers Job out of the whirlwind, he responds with an order of poetry formally allied to Job's own remarkable poetry, but larger in scope and greater in power (from the compositional viewpoint, it is the sort of risk only a writer of genius could take and get away with). That is, God picks up many of Job's key images, especially from the death-wish poem with which Job began (chap. 3), and his discourse is shaped by a powerful movement of intensification, coupled with an implicitly narrative sweep from the Creation to the play of natural forces to the teeming world of animal life. But whereas Job's intensities are centripetal and necessarily egocentric, God's intensities carry us back and forth through the pulsating vital movements of the whole created world. The culmination of the poem God speaks is not a cry of self or a dream of self snuffed out but the terrible beauty of the Leviathan, on the uncanny borderline between zoology and mythology, where what is fierce and strange, beyond the ken and conquest of man, is the climactic manifestation of a splendidly providential creation which merely anthropomorphic notions cannot grasp.

Finally, this general predisposition to a poetic apprehension of urgent climactic process leads in the Prophets to what amounts to a radically new view of history. Without implying that we should reduce all thinking to principles of poetics, I would nevertheless suggest that there is a particular momentum in ancient Hebrew poetry that helps impel the poets toward rather special construals of their historical circumstances. If a Prophet wants to make vivid in verse a process of impending disaster, even, let us

say, with the limited conscious aim of bringing his complacent and wayward audience to its senses, the intensifying logic of his medium may lead him to statements of an ultimate and cosmic character. Thus Jeremiah, imagining the havoc an invading Babylonian army will wreak:

> I see the earth, and, look, chaos and void,
>   the heavens—their light is gone.
> I see the mountains, and, look, they quake,
>   and all the hills shudder (Jer. 4:23–24)

He goes on in the same vein, continuing to draw on the language of Genesis to evoke a dismaying world where creation itself has been reversed.

A similar process is at work in the various prophecies of consolation of Amos, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah: national restoration, in the development from literal to hyperbolic, from fact to fantastic elaboration, that is intrinsic to biblical poetry, is not just a return from exile or the reestablishment of political autonomy but a blossoming of the desert, a straightening out of all that is crooked, a wonderful fusion of seed-time and reaping, a perfect peace in which calf and lion dwell together and a little child leads them. Perhaps the Prophets might have begun to move in approximately this direction even if they had worked out their message in prose, but I think it is analytically demonstrable that the impetus of their poetic medium reinforced and in some ways directed the scope and extremity of their vision. The matrix, then, of both the apocalyptic imagination and the messianic vision of redemption may well be the distinctive structure of ancient Hebrew verse. This would be the most historically fateful illustration of a fundamental rule bearing on form and meaning in the Bible. We need to read this poetry well because it is not merely a means of heightening or dramatizing the religious perceptions of the biblical writers—it is the dynamic shaping instrument through which those perceptions discovered their immanent truth.

NOTES

1. James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry* (New Haven and London, 1981).

2. On the interplay of different elements of parallelism—semantic, rhythmic, and syntactic—see the incisive remarks by Benjamin Hrushovski in "Prosody, Hebrew," in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, VII (New York, 1971), 1200–02.

3. All translations in this essay are my own [AT]. I follow the original rather literally in order to make certain aspects of the underlying poetics more perceptible in English.

4. Quoted in L. A. Sonnino, *A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric* (London, 1968), p. 157.

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24. Quoted by Ian Hacking, *Why Does Language Matter to Philosophy?* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 148.
25. Davidson, *Inquiries*, p. 153.
26. Ibid., p. 137.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., p. 197.
29. *The Writings of Irenaeus*, trans. Alexander Roberts and W. H. Rambaut (Edinburgh, 1883–84), p. 461.
30. *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. D. W. Robertson, Jr. (Indianapolis, 1958), p. 30.
31. Ibid., p. 88.
32. Ibid.

SUGGESTED FURTHER READINGS

Renée Bloch, "Midrash," trans. M. H. Callaway, in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, vol. I: *Theory and Practice*, ed. William Scott Green (Missoula, Mont., 1978), pp. 29–50.

Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation of Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1985).

Joseph Heinemann and D. Noy, eds., *Studies in Aggadah and Folk Literature* (Jerusalem, 1978).

James L. Kugel, "Two Introductions to Midrash," in Geoffrey Hartman and Sanford Budick, eds., *Midrash and Literature* (New Haven, 1986), pp. 77–103; originally published in *Prooftexts*, 3 (1983), 131–155.

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English Translations of the Bible

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FOR one kind of reader the Authorized Version's "And God saw the light, that it was good" (Gen. 1:4), is a better translation than such modern equivalents as the New English Bible's "and God saw that the light was good" or the New American Bible's "God saw how good the light was," because it sounds better, more impressive in its slightly odd syntax. Another kind of reader prefers the modern versions because they are straightforward, and therefore probably more accurate. For this group the Authorized Version's oddness is an archaic obstacle to understanding. Also, the reader dedicated to the notion of narrative efficiency will find the modern renderings more attractive because they describe God's action neutrally, diluting *see* to the point where it means nothing more than "realize." The Authorized Version's rendering, in contrast, takes a definite view of what God actually does; its syntax gives "saw" its fullest sense, that of looking into the light. The difference is almost as great as the difference between saying "I saw the book he had written" and "I saw that he had written the book." The older version is the more anthropomorphic and, for that reason, is likely to be more attractive to many readers, but not to those who prefer an abstract God.

But do these aesthetic distinctions have any bearing upon the way we may judge the different versions' relative degrees of accuracy and fidelity to the original? The matter of anthropomorphism is one area to consider. In response to a traditionalist who asserts that the Authorized Version's rendering accords with a Bible whose representation of God is resolutely anthropomorphic, the modern theologian might counter with the view that it is so only because the Bible is written in languages which had no better way of expressing these things. Part of the essential accuracy of a translation should be to turn not only idioms but also ways of thought and casts of mind into their contemporary equivalents; since we are much less happy today than were the ancient Hebrews with a God who has eyes, it is better to weaken the sense of "saw" from "seeing with eyes" to "realizing." One reply to this, of course, is that there is no less anthropomorphism in the modern renderings, only that it is less noticeable.

Then there is the matter of accuracy at the actual level of words and phrases. The modern versions do not differ from the earlier ones here: all

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have "God," "light," "saw," and "good." This fact shows how most of the modern translations are constrained by a basic set of equivalents established by the Renaissance translators.[1] Thus they nearly all use "God," as the Authorized Version did, to translate *elohim* here, just as they use "Lord" to translate *YHWH*. Occasionally a translator tries to break with the tradition, but the rendering "And Elohim saw" is unlikely to succeed with the general readership of the Bible—a readership immeasurably greater than that of any other work of literature in the Western tradition, and one whose literary values, for narrative and poetry, are often conditioned by their early experience of it.

But what of the syntax which causes the difference in meaning between the Renaissance and modern renderings in this verse? As a rule, whenever we encounter a syntactic oddness or aberration in the Authorized Version—the kind of thing the word "archaic" is used unthinkingly to describe—we ought to assume that it reflects an attempt to reproduce the original's word or phrase order. William Tyndale, who originated the Renaissance English biblical tradition, said very little about the theory and practice of translation; but he did assert that in the matter of word order English was an excellent language to translate into from Old Testament Hebrew:

> They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one, so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English word for word when thou must seek a compass in the Latin and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favouredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into English than into the Latin.[2]

Tyndale, like all other Reformation translators, worked hard to keep as close as possible to his original, for both the Renaissance cry *ad fontes* and the Protestant emphasis on the centrality of the text required Bible translation to be as transparent as possible. Thus the Authorized Version translators, who thought hard about every verse, kept Tyndale's "And God saw the light, that it was good," as the best possible rendering of the Hebrew. *Wayar elohim et-ha'or ki-tob* translates literally as "And-he-saw God the-light that-good." The Renaissance version keeps "the light" as the direct object of "saw" and makes "that it was good" a secondary element, entirely dependent upon that stark main clause.

But does "literal" here mean the same thing as "accurate" or "faithful"? It is arguable, for instance, that if this was not the only way to express in Hebrew that God saw the goodness of the light, it was at least

a fairly common way. If we translate idiom for idiom rather than word for word, then it is more accurate to render this locution in a common English structure, and to use the odd "saw X that it was X" is misleading because it implies that the original construction is deviant. There are problems here, however. For one, it is not so easy to assert confidently that the Hebrew locution, as it occurs in Genesis, is common. So fundamental is this verse in the biblical tradition that later uses of the same construction, especially with the phrase *ki-tob* ("that-good"), may well be, if not in direct imitation, then at least strongly influenced by it. (This is particularly the case if we argue that all of our biblical texts are written in a literary language.) It would be more accurate, then, to render the English equivalent in a sufficiently unusual form to mark the primacy of the phrasing and to signal, by using it again, places where it is being imitated. And if we were to claim that there is no such noticeable deviation from the norm in the original, it is still arguable that idiom-for-idiom translation is as treacherous as translating word for word. Idioms are even more embedded in language and culture systems than single words are, so that what is offered is not translation, but only an equivalent.

Now the questions become more perplexing. How far was a Hebrew speaker of that period aware, when using the idiom "saw X that it was X," of any emphasis in the verb's meaning? This scarcely admits an answer, since it is not even easy for contemporary speakers to say how far they are aware of the act of seeing when they say "I saw that he had written it" instead of "I realized that he had written it." And if we could answer with confidence that they have no awareness of it, we would have to add to the equation the disturbing habit which poets and storytellers have, of giving life to dead metaphors and finding in our flattest phrases a cultural subconscious which they can bring to the surface. In the end, my preference for the Authorized Version's rendering to the modern ones comes from my sense that the opening chapters of Genesis are a carefully wrought narrative which uses language with unusual force and emphasis. "God saw the light, that it was good," is, after all, only a slight deviation from the English norm, but it is strong enough to reproduce this first great example of the sublime in literature.

Translation is one of the most influential forms of literary criticism, for it both interprets and recreates the text it addresses. Indeed, in its original uses in English the word *interpret* meant "translate." But most readers of the Bible who do not know Old Testament Hebrew or New Testament Greek—and that is all but an infinitesimal percentage—are unaware of the implications of this fact. Behind the joke "If the Authorized Version was good enough for St. Paul then it's good enough for me" lies the recognition of a real resistance to the idea that our Bible is a translation; betrayed too by the increasingly common slip which gives the Authorized

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Version's alternative title as the St. James Bible. For many who rely upon the citation of word and verse to give literal support to dogma the fact of translation is an embarrassment, but it may also be perplexing to readers who approach the Bible as a literary achievement, for, without knowledge of the original languages, where can they find them best translated into English—"best" embracing both aesthetic appeal and accuracy? What, for example, are such readers to make of a volume like this, which uses the Authorized Version rather than any of the modern versions as its basic text?

Aesthetically there is no argument. Everyone concedes—the modern translators soonest of all—that the Authorized Version is itself a great work of art. It marked the culmination of nearly a hundred years of English Bible translation, beginning with Tyndale in the 1520s and 1530s, who translated all of the New Testament and large portions of the Old. He used Luther's German Bible as his main source but, astonishingly for an Englishman of that time, knew enough Greek and Hebrew to improve on Luther by bringing his English version closer to the original.[3] Major versions by Miles Coverdale—the Coverdale Bible in 1535 and the Great Bible in 1539—soon followed, and the rest of the century saw three more attempts to produce a definitive English version: the Geneva Bible in 1560, the Bishops' Bible in 1568, and the Catholic Reims-Douai Bible, begun in the 1580s.[4] But none of these, not even the Catholic one, marked a radical departure from what Tyndale had begun. And the Authorized Version, although it was instituted through Puritan demands for a new translation at the Hampton Court Conference, proudly proclaimed itself to be not a new translation, but simply an improvement of what already existed: "We never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one."[5] The same spirit governed the Revised and Revised Standard Versions, and nothing could stand at a further extreme from the modern enterprises in biblical translation, each of which announces itself in its title or preface to be new. The newness of even the newest of these is, as we saw with "God" and "Lord," still likely to be a heavily circumscribed novelty, but it is stressed for two distinct reasons: to give readers what they popularly demand, a readable version; and to include the most recent findings of biblical scholarship.

Whether these are compatible desires is an open question. Those who try to play off the aesthetic qualities of the Authorized Version against its modern rivals usually favor the older translation, but lay it open to the charge that its very aesthetic superiority is a snare and a delusion. Not only does it repel a vast contemporary readership, who suspect any form of rhetoric as elitist, but, more seriously, it misrepresents in several ways the material which it professes to translate. For example, it elevates the

prosaic to a poetic level, and its evenness of quality makes the large variety of biblical texts, written in many different periods, styles, and genres, all appear the same. The following pages explain some of the principles which seem to govern the Authorized Version's renderings and compare them in terms of accuracy and fidelity with the efforts of more recent translators.

Most people will probably fix their ideas of accuracy in translation on the text itself, and on the meanings of the individual words in it. In both cases it should be plain that any modern version is likely to be far more accurate than a Renaissance translation. Even though the Authorized Version translation panels were made up of scholars whose knowledge of Greek and Semitic languages was impressive, in the four hundred years of scholarship since we have learned far more about the semantics of biblical languages. In neither case, though, is the matter as simple as these assumptions indicate.

The earliest debates about English Bible translation centered on the meanings of words. Catholic polemicists throughout the second half of the sixteenth century accused Protestant translators of including deliberately heretical mistranslations in their versions. Even earlier, in the 1520s, Thomas More attacked Tyndale's New Testament for its mischievous renderings. Instead of "priest" he had used "senior"; instead of "church," "congregation." Tyndale's reply showed a delicious pragmatism: "Of a truth *senior* is no very good English, though *senior* and *junior* be used in the universities; but there came no better in my mind at that time. Howbeit, I spied my fault since, long ere Mr More told it me, and have mended it in all the works which I since made, and call it an *elder*."[6] This comment reveals how little concerned the Reformation translators were to defend their versions as inspired—but for our purposes the point is that semantic accuracy is largely an illusion. More's most famous charge was that Tyndale had translated *agape* in 1 Corinthians 13, not with the word "charity," as he should have done if he were paying proper respect to the Vulgate, but with the word "love." Such a word, having none of the traditional theological implications of "charity," and many undesirable ones, was too dangerous to be used in such a context. Tyndale replied by pointing out that no word is as immutable or uncontaminated as More pretended, and to restrict a translator in that way would lead to no translation at all. Ironically, "charity" did replace "love" later in the century, and in its use in the Authorized Version it became the definitive English rendering, only to give way to "love" again in most of the modern versions. But no reader who encountered "charity" in 1 Corinthians ever assumed that it had its normal English sense there—otherwise the idea that one could give away all one's goods and still not be the possessor of charity would be difficult to take—and whether a version uses "charity," "love," or some other word, such as "joy," makes little difference, for the context defines

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the word and gives it its specific meaning. This is an extreme example, but not a misleading one, for it is in the nature of a literary text that it constantly redefines and recontextualizes words. By ignoring this fact, translators frequently diminish the status of the text they translate; and usually their very desire to achieve semantic accuracy leads them to do so.

Here the demands of scholarship and translation are in competition. Consider another example from the early chapters of Genesis: how the Authorized Version renders the verb *yada*. Chapter 2 introduces us to the "tree of knowledge of good and evil," "knowledge" being a translation of the noun *da'at*, a cognate form of *yada*. This verb then rings through the narrative of the Fall. In 3:5 the serpent uses it twice: "For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." The humans eat the fruit, and in verse 7 the narrator tells us: "And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked." In verse 22 God says that "the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil"; and then the narrator tells us, in 4:1: "And Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived." In each case the Authorized Version translates the verb with "know" or "knowing." A modern translator is unlikely to do the same, partly from a reluctance to reproduce the "archaism" of Adam knowing Eve, but also because of the scholarly instinct which perceives the word only as it appears in the lexicon.[7] Here *yada* is being used in three distinct meanings according to lexical definition: "to know," "to understand," and "to have carnal relations with." As a result modern versions, though they may keep the word *know* for the words of God and the serpent, will probably choose something more specific when they come to the narrator's words. Instead of "they knew that they were naked" they will use "discovered" or "realized," and instead of Adam knowing Eve, they tend to ring the changes through such euphemisms as "lay with," "had relations with," or "had intercourse with."[8]

For the doubtful gain in semantic precision, the literary loss is large. No readers of these modern versions can perceive, as they can easily in the Authorized Version, the narrative's economical linking, through this verb, of the fruit of the tree with shame, God's knowledge, and sexuality. It is at the least arguable that the Renaissance practice is more faithful to the original text, and the implications for the literary critic are large. Robert Alter, in showing how vital a part of biblical narrative technique is the repetition of key words, has warned that "most modern English translations go to the opposite extreme, constantly translating the same word with different English equivalents for the sake of fluency and supposed precision. Nevertheless, the repetition of key-words is so prominent in many biblical narratives that one can still follow it fairly well in translation, especially if one uses the King James Version."[9]

This is not to say that the translators of the Authorized Version were fanatically dedicated to the idea of a one-for-one equivalence. They probably had to resist strong pressures, from Puritan polemicists such as Hugh Broughton, to translate in this way, and their preface makes it clear that such a notion is an entirely unnecessary constraint:

> we have not tied ourselves to an uniformity of phrasing, or to an identity of words, as some peradventure would wish we had done, because they observe that some learned men somewhere have been as exact as they could that way . . . But, that we should express the same notion in the same particular word; as for example, if we translate the Hebrew or Greek word once by *purpose*, never to call it *intent*; if one where *journeying*, never *travelling*; if one where *think*, never *suppose*; if one where *pain*, never *ache*; if one where *joy*, never *gladness*, etc. Thus to mince the matter we thought to savour more of curiosity than wisdom, and that rather it would breed scorn in the atheist than bring profit to the godly reader. For is the kingdom of God become words or syllables?[10]

Nonetheless it is notable that in this respect the Authorized Version is the most conservative of the Renaissance translations. Tyndale and the Calvinist translators of the Geneva Bible took little care to maintain verbal equivalence. The Authorized Version, however, particularly in its use of the more common words—and these are the most likely to be "key words"—moved much closer to a formulaic principle of translation. Thus a relatively uncommon word such as *khiydah*, which occurs in about eight different contexts in the Old Testament, is rendered variously "riddle" (Ezek. 17:2, Judges 14:12–17), "dark saying" (Prov. 1:6; Ps. 49:5, 78:2), "taunting proverb" (Hab. 2:6), "dark sentence" (Dan. 8:23), and "hard question" (1 Kings 10:1). The context governs the small changes in sense. A slightly more common word, such as *la'ag*, is rendered more variously, ranging from "laugh to scorn" (as in 2 Kings 19:21) to "have in derision" (Ps. 2:4), although in all three of its occurrences in Proverbs it is translated as "mock": "I will mock when your fear cometh" (1:26); "Whoso mocketh the poor reproacheth his Maker" (17:5); "The eye that mocketh at his father" (30:17).[11] With common words there is great consistency of translation: *lekhem* is, more likely than not, rendered as "bread," *nefesh* as "soul," *leb* as "heart."

How we feel about this practice must partly be governed by our attitude toward canonicity. To a great extent translation encourages the idea that there is a canon, for to have both Old and New Testaments in the same language is only the most obvious example of the way it forces homogeneity upon books of very different kinds; thus the use of "heart" encourages the belief that similar assumptions and connotations lie behind both *leb* in Genesis and *kardia* in Corinthians. But there is little sign that twentieth-century translations have any other kind of aim, even if they are less likely to use "heart" in either place and despite their intent to

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reflect a decanonizing scholarship, aimed at pulling apart and fragmenting the original texts. Their repeated insistence upon a plain, readable style does as much to encourage the idea of a canon as might any formulaic translation of individual words. If the Bible is a collection of texts produced over a long period and widely diverse in genre and style, then to turn them all into "the language we use today" will inevitably mask such distinctions.

Within single books and parts of books, however, the specter of a delusory canonicity can be ignored, and it is here, perversely, that the modern translators' insistence upon a clear, readable style, while it disguises distinctions between books, now masks the techniques of repetition which are so basic to the literary effects of the Bible. As their use of "know" to translate *yada* shows, the Renaissance translators' practice worked better. They were, for a start, shrewdly perceptive of the need to reproduce very close repetition, as, for instance, within a single verse. Thus, where in Genesis 3:15 God describes the enduring enmity between Adam's and the serpent's offspring by using the same verb, *shup*, Tyndale takes care to convey the reciprocal process of revenge, even though it stretches the meaning of the English verb he uses far beyond its possible range of meanings: "and that seed shall tread thee on the head, and thou shalt tread it on the heel." This rendering is the more notable because neither of his principal sources had the stylistic sense to repeat the verb. The Vulgate has *conteret* and *insidiaberis*, Luther *zutretten* and *beissen*.

Because of the Renaissance translators' tendency toward formulaic renderings of common words, their versions are more likely than the modern ones to show up places where biblical writers had given new force to common phrases and idioms. Robert Alter discusses 2 Samuel 3 as an example of this sophisticated narrative technique, in which a pattern of repetition is suddenly subverted by an ominous variant of a familiar phrase. In verse 21 David sends Abner off, and the narrator tells us that he went in peace (*wayelekh bashalom*). In verse 22 the narrator uses the phrase again, also at the end of the verse: Abner was not with David, for he had sent him off and he went in peace. In verse 23 Joab is told what has happened, and the phrase is again used at the end. And then, in verse 24, Joab goes to the king, asks him why he has let Abner go, and finishes his remonstrance, not with the phrase which has ended the previous three verses, but with an intensification of the verb which they had used (*wayelekh halokh*). With such a formulaic narrative the Authorized Version translators are entirely happy, and the reader of their English rendering will, just like the reader of the Hebrew original, first become accustomed to the pattern and then find it suddenly subverted:

> And Abner said unto David, I will arise and go, and will gather all Israel unto my lord the king, that they may make a league with thee, and that thou mayest reign over all that thine heart desireth. And David sent Abner away; *and he went in peace*. And, behold, the servants of David and Joab came from pursuing a troop, and brought in a great spoil with them: but Abner was not with David in Hebron; for he had sent him away, *and he was gone in peace*. When Joab and all the host that was with him were come, they told Joab, saying, Abner the son of Ner came to the king and he hath sent him away, *and he is gone in peace*. Then Joab came to the king, and said, What hast thou done? behold, Abner came unto thee; why is it that thou hast sent him away, *and he is quite gone*? (vv. 21–24)

In contrast, the reader of a modern version such as the New English Bible can find no such pattern, and so can register neither it nor its reversal. That version ends verse 21 with "granting him safe conduct" and verse 23 with "departed under safe conduct," and varies its translation with "after his dismissal" in verse 22. As a result the statement at the end of verse 24, "He has got clean away," bears no relation to what has gone before.[12]

The Renaissance translators' readiness to render the Bible in a formulaic way helps us recognize and respond to the individual style of the books. A simple, telling example is the constant use of the word *leb* in Ecclesiastes, in phrases and contexts which vary from the most idiomatic to the most heartfelt. So frequently is it used that the speaker's *leb* becomes a character, and the idiom takes on a new life. When he says, in the words of the Authorized Version, "I gave my heart to search and seek out" (1:13; see also v. 17), or "I said in mine heart" (2:1; 3:17, 18), or "I applied mine heart to know" (7:25), these virtual clichés lose their staleness because of the way *leb* is used in more imaginative contexts throughout the book: as in 2:10, "I withheld not my heart from any joy"; or 2:23, "yea, his heart taketh not rest in the night"; or 5:20, "because God answereth him in the joy of his heart"; or 7:3, "by the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better." Again, the modern versions do not allow their readers such an insight. Partly it is a matter of not wishing to sound archaic, partly a wish to avoid redundancies, so that in the New English Bible, for instance, only in the last two examples is "heart" used. Otherwise, all kinds of variations are used.[13]

Too often the contrast between old and new shows up not merely an imperviousness on the part of the modern versions toward the Bible's literary effects, but a real desire to suppress them. In 1 Samuel 15 we find what a modern literary critic will eagerly recognize as a narrative abrasion. The chapter closes with an account of Saul's reluctance to execute the king of the Amalekites, despite the divine command, by way of the prophet, to do so. The Hebrew presents us with a striking contradiction. In verse 11 God tells Samuel that he repents (*nikham*) having made Saul king. Then, in verse 29, the prophet tells Saul that God is not a man and therefore does not repent (*nikham*) his actions. Six verses later the narrative ends the chapter by stating that God repented (*nikham*) that he had made Saul king. No reader of the Authorized Version can miss the conflict

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between God's and the narrator's words on the one hand, and the prophet's on the other, for, as we would expect, it uses the same English word each time: "It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king . . . And also the Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a man, that he should repent . . . and the Lord repented that he had made Saul king over Israel." But in the twentieth-century versions the conflict is diluted by deliberate variations: the New International Version has "grieved . . . change his mind . . . grieved," the Jerusalem Bible "regret . . . go back on his word . . . regretted," the New English Bible "repent . . . change his mind . . . repented." In each case the prophet's words are made to seem distinct from God's and the narrator's, as if he had to be protected from the charge of some kind of duplicity in his statement to Saul. But of course it is this very duplicity which makes the narrative so powerful.

MORE IMPORTANT than the translation of words is the translation of syntax. Consider the way the Authorized Version and the New English Bible cope with Isaiah's spectacular list of wanton fripperies (3:18–23). The Authorized Version has:

> In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their feet, and their cauls, and their round tires like the moon, The chains, and the bracelets, and the mufflers, The bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the headbands, and the tablets, and the earrings, The rings, and nose jewels, The changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping pins, The glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the vails.

The New English Bible has:

> In that day the Lord will take away all finery: anklets, discs, crescents, pendants, bangles, coronets, head-bands, armlets, necklaces, lockets, charms, signets, nose-rings, fine dresses, mantles, cloaks, flounced skirts, scarves of gauze, kerchiefs of linen, turbans, and flowing veils.

Both translations have found English equivalents for the list of Hebrew clothes and ornaments, and we can be confident that here the New English Bible's scholarship will stand up to close scrutiny—in the details of the individual items its renderings are likely to be far more reliable than the Authorized Version's. But this is very nearly an irrelevance when we consider the different effects of the two translations. By suppressing the Hebrew syntax the New English Bible translators have made theirs virtually unreadable. It is nothing but a list, and its context, that of an articulated prophecy, is entirely lost. The Authorized Version translators have taken care to reproduce the syntactic details of the original. In this case it is not a matter of word and clause order and the disposition of clauses, but merely the recognition that in the Hebrew the list is punctuated by conjunctions—the ubiquitous Hebrew *waw*—and by definite

articles. Every "the" in the Authorized Version's rendering is equivalent to the Hebrew definite article, every one of its fifteen "and"s in these verses reproduces the *waw*, and every time *and* is omitted, at the beginning of each verse, the Hebrew omits it too. Formulaic translation this may be—it is fascinating to note that the Geneva Bible, its chief predecessor in the Old Testament, had exactly the same syntactic structure except that it began verse 23 with "and," and the Authorized Version carefully took this away—but the consequence is an English rendering in which Isaiah's prophecy becomes a work of literature, a prophetic tirade with an evocative rhythmic patterning, and not a list to be hurried through as quickly as possible.[14]

It is not easy to overestimate the effect upon English prose, and through it upon English culture, of the Renaissance translators' close adherence to the word order of their original texts. T. S. Eliot's claim that a sophisticated prose style is the sign of an advanced culture is, principally, a syntactic observation. While English poetry was already developing a high degree of complexity, prose remained an unwieldy medium avoided by imaginative writers, who preferred verse for drama, and by scholars, who preferred Latin. The disposition of clauses in an English sentence of the first half of the sixteenth century is often a painful matter, the writer soon losing control over them, with the result that some sentences extend aimlessly over hundreds of words. Translating the Bible into English helped change this situation radically, largely because the early translators like Tyndale had the sense to follow closely the syntax of their originals. This is as much a cultural as a grammatical phenomenon, for the highly developed, sophisticated prose which comes naturally to any modern writer of English, and which bombards any modern reader, is based upon the syntactic patterns established by the writers of the sixteenth century. The temptation to regard biblical writings condescendingly, as coming from a more primitive culture, neglects to take into account how far our deepest structures of expression were formed by these more developed biblical texts. We can see the process at work in Tyndale's prose. In Genesis 24:14 he threads his way through a series of clauses, including both narrative and direct speech, and never loses control as contemporary prose writers were liable to do, because he follows his original, if not absolutely word for word, then certainly clause for clause: "Now the damsel to whom I say, stoop down thy pitcher and let me drink; if she say, drink, and I will give thy camels drink also, the same is she that thou hast ordained for thy servant Isaac: yea, and thereby shall I know that thou hast showed mercy on my master."

In his rendering of New Testament Greek, which has less in common with natural English word order than Old Testament Hebrew, Tyndale's success was largely the result of his having observed the original's ordering and disposition of clauses. Consider his translation—again very much the

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basis of the Authorized Version—of the complicated syntax of Hebrews 1:1–4:

> God in time past diversely and many ways, spake unto the fathers by prophets: but in these last days he hath spoken unto us by his son, whom he hath made heir of all things, by whom also he made the world. Which son being the brightness of his glory, and very image of his substance, bearing up all things with the word of his power, hath in his own person purged our sins, and is sitten on the right hand of the majesty on high, and is more excellent than the angels, inasmuch as he hath by inheritance obtained an excellenter name than have they.

Now compare the New International Version's translation:

> In the past God spoke to our forefathers through the prophets at many times and in various ways, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, and through whom he made the universe. The Son is the radiance of God's glory and the exact representation of his being, sustaining all things by his powerful word. After he had provided purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty in heaven. So he became as much superior to the angels as the name he has inherited is superior to theirs.

Essentially the difference is between a two-sentence and a four-sentence rendering—and Tyndale's second sentence, beginning with "which son," is so intimately connected to the previous one that it would not be misleading to punctuate the whole thing as just one sentence. The Greek, as we would expect, is a fairly exact model of the Renaissance rendering, both of them threading their way through a series of clauses without permitting the reader the kind of pause which the modern version's sentence division does. Of course the modern version is easier to follow—this is its purpose, after all—but the implications for our canonical view of the Bible are worth considering.

Because a writer's style is more intimately bound up with his syntax than any other feature, modern versions, which maintain more syntactic uniformity, make less of a stylistic distinction between books than do the Renaissance versions, which allow their renderings to be molded by the original syntax. Consider Matthew's account of the finding of the tethered ass (21:1–3, 6–10), as given by the Authorized Version:

> And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples, Saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her: loose them, and bring them unto me. And if any man say ought unto you, ye shall say, The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them . . . And the disciples went, and did as Jesus commanded them, And brought the ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set him thereon. And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strawed them in the way. And the multitudes that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest. And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying, Who is this?

This is barely distinguishable from a piece of Old Testament narrative; most of its clauses are coordinate rather than subordinate. Now compare it with the Authorized Version's rendering of Luke's account (19:29–37):

> And it came to pass, when he was come nigh to Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount called the mount of Olives, he sent two of his disciples, Saying, Go ye into the village over against you; in the which at your entering ye shall find a colt tied, whereon yet never man sat: loose him, and bring him hither. And if any man ask you, Why do ye loose him? thus shall ye say unto him, Because the Lord hath need of him. And they that were sent went their way, and found even as he had said unto them. And as they were loosing the colt, the owners thereof said unto them, Why loose ye the colt? And they said, The Lord hath need of him. And they brought him to Jesus: and they cast their garments upon the colt, and they set Jesus thereon. And as he went, they spread their clothes in the way. And when he was come nigh, even now at the descent of the mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works that they had seen.

This is still more paratactic than a piece of modern narrative prose would be, but not overwhelmingly so, and it is appreciably different from Matthew's account in its more frequent use of subordinate clauses. Both passages accurately reflect the Greek. Luke's syntax is the more sophisticated, Matthew's the more Hebraic; and, once more, this kind of distinction, important in any literary appreciation of the two narratives, is unlikely to be reproduced in a modern version.

Old Testament narrative is characterized by its almost exclusive use of the conjunction *waw* to link virtually every clause and sentence. Right from the beginnings English translators of the Bible were happy to render these links with "and," so that their narratives sometimes consist entirely of coordinate clauses. It is probable that this practice was something natural to early sixteenth-century writers of English prose, inheritors of a tradition going back to Anglo-Saxon's repeated use of *ond*. But this is distinctive to English, in contrast to the more sophisticated syntax of the Vulgate, and even of Luther's German. And that the English translators appreciated this harmony between Hebrew and English is borne out by the successive versions' increasing use of it through the century—despite the growing flexibility of English prose during this period, with its writers' increasing skill in the deployment of subordinate clauses and the construction of complex sentences. The Authorized Version's translators, rather than reducing the percentage of simple coordination, actually intensified

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it. For instance, in the developing narrative of Pharaoh's responses to the plagues visited upon his country, Tyndale renders the critical verse Exodus 9:7 like this:

> And Pharaoh sent to wit [that is, know]: but there was not one of the cattle of the Israelites dead. Notwithstanding, the heart of Pharaoh hardened, and he would not let the people go.

However, the Authorized Version has:

> And Pharaoh sent, and, behold, there was not one of the cattle of the Israelites dead. And the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and he did not let the people go.

Syntactically Tyndale's is the more modern of the two. He renders the three conjunctive *waw*s as "and," "but," and "notwithstanding," whereas the Authorized Version, written nearly a century later, uses "and" in all three places. The Jerusalem Bible translates the verse:

> Pharaoh had enquiries made, but it was true: none was dead of the livestock owned by the sons of Israel. But Pharaoh became adamant again and did not let the people go.

And the New International Version:

> Pharaoh sent men to investigate and found that not even one of the animals of the Israelites had died. Yet his heart was unyielding and he would not let the people go.

Here we can see the diminishments consequent upon tinkering with the original syntax. In its translation of the *waw* which introduces Pharaoh's obstinacy, only the Authorized Version conveys the strength of the narrative's portrayal. To have him hardening his heart in spite of the plague, which is the force of Tyndale's "notwithstanding" and the modern versions' "but" and "yet," is to miss the point of the narrative. He hardens his heart because of the plague. A character like Pharaoh responds to power with power, inevitably, and not, as the modern sophisticators of the syntax would have it, irrationally.

By heavy use of coordinating clauses the Authorized Version leaves its narrative structures open to the widest possible range of meanings, for such coordination imposes upon events only a relatively weak impression of sequentiality. More sophisticated syntactic structures, using all kinds of subordination, are more interpretative and insist upon such things as cause and effect, motive, and specific temporal relations between events. This is not to say that the Authorized Version attempts anything like a complete monotony of clause connection. It often uses "and when" or "but" rather than the simple "and," but its overall effect is still much more Hebraic than English. It begins Genesis in the way it intends to go on, merely placing one thing after another, and leaving us to interpret for ourselves

the degree to which the things described are sequential or simultaneous, and whether, for example, the darkness was an intimate part of the formlessness (1:1–2):

> In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

In a more sophisticated rendering, such as the New English Bible's, the darkness is presented as a subsidiary part of the formlessness:

> In the beginning of Creation, when God made heaven and earth, the earth was without form and void, with darkness over the face of the abyss, and a mighty wind that swept over the surface of the waters.

And in the New International Version the hovering of God's spirit is not as ambiguous as in the Authorized Version, where it could be either simultaneous with the creation of the formless universe or consequent upon it. Here it all happens at the same time:

> In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. Now the earth was formless and empty, darkness was over the surface of the deep, and the Spirit of God was hovering over the waters.

THIS OPENNESS to a range of meanings is one of the Authorized Version's great merits as a translation and extends far beyond the use of a heavily paratactic syntax. It seems to have been an important principle that its renderings be capable of embracing differing, even apparently incompatible, interpretations—partly, one assumes, because there were many Puritan and Catholic critics only too ready to accuse it of partiality. A translation which could admit ambiguity was nearly always to be preferred to a narrowly interpretative one—a practice completely opposed to the aims of most modern translators, and one which has significant literary consequences.

It has always been possible to get some idea of the way the Authorized Version translators worked simply by comparing their renderings with their predecessors'. This is a fascinating pursuit, because it repeatedly shows both how minute their changes often were, and also how these apparently trivial alterations could have unexpectedly large effects on both aesthetics—as in the well-known example of their changing "small still voice" to "still small voice"—and meaning. Recently, however, we have been able to add to our speculations about the reasons for these changes some hard evidence, thanks to the scholarship of Ward Allen, who unearthed and edited the notes of one of the members of a translation panel, John Bois.[15] Again and again these notes show how concerned the translators were to achieve as open a rendering as possible. Thus their translation of Romans 12:10 reads: "Be kindly affectioned one to another

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with brotherly love; in honour preferring one another." Earlier versions had rendered the verb in the last clause as "go before" or "preventing" (in Elizabethan English, *prevent* means "go before"), as in the Geneva Bible's "Be affectioned to love one another with brotherly love. In giving honour, go one before another." Bois's note shows that "prefer" was used in order to get two meanings into the verse: "Let each one of you strive to prevail in giving honour to another" and "in honour esteeming others before themselves."[16]

We have learned to prize ambiguity in poetry, and we see its roots in the English tradition largely in the work of John Donne and the Metaphysical poets who followed him. Bois's notes repeatedly remind us that the translators of the Authorized Version were Donne's contemporaries, men of a similar cast of mind. The Geneva Bible renders 2 Corinthians 10:16 thus:

> And to preach the gospel in those regions which are beyond you: not to rejoice in the measure, which is appointed to another man, that is, in them that are prepared already.

The Reims Bible has:

> yea unto those places that are beyond you, to evangelize, not in another man's rule, to glory in those things that are prepared before.

Bois's note shows that the translators tried to include another sense which they perceived in the Greek in the final clause: "This is said concerning those historians who through a certain laziness and weakness of mind, shirking the labour of seeking the truth of things, produced their own histories from others' writings."[17] Bois then turns to the word immediately preceding this clause, one we have encountered in another context earlier, *kanon*, which the earlier versions had rendered as "measure" and "rule." The note explains *kanon* as meaning "the space between the . . . place from which one jumps and the . . . pit" in a long-jumping contest. Several alternatives to "rule" are scouted, with "line" being the ultimate choice because it will convey both the athletic submetaphor and the sense that the final clause is concerned, among other things, with other men's writing.[18] Thus: "To preach the gospel in the regions beyond you, and not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand." Translating the final Greek phrase as "things made ready to our hand" adds to the earlier versions' idea of other men's worldly authority the authority of earlier writers which historians had lazily acceded to—"line" being both imperial lineage and the lines of writing on a page. It is good to have the note, too, not only to show the verbal dexterity of these translators, but as a fresh view of the strenuous origins of canonicity.

One final example of the extraordinary economy of the translators' practice comes in 1 Corinthians 13:5, part of the continuing definition of

charity: "Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil." The earlier English versions had rendered the last clause as "thinketh not evil." Changing "not" to "no" undoubtedly promoted euphony—the two open vowels collide powerfully with each other—but Bois's note informs us that the translators had another purpose too. The note reads *non imputat malum* ("he does not impute evil");[19] in other words, "thinketh not evil" means that evil thoughts do not come into charity's mind. "Thinketh no evil" means the same but adds the second idea that charity never conceives of anyone else acting through evil motives; "no" has more to do with "evil" than with "think," whereas "not" attaches itself more closely to the verb.

All these examples can be seen to have doctrinal or theological implications, but they also have one distinct literary implication: that the Authorized Version's translators were artful and, in the best Renaissance sense, witty, contriving to make what they wrote have a variety of meanings. In their view the translator's task was not to assume that there is one clear meaning to which the text should be reduced, but instead to open out the text to include as much as possible.

Ambiguity is an inherently poetic ideal, and in this respect it is instructive to consider the Renaissance translators' response to the most poetic element of biblical writing, its imagery. The contrast between Renaissance and modern translators' treatment of *leb*, "heart," shows up how regularly the earlier translators reproduced the image whereas modern translators often feel constrained to suppress it. Many modern versions eschew anything which smacks of imagery or metaphor—based on the curious assumption, I guess, that modern English is an image-free language. When Christ, in the Sermon on the Mount, talks about those who *hunger* and *thirst* for righteousness, the Good News Bible drops the images of hungering and thirsting, and renders it "Happy are those whose greatest desire is to do what God requires." And where the Authorized Version has Christ warning that anyone who looks lustfully at a woman "hath committed adultery with her in his heart [*kardia*]," the New American Bible, disapproving of the idea that the heart should be conceived of as anything but a muscle, translates it as "he has already committed adultery with her in his thoughts"—quite a different idea. Again, it is unfair to imply that all the virtue is on one side. We will not find Job's splendid image of the "eyelids of the morning" (3:9) in the Authorized Version, which has "the dawning of the day," but in the New English Bible. But the general tendency is overwhelming, and as a result in the modern versions forms of expression of varying degrees of poeticality are reduced to the prosaic. The loss is measurable not only in terms of aesthetics but also in terms of meaning.

Particularly in the narrative sections of the Bible the Authorized Version emerges from comparison with twentieth-century versions as

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more attractive and more accurate. This success has much to do with the Renaissance translators' sense that they were translating works of literature, so that they brought to the task the same attitudes that they would have brought to constructing a sermon—one of the most impressive literary forms of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, delivered to larger audiences than the playhouses got. The Renaissance translators were still close to a Protestant Reformation which stressed the primacy of the Bible's literal sense, as opposed to the various allegorical readings which the Catholic Church had foisted upon it. Stressing the literal sense very often involves treating the story with as much care as any writer of narrative should do. And so the Authorized Version presents Christ on the hillside delivering his sermon and speaking like a popular preacher. Instead of saying aridly scholarly things like "How blest are those of a gentle spirit; they shall have the earth for a possession" (New English Bible) or "not the smallest letter, not the least stroke of a pen" (New International Version), he says "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth" and "one jot or tittle"; and instead of words which no mouth could ever utter, such as "And if one of the occupation troops forces you to carry his pack one kilometre, carry it two kilometres" (Good News Bible), he says the beautifully pithy "And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain." And when Martha is ordered to open up Lazarus's tomb, she does not protest with the affected "by this time there is a bad odour" (New International Version) or "by now there will be a stench" (New English Bible), but registers frank revulsion: "by this time he stinketh" (John 11:39).

At its best, which means often, the Authorized Version has the kind of transparency which makes it possible for the reader to see the original clearly. It lacks the narrow interpretative bias of modern versions, and is the stronger for it. When the writer of Proverbs asserts that man is constantly aware of his own mortality and the mortality of those he loves, the Authorized Version translates a plain Hebrew sentence as plainly as possible: "Even in laughter the heart is sorrowful" (14:13). Versions which replace "is" with "may," as the New English Bible and New International Version do—"Even in laughter the heart may grieve" and "Even in laughter the heart may ache"—have already begun to interpret away the inconsolability of the original; just as replacing the Authorized Version's splendidly literal translation of the phrase which recurs in the historical books, "him that pisseth against the wall," with "every mother's son" (New English Bible) or "every last male" (New International Version) abandons any real attempt to reproduce its register and tone.

Through its transparency the reader of the Authorized Version not only sees the original but also learns how to read it. Patterns of repetition, the way one clause is linked to another, the effect of unexpected inversions of word order, the readiness of biblical writers to vary tone and register

from the highly formal to the scatological, and the different kinds and uses of imagery are all, like so much else, open to any readers of the Renaissance versions, and best open to them in the Authorized Version.

NOTES

1. Although English translations are the topic here, it should be remembered that behind these lay earlier translators' efforts, in particular the Vulgate, whose "deus" and "dominus" match "God" and "Lord." There were earlier English versions than Tyndale's, notably the Wyclif Bible at the end of the fourteenth century, but these were not printed, and any influence upon the later tradition is not strong.

2. From Tyndale's preface to *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528).

3. See my argument for Tyndale's knowledge of Hebrew, "William Tyndale's Pentateuch: Its Relation to Luther's German Bible and the Hebrew Original," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1981), 351–385.

4. The best account of the relationship among the English Bibles is C. C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the English Bible* (Philadelphia, 1941). The most useful general history is still B. F. Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 5th ed. (London, 1905). For a more detailed study of the different versions' translation methods see Gerald Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible* (Manchester, 1982).

5. From the translators' preface. This and other basic documents relating to the Renaissance Bible are collected in A. W. Pollard, ed., *Records of the English Bible* (1911; reprint, Oxford, 1974).

6. William Tyndale, *Answer to Sir Thomas More* (1531; reprint, London, 1850), p. 16. Tyndale's use of "senior" instead of "priest" angered More by removing the biblical basis for the priesthood. Tyndale's second thoughts do the same thing, only better.

7. The *Oxford English Dictionary* describes *know* used in this sense as "chiefly an Hebraism" but points to parallels in other European languages.

8. The New English Bible, New American Bible, and Jerusalem Bible renderings, respectively.

9. Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (London, 1981), p. 93.

10. In Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 374.

11. Modern versions vary. The Jerusalem Bible and the New English Bible have three different renderings: "jeer at," "mock," "look jeeringly"; and "deride," "sneers at," and "mocks," respectively. The New American Bible and New International Version have "mock" in all three places.

12. The Jerusalem Bible gets it wrong by rendering all four verses in the same way: "and he went unmolested" (v. 21), "and he had gone unmolested" (v. 22), "to go away unmolested" (v. 23), and "to go unmolested" (v. 24). The New American Bible is similarly obtuse, ending verses 21–23 with a variant of "go away in peace," and verse 24 with "go peacefully on his way." The New International Version is the best of the modern attempts: "and he went in peace" (v. 21), "and he had gone in peace" (v. 22), "he had gone in peace" (v. 23), and "Now he is gone!" (v. 24).

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13. The New International Version renders five of these ten examples with "heart"; the Jerusalem Bible and the New American Bible, like the New English Bible, use "heart" only twice.

14. For a similar contrast in the New Testament between the Authorized Version's reproduction of the original's expressive syntax and the New English Bible's suppression of it, see their renderings of 2 Corinthians 6:4–10.

15. Ward Allen, ed. and trans., *Translating for King James: Notes Made by a Translator of King James's Bible* (Nashville, 1969). The notes seem to be those of one of the final revising committees.

16. Ibid., p. 43. The first quotation is Allen's translation of Bois's Latin, the second of his recasting of the Greek text.

17. Ibid., p. 53.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., p. 49. The note refers to Zechariah 7:10: "and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart."

SUGGESTED FURTHER READINGS

Ward Allen, ed. and trans., *Translating for King James: Notes Made by a Translator of King James's Bible* (Nashville, 1969).

Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," in Hannah Arendt, ed., *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (London, 1973).

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University of Manchester

GLOSSARY

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THE INTERPRETER'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

An Illustrated Encyclopedia

IDENTIFYING AND EXPLAINING ALL PROPER NAMES AND
SIGNIFICANT TERMS AND SUBJECTS IN
THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, INCLUDING THE APOCRYPHA
With Attention to Archaeological Discoveries and
Researches into the Life and Faith of Ancient Times

Supplementary Volume

מלאה הארץ דעה את־יהוה

The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord—ISAIAH 11:9*c*

Abingdon
NASHVILLE

Judaic tradition, although with the addition of certain Greek (what is fitting) and Christian (*agape*) concepts. The basic ethical conception of the NT codes—that without belonging to the world as such, one has responsibilities within the structures of society—takes us back to the teaching and example of Jesus himself.

See also ETHICS IN THE NT §6; ETHICS IN THE NT[S] §§3*d*, 4, 5*a*; CYNICS[S].

Bibliography. In addition to the original bibliog., *see* on ethical catalogues: E. Kamlah, *Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im NT*, WUNT, VII (1964); G. Klein, *Der älteste Christliche Katechismus und die Jüdische Propaganda-Literatur* (1909); A. Vögtle, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im NT*, NTAbh, XVI, 4/5 (1936); S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im NT*, *BZNW*, XXV (1959).

On "Haustafeln": J. E. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, *FRLANT*, CIX (1973), with further bibliog.; L. Goppelt, "Prinzipien ntl. und systematischer Sozialethik heute," *Die Verantwortung der Kirche in der Gesellschaft*, ed. J. Baur *et al.* (1973), pp. 7-30, and "Jesus und die 'Haustafeln'-Tradition," *Orientierung an Jesus*, ed. P. Hoffmann (1973), pp. 93-106; J. P. Sampley, *'And the Two shall become one Flesh,' A Study of Tradition in Eph. 5:21-33*, NTSMS, XVI (1971); W. Schrage, "Zur Ethik der ntl. Haustafeln," *NTS*, XXI (1974-75), 1-22; D. Schroeder, "Die Haustafeln des NT: Ihre Herkunft und Ihr theologischer Sinn" (diss., Hamburg, 1959).

D. SCHROEDER

LITERARY CRITICISM. Analyzes texts in order to determine their structure and composition, possible use of sources (oral or written), integrity (whether the text is composite), and style. The more questions of genre are pursued, the more literary criticism merges with FORM CRITICISM, since the latter can no longer be limited to oral or pre-literary traditions. In biblical scholarship, literary criticism early became intertwined with historical or HIGHER CRITICISM, since the prevailing desire was to write the biblical history the way it "really happened." To do so, it was necessary to relate the biblical books and their sources to their own times and places.

Recently, a "new criticism" has been applied to biblical literature. This understands texts as aesthetic objects in their own right, and finds the key to meaning in the logic intrinsic in the form and structure of the writing rather than in its historical situation, use of sources, or the intention of the writer. *See* LITERATURE, BIBLE AS[S].

The earlier literary criticism, however, being concerned with genetic relationships between texts and parts of texts, attempted to recover sources (assumed to be texts) as precisely as possible. Hence older discussions tend to equate literary criticism with SOURCE CRITICISM. Literary criticism has shown that the books of the Bible are the end products of sometimes long and always complex processes of writing, compiling, and editing. *See* BIBLICAL CRITICISM §5*c*; BIBLICAL CRITICISM, NT[S] §2; BIBLICAL CRITICISM, OT[S] §2.

L. E. KECK

***LITERATURE, THE BIBLE AS.** This phrase designates a point of view taken by a relatively small but increasing number of biblical scholars toward the writings contained in the Old and New Testaments. These scholars, who come from diverse philosophical and theological traditions, are united in considering the Bible primarily and fundamentally as a literary document (as opposed, e.g., to considering it as a historical or theological document). Despite this unity, however, they employ often very different and even incompatible methodologies for the study of literary texts and usually disagree markedly about the implications of their work for the understanding of the Bible.

Generally speaking, they do not feel that their work invalidates other approaches to the Bible. Yet it is clear that their enterprise, viewed in the context of Western culture as a whole, is part of a turning away from a preoccupation with history and a turning toward a concern with language. For this reason, they believe that their studies provide a helpful corrective to a prepossession with history among biblical students. Because of their concern with language, they find themselves looking to such fields as linguistics and semiology (the study of the use and meaning of signs) for basic presuppositions and methodological tools.

The movement to consider the Bible as literature may be part of the general secularization of Western culture. It is noteworthy that many of its practitioners are teachers in secular institutions who have no specifically religious or theological interest in the Bible. Their study of it as literature is rooted in an appreciation of the biblical portrayal of the human situation. There are other advocates of a literary approach to the Bible, however, whose final concern is religious. They believe that the literary appreciation of the Bible is one more way of appropriating God's word spoken through documents centuries old.

1. Literature as paradigm
2. Consequences of paradigm change
3. Objections to literary study of the Bible
4. Current research
   a. Structuralism
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Bibliography

1. Literature as paradigm. The exceptional literary merit of the Bible has been recognized from the earliest times. Both Jewish and Christian commentators from the founding fathers on have noted the simple grandeur of its prose narrative, the evocative power of its imagery, and the penetrating insight of its characterizations. Furthermore, LITERARY CRITICISM has long been recognized and practiced as an important part of biblical interpretation (e.g., its delineation of genres of literary speech). Yet the new literary critics distinguish their work from that of the older criticism, while at the same time acknowledging their own indebtedness to that which form and source analysts have been doing.

Contemporary sociologists of knowledge have used the word "paradigm" to describe any idea or set of ideas that provides the framework within which a given set of phenomena are understood. One

can say, then, that the *paradigm* which has governed practically all modern research on the Bible is history. Scholars operating under this paradigm have either remarked on the literary quality of a text as an aside or have engaged in literary tasks for the purpose of answering historical questions (e.g., the attempt to establish the authentic sayings of Jesus by form criticism). The paradigm, or controlling idea, guiding the research of literary critics is, on the other hand, literature. Consideration of the Bible as literature is itself the beginning and end of scholarly endeavor. The Bible is taken first and finally as a literary object. It is because of this shift from history to literature as paradigm that contemporary literary critics wish to distinguish themselves from their predecessors. They claim that it is possibly the most significant change of paradigm in biblical studies since the adoption of the historical model sometime after the Middle Ages, and that it will revolutionize the way the Bible is assimilated into modern culture. An analogy with Homer is often made. The questions an ancient Greek would have asked, believing the *Iliad* both a sacred text narrating the activities of the gods and a historical document reporting the Trojan War, are far different from those asked by a modern Homeric critic.

2. Consequences of paradigm change. With a change in paradigm goes a shift in criteria governing the type of problems that are studied, the selection of methods used to solve these problems, and the legitimacy and adequacy of proposed solutions. Thus, for help in framing questions to be asked of biblical materials, for tools of analysis, and for basic notions of what an acceptable answer looks like, practitioners of the new literary criticism tend to call upon a broader field of general literary and linguistic studies. Exod. 1–15 can be used as an example to illustrate how this new literary analysis works, although it should be kept in mind that what follows is only one among numerous ways the passage might be studied by these critics.

An initial reading indicates that Exod. 1–15 has many features of literary comedy, especially dramatic comedy. By a comparison of this material with other examples of this genre, and a study of various critical analyses of comedy in literature, some basic tools with which to test the initial hypothesis may be gained (e.g., theories of characterization and plot structure typical of comedy). Thus, one is able to see, for instance, that the *dramatis personae* in Exodus conform very neatly to the characterization found in the comedy genre. Pharaoh is a typical *alazon* (an imposter, one who tries to be more than he is), and Moses a typical *eiron* (one who subverts the *alazon*). Yahweh is a good example of the behind-the-scenes initiator and sustainer of the comic action, Aaron a characteristic hero's helper, and the Egyptian army an exemplary *pharmakos,* or scapegoat. Moreover, the verbal contest, or *agon,* between Moses and Pharaoh is a recurring feature of comic plots, as is the final outcome of the action: a move from one society to a more authentic alternative.

Further testing of the hypothesis that Exod. 1–15 is a literary comedy would have to lead to an assessment of the internal consistency of the narrative so viewed, and to a comparison with other acknowledged examples of the genre. This comparative study is crucial. If one encounters no significant negative evidence, the hypothesis gains the status of a theory and is used to examine certain larger questions of meaning, including the meaning of comedy and its function within human societies.

This illustration, brief as it is, points to several common characteristics of the new literary criticism of the Bible. First, no extraliterary hypotheses (e.g., that Exod. 1–15 is Scripture, that it is historical reportage, or that it originally had a place in the cultic celebrations of ancient Israel) are introduced to account for any features of the text or as evidence in support of any conclusions drawn. That Exodus is considered by some to be a sacred text is irrelevant to the discussion. That the events it describes are considered by many to be historical is also irrelevant. For the literary critic nothing depends on the truth or falsity of these historical claims. The situation is exactly comparable to reading, e.g., Gibbon as literature. Gibbon intended to write history, and his initial readers certainly read him that way. The literary critic simply brackets this intention and reads him in a wholly different context, one in which the accuracy of his account of ancient Rome never comes into question. Finally, that the *Sitz im Leben* out of which Exod. 1–15 came was a cultic one would not surprise the literary critic, since much literature may have such an origin. But, if it were proved that this hypothesis were false, it would not influence his findings one way or the other. The situation in this case is comparable to the study of Greek drama in relation to its reputed origin in Greek religion. Such information might give the critic some clues about the social significance of drama, but would otherwise be unhelpful.

Second, literary critics in general do not believe it is necessary to use the traditional disciplines of biblical research (e.g., source, form, or tradition criticism) or to employ the findings of those disciplines. Upon occasion a critic may indeed make use of these—if, e.g., there is a special interest in analyzing the JE version of the Exodus. Source criticism would then be employed in order to establish the text. But much more often the text is simply taken in its received form, so that information about its construction from smaller units (whether these units are oral or written) is not likely to be crucial. In any case, wherever literary critics do make use of these disciplines, it is for their own purposes.

Third, the new literary criticism may be described as inherently ahistorical. For instance, should a text be available in several recensions, the choice of which recension to study is essentially idiosyncratic, depending on the interests of the critic, and is unrelated to assumptions about greater value lying in greater antiquity or in closer proximity to original authors). Also, since such critics consider that all individual works comprise one vast body of literature, they normally feel quite free in studying a particular work in relationship to any other, of whatever date or

from whatever place. It follows, moreover, from this same assumption that these critics freely employ modern ideas as explanatory concepts in the attempt to comprehend ancient texts. They do not assume that the viewpoint of the author(s) or of the original audience is privileged over the point of view of any other reader.

Fourth, to adopt the paradigm of literature in one's interpretation of the Bible usually also involves an assumption about the nature of symbols, namely, that their final direction is inward not outward. Symbols are understood to have been used, not instrumentally, but imaginatively, to construct a fictive world where actions are not real actions but imitations of real actions, and where ideas do not apply directly to the real world but to the fictive world. Ideas in literature are hypothetical constructs, and the route one would take in transferring them from fictive to real world is most circuitous. This of course has implications for the thorny question of "truth" in literature. Generally speaking, a question about the truth of an action or idea expressed in a work of literature resolves itself into a question of its rightness or appropriateness in context. The truth of Jesus' resurrection, e.g., becomes a question of how fitting it is as the climax of the narrative action told in the gospels and is parallel to the rightness of Hermione's return to life in *The Winter's Tale*. Likewise, the truth of a biblical theme like the fall of man is parallel to the problem of the truth of Keats' proclamation in "Ode on a Grecian Urn" that "beauty is truth, truth beauty." In both these cases the question is whether a truth claim is valid, not in the real world, but within the fictive world that the work creates. The Bible's significance as literature is closely tied to the power of the literary symbolism present in its various books. The centripetal force of literary symbols draws the reader into the work, and, through an effort to unite its symbols in a total realization of its structure, one is led finally to surrender oneself to the force of the work.

3. Objections to literary study of the Bible. Two closely related objections are often made to studying the Bible as literature. It is said that such study entails an essential distortion of the meaning of biblical texts because it makes them into something they were not meant to be. The second objection is that literary methods of analysis are successful only on works self-consciously written as literature. Literary critics do not deny that they place the biblical materials in a context alien to those in which they were originally written. They argue, however, that the designation of these texts as Scripture (another clear instance of a paradigm shift) also places them in an alien context, and that such changes in contextual frameworks are inevitable as history changes the concerns of mankind. In response to the second objection, one may simply observe that critics have for generations successfully studied numerous materials not self-consciously written as literature (e.g., Donne's sermons, C. Wesley's hymns, Milton's political tracts, the King James translation of the Bible).

4. Current research. Although certain presuppositions held in common by sponsors of the new literary criticism of the Bible have been identified, it is not surprising to find also some important differences. The liveliest debate among interpreters interested in moving from the history to the literature paradigm centers on the validity and usefulness of structuralism as a critical methodology.

a. Structuralism. Two presuppositions are crucial to structuralism both as a philosophy and as a critical methodology. The first is that appearances are not reality. Phenomena (like literary texts) as they meet the eye are to be explained by phenomena below the surface, called deep structures. The second assumption is that deep structures express themselves as codes. All human activities, from kinship patterns to literary texts to fashions, are coded expressions of the deep structures of the human brain. The fundamental model for understanding all codes is language, which explains the peculiarly important place that linguistics plays in structuralist theory. By decoding human activities one can not only discover the reality behind the appearances of everyday life, but can also, potentially, map the structure of the mind.

One particular implication of these presuppositions is of special importance for structuralist literary criticism: in order to break codes one must pay attention to wholes. One should not, as has been the case so often in the past, dissect wholes into parts and then consider that these parts have meaning apart from the whole. The proper procedure, rather, is to study works as wholes by showing the interrelation of their parts.

For the structuralist, then, at one pole is the literary text as it meets the eye, a text capable of being reduced to very small units, like words, images, metaphors. At the other pole are the deep structures which have been coded in the text. In between are a series of intermediate structures of ever increasing abstraction, like narrative sequences, plot structures, genres. The entire model should be compared to the analysis of language into phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases, sentences, groups of sentences, etc. Structuralist criticism may begin at any one of these levels, but it finally always proceeds from whole to ever larger whole.

Structuralists have done significant work at many different levels, e.g., on genre, style, metaphor, narrative, and characterization. Since it is not feasible to discuss their methodology in each of these areas, a hypothetical example will be used to illustrate certain of their basic procedures. Typically they assign the major functional elements in a story (i.e., characters, objects, conditions, feelings, etc.) to one of six different roles: subject, object, recipient, ordainer, helper, opponent. When these roles are placed in relation to actions, one arrives at the following schematized plot (of which there are innumerable refinements): a subject, aided by a helper and hindered by an opponent, wants to possess an object or render it to a recipient, the object and possibly even the entire action proceeding from an ordainer. Usually the outcomes of potential actions represented by this plot are arranged into binary sets (reflecting a general propensity within structuralism to understand things in terms of binary opposition): sub-

ject does/does not possess object, recipient takes/ refuses to take object, etc.

Using the above schemata and others like them the structuralist critics, from their own intuition and from the example of their predecessors, attempt to identify the meaningful units of a given text, e.g., a parable of Jesus. These units may be specific actions, episodes, themes, relationships between characters, or the like. For simplicity the meaningful units of a particular parable may be represented by the symbols *a, b, c*. Next, choosing similar texts (e.g., the remaining parables of Jesus), the critic performs the same analysis and may arrange the findings in a chart:

Parable 1	a	b	c		
Parable 2	a		c	d	e
Parable 3	a	b		d	
Parable 4		b	c	d	e
Parable 5		b		d	e

This chart, taken as a whole, represents the set, parable of Jesus, and read across line by line it shows the relation of one parable to the set. It is easy to see that reading any one parable will give only part of the total message. One would need to read the entire set to understand the fuller meaning. In fact, it is possible that the meaning units of any one parable may be so arranged as to mislead the reader. In this case, the parable would have a surface meaning and a deeper meaning. One could discover this latter meaning only by comparing the parable with the entire set. It is even possible, maybe even the rule, according to structuralists, that the meaning units of a given series of texts will be so arranged that the real meaning of the whole series is obscured. In this case, the surface meaning of every text in the series is different from its deep meaning. Even a serial reading of the entire group will not yield the deep meaning. Only when a serial reading (horizontal axis in the above chart) is combined with a formal reading (vertical axis) will the true meaning become clear.

This analysis of Jesus' parables could be carried a step further by producing a similar set for the parable genre. This set would be what is called the generative matrix out of which all parables come by means of certain laws of transformation. The process is similar to the one by which specific English sentences are generated from the matrix, English language, by means of the laws of grammar. One of the major objects of structuralist activity is to discover the laws of transformation governing all aspects of human behavior. Knowing these laws for parables, the critic, by comparing Jesus' actual parables (his performance as a maker of parables) with the generative matrix, can draw conclusions about Jesus' competence (or his ability to generate parables). In less abstract terms, such a procedure would allow the critic to discover the distinctiveness of Jesus' style and message.

Clearly this is a very different type of analysis from that undertaken in the context of historical study. Given a particular text the historian will ask what conditions in the context caused it to be the way it is. For the structuralist, on the other hand, both the generative matrix and the human mind that is ultimately the locus of that matrix are transtemporal and transspatial. When structuralist critics, therefore, draw conclusions about Jesus' parables, they are not making historical statements, but drawing comparisons between one set of structures and other sets, and also with the pool that includes all possible sets.

b. Nonstructuralist criticism. Much of the literary criticism of this century, especially that known as new criticism, has been principally concerned with the text as it presents itself to the reader. The hallmark of this type of criticism is "close reading," the meticulous, detailed analysis of the verbal texture of the work, paying particular attention to patterns of imagery, use of metaphors, and the type of interplay between words that generates wit, paradox, and irony. These critics emphasize the way the verbal interrelations within the text work together to produce an organic whole that is more than the addition of the parts. It follows that each work is indivisible and unique, so that paraphrase is heresy and even translation grossly inadequate. Furthermore, since the poem is unique, each experience of the poem, accomplished by an intense "close reading," is also utterly unique, and is characterized by a heightened integration of body and mind and self and world. New criticism agrees with structuralism in its concentration upon the text as object and in its willingness to divorce the text from its historical moorings, but it abhors the tendency of structuralism to dissolve the particularity of the object in ever larger abstractions.

"Close reading" works best on texts that are written out of an intense self-consciousness and so possess a very dense aesthetic surface (e.g., the poems of Donne). Since there are few texts within the Bible that are so written, application of new criticism to biblical materials has been sporadic and uneven. Some interesting analyses have been done on books like Job, Jonah, Mark, and Revelation. In the long run it may be that work done by new critics on narrative style may be more useful in biblical criticism. Unlike the structuralists, who tend to abstract narrative elements from the text in a process called normalization, new critics concern themselves with the actual language of the text, with such matters as choice of syntactic constructions and vocabulary, point of view, and tone of voice.

As interest in new criticism has waned, scholars have turned their attention increasingly to classificatory schemes for literature, especially to the notion of genre. Some but not all of this activity has been structuralist oriented (*see above*). Biblical scholars have been concerned both with the smaller genres found within larger works (e.g., songs, stories, proverbs) and with the larger works themselves. Studies of the smaller units, in many ways related to form criticism, have tried, by comparing these units with certain traditional genres, to come to a fuller understanding and appreciation of the distinctive qualities of biblical speech. Investigation of the larger units has, for the most part, amounted to the study of biblical books as wholes (e.g., gospels, letters, histories) and is related to redaction criticism. An attempt has been made to show that these books belong to genres

and to discover the basic conventions of these genres. The notion that the writing of history is itself a literary genre governed by literary conventions is particularly exciting, and illustrates, once again, the tendency of literature to swallow up history.

One attempt to isolate the units of which larger wholes consist depends not upon traditional classification of genre but upon the rhetorical strategies used by their authors. With works very obviously oratorical (e.g., Second Isaiah) this method has produced significant results. Efforts to apply it more broadly have not, as of yet, been very successful.

See also ACTS, GENRE[S]; APOCALYPSE, GENRE[S]; DISCOURSE STRUCTURE[S]; FORM CRITICISM, OT, NT [S]; GOSPEL, GENRE[S]; LETTER[S]; PARABLE[S]; POETRY, HEBREW[S]; REDACTION CRITICISM, OT, NT[S]; SOURCE CRITICISM, OT[S].

Bibliography. The most useful bibliography of works on literary criticism is that published in annual volumes by the Modern Language Association. J. D. Crossan, "A Basic Bibliography for Parables Research," *Semeia*, I (1974), 236-73, is useful for the biblical student interested in structuralism.

Literary criticism: There are numerous anthologies of literary criticism from Plato to the present; a good one is H. Adams, *Critical Theory Since Plato* (1971). Biblical students should begin with N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957), to which the present discussion is heavily indebted. Other important studies are: I. A. Richards, *Principles of Literary Criticism* (1924) and *Practical Criticism* (1929); K. Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form* (1941); G. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (1957), a very good example of phenomenological criticism; M. Krieger, *The New Apologists for Poetry* (1956), a useful summary of literary critical debate through the first half of this century, and *A Window to Criticism* (1964), which has a fascinating discussion of the relation of poem to reality; F. Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending* (1967), for a discussion of the meaning and significance of fictions; and R. Wellek and A. Warren, *Theory of Literature* (3rd ed., 1963), for basic orientation. Additional critics who are likely to be helpful to biblical students are J. C. Ransom, R. P. Blackmur, and C. Brooks (all new critics); G. Santayana and A. W. Levi (for philosophical orientation); R. S. Crane (a neo-Aristotelian formalist); G. Poulet and J. H. Miller (both phenomenologists); G. Steiner (for the implications of modern linguistic theory for literary criticism); as well as the prose writings of T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and Wallace Stevens.

Structuralism: There are four helpful anthologies of structuralist writings: R. Macksey and E. Donato, eds., *The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man* (1970); J. Ehrmann, ed., *Structuralism* (1970); M. Lane, ed., *Introduction to Structuralism* (1970); and R. and F. DeGeorge, eds., *The Structuralists from Marx to Lévi-Strauss* (1972). The latter two contain excellent introductions. One should begin with the three founding fathers: K. Marx, *Capital* (3rd ed., 1887); S. Freud, *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1904), only one of numerous possible selections; and F. de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (1916 [ET 1959]). After them one should turn to the giants of structuralism as a self-conscious movement: R. Jakobson and M. Halle, *Fundamentals of Language* (1956); R. Jakobson, *Selected Writings*, vol. I (1962); R. Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero* (1953 [ET 1968]), *Elements of Semiology* (1953 [ET 1968]), and *On Racine* (1960); C. Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (1958) and *The Savage Mind* (1962); E. Leach, *Claude Lévi-Strauss* (1970), helpful in understanding the man and his work; N. Chomsky, *Language and Mind* (1968). Among structuralist examinations of individual genres V. Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928 [ET 1968]) should probably be singled out as most important for biblical students. In order to pursue individual interests beyond the above basic list, Crossan's bibliography should be consulted.

Literary criticism of the Bible: James Barr, "Reading the Bible as Literature," *BJRUL*, LVI (1973), 10-33, offers a general survey with references to a number of pertinent studies. Much of the work is to be found in journals. One should pay special attention to *Linguistica Biblica* and *Semeia*, two journals devoted exclusively to literary criticism of the Bible and related matters. Also, *Interpretation*, XXVIII (1974), a special issue on structuralism, should be consulted. Several general books in the field are: R. G. Moulton, *The Literary Study of the Bible* (rev. ed., 1899), a pioneering and still useful study; D. B. McDonald, *The Hebrew Literary Genius* (1933); T. Henn, *The Bible as Literature* (1970); S. Sandmel, *The Enjoyment of Scripture* (1972); A. Wilder, *Early Christian Rhetoric: The Language of the Gospel* (1971), a basic work on the literary art of the NT; L. Alonso-Schökel, *The Inspired Word* (1965). For structuralist and/or linguistic oriented studies see: R. Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic, and Word of God* (1966); E. Güttgemanns, *Offene Fragen zur Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (1970); E. Leach, *Genesis as Myth and Other Essays* (1969), a fascinating and potentially revolutionary study of several biblical stories from the point of view of a structuralist anthropologist; D. Via, *The Parables* (1967) and *Kerygma and Comedy in the NT: A Structuralist Approach to Hermeneutic* (1975). Other useful studies are: W. Beardslee, *Literary Criticism of the New Testament* (1970), a fine study of the larger genres like gospel and apocalypse; E. Good, *Irony in the Old Testament* (1965); E. Auerbach, *Mimesis* (1946), which includes a classic study of Hebrew narrative style. J. Muilenburg's exegesis of Isa. 40-66, IB, V (1956), 381-418, 422-773, introduces the concept of "rhetorical criticism." See also S. E. McEvenue, *The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer*, AnBib, L (1971); D. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph*, VTSup, XX (1970).

Sociology of knowledge: Those interested in this subject and in the idea of paradigm should begin with T. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) and P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966).

D. ROBERTSON

***LITERATURE, EARLY CHRISTIAN.** Most of the writings from the first 150 years of Christian history (*ca.* A.D. 30-180) belong to collections which are referred to by certain traditional designations: the twenty-seven writings of the NT canon (*see* CANON, NT; CANON, NT[S]); the APOSTOLIC FATHERS, writings which were believed to have been written by disciples of the apostles; and the NT Apoc., writings which usually bear the name of an apostle, but were not admitted to the canon of the NT (constantly increasing in number through new discoveries; *see* APOCRYPHA, NT[S] §1; NAG HAMMADI[S]). Some of the works of the Apologists, as well as some of the Acts of Christian martyrs must also be included.

These writings are of very different types. They include brief letters as well as long treatises comprising several "books." They belong to several distinct literary genres, and not all of them were written in order to be published. Yet all of these Christian writings share the features which gen-

creation were from the devil (Iren. Her. I.xxiv.2) and in the apocryphal Acts (e.g., Acts of Thomas 12) sexual intercourse is the worst sin. In the Gospel of Thomas the overcoming of sexual differentiation is portrayed as the goal of humankind in the eschatological era (in itself a Jewish and early Jewish-Christian motif, e.g., Mark 12:25). This view perhaps rests upon a belief in the original androgynous nature of humanity, to which eschatological humanity is to return. *See* THOMAS, GOSPEL OF[S] §2.

The evidence also suggests that in some circles women continued to exercise church leadership. The author of the book of REVELATION inveighs against a Christian female prophet who is the leader of what he considers a false (and perhaps Gnostic) Christian libertinism (2:20-23). And the second-century Acts of Paul (*see* PAUL, ACTS OF, a writing which has, however, only a tenuous relationship to known Gnostic ideas) portrays Thecla as a female missionary in men's clothing with, apparently, shorn hair (25:40-43), and Tertullian suggests that she had become a model for women who wanted to teach and baptize (*On Baptism* XVII). The Gnostic endorsement of the original Christian libertarian posture must have proven attractive to women; at least the Christian opponents described in the Pastorals are begrudgingly accorded success in evangelizing women, there called pejoratively "weak women" (II Tim. 3:6-7).

b. The mainstream church. The church whose documents are the later canonical NT writings moved in the opposite direction. Appealing to the orders of creation as understood through the Hebrew Scriptures, the church (*a*) condemned sexual asceticism and the denial of the sexual role within marriage, (*b*) encouraged the marriage state, (*c*) refused women participation in the liturgical and political leadership of the church, and (*d*) concluded that women should be subordinated to men. These views represent in part a return to the cultural mores of the environment, and in part a strong reaction against those claims of Gnostic Christianity which seemed to deny the orders of creation.

The new position is clearly stated in the so-called "household rules" (*see* LISTS, ETHICAL §§1-4; LISTS, ETHICAL[S] §2), where marriage is assumed to be the normal situation of adults; elders, deacons, and bishops are known (and perhaps encouraged) to be married (cf. Tit. 1:6; I Tim. 3:1, 4, 12); younger widows are to remarry (I Tim. 5:14); child-bearing and child-raising reappear as the function of marriage (contrary to Paul) and, it is implied, as the primary function of women within marriage (I Tim. 2:15; 3:4, 12; 5:14).

Throughout this later literature women are consistently commanded to be submissive to their husbands, that is, to accept a position of complete subordination to the male (Col. 3:18; Eph. 5:22; I Tim. 2:11; Tit. 2:5; I Pet. 3:1, 5). The rules in I Tim. 2:8 ff. are the most stringent of them all, and obviously represent a reaction against emerging Gnosticism. Women are enjoined to silence in the worship, presumably in contrast to the public prayer of men (although it is possible to interpret vs. 9 as speaking about proper dress of women while they participate in public prayer). Women are also denied the office of teacher, as well as any role which would give them authority over males.

Through these rules, the mainstream church attempted to protect itself against the ascetic extremes of Christian Gnosticism and what it considered the unnatural (i.e., against the created order) equality of woman in church and home. Since these rules must have been directed against fairly widespread practice, it is impossible to judge whether, in Christian congregations at the end of the first century, women were more often accorded equality or admonished to submission. Eventually, however, the rules proved to be as successful as they were fateful for the history of Western civilization.

See also FAMILY; MARRIAGE; MARRIAGE[S]; MARRIAGE IN THE NT[S]; SEX, SEXUAL BEHAVIOR; SEX, SEXUAL BEHAVIOR[S]; ETHICS IN THE NT[S] §§1ei, 3dii, 4*a*, *b*, 5.

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R. SCROGGS

WORDPLAY IN THE OT. Paronomasia is the term employed by ancient Greek commentators when referring to rhetoric devices designed to engage the attention of an audience. The use of paronomasia promoted a certain aura of ambiguity, which was intended to excite curiosity and to invite a search for meanings that were not readily apparent. It is not surprising, therefore, that divine revelations were often couched in paronomastic forms. There were also times when Hebrew wordplays expressed a spirit of playfulness. The term is known in Latin as *adnominatio* and in Arabic as *tajnīs*. Medieval Hebraic literature called it *lāšôn nōphēl ʿal lāšôn*, literally, "language falling upon language."

To varying extents, Near Eastern literature preserves examples of wordplay. Peeters has collected examples from Egypt and Fishbane from Babylonia.

1. Visual wordplay depends on the written word, tends to be intellectual, even esoteric, and is meant for the limited circles of knowledgeable scribes. This category includes the following types.

a. Gematria. Since in Hebrew a numerical equivalent existed for every consonant, the "value" of a certain word could be calculated, and the total number is said to provide a meaning that is otherwise hidden. Talmudic rabbis (T.B. Ned. 32a) have posited that the 318 "trained men" who aided Abraham in routing the Eastern coalition (Gen. 14) stood for a *gematria* of his servant Eliezer, since the value of consonants forming that name

adds up to 318. Gad, whose *gematria* is 7, is reckoned seventh in the listing of tribes in Gen. 46, a chapter where the number 7 and its multiples are repeatedly invoked. Furthermore, seven sons are ascribed to him (*see also* GENERATION, SEVENTH[S]). Some see in the census of Israel in Num. 1:46 (603, 550) a *gematria* for *b^{e}nê Yiśrā'ēl kol rō'sh*, "the children of Israel, each individual."

b. Notrikon. Letters of each word are considered, acronymically, as abbreviations for a series of words. Examples often cited are *'yk*, "how," in Jer. 3:19, said to stand for '[āmēn] y[hwh] k[î], "Amen, O Lord for"; *hmh* of Jer. 7:4 which is said to be acronymic for h[am]m[āqôm] h[azzê], "this place."

c. Acrostics. A poetic form in which successive lines begin with consonants in alphabetical order. Lam. 1–4 and Pss. 111–112 offer excellent examples. A full listing is found in Gottwald.

d. Atbash. The first letter of the alphabet (*'āleph*) is used as substitute for the last (*tāw*), the second (*bêth*) for the penultimate (*šin*), etc. Two well-known examples are *ššk* (Jer. 25:26; 51:41), which is *atbash* for *bbl* (*Babylon*), and *lb qmy* (Jer. 51:1, RSV n. "Leb-qamai"), which is to be replaced by *kśdym* (Chaldea). In an address to the Society of Biblical Literature (1973), C. H. Gordon suggested that *kbwl* of I Kings 9:13 (RSV "Cabul") be read as *atbash* for *lšpk*, referring to "worthless land."

e. Anastrophe. Usual word order is upset in order to emphasize a play on words. Thus in Gen. 6:9, the name of the patriarch Noah is purposely placed at the end of a verbal sentence in order to underscore a relationship with the admired ancestor Enoch (cf. Gen. 5:22, 24). In the clause *'eth hā^{ae}lōhîm hithhallēkh nō^{a}ḥ*, the last three consonants, read backwards, spell the name "Enoch" (*ḥanôkh*).

f. Epanastrophe. In this type of paranomasia, not strictly visual, the final syllable of one word is reproduced in the word that immediately follows, e.g., *w^{e}lir'ôt š^{e}hem b^{e}hēmmâ lāhem* (Eccl. 3:18); *paraš rešeth l^{e}raglay* (Lam. 1:13; Prov. 25:13). A variation on this genre may lie behind the grammatically troubling first words of Gen. 1:1, *b^{e}rē'šîth bārā'*. Here the first two syllables, composed of three consonants, are repeated in the second word (cf. II Kings 8:12).

2. Oral wordplay. The terminology and definitions are adopted from Glück.

a. Equivocal. This type of wordplay depends on homonymy, that is, the similarity of sound among varying words, e.g., *kîmê nō^{a}ḥ zō'th lî . . . mê-nō^{a}ḥ 'ôdh 'al-hā'āreṣ*: "For this is like the days of Noah to me . . . the waters of Noah . . . over the earth" (Isa. 54:9); *w^{e}haḥēmār hāyâ lāhem laḥōmer:* "And they had . . . bitumen for mortar" (Gen. 11:3). The homonymy that allowed such punning occurred when consonants which were phonemically different in Proto-Semitic fell together in Hebrew—*ḥereb* [*ḥrb] *'al-kaśdîm . . . ḥoreb* [*ḫrb] *'el-mêmêhā:* "A sword upon the Chaldeans . . . a drought upon her waters" (Jer. 50:35-38; cf. Hag. 1:9-11; Ezek. 33:27).

b. Metaphonic. Changes of meaning depend on vowel mutation—*maqqēl šāqēdh '^{a}nî rō'ê . . . kî šōqēdh '^{a}nî:* "I see a rod of almond–[tree] . . . for I am watching" (Jer. 1:11-12; *see also* Amos 8:1-2). Metaphonic puns are facilitated by the occurrence of verbal forms in which a change in stem conjugation does not affect the consonantal root but alters, sometimes radically, the nature of the act: "If you are willing and obedient, you shall *eat* (*tō'khēlû*) the good of the land; But if you refuse and rebel, you shall be *devoured* (*t^e'ukk^{e}lû*) by the sword" (Isa. 1:19-20, cf. Isa. 7:9; Gen. 49:19).

c. Parasonancy. Possibly the most widely attested type of wordplay, parasonancy involves the use of verbal and nominal roots which differ in one of their three consonants: "And he looked for justice (*mišpāṭ*), but behold, bloodshed (*mišpāḥ*); for righteousness (*ṣ^{e}dhāqâ*), but behold, a cry (*ṣ^e'āqâ*)!" (Isa. 5:7; *see also* Judg. 5:15-16; 10:8; Ezek. 5:14; Ps. 28:1). A somewhat more sophisticated parasonant pun is the type in which consonants of one word are found in another word but in a differing order: "He delivers (*y^{e}ḥallēṣ*) the afflicted by their affliction, and opens their ears by adversity (*laḥaṣ*)" (Job 36:15); "All my enemies shall be ashamed (*yēbhōšû*) and sorely troubled; they shall turn back (*yāšubhû*), and be put to shame (*yēbhōšû*) in a moment" (Ps. 6:10 [H 11]).

d. Farrago. Confused, often ungrammatical wording which gains meaning only because of the context (e.g., English "hodge-podge," "helter-skelter," etc.). One characteristic of farrago is that some of the elements involved often display a tendency to rhyme. *Mahēr šālāl ḥāš baz* (Isa. 8:1, 3) affords a good example. Each word is understandable, but when they are strung together the result is awkward grammatically; yet it is quite precise in conveying the intention of the speaker. Other examples of farrago may be found in *tōhû wābhōhû* (Gen. 1:2); *'ûrîm w^{e}thummîm* (Exod. 28:30); *šeṣeph qeṣeph* (Isa. 54:8); the name *Kušān riš'āthayim* (Judg. 3:8), king of Aram Naharayim; *'ûbhen-mešeq bêthî hû' dammešeq '^{e}lî'ezer* (Gen. 15:2).

e. Assonance. Words are strung together primarily for oral effect rather than for furthering the meaning of a given phrase. Isa. 24:16-17 is ideally suited to illustrate this type: *wā'ōmar rāzî-lî rāzî-lî' ôy lî bōgh^{e}dhîm bāghādhû 'ûbheghedh bōgh^{e}dhîm bāghādhû: paḥadh wāphaḥath wāphāḥ 'alêkhā yôšēbh hā'āreṣ*—"But I say 'I pine away, I pine away. Woe is me! For the treacherous deal treacherously, the treacherous deal very treacherously.' Terror, and the pit, and the snare are upon you, O inhabitants of the earth!" Other examples are found in Isa. 22:5; 29:9; Amos 5:5; Gen. 49:19.

f. Onomatopoeia. The use of words imitative of natural sounds: "Then hammered the hooves of his horses, his chargers galloped, galloped away" (Judg. 5:22, NEB)—*middah^{a}rôth dah^{a}rôth 'abbîrāw*. Isa. 10:14 affords another example: "And there was none that moved a wing, or opened the mouth, or chirped (*ûphōṣê phê ûm^{e}ṣaphṣēph*)." In Isa. 28:10, 13, the gibberish of foreign tongues is imitated, if not mocked. *See also* Isa. 47:2; Song of S. 1:2.

g. Antanaclasis. The same word, when repeated, sometimes requires different renditions: "I saw the tears of the oppressed, and I saw that there was

no one to comfort them (*'ên lāhem menaḥēm*). Strength was on the side of their oppressors, *and there was no one to avenge them* (*'ên lāhem menaḥēm*)" (Eccl. 4:1, NEB). *See also* Eccl. 10:4 (*tannaḥ/yanniᵃḥ*); Isa. 58:10 (*naphšekhā/nepheš*); Prov. 24:10 (*ṣārâ/ṣar*); Lam. 2:6 (*mô'ᵃdhô/mô'ēdh*).

3. Extended wordplay. The attainment of rhetorical felicity was by no means the sole inspiration behind the use of wordplay. The biblical writer knew quite well how to unfold playfulness, sometimes beyond the confines of paragraphs or even chapters. To be noted here are examples of fairly long narratives from Genesis which benefited from paronomastic displays: (1) a play on *'îš* (man) and *'iššâ* (woman) explains the origin of woman (Gen. 2:23); (2) a play on *'ᵃrûmmîm* (naked) and *'ārûm* (clever) sets up the serpent as the immediate cause of the Fall (Gen. 2:25 and 3:1); (3) a possibly play on *'ēṣ* (tree) and *bēn* (son) might explain the use of the rare word *'iṣṣābhôn* (toil, pain) for the birth pangs meted out to the first partaker of the tree of knowledge (Gen. 3:16); (4) a play on *bᵉkhorâ* (status of an elder son) and *bᵉrākhâ* (blessing) underscores Jacob's triumphs against his brother Esau (Gen. 27); (5) repeated plays on derivates of the verbs *rā'â* (to see) and *yārā'* (to fear) are obvious in the narrative in Gen. 22.

A further type of extended paronomasia could be called "leitmotif." Cassuto has pointed out a good example in the biblical account of the Flood. The narrator repeatedly plays on the consonants in the name "Noah": "this one shall bring us relief" (*yᵉnaḥᵃmēnû;* 5:29); "the Lord was sorry" (*wayyinnāḥēm;* 6:6); "but Noah found favor" (*ḥēn;* 6:8); "the ark came to rest" (*wattānaḥ;* 8:4); "place to set her foot" (*mānôᵃḥ* 8:9); "the pleasing odor" (*niḥôᵃḥ;* 8:21). Leitmotif paronomasia can also be found in the Isaac narratives in which all the biblical attestations of the *qal*-stem of the verb *ṣāḥaq* are embedded.

An appreciation of paronomasia allows scholars to reconstruct or interpret certain OT passages. Miller thinks Gen. 9:6*b* might originally have read *kî bidmûth 'ᵉlōhîm 'āśâ 'eth-hā'ādhām*—"For in [divine] likeness, did Elohim create man." Such a reconstruction would allow punning on *dᵉmûth* (likeness) and *'ādhām* (man) as well as *dām* (blood).

The appearance of *'ar* in Ugaritic with a possible translation of "honey" (cognate to Arab. *'ary*) has permitted Porter to suggest that *'ᵃrî* (RSV "lion") in the answer to Samson's riddle (Judg. 14:18) is a pun on a word no longer in general use among his contemporaries.

The above typology in no way exhausts the possibilities in biblical paronomasia. Casanowicz has gathered some 502 examples, which show that paronomasia was resorted to most widely by the minor prophets Joel, Habbakuk, Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, and Hosea, in descending order of frequency. Of the major prophets, only Isaiah (mostly First Isaiah) can be reckoned as an inveterate punster. The Writings that are best stocked with wordplays are Proverbs, Lamentations, and, to a lesser extent, Job. With the exception of Genesis, the historical books seldom indulged in this art.

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J. M. SASSON

For the gods keep hidden from men the means of life. Else you would easily do work enough in a day to supply you for a full year even without working; [45] soon would you put away your rudder over the smoke, and the fields worked by ox and sturdy mule would run to waste. But Zeus in the anger of his heart hid it, because Prometheus the crafty deceived him; therefore he planned sorrow and mischief against men. [50] He hid fire; but that the noble son of Iapetus stole again for men from Zeus the counsellor in a hollow fennel-stalk, so that Zeus who delights in thunder did not see it. But afterwards Zeus who gathers the clouds said to him in anger:

"Son of Iapetus, surpassing all in cunning, [55] you are glad that you have outwitted me and stolen fire--a great plague to you yourself and to men that shall be. But I will give men as the price for fire an evil thing in which they may all be glad of heart while they embrace their own destruction."

So said the father of men and gods, and laughed aloud. [60] And he bade famous Hephaestus make haste and mix earth with water and to put in it the voice and strength of human kind, and fashion a sweet, lovely maiden-shape, like to the immortal goddesses in face; and Athena to teach her needlework and the weaving of the varied web; [65] and golden Aphrodite to shed grace upon her head and cruel longing and cares that weary the limbs. And he charged Hermes the guide, the Slayer of Argus, to put in her a shameless mind and a deceitful nature.

So he ordered. And they obeyed the lord Zeus the son of Cronos. [70] Forthwith the famous Lame God moulded clay in the likeness of a modest maid, as the son of Cronos purposed. And the goddess brighteyed Athena girded and clothed her, and the divine Graces and queenly Persuasion put necklaces of gold upon her, [75] and the rich-haired Hours crowned her head with spring flowers. And PallasAthena bedecked her form with all manner of finery. Also the Guide, the Slayer of Argus, contrived within her lies and crafty words and a deceitful nature at the will of loud thundering Zeus, [80] and the Herald of the gods put speech in her. And he called this woman Pandora,because all they who dwelt on Olympus gave each a gift, a plague to men who eat bread.

But when he had finished the sheer, hopeless snare, the Father sent glorious Argus-Slayer, [85] the swift messenger of the gods, to take it to Epimetheus as a gift. And Epimetheus did not think on what Prometheus had said to him, bidding him never take a gift of Olympian Zeus, but to send it back for fear it might prove to be something harmful to men. But he took the gift, and afterwards, when the evil thing was already his, he understood.

[90] For ere this the tribes of men lived on earth remote and free from ills and hard toil and heavy sicknesses which bring the Fates upon men; for in misery men grow old quickly. But the woman took off the great lid of the jarwith her hands [95] and scattered, all these and her thought caused sorrow and mischief to men. Only Hope remained there in an unbreakable home within under the rim of the great jar, and did not fly out at the door; for ere that, the lid of the jar stopped her, by the will of Aegis-holding Zeus who gathers the clouds. [100] But the rest, countless plagues, wander amongst men; for earth is full of evils, and the sea is full. Of themselves diseases come upon men continually by day and by night, bringing mischief to mortals silently; for wise Zeus took away speech from them. [105] So is there no way to escape the will of Zeus.

Or if you will, I will sum you up another tale well and skilfully--and do you lay it up in your heart,--how the gods and mortal men sprang from one source.

First of all [110] the deathless gods who dwell on Olympus made a golden race of mortal men who lived in the time of Cronos when he was reigning in heaven. And they lived like gods [115] without sorrow of heart, remote and free from toil and grief: miserable age rested not on them; but with legs and arms never failing they made merry with feasting beyond the reach of all evils. When they died, it was as though they were overcome with sleep, and they had all good things; for the fruitful earth unforced bare them fruit abundantly and without stint. They dwelt in ease and peace upon their lands with many good things, [120] rich in flocks and loved by the blessed gods.

But after the earth had covered this generation--they are called pure spirits dwelling on the earth, and are kindly, delivering from harm, and guardians of mortal men; [125] for they roam everywhere over the earth, clothed in mist and keep watch on judgements and cruel deeds, givers of wealth; for this royal right also they received;--then they who dwell on Olympus made a second generation which was of silver and less noble by

far. It was like the golden race neither in body nor in spirit. [130] A child was brought up at his good mother's side a hundred years, an utter simpleton, playing childishly in his own home. But when they were full grown and were come to the full measure of their prime, they lived only a little time and that in sorrow because of their foolishness, for they could not keep from sinning and [135] from wronging one another, nor would they serve the immortals, nor sacrifice on the holy altars of the blessed ones as it is right for men to do wherever they dwell. Then Zeus the son of Cronos was angry and put them away, because they would not give honor to the blessed gods who live on Olympus.

[140] But when earth had covered this generation also--they are called blessed spirits of the underworld by men, and, though they are of second order, yet honor attends them also--Zeus the Father made a third generation of mortal men, a brazen race, sprung from ash-trees; and it was in no way equal to the silver age, [145] but was terrible and strong. They loved the lamentable works of Ares and deeds of violence; they ate no bread, but were hard of heart like adamant, fearful men. Great was their strength and unconquerable the arms which grew from their shoulders on their strong limbs. [150] Their armor was of bronze, and their houses of bronze, and of bronze were their implements: there was no black iron. These were destroyed by their own hands and passed to the dank house of chill Hades, and left no name: terrible though they were, [155] black Death seized them, and they left the bright light of the sun.

But when earth had covered this generation also, Zeus the son of Cronos made yet another, the fourth, upon the fruitful earth, which was nobler and more righteous, a god-like race of hero-men who are called [160] demi-gods, the race before our own, throughout the boundless earth. Grim war and dread battle destroyed a part of them, some in the land of Cadmus at seven-gated Thebes when they fought for the flocks of Oedipus, and some, when it had brought them in ships over the great sea gulf [165] to Troy for rich-haired Helen's sake: there death's end enshrouded a part of them. But to the others father Zeus the son of Cronos gave a living and an abode apart from men, and made them dwell at the ends of earth. [170] And they live untouched by sorrow in the islands of the blessed along the shore of deep-swirling Ocean, happy heroes for whom [173] the grain-giving earth bears honey-sweet fruit flourishing thrice a year, [169] far from the deathless gods, and Cronos rules over them; [169a] for the father of men and gods released him from his bonds. [169b] And these last equally have honor and glory.

[169c] And again far-seeing Zeus made yet another generation, the fifth, of men [169d] who are upon the bounteous earth.

[174] Thereafter, would that I were not among the men of the fifth generation, [175] but either had died before or been born afterwards. For now truly is a race of iron, and men never rest from labor and sorrow by day, and from perishing by night; and the gods shall lay sore trouble upon them. But, notwithstanding, even these shall have some good mingled with their evils. [180] And Zeus will destroy this race of mortal men also when they come to have grey hair on the temples at their birth.The father will not agree with his children, nor the children with their father, nor guest with his host, nor comrade with comrade; nor will brother be dear to brother as aforetime. [185] Men will dishonor their parents as they grow quickly old, and will carp at them, chiding them with bitter words, hard-hearted they, not knowing the fear of the gods. They will not repay their aged parents the cost of their nurture, for might shall be their right: and one man will sack another's city. [190] There will be no favor for the man who keeps his oath or for the just or for the good; but rather men will praise the evil-doer and his violent dealing. Strength will be right, and reverence will cease to be; and the wicked will hurt the worthy man, speaking false words against him, and will swear an oath upon them. [195] Envy, foul-mouthed, delighting in evil, with scowling face, will go along with wretched men one and all. [200] And then Aidos and Nemesis,with their sweet forms wrapped in white robes, will go from the wide-pathed earth and forsake mankind to join the company of the deathless gods: and bitter sorrows will be left for mortal men, and there will be no help against evil.

First Esdras 99

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[**1Esdr 4:33**] Then the king and the princes looked one upon another: so he began to speak of the truth.

[**1Esdr 4:34**] O ye men, are not women strong? great is the earth, high is the heaven, swift is the sun in his course, for he compasseth the heavens round about, and fetcheth his course again to his own place in one day.

[**1Esdr 4:35**] Is he not great that maketh these things? therefore great is the truth, and stronger than all things.

[**1Esdr 4:36**] All the earth crieth upon the truth, and the heaven blesseth it: all works shake and tremble at it, and with it is no unrighteous thing.

[**1Esdr 4:37**] Wine is wicked, the king is wicked, women are wicked, all the children of men are wicked, and such are all their wicked works; and there is no truth in them; in their unrighteousness also they shall perish.

[**1Esdr 4:38**] As for the truth, it endureth, and is alwaYs strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore.

[**1Esdr 4:39**] With her there is no accepting of persons or rewards; but she doeth the things that are just, and refraineth from all unjust and wicked things; and all men do well like of her works.

[**1Esdr 4:40**] Neither in her judgment is any unrighteousness; and she is the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty, of all ages. Blessed be the God of truth.

[**1Esdr 4:41**] And with that he held his peace. And all the people then shouted, and said, Great is Truth, and mighty above all things.

[**1Esdr 4:42**] Then said the king unto him, Ask what thou wilt more than is appointed in the writing, and we will give it thee, because thou art found wisest; and thou shalt sit next me, and shalt be called my cousin.

[**1Esdr 4:43**] Then said he unto the king, Remember thy vow, which thou hast vowed to build Jerusalem, in the day when thou camest to thy kingdom,

[**1Esdr 4:44**] And to send away all the vessels that were taken away out of Jerusalem, which Cyrus set apart, when he vowed to destroy Babylon, and to send them again thither.

[**1Esdr 4:45**] Thou also hast vowed to build up the temple, which the Edomites burned when Judea was made desolate by the Chaldees.

[**1Esdr 4:46**] And now, O lord the king, this is that which I require, and which I desire of thee, and this is the princely liberality proceeding from thyself: I desire therefore that thou make good the vow, the performance whereof with thine own mouth thou hast vowed to the King of heaven.

[**1Esdr 4:47**] Then Darius the king stood up, and kissed him, and wrote letters for him unto all the treasurers and lieutenants and captains and governors, that they should safely convey on their way both him, and all those that go up with him to build Jerusalem.

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[1Esdr 8:74] I said, O Lord, I am confounded and ashamed before thy face;

[1Esdr 8:75] For our sins are multiplied above our heads, and our ignorances have reached up unto heaven.

[1Esdr 8:76] For ever since the time of our fathers we have been and are in great sin, even unto this day.

[1Esdr 8:77] And for our sins and our fathers' we with our brethren and our kings and our priests were given up unto the kings of the earth, to the sword, and to captivity, and for a prey with shame, unto this day.

[1Esdr 8:78] And now in some measure hath mercy been shewed unto us from thee, O Lord, that there should be left us a root and a name in the place of thy sanctuary;

[1Esdr 8:79] And to discover unto us a light in the house of the Lord our God, and to give us food in the time of our servitude.

[1Esdr 8:80] Yea, when we were in bondage, we were not forsaken of our Lord; but he made us gracious before the kings of Persia, so that they gave us food;

[1Esdr 8:81] Yea, and honoured the temple of our Lord, and raised up the desolate Sion, that they have given us a sure abiding in Jewry and Jerusalem.

[1Esdr 8:82] And now, O Lord, what shall we say, having these things? for we have transgressed thy commandments, which thou gavest by the hand of thy servants the prophets, saying,

[1Esdr 8:83] That the land, which ye enter into to possess as an heritage, is a land polluted with the pollutions of the strangers of the land, and they have filled it with their uncleanness.

[1Esdr 8:84] Therefore now shall ye not join your daughters unto their sons, neither shall ye take their daughters unto your sons.

[1Esdr 8:85] Moreover ye shall never seek to have peace with them, that ye may be strong, and eat the good things of the land, and that ye may leave the inheritance of the land unto your children for evermore.

[1Esdr 8:86] And all that is befallen is done unto us for our wicked works and great sins; for thou, O Lord, didst make our sins light,

[1Esdr 8:87] And didst give unto us such a root: but we have turned back again to transgress thy law, and to mingle ourselves with the uncleanness of the nations of the land.

[1Esdr 8:88] Mightest not thou be angry with us to destroy us, till thou hadst left us neither root, seed, nor name?

[1Esdr 8:89] O Lord of Israel, thou art true: for we are left a root this day.

[1Esdr 8:90] Behold, now are we before thee in our iniquities, for we cannot stand any longer by reason of these things before thee.

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[Tob 1:1] The book of the words of Tobit, son of Tobiel, the son of Ananiel, the son of Aduel, the son of Gabael, of the seed of Asael, of the tribe of Nephthali;

[Tob 1:2] Who in the time of Enemessar king of the Assyrians was led captive out of Thisbe, which is at the right hand of that city, which is called properly Nephthali in Galilee above Aser.

[Tob 1:3] I Tobit have walked all the days of my life in the ways of truth and justice, and I did many almsdeeds to my brethren, and my nation, who came with me to Nineve, into the land of the Assyrians.

[Tob 1:4] And when I was in mine own country, in the land of Israel being but young, all the tribe of Nephthali my father fell from the house of Jerusalem, which was chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, that all the tribes should sacrifice there, where the temple of the habitation of the most High was consecrated and built for all ages.

[Tob 1:5] Now all the tribes which together revolted, and the house of my father Nephthali, sacrificed unto the heifer Baal.

[Tob 1:6] But I alone went often to Jerusalem at the feasts, as it was ordained unto all the people of Israel by an everlasting decree, having the firstfruits and tenths of increase, with that which was first shorn; and them gave I at the altar to the priests the children of Aaron.

[Tob 1:7] The first tenth part of all increase I gave to the sons of Aaron, who ministered at Jerusalem: another tenth part I sold away, and went, and spent it every year at Jerusalem:

[Tob 1:8] And the third I gave unto them to whom it was meet, as Debora my father's mother had commanded me, because I was left an orphan by my father.

[Tob 1:9] Furthermore, when I was come to the age of a man, I married Anna of mine own kindred, and of her I begat Tobias.

[Tob 1:10] And when we were carried away captives to Nineve, all my brethren and those that were of my kindred did eat of the bread of the Gentiles.

[Tob 1:11] But I kept myself from eating;

[Tob 1:12] Because I remembered God with all my heart.

[Tob 1:13] And the most High gave me grace and favour before Enemessar, so that I was his purveyor.

[Tob 1:14] And I went into Media, and left in trust with Gabael, the brother of Gabrias, at Rages a city of Media ten talents of silver.

[Tob 1:15] Now when Enemessar was dead, Sennacherib his son reigned in his stead; whose estate was troubled, that I could not go into Media.

[Tob 1:16] And in the time of Enemessar I gave many alms to my brethren, and gave my bread to the hungry,

[Tob 1:17] And my clothes to the naked: and if I saw any of my nation dead, or cast about the walls of Nineve, I buried him.

[Tob 4:1] In that day Tobit remembered the money which he had committed to Gabael in Rages of Media,

[Tob 4:2] And said with himself, I have wished for death; wherefore do I not call for my son Tobias that I may signify to him of the money before I die?

[Tob 4:3] And when he had called him, he said, My son, when I am dead, bury me; and despise not thy mother, but honour her all the days of thy life, and do that which shall please her, and grieve her not.

[Tob 4:4] Remember, my son, that she saw many dangers for thee, when thou wast in her womb: and when she is dead, bury her by me in one grave.

[Tob 4:5] My son, be mindful of the Lord our God all thy days, and let not thy will be set to sin, or to transgress his commandments: do uprightly all thy life long, and follow not the ways of unrighteousness.

[Tob 4:6] For if thou deal truly, thy doings shall prosperously succeed to thee, and to all them that live justly.

[Tob 4:7] Give alms of thy substance; and when thou givest alms, let not thine eye be envious, neither turn thy face from any poor, and the face of God shall not be turned away from thee.

[Tob 4:8] If thou hast abundance give alms accordingly: if thou have but a little, be not afraid to give according to that little:

[Tob 4:9] For thou layest up a good treasure for thyself against the day of necessity.

[Tob 4:10] Because that alms do deliver from death, and suffereth not to come into darkness.

[Tob 4:11] For alms is a good gift unto all that give it in the sight of the most High.

[Tob 4:12] Beware of all whoredom, my son, and chiefly take a wife of the seed of thy fathers, and take not a strange woman to wife, which is not of thy father's tribe: for we are the children of the prophets, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: remember, my son, that our fathers from the beginning, even that they all married wives of their own kindred, and were blessed in their children, and their seed shall inherit the land.

[Tob 4:13] Now therefore, my son, love thy brethren, and despise not in thy heart thy brethren, the sons and daughters of thy people, in not taking a wife of them: for in pride is destruction and much trouble, and in lewdness is decay and great want: for lewdness is the mother of famine.

[Tob 4:14] Let not the wages of any man, which hath wrought for thee, tarry with thee, but give him it out of hand: for if thou serve God, he will also repay thee: be circumspect my son, in all things thou doest, and be wise in all thy conversation.

[Tob 4:15] Do that to no man which thou hatest: drink not wine to make thee drunken: neither let drunkenness go with thee in thy journey.

[Tob 4:16] Give of thy bread to the hungry, and of thy garments to them that are naked; and according to thine abundance give alms: and let not thine eye be envious, when thou givest alms.

[Tob 4:17] Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked.

[Tob 4:18] Ask counsel of all that are wise, and despise not any counsel that is profitable.

[Tob 4:19] Bless the Lord thy God alway, and desire of him that thy ways may be directed, and that all thy paths and counsels may prosper: for every nation hath not counsel; but the Lord himself giveth all good things, and he humbleth whom he will, as he will; now therefore, my son, remember my commandments, neither let them be put out of thy mind.

[Tob 4:20] And now I signify this to they that I committed ten talents to Gabael the son of Gabrias at Rages in Media.

[Tob 4:21] And fear not, my son, that we are made poor: for thou hast much wealth, if thou fear God, and depart from all sin, and do that which is pleasing in his sight.

[Tob 12:1] Then Tobit called his son Tobias, and said unto him, My son, see that the man have his wages,

which went with thee, and thou must give him more.

[Tob 12:2] And Tobias said unto him, O father, it is no harm to me to give him half of those things which I have brought:

[Tob 12:3] For he hath brought me again to thee in safety, and made whole my wife, and brought me the money, and likewise healed thee.

[Tob 12:4] Then the old man said, It is due unto him.

[Tob 12:5] So he called the angel, and he said unto him, Take half of all that ye have brought and go away in safety.

[Tob 12:6] Then he took them both apart, and said unto them, Bless God, praise him, and magnify him, and praise him for the things which he hath done unto you in the sight of all that live. It is good to praise God, and exalt his name, and honourably to shew forth the works of God; therefore be not slack to praise him.

[Tob 12:7] It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God. Do that which is good, and no evil shall touch you.

[Tob 12:8] Prayer is good with fasting and alms and righteousness. A little with righteousness is better than much with unrighteousness. It is better to give alms than to lay up gold:

[Tob 12:9] For alms doth deliver from death, and shall purge away all sin. Those that exercise alms and righteousness shall be filled with life:

[Tob 12:10] But they that sin are enemies to their own life.

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[Jdt 8:9] Now when she heard the evil words of the people against the governor, that they fainted for lack of water; for Judith had heard all the words that Ozias had spoken unto them, and that he had sworn to deliver the city unto the Assyrians after five days;

[Jdt 8:10] Then she sent her waitingwoman, that had the government of all things that she had, to call Ozias and Chabris and Charmis, the ancients of the city.

[Jdt 8:11] And they came unto her, and she said unto them, Hear me now, O ye governors of the inhabitants of Bethulia: for your words that ye have spoken before the people this day are not right, touching this oath which ye made and pronounced between God and you, and have promised to deliver the city to our enemies, unless within these days the Lord turn to help you.

[Jdt 8:12] And now who are ye that have tempted God this day, and stand instead of God among the children of men?

[Jdt 8:13] And now try the Lord Almighty, but ye shall never know any thing.

[Jdt 8:14] For ye cannot find the depth of the heart of man, neither can ye perceive the things that he thinketh: then how can ye search out God, that hath made all these things, and know his mind, or comprehend his purpose? Nay, my brethren, provoke not the Lord our God to anger.

[Jdt 8:15] For if he will not help us within these five days, he hath power to defend us when he will, even every day, or to destroy us before our enemies.

[Jdt 8:16] Do not bind the counsels of the Lord our God: for God is not as man, that he may be threatened; neither is he as the son of man, that he should be wavering.

[Jdt 8:17] Therefore let us wait for salvation of him, and call upon him to help us, and he will hear our voice, if it please him.

[Jdt 8:18] For there arose none in our age, neither is there any now in these days neither tribe, nor family, nor people, nor city among us, which worship gods made with hands, as hath been aforetime.

[Jdt 8:19] For the which cause our fathers were given to the sword, and for a spoil, and had a great fall before our enemies.

[Jdt 8:20] But we know none other god, therefore we trust that he will not dispise us, nor any of our nation.

[Jdt 8:21] For if we be taken so, all Judea shall lie waste, and our sanctuary shall be spoiled; and he will require the profanation thereof at our mouth.

[Jdt 8:22] And the slaughter of our brethren, and the captivity of the country, and the desolation of our inheritance, will he turn upon our heads among the Gentiles, wheresoever we shall be in bondage; and we shall be an offence and a reproach to all them that possess us.

[Jdt 8:23] For our servitude shall not be directed to favour: but the Lord our God shall turn it to dishonour.

[Jdt 8:24] Now therefore, O brethren, let us shew an example to our brethren, because their hearts depend upon us, and the sanctuary, and the house, and the altar, rest upon us.

[Jdt 8:25] Moreover let us give thanks to the Lord our God, which trieth us, even as he did our fathers.

[Jdt 8:26] Remember what things he did to Abraham, and how he tried Isaac, and what happened to Jacob in Mesopotamia of Syria, when he kept the sheep of Laban his mother's brother.

[Jdt 8:27] For he hath not tried us in the fire, as he did them, for the examination of their hearts, neither hath

he taken vengeance on us: but the Lord doth scourge them that come near unto him, to admonish them.

[Jdt 8:28] Then said Ozias to her, All that thou hast spoken hast thou spoken with a good heart, and there is none that may gainsay thy words.

[Jdt 8:29] For this is not the first day wherein thy wisdom is manifested; but from the beginning of thy days all the people have known thy understanding, because the disposition of thine heart is good.

[Jdt 8:30] But the people were very thirsty, and compelled us to do unto them as we have spoken, and to bring an oath upon ourselves, which we will not break.

[Jdt 8:31] Therefore now pray thou for us, because thou art a godly woman, and the Lord will send us rain to fill our cisterns, and we shall faint no more.

[Jdt 8:32] Then said Judith unto them, Hear me, and I will do a thing, which shall go throughout all generations to the children of our nation.

[Jdt 8:33] Ye shall stand this night in the gate, and I will go forth with my waitingwoman: and within the days that ye have promised to deliver the city to our enemies the Lord will visit Israel by mine hand.

[Jdt 8:34] But enquire not ye of mine act: for I will not declare it unto you, till the things be finished that I do.

[Jdt 11:20] Then her words pleased Holofernes and all his servants; and they marvelled at her wisdom, and said,

[Jdt 11:21] There is not such a woman from one end of the earth to the other, both for beauty of face, and wisdom of words.

[Jdt 11:22] Likewise Holofernes said unto her. God hath done well to send thee before the people, that strength might be in our hands and destruction upon them that lightly regard my lord.

[Jdt 11:23] And now thou art both beautiful in thy countenance, and witty in thy words: surely if thou do as thou hast spoken thy God shall be my God, and thou shalt dwell in the house of king Nabuchodonosor, and shalt be renowned through the whole earth.

[Jdt 13:1] Now when the evening was come, his servants made haste to depart, and Bagoas shut his tent without, and dismissed the waiters from the presence of his lord; and they went to their beds: for they were all weary, because the feast had been long.

[Jdt 13:2] And Judith was left along in the tent, and Holofernes lying along upon his bed: for he was filled with wine.

[Jdt 13:3] Now Judith had commanded her maid to stand without her bedchamber, and to wait for her. coming forth, as she did daily: for she said she would go forth to her prayers, and she spake to Bagoas according to the same purpose.

[Jdt 13:4] So all went forth and none was left in the bedchamber, neither little nor great. Then Judith, standing by his bed, said in her heart, O Lord God of all power, look at this present upon the works of mine hands for the exaltation of Jerusalem.

[Jdt 13:5] For now is the time to help thine inheritance, and to execute thine enterprizes to the destruction of the enemies which are risen against us.

[Jdt 13:6] Then she came to the pillar of the bed, which was at Holofernes' head, and took down his fauchion from thence,

[Jdt 13:7] And approached to his bed, and took hold of the hair of his head, and said, Strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel, this day.

[Jdt 13:8] And she smote twice upon his neck with all her might, and she took away his head from him.

[Jdt 13:9] And tumbled his body down from the bed, and pulled down the canopy from the pillars; and anon after she went forth, and gave Holofernes his head to her maid;

[Jdt 13:10] And she put it in her bag of meat: so they twain went together according to their custom unto prayer: and when they passed the camp, they compassed the valley, and went up the mountain of Bethulia, and came to the gates thereof.

[Jdt 13:11] Then said Judith afar off, to the watchmen at the gate, Open, open now the gate: God, even our God, is with us, to shew his power yet in Jerusalem, and his forces against the enemy, as he hath even done this day.

[Jdt 13:12] Now when the men of her city heard her voice, they made haste to go down to the gate of their city, and they called the elders of the city.

[Jdt 13:13] And then they ran all together, both small and great, for it was strange unto them that she was come: so they opened the gate, and received them, and made a fire for a light, and stood round about them.

[Jdt 13:14] Then she said to them with a loud voice, Praise, praise God, praise God, I say, for he hath not taken away his mercy from the house of Israel, but hath destroyed our enemies by mine hands this night.

[Jdt 13:15] So she took the head out of the bag, and shewed it, and said unto them, behold the head of Holofernes, the chief captain of the army of Assur, and behold the canopy, wherein he did lie in his drunkenness; and the Lord hath smitten him by the hand of a woman.

[Jdt 13:16] As the Lord liveth, who hath kept me in my way that I went, my countenance hath deceived him to his destruction, and yet hath he not committed sin with me, to defile and shame me.

[Jdt 13:17] Then all the people were wonderfully astonished, and bowed themselves and worshipped God, and said with one accord, Blessed be thou, O our God, which hast this day brought to nought the enemies of thy people.

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Version: KJV

[AddEsth 14:1] Queen Esther also, being in fear of death, resorted unto the Lord:

[AddEsth 14:2] And laid away her glorious apparel, and put on the garments of anguish and mourning: and instead of precious ointments, she covered her head with ashes and dung, and she humbled her body greatly, and all the places of her joy she filled with her torn hair.

[AddEsth 14:3] And she prayed unto the Lord God of Israel, saying, O my Lord, thou only art our King: help me, desolate woman, which have no helper but thee:

[AddEsth 14:4] For my danger is in mine hand.

[AddEsth 14:5] From my youth up I have heard in the tribe of my family that thou, O Lord, tookest Israel from among all people, and our fathers from all their predecessors, for a perpetual inheritance, and thou hast performed whatsoever thou didst promise them.

[AddEsth 14:6] And now we have sinned before thee: therefore hast thou given us into the hands of our enemies,

[AddEsth 14:7] Because we worshipped their gods: O Lord, thou art righteous.

[AddEsth 14:8] Nevertheless it satisfieth them not, that we are in bitter captivity: but they have stricken hands with their idols,

[AddEsth 14:9] That they will abolish the thing that thou with thy mouth hast ordained, and destroy thine inheritance, and stop the mouth of them that praise thee, and quench the glory of thy house, and of thine altar,

[AddEsth 14:10] And open the mouths of the heathen to set forth the praises of the idols, and to magnify a fleshly king for ever.

[AddEsth 14:11] O Lord, give not thy sceptre unto them that be nothing, and let them not laugh at our fall; but turn their device upon themselves, and make him an example, that hath begun this against us.

[AddEsth 14:12] Remember, O Lord, make thyself known in time of our affliction, and give me boldness, O King of the nations, and Lord of all power.

[AddEsth 14:13] Give me eloquent speech in my mouth before the lion: turn his heart to hate him that fighteth against us, that there may be an end of him, and of all that are likeminded to him:

[AddEsth 14:14] But deliver us with thine hand, and help me that am desolate, and which have no other help but thee.

[AddEsth 14:15] Thou knowest all things, O Lord; thou knowest that I hate the glory of the unrighteous, and abhor the bed of the uncircumcised, and of all the heathen.

[AddEsth 14:16] Thou knowest my necessity: for I abhor the sign of my high estate, which is upon mine head in the days wherein I shew myself, and that I abhor it as a menstruous rag, and that I wear it not when I am private by myself.

[AddEsth 14:17] And that thine handmaid hath not eaten at Aman's table, and that I have not greatly esteemed the king's feast, nor drunk the wine of the drink offerings.

[AddEsth 14:18] Neither had thine handmaid any joy since the day that I was brought hither to this present, but in thee, O Lord God of Abraham.

[AddEsth 14:19] O thou mighty God above all, hear the voice of the forlorn and deliver us out of the hands of the mischievous, and deliver me out of my fear.

Version: KJV The wisdom of Solomon 108

[Wis 1:1] Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth: think of the Lord with a good (heart,) and in simplicity of heart seek him.

[Wis 1:2] For he will be found of them that tempt him not; and sheweth himself unto such as do not distrust him.

[Wis 1:3] For froward thoughts separate from God: and his power, when it is tried, reproveth the unwise.

[Wis 1:4] For into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter; nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin.

[Wis 1:5] For the holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and will not abide when unrighteousness cometh in.

[Wis 2:21] Such things they did imagine, and were deceived: for their own wickedness hath blinded them.

[Wis 2:22] As for the mysteries of God, they kn ew them not: neither hoped they for the wages of righteousness, nor discerned a reward for blameless souls.

[Wis 2:23] For God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity.

[Wis 2:24] Nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world: and they that do hold of his side do find it.

[Wis 5:15] But the righteous live for evermore; their reward also is with the Lord, and the care of them is with the most High.

[Wis 5:16] Therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom, and a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand: for with his right hand shall he cover them, and with his arm shall he protect them.

[Wis 5:17] He shall take to him his jealousy for complete armour, and make the creature his weapon for the revenge of his enemies.

[Wis 5:18] He shall put on righteousness as a breastplate, and true judgment instead of an helmet.

[Wis 5:19] He shall take holiness for an invincible shield.

[Wis 5:20] His severe wrath shall he sharpen for a sword, and the world shall fight with him against the unwise.

[Wis 5:21] Then shall the right aiming thunderbolts go abroad; and from the clouds, as from a well drawn bow, shall they fly to the mark.

[Wis 5:22] And hailstones full of wrath shall be cast as out of a stone bow, and the water of the sea shall rage against them, and the floods shall cruelly drown them.

[Wis 5:23] Yea, a mighty wind shall stand up against them, and like a storm shall blow them away: thus iniquity shall lay waste the whole earth, and ill dealing shall overthrow the thrones of the mighty.

[Wis 6:12] Wisdom is glorious, and never fadeth away: yea, she is easily seen of them that love her, and found of such as seek her.

[Wis 6:13] She preventeth them that desire her, in making herself first known unto them.

[Wis 6:14] Whoso seeketh her early shall have no great travail: for he shall find her sitting at his doors.

[Wis 6:15] To think therefore upon her is perfection of wisdom: and whoso watcheth for her shall quickly be without care.

[Wis 6:16] For she goeth about seeking such as are worthy of her, sheweth herself favourably unto them in the ways, and meeteth them in every thought.

[Wis 6:17] For the very true beginning of her is the desire of discipline; and the care of discipline is love;

[Wis 6:18] And love is the keeping of her laws; and the giving heed unto her laws is the assurance of incorruption;

[Wis 6:19] And incorruption maketh us near unto God:

[Wis 6:20] Therefore the desire of wisdom bringeth to a kingdom.

[Wis 7:1] I myself also am a mortal man, like to all, and the offspring of him that was first made of the earth,

[Wis 7:2] And in my mother's womb was fashioned to be flesh in the time of ten months, being compacted in blood, of the seed of man, and the pleasure that came with sleep.

[Wis 7:3] And when I was born, I drew in the common air, and fell upon the earth, which is of like nature, and the first voice which I uttered was crying, as all others do.

[Wis 7:4] I was nursed in swaddling clothes, and that with cares.

[Wis 7:5] For there is no king that had any other beginning of birth.

[Wis 7:6] For all men have one entrance into life, and the like going out.

[Wis 7:7] Wherefore I prayed, and understanding was given me: I called upon God, and the spirit of wisdom came to me.

[Wis 7:8] I preferred her before sceptres and thrones, and esteemed riches nothing in comparison of her.

[Wis 7:9] Neither compared I unto her any precious stone, because all gold in respect of her is as a little sand, and silver shall be counted as clay before her.

[Wis 7:10] I loved her above health and beauty, and chose to have her instead of light: for the light that cometh from her never goeth out.

[Wis 7:11] All good things together came to me with her, and innumerable riches in her hands.

[Wis 7:12] And I rejoiced in them all, because wisdom goeth before them: and I knew not that she was the mother of them.

[Wis 7:13] I learned diligently, and do communicate her liberally: I do not hide her riches.

[Wis 7:14] For she is a treasure unto men that never faileth: which they that use become the friends of God, being commended for the gifts that come from learning.

[Wis 7:15] God hath granted me to speak as I would, and to conceive as is meet for the things that are given me: because it is he that leadeth unto wisdom, and directeth the wise.

[Wis 7:16] For in his hand are both we and our words; all wisdom also, and knowledge of workmanship.

[Wis 7:17] For he hath given me certain knowledge of the things that are, namely, to know how the world

was made, and the operation of the elements:

[Wis 7:18] The beginning, ending, and midst of the times: the alterations of the turning of the sun, and the change of seasons:

[Wis 7:19] The circuits of years, and the positions of stars:

[Wis 7:20] The natures of living creatures, and the furies of wild beasts: the violence of winds, and the reasonings of men: the diversities of plants and the virtues of roots:

[Wis 7:21] And all such things as are either secret or manifest, them I know.

[Wis 7:22] For wisdom, which is the worker of all things, taught me: for in her is an understanding spirit holy, one only, manifold, subtil, lively, clear, undefiled, plain, not subject to hurt, loving the thing that is good quick, which cannot be letted, ready to do good,

[Wis 7:23] Kind to man, steadfast, sure, free from care, having all power, overseeing all things, and going through all understanding, pure, and most subtil, spirits.

[Wis 7:24] For wisdom is more moving than any motion: she passeth and goeth through all things by reason of her pureness.

[Wis 7:25] For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty: therefore can no defiled thing fall into her.

[Wis 7:26] For she is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness.

[Wis 7:27] And being but one, she can do all things: and remaining in herself, she maketh all things new: and in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God, and prophets.

[Wis 7:28] For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom.

[Wis 7:29] For she is more beautiful than the sun, and above all the order of stars: being compared with the light, she is found before it.

[Wis 7:30] For after this cometh night: but vice shall not prevail against wisdom.

[Wis 8:1] Wisdom reacheth from one end to another mightily: and sweetly doth she order all things.

[Wis 8:2] I loved her, and sought her out from my youth, I desired to make her my spouse, and I was a lover of her beauty.

[Wis 8:3] In that she is conversant with God, she magnifieth her nobility: yea, the Lord of all things himself loved her.

[Wis 8:4] For she is privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God, and a lover of his works.

[Wis 8:5] If riches be a possession to be desired in this life; what is richer than wisdom, that worketh all things?

[Wis 8:6] And if prudence work; who of all that are is a more cunning workman than she?

[Wis 8:7] And if a man love righteousness her labours are virtues: for she teacheth temperance and prudence, justice and fortitude: which are such things, as en can have nothing more profitable in their life.

[Wis 8:8] If a man desire much experience, she knoweth things of old, and conjectureth aright what is to come: she knoweth the subtilties of speeches, and can expound dark sentences: she foreseeth signs and wonders, and the events of seasons and times.

[Wis 8:9] Therefore I purposed to take her to me to live with me, knowing that she would be a counsellor of good things, and a comfort in cares and grief.

[Wis 8:10] For her sake I shall have estimation among the multitude, and honour with the elders, though I be young.

[Wis 8:11] I shall be found of a quick conceit in judgment, and shall be admired in the sight of great men.

[Wis 8:12] When I hold my tongue, they shall bide my leisure, and when I speak, they shall give good ear unto me: if I talk much, they shall lay their hands upon their mouth.

[Wis 8:13] Moreover by the means of her I shall obtain immortality, and leave behind me an everlasting memorial to them that come after me.

[Wis 8:14] I shall set the people in order, and the nations shall be subject unto me.

[Wis 8:15] Horrible tyrants shall be afraid, when they do but hear of me; I shall be found good among the multitude, and valiant in war.

[Wis 8:16] After I am come into mine house, I will repose myself with her: for her conversation hath no bitterness; and to live with her hath no sorrow, but mirth and joy.

[Wis 8:17] Now when I considered these things in myself, and pondered them in my heart, how that to be allied unto wisdom is immortality;

[Wis 8:18] And great pleasure it is to have her friendship; and in the works of her hands are infinite riches; and in the exercise of conference with her, prudence; and in talking with her, a good report; I went about seeking how to take her to me.

[Wis 8:19] For I was a witty child, and had a good spirit.

[Wis 8:20] Yea rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled.

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Version: KJV Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach.

[Sir 1:1] All wisdom cometh from the Lord, and is with him for ever.

[Sir 1:2] Who can number the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain, and the days of eternity?

[Sir 1:3] Who can find out the height of heaven, and the breadth of the earth, and the deep, and wisdom?

[Sir 1:4] Wisdom hath been created before all things, and the understanding of prudence from everlasting.

[Sir 1:5] The word of God most high is the fountain of wisdom; and her ways are everlasting commandments.

[Sir 1:6] To whom hath the root of wisdom been revealed? or who hath known her wise counsels?

[Sir 1:7] [Unto whom hath the knowledge of wisdom been made manifest? and who hath understood her great experience?]

[Sir 1:8] There is one wise and greatly to be feared, the Lord sitting upon his throne.

[Sir 1:9] He created her, and saw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his works.

[Sir 1:10] She is with all flesh according to his gift, and he hath given her to them that love him.

[Sir 1:11] The fear of the Lord is honour, and glory, and gladness, and a crown of rejoicing.

[Sir 1:12] The fear of the Lord maketh a merry heart, and giveth joy, and gladness, and a long life.

[Sir 1:13] Whoso feareth the Lord, it shall go well with him at the last, and he shall find favour in the day of his death.

[Sir 1:14] To fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: and it was created with the faithful in the womb.

[Sir 1:15] She hath built an everlasting foundation with men, and she shall continue with their seed.

[Sir 15:11] Say not thou, It is through the Lord that I fell away: for thou oughtest not to do the things that he hateth.

[Sir 15:12] Say not thou, He hath caused me to err: for he hath no need of the sinful man.

[Sir 15:13] The Lord hateth all abomination; and they that fear God love it not.

[Sir 15:14] He himself made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his counsel;

[Sir 15:15] If thou wilt, to keep the commandments, and to perform acceptable faithfulness.

[Sir 15:16] He hath set fire and water before thee: stretch forth thy hand unto whether thou wilt.

[Sir 15:17] Before man is life and death; and whether him liketh shall be given him.

[Sir 15:18] For the wisdom of the Lord is great, and he is mighty in power, and beholdeth all things:

[Sir 15:19] And his eyes are upon them that fear him, and he knoweth every work of man.

[Sir 15:20] He hath commanded no man to do wickedly, neither hath he given any man licence to sin.

[Sir 24:1] Wisdom shall praise herself, and shall glory in the midst of her people.

[Sir 24:2] In the congregation of the most High shall she open her mouth, and triumph before his power.

[Sir 24:3] I came out of the mouth of the most High, and covered the earth as a cloud.

[Sir 24:4] I dwelt in high places, and my throne is in a cloudy pillar.

[Sir 24:5] I alone compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep.

[Sir 24:6] In the waves of the sea and in all the earth, and in every people and nation, I got a possession.

[Sir 24:7] With all these I sought rest: and in whose inheritance shall I abide?

[Sir 24:8] So the Creator of all things gave me a commandment, and he that made me caused my tabernacle to rest, and said, Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel.

[Sir 24:9] He created me from the beginning before the world, and I shall never fail.

[Sir 24:10] In the holy tabernacle I served before him; and so was I established in Sion.

[Sir 24:11] Likewise in the beloved city he gave me rest, and in Jerusalem was my power.

[Sir 24:12] And I took root in an honourable people, even in the portion of the Lord's inheritance.

[Sir 24:32] I will yet make doctrine to shine as the morning, and will send forth her light afar off.

[Sir 24:33] I will yet pour out doctrine as prophecy, and leave it to all ages for ever.

[Sir 24:34] Behold that I have not laboured for myself only, but for all them that seek wisdom.

[Sir 25:1] In three things I was beautified, and stood up beautiful both before God and men: the unity of brethren, the love of neighbours, a man and a wife that agree together.

[Sir 25:2] Three sorts of men my soul hateth, and I am greatly offended at their life: a poor man that is proud, a rich man that is a liar, and an old adulterer that doateth.

[Sir 39:1] But he that giveth his mind to the law of the most High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of all the ancient, and be occupied in prophecies.

[Sir 39:2] He will keep the sayings of the renowned men: and where subtil parables are, he will be there also.

[Sir 39:3] He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences, and be conversant in dark parables.

[Sir 39:4] He shall serve among great men, and appear before princes: he will travel through strange countries; for he hath tried the good and the evil among men.

[Sir 39:5] He will give his heart to resort early to the Lord that made him, and will pray before the most High, and will open his mouth in prayer, and make supplication for his sins.

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Version: KJV Baruch 114

[Bar 3:1] O Lord Almighty, God of Israel, the soul in anguish the troubled spirit, crieth unto thee.

[Bar 3:2] Hear, O Lord, and have mercy; ar thou art merciful: and have pity upon us, because we have sinned before thee.

[Bar 3:3] For thou endurest for ever, and we perish utterly.

[Bar 3:4] O Lord Almighty, thou God of Israel, hear now the prayers of the dead Israelites, and of their children, which have sinned before thee, and not hearkened unto the voice of thee their God: for the which cause these plagues cleave unto us.

[Bar 3:5] Remember not the iniquities of our forefathers: but think upon thy power and thy name now at this time.

[Bar 3:6] For thou art the Lord our God, and thee, O Lord, will we praise.

[Bar 3:7] And for this cause thou hast put thy fear in our hearts, to the intent that we should call upon thy name, and praise thee in our captivity: for we have called to mind all the iniquity of our forefathers, that sinned before thee.

[Bar 3:8] Behold, we are yet this day in our captivity, where thou hast scattered us, for a reproach and a curse, and to be subject to payments, according to all the iniquities of our fathers, which departed from the Lord our God.

[Bar 3:9] Hear, Israel, the commandments of life: give ear to understand wisdom.

[Bar 3:10] How happeneth it Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land, that thou art waxen old in a strange country, that thou art defiled with the dead,

[Bar 3:11] That thou art counted with them that go down into the grave?

[Bar 3:12] Thou hast forsaken the fountain of wisdom.

[Bar 3:13] For if thou hadst walked in the way of God, thou shouldest have dwelled in peace for ever.

[Bar 3:14] Learn where is wisdom, where is strength, where is understanding; that thou mayest know also where is length of days, and life, where is the light of the eyes, and peace.

[Bar 3:15] Who hath found out her place? or who hath come into her treasures ?

[Bar 3:16] Where are the princes of the heathen become, and such as ruled the beasts upon the earth;

[Bar 3:17] They that had their pastime with the fowls of the air, and they that hoarded up silver and gold, wherein men trust, and made no end of their getting?

[Bar 3:18] For they that wrought in silver, and were so careful, and whose works are unsearchable,

[Bar 3:19] They are vanished and gone down to the grave, and others are come up in their steads.

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Version: KJV The Epistle of Jeremiah 115

[EpJer 6:1] A copy of an epistle, which Jeremy sent unto them which were to be led captives into Babylon by the king of the Babylonians, to certify them, as it was commanded him of God.

[EpJer 6:2] Because of the sins which ye have committed before God, ye shall be led away captives into Babylon by Nabuchodonosor king of the Babylonians.

[EpJer 6:3] So when ye be come unto Babylon, ye shall remain there many years, and for a long season, namely, seven generations: and after that I will bring you away peaceably from thence.

[EpJer 6:4] Now shall ye see in Babylon gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood, borne upon shoulders, which cause the nations to fear.

[EpJer 6:5] Beware therefore that ye in no wise be like to strangers, neither be ye and of them, when ye see the multitude before them and behind them, worshipping them.

[EpJer 6:6] But say ye in your hearts, O Lord, we must worship thee.

[EpJer 6:7] For mine angel is with you, and I myself caring for your souls.

[EpJer 6:8] As for their tongue, it is polished by the workman, and they themselves are gilded and laid over with silver; yet are they but false, and cannot speak.

[EpJer 6:9] And taking gold, as it were for a virgin that loveth to go gay, they make crowns for the heads of their gods.

[EpJer 6:10] Sometimes also the priests convey from their gods gold and silver, and bestow it upon themselves.

[EpJer 6:11] Yea, they will give thereof to the common harlots, and deck them as men with garments, [being] gods of silver, and gods of gold, and wood.

[EpJer 6:12] Yet cannot these gods save themselves from rust and moth, though they be covered with purple raiment.

[EpJer 6:13] They wipe their faces because of the dust of the temple, when there is much upon them.

[EpJer 6:14] And he that cannot put to death one that offendeth him holdeth a sceptre, as though he were a judge of the country.

[EpJer 6:15] He hath also in his right hand a dagger and an ax: but cannot deliver himself from war and thieves.

[EpJer 6:16] Whereby they are known not to be gods: therefore fear them not.

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[PrAzar 1:1] And they walked in the midst of the fire, praising God, and blessing the Lord.

[PrAzar 1:2] Then Azarias stood up, and prayed on this manner; and opening his mouth in the midst of the fire said,

[PrAzar 1:3] Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: thy name is worthy to be praised and glorified for evermore:

[PrAzar 1:4] For thou art righteous in all the things that thou hast done to us: yea, true are all thy works, thy ways are right, and all thy judgments truth.

[PrAzar 1:5] In all the things that thou hast brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, even Jerusalem, thou hast executed true judgment: for according to truth and judgment didst thou bring all these things upon us because of our sins.

[PrAzar 1:6] For we have sinned and committed iniquity, departing from thee.

[PrAzar 1:7] In all things have we trespassed, and not obeyed thy commandments, nor kept them, neither done as thou hast commanded us, that it might go well with us.

[PrAzar 1:8] Wherefore all that thou hast brought upon us, and every thing that thou hast done to us, thou hast done in true judgment.

[PrAzar 1:9] And thou didst deliver us into the hands of lawless enemies, most hateful forsakers of God, and to an unjust king, and the most wicked in all the world.

[PrAzar 1:10] And now we cannot open our mouths, we are become a shame and reproach to thy servants; and to them that worship thee.

[PrAzar 1:11] Yet deliver us not up wholly, for thy name's sake, neither disannul thou thy covenant:

[PrAzar 1:12] And cause not thy mercy to depart from us, for thy beloved Abraham's sake, for thy servant Issac's sake, and for thy holy Israel's sake;

[PrAzar 1:13] To whom thou hast spoken and promised, that thou wouldest multiply their seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand that lieth upon the seashore.

[PrAzar 1:14] For we, O Lord, are become less than any nation, and be kept under this day in all the world because of our sins.

[PrAzar 1:15] Neither is there at this time prince, or prophet, or leader, or burnt offering, or sacrifice, or oblation, or incense, or place to sacrifice before thee, and to find mercy.

[PrAzar 1:16] Nevertheless in a contrite heart and an humble spirit let us be accepted.

[PrAzar 1:17] Like as in the burnt offerings of rams and bullocks, and like as in ten thousands of fat lambs: so let our sacrifice be in thy sight this day, and grant that we may wholly go after thee: for they shall not be confounded that put their trust in thee.

[PrAzar 1:18] And now we follow thee with all our heart, we fear thee, and seek thy face.

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[**Sus 1:22**] Then Susanna sighed, and said, I am straitened on every side: for if I do this thing, it is death unto me: and if I do it not I cannot escape your hands.

[**Sus 1:23**] It is better for me to fall into your hands, and not do it, than to sin in the sight of the Lord.

[**Sus 1:24**] With that Susanna cried with a loud voice: and the two elders cried out against her.

[**Sus 1:25**] Then ran the one, and opened the garden door.

[**Sus 1:26**] So when the servants of the house heard the cry in the garden, they rushed in at the privy door, to see what was done unto her.

[**Sus 1:27**] But when the elders had declared their matter, the servants were greatly ashamed: for there was never such a report made of Susanna.

[**Sus 1:28**] And it came to pass the next day, when the people were assembled to her husband Joacim, the two elders came also full of mischievous imagination against Susanna to put her to death;

[**Sus 1:29**] And said before the people, Send for Susanna, the daughter of Chelcias, Joacim's wife. And so they sent.

[**Sus 1:30**] So she came with her father and mother, her children, and all her kindred.

[**Sus 1:31**] Now Susanna was a very delicate woman, and beauteous to behold.

[**Sus 1:32**] And these wicked men commanded to uncover her face, (for she was covered) that they might be filled with her beauty.

[**Sus 1:33**] Therefore her friends and all that saw her wept.

[**Sus 1:34**] Then the two elders stood up in the midst of the people, and laid their hands upon her head.

[**Sus 1:35**] And she weeping looked up toward heaven: for her heart trusted in the Lord.

[**Sus 1:36**] And the elders said, As we walked in the garden alone, this woman came in with two maids, and shut the garden doors, and sent the maids away.

[**Sus 1:37**] Then a young man, who there was hid, came unto her, and lay with her.

[**Sus 1:38**] Then we that stood in a corner of the garden, seeing this wickedness, ran unto them.

[**Sus 1:39**] And when we saw them together, the man we could not hold: for he was stronger than we, and opened the door, and leaped out.

[**Sus 1:40**] But having taken this woman, we asked who the young man was, but she would not tell us: these things do we testify.

[**Sus 1:41**] Then the assembly believed them as those that were the elders and judges of the people: so they condemned her to death.

[**Sus 1:42**] Then Susanna cried out with a loud voice, and said, O everlasting God, that knowest the secrets, and knowest all things before they be:

[**Sus 1:43**] Thou knowest that they have borne false witness against me, and, behold, I must die; whereas I never did such things as these men have maliciously invented against me.

[**Sus 1:44**] And the Lord heard her voice.

Version: KJV Bel and the Dragon 118

[Bel 1:1] And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus of Persia received his kingdom.

[Bel 1:2] And Daniel conversed with the king, and was honoured above all his friends.

[Bel 1:3] Now the Babylons had an idol, called Bel, and there were spent upon him every day twelve great measures of fine flour, and forty sheep, and six vessels of wine.

[Bel 1:4] And the king worshipped it and went daily to adore it: but Daniel worshipped his own God. And the king said unto him, Why dost not thou worship Bel?

[Bel 1:5] Who answered and said, Because I may not worship idols made with hands, but the living God, who hath created the heaven and the earth, and hath sovereignty over all flesh.

[Bel 1:6] Then said the king unto him, Thinkest thou not that Bel is a living God? seest thou not how much he eateth and drinketh every day?

[Bel 1:7] Then Daniel smiled, and said, O king, be not deceived: for this is but clay within, and brass without, and did never eat or drink any thing.

[Bel 1:8] So the king was wroth, and called for his priests, and said unto them, If ye tell me not who this is that devoureth these expences, ye shall die.

[Bel 1:9] But if ye can certify me that Bel devoureth them, then Daniel shall die: for he hath spoken blasphemy against Bel. And Daniel said unto the king, Let it be according to thy word.

[Bel 1:10] Now the priests of Bel were threescore and ten, beside their wives and children. And the king went with Daniel into the temple of Bel.

[Bel 1:11] So Bel's priests said, Lo, we go out: but thou, O king, set on the meat, and make ready the wine, and shut the door fast and seal it with thine own signet;

[Bel 1:12] And to morrow when thou comest in, if thou findest not that Bel hath eaten up all, we will suffer death: or else Daniel, that speaketh falsely against us.

[Bel 1:13] And they little regarded it: for under the table they had made a privy entrance, whereby they entered in continually, and consumed those things.

[Bel 1:14] So when they were gone forth, the king set meats before Bel. Now Daniel had commanded his servants to bring ashes, and those they strewed throughout all the temple in the presence of the king alone: then went they out, and shut the door, and sealed it with the king's signet, and so departed.

[Bel 1:15] Now in the night came the priests with their wives and children, as they were wont to do, and did eat and drinck up all.

[Bel 1:16] In the morning betime the king arose, and Daniel with him.

[Bel 1:17] And the king said, Daniel, are the seals whole? And he said, Yea, O king, they be whole.

[Bel 1:18] And as soon as he had opened the dour, the king looked upon the table, and cried with a loud voice, Great art thou, O Bel, and with thee is no deceit at all.

[Bel 1:19] Then laughed Daniel, and held the king that he should not go in, and said, Behold now the pavement, and mark well whose footsteps are these.

[Bel 1:20] And the king said, I see the footsteps of men, women, and children. And then the king was angry,

[Bel 1:21] And took the priests with their wives and children, who shewed him the privy doors, where they

came in, and consumed such things as were upon the table.

[Bel 1:22] Therefore the king slew them, and delivered Bel into Daniel's power, who destroyed him and his temple.

[Bel 1:23] And in that same place there was a great dragon, which they of Babylon worshipped.

[Bel 1:24] And the king said unto Daniel, Wilt thou also say that this is of brass? lo, he liveth, he eateth and drinketh; thou canst not say that he is no living god: therefore worship him.

[Bel 1:25] Then said Daniel unto the king, I will worship the Lord my God: for he is the living God.

[Bel 1:26] But give me leave, O king, and I shall slay this dragon without sword or staff. The king said, I give thee leave.

[Bel 1:27] Then Daniel took pitch, and fat, and hair, and did seethe them together, and made lumps thereof: this he put in the dragon's mouth, and so the dragon burst in sunder : and Daniel said, Lo, these are the gods ye worship.

[Bel 1:28] When they of Babylon heard that, they took great indignation, and conspired against the king, saying, The king is become a Jew, and he hath destroyed Bel, he hath slain the dragon, and put the priests to death.

[Bel 1:29] So they came to the king, and said, Deliver us Daniel, or else we will destroy thee and thine house.

[Bel 1:30] Now when the king saw that they pressed him sore, being constrained, he delivered Daniel unto them:

[Bel 1:31] Who cast him into the lions' den: where he was six days.

[Bel 1:32] And in the den there were seven lions, and they had given them every day two carcases, and two sheep: which then were not given to them, to the intent they might devour Daniel.

[Bel 1:33] Now there was in Jewry a prophet, called Habbacuc, who had made pottage, and had broken bread in a bowl, and was going into the field, for to bring it to the reapers.

[Bel 1:34] But the angel of the Lord said unto Habbacuc, Go, carry the dinner that thou hast into Babylon unto Daniel, who is in the lions' den.

[Bel 1:35] And Habbacuc said, Lord, I never saw Babylon; neither do I know where the den is.

[Bel 1:36] Then the angel of the Lord took him by the crown, and bare him by the hair of his head, and through the vehemency of his spirit set him in Babylon over the den.

[Bel 1:37] And Habbacuc cried, saying, O Daniel, Daniel, take the dinner which God hath sent thee.

[Bel 1:38] And Daniel said, Thou hast remembered me, O God: neither hast thou forsaken them that seek thee and love thee.

[Bel 1:39] So Daniel arose, and did eat: and the angel of the Lord set Habbacuc in his own place again immediately.

[Bel 1:40] Upon the seventh day the king went to bewail Daniel: and when he came to the den, he looked in, and behold, Daniel was sitting.

[Bel 1:41] Then cried the king with a loud voice, saying, Great art Lord God of Daniel, and there is none other beside thee.

[Bel 1:42] And he drew him out, and cast those that were the cause of his destruction into the den: and they were devoured in a moment before his face. ~~End of the Project Gutenberg Etext of Deuterocanonical Books of~~

Version: KJV First Maccabees 120

[**1Macc 1:1**] And it happened, after that Alexander son of Philip, the Macedonian, who came out of the land of Chettiim, had smitten Darius king of the Persians and Medes, that he reigned in his stead, the first over Greece,

[**1Macc 1:2**] And made many wars, and won many strong holds, and slew the kings of the earth,

[**1Macc 1:3**] And went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils of many nations, insomuch that the earth was quiet before him; whereupon he was exalted and his heart was lifted up.

[**1Macc 1:4**] And he gathered a mighty strong host and ruled over countries, and nations, and kings, who became tributaries unto him.

[**1Macc 1:5**] And after these things he fell sick, and perceived that he should die.

[**1Macc 1:6**] Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive.

[**1Macc 1:7**] So Alexander reigned twelves years, and then died.

[**1Macc 1:8**] And his servants bare rule every one in his place.

[**1Macc 1:9**] And after his death they all put crowns upon themselves; so did their sons after them many years: and evils were multiplied in the earth.

[**1Macc 1:10**] And there came out of them a wicked root Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been an hostage at Rome, and he reigned in the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

[**1Macc 1:11**] In those days went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us: for since we departed from them we have had much sorrow.

[**1Macc 1:12**] So this device pleased them well.

[**1Macc 1:13**] Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen:

[**1Macc 1:14**] Whereupon they built a place of exercise at Jerusalem according to the customs of the heathen:

[**1Macc 1:15**] And made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the heathen, and were sold to do mischief.

[**1Macc 1:16**] Now when the kingdom was established before Antiochus, he thought to reign over Egypt that he might have the dominion of two realms.

[**1Macc 1:17**] Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy,

[**1Macc 1:18**] And made war against Ptolemee king of Egypt: but Ptolemee was afraid of him, and fled; and many were wounded to death.

[**1Macc 1:19**] Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt and he took the spoils thereof.

[**1Macc 1:20**] And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, he returned again in the hundred forty and third year, and went up against Israel and Jerusalem with a great multitude,

[1Macc 1:21] And entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof,

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[1Macc 1:22] And the table of the shewbread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials. and the censers of gold, and the veil, and the crown, and the golden ornaments that were before the temple, all which he pulled off.

[1Macc 1:23] He took also the silver and the gold, and the precious vessels: also he took the hidden treasures which he found.

[1Macc 1:24] And when he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly.

[1Macc 1:25] Therefore there was a great mourning in Israel, in every place where they were;

[1Macc 1:26] So that the princes and elders mourned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty of women was changed.

[1Macc 1:27] Every bridegroom took up lamentation, and she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness,

[1Macc 1:28] The land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion.

[1Macc 1:29] And after two years fully expired the king sent his chief collector of tribute unto the cities of Juda, who came unto Jerusalem with a great multitude,

[1Macc 1:30] And spake peaceable words unto them, but all was deceit: for when they had given him credence, he fell suddenly upon the city, and smote it very sore, and destroyed much people of Israel.

[1Macc 1:31] And when he had taken the spoils of the city, he set it on fire, and pulled down the houses and walls thereof on every side.

[1Macc 1:32] But the women and children took they captive, and possessed the cattle.

[1Macc 1:33] Then builded they the city of David with a great and strong wall, and with mighty towers, and made it a strong hold for them.

[1Macc 1:34] And they put therein a sinful nation, wicked men, and fortified themselves therein.

[1Macc 1:35] They stored it also with armour and victuals, and when they had gathered together the spoils of Jerusalem, they laid them up there, and so they became a sore snare:

[1Macc 1:36] For it was a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel.

[1Macc 1:37] Thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it:

[1Macc 1:38] Insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them: whereupon the city was made an habitation of strangers, and became strange to those that were born in her; and her own children left her.

[1Macc 1:39] Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach her honour into contempt.

[1Macc 1:40] As had been her glory, so was her dishonour increased, and her excellency was turned into mourning.

[1Macc 1:41] Moreover king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people,

[1Macc 1:42] And every one should leave his laws: so all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king.

[1Macc 1:43] Yea, many also of the Israelites consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto idols, and profaned the sabbath.

[1Macc 1:44] For the king had sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Juda that they should follow the strange laws of the land,

[1Macc 1:45] And forbid burnt offerings, and sacrifice, and drink offerings, in the temple; and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days:

[1Macc 1:46] And pollute the sanctuary and holy people:

[1Macc 1:47] Set up altars, and groves, and chapels of idols, and sacrifice swine's flesh, and unclean beasts:

[1Macc 1:48] That they should also leave their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation:

[1Macc 1:49] To the end they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances.

[1Macc 1:50] And whosoever would not do according to the commandment of the king, he said, he should die.

[1Macc 1:51] In the selfsame manner wrote he to his whole kingdom, and appointed overseers over all the people, commanding the cities of Juda to sacrifice, city by city.

[1Macc 1:52] Then many of the people were gathered unto them, to wit every one that forsook the law; and so they committed evils in the land;

[1Macc 1:53] And drove the Israelites into secret places, even wheresoever they could flee for succour.

[1Macc 1:54] Now the fifteenth day of the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and fifth year, they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Juda on every side;

[1Macc 1:55] And burnt incense at the doors of their houses, and in the streets.

[1Macc 1:56] And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, they burnt them with fire.

[1Macc 1:57] And whosoever was found with any the book of the testament, or if any committed to the law, the king's commandment was, that they should put him to death.

[1Macc 1:58] Thus did they by their authority unto the Israelites every month, to as many as were found in the cities.

[1Macc 1:59] Now the five and twentieth day of the month they did sacrifice upon the idol altar, which was upon the altar of God.

[1Macc 1:60] At which time according to the commandment they put to death certain women, that had caused their children to be circumcised.

[1Macc 1:61] And they hanged the infants about their necks, and rifled their houses, and slew them that had circumcised them.

[1Macc 1:62] Howbeit many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves not to eat any unclean thing.

[1Macc 1:63] Wherefore the rather to die, that they might not be defiled with meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant: so then they died.

[1Macc 1:64] And there was very great wrath upon Israel.

[1Macc 2:1] In those days arose Mattathias the son of John, the son of Simeon, a priest of the sons of Joarib, from Jerusalem, and dwelt in Modin.

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[1Macc 2:2] And he had five sons, Joannan, called Caddis:

[1Macc 2:3] Simon; called Thassi:

[1Macc 2:4] Judas, who was called Maccabeus:

[1Macc 2:5] Eleazar, called Avaran: and Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus.

[1Macc 2:6] And when he saw the blasphemies that were committed in Juda and Jerusalem,

[1Macc 2:7] He said, Woe is me! wherefore was I born to see this misery of my people, and of the holy city, and to dwell there, when it was delivered into the hand of the enemy, and the sanctuary into the hand of strangers?

[1Macc 2:8] Her temple is become as a man without glory.

[1Macc 2:9] Her glorious vessels are carried away into captivity, her infants are slain in the streets, her young men with the sword of the enemy.

[1Macc 2:10] What nation hath not had a part in her kingdom and gotten of her spoils?

[1Macc 2:11] All her ornaments are taken away; of a free woman she is become a bondslave.

[1Macc 2:12] And, behold, our sanctuary, even our beauty and our glory, is laid waste, and the Gentiles have profaned it.

[1Macc 2:13] To what end therefore shall we live any longer?

[1Macc 2:14] Then Mattathias and his sons rent their clothes, and put on sackcloth, and mourned very sore.

[1Macc 2:15] In the mean while the king's officers, such as compelled the people to revolt, came into the city Modin, to make them sacrifice.

[1Macc 2:16] And when many of Israel came unto them, Mattathias also and his sons came together.

[1Macc 2:17] Then answered the king's officers, and said to Mattathias on this wise, Thou art a ruler, and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and brethren:

[1Macc 2:18] Now therefore come thou first, and fulfil the king's commandment, like as all the heathen have done, yea, and the men of Juda also, and such as remain at Jerusalem: so shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's friends, and thou and thy children shall be honoured with silver and gold, and many rewards.

[1Macc 2:19] Then Mattathias answered and spake with a loud voice, Though all the nations that are under the king's dominion obey him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments:

[1Macc 2:20] Yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers.

[1Macc 2:21] God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances.

[1Macc 2:22] We will not hearken to the king's words, to go from our religion, either on the right hand, or the left.

[1Macc 2:23] Now when he had left speaking these words, there came one of the Jews in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was at Modin, according to the king's commandment.

[1Macc 2:24] Which thing when Mattathias saw, he was inflamed with zeal, and his reins trembled, neither could he forbear to shew his anger according to judgment: wherefore he ran, and slew him upon the altar. 124

[1Macc 2:25] Also the king's commissioner, who compelled men to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and the altar he pulled down.

[1Macc 2:26] Thus dealt he zealously for the law of God like as Phinees did unto Zambri the son of Salom.

[1Macc 2:27] And Mattathias cried throughout the city with a loud voice, saying, Whosoever is zealous of the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him follow me.

[1Macc 2:28] So he and his sons fled into the mountains, and left all that ever they had in the city.

[1Macc 2:39] Now when Mattathias and his friends understood hereof, they mourned for them right sore.

[1Macc 2:40] And one of them said to another, If we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not for our lives and laws against the heathen, they will now quickly root us out of the earth.

[1Macc 2:41] At that time therefore they decreed, saying, Whosoever shall come to make battle with us on the sabbath day, we will fight against him; neither will we die all, as our brethren that were murdered im the secret places.

[1Macc 2:42] Then came there unto him a company of Assideans who were mighty men of Israel, even all such as were voluntarily devoted unto the law.

[1Macc 2:43] Also all they that fled for persecution joined themselves unto them, and were a stay unto them.

[1Macc 2:44] So they joined their forces, and smote sinful men in their anger, and wicked men in their wrath: but the rest fled to the heathen for succour.

[1Macc 2:45] Then Mattathias and his friends went round about, and pulled down the altars:

[1Macc 2:46] And what children soever they found within the coast of Israel uncircumcised, those they circumcised valiantly.

[1Macc 2:47] They pursued also after the proud men, and the work prospered in their hand.

[1Macc 2:48] So they recovered the law out of the hand of the Gentiles, and out of the hand of kings, neither suffered they the sinner to triumph.

[1Macc 2:49] Now when the time drew near that Mattathias should die, he said unto his sons, Now hath pride and rebuke gotten strength, and the time of destruction, and the wrath of indignation:

[1Macc 2:50] Now therefore, my sons, be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers.

[1Macc 2:51] Call to remembrance what acts our fathers did in their time; so shall ye receive great honour and an everlasting name.

[1Macc 2:52] Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness?

[1Macc 2:53] Joseph in the time of his distress kept the commandment and was made lord of Egypt.

[1Macc 2:54] Phinees our father in being zealous and fervent obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood.

[1Macc 2:55] Jesus for fulfilling the word was made a judge in Israel.

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[1Macc 2:56] Caleb for bearing witness before the congregation received the heritage of the land.

[1Macc 2:57] David for being merciful possessed the throne of an everlasting kingdom.

[1Macc 2:58] Elias for being zealous and fervent for the law was taken up into heaven.

[1Macc 2:59] Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, by believing were saved out of the flame.

[1Macc 2:60] Daniel for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions.

[1Macc 2:61] And thus consider ye throughout all ages, that none that put their trust in him shall be overcome.

[1Macc 2:62] Fear not then the words of a sinful man: for his glory shall be dung and worms.

[1Macc 2:63] To day he shall be lifted up and to morrow he shall not be found, because he is returned into his dust, and his thought is come to nothing.

[1Macc 2:64] Wherefore, ye my sons, be valiant and shew yourselves men in the behalf of the law; for by it shall ye obtain glory.

[1Macc 2:65] And behold, I know that your brother Simon is a man of counsel, give ear unto him alway: he shall be a father unto you.

[1Macc 2:66] As for Judas Maccabeus, he hath been mighty and strong, even from his youth up: let him be your captain, and fight the battle of the people.

[1Macc 2:67] Take also unto you all those that observe the law, and avenge ye the wrong of your people.

[1Macc 2:68] Recompense fully the heathen, and take heed to the commandments of the law.

[1Macc 4:36] Then said Judas and his brethren, Behold, our enemies are discomfited: let us go up to cleanse and dedicate the sanctuary.

[1Macc 4:37] Upon this all the host assembled themselves together, and went up into mount Sion.

[1Macc 4:38] And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest, or in one of the mountains, yea, and the priests' chambers pulled down;

[1Macc 4:39] They rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and cast ashes upon their heads,

[1Macc 4:40] And fell down flat to the ground upon their faces, and blew an alarm with the trumpets, and cried toward heaven.

[1Macc 4:41] Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against those that were in the fortress, until he had cleansed the sanctuary.

[1Macc 4:42] So he chose priests of blameless conversation, such as had pleasure in the law:

[1Macc 4:43] Who cleansed the sanctuary, and bare out the defiled stones into an unclean place.

[1Macc 4:44] And when as they consulted what to do with the altar of burnt offerings, which was profaned;

[1Macc 4:45] They thought it best to pull it down, lest it should be a reproach to them, because the heathen had defiled it: wherefore they pulled it down,

[1Macc 4:46] And laid up the stones in the mountain of the temple in a convenient place, until there should

come a prophet to shew what should be done with them.

[1Macc 4:47] Then they took whole stones according to the law, and built a new altar according to the former;

[1Macc 4:48] And made up the sanctuary, and the things that were within the temple, and hallowed the courts.

[1Macc 4:49] They made also new holy vessels, and into the temple they brought the candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings, and of incense, and the table.

[1Macc 4:50] And upon the altar they burned incense, and the lamps that were upon the candlestick they lighted, that they might give light in the temple.

[1Macc 4:51] Furthermore they set the loaves upon the table, and spread out the veils, and finished all the works which they had begun to make.

[1Macc 4:52] Now on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month, which is called the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning,

[1Macc 4:53] And offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offerings, which they had made.

[1Macc 4:54] Look, at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that was it dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals.

[1Macc 4:55] Then all the people fell upon their faces, worshipping and praising the God of heaven, who had given them good success.

[1Macc 4:56] And so they kept the dedication of the altar eight days and offered burnt offerings with gladness, and sacrificed the sacrifice of deliverance and praise.

[1Macc 4:57] They decked also the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold, and with shields; and the gates and the chambers they renewed, and hanged doors upon them.

[1Macc 4:58] Thus was there very great gladness among the people, for that the reproach of the heathen was put away.

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Version: KJV 2 Maccabees 127

[2Macc 7:1] It came to pass also, that seven brethren with their mother were taken, and compelled by the king against the law to taste swine's flesh, and were tormented with scourges and whips.

[2Macc 7:2] But one of them that spake first said thus, What wouldest thou ask or learn of us? we are ready to die, rather than to transgress the laws of our fathers.

[2Macc 7:3] Then the king, being in a rage, commanded pans and caldrons to be made hot:

[2Macc 7:4] Which forthwith being heated, he commanded to cut out the tongue of him that spake first, and to cut off the utmost parts of his body, the rest of his brethren and his mother looking on.

[2Macc 7:5] Now when he was thus maimed in all his members, he commanded him being yet alive to be brought to the fire, and to be fried in the pan: and as the vapour of the pan was for a good space dispersed, they exhorted one another with the mother to die manfully, saying thus,

[2Macc 7:6] The Lord God looketh upon us, and in truth hath comfort in us, as Moses in his song, which witnessed to their faces, declared, saying, And he shall be comforted in his servants.

[2Macc 7:7] So when the first was dead after this number, they brought the second to make him a mocking stock: and when they had pulled off the skin of his head with the hair, they asked him, Wilt thou eat, before thou be punished throughout every member of thy body?

[2Macc 7:8] But he answered in his own language, and said, No. Wherefore he also received the next torment in order, as the former did.

[2Macc 7:9] And when he was at the last gasp, he said, Thou like a fury takest us out of this present life, but the King of the world shall raise us up, who have died for his laws, unto everlasting life.

[2Macc 7:10] After him was the third made a mocking stock: and when he was required, he put out his tongue, and that right soon, holding forth his hands manfully.

[2Macc 7:11] And said courageously, These I had from heaven; and for his laws I despise them; and from him I hope to receive them again.

[2Macc 7:12] Insomuch that the king, and they that were with him, marvelled at the young man's courage, for that he nothing regarded the pains.

[2Macc 7:13] Now when this man was dead also, they tormented and mangled the fourth in like manner.

[2Macc 7:14] So when he was ready to die he said thus, It is good, being put to death by men, to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him: as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life.

[2Macc 7:15] Afterward they brought the fifth also, and mangled him.

[2Macc 7:16] Then looked he unto the king, and said, Thou hast power over men, thou art corruptible, thou doest what thou wilt; yet think not that our nation is forsaken of God;

[2Macc 7:17] But abide a while, and behold his great power, how he will torment thee and thy seed.

[2Macc 7:18] After him also they brought the sixth, who being ready to die said, Be not deceived without cause: for we suffer these things for ourselves, having sinned against our God: therefore marvellous things are done unto us.

[2Macc 7:19] But think not thou, that takest in hand to strive against God, that thou shalt escape unpunished.

[2Macc 7:20] But the mother was marvellous above all, and worthy of honourable memory: for when she saw her seven sons slain within the space of one day, she bare it with a good courage, because of the hope that

she had in the Lord.

[2Macc 7:21] Yea, she exhorted every one of them in her own language, filled with courageous spirits; and stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach, she said unto them,

[2Macc 7:22] I cannot tell how ye came into my womb: for I neither gave you breath nor life, neither was it I that formed the members of every one of you;

[2Macc 7:23] But doubtless the Creator of the world, who formed the generation of man, and found out the beginning of all things, will also of his own mercy give you breath and life again, as ye now regard not your own selves for his laws' sake.

[2Macc 7:24] Now Antiochus, thinking himself despised, and suspecting it to be a reproachful speech, whilst the youngest was yet alive, did not only exhort him by words, but also assured him with oaths, that he would make him both a rich and a happy man, if he would turn from the laws of his fathers; and that also he would take him for his friend, and trust him with affairs.

[2Macc 7:25] But when the young man would in no case hearken unto him, the king called his mother, and exhorted her that she would counsel the young man to save his life.

[2Macc 7:26] And when he had exhorted her with many words, she promised him that she would counsel her son.

[2Macc 7:27] But she bowing herself toward him, laughing the cruel tyrant to scorn, spake in her country language on this manner; O my son, have pity upon me that bare thee nine months in my womb, and gave thee such three years, and nourished thee, and brought thee up unto this age, and endured the troubles of education.

[2Macc 7:28] I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not; and so was mankind made likewise.

[2Macc 7:29] Fear not this tormentor, but, being worthy of thy brethren, take thy death that I may receive thee again in mercy with thy brethren.

[2Macc 7:30] Whiles she was yet speaking these words, the young man said, Whom wait ye for? I will not obey the king's commandment: but I will obey the commandment of the law that was given unto our fathers by Moses.

[2Macc 7:31] And thou, that hast been the author of all mischief against the Hebrews, shalt not escape the hands of God.

[2Macc 7:32] For we suffer because of our sins.

[2Macc 7:33] And though the living Lord be angry with us a little while for our chastening and correction, yet shall he be at one again with his servants.

[2Macc 7:34] But thou, O godless man, and of all other most wicked, be not lifted up without a cause, nor puffed up with uncertain hopes, lifting up thy hand against the servants of God:

[2Macc 7:35] For thou hast not yet escaped the judgment of Almighty God, who seeth all things.

[2Macc 7:36] For our brethren, who now have suffered a short pain, are dead under God's covenant of everlasting life: but thou, through the judgment of God, shalt receive just punishment for thy pride.

[2Macc 7:37] But I, as my brethren, offer up my body and life for the laws of our fathers, beseeching God that he would speedily be merciful unto our nation; and that thou by torments and plagues mayest confess, that he alone is God;

[2Macc 7:38] And that in me and my brethren the wrath of the Almighty, which is justly brought upon our nation, may cease.

[2Macc 7:39] Than the king' being in a rage, handed him worse than all the rest, and took it grievously that he was mocked.

[2Macc 7:40] So this man died undefiled, and put his whole trust in the Lord.

[2Macc 7:41] Last of all after the sons the mother died.

[2Macc 7:42] Let this be enough now to have spoken concerning the idolatrous feasts, and the extreme tortures.

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[3Macc 2:1] Then the high priest Simon, facing the sanctuary, bending his knees and extending his hands with calm dignity, prayed as follows:

[3Macc 2:2] "Lord, Lord, king of the heavens, and sovereign of all creation, holy among the holy ones, the only ruler, almighty, give attention to us who are suffering grievously from an impious and profane man, puffed up in his audacity and power.

[3Macc 2:3] For you, the creator of all things and the governor of all, are a just Ruler, and you judge those who have done anything in insolence and arrogance.

[3Macc 2:4] You destroyed those who in the past committed injustice, among whom were even giants who trusted in their strength and boldness, whom you destroyed by bringing upon them a boundless flood.

[3Macc 2:5] You consumed with fire and sulphur the men of Sodom who acted arrogantly, who were notorious for their vices; and you made them an example to those who should come afterward.

[3Macc 2:6] You made known your mighty power by inflicting many and varied punishments on the audacious Pharaoh who had enslaved your holy people Israel.

[3Macc 2:7] And when he pursued them with chariots and a mass of troops, you overwhelmed him in the depths of the sea, but carried through safely those who had put their confidence in you, the Ruler over the whole creation.

[3Macc 2:8] And when they had seen works of your hands, they praised you, the Almighty.

[3Macc 2:9] You, O King, when you had created the boundless and immeasurable earth, chose this city and sanctified this place for your name, though you have no need of anything; and when you had glorified it by your magnificent manifestation, you made it a firm foundation for the glory of your great and honored name.

[3Macc 2:10] And because you love the house of Israel, you promised that if we should have reverses, and tribulation should overtake us, you would listen to our petition when we come to this place and pray.

[3Macc 2:11] And indeed you are faithful and true.

[3Macc 2:12] And because oftentimes when our fathers were oppressed you helped them in their humiliation, and rescued them from great evils,

[3Macc 2:13] see now, O holy King, that because of our many and great sins we are crushed with suffering, subjected to our enemies, and overtaken by helplessness.

[3Macc 2:14] In our downfall this audacious and profane man undertakes to violate the holy place on earth dedicated to your glorious name.

[3Macc 2:15] For your dwelling, the heaven of heavens, is unapproachable by man.

[3Macc 2:16] But because you graciously bestowed your glory upon your people Israel, you sanctified this place.

[3Macc 2:17] Do not punish us for the defilement committed by these men, or call us to account for this profanation, lest the transgressors boast in their wrath or exult in the arrogance of their tongue, saying,

[3Macc 2:18] `We have trampled down the house of the sanctuary as offensive houses are trampled down.'

[3Macc 2:19] Wipe away our sins and disperse our errors, and reveal your mercy at this hour.

[3Macc 2:20] Speedily let your mercies overtake us, and put praises in the mouth of those who are downcast and broken in spirit, and give us peace."

[4Macc 1:1] The subject that I am about to discuss is most philosophical, that is, whether devout reason is sovereign over the emotions. So it is right for me to advise you to pay earnest attention to philosophy.

[4Macc 1:2] For the subject is essential to everyone who is seeking knowledge, and in addition it includes the praise of the highest virtue -- I mean, of course, rational judgment.

[4Macc 1:3] If, then, it is evident that reason rules over those emotions that hinder self-control, namely, gluttony and lust,

[4Macc 1:4] it is also clear that it masters the emotions that hinder one from justice, such as malice, and those that stand in the way of courage, namely anger, fear, and pain.

[4Macc 1:5] Some might perhaps ask, "If reason rules the emotions, why is it not sovereign over forgetfulness and ignorance?" Their attempt at argument is ridiculous!

[4Macc 1:6] For reason does not rule its own emotions, but those that are opposed to justice, courage, and self-control; and it is not for the purpose of destroying them, but so that one may not give way to them.

[4Macc 1:7] I could prove to you from many and various examples that reason is dominant over the emotions,

[4Macc 1:8] but I can demonstrate it best from the noble bravery of those who died for the sake of virtue, Eleazar and the seven brothers and their mother.

[4Macc 1:9] All of these, by despising sufferings that bring death, demonstrated that reason controls the emotions.

[4Macc 1:10] On this anniversary it is fitting for me to praise for their virtues those who, with their mother, died for the sake of nobility and goodness, but I would also call them blessed for the honor in which they are held.

[4Macc 1:11] For all people, even their torturers, marveled at their courage and endurance, and they became the cause of the downfall of tyranny over their nation. By their endurance they conquered the tyrant, and thus their native land was purified through them.

[4Macc 1:12] I shall shortly have an opportunity to speak of this; but, as my custom is, I shall begin by stating my main principle, and then I shall turn to their story, giving glory to the all-wise God.

[4Macc 1:13] Our inquiry, accordingly, is whether reason is sovereign over the emotions.

[4Macc 1:14] We shall decide just what reason is and what emotion is, how many kinds of emotions there are, and whether reason rules over all these.

[4Macc 1:15] Now reason is the mind that with sound logic prefers the life of wisdom.

[4Macc 1:16] Wisdom, next, is the knowledge of divine and human matters and the causes of these.

[4Macc 1:17] This, in turn, is education in the law, by which we learn divine matters reverently and human affairs to our advantage.

[4Macc 1:18] Now the kinds of wisdom are rational judgment, justice, courage, and self-control.

[4Macc 1:19] Rational judgment is supreme over all of these, since by means of it reason rules over the emotions.

[4Macc 1:20] The two most comprehensive types of the emotions are pleasure and pain; and each of these is by nature concerned with both body and soul.

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[4Macc 1:21] The emotions of both pleasure and pain have many consequences.

[4Macc 1:22] Thus desire precedes pleasure and delight follows it.

[4Macc 1:23] Fear precedes pain and sorrow comes after.

[4Macc 1:24] Anger, as a man will see if he reflects on this experience, is an emotion embracing pleasure and pain.

[4Macc 1:25] In pleasure there exists even a malevolent tendency, which is the most complex of all the emotions.

[4Macc 1:26] In the soul it is boastfulness, covetousness, thirst for honor, rivalry, and malice;

[4Macc 1:27] in the body, indiscriminate eating, gluttony, and solitary gormandizing.

[4Macc 1:28] Just as pleasure and pain are two plants growing from the body and the soul, so there are many offshoots of these plants,

[4Macc 1:29] each of which the master cultivator, reason, weeds and prunes and ties up and waters and thoroughly irrigates, and so tames the jungle of habits and emotions.

[4Macc 1:30] For reason is the guide of the virtues, but over the emotions it is sovereign. Observe now first of all that rational judgment is sovereign over the emotions by virtue of the restraining power of self-control.

[4Macc 1:31] Self-control, then, is dominance over the desires.

[4Macc 1:32] Some desires are mental, others are physical, and reason obviously rules over both.

[4Macc 1:33] Otherwise how is it that when we are attracted to forbidden foods we abstain from the pleasure to be had from them? Is it not because reason is able to rule over appetites? I for one think so.

[4Macc 1:34] Therefore when we crave seafood and fowl and animals and all sorts of foods that are forbidden to us by the law, we abstain because of domination by reason.

[4Macc 1:35] For the emotions of the appetites are restrained, checked by the temperate mind, and all the impulses of the body are bridled by reason.

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Version: RSV

[Pss 151:1] I was small among my brothers, and youngest in my father's house; I tended my father's sheep.

[Pss 151:2] My hands made a harp, my fingers fashioned a lyre.

[Pss 151:3] And who will declare it to my Lord? The Lord himself; it is he who hears.

[Pss 151:4] It was he who sent his messenger and took me from my father's sheep, and anointed me with his anointing oil.

[Pss 151:5] My brothers were handsome and tall, but the Lord was not pleased with them.

[Pss 151:6] I went out to meet the Philistine, and he cursed me by his idols.

[Pss 151:7] But I drew his own sword; I beheaded him, and removed reproach from the people of Israel.

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